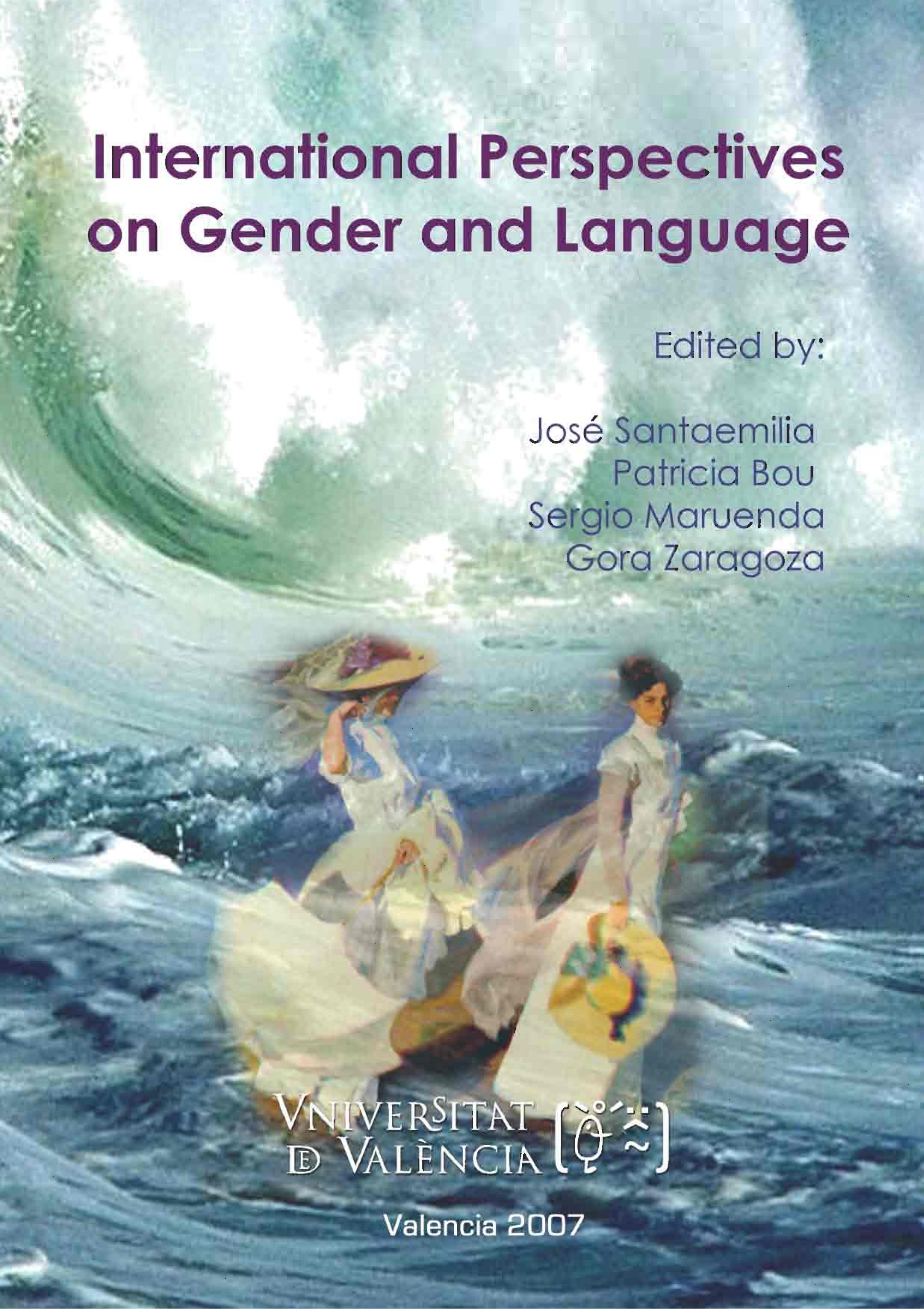

International Perspectives on Gender and Language

Edited by:

José Santaemilia
Patricia Bou
Sergio Maruenda
Gora Zaragoza

Universitat de València

Valencia 2007

International Perspectives on Gender and Language

Col.lecció / *Colección*
QUADERNS DE GÈNERE, SEXE I LLENGUATGE
CUADERNOS DE GÉNERO, SEXO Y LENGUAJE

1.- *Género, lenguaje y traducción*	José Santaemilia (ed.)
2.- *The Language of Sex: Saying & Not Saying*	José Santaemilia (ed.)
3.- *International Perspectives on Gender and Language*	José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda, Gora Zaragoza (eds.)

Editor: José Santaemilia

International Perspectives on Gender an Language

ISBN 978-84-370-6815-2
Dipòsit legal / *Depósito legal*: V-4037-2007

Edita: Departament de Filologia Anglesa i Alemanya, Universitat de València

Disseny i realització / *Diseño y realización*: Jorge García-Fayos · Estudio Gráfico
Producció / *Producción:* ESMAP SL

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Part IV –
GENDER(ED) REPRESENTATIONS IN LITERATURE, CINEMA AND THE MASS MEDIA

INTRODUCTION

International Perspectives on Gender and Language[1]

José Santaemilia ~ Patricia Bou ~
Sergio Maruenda ~ Gora Zaragoza
Universitat de València

On November 8th to 10th 2006, the 4th *International Gender and Language Association* (IGALA) *Conference* was held at the *Universitat de València*. It was the first time that this association –which brings together researchers from all over the world working in the field of gender, sex(uality) and language– celebrated its bi-annual conference outside of the United States or the United Kingdom. As is well known, IGALA has taken up and extended the work of the *Berkeley Women and Language Group* (BWLG), and has tried to set up a more international agenda for gender and language studies.

In Valencia we welcomed delegates from some thirty countries, namely Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Iran, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, The Netherlands, Turkey, UK, US. We had the opportunity to listen to more than seventy papers and see twenty-five posters, most of them in English but also in other languages –Spanish, Catalan and French. 'Internationalization'

[1] I wish to thank the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología for their support in this research, in particular for research project "Discurso, (des)cortesía y género: Estudio contrastivo inglés/castellano/catalán" (BFF2003-07662). We also wish to express our gratitude to the excellent team of undergraduate and graduate students who helped with the organization of the IGALA-4 conference. Our dear colleague Barry Pennock revised the final manuscript thoroughly.

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. ix-xxvii.

was clearly the issue in Valencia –it is probably one of the issues for the near future.

But, before proceeding, let us place some events in a historical perspective. When in April 2004, the IGALA-3 business meeting was celebrated in Cornell University, three candidates volunteered to host the IGALA-4 conference: Morocco, New Zealand and Valencia –in that order. From that moment onwards, Fatima Sadiqi, from the *Université de Fes*, took up the hard –though stimulating– task of convening researchers as well as others interested in gender, sex(uality) and language internationally. Many months later, when Fes 2006 was on the way to becoming a reality and there was even an exciting webpage, pressures from outside academia forced the Fes organising committee to cancel the event. Since then time has flown for us. New Zealand and Valencia seemed reasonable alternatives, but we were fully aware that organising a conference which could equal previous IGALA gatherings in prestige and international projection was no easy matter. However, we had to take a decision. A rapid, sudden and delicate decision. It is pertinent here to indicate that in Valencia, and in Spain at large, gender/sex and language studies is an area of research which is accorded mild academic and institutional interest, mostly fuelled by institutional PC-related concerns. State, regional or local administrations show –in public campaigns or election rallies– serious concern with regard to sexist language or about episodes of gender violence, but are still reluctant to subsidise academic seminars on these matters, let alone publications with a wide circulation.

So in a few days we had to take a decision which we felt was both an honour and a burden –to undertake the organisation of IGALA-4 in Valencia. We would like here to acknowledge and thank Fatima and her team for the work and enthusiasm they had put into the Fes conference. I hope their grief will be the smaller as at least IGALA-4 ended up on one of the shores of the Mediterranean, very close to Fes. Whether it was Fes or Valencia, the academic gender and language community was invited to travel close to the shores of our ancient sea. In spite of the hurried organisation –not infrequent in conferences, though– the response to our call for papers was superb, and very reassuring.

At the Valencia conference, we saw a widespread and renewed interest in gender and language issues. Apart from an important presence of IGALA regulars, there was also a reasonable number of researchers from Spanish- and Catalan-speaking areas, as well as researchers from practically all continents. We are a medium-sized community which is, we believe, spreading across all countries and continents.

One of the key issues was, as has been pointed out, internationalization, and in Valencia a keen interest in other languages and cultures was clearly perceived. In response to it, the IGALA executive committee agreed on incorporating, in the future, languages other than English in the running of conferences as well as in the *Gender and Language* journal. We believe that the more languages are used as part of daily IGALA research, the more all of us will feel identified with a world-wide gender and language community.

We were proud to offer in Valencia a space for reflection across countries, across continents, across languages. Valencia is the right place for this, as we are an old country offering a mixture of past glory and of future challenges, a mixture of identities, languages and origins. This is the future we believe in –a cross-cultural, mixed world in which there is less hierarchy and more mutual recognition. And we would certainly be proud to reinforce cross-cultural dialogue in gender and language issues, methodologies, concerns and even prejudices. Real internationalization involves perhaps giving up absolute certainties –however undisputable they are– and even accepting that there is no absolute certainty, no absolute canon in gender and language studies but rather a multiplicity of canons, of research interests, of institutional or religious constraints, of different traditions, needs and rhythms. If this introduces contradictions into a mostly Anglocentric, white and middle-class discipline, at least it will bring about a more universal spirit, both more dynamic and contradictory, thus bringing about a highly needed cross-cultural dialogue.

As far as publication opportunties in the field of gender/sex and language is concerned, researchers fortunately have today far more chances than in the recent past –to traditional journals like *Discourse* *and Society*, *Language in Society*, *Journal of Pragmatics* and others, we can add the launch in Valencia, in November 2006, of the *Gender and Language* journal, edited by Sara Mills and Bonnie McElhinny. This new journal brings with it a degree of 'institutionalisation' of gender and language studies, as it is IGALA's official journal, with a specific mandate to incorporate views, analyses, languages and approaches from a broad international community to those that already exist.

Having said that, and recognising that gender and language scholars today have more channels to disseminate their work than just a few years ago, we do believe that, if we want to preserve a certain international impetus, or a healthy sense of belonging to an association, regular Books of Proceedings with material from IGALA biannual conferences need to be published. The larger the appeal of our association, the more heterogeneous –and even debatable– the publications will be. But –isn't this the real sense of an international research community?

Even if the only positive outcome of this publication is to offer a panorama of research being carried out in different areas of the world, or a rough picture of the gender and language interests around the world, or a selection of new voices in the field, we think the effort we're putting into this volume will have been worthwhile.

For practical and economic reasons, our aim is to publish it on a CD-ROM. In a few months, the whole contents of this CD-ROM will be made freely available online to the wider community, for reasearchers and anyone who may be interested.

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The introductory paper addresses one of the key concerns of IGALA-4 –that of internationalization. **Joan Pujolar** connects gender/sex studies with bilingualism and multilingualism studies. The paper emphasises the essential role of languages in the construction of national, ethnic and other aspects of social identity from a critical perspective, that is, in terms of their role in social integration and exclusion. The study of the connections between bi/multilingualism and gender construction is an underdeveloped area, which may give us insight into the understanding, reproduction and challenge of social, linguistic or ideological inequalities. This introductory paper sets an ambitious intercultural agenda for gender/sex and language studies, as it places the processes of identity and subjectivity formation at the crossroads of gender and bi/multilingual studies.

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This volume is divided into four large sections. The first section is devoted to gender and sexual identities across history –i.e. to a series of normative discourses which have been articulated around women and men in different countries and historical periods. And, among these historical mechanisms which have been used to reproduce traditional gender(ed) stereotypes, we have an important genre –that of manuals of conduct and behaviour, which have been used mostly to regulate female behaviours. **Marta Miquel** focuses on the numerous mid-19th century US manuals of conduct, which were used to regulate social norms of masculinity and femininity in a period characterised by an important rise of the middle classes, by industrial growth and by the consolidation of the main traits of contemporary capitalism. The proliferation of conduct books constitutes an index of the anxiety over the ideals of good manners and politeness to be followed by women and men, and reveals that one of the key areas to be regulated within capitalism is the citizens' sexual economy.

Laura Monrós analyses the re-evaluation of a classical myth – Cassandra, the fairest of King Priam and Queen Hecuba's daughters, who in ancient times was punished by the gods: she would be able to foresee the future, but no one would believe her. Cassandra stands as prophetess and seer. A thorough analysis of Florence Nightingale's *Cassandra* (1852) and others by D.G. Rossetti or George Meredith constitutes a vindication of women's rights in mid-19th century Britain. Nightingale's *Cassandra*, in particular, represents an important step in the liberation of the voice of women in contexts of male oppression, and serves to explore issues regarding modern constructions of Cassandra as an archetype of the reappropriation of patriarchal discourse by gender minorities.

Pia Pichler offers an exploration of the negotiation of cultural practices and subject positions in a group of adolescent British Bangladeshi girls in relation to the topic of marriage. Popular media representations of arranged marriage reinforces the stereotype of the suppressed Asian girls as victims of culture clash, who are trapped between two cultures.

Besides conduct books –which were so crucial from the 16th to the 19th centuries, and which today have probably adopted other forms, such as *self-help* manuals or some sections of women's magazines– and the reworkings of classical myths through essays or plays, the role of the mass media in conjuring up specific gendered stereotypes is a strong one. **Masami Saito** discusses the role of the media in the 1946 campaign for women's suffrage in Japan. Women, young and old, were shown in photographs depicting women voters carrying babies on their backs. Japanese newspapers used the MOTHER metaphor to unite women and nation, and thus reinforce the hegemonic gender hierarchy. The 'woman-as-mother' images in the Japanese newspapers stood for the unity of the family and the nation, as well as for the subordination of women. Japanese women obtained their right to vote in 1946, during the American occupation, but paradoxically, after obtaining this right, women's issues disappeared from the mass media. Once the hegemonic order was reinforced, women seemed to return quietly to the (seemingly natural) subordinate status.

Elli Doukanari deals with female sexuality in Greek-Cypriot culture, largely associated with the notions of honour and respect towards the male members of the family. The author focuses specifically on how female sexuality is defined in traditional *chattista* performances, which consist of improvised rhyming couplets in front of an audience, which often end up in ritual verbal duelling. In these ritual exchanges, men usually portray women in traditional gender(ed) terms, as they are expected to control their sexuality in order to preserve their families' honour. Women, in their *chattista*, while still preserving traditional female traits, are gradually overcoming certain traditional sex-related taboos, and incorporating contemporary views concerning sexuality and chastity.

It is well known that preconceived ideas about women, men, gender and sexuality have historically influenced the connection between women and science. **Amparo Olivares** rethinks this connection, through the analysis of several interviews with women scientists. The author affirms that, when comparing women with men scientists, there seem to be no special differences in the language they use, but rather in the domain of emotional intelligence –i.e. their attitudes, sensitiveness, awareness regarding environmental issues, ecology, etc. In their opinions about the problems the world is facing, women scientists –following the traditonal notion defended by Olivares– seem to be more conciliatory, as well as fairer in their evaluation of others.

Robert O'Mochain explores a highly sensitive area: the search for an appropriate pedagogical strategy for classroom inquiry into issues of gender and sex(uality). These issues are surrounded by prejudices and misconceptions, especially in the context of a Christian women's college in Japan. The strategy adopted involved the use of a narrative-based pedagogy, which revolved around life-history narratives from queer individuals which prompted in-class narratives and classroom enquiry. Repetition of average life-histories confers 'visibility' of and respect towards stigmatized sexual identities, thus 'naturalizing' –at least within the classroom context– individual sexual options. The author suggests that this strategy may prove valuable in both affirming queer identities among students and promoting more understanding views of certain sexual options.

Gender and sexual identities are in constant transition. Discourses create subject positions in which individuals negotiate their own identities. **Eduardo de Gregorio-Godeo** and **Silvia Molina-Plaza** deal with the construction of the 'new man' in British men's lifestyle magazines. These magazines and other popular-culture genres are key arenas for the construction and challenge of contemporary masculinities as well as of femininities. It is symptomatic that contemporary male identities –in the UK context, basically the 'new man' and the 'new lad'– are largely the creations of the mass-media, which somehow parallel men's anxieties over women's new roles in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Allyson Jule reflects on one of the stereotypically male teaching discourses (*lecturing*) as used at a religious –evangelical– post-graduate theology college in Canada. Lecturing accomplishes two goals at the same time: (i) it is a powerful model of gender (male) performance; and (ii) it reinforces the common-sense notion that males do dominate public speech. As traditional gender ideologies show, gender and religion are connected, as religion clearly represents the preservation of traditional masculine/feminine roles. The author argues that *lecturing*, at this religious school, is a masculinist pedagogical tool, which reinforces hegemonic masculinity and subordinate femininity. Since the times of the Bible, women have been valued for their silence and submissiveness rather than for their speech and agency.

In the last paper in this section, **Marko Salonen** focuses on heterosexuality, which has a taken-for-granted status in Western societies –i.e. it usually goes unnoticed and unchallenged. It is claimed that heterosexuals do not usually make their sexual orientation explicit, as it is supposed to be an unmarked one. Salonen analyses the fluid and multifunctional construction of heterosexual identities on several Finnish Internet forums, somehow constituting a 'new' (public) sexual identity which is also 'coming out'. What is more, the heterosexual category seems to be used powerfully to (re)establish and/or destabilise prevailing sexual and gender hierarchies.

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The second section of this volume comprises fifteen contributions around the general theme of *Gender, Language and Discourse*. A first set of papers deal with gender-related linguistic representation across languages while a second set hinges around issues of gender and politeness.

The former opens with papers that study grammatical gender in different languages. The first one carries out a functional description of grammatical gender in Spanish from the perspective of feminist linguistics. The author, **José Luis Aliaga Jiménez**, highlights the innovative variations of grammatical gender realizations at the level of speech and norm and explains them in relation to formal, semantic and pragmatic factors. **Najat Benchiba** deals with Moroccan Arabic and English codeswitching. The author underlies the way bilingual speakers face the need to negotiate gender assignment to nouns. This assignment sometimes derives from phonological shape although it can also be based on a semantic frame which is transferred from L1 Moroccan Arabic. Benchiba concludes that codeswitchers have strong grammatical intuitions of male or female-specific lexicality.

Yan Xiaoping carries out a contrastive analysis of gender-related linguistic features in Chinese and English. The author affirms that a lack of gendered grammatical categories in a language does not mean that the said language is free from gender bias. Languages, Xiaoping argues, can resort to a variety of linguistic means to construct gender asymmetry. These deserve close inspection especially with the aim of reducing social inequality in educational settings.

In the next paper, **Barbara LeMaster**, **Rezenet Moges** and **Christopher Trueblood** deal with the study of a dying form of Irish Sign Language. The authors argue that, as a result of sex-segregated education in two Dublin deaf schools, men and women do not share sign conventions for communication. This paper explores gender differences at the phonological level of this language.

Abdelhay Bakhta explores the social dimensions of voice. The author's starting point is that no linguistic feature is socially neutral and therefore analyses the ways in which voice quality is affected by gender-related social disparities.

In the following contribution, **Charles Lamoureux** and **Victor Boucher** explore the role of biological factors on phonetic features related to male sexual orientation. The authors carried out an experiment with forty male subjects and obtained findings that question sociolinguistic assumptions on the origin of gay-sounding speech and suggest that various phonetic features related to sexual orientation would be biologically based.

The next paper also pursues the study of gay speech. In this contribution, **Ronald Beline Mendes** examines the linguistic evaluation of gay speech in São Paulo (Brazil) by interviewing fifty informants who rated previously-recorded texts. The findings show that participants hold homogeneous perceptions of the linguistic features typical of gay speech in this setting.

Barbary Hoffman investigates cases of grammatically unmotivated gendered translation when French and English scholars document African languages and cultures. The author exposes cases of scholarly distortion of linguistic gender that renders feminine and neutral nouns into the masculine. This paper reveals how the gender, position and religion of the scholar-translator may influence the process and extent of noun transgendering.

In the next contribution, **Malka Muchnik** and **Anat Stavans** explore the discourse features of high-middle class, educated parents' storytelling in Modern Hebrew. Parents were recorded while telling their children a story and analyses revealed gender-related differences at the level of the content and structure of the stories. Parents' narratives were also found to differ when directed to boys or girls and a stereotyped view underlying this behaviour was identified. The authors argue that this finding lends support to the claim that parents have different expectations from boys or girls.

The next six contributions all delve into the topic of politeness. **Ewa Jakubowska** studies face, a central notion in politeness theories, vis-à-vis gender. The author's starting point is that men and women belong to different cultures and they, therefore, perform different social roles and do not share the same values. The study aims to examine the self-presentation and face-maintenance strategies used by men and women.

