

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

THE MEN BEHIND THE CHAIR AT A BEIRUTI HAIR  
SALON: A CASE STUDY OF LEBANESE MALE  
HAIRDRESSERS' GENDER AND PROFESSIONAL  
IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

by

GHADA GHASSAN SEIFEDDINE

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Approved by:

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Dr. Lina Choueiri, Associate Provost/Professor      Advisor  
English

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Dr. Michael Vermy, Assistant Professor      Member of Committee  
English

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Dr. Jennifer Nish, Assistant Professor      Member of Committee English

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## AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: The men behind the chair at a Beirut hair salon: A case study of Lebanese male hairdressers' gender and professional identity construction.

The aim of the present study was to examine the linguistic behavior of men in hairdressing. Using naturally occurring conversation, this research study focused on exploring the conversational strategies male hairdressers use when conversing with female clients at the hair salon. Of particular interest was whether the participants used language to enact professional roles more indexical of the environment in which they work, or to structure a gender identity that is more in line with hegemonic masculinity. The study also sheds light on the participants' own understanding of being a man in hairdressing and their perception of the social and professional roles they perform in their interaction with clients.

The corpus of this study consisted of 21 naturally-occurring conversations between the men in the hairdressing salon and their female clientele. The total recorded conversations were transcribed and served as the corpus of this study. Along with the transcribed conversations, semi-structured interviews were carried out with the three participants. Each interview lasted for almost forty minutes. The interviews were conducted to gain better understanding about the participants' own perspective of their lived experiences in hairdressing.

Findings from the analysis of the corpus propose that men in hairdressing speak in an affiliative kind of interaction, reflecting a people-oriented environment in the salon. The hairdressers led most of the conversations in the corpus. The strong rapport between the men in hairdressing and their clients is more clearly manifested in the way they respond to each other's anecdotes, narratives, and gossip. The corpus strongly suggests that hairdressers connect with their clients when they share anecdotes, narratives or gossip. Gossip is the most frequency in the corpus. In their interviews, hairdressers confidently admitted that men are better than women in the hairdressing business because they believe that men will know what will better suit a woman.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Storytelling is a linguistic resource for constructing social identity at the workplace. Professionals may use stories to present and regulate various kinds of gendered identities and make sense of their social world (Coates, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 1997; Johnstone, 2001). Findings from Eggins and Slade (1997) and Holmes (2005) suggest that workplace narratives serve to invoke supportive elements of talk, conventionally associated with femininity, and helps the speakers connect with each other. Workplace narratives would then provide the linguistic opportunity to build solidarity whilst getting work done (Holmes, 2005, 2009).

Holmes (2006) also argues that the men and women in her study share stories as a linguistic resource available to them at the workplace to reflect a people-oriented and supportive environment during meetings, a characteristic associated with the nature of their workplace context as predominantly feminine. Her participants engage and co-construct workplace narratives as a linguistic tool to construct their gender identities in addition to establishing group membership inside their professional world. Holmes (2005, 2009) suggest that workplace narratives are effectively used to construct and highlight different facets in an individual's identity, as it can indirectly index their professional and gender identity. Specifically, Holmes argues that while workplace stories may appear to serve primarily social functions, constructing a particular kind of personal or social identity, they are often concurrently doing transactional work, and contributing to the complex professional identities of people at work (2005, p. 678).

Another important discursive strategy found in workplace communication to achieve varied social purposes is gossip. Gossip is a type of off-record small talk that is described as sneaking workplace interaction between individuals (Holmes, 2008, 2006a). While it may be regarded as a marginal and disruptive activity which usually interferes with workplace needs, Holmes (2008, 2015) argue that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, gossip is a form of small talk that is crucial for building rapport and maintaining good workplace relations, including those between service-provider and client or between colleagues. In effect, gossip can contribute to the construction of different facets of one's social identity at the workplace as well, including professional and gender identities. Eggins and Slade (1997) join forces in emphasizing the significance of gossip in their research on workplace gossip in a mixed-gender setting between colleagues during meetings or in outside office dinners and coffee breaks. They demonstrate that gossip has two fundamental social functions: gossip functions as a form of social control but also helps to establish and strengthen cohesion between individuals in the workplace. Like Eggins and Slade (1997), Holmes (2006) attests that gossip is not reserved for women in stereotypically feminine workplace contexts (such as hairdressing, women's healthcare, call center, and supermarket). Both women and men engage in gossip in their workplace talk, even though its topics may be gendered, and its abundance and function might be varied depending on the norms and culture of the workplace (Holmes, 2006).

This research study helps to examine the misleading conceptions about men in hairdressing, following the shift in research from differentiating men and women's language to observing both men and women enact linguistic resources available to them. The study also helps to conduct more feminist analysis and understand how

patriarchy works in society. Inhorn (2012) argues for the need to write against the taken-for-granted assumptions about men's situated lives, especially in the Middle East. Rethinking masculinity provides an opportunity to defy and disrupt the stereotypes about masculinities in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Arab world, to remove the "worn out notion of Middle Eastern hegemonic masculinity" (p. 4) out of the way, and to underline masculinity and femininity as relational social constructs in order to gradually undo the patriarchal reality.

This research study aims at examining the linguistic behavior of men in hairdressing, a profession that is predominantly feminine. This research study focused on exploring the conversational strategies male hairdressers use when conversing with female clientele at the hair salon, namely anecdotes, narratives and gossip. Analyzing men's conversations with their female clients during hair salon sessions delineates the dynamics of their gendered and professional identities.

## CHAPTER II

### A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### **A. Gender Identity Construction through Language**

In a politically-driven pursuit to highlight the issue of sexism in society, Robin Lakoff's "Language and Woman's Place", which first appeared in *Language and Society* in 1973, became one of the first ground-breaking works to launch the field of language and gender. Her article focused on the way women are depicted as an inferior and powerless sex in society. Her theory argued that male domination is the core explanation for the gender divide between men and women, most notably manifested in language use. Men are classified as one homogenous group that caused women's exclusion in the public sphere, to the point where women's presence could only occupy little space—physically, socially, politically and linguistically (Crawford, 1995; Kendall & Tannen, 2001; Lakoff, 2004).

Lakoff's theoretical framework, the dominance framework, cast light on critical questions about the disparities between men and women's speech styles: How do women speak in ways that differ from that of men? What is the role of language in constructing and reinforcing power imbalance between men and women? (Kendall & Tannen, 2001; Lakoff, 1975). In her theory, Lakoff contended that the powerless language that women use positions them in a trivial and insecure place in society. In order to be taken seriously and escape female subordination, women need to speak like men do (Cameron, 1997b, 1998, 2005; Crawford, 1995; Kendall & Tannen, 2001; Lakoff, 1975, 2004). Overall, Lakoff's foundational scholarship recognized linguistic

differences as a product of gender inequity. Men possess power over hegemonic discourse and over women (Bucholtz & Hall, 1995).

In her book *You Just Don't Understand* (1990), Deborah Tannen introduced another strand of research in the field of language and gender. Her theoretical approach argued that differences in men and women's speaking styles is a product of their socialization in separate subcultures during their childhood and adolescent years. During the formative years, each subculture is confined to same-sex groups (Kendall & Tannen, 2001). Tannen (1990) explains that because men and women are two homogenous categories raised with separate cultural values, they adopt different intentions in speaking. Her research justifies that conversational conflict between men and women in mixed-sex conversation arises because men talk to challenge others, reflect status and transmit information; on the other hand, women communicate to convey rapport and foster a sense of intimacy (Cameron, 1997b, 1998, 2005; Kendall & Tannen, 2001; Tannen, 1990, 1993, 1994; Weatherall, 2002).

In "The Questions of Questions: Beyond Binary Thinking", Bing and Bergvall (1996) pointed out the shortcomings of the previous theoretical models: their focus on studying the ways men and women speak differently reinforces the assumption that they essentially do. The models also conducted their research on a specific prototype of masculinity or femininity in society. Their research subjects were mostly middle-class, white, straight and monolingual European or American men and women (Cameron, 2005). Dismissing the two-genders agenda, many scholars advocated the diversity framework which places gender in the vanguard: gender is a fluid social category constructed through linguistic practices and is subject to change in different situations (Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Bucholtz, 1999; Cameron, 1992, 1996, 1997, 2005; Crawford,

1995; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Freed & Greenwood, ; Kendall & Tannen, 2001; Ochs, 1992, 1993; Weatherall, 1998; Wodak, 1997a). This theoretical framework was influenced by the work of feminist philosopher Judith Butler (1998; 1990; 2004) who coined the term “performativity” to argue that gender is something a person performs through the ongoing production of gendered behaviors of masculinity and femininity. There is no single generic man or woman, nor is there a single model of masculinity or femininity. Then, in studying the relationship between language and gender from this theoretical lens, the central question shifts from, “in what ways are women different than men?” to “which women and which men do you mean?” (Cameron, 2005, p. 487).

## **B. Men, Masculinities and Speech Styles**

In *Language and Masculinity* (1997), Johnson and Meinhof argue that a restricted focus on women and femininity is inadequate and that what is discovered about men and masculinity is still very little. Within the dominance paradigm, the view of men is unidimensional because it is treated as a backdrop to interpreting women and their verbal behavior. Within the difference paradigm, with much of the focus on all-female groups of speakers in most of its studies (e.g., Bergvall, 1996; Bucholtz, 1999; Coates, 1996, 1999a, 1999b; Crawford, 1995), not much research tackles men and their speech patterns. Therefore, an exhaustive exploration of men, masculinity and language is highly recommended as a means to understanding the mechanisms of male domination over women and possibly other men (Johnson & Meinhof, 1997). The more recent performativity approach to language and gender research attempts to recognize men’s perspectives, but much of the talk still revolves around their privilege in social

practice. Therefore, men have been directly and indirectly represented as a social category that is invisible yet dominant in society and in conversation. Bringing this conceptualization of men and masculinity to the forefront draws two lines of inquiry. First, it problematizes the unmarked heterosexual man. In problematizing men, it pierces through the invisibility and tackles men as people who undergo gender stereotypes and must keep up with the façade of masculinity (Cameron, 2005; Kiesling; Preisler, 1998).

### ***1. The Difference Between Men and Masculinities***

There has been substantial debate about whether the subject of feminist study must be men or masculinity (as in, Benwell, 2014; Bing & Bervall, 1996; Cameron, 1998; Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kiesling, 2005, 2007). While men and masculinity are related concepts, they have different social meanings. Men are the corporeal beings frequently labeled for their maleness based on genitalia and body. Masculinity, however, is the collection of social practices or traits that a culture or its people associate with men. Men enact these describable, variable and stereotypical practices during social interaction, and they come to be seen as masculine. Masculinity is therefore actively produced and emulated depending on the available (linguistic) resources in a particular social context (Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kiesling, 2007). Masculinity is also permeable to change because, more often than not, different masculinities are in constant tension with one another (Connell, 2000). Studying masculinity or men's practices, instead of merely studying men, across different cultures and societies and over different periods of time and history advances the conversation about the "difference [masculinity] makes" (Cameron, 1997b).

Kiesling (2005, 2007) add that the study of masculinities instead of that of men is essential for understanding the social practices carried out by both men and women. This is because masculinity is a quality or practice that does not need to be performed exclusively by men. Women can also engage in practice that is stereotypically associated with men in their society. In this regard, it is possible for men to be feminine and women to be masculine. When either perform as non-masculine men or masculine women, it does not go unnoticed. This is because there are gender expectations, norms and restraints to what makes men and women who they are.

## ***2. The Dynamics of Hegemonic Masculinity***

Hegemonic masculinity is best described as the form of masculinity that is able to dominate and marginalize men and women, not on the basis of gender, but on the basis of other categories such as socioeconomic ranking, racial bias, and sexuality. Hegemonic masculinity is a pattern of performance that gives way to men's domination over women. Some forms of hegemonic masculinity are more common than others. They represent the most desired or highly regarded ways of being a man and are mostly enacted by a minority of men in society. Hegemonic masculinity is also a benchmark from which all (other) men are required to position themselves when constructing their gender identity (Connell, 2000). While hegemonic masculinity is deemed normative, it is an unrealistic representation of how men behave and speak. Hegemonic masculinity is a model that expresses cultural ideals and fantasies of what makes manhood; it also constructs gender relations that legitimize the subordination of women by men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). However, all masculinities are subject to criticism and change, especially hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity that supports the

gender binary can be replaced by a newer masculinity that is less repressive. This is an optimistic process of political change that would gradually lead to the abolition of an unfair gender divide, a divide that has been mercilessly gulping all the social power there is in society and pouring it into the belly of a few men (Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kiesling, 2005, 2007)

### **3. Arab Masculinity and Manhood**

In the *Gender Dictionary: Traveling Concepts and Local Usages in Lebanon*, the Arabic term for “masculinity” is “rujula” in Lebanese terminology (2016, p. 53). Inhorn (2012) explains that “rujula” tends to be associated with specific hegemonic characteristics such as the display of physical strength and heterosexuality, and with certain social roles, such as women oppressor, leader and father of the household, neighborhood defender. “Rujula” is also historically situated in relation to gender norms in the local community and in opposition to femininity. Ghassub and Sinclair-Webb (2000) clarify that Arab masculinity or “rujula” is played out through the preservation of supremacy over women and other men. When conducting their interviews with Bahraini men, Karolak, Guta, Alexander and Gelfer (2014) confirmed that most of their participants associated hegemonic masculinity with being responsible and powerful, both physically and socially. Adibi (2006) and Joseph (1993) argue that masculinity in the Middle East is created by and enacted through patriarchy and patriarchal kinship. Men, and especially seniors, are entitled to regard their wives, children and relatives as extensions of themselves; by glorifying their families, men have the power to diminish others, particularly women (Joseph, 1993). “Rujula” also means that there is a rejection

of homosexuality (see studies Adibi, 2006; Aghacy, 2004; Moussawi, 2011; Seidman, 2011)

How men negotiate different social expectations to construct their bodies and masculine selves remains a widely unaddressed question in the scholarly work on language and gender in the Middle East and North Africa. In fact, the analysis of gender dynamics is often reduced to Arab women in scholarship (Aghacy, 2014; Antonios, 2014; Ghannam, 2013; Inhorn, 2012; Karolak et al., 2014; Rizzo, 2014). Studying the way masculinity is socially produced, especially through linguistic practice, helps to recuperate how gender dynamics take place in the region. By directing the attention to how men confirm or challenge masculinity, and how that is shaped by the collective work of men and women, better understanding of the daily lives of men and women can be achieved. From a broader standpoint, gender identities are arenas of continual negotiation and renegotiation between women and men, between men and other men, and women and other women (Ghannam, 2013). The construction of masculinity in the Arab world through language use remains an almost untouched topic, open to analysis and debate.

#### ***4. The Indexical Relationship between Language and Gender***

Elinor Ochs champions the notion of an indexical relationship between language and gender. It is mediated by the participant's use of linguistic resources to enact certain social roles and capacities in gendered ways. The speaker is an agent who is actively constructing themselves at any given time and situation despite the hegemonic artifacts of culture. According to Ochs' paper, "few features of language directly and exclusively index gender" (1992, p. 340). Mostly, women and men do not use linguistic strategies to

create masculine and feminine identities; instead, they choose gendered linguistic resources to perform social roles and stances. Also, linguistic resources may index more than one role, stance, or alignment at the same time (Ochs, 1992, 1993). The construction of this identity will differ across cultures and communities depending on the linguistic forms for indexing acts, stances or alignments in play at the moment (Ochs, 1993). Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap (2009) describe the process of performing gender a “complex business” because individuals are constantly shifting their stances and roles between different forms of femininity and masculinity through linguistic manifestations and social acts (p. 238).

Much of the research on the study of men’s use of language included the exploration of culturally masculine contexts and situations. Scott Kiesling’s (2005) work focused on how men use language to construct different versions of masculinity depending on the activity they were doing. His research study takes place in a fraternity, a hyper-masculine community that is exclusively reserved for men. Kiesling examines the ways in which American college fraternity brothers use linguistic practices to construct their (rather masculine) gender identity at various occasions. Kiesling found that men used speech genres such as insults, offensive jokes, boasts and swearwords in the company of other fraternity brothers to index a laid back tough masculine stance within the fraternity and with other men. The pervasive use of a playful competitive style of speaking among frat members allows participants to bond with each other without coming across as homosexual. The members also chose casual and impersonal topics and avoided conversations where they needed to confide about their relationships with women. They talked about sports teams they support and the physical strength of its players to establish a sense of togetherness with other fraternity brothers.

Arxer (2011) studies the interaction between men at a bar. The participants did not create social distance when they talked to their male friends; instead, they used emotional expression to talk about the women in their lives. In sexually objectifying women's bodies in their talk, they established solidarity as men of the same sexual preferences. The participants' heterosexuality reflects the type of hegemonic masculinity that was dominant in the conversation and gave them power. Fidaoui and Bahous (2013) also examined men in a hyper-masculine setting, specifically the shisha café. The study examined the verbal and non-verbal conversational styles that fifteen Lebanese males in their seventies use in their all-male group conversations while they played cards or drank tea and smoked a shisha. The researchers used audio-recording, participant observation and interviews to solicit linguistic patterns that the men used to display their masculine identity and strengthen their camaraderie. The old men used profane language, teased and boasted during card games. They gossiped about their friends when they weren't in the group with them. Because of the gendered nature of the café, these conversational patterns were considered the conversational norm between the male friends who used them to strengthen their ties rather than create social distance.

## **C. Anecdotes and Narratives in Men's Talk**

### ***1. Storytelling and Gender Identity***

Storytelling performs an array of functions in conversation. A speaker can entertain, educate, inform, express individual opinions and emotions, recount personal experiences to their audience, and invite mutual disclosure of events through a story. In the light of the storyteller's present needs, concerns and attitudes, the past is created,

recreated and shared with interlocutors, and often, one story can serve several functions at the same time. Through the exchange of stories, speakers can express solidarity and affiliation with others; they can also establish social boundaries. Moreover, stories can help speakers to construct their social identities. (Coates, 1996, 2003; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Norrick, 2007).

In her monograph *Men Talk: Stories in the Making of Masculinities*, Coates (2003) argues that “men and women are actively engaged in constructing and maintaining masculinity and femininity in their storytelling” (p. 37). Coates’ research analyzed men’s use of storytelling in their talk. Her empirical work inquired about the elements of storytelling in single and mixed-sex settings (2003). Common features of men’s stories were developing impersonal or informational topics, focusing on the narrator as a hero, using profanity or taboo language, and restraining from expressing emotions. This is unlike what Coates (1996) discovered in the conversations that take place between female friends. Coates (1996) noticed that participants used storytelling in their talks to share their personal experiences as well as create and maintain intimate relationships with other women. Coates (1996) argued that women friends disclosed and exchanged stories about people or places and recounted problematic issues, often using self-deprecating humor storyline to do so. Like Coates (1996), Johnstone (1993) found that women friends collectively participated in narrating each other’s stories and engaged in more detailed dialogue. In narrating their stories, women created a sense of community and expressed unity in the face of resistance and conflict. By contrast, men friends’ stories emphasized competition. They were associated with the solitary hero or protagonist who is in competition and conflict with other men. She argued that men and women construct different worlds in the stories they tell, using different plots, strategies

and participation techniques. Opposite to men, women present themselves as powerless: they need to act in concert with others around them to overcome their obstacles. Their community is their social power and their use of stories as linguistic practice achieves that for them.

## ***2. Anecdotes and Narratives in Men's Stories***

Eggins and Slade (1997) distinguish between two types of storytelling in casual conversation: anecdote whose purpose is to bring about a reaction from its audience or listeners and narrative whose purpose is to recapitulate past events or personal experiences.

According to Eggins and Slade (1997), speakers use anecdotes to solicit laughter, frustration, awe, or shock from their audience as a result of telling a remarkable event or crisis to an audience. The elements of an anecdote include its abstract, orientation, remarkable event, reaction, and coda. The abstract is an initial clause that comes at the beginning of an anecdote to introduce the story to come. An abstract sets up the expectations about how the story will unfold, its topic and relevance to the ongoing conversation. The abstract answers the question of "what happened?" Contextual information about the characters of the story, their behavior, the place, time and activity(s) of the anecdote are shared in the orientation stage of an anecdote. The remarkable event is where the climax lies. It is important for the storyteller because what subsequently follows is the reaction they share with their audience. Their audience might share the same reaction, and the event told is dispensed without an explicit resolution in the coda. The coda is the final clause which brings the anecdote back to the present moment of the conversation, putting off the potential question, "and then

what happened”. The coda is where the storyteller may announce that his anecdote is over or provide a summary of its importance. Findings in Kiesling (2005) and Holmes (2006) suggest that anecdotes are used by men and women to solicit attention from others. Anecdotes are seldom mentioned in the literature because their function in storytelling is limited to the reactions elicited by the storyteller from their audience (Eggins & Slade, 1997).

William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1997) define narrative as a conversational strategy in storytelling used to recapitulate past events or personal experiences. According to Labov (1997, 2006), initiating a narrative requires that it be the most reportable event during conversational exchange. A narrative must be based on true events that happened in the past, so its listeners will want to hear it. Lastly, a narrative must have a viewpoint. The narrator’s role is to persuade a listener to see the world through their eyes at the time the event occurred. Labov and Waletzky (1967) note that not all recollection of past events is narrative. In fact, a narrative must report past events in the same order they happened.

William Labov (1997) divides the overall structure of a narrative into six stages, namely, the abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation and coda. The narrator may provide an abstract to introduce the story followed by an orientation to direct their interlocutors about the time, place, and character(s) involved. The abstract and orientation are optional stages in a narrative. The third stage in a narrative is the complicating action where the sequence of events is shared with the audience. The complicating action disrupts the usual order of events and suggests that a crisis is about to happen. After reaching a climax in the complicating action, the evaluation stage takes place. Labov points out that a story cannot be a narrative without its evaluative aspect.

Evaluation gives significance to the narrator's story and is considered a necessary constituent that makes up the narrative (1997). An evaluated narrative has a clear bottom line; it underscores the importance of the story and its results (Labov, 1997; Labov & Waletzky, 1967). De Fina and Johnstone (2015) deduces that Labov's illustration of evaluative narratives provides answers to questions on how speakers and audience in different cultures and situations construct their social identities and create rapport.

Thornborrow and Coates (2005) draw parallels between the construction of narrative and construction of gender. Coates (2003), Kiesling (2006) and Holmes (1997) claim that narratives in men's conversations can maintain the prevailing norms of hegemonic masculinity. These narratives enable men to align with notions of hegemonic masculinity, and in doing so, to maintain, gain and even restore power in conversation and society.

In focusing on men's narratives in naturally-occurring conversations, Coates (2003) finds that in single-group conversations, men narrate stories about topics that are stereotypically masculine, such as technology, machinery, drinking, women, travel, cars, adventures, pornography, fighting, sports, and the like. Men also narrate stories of achievement and boast about their successes to one another. They initiate and bond over these types of stories in order to avoid self-disclosure, and instead, focus on emotional restraint, or what Coates terms "the masculine 'mask of silence'", a feature of hegemonic masculinity (2003, p. 73). It is not typical for a man to narrate a difficult or sensitive moment in his life. However, when a man does, he constructs an alternative discourse that challenges hegemonic masculinity and affirms the value of emotional openness, risking possible face-threatening responses from other men (Coates, 2003).

Apart from lack of emotional expression achieved through narrating successful bravado stories, men position themselves as protagonists of their own narratives, and if they are not, they position another man as the hero. Men may also use taboo language and swearing when narrating the story to other men (Coates, 2003). Moreover, while men use narrative activity to compete and boast about their triumphs, collaborative narration also enable men to collectively construct dominant masculinity. The capacity to jointly or sequentially share narratives works to display mutual understanding and connectedness between the speakers. Narratives told in sequence about related topics and mutual beliefs lead men to establish a mode of solidarity where they proclaim their similarities as in-group members and assert their differences from an out-group (Coates, 2003).

Additionally, women are seldom mentioned in men's narratives. To disassociate themselves from a feminine identity, men's narratives rarely portray female protagonists. Through their narratives, men align themselves with heterosexuality, one characteristic of hegemonic masculinity (Coates, 2003). Coates (2003) contends that the presence of women recipients has an effect on men's narration of their stories. She found that the male narrators achieve gender work and boast their masculinity in the presence of their female recipients. They recounted narratives where they or other men behaved badly and still got away with it. Their linguistic style had less taboo language in the presence of women, and they were more relaxed about the range of topics they could select (Coates, 2003). When the interlocutor is a female, however, the male narrator tends to feel more at ease to disclose emotional information, as it would elicit understanding and sympathy. This was not true in the case of an all-male group (as in, Arxer, 2011; Coates, 2003). Coates also mentions that men's conversations in a mixed-group setting may be met with challenges to the normative gender roles, when others –

specifically women – interrupt the narrative, ask questions and engage in self-disclosing topics, as part of a narrative play conventionally associated with femininity (Coates, 2003, p. 150-156). Opposite to this finding, Holmes and Stubbe’s (1997) sample of New Zealand conversations between men and women friends noticed that supportive feedback and questions from recipients aimed to facilitate the narrator’s story and were both used by men and women. However, male listeners asked more questions, drawing more unimportant details from the narrator and disrupting the structure of the narrative.

#### **D. Gossip in Men’s Talk**

Gossip is the idle conversations about the private lives of people, and essentially involves revealing secrets and confidential information about a third absent party. Gossipers engage in the evaluation and deprecation of an absent party’s behavior: they identify the absent party’s behavior as deviant from the normative standards and agreed customs of how the social world is structured around them. Gossipers mark themselves as insiders and draw social boundaries between a “we/us” and a “they/them”. Gossip can thus be used to distance the speaker from those who behave badly. This increases the social power within the group and establishes connections, friendships, and trust between the participants gossiping about an absent other (Eggins & Slade, 1997; Guendouzi, 2001; Holland, 1996).

Eggins and Slade (1997) identified a framework for analyzing gossip containing its three obligatory elements. To count as gossip, the conversation must have a third person focus, a substantiating behavior and a pejorative evaluation. The first element, “third person focus”, introduces the absent party and frames their deviance (from the norm) or inappropriate behavior. For this element to occur, the subject of the gossip must not be there during the time of the conversation and is not supposed to

know that they are being evaluated. While the “third person focus” sets the stage for the interpersonal focus on the person or people being gossiped about, the second element, the “substantiating behavior”, validates the judgment made about the absent party(s). Substantiating behavior comprises supporting evidence or information which provide interlocutors in the conversation with incentive to tune in and support the negative evaluation of the third party. A pejorative evaluation follows the substantiating behavior. Building up evidence against an absent other, interlocutors are able to share common views about what is considered normal behavior. The stage where further gossip is invited is called the “probe”. After this stage in talk, gossip can reach its final point for the speaker to summarize the conversational content in what is called a “wrap-up”.

Johnson and Finlay (1997) argue that gossip has often been associated with women’s talk because of the motivational function of the genre as meaningless, mindless and malicious conversational exchange about a third absent party. For this reason, many feminist linguists sought to explore and analyze this style of discourse in hopes of exploring how and why women gossip, especially in the comfort of their own private environments (as in, Coates, 1996; Jones, 1980; Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990). Deborah Jones (1980) was among the very first linguists to ascribe positive functions to women’s use of gossip. According to Jones (1980), women use gossip when they talk to each other in order to reflect their oppression and frustration with society. Gossip reflects women’s angry reaction to emphasize their limited freedom and contest men’s derogatory treatment. Women use gossip to detail and evaluate the social world around them. Coates (1996), Guendouzi (2001), and Tannen (1990) assert that women use

gossip not only to talk about their (repressed) roles in society, but also to establish a sense of solidarity and common identity as women.

In studying men's talk, the polarization between men and women's ways of speaking is made less relevant in the research on language and gender. Men use gossip to reinforce their masculine identities, create a hegemonic image of manhood, distance themselves from any deviant behavior such as homosexuality and women, and establish themselves as the most powerful members inside their groups. In assessing other individuals' deviance from the norm, men place themselves in a position of authority in comparison to the absent person in question. Men also cooperate to gossip to achieve solidarity and gain superiority over others in social groups (as in, Acuña-Ferreira, 2004; Cameron, 1997a; Coates, 2003; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Fidaoui & Bahous, 2013; Johnson, 1994; Johnson & Finlay, 1997).

A significant example is Deborah Cameron's (1997a) chapter on men's use of gossip. She focuses on what appears to be a seemingly casual and shallow talk between a group of men about the mundane events of their lives including work or class, drinking, and women. Cameron (1997a) considered gossip to be one conversational strategy found in an all-male talk of college students in their dorm room. The men in the study initiated and engaged in an evaluation of an absent male's deviant behavior, particularly when the latter did not fit the normative standards of masculinity: gay, homosexual, "the antithesis of a man" (Cameron, 1997a, p. 54). The deviance indicated in men's gossip is not so much a *sexual* deviance as it is a *gender* deviance. "Being 'gay' means failing to measure up to the group's standards of masculinity or femininity" (Cameron, 1997a, p. 53). Men's small talk also involved their boasts about sexual ventures with women accompanied by an evaluation of their performance.

Hence, men's gossip serves to aggressively criticize other men as "gay" and other women as "ugly" or "bitches". Men's use of gossip to construct an absent party as an outsider, whose behavior is closely examined and found lacking, helps to affirm their in-group solidarity as they cooperate and agree on a common agenda (Cameron, 1997a). Cameron (1997a) suggests that cooperation is a speech style attached to the concept of gossip.

Johnson (1994) and Johnson and Finlay (1997) also contribute to challenging the assumption that gossip is a predominantly female discourse genre. In both papers, Johnson (1994) and Johnson and Finlay (1997) focus their analysis on one form of sports talk in the program, football talk, to show that men use gossip. Their corpus is elicited from a television program that is hosted by two male hosts. When men use football talk in their public domain, at work for example, there is more to its function than exchanging information about players, teams and scores. In reality, when the men talk about football, a space conventionally created for men and by men, they create an artificial world of sports events and characters (footballing players and teams) and evaluate their performance (scores). Here, the men's concept of football talk is similar to a form of gossip; they are indulged in gossip. In doing so, men are able to protect their male bond away from women and assert their masculine values and status as a group that excludes women's ability to participate in the world of football (Johnson, 1997; Johnson & Finlay, 1997). A similar study by Acuña-Ferreira (2004) emphasizes the intense emotions associated with instances of gossip that the sports club men initiated to talk about football players and their score count on the field.

Fidaoui and Bahous (2013) joins previous research in identifying instances of gossip in men's talk during a game of cards at a coffeehouse, a space culturally

restricted to men and deemed hyper-masculine. Gossip was used as a strategy by men to provide an entertaining and humorous atmosphere for interlocutors and indirectly exert social superiority. Gossiping between the men at the café included confidential issues about absent individuals, such as their wives and friends. They evaluated their wives' attitudes, their absent friends' relationships with their own wives, and their unacceptable social behavior at the café. The men also used sarcasm and humorous remarks about an absent individual as a byproduct of gossiping. Fidaoui and Bahous (2013) concludes that men's use of gossip tends to create a friendly environment for them at the shisha place; it strengthens the friends' ties with one another, maintains their solidarity, and reinforces power relations.

In the literature on language and gender, it is often the case that men were not criticized for gossiping (Johnson, 1994; Jones, 1980). When men gossip, it is brushed over as casual conversation and justified as a mechanism to distance themselves from any behavior that deviates from the norms of masculinity. This gives them power and hierarchy in the social groups and environments they belong to (Fidaoui & Bahous, 2013; Cameron, 1997a; Coates, 2003; Johnson, 1994; Johnson & Finlay, 1997).

### **E. Gendered Speech Styles and the Workplace**

Early studies on the relationship between gender and workplace talk focused on reflecting the marginalization, subordination and exclusion of women from the public sphere and its institutions, one of these social institutions being the workplace (see Ainsworth-Vaughn, 1992; Bogoch, 1999; Case, 1993, 1994; Hall, 1995; Herrick, 1999; McElhinny, 1994, 1995; Tannen, 1999; West, 1984, 1990). To highlight women's disadvantage in the workplace, the scholarly work focused on how women's use of

language puts them at disadvantage, and subsequently led to their silencing and (sexual) harassment in their professions. Previous work also identified women's speech in the workplace as a people-oriented and cooperative style of discourse which functions to facilitate interactions with others. On the other hand, men's style of discourse was categorized as authoritative and direct; it functioned to promote social distance, control and power (over women) in the workplace (Cameron, 2005; Holmes, 2014; Kendall & Tannen, 1997). Cameron (2005) notes that women were not only at disadvantage in the workplace due to their segregation. Another hindrance was the negative value attached to the facilitative speech style they used in the workplace, a then-male-dominated environment. Thus, women were falsely perceived as less skillful than men in the workplace because they were not socialized to use the information-driven and competitive style of discourse necessary to fulfill high-end workplace positions.

### ***1. The Workplace as a Community of Practice***

In their essay "Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-based Practice" (1992), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet adopted the concept of the Community of Practice (CofP) to ground the study of language and gender in the investigation of the social and linguistic practices of particular people. A CofP is "an aggregate of people who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, and values – in short, practices" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 186). This means that individuals can use and manipulate language based on the different CofPs they belong to and engage in amidst social interaction. Cameron (1996, 1997b) highlights that this approach helps explain the relationship between language and gender through a more local lens that is based in

practice. To be a full member in a community, a speaker must share the basic practices, social meanings and speaking styles associated with that community. Those who do not have the privilege of full membership are considered outliers. Cameron (2005) adds that the CofP provides an array of possibilities as well as limitations to women and men, ones that affect their style of discourse based on the topics, functions and social networks found in that particular CofP at a particular time in history.

Most of the research looked at how women adjust their discourse strategies to accommodate and fit in a certain workplace culture, most of which was male-dominated at the time. For instance, Herrick (1999) discovered that the women who used an affective and cooperative discourse style at the office earned more economic and social power and had more chances of promotion at their work than those who assumed a strict, aggressive and authoritative stance when speaking with co-workers or employees. This is because the company's culture tends to the norms of a hegemonic femininity: it values conventionally feminine traits such as trust and care for its employers. Kira Hall (1995) conducted a study to explore the linguistic features phone sex workers, eleven women and one man, used in order to create a fictional or fantasy women. Hall (1995) argues that the workers used a stereotypically feminine style of speaking: empty adjectives, hedges, tag questions, intensifiers, continuous shifts in intonation, and high pitch voices. Their creative use of linguistic resources was in line with the normatively feminine workplace they work in, and consequently, empowered them economically.

Bonnie McElhinny (1994, 1995) offer a noteworthy contrast to Hall's work. McElhinny (1995) evaluates the gendered discourse strategies that female police officers take up in comparison to male police officers at a Pittsburgh police station. She finds that the women assume a masculine speech style to fit into their job due to the

nature of the policing profession as predominantly reserved for men. For the police women to do their job successfully, they use a lot of interruptions, long pauses and silence, to construct an emotionally distant gendered identity, which is analogous to the linguistic features their male colleagues use at work as well (McElhinny, 1994, 1995). McElhinny (1995) clarifies that women and men's appropriation of hegemonic discourses of masculinity and femininity at the workplace serves to gain or control power. Also, and more importantly, it details the effect of gendered workplaces on the style of discourse used. McElhinny (1995) points out that that the "gender of the workplace is determined not only by the presence, or even predominance, of women or men in it but also by cultural norms and interpretations of gender that dictate who is best suited for different sorts of employment" (p. 221).

## ***2. Purpose of Workplace Talk***

Holmes (2005) argues that workplace talk is multi-functional and can perform a wide continuum of functions, mainly transactional or interpersonal functions. The transactional workplace talk is used to further the objectives of a company or business and construct a professional stance at work. This kind of talk is characterized as relevant, informative and context-bound. It is relevant the workplace's core objectives and attends to its particular needs. It is informative because it is dependent on the resources and knowledge dispensed at the workplace. It is context-bound because it is focuses on conversations that relate directly to the workplace tasks. On the other hand, interpersonal talk at the workplace is achieved when conversational strategies are used to construct the individual's social identity, including their gender at the workplace. Interpersonal communication is highly beneficial when it comes to maintaining

collegial ties and social cohesion among professionals between individuals at work. Interpersonal workplace talk is social at heart, minimally informative and context-free. It can also be a digression from the transactional talk in the workplace (Holmes, 2005; Holmes & Marra, 2005). Holmes & Marra (2005) and Koester (2004) note that communication which takes place at the workplace is not always about work, and even if it is, individuals and groups in the workplace do not always focus exclusively on the business or service at hand. In fact, people working together pay attention to the interpersonal goals and take into account their relationships with others, even while they are interacting for work or business.

Holmes (2008) points out that the stylistic diversity which women and men may effectively adopt at the workplace helps to challenge the negative stereotypes that perpetuate the subordination and marginalization of women (and some men) in different workplaces. It is important to bear in mind that ways of speaking at the workplace do not directly index particular gender performances, but rather do so indirectly through their associations with particular roles and stances (Ochs, 1992). This also means that gender performances at the workplace are in continuous flux and must be creatively and repeatedly negotiated by individuals and groups in accordance with their different professional roles and situations at work (Holmes, 2008). Gender affects how individuals perceive the behavior of others in different workplaces and different kinds of workplace discourse. Individuals are also affected by the behavioral constraints and the gendered norms that are most salient in workplace culture and interaction. Individuals at the workplace actively draw on gendered discourse strategies, not only to instantiate their gender and work identities, but sometimes to also challenge the restrictive and hegemonic gender norms in the workplace and enact authority (Holmes,

2006). Thus, gender is an inescapable lens through which workplace performances are viewed (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Holmes, 2008; Kendall & Tannen, 199).

### ***3. Workplace Stories and Gossip***

Storytelling is a linguistic resource for constructing social identity at the workplace. Professionals may use stories to present and regulate various kinds of gendered identities and make sense of their social world (Coates, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 1997; Johnstone, 2001). Findings from Eggins and Slade (1997) and Holmes (2005) suggest that workplace narratives serve to invoke supportive elements of talk, conventionally associated with femininity, and helps the speakers connect with each other. A similar finding is indicated in Tannen (1999), in which a story is used in a conversational exchange between a boss and his employee. After an editor-in-chief enquires about his employee's health during office hours, the latter answers his question, sharing what happened to him and how his sickness went away. In this case, the story comes in the service of solidarity in order to minimize the imbalance of power between the two professionals. Workplace narratives would then provide the linguistic opportunity to build solidarity whilst getting work done (Holmes, 2005, 2009).