Manuel Padilla Cruz approaches the subject of politeness using the relevance-theoretic distinctions between explicit and implicit communication on the one hand, and the notion of explicature of an utterance. The author argues that politeness and impoliteness may also be explicitly communicated, and not only implicitly as has been generally claimed in the literature.

Next, **Emma Sopeña Balordi** analyses the attempts of the female (North-American) protagonist in Tracy Chevalier's *The Virgin Blue* to integrate into a French provincial town. A small provincial community has its own codes and conventions governing behaviour: the politeness of place, *savoir vivre*, good manners. The author signals how these behavioural codes facilitate the life and social relationships of the individuals and define what is expected of everybody in a given place and time. This paper also points out the negative consequences of not sharing these behavioural codes.

Silvia Kaul de Marlangeon examines verbal politeness and impoliteness in graffiti produced by young middle-class women in the toilets of a Buenos Aires university. The author focuses on the roles that stereotypes of gender and sociocultural knowledge play in the group of women under study. The framework for analysis is politeness theory from a social, cultural and discursive viewpoint.

Ayako Namba studies variations in the sequential organisation of laughter vis-à-vis aspects of politeness such as power and solidarity in Japanese female interaction. The results of the quantitative study in this paper reveal how laughter sequences interact with social factors and how laughter is accomplished and coordinated by conversationalists.

In the last contribution to part II, **Lucía Fernández Amaya** argues against cross-cultural politeness studies that use elicited corpora and expresses the need to base these studies on natural language. This paper analyses the politeness mechanisms used in the closing sequences of naturally-occurring telephone conversations in American English and Peninsular Spanish. The author concludes by highlighting the need to complement two paradigms like pragmatics and conversation analysis when dealing with the politeness of real instances of spoken language.

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The third section offers a range of studies of gender in institutional contexts. **Janet Holmes** revisits the double bind facing women in positions of power at work –if they exercise their power and authority, they are regarded as 'unfeminine'; and, conversely, if they behave in stereotypically 'feminine' ways, then they are deemed unfit for powerful positions. Holmes's paper –which draws on the extensive *Wellington Language in the Workplace Project* corpus of institutional interactions in New Zealand– illustrates several roles adopted by women in positions of authority which strategically combine 'feminine' gender identities with effective leadership at work. Traditional 'feminine' roles such as 'queen' or 'mother' serve –via politeness and humour– to reconcile the often contradictory demands of leadership and feminine identity.

Focusing on the linguistic strategies of two female white-collar workers in managerial positions, **Nóra Schleicher** carries out a qualitative study on the interface between gender and language use in a Hungarian workplace. Her analysis points to the fact that the linguistic strategies of borrowing and swearing are key factors in the (specifically-gendered) construction of the quality of expertise and the quality of honesty, respectively, and in effectuating power. She concludes that gender is indirectly, socially and strategically constructed and, therefore, should be conceptualised as part of our multi-faceted identity, a wholly meaningful space about 'masculinity' and 'femininity' specific to the given community of practice.

Orest Weber, Brikela Sulstarova, Pascal Singy and **Patrice Guex** study the links between gender, sexual taboo and language choice in multilingual populations. Based on the discourse analysis of 46 in-depth interviews on HIV-prevention among francophone sub-Saharan migrants in Switzerland, the paper suggests that the choice of French instead of, or besides, African languages is perceived by informants as a factor which influences the impact of sexual taboos on interactions with community members. Thus, women in this study are reported to resort to French more than men in order to lessen the impact of sexual taboo, despite their limited competence in this language. Other African-based reduction strategies such as in-group secret codes are also used to lighten the burden of sexual taboo.

Agnieszka Kielkiewicz-Janowiak and **Joanna Pawelczyk** explore communication strategies in call centres and enquire whether in the local Polish context stereotypically feminine interactive skills overlap with the patterns imposed by global customer care standards. Their analysis reveals that, on the one hand, an ideal call centre worker possesses a mixture of communicative features stereotyped in Poland as feminine and masculine, which rise to prominence depending on the type of task and the customer's personality and emotional needs; and, on the other hand, that, call centres operators have been found to fail in applying stereotypicall feminine communication strategies (featured as core prescriptions) in their discourse.

A popular area of institutional research is academic discourse. One of the main concerns in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies over the years has been to elicit and analyse samples of meaningful linguistic practice by L2 learners in developing the kind of L2 proficiency needed to communicate fluently and effectively. In this line, **Massoud Yaghoubi-Notash** and **Shahabaddin Behtary** investigate, within Second Language Acquisition, the effect of different task conditions that may lead to variability in L2. Their study contrasts the oral performance of male and female Iranian EFL learners on participant-rated most and least culturally inhibiting topics assessed in terms of fluency, complexity and accuracy. Results of their study show significant differences in terms of fluency and accuracy (i.e. language capacity) depending on teacher's gender, participant's gender, the interaction of the two, and their interaction with the topic. Yaghoubi & Behtary's findings have some implications for task-based language teaching and learning in SLA. On the one hand, gender can no longer be viewed a static, unitary variable related to the learners only. Rather, it must be seen as an ever-present reality inseparable from and interacting with performances of the learners, teachers, interviewers, interviewees, peers, and groups. On the other hand, syllabus designers and curriculum developers must also make room for the gender of the prospective teachers, learners, and the topic within the target socio-cultural context as influential factors in determining quantity, quality, and nature of classroom interaction.

Drawing on the methodological and theoretical assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), **Luzia Rodrigues da Silva** aims to assess how gender identities are represented and constituted in discursive events in the classroom, where daily episodes related to social and cultural practices occur, and, allegedly, opportunities of insightful discussion on power and social gender issues are minimised. By focusing on values, beliefs and ideologies expressed through discourse, she sets out to establish the bonds between discourse and identities, arguing that identities are heterogeneous and multifaceted, in a permanent state of flux, constituted in the interaction (i.e. negotiated), and, therefore, in contemporary social practice, in which ideologies and power relations are embedded. The author concludes that teachers cannot challenge nor negotiate dominating ideologies and power structures in order to raise critical awareness to resist and change. Thus, discursive practice in the classroom configures as a place for the naturalization and legitimization of gender stereotypes.

Goretty Robles's paper discusses gender bias in Spanish as a Second Language textbooks with the aim of exploring the role of anonymous women's daily lives as shown by SSL textbook illustrations and texts, compared to the contribution of other female celebrities. For this author, SSL students' critical reflections upon such pictures motivates comparisons with their own experiences and cultures. Furthermore, this paper is intent on raising stereotype-free awareness of SSL text book's authors and editors (including women) when portraying women's contribution to Spanish culture, thus defying andocentric values in a society that does not value women related activities.

Ekaterina Moore's paper explores gender representation in some modern fifth-grade EFL textbooks used in a Western Russia public school, when Russian children are exposed for the first time to a foreign language and culture. The author analyses topics, gender assignment to roles, and dialogues meant for conversational practice. The study attempts to gain an insight into the way gender is represented in textbooks and whether this representation is a reflection of Russia's proclaimed gender equality. The current language and gender situation in Russia, the language contact situation devised in EFL textbooks, and the textbook users' views of gender are subject to thorough analysis.

Amy Sheldon and **James Stevens**'s present work measures the conversational behaviour in spontaneous pretend play of American English-speaking preschool boys and girls applying the methodological tools of Centering Theory. Their results revealed significant differences in discourse coherence between gender-normative and non-normative activities. These are evidenced in girls' and boys' discourse in the way that the centre of attention was realized in an utterance (i.e. whether lexically realised or a pro-drop). The differences were consistent with the Two Systems of Mutual Engagement Hypothesis, and provided some new precision in the measure of discourse coherence. The outcomes are of interest for both Centering Theory applied to children's multiparty talk, as well as for research on the intersection between discourse and gender. The study has provided a new characterization of differences in discourse coherence in girls' and boys' pretend play, which is related to the gender-normativity of their activities. This provides a stepping off point to refine CT measurements with more discourse data from this preschool community.

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Section four focuses on gender(ed) representations in literature, the cinema and the media. **Mª Isabel Romero** studies the representation of woman, symbolised by the main female character, Sue, in Hardy´s last novel *Jude the Obscure*. At the beginning, Sue is depicted as a "new woman", the paradigm of modernity and independence and against traditional roles and religious norms. However, at the end Sue accepts Victorian values about marriage and sexuality. Therefore, Hardy was not successful portraying a character that was a complete woman. Finally, the existence in the novel of a language of this literary and social type confirms that Hardy's ideas are halfway between the concept of the new woman and traditional social conventions.

Piia Varis analyses discourse representation in Maud Gonne's autobiography *A Servant of the Queen*, the life story of a woman who actively took part in the Irish nationalist movement at a time when women's involvement in public affairs was not widely approved of. Hence, Gonne and other women who refused to accept the established model of Irish womanhood faced criticism from those who relegated women to the traditional roles of wives and mothers. An intertextual analysis model reflects the tensions arising from the endeavour to write as a woman and as an active nationalist. This analysis, which is based on Fairclough's model, stresses the ways in which the writer supports and rejects certain discursive roles.

Carolina Sánchez-Palencia denounces the social prejudice attached to romance which has been neglected as no other genre has. After discussing the patriarchal considerations around both the genre and its readers, the author vindicates the pleasure of reading and the entertainment factor as essential in popular culture. New roles have substituted the traditional formula in these narratives, in an attempt to depict contemporary models of masculinity and femininity. The paper also explores the different sub-genres within romance and the highly codified language of love and sex used in this type of narratives. The conclusion aims at highlighting that identification is not the only factor responsible for the success of this genre but also thoroughly planned production, advertising and marketing devices.

Ana Mª Losada describes landscape and subjectivity as the most inclusive and evocative features linked with English Romanticism. The paper highlights the importance of feminist readings of the poetry of the "Big Six Romantics". After acknowledging the patriarchal ideology permeating the representation of landscape as denounced by feminist critics, the author takes the representation of landscape as a major argument and feminist readings as a basis to investigate the exclusion of the female from the imaginative mind's sublime experiences.

Vicent Escrivà analyses the representation of adolescent women in the traditional tales collected by Enric Valor, one of the most influential Valencian writers in the 20th century. The author provides different examples aiming at denouncing that young women are portrayed with the most paradigmatic and traditional mechanisms that relegates them to objects. This is the reflection of a prevailing ideology that, according to the author, needs to be rejected.

Natalia Gómez begins with a description of the narrative structure and the language employed in the Harry Potter novels to consider, from the perspective of gender identity, whether there is a reflection and/or a fracture of gender stereotypes in the books. After analysing the author's choice of adjectives, verbs and adverbs, Gómez concludes that not only is there a fracture of stereotypical concepts regarding the role subversion carried out by the main female character but that the underlying contrast between Muggles and the magical Hogwarts seems to be used as a tool for the author to introduce a social critique of stereotypes.

Silvia Guillamón research starts from the assumption that cinema representations need to be analysed in the discursive context in which they are produced. She analyses a female director's production of the period after Franco, which is indicative of the patriarchal system's breakdown in cinema representation. The film's subversion of the prevailing representational logic is achieved by means of the use of everyday rhetoric. Besides, mechanisms such as the lack of narrative closing, description of motherhood as a plural experience and travel as a source of women's identity and solidarity ensure a deconstruction of patriarchal imagery and help to explore the subjective processes of "femininity" in the film.

Konstantia Kosetzi takes a Greek fictional series as the context to explore how women are construed in terms of gender roles and sexual practices. The author employs a Faircloughian CDA framework of analysis to show how challenges to conservative discourse –those that support unequal power relations between men and women– are made evident by the use of irony and the role of the narrator in the series. Likewise, these challenges could be perceived as pointing to changing gender relations in Greece.

Carmen Gregori analyses the representation of gender in the American TV sitcom *3rd Rock from the Sun*, which portrays a team of aliens who are on a mission to the Earth and find themselves trapped in the bodies of men and women. As the aliens are not aware of the cultural expectations as to 'male' or 'female' behaviours, they often violate gender- and sex-related taboos, as well as acting inappropriately. This paper focuses on the representation of women and femininity by analysing the character of Sally, who quite often constitutes a humourous metaphor of gender inadequacy in a world –the Earth– where gender behaviours are highly regulated and policed by society. Humour is certainly an excellent way of challenging and overriding both sexist representations of women and the gender hierarchy itself.

Anthea Irwin explores the gendered nature of the identities shaped in press coverage of asylum in Scotland. The paper analyses how indigenous people are given heroic qualities while asylum seekers are portrayed as villains whose negative masculinity is further reinforced with use of military discourses and animalistic metaphors. On the contrary, the scant number of of women asylum seekers are depicted as the young, passive and clichéd female character who "needs saving".

Fabienne H. Baider investigates the impact of two recent laws in France, a law on political parity and a decree that encourages feminisation in political texts to guarantee women's visibility. The journalistic discourse and the ways newspapers from different political affiliations inscribe gender in French is further analysed in several examples aiming to prove that political alignment does not explain linguistic choice as feminised forms are now accepted by most journalists. However, belonging to a specific social group would interfere with the frequency of use of feminised forms, the more prestigious the function or profession, the less likely the feminine expression is used.

Lidia Tanaka shows that while current studies demonstrate that Japanese women's everyday speech is different from the women's language encouraged since the 19th century, the common perception of how women speak is still very traditional, a view that is further developed and sustained by the media. Published materials on women's speech in contemporary Japan are analysed together with examples form published books, magazines and internet journals aimed at professional females. The author concludes that the media and general books reinforce the perception that once women enter the workforce, they are supposed to comply with the use of "correct" linguistic forms in formal and public contexts in order to be recognised as members of society.

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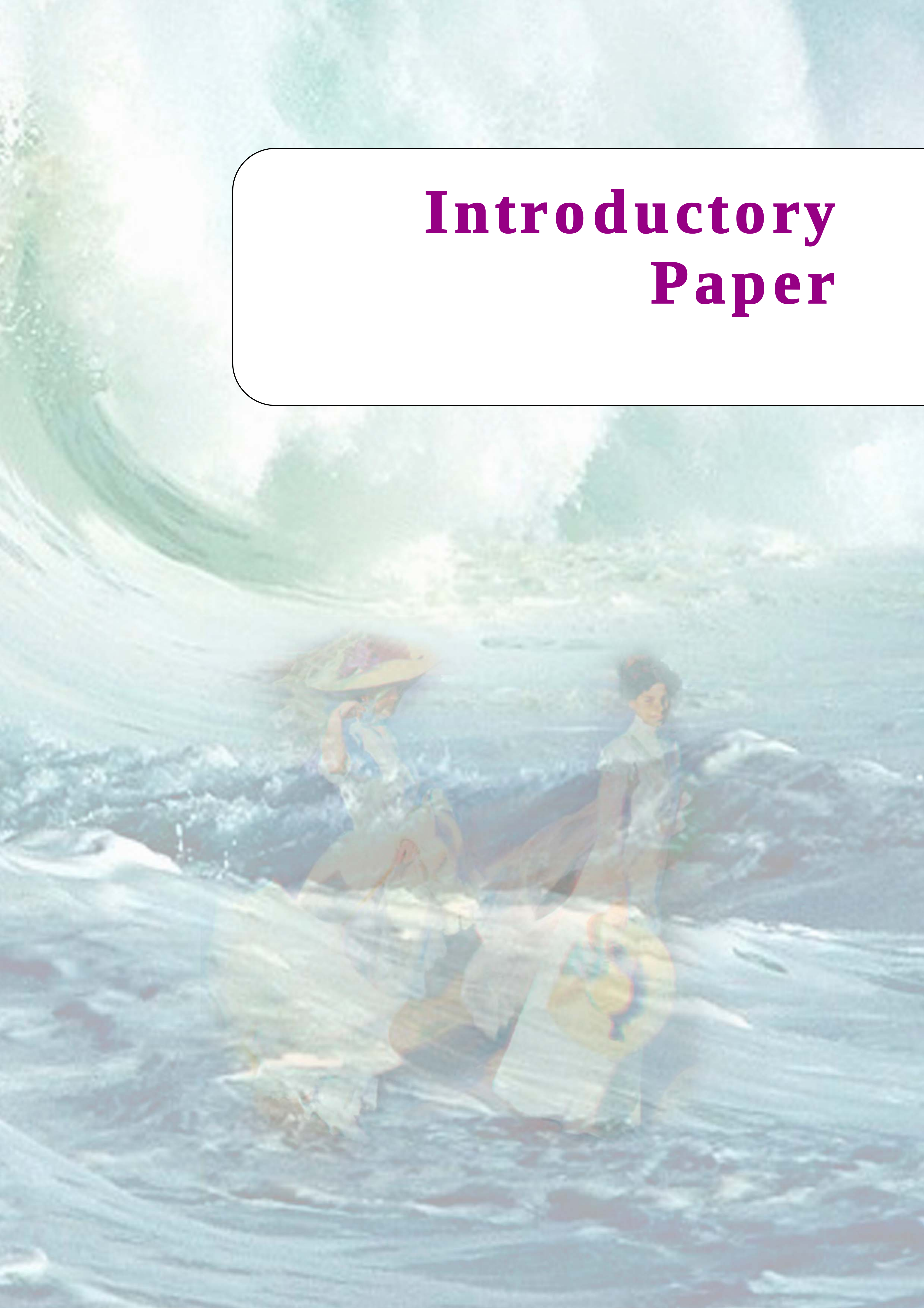
A diversity of approaches, methodologies, topics, languages, cultures, projects, certainties, doubts –we believe this should be the true spirit of gender/sex and language studies. We hope this trip through the wide-ranging and uneven geography of gender and language is anything but uneventful.

Introductory Paper



Gènere i bilingüisme: connectant experiències i teories[1]

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Abstract

In this paper, I argue for the need to strengthen the connections between "gender and language" studies and other fields of linguistics concerned with forms of social domination, particularly with approaches to bilingualism and multilingualism that examine the role of linguistic diversity in the production and reproduction of inequalities. Gender and language studies have made contributions that are important from a wider linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective; but very few studies have focused so far in connecting gender and bilingualism. Here I begin by briefly exploring the separate historical trajectories of gender studies and bilingual studies. I reflect in particular about their theoretical and epistemological differences and coincidences. The few studies that have addressed the interrelations between gender and bilingualism show that gender is indeed essential to understand how linguistic difference is mobilized in the reproduction of or resistance against inequalities. Is it possible for bilingual studies to make a comparable contribution to gender studies? In the last section of the paper, I reflect on how this could be so, basically by deconstructing or critiquing received notions of language in a way that is comparable to what gender studies have done with notions such as femininity and masculinity.
Key words: *Gender and language ~ bilingualism ~ post-structuralism ~ social inequalities ~ Bakthín*

1. Introducció

Amb aquest paper, la meva intenció és advocar perquè es reforcin les connexions entre estudis de "gènere i llengua" i altres camps de

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 3-30.

lingüística que s'ocupen de formes de dominació social. En aquest cas, defenso concretament la importància dels estudis sobre bilingüisme i diversitat lingüística en general dins els estudis de gènere. Per tant, em plantejo la pregunta següent: com poden contribuir els estudis de bilingüisme a una comprensió de les desigualtats de gènere?

Fins ara, els estudis de gènere, la lingüística feminista i la recerca sobre llengua i gènere han contribuït significativament al desenvolupament teòric dels estudis de bilingüisme. Crec que aquesta visió seria corroborada per la majoria de recercadors generalment associats amb estudis bilingües, però que també han treballat temes de llengua i gènere (Marilyn Martin-Jones, Monica Heller, Kathryn Woolard, Jacqueline Urla, Susan Ehrlich, Aneta Pavlenko, Ingrid Piller, Kathryn Jones, Susan Gal, Adrian Blackledge, Bonny Norton, etc.). Pavlenko, juntament amb Piller, Blackledge (Pavlenko *et al* 2001) Ehrlich i molts altres han proveït arguments sòlids (en base a un corpus de recerca en continu creixement) en la línia que els estudis de bilingüisme han de tenir en compte necessàriament les qüestions de gènere (Pavlenko 2001; Pavlenko *et al* 2001; Piller & Pavlenko 2004). Altrament els descobriments i les anàlisis esdevenen molt superficials, i els problemes socials abordats no es tracten adequadament, ja que s'ignora un dels eixos fonamentals de categorització i diferenciació socials.

Tanmateix, què aporten els estudis de bilingüisme (o multilingüisme) als estudis de Gènere i Llengua? Simplement una dimensió més d'identitat, com classe, etnicitat, raça, edat? Simplement l'estudi d'una altra forma de capital cultural entre d'altres? Simplement un atribut més d'individus i grups, com un coneixement adquirit, unes habilitats físiques o intel·lectuals, gustos, estils de vestit?

En aquest paper, argumento que els estudis de bilingüisme poden fer una contribució important als estudis de llengua i gènere. Això es pot fer si deconstruïm no només la noció d'identitat (com han fet els estudis de gènere); sinó també la noció de llengua. En lingüística, el bilingüisme sempre s'ha considerat un fenomen marginal o anormal; però què passaria si fos la norma? Què passaria si les llengües no fossin en realitat aquests sistemes tancats, autodefinits i independents que històricament ens hem imaginat? Què passaria si el llenguatge fos intrínsecament híbrid? Quines serien les conseqüències d'això per als estudis de gènere?

El feminisme, els estudis de les dones o els estudis de gènere han fet contribucions importants a les humanitats i a les ciències socials, tot desemmascarant els pressupòsits androcèntrics de moltes pràctiques socials, incloses teories científiques i metodologies. Tot implicant-se en una crítica sobre les relacions de dominació, moltes feministes han explorat les connexions entre desigualtats de gènere i altres formes de desigualtat, com la raça, la classe o l'etnicitat. Des d'aquest punt de vista, el feminisme ens ha fet veure que les desigualtats socials solen basar-se en processos complexos on es combinen diverses formes de categorització en contextos socials diferents. El feminisme, en conclusió, proposa maneres noves d'entendre i estudiar la societat i la subjectivitat. Els estudis sobre llengua i gènere també han fet contribucions crítiques a lingüística i a la sociolingüística, sovint descobrint pràctiques androcentriques i prejudicis en aquests camps. També han tret a la llum i analitzat pràctiques comunicatives i socials subtils que revelen desigualtats entre homes i dones i entre models de gènere i sexualitat diferents.

Tanmateix, és necessari pensar de quina manera la sociolingüística del bilingüisme pot fer contribucions valuoses als estudis feministes i de gènere. Què han de dir sobre dominació social? En aquest paper, exploro aquestes qüestions a través de diversos estudis sociolingüístics que aborden d'una manera integrada qüestions de gènere i multilingüisme. Sostindré finalment que és a través de la deconstrucció de la noció de llengua que la sociolingüística podrà fer una contribució important als estudis de Gènere i Llengua i a les lluites contra les desigualtats en general.

Per fer això, començaré amb una visió històrica dels desenvolupaments teòrics dels dos camps. Això suposa un cert grau de simplificació, que espero que sigui vista com a necessària.

2. Dues històries paral·leles

Fins als anys 1990, la sociolingüística del gènere i la del bilingüisme seguien línies paral·leles, per bé que ambdues eren sensibles a desenvolupaments que es produïen de manera general dins de les àrees de la sociolingüística, l'anàlisi del discurs, l'anàlisi conversacional i la pragmàtica. Hi havia poques excepcions a aquesta "desconnexió", com els estudis de Schlieben-Lange (1977), Solé (1978) o Turó (1987). Després d'això, s'ha produït una evolució des de la perspectiva de "dèficit", passant pel debat de "dominació" envers "diferència", fins al canvi posterior cap al "post-structuralisme" (Cameron 1992; Pavlenko 2001). L'evolució dels estudis del bilingüisme no ha estat críticament analitzat en la mateixa mesura (vegeu, en tot cas, Williams 1992), cosa que implica que hauré d'assumir bona part de la responsabilitat pel retrat que en faig, que està inspirat per idees desenvolupades en el marc del Grup de Recerca sobre el Bilingüisme de la Universitat de Lancaster.[2]

Veig la trajectòria dels estudis de gènere com un procés que ha portat cap a la deconstrucció de les nocions de gènere i identitat. Això s'ha projectat també en els estudis que analitzen la relació entre gènere i bilingüisme, que revisaré més avall. Però els estudis de bilingüisme en general no han apostat tan clarament en aquesta direcció. Hi ha hagut, això sí, alguns desenvolupaments que sembla que hi apunten, és a dir, que insinuen una certa deconstrucció de les idees de llengua/llenguatge i les de competència comunicativa a través de nocions com "discurs", "pràctiques lingüístiques" i "ideologies lingüístiques" (Woolard 1998). Tanmateix, crec que hi ha encara la necessitat de reflexionar més explícitament sobre el que el llenguatge és i el que les llengües són. En aquest paper, esbosso algunes idees de com es podria fer això des de la perspectiva dialògica proposada per Mikhaïl Bakhtín (1981, 1986).

Es diu que els estudis de gènere i llengua comencen amb la publicació de "Language in woman's place" (Lakoff 1975). Més tard, es va emmarcar aquest treball dins l'anomenada "perspectiva del dèficit" perquè retratava la parla de les dones com a "provisional", "no assertiva", com mancada de trets necessaris de participants conversacionals madurs. Recercadores posteriors van sostenir que els trets de parla femenina en converses mixtes reflectien la posició inferior de la dona, el seu estatus com a individu "dominat" en relació amb els homes. Fishman (1983) observava que moltes dones assumien papers perifèrics en la conversa, que només proporcionaven suport per als que duien la veu cantant, que eren gairebé sempre els homes. Alhora, uns altres investigadors procuraven construir una visió més completa de la parla de les dones, especialment en converses de grups exclusivament femenins. S'inspiraven en idees d'estudis contemporanis en comunicació intercultural, com va ser el cas de Maltz & Borker (1982), que recollien les idees de Gumperz en relació al bilingüisme i a la competència comunicativa. Aquest plantejament s'identificava com al de "la diferència"·o el "subcultural", ja que retratava les formes femenines de parla com a simplement "diferents", però igualment vàlides, que les dels homes (Tannen 1984; Coates & Cameron 1988). Per una banda, les crítiques al plantejament de la dominació se centraven en el fet que només problematitzés les identitats femenines, la qual cosa donava a entendre que les maneres de fer dels homes eren les "normals". Per l'altra banda, l'enfocament de "la diferència" fou criticat perquè, segons es deia, feia invisibles els mecanismes de dominació social i les privacions que s'imposaven a les dones. Naturalment, aquesta dicotomia va ser útil com una manera de provocar debats programàtics; però els dos enfocaments no s'excloïen mútuament: al capdavall, la dominació es legitima típicament en base a discursos sobre la diferència, i la descripció de diferències tampoc no exclou la presa en consideració de qüestions de dominació (Uchida 1992; Cameron 1992). En tot aquest panorama, hi ha un quart fil que mereix esment: els estudis sobre "llenguatge sexista", que tendien a centrar-se en les formes asimètriques de representació d'homes i dones en diversos texts.

Cameron (1992) proporciona el que crec que és una crítica molt aguda als estudis que se centren merament en anàlisis del contingut i de representació en texts sense prendre en consideració la forma com els textos s'utilitzen o s'apropien en contextos concrets.

El llibre de Cameron (1992) sobre "Feminisme i Teoria Lingüística" va constituir una excel·lent avaluació teòrica d'aquest primer període anterior dels estudis de gènere i llengua. Va defensar de manera convincent que el problema radicava en els pressupòsits estructuralistes que consideraven el llenguatge com un sistema de significats, els quals són independents de l'ús en societat del llenguatge. D'aquesta manera, hom acabava amb lectures deterministes de teories com la hipòtesi de Sapir/Whorf o l'enfocament psicoanalític lacanià; o, al contrari, s'acabava amb la idea ingènua que la discriminació de gènere es podria resoldre només purificant llenguatge de formes d'expressió sexistes, o fins i tot fent que les dones parlessin en un estil més assertiu (vegeu Cameron 1992). D'altra banda, l'alternativa era suposar que l'ús de llenguatge simplement reflectia l'estructura social sense cap mena de mediació i que, per això, "tot el que té relació amb el comportament de les dones es pot atribuir simplement a la seva subordinació" (ibídem: 73).

A partir d'aquest moment, els estudis de gènere i Llengua s'ha caracteritzat globalment com a "postestructuralista." Tal i com Pavlenko (2001) ho descriu, aquesta nova perspectiva considera el llenguatge (en tant que pràctica social) com el locus constitutiu de l'organització social, la identitat i el poder. Tal i com el terme indica, la noció foucaultiana de discurs és essencial, per bé que s'incorpora amb l'important matís metodològic d'inscriure'l en "contextos", en una dimensió "situada." A aquest "paradigma" segueix lògicament la idea que les identitats es construeixen a través del llenguatge o del discurs, cosa que vol dir que el llenguatge no "reflecteix" el gènere; sinó més aviat el contrari, que el gènere emergeix a partir de l'ús del llenguatge o de les pràctiques discursives. La idea de Butler (1990: 25) que "la identitat és performativament constituïda per les pròpies expressions que se'ns presenten com els seus resultats" ha proporcionat una explicació metafòrica potent per a aquest principi, que ha tingut un impacte ampli més enllà del propi camp. El treball de Connell (1987) sobre la diversitat de models de gènere i les seves interrelacions ha permès donar profunditat a moltes anàlisis, i ha permès als investigadors de G&L d'alliberar-se dels estereotips tradicionals de gènere d'una manera definitiva (Thorne 1993, Goodwin 1990). Dins del camp mateix, la focalització en el context ha portat a construir el concepte de "comunitats de pràctica" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999), que permet la reconceptualització de la noció de "comunitat de parla" d'una manera que emfasitza la seva situacionalitat, la contingència dels seus límits i el seu caràcter construït. Els etnògrafs en especial també han quedat convençuts de la necessitat d'atendre la construcció d'identitats múltiples dins la interacció social, el que Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1999) també anomenen "coconstrucció". La idea és que el gènere mai no es construeix de forma aïllada d'altres eixos de relació social, com la classe, l'etnicitat, l'edat, etc. La idea recorda debats anteriors dins el feminisme sobre la qüestió de les dones de comunitats minoritàries, i ha proporcionat la base necessària per justificar -entre altres coses- les interrelacions entre pràctiques de gènere i pràctiques bilingües.

Finalment, els investigadors del camp han mantingut el seu interès per incorporar marcs sociològics que podrien ajudar a conceptualitzar adequadament les relacions de dominació. En els anys posteriors, trobem referències creixents (tant explícites com implícites) a les idees de Pierre Bourdieu (1991), els treballs del qual assoliren àmplia difusió quan es traduïren a l'anglès les seves reflexions sobre el llenguatge. Des d'aquesta perspectiva, les desigualtats de gènere es conceptualitzen en termes de lluites per l'accés a recursos materials i simbòlics, així com de lluites per la legitimació de les diverses formes de capitals culturals i simbòlics (Pujolar 2001; Bucholtz, en premsa). Un dels nostres reptes presents és precisament la necessitat de trobar maneres de connectar les nostres anàlisis contextualizades, de pràctiques situades, amb els processos més amplis que responen a la lògica dels mercats de Bourdieu.

La recerca sobre bilingüisme també va partir d'una concepció de la identitat com a fixa i estable, i amb una interpretació de les pràctiques lingüístiques com a expressió d'aquesta identitat. El bilingüisme s'ha centrat principalment en els espais de contacte entre varietats lingüístiques institucionalitzades (això és, llengües). El seu focus principal ha estat sobre llengua i etnicitat, i sobre la importància de les llengües en la construcció d'identitats nacionals (p. ex. Fishman, 1999). Els primers estudis es basaven en una sociologia estructuralista-funcionalista, que suposava que el contacte de llengües anava necessàriament associat amb la distribució funcional de varietats lingüístiques (p. ex. diglòssia) (Fishman 1967, 1972). Els etnògrafs sociolingüístics, tanmateix, revelaven una imatge més complexa i s'adonaven que els parlants bilingües feien usos subtils, creatius del seu "repertori lingüístic" (Blom & Gumperz 1972). Així Gumperz (1982) proposava veure els canvis de llengua o “code-switching” com a "estratègies discursives" que es podien analitzar des d’una varietat de perspectives (pragmàtica, discursiva, conversacional). L’atenció al context va esdevenir per aquesta raó un component important dels estudis sobre bilingüisme, especialment els etnogràfics. El moviment cap a una perspectiva postestructuralista que incorporés una visió político-econòmica va tenir precedents en els treballs de Gal (1979) i Woolard (1985), i es consolidà amb la formulació d’un programa per examinar les "ideologies lingüístiques" (Woolard 1998) i amb els treballs de Heller sobre minories lingüístiques i modernitat (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001; Heller 1999). Una contribució recent molt important és el recull de Makoni & Pennycook (2007). Des de la perspectiva de la pedagogia lingüística critica i les experiències de planificació lingüística en contextos post-colonials, Makoni & Pennycook proposen la “desinvenció” del concepte de llengua. Els temes de gènere també s’incorporen cada vegada més a les anàlisis, especialment entre els estudis realitzats per sociolingüistes etnogràfics i antropòlegs lingüístics (vegeu, per exemple, Martin-Jones & Jones 2000).

Malgrat les múltiples orientations teòriques i metodològiques, la sociolingüística del bilingüisme ha desenvolupat un punt important de consens, és a dir: el fet que el bilingüisme constitueix una expressió de l’estratificació sociolingüística constitutiva de les societats humanes, així com un recurs important per a l’expressió individual. Ja en els seus primers treballs, Fishman (1972) havia sostingut que totes les societats presentaven formes de diferenciació lingüística que podrien estar obertes a l’anàlisi funcional: es parlaven varietats lingüístiques diferents fins i tot on es reconeixia l’existència d’una sola llengua. Els investigadors sobre alternança de codi anaven encara més lluny, tot defensant que el discurs bilingüe (code-switching, barreja lingüística, transferència) presentava elements d’estructuració que mostrava la capacitat dels parlants d’utilitzar els seus recursos lingüístics de maneres que la lingüística formal no podia explicar. El que aquests estudis anteriors estaven fent (sovint sense dir-ho) era suscitar dubtes sobre les suposicions monolingües de la lingüística, i qüestionar la legitimitat de les ideologies tradicionals que servien per legitimar els estats nació monolingües. Una certa deconstrucció de la lingüística havia començat a fer camí.

En tot cas, crec que podem dir que hi ha hagut un cert procés de convergència entre els estudis etnogràfics de bilingüisme i els de gènere i llengua. Aquesta convergència ha tingut lloc dins dels principis teòrics i epistemològics del postestructuralisme, encarat principalment a través de perspectives orientades al context, situades i etnogràfiques.

Taula 1.- convergència entre estudis de gènere i llengua amb estudis de bilingüisme

Estudis de gènere i llengua	Estudis de bilingüisme	Timing
Categoritzacions de base biològica	Funcionalisme structuralista	1970s
Perspectives del: Dèficit Domini Diferència	Code-switching Tria de llengua com a "acte d'identitat"	1980s-90s
Plantejaments post-estructuralistes	L'economia política del bilingüisme	1990s-00s

3. Gènere, bilingüisme i context

La majoria de les publicacions que aborden tant temes de gènere com de bilingüisme daten de mitjans dels noranta. Ara donaré una visió de conjunt molt resumida dels seus resultats. Serà naturalment un resum molt breu del que s'està convertint en un camp transdisciplinari remarcablement fructífer. Hi ha ressenyes de recerca excel·lents fetes per Pavlenko (2001), Pavlenko & Piller (2004), Sunderland (2000) i altres. Des del meu punt de vista, hi ha tres aspectes principals que aquests estudis documenten d'una manera rica i suggestiva:

A. Els homes/La societat imposen a les dones restriccions d'accés a capital lingüístic (això és, al bi/multilingüisme)

En moltes comunitats, a les dones se'ls nega accés als espais socials on es desenvolupen determinades formes de capital lingüístic. La restricció més òbvia és negar o restringir l'escolarització, i així impedir a les dones l'aprenentatge de llengües oficials, llengües de religió o altres varietats prestigioses, com pot passar en algunes comunitats de quítxues (Harvey 1994: 45) o entre els Nàhuatl (Hill 1987). Les dones també poden tenir dificultats per aprendre determinades llengües, dialectes o varietats si la seva mobilitat es restringeix o no se'ls permet de parlar amb forasters, com pot passar a la Geòrgia rural (Chinchaladze & Dragadze 1994) o al Maghrib rural (Sadiqi 2003). Naturalment, en algunes circumstàncies, les dones mateixes poden desenvolupar pràctiques autorestrictives, com passa a la fàbrica observada per Goldstein (1995) a Toronto, on les treballadores controlaven l' ús de l'anglès de les companyes. Alguns perfils de dones d'immigrants, especialment les que acompanyen un marit emigrant, pateixen típicament l'aïllament i els controls hermètics de les seves pròpies comunitats, la qual cosa els dificulta l'aprenentatge de la llengua de la societat d'acollida (Norton 2000).

B. El capital lingüístic de les dones és devaluat/deslegitimat (encara que siguin bi/multilingües, això no se'ls valora).

Les dones poden ser considerades com a monolingües simplement perquè la seva competència en altres llengües s'ignora o es considera inútil, com passa altre cop entre les parlants de quítxua de Harvey que proven d'utilitzar l'espanyol en reunions públiques formals. Tanmateix, quan les dones són efectivament bilingües o multilingües, no és extraordinari que això es consideri negativament com a sospitós, rebaixant o contaminant, com passa en situacions on les dones fan de mediadores entre els homes de la seva comunitat i la comunitat majoritària o les seves institucions. Tomkin (1994) esmenta aquests rols entre comunitats americanes natives, així com entre les classes obreres angleses. A la Gran Bretanya, les dones de Bangladesh, que estan alfabetitzades en bengalí, són tractades com a analfabetes pels mestres, i les seves pràctiques d'alfabetització amb els fills no es consideren pertinents per a la seva educació (Blackledge 2000). Sembla com si les dones presentessin sempre "la mena equivocada de competència bilingüe", sigui la que sigui. Com McDonald assenyala, "El poder de definir està sempre en un lloc extern [a elles]" (1994: 102).

C. Les dones construeixen les seves subjectivitats de manera creativa a través del seu repertori bilingüe

Tal i com apunten Norton (2000), Pavlenko (2001) i altres, les comunitats bilingües ofereixen als individus i grups tipus diferents de posicions subjectives connectades amb cadascuna de les varietats o amb els estils bilingües disponibles. Un rol clàssicament feminitzat és el d'educadora dels infants o fills, en què se li atribueix la responsabilitat de la reproducció cultural de la comunitat. S'ha vist que les dones negocien aquestes expectatives de maneres diferents. En alguns contextos rurals, pot ser que fomentin activament la substitució lingüística criant els nens (i les nenes en particular) en la llengua dominant per tal que superin les condicions socials difícils en què viuen; com Gal (1978) explicà que passava entre els camperols ugroparlants a Àustria, o McDonald (1994) entre parlants de bretó a França, o Constantinidou (1994) entre parlants de gaèlic a Escòcia. En altres casos, les dones es resisteixen al canvi de llengua, com a la Geòrgia rural (Chinchaladze & Dragadze, 1994) o entre els sami finesos (Huss 1999). Un altre aspecte interessant són les maneres com algunes polítiques d'educació lingüística s'adrecen específicament a dones d'immigrants per tal de convertir-les en agents de canvi cultural a les seves comunitats, tot ensenyant la llengua majoritària als seus nens i adoptant formes locals de gestió de la llar. Tals polítiques sovint es troben amb diverses formes de resistència passiva i activa (Cleghorn 2000; Pavlenko 2005). L'experiència d'aprenentatge de segones llengües també pot ser marcadament diferent per a homes i dones en contexts diferents, i influir de manera considerable en el procés d'aprenentatge (Pavlenko *et al* 2001).

4. Deconstruint les llengües

El que ara hem vist molt breument són algunes de les maneres com interactuen qüestions de gènere i bilingüisme de forma que ajuden a entendre el multilingüisme millor i mostren aspectes concrets de desigualtat de gènere. Ara m'agradaria centrar-me en les implicacions teòriques i epistemològiques d'aquesta recerca en relació al llenguatge.