Holmes (2006) also argues that the men and women in her study share stories as a linguistic resource available to them at the workplace to reflect a people-oriented and supportive environment during meetings, a characteristic associated with the nature of their workplace context as predominantly feminine. Her participants engage and co-construct workplace narratives as a linguistic tool to construct their gender identities in addition to establishing group membership inside their professional world. Holmes (2005, 2009) suggest that workplace narratives, unlike business reports, are effectively used to construct and highlight different facets in an individual's identity, as it can

indirectly index their professional and gender identity. Specifically, Holmes argues that while workplace stories may appear to serve primarily social functions, constructing a particular kind of personal or social identity, they are often concurrently doing transactional work, and contributing to the complex professional identities of people at work (2005, p. 678).

Another important discursive strategy found in workplace communication to achieve varied social purposes is gossip. Gossip is a type of off-record small talk that is described as sneaking workplace interaction between individuals (Holmes, 2008, 2006a). While it may be regarded as a marginal and disruptive activity which usually interferes with workplace needs, Holmes (2008, 2015) argue that, from a sociolinguistic perspective, gossip is a form of small talk that is crucial for building rapport and maintaining good workplace relations, including those between service-provider and client or between colleagues. In effect, gossip can contribute to the construction of different facets of one's social identity at the workplace as well, including professional and gender identities. Eggins and Slade (1997) join forces in emphasizing the significance of gossip in their research on workplace gossip in a mixed-gender setting between colleagues during meetings or in outside office dinners and coffee breaks. They demonstrate that gossip has two fundamental social functions: gossip functions as a form of social control but also helps to establish and strengthen cohesion between individuals in the workplace. Like Eggins and Slade (1997), Holmes (2006) attests that gossip is not reserved for women in stereotypically feminine workplace contexts (such as hairdressing, women's healthcare, call center, and supermarket). Both women and men engage in gossip in their workplace talk, even though its topics may be gendered, and its abundance and function might be varied depending on the norms and culture of

the workplace (Holmes, 2006). For instance, some of the New Zealand workplaces in Holmes' (2006) study are female-dominated, and so one of the most common topics of gossip circulated between its female participants related to family matters. Thus, workplace talk and mainly gossip may be affected by gender, but it also depends on the type of workplace and its social norms and cultural constraints (as shown in Holmes, 2006, 2008, 2009).

In a number of studies, episodes of gossip are observed to interweave with workplace narratives. There lies difficulty in demonstrating where one discourse strategy begins and the other ends (Eggins & Slade, 1997; Holmes, 2005, 2006, 2009; Holmes & Marra, 2005).

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### **A. Purpose and Context of the Study**

The aim of the present study is to examine the linguistic behavior of men in hairdressing. Using naturally occurring spoken discourse, this research study focused on exploring the conversational strategies male hairdressers use when conversing with female clientele at the hair salon. Analyzing men's conversations with their female clients during hair salon sessions delineates the dynamics of their gendered and professional identities. Of particular interest was whether the participants used language to enact professional roles more indexical of the environment in which they work, or to structure a gender identity that is more in line with hegemonic masculinity. The study also sheds light on the participants' own understanding of what it means to be a man in hairdressing as well as their perception of the social and professional roles they perform in their interaction with clients.

The research setting is the hair salon, a workplace identified as a sociocultural hub long associated with being an all-women exclusive site for hair care, comfort and social talk (see Algharabali, 2014; Baghel & Gupta, 2014; Barber, 2008; Eayrs, 1993; Gimlin, 1996; Jacobs-Huey, 2006a, 2006b; Liebelt, 2016; Lindsay, 2004; Majors, 2001, 2003, 2004; Soulliere, 1997). The hair salon is a service-oriented workplace because it provides hair care services and particularly tailors to women's aesthetic and emotional needs. The hair salon is culturally coded as feminine because it occupies a predominant female presence, consisting mainly of female workers and female clients. Femininity and feminine bodies are also highly valued in the hairdressing industry for hairdressers

and clients alike. The characterization of the hair salon as feminine is also due to the stereotypically feminine practices involved in hairdressing and the social roles its workers must perform to ensure financial growth and loyal customers (Gimlin, 1996, Huppertz, 2012; Nordberg, 2002; Robinson, Hall & Hockey, 2011). The hair salon is a workplace where hairdressers not only take care of hair but also engage in sensitive discussions with clients. Thus, emotional competence on part of hairdressers is necessary in their conversations with clients to build rapport and establish trust. Hairdressers engage in emotion work to put their clients at ease, working in close proximity to transform a visible aspect of a client's body—their hair (Huppertz, 2012).

The researcher carried out this study in one independently-owned hair and beauty salon under the pseudonym *Chic*, which caters its hairdressing and beauty services to women only. The hair salon is in Hamra area in Beirut, Lebanon. *Chic* is a two-floored parlor with only one main entrance. The salon interior is decorated fashionably with off-white walls and comfortable black upholstered chairs. The main floor after the entrance door includes a cashier area at the left side, a black-leather couch for clients to sit while they wait, and three working stations to the right. The working stations are faced with a horizontal-long mirror, which allows clients to view their hairstyling process as it gets done (as in the field site in Soulliere, 1997, p. 45). A big television screen is positioned on the ceiling, so it faces the couch, usually displaying fashion, music or Quran recitation channels. A huge shelf before the stairs to the downstairs floor is filled with different hair products neatly displayed. Downstairs, there are two rooms and a bathroom. While the two rooms are not as spacious as the room in the main entrance floor, the former provide a more private space than the one upstairs. The bigger room of the two has four working stations, and it is where the wash

and color hair treatments are mainly worked out by the hairdressers. The third and final room is the smallest and situated next to the chairs; it is the area typically used for waxing, manicures and pedicures. The salon is also equipped with cameras on both floors, excluding the lastly mentioned room. The presence of cameras ensures security to its owner. Often, whenever the hairdressers or their female colleagues finish their tasks and appointments, they sit outside the salon. There is a small space outside the salon, with a plastic table and chairs, where hairdressers take their coffee breaks, smoke a cigarette, check their phones and relax until the next client walks in. Those who work at the salon also invite their clients to sit outside with them to smoke a cigarette or drink coffee before or after their appointment.

Most of *Chic*'s clients are regulars and generally book their appointments at the parlor in advance via a phone call or personal drop-in. Occasional or walk-in customers also visit the hair salon from time to time. When a hair appointment is in order, the hairdresser greets the incoming client—usually by their first name or the honorific *Madame*. The hairdresser then guides the client to one of the vacant chairs and offers refreshments like coffee or water. After the hairstyling session is over, the client usually pays the salon owner and they exchange goodbyes. The researcher herself has been a regular customer for eight years now. She is also acquainted with all the service-providers at the salon. For this reason, the researcher was provided access to *Chic* after its owner's approval.

## **B. Participants**

Most of the literature on workplace talk in hair and beauty salons focuses on (African American) women in hairdressing salons (see Jacobs-Huey, 2006) and in

beauty salons (see Garzanati, Pearce & Stanton, 2011; Toerien & Kitzinger, 2007), African American men in barbershops (see Franklin, 1985; Jones, 1987), hairstyling trainees and coaches in hair care teaching centers (see Jacobs-Huey, 2003, 2006), and men as clients in hair salons (see Barber, 2005). This research tackles men in hairdressing, an underrepresented case in preceding research, especially from a sociolinguistic angle (Huppatz, 2012; Lindsay, 2004; Robinson et al., 2011).

*Chic* is a small establishment that engages a number of professionals in hair and beauty services; because of that, the participants can be studied thoroughly. Saleh is *Chic*'s owner. Saleh is a Lebanese male and full-time hairdresser in his forties. He has been working as a hairdresser in *Chic* for about 28 years. Before opening his own salon, Saleh started working at a salon in his early teens and then went into a hairdressing institute to study the business. He also completed several internships in different salons in Lebanon and attended courses and workshops outside the country to gain the needed hairdressing expertise. He also received a hairdressing certificate which allowed him to later open his own salon. There are two other male hairdressers who work at the salon as employees. Mahmoud is one of them; he works full-time and comes in the morning to assist Saleh in his hairdressing appointments and stays with him until the salon closes. Mahmoud is Lebanese and is in his mid-twenties. He has worked at *Chic* for 13 years. Mahmoud received his diploma in hairdressing from a Lebanese institute. He then had an internship in one salon for four years; after that, he worked in several salons in Achrafieh, Hamra and Clemenceau before settling in *Chic*. Omar is another part-time Lebanese hairdresser who recently came back to work at the parlor to work during the afternoon shifts. He first started as a full-time hairdresser at *Chic* when he was 14 years old and stayed for seven years. He later opened his own salon and worked there for 8

years; however, he had to close his business and come back to work temporarily at *Chic* and assist Saleh in what he needs. Saleh and Omar are close family friends.

Of the three male hairdressers, Saleh has the most experience with at least twenty years in hairdressing to his credit. All hairdressers participate in a full gamut of hairstyling tasks that include cutting, trimming, blow-drying, coloring, curling and styling hair. However, Saleh never washes his clients' hair; instead, Mahmoud, Omar or the female salon assistant Faten do so. With Faten's help, Mahmoud and Omar also take care of other routinely mundane tasks that include sweeping up hair, sorting the hair salon's weekly towel laundry, and emptying the garbage. They also engage in clerical errands such as answering the phone. At all times albeit, Saleh, Mahmoud, Faten and sometimes Omar work as a team, helping each other in the hairdressing sessions with clients. It is worth mentioning that while Faten is not a participant in this study, she actively and rather quietly participates in the hairdressing process, helping any of the male hairdressers during their clients' appointments, whether it be in washing, blow-drying or prepping the client for her session. During the appointment, she stays close and observes while the male hairdressers work. Sarah is the salon's only full-time beautician, cosmetician and hairdresser. She is responsible for make-up sessions with clients, pedicure and manicure services, waxing and the occasional haircuts and hair styles for specific clients, especially veiled women. While Sarah is not a participant in the study either, she is an active participant in many of the interactions that take place between the male hairdressers and their clients. Sarah is also Saleh's wife, making *Chic* a family business.

The participants worked most in their afternoons. Saleh opens the salon every day except Sunday at 8:30 AM. Mahmoud and Sarah arrive later in the morning and

Omar works in the afternoon. Saleh closes his salon at 7:00 PM on every working day, unless there is a late and pressing appointment previously agreed on with his female clients. The salon's busiest times are its weekend and before and during the holiday season.

After the university's Institutional Review Board's (IRB) approval of this research project and before data collection took place, participants signed an informed written consent form, in English or Arabic depending on the language of their preference, whereby they officially agreed to participate in the study and expressed their readiness to have their conversations at the salon tape-recorded. Faten and Sarah gave their oral consent. As for their female clientele, a sign at the entrance door near the cashier area was placed during every recording session, and at every customer-walk-in, oral consent and an explanation of the study were given. For ethical consideration, pseudonyms for all the people interacting at the hair salon were used to protect their identity.

### **C. Research Questions**

This qualitative study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How do men in hairdressing use storytelling with their female clientele to negotiate facets of their professional and gender identities?
  - a. What are the common topics of conversation that occur when hairdressers share stories with their clients?
  - b. What is the purpose of storytelling when used by the male hairdressers in their conversations with female clients?

- c. What are the different types of storytelling that male hairdressers use in their conversations with female clients? What is/are the function(s) of each kind of the storytelling genre?
      - d. How does each type of storytelling contribute to the construction of the participants' identity as men in hairdressing?
- 2. How do men in hairdressing use gossip with their female clientele to negotiate facets of their professional and gender identities?
  - a. What are the common topics of conversation that occurs when hairdressers gossip with their clients?
  - b. What is the purpose of gossip when used by the male hairdressers in their conversations with female clients?
  - c. What is/are the function(s) of gossip episodes in storytelling when used by participants during their conversations with female clients?
  - d. How does gossip contribute to the construction of the participants' identity as men in hairdressing?
- 3. What does it mean to be a man in hairdressing, a non-traditional occupation conventionally reserved for women and predominantly female?
  - a. According to the participants in the study, what are the social meanings attached to being a hairdresser working in a hair salon for female clients?
  - b. According to the participants in the study, how do their interactions with female clientele shape their identity as men in hairdressing?

- c. How does the male hairdressers' use of the conversational strategies, storytelling and gossip, contribute to the construction of their gender identity at the hair salon?

#### **D. The Corpus and the Interviews**

The corpus of this study consists of approximately 2.5 hours of naturally-occurring conversations between the men in the hairdressing salon and their female clientele. Since the study takes place in only one female hair salon, and is therefore a particular case, it was imperative to record for a substantial period of time, nearly four months. The recording process started on Saturday, November 19, 2016 and the last conversation at the hair salon was delivered on Friday, March 24, 2017. Recording sessions occurred twice per week for about two to five hours per day. The participants did not accept having recorders with binaural microphones for self-recording; instead, audio-recorders were placed near their working spaces in the salon during their shifts. Two audio recorders were used to document the conversations at the hair salon. Most of the time, they were placed in each of the two floors and on the nearest counter where the stations are located and where the male hairdressers usually perform their hairdressing tasks with clients. The researcher was present during most of the conversations, taking field notes to accompany the recordings and operating the tape-recorders to ensure that the conversations are saved. Sometimes, the researcher stayed in either floors where no clients were present or went for a walk outside the hair salon. This was done in order not to affect or interfere in the hair salon conversations, especially when clients stayed quiet or inquired about the details of the study and

consequently changed the course of their informal talks with the participants. The conversations were later transcribed for analysis.

Forty conversations between hairdressers and clientele were recorded, a total of ten hours of naturally occurring workplace talk at the salon. Only twenty-one of the total recorded conversations were transcribed and will serve as the corpus of this study (Appendix IV). The deleted conversations were almost-silent hairdressing sessions where minimal communication beyond greeting was established between the hairdresser and his client. Moreover, task-oriented talk in the preamble of recordings, such as talk related to hair consultations, client-hairdresser negotiation of cutting, styling, coloring and treating the hair as well as price negotiations were omitted. The remainder of the deleted conversations were interactions between speakers that were impossible to decipher because of the background noise in the salon and from the outside street. The first five minutes of each conversation were omitted. This is because speakers are usually highly alert and nervous in the presence of a recording device. Only after a bit of time in the conversation can the speakers become more relaxed and less self-conscious with the idea that their talk is being recorded. When this occurred, the conversations at the hair salon were more natural.

The transcription process started after all the conversations were delivered and collected. The conversations were organized chronologically and based on the different clients involved in workplace talk. Some conversations feature the same client in different hairdressing sessions. The data were transcribed based on the Library of Congress Key for Arabic Romanization (Appendix II) and the transcription conversations were adapted from Jennifer Coates's (2003) and Eggins and Slade's

(1997) keys for the transcription of discourse (Appendix III). Table 1 below summarizes details about the corpus transcribed and analyzed.

Table 1. Summary of Transcribed Recordings

<b>Conversation Reference</b>	<b>Client's Name</b>	<b>Duration</b>
A	Madame Sandra	4 minutes
B	Madame Samira	14 minutes
C	Madame Linda	11 minutes
D	Celina	15 minutes
E	Lidia	22 minutes
F	Madame Afaf	3 minutes
G	Celina	11 minutes
H	Celina	2 minutes
I	Celina	2 minutes
J	Celina	3 minutes
K	Madame Layla	4 minutes
L	Donya	6 minutes
M	Sandy	10 minutes
N	Amanda	13 minutes
O	Dima	4 minutes
P	Sandy	5 minutes
Q	Madame Lamia	6 minutes
R	Nina	5 minutes
S	Dima	4 minutes
T	Celina	2 minutes
U	Sandy	8 minutes
Total = 21 conversations	Total = 13 clients	Approximately 2.5 hours of naturally occurring conversations

Along with the corpus comprising the transcribed conversations, semi-structured interviews were carried out with the three participants before entering the field site for observation and recording and after the last recording session. Each interview lasted for almost forty minutes. The interview questions were divided into pre-recording and post-

recording occasions, and the researcher scheduled early appointments at the salon to interview the participants during non-workings hours to guarantee that no interruptions from a third-party occurred during the individual interview. The pre-recording interview questions with participants elicited general background information about the participant's nationality, place of birth, training experience in the profession and his opinion regarding what it means to be a hairdresser. As for the post-recording period, the interview with the participant included questions pertaining to his perceptions of how (he as) a hairdresser interacts with the clients in the salon. A copy of the interview questions is provided in Appendix I, in English and their corresponding Arabic translation. The interviews aimed at soliciting personal input from the participants on how they believe they behave and speak in their working environment. The interviews were conducted to gain better and deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences in hairdressing from their own perspective. The interviews solicit opinions, experiences and thoughts from the subjects under study that otherwise cannot be directly observed. The interviews also help determine the type of relationships that exist between the hairdressers and their clients. Cumulatively, audio-recordings, participant-observation of the interactions between the hairdressers and their clients, and semi-structured interviews with the participants constituted the archive of the research.

### **E. Analytic Framework**

The essence of this study lies in the two main conversational strategies that have received substantial attention in language and gender research: storytelling (Coates, 1996, 2003; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Holmes, 1997; Johnstone, 1993; Kiesling, 2005, 2006; Labov, 1997, 2006; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) and gossip (Acuña-Ferreira,

2004; Cameron, 1997a; Coates, 2003; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Fidaoui & Bahous, 2013; Guendouzi, 2001; Jones, 1980; Johnson & Finlay, 1997; Kiesling, 2005; Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990). The use of storytelling and gossip in workplace talk is one focus within language and gender studies. Holmes (2005, 2006a, 2006b), Holmes & Marra (2005) and Eggins & Slade (1997) studied the interpersonal form of communication in workplace discourse, specifically gossip and storytelling. It is argued that gossip and storytelling help speakers foster social connections with colleagues and clientele while simultaneously and continuously constructing their gender and social identities in different workplace settings and situations (Holmes, 1997, 2005, 2006a, 2006b; Holmes & Marra, 2005).

Eggins & Slade (1997) distinguish between two types of storytelling that take place in casual conversation, anecdotes and narratives of personal experience. Anecdotes are used to solicit a reaction such as laughter, frustration or awe as a result of telling a remarkable event or crisis to an audience. The tellability of the anecdote depends on the shared cultural knowledge between the interlocutors in a conversation. An anecdote is made up of the following elements: abstract, orientation, remarkable event, reaction and coda. The abstract is an initial clause that comes at the beginning of the anecdote to introduce the story and set up expectations about how it will be told. Then, the orientation in an anecdote provides specific contextual information about the place, time, and characters of the story. This is followed by sharing the remarkable event or climax, which disrupts the usual order of the story's event and excites the listener to hear more. An anecdote's significance heavily relies on the next stage, the reaction stage. This is the part where the speaker reacts to their own story without an explicit resolution of what happened. Their audience might show a (mutual) reaction in

the conversation. While an anecdote might end with the speaker and/or interlocutor's reaction, it may be followed by a final clause, or coda, to announce that the story is over or provide a summary to reiterate why it was important and worth-telling.

Unlike anecdotes, for a story to be considered a narrative, it must indicate a resolution or evaluation. Narratives function to recapitulate real life events and personal experiences from the past in order to reach a conclusion in the story being told (Eggins & Slade, 1997; Labov, 1997). To identify where narrative occurs in conversation, Labov (1997) divides its overall structure into six elements: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation and coda. The most important component in a narrative is the evaluation stage in which the narrator provides information on the results of the narrative and reflects on their attitudes and beliefs. In this stage, the narrator evaluates the events of the story by comparing them to what could or should have happened instead.

Holmes (1997) suggests that while stories may appear marginal in conversation, their presence greatly contributes to the active construction of masculine and feminine identities in alignment, subversion or contest to the dominant gender norms and cultural ideology. Coates (2003) claims that men and women tell stories to build solidarity with their counterparts. Coates (1996) and Johstone (1993) argue that men tell stories to highlight competition and appear as heroes or protagonists in their stories while women narrate their stories to create a sense of community with other women. Coates (2003) and Holmes (2005, 2006a, 2006b) note that men and women tell stories at work to highlight their professionalism in front of clients and/or co-workers, share a moral lesson to mentor others in lower authoritative positions at work, and create or strengthen relational bonds with others in the workplace. Stories may also

accomplish workplace objectives whilst told to amuse or entertain co-workers or clients (Holmes & Marra, 2005).

Gossip is another important discourse strategy to build rapport and maintain good ties at the workplace (Holmes, 2008, 2015). Gossip is a form of off-record small talk about an absent party. Gossip is usually considered evaluative because it is mainly involved in judging an absent person's attributes or behavior as deviant from the relevant cultural norms. Gossip is also highly interactive because it requires the collaboration of the social group within which the gossiper is sharing their opinion; recipients confirm their interest in the subject and provide feedback to the main gossiper. Gossip's co-constructed and evaluative feature gives rise to its socializing power because it helps reinforce and maintain the values of the social group (Eggins & Slade, 1997; Guendouzi, 2001; Holland, 1996). According to Eggins & Slade (1997), gossip must contain a pejorative evaluation of an absent party's deviant behavior. For a section of any conversation to be counted as gossip, the speaker must first introduce the absent party who is carrying the deviant behavior in what is called the third person focus stage. The gossiper then provides supporting evidence to legitimize the judgment being made and gain the support of their audience. This is followed by a pejorative evaluation in which the initial gossiper or other interlocutors presents further evidence about the absent party's substantiating behavior and share their (common) points of view about the individual being evaluated. The gossip episode can then proceed if any of the interlocutors ask questions or react to the behavior of the absent party. This stage of the gossip session is optional and is named a probe. Several probes can occur in gossip. The gossiper or their interlocutor(s) can also provide a wrap-up to summarize the person or situation through a final remark.

Eggins & Slade (1997) and Holmes (2006) agree that gossip is not reserved for women; both women and men use gossip in their workplace talk in order to achieve in-group solidarity. Men like women engage in off-record talk in conventionally masculine settings – at bars, in fraternity meet-ups and elections, in front of a football match, barbershops, etc., to reinforce solidarity with other men. In judging others as deviant from the gender order, men construct their gender identity in a way that aligns them with the proper ways of being men in their culture and helps them to compete for popularity and status against others in diverse contexts. In the workplace, men and women alike engage in gossip to establish social cohesion. The gender of interlocutors and the norms of the workplace culture are factors that play a role in the presence and abundance of gossip initiated. Episodes of gossip may also appear within workplace stories (Eggins & Slades, 1997; Holmes, 2005, 2009; Holmes & Marra, 2005).

The definitions, elements and sociolinguistic functions of anecdotes, narratives and gossip were adopted in this research study and formed the basis for subsequent analysis and discussion. Based on the definitions by Eggins and Slade (1997) and Labov (1997), the researcher divided each conversation that took place in the hair salon into sections of narrative, anecdote or gossip. To answer the research questions, the researcher first listed the main topics of anecdotes, narratives of personal experience, and gossip involved in the corpus. The researcher then answered the research questions related to the general purpose and social function(s) of each conversational strategy in order to deduce their contribution to the construction of the participants' gender and professional identities. In doing so, the researcher was able to build a profile for each of the three male hairdressers in the research study. The semi-structured ethnographic

interviews were used to complement the analysis of the social meanings and types of interactions attached to being a man in hairdressing through the eyes of the participants.

#### **F. Limitations of the Study**

The male hairdressers share relatively long histories, family bonds and friendships with their co-workers and regular clients in the salon. Saleh and his wife Sarah have worked together in the parlor since they were married. Saleh and Sarah have known Omar for more than twelve years, and they are family friends. Mahmoud has worked at Saleh's salon for more than nine years. The clients at *Chic* are mostly regular clients, and therefore, share a long-term professional relationship with the male hairdressers, especially the owner and his wife. In this study, the talk of male hairdressers reflects an acquaintance or friendship of mutual trust, respect and care with their clients and with their colleagues. For this reason, it was sometimes challenging to understand the topic under discussion and identify the relationship between the speakers and the people in their conversations. It was also difficult to detect background information about the clients' nationality, age, and specific relationship with the hairdressers at the salon. The researcher could not interact with the clients so as not to intrude on their talks with the hairdressers and to minimize their awareness of being recorded after the first few minutes of informing them about the study.

Because audio-recordings were used as a methodological instrument in the parlor, the researcher was unable to observe paralanguage such as facial expressions and body language, a limitation to any research with naturally-occurring conversations as its focus. Intonation from the recorded data encompasses the only marker to indicate anger, confusion, annoyance, content and any other feelings that speakers expressed

during the time of the conversations in the corpus. Other limitations included the technical difficulties generated from the use of tape recorders in the field site. Because the salon is located on a busy street, there was continuous background noise that affected the sound and quality of the recordings, sometimes making them incomprehensible to transcribe. Hair salon blow dryers and other electronic devices such as cellphones, iPads, and the music from the TV set also affected the intelligibility of the recordings many times when conversations ensued. Since only one recorder was placed on each floor of the salon, and the male hairdressers usually worked in both floors during one hairdressing session, there was some inconsistency in recording a full conversation in one room. A final limitation not to overlook is the researcher's bias in data analysis and observation, which is present in any qualitative study, and especially when it is a case study. This is acknowledged in discussion of results to highlight the effect of reflexivity in such research (Blommaert & Jie, 2010).

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### **A. Anecdotes, Narratives, and Gossip in the Corpus**

Analysis of the corpus comprised the isolation of anecdotes, narratives and gossip sessions. The stories shared in the hair salon were of two kinds: anecdotes based on Eggins and Slade (1997) and narratives of personal experience based on Labov (1997). The gossip found in the casual conversations between the hairdressers and their clients was identified according to Eggins and Slade (1997). The following are extracts from the corpus which serve to illustrate how sections of anecdotes, narratives, and gossip were selected.

In the following example of an anecdote from conversation E, the owner and hairdresser Saleh shares a story of failure he encountered after his client Lidia asks about his small business of selling a low-cost straightener, a hair styling tool, at the salon. Without hesitation, Saleh is quick to inform Lidia that his business incurred financial loss. He concludes that running a hair and beauty salon these days is becoming similar to opening a grocery shop. Saleh's anecdote solicits laughter and leads him to highlight the significance of his own story in relation to the present moment. He shares his thoughts about the reality of the hairdressing business now and then with a hint of sarcasm, and his client agrees with his expert opinion. The anecdote is also part of a larger conversation and follows a lengthy discussion about the quality of the hair treatment products the client bought from the salon a few months ago.

Example 1:

- 1 Lidia: ma ‘ad jibit min hayda...? /
- 2 Saleh: Ifair? /  
fawwatne bil hitan / *[Abstract]*
- 3 Lidia: le? /
- 4 Saleh: le? /  
li’ano ana iza bidde ekhod si’ir /  
fi nes ‘am tekhdod ribi’ lribi’ li ana bidde ekhdo /  
ya’ne ana fiyye- rif’ate- awwal waḥad jebo ma’o ‘a libnen min sinten /  
*[Abstract and Orientation]*
- 5 Lidia: ε /
- 6 Saleh: ken ‘am yekhdod ‘le khamisa w ‘ishrin dollar bi saida /  
huwwε jebo ma’o awwal waḥad /  
ya’ne ana lamma shifto ken ba’dne ḥemil minno /  
rfi’ε hon /  
ah... ‘am ya’mlo bkhamisa w ‘ishrin alf /  
lbe’ε ‘am ya’mli bi khams talef / *[Abstract and Orientation]*
- 7 Lidia: bas ma bistarje a’ milon /  
<laughs>
- 8 Saleh: ε /
- 9 Lidia: li bya’mil bi khamse ma bistarje fut la ‘ando ’illo ‘milε /  
barke attashle sha’re ma bfut /  
bas inta inno la’ ino... fut feya /
- 10 Saleh: mballa /

- manno ah... manne mi'tini' fi /
- 11 Lidia: ba'den smallah shu sar fi salonet hon 'ala tul /  
'am bifarkho /  
byijilon le niswen ktir hek? /  
kil maḥallet li tyeb sakkarit /
- 12 Saleh: 'am 'illik sayra maslaḥitna mitil bayye'in lkhodra / **[Remarkable Event]**
- 13 Lidia: maḥallet tyeb sakkarit w fataḥ maḥala mne'ish! /
- 14 Saleh: huwwe li 'am yije 'al masilḥa... /  
kil waḥad ma'o shwayyit masare /  
biruḥ bijammi' mwazfin byiftaḥlon maḥal /  
hayda li 'am yikhla' lmasilḥa / **[Coda]**
- 15 Lidia: ε aw waḥad masalan- /  
biruḥo byidirso 'and [...] <sup>1</sup> w byiftaḥo /
- 16 Saleh: lik ya ekhte ana ma'ande maktab /  
ino hayda lzalame rayiḥ ḥatit brasso yijdiba /  
bas ino waḥad makhaso bil masilḥa- /
- 17 Lidia: ε /
- 18 Saleh: yije yiftaḥ hal business /  
huwwe li'an sheyif ino mumkin ykun shaghal... /  
la' - hayde hayde [lfikra] / **[Coda]**

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the Lebanese foundation was omitted. It is a private non-governmental organization that offers low-cost courses and vocational training for the community in Lebanon.

19 Lidia: [ε!] /

20 Saleh: ya'ne ana bitzakkar min zamen /

ino ana ba'd ino- ken yiftah maḥal bikun ma'o shhedε /

ana shi- shtaghalet sine w nos /

lamma 'rift hek riḥet darasta... w akhadṭ shhedε / *[Coda]*

21 Lidia: halla' kerse! /

(Translation: Lidia: you stopped bringing that...? / Saleh: the hair straightener? It got me in trouble / Lidia: why? / Saleh: why? Because even if I sell it, other hairdressers are providing much cheaper offers for their customers, my friend was the first hairdresser to sell it in Lebanon two years ago / Lidia: yes / Saleh: he was selling it for twenty five dollars in Saida, my friend was the first to market and sell this brand of hair straightener in Lebanon, but now, they are selling it for fifteen thousand Lebanese pounds and others are offering it for only five thousand Lebanese pounds / Lidia: I wouldn't dare do my hair in these salons that use a cheap hair straightener <laughs> / Saleh: yes / Lidia: I wouldn't dare walk into the hair salon that buys a hair straightener for such a cheap price, what if it ruins my hair? I wouldn't walk in, but well, you should get in the business / Saleh: yes, but I am not convinced in selling this hairstyling tool anymore / Lidia: besides, so many salons suddenly opened on this street, how is this even possible and do they even have female clientele? So many clothing shops closed / Saleh: I'm telling you, opening a salon nowadays is no different than opening a grocery shop / Lidia: clothing shops have closed to be replaced by pastry shops, where does this leave us! / Saleh: nowadays, those who are opening a hair salon are people who have money in

their pockets, they gather a bunch of employees to work at the salon, this is what's starting up the hairdressing business around here / Lidia: yes, or they go and study at [...] and start their own business / Lidia: my sister, I don't even have an office when I started my own business, if this guy wants to play dumb, especially when he isn't qualified to be in this business in the first place- / Lidia: yeah / Saleh: comes and opens a hair salon because he thinks it's going to bring him profit, that's not reasonable / Lidia: yeah! / Saleh: I remember in the old days, when I wanted to open a hair salon, I had to study and get a permit to open my salon, I also worked for a year and a half, and when I knew I needed a license to practice hairdressing, I studied the business to get its certificate / Lidia: now, it is a disaster!)

In the extensive narrative also from Conversation E, Saleh shares four sequential stories with Lidia concerning several clients who were not honest with him about their past hair experiences in other salons or the products and treatments previously applied to their hair. He explains that a client's dishonesty, clumsiness, or lack of clarity can lead to near-fatal mistakes when working with their hair. With Lidia listening attentively to his narration, Saleh infers how each of his four clients did not know what was best for them and their hair. Throughout the narrative, he gives his professional point of view and repeatedly evaluates the situation. Conversation E includes prior discussions between the hairdresser and his client about car mechanical inspections and the recently enforced Lebanese laws associated with it as well as an explanation of the hair care task and its procedure. Despite the fact that many sections of the entire narrative are interrupted by short moments of discussion, it still satisfies all the components which would make a section of conversation qualify as a narrative. The

following extract comprises a short narrative within the longer narrative, including only one client's story from Saleh's personal experience in hairdressing.

Example 2:

- 1 Saleh: walla ma bikun lha' 'al coiffeur ya'ne / **[Abstract]**  
ana sarit ma'ε min jume'ten /  
ijit la 'andε wiħde... /  
sha'ra min hone hek /  
shifte haydal lon /  
hek, bas hek min hon w binnezil w a'ba' shwayyε zghire lrasin /  
w rasina tali' aswad /  
'alitle bas badde 'amil highlight fetih /  
'iltilla okay /  
'iltilla- 'iltilla hayda min hon w binnezil /  
'iltilla hayda mas- ken mfattaħ w ba'den rej'a mghammi'ti? /  
'alitle la' / **[Abstract and Orientation]**  
min ba'd ma ballashtilla bil highlight /  
bitwarjine ino kenit 'amle sha'ra rmede! / **[Orientation and Complicating Action]**
- 2 Lidia: yi! /
- 3 Saleh: rmedε rmedε! /  
ya'ne rmedε, bta'rfε rfi'tik kif rfi'tik mwaslilna ye lal sha'ar /
- 4 Lidia: ε /
- 5 Saleh: darbino rmedε /
- 6 Lidia: le! /

- 7 Saleh: sabigho rji'et ana 'am irja' irja' fatho /  
 shu bisir bi sha'ra? /  
 sha'ra ti'ib, fi sho'af sarit tinzal /  
 'iltilla lha' 'laikε /  
 w'al shu hayda hatitla latex kamen /
- 8 Lidia: kamen! /
- 9 Saleh: law ma hatitla latex ken ti'ib aktar w aktar! / **[Complicating  
 Action]**
- 10 Lidia: hilo! /
- 11 Saleh: fa amrar lzbunε bit'illik ε ma men zamen! /  
 shu min zamen? /  
 ya'ne min sab' tman tishhor /  
 sab' tman tishhor hinne min hon la hon /  
 tab haydole shu? / **[Coda]**
- 12 Lidia: ε /
- 13 Saleh: jum'a li abla ijit 'andε wiḥde 'ira'iyyε /
- 14 Lidia: hiyyε shu hadafa ino ma t'ul /  
 bil'akis t'ul! /
- 15 Saleh: la' ma- ma zbunε ma bta'rif saliḥa aw btiftikir ino ε min zamen /  
**[Evaluation]**
- 16 Lidia: ε /
- 17 Saleh: ah... aw btis'aliya /  
 ino ma bta'rif ino ino iza hayda lsha'er ken platin... /  
 ghamma'ti rj'te 'am tirja'ε tfathī /

ya'ne inte 'am ta'mle fo' lhighlight l'adim kamen /

18 Lidia: mm /

19 Saleh: w faw'o sabgha! /

ya'ne shu baddo- awwal shi laysir lal platin /

li'ano hiyye badda ye shu? /

badda rmede kamen /

20 Lidia: kamen! /

21 Saleh: ya'ne bidda tirja' ta'mlo rmede /

ya'ne ana shu badde a'mil? /

bidde a'mlo platin platin platin / *[Coda]*

(Translation: Saleh: really, it's not the hairdresser's fault, I experienced an incident with a client who came to my salon two weeks ago, her hair looked like this, you see this color? Similar to how yours looks like from here except her hair locks are thicker and darker in color, she requested to add highlights to her hair, I agreed but first asked her if she did anything to her hair in the past, and she said no, after I started applying the highlights, she shows me that she once dyed her hair grey! / Lidia: what! / Saleh: yes, grey! As in totally grey! The same color your friend used on her hair, almost blonde / Lidia: yes / Saleh: she dyed her hair grey before / Lidia: why! / Saleh: I then tried to dye it, but you know what happened to her hair? Her hair got tired, and strands started falling off, I told her this is all her fault, and this is all after I used latex on her hair too! / Lidia: that too! / Saleh: if I hadn't used latex, her hair would've gotten even weaker / Lidia: wow! / Saleh: so, sometimes a client will tell you she had highlights done to her hair long ago, but what does that

really mean? It means she only did them seven or eight months ago, in seven or eight months, the hair will grow, and the highlights will still be there / Lidia: yes / Saleh: a week before this incident, an Iraqi client came to the salon / Lidia: what does she gain when she doesn't tell you? She should tell you! / Saleh: no, the client doesn't know her own good or estimates that her previous hair sessions happened long ago when they in fact didn't, so she doesn't mention them / Lidia: yes / Saleh: or when you ask her about it, she wouldn't know that the new color is added after the highlights are applied, even when a risky color like platinum is applied to a dark-haired tone / Lidia: mm / Saleh: she dyed her hair over the highlights for it to become a blonde platinum and then she requested a grey dye / Lidia: that too! / Saleh: this means she needs to color her hair back to grey, what would I need to do? I'll need to change her hair color into a very light tint of blonde, a platinum, before going for the grey)

Besides sharing anecdotes and narratives of personal experience, the hairdressers engage in gossip sessions with their clients at the salon. The hairdresser Saleh initiates the following instance of gossip from conversation K with one of his regular clients. Madame Layla is regarded as a family friend to both Saleh and Sarah and lives in the same neighborhood where the salon is located. The conversation takes place in the ground floor of the salon while Madame Layla is getting her hair done. No other client is downstairs, and Faten is the only employee listening to the conversation between the two interlocutors. However, she does not participate in the conversation; she stands next to Saleh in order to assist him. As Saleh applies the cellophane treatment to sections of Madame Layla's hair, he starts speaking to his client in a low voice and gossips about Madame Claudette's disrespectful and unacceptable behavior.

While the gossip session occurs, Madame Claudette waits upstairs for her unscheduled appointment. Saleh concludes that Madame Claudette is an arrogant and delusional woman who thinks that she is the most important person in the room. Saleh adds that she treats others as her inferiors.