És interessant constatar que, històricament, ha estat en la recerca sobre gènere i llengua on tradicionalment s'han plantejat preguntes de fons sobre la naturalesa del llenguatge; molt més que no en la recerca sobre bilingüisme. Tots dos camps han constatat el caràcter universal de la diferenciació lingüística en relació al propi objecte d'estudi, com ho mostra l'afirmació de Gal que "La diferenciació sexual de la parla s'espera que ocorri onsevulla que hi hagi una divisió social entre els rols d'homes i dones – això és, universalment" (Gal 1978: 292).[3] Un altre punt inicial de coincidència està en la pertinència de la "situacionalitat," el "context" o "l'activitat" per explicar l'ús lingüístic. Entre sociolingüistes, la situació pot explicar els canvis de llengua o de registre. Ara bé, dins els estudis sobre gènere, la situacionalitat porta a plantejar qüestions més de fons. Així, quan Philips diu:

> "Les diferències de gènere en l'ús del llenguatge són sovint un reflex de les diferències d'activitats i estan associades amb les activitats més que amb el gènere." (Philips 1987: 7).[4]

En aquest context, hom es fa preguntes sobre el propi objecte d'estudi: què és el gènere i quina mena de connexió pot tenir amb el llenguatge? Aquest pas no el fan els recercaires sobre bilingüisme d'una forma tan explícita. No es planteja (fins molt més tard) la qüestió òbvia que la situacionalitat del llenguatge es contradiu amb la noció de llengua heretada de Saussure i Chomsky, per la qual cosa hom s'hauria de demanar què és la llengua o, com fa Tomkin, "Què és *una* llengua? I com de diferents han de ser les varietats lingüístiques perquè parlem de bilingüisme"? (1994: 186; l'èmfasi és meu). Per contra, és en Cameron (1992) on trobem un primer assaig de reconceptualització del llenguatge amb l'objectiu de fer-lo pertinent a les preguntes que hom es formula dins els estudis de llengua i gènere:

> "La pràctica social d'utilitzar el llenguatge no es defineix simplement per l'acte de parlar (o d'escriure o de fer signes). Ni es defineix exclusivament en

base a les pròpies estructures del llenguatge, tot i que aquestes hi influeixen. El que defineix més crucialment aquesta pràctica social, jo defensaria, és l'acte d'adreçar-se a algú, en algun context, amb algun propòsit." (Cameron 1992: 186).[5]

Si la lingüística estructuralista es basa en el principi d'esborrar el context del llenguatge, cosa que esborra al seu torn qualsevol connexió entre fenòmens lingüístics i socials, llavors ¿com podem parlar de gènere? ¿com podem parlar de bilingüisme? La sociolingüística variacionista intenta resoldre la contradicció mitjançant l'estadística. Per això és encara més revel·ladora l'afirmació d'Eckert & McConnell-Ginet:

"El problema més fonamental és que, si busquem patrons en dades lingüístiques que són independents de les pràctiques de comunitats particulars, aleshores acabem en el millor dels casos amb informació correlacional, i mai no podem oferir relacions explicatives. Aquestes pràctiques, típicament, són pertinents no només per al gènere, sinó també per a altres aspectes d'identitat social i altres relacions (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999: 190).[6]

Els estudis de bilingüisme, com deia abans, no han abordat d'una manera tan decisiva el qüestionament de les categories fonamentals pròpies de la disciplina fins molt recentment (Makoni & Pennycook 2007). En tot cas, és significatiu que les aportacions més explícites en aquest sentit s'hagin produït precisament en estudis que combinen aspectes de bilingüisme i de gènere, com Pavlenko (2001) o Pavlenko i Piller (2004):

"Mentre el terme 'llenguatge' suposa una cadena de signes sense un subjecte, produïda i vista des d'una posició 'objectiva' o des d'enlloc en particular, el 'discurs' com a 'pràctiques que formen els objectes de què parlen' (...) implica éssers humans com a agents que operen en contexts específics." (Pavlenko 2001: 121).[7]

"Els Enfocaments postestructuralistes feministes (...) ja no veuen el llenguatge com a un conjunt d'estructures transmigrades del cos. Més aviat,

> el llenguatge es converteix en el locus de l'organització social, del poder, de la consciència individual, i en una forma de capital simbòlic (...) un procés situat de participació en comunitats de pràctica múltiples i amb espais de conjunció." (Pavlenko i Piller, 2004: 492)[8]

Tant Piller com Pavlenko & Piller apunten breument la necessitat de desenvolupar una visió del llenguatge que doni compte dels processos d'articulació de la subjectivitat, del fet que les pràctiques lingüístiques són productives de representacions i de relacions socials i, per tant, intrínsecament ideològiques. Per bé que alguns estudis de bilingüisme havien detectat fa temps que la tria de llengua sovint responia a la negociació de relacions socials (Scotton 1988), hom troba a faltar aquesta aposta explícita per una concepció discursiva, constructivista i crítica de les pràctiques lingüístiques i que té implicacions importants per al propi objecte d'estudi.

Cal dir, però, que aquesta crítica de la lingüística que els estudis de gènere han iniciat es troba encara en una fase molt incipient. Moltes de les afirmacions suara citades provenen de textos introductoris de llibres, capítols i articles, amb la significativa excepció del llibre de Cameron (1992) i el més recent de Makoni & Pennycook (2007). Això vol dir que no disposem d'un marc teòric i metodològic mínimament desenvolupat, com el tenen la lingüística estructural o el variacionisme. En les darreres dècades, els estudis del discurs ens han permès eixamplar l'abast de les nostres anàlisis tot incorporant l'anàlisi de continguts, idees de la pragmàtica i de l'anàlisi conversacional i molts altres fenòmens. Tanmateix, això s'ha anat fent d'una forma temptativa i intuïtiva, tot integrant de manera eclèctica i amb el màxim rigor possible conceptes i procediments de procedència molt diversa.

El resultat d'això és que les preguntes fonamentals de caire teòric i epistemològic no s'han pogut abordar a fons. En relació al bilingüisme, per exemple, encara no sabem com les llengües i les varietats lingüístiques s'inscriuen en una visió discursiva del llenguatge, i aleshores no sabem què és exactament el bilingüisme. Si les llengües no són el que l'estructuralisme en feia, què són? Per què són categories significatives per als parlants? I per què són objecte de tantes lluites socials en tots els nivells?

No pretenc, com és obvi, donar resposta a totes aquestes qüestions en aquest text. Però sí que m'agradaria fer algunes aportacions que em sembla que poden ser útils. Makoni & Pennycook (2007) han obert el camí examinant la manera com el concepte de "llengua" de la lingüística s'ha utilitzat com una manera de controlar i gestionar les poblacions colonitzades i desarticular les pràctiques culturals que no encaixaven amb els programes de "desenvolupament" i "modernització." Amb tot, tenim alguna manera alternativa a la tradicional de recollir i conceptualitzar les pràctiques lingüístiques? Podem analitzar enunciats d'una forma que no s'hagi de recolzar en les categories de la lingüística tradicional, sempre basades en criteris purament formals? Jo crec que no tenim encara aquesta lingüística alternativa malgrat els intents interessants de Harris (1990), Yngve (2004) i altres. I aquí el que vull simplement suggerir és que la perspectiva dialògica de Bakhtín sobre el llenguatge pot contenir la clau per a reconstituir molts dels conceptes i fenòmens que hem estudiat tradicionalment

4. La lingüística dialògica

Els treballs de Bakhtín van causar una forta impressió en el moment que aparegueren les traduccions a l'anglès de principis dels 1980 (Bakhtín 1981, 1986) i foren àmpliament citats en estudis literaris i sociolingüístics fins a principis dels 1990. Ara, però, la febre de Bakhtín sembla que ha passat sense deixar una empremta significativa, cosa que jo personalment atribueixo a la dificultat d'incardinar els seus principis dins les pràctiques analítiques pròpies dels nostres estudis. Jo mateix vaig fer un intent a Pujolar (2001) i altres autors han fet aportacions que no han tingut encara l'impacte desitjat (Moraes 1996; Woolard 2004). En el proper apartat, intentaré argumentar algunes implicacions de les idees de Bakhtín per a teoritzar els espais de contacte entre bilingüisme i gènere.

La idea fonamental del pensament lingüístic de Bakthín s'expressa amb el concepte de dialogisme, que l'autor explica de la manera següent:

> "Qualsevol enunciat, a més del seu propi tema, sempre respon (...) d'una manera o altra als enunciats d'altres que l'han precedit (...) El discurs s'adreça no solament al seu propi objecte, sinó també a la parla dels altres sobre el mateix (...) Però l'enunciat es relaciona no solament amb el seus precedents, sinó també amb els enllaços subsegüents dins la cadena de comunió de la parla... [L]'enunciat es construeix tenint en compte les possibles reaccions de resposta, ja que és en essència per a elles que ha estat creat." (Bakthín 1986: 94)[9]

Dialogisme significa que el llenguatge és inherentment responsiu, cosa que implica que només adquireix valor, o significat, en el context on apareix. Aquest concepte és el que al meu entendre obre les portes a una possible lingüística postestructuralista. Una implicació important del dialogisme radica en la posició ambivalent i dispersa de la subjectivitat dins el mateix enunciat. Per a Bakhtín, "Cada enunciat és curull d'ecos i reverberacions d'altres enunciats amb els quals està en relació dins l'espai comú de l'esfera de comunicació de la parla" (Bakthín 1986: 91).[10] Això fa que l'enunciat sigui híbrid per naturalesa, ja que "és curull de paraules "d'altri", diversos graus d'alteritat i diversos graus de propietat." (*ibídem* 89).[11] El parlant assimila, refà i reaccentua aquestes paraules i veus que agafa dels altres, del diàleg que ens envolta (Bakthín 1986: 89). El parlant manipula les veus i construeix i negocia les seves relacions amb aquests diferents subjectes dins el propi enunciat, que no és una veu unitària.

Un altre aspecte de la lingüística tradicional que Bakhtín posa en qüestió és la separació entre forma i significat:

> "Forma i contingut en el discurs són u, una vegada comprenem que el discurs verbal és un fenomen social" (1981: 259).[12]

És a dir, per a Bakthín, la forma i el contingut lingüístics convergeixen en l'enunciat. Esdevenen inseparablement enllaçats amb el context i amb les subjectivitats, les representacions i les relacions socials que contribueixen a construir. Això és el que forma els “gèneres de parla” (*speech genres*) i, alhora, el que explica teòricament el caràcter “heteroglòssic” del llenguatge. Els gèneres són "tipus relativament estables" (*ibídem* 60) d’enunciat que es poden descriure tant en termes de contingut (una gamma particular de temes, una perspectiva ideològica particular) com en termes de forma (llargada, entonació, estructura compositiva). Aquests gèneres s’associen doncs as situacions i formes d’expressió pròpies de diversos grups socials:

> “La societat, de fet, és sempre lingüísticament diversa, estratificada o heteroglòssica. L’estratificació social de llenguatge és paral·lela a la diversitat de grups socials (classes, generacions, professions, grups d’amics, etc.). Com que cada grup social està associat a activitats particulars, relacions socials i ideologies, cadascun desenvolupa els seus propis gèneres de parla que, gradualment i amb el temps modelen accents diferenciats, estils, dialectes i llengües.” (Pujolar 1995)

Per tant, les varietats lingüístiques emergeixen en base a repertoris complexos de gèneres de parla, i impliquen no solament trets formals sinó també ideologies.

La manera com aquests principis es poden aplicar a projectes de recerca i per a fonamentar procediments analítics concrets no és encara obvi. Actualment, ens hem acostumat a la idea que la importància d’un tret lingüístic o discursiu particular s’hagi d’ancorar a un context; però encara ens sentim més segurs quan utilitzem purament criteris formals per identificar aquests trets (siguin fonemes, parells adjacents, llengües o algunes configuracions ideacionals). No sabríem com expressar la seva associació amb un "gènere" i en base a què té sentit fer-ho. Per començar, hauríem de saber què és exactament un gènere, ja que prové d’una concepció dialògica del llenguatge que s’ha de desenvolupar metodològicament.

Tanmateix, puc imaginar-me algunes maneres d’explorar el dialogisme de forma que sigui pertinent a l’estudi dels gèneres (masculins, femenins, o altres). Les idees de Bakthín i Voloshinov (o del Cercle Bakthín) sovint treuen el cap en molts estudis, i l’obra de Kristeva ha estat molt influent entre els analistes crítics de discurs (Fairclough

1992). Les observacions de Jean Mills en el seu estudi sobre mares pakistaneses a la Gran Bretanya en són un bon exemple:

> "En termes Bakthínians, la subjectivitat és social per naturalesa, ja que els individus només s'assumeixen a si mateixos en interacció amb els altres. (...) els parlants indicaven mitjançant un diàleg amb si mateixos, o citant les paraules d'altres, que havien assumit, o que estaven en procés d'assumir, un aspecte significatiu de si mateixos." (Mills 2004: 168)[13]

En la meva pròpia recerca, he mostrat com algunes formes d'alternança lingüística revelen clarament una juxtaposició de gèneres que estan connectats amb diferents subjectes i posicions socials.

Exemple 1
Patrícia: es una escola de pago • i el curs val unaa- • tot el any • són unes cent mi- • quasi dos-centes mil peles • *lo pagas a codo- cómodos plazos dee ochoo o diez mil pelas al mes* però • • però són deu bitllets [pica a la taula, somriu]
(extret de Pujolar 2001)

En aquest petit extracte d'una entrevista, Patricia, una jove catalana, expressa la seva posició en relació al pagament d'un curset de formació. La seva pròpia veu es representa en català col·loquial; però també incorpora una veu institucional que parteix de la fraseologia del màrqueting en espanyol. Aquí les dues veus marquen no solament un canvi de tema; sinó també dues perspectives ideològiques que difereixen, dues posicions subjectives i dos entramats de relacions. En català hi ha la dona que ha de lluitar per guanyar diners per a ella i per a la seva família; en espanyol és la clienta vista des de la perspectiva d'una organització burocràtica que construeix els subjectes en termes de les seves capacitats financeres. Cada veu importa i imposa els seus propis criteris d'avaluació i és el subjecte parlant el que organitza la narrativa de forma que estableix, en aquest context, a quina veu es dóna més validesa. La narrativa és, per tant, no només una representació; sinó que constitueix també una demanda de legitimitat d'una formació discursiva concreta per davant d'una altra. El caràcter híbrid del segment és obvi pel contrast fàcilment perceptible entre català i espanyol; però també es podria aplicar a un context on s'utilitzi només una llengua institucionalitzada de referència. L'enunciat també es pot interpretar en tant que revelador d'una forma de resistència a la posició social del subjecte parlant, a qui falten els recursos per accedir a un mode específic de capital educatiu. Per tant, això es pot lligar amb qüestions d'estructura social i de desigualtats, tot i que caldria clarament aportar més elements del context que no són directament pertinents a aquesta argumentació.

Hi ha, en qualsevol cas, un altre exemple d'una cita de Jean Mills que ens indica d'una forma molt més clara el subtext ideològic de determinades varietats lingüístiques. La narrativa és similar en molts aspectes; però més explícita. És la transcripció d'una entrevista a una dona del Punjab que reflexiona sobre el fet que la seva obligació com a mare implica passar la religió als nens i que això s'ha de fer en urdú.

> One of the things, one that we are taught in Islam or in Urdu, that heaven is at the foot of the mother, mother's feet… so, respect your mother and your life after will be, you know, rewarded and so on. Now if you say that to them in English. 'Son, heaven is at your mother's feet', they just look at you and say 'Mom are you alright?' sort of thing because it just doesn't make any sense to them… I know you can say it in English but it doesn't seem to have the same meaning (extret de Mills 2004: 180)

A partir d'aquí l'entrevista deriva en una discussió sobre traducció. Tanmateix, aquí l'interessant és que la dona representa el seu repte en termes d'un diàleg imaginat amb el seu nen, dins el qual adoptaria la veu o el gènere de les escriptures (l'urdú traduït a l'anglès) mentre que el seu fill es representa amb un tomb expressiu anglès marcadament col·loquial i que denota un escepticisme juvenil. La intenció és que la juxtaposició dels dos gèneres faci visible la seva incompatibilitat ideològica. Per una banda, el text urdú traduït obté la seva legitimitat de la seva ubicació històrica en generacions i xarxes de texts panjabis inserits en determinades pràctiques espirituals, educatives i socioeconòmiques. D'altra banda, la veu de la joventut anglesa que no té una "mare" (*mother*), sinó una "mama" (*mon*) apunta cap a un jove al qual és difícil demanar compromisos espirituals (probablement, més enllà dels distribuïts i legitimats per indústries culturals transnacionals o pels propis grups d'iguals). El que és obvi és que aquí el problema no és l'aspecte "lingüístic" de la traducció; sinó el fet que les dues veus beguin de fonts divergents de legitimitat, que connectin amb converses diferents, pràctiques ideològico-textuals diferents. El repte per a la mare és el de crear un espai per a les pràctiques socials panjabis/urdús per a un fill que en gran mesura porta una vida anglesa.

I aquí és on hi ha el missatge important. Les varietats lingüístiques no es constitueixen simplement en base a trets lingüístics; es constitueixen en base a conjunts complexos de gèneres que incorporen de forma inextricable elements formals i ideològics. Es constitueixen en base a material ideològico-verbal que està ancorat en un context i, com a tal, en una història específica. L'ús d'una varietat lingüística o una altra enllaça amb diverses trajectòries històriques en complexos entramats de diàlegs i veus, reals o de ficció, d'altres subjectes parlants. L'enunciat és sempre un punt d'encontre, o d'impacte, d'aquestes trajectòries, dins les quals el parlant malda per posicionar-se en funció dels seus interessos. Totes les varietats s'ancoren en contexts particulars i subjectes socials que són constituïts per lluites ideològiques i desigualtats; i porten inscrites les relacions dialògiques que remeten a les seves pròpies fonts de legitimitat.

Per tant, les varietats lingüístiques són més que simples eines, codis, de comunicació que es poden dominar en millors o pitjors condicions. Són també més que uns simples actius o capitals abstractes, el valor dels quals fluctua segons la dinàmica de cada mercat. Són, a banda de tot això, partícips de les lluites ideològiques que legitimen i deslegitimen ideologies, tot facilitant o impedint l'accés a recursos simbòlics i econòmics. La diversitat lingüística és per això el resultat necessari d'un món on grups humans diversos, i subgrups dins d'ells, construeixen patrons diferenciats de relacions socials i identitats, i gaudeixen de vies diferents d'accés a recursos i poder. I no només això; la diversitat lingüística també s'inscriu en un món on els subjectes socials pouen dels seus recursos lingüístics heretats, mitjançant els quals reprodueixen i transformen estructures socials heretades.

Des d'aquesta visió, podem començar a dibuixar un nou concepte del que són les llengües des d'una perspectiva dialògica. Les llengües, allò que tradicionalment n'hem dit llengües, són varietats hegemòniques ancorades en la legitimitat ideològica de determinats gèneres i pràctiques socials. Les llengües hegemòniques "governen" sobre una gamma complexa i inestable d'altres varietats amb què poden compartir (o no) molts recursos i amb les quals s'articulen de maneres diverses. Les varietats no es diferencien sistemàticament les unes de les altres; sinó que normalment tenen espais suficients de superposició, llevat que algun grup social concret tingui interès i capacitat de definir i mantenir unes fronteres.

Com Bourdieu observa molt agudament, l'adquisició de llengües hegemòniques no concedeix legitimitat als que les aprenen pel sol fet de saber-les. La legitimitat per parlar-les deriva del reconeixement que s'atorga a grups i individus concrets que poden assumir les posicions subjectives esperades i representar, "performar", els gèneres legítims, tot reproduint les ideologies associades a moments i llocs concrets. Els individus, a més, no adquireixen ni utilitzen una única varietat; sinó que solen disposar-ne d'una gamma. Com hem vist, la diversitat de llengües pot aparèixer dins d'enunciats híbrids senzills en els quals es negocien conflictes i contradiccions. Tanmateix, els parlants han de lluitar amb les implicacions ideològiques i les conseqüències materials d'utilitzar les diverses llengües i varietats. Les habilitats lingüístiques, les seves ideologies associades i sancions s'inscriuen, en qualsevol cas, en disposicions somatitzades que constitueixen el que Bourdieu anomena l'habitus lingüístic.

Les implicacions d'aquesta visió dialògica de les llengües per als estudis de gènere poden ser profundes i diverses. En aquest escrit, només puc assajar algunes breus reflexions relacionades amb els estudis de gènere i bilingüisme que he esmentat més amunt. En certa manera, es tracta de formular-nos les preguntes de manera diferent. No es tracta només de preguntar-se per què les dones sempre parlen la varietat incorrecta. Potser podem preguntar-nos més aviat per la naturalesa o la dinàmica del conflicte entre les llengües de dones, per una banda, i les varietats públicament legitimades típicament masculines, per l'altra banda; incloent-hi el paper de totes aquestes varietats en la producció i legitimació de femininitats i masculinitats tradicionals.

Així, els estudis de gènere i bilingüisme podrien documentar l'apropiació per part de les dones d'unes varietats històricament masculinitzades (això és, els seus gèneres, ideologies i identitats), procés que seria el corol·lari lingüístic de l'assumpció de rols i formes de relació tradicionalment masculins. Des d'aquest punt de vista, potser cal començar reconeixent la necessària incongruència que es crea sovint entre categoritzacions lingüístiques i socials històricament constituïdes: per exemple, les dones que assumeixen rols i formes d'expressió tradicionalment associats als homes. Un exemple clàssic d'això es trobaria en els debats sobre la qüestió de l'assertivitat en les dones (Cameron 1995).

En certa manera, l'experiència de les dones i dels homes lligats a formes de gènere no hegemònics imposa la negociació d'unes dualitats, la necessitat de compatibilitzar ideologies contradictòries. Vist des d'un punt de vista lingüístic (dialògic), és una mena de bilingüisme conflictiu en la mesura que situa el subjecte entre posicions polaritzades, això és, que es defineixen les unes en oposició a les altres.

L'experiència d'aquesta tensió segurament només és possible de reconèixer i de negociar si adoptem una visió autènticament crítica dels processos socials i lingüístics. És a dir, si reconeixem que tot ordre establert és inestable en un context on uns grups socials malden per mantenir-lo i reproduir-lo i uns altres per desmantellar-lo o redefinir-lo. I també si reconeixem l'ampli espai d'ambivalències i negociacions que existeix en la praxi social en relació als significats. Si, en lloc d'això, concebem el llenguatge i la subjectivitat en base a unes categories essencialitzants tancades i fora de context, és impossible concebre com les persones mobilitzen els recursos lingüístics per a assolir els seus projectes expressius, uns projectes expressius que no estiguin ja inscrits en aquest suposat codi lingüístic prefabricat.

Precisament, un aspecte que explica i facilita la possibilitat d'ambivalències són les múltiples i impredictibles combinacions de les diverses dimensions de pertinença social (classe, raça, edat, professió) que també van acompanyades de les corresponents subjectivitats, patrons de relació i modes expressius propis.

Per tant, els estudis de bilingüisme o, millor dit, de l'heteroglòssia, haurien de reconèixer aquest caràcter obert del llenguatge, a semblança del que han fet els estudis de gènere amb el propi concepte que el defineix. Naturalment, cal reconèixer que sempre hi ha el perill sovint adduït de caure en un relativisme anecdòtic i socialment innocu que es conforma en documentar les diverses formes d'expressió o models de gènere sense tenir en compte les relacions de poder dins les quals es constitueixen. És un perill que sempre hi haurà; però crec que és del tot necessari reconèixer el caràcter obert del gènere i del llenguatge almenys per arribar a entendre qui, com i quan el seu potencial s'acaba tancant per donar com a resultat les estructures i formes de dominació que estem intentant d'entendre.

Vist des d'aquesta perspectiva dialògica, pot ser que els investigadors del bilingüisme no reconeguin el seu objecte d'estudi, ja que és un camp que té connexions històriques amb moviments polítics que malden per sostenir les delimitacions i la legitimitat de llengües institucionalitzades concretes, especialment les minoritàries enfront de les dominants. Segurament, els estudiosos del bilingüisme es malfien de forma natural del relativisme pel fet que els desequilibris de poder entre les llengües dominants i les dominades salten a la vista. Potser aquesta malfiança pot ser útil també als estudis de gènere per a desenvolupar una visió post-estructuralista que no obviï la qüestió de l'hegemonia.

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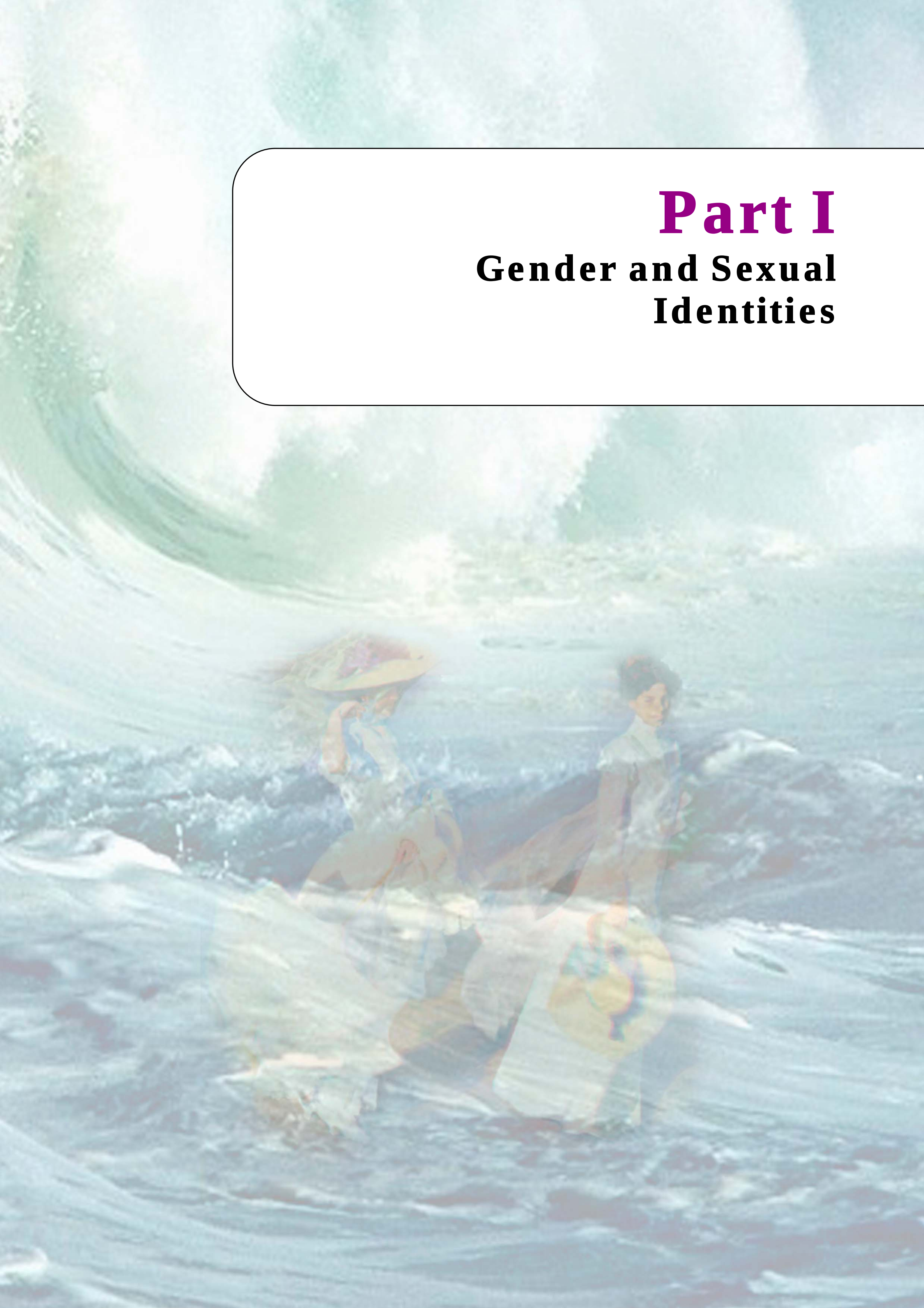
Notes

1. Agraeixo a Josep-Anton Fernàndez els seus suggeriments a esborranys anteriors d'aquest escrit.
2. Bona part de les idees aquí exposades sobre els estudis de bilingüisme fins al tombant dels noranta, les dec al mestratge de Marilyn Martin-Jones, per bé que la responsabilitat per les mancances que puguin tenir és exclusivament meva.
3. Original: "Sexual differentiation of speech is expected to occur whenever a social division exists between the roles of men and women that is, universally."
4. Original: "Gender differences in language use are often a reflection of such differences in activity and are associated with the activity rather than the gender."
5. Original: "The social practice of language-using is not defined simply by the act of speaking (or writing or signing). Nor is it completely defined by the structures of the language itself, though these do bear on it. What most crucially defines this social practice, I would argue, is the act of addressing someone, in some context, for some purpose."
6. Original: "The more fundamental problem is that, if we search for patterns in language data unconnected to the practices of particular communities, we can at best get correlational information, and can never offer explanatory accounts. Such practices typically are relevant not only to gender, but at the same time to other aspects of social identity and other relations."
7. Original: "While the term 'language' assumes a chain of signs without a subject, produced and seen from an 'objective' position or from nowhere in particular, 'discourse' as 'practices which form the objects of which they speak' (…) involves human beings as agents operating in specific contexts."
8. Original: "Feminist post-structuralist approaches (…) cease to view language as a set of disembodied structures. Instead, language becomes the locus of social organization, power, individual consciousness, and a form of symbolic capital (…) "a situated process of participation in multiple and overlapping communities of practice."
9. Font en anglès: "any utterance, in addition to its own theme, always responds ... in one form or another to others' utterances that precede it... The utterance is addressed not only to its own object, but also to others' speech about it... But the utterance is related not only to preceding, but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communion... [T]he utterance is constructed by taking into account possible responsive reactions, for whose sake, in essence, it is actually created."
10. Font en anglès: "Each utterance is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication..."
11. Font en anglès: "The utterance is filled with "'others' words, varying degrees of other-ness and varying degrees of 'our-"own-ness'"
12. Font en anglès: "Form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon."
13. Font en anglès: "In Bakthínian terms, subjectivity is social in nature, since individuals only come to understand themselves through interaction with others. (…) speakers signaled through a dialogue with themselves, or by reporting the words of others, that they had come to terms with, or were coming to terms with, a significant aspect of themselves."



Part I

Gender and Sexual Identities

Constructing Femininity and Masculinity Through Nineteenth-Century American Conduct Books

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Abstract

During a time when industrialisation, capitalism and urbanisation began to transform the structure of American society, the culture of middle-class emerged. The arousal of this new social group involved the necessity to define the conduct and the values appertaining to the status and lifestyle of the American nineteenth-century middle class. Between 1820 and 1860, more than a hundred conduct and advice books were published (Jeffrey 2000). This suggests the need Americans felt to define proper behaviour in the midst of the economic and social instability that characterised the new times. Conduct and advice books carefully described appropriate behaviour in each social gathering, placing especial emphasis on the different traits and features that characterised the behaviour of young men and women. By describing how young people should interact in society, gender differences were sanctioned and perpetuated in time. It is the aim of this paper to describe and prove how the so-called good manners and the ideals of politeness defended at the time contributed to constructing and reaffirming gender differences in nineteenth-century American society.
Key words: *Religious Identity ~ Victorian period ~ cult of true womanhood ~ separation of spheres ~ middle-class culture ~ conduct manuals ~ discourse analysis*

This paper is part of a longer study focused on the analysis of nineteenth-century conduct manuals in an attempt to describe how they contributed to constructing ideals of masculinity and femininity that

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 33-45.

characterised the culture, society and ideology of the time. This study was initiated in order to achieve five main objectives. Firstly, decode ideological traits that are presented in the conduct manuals and that are the result of cultural, social and historical circumstances of nineteenth-century America. Secondly, detect the traits that contribute to constructing gender, and especially, those tenets that aid in the separation of roles according to sex and contribute to elaborating ideals of womanhood and manhood. Thirdly, identify through the analysis of these texts, aspects that characterise the nineteenth-century American society of the time, and especially, the emergent American middle-class to whom the conduct manuals were addressed. Fourthly, become familiarised with a bibliographic inventory of conduct books, etiquette and good manners manuals, written and published in nineteenth-century America, and classify them thematically. And finally, analyse parts of the language utilised in the manuals in order to elaborate a glossary with content units, semantic fields and terms which are representative of nineteenth-century conduct books. These preliminary objectives amount to obtain a deeper knowledge about the concept of good behaviour which was defended at the time and, by extension, unveil, the ideological traits that characterised the middle-class in nineteenth-century America.

1. The rise of nineteenth-century American urban culture

Before we move on to analyse the selected manuals addressed to young men and women and aimed at instructing them to come out in society through their process of coming of age, it is important to know the main traits that characterised the society of the time. The American Civil War between the northern estates, characterised by industrialisation, and the agricultural southern estates involved a meaningful change for the American society, since the idealisation of human rights gave way to a form belief in the progress and prosperity of the individual. Ideological innovations of the time such as Adam Smith's free trade or Charles Darwin's evolution theory contributed to the idea of progress, natural selection and the ideal of the successful self-made man. Up until the dawn of the mid-nineteenth-century, most of the American population lived in farms or small villages, although, as the century drew on, a high flow of immigration led to an important industrialisation of the country. The change from an agriculturally-based society to an eminently urban order remarked a change from isolation to the bustle of the life in the city. Progressively, the prosperity that characterised the new industry, business and the liberal professions in the big cities aided in the creation of the American middle-class, which differed from the preindustrial classes because the middle-class family was in no need to produce anything for their own survival, since the middle-class husband worked as a professional outside the domestic space, while his wife and children remained in the household. The change from a preindustrial society to a middle-class society contributed to differentiating the roles assumed by men and women.

2. The Victorian "cult of true womanhood"

The family nucleus became the centre around which the middle-class society evolved. A new ideology which worshipped the home as a sacred place, together with the ideal of true womanhood and the cult of domesticity, arose as a result. According to Barbara Welter (1976), the middle-class woman was presumed to be the embodiment of the four basic virtues, which were piety, purity, domesticity and submission. The American middle-classes of the time believed that the woman nurtured a particular inclination towards religiosity which she could develop in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, the socially-assumed purity of women was highly revered, and consequently, the woman that lacked the virtue of purity was ostracised and converted into a "fallen woman", undeserving social praise and respect. Submissiveness was also regarded as a highly-revered female virtue, since women significantly differed from men. As opposed to their counterparts, women were supposed to be passive, obedient and humble. Moreover, the household was termed as the appropriate sphere for women. As opposed to the bustle and dangers that public life entailed, the home became a shelter for the men and the natural domain of women. The family, as an economic institution, lost relevance in favour of becoming the unity that both preached and embodiment a series of idealised values that contributed to the construction and permanence of the middle-class ethics. Since the family joined in the domestic space, where the woman was assumed to develop her role, it was also the woman who, by extension, became the embodiment of a series of values that she both preserved and personified. From then onwards, the woman, confined in her domestic space, exemplified the pillars of the American middle-class society.

3. Gender-based differentiation of spheres

The Victorian woman represented values such as stability, morality and democracy through the creation of the home which was conceived as the shelter where the husband could protect from the competitive and unstable world of business, commerce and politics. Consequently, the woman became the embodiment of the angel of the house. As a result of this ethics, a clear distinction between the public and private spheres emerged. The public and professional sphere was termed as masculine, while the domestic and private sphere was regarded as eminently feminine. At the time, it was believed that the separation between femininity and masculinity was rooted on a biological basis. Women were termed as physically weaker that men and having less energy. This belief was based on the ideal of the invalid woman, who frequently fainted and suffered the so-called female illnesses, often provoked by the corset and the unhealthy clothes following the dictates of fashion. Moreover, women were physically invalidated each month due to their feminine condition, and it also believed that their nervous system was weaker than that of men and more irritable. The so-called female illnesses such as hysteria and anorexia became popular and were conceived as maladies that only affected women. Furthermore, women were also thought to be intellectually inferior taking as a premise the fact that a woman's brain, biologically, was smaller and, according to phrenology (ie. pseudo-science which claimed that the character of a person could be traced through the form of the head), this necessarily implied that her brain was more primitive than that of man. Moreover, there also existed the belief that females were the embodiments of features that were inherent in women such as morality, domesticity, passivity and delicacy, whereas men were characterised by rationality, aggressiveness, independence and hardness. Taking into consideration these prevailing premises, the idea of women's dependence on men emerged as a corollary to the belief women, due to their delicacy, needed to be protected. Taking these tenets into account, women's rights related to property, heritage, and custody of children were constantly neglected. Moreover, women were even advised not to read certain kind of books and they were detached from the public and professional sphere that they also occupied in the preindustrial and industrial society. The submissiveness that characterised the American middle-class women in the nineteenth-century, before issues related to the women's question arose, has often been compared with the oppressive and choking dresses women wore at the time, which contributed to malformations and the so-called female illnesses.

As regards sexual instincts, it was estimated that men had a prominent sexual instinct, whereas it was inexistent in women. The mere thought that women were sexually aroused was inconceivable at the time. The inherent nature considered as appropriate for women, shy and timid, denied the fact women had any kind of sexual life. Moreover, the presence of sexuality in women was feared, since it was purported to be an insatiable and voracious force that would absorb men. Consequently, narratives depicting female vampires or fallen women began to emerge at the time. In contrast, even though the female sexual instinct was rejected, women's inherent function in life was conceived as merely reproductive. Some medical manuals of the time even contemplated the possibility that the centre of the female body was the womb. Taking this fact into consideration, some doctors even recommended women not to pursue higher education since their inner female nature prevented them from attaining professionalism. Instead, women's nature advocated devoting their lives to matrimony and maternity. Moreover, the differentiation of spheres between men and women also exerted its influence over the nature of their offspring. It was believed that the father transmitted musculature and intellect to his child, whereas the condition of the internal organs in addition to the emotional state was conferred to the child by its mother. Moreover, the domestic values and sanctity that were attached to women were justified because she was in charge of educating her children during the early stages of their life. These educational theories were contemplated by John Locke (Mintz 1983), who raised a note of caution as regards the malleability of children at an early age.

All these premises that pervaded the Victorian middle-class ethics were reified through the so-called "cult of true womanhood" (Saulsbury 2002); a moral code that permeated the American culture of the time and was reflected on different documents such as sermons, periodicals, women's literature, and especially, on the conduct manuals that profusely flourished throughout the nineteenth-century. The important number of literature, aimed at advising young men, and especially women, how to behave according to standards inevitably betrays the necessity and willingness to define and delimit women's sphere in a changing world. Likewise, the need to emphasise the separate roles between men and women contributed to maintaining and preserving the order that prevailed in the middle-class society of the time.

4. The ethics of the American middle-class culture

During a time when industrialisation, capitalism and a growing urbanisation threatened to transform the structure of social classes in the American society, the denominated culture of the middle-class emerged. The emergence of this culture was determined by the necessity to describe the behaviour and values that characterise the status and lifestyle of the middle-classes. As a repository of the origins of the Unites States as a nation, it was firmly believed that any one, despite his humble origins, could aspire to become a member of the middle class provided he achieved success and displayed the manners that were expected from the middle-class. Taking into consideration that success, fortune and wealth often depended on unpredictable factors in an ever permanently changing society, the so-called genteel conduct and good manners that characterised the privileged classes was perceived as the only reliable trait that ensured a member belonged to the privileged classes. Even, one could argue that not only the middle class was characterised by some kind of behaviour, but even that the pursuit of this determinate behaviour created and constructed middle class. Thus, manners and conduct could be determinant in order to crawl in the social ladder and become a member of the upper-class. Precisely, in nineteenth-century America, a comfortable social position did not entail noble origins, but rather wealth, which depended on many factors and was in constant fluctuation. The need to define and describe the manners and the conduct that were estimated as appertaining to the middle class also responded to the necessity of forging some order in an ever changing society.

Consequently, the ethics that characterised the nineteenth-century American middle-class pervaded the conduct manuals that proliferated at the time, and it is through the terms utilised in these manuals to describe the behaviour that should characterise young men and women that the construction of gender and the separateness of roles is reified, sanctioned and spread. Between 1820 and 1860, more than a hundred conduct manuals were published (Jeffrey 2000), thus bringing to the floor the necessity to advise the American population how to behave in their social intercourses as a consequence of the economic and social instability that characterised the time. Moreover, it is worth noticing the conduct manuals aimed at regulating a wide range of spheres in life from social intercourse to bodily health. It was fairly common for medical doctors to advise youngsters about the proper way to preserve their health.

5. A case in point: the *Self-and-Sex Series* conduct manuals

In order to analyse the terms and values described in nineteenth-century American conduct books, this study will be focused on six conduct books, three of them aimed at regulating the behaviour of women and three of them concerned with describing that of men. In each case, the conduct books are stratified according to gender and age. Thus, the three conduct manuals aimed at women are entitled *What a Young Girl Ought* *to Know* (c1905) and *What a Young Woman Ought to Know* (c1905), both written by Mary Wood-Allen, and finally, *What a Young Wife Ought to Know*, written by Emma Frances Angell Drake (c1902). These three conduct books were both written by women who addressed other women. The main target of these manuals is to describe the qualities and behaviour that ought to characterise women and the information they should know according to different stages in their lives, whether they are young girls, young women or young wives. As regards the young girl, Mary Wood Allen focuses her instruction taking into consideration parameters that entitle the manual chapters such as the origin of life, the concept of God, health, thoughts, attitudes, work and play, friendships, the girl as the bud of woman, and the relation established between man and woman. In relation to the chapter contemplating the origin of life, the author explains the functioning of human reproduction, describing, using the author's terms, "where babies come from." Mary Wood-Allen sets a parallelism between human reproduction and that of the vegetable and the animal domains, while she introduces the concept of "heredity" to the young girl as a need to procreate in order to maintain the species. Moreover, Wood-Allen also instructs the young girl to profess her devotion to God, as the creator *per excellence*, while she makes reference to the creative qualities of women. In relation to the young girls' health, the author insists on the girl's necessity to take well care of her own body, taking into consideration its prevalence and importance for procreation. Moreover, Wood-Allen also mentions that the girl is "the bud of a woman"; a common metaphor utilised to compare women with natural elements.