Example 3:

- 1 Saleh: mart l'amid [...] ba'da 'ayshe\* /  
'a iyyem atlal zawja\* / **[Third Person Focus]**
- 2 Madame Layla: shu bit'illak?\*
- 3 Saleh: bitdi'ille m- masalan bit'ille mart l'amid [...]\*/ **[Substantiating Behavior]**  
<chuckles>
- 4 Madame Layla: Allah yse'id l'alam /  
<chuckles>
- 5 Saleh: ε /
- 6 Madame Layla: mm... hiyyε... ah haram 'anda a'sab\* /
- 7 Saleh: ε ba'rif min zamen 'anda\* / **[Substantiating Behavior]**
- 8 Madame Layla: mm /
- 9 Saleh: bas ba'da 'ayshe 'a- /  
btitsarraḥ bi tari'a ka'an kil l'alam khaddeme 'anda / **[Pejorative Evaluation]**
- 10 Madame Layla: kil l'alam ε? /
- 11 Saleh: ((mwaklε)) kil il 'alam khaddeme 'anda\* / **[Pejorative Evaluation]**
- 12 Madame Layla: ε! /

13 Saleh: marra masalan ijit jebit ma'a shanta w shi hek /  
'aletlo lal shab please se'idne fiyon 'a siyyara / *[Probe]*

14 Madame Layla: mm /  
[...]<sup>2</sup> Itaxi bitkhali ywa'if lsiyyara w yerja' yihmilla lghrad /  
hiyye ma kenit heke 3a iyyem zawja ma ykhaliya... /  
Allah yse'id l'alam bi'awno... / *[Wrap-up]*

(Translation: Saleh: the General's wife is living in the past, as though her husband were still alive / Madame Layla: what does she tell you? / Saleh: she calls me, for example, and says this is the General's wife <chuckles> / Madame Layla: May God help those in need <chuckles> / Saleh: yes / Madame Layla: unfortunately, she is mentally unstable / Saleh: yes, I know, she is and has been unstable for a long time now / Madame Layla: mm / Saleh: but she is still acting as if- she thinks everyone is her servant / Madame Layla: everyone? / Saleh: she gives orders to everyone around her / Madame Layla: yes! / Saleh: one time, she came to the salon, she had her bag with her, she told one of my employees to hold her bags and escort her to the car / Madame Layla: mm, she usually orders her taxi driver to get out of the car, she makes him carry her belongings inside the car, she wasn't like that when her husband was alive, he wouldn't let her do that, may God help those in need)

Based on the definitions adopted in this study and demonstrated above, four anecdotes, seventeen narratives of personal experience, and forty-two episodes of gossip were isolated. Other instances of conversational content within the corpus will

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<sup>2</sup> The first name of Madame Claudette's private chauffeur.

remain unmarked, such as informative discussion, news and opinion exchange, and hair care negotiation. Anecdotes are least frequent in hair salon conversations, comprising approximately 6.35%. On the other hand, gossip is used the most and constitutes 66.67% of the conversational content. Narratives constitute 26.98% of the total corpus. Table 5 below recapitulates the results.

Table 2. Frequencies of Anecdotes, Narratives, and Gossip in the Corpus

Type of Conversational Content	Frequency	Corresponding Percentage
Anecdotes	5	7.94 %
Narratives	16	25.40 %
Gossip	42	66.66 %

## B. Conversational Patterns in the Corpus

Findings from the analysis of the corpus propose that men hairdressers' talk invokes an affiliative kind of interaction with their female clientele. This collaborative construction of workplace talk suggests high levels of support and agreement, reflecting a people-oriented environment, which is a characteristic associated with the predominantly feminine nature of the salon. The hairdressers led most of the talk in the corpus; however, the cooperative interaction with their clients is what encourages their conversations to continue until the appointment comes to an end. Therefore, the strong rapport between the men in hairdressing and their clients is most clearly manifested in the way they respond to each other's anecdotes, narratives, and gossip.

Five main recurrent patterns of the types of conversational content were found in the corpus. In these patterns, the encounter between hairdresser and client begins with a preamble to introduce a new topic or idea into the conversation. After that topic or idea is initiated, the conversation either develops into another type of conversational content as in pattern 2, 4, and 5 or proceeds with a conversational content of the same kind like in pattern 1 where narratives are told in sequence or pattern 3 where gossip is mirrored.

- Narrative → Narrative
- Narrative → Gossip
- Gossip → Gossip
- Gossip → Anecdote
- Anecdote → Gossip

### *1. Narrative → Narrative*

In this pattern, the conversation begins with a narrative and evolves into a series of narratives revolving around similar experiences. When stories are told in sequence about related topics and mutual beliefs, they are mostly constructed in a collaborative manner between interlocutors, eliciting a final evaluation about the subject of their conversation.

Conversation G takes place in the upstairs floor of the salon between the two hairdressers, Saleh and Omar, and their regular client, Celina. While Saleh and Omar apply the cellophane treatment to Celina's hair, all three engage in an extensive conversation about smoking addiction and sobriety. No other client or employee is in the salon. In the below extensive excerpt taken from conversation G, Celina narrates a

recent story about her sudden craving to light a cigarette in the most random time and place, on her way back home before going to a café. She indirectly concludes that smoking is an addiction that has a negative impact on her physical health. Celina's story prompts the hairdressers, Saleh and Omar, to narrate their own embarrassing experiences with smoking (of a different kind) while out on a date with attractive women in their younger reckless days. Even though Saleh is a non-smoker, he tried smoking marijuana in his failed attempt to impress a beautiful woman he wanted to intimately date in the past. While the narrative solicits laughter from Celina, Saleh admits that it was an embarrassing moment because he could not get high enough to sleep with his date despite the many times he tried to inhale the substance. Sequentially, Omar tells a humorous narrative about his own escapade with a woman he liked as a result of smoking a drug that caused hallucinations. Celina listens attentively and co-evaluates the drug's bad influence on Omar.

Example 4:

- 1 Celina: masalan mberih rihit ma' rfi'ε / **[Narrative 1]**  
a'adna bi- bi café /  
KILLO 'am bidakhin, ma ḥasset ino fī ighra' /  
BAS abil klat se'at dallet ana /  
rej'a min il AUB, 'abel ma wsolit 'al beit... /  
bidde, bas ma dakhnit! /  
bas ma bkun e'de ḥaweε nes 'am bidakhin, ma btokhtor 'abeε /  
ljisim gharib 'ajib! /
- 2 Omar: 'anjad /
- 3 Celina: KTIR gharib 'ajib /

- yeah... /
- 4** Saleh: [baʻdne... ah-] /
- 5** Celina: [hayde craving] /  
saʻile! /
- 6** Saleh: ken ʻomre / **[Narrative 2]**
- 7** Celina: ε ε /
- 8** Saleh: shī ... tnen w ʻishrin sine /
- 9** Celina: ε ε ε /
- 10** Saleh: tʻarrafit ʻa binit /
- 11** Celina: ε /  
<chuckles>
- 12** Saleh: ktir ḥilwe /  
ktir hek /
- 13** Celina: mm /
- 14** Saleh: bas mukha, aʻwaj! /
- 15** Celina: ε ε /
- 16** Saleh: iza, biddik truḥe ʻal extreme maʻah ʻilla ma tkun hiyye  
mḥashishe /
- 17** Celina: ah hek (xxx) /
- 18** Saleh: okay /
- 19** Celina: mm /
- 20** Saleh: w ana ma bḥib il dukhan /
- 21** Celina: ε ε, inta msibe! /  
[ma kharjak!] /

- 22 Saleh: [so] balashna /
- 23 Celina: ε /
- 24 Saleh: t' alimε ldukhan /
- 25 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 26 Saleh: ḥatta ana w yeha nruḥ la haydike lmarḥale /
- 27 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 28 Saleh: nḥashish /
- <whispers>
- la ḥatta nusal la haydike lmarḥale /
- 29 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 30 Saleh: la nusal 'ala ((Babliye)) /
- 31 Celina: fhimit fhimit /
- 32 Saleh: okay? /
- 33 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 34 Saleh: ḥawalit kirmela, shribit dukhan /
- lik ma 'am tizbat ma'ε! /
- <chuckles>
- 35 Celina: <laughs out loud>
- 36 Saleh: ma a'rif ibla'! /
- <laughs>
- 37 Celina: ε ε ε ε, fhimt 'lek /
- <laughs>
- 38 Saleh: ma a'rif ibla' wallah /
- wala istarje 'inne /

- <inhales>
- a‘milon hek /
- ma ‘dirit! /
- 39** Celina: ma ‘dirit, ε /
- 40** Saleh: so, ma zabtit ma‘ε /
- <laughs>
- 41** Celina: so, ma zabtit /
- so trakta? /
- 42** Saleh: ma- ma tkhattet marḥale /
- 43** Celina: ma ‘dirit tusala bshī a‘la /
- 44** Saleh: <laughs>
- 45** Omar: <laughs>
- 46** Celina: ε, bravo ‘lek /
- ε bravo /
- 47** Saleh: <laughs>
- 48** Celina: ma‘neta jismak byorfod ha shī /
- 49** Omar: marra- /
- 50** Celina: ma‘neta bjismak fī shī genetically /
- ‘aks jisim Hussein<sup>3</sup> masalan /
- mat’ille fī shī ‘ala lsa‘id il cells- /
- 51** Saleh: laḥza kamen- laḥza kamen /
- 52** Celina: ε /

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<sup>3</sup> Hussein is the pseudonym used for Saleh’s brother-in-law, who used to work at *Chic* when Sarah married Saleh. Currently, he is not an employer at the salon.

- 53 Saleh: l'irade 'ila khas /
- 54 Celina: ε, I know /  
I know /  
khalas- /
- 55 Saleh: ε /  
khsuse hayda lshī- /  
huwe laike /  
kif ana bħib football inte biħibbe shī gher= /
- 56 Celina: =mazbut /
- 57 Saleh: hayda hayda- /
- 58 Celina: 'abliyye /  
fī 'abliyye, fī 'abliyye /  
[fī interest] /
- 59 Saleh: [ε, ε] /
- 60 Celina: mazbut /  
[...]
- 61 Omar: fī marra t'arafit 'a binit / **[Narrative 3]**
- 62 Celina: mm /
- 63 Omar: dhart ana w yeha /  
kint awwal marra bidhar ana w yeha... /  
nzilna 'al Gemmayze /
- 64 Celina: ε /
- 65 Omar: shribna shribna shribna... laaa, kif badde 'illik? /  
khalas, batalt ya'ne... /

- 66 Celina: batalit /
- 67 Omar: anja' sheyif ba'd bi 'yune /  
<chuckles>
- 68 Celina: <laughs>
- 69 Omar: tlo'na bisayara /
- 70 Celina: mm /
- 71 Omar: 'iltilla shu biddik ta'mle, 'alitle 'abele kazdura /  
'iltilla okay mnitla' hek near Saida /
- 72 Celina: mm /
- 73 Omar: ma la'ayta gher 'illa hadde, barmit cigara /
- 74 Celina: mm /
- 75 Omar: 'imt ana- /  
'alitle khod /  
ana akhadit ana ma- /
- 76 Celina: w inta 'am bitsu'? /  
w sharben /  
[YA 'EN!] /
- 77 Omar: [ε ε] /  
ana ma biksof hada! /
- 78 Celina: malla khalta ya'ne /
- 79 Omar: shribit... khalasit /  
wsolna ta'riban mniḥ /  
'a Khalde, la ba'd Khalde /  
ana w 'am su' bas ijraye 'al- /

- lamma tkune shribte /
- 80** Celina: ε ε ε /
- battil- /
- ε akid /
- 81** Omar: bdalne bittala' bil kilometraj /
- li'ano... Isikran mahma siri' /
- biḥis ḥalo ba'do bati' /
- 82** Celina: mazbut /
- 83** Omar: fa 'am bitala' bil kilometraj /
- kletin, arb'in, ekhid kil yamine /
- 84** Celina: mm /
- 85** Omar: w 'am niḥaddas ana w yeha /
- w mabsutin /
- bitala' hek, min b'id /
- 'itilla, ba'ra at'it il autostrad /
- 86** Celina: laa... /
- 87** Omar: 'amit hiyye 'imlit hek, hehe hehe hehe /
- la hon wsolit? /
- tdaḥakit /
- la hon wsolit /
- 'imit ana tala'it fiya /
- ino ε, ma' 'ule shuf ba'ra at'a autostrad /
- 88** Celina: ino bi libnen fi ba'ar! /
- <chuckles>

- 89 Omar: 'imit, ε- /  
<chuckles>
- 90 Celina: bit- bitsir ya'ne! /  
<laughs>
- 91 Omar: sm- sma'ε! /  
'am ana 'ilit ε /  
ma' 'ule ana shifit ghalat /
- 92 Celina: ahh... /
- 93 Omar: mshina shway la 'iddem... /  
ba'ra tenye ata' il autostrad /  
'alitle ba'ra! /  
'iltilla ε ma 'iltillik abil shway ba'ra ata'it lautostrad /
- 94 Celina: hiyye nisyit /
- 95 Omar: mshina shway la 'iddem la'ayna... /  
six-wheel ba'ar 'elib mitil ma huwe /  
w l'alam 'am tilha' lba'rat /
- 96 Celina: YI! /  
<laughs out loud>
- 97 Omar: <laughs>
- 98 Celina: mniḥ ma tol'it halwase ya'ne! /  
tab ya maḥla lba'ar lḥa'i'yε /  
<laughs>
- 99 Omar: ana wsolit ino ε ino /
- 100 Celina: kinit 'am bithalwis /

- 101 Omar: ino ana wsolit la marḥale ino... /
- 102 Celina: ‘am bitshuf shī /
- 103 Omar: ino, shifta mazbut /  
fi ba’ra at‘a lautostrad bas ino /
- 104 Celina: ε ε /
- 105 Omar: shifta ino... /  
ḥatta hiyye ‘alitle ino halwase /  
ino ‘am bithalwis ino /
- 106 Celina: ε ε /
- 107 Omar: fa ana tkhayalit ḥale ino ana sirit marḥalit il halwase /
- 108 Celina: ε ε /  
miyye bil miyye /
- 109 Omar: ino shu ba’ra bida ti’ta’ il autostrad /
- 110 Celina: ε, bta‘mil hallucinations /
- 111 Omar: ε ε /  
<chuckles>
- 112 Celina: toli‘ ba’ar ‘anjad /  
<chuckles>

## 2. Narrative → Gossip

Narratives always conclude with a final evaluation to provide information about the results of the story and highlight the significance of its events. The evaluation element of a narrative recapitulates the speaker’s attitude towards the story and serves as a solution to a problem that the narrator experienced in their past or observed in their

environment. The evaluation in a narrative can be openly stated or subtly inferred by the interlocutors in a conversation.

Gossip is highly evaluative because it mainly involves judging an absent party's behavior to motivate the conversation. According to the corpus, gossip may appear as the evaluation element of a narrative. After the speaker shares their story to narrate the experience of an absent person, a pejorative evaluation of this person's behavior can be the final resolution in the narrative.

In the below extract from conversation N with his client Amanda, Saleh narrates a story about a woman who was parking her car outside the salon. He criticizes the woman's driving skills and unapologetically evaluates her inexperience and clumsiness in driving after hitting the car behind her own. There is no one in the salon except for Mahmoud and Fadia who are assisting Saleh while he styles Amanda's hair. Mahmoud co-evaluates the situation to reflect his agreement with Saleh's direct evaluation of the woman. Fadia does not intervene nor says anything. Amanda disagrees with both men in an attempt to defend her own point of view and argue against the stereotype that women are bad drivers.

Example 5:

- 1 Mahmoud: aḥla shī fikon lamma tsu'o siyyara /  
kommitil comedy /  
<laughs>
- 2 Amanda: ε huwwe comedy... /  
at least mindaḥik /  
bas into bitbakko li'ano ma btiḥtirmo shī awenin /
- 3 Mahmoud: la' into bitbakko /

ken tar lzalame huwwe w bsiyarto /

4 Amanda: ε hiyye wiḥde min alef /

mish ma'neta kil il [niswen 'atlin] /

5 Mahmoud: [kil yom minshuf wiḥde] /

6 Saleh: lyom shifet wiḥde, kenit rej'a la wara / **[Narrative]**

'iltilla wa'fe /

bidda terja' bi siyyarta tsof... /

'arrabit w sarit 'am tfut bnos lsaffe /

saret berme hek w ba'da bit'arrib /

'am sarikhla ana 'AM BISOF 'AM BISOF! /

wi'fit, rakkabit reverse w rij'it 'alli wara /

w haydek 'am bizammirla /

w ba'da rej'a 'anno /

7 Amanda: khabatito? /

8 Saleh: abuke 'a abu li 'allik tsu'ε w li 'atake lsiyara /

mbayne jdide w makhasa biswa'a / **[Gossip]**

9 Amanda: bas mish kil il banet ma bya'rfo ysu'o! /

10 Mahmoud: klaterbe'on / **[Gossip]**

11 Amanda: klaterbe'on? /

dakhelkon w dakh l swe'atkon li kil il ḥawedis rjel 'am ya'mluwa /

### 3. *Gossip* → *Gossip*

Gossip is off-record small talk used to build rapport between the speaker and their interlocutor. Gossip focuses on the evaluation of an absent party's behavior and

requires trust and collaboration from interlocutors for the gossip to safely share their opinion about an individual's deviant behavior. The gossip's audience also provides feedback to further motivate the conversation. Just as there are sequential narratives in the corpus, a series of gossip instances about the same absent party can be found.

Conversation L takes place between Saleh and his client Donya in the upstairs floor of the hair salon while no one is there. Donya, a regular customer at *Chic*, is getting a haircut. The following excerpt from the conversation begins with the client's curious questions about Saleh's staff, particularly the men who work as hairdressers in his salon. Donya's question prompts Saleh to negatively evaluate the young and new hairdressers who take more than they can handle when they are offered a better position at another salon. He describes their behavior as naïve. The client attentively listens and agrees with Saleh's conclusion. This encourages Saleh to share another instance of gossip about one of his previous employees who worked for him in the past. Saleh evaluates his former employee's condescending behavior and Donya supports his argument.

Example 6:

- 1 Donya: mish 'andak ḥada? /  
shabeb? /
- 2 Saleh: ah fi 'ande shab hala' byije /
- 3 Donya: mm... /  
kenit lyom 'otle, wallah la' /
- 4 Saleh: la' (xxx) /
- 5 Donya: mm... biḥis ma byisbato bi hal shaghle lshabeb? /
- 6 Saleh: mish ma byisbato, kil ma yshimmo ri7it baton- / **[Gossip 1]**

- 7 Donya: khalas byimsho /
- 8 Saleh: ε... /  
ya'ne ana shtaghalit bi maḥal tis' snin /  
hayda ma ba' bitshufiya hayde /
- 9 Donya: laa' ma fi /  
la tis' snin /  
la' la'! /
- 10 Saleh: fi lwaḥad yiftaḥ maḥal aw byista' jir /  
ken 'ande... (xxx) /  
bi shighle- /
- 11 Donya: ε, Hussein? /
- 12 Saleh: la' /  
waḥad tene /
- 13 Donya: ah ε /
- 14 Saleh: shab 'ande /
- 15 Donya: ε ε /
- 16 Saleh: tarak 'ande (xxx) w riji' la 'ande / **[Gossip 2]**  
ma ken 'am y'adde ba'a ma'asho /  
tarak lmaḥal hunike w ija shtaghal 'ande shi sinten hon /  
w meshe halo ma aḥle /  
w ken ma'o ma'ash mrattab w y'os w yishtighil /  
'ati ana /  
'am saḥib 'illi huwe ken sheghil 'ando sefar 'a amerka- /
- 17 Donya: 'am fataḥo huwe /

- 18 Saleh: 'am stasmaro huwε /  
 ma dayano sinne! /  
 ken hone 'am yi'bad ma'ash sebit w mit alf shaghle w kaza /
- 19 Donya: [ε w ma'ando] /
- 20 Saleh: w hek /
- 21 Donya: ε w ma'ando- /
- 22 Saleh: halla' 'alle raḥ muwazzaf 'am yishtighil bil ḥamra /
- 23 Donya: ε m'andon hol, ah shu ismo, zabeyin /  
 ktir 'lel... /  
 ba'den shuf shaghle /  
 ba'd fatra min ma t'os sha'arak btit'awad 'al maken w khalas /  
 ma fik kil shway tbaddil bi shi tene... /  
 ε ken a'id 'am yishtighil meshe lḥal /  
 w ma 'ad reji' ḥawal yirja' la 'andak? /
- 24 Saleh: ma ba' braj'o /
- 25 Donya: ah maba' - /
- 26 Saleh: li'an ba'd- ba'd ma tarak min hon /
- 27 Donya: mm /
- 28 Saleh: sar yruḥ 'a zbunete ya'tiyon brochurat la (('ilo)) /
- 29 Donya: ahh! /
- 30 Saleh: inno sar huwε- /  
 iza ken ya'millon brushing hon /
- 31 Donya: ε /
- 32 Saleh: byi'dar yekhidon 'al bet /

- 33 Donya: lah! /
- 34 Saleh: ya'ne ḥatta zbunit il brushing li kenit ta'mil ma'o /  
tije ta'mil 'andε l'ashya li kbire- /
- 35 Donya: w truḥ la 'ando? /
- 36 Saleh: w w iza mm- iza- li'ano biḥibo /  
bitmarri'lo brushing min 'anda /
- 37 Donya: ah ε /
- 38 Saleh: bas rij'o killon- rij'o killon rij'o ijo /
- 39 Donya: ε! /  
shu ya'ne huwe baddo y'usille /  
la', ma bitkheyal... /

#### 4. Anecdote → Gossip

Just as the evaluation element in a narrative may take the form of gossip in a conversation, a gossip episode can also develop from an anecdote through which speakers share a remarkable event with their audience based on their mutual background knowledge of the topic. Unlike a narrative, the event in an anecdote does not include an evaluation of the situation. Instead, the anecdotes in the corpus elicit different reactions from the speaker and sometimes their interlocutors, ranging from bursts of laughter, frustration or amazement depending on their opinion about the situation being described. The anecdote may eventually lead to gossip about the absent party mentioned in the story.

The following excerpt from Conversation D, the salon's beautician and Saleh's wife introduces an anecdote that the part-time hairdresser Omar continues in the

presence of the salon's regular client Celina. After Celina asks about Sarah's sister, who previously worked as a fellow beautician at *Chic*, Omar disrupts the small talk with a remark that opens the door to gossip about the sister. Omar was interested in Sarah's sister, but he never knew that there was any possibility of them getting together. The story makes the client laugh and encourages her to ask Omar more questions out of curiosity. This leads to a short instance of gossip where his current relationship with his girlfriend is evaluated in an indirect and subtle manner. There is an overall mood of ease with overt laughter from all three speakers throughout the conversation, mainly used to cover up Omar's embarrassment and tension about discussing his personal relationships with women in his past and present.

Example 7:

- 1 Celina: Aya<sup>4</sup> sirtε tshufiya a'al /
- 2 Sarah: wein ana /  
bil munisabet /
- 3 Celina: ah li'an batalto tishtighlo sawa /
- 4 Sarah: ε /  
wala biḥkiya kamen /  
ma 'andε wa'it- /
- 5 Celina: laḥza, su'al /  
hiyyε 'am tishtighil aw bala shighil? /
- 6 Sarah: la'! 'am tishtighil! /
- 7 Celina: ah, li'an btizha' bala shighil /

---

<sup>4</sup> Aya is the pseudonym used for Sarah's younger sister, who previously worked as a beautician at *Chic* until she got married and moved outside Beirut.

- ba' rifa /
- 8** Sarah: ε, la'! 'am tishtighil bi Khalde /
- 9** Celina: ah, bas a' rab la bayta sarit /
- 10** Sarah: ε miyyε bil miyyε /
- 11** Celina: ε ε ε... /
- kamen salon? /
- 12** Sarah: kamen salon /
- 13** Celina: ε ε... /
- salmile 'laya walla shta' tila /
- 14** Sarah: Allah ysalmik [habibtε] /
- 15** Celina: [bas] akid btishte' lal ajwe' hon hiyyε /
- 16** Sarah: ε, akid ya' nε /
- 17** Omar: btishta' le la 'ile aktar shī / **[Anecdote]**
- 18** Celina: akid haydε... /
- miyyε bil miyyε /
- 19** Omar: btishta' le aktar /
- 20** Celina: mm /
- 21** Sarah: 'iltilo tzawaja... /
- ma 'ibil /
- 22** Celina: YI! /
- 23** Omar: ma 'arif /
- 24** Celina: ahh /
- 25** Omar: ma nakzitne /
- 26** Celina: halla' too late /

- 27 Omar: shu badna na‘mol /
- 28 Sarah: laike halla’ Celina bitfakre ‘am bimzah ana /
- 29 Celina: ‘anjad tmannaytiya la Omar? /
- 30 Sarah: ε ‘aradta ‘le /
- 31 Celina: yi! /
- shu hal fadayih hay /
- [killo ‘am yitsajal] /
- ntibho /
- 32 Sarah: [ε walla] /
- 33 Omar: ε walla /
- 34 Celina: ε /
- 35 Omar: bas ana wallah /
- kenit ekhida akhadta rfi’te ya‘ne /
- ma nakzitne /
- ma- ma- /
- 36 Celina: mish bzimtak ka zawje /
- 37 Sarah: ana ‘illo tħashar fiya... /
- ino hiyye mhazbe, ba‘da zghire! /
- 38 Celina: ε, ba‘rif ba‘rif /
- 39 Omar: kinna rabayneha ‘a idayna wallah /
- 40 Sarah: tħashar fiya kaza shi /
- 41 Celina: ε ε /
- 42 Omar: bta‘rfine ma bħib itħashar bi 7ada /
- 43 Celina: saraħa saba‘ak lwa’t ya Omar /

- 44 Sarah: ε /
- 45 Omar: saba'ne l'omor, khatyarit /
- 46 Celina: <laughs>
- 47 Omar: ikhte sar 'anda binit w ana mashi= /
- 48 Sarah: =ajdab /
- 49 Celina: <laughs>
- 50 Sarah: tayyara min 'ido hek /
- 51 Omar: tarit /
- 'arus w tarit /
- Celina: yallah nasib... /
- nasiba /
- 52 Omar: ya'allah /
- 53 Celina: muhim mabsuta hiyye /
- khalas hayda aham shi /
- 54 Omar: bas ana mish mabsut /
- 55 Celina: inta mish mabsut /
- mmm... /
- bala ma nis'al ya'ne walla bis'al? /
- 56 Omar: la' s'ale /
- 57 Celina: ma- 'am yitsajal /
- 58 Omar: la' s'ale /
- 59 Celina: kifa Dania<sup>5</sup>? / **[Gossip]**

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<sup>5</sup> Dania is the pseudonym used for Omar's current girlfriend.

- 60 Omar: mniḥa /  
 <laughs>  
 <Sarah and Celina laugh as well>
- 61 Celina: akhadit ra'yak w iznak bil awwal /  
 ε... /
- 62 Omar: ε, mniḥa mniḥa /
- 63 Celina: she's fine? /
- 64 Omar: ε, mniḥa /
- 65 Celina: ε... /  
 good, good, good! /
- 66 Omar: mniḥa, la ḥaddit halla' mniḥa /  
 shu bisir bukra, rabbik 'alim /
- 67 Celina: ma ḥadan bya'rif... /  
 muhim enta mniḥ kamen /  
 mish bas hiyyε tkun mniḥa /
- 68 Omar: ana wallah, tali' daghte /  
 w ḥa ysir ma'ε Isikare
- 69 Celina: la'a! /
- 70 Omar: <laughs>

### 5. Gossip → Anecdote

A gossip episode contains pejorative evaluation of an absent person's behavior. This evaluation can give rise to an anecdote as a means of providing further evidence of the absent party's behavior. The anecdote begins with a remarkable event for the

speaker to present their point of view and solicit a reaction like that of shock, fear, agitation, or amazement from the audience.

In this excerpt from conversation O, Saleh engages in a gossip session with one of his regular clients Dima while he applies color dye to her hair. Sarah is giving Dima a pedicure at the same time and participates in the conversation that takes place in the salon's downstairs floor. Dima and Sarah have been best friends since high school. Saleh initiates gossip by asking if Dima will invite one of her former friends to her wedding. This friend is mutually known to all three interlocutors. They participate in evaluating her unacceptable behavior because she did not congratulate Dima on her engagement. Dima then shares a short anecdote which takes the form of evidence against her alleged friend, who still acted like a bad person even after Dima gave her a second chance. This evokes a mutual reaction of disbelief and disgust towards the absent party from all three sides of the conversation, Saleh, Sarah, and Dima.

Example 8:

- 1 Saleh: laikε 'azamtiya shī la shu isma / **[Gossip]**
- 2 Dima: min...? /  
no way, no! /  
ma 'am 'ilak ma 'alitle mabruk /
- 3 Saleh: ah okay /
- 4 Dima: lε badε i'zima... /  
sadamitne bas! /
- 5 Sarah: aḥsan /
- 6 Dima: ba'rif /
- 7 Saleh: w hiyε ba'da friends ma'ik 'al Facebook? /

- 8 Dima: shu? /
- 9 Saleh: Dima, nayme ḥayete rasik la hunik hek\*... /  
 hiye ba'da friends ma'ik 'a Facebook?=/
- 10 Dima: =ε friends BI'UWε! /  
 w nezle liket w commentet /  
 ya'ne 'erfe ino khatabit /
- 11 Saleh: ε w wala- wala shu 'ismo- /
- 12 Dima: wala kilmit mabruk! /
- 13 Saleh: l'ama! /
- 14 Dima: w 'a Christmas 'ilit khaline aḥsan mina, barke nesyt / **[Anecdote]**  
 'am ba'tiya chance 'ino maybe /  
 kamen... /  
 'iltilla Merry Christmas ḥabibte w shta'tilik /  
 'alitle thanks same to you... /  
 w sourte ana w Hadi<sup>6</sup> 'al profile fa no way to miss it /  
 <chuckles>
- 15 Saleh: <chuckles>
- 16 Sarah: ḥakira! /  
 <chuckles>
- 17 Dima: maba'rif le! /  
 ana ma'hura ino tab le! /  
 w ma ba'rif le ma'hura! /

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<sup>6</sup> Hadi is the pseudonym used for Dima's fiancé.

18 Sarah: ana ana- /

19 Dima: la' ino ino /

ma- ma sar shi baynetna la tije ma t'ile mabruk ya'ne! /

gharib gharib... /

These five conversational patterns identified in the corpus reveal the highly interactive nature of hair salon talk. The patterns reflect the need for interpersonal communication between men in hairdressing and their women clientele to achieve solidarity and establish trust and a sense of community necessary to push the business forward. Compared to other types of conversations at the hair salon, such as those with task-oriented goals including discussion of salon services, negotiation of prices, and agreement on future appointments, anecdotes, narratives and gossip episodes exist abundantly in men's talk inside a hair salon. The main patterns demonstrate that the participants employ these lexical strategies to exhibit their professional identity as hairdressers. All three men strive to create a strong rapport between themselves and their clients. They only adhere to norms of hegemonic masculinity when they actively seek to distance themselves from their women clientele and emphasize their gender differences.

Hair salon anecdotes, narratives, and gossip function to either invoke in-group proximity or out-group distance between the men in the salon and their women clientele. The ways clients react to their hairdressers also affect their levels of support or disagreement in conversation. The analysis of the corpus reveals that when the hairdresser or his client respond to one another, they mostly share sequential narratives of similar personal experiences or mirror episodes of gossip. Only a few patterns bring a certain level of disagreement or discomfort into the conversation, specifically when the

narrators in a conversation have differing stories of personal experiences, leading them to hold different beliefs about the topic, as in conversation N. Just like gossip may take the form of the evaluation element in a narrative, it can also follow an anecdote. Gossip is used following an anecdote for the speaker to advance their opinion about the story, and especially its character's behavior. Conversely, the evaluation element in gossip can give rise to an anecdote to provide more evidence about the absent party's deviant behavior. This helps the speaker prove their point and achieve a level of agreement with their audience. In their hair salon talk, there is seldom explicit disagreement between the hairdressers and their clients.

### **C. Topics in Hair Salon Talk**

Hair salon talk comprises a twofold purpose. The more direct purpose is service-oriented and includes talk associated with hairdressing tasks: an explanation of the haircare procedure, compliments or consultations about a client's hair, and marketing hair products and treatments. Not all talk that occurs at the hair salon is exclusively about the service. In fact, much of the hair salon talk has a relational purpose. The hairdresser will initiate a variety of conversational topics during the salon appointment to create a friendly and comfortable environment for their clientele, entertain them to pass time, familiarize themselves with their lives and personalities to foster a stronger hairdresser-client bond.

Topics in hair salon talk range from mundane events, such as driving a car in Lebanon or criticizing popular TV shows and football matches, to very particular and sensitive issues, such as politics, terrorism and sexuality. Men hairdressers share stories about embarrassing situations with women who were love interests and open up about

family problems. They also bring up the challenges of working in the hairdressing business, dealing with clients and other fellow hairdressers, and experiencing moments of success. Most of the hairdresser-client conversations involve the people in their lives: family members, romantic partners, friends, acquaintances, colleagues or employees, as well as hair salon clients.

Table 3 summarizes the most recurrent topics found in the corpus. The topics are classified based on the type of conversational content they belong to, namely anecdotes, narratives of personal experience, or gossip.

Table 3. The Most Recurrent Topics in the Corpus

<b>Topics in Hair Salon Anecdotes</b>	<b>Topics in Hair Salon Narratives</b>	<b>Topics in Hair Salon Gossip</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- humorous or strange incidents with family or friends</li> <li>- experiences with previous love interests or intimate partners</li> <li>- risky situations in dealing with government or police forces of the country</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- updates about previous employees who worked in the hair salon (usually hairdressers who behave in an irresponsible or unpredictable manner)</li> <li>- work-related challenges in dealing with salon clients</li> <li>- experiences and problems of family members</li> <li>- experiences with romantic partners (dates, escapades, and hook-ups)</li> <li>- adventurous stories about driving a car in Lebanon</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dishonest or incompetent employees who previously worked or are currently working at the hair salon</li> <li>- disrespectful clients who behave in an unacceptable manner</li> <li>- oblivious clients who commit haircare mistakes</li> <li>- family members, including parents, kids, and relatives who behave in deviant, unusual, or bothersome ways</li> <li>- family members with health struggles</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- friends and acquaintance who behave in an unpredictable or intolerable manner</li> <li>- women who behave in bad or unusual ways (mischievous romantic partners, bad drivers)</li> <li>- bisexual and homosexual people</li> <li>- criminals and terrorists in Lebanon and other countries</li> <li>- other men (famous football players, talk show hosts, singers, lawyers) who are generally disliked due to their deviant behavior</li> </ul>
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When the hairdressers in this study were interviewed, they were asked about the topics of conversation they have with clients at the salon during working hours. Saleh, the owner and full-time hairdresser, indicates that his clients come to the hair salon to discuss their personal and professional lives. However, he notes that a two-sided dialogue between hairdresser and client is a rare scene in Lebanon because the latter are in constant rush to get their hair done. Saleh quotes what his clients would usually say, “yalla badde sewe sha’re” (Translation: “common, I want to do my hair”). He compares this situation to European countries where the shortest hairdressing session, involving a haircut or hairstyling task for example, necessitates an interactive and lively dialogue between the hairdresser and their client. Saleh illustrates that this

method helps the hairdresser understand his client's personality, lifestyle, career and even sense of fashion, especially if she is new to the salon. When the hairdresser knows more about his clients, he will be able to visualize the type, color and style of hair that best suits them. Mahmoud's answer contradicts with what his boss says in his interview. The part-time hairdresser replied that his clients do most of the talking and all he does is listen. Mahmoud's clients talk about their hair and their jobs; they complain and nag about how unfair or bad their lives are or how tired they feel. With a sarcastic laugh, he states that a client comes to the salon to cry on his shoulder and find comfort, which in return, makes him depressed. The third hairdresser Omar stopped coming to work after two months from the beginning of the observation and recording sessions. Therefore, no official answer to this question was solicited and only the first part of the entire interview was conducted with him. However, he mentions one particular story as the interview comes to an end. He shares one awkward situation with a client who was a veiled woman. She asks him to wash her hair and make sure he was "tahir", a word which connotes the Islamic ritual of washing parts of one's body as a form of purification, especially before prayers or after sexual intercourse. Omar emphasizes how this offensive question from his client led to an entire debate about religion and an eventual decline to come near the woman to wash and style her hair. This implies that sensitive topics like religion can come up in hairdresser-client conversations. The answers of the interviewed participants imply that the topics of hair salon talk are limitless and experience-dependent. They also vary among the men hairdressers' anecdotes, narratives, and gossip.

#### **D. Gossip in Hair Salon Talk**

All three hairdressers reported that they have engaged in a myriad of conversations with clients during their haircare sessions. The interviewees noted that the conversations they had with their clients were mostly service-oriented with little room for personal dialogue. In his interview, Saleh stated that a competent hairdresser knows how to handle his relationship with clients and properly interact with them, only engaging in meaningful conversation. He said he takes his work seriously and avoids getting personal or bringing up silly or shallow discussions in his salon like other hairdressers might do to keep their clients entertained. He believes that being a talkative hairdresser who gossips all the time in the salon might cause problems with the clients, colleagues, and employees: “manne no‘ ta‘i’ ḥanak ma‘ lzbunε, lhakε ma ‘ilo natije, li ma bijib natije ma ‘ilo ta‘me” (I am not the talkative kind, especially if the conversation is pointless and devoid of any benefit). Saleh prefers to keep a straight face and focus on the client’s hair: “ma ktir bekhod w ba‘te, bfaddil rakkiz ‘a shighle aktar” (I don’t engage in back-and-forth conversation, and I prefer to focus on the work at hand). He also notes that many of his clients complain that he rarely participates in small talk. To him, it is the quality of his work and not the quantity of his words that matter; only a successful haircare task will keep a client coming back to the salon for more. Reflecting on his nine years of hairdressing experience at *Chic*, Mahmoud reported a different view on the nature of interaction during a hairdressing session. Mahmoud believes that the hairdresser must run the conversation to keep his clients amused. He reported that his clients come to the salon to gossip about their husbands, like whether or not the husband slept on the couch or in bed after a heated argument. Mahmoud noted that he is open to this kind of hair salon talk as long as it is a two-sided interaction that aims to

establish friendship with the client, build a good reputation for the hairdresser, and foster a common sense of trust. He explained that there are women who come to the salon but do not like to talk during their appointment. They either come in for a quick haircare task or are not in the mood to converse (“fijjε”). When this happens, Mahmoud said he would refrain from moving the conversation forward by adhering to minimal transactional cues: hello, how can I help you today, and goodbye (“marḥaba, ahlan, kif baddik sha‘rik? ma‘ saleme”).

While the hairdressers assumed their clients to be the main gossipers in hair salon talk, instances of gossip were the most abundant conversational strategy in the corpus. Hairdressers introduced and participated in gossip sessions in many of their conversations with clients. The men shared their opinion and comments about an absent party and joined forces with their interlocutors to evaluate this party’s behavior based on common judgment and mutual social values. Many clients were inclined to ask more questions to elicit private information from their hairdresser(s) in a gossip episode and agree with what they said as a sign of support and understanding. Hairdressers gossiped mostly about other men in hairdressing, family members, friends, and even their own hair salon clients. The corpus contained many episodes of gossip in which an obvious reference was made about the hairdresser’s client. In the following excerpt from conversation U, Saleh refers to one of his former regulars at the salon Randa. He criticizes Randa’s bad choice of haircut and moody behavior. Saleh’s client in the hairdressing chair Sandy and his fellow hairdresser Mahmoud encourage this instance of gossip and turn the absent party into the center of ridicule.

Example 9:

1 Sandy: ba‘rif, bas huwwε- /

- ‘am ’illak ino ana bma‘na lḥake /  
 zawje biḥib- /
- 2 Mahmoud: bas inte ‘al bayad byilba’lik /
- 3 Sandy: ε [ε] /
- 4 Saleh: [ε] /
- 5 Mahmoud: ε /
- 6 Sandy: azde biḥibil bordo /  
 ’iltillo ana abadan! /  
 ma tiḥlam i’na’! /
- 7 Mahmoud: inte btikrahi ma biḥibbe? /
- 8 Sandy: la’... /  
 bḥib haydal lon aktar /  
 [‘milto minil zamenet] /
- 9 Saleh: [shaklo] byi’ijbo sha‘er Randa- / [*Third Person Focus*]  
 <chuckles>
- 10 Sandy: bi zamenet- /
- 11 Saleh: ltenyε /  
 mish haydike /
- 12 Sandy: laaa’! /  
 min Randa? /
- 13 Saleh: <laughs>
- 14 Sandy: ha- hayde? /  
 sha‘ra binne haydike inta kamen... ghami’ /
- 15 Saleh: kil se‘a shikil / [*Substantiating Behavior*]

<chuckles>

16 Mahmoud: w 'assinla 'assit il cross / [*Substantiating Behavior*]

<chuckles>

17 Sandy: leh bidalla t'oss hek? /

18 Mahmoud: ma ba'rif /

19 Saleh: hayde 'assit- /

20 Mahmoud: ken y'ossila Saleh aḥla 'assa= /

21 Sandy: =ya'ne manno tabi'ε 'assa / [*Substantiating Behavior*]

ya'ne manna garçon... /

wala binet /

ma ba'rif

22 Saleh: 'asisla- /

[...]

23 Saleh: marra 'asisla 'assa bit'a'id /

shu badde 'illak /

ma khassa bi- bi shi ya'ne /

bi'ille jarna bi'ille hon 'asisla rassa mitlil football? /

24 Sandy: 'anjad? /

25 Saleh: ε wallah /

w hiyyε- /

[hiyyε halla' masalan ma bit'oss football] / [*Substantiating Behavior*]

26 Sandy: [ma hiyyε tanjra] /

27 Saleh: halla' 'am bit'oss footballen / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]

<chuckles>

28 Mahmoud: football /

‘am bit’oss Chinese second round / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]

29 Sandy: bħiss mitlil tanjra halla’ sarit / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]

The conversational patterns identified in the corpus show that gossip can take the form of the evaluation element of narratives. After sharing their story, the hairdresser and/or his interlocutors may evaluate the behavior of the individual in the narrative, formulating their overall opinion based on how much this individual’s behavior aligns with what the speaker and/or his interlocutors deem socially acceptable. Often times, the hairdresser will recall a past event to his audience only to prove how the individual’s behavior in the story was deviant from the norm. In the example excerpted from conversation N, Saleh narrates how a woman outside his salon bumped the car behind hers while trying to park because she was an inexperienced driver. Towards the end of his narrative, Saleh argues that this woman, like all women, is a terrible driver.<sup>7</sup>

While the hairdressers in this study mentioned the importance of respecting their clients and setting healthy boundaries to display a professional demeanor, these men gossiped the most about their women clients. They gossiped about arrogant clients who come to the salon assuming they deserve special treatment and dishonest clients who lie about the history of their previous hairdressing sessions—what they did or did not do to their hair in terms of coloring or treatment. They also gossiped about oblivious clients who keep committing haircare breaches and disregard their hairdresser’s advice. The following instances of gossip from the corpus illustrate some of the hairdressers’

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<sup>7</sup> Refer to example 5.

judgments about the kinds of clients previously mentioned: “ma zbunε ma bta‘rif saliha” – conversation E (“the client doesn’t know what’s best for her hair”), “btitsarrafa bi tari’a ka’an kil l’alam khaddemε ‘anda, ma’o ha’ yhiij minnik lchauffeur!” – conversation K (“she acts like everyone is at her servant, your driver has every right to feel appalled by you”<sup>8</sup>), “fa hek shaghlet lzbunε ma bitsariḥ amra lal coiffeur” – conversation P (“the client isn’t honest with her hairdresser in these situations”), “hala’ ana mistilima bas ino ma fiya tije t’ile mitil lon lmawzε” – conversation T (“I know am fooling her, but she can’t be that dumb”), and “bit’isha, halla’ bit’os footballen” – conversation U (“she goes all out, she has the worst haircut”).

Besides their clients, hairdressers gossiped about their colleagues. Saleh is the only participant who gossips about other hairdressers, including current and former employees that work for him. Saleh expresses his frustration towards hairdressers who suddenly stop showing up to the salon, leaving him with double the work and little to no helping hand. In conversation A, Saleh criticizes a fellow hairdresser Hani, who worked full-time at the salon before he was detained in Syria. Madame Sandra asks about his whereabouts, which prompts Saleh to negatively evaluate Hani’s decision to go to Syria during a time of political turbulence in the area. Examples of gossip about the former hairdresser in conversation A are: “’ata’ne l’at’a l’ajibe” (“he left me hanging in the worst time ever”) and “huwε ma ken lezem yruḥ” (“he should not have gone [to Syria]”). Madame Sandra supports Saleh’s criticism of his employee: “huwε saḥ ma lezim yruḥ” (“he shouldn’t have gone [to Syria]”), “hayda habal” (“that’s stupid of

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<sup>8</sup> Saleh, the owner and hairdresser, muttered this phrase under his breath as if he were directly talking to one of the clients seated upstairs. He confides his feelings of disdain to Madame Layla, the client who was with him downstairs.

him”) and “ε... sorry habal” (“I’m sorry, but that’s stupid”).

Example 10:

- 1 Madame Sandra: dakhlak fal hayda Hani min ‘andak? / [*Third Person Focus*]
- 2 Saleh: Hani ‘alā’ n bī Suriyā /
- 3 Madame Sandra: le? /
- 4 Saleh: raḥ ‘ases ’abil mā ana sefir raḥ ya‘mil vacation ’abil mā= /
- 5 Madame Sandra: =’al vacation bi Suriyā /  
sma‘ ba’a! /
- 6 Saleh: ε la’ raḥ ya‘mil shopping /
- 7 Madame Sandra: shopping kamein! /
- 8 Saleh: w yshuf lṭayra l’adime /
- 9 Madame Sandra: shu lṭayra y‘ane? sahibtu? /
- 10 Saleh: <chuckles>
- 11 Madame Sandra: ε? /
- 12 Saleh: ε /  
’amo wa’ afū l’amen l’am ḥaṭulū tlat snin /
- 13 Madame Sandra: shū ḥaṭulū? /
- 14 Saleh: mamnu‘ yfut ‘a libnen la midit tlat snin /
- 15 Madame Sandra: LA’! /
- 16 Saleh: hala’ ‘am- yzabita khayō rij‘u zabatulū yeha /  
lkafil l’adim midre shu mkhabaslu ‘a ware’tu /  
‘am yshilu ‘an ’ismo /  
midre shu mkhabaslu bil ’amin l’am /

'am ḥatitlu bilghalat mani' safar- /  
la' mish mani' safar... mani' dukhul /  
fa hala' min hon la shi jumi'ten tlete yemken yzabtulo yeha /  
w ye2dar yirja' yijε /  
'ata'ne l'at'a l'ajibe / [*Substantiating Behavior*]

**17** Madame Sandra: mmm bas ḥaram ma b'ido /

huwe saḥ ma lezim yruḥ /

hayda habal / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]

**18** Saleh: huwe ma ken lezem yruḥ / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]

**19** Madame Sandra: ε... sorry habal / [*Wrap-up*]

Saleh also gossiped about novice hairdressers who lack the adequate knowledge and experience necessary to run an entire hair salon on their own. He shows his resentment towards new employees who believe they can successfully manage a hairdressing business and think they can take on greater responsibility than they can handle. In conversation L, Saleh gossips with his client about an ex-employee and judges his behavior as reckless and immature. Saleh is then quick to let his client know that this hairdresser failed to run the business and went back to merely working as an employee. He concludes that he would never hire him after this incident, especially that he went behind Saleh's back after leaving *Chic* and stole some of his loyal clients<sup>9</sup>. There are times when Saleh stopped his clients from gossiping about a fellow hairdresser. Mentored and trained by Saleh, Omar became one of Saleh's most experienced employees and trustworthy friends in the hairdressing business. When

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<sup>9</sup> Refer to example 6.

some of his clients tried to complain about Omar’s quality of work, Saleh provided an explanation for why his employee failed at the task. He did not join in on the banter: “halla’ ε lshab li ken hon m’ a’ado hayda, rfi’ ε” (“the hairdresser you had an appointment with is my friend”), “hayda ken yishtighil ma’ ε” (“he used to work for me [full-time]), “hayda... ya’ne awwal shi ba’irfo min huwe w zghir” (“first of all, I know him since he was a teenager”), “teniyan ah... ballash ma’eh awal nes bil maḥal” (“second, he was one of my very first employees when I opened the salon”), “ken ‘ando maḥal” (“he also opened his own hair salon”) – conversation B and “bikun accident ḥat waḥad badal ltene” – conversation L (“it was probably an accident when [Omar] switched the two hairdyes”). This aligns with Saleh’s opinion in the interview about fellow hairdressers who have the same level of experience as he does. He notes how experienced hairdressers can exchange knowledge pertaining to hairdressing tasks, its problems and solutions.

The men in the salon gossiped about their parents, siblings, children, and relatives as well. Participants opened up about their families in some of the conversations in the corpus. In a series of gossip episodes in conversation D, Omar complains about the men in his family when speaking to his client Celina. Sarah, the salon’s beautician, participates as a second interlocutor to support Omar’s pejorative evaluation of his father and older brother. In the following example from conversation D, Omar subtly implies that his father is a womanizer.

Example 11:

1 Sarah: ma ma’ ’ule Omar ykun baddo niswen ba’d? / [*Third Person*

*Focus*]

2 Omar: min? /

- 3 Sarah: 'abuk /
- 4 Omar: bayyε? /
- 5 Sarah: mm /
- 6 Omar: ھا ydi' fiyyε bayyε ba'd shway / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]
- 7 Sarah: ma hayda azde /
- 8 Celina: 'adde 'omro? / [*Probe*]
- 9 Sarah: shufi- /  
zghir manno kbir abu! /
- 10 Celina: 'adde ya'ne? /
- 11 Omar: 'omro shi khamisa w khamsin /
- 12 Celina: [BAS?] /
- 13 Sarah: [bas!] /  
ε /
- 14 Celina: lesh 'immak 'adde? / [*Probe*]
- 15 Omar: manna kbire /
- 16 Celina: hiyyε akbar minno? /
- 17 Omar: akbar minno b'ashr snin /  
[...]
- 18 Sarah: ino biddo mara! / [*Substantiating Behavior*]
- 19 Omar: ya'ne amrar bkhaf 'a 7alε bileil nem ھاdo / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]  
<laughs>

(Translation: Sarah: is he still looking for another woman in his life? /

Omar: who? / Sarah: your dad / Omar: my dad? / Sarah: mm / Omar: soon  
enough, my dad is going to start flirting with me! / Sarah: that's what I mean /

Celina: how old is he? / Sarah: he is not that old! / Celina: how old is he, then?  
 / Omar: he is almost fifty-five years old / Celina: ONLY FIFTY-FIVE YEARS  
 OLD? / Sarah: yes! He is only fifty-five / Celina: how old is your mother? /  
 Omar: she is not that old / Celina: she is older than your father? / Omar: she is  
 ten years older than he is [...] / Sarah: he just wants to be with a woman /  
 Omar: I'm scared to sleep with him in the same bed <laughs>)

In the larger conversation, Omar says that his father has been taking care of his mother because she is sick. However, even then, Omar negatively judges his father's decision of staying in the family despite being a womanizer. He indirectly believes his father should not do that: “rijjel e'id bil bet, 'am yikhdom Imara, ma 'am yidhar, ma 'a yishtighil ma fi ma fi” – conversation D (“it doesn't sound right for a man to stay at home and serve his wife, he doesn't go out, he doesn't work, he can't do that”). His older brother is the other man in the family whose behavior annoys Omar. Later in that same conversation, Omar indicates that he dislikes his brother's intrusive behavior: “kharjo yishtighil mħa'i', ya'ne amrar bħiso bayye” – conversation D (“he should work as a detective, he acts like a father to me”).

Because many of the salon's clients are mothers, there were several cases of gossip about their children. The participants in this study listened as their clients gossiped about their children's whereabouts (as in conversations B and D). Saleh is the only father among the hairdressers, and he mentions his two sons in hair salon talk when his clients inquire about them. He evaluates the nature of the relationship between his two sons: “ma fike tijma'iyon il tnen ma' ba'id” (“they can't be in the same room [without fighting]”), “hinne tnayneton bas yinjim 'o ma' ba'ed, tnayneton bijjinno” (“when they're together, they go crazy”), and “iza jama'tiyon bya'mlo kumble

nawawiyye” (“if they’re together, they turn into a ticking bomb [ready to explode any minute in each other’s faces]”) – conversation D. To justify their conduct, his client links their tiresome behavior to the fact that they are boys: “ma they are boys kamen, lbanet arwa” – conversation D (“that’s because they are boys, girls are calmer and easier to handle”). Instances of gossip about relatives were also found in the corpus. Men hairdressers shared their comments about relatives who have unhealthy or strange habits. In conversation G, Saleh gossips about his brother-in-law who smokes a ridiculous number of cigarettes per day. His client, who knows Saleh’s brother-in-law because he previously worked at the salon, agrees with her hairdresser’s evaluation and points out that this habit makes the relative a chain smoker. In conversation U, Mahmoud gossips about his aunt who is obsessed with cleanliness. He describes how his aunt went ballistic when one of her salon clients smelled like garlic. His client Sandy supports his conclusion.

Example 12:

1 Mahmoud: btaʿrfe, khalte / [*Third Person Focus*]

min hol il mjenin hek / [*Pejorative Evaluation*]

2 Sandy: <laughs>

3 Mahmoud: khalte tkhanaʿit maʿ okhta /

ʿanda salon /

4 Sandy: ε /

5 Mahmoud: dasharita okhta abel ma tfut zbune w taʿmiya bonbone /

khalte btaʿmil make-up /

6 Sandy: ε /

7 Mahmoud: ʿalitle law mfarsheyε snena bidda tekol lbonbon /

ma bo'dar arrib 'laya / *[Substantiating Behavior]*

8 Sandy: lɛ? /

9 Mahmoud: iza ma fī shī bittali' riḥtil tum /

10 Sandy: ah /

11 Mahmoud: iza ma fī shī, bitshim riḥto /

12 Sandy: ah okay /

13 Mahmoud: btotlob tawu' /

bit'ul yi biḥot fiya tum /

tab ma ino tawu' ya mastule! / *[Probe]*

(Translation: Mahmoud: you know, my aunt is crazy like that /

Sandy: <laughs> / Mahmoud: my aunt owns a hair salon, she got in a fight with her sister this one time / Sandy: yes / Mahmoud: her sister kicked her out of the salon before she could offer her client a piece of mint, my aunt's specialty is make-up / Sandy: yes / Mahmoud: she told me that even if her client did brush her teeth, she would need to take a mint... otherwise, my aunt can't come near her / Sandy: why? / Mahmoud: because even if her client didn't smell like garlic, she will imagine that she did / Sandy: ah / Mahmoud: even if there wasn't any garlic, she imagines smelling it / Sandy: oh okay / Mahmoud: when she orders a Taouk sandwich, she is surprised that they put garlic in there, it's Taouk, how can there not be garlic in there, you idiot!)

Mahmoud's aunt also happens to be the woman who advised him to pursue a career in hairdressing. In his interview, Mahmoud notes that his aunt is in the hairdressing business herself and motivated him to become a hairdresser for women. He

reports that she advised him against working in a barbershop because it pays less than that of a hair salon.

The men in the hair salon gossiped about women who behave in a reckless, clumsy, or stubborn manner, complain too much, do not listen to others, and obsess over hygiene. Examples from the corpus illustrate the judgments participants make about women: “mukha, a‘waj... mḥashishe” – conversation G (“she is reckless... out of her mind”), “mbayne jdide w makhassa biswa‘a” – conversation N (“she looks inexperienced and incompetent to drive a car”), and “sha‘b majnun... bitsir badda tno’” – conversation U (“women are crazy... they nags all the time!”). Sometimes, the hairdressers pass positive judgments about women who are polite or independent. For example, in conversation D, Omar admits how he could not be more than friends with Sarah’s sister, who previously worked at the salon. She never dropped any hints. He expresses his frustration towards not receiving the opportunity to be with her now that she is married: “ma nakzitne... kinna rabayneha ‘a idayna wallah... ‘arus w tarit” (“she didn’t flirt with me... I would’ve raised her myself... she is the bride who got away”). In conversation O, Mahmoud shows his support when his client says that women should occasionally offer to pay the bill on a date. He praises women who take such initiative to support their man and assert their independence.

The hairdressers not only gossip about the women around them but also about the men in their society. They criticize other men who fall short in their profession and lack the necessary skills and knowledge to complete their tasks successfully. They show their resentment towards men in professions like law and medicine who only care about getting paid; their clients are their least concern. Examples from the corpus which demonstrate judgments that participants make about other male professionals include:

“kif ma ḥattalik ftīl hal majnun?” – conversation P (“why didn’t this crazy doctor put cotton packing inside your nose [after the rhinoplasty surgery]?”) and “lmuḥame ‘ande ye ḥaramē bi badle... bifut byihkē kilimten, byekhidlo alfen dollar” – conversation M (to me, a lawyer is a crook in a suit, he takes two thousand dollars just for walking in and saying a few words”). Men hairdressers also express their resentment towards men that work for the government or the Lebanese General Security. They judge their corrupt, immoral, and greedy behavior that contradicts with their duty of protecting the country’s citizens (as in conversations K and R). However, Mahmoud notes that men who work in the Internal Security Forces of the country, the gendarmerie, are trustworthy because their values align with what is fair and right: “ana ma ’ilē bihal ’mur wala bi sleḥ wala bḥibon... bas niḥna ‘anna hon bi’ululo (xxx) iza ma ‘ldarak... bas ma ‘jesh inta muḥtaram” – conversation R (“I am not interested in politics, but here, if you side with the men in General Security, they consider you (xxx), but if you help the gendarmerie, people will respect you”). Participants also gossip about men who identify as bisexual, such as the famous football players Cristiano Ronaldo and Lionel Messi (conversation Q): “‘andon shuzuz” (“homosexual”) and “gay”. In conversation Q, Saleh concludes that he doesn’t care if the football player is gay or not. All that matters to him is how well he plays on the field (“halla’ ana bi niheyē ekhir hamme iza huwē gay wallah huwē ah... hayda, ’in ken hayda wala in ken- ana ma bihimne akhla’o barrat lmal’ab, ana bihimne li’bo w shu hayda”). Lastly, hairdressers also show their distaste towards men who lose weight and become extremely thin. For example, in conversation M, Mahmoud criticizes how weird and less likeable Arab male celebrities

look after losing a ridiculous amount of weight: “bas battal mahdum bas da‘if Fouad<sup>10</sup>, ino hek yid‘af faj’ a bsir shaklo gharib” (“Fouad stopped being funny when he lost weight, when he lost weight all of a sudden, he looked weird”) and “mitil Hussain El Jasimi masalan, bas do‘if sar shaklo bi’arrif, sar bidaḥik” (“it’s the same with Hussain El Jasimi<sup>11</sup>, when he lost weight, he looked horrible and silly”). In the same conversation, Mahmoud concludes that a fat man has confidence and personality. He promotes a positive body image and openly calls himself fat. He says that all the women contestants would not go out with him if he appeared on the show, but they would invite him for a meal: “ana iza bruḥ bidawule killon, bidawule killon dawil barad”.

Participants in this study gossip about individuals and groups. The hairdressers condemn terrorists and extremists who commit violent acts against innocent people (as in conversations I and R). They also criticize figures of authority including Lebanese political parties that are despicable (“akbar zo‘ran haydol, bid‘eh ‘layon da‘awe” – conversation K “they are culprits, and I keep praying that they all die one day”) and politically powerful nations like Israel who must banish because of their horrendous and terrorizing presence (“kenit ‘am bid‘ε ‘layon, Allah yshatilon benzene” – conversation D “I was praying that Israel burns to the ground”). Hairdressers gossip about the Turks as people who are aloof and mean and football teams who perform poorly in matches and do not meet the expectations of the interlocutors (both in conversation Q). They also gossip about religious people who behave in an obnoxious manner because they interfere in the way others around them practice faith (as in conversation F). Another instance of gossip comes from conversation G between Saleh and his client Celina

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<sup>10</sup> Fouad Yammine is the show host of “Take Me Out” which is aired on LBCI.

<sup>11</sup> Hussain El Jassimi is an Emirati singer who is famous in the Middle East.

about drug addicts and alcoholics who abuse the substance and show no restraint:

“hayda li byekhidon bikun ‘am yihrob min lwaki‘ taba‘o” (“these people are addicts because they are trying to run away from the world around them”). In conversation H, Omar and Celina gossip about bisexual people. They say that it is difficult to know their sexual orientation because they are attracted to both men and women. Omar humorously adds that that is the reason behind his future plan to open a unisex salon. He believes his idea will attract this type of clientele.

Example 13

1 Omar: ana ma bħibil niswen /

2 Celina: bithibil rjel aw shī /

<laughs>

3 Sarah: <laughs>

4 Celina: bita‘ rigala? /

5 Omar: bisexual /

6 Celina: BISEXUAL? /

lek aħsan (xxx) /

<laughs>

[...]

7 Omar: ma bkhalle bsayne t‘awwe fo’ w min ħadde /

<chuckles>

8 Celina: ‘anjad il bisexual ma byil’at ε ‘afikra /

9 Omar: ma byil’at /

10 Celina: li’ano bita‘ killo... /

ya‘ne ‘illa ma yle’ilo ya mara ya rijjel, ‘anjad /

<chuckles>

11 Sarah: <laughs>

12 Omar: lε fikrik lε ‘am bit ‘allam rijjele ana? /

13 Celina: ahhhh! /

14 Omar: ھا samme salonε Omar bisexual /

<Celina and Omar laugh out loud>

15 Omar: hiyyε sex aw unisex, ma hiyyε zeta /

<laughs>

16 Celina: ε hiyyε zeta /

<laughs>

(Translation: Omar: I don't like women / Celina: do you like men?

<laughs> / Sarah: <laughs> / Celina: just men? / Omar: bisexual / Celina:

BISEXUAL? Even better <laughter> [...] / Omar: I don't let them flirt with me

/ Celina: it's hard to tell if a person is bisexual, by the way / Omar: you can

never tell / Celina: because he is attracted to both sexes, he will always find

someone for him, either a man or a woman / Sarah: <laughs> / Omar: why do

you think I am training to be a barber? / Celina: oh! / Omar: I am calling my

salon Omar for Bisexuals <Celina and Omar laugh out loud> / Omar: if it's for

women, men, or both, it's all the same <laughs> / Celina: yes, it's the same

<laughs>)

## **E. Anecdotes of Entertainment and Narratives of Personal Experience in Hair Salon Talk**

The hairdressers in the study stated that most of their clients come to the hair salon to vent about the challenges they are facing in their private lives, including their marriage, family, and career. Saleh reported that many of his clients confided in him. He said they would come in and talk about their fears and concerns by sharing stories to let him know what went wrong and why they are unhappy. Saleh confessed that he would forget his identity as a hairdresser and salon owner if he found out that his client's well-being is at risk; instead, he would play an advisory role by first listening to the story the client has to tell and then focusing on helping her make better life decisions. The hairdressers get to know more about their clients during their haircare appointment; however, the corpus strongly suggests that hairdressers connect with their clients when they exchange stories of their own. Sometimes, the client's storytelling invites mutual disclosure on part of the hairdresser. Hairdressers become storytellers who express their personal opinions, entertain and solicit reactions of laughter or shock from their clients, educate them, recount personal encounters and open up about their past.

Participants told stories about their experiences in the hairdressing business, including the challenges of working with bad clients or employees. The hairdressers talked about the troubles they went through to fix a client's hair after she would commit a haircare mistakes, lie about her haircare history, or quarrel and disrespect the hairdresser (as in conversations B, E, K, P, T and U). To the participants, these stories are the lessons learned, the triumphs, and failures of their professional career. Moreover, participants confessed about stories of dishonest, disloyal and inept hair

salon employees (as in conversations A, B, L and E). Not all stories are about work because the men in hairdressers shared the events they had with their families, their wives, and their girlfriends. They recounted humorous instances and exchanged stories about the concerns and struggles of their family members. They also told stories about their siblings, kids, and relatives (this includes conversations A, C, D, G, J, and U). They shared details about their dating life, including their escapades with previous love interests (as in conversations F, G, and O). Few stories in the corpus were about the hairdressers' friends. Finally, the hairdressers recollected past events from their life including adventurous stories about driving a car in Lebanon (Conversations K and N) and expressed their thoughts, worries and frustration about the safety of the country and its political situation through stories about it, like the one in conversation R. The participants did not always tell stories to show affiliation with their clients. There were times when they told stories to distance themselves from other types of hairdressers, other men, and women.

Anecdotes are one form of storytelling used by the hairdressers in the study to forward hair salon talk and socialize with clients without meddling or leaving room for awkward silence during the haircare session. The hairdressers solicited outbursts of laughter, frustrated groans, and gasps from their clients after sharing remarkable events or crises that occurred. The shared background knowledge between the hairdresser and his client about the event led to high levels of mutual understanding. This consequently brought out the desired reactions from the clients. The hairdressers reached no conclusion or evaluation when sharing anecdotes. Instead, they reacted differently in their conversations with clients to highlight the significance of the anecdote they disclosed. For instance, in conversation D, hairdresser Omar confides in his client

Celina about a past love interest, Sarah's younger sister, and reacts with frustration about the topic because he never knew she was interested in him. This leads to reactions of laughter and surprise on part of the client, who asks more questions about this potential partner. Other conversations such as A and G provoke laughter after the participants share humorous incidents. Disbelief and shock in anecdotes are found in conversation R after Mahmoud shares his affiliation with the police force in his neighborhood. This was of great interest to his client who works as a war correspondent in the Middle East. The anecdotes that hairdressers used were impersonal with no final resolution or moral. Because the hairdressing profession is service-oriented, it highly depends on the client's emotional comfort and social connection with their hairdresser. Compared to gossip and narratives, anecdotes were the least frequent conversational strategy in the hair salon corpus because they were the least favorable form of hair salon talk.

Narratives are the other form of storytelling in the corpus that hairdressers used to get personal with their clients and give them insight into their world. There are sixteen narratives in the corpus while there were only five anecdotes in total. Most of the narratives told by the participants focused on what happened, when it happened, and what went wrong. As narrators, the hairdressers recapitulated their real-life experiences and the problems faced at work with fellow male hairdressers. They evaluated their professional life and reflected on the hairdressing skills that saved them from haircare mistakes. Hairdressers shared narratives about the challenges they faced in dealing with other hairdressers in the business. For example, Saleh told several narratives about his experience with employees who worked at his salon. In conversation A, Saleh makes a clear distinction between himself as the owner of his hair salon and the employees that

work for him. After his client's inquiry about one of the salon's previous long-term employees, Saleh narrates how his employee got stuck in Syria and was not able to come back to work at the salon anymore. With his client, Saleh co-evaluates how his employee committed the oblivious mistake of leaving the country in the time when he needed him the most (refer to example 10). Similarly, in conversation L, Saleh evaluates the upsetting reality of the hairdressing business nowadays. He notes that opening a hair salon is no different than opening a grocery shop because the owners are not hairdressers; they are only interested in hiring employees to sell hairdressing services for cheap prices without caring about haircare prestige or the needed skills. Saleh then gives another story about an old employee who left the salon, went behind his back to manage another salon, and stole his clients (refer to example 6). The hairdressers also narrate stories about successful appointments with their clients (conversation U) and some of their bad appointments. In conversation E, Saleh concludes that his clients repeatedly commit haircare mistakes and hide valuable information about what they had done to their hair in other salons. In the same conversation, he shares a few stories about how he fixed one of his client's hair even though she made a big mess out of it and never told him until it was too late: "la' ma-ma zbuṅ ma bta'rif saliḥa aw btiftikir ino ε min zamen... fa hek shaghlet lzbunε ma bitsariḥ amra lal coiffeur". In sharing these stories, the hairdressers inculcate their clients with beliefs about the hair salon's environment: what is right and what is wrong about haircare practices and the overall relationship they must share with the hairdresser. This aligns with Saleh's statement in his interview about refusing to work on a client's hair if she refuses to take his hairdressing advice when he is completely convinced that his approach will protect her hair rather than harm it.

Narratives in the corpus also include the participants' personal experiences beyond their hairdressing world. The hairdressers exchange stories about uneasy or strange situations their family members experience, as in conversations C and U. They also evaluate how embarrassed they felt with romantic partners they dated, such as conversations G and O. These personal stories strengthen the hairdressers' bond with their clients, and the salon turns into a safe zone for both its men and women to talk about their most uncomfortable stories. The narratives of hairdressers also include past events, including ones about their driving experiences (conversations K and N). For instance, Saleh shares two sequential narratives in conversation N about the time he got his driving license and his first car respectively. He depicts the tough situation he had to go through to pass his exam and then buy the car he wanted using his own money. He tells his client how he worked as an employee in a hair salon to pay off his first car.

Example 14:

- 1 Saleh: ana 'a tmanta'shar sine kint mjamma' ḥa' siyyara /  
ana ken 'andε- ken awwal ḥilm ḥayete ino ana ishtre siyyara /  
min musriyete bas /
- 2 Amanda: shu jibet wa'ta? /
- 3 Saleh: jibet (xxx) hayda ba'da jdide- tal'a jdid /  
[...]
- 4 Saleh: kint ba'dne shampwaner /
- 5 Amanda: ah, lal tips ya'ne /
- 6 Saleh: ken ma'ashe klatmit arba' mit alf /  
balasht ken 'omre arba' ta'shar sine /  
ija 'ibin 'amme /

'allε shu btishtighil /  
huwwε mudir bank /  
ε, shu btishtighil /  
tips kaza bma'ash /  
'atine yehon bhotton b'ismε /  
w bas inta hayda bi'liblak yehon 'a ismak /

7 Amanda: hek 'emel? /

8 Saleh: ε, 'milna hek /

jit 'a tmanta'sh w shway... /  
balashet su' sayyaret baba /  
ba'den talla'et siyara la 'ile /  
ken hayda awwal hilim bi hayetε /  
ino ana kun ma'ε 'a tmanta'shar sine siyyara bmusriyetε /

(Translation: Saleh: when I was eighteen years old, I saved up money to buy a car, it was a dream of mine to buy a car with my own money / Amanda: what kind of car did you get back then? / Saleh: I got a (xxx) it was brand new when I got it, I was only an employee in the salon / Amanda: so you saved up money from the tips you got at the salon / Saleh: my salary was about three hundred or four hundred thousand Lebanese pounds, I started working when I was only fourteen years old, my cousin was a bank manager and asked me what I worked and how much I got paid, he suggested that he put my money in his account until I was old enough to open my own account at the bank where he worked / Amanda: he did that? / Saleh: yes, we did that, and at eighteen, I started driving my dad's car, and then I bought my own car, it was a dream come true, to buy a car when I turn eighteen with the money I earned)

## **F. Negotiation of Professional and Gender Roles in the Hair Salon**

When asked about the reason(s) they decided to work in a hair salon, all three hairdressers noted that it was a clean business. In his individual interview, Mahmoud explains that working with women's hair is cleaner than working with men's hair. He said that he started working in barbershops first but disliked the experience because all sorts of male clients came in for a haircut or style. Mahmoud felt disgusted everytime he came home from the barbershop, and that is why he switched to hairdressing. He also remarked how he preferred to work in hairdressing because he loves women and loves to beautify their hair. Like Saleh, he also believes that being a hairdresser pays better than being a barber in Lebanon. His aunt, who is an experienced hairdresser, encouraged him to work in a hair salon. The same is true for Saleh whose parents convinced him to go into the hairdressing business. Saleh did not pursue hairdressing because it was his passion or hobby. He admits that working in a hair salon has its burdens because a hairdresser needs to continuously maintain solid interactions with clients and employees to build good relationships with them. To him, it is tiring because it requires close attention to detail, careful management and competent leadership skills as well. Omar, very much like Mahmoud's case, became a hairdresser because he is passionate about it. Omar explained that hairdressing started as a hobby for him when he was only thirteen years old. He described how he liked to pretend he was a hairdresser when he was a kid and cut the hair off his sister's Barbie dolls. Unlike Saleh and Mahmoud's families, Omar's father did not encourage him to pursue hairdressing. In fact, his father wanted him to become a military officer or an engineer.

To become a good hairdresser, the interviewees believe that experience is a must. They suggested that a substantial period of time and proper guidance are needed

to hone good hairdressing skills. Saleh and Mahmoud noted that continuous practice matters, and that there are no shortcuts when it comes to a successful career in hairdressing. Saleh mentioned that certificates from hairdressing institutes are not obligatory anymore; anyone can open a salon these days. Therefore, the only way to understand how clients think and what works best for their hair is to get hands-on experience in different salons, especially when the hairdresser is new to the business. In his interview, Omar mentioned that it also takes passion to be a hairdresser, especially in Lebanon where this business is unstable and not as profitable as he hoped it to be. The two other hairdressers, Saleh and Mahmoud, find this point to be true. Mahmoud reported that there are more than 20,000 salons in Lebanon because there are no laws to protect hairdressers and their right to a good pay. Every salon sets prices that suit them.

The hairdressers listed analytical skills including good decision-making as another necessity in the profession. All participants said that a hairdresser must be quick on his feet and creative in styling his client's hair in ways that suit her personality. However, Saleh added that the hairdresser has more knowledge than the client about haircare; therefore, when a client comes in and requests a haircut that doesn't suit her face and features, it is the hairdresser's responsibility to point that out and advise his client against it. Lastly, Mahmoud reported that hairdressing is a profession that men, like women, can do. He believes that hairdressing is not an easy job because it requires a good amount of physical strength: “‘am nenhāt” (“we do a lot of labor work). He views hairdressing as the type of career that men do better than women; male hairdressers can withstand longer working hours as well.

All three participants claimed that being a man affects their professional role as hairdressers and even puts them at an advantage. In his interview, Saleh explained that

hair is one of the first features that a man will look at and feel attracted to in a woman. According to Saleh, when the hairdresser is a man, he will be able to see what best suits a woman's face and body and apply the hairstyle that matches his client's look. He will automatically analyze whether or not straight hair is better on her or if a darker shade of blonde fits her skin tone. He believes that his gender aids his career because he is a man and knows what men like to see on a woman. Mahmoud holds similar opinions about men working in hairdressing. In his interview, he added that this profession should be reserved for men because most women prefer a man, not a woman, to do their hair. A man will know more about a woman's preferences and will be able to create the hairstyle she desires. He also reiterated that a man is able to stand more on his feet and work his way around the hairdressing equipments longer than a woman can at the salon. Even though the salon is conventionally reserved for women, Mahmoud considered men to be better professionals in the hairdressing business. Mahmoud also linked the hairdressing business to prestige. He noted that working at a female hair salon gives him the opportunity to be around women from high socio-economic status and privileged educational background. His presence around women motivates him to become learn from them and become a more intellectual person. He concluded that working with female clientele is more profitable than working with men. Omar was not interviewed for the second part of the interview because he left the salon soon after data collection took place, but he pointed out in the first part of the interview that he was learning how to cut men's hair because he was planning to open a unisex salon for both men and women clientele. However, he affirmed that it will be difficult to execute his project because many women will not be comfortable sitting in a hair salon chair while a man next to them is getting his beard trimmed. He reported that his project of opening

this salon might not work in Lebanon because the concept of having men and women in the same salon is still deemed unacceptable in the country. He explained how the Lebanese society is not ready to accept this idea yet because people are used to sex-segregated hair salons or barbershops.

### **G. Proximity and Distance in Hair Salon Talk**

The kind of work relationship hairdressers build with their clients affects the way they speak to each other. Based on their lived experiences as hairdressers, the participants said that their clients set the tone for the kind of interaction they prefer to have with their hairdresser. For example, Mahmoud indicated that he would avoid speaking to a client if she does not want to talk or responds minimally during her appointment. Mahmoud said he would revert the conversation back to service talk that is only concerned with the client's hair. Mahmoud also said that his clients sometimes opened up about sensitive topics; when that happened, he welcomed this type of conversation but would never initiate it himself. Similarly, Saleh admitted that most of the clients who come to the salon do not talk much and would rather sit quietly while their hair gets done as quickly as possible. He believes in the importance of dialogue in the hair salon because the information he derives from his conversations with clients helps him better understand their personality and lifestyle. To him, dialogue is necessary for a successful haircare appointment which can lead to having loyal clientele on the long run.