As regards the chapter entitled "thoughts," the author recommends the cultivation of thoughts at school and the reading of appropriate books. Moreover, in relation to the attitudes appertaining to the young girl, the author uses the term "postures." This term has a double meaning making reference to both the body (body postures) and the mind (opinions or attitudes). This fact clearly implies the inherent association between mind and body in the woman. Her physique is thought to reflect her inner nature, and so her body and the health of her body are entangled with social concern. As regards the social life of the young girl, the author recommends equilibrium between work and play, in addition to the necessity to foster good relationships. Moreover, the author also devotes a chapter to differentiate the roles attached to men and women so that the young girl begins to indulge in them in her youth.

With regard to the manual Wood-Allen addressed to the young woman, her disquisition revolves around factors such as the “value of health and the responsibility in maintaining it,” the “need of special knowledge [such as] some forms of avoidable diseases, their remedy and prevention,” and finally, the last chapter is entirely devoted to issues related to “love, heredity and engagements.” It is significant to notice that the instruction of the young girl amalgamated a wider range of topics when compared to those of the young woman. The young woman is advised to take well care of her health so as to fulfil her role in the near future. She must take care of her body; regulating her diet and sleep, and even, her breathing. A special reference is made to the “hindrances to breath” caused by the “added injuries from tight clothing.” Moreover, so as to ensure the young woman’s health, the author recommends exercises and bathing. According to Wood-Allen, the young woman not only needs to be concerned about her health, but she needs to be instructed so as to preserve it so that she may be able to avoid diseases. In order to justify this special care, the author refers to the creative power of women and their consequent role in society. Moreover, the author also takes into consideration the “special physiology” of women, due to which the young woman needs to be especially instructed so as to take “care during their menstruations.” Wood-Allen also dwells on some of the causes of painful menstruation as the “artificialities of civilised life”, thus subtly delimiting women’s sphere. The author even goes further to allude to some “female diseases,” while cautioning the young woman about “solitary vices” and encouraging them to be in the company of other women. Finally, the author also highlights the importance the young woman should attach to love and engagement with a view to her heredity. Love is contemplated as the basis of engagement and matrimony. Moreover, Wood-Allen also refers to the “law of heredity,” cautioning the young woman about the “hereditary effects of alcohol and tobacco” and the “effects of immorality on the race.” Thus, the importance attached to procreation and the offspring warn the young woman about her necessity to behave properly according to her assigned role in society. Heredity is endowed with such transcendence that the author even uses the phrase “the gospel of heredity”, and even proceeds to describe the “requisites” that characterise a good husband.

As regards the manual addressed to the young wife, Emma Drake focuses on describing the figure of the young wife, the depiction of the husband, the institution of marriage and maternity, the education of children and the association with other mothers. In relation to the description of the young wife, Drake elicits four themes such as intelligence, health, household and dress. As regards the figure of the husband, Drake insists on the fact that the young wife needs to choose well so that the husband lives up to the young wife’s expectations. Moreover, Drake also contemplates marriage, focusing on the “marital relations” that should be established between husband and wife. Nevertheless, the most outstanding chapter in Drake’s manual addressed to the young wife if that of maternity and paternity, which are described separately. The author also remarks “the moral responsibility of parents in heredity” which will ultimately influence their children.

Subsequently, Drake focuses on the period of pregnancy, instructing the young wife about the “ailments of pregnancy” and the “development of the foetus.” Moreover, once the young wife is informed about the biological aspects of maternity, she is also advised as regards the baby’s wardrobe, the choice of the physician and the nurse, the birth chamber, the care of the baby and the after-care of the mother. Once pregnancy has ended, the young wife must devote herself to the training of children. She becomes the first teacher of the child, and consequently, she exerts an important influence on the baby. The newly mother must also be aware of the common ailments of children and must veil to guard them against secret vice.

As regards the young boy, the young man and the young husband, Sylvanus Stall published a series of three conduct manuals instructing men as to how to behave according to their age and the different stages in their lives. The education aimed at young boys is fairly similar to that of the young girls, since their separate spheres have not been clearly differentiated yet. As Wood-Allen preached in her conduct book, Stall sets a parallelism between the reproductive function of men and that of the domains of vegetables and animals. Moreover, Stall is careful to place a special emphasis on the danger of the abuse of the reproductive organs of the young boy, and the changes his body experiences until puberty. Stall alludes to the fact that the reproductive function of men responded to God's purpose so as to procreate and ensure the permanence of the species. Stall cautions the young boy to avoid pernicious habits, and retain and regain purity and strength. It is meaningful to notice that no reference to women is made throughout the manual.

In relation to Stall's book addressed to the young man, the author describes the proper relationship he should maintain with women. Firstly, the author defines the young man's equipment for life, which should be personal purity. Moreover, Stall also describes all the hindrances that the young man should avoid such as alcohol and poisonous drugs, gaming, sensual nature, dancing and the theatre, obscene pictures, darkness, light books, and friendships with dubious male archetypes such as the profane, the drinker, the unbeliever, and the libertine. In order to avoid such hindrances, Stall recommends the young man to have a clear purpose in life, to cultivate values such as perseverance and industry, to have good companions, to read good books, to show respect for Church and to attain some kind of knowledge. As Stall remarked in his manual addressed to the young boy, he again instructs the young man as regards his reproductive function. He warns him against the perils of abusing his reproductive organs, and gives him some advice as to avoid physical weakness such as cultivate habits such as abstinence and continence, early rising, cleanliness and bodily exercise. Moreover, Stall also bewares the young man of unlawful sexual intercourse and venereal diseases; elements which were never mentioned in the manuals addressed to women.

Finally, Stall's manual addressed to the young man also contemplates the right relation he should maintain with women. It is remarked the importance of great caution in the selection of a wife. According to the author, the young man should take into consideration the woman's family pedigree, a woman that can become a good companion, a woman of intelligence, a good housekeeper, a virtuous and industrious woman, a prospective mother, and a devout and godly woman. Moreover, the author recommends that there must not be a great disparity of age between husband and wife. Subsequently, the young man is instructed to consider marriage as a divine institution, stating the wedding marks a rite of passage into real life. Well-aware of the transcendence of marriage and its importance for society, Stall states that there are men who should not marry such as those afflicted by consumption, insanity, or syphilis. Moreover, Stall even cautions the young man about the danger of early marriage, as well as those of late marriages.

In the last of Stall's manuals addressed to men, the author focuses on the young husband, and his relation with marriage and with his wife. According to Stall, the young husband should consider his marriage as man's highest happiness. Moreover, the young husband should take into consideration certain values in order to endure the happiness of his marriage such as purity and fidelity. Moreover, Stall recommends the young husband to be well-aware of the differences between man and women, alluding to "marital moderation" throughout his intimate relations. As regards his wife, the young husband is instructed to become aware of his wife's "less sexual inclinations" and the fact she may be often "devoid of sexual feeling." Moreover, Stall cautions the young husband about the wife's "physical inconvenience" and her manifold duties such as motherhood. Stall recommends it is precisely at this stage that the husband should approach his wife with "special consideration." This fact is justified by the author alluding to the "effect of the mental state of the mother" onto the child, as well as her "prenatal influences" and her "moulding powers." Thus, it is implied that the mother is the central figure, while the young husband can also enjoy the "pleasures of fatherhood."

Through the analysis of these six conduct books addressed to young men and women in their different stages of their lives, it is possible to perceive: the behaviour of men and women is thought to differ according to gender and age; the values that are considered as appertaining to men and women become more differentiated as they come of age; the portrayal of men's and women's behaviour contributes to constructing the socially-sanctioned ideals of appropriate conduct as regards nineteenth-century American middle-class, thus defining the separate spheres of men and women.

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Cassandra Unveiled: Women and Discourse in Florence Nightingale's *Cassandra* (1852) *

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Abstract

Florence Nightingale wrote *Cassandra* in 1852, when a number of different voices met to give shape to new concepts of womanhood and femininity in Nineteenth century England. In an attempt to give back to women the status of fully-developed social and human beings, Nightingale both searches and represents in this essay the voice of Cassandra; the voice of the female sage, the 'female saviour' that will free women from the social constraints imposed on them by Victorian morale.

The main purpose of this paper is to examine Nightingale's essay in the realms of the transmission of this classical figure in Nineteenth century England, as a prelude to the consideration of the heroine by the contemporary female reimagination of cultural mythologies. Hence, I will first examine the mechanisms that distance Nightingale's *Cassandra* from the discourse of the silenced prophetess depicted by Victorian mainstream artists and writers, and configure the myth as a model to the vindication of the rights of women. To this purpose, I will bring to discussion particular works by William Rathbone Greg, D.G. Rossetti, Robert Reece, Evelyn de Morgan and George Meredith. Considering Nightingale's revision of the myth, the second part of the paper will be devoted to explore issues regarding modern constructions of Cassandra as an archetype of the reappropriation of the patriarchal discourse by gender minorities.

Key words: *Voice ~ Cultural Mythologies ~ Cassandra ~ Victorian Literature*

* The research carried out for this paper was funded by the Spanish *Ministerio de Educación* through the research project HUM2006-13080FILO.

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 46-63.

1. Preliminaries

In an undated letter to her sister Parthenope (ca. 1844), Florence Nightingale wrote: “What is life? It cannot be merely a gaining of experience –it is freedom, voluntary force, free-will, & therefore must be a hard fought battle– in order to make a choice, there must be evil & good to choose from”[1]. As a victim aware of the social constraints that Victorian women had to tackle with in their development as independent citizens, Nightingale fought for receiving further education, for a life outside marriage and for the establishment of midwifery as a respected profession. In such a gallant endeavour, the most passionate battle which she undertook was to give shape to a voice that could make her own choices and be heard and considered both in the public and private spheres of her time. At present, there is ample evidence of this most intimate voice –with its anxieties and thoughts– in which the discussion of the roles of women in society is a recurrent topic: the Florence Nightingale Collection, for instance, which includes around 10.000 letters and some of her major works among other documents, is one of the largest manuscript collections held at the British Library.

This paper analyses the new concepts of womanhood and femininity that Florence Nightingale draw in her essay entitled *Cassandra* (1852) in the context of the transmission of this classical figure in the nineteenth century. To this purpose, I will examine the mechanisms that distance Nightingale’s use of the myth from the discourse of the silenced prophetess depicted by some Victorian leading artists and writers, and configure the heroine as a model for the vindication of the rights of women. Particular works by William Rathbone Greg, D.G. Rossetti, Robert Reece, Evelyn de Morgan and George Meredith will be brought to discussion.

2.- The myth of Cassandra in the nineteenth century. An overview

II. i. Cassandra was the fairest of King Priam and Queen Hecuba’s daughters. Sister of Hector and Paris, her fate is intimately associated with the fate of the city of Troy. She was priestess at Athena’s Temple and was granted the gift of prophecy by Apollo in exchange of her favours. When she refused to love him, the god punished her: she would be able to foresee the future but no one would believe her. Other versions of the myth relate that when Cassandra as a child spent a night at Apollo's temple with her twin brother, a snake licked her ears so that she was able to hear the future with clarity. After the siege of Troy and the victory of the Greek army, Cassandra was taken to Argos by King Agamemnon as a war trophy, where Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wife, killed them both at their arrival.

There are various classical sources that narrate passages of the history of this heroine (Cancick 2004), though the ones that have been most revised by the arts of the western world are Homer's *Illiad*, both Aeschylus' and Seneca's *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Although there are precedents that show that there was a tradition that put on the British stage these last three plays before the nineteenth century[2], the most known episode of the history of Cassandra in Victorian times was the one recounted by Homer. There are two direct references to this tragic figure in the *Illiad* that are relevant for this paper: in XIII.699 she's the "peer of Aphrodite"[3]; and in XIII.703-706 she's the first to witness from the wall of Illion Hector's dead body being dragged by the Greek horses: "she had sight of that other lying on the bier in the waggon drawn of the mules. ...Thereat she uttered a shrill cry, and called throughout all the town: 'Come ye, men and women of Troy and behold Hector, if ever while yet he lived he had joy of his coming back from battle; since great joy was he to the city and to all the folk.'" In these two brief allusions Cassandra is prophetess and seer[4].

Homer's *Illiad* was revised in a number of different artistic genres along the nineteenth century: poetry, drama, engravings, paintings, comic operas...The classical figures of the Trojan cycle were also evoked in essays, novels and even in the illustrated papers of the time. Some of the most fruitful of these versions are, for instance, Flaxman's illustrations of the eighteenth century[5]; however, other most unexpected readings, like the short collection of comic poems and pictures *The Siege of Troy or The Fall of Paris. An English Version of German Comicalities after the well-known pictures of Messrs Braun and Schneider, Munich* by A. B. Westmacott in 1879, were also very popular among the reading public.

With regard to the figure of Cassandra, the aspects of the myth that were generally highlighted in the Victorian era are the lack of the gift of persuasion and her prophetic vision in Troy and Argos. As stated above, the main source for the nineteenth century Cassandra was Homer's *Iliad*, although powerful symbols associated with these interpretations –like the prophetic frenzy reflected in the body and the discourse of the heroine– directly recall other texts like Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. Although the first documented performance of this tragedy in England dates as late as 1880, there had undoubtedly been other references to the work of the playwright that set the background for this transmission of the myth[6]; let's take the instance of *Agamemnon* (1738), adapted by James Thomson after both Aeschylus' and Seneca's tragedies, or the contemporary *Agamemnon and Cassandra; or, the prophet and loss of Troy,* a dramatic burlesque written by Robert Reece in 1868 founded on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. This Homeric and Aeschylean Cassandra is frequently represented in the Victorian arts rending her hair or tearing her clothes; mocked, despised and uttering a constant stream of barely intelligible words. The following selection of some works of the period provides a general overview of the context of this transmission of the myth in which Florence Nightingale's *Cassandra* was conceived.

II. ii. Although D.G. Rossetti's "Cassandra" sonnets were published long after Nightingale had written her essay, I consider here these poems, together with the drawing that inspired them, as the framework of my exposition concerning this particular Victorian revision of the myth. The "Cassandra" sonnets –collected in *Sonnets for Pictures* (1870) along with the drawing with the same title sketched by Rossetti himself– amply illustrate the commonplaces that define the heroine in terms of a prophetess whose predictions are disregarded. Furthermore, they also align her with the representation of some of the sages and the fallen women of the Pre-Raphaelite movement with whom she shares the configuration of her body in the moments of frenzy possession.

Regarding the first of these issues, Cassandra's prophesies, Rossetti's footnote to his drawing reads as follows:

> The subject shows Cassandra prophesying among her kindred, as Hector leaves them for his last battle. They are on the platform of a fortress, from which the Trojan troops are marching out. Helen is arming Paris; Priam soothes Hecuba; and Andromache holds the child to her bosom[7].

The description places the action in the *Iliad* and also guides the eyes of the beholder of the drawing or reader of the poems towards the predictions of the heroine. Her words are the voice of the I-lyric of the second sonnet but their lack of persuasion and the disdain of the Trojans for her have already been depicted in the first poetic composition:

> See, all but she that bore thee mock thy woe:—
> ...
> He goes. Cassandra's words beat heavily
> Like crows above his crest, and at his ear
> Ring hollow in the shield that shall not save.

This topic is also at the centre of George Meredith's long poem "Cassandra", published in *Modern Love and Poems of the English Roadside* (1862), in which she is repeatedly referred to as "Ilion's fierce prophetic flower" (III.3, IX.3). As it was common in the nineteenth century, Meredith brings together Cassandra's predictions in the *Illiad* with the foretelling of her death in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.

Culture, religion and politics were highly related in Victorian times. The influence of clergymen and their sermons in social life and the public opinion was, thus, exceptional. John Cummings, for instance, was a significant preacher of London in the middle of the nineteenth century. One of the most popular topics of his sermons were end times prophecies. His ideas were published in over thirty books and pamphlets between the 1840s and 1870s, which illustrates how the popularity of the prophetic sermon went beyond the church: private preaching, pamphlets, and even magazines like the *Penny Pulpit* were also at the service of the ideas spread in these public lectures, which is an important issue to bear in mind when it comes to deal with the transmission of the figure of Cassandra.

Likewise, due to the religious and political texture of Victorian England, the allusion to Cassandra in philosophical or political essays and other sage writings of the time is not unexpected at all. A single instance is enough to illustrate this role of the myth: William Rathbone Greg's political text *Rocks Ahead or The Warnings of Cassandra* (1874) refers to the Greek heroine both in the title of his essay and in the prologue. In line with the tradition of the time, Greg (1874: 1) states that:

> The part of Cassandra can never be a pleasant one for any man to play. It makes others uncomfortable and himself unpopular. It is always annoying both to individuals and nations to be warned, with irritating pertinacity and lucidity still more exasperating, of dangers imminent or future which may be unavoidable, and which will be probably fatal if not averted. The more unanswerable the prophet, the more hated he is sure to be, and the more neglected he is likely to be.

The struggles of Cassandra here are satirized in John Robert O'Neil's (Hugo Vamp) play *The Siege of Troy; or, the Miss-Judgement of Paris* (1854) licensed the 21st of August to be performed at Astleys Amphitheatre on Monday the 28th of August of the same year. Similarly, Robert Reece's burlesque *Agamemnon and Cassandra; or the Prophet and Loss of Troy* (1868) scorned the predictions of the heroine related to the House of Atreus through the characters of Aegistus and Clytemnestra. These two plays show how Cassandra as a prophetess was also part of the satirical scene of the nineteenth century, but the various plays devoted to the character of Schamyl the prophet performed in 1854 in the Standard and Princess's Theatres in London illustrate how the general motif of the prophet itself was also very popular in the 'serious' drama of the time.

Thus far, I have focused on an overview of the specific transmission of Cassandra as a foreteller along the century; however, as I set out at the beginning of my paper, there is another perspective of the myth that is also very recurrent in the arts of the period. I refer here to the actions of the heroine in the moments of her visions or frenzy possessions. In Rossetti, the body of Cassandra is strongly suggestive of the connotations associated with the concept of a female sage or prophetess at the time. The poet opens the first sonnet with these actions:

> Rend, rend thy hair, Cassandra: he will go-
> Yea, rend thy garments, wring thine hands, and cry
> From Troy still towered to the unreddened sky.

Much scholarly work has been devoted to unveil the enigmas of the hair of Rossetti's women, specially in those entitled *Mirror Pictures*. In these verses, accompanied by the movement of the hands and the gesture with the robes, Cassandra's rending of her hair puts together the signs of the Greek-Roman antiquity and the Pre-Raphaelite tradition[8]. The high symbolism of this action connects the heroine with other representations of mythological sages, namely Circe or Medea, that anthropomorphize the evils that lay behind the association of women and knowledge in the arts of the time[9]. Further instances that extend these considerations about Cassandra's rending of her hair are Evelyn de Morgan's painting *Cassandra* (1898), where the background for the heroine is the wall of Troy in fire, and Frederick Sandys' *Cassandra* (ca.1895)[10]. With reference to this last example, Bram Dijkstra (1986: 48) comments about Priam's daughter that: "She was usually shown … stalking about wide-eyed and desperate, presumably because no one would listen to her –itself a by no means unusual experience for a woman in the nineteenth century".

What follows from Dijkstra's observations is my concern in this section of the paper: the relation between the physiological description of Cassandra, in terms of the frenzy possession that characterises her visions of the future, and issues regarding women's appropriation of knowledge and discourse. Of course, I'm not dealing here with the Pre-Raphaelite movement alone, or the burlesque theatre of the fifties and sixties. I mean to consider the general socio-cultural context in which these representations emerge, which is filled with all kinds of public and private constraints to women. Notwithstanding the obvious differences between the genres and the artistic movements of the works mentioned along this paper, there are close ties between the representation of Cassandra in them that herald the myth as the epitome of a very specific female *other* in Victorian arts. Cassandra is grotesqued and uglyfied by a mainstream culture that rejects truth outside the canon. Her voice, unheard, disregarded and mocked hasn't got any authority over a discourse built on a traditionally patriarchal set of values. As a consequence, alongside the transmission of the classical sources that foster a consideration of the myth in terms of a frenzied prophetess, there are other factors that link her with the situation of women in the nineteenth century and have an influence on their history. The objectification of women in society, arts and literature; their consideration as mentally, physically and morally inferior human beings, and the subsequent theory of the public and private spheres are but a few of these aspects.

As I will further analyse in this paper, Florence Nightingale sensed the possibilities of the figure of Cassandra not only as the symbol of the women's limitations along the century, but also of the voice of the appropriation of their forbidden sphere of action[11]. Even though her essay constitutes a novelty in the genre of sage writing, she wasn't alone in her reading of the myth. With a large intellectual scope, Margaret Fuller (1810-1850) also chose Priam's daughter to claim a high education for women far from the idleness that the social obligations of the time imposed on them. The association between intellectual inspiration and madness that despised women's thirst for knowledge finds once again its best representation in the figure of Cassandra:

> Women are, indeed, the easy victims both of priest-craft and self-delusion; but this would not be, if the intellect was developed in proportion to the other powers. They would then have a regulator, and be more in equipoise, yet must retain the same nervous susceptibility while their physical structure is such as it is.
>
> It is with just that hope that we welcome everything that tends to strengthen the fibre and develop the nature on more sides. When the intellect and affections are in harmony; when intellectual consciousness is calm and deep; inspiration will not be confounded with fancy. Then 'she who advances | With rapturous, lyrical glances, | Singing the song of the earth, singing | Its

> hymn to the Gods,' will not be pitied as a mad-woman, nor shrunk from as unnatural.
> The Greeks who saw everything in forms, which we are trying to ascertain as law, and classify as cause, embodied all this in the form of Cassandra (105).