Participants also noted the importance of providing a comfortable and supportive environment for their clients. Saleh reported that he listens attentively and offers emotional support to many of his clients. He said he gives them room to share

their worries and troubles with him. Mahmoud gave a similar point about the importance of being gentle and caring about their clients. In his opinion, a hairdresser must show his client how much he cares about her hair, work, interests, and much more. He must also stay away from topics that upset the client during her appointment. He added that clients come to the salon to feel better, and so, every client and situation requires him to change the way he is and adapt according to the conversation at hand. To him, hairdressers are like psychiatrists; they must comfort the client at all costs.

Interviewees warned about the importance of avoiding conflict with their clients and showing respect. Saleh reported that problematic incidents at his salon are rare. They are more of misunderstandings or differences in opinion with a client. To him, he tries to avoid conflict as much as possible, so he does not risk losing his clients. He stated that the hairdresser must always give his client the best hair advice, even if the client is not convinced about what he is saying. Instead of sparking any conflict, Saleh said that he makes up other excuses, point out that the haircut or hairstyle that the client wants makes her nose look big or other features like her chin or cheeks look bad. In his opinion, a hairdresser's expert opinion must be said in a subtle way, so that the client doesn't pay attention to it. If the client still insists, then Saleh admitted that he would tell her the truth because it is more important to him to make sure that his client does not commit a haircare mistake she will most likely regret. He confessed how he had a few similar incidents in his salon, and how many of the clients he confronted got angry with him. He explained that his clients do not understand his intentions. To him, he does not want to ruin a client's hair, so he could make money.

Part of avoiding conflict to keep the hairdresser-client relationship afloat is by making sure that respect is part of the recipe. Saleh noted that he tries to talk to all

clients in the same respectful manner. However, there are times when his clients do not want to listen to his hairdressing advice or when they become disrespectful. When that happens, Saleh said he would start talking in a more strict and direct tone but tries his best to stay polite and calm. He wraps up his interview answer by saying that he makes sure this doesn't happen in his salon since most of his clients already know him. He said he avoids confrontation. As for Mahmoud, he said he experienced a few conflicts with clients in previous hair salons he worked in. The reason for conflict is miscommunication, especially when the client ends up disliking her hair, getting very angry, and not telling the hairdresser what happened to help him understand what she wanted from the very beginning. He also shared three other instances conflicts with clients in previous salons he worked in. These conflicts had one thing in common: they were conflicts that offended the hairdresser's work, his reputation, and his behavior at the salon. These offenses would make a hairdresser change the way they speak and behave around the client. Mahmoud said that in all his conflicts, he would stop working on the client's hair, leave the salon until the client is out, and refuse to accept any appointments to work on this client's hair in then future.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this research study, the hairdressers negotiate their gender and professional roles in the hair salon through the use of anecdotes, narratives and gossip to achieve proximity with their clients. The hair salon is a predominantly female space and is generally associated with feminine culture. The hair salon follows a cooperative, relationship-dependent and entertaining interactional style that is conventionally associated with femininity. The salon is a community of practice that values hair care service. While the men in hairdressing sit behind the salon chair working on their client's hair, they are providing them with more than just their services. Hairdressing is a feminized occupation, and for the sake of maintaining loyal clients and long-term financial stability, femininity is used as a gender capital available to hairdressers due to the nature of the context where they work. However, the hairdressers believe that the hair care service they perform every day for clients is not easy. It is both physically and emotionally draining to continuously ensure that the client is entertained, and her hair appointment is going well. In a time when anyone can open a hair salon, as Saleh said in conversation E of the corpus, a well-rounded hairdressing experience at the salon is important. However, its success is largely dependent on the hairdresser's skills in interpersonal communication. This is why the hairdresser cultivates an affiliative style of interaction in the hair salon to elicit details from the client about what she wants from the hairdressing appointment but also work to recognize the kind of experience the client in his chair is looking for at the same time.

The participants in this research study constructed a gender identity that was more in line with the feminized workplace, the hair salon. They made sure to give their clients the emotional support by making them feel comfortable and entertained at all times. This is achieved through the narratives the hairdressers shared about the challenges of their career, the lessons they learned from past clients and colleagues or employees, and the times when their expertise was put to the test. The hairdressers also gossiped with their clients about the people in their lives. Narrative is a highly confidential conversational strategy that requires the client to have a certain level of knowledge about her hairdresser. Gossip is the most intimate off-record conversation that requires honesty and comfort on both parts of the conversation. Both narratives and gossip were frequently used in hairdresser-client interactions. Gossip had the highest frequency which indicates that the hair salon is regarded as a safe zone for the hairdresser and his client to confide in one another. Most of the narratives and gossip episodes were met with agreement and a probe to push the conversation forward. Clients also co-evaluated the hairdressers' narratives as a form of mutual understanding.

Besides displaying trust in their clients, the hairdressers boasted about their haircare expertise through the narratives and gossip instances that they shared with their clients. In their narratives, the hairdressers portrayed the professional role of a problem-solver for when clients commit mistakes or lie about their previous haircare experiences. The hairdressers also emphasized the importance of meaningful dialogue with their clients. In their interviews, they claimed that dialogue was not abundant at their hair salon even though they deemed it necessary for a successful hairdressing experience. However, this is not true because of the abundance of the conversational content. The hairdressers also avoided conflict and confrontation with their clients to

maintain a high level of trust and provide a sense of community for them. Anecdotes were the least frequent conversational strategy in the corpus. Even though anecdotes were used to solicit reactions from the storyteller or his audience, they did nothing in terms of bonding with the client. Anecdotes did not push the conversation forward and were only used for the sake of entertaining the client. This is not true for narratives and gossip episodes that consist of evaluations that were many times mutually agreed on or co-evaluation by the hairdresser and his client in conversation. A high level of proximity was found when these conversational strategies were used, with gossip as the most frequent because it is where the highest level of trust is found.

The hairdressers displayed another facet of their gender identity at work pertaining to hegemonic masculinity. The hairdressers used anecdotes, narratives and gossip to index masculinized stances and roles. They depicted themselves as sexual beings and identified themselves as men when telling stories about their sexual escapades with women. They distanced themselves from women and called them crazy or bad drivers. They assumed the role of independent men who can support themselves financially and emotionally. In their interviews, the participants confidently admitted that men are better than women in the hairdressing business because they believe that men will know what will better suit a woman. The hairdressers also noted that they emotionally detach themselves during a client's session; they will listen to the client and soothe her pain, but they said they do not get involved. Studying the way masculinity is constructed through linguistic practice provides a better understanding of the lived experiences of the hairdressers.

The small sample in this study is not statistically representative of men in hairdressing and may limit the claims that are offered. However, the aim of this

qualitative study was not generalizable. The small sample size and the particular nature of the data collected allowed a detailed analysis, which in turn provided an opportunity to develop a more complex understanding of men's talk in a workplace context that is predominantly female. In future research, it would be beneficial to observe how the male hairdressers interact with their female and male colleagues in hair salons. A comparative study between hairdressers and barbershops in Beirut will help observe the notion of language and masculinity. Also, the power dynamics between the hairdresser and his client or between hairdressers in the same salon is an investigation worth delving into because power in the workplace can indirectly index gender. More generally, this research lacks the quantitative twist because it is a case study. Therefore, taking the same conversational strategies but checking for their abundance or even presence across several hair salons in Lebanon can be another endeavor to better understand the relationship between language, gender and the workplace.

## APPENDIX I



### PARTICIPANTS' INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Opening statement: In this interview, I would like you to answer the following questions to create an understanding of your perspective as a male hairdresser at a female hair salon, particularly regarding your experience in the business, your professional and social identity at this workplace, and your perception of how male hairdressers speak and converse there. The duration of this individual interview will be around 40 minutes. The following list of questions will guide the interview:

#### **In terms of general background information about the participants:**

1. Where are you from? And where did you grow up?

#### **In terms of training experience as hair dressers:**

2. How long have you been a hairdresser at *Chic*?
3. Where did you practice/train for the profession you are in? And did you attain any certificate(s) or degree(s) before you started working here?
4. What reasons motivated you to become a hairdresser in the business?

#### **In terms of social and professional identity as hair dressers in relation to language:**

5. In your personal opinion, what does it mean to be a hairdresser working in a hair salon with female clients?
6. What are incidents that you have experienced in the business with your clients that shape who you are as a male hairdresser?
7. How would you describe your relationship(s) with each of your female clients?
8. What are discussions that take place during your working hour(s) with your female clients at the hair salon?
9. Have you ever had to speak in a certain manner when you address your clients? In what way(s) and for what reason(s) did you do that?
10. From what you can recall, what are conversations that took place with female clients where you had to speak in a way that is either similar or different than how you usually speak outside the hair salon?
11. Would you like to add any further comments about your (1) hairdressing experience at a female hair salon, and (2) conversations or ways of speaking with your clients that make you who you are?



## أسئلة المقابلة الفردية لمصنفي الشعر الذكور في صالون

### لل سيدات

الكلمة الافتتاحية: في هذه المقابلة، أود منك الإجابة عن الأسئلة التالية من أجل خلق فهم أفضل لرأيك و وجهة نظرك كونك رجل في مجال تصفيف الشعر في صالون للسيدات، خاصة في ما يتعلق بخبرتك في هذا الميدان، و هويتك المهنية و الاجتماعية داخل الصالون، بالإضافة إلى إدراكك للطريقة (أو الطرق) التي يتحدث بها مصفف الشعر داخل الصالون. ستستغرق المقابلة ما يقارب 40 دقيقة. لائحة الأسئلة الموجودة أدناه ستساعد في توجيه المقابلة الفردية:

#### من حيث المعلومات العامة حول المشارك في الدراسة:

1. ما هي جنسيتك؟ و في أي بلد نشأت؟

#### من حيث الخبرة والتدريب كونك مصفف الشعر:

2. منذ متى وأنت تعمل كمصفف شعر في صالون شيك؟

3. أين قمت بممارسة/التدريب لمهنة تصفيف الشعر؟ وهل حصلت على أي شهادة (أو شهادات) قبل بدء العمل هنا؟

4. ما هي الأسباب التي دفعتك لتصبح مصفف شعر في الصالون؟

#### من حيث الهوية الاجتماعية والمهنية كمصفف للشعر، فيما يتعلق باللغة:

5. في رأيك الشخصي، ماذا يعني أن يكون مصفف الشعر رجلاً يعمل في صالون تصفيف الشعر للنساء؟

6. ما هي حوادث قد اختبرتها خلال مزاوله المهنة مع زبائنك التي ساهمت في تكوين هويتك كرجل في مجال تصفيف الشعر؟

7. كيف تصف علاقتك (علاقاتك) مع الزبائن؟

8. ما هي المحادثات التي تجري خلال ساعات العمل الخاص بك مع زبائنك الإناث في صالون الشعر؟

9. هل اضطررت التحدث بطريقة معينة عند توجيه الكلام لزملائك؟ ما هي هذه الطريقة (أو الطرق) و لأي سبب أقدمت على التحدث كذلك؟
10. مما تذكر، ما هي المحادثات التي جرت مع الزملاء حيث كان عليك أن تتحدث بطريقة إما مشابهة أو مختلفة عن الطريقة التي عادة ما تتكلم بها خارج صالون الشعر؟
11. هل ترغب في إضافة أي تعليقات أخرى عن (1) تجربتك كمصفف شعر للإناث، و (2) أي طرق للتحدث مع زملاء العمل والزملاء التي ساهمت في تكوين ما أنت عليه الآن؟

## APPENDIX II

### LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ROMANIZATION OF ARABIC

#### Library of Congress Romanization of Arabic

Isolated	From Right	Both Sides	From Left	Romanization	Name	Num Value
ا	ا	—	—	ʾ, ā *, **	ʾalif	1
ب	ب	ب	ب	b	bā	2
ت	ت	ت	ت	t	tā	400
ث	ث	ث	ث	th	thā	500
ج	ج	ج	ج	j	jīm	3
ح	ح	ح	ح	ḥ	ḥā	8
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh	khā	600
د	د	—	—	d	dāl	4
ذ	ذ	—	—	dh	dhāl	700
ر	ر	—	—	r	rā	200
ز	ز	—	—	z	zāy	7
س	س	س	س	s	sīn	60
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh	shīn	300
ص	ص	ص	ص	ṣ	ṣād	90
ض	ض	ض	ض	ḍ	ḍād	800
ط	ط	ط	ط	ṭ	ṭā	9
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ	ẓā	900
ع	ع	ع	ع	ʿ	ʿayn	70
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh	ghayn	1000
ف	ف	ف	ف	f	fā	80
ق	ق	ق	ق	q	qāf	100
ك	ك	ك	ك	k	kāf	20
ل	ل	ل	ل	l	lām	30
م	م	م	م	m	mīm	40
ن	ن	ن	ن	n	nūn	50
هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ	h, t ***	hā, tā marbūṭah	5
و	و	—	—	w, ū	wāw	6
ي	ي	ي	ي	y, ī	yā	10
ى	ى	—	—	á	alif maqṣūrah	—

## Non-Arabic and Maghribi

Isolated	From Right	Both Sides	From Left	Romanization	Name
پ	پ	پ	پ	<i>p</i>	<i>pā'</i>
چ	چ	چ	چ	<i>ch</i>	<i>chīm</i>
ژ	ژ	—	—	<i>zh</i>	<i>zhāy</i>
ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ	<i>zh</i>	<i>zhīm</i>
گ	گ	گ	گ	<i>g</i>	<i>gāf</i>
و	و	و	و	<i>v</i>	<i>vā'</i>
ف	ف	ف	ف	<i>f</i>	<i>fā'</i>
ق	ق	ق	ق	<i>q</i>	<i>qāf</i>
و	و	و	و	<i>v</i>	<i>vā'</i>

## Vowels and Diphthongs

ا	<i>a</i>	آ	<i>ā</i>	إي	<i>ī</i>
و	<i>u</i>	أوى ****	<i>á</i>	أى	<i>aw</i>
ي	<i>i</i>	أى	<i>ū</i>	أى	<i>ay</i>

\* <sup>هـ</sup> *hamzah* is omitted at the beginning of a word; elsewhere, it is written, eg., أحمد *Aḥmad*, but مؤسسة *mu'assasah*, دائم *dā'im*, خطي *khaṭī'*.

\*\* The preposition ل in combination with following article أ is written *lil-*, e.g., للكتاب *lil-kitāb*, للشمس *lil-shams*. Note that the ل of the article is not assimilated to the “sun”-letters, e.g., السفير *al-safīr*.

\*\*\* *ā* is romanized *at* in a word in the construct state. To distinguish romanized *ā* in contact with another consonant from a roman digraph representing a single Arabic consonant, a single prime ' is placed between the two distinct letters, e.g., *ad 'ham* = أدهم, *akramat 'hā* = أكرمتهَا.

\*\*\*\* مصطفى *Muṣṭafá*, but دنا *danā*.

## APPENDIX III

### KEY FOR TRANSCRIBING CONVERSATIONS BY COATES (2003) AND EGGINS & SLADE (1997)

The transcription conventions were extracted from Coates (2003) and Eggins & Slade (1997). The transcription symbols used for the conversational data are as follows:

- A slash (/) indicates the end of a tone group or a chunk of talk to show that there is some sense of completion (but not necessarily the end of a sentence)
- A hyphen (-) indicates an incomplete word or utterance because of an interruption or self-repair
- Short pauses are indicated by one apostrophe ('); longer pauses are indicated by three full stops (...)
- CAPITAL LETTERS are used to mark talk that is noticeably louder than the surrounding speech. It is uttered with emphasis and/or increased volume of the speaker
- Underlined words indicate stressed word or part of the word to mark speaker emphasis
- A question mark (?) indicates uncertainty (rising tone or wh-interrogative)
- An exclamation mark (!) indicates a surprised intonation (rising—falling tone)
- The symbol [...] indicates that material has been omitted
- Angled brackets (< >) enclose relevant non-verbal information or behavior (for example: laughter, cough, telephone ring)
- Double round parenthesis (( )) indicates that there is doubt about the accuracy of the transcription
- When the speech is indecipherable to make out, it is represented as ((xxx))
- To indicate a markedly soft or low volume speech, an asterisk (\*) is used
- An equal sign (=) is placed at the end of one speaker's utterance and at the start of the next utterance to indicate the absence of a discernible gap.
- Extended square brackets [ ] indicate the overlap of utterances, marked with left and right hand brackets to show which part of the speakers' utterances occur simultaneously

## APPENDIX III

### THE CORPUS

#### Conversation A: Saleh and Madame Sandra (4 minutes)

- 1 Madame Sandra: dakhlak fal hayda Hani min 'andak? /
- 2 Saleh: Hani 'alā'n bī Suriyā /
- 3 Madame Sandra: lε? /
- 4 Saleh: raḥ 'ases 'abil mā ana sefir raḥ ya'mil vacation 'abil mā= /
- 5 Madame Sandra: ='al vacation bi Suriyā /  
sma' ba'a! /
- 6 Saleh: ε la' raḥ ya'mil shopping /
- 7 Madame Sandra: shopping kamein! /
- 8 Saleh: w yshuf lṭayra l'adime /
- 9 Madame Sandra: shu lṭayra y'ane? saḥibtu? /
- 10 Saleh: <chuckles>
- 11 Madame Sandra: ε? /
- 12 Saleh: ε /  
'amo wa'afū l'amen l'am ḥaṭulū tlat snin /
- 13 Madame Sandra: shū ḥaṭulū? /
- 14 Saleh: mamnu' yfut 'a libnen la midit tlat snin /
- 15 Madame Sandra: LA'! /
- 16 Saleh: hala' 'am- yzabita khayō rij'u zabatulū yeha /  
lkafil l'adim midre shu mkhabaslu 'a ware'tu /  
'am yshilu 'an 'ismo /  
midre shu mkhabaslu bil 'amin l'am /  
'am ḥatitlu bilghalat mani' safar- /  
la' mish mani' safar... mani' dukhul /  
fa hala' min hon la shi jumi'ten tlete yemken yzabtulo yeha /  
w ye2dar yirja' yije /  
'ata'ne l'at'a l'ajibe /

- 17 Madame Sandra: mmm bas ḥaram ma b'ido /  
 huwe saḥ ma lezim yruḥ /  
 hayda habal /
- 18 Saleh: huwe ma ken lezem yruḥ /
- 19 Madame Sandra: ε... sorry habal /  
 <silence for a few seconds from both speakers>
- 20 Madame Sandra: bas Saleh kif bi'ishu bi hek wad' hunik? /
- 21 Saleh: ah bi maṭraḥ ma huwe rayiḥ byisma'o 'aswat /
- 22 Madame Sandra: mm bas? /
- 23 Saleh: kil shi ḥad il shem /  
 ḥawela il shem /  
 ma fi shi= /
- 24 Madame Sandra: =ma fi shi /
- 25 Saleh: ya'ne... bas barat il hayda kaweris /  
 <silence for 3 seconds>
- 26 Madame Sandra: bas tkhalis badak tirja' twaṭile il AC /  
 (xxx) akid, ma hek? /
- 27 Madame Sandra: hala' kif badak ta'mlo? /
- 28 Saleh: hala' la nusal /
- 29 Madame Sandra: = ma3ak ḥa2 /  
 <laugh>
- 30 Saleh: bidik yene a'mil malyon shaghle= /
- 31 Madame Sandra: =la' ma= /
- 32 Saleh: =w ana min dun shi lamma rakiz /
- 33 Madame Sandra: [lek bit'asib ε leh ε] /
- 34 Saleh: [brakiz 'a shaghle wihde] /
- 35 Madame Sandra: ε bḥissak bit'asib /
- 36 Saleh: [mish b'asib] /
- 37 Madame Sandra: [ε] /
- 38 Saleh: ana bḥib lamma [ishtighil] /
- 39 Madame Sandra: [teshteghel mazbout] /
- 40 Saleh: rakiz 'ala shighle /

- khaṣatan tul manne ‘am ((na2ε)) /  
yimkin tilhine shway bsir badel ma ekhod rafi‘ bekhod ‘arid /  
<laugh>
- 41** Madame Sandra: = la’ dakhilak ma tekhod ‘arid /  
ma ḥa ilhik wala ḥa eḥke ma‘ak /
- 42** Saleh: la’ beḥke ma‘ik bas ma telhine o‘od fakir bil ḥsebet hala’ /  
<silence for 30 seconds>
- 43** Saleh: dakhlik akhado ‘a bukra? /  
<Saleh is referring to his son’s medication>
- 44** Sarah: walla Saleh akhadu ya maḥle, bas ma, juice /  
<Sarah continues chatter with client in the waxing room for a few  
seconds, but it is indecipherable>
- 45** Saleh: ‘al ‘imlit ‘al, ‘imlit bidda tdu’ mberih ‘idemo /  
w ejit la tistafrigh /  
w hiye ‘am tedahak inu ma bada twarji /
- 46** Sarah: ma bte’ darī tshimme riḥtu biḥadeke! /  
<to her client in the waxing room>
- 47** Madame Sandra: la min? /
- 48** Saleh: ahh, ibne ma ktir ‘am yekol /  
bidde jib shi y’awilu mane‘to /  
mitil hayda zeit lsamak w hek /
- 49** Madame Sandra: eum /
- 50** Saleh: fa jebtillo yeha mish ḥbub ah shirib /  
‘al ijit Sarah ‘am titzeka ‘idemo enu /  
YI TAYIB W KAZA /  
enu huwe ‘alle saydale ‘alle tayib /  
fa ijit ‘am teklo w li‘yit nafsa w ijit la testafrigh /
- 51** Madame Sandra: yii! /  
ε huwe bi2arif /  
<chuckles>  
w ba‘den? shu ‘imil ibnak? /
- 52** Saleh: ma ntabahla /

saret ta'mil hehe w hiye 'am titnattaf min juwa /  
ha tistafrigh w nafsa 'am ti'lob /  
w hiyye 'am thawil enu yi he- kaza /  
tibrom wijja w ta'mil YUCK /  
w Sarah iza lih2it shammit shi ma bihibu msibe /  
dighre btistafrigh /

**Conversation B: Saleh and Madame Samira (14 minutes)**

- 1 Saleh: kif lkil... killo tamem? /
- 2 Madame Samira: ‘omor, ‘am yemro’ /  
[...]
- 3 Madame Samira: Omar battal yije ‘andak wala m‘attal? /
- 4 Saleh: Omar ‘am yije /  
byo‘od ‘ande abil Idohor /  
bas enu huwe a‘ad bi maḥale lama ana sefaret /
- 5 Madame Samira: mm /  
<sighs>  
[...]
- 6 Madame Samira: law ma rayḥa ‘a ispanya /  
w bidde irja ‘ismarr /  
kint ‘iltillak ‘milo- gham’o /  
bas ah /
- 7 Saleh: biddik t’asri mniḥ? /
- 8 Madame Samira: (xxx) w baḥer /  
[...]
- 9 Saleh: shway min shi’ il lawnen /  
<clears throat>  
hala’ mna3mil shway /  
mafrud bil “hair product label” /  
iza ‘am yensabagh lon aftaḥ shway min il lon li abel (xxx) /  
hiyye ‘adatan bil sabgha... sabgha ma bitfatiḥ sabgha /
- 10 Madame Samira: mm /
- 11 Saleh: bas bil “hair product label” shway btinkiza aftaḥ /
- 12 Saleh: ana ((na2ayto)) la Omar ah- /  
se’abo l7az inno wsolit ‘al matar /  
w ken ‘ande Internet /  
‘atayto- /
- 13 Madame Samira: toli’ keno ma byitfataḥo Saleh /  
ken ghami’ ktir! /

- 14 Saleh: hala' ma fi 'illa shaghle ana bas kinit khay- /  
ya'ne ma ila gher tafsir wahad /  
bikun accident hat wahad badal ltene /  
bya'mil hek /  
aghma' /
- 15 Madame Samira: ya'ne killon! /
- 16 Saleh: ε? /
- 17 Madame Samira: killon sar- shu- y'ulule shu 'milte /  
ma 'milte shi! /  
'rifit? /  
ya'ne kif lwhad bas baddo ya'mil highlights aw /  
<coughs>  
bidalo sha'ro ktir khara bshakil gharib... /  
inta marra 'miltile yehon w zabato /  
'addalton abil bmarra /
- 18 Saleh: la' ekher marra jite- /
- 19 Madame Samira: ε! /
- 20 Saleh: sbaghte /  
ma hataytilik ra'em sabightik = /
- 21 Madame Samira: =ε /
- 22 Saleh: w tuli' ktir 'arib lal lon li- /  
lama inti jite- fathan /  
lahze kif 'milit 'ide /  
'am hawil iksor lziḥ shway /  
nchala ya rab yiftah ma'na... /  
iza 'al halten bi ha tari'a byit'abba... /  
[...]

**Conversation C: Saleh and Madame Linda (11 minutes)**

- 1 Saleh: ḥa 'amil toul in between okay? /  
la huwe ktir 'asir wala mitil haydeke /  
bi noss /  
minna byitla' ḥilo w- /  
ḥatta taw' fe mishklit il har biddik t'osse /
- 2 Madame Linda: ε okay \* /
- 3 Saleh: ok /  
hayda tulik /  
hayda a'sar min il sura ltenye /  
mish il carre- /
- 4 Madame Linda: ε /
- 5 Saleh: 'a'sar min il tenye w /  
[ 'atwal min haydik] /
- 6 Madame Linda: [ 'atwal min il carre] /
- 7 Saleh: iza biddik /  
bas ana sheyfo mniḥ- /
- 8 Madame Linda: khalas /
- 9 Saleh: li'ano- /
- 10 Madame Linda: ana bihimne ra'yil fannen /
- 11 Saleh: (xxx) /
- 12 Madame Linda: <laughs>
- 13 Madame Linda: ah /  
okay /
- 14 Saleh: halla' ḥa ṭhisse ktir nchalla... fara' /
- 15 Madame Linda: nchalla /
- 16 Saleh: mish toul waḥad /  
shway b'osson /  
mish ktir... shway /
- 17 Madame Linda: inta 'adra /  
[...]
- 18 Saleh: kif ken l'iris haydike nhar? /

- 19 Madame Linda: mniḥ... la' ma tabi'ε /
- 20 Saleh: w kif lta's 'andkon fo'? /
- 21 Madame Linda: sa3at (xxx) /  
ya'ne btitla' 'a shames /  
bto'od 'al balcon /  
hek hawa msa'a' w lshames darbe /
- 22 Saleh: walla mberih, aw awilt mberih /  
tol'o suwar il villa fo' - fo' /  
illi ana msawwarā /  
w a'adet itfarraj 'laya /  
w 'ilit walla majnun li ma byishtiryā... /  
dakhlik inte 'ayiltile inu ken fi ḥada shway jadde /
- 23 Madame Linda: Saleh, btusal il li'meh lal timm /  
w btinsaḥab /  
okay w baddo ysheri' bil si'ir /  
w ba'atle muḥame ilo la ykhallis lwra' /
- 24 Saleh: (xxx) /
- 25 Madame Linda: w ba'dena /  
telephone minno /  
byi'tizir /  
<light laugh>  
ana walla l'azim Saleh law mainno wlede barra- /
- 26 Saleh: 'adde talabte minno? /
- 27 Madame Linda: klete /  
[...]
- 28 Madame Linda: hayda li ken- /  
lzalame ma'ando amlek w ma 'ando- /  
bas allah 'ati /  
subhan allah /  
ken ktir honest ya'ne (xxx) /  
nihna kina talbin klete w nos /  
w wsolna ma3o enu ok (xxx) /

ya3ne sheif lwadi' /  
niḥna ma minkhabbe 'a ḥada /  
farjayneh lwadi' heke /  
w iz- ba'd jaweb ok /  
a'adna ma' il muḥameṣ taba'o /  
w riḥna 'and lmuḥameṣ /  
akhadna legal papers killo w heke /  
w ija lmuḥameh toli' kamene wa iz.../  
bi'itlna ((battal biddo)) /  
<laughs nervously>

- 29** Saleh: laikε l'ard 'andkon fo' 'angad shifta ana /  
mishen hek bo'od ((bakhbikh)) fiya w bitfarraj /  
w ma ḥada ḥa ya'rif 'imithā illā li huwe biḥib hek shi /
- 30** Madame Linda: 'illtilak hayde bidda (xxx) /
- 31** Saleh: ε, hayde la tejiki heke- /
- 32** Madame Linda: badda wa'it= /
- 33** Saleh: =bidda wa'it /
- 34** Madame Linda: bidda wa'it /
- 35** Saleh: li'ano... bta'rfε kam- kam shaghle fike ta'mle fiya? /
- 36** Madame Linda: ε /
- 37** Saleh: ε fike ta'mle bineyε w tnen w klete /
- 38** Madame Linda: ε ε /  
w iza- lek ana ba'dne ma damniton /  
l'ikar ba'do 'rifit kif, Saleh, ndif /
- 39** Saleh: mm /  
'andkon hek w hek /
- 40** Madame Linda: fa (xxx) /
- 41** Saleh: ya'ne fi- fi ya'mol mashru' sakane /  
iza baddo lwaḥad /  
iza baddo- ma baddo ba'a lbeit /  
w fiyo huwe- /  
fi yo'som w ya'mil bineyet /

li'an hiyye 'al ltari' l'am manna b'ide /

<scissors clipping>

**42** Saleh: ε ε /

bta'rfε fi 'ande ḥadan /

rfi'ε bi Qatar barke 'ando ma'arif /

bade o'rod 'leh ib'atlo lsuwar /

ana ma kenit 'am fakir fi /

bas hala' tol'itle ana w 'am neḥke ana w yeke /

inno barke ah- lwaḥad ah- /

ya bido yeshtrε ya bido yistasmir /

**43** Madame Linda: ḥatta ma drureh ya 'ammeh (xxx) /

iza mustasmir bi'ileh a good business- /

**44** Saleh: byije khalis /

**45** Madame Linda: yeah! /

**46** yije yestasmiro 'a kaza sinne /

**47** Saleh: mazbut /

**48** Madame Linda: ba'a ḥaylak yallah- /

**49** Saleh: yallah /

**50** Madame Linda: iza 'andak ḥada byihtam hek /

**51** Saleh: bi- bi- huwe makhaso /

bas inno 'ando ma'arif- bas barke /

**52** Madame Linda: ya'neh bidna! /

**53** Saleh: ma byikhsar lwaḥad iza biḥawil /

**54** Madame Linda: yeah /

### Conversation D (15 minutes)

Excerpt 1: Omar and Celina

- 1 Omar: kifon li 'safir? /
- 2 Celina: mneh li 'safir bisalmo /  
halla' ijo 'al- 'al bet min lmadrse... /  
mniḥ /  
next week 'andon imtiḥanet... /  
tanen daris bil bet /  
w imtiḥanen ltaleta /  
byirja 'o l'aḥad tanen l'orb'a daris bil bet /  
ba'den khamis w jum'a imtiḥane /  
bi imtiḥanen... /  
waḥad- khamse! /  
ε, khamse /  
mneh! lḥamdila, shaturin! /
- 3 Omar: mniḥ, lḥamdila- /
- 4 Celina: 'a'lin, 'a'lin /
- 5 Omar: mbayan 'alayon /
- 6 Celina: 'a'lin /
- 7 Omar: ε /
- 8 Celina: marrat bḥis fi shī ghalat /  
li b'omron killon bikuno bini'o w- /
- 9 Omar: min 'immon? /  
inte 'a'le! /
- 10 Celina: I know bas ino... /  
marat b'ul yaret byotolbo aktar /  
yaret... /  
you know what I mean? /
- 11 Omar: <laughs>
- 12 Celina: KTIR 'a'lin! /  
easy to raise ya'ne lḥamdila /  
[...]

Excerpt 2: Omar and Celina

- 1 Celina: kif lmama? /
- 2 Omar: mniḥa /
- 3 Celina: ε ε! /
- 4 Omar: kattir kheir Allah /
- 5 Celina: ana khalte... /  
she's 85 /  
mberih wi' it w kasrit wirka /  
w halla' tol' it min ljiraḥa /  
min se'ten /
- 6 Omar: adde 'omra? /
- 7 Celina: khamisa w tmenin /  
mniḥ- mniḥ 'illī dayanit 'al binij /
- 8 Omar: bta' rfe- /
- 9 Celina: ktir sa'be lwa' a /
- 10 Omar: ino ma fi ḥada byo2a3 w byiksor wirko /
- 11 Celina: ε... bikun- /
- 12 Omar: byiksor wirko w by'ua' /
- 13 Celina: ba'rif /  
hayde ma' rufe /  
[miyye bil miyye] /  
ma' - hiyye ma' a osteoporosis /
- 14 Omar: um, ε /
- 15 Celina: ε! /  
hiyye lwa' a li' ano maksur min juwa already /
- 16 Omar: mazbut /  
[miyye bil miyye] /
- 17 Celina: ε! /  
exactly /
- 18 Omar: ma ḥada byu' a' w byiksor /
- 19 Celina: LA'! /  
bravo 'lek /

- bravo 'lek /  
ε /
- 20** Omar: byiksor wirko w byu'a' /
- 21** Celina: saḥ /  
bravo 'lek /  
w bisir lkisir adrab /
- 22** Omar: aywa! /
- 23** Celina: ε hayde hiyye /  
bisir kisir dekhle bil awwal /
- 24** Omar: ḥaram /  
khamsa w tmenin sine /  
ma= /
- 25** Celina: =ε ε /
- 26** Omar: bas laike! /  
sitto la rfi'ε= /
- 27** Celina: =ε ε /
- 28** Omar: ken 'omra kleta w tis'in sine /
- 29** Celina: ε... /
- 30** Omar: kamen, kasrit wirka= /
- 31** Celina: =w wi'it /
- 32** Omar: w ah... /  
dallit fatra bil mustashfa w rij'it 'amit w sarit timshe 'ade /
- 33** Celina: ahhh... /
- 34** Omar: ya'ne manno ha shi /
- 35** Celina: ah ah ah ε ε ε /  
bas bidde sit asabi' ta... /  
ya'ne bidon zahafe /
- 36** Omar: ah ε... /  
wihyet Allah deyman b'ul bas ya rab stirle ekhirte /
- 37** Celina: ε I know I know /
- 38** Omar: ma bidde 'uz ḥada /
- 39** Celina: ε, ε /

- fhimt 'lek... /  
w bala 'awaz /  
fhimt shu azde? /  
hayde hiyye /
- 40** Omar: sa'be /  
ya'ne lfatra li min'isha /
- 41** Celina: ε ε ε ε... exactly! /  
bi 'yunak lyom /  
mm /
- 42** Omar: l'insen bisir byikhjal min halo /
- 43** Celina: sah, bravo 'lek /  
exactly... /  
bihis halo T'IIIL! /  
bnafs lwa'it- /
- 44** Omar: hiyye iza ma sa'alneha baddik tishrabe= /
- 45** Celina: =ma bit'ul /
- 46** Omar: ma btotlob /
- 47** Celina: ah li'ano 'arfe hala... /  
[...]
- 48** Omar: shiftε shu 'am bisir bi Israel? /
- 49** Celina: lε? /  
ma 'rit akhbar lyom /  
sarle yawmen mal'uha ana /  
lε, shu fi? /
- 50** Omar: 'am tihtiri' /
- 51** Celina: ba'da- /
- 52** Omar: harayi' /
- 53** Celina: ah! /  
bi Israel? /  
wein bi ayya [manati']? /
- 54** Omar: [sarlah] 'ashr tiyyem /  
bi Haifa /

- woslit la Haifa w Tal Aviv! /
- 55** Celina: shu, 'ad ma fi ghabet hunik /
- 56** Omar: ε... ε, fi! /
- 57** Celina: ah ah ah... /
- 58** Omar: ma 3am yi' daro ytafwuwon /
- 59** Celina: ah walla? /
- ε na'mit Allah- na'mit rabna 'layon um /
- 60** Omar: um /
- kenit 'am bid'ε 'layon /
- Allah yshatilon benzene /
- 61** Celina: ḥaram yruḥ 'utalah bas ino... /
- [...]

Excerpt 3: Omar, Celina and Sarah

- 1** Sarah: ma ma' 'ule Omar ykun baddo niswen ba'd? /
- 2** Omar: min? /
- 3** Sarah: 'abuk /
- 4** Omar: bayyε? /
- 5** Sarah: mm /
- 6** Omar: ḥa ydi' fiyye bayyε ba'd shway /
- 7** Sarah: ma hayda azde /
- 8** Celina: 'adde 'omro? /
- 9** Sarah: shufi- /
- zghir manno kbir abu! /
- 10** Celina: 'adde ya'ne? /
- 11** Omar: 'omro shi khamsa w khamsin /
- 12** Celina: [BAS?] /
- 13** Sarah: [bas!] /
- ε /
- 14** Celina: lesh 'immak 'adde? /
- 15** Omar: manna kbire /
- 16** Celina: hiyyε akbar minno? /

- 17 Omar: akbar minno b'ashr snin /  
[...]
- 18 Sarah: ino bidde mara! /
- 19 Omar: ya'ne amrar bkhaḥ 'a 7ale bileil nem ḥado /  
<laughs>
- 20 Celina: ma 'rifto hal'ade zghir /  
fakarto khityar /
- 21 Omar: huwe zghir bayye /  
<chuckles>
- 22 Celina: ahhh... /  
tab shu bi'ul (xxx) /  
<whispers>
- 23 Omar: bi'illa 'adare /
- 24 Celina: pfff! /
- 25 Omar: ε, bi'ille 'adare /  
bi'ille ya3ne /  
shu 'ile kletin sine ana w 'imak bitrika /  
w binhe hal mawdu3 /
- 26 Celina: kletin sine 'ila, ε /
- 27 Omar: bas 'am 'illik- /  
halla' niḥna mna'rfo ḥanun, bas mi la ha daraje! /
- 28 Celina: w wafe lal ekhir? /  
ε, ε ... /
- 29 Omar: ma- ma- ma- bido shi /  
huwe /
- 30 Celina: ε /  
huwe /
- 31 Omar: huwe bifawita 'al ḥamem /
- 32 Celina: ε, biḥibo ba'don /  
akid... /
- 33 Omar: 'asabe, huwe 3asabe /
- 34 Celina: ε bi'asib /

- 35 Omar: bas, ah... /  
deyman byi'tizir minna ya'ne /
- 36 Celina: ah walla? /  
bi'asib w biru' ya'ne /
- 37 Omar: ε, ε... /
- 38 Celina: rahit 3ale /
- 39 Omar: ε /
- 40 Celina: mmm /
- 41 Omar: rijjel e'id bil bet /  
'am yikhdom Imara /  
ma 'am yidhar, ma 'a yishtighil ma- /  
ma fi ma fi /
- 42 Celina: (xxx) /  
ah... /
- 43 Omar: d'i'a ma btintarak /  
ma fi, ma btintarak /  
bido min yiħmila /  
min bido yiħmila! /  
(xxx) /
- 44 Celina: 'illa iza bitjibo nurse, btidfa'ula (xxx) se'ita /
- 45 Omar: ε /
- 46 Celina: ma 'anda nurse? /
- 47 Omar: jibe nurse, baddik tjibe NURSE! /
- 48 Celina: ε ε ε, bouncer bil aħra! /
- 49 Omar: ε! /  
<chuckles>
- 50 Celina: ε, la min yshil /

Excerpt 4: Omar, Celina and Sarah

- 1 Sarah: shu hayda? /
- 2 Omar: shu huwe? /
- 3 Sarah: hayda lī 'al /

- tali' ma tali' (xxx) /
- 4 Omar: Samir<sup>12</sup>? /  
la' ba'd ma shifte shī /
- 5 Sarah: shu 'allak? /  
ma fik t- tali'? /
- 6 Omar: Samir, ma shi /  
kharjo yishtighil mħa'i'! /  
ya'ne amrar bħiso bayye! /  
shu 'amil? ma' min? kif?=/ /
- 7 Sarah: =ma bitrid inta /
- 8 Omar: eh m- ma brid ana /
- 9 Sarah: akh ya Allah /
- 10 Omar: Samir biħia'i' ktir... /  
ma' min dahir, shu isma?=/ /
- 11 Celina: =min hayda khayyak? /
- 12 Omar: kif? /  
ε! /
- 13 Celina: ah, khayyak ismo Samir? /
- 14 Omar: ε... /  
shu 'milet? /
- 15 Celina: shu akalit ya- ya Omar? /
- 16 Omar: (xxx) /
- 17 Celina: mm /  
azghar aw akbar minnak? /  
akbar? /
- 18 Omar: akbar minne /
- 19 Celina: akbar! /
- 20 Omar: akbar! /
- 21 Celina: ε, ε /  
'ashen heε biħis- biħis ino lezim- /

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<sup>12</sup> Samir is Omar's older brother.