In the realms of this reading of the myth, my purpose in the next section of the paper is to analyse the ways in which Nightingale's Cassandra confronts the clichés described above and prepares the ground for modern revisions of the heroine. In order to do so, I will first explain the connections between the life of Florence Nightingale and the classical figure. Then, I will set out the main points of discussion that herald both this text and the myth of Cassandra as the missing link in the history of the voice of women in Victorian England[12].

3.- Florence Nightingale's *Cassandra* (1852, publ. 1860)

III.i. Florence Nightingale was neither a poet nor a playwright. When she wrote *Cassandra* in 1852 she was a young lady of thirty-two in thirst of knowledge, who wasn't allowed to fulfil her intellectual ambitions in a society that placed a number of constraints on women. Daughter of William Edward Nightingale and his wife Frances, both she and her sister Parthenope were brought up with every advantage of wealth. Their father was in charge of their education in Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, history, grammar, composition and philology at home, while a governess was employed only for music and art. When the two sisters were ready for society, Florence defied all conventions claiming that her future wasn't in marriage but in actively helping the needed. Known for her actions during the Crimean war, Florence Nightingale –'the lady of the lamp'– pressed for drastic reformations in the health politics of the British Empire.

Nightingale's intellectual ambitions were not so much those of a writer as of a social reformer. Thus, one must read her many works on religion, the hospitals and the health system of the Empire in that context. The social critique presented in *Cassandra* involves, fundamentally, the role of women in Victorian England. As such, not only does it reflect upon gender equality, but it also represents a powerful tool for Nightingale to express her concerns about her own future and lack of occupation. The personal notes and letters written between 1820 and 1854, before the Crimea years, shed light on many of her approaches to the topics set out in her essay. In addition, particular events of her youth draw personal connections with the classical myth that expound her conceptions of the figure of the prophet as a social reformer.

As stated above, Nightingale's unusual talent and keenness to learn exceeded her family expectations. A few women relatives and friends whose intellectual interests didn't fit in the traditional feminine mould of the time responded sympathetically to her aspirations; but these were only rare exceptions. In particular, she found strong opposition to her plans in her mother and sister, whose lifestyle was closer to what Nightingale rejected rather than to what she expected from women. Before she started her 'mission', Nightingale fall into a number of deep depressions caused by the social obligations that forced her to comply with the domestic duties that distracted her from other intellectual activities. In a private note written in December 1850, Nightingale states:

> I have no desire now but to die. There is not a night that I do not lie down in my bed, wishing I may live no more. Unconsciousness is all that I desire. I remain in bed as late as I can, for what have I to wake for? I am perishing for want of food –& what prospect have I of better? While I am in this position, I can expect nothing else. Therefore I spend my days in dreams of other situations which will afford me food[13].

This idea is developed in *Cassandra* specifying that the food she longs for is the food of the soul and the intellect: "To have no food for our heads, no food for our hearts, no food for our activity, is that nothing? If we have no food for the body, how we cry out … But suppose one were to put a paragraph in the "Times", *Death of Thought from Starvation,* or *Death of Moral Activity from Starvation*, how people would stare, how they would laugh …" (Nightingale [1860] 1979: 41).

A recurrent topic in Nightingale's essay is the social differences between men and women that result in the want of intellectual activity and a discourse for women. She confronts this forced situation with the laws of God that have provided every human being with a special gift to pursue: “What is this but throwing the gifts of God aside as worthless, and substituting for them those of the world?” (Nightingale [1860] 1979: 38). A fierce opponent to the full development of women is then “the conventional society, which men have made for women, and women have accepted” (Nightingale [1860] 1979: 26). As G. Landow (1990: 33) affirms, the positioning of the speaker outside society is characteristic of the Victorian sage writing: “One reason for this strategy involves the prophetic claim that whereas the speaker has continued to follow the laws of God and nature, his listeners have not”. I will come back to Nightingale’s revision of the genre of sage writing in the final conclusions of my paper. However, I highlight Landow’s analysis at this stage because it shows how Nightingale combines in her essay the theoretical background of the different movements of her time with her personal experience. A single instance is enough to illustrate this connection. In line with the vindications of *Cassandra* and the truths proclaimed by the prophets of the ‘sage writing’, Nightingale explains her own interpretations of the obligation of marriage in a personal note written in 1846:

> I don’t agree at all that a woman has no reason (if she does not care for any one else) for not marrying a good man who asks her, and I don’t think Providence does either. I think He has as clearly marked out some to be single women as He has other to be wives, and has organized them accordingly for their vocation[14].

The vocation of Florence Nightingale was mainly rooted in a need to overcome the idleness and passivity that ruled the lives of women in the nineteenth century, and also from the firm belief that she had received a call from God. Four times she records some mystical experience[15]. The first one was on 7 February 1837, before her seventeenth birthday: “She wrote that God had spoken to her and called her to His service, although what that was to be was unclear”[16]. In 1848 she received her second call, only four years before the publication of *Cassandra*. The archives held at the Florence Nightingale Museum in London show how she was often unwell during those years: she had a nervous collapse in 1843 and became ill again at the beginning of 1844 and 1845. Those were the days when she started to write to her aunt Hannah Nicholson about religion and her habit of day-dreaming. In an undated letter written around 1844 and 1845 she confessed:

> I have been reading lately a Report upon Lunacy, which insists above all upon exercise. In the open air for the patients, upon working in the garden, for instance as having an almost extraordinary effect in soothing the irritation of madness … That this can only be done in an Asylum, I am afraid, is too evident … The invariable effect of madness in disordering the circulation & depressing the life & warmth of the extremities gives, it adds, the *physical* cause as well, of the wonderful effect of working in the open air upon Insanity. The rich Insane, & especially the female part, are I believe, much worse off than the poor in that way –& have consequently less chance of happiness & of recovery[17].

The scorn of her want of knowledge, the strong belief in the call from God, the habit of day-dreaming that pushed her to fear her own madness, and the physical collapses suffered in those years inevitably link the life of Florence Nightingale with the nineteenth century representations of the figure of Cassandra. It's not surprising, then, that when she decided to write her essay, she chose to place this female heroine at the centre of her thoughts. The first version of *Cassandra* develops the theme of the confinement of the upper-class woman of her time through a dialogue between Fariseo and Nofriani reported by the first after his sister's death[18]. The third part of the essay ends with the following sentences, which are not included in the final version of the text:

> Oh! call me no more Nofriani, call me Cassandra. for I have preached + prophesied in vain. I have gone about crying all these many years, Wo to the people! And no one has listened or believed. And now I cry, Wo to myself! For upon me the destruction has come[19].

This is the only instance in which the heroine is mentioned in the essay. What remains from that Cassandra in the final version of Nightingale's work is her discourse; a first-person female narrator that denounces the lack of activity and the absence of a female voice in the lives of upper-class women of the Victorian times. That discourse is Nightingale's own voice that, preparing the grounds for Virginia Woolf's self-description as Cassandra[20], starts the discursive rebellion that will underlie the characterization of the myth along the twentieth century.

Taking into account Nightingale's personal connections with this classical figure, the next questions to be posed in this paper are: how is the want of discourse reflected in the claims of the narrator of her essay? In what ways do they represent a modern reappraisal of the myth?

II.ii. In *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* ([1797] 2001), Erasmus Darwin explains the different issues that should be included in the female education of his time. Together with the academic matters, Darwin considers other aspects such as what women should wear, eat or talk about in order to win social endorsement. With regard to conversation, Darwin states that women must:

> [To] speak agreeable in respect to manner conflicts in a voice clear, yet not loud; soft, yet not plaintive... . In respect to the matter it should be such, as coincides with the tastes or pursuits of those, to whom the conversation is address'd ... But as young ladies are not expected to speak with the wisdom, or precision of philosophers; and as the careless cheerfulness of their conversation, with simplicity of manner, and with the grace, ease, and vivacity natural to youth, supplies it with its principal charms; these should be particularly encouraged, as there are few artificial accomplishments, which could compensate for the loss of them (64-68) [21].

Simon Dentith (1998) illustrates how the male roles in society were also depicted in a number of conduct books that were addressed to men in Victorian times. However, the main difference with the ones devoted to female education and manners lies in the consideration of women as inferior human beings. Their stronger subjugation in conversational matters is reported by Nightingale in an undated private note written around 1851 where she states the following:

> But why, oh my God, cannot I be satisfied with the life which satisfies so many people? I am told that the conversation of all these good clever men ought to be enough for me –why am I starving, desperate, diseased upon it? Why has it all run to vanity in me, to –what impression am I making upon them? … That, as (Channing says) the ground of sincerity lies in talking of what you are interested about– so none of the subjects of society interests me enough to draw me out of vanity[22].

Even though women's lack of voice in society is a recurrent topic in *Cassandra*, Nightingale develops her ideas on the matter in the second section of her essay, where she emphasizes the social differences between men and women that allow the first to have an occupation without the interruptions of the 'domestic duties' –that were always carried out by women– and to cultivate intellect in society. The well-known theory of the male and female spheres by which society forbade women a public discourse is refuted and challenged by Nightingale when she points this silence as one of the symptoms of the social malady of her time. She presents the situation thus:

> You are not to talk of anything very interesting, for the essence of society is to prevent any long conversations and all *tête-à-têtes*. "Glissez, n'appuyez pas" is its very motto. The praise of a good *'maîtresse de maison'* consists in this, that she allows no one person to be too much absorbed in, or too long about, a conversation. She always recalls them to their 'duty'[23].

Together with this critique, another aspect related to discourse and women which is relevant for this paper is Nightingale's appropriation of one of the most traditionally male-centred literary genres of her time: sage writing. According to George P. Landow (1990), Nightingale follows the pattern of the Victorian sage writings in the construction of her essay. However, her 'aggressive (re)interpretation' of the genre, (as set out in the title of Landow's analysis), is founded not so much on stylistic matters as on the topics that she discusses. As Landow (1990: 41) states: "She denies societal restrictions on female interpretations by making such interpretations in the first place, and she makes them specifically those of the female sage by aggressively reinterpreting the commonplaces of male-centered biblical and classical interpretation".

This revision of sage writing leads to a gendered reappraisal of the figure of the prophetess, who abandons the pejorative signs associated with her possession of truth/knowledge and places her voice at the centre of the discourse as a speaker. Hence, Nightingale doesn't stand here by the side of the tradition that represents the female sage with dishevelled hair or furious eyes. Nor with the words and the truth that are scorned by a patriarchal structure that is resentful with the knowledge that comes from the *other*. Her Cassandra is not mad nor frenzied, and the physical aftereffects that she suffers derive from the impositions of the dominant structure. The hysterical episodes of the Victorian woman that she represents stem from the forced idleness that rules her life and not from the possession of a menacing knowledge; she states: "I see the numbers of my kind who have gone mad for want of something to do"[24]. Hence, the modern representation of the prophetess that Nightingale claims in her essay is in line with Margaret Fuller's vindication of a development of the intellect. It's also the (re)vision of the classical figure that she longs for when she reads her own biography as a modern Cassandra.

Paradoxically though it may seem, *Cassandra* was only privately printed along the nineteenth century. Six copies of the essay were sent to her father, her uncle Samuel Smith, Richard Monckton Milnes, Sir John McNeill, Benjamin Jowett and John Stuart Mill[25]. The next edition of the essay dates as late as 1928, when it was reprinted as an appendix to Ray Stratchey's *The Cause*[26]. After all, it seems that although Florence Nightingale's biographical voice as Cassandra won an overwhelming endorsement from the 1850s, after her actions on the Crimean War, her literary *Cassandra* was not to be much heard until the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, with Virginia Woolf's reference to the essay in *A Room of One's Own* (1929), the transmission of the myth that Nightingale exploits in her *Cassandra* prepares the ground for other twentieth century revisions of the female figure, like Christa Wolf's, that search for the subjectivity of the Greek heroine. Hence, Nightingale's Cassandra doesn't only represent an important step in the liberation of the voice of women in contexts of male oppression, but it also points out salient features of the heroine that are essential for the evolution of the transmission of the myth in contemporary arts. As a consequence, Cassandra's words and thoughts are brought to the foreground of Julia Pascal's *Theresa* (1990) or Coss, Sklar and Segal's *The Daughter's Cycle* (1977-80), for instance, forcing the audience to hear her wailing not only as a 'mad' prophetess but also as a refugee or a rape victim. In these modern representations of the myth, both the patriarchal voice that scorns her knowledge and the grotesque representations of her signs of madness gradually fade in favour of the emancipated cry that Nightingale longed for in *Cassandra*.

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Notes

1 Vicinus & Nergaard (1990: 25).
2 I refer here both to the original texts and adaptations.
3 This and further references to the poem are from Murray's translation of *The Iliad* (1985).

[4] Cf. Iriarte (1999) for an account of the interpretations of the homeric Cassandra as a prophetess: "la plus belle des filles de Priam possède dejà et la voix plaintive et la capacité de percevoir devant le reste des mortels, c'est-à-dir les traits qui la rendront célèbre comme émissaire d'Apollon." (51). Cf. Neblung (1997) for further references.
[5] John Flaxman's illustrations of Homer (1793), Aeschylus (1795) and Dante (ca. 1793) became notorious in the eighteenth century; his fame resulted in a large number of editions of his works published well until the end of the nineteenth century.
[6] Cf. Hall & Macintosh (2005).
[7] All references to Rossetti's sonnets and picture are from Rossetti, D. G. (1968: 143-144).
[8] Cf. Monrós (2006) for the configuration of Cassandra in D.G. Rossetti.
[9] Cf. Pearson (1999) for an account of the creation of the woman reader in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Deborah Cherry (2000: 162) explains how "Paintings of witches and sorceress were among the many images in high art and popular culture to negotiate the representation of the learned woman and thus to participate in ferocious and at times violent contestations over middle-class women's education and professional training".
[10] Casteras (1990: 169) studies Sandy's painting in her approach to the representation of sage women in Victorian art and claims that: "Madness or possession by supernatural forces is another common denominator shared by many of the women in these paintings. The sorceresses have great mental powers and cunning, but they are seized either by uncontrollable rage or a force greater than themselves that propels their evil magic. Often the female body seems possessed, from twisting torso and clothes, to electric hair, riveting gaze, telekinetic powers, and open mouth."
[11] Cf. Jenkins (1994) for an account of Nightingale's revision of the myth of Cassandra as a feminine reappraisal of Carlyle's theories on the 'prophet'.
[12] Cf. Showalter (1981) for an analysis of the influence of Nightingale's own biography in the development of her particular feminism.
[13] Vicinus and Nergaard (1990: 44).
[14] Vicinus and Nergaard (1990: 41).
[15] Cf. Showalter (1981: 398 *n7*) for an account of the different interpretations that explain Nightingale's mystical experiences.
[16] Vicinus and Nergaard (1990: 17).
[17] Vicinus and Nergaard (1990: 22).
[18] Cf. Snyder (1996) for an analysis of the revision and edition of the text from the first manuscript.
[19] Snyder (1996: 278).
[20] As Benjamin Jowett did to Nightingale, Virginia Woolf referred to herself as Cassandra on several occasions. Cf. Snyder (1993) and Prins (2005).
[21] Darwin ([1797] 2001: 64-68).
[22] Vicinus and Nergaard (1990: 47).
[23] Nightingale ([1860] 1979: 33).
[24] 26 Oct 1850 BL Add 45790: f107 quoted in Vicinus and Nergaard (1989: 39).
[25] Snyder (1996: 254).
[26] Snyder (1996: 251).

Talking Traditions of Marriage – Negotiating Young British Bangladeshi Femininities *

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Abstract

This chapter combines insights from existing research on young "Asian" hybridities and micro-linguistic approaches to language/discourse and identity by linking an exploration of discourses and subject positions negotiated in the talk of five British Bangladeshi girls to an analysis of lexical, syntactic, paralinguistic and sequential features of their interaction. The extracts of data I present originate from spontaneous conversations about the topic of marriage, self-recorded by five 15-16-year old girls from London. They reflect not only the heterogeneity of the positions adopted by individual members of the group, but also the complex process of negotiations that the girls engage in locally to find a consensus on their group's stance to marriage. The chapter focuses on the modified discourse of arranged marriage which emerges as a hybrid in the girls' interactive negotiations of a wide range of cultural discourses with ethnic, gendered, classed and more local inflections and provides a significant space for the girls' construction of British Bangladeshi femininities.

Key words: *British Bangladeshi girls ~ arranged marriage ~ discourse ~ hybridity ~ femininities*

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates how cultural norms and subject positions are negotiated by five adolescent British Bangladeshi girls in their spontaneous talk about the topic of marriage from a discourse analytic

* This chapter is a revised and abridged version of a journal article with the same title which first appeared in *Women's Studies International Forum* 30(3): 201-216.

perspective. I focus on the girls' alignment with a modified discourse of arranged marriage, which, I argue, emerges locally as a hybrid during the complex interactive negotiations of a wide range of cultural discourses with ethnic, gendered and classed inflections in the girls' friendship group.

Popular media representations of arranged marriage continue to perpetuate the stereotype of the suppressed Asian girl as a victim of culture clash (e.g. Cramb, writing in the Daily Telegraph 25/04/2002; Kelbie, writing in the Independent 30/08/2006), thereby contributing to a discourse of 'cultural pathology' (Brah 1996: 74; Shain 2003: 9), which positions "Asian culture" in terms of constraints and essentialises the concept of 'culture' itself. Early academic work such as Watson (1977) and the Community Relations Commission (1976) did not present an altogether different perspective, describing the situation of second generation Asian adolescents in Britain as being trapped "between two cultures".

On the other hand, research in the last decade highlights that young British born "Asians" are experienced users of a range of British and Asian cultural practices, thereby developing bicultural or 'hybrid' identities (Anwar 1998; Ballard 1994; Barker 1997, 1998; Brah 1996; Dwyer 2000; Gavron 1998; Gardner & Shukur 1994; Ghuman 1994, 2003; Modood et al. 1994; Pollen 2002; Shain 2003). The heterogeneity obscured by the category "Asian" has been challenged in larger-scale, comparative studies such as Anwar (1998), Ghuman (1994; 2003) and Modood, Beishon & Virdee (1994). Both Anwar & Ghuman approach their data from a perspective of bi-culturalism, which does not problematise the concept of 'culture' to the extent of later 'hybridity' studies, and views British Asianness more in terms of switching in between two different 'cultures' in alignment with linguistic code-switching (see also Ballard 1994: 31). Ghuman's (2003) psychological study also contains what Archer (2001: 81) describes as pathologising representations of Asian girls, arguing that many of the girls in his research, especially those from Pakistani and Bangladeshi working class backgrounds, suffer from gender inequality, which may cause 'serious psychological tension' (Ghuman 2003: 168; for a feminist critique of Ghuman see Archer 2001).

Pathologising culture-clash theories were challenged as early as two decades ago in the work of feminist scholars who argued that the situation of black/Asian adolescents, and, particularly girls, could not be explained satisfactorily by focussing only on the black/Asian community. Instead, a consideration of macro-social constraints and asymmetries caused by racism, class, gender, sexuality and education needs to be foregrounded (Amos & Pratibha 1981; Brah & Minhas 1985). More recent feminist critiques retain this focus on racism but are founded in a constructionist rather than a structuralist argument. The work of Ahmad (2003), Alexander (2000), Archer (2001, 2002 a, b), Brah (1996), Dwyer (2000) and Shain (2003) challenges earlier studies and conceptualisations of British Asian adolescents for their essentialist approach to culture and identity as fixed and static, with "Asian-ness" and "British-ness" as independent, a priori and, moreover, homogenous categories. Much of this work focuses on second and third generation South Asian young women, and rather than being shaped by notions of conflict and oppression, is framed as a 'celebration' of hybridity (Puwar 2003: 31-36; but see also Archer's 2001, 2002 critique of Ghuman 2001 and Ahmad's 2003 critique of Bhopal 1999).