- 22 Omar: shu bi'arifne! /
- 23 Celina: ino bħi2ilo yħa'i' ya'ne! /
- 24 Sarah: la' huwe bifakir hek Samir /
- 25 Celina: ah, ah /
- 26 Omar: shu lon 'yuna? /  
 lebsε string? /  
 <laughs loudly>
- 27 Sarah: <laughs>
- 28 Celina: la', iza sa'alak shu lon 'yunak mishikle /  
 <laughs>
- 29 Omar: 'yuna 'yuna /
- 30 Celina: la' /  
 iza sa'alak shu lon 'yunak se'ita lmishkle /  
 <laughs>
- 31 Omar: 'yuna 'yuna /  
 <laughs>
- 32 Celina: la' bas iza 'allak shu ha- /
- 33 Omar: ah /  
 <laughs>
- 34 Celina: se3ita bikun... fi shi ghalat /
- 35 Omar: bikun fi shi ghalat /  
 <laughs>
- 36 Celina: yeah, yeah /

Excerpt 5: Omar, Celina and Sarah

- 1 Celina: Aya<sup>13</sup> sirte tshufiya a'al /
- 2 Sarah: wein ana /  
 bil munisabet /

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<sup>13</sup> Aya is the pseudonym used for Sarah's younger sister, who previously worked as a beautician at *Chic* until she got married and moved outside Beirut.

- 3 Celina: ah li'an batalto tishtighlo sawa /
- 4 Sarah: ε /  
wala biḥkiya kamen /  
ma 'andε wa'it- /
- 5 Celina: laḥza, su'al /  
hiyyε 'am tishtighil aw bala shighil? /
- 6 Sarah: la'! 'am tishtighil! /
- 7 Celina: ah, li'an btizha' bala shighil /  
ba'rifa /
- 8 Sarah: ε, la'! 'am tishtighil bi Khalde /
- 9 Celina: ah, bas a'rab la bayta sarit /
- 10 Sarah: ε miyyε bil miyyε /
- 11 Celina: ε ε ε... /  
kamen salon? /
- 12 Sarah: kamen salon /
- 13 Celina: ε ε... /  
salmile 'laya walla shta'tila /
- 14 Sarah: Allah ysalmik [habibtε] /
- 15 Celina: [bas] akid btishte' lal ajwe' hon hiyyε /
- 16 Sarah: ε, akid ya'ne /
- 17 Omar: btishta'le la 'ile aktar shī /
- 18 Celina: akid hayde... /  
miyyε bil miyyε /
- 19 Omar: btishta'le aktar /

- 20 Celina: mm /
- 21 Sarah: 'iltilo tzawaja... /  
ma 'ibil /
- 22 Celina: YI! /
- 23 Omar: ma 'arif /
- 24 Celina: ahh /
- 25 Omar: ma nakzitne /
- 26 Celina: halla' too late /
- 27 Omar: shu badna na'mol /
- 28 Sarah: laike halla' Celina bitfakre 'am bimzah ana /
- 29 Celina: 'anjad tmannaytiya la Omar? /
- 30 Sarah: ε 'aradta 'le /
- 31 Celina: yi! /  
shu hal fadayih hay /  
[killo 'am yitsajal] /  
ntibho /
- 32 Sarah: [ε walla] /
- 33 Omar: ε walla /
- 34 Celina: ε /
- 35 Omar: bas ana wallah /  
kenit ekhida akhadta rfi'te ya'ne /  
ma nakzitne /  
ma- ma- /
- 36 Celina: mish bzimtak ka zawje /

- 37 Sarah: ana 'illo tħashar fiya... /  
ino hiyyε mhazbε, ba'da zghirε! /
- 38 Celina: ε, ba'rif ba'rif /
- 39 Omar: kinna rabayneha 'a idayna wallah /
- 40 Sarah: tħashar fiya kaza shi /
- 41 Celina: ε ε /
- 42 Omar: bta'rfine ma bħib itħashar bi 7ada /
- 43 Celina: saraħa saba'ak lwa't ya Omar /
- 44 Sarah: ε /
- 45 Omar: saba'ne l'omor, khatyarit /
- 46 Celina: <laughs>
- 47 Omar: ikhte sar'anda binit w ana mashi= /
- 48 Sarah: =ajdab /
- 49 Celina: <laughs>
- 50 Sarah: tayyara min 'ido hek /
- 51 Omar: tarit /  
'arus w tarit
- 52 Celina: yallah nasib... /  
nasiba /
- 53 Omar: ya'allah /
- 54 Celina: muhim mabsuta hiyyε /  
khalas hayda aham shi /
- 55 Omar: bas ana mish mabsut /
- 56 Celina: inta mish mabsut /

mmm... /

bala ma nis'al ya'ne walla bis'al? /

**57** Omar: la' s'alε /

**58** Celina: ma- 'am yitsajal /

**59** Omar: la' s'alε /

**60** Celina: kifa Dania<sup>14</sup>? /

**61** Omar: mniha /

<laughs>

<Sarah and Celina laugh as well>

**62** Celina: akhadit ra'yak w iznak bil awwal /

ε... /

**63** Omar: ε, mniha mniha /

**64** Celina: she's fine? /

**65** Omar: ε, mniha /

**66** Celina: ε... /

good, good, good! /

**67** Omar: mniha, la haddit halla' mniha /

shu bisir bukra, rabbik 'alim /

**68** Celina: ma hadan bya'rif... /

muhim enta mniḥ kamen /

mish bas hiyye tkun mniha /

**69** Omar: ana wallah, tali' daghte /

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<sup>14</sup> Dania is the pseudonym used for Omar's current girlfriend.

w ḥa ysir ma'ε lsikare

**70** Celina: la'a! /

**71** Omar: <laughs>

**Conversation E: Saleh and Lidia (22 minutes)**

- 1 Saleh: shu wa' i' 'a siyarto la Farid<sup>15</sup>? /
- 2 Lidia: sheyif? /  
ken mwassal lwled 'al madrassa /  
w nezil taht Burj el Mmur ma bila' ε 'illa shī dabash 'al siyyara... /  
shu dabshe? /  
'allak lah nka- 'a laḥza ken ya'ne- /  
law kenit yimkin akbar lḥajra /  
ken kasar li'zez w... /  
sar ma'o msibe /  
li'ano ken shite kamen ktir awε /  
shaklo tayir shī min Burj El Mur... /  
li'ano ma fi shī gher hunike /  
ḥajar w baton- /
- 3 Saleh: fi bineyε min hon 'am tit' ammar /
- 4 Lidia: bas huwwe ken dighre taḥet jisr el- taḥet Burj el Mur... /  
'am yib'atle, 'alle Lidia tfarraje /  
'iltillo shu sayir ma'ak! /  
'alle hek hek hek /  
Allah sataro! /
- 5 Saleh: 'a sa'ef min fo'? /
- 6 Lidia: mm, 'a sa'ef min fo' /  
'alleh law 'a laḥza ijit 'al 'zez ino ken nkasar li'zez /  
w ken fet 'a siyyara w ken ma ba'rif shu /  
mniḥ ma kamen lasamaḥallah ijit 'ala raso... /  
aw liwled keno ma'o aw shī /  
'alle ino mish ma' 'ul! /  
'alle malla sot /
- 7 Saleh: ε akid /  
bit'ule- kibbe... /  
basle 'ala rass lsiyyara bta'mil mino sot /

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<sup>15</sup> Farid is the client's husband whom Saleh knows well.

- 8 Lidia: ε! ma huwε lhawa ken wa'ta ktir 'aw ε mberih ken lsoboh /  
[...]
- 9 Lidia: 'am shuf l'alam killa 'amle binne /  
killa sabgha binne /  
[killo 'a brown] /
- 10 Saleh: [ma ba'rif] /  
walla ma khas, Lidia! /  
shufε, ness 'am tfattiḥ w ness 'am tghammi' /  
shī byirja' lal shakhes... /  
mberih ijit 'andε zbunε /  
ken sarle zamen zamen zamen ino /  
ḥadan ykun 'a sha'ar tijε- ijε ghammi' lo/
- 11 Lidia: ε /
- 12 Saleh: bas sha'ra- hiyyε 'ayshe bDubai zbunε /  
ḥar'inla sha'ra jey- w jeyε bidḍa tghammi' /
- 13 Lidia: mm /
- 14 Saleh: l'it inno afdal tari'a ta trayyih sha'ra /  
li'ano iza iza trakta ba'd shaher /  
w nos shahren byitla' rasina /  
w bidḍo yo'shot lhighlight te'a /  
w badda tirja' t'ido /
- 15 Lidia: mm /
- 16 Saleh: w 'anjad min hon tulo hal'adde w 'am bimaghit... /  
ε, se'ita 'iltillo- 'iltilla ino okay minghammi' /
- 17 Lidia: ε /
- 18 Saleh: ghamma'tilla w ḥataytilla extension /
- 19 Lidia: huwwε kif byihir'o lsha'r ((lhighlight))? /
- 20 Saleh: ma fi shī byihro' sha'r lhighlight... /  
ya'ne ma byit'ab lsha'r bil highlight /  
walla ma bikun lḥa' 'al coiffeur ya'ne /  
ana sarit ma'ε min jume'ten /  
ijit la 'andε wiḥde... /

- sha‘ra min hone hek /  
 shifte haydal lon /  
 hek, bas hek min hon w binnezil w a‘ba’ shwayye zghire lrasin /  
 w rasina tali‘ aswad /  
 ‘alitle bas badde ‘amil highlight fetih /  
 ‘iltilla okay /  
 ‘iltilla- ‘iltilla hayda min hon w binnezil /  
 ‘iltilla hayda mas- ken mfattaḥ w ba‘den rej‘a mghammi‘ti? /  
 ‘alitle la’ /  
 min ba‘d ma ballashtilla bil highlight /  
 bitwarjine ino kenit ‘amle sha‘ra rmede! /
- 21** Lidia: yi! /
- 22** Saleh: rmede rmede! /  
 ya‘ne rmede, bta‘rfe rfi‘tik kif rfi‘tik mwaslilna ye lal sha‘ar /
- 23** Lidia: ε /
- 24** Saleh: darbino rmede /
- 25** Lidia: le! /
- 26** Saleh: sabighto rji‘et ana ‘am irja‘ irja‘ fatḥo /  
 shu bisir bi sha‘ra? /  
 sha‘ra ti‘ib, fi sho‘af sarit tinzal /  
 ‘iltilla lḥa’ ‘laikε /  
 w ‘al shu hayda ḥatitla latex kamen /
- 27** Lidia: kamen! /
- 28** Saleh: law ma ḥatitla latex ken ti‘ib aktar w aktar! /
- 29** Lidia: ḥilo! /
- 30** Saleh: fa amrar lzbune bit‘illik ε ma men zamen! /  
 shu min zamen? /  
 ya‘ne min sab‘ tman tishhor /  
 sab‘ tman tishhor hinne min hon la hon /  
 tab haydole shu? /
- 31** Lidia: ε /
- 32** Saleh: jum‘a li abla ijit ‘ande wiḥde ‘ira‘iyye /

- 33 Lidia: hiyye shu hadafa ino ma t'ul /  
bil'akis t'ul! /
- 34 Saleh: la' ma- ma zbune ma bta'rif saliha aw btiftikir ino ε min zamen /
- 35 Lidia: ε /
- 36 Saleh: ah... aw btis'aliya /  
ino ma bta'rif ino ino iza hayda lsha'er ken platin... /  
ghamma'ti rj'te 'am tirja'ε tfathī /  
ya'ne inte 'am ta'mle fo' lhighlight l'adim kamen /
- 37 Lidia: mm /
- 38 Saleh: w faw'o sabgha! /  
ya'ne shu baddo- awwal shi laysir lal platin /  
li'ano hiyye badda ye shu? /  
badda rmede kamen /
- 39 Lidia: kamen! /
- 40 Saleh: ya'ne bidda tirja' ta'mlo rmede /
- 41 ya'ne ana shu badde a'mil? /
- 42 bidde a'mlo platin platin platin /
- 43 Saleh: ε... ijet la 'ande wiħde 'ira'iyye /  
'am bis'al /  
wiħde minnon 'alitle ana 'amle ħinna /  
'iltilla la tenye inte 'amle ħinna? /  
'al la' la'... /  
jit 'am ba'milla, badde 'amilla 'am fattihla /  
ħinna, iza inte ħatta ħinna 'a sha'rik /  
w jeete 'am ta'mle khosal highlight, ε? /  
iza kenit ħinna sawda byodrob 'ala akhdar hek /
- 44 Lidia: yi! /
- 45 Saleh: ma 'am bimzah, hek! /  
w ma fi shi bishilo /  
w iza ken madrub 'ala aħmar- ħinna ħamra /  
byodrob ma'eh 'ala zaher... /  
muħim, ana 'am ba'mil- 'am ba'milla highlight bi tari'a /

- killo min taḥet yitla‘ high ino killo ‘a platin w shwey rmedeh hon /  
 ‘milt shtaghalet w jit ana w ‘am fawwiḥ /  
 abil ma fawwiḥ /  
 ana w ‘am bittala‘ ‘al taraf /  
 ḥasis fī (xxx) miḥmar... /  
 muhim, jina ‘a tifwiḥ /  
 khallasit, fataḥ ma‘eh platin /  
 ‘am bittala‘ hek /  
 ftaḥt ltaraf... zaheer! /
- 46** Lidia: yi! /
- 47** Saleh: zaheer, zaheer zaheer rasme /  
 shu bidde ‘illik zaheer /
- 48** ma ba‘rif... hek /  
 hayda, haydal lon lzaheer! /
- 49** Lidia: <chuckles>
- 50** Saleh: ε /
- 51** Lidia: shu sar fik? /  
 <laughs>
- 52** Saleh: ana? /  
 sar ykitne l‘ara’ ino... ‘iltilla shu ken fī bsha‘rik min abel? /  
 ‘alitle ken fī ḥinna min zamen /  
 ‘iltilla emta min zamen /  
 ‘alitle min sinten /  
 ‘iltilla tab ma sha‘rik la hon /  
 tab min senten waynon haydole? /  
 ya‘ne haydole ba‘don bnoss sha‘rik hal‘adde /  
 tab le ma ‘iltille min abel! /  
 Allah biḥibne ino ‘ande pure sandre /  
 drabto pure sandre, khafeh khafe! /  
 fa hek shaghlet lzbune ma bitsariḥ [amra lal coiffeur] /  
 [...]
- 53** Saleh: haydike lmarra ‘ande min zbunete /

- ya'ne, ba' rifa min hiyye w zghire /
- 54** Lidia: mm /
- 55** Saleh: ijit, deyma ana kint i'na'a lamma tfattiḥ sha'ra /
- 56** tirja' min waraha badda tghammi' /  
 'illa ya' amme khalike ino gham'e /  
 bi tari'a iza bidde fattihlik tkun hayne /  
 'am 'illa bidda ta'mil aswad /  
 sarle sinten bosboghla aswad /  
 ijet haydikel nhar be'tile sura bitbayyin mitil lon sha'rik min taḥet /
- 57** Lidia: mm /
- 58** Saleh: 'iltilla inse 'ande /  
 ana 'ande ma ba'millik ye /  
 'amit raḥit 'imilto /  
 ta'ta' noss sha'ra /  
 w w... mbar'aḥ kilo min juwa /  
 bas fiteḥ, bas mish ktir ya'ne /  
 ino fattahu 'imlula ye asfar asfar feteḥ feteḥ- /
- 59** Lidia: mm /
- 60** Saleh: w 'imlula 'le rensage /  
 bas sha'ra killo m'attash w ta'ben sar /
- 61** Lidia: ma 'ad jibit min hayda...? /
- 62** Saleh: lfair? /  
 fawwatne bil ḥitan /
- 63** Lidia: le? /
- 64** Saleh: le? /  
 li'ano ana iza bidde ekhod si'ir /  
 fi nes 'am tekhod ribi' lribi' li ana bidde ekhdo /  
 ya'ne ana fiyye- rif'ate- awwal waḥad jebo ma'o 'a libnen min sinten /
- 65** Lidia: e /
- 66** Saleh: ken 'am yekhod 'le khamisa w 'ishrin dollar bi saida /  
 huwwe jebo ma'o awwal waḥad /  
 ya'ne ana lamma shifto ken ba'dne ḥemil minno /

- 67 rfi'ε hon /  
ah... 'am ya'mlo bkhamisa w 'ishrin alf /  
lbe'ε 'am ya'mlū bi khams talef /
- 68 Lidia: bas ma bistarje a'milon /  
<laughs>
- 69 Saleh: ε /
- 70 Lidia: li bya'mil bi khamse ma bistarje fut la 'ando 'illo 'mille /  
barke attashle sha're ma bfut /  
bas inta inno la' ino... fut feya /
- 71 Saleh: mballa /  
manno ah... manne mi'tini' fi /
- 72 Lidia: ba'den smallah shu sar fi salonet hon 'ala tul /  
'am bifarkho /  
byijilon le niswen ktir hek? /  
kil maḥallet li tyeb sakkarit /
- 73 Saleh: 'am 'illik sayra maslahitna mitil bayye'in lkhodra /
- 74 Lidia: maḥallet tyeb sakkarit w fataḥ maḥala mne'ish! /
- 75 Saleh: huwwe li 'am yije 'al masilḥa... /  
kil waḥad ma'o shwayyit masare /  
biruḥ bijammi' mwazfin byiftaḥlon maḥal /  
hayda li 'am yikhla' lmasilḥa /
- 76 Lidia: ε aw waḥad masalan- /  
biruḥo byidirso 'and [...]<sup>16</sup> w byiftaḥo /
- 77 Saleh: lik ya ekhte ana ma'ande maktab /  
ino hayda lzalame rayih ḥatit brasso yijdiba /  
bas ino waḥad makhaso bil masilḥa- /
- 78 Lidia: ε /
- 79 Saleh: yije yiftaḥ hal business /  
huwe li'an sheyif ino mumkin ykun shaghal... /

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<sup>16</sup> The name of the Lebanese foundation was omitted. It is a private non-governmental organization that offers low-cost courses and vocational training for the community in Lebanon.

la' - hayde hayde [lfikra] /

**80** Lidia: [ε!] /

**81** Saleh: ya'ne ana bitzakkar min zamen /

ino ana ba'd ino- ken yiftah maḥal bikun ma'o shhedε /

ana shi- shtaghalet sine w nos /

lamma 'rift hek riḥet darasta... w akhadṭ shhedε /

**82** Lidia: halla' kerse! /

**Conversation F: Omar, Madame Afaf and Sarah (3 minutes)**

**1** Madame Afaf: oh! 'alla' 'layε Hassan sar yeb'atlε killo ashya diniye ... /

**2** ma azde shi bas- ḥilo lwaḥad bas [mish kil shi] /

- 3 Omar: [mish kil shi ktir] /
- 4 Madame Afaf: mish shi-
- 5 Omar: mish- ya'ne ana amrar bikhtini' /  
ya'ne sorry- /
- 6 Madame Afaf: ya'ne ya'ne ya'ne /  
'id mawlid lnabī lik ana bħibbo ktir /  
bas bukra 'al 'id, Allah y'inna! /  
bil a'yed byihilkuk byiħir'u SILEFAK! /  
ta'a shuf 'al 'ashura! /  
ana, I block everybody /  
ma- ma badda- ma badda ha SHI! MA BADDA! /
- 7 Omar: 'angad!
- 8 Madame Afaf: ya'ni, rabna ma byi'bal! /
- 9 Omar: ε! /  
inu 'angad ya'ne amrar b'ul stagħfarallah l'azim- /
- 10 Madame Afaf: ana fi wiħde 'al 'ashura' I blocked her! /  
I COULDN'T! /  
ma bi2dir, KHALAS! /  
fi shi w minno! /
- 11 Sarah: ana 'milit block la 'araybit 'imme / Madame Afaf: ma- ma ma'  
'ul! /
- 12 Sarah: 'ad ma btib'atlε din w din w din w din w din! /
- 13 Madame Afaf: W AD'IYε! /
- 14 Sarah: ε! /
- 15 Madame Afaf: w ba'den iza ma btib'atyon MIDRε SHU BISIRLAK! /  
ana haydole DIGHRε, BLOCK! /  
tsawar ana m'azbe ħada mitil ma hinne bi'azbune! /
- 16 Omar: mazbout miyyε bil miyyε /  
iza lam tab'atuha fa sawfa taħsal laka musiba /  
wa Zillā l'uwazu billah w maba'rif shu /  
<laughs>
- 17 Madame Afaf: iza ba'atta bisirlak shi mnih /

- shu- shu [baddo ysir!] /
- 18** Omar: [ε!] /  
<laughs>
- 19** Madame Afaf: shu huwe wa'ta min zamen wa't ija il nabe Muhammad /  
ken fi WhatsApp! /
- 20** Omar: MASALAN! /
- 21** Sarah: hayda l'usba' ma 'ajibne abadan /
- 22** Omar: ana kil shi madame... kil shi madame bhis fiyo ta'asob w hisso  
zeyid 'an l'zum ma bfut fi /
- 23** Madame Afaf: [bi KIL SHI!] /
- 24** Sarah: ['all ε idik madame] /
- 25** Omar: bi KIL SHI khalas! /
- 26** Madame Afaf: la 'illak bil hayet killa /  
bil hayet- bil- bil hayet killa /  
bi kil shi mish bas- /
- 27** Omar: uhm /
- 28** Madame Afaf: mish bas bi din /
- 29** bi kil shi bi di- /  
mitil ma bi zid byin'as /
- 30** Omar: mazbut miyye bil miyye /
- 31** Madame Afaf: ba'den ldin is sooo personal! /
- 32** Omar: ε ktir! /
- 33** Madame Afaf: ya'allah ya'allah ya'allah shu inno shakhse lal insen /
- 34** Omar: huwe huwe- /
- 35** Madame Afaf: lhizin personal- /
- 36** Omar: akid /
- 37** Madame Afaf: w il din personal /  
la 'ilak leh /  
lsa'ade fik twazi'a /
- 38** Omar: mazbout /
- 39** Madame Afaf: bas lhizin la nafso lal insen /
- 40** Omar: miyye bil miyye /

- 41 Madame Afaf: w dino la nafso /
- 42 Omar: miyye bil miyye! /  
deyman **b'ilon** ma hada ha yhasibne gher rabbe /  
ma hada khasso! /
- 43 Madame Afaf: e! /  
ma hada khasso /
- 44 Omar: la y'ile la halel wala haram /  
ba'rif ana lama a'mil haram w ba'rif lamma a'mol halel /
- 45 Madame Afaf: jeyine ah- kif bidak titwadda w kif bidak ta'mil- /
- 46 Omar: la2 w shufe- shufe li fru'a lal din yali 'amlina /  
kil wahad 'amil jam'iyye 'a hsebo w 'am yhallil w yharrim- /
- 47 Madame Afaf: la' w amrar bi'ilak haydeke ghalat w haydek sah and  
khalas- /
- 48 Omar: e e! /  
la' mish haydeke lghalat w haydeke lsah /  
hayda kefir w hayda mish [kefir] /
- 49 Madame Afaf: [ana] sab' snin 'ishit bil Iraq /  
bil madrase 'alamuna lsala /  
bi dars din akhadta hiyye lsala lmazbuta l'adiyye /  
li hiyye international la kil il 'alam /
- 50 Omar: w khlosna! /
- 51 Madame Afaf: w min ma bi'ille 'mille sewe zide hotte /  
'illon la' mabidde!- /
- 52 Omar: e mazbut! /  
[...]

**Conversation G: Saleh, Omar and Celina (11 minutes)**

- 1 Saleh: ba'dik mwa'fe dukhan? /
- 2 Celina: e... /

- yes /  
 rji'it fatra bas ah- halla' 'ille... fatra mwa'fe /  
 [...]
- 3 Celina: inta Saleh you never smoke? /  
 niyelak /
- 4 Saleh: ana bas /
- 5 Celina: niyelak 'a ha ni'me ino ma- ino ma /  
 it's not something you miss even /  
 niḥna minwa'if bitdall tḥus bi belo /
- 6 Saleh: la huwe wala lmashrub /
- 7 Celina: niyelak /
- 8 Saleh: ma byi'nile shī abadan /
- 9 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 10 Saleh: ḥawalit... /  
 il tnen ḥawalit 'inne ḥibbon= /
- 11 Celina: =ε /
- 12 Saleh: ma'dirit /
- 13 Celina: lik ḥatta lmashrub iza bishrab shī 'ade bil'aks... /  
 'am biḥke suḥiyan, ma byi'ze [licagara] /
- 14 Saleh: [la'] /
- 15 Celina: li [bti'ze] /
- 16 Saleh: [la'] /  
 ma hek, ma hek! /
- 17 Celina: you don't like it abadan? /
- 18 Saleh: la' ino... /
- 19 Celina: mm /
- 20 Saleh: kil li btidhare ma'on, kil hek= /
- 21 Celina: ε ε! /
- 22 Saleh: byishrabo hek w bidakhno /
- 23 Celina: ε ε /
- 24 Saleh: bas ḥawalit 'inne- /
- 25 Celina: inta- /

- 26 Saleh: ino ma' dirit /
- 27 Celina: ino kint ma- /  
abadan! /
- 28 Saleh: ino ḥatta ma- /
- 29 ma bḥib shim riḥto... /  
tnen /
- 30 Celina: alcohol? /
- 31 Saleh: li tnen /  
il tnen /
- 32 Celina: tab hayde ni' me min Allah /  
ya' ne /
- 33 Saleh: halla' aktar- /  
halla' ana ya' ne- /
- 34 Celina: ma bḥayetak- /
- 35 Saleh: bishrab cigar /
- 36 Celina: ε ε, mazbut! /
- 37 Saleh: bil munesabet /
- 38 Celina: ε ε, cigar /
- 39 Saleh: w ba'd dohor kil yom bekhod hayde cigara wiḥde /
- 40 Celina: ah! /  
bas btitnasha'a? /  
bta' mil inhale? /
- 41 Saleh: bas- bas- bas bnashifa /  
la' - /
- 42 Celina: ah bas tossing /  
tossing /
- 43 Saleh: ma- ma ba' rif ibla' aslan /
- 44 Celina: ah toasting ya' ne /
- 45 Saleh: ε /  
bas hiyye smell w ah- pasting te'a /
- 46 Celina: bi- biḥibiba... /  
once a day /

- [...]
- 47 Saleh: [ana- ana] khayya la Sarah /  
bilahī' kletε aw arba' 'ilab bil nhar /
- 48 Celina: aya waḥad? /
- 49 Saleh: Hussein /
- 50 Celina: Hussein ktir bidakhin?! /
- 51 Saleh: ε... /
- 52 Celina: ktir wlo! /  
too much! /  
shu kletε w arb'a! /
- 53 Saleh: ε walla! /
- 54 Celina: too much! /  
ya'ne deyman fī shī b'ido /
- 55 Saleh: mm /
- 56 Celina: too much /
- 57 Saleh: ma shī, wiḥde wara wiḥde /
- 58 Celina: ah, la la! /  
chimney smoking ya'ne /  
bas ino... chain- chain smoking, chain smoking /
- 59 Omar: hiyyε laikε /
- 60 Celina: masalan mberih riḥit ma' rfi'ε /  
a'adna bi- bi café /  
KILLO 'am bidakhin, ma ḥasset ino fī ighra' /  
BAS abil klat se'at dallet ana /  
rej'a min il AUB, 'abel ma wsolit 'al beit... /  
bidde, bas ma dakhanit! /  
bas ma bkun e'de ḥaweε nes 'am bidakhin, ma btoktor 'abele /  
ljisim gharib 'ajib! /
- 61 Omar: 'anjad /
- 62 Celina: KTIR gharib 'ajib /  
yeah... /
- 63 Saleh: [ba'dne... ah-] /

- 64 Celina: [hayde craving] /  
sa'ile! /
- 65 Saleh: ken 'omre /
- 66 Celina: ε ε /
- 67 Saleh: shī ... tnen w 'ishrin sine /
- 68 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 69 Saleh: t'arrafit 'a binit /
- 70 Celina: ε /  
<chuckles>
- 71 Saleh: ktir h̄ilwε /  
ktir hek /
- 72 Celina: mm /
- 73 Saleh: bas mukha, a'waj! /
- 74 Celina: ε ε /
- 75 Saleh: iza, biddik truḥε 'al extreme ma'ah /  
'illa ma tkun hiyyε mḥashishe /
- 76 Celina: ah hek (xxx) /
- 77 Saleh: okay /
- 78 Celina: mm /
- 79 Saleh: w ana ma bḥib il dukhan /
- 80 Celina: ε ε, inta msibe! /  
[ma kharjak!] /
- 81 Saleh: [so] balashna /
- 82 Celina: ε /
- 83 Saleh: t'alimne ldukhan /
- 84 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 85 Saleh: ḥatta ana w yeha nruḥ la haydike lmarḥale /
- 86 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 87 Saleh: nḥashish /  
<whispers>  
la ḥatta nusal la haydike lmarḥale /
- 88 Celina: ε ε ε /

- 89 Saleh: la nusal 'ala ((Babliye)) /
- 90 Celina: fhimit fhimit /
- 91 Saleh: okay? /
- 92 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 93 Saleh: ḥawalit kirmela, shribit dukhan /  
lik ma 'am tizbat ma'ε! /  
<chuckles>
- 94 Celina: <laughs out loud>
- 95 Saleh: ma a'rif ibla'! /  
<laughs>
- 96 Celina: ε ε ε ε, fhimt 'lek /  
<laughs>
- 97 Saleh: ma a'rif ibla' wallah /  
wala istarje 'inne /  
<inhales>  
a'milon hek /  
ma 'dirit! /
- 98 Celina: ma 'dirit, ε /
- 99 Saleh: so, ma zabtit ma'ε /  
<laughs>
- 100 Celina: so, ma zabtit /  
so trakta? /
- 101 Saleh: ma- ma tkhattet marḥale /
- 102 Celina: ma 'dirit tusala bshī a'la /
- 103 Saleh: <laughs>
- 104 Omar: <laughs>
- 105 Celina: ε, bravo 'lek /  
ε bravo /
- 106 Saleh: <laughs>
- 107 Celina: ma'neta jismak byorfod ha shī /
- 108 Omar: marra- /
- 109 Celina: ma'neta bjismak fi shī genetically /

- ‘aks jisim Hussein<sup>17</sup> masalan /  
 mat’ille fī shī ‘ala lsa‘id il cells- /
- 110** Saleh: laḥza kamen- laḥza kamen /
- 111** Celina: ε /
- 112** Saleh: l’irade ‘ila khas /
- 113** Celina: ε, I know /  
 I know /  
 khalas- /
- 114** Saleh: ε /  
 khsuse hayda lshī- /  
 huwe laike /  
 kif ana bḥib football inte bithibbe shī gher= /
- 115** Celina: =mazbut /
- 116** Saleh: hayda hayda- /
- 117** Celina: ‘abliyye /  
 fī ‘abliyye, fī ‘abliyye /  
 [fī interest] /
- 118** Saleh: [ε, ε] /
- 119** Celina: mazbut /  
 [...]
- 120** Omar: fī marra t‘arafit ‘a binit /
- 121** Celina: mm /
- 122** Omar: dhart ana w yeha /  
 kint awwal marra bidhar ana w yeha... /  
 nzilna ‘al Gemmayze /
- 123** Celina: ε /
- 124** Omar: shribna shribna shribna... laaa, kif badde ‘illik? /  
 khalas, batalt ya‘ne... /
- 125** Celina: batalit /

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<sup>17</sup> Hussein is the pseudonym used for Saleh’s brother-in-law, who used to work at *Chic* when Sarah married Saleh. Currently, he is not an employer at the salon.

- 126 Omar: anja' sheyif ba'd bi 'yune /  
<chuckles>
- 127 Celina: <laughs>
- 128 Omar: tlo'na bisayara /
- 129 Celina: mm /
- 130 Omar: 'iltilla shu biddik ta'mle, 'alitle 'abele kazdura /  
'iltilla okay mnitla' hek near Saida /
- 131 Celina: mm /
- 132 Omar: ma la'ayta gher 'illa ḥadde, barmit cigara /
- 133 Celina: mm /
- 134 Omar: 'imt ana- /  
'alitle khod /  
ana akhadit ana ma- /
- 135 Celina: w inta 'am bitsu? /  
w sharben /  
[YA'EN!] /
- 136 Omar: [ε ε] /  
ana ma biksof ḥada! /
- 137 Celina: malla khalta ya'ne /
- 138 Omar: shribit... khalasit /  
wsolna ta'riban mniḥ /  
'a Khalde, la ba'd Khalde /  
ana w 'am su' bas ijraye 'al- /  
lamma tkune shribte /
- 139 Celina: ε ε ε /  
battil- /  
ε akid /
- 140 Omar: bdalne bittala' bil kilometraj /  
li'ano... Isikran mahma siri' /  
biḥis ḥalo ba'do bati' /
- 141 Celina: mazbut /
- 142 Omar: fa 'am bitala' bil kilometraj /

- kletin, arb'in, ekhid kil yamine /
- 143** Celina: mm /
- 144** Omar: w 'am niḥaddas ana w yeha /  
w mabsutin /  
bitala' hek, min b'id /  
'itilla, ba'ra at'it il autostrad /
- 145** Celina: laa... /
- 146** Omar: 'amit hiyye 'imlit hek, hehe hehe hehe /  
la hon wsolit? /  
tdaḥakit /  
la hon wsolit /  
'imit ana tala'it fiya /  
ino ε, ma' 'ule shuf ba'ra at'a autostrad /
- 147** Celina: ino bi libnen fī ba'ar! /  
<chuckles>
- 148** Omar: 'imit, ε- /  
<chuckles>
- 149** Celina: bit- bitsir ya'ne! /  
<laughs>
- 150** Omar: sm- sma'ε! /  
'am ana 'ilit ε /  
ma' 'ule ana shifit ghalat /
- 151** Celina: ahh... /
- 152** Omar: mshina shway la 'iddem... /  
ba'ra tenye ata' il autostrad /  
'alitle ba'ra! /  
'iltilla ε ma 'iltillik abil shway ba'ra ata'it lautostrad /
- 153** Celina: hiyye nisyit /
- 154** Omar: mshina shway la 'iddem la'ayna... /  
six-wheel ba'ar 'elib mitil ma huwe /  
w l'alam 'am tilḥa' lba'rat /
- 155** Celina: YI! /

- <laughs out loud>
- 156 Omar: <laughs>
- 157 Celina: mniḥ ma tol'it halwase ya'ne! /  
tab ya maḥla lba'ar lḥa'i'yε /  
<laughs>
- 158 Omar: ana wsolit ino ε ino /
- 159 Celina: kinit 'am bithalwis /
- 160 Omar: ino ana wsolit la marḥale ino... /
- 161 Celina: 'am bitshuf shī /
- 162 Omar: ino, shifta mazbut /  
fī ba'ra at'a lautostrad bas ino /
- 163 Celina: ε ε /
- 164 Omar: shifta ino... /  
ḥatta hiyyε 'alitle ino halwase /  
ino 'am bithalwis ino /
- 165 Celina: ε ε /
- 166 Omar: fa ana tkhayalit ḥale ino ana sirit marḥalit il halwase /
- 167 Celina: ε ε /  
miyyε bil miyyε /
- 168 Omar: ino shu ba'ra bida ti'ta' il autostrad /
- 169 Celina: ε, bta'mil hallucinations /
- 170 Omar: ε ε /  
<chuckles>
- 171 Celina: toli' ba'ar 'anjad /
- 172 <chuckles>
- 173 Saleh: mitil- mitil fī - /  
fī nes mitil 'anda immunity /
- 174 Celina: ε /
- 175 Saleh: ekhdin keno- /  
keno sahranin /  
ekhdin Ecstasy /
- 176 Celina: ε ε /

- 177 Saleh: w saro sharbenin w malyon shaghlε- /
- 178 Celina: hayda Ecstasy /  
shu- bas shu hayda? /  
ħbub bi'ti'id? /
- 179 Saleh: ε! /  
lmuhim... /  
ah, 'allε /  
kint meshe... a'id 'iddem /
- 180 Celina: mm /
- 181 Saleh: 'allε sirit shuf nomar lsiyarat bsaynet /
- 182 Celina: yiii! /  
ya'ne bil visual /  
wasil la fo' ya'ne /
- 183 Saleh: ε ε... /
- 184 Celina: very strayed /  
very very... ah- shu bi'ulo dangerous! /
- 185 Saleh: fī shī bi Amisterdam /
- 186 Celina: ε ε ε /
- 187 Saleh: fī shī bi Amisterdam /  
ekhdin... /
- 188 Celina: ε /
- 189 Saleh: bi'ululik ah- mamnu' totla'ε aktar min klat darjet /
- 190 Celina: lε? /
- 191 Saleh: ma btitla'ε aktar min klat darjet /
- 192 Celina: why not? /
- 193 Saleh: iza bitnotte min 'an l'ashir /  
btiftikriya inte 'al awwal /  
[...]
- 194 Omar: ana rfi'ε, 'al halwase /
- 195 Celina: ε ε /
- 196 Omar: y'illa nzale 'an ((ldaraj)), halla' btua'ε! /
- 197 Celina: YI! /

- <laughs out loud>
- 198 Omar: shu 'am ta'mle fo' /  
nzale halla' btua'ε! /  
<laughs>
- 199 Omar: tab'an /  
depends ino shu 'am yekhdo /
- 200 Omar: <laughs>
- 201 Celina: bas, ḥaram /
- 202 Omar: ε, hayda mot /  
intiḥar hayda /
- 203 Celina: haydole li byekhduwon ismon hallucinogenic /
- 204 Omar: ma byitjarabo hol! /
- 205 Celina: fi ḥbub bas lal halwase /
- 206 Saleh: hayda li byekhidon bikun 'am yihrob min lwaki' taba'o= /
- 207 Celina: =tab'an! /  
tab'an /  
akid akid /  
miyye bil miyye /  
kilon 'andon hurub aslan /
- 208 Omar: aw la yinso shī /
- 209 Celina: exactly exactly /

**Conversation H: Omar and Sandra in Sarah's presence (2 minutes)**

- 1 Omar: ana ma bḥibil niswen /
- 2 Celina: biḥibil rjel aw shī /

- <laughs>
- 3 Sarah: <laughs>
- 4 Celina: bita' rigala? /
- 5 Omar: bisexual /
- 6 Celina: BISEXUAL? /  
lek aḥsan (xxx) /  
<laughs>  
[...]
- 7 Omar: ma bkhalle bsayne t'awwe fo' w min ḥadde /  
<chuckles>
- 8 Celina: 'anjad il bisexual ma byil'at ε 'afikra /
- 9 Omar: ma byil'at /
- 10 Celina: li'ano bita' killo... /  
ya'ne 'illa ma yle'ilo ya mara ya rijjel, 'anjad /  
<chuckles>
- 11 Sarah: <laughs>
- 12 Omar: le fikrik le 'am bit'allam rijjele ana? /
- 13 Celina: ahhhh! /
- 14 Omar: ḥa samme salone Omar bisexual /  
<Celina and Omar laugh out loud>
- 15 Omar: hiyye sex aw unisex, ma hiyye zeta /  
<laughs>
- 16 Celina: ε hiyye zeta /  
<laughs>

**Conversation I: Omar, Sandra and Sarah (2 minutes)**

- 1 Omar: 'ajabik kif 'atalū lal safir? /
- 2 Celina: shū? /

- 3 Omar: kif 'atalū lal safir ltunse? /
- 4 Celina: ε, ḥaram /  
ma' 'ul! /  
[...]
- 5 Celina: w hayda taba' Berlin /  
'alile hayda lī 'etil tna' shar waḥad? /  
toli' tunse! /
- 6 Omar: hek shī, ε /
- 7 Celina: 'al la'ato afghane /  
toli' il afghane bari' /  
kazabo lḥadε /  
toli' ibin 'arab /  
lafghane /  
<chuckles>
- 8 Omar: (xxx) /
- 9 Celina: tab ino masalan ma sada' na afghanistane /  
la' toli' tunse! /  
<chuckles>  
ma ba'rif iza rij' o akaduwa ino huwe /  
bas rij' o la'ato waḥad tene.... /  
'atallo tna' shar waḥad /  
ya'ne ya ekhid Ecstasy /  
ya... ya ya mḥashash ya 'al Captagon /
- 10 Omar: akid akid /  
Captagon /
- 11 Celina: Ca- Captagon /
- 12 Omar: shī fiyo ((ḥashish)) /
- 13 Celina: la' la', mish ḥashish /  
azde 'oul shī upper bido ykun /
- 14 Omar: ε shī- shī ktir /
- 15 Celina: shī birawi' /  
bas ekhid Captagon /

- ya- ya cocaine /
- 16** Omar: ε ε hek shī /
- 17** Celina: ya Ecstasy /  
ya shī /
- 18** Omar: mustahil insen bi kemil wa‘yo ya‘mol ha shī /  
[mustahil] /
- 19** Celina: [akid] la’ /  
akid la’ ... /  
aw aw hiyye il ideolojia il il il- shu bi‘ulula... /  
il radikaliyyeh kamen ya‘ne /
- 20** Omar: mm /
- 21** Celina: hiyye no‘ min drug /
- 22** Omar: mm /
- 23** Celina: ya‘ne ana iza mi‘imne miyye bil miyye ino ljanne natritne /  
hiyye ma le kint akhadit h̄bub /  
ma nafs shī /
- 24** Omar: <laughs>
- 25** Celina: sorry ya‘ne! /  
ino... fi nes bala h̄bub btimshe /  
li‘ano ‘anda i‘ti’ad a‘ma w shu bisamu... /  
tazammot /  
ino hayda h̄aysirlon /  
niḥna ghalat w hinne killon saḥ /
- 26** Omar: mazbut /
- 27** Celina: hayde adrab min il drugs /
- 28** Omar: mm /
- 29** Celina: drugs bitwa‘if /  
haydike kif fik tshila min raso lal waḥad /
- 30** Omar: khalas ghasil dmagh /
- 31** Celina: ε /  
ya maḥla drugs! /  
fa kif iza btijma‘on tnayneton... ya‘en! /

bisiro da'ish /

**32** Omar: mazbut /

**33** Celina: mm /

**Conversation J: Celina and Saleh, in the presence of Omar and Sarah (3 minutes)**

**1** Celina: akhad lcadeau? /

**2** Saleh: ma [huwε biddik ta' rfe kif tilhī] /

- 3 Celina: [ħaram ata'le albe!] /  
tofel /
- 4 Saleh: bshī gher shī /
- 5 Celina: tab'an! /  
[w LA'!] /
- 6 Saleh: [w lmishkle ana manne fadε] /
- 7 Celina: la daraje niseha lal Ipad! /  
<laughs out loud>
- 8 Saleh: taraka 'al beb /
- 9 Celina: SUBHAN ALLAH! /  
<laughs>
- 10 Saleh: <chuckles>
- 11 Celina: khalas tofel /
- 12 Omar: tab ma zghir /
- 13 Celina: ε /
- 14 Saleh: ya'ne hayde ana ken lezim 'atī yeha- /
- 15 Celina: halla' fataħa lal jdide? /
- 16 Saleh: ε /
- 17 Celina: ah 'am yil'ab fiya /
- 18 Saleh: ana kint jeyiblo yeha 'atī yeha ['al weekend] /
- 19 Celina: [kamen game?] /
- 20 Saleh: ah, la' / haydole... mitil ah- mitil li'ab /  
ah, shu ismo /
- 21 Celina: ε /
- 22 Saleh: ε /  
shakhsiyet cartuniye huε biħiba- /
- 23 Celina: (xxx) /
- 24 Saleh: ismon Paw Patrol haydole /
- 25 Celina: okay okay /
- 26 Saleh: ε /
- 27 Celina: ε ε /
- 28 Saleh: so- /

- 29 Celina: mish shī electronic? /
- 30 Saleh: la' la' /
- 31 Celina: ah huwe 'am yil'ab fiyon halla'? /
- 32 Saleh: ε fa... /  
 jeyibon bas ken m'asas /  
 'alitle Sarah ma bta'tī yeha /
- 33 Celina: ahhh... okay /
- 34 Saleh: ε /
- 35 fa ijit bwa'ta halla'= /
- 36 Celina: =ijit bwa'ta /  
 yī inta khalle kaza wiḥde spare bī siyara /  
 cadoyet /  
 lal musta'bal /  
 <laughs>
- 37 Saleh: <laughs>
- 38 Celina: ḥabibe! /  
 zghir ba'do /
- 39 Sarah: yallah /  
 'ule min gher lshar lyom ekhir nhar bi Beirut ilo /
- 40 Celina: ε 'iltile! /  
 [...]
- 41 Saleh: bas ma fike tijma'iyon il tnen ma' ba'id /
- 42 Celina: ahhh! /  
 li'ano se'ita hiyye bitjin /  
 'imma la Sarah /
- 43 Saleh: ε! /
- 44 Celina: ahhh /
- 45 Celina: bas ma byishte' la khayo? /  
 ma byishte' la ilkon? /  
 ma bi- /
- 46 Saleh: mballa /  
 bas ino mintol 'le /

- ya'ne... /
- 47** Celina: mish ino btirmū w- /
- 48** Saleh: mnitla' 'al weekend /
- 49** Celina: akid ma ḥa tirmū w tinsū /
- 50** Saleh: ε /
- 51** Celina: kif byiltihε fo' /  
ma' min? /  
fi wled bi 'omro? /  
fi? /
- 52** Saleh: meshε /  
byitsalla /  
'ando bo'od fo' /  
aḥla min kil malyon madrasε /  
<chuckles>
- 53** Celina: akid akid /  
aha ah ah... /  
huwε reyi' iza mish ma' khayο ε? /
- 54** Saleh: hinne tnayneton bas yinjim'o ma' ba'ed /  
tnayneton bijinno /
- 55** Celina: ah ah okay okay /  
[...]
- 56** Saleh: iza jama'tiyon bya'mlo kumble nawawiyyε /  
<chuckles>
- 57** Celina: ε /  
ḥABIBETε! /  
ma they are boys kamen /  
lbanet arwa'... /  
Saleh, mna'mil il treatment aw aw? /
- 58** Saleh: ma huwε ijbare ma'o treatment /

### Conversation K (4 minutes)

Excerpt 1: Saleh and Madame Layla

- 1** Saleh: mart l'amid [...] ba'da 'ayshe\* /

- 'a iyyem atlal zawja\* /
- 2 Madame Layla: shu bit'illak?\* /
- 3 Saleh: bitdi'ille m- masalan bit'ille mart l'amid [...]\*/  
<chuckles>
- 4 Madame Layla: Allah yse'id l'alam /  
<chuckles>
- 5 Saleh: ε /
- 6 Madame Layla: mm... hiyyε... ah ḥaram 'anda a'sab\* /
- 7 Saleh: ε ba'rif min zamen 'anda\* /
- 8 Madame Layla: mm /
- 9 Saleh: bas ba'da 'ayshe 'a- /  
btitsarraf bi tari'a ka'an kil l'alam khaddeme 'anda /
- 10 Madame Layla: kil l'alam ε? /
- 11 Saleh: ((mwakle)) kil il 'alam khaddeme 'anda\* /
- 12 Madame Layla: ε! /
- 13 Saleh: marra masalan ijit jebit ma'a shanta w shi hek /  
'aletlo lal shab please se'idne fiyon 'a siyyara /
- 14 Madame Layla: mm /  
[...]<sup>18</sup> Itaxi bitkhali ywa'if lsiyyara w yerja' yihmilla lghrad /  
hiyyε ma kenit heke 3a iyyem zawja ma ykhaliya... /  
Allah yse'id l'alam bi'awno... /

Excerpt 2: Saleh, Madame Layla and Sarah

- 1 Sarah: y'addimle ye /  
law 'ande wa'it kint jarrayto 'al maḥkame /
- 2 Saleh: wein? /
- 3 Sarah: hone ḥad TSC! /
- 4 Saleh: nchala jeyε b'aks lseir? /
- 5 Sarah: eh 'am ya'mille HEK! /
- 6 Saleh: w'afε BNOS LTARI' w di'ille!

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<sup>18</sup> The first name of Madame Claudette's private chauffeur.

- 7 Sarah: la'! /  
 'iltillo le 'am ta'mille HEK! /  
 'alle ruḥe tshakke / ḥa'ik 'a rasse, ruḥe tshakke! /
- 8 Saleh: ε ma ana haydike lmarra hon- hunike 'milt lmashkal /
- 9 Sarah: mberih waḥad van bas ma starjet 'amil ma'o mashkal /
- 10 Saleh: hunik- hunik ana saffet lsiyyara w w'ift bwijjo /  
 iltillon KILKON rja'o la wara! /  
 gher allah ma biraji'ne min hon n'allah rad! /  
 nizille waḥad 'alle ANA 'AMEN 'AM! /  
 'iltilo iza inta 'amen 'am w in- /  
 inta l'amn bhal balad ktir- ktir mniḥ /  
 'iltillo manne reji' /  
 toli' - riji' ija waḥad /  
 ija 'alle fut tla' bi siyyara aḥsan ma di'ak badan /  
 'iltillo, manne tali' ha siyyara /  
 la ḥatta ija- allah ba'atleh darake... /  
 talla' heke 'iltillo hay- watan hayda- ana tali' ((sa7)) w jeye la hon /  
 ε 'allon KILKON rja'o la wara /
- 11 Madame Layla: bravo 'lek /
- 12 Sarah: law ma allah ba'atlak darake keno da'uk 'atle... /  
 <laughs>
- 13 Madame Layla: <laughs>
- 14 Saleh: wallahī nzil- tafayta nzilit bnoss ltari' /  
 'iltillon- raja'it tman siyarat /
- 15 Sarah: [ana mberih fi] /
- 16 Madame Layla: [bravo] /
- 17 Sarah: van aḥatle lsiyarah min 'iddem aḥet /
- 18 Madame Layla: yī! /
- 19 Sarah: tistarje tiftaḥe timmik ma'o? /
- 20 Saleh: van? /  
 zu'ran! /
- 21 Sarah: ma btistarje- /

- 22 Saleh: zu‘ran! /
- 23 Madame Layla: [eh tab‘an!] /
- 24 Saleh: [haydolε zu‘ran] /  
ana ana- /
- 25 Madame Layla: ‘am ’illik ibn khaleh [...] /
- 26 Sarah: huwe (xxx) hek! /
- 27 Madame Layla: aywa! /  
toli‘lo min ḥarakit ’amal /
- 28 Saleh: haydolε akbar zo‘ran [haydol] /
- 29 Madame Layla: [mm byisro w byisro w byisro lmashkal] /
- 30 Saleh: [haydol bid‘eh ‘layon da‘awε] /

**Conversation L: Saleh and Donya (6 minutes)**

- 1 Donya: mish ‘andak ḥada? /  
shabeb? /
- 2 Saleh: ah fi ‘ande shab hala’ byijε /

- 3 Donya: mm... /  
kenit lyom 'otle, wallah la' /
- 4 Saleh: la' (xxx) /
- 5 Donya: mm... bitħis ma byisbato bi hal shaghle lshabeb? /
- 6 Saleh: mish ma byisbato, kil ma yshimmo ri7it baton- /
- 7 Donya: khalas byimsho /
- 8 Saleh: ε... /  
ya'ne ana shtaghalit bi maħal tis' snin /  
hayda ma ba' bitshufiya hayde /
- 9 Donya: laa' ma fi /  
la tis' snin /  
la' la'! /
- 10 Saleh: fi lwaħad yiftaħ maħal aw byista'jir /  
ken 'ande... (xxx) /  
bi shighle- /
- 11 Donya: ε, Hussein? /
- 12 Saleh: la' /  
waħad tene /
- 13 Donya: ah ε /
- 14 Saleh: shab 'ande /
- 15 Donya: ε ε /
- 16 Saleh: tarak 'ande (xxx) w riji' la 'ande /  
ma ken 'am y'adde ba'a ma'asho /  
tarak lmaħal hunike w ija shtaghal 'ande shi sinten hon /  
w meshe halo ma aħle /  
w ken ma'o ma'ash mrattab w y'os w yishtighil /  
'ati ana /  
'am saħib 'illi huwe ken sheghil 'ando sefar 'a amerka- /
- 17 Donya: 'am fataħo huwe /
- 18 Saleh: 'am stasmaro huwe /  
ma dayano sinne! /  
ken hone 'am yi'bad ma'ash sebit w mit alf shaghle w kaza /

- 19 Donya: [ε w ma'ando] /
- 20 Saleh: w hek /
- 21 Donya: ε w ma'ando- /
- 22 Saleh: halla' 'allε raḥ muwazzaf 'am yishtighil bil ḥamra /
- 23 Donya: ε m'andon hol, ah shu ismo, zabeyin /  
 ktir 'lel... /  
 ba'den shuf shaghle /  
 ba'd fatra min ma t'os sha' rak btit'awad 'al maken w khalas /  
 ma fik kil shway tbaddil bi shi tenε... /  
 ε ken a'id 'am yishtighil meshe lḥal /  
 w ma 'ad reji' ḥawal yirja' la 'andak? /
- 24 Saleh: ma ba' braj'o /
- 25 Donya: ah maba'- /
- 26 Saleh: li'an ba'd- ba'd ma tarak min hon /
- 27 Donya: mm /
- 28 Saleh: sar yruḥ 'a zbunete ya'tiyon brochurat la (( 'ilo)) /
- 29 Donya: ahh! /
- 30 Saleh: inno sar huwe- /  
 iza ken ya'millon brushing hon /
- 31 Donya: ε /
- 32 Saleh: byi'dar yekhidon 'al bet /
- 33 Donya: lah! /
- 34 Saleh: ya'ne ḥatta zbunit il brushing li kenit ta'mil ma'o /  
 tije ta'mil 'ande l'ashya li kbire- /
- 35 Donya: w truḥ la 'ando? /
- 36 Saleh: w w iza mm- iza- li'ano bithibo /  
 bitmarri'lo brushing min 'anda /
- 37 Donya: ah ε /
- 38 Saleh: bas rij'o killon- rij'o killon rij'o ijo /
- 39 Donya: ε! /  
 shu ya'ne huwe baddo y'usille /  
 la', ma bitkheyal... /

- 40 Saleh: halla' ε lshab li ken hon m'a'ado hayda, rfi' ε /  
 hayda ken yishtighil ma' ε /  
 hayda... ya'ne awwal shi ba'irfo min huwe w zghir /  
 teniyan ah... ballash ma'eh awal nes bil maḥal / sar- /
- 41 Donya: ah ya'ne shatir iza biddo y'os? /
- 42 Saleh: ε ma ken 'ando maḥal /  
 ya'ne lama 7attayto ana kent msefar /
- 43 Donya: ε ah /
- 44 Saleh: ε /
- 45 Donya: walla /  
 ana ma ktir wsa'it / ya'ne- /
- 46 Saleh: halla' tabi' ε inno- /
- 47 Donya: ma ktir wsa'it /  
 li'ano ana sha'rate... iza ma 'assiton mniḥa ma 'andon shi tene ya'ne /  
 ya'neh ma'andon /  
 mish inno brushing w ah- /  
 hiyye l'assa bidna tkun mniḥa la yimshe ḥala /  
 <silence for 10 seconds from both parties>

**Conversation M: Mahmoud and Sandy in Sarah and Saleh's presence (10 minutes)**

- 1 Sandy: bidde ib'atak 'ala hayda... na'shit ma' ε /  
 yalla ruḥ /
- 2 Mahmoud: na'shit ma' ε? /

- 3 Sandy: barkε bitle' ilak shī 'arus /  
 <Sandy, Mahmoud, and Saleh laugh>  
 [...]
- 4 Mahmoud: ana iza bruḥ bidawule killon /
- 5 Sandy: ε, awwal waḥad /
- 6 Mahmoud: bidawule killon dawil barad /
- 7 Sandy: dawil barad /
- 8 Sarah: shu huwe hayda? /
- 9 Mahmoud: na' shit ma' ε /
- 10 Sandy: 'al baddo yruḥ 'ala na' shit ma' ε /
- 11 Sarah: huwe khalas /
- 12 Sandy: 'iltillo ruḥ! /
- 13 Sarah: hay ekhir jum' a /
- 14 Mahmoud: le laghu? /
- 15 Sarah: la' /
- 16 Sandy: la' ma laghu /  
 huwe ken bi sayfiyye /
- 17 Sarah: bi sayfiyye /
- 18 Mahmoud: la' bas ma 'am yiḥko 'anno ino ma mniḥ w hek /
- 19 Sandy: ya ḥabibe ma huwe bi sayfiyye ken /  
 kif bikun? /
- 20 Mahmoud: 'a rasse bas ino 'am yiḥko ino haydol baramij ma byiswo /
- 21 Sandy: ε ε halla' ḥiko /  
 ḥiko 'anno saḥ /  
 bas ma wa'afu li'ano- /
- 22 Sarah: bas ḥatta li ma' il birnemij /  
 'allak ino ḥaram yin'arad 'al tmene w nos /  
 lezim yin'arad tis'a w nos /
- 23 Mahmoud: ma hayda li 'am beḥke fi ana /
- 24 Sandy: ε /
- 25 Sarah: ḥatta li ma' lbirnemij, ana ma' o /
- 26 Sandy: ε ε /

- 27 Sarah: mish ghalat /
- 28 Mahmoud: bas iza waḥad [wleḍo a`din ḥaddo-] /
- 29 Sandy: laike, laike bas hiyye lbinet /  
hiyye shtarkit /
- 30 Sarah: ε ana bḥib lbirnemij, ana bḥibbo ktir /
- 31 Sandy: ε hinne shtarko /
- 32 Sarah: ε /
- 33 Sandy: ya`ne ma fi `al hayda shu ismo- /
- 34 Mahmoud: bas battal mahdum bas da`if Fouad /
- 35 Sarah: shu? la` mballa! /
- 36 Mahmoud: bas do`if /
- 37 Sandy: huwe shway sa`il ya`ne, `ando sa`ale /
- 38 Sarah: la` bas huwe murid /  
huwe ken mkhawtar /  
la `emilil bypass /
- 39 Sarah: `amal wa`ta `amaliyye ε /
- 40 Sara: ε ken marid /
- 41 Sandy: ah /
- 42 Sarah: ε, ya`ne ken `ando il cholesterol /  
w triglyceride kilo darib `a shrayino w hek /
- 43 Sandy: ah! /
- 44 Sarah: kirmel hek /  
wala huwe manno mabsut ino huwe `imila /
- 45 Sandy: ah ε! li`an do`if /
- 46 Sarah: lshuḥum killa kenit w duhun /
- 47 Mahmoud: bas subḥan Allah li mitil hay /  
Allah `ati lwaḥad mafi /
- 48 Sarah: shu? /
- 49 Mahmoud: ino hek yid`af faj`a bsir shaklo gharib /
- 50 Sarah: inta li`annak ma ḥa tid`af bḥayetak /  
kirmel hek- /
- 51 Mahmoud: mitil Hussain El Jasimi masalan /

- 52 Sandy: inta 'mol 'mol- /
- 53 Mahmoud: bas do 'if sar shaklo bi' arrif, sar bidaḥik /
- 54 Sandy: ε li'ano m'awdin 'le niḥna /  
ma tinsa nasiḥ ktir /  
[...]
- 55 Sarah: huwe jan jnunon wa'ta toli' hayda lshab ino huwe muḥame /
- 56 Sandy: ε ε ε! /
- 57 Sarah: ino ma''ule lmuḥamin hek saro jlaji' /  
ma hinne lmuḥamin mafyet /
- 58 Mahmoud: lmuḥame 'andε ye ḥaramε bi badle /  
<laughs>
- 59 Sarah: ε byekhod masare ktir /
- 60 Mahmoud: walla /
- 61 Sarah: ε /
- 62 Mahmoud: bifut byiḥke kilimten, byekhidlo alfen dollar /

**Conversation N: Saleh, Mahmoud and Amanda (13 minutes)**

- 9 Mahmoud: aḥla shī fikon lamma tsu'o siyyara /  
kommitil comedy /  
<laughs>

- 10 Amanda: ε huwwe comedy... /  
 at least mindahik /  
 bas into bitbakko li'ano ma btihtirmo shī awenin /
- 11 Mahmoud: la' into bitbakko /  
 ken tar lzalame huwwe w bsiyarto /
- 12 Amanda: ε hiyye wiḥde min alef /  
 mish ma'neta kil il [niswen 'atlin] /
- 13 Mahmoud: [kil yom minshuf wiḥde] /
- 14 Saleh: lyom shifet wiḥde, kenit rej'a la wara /  
 'iltilla wa'fe /  
 bidda terja' bi siyyarta tsof... /  
 'arrabit w sarit 'am tfut bnos lsaffe /  
 saret bermε hek w ba'da bit'arrib /  
 'am sarikhla ana 'AM BISOF 'AM BISOF! /  
 wi'fit, rakkabit reverse w rij'it 'allī wara /  
 w haydek 'am bizammirla /  
 w ba'da rej'a 'anno /
- 15 Amanda: khabatito? /
- 16 Saleh: abuke 'a abu li 'allik tsu'ε w li 'atake lsiyara /  
 mbayne jdide w makhassa biswa'a /
- 17 Amanda: bas mish kil il banet ma bya'rfo ysu'o! /
- 18 Mahmoud: klaterbe'on /
- 19 Amanda: klaterbe'on? /  
 dakhelkon w dahl swe'atkon li kil il ḥawedis rjel 'am ya'mluwa /
- 20 Amanda: wa'ta li kenet 'am 'addim 'a imtiḥan lswe'a /  
 bi ryad lsoloḥ keno killon shuferiyet taxi /  
 w ana lwaḥide binet /
- 21 Mahmoud: ah inte ma dfa3te ḥa'o? /
- 22 Amanda: la' /
- 23 Mahmoud: ε awwal wiḥde ma btidfa3 ḥa'o /  
 mabruk, byitla'lik je'ize /  
 <laughs>

- 24 Amanda: sma'! /  
w 'am bit'allam w 'ade? /  
'am 'addim l'imtiḥan /  
w 'ala jeep /  
ma kenit siyyara awwal shī /  
kenit 'a jeep /  
w ljeep b'aks lsiyyara bi ti'dim /  
kil shī la 'iddem /  
w ana t'allamet 'a siyyara bas l'imtiḥan bit'admī 'a jeep /  
fa nzilet, khallasit kil shī /  
suffe, saffet /  
ana w tal'a, 'alle min 'allik totla'ε? /  
toli'le waḥad la'im /  
'iltillo ma fhimet /  
taffet w khallasit /  
shu bidde o'od a'mol? /  
'alle bas ANA 'illik totla'ε btotla'ε /  
li kenet 'am bit'allam 'ando /  
yittala' fiyye hek 'an b'id /  
y'ul dakhil 'ardik, ru'ε ru'ε ma t'asbe tanshe! /  
<chuckles>
- 25 Saleh: mm /
- 26 Amanda: a'ad trabba' 'iddeme /  
w 'alle bas ANA 'illik titla'ε minil saffe btitla'ε /  
ana, sheyif ltrain bas yballish ydakhin? /  
hek kinet, m'asbe! /  
ino shu li'anne binet lwaḥie hek 'am ta'mol! /  
bidдон ysa'tune, keno newyinε /  
bi'um, okay dhare min lsaffe /  
daharet min lsaffe w jeet 'ala imtiḥan l'as'ila /  
ε ayya su'al ba'd biddo ykun bi'alb rasse ba'd hal 'amle li 'imila... /  
shu byis'alne awwal su'al? /

- iza fī ghtayta, shu biḥute? /
- 27** Saleh: shu? /
- 28** Amanda: ghtayta /  
shu bta‘mlε? /  
a‘adit fakir ana l‘ama raḥ ljaweb min rasse bil marra /  
‘iltillo bḥot sha‘fε safra ‘al tari’ /  
<chuckles>  
SA‘ITA! /  
‘iltillo lek, inta newε ‘layyε min awwal ma ballashit l’imtiḥan la halla’ /  
mabshuf gher li m‘alamne rekid /  
‘iltillo baddak tsa‘itne anal bent lwaḥide li newε ‘layyε /  
kil shuferiyet ltaxi sa‘ato, wala waḥad ata’ /  
‘em ‘allε Amanda, w’afe ‘a janab /  
‘iltillo baddo ysa‘itne /  
‘allε w’afe ‘a janab /  
ija ḥike ma‘o, ‘allo ya khayyε ya ḥabibe /  
lbinet bas t‘assib bitbatil fey’a ‘ala shī /  
<chuckles>
- 29** Mahmoud: (xxx) /
- 30** Amanda: la’ li’ano ḥafziton killon ‘a ldaftar, ‘rifte? /
- 31** Mahmoud: ε /
- 32** Amanda: fa ma ijene gher hayda lsu’al /  
ε, ‘am ‘iltillo, shu biddo ysa‘itne /  
‘allε la’ akid ma ḥa ysa’tik /  
‘iltillo shu ‘am yimzaḥ ya‘ne? /  
binet waḥide kenit w killon shuferiyye taxi /
- 33** Mahmoud: ma’ ‘ano ken lezim ynajḥuke dighre bidun ma tsu’ε lsiyyara /
- 34** Amanda: la’ le? /
- 35** Mahmoud: ydaliluke /  
binet kaza /
- 36** Amanda: la’, ma bi’bal! /  
‘melt imtiḥan /

- ‘am ’illak, t‘allamit ‘ade ‘ala siyara /  
 ‘implule ye ‘a jeep w ljeep b‘aks lvites /  
 lsiyyara, kil shī la ’iddem /  
 [...]
- 37** Saleh: inte ayya sine akhadte daftar lswe’a taba’ik? /
- 38** Amanda: ken ‘omre tisa’ta’sh, ya’ne aya sine? /
- 39** Saleh: ya’ne halla’ akhadti... /  
 ana bil kleta w tis’in talla’to /  
 ‘a tmanta’esh bi zabet /
- 40** Amanda: ε /
- 41** Saleh: ’addamet l’imtiḥan ken ‘omre saba’ta’sh /  
 ‘atune lmaw‘ad ken sarle mtabba’ /
- 42** Amanda: bi riad lsoloh? /  
 taḥet, ε? /
- 43** Saleh: ken sarle- bil saray /  
 ken sarle mtabba’ tmanta’esh shaher w shway yimkin /  
 ‘milt hal imtiḥan w syekh b’ijre /  
 ‘al ‘ikayzet tlo’t ‘milt l’imtiḥan /
- 44** Amanda: le? kint kes- /
- 45** Saleh: kint kesir ‘admit lfakhed klat ksur w zeyḥa lrikbe /
- 46** Amanda: hay football? /
- 47** Saleh: ε, ḥattinle sikh min juwwa w [‘al ‘ikayze] /
- 48** Amanda: [kif khalluk] /  
 ta’mil l’imtiḥan? /
- 49** Saleh: ma ken yi’bal ykhaline itla’ /  
 ana tmarranet- ana ken fine it’aj ijre w ken fine id‘as ‘al khafif /  
 ‘milt l’imtiḥan w kaza /  
 bas abel ma otla’ min l’imtiḥan ma ken yorda ykhaline otla’ /
- 50** Amanda: uf! /
- 51** Saleh: ’alle barke kint mu’ak /  
 ’iltillo ana mu’ak? /  
 jeyiblak ma’ε suware /

- ftaḥet hek w ashatillo /  
 'iltillo talla' li syekh /
- 52** Amanda: <laughs>
- 53** Saleh: ma 'am bemzaḥ /  
 li'ano Amanda iza kent bidde irja' a'mil appointment tene /  
 ba'd tisi' tishhor /  
 w ana ken baba 'ayille ma btilla' wara dirkisyon siyara /  
 abel maykun ma'ak daftar /  
 ε, wataytillo hek w 'iltillo shuf /  
 talla', ba'da l'otab bi 'ijrayyε /  
 mbaynin keno /  
 ε 'alle halla' minshuf iza hayda /  
 'am ija hayda nafs maktab li swe'a 'alle 'atine 'ashir talef /
- 54** Amanda: mm /
- 55** Saleh: 'ate 'asher talef bas laykhaline itla' a'mil l'imtiḥan... /  
 'milt l'imtiḥan, aḥsan min kil li keno hayda /
- 56** Amanda: ε ε, ana tnamrad 'layyε li'anne kent lbent lwaḥide /  
 [...]
- 57** Saleh: ana 'a tmanta'shar sine kint mjamma' ḥa' siyyara /  
 ana ken 'andε- ken awwal ḥilm ḥayete ino ana ishtre siyyara /  
 min musriyete bas /
- 58** Amanda: shu jibet wa'ta? /
- 59** Saleh: jibet (xxx) hayda ba'da jdide- tal'a jdid /  
 [...]
- 60** Saleh: kint ba'dne shampwaner /
- 61** Amanda: ah, lal tips ya'ne /
- 62** Saleh: ken ma'ashe klatmit arba' mit alf /  
 balasht ken 'omre arba' ta'shar sine /  
 ija 'ibin 'amme /  
 'alle shu btishtighil /  
 huwwe mudir bank /  
 ε, shu btishtighil /

tips kaza bma‘ash /  
‘atine yehon bhotton b’isme /  
w bas inta hayda bi’liblak yehon ‘a ismak /

**63** Amanda: hek ‘emel? /

**64** Saleh: ε, ‘milna hek /

jit ‘a tmanta‘sh w shway... /

balashet su’ sayyaret baba /

ba‘den talla‘et siyara la ‘ile /

ken hayda awwal hilim bi hayetε /

ino ana kun ma‘ε ‘a tmanta‘shar sine siyyara bmusriyetε /

### **Conversation O (4 minutes)**

Excerpt 1: Saleh, Dima and Sarah

**1** Saleh: laike ‘azamtiya shī la shu isma /

**2** Dima: min...? /

no way, no! /

- ma 'am 'ilak ma 'alitle mabruk /
- 3** Saleh: ah okay /
- 4** Dima: le bade i 'zima... /  
sadamitne bas! /
- 5** Sarah: ahsan /
- 6** Dima: ba 'rif /
- 7** Saleh: w hiye ba 'da friends ma 'ik 'al Facebook? /
- 8** Dima: shu? /
- 9** Saleh: Dima, nayme hayete rasik la hunik hek\*... /  
hiye ba 'da friends ma 'ik 'a Facebook?=/
- 10** Dima: =ε friends BI'UWε! /  
w nezle liket w commentet /  
ya 'ne 'erfe ino khatabit /
- 11** Saleh: ε w wala- wala shu 'ismo- /
- 12** Dima: wala kilmit mabruk! /
- 13** Saleh: l'ama! /
- 14** Dima: w 'a Christmas 'ilit khaline ahsan mina, barke nesyt /  
'am ba 'tiya chance 'ino maybe /  
kamen... /  
'iltilla Merry Christmas habibte w shta'tilik /  
'alitle thanks same to you... /  
w sourte ana w Hadi<sup>19</sup> 'al profile fa no way to miss it /  
<chuckles>
- 15** Saleh: <chuckles>
- 16** Sarah: hakira! /
- 17** <chuckles>
- 18** Dima: maba 'rif le! /  
ana ma 'hura ino tab le! /  
w ma ba 'rif le ma 'hura! /
- 19** Sarah: ana ana- /

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<sup>19</sup> Hadi is the pseudonym used for Dima's fiancé.

- 20 Dima: la' ino ino /  
 ma- ma sar shi baynetna la tije ma t'ile mabruk ya'ne! /  
 gharib gharib... /

Excerpt 2: Mahmoud, Dima and Sarah

- 1 Dima: kinna 'am na'mil ah iktifel? /  
 shu bi'ulo? /
- 2 Mahmoud: ihtifel /
- 3 Dima: ihtifel, ana w Hadi li'ano 'ilna sinne ma' ba'd /
- 4 Sarah: hilo /
- 5 Dima: lah nsir sineh ltanen /  
 bas ma ha ykun hon /  
 so 'milne mberih /
- 6 Sarah: ε /
- 7 Dima: rihit jibtilo 'aninet wine 'ala zeit lsine li huwe khal'an fiya /
- 8 Mahmoud: [wow!] /
- 9 Dima: [ya'ne] 1977 /  
 'angad wow! /
- 10 Mahmoud: ε /
- 11 Dima: ba'a w rihna /  
 'milit ana lhaj- hjuzet /  
 rihit jibto /  
 nzilit la taht (xxx) /  
 khabiya 'anno khaliya ma ba'rif shu\* /  
 w da'et lal maḥal abil /  
 'iltilon nazlo gato yenkatab 'leh happy anniversary bil (xxx) /  
 muhim /  
 <laughs>  
 [...]
- 12 Dima: ε ba'a 'ija lgato /  
 ḥayete, ḥayeto thank you w thank you maba'rif shu /  
 'iltilo yī ḥayete /

- w ba‘den jebo l cadeaux... /  
talla‘ hek ‘alle yi bas ana ma jebtilik cadeaux! /  
‘itillo ḥayete ma bi‘asir sint l jey bitjible TNEN! mish waḥad /  
<laughs loudly>  
[...]
- 13** Dima: ana ‘itilo hek, faratet diḥik /  
ba‘den ‘ijt l fetura ken ana bide idfa‘ /  
‘alle LA‘ ABADAN ABADAN! /  
‘alle dakhilak bikaffe ma jibtillik cadeaux /  
‘al ‘alile khaline edfa‘ ḥa‘ l‘asha! /  
<laughs>
- 14** Sarah: dafa‘? /  
<laughs>
- 15** Dima: akid dafa‘! /
- 16** Sarah: ε mniḥ! /
- 17** Dima: bas ma- kint ‘am jarrib ma khalī ya‘ne /
- 18** Sarah: la‘ ma ḥelwe ‘ayb /
- 19** Dima: la‘! /  
kint ana ‘ezmito- /
- 20** Sarah: w iza lrijel deyman byidfa‘= /
- 21** Dima: =deyman huwe byidfa‘ /  
ma lezim deyman- /
- 22** Sarah: inte ‘zimī w huwe yidfa‘! /
- 23** Dima: <laughs>
- 24** Sarah: <laughs> /  
hayde kalsane ya‘ne /  
huwe- /
- 25** Dima: <laughs> /  
la‘ ino helo from time to time lbint tedfa‘ ‘am- ‘an zawja ya‘ne= /  
[...]
- 26** Mahmoud: [mbala] Sarah mazbut li ‘am teḥkī saḥ /
- 27** Dima: AKID ‘am beḥke saḥ! /

shu deyman 'al rijel /  
lrijel kamen byit 'ab.... /  
halla' batalit l'iyem mitil abil ya Sarah /  
sar- sarit /

- 28** Mahmoud: halla' sar- /  
**29** Dima: sar lrijel w lbinit w lmara- /  
**30** Mahmoud: partners /  
**31** Dima: waḥad... bartners /  
**32** Mahmoud: bartners! /  
<laughs>

**Conversation P (5 minutes)**

Excerpt 1: Saleh and Sandy in Sarah's presence

- 1 Saleh: masalan Laura<sup>20</sup> ‘miltilla ye /  
halla’ rej‘a jey- /
- 2 Sandy: shifto bas ma ktir mbayyan bi sura /
- 3 Saleh: la la /
- 4 Sandy: ma ḥassayto ana mbayyan /
- 5 Saleh: halla’ rij‘it raḥit ghamma’ito /
- 6 Sandy: lε? /
- 7 Saleh: tol‘it ‘al ‘a day‘a- /
- 8 Sandy: ghamma’ito! /
- 9 Saleh: ‘al khityare /
- 10 Sandy: la’! /
- 11 ana hayda bi‘a’id il lon /
- 12 Saleh: ε hayda ksartilla ye ana hek /  
hay- hayda hek lamma ‘miltilla rensage /  
hek mafrud ykhif /
- 13 Sandy: mm /
- 14 Saleh: halla’ hiyye mkattarla aktar /
- 15 Sandy: ε hiyye aktar sha’ra /
- 16 Saleh: mm, ε /
- 17 Sandy: ε hiyye ktir sha’ra /
- 18 Saleh: mm /
- 19 Sarah: arjine /
- 20 Saleh: bas hiyye lek kif ken /
- 21 Sandy: la’ bas ḥilo /
- 22 Sarah: mm, warjine ljdid /  
di‘anon majdubeh /
- 23 Sandy: ḥilo! /  
shu ya‘ne ghamma’ito? /
- 24 Saleh: raḥit- raḥit ghamma’ito- /

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<sup>20</sup> Laura is the pseudonym used for one of Saleh’s clients. She is not one of the clients whose conversation is part of the corpus.

- 25 Sarah: sabaghito killo! /
- 26 Saleh: sabigho /
- 27 Sandy: SABIGHTO? /
- 28 Saleh: [ε] /
- 29 Sarah: [ε] /
- 30 Sandy: la' ma tabi'yye! /
- 31 Saleh: bas 'ala aghma' nakze... 'ala aghma' shway /
- 32 Sarah: ma ḥabayto ana /
- 33 Saleh: khalas darabit kil shi 'milne /
- 34 Sandy: raḥ kil lhighlight ya'ne, bye bye! /  
 yi di'ano wlo! /  
 la' ana la' khalas highlight biddik ṭafze 'al highlight /
- 35 Sarah: bas ana 'iltilla rayḥa 'am tistashire bil day'a, le byifhamo! /
- 36 Sarah: ma t'ille sabigho [hunik]? /
- 37 Saleh: [ma] 'iltilla /
- 38 Sarah: mm /
- 39 Saleh: la' ma ba'ref wen /  
 bkun raḥet 'and khayya la haydik /
- 40 Sandy: bas le ma rij'it la 'andak? /  
 ta n'ul sallaḥtilla fī /
- 41 Saleh: li'ano bta'rifneh ḥa odroba /
- 42 Sarah: mm, [bitkhaf minno] /
- 43 Sandy: [ah, bitkhaf] /
- 44 Saleh: kil marra bta'rifne ino ma ḥa a'milla /  
 bitruḥ bta'mil barra /  
 bitkharrib, btirja' btije ['and Sarah] /
- 45 Sandy: ε ε /
- 46 Saleh: bit'illa eḥkī- /
- 47 Sarah: halla' ma btistarje halla' /
- 48 Saleh: halla' - /
- 49 Sarah: halla' ma mistarjeje li'ano tnaynetna- /
- 50 Sandy: ε /

- 51 Saleh: halla' 'alitle li baddak- shu baddak ba'millak /  
 bas ma ta'mille shi li'anne l'ibet bil lon /  
 <chuckles>
- 52 Sandy: shu ya'neh, shu lon sha'ra halla' iza gham'ito /
- 53 Saleh: ah sar 'ala- bta'rif shu sar ma'o Sandy? /  
 ghamma'ula- 'abba' lrasin w ltaraf ma la'at ktir /  
 sar mitil hayda bas 'a aghma' ba'ed shway zghire /  
 w motfe aktar /  
 bas lrasin sar darib 'ala aghma' /
- 54 Sarah: shifto /  
 ma fatahet lbeb ana w 'am yishtighlo /  
 w shifto /
- 55 Sandy: ma shifto /
- 56 Saleh: dallit fi /
- 57 Sarah: majdube /
- 58 Sandy: la' haram lwaḥad 'amil highlight /  
 w ti'ib w kaza meshen yitla' haydal lon- /
- 59 Sarah: majdube, ḥar'it dino! /

Excerpt 2: Mahmoud and Sarah in Sarah's presence

- 1 Mahmoud: bas kif ma ḥattalik ftil hal majnun? /  
 [ana ḥattale ktir] /
- 2 Sandy: [ḥayawen! /  
 ibn- yib'atlo ḥimma!] /  
 w 'and min riḥet? /  
 'and aḥsan ḥakim /
- 3 Mahmoud: bas Sandy /  
 ba'da bshahren bitdalle ḥisse 'am yinzal no'at dam? /
- 4 Sandy: ε nizil wa'ta ktir ana... ktir! /
- 5 Mahmoud: ana la halla' asfar w dam /
- 6 Sandy: 'milet ghudruf? /
- 7 Mahmoud: 'amil laḥmiyye w isti'sal kurniyyet 'emil /

- 8 Sandy: uf! /
- 9 Mahmoud: laḥmiyye /
- 10 Sandy: laḥmiyye ana ‘amilta ana w zghire /
- 11 Mahmoud: w hon, jyub /
- 12 Sandy: ε /
- 13 Mahmoud: w... /
- 14 Sandy: ana llyub ‘alajton- /
- 15 Sarah: bas ba‘do kbir! /  
le ma zabbatlak ye? /
- 16 Mahmoud: shu huwe? /
- 17 Sarah: munkharak /
- 18 Mahmoud: ma ‘imille (xxx) /
- 19 Sarah: min fo’ leh ma zabbatlak l’adme? /
- 20 Sandy: le ma ‘imillak tijmil fard marra /
- 21 Mahmoud: la’ /
- 22 Sandy: le? /  
[la’ ana ba‘mil] /
- 23 Mahmoud: [shu bidde idfa’ tijmil?] /
- 24 Sandy: ana ya‘ne... iza bidde ilḥa’ w a‘mil ba‘mil bas bkhaḥ ino- /  
bidde ruḥ ‘and ḥakim... /  
bḥib a‘mlo /
- 25 Mahmoud: azdik kbir? /  
min hon? /
- 26 Sandy: ana ba‘d badde /  
bas ba‘d la emta /  
allah byi‘lam /
- 27 Mahmoud: bil‘akis ana ma bḥis minkhare hal kbir binnisbe la wijje /

**Conversation Q: Saleh, Mahmoud and Madame Lamia (6 minutes)**

- 1 Madame Lamia: ma tizghar... /

- ḥa tije ta‘mil darbe walla la’?= /
- 2** Saleh: =ε mna‘mil darbe /  
bas ino smallah ‘le ma mkhalasle ḥada /
- 3** Madame Lamia: ba‘rif! /  
‘amil mniḥ bas ino ma fik walla ma fik li’ana hayda? /
- 4** Saleh: la’ tikram ‘aynik /
- 5** Mahmoud: hiyye azda ‘a shi tene /  
<chuckles>
- 6** Madame Lamia: ε laken ε! /
- 7** Saleh: <laughs>
- 8** Madame Lamia: ḥaram... /  
ḥaram! /  
shifi’ne albe ‘le shu mbasat /  
ata‘le albe /  
huwe w ghayro- /
- 9** Mahmoud: bas- bas halla’ inse barsha riyal /  
hinne gh- hinne... /  
ma yshatito ltabe ya madame- /  
ltabe kamen... /  
n‘ama ‘a albon midre shu sarlon... /  
ḥar’asune ‘alule daghte l’ahad hayda /  
<silence for 6 seconds>  
[...]
- 10** Madame Lamia: mabada hal’ad /  
‘ama ma ‘edo yikhlaso! /
- 11** Saleh: la’! /  
ma huwe li sar ino hal comeback li rij‘uwa w ‘imluwa /  
ino hayde angad bida mu‘jize! /  
<hairspray sound>
- 12** Madame Lamia: bikuno- /
- 13** Saleh: ino nafsiyan tkhayyale inte nezle ‘am til‘abe dod fari’ kbir /  
mish ‘am til‘abe dod fari’ shamme lamme /

- w yirbaḥ- w /  
 ah- rabḥanik arb‘a sifir /  
 badik khamse sifir la tirbaḥe /  
 w kil goal la ’ilo bi tnen aw bi klete yu‘tabar /
- 14** Madame Lamia: lḥaki hayda khalas! /  
 hala’ niḥna bihimna... riyal barsha /  
 gher shi shu bihimne shu ‘imlo /  
 ma bihimne! /  
 <hairspray sound>
- 15** Saleh: marra kamen (xxx) mniḥ /
- 16** Madame Lamia: w ahama le‘ib bil ‘alam Ronaldo... /  
 gher hek ma bihimne /
- 17** Saleh: hayda sintil made /
- 18** Madame Lamia: BALLA! / halla’ ‘am ya‘mil market ‘andil rwel kamen /
- 19** Saleh: shu? /
- 20** Madame Lamia: market- /
- 21** Mahmoud: ma min zamen huwe bibi‘ ah- /
- 22** Madame Lamia: ah ‘anjad? /
- 23** Mahmoud: ε! /  
 boxerat /
- 24** Madame Lamia: ε! /
- 25** Mahmoud: w... hal khbar /
- 26** Saleh: ε /
- 27** Mahmoud: huwe CR7- /
- 28** Madame Lamia: AHH! /
- 29** Mahmoud: hayde li ’ilo /
- 30** Madame Lamia: ahh! /
- 31** Mahmoud: bineye mitil ma hiyye /  
 bi shu ismo /
- 32** Madame Lamia: ah! ana shifita ‘a Facebook /  
 ’ilit yi walla! /
- 33** Saleh: bas mberih kenit ‘am- /

- kinna- kenit Sarah ‘am ti’ra article /
- 34 Madame Lamia: ε /
- 35 Saleh: min ah... min- min ‘andon shuzuz /  
ino bisexual /  
bi tnen /  
toli ‘ ismo minnon bas ta ḥatta khabrik /  
<chuckles>
- 36 Madame Lamia: bas ba’a! /
- 37 Saleh: wallah ma ‘am bimzah /
- 38 Madame Lamia: bas... niswanje beb awwal /
- 39 Saleh: ε ma huwe biḥib il tnen /
- 40 Madame Lamia: haydeke- haydeke (xxx) /  
haydeke mbayyan ino ah... /  
haydeke mbayyan [ino] gay /
- 41 Saleh: [min?] /
- 42 Madame Lamia: yalli se‘a ash’ar! /  
se‘a asmar se‘a... /
- 43 Saleh: Messi gay? /
- 44 Madame Lamia: ε ε... /  
w sa’il w damo t’il w mrit w... /  
ghaliz! /  
hay bi trablos- /
- 45 Saleh: halla’ ana /
- 46 Madame Lamia: bi ’ulo ghaliz /
- 47 Saleh: bulit /
- 48 Madame Lamia: bulit! /  
aywa! /  
bi Beirut bi ’ulo bulit! /
- 49 Saleh: bulit! /  
halla’ ana bi niheye ekhir hamme iza huwe gay wallah huwe /  
ah... hayda /  
’in ken hayda wala in ken- /

- ana ma bihimne akhla' o barrat lmal' ab /  
ana bihimne li' bo w shu hayda /
- 50** Madame Lamia: sheyif Saleh... /  
ana hon ja' bele 'illo yħutile sha' ir... /
- 51** Saleh: ε halla' inte lħi' te w ħatayte ma bithute bas hon /  
huwe... biddo biddo- y' abbe kilo aw bitbayin ghalat /
- 52** Madame Lamia: ah walla? /  
bas ma riħit ba' d la ' ando /  
'alule shi biwaji' ! /
- 53** Saleh: inte ya Madame Lamia /  
Imafrud ta' mliya tsir business la ' ilik hayde /  
ma' tirkiya- [saro halla' ' am ya' mluwa packages kemle] /
- 54** Madame Lamia: [tirkiya ' am biruħo ya' mlo] /  
ε, ε! /  
bas ya khayε bitruħ ' ala balad la byifhamo wala byiħko loghtak la shi! /  
bitkhawif! /
- 55** Saleh: ma' 'ul ma fi ħada byiħke inglize! /
- 56** Mahmoud: ma bi- ma biħibbo yiħko ma' on inglize /
- 57** Saleh: hinne hinne- /
- 58** Madame Lamia: hinne- /
- 59** Saleh: hinne lu' ama /
- 60** Madame Lamia: ε riħit w shifit w fatashit /  
wa' ta ' amaliyet kaza /  
ma' ash bidde la' /
- 61** Saleh: wallah? /
- 62** Madame Lamia: ε min shi sinten riħit ma ' ajbune /  
<hairspray sound>

**Conversation R: Mahmoud and Nina in Sarah's presence (5 minutes)**

- 1** Mahmoud: inte kif bitjibiyon haydol? /

- shaghiltik hay? /
- 2 Nina: ε fi brutes /
- 3 Mahmoud: ma bitkhayyalik shaklik inteh btisma 'eh ino- /
- 4 Sarah: abadaye /
- 5 Mahmoud: min? /
- 6 Nina: fi wiħde- /
- 7 Sarah: abadaye Nina /  
 hayde aham minnak w min aḍkham rijjel bil 'alam /  
 inta w Saleh jlaji' ḥadda! /
- 8 Mahmoud: eh /  
 [...]
- 9 Mahmoud: la' ana bshufon kil yom bil mant'a ḥabibte /
- 10 Nina: wen wen? /  
 ayya mant'a? /
- 11 Mahmoud: tari' jdiḍe /
- 12 Nina: ah walla? /
- 13 Mahmoud: w ba' rifon kamen /
- 14 Nina: ah walla /  
 <chuckles>
- 15 Sarah: bta' rfe ino fi ktir ashkel [da'esh] /
- 16 Mahmoud: ['am tiddaḥako into halla'] /
- 17 Sarah: bta' rfe ino fi ktir ashkel bi tari' jdiḍe da'esh? /  
 wallahi l'azim /
- 18 Nina: la' hayda- /  
 hayda shi saḥiḥ aw la'? /
- 19 Mahmoud: halla' into ['am tiddaḥako]? /
- 20 Sarah: [wallahil 'azim] /  
 LA! wallahil'azim /  
 'am biḥlof! /
- 21 Mahmoud: ḥabibte ana mukhbir la mukhabarat ljesh /
- 22 Sarah: HA! /  
 khidilik mukhbir la mukhabarat ljesh /

- [...]
- 23 Nina: um ε /  
kif lwade‘ bi tari’ jdide? /
- 24 Mahmoud: walla l‘azim ‘am ‘illik /  
ijit fatra ana fi waḥad dal kil yom yitla‘ la ‘ande ‘al beit /  
ah... mulezim awwal bi mukhabarat ljesh /
- 25 Nina: ε lε? /
- 26 Mahmoud: ‘alle fi bas shakhes bidde is‘alak /  
huwwe ktir arib min baytak /
- 27 Nina: ε? /
- 28 Mahmoud: w ma ba‘rif shu /  
byimro’ min hon ma byimro’ min hon /  
‘imt ‘iltillo ε mara’ min hon /  
ba‘d jum‘a tammashuwa /
- 29 Nina: ah walla? /  
bas fi- ino fi shi hunik aw la’? /
- 30 Sarah: mballa! /
- 31 Mahmoud: mish bi tari’ jdide /
- 32 Nina: mm /
- 33 Sarah: bsabra /
- 34 Mahmoud: hayde ma bi‘ulula tari’ jdide, hayde Sabra /
- 35 Nina: ε /
- 36 Mahmoud: w ldana /
- 37 Nina: wen ldana? /
- 38 Sarah: ya‘ne ekhir sabra /
- 39 Mahmoud: w hole lmanati’ battalo tari’ jdide /  
ya‘ne masalan ‘al makasid ma fi /
- 40 Nina: bas lε? /  
li’ano fi mukhabarat aw fi-? /
- 41 Mahmoud: la’! /  
hinne ‘andon hunik kammasho kaza khaliyye hunik /  
ma ḥattuwon ‘al talfizyon /

- 42 Nina: saḥ saḥ /  
[...]
- 43 Mahmoud: Allah yifrija ya rab /  
nchalla biruḥo killon hunik /  
ma bidal gher il peace /
- 44 Nina: ma fī shi ismo peace /
- 45 Mahmoud: ε baʿrif bas ino... /  
ana ma ʿile bihal ʿmur wala bi sleḥ wala bḥibon /  
bas niḥna ʿanna hon biʿululo (xxx) iza maʿldarak /
- 46 Nina: mm /
- 47 Mahmoud: bas maʿjesh inta muḥtaram /  
bitseʿid ljesh /
- 48 Nina: ε /
- 49 Mahmoud: that's why ana ʿbilit maʿo /  
ʿiltillo bitfarjinv bitaʿtak /  
iza jayshe biḥke maʿak /  
iza ma jayshe /
- 50 Nina: AH walla? /
- 51 Mahmoud: ε... w sar rfiʿε w shu badde /  
sar marra problem marra ʿal moto /  
jeb shi klat jippet jesh /
- 52 Nina: LAʿ! /
- 53 Mahmoud: ε /
- 54 Nina: ʿam timzaḥ! /
- 55 Mahmoud: ʿomro huwwe shi sitta w kletin manno kbir /
- 56 Nina: ε /
- 57 Mahmoud: bas mulezim awwal bi jesh /
- 58 Nina: uf! /
- 59 Mahmoud: junior yaʿne /

**Conversation S: Saleh and Dima in the presence of Sarah (4 minutes)**

- 1 Dima: ah ta khabirkon hal khabariye /

- 2 Sarah: ε /
- 3 Dima: byijine telephone mberih /  
 bonjour, hadirtik Dima? /  
 'ilito na'am /  
 'al fi FJ-Cruiser mahtuta bil OLX lal be' /  
 mahtut 'inik- 'inik inte mista'ijle la tbi'ε /  
 fina nitle'a? /
- 4 Saleh: ktir hilo! /
- 5 Dima: 'ilito ana hata siyarte 'al OLX? /  
 'aloulε ε! /  
 mish inte Dima? /  
 mish ra'm siyartek [...] /  
 'ilito mbala /  
 'allε ε maktubε lal be' /  
 'ilito 'adε lal be'? /  
 'al khamsta'shar alf /  
 'ilito ma' 'ulε ana bi' il FJ-/
- 6 Saleh: hayda ma'lab hada 'am ya'mlo fike= /  
 [...]
- 7 Dima: btirja' bidi'ile rfi'tε /  
 wahahaha! /  
 nezle doħik /  
 'ilita wla hay inte ya kalbe? /  
 ana fakarit hiye be'te 'alam ydi'ulε /  
 toli' angad mnazlitle /  
 siyarte /  
 <laughs>
- 8 Saleh: [mumkin aya waħad ynazil!] /
- 9 Dima: [ε rij'it shelita akid] /
- 10 Saleh: mumkin aya waħad ynazil! /  
 [...]
- 11 Dima: ε ma huwe that's why /

- 12 Saleh: hay ana itla' w kabis bil siyarat /  
w yallah!
- 13 Dima: 'iltila min wein jeybe sourit siyartik- siyarte ? /  
'alitle 'al Google bas 'ta'it il plate number /  
w ana katabit plate number /  
la ta'irf ino 'angad mazbuta /  
ino mish hada bil ghalat /  
'iltila yihri' 'ardik ya /  
[...]
- 14 Saleh: kif tala'ita 'a Google hiye? /
- 15 Dima: min Google biḥot [FJ-Cruiser black] /
- 16 Sarah: [black] /
- 17 Saleh: ε /
- 18 Dima: lik shu 'mle- /
- 19 Sarah: ghatit lra'im /
- 20 Saleh: ah... okay okay /  
okay /  
ε /  
<laughs>
- 21 Dima: <laughs>
- 22 Saleh: ftakarit mtal'itlik yeh- /
- 23 Sarah: awiyε /
- 24 Dima: ktir awiyε! /  
'am 'ilik! /  
<laughs>
- 25 Sarah: <laughs>
- 26 Dima: super clean FJ-Cruiser /  
w ana FJ-Cruiser taba'ε ABADAN mana clean! /  
if anything! /  
<laughs>
- 27 Saleh: <laughs>
- 28 Dima: ya'alah dahakitne! /

- 29 Saleh: mitil lyom, Mostafa<sup>21</sup> ken 'andε lsoboḥ hone /  
de'itlo marto 'am (titwana) 'ale 'a bokrit lsoboḥ /  
'alitlo bitruḥ 'and il msawir /  
be'titlo sura = /
- 30 Sarah: =min Mostafa? /
- 31 Saleh: Mostafa /
- 32 Sarah: ε /
- 33 Saleh: bitshilε hayde lsura /  
bitshil il background /  
bitḥotile background abyad w... /  
midre shu midre 'esh midre kaza /  
huwe shu 'am ya'mila hek w 'am yhizila /  
'ilito wen badak truḥ /  
'ale bide ruḥ 'and hayda /  
'ilito het la 'ilak /  
b'atle lsura /  
fitit 'miltala crop w- jibt- jibtilo 'al Google war'a bayda /  
lza'tilo 'laya 'ilito b'atla yeha- /  
ruḥ ṣḥabla yeha ba'a... bi 250 lira /  
<laughs>
- 34 Sarah: <laughs>
- 35 Dima: ya! /
- 36 Saleh: 'andε program, biḥutulik rasik 'a wen ma bidik /
- 37 Dima: ε fī ktir- fī ktir programet /  
w ktir applications w malyon alf shaghle /
- 38 Saleh: <laughs>

### Conversation T: Mahmoud and Celina (2 minutes)

- 1 Mahmoud: min bara aw min juwa /

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<sup>21</sup> Mostafa is the pseudonym used to refer to Saleh's friend.

- 2 Celina: ε /
- 3 Mahmoud: 'al... /  
hala' ana mistilima bas ino ma fiya tije t'ile mitil lon lmawε /
- 4 Celina: ε shu 'iltila? /
- 5 Mahmoud: 'al la' le shu byifro' bara 'an juwa? /  
'iltila bara 'a safar juwa 'a platin /
- 6 Celina: ε shu 'alitlak? /
- 7 Mahmoud: 'al 'milon mitil juwa /
- 8 Celina: ah ah /  
<laughs>
- 9 Mahmoud: <laughs>
- 10 Celina: (xxx) /
- 11 Mahmoud: <laughs loudly>
- 12 Celina: kamen btifro' lon /  
<laughs>
- 13 Mahmoud: saḥ /  
<laughs>
- 14 Celina: mazbut wala la'? /  
<laughs>
- 15 Mahmoud: saḥ /  
<laughs>
- 16 Celina: kina 'am niḥke bil lon sirna 'am niḥke bil size /  
<laughs>
- 17 Mahmoud: <laughs loudly>
- 18 Celina: 'ajbitak! /  
<laughs>

### Conversation U (8 minutes)

Excerpt 1: Saleh, Mahmoud and Sandy

- 1 Mahmoud: bas kif il ah... kif jeyib illon te'li'at? /
- 2 Sandy: killon ḥabbino /  
muhim ana ḥibbo /
- 3 Mahmoud: la, ḥelo /
- 4 Saleh: shift lesh ana ma s'alta? /
- 5 Sandy: ba'arif /
- 6 Saleh: ba'arif ḥa tjewibne hek /
- 7 Sandy: li'ano ana ma bihimne ḥada, Mahmoud! /  
ana ma bihimne! /  
ana- /
- 8 Saleh: ya'ne ana fi zbunet- /
- 9 Sandy: ana ANA lī bḥibbo! /
- 10 Saleh: ana fi ness bishtighillon la ḥatta is'alon kif- kif toli' lon sha'rkon /
- 11 Sandy bis'ala la 'ila dighre- /
- 12 Sandy: ε /
- 13 Saleh: bta'tine ljaweb /
- 14 Sandy: ma bihimne ḥada shu y'ul... /  
ya'ne fi ness 'alule yī ktir mfathā /  
'iltillon ε ana bidde abyad /  
ana hek ḥabbε w halla' ba'd bi sayfiyye ḥa fattih aktar... /  
ya'ne ana bidde hek /  
'rifet? /  
lamma bikun lwaḥad huwwe baddo lshaghle /  
huwwe mi'tini' fiya, khalas! /
- 15 Mahmoud: mi'tini', mish bas baddo yjarrib /
- 16 Sandy: ε, tab'an! /  
akid byi'tini' fiya /  
ya'neh haydike lmarra lhighlight lamma 'milto /  
ino manne ana Sandy /  
ma ḥasset ḥale ana abadan /  
w 'iltillo ino mish ana! /
- 17 Mahmoud: nihna lil asaf khamsin bil miyye min shahglitna bi zbunet /

- klat rbe´ ya´ne l´alam li hon aw bgher salonet /  
 btishtighil sha´er lal´alam /  
 la zawja w lal rfi´ata /
- 18** Sandy: ana- la zawje? /  
 bta´rif ana zawje shu bihib lon? /  
 w ´iltillo hayda [bil ahlem] /
- 19** Saleh: [aḥmar] /  
 <chuckles>
- 20** Sandy: ana a´millak ye /  
 aḥmar! /
- 21** Saleh: <chuckles>  
 [...]
- 22** Sandy: ´iltillo ana bil aḥlem- la´! /  
 byilba´leh li´anne bayda /  
 [...]
- 23** Sandy: bas ana ma ba´mil- /  
 Randa ma ghayra /  
 Randa! /
- 24** Mahmoud: bas... byihre lsha´er- /
- 25** Sandy: Randa! /  
 li kenit ma´e bil madrasseh /
- 26** Saleh: e bukra jeye shilla yeh´a ash´ar /  
 <chuckles>
- 27** Sandy: le! /
- 28** Saleh: aslan mish ana li´miltilla aḥmar /
- 29** Sandy: bas ino azde haydal lon /  
 ma bihime /
- 30** Saleh: e e /
- 31** Sandy: ma ba´rif /  
 ino haydal lon bihibbo ana zawje /  
 ´iltillo ana la´a /
- 32** Saleh: bukra jeye tishab- jeye´anna la saheb lon (xxx) /

- 33 Sandy: lɛ! /  
maʻ ʻanno ɣilo /
- 34 Mahmoud: mistahiwno huwwe la haydal lon? /
- 35 Sandy: hallaʻ maʻ ino- shu fahamo bil alwen ya Mahmoud yaʻne? /
- 36 Mahmoud: haydal lon kil shway biddik... /
- 37 Sandy: baʻrif, bas huwwe- /  
ʻam ʻillak ino ana bmaʻna lhake /  
zawje bihib- /
- 38 Mahmoud: bas inte ʻal bayad byilbaʻlik /
- 39 Sandy: ɛ [ɛ] /
- 40 Saleh: [ɛ] /
- 41 Mahmoud: ɛ /
- 42 Sandy: azde bihibil bordo /  
ʻiltillo ana abadan! /  
ma tiɣlam iʻnaʻ! /
- 43 Mahmoud: inte btikrahi ma bihibbe? /
- 44 Sandy: laʻ ... /  
bihib haydal lon aktar /  
[ʻmilto minil zamenet] /
- 45 Saleh: [shaklo] byiʻijbo shaʻer Randa- /  
<chuckles>
- 46 Sandy: bi zamenet- /
- 47 Saleh: ltenye /  
mish haydike /
- 48 Sandy: laaaʻ! /  
min Randa? /
- 49 Saleh: <laughs>
- 50 Sandy: ha- hayde? /  
shaʻra binne haydike inta kamen... ghamiʻ /
- 51 Saleh: kil seʻa shikil /  
<chuckles>
- 52 Mahmoud: w ʻassinla ʻassit il cross /

- <chuckles>
- 53 Sandy: leh bidalla t'oss hek? /
- 54 Mahmoud: ma ba'rif /
- 55 Saleh: hayde 'assit- /
- 56 Mahmoud: ken y'ossila Saleh aħla 'assa= /
- 57 Sandy: =ya'ne manno tabi'ε 'assa /  
ya'ne manna garçon... /  
wala binet /  
ma ba'rif
- 58 Saleh: 'asisla- /  
[...]
- 59 Saleh: marra 'asisla 'assa bit'a'id /  
shu badde 'illak /  
ma khasa bi- bi shi ya'ne /  
bi'ille jarna bi'ille hon 'asisla rassa mitlil football? /
- 60 Sandy: 'anjad? /
- 61 Saleh: ε wallah /  
w hiyyε- /  
[hiyyε halla' masalan ma bit'oss football] /
- 62 Sandy: [ma hiyyε tanjra] /
- 63 Saleh: halla' 'am bit'oss footballen /  
<chuckles>
- 64 Mahmoud: football /  
'am bit'oss Chinese second round /
- 65 Sandy: bħiss mitlil tanjra halla' sarit /

Excerpt 2: Mahmoud, Sandy and Sarah

- 1 Mahmoud: wallahī l'azim ya Sandy bas ma msawaro w nadmen 'le /  
'amil la weħde sha'ra lawno hek ana /  
mitil lon- /
- 2 Sandy: foddε? /
- 3 Mahmoud: mitel ghata 'annine /

- 4 Sandy: ah, lesh? /
- 5 Mahmoud: hiyye badda /
- 6 Sandy: fodde? /
- 7 Mahmoud: sewaytilla klat marrat wara highlight ba'ed /
- 8 Sandy: ε kif byitla'?! /
- 9 Mahmoud: mitil lon ghata l' anine= /
- 10 Sandy: =bta'milla hek heke, platin heke btin'amal /
- 11 Mahmoud: 'milto ba'd abyad shway /
- 12 Sandy: 'a bayad ya'ne /
- 13 Mahmoud: ε /
- 14 Sandy: ε /
- 15 Mahmoud: bas sabgho sabegh /
- 16 Sandy: ah, sabogh! /  
ah mish- /
- 17 Mahmoud: bi tari'a hon akhaf min hon w bfawho- /
- 18 Sandy: ['ama fi hāda] /
- 19 Mahmoud: [w bfawwiḥ w ḥot w bfawwiḥ w ḥot] /
- 20 Sandy: ε laḥza mitil haydal lon azdak? /  
fi wiḥde sheyfita /  
la 'illak 'leh lal lon... /  
baddak t'ul heke 'ala aftaḥ bi ktir, saḥ? /
- 21 Mahmoud: heke /
- 22 Sandy: yiy! /  
[...]
- 23 Sandy: lebi'la ya'ne? /
- 24 Mahmoud: hayde lmademoiselle /  
ḥatitne bjaybte malyon lira /
- 25 Sandy: bas ino lebi'la? /
- 26 Mahmoud: ε hiyye sabiyye w bayda w biḥot- /
- 27 Sandy: ya'ne lebi'la? /
- 28 Mahmoud: ε w biḥot hayda- /
- 29 Sandy: lfodde /

- 30 Mahmoud: ‘a ḥwejiba /
- 31 Sandy: ah biṭhot ya‘nε, btishtighil /
- 32 Mahmoud: w bit‘isha, ε /
- 33 Sandy: ε ε ε /
- 34 Mahmoud: ε btishtighil- /
- 35 Sandy: li’an ma byilba’ ‘a min ma ken lmake-up /
- 36 Mahmoud: ‘a ḥala w ‘a ghayra /  
<chuckles>
- 37 Sandy: <laughs>
- 38 Mahmoud: mashī! /  
toli‘ mitil lon lshwar... /  
bas kif, khosal mzar’a hek zara’ /
- 39 Sandy: ‘rifton /
- 40 Mahmoud: rahib toli‘ /
- 41 Sandy: ‘rifto ‘rifto /
- 42 Mahmoud: għlotet ’inneḥ ma sawwarto /
- 43 Sandy: ‘rifto lzara’ /  
la’, ḥilo lzara’ ma’o /
- 44 [...]
- 45 Mahmoud: la darajε ma ‘imlit seshwar ’ad ma ḥabbet /  
’amit raḥit /  
’alitle bidde ruḥ ‘ala coffee ma coffee kaza... /  
ya wayle shu khlatet alwen /
- 46 Sandy: badda jer’a /  
hayda- /
- 47 Mahmoud: killo ‘a rmedε /  
<chuckles>
- 48 Sandy: haydal lon biddo jur’a ktir /  
li’ano byit‘ab lsha‘er ktir /  
[...]
- 49 Mahmoud: bta’rfe, khalte /  
min hol il mjenin hek /

- 50 Sandy: <laughs>
- 51 Mahmoud: khalte tkhana'it ma' okhta /  
'anda salon /
- 52 Sandy: ε /
- 53 Mahmoud: dasharita okhta abel ma tfut zbune w ta'miya bonbone /  
khalte bta'mil make-up /
- 54 Sandy: ε /
- 55 Mahmoud: 'alitle law mfarsheye snena bidda tekol lbonbon /  
ma bo'dar arrib 'laya /
- 56 Sandy: lε? /
- 57 Mahmoud: iza ma fi shī bittali' riḥtil tum /
- 58 Sandy: ah /
- 59 Mahmoud: iza ma fi shī, bitshim riḥto /
- 60 Sandy: ah okay /
- 61 Mahmoud: btotlob tawu' /  
bit'ul yi biḥot fiya tum /
- 62 tab ma ino tawu' ya mastule! /
- 63 Sandy: akid! /  
man'u'a btum bitkun /  
shi tabi'ε! /
- 64 Mahmoud: 'al ma 'iltillo bala tum /
- 65 Sandy: yī! /  
ma huwwe man'u' bittum /
- 66 Mahmoud: iza shtarit bluze... Allah ghubib 'al bet /
- 67 Sandy: hayda lek, hayda sar tsirsob /
- 68 Mahmoud: iza shtaret bluze /  
'al btinzal fiya ghasil /  
[ghasil ghasil ghasil ghasil ghasil] /
- 69 Sarah: [ε maḥada byilbos tyeb jdide bala ghasil] /
- 70 Sandy: ε /
- 71 Mahmoud: ghasil klat marrat wara ba'ed w 'al la tilbisa /
- 72 Sarah: ε ε! /

- 73 Sandy: ε /
- 74 Mahmoud: marra lwaḥad byighsila w ntahayna /  
sheriya min karaj inta! /
- 75 Sarah: jebt kletin ot'it tyeb /  
a'adet ighsilon ḥabbe ḥabbe /
- 76 Sandy: ε bas- /
- 77 Mahmoud: tayyib marra bas /
- 78 Sandy: ε bas marra ma mit marra /
- 79 Sarah: hayda ljeans lbisto mberih /  
'ilt ya bint lbiṣī lyom fared marra meshen tighisli 'ashiyye /
- 80 Sandy: ε ε! /
- 81 Mahmoud: ḥada byithammam sit zwem /
- 82 Sandy: LA', sitte! /
- 83 Sarah: ε ana iza m'azle, biṭhammam zoom teneh w zoom (xxx) /
- 84 Sandy: shu (xxx)? /
- 85 Sarah: fairy /
- 86 Sandy: <laughs>
- 87 Sarah: mishen iza 'ar'anε- /
- 88 Mahmoud: 'umeh brime, brime ya 'amme /  
Allah ysabbit 'layna l'a'el w ldin /
- 89 Sandy: la' 'am timzah /
- 90 Sarah: walla /
- 91 Sandy: bitjibe fairy bitlayfe? /
- 92 Sarah: ε blayyif la tsireh tzayz'ε /
- 93 Sandy: LA LA! /  
<laughs>
- 94 Mahmoud: sha'b majnun! /
- 95 Sandy: SARAH! /
- 96 Mahmoud: walla l'azim ma ba'rif zawjik kif /
- 97 Sandy: SHU FAIRY? /
- 98 Sarah: ε /
- 99 Mahmoud: Fairy te' yadum wa yadum /

- [...]
- 100** Mahmoud: hiyye w khaletε mjenin /  
ma bas hiyye /
- 101** Sandy: hay ba'd ma smi'ta ana! /  
<laughs>
- 102** Sarah: ma btifhamo into /
- 103** Mahmoud: shufe khalte lamma tghassil siyarita bi tromba /  
marra wahad 'alle ha ibke /  
'iltillo khalas min afa 'idak /
- 104** Sandy: <laughs>
- 105** Mahmoud: w rishille riha w jible hay /  
btidfa' masare ma 'anda mishkle /  
bas-
- 106** Sandy: bas ni'a /
- 107** Mahmoud: bas bitmawto /  
ana marra 'am ba'milla seshwar /  
tara'ta bil firshey /  
'iltilla hadde lfirshey / hille 'anne /
- 108** Sandy: <laughs>
- 109** Mahmoud: li'anna bta'rif bitsir badda tno' /
- 110** Sandy: ε sah ε /
- 111** Sarah: la wlo! /
- 112** Mahmoud: w min jileh ya'ne, manna kbire /  
'omra kletin sine /
- 113** Sandy: la' bas fairy hayde /  
'ajibe hay wlo! /
- 114** Sarah: ana nifsite ta'bane masalan /  
lezim badel mara njiba marten nsir... lal binet... /  
ε, ma nafsite ta'bene /
- 115** Sandy: halla' - /
- 116** FAIRY? /
- 117** Mahmoud: ya habibte, ana khalte lkbire /

lik ya ḥābibte /

lik wen ba'dik inte /

[khalte likbire ana biḥut l'ashata bta'mil ḥitan] /

**118** Sarah: [mberih shift ino 'andε ghabra w 'andε hoover] /

w lbet ma ndif /

seret istafrigh /

saret tuja'ne mi'idte /

[kil il lel istifragh] /

**119** Mahmoud: sha'b majnun! /

jnun! /

allah yita'mne wiḥde mitlik /

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