Alexander (2000), Archer (2001, 2002a, b), Dwyer (2000) and Shain (2003) share an ethnographic and/or qualitative approach to their studies of "Asian" adolescents as well as a focus on the young people's agency in negotiating cultural practices and intersecting ethnic, gender and class identities. Dwyer focuses on hybridity expressed through styles of clothing employed in different ways by Muslim working class and middle class girls in two schools. Alexander's (2000) long-term ethnographic study of a small group of South London Asian men challenges the cultural pathology of discourses surrounding stereotypical representations of the 'Asian gang' as both radicalised and hyper-masculine. Providing evidence of aggression as well as friendship and solidarity, Alexander presents a complex, heterogeneous and flexible picture of "Asian" masculinities in a "gang". Whereas Alexander's analysis of discourse tends to be content-driven, Archer's feminist discourse analytic approach to her interview data draws on the tradition of discursive psychology, which, just like conversation analytic or linguistic ethnographic approaches to identity, highlights the co-construction of meaning in interaction, and foregrounds the role and positionality of the researcher (Archer 2002b; see also Pichler, in press). Archer (2002a) highlights the importance of introducing a focus on the discursive positioning of young gendered and ethnic identities into discussions of British Muslims' educational 'choices'. Shain's (2003) research also explores the construction of gendered identities in the context of schooling, identifying different strategies adopted by four groups of mostly working class Muslim girls ('Gang Girls', 'Survivors', 'Rebels', and 'Faith Girls') to cope with their experience of schooling. In her discussion of these strategies Shain highlights the girls' active role in negotiating gender, class and "cultural" aspects of their identities, a focus which will be shared by the present study.

2. Background of the study

My own background is in the area of language and gender, and the data I present here is derived from one of three groups of girls from different socio-cultural backgrounds which were the focus of my comparative doctoral research on the interplay between language, gender, ethnicity and social class in the discursive construction of adolescent femininities. Language and gender scholars have generated a substantial amount of research on adolescent girls and their friendship or peer groups, focussing both on structural and on discoursal features of young women's talk (Bucholtz 1999; Coates 1999; Eckert 1993; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1995; Eder 1993; Goodwin 1999; Mendoza-Denton 1999; Pichler in press).

Much of this linguistic research takes a constructionist approach to identity, largely defined as 'a discursive construct that emerges in interaction' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 587). Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 587) highlight that the constructionist conceptualisation of 'identity' used in language and gender research draws on Butler's (1990) post-structuralist theory of performativity (a concept highly significant to linguists since Austin's 1962 work on speech act theory) as well as on conversation analytic (CA) notions of 'doing identity' in interaction (Antaki and Widdicome 1998).

Although language and gender research has studied a varied range of femininities, the spontaneous talk and identity practices of British Asian girls have so far been left unexplored. Moreover, research on language and ethnicity which has embraced the concept of 'new ethnicities' and 'hybridity' (Hewitt 1986; Rampton 1995; Sebba 1993) tends to focus on linguistic style and features of pronunciation, grammar and lexis in analyses of code-switching/mixing and crossing, rather than discourse.

My own work with British Bangladeshi girls has therefore been motivated by my wish to provide a space in linguistic research for the voices of adolescent Asian girls. At the same time I aim to offer to existing cross-disciplinary research on young British Asian identities a micro-linguistic discourse analytic focus on the complex negotiations and contestations of ideas, discourses and subject positions that take place in the spontaneous talk of a group of Bangladeshi girls from London. My work aligns itself with a feminist poststructuralist approach to culture, building on Brah's (1996: 234) conceptualisation of culture as a 'process' and as a 'semiotic space with infinite class, caste, gender, ethnic or other inflections' (246). My data will provide evidence for the process of invoking, challenging and synthesising cultural practices and discourses with various 'inflections' in the friendship talk of adolescent girls and thus provide an example of the local negotiation of 'cultures of hybridity' which Hall, in 1992 (310), describes as 'one of the distinctly novel types of identity produced in the era of later-modernity'. My discussion of cultural hybridity foregrounds (a non-essentialist interest in) the construction of "British Asian" ethnic identities, but highlights the intersection of ethnicity with gender and social class as well as with institutional discourses of the school and local norms and practices of the friendship group.

My discourse analytic exploration will examine how both linguistic features and discursive strategies and practices serve as resources for the girls' positioning in relation to the topic of arranged marriage in their own friendship group. I shall tie my analysis of discourse to an exploration of lexical and syntactic features, the sequential organisation of the interaction, including pauses, non-verbal signs such as laughter and paralinguistic features like a change of voice, as these microlinguistic details provide significant cues for the interpretation of the speakers' positioning. Thus, my analytic approach particularly encourages an investigation of hybrid identities as a process, allowing me to focus on the complex interactive negotiations that characterise the accomplishment of British Bangladeshi femininities in the talk of an adolescent friendship group.

3. Data and participants

The girls, who I shall refer to as Ardiana, Dilshana, Hennah, Varda and Rahima all attended year 11 (15-16-years old) and formed a friendship group at their single-sex comprehensive school in the East End of London. The intake of the school can broadly be described as working class, with all but one girl in this group being eligible for free school meals due to their parents receiving income support or job seeker's allowance. The girls had been in this friendship group for two years, although several members had been friends for almost five years. Three girls were born in Bangladesh but all of the girls had received between two and eight years of schooling in Britain.

The conversational data that I present here were not elicited by myself, nor did I ever suggest the topic of "arranged marriage" to the girls. Instead, the significance of the topic of marriage emerged spontaneously from the self-recorded talk of the five British Bangladeshi girls, whereas none of the other two (predominantly white) groups I investigated for my doctoral research topicalised marriage in their spontaneous friendship talk.[1]

4. Traditions of marriage – Young British Asian Femininities

4.1. Arranged marriage – A research overview

Ahmad (2003: 44-45) is critical of what she feels to be an 'overemphasis' on arranged marriage in relation to South Asian women in academic work. My own study on young femininities was not led by any a priori interest in the topic of marriage, but instead the topic was positioned as significant by Ardiana and her friends themselves. My exploration of this conversational data on marriage, however, benefits greatly from the wealth of previous research. Most of these scholarly investigations agree that "arranged marriage" continues to be prominent among second and third generation Asians in the UK, but that it is also undergoing significant changes. However, research traditions and individual studies vary greatly in how they present this tradition. Thus, one of the issues investigated by large-scale studies such as Anwar (1998), Ghuman (1994, 2001), Modood *et al* (1994) is the effect of and relationship between categories and factors such as ethnicity, religion, generation, gender and parental involvement in the choice of their children's spouses. Although some of these studies emphasise that there might not be any conflict with parents about the tradition of arranged marriage, they tend to take a more critical, or, at least non-celebratory stance to arranged marriage, arguing that there is 'reluctant obedience, especially among the young Muslims' (Modood *et al* 1994: 79) and even describing it as 'most troublesome [custom]' (Ghuman 1994: 71). Anwar (1998: 111-113) presents ambivalent evidence about arranged marriage, arguing that a majority of young people still support the tradition, but also that an even greater majority expects there to be increasingly more resistance to the custom.

On the other hand, recent long term and/or small-scale ethnographic, feminist studies provide evidence for Brah's (1996: 77) conceptualisation of "arranged" marriage as a 'joint undertaking between parents and young people', which is also reflected in the terms 'assisted marriage' or even 'arranged introduction' (Ahmad et al. 2003: 36). Thus, Gavron's (1997) and Phillipson *et al*'s (2003) work in the Bangladeshi community in the London district of Tower Hamlets report a general contentment with the prospect of arranged marriage among young women. Both Gavron's (1997) and Basit's (1997) East England work with young Pakistani Muslims highlights that there is a good degree of agreement between parents and young people that love/romance or personal happiness are not sufficient for a successful marriage. Whereas both of these studies approach their data largely on a content level, Shain (2003) presents an in-depth critical analysis of the different and frequently opposing discourses and subject positions adopted by the 44 girls in her study. Shain confirms that most girls are happy to have "arranged marriages", but also shows that the girls' expectations in relation to marriage (as well as schooling) can differ considerably. These differences cannot always be explained by macro-categories such as ethnicity and religion, but need to be seen in relation to the girls' 'subjective experiences in their local situations' (Shain 2003: 55). The heterogeneity of the strategies and positions adopted by Shain's girls in relation to marriage is also evident in my own data, albeit on an intra- rather than an inter-group level. The following discourse analytic discussion will focus on the girls' negotiations of consensus (Eckert 1993) within their friendship group.

4.2. Talking traditions of marriage

The five British Bangladeshi girls in my own study frequently talk about marriage. The girls' conversations about marriage differ considerably from their approach to the topics of kissing, dating and sexual experience (Pichler 2001; 2006; 2007; forthcoming). In these conversations the girls position themselves alternately as shameful and embarrassed in the Asian discourse of sharam (shame) and as sexually-experienced British working class adolescents in their tough teasing and boasting. Significantly, the girls do not playfully experiment with a discourse of love marriage in their talk in the same way as with discourses of sexual experience and dating, but largely approach the topic of marriage from within a modified discourse of arranged marriage. This discourse, however, I shall argue, emerges itself as a hybrid in the course of the girls' complex negotiations of a range of cultural discourses with ethnic, gendered, classed and local inflections. My discourse analytic approach to the girls' spontaneous talk about marriage in this chapter aims to offer an in-depth insight into the girls' use of discursive strategies and positions which allow them to accomplish a range of hybrid British Bangladeshi femininities.

4.2.1. The wedding proposal

The following discussion is divided into three subsections which capture the negotiations and contestations of discourses and positions that are central to the development of the group's stance in relation to the topic of marriage. The first section focuses on the girls' accommodation strategies to the discourse of arranged marriage, the second on the girls' resistance against this discourse, and the third section on the evolvement of what I define as a modified discourse of arranged marriage. (For transcription conventions please turn to the appendix.)

Discourse of arranged marriage: accommodation. The story of the wedding proposal reveals a discourse which positions parental choice of children's future spouses as the appropriate form of marriage arrangement.

```
Extract 1.1: The Wedding Proposal
(1)
A       .hh >did I tell you something< er [thingie] my
brother
D                                          [what]

(2)
A       came from Bangladesh innit like     (.) a wedding
proposal
D                                        \huh

(3)
A       (-) f[or me] for me (.) and I was so: shocked
they wrote
D       (-)  [WHA::T]

(4)
A       a letter to my s- my mum and dad right saying
that .hh

(5)
A       {drawling}"she's really ni::ce she s- talks
politely"

(6)
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A and everything *{swallows}* and I was shocked my brother

(7)
A (>was like<) my sister was like reading it to me yeah and

(8)
A she goes “<they want me to be their bride>” and everything

(9)
A and I was like saying (.) [“EXCUSE ME-”]
D wh[o are they] related to you

(10)
A =they just live next door to m[y h]ouse in
D (.) cousins= [ah]

(11)
A Bangladesh (.) and they just want **me** (.) as their

(12)
A son’s bride
H oh [my God]
V [(Ardiana)] did you see the photo (.)

(13)
A *{swallows}* I’ve seen the guy when I went to
V (that-)*{swallowing}*

(14)
A Bangladesh [(he is alright)] looking he’s alright
?D [is he nice]
? (xxx)

(15)
A looking [but he’s::-] the same height as me EXCUSE ME
H *{- laughs -}*

?V {amused}[(yeah:::)]

This extract shows the group's familiarity with and acceptance of a discourse of arranged marriage which allocates a significant role to the two families of the couple to be. The girls have no difficulties in understanding the referent of the third person personal pronoun 'they' (staves 3, 8, 9, 10, 11), showing no sign of surprise that the authors of the letter turn out to be the parents of the suitor, rather than the young man himself (staves 9-12). Similarly, they do not question the fact that the proposal is not addressed to the bride to be but instead to Ardiana's parents (stave 4). Dilshana's assumption that the family of the suitor is in fact related to Ardiana (staves 9-10) signals her knowledge of the surviving cultural practice of consanguineous marriage (Basit 1997; Dwyer 2000; Gavron 1997; Phillipson *et al* 2003). The enquiries and reactions of Ardiana's friends show that their aim is to find out the particulars of the wedding proposal, but it does not suggests that the girls question the practice of arranged marriage itself. It seems that the girls do not expect to choose their future spouse on their own; instead they align themselves with a discourse where the role of active matchmaking is assumed by the families of the young couple. Ardiana's alignment with her family's matchmaking is reflected on a micro-linguistic level. Whereas she creates a distance between herself and the groom's parents by subverting their voice when reporting details of the wedding proposal in stave 5, Ardiana does not change the quality of her voice when she reports what her sister said in stave 8, thereby refraining from signalling a detachment from the voice that she is reproducing (Bakhtin 1986; Coates 1999; Maybin 2003). In addition, Ardiana does not switch into direct speech in stave 8 as she did when speaking in the voice of her suitor's parents in stave 5. Instead, she uses reported speech 'they want me to be their bride' (rather than 'they want you to be their bride'). These (para)linguistic positioning strategies provide evidence to suggest that Ardiana does not resist the role her family play in this arrangement[2].

The first 15 staves position the discourse of arranged marriage firmly in the repertoire of the group. Although there are also some expressions of surprise and "shock" in this part of the extract, these are not used by the girls to signal their resistance to the tradition of arranged marriage. Dilshana and Hennahy articulate their surprise in stave 1: 'WHAT' and stave 12: 'oh my God' respectively. However, the remainder of the extract suggests that the girls' surprise is directed at the news and details of Ardiana's marriage proposal, rather than at the procedure adopted by the two families. Moreover, Ardiana frames her story in a way to maximise its potential news worthiness and thereby encourages her friends' display of surprise: her introduction of the wedding proposal in stave 2 is abrupt and is followed by a deliberate pause in stave 3, which invites her listeners to produce an appropriate acknowledgement (of surprise). I also believe that Ardiana's own affirmations of being shocked in staves 3 and 6, uttered in an entirely unmarked voice, serve to position her story as newsworthy rather than to express a resistant stance to the discourse of arranged marriage.

However, the above extract does contain some first evidence of a resistant positioning. In stave 9 Ardiana raises her volume to protest: 'EXCUSE ME' but is prevented from voicing her objections by her friends' eager questions about the proposal and the suitor. Ardiana finally manages to complete this utterance a few stances below.

Discourse of arranged marriage: resistance. In staves 15-17 Ardiana vehemently airs her opposition to the proposed marriage when she switches into a discourse which appears to value love-marriages.

```
     Extract 1.2: The Wedding Proposal - continued:
(15)
A     [but he's::-] the same height as me EXCUSE ME I LOVE
H
?V    [(yeah:::)]

(16)
A     MY BOYFRIEND here right I don't wanna get married to

(17)
A     somebody else I don't /know
H                          (-)         [(inn]it) (.)
R                          (-) innit ma[n]
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?V                              (-) {- - - laughs - - -}

(18)
A                                                     [but then
H     {amused}he may be gorgeous but then again he mig[ht have a

(19)
A     again (a] ha-)
H     (a)]          personality like a (.) ape or something=
```

Ardiana here introduces a discourse of romantic love in relation to marriage, which constitutes the popular norm in a large majority of today's western communities. Initially, it seems as if the other girls were following Ardiana's lead and accepted her switch into a discourse of romantic love (stave 17 'innit man'; 'innit'). After Ardiana's criticism of marrying a young man she does not know, Hennah provides the reasons for their reservations in staves 18 -19: if a girl does not know her future husband before getting married, she runs the risk of ending up with a husband who may be good looking, but have a flawed personality. Hennah's joke and the girls' agreement with Ardiana appear to signal the group's unanimous alignment with the tradition of love marriage, and consequently their rejection of arranged marriages. However, on a sequential, micro-linguistic level, the presence of a hesitation in the form of pause after Ardiana's utterance signals that the group's acceptance of Ardiana's switch into a discourse of romantic love is not entirely smooth (see conversation analytic work, e.g. Pomerantz 1984, Levinson 1983: 334 on the significance of pauses as markers of dispreferred seconds). Moreover, the remainder of the girls' interactive negotiations suggests a complex process of positioning within the group, in which the girls align themselves with what I define as a modified form of arranged marriage.

Modified discourse of arranged marriage. Ardiana's protest is expressed in her utterance 'EXCUSE ME I LOVE MY BOYFRIEND here right I don't wanna get married to somebody else I don't **know**'. Whereas the first part of the utterance clearly voices a western notion of romantic love, I argue that the second can be interpreted as positioning

Eliminado: (extract 1.2, staves 15-16)

Ardiana in a modified discourse of arranged marriage, emphasising solely her resistance to getting married to somebody she does not know.

I argue that the other girls align themselves only with the latter part of Ardiana's proposition. The remainder of the talk provides evidence for this claim, showing that the girls do not object to the tradition of arranged marriage per se, but instead resist a particular version of it.

Eliminado: ¶

Con formato: Párrafo normal, Interlineado: sencillo

```
     Extract 1.3: The Wedding Proposal - continued:
(20)
A      =YEAH:: [that's] true (.)
D              [yeah]        (.) yeah when they come to England

(21)
A                                          they just wanna get
H                        [(they just]xxx-)
D      yeah they just lea[ve you man]

(22)
A      married to girls from London [because like they are
V                                   [yeah because of the

(23)
A      Londoni]  (.) yeah   [they are from London they are
V      passport] (.)        [they want their passport
D                        (ah[::){agreeing}

(24)
A      British] they are British and they wanna come to this
V      inn]it

(25)
A      country as well
V                     (-) {swallows} they want the

(26)
A                                       so what's wrong with you
?V     passports (the British) passport
?                {dental click}                         {laughter}

(27)
A      Rahima     what's wrong with you and Ben (-)
?         {laughs}
```

What the girls *do* challenge in this extract is the tradition of being married to men from Bangladesh. The interactive manner in which the girls formulate this challenge is highly collaborative, mirroring and building on each others' contributions in a way that Coates (1996, 1999) found to be characteristic of the friendship talk of white adult middle-class women. Thus, the girls use many thematic repetitions ('Londoni – British') and lexical repetitions ('passport'), supportive minimal agreements such as 'yeah' and 'joint constructions involving simultaneous speech' (Coates 1996: 121) as in staves 22 to 24. One explanation for their objection to men from Bangladesh is based on the girls' view that Bangladeshi men are only interested in British citizenship and that they leave their wives once they have established themselves in Britain. All the girls reject their role in this alleged pursuit: in staves 22-24 Ardiana and Varda collaboratively and simultaneously express their condemnation of the men's motivation to get married to girls from Britain because of their British passport. They receive support from Dilshana, who voices her agreement with their claim in stave 23.

It is hard to imagine that the girls' concern about their role as potential gateway to British citizenship has not been affected by a widespread popular anti-immigration discourse in the UK, which supports extremely restrictive immigration laws (see also Ahmad 2003: 48-49). However, this anti-immigration discourse appears to go hand in hand with a common sentiment among many British Asians. Whereas Jamdagni (1980) reports that Bangladeshi girls in the late 70s regretted being prevented from marrying boys from Bangladesh by British immigration laws, Anwar's more recent social survey of young Asians found that the majority of Asian parents and young people now object to marriages of their daughters being arranged in the Indian subcontinent, even if the couple was to take residence in Britain (Anwar 1998: 112; see also Gardner & Shukur 1994; Ghuman 1994; Shain 2003: 90; but for conflicting evidence see Gavron 1997: 124). This sentiment stands in contrast to the continuing efforts by Bangladeshi families from the subcontinent to arrange marriages with British Bangladeshis because of the prospect of emigration to Britain (Gardner and Shukur 1994). The term 'Londoni', which tends to be applied to people, houses and entire villages that have connections to Britain due to a history of emigration (Gardner & Shukur 1994: 147), is used by Ardiana in stave 23, signalling her understanding of the value attributed by many Bangladeshis to a potential link with Britain and therefore with girls like themselves.

One motive for the girls' rejection of Bangladeshi men could be that it is obviously much less likely for the girls to get to "know" their future husbands to some extent if they are from the Indian subcontinent (see also extract 1.2, staves 15-19). However, the data allows for another explanation of the girls' bias against husbands from Bangladesh. When stating that a Bengali groom might have 'a personality like an ape' Hennah appears to refer to the potential character flaws of a future husband (extract 1.2, stave 19). The connotation of the word 'ape' suggests that Hennah expects the men's behaviour to be ill-mannered or even uncivilised. However, by referring to Bangladeshi men in these derogatory terms Hennah's utterance also reveals an influence of a discourse of imperial Darwinism, which allows the girls to establish their own superiority. At the same time the girls reveal their anxiety about feeling alienated from their husband's (Sylheti village) background, which they appear to contrast negatively with their own (urban British Bangladeshi) background.

This discourse of cultural incompatibility between British Asian girls and grooms from the Indian subcontinent due to cultural and educational differences appears to have established itself recently in many parts of the British Bangladeshi and other British Asian "communities" (Anwar 1998: 112; Basit 1997: 81-84; Gardner & Shukur 1994: 156; Phillipson *et al* 2003: 51; but see also Gavron 1997 for counter arguments). However, by engaging in this (essentialist) discourse and by acknowledging their own "Londoni" or "British" identities, the girls in this group in fact acknowledge their own (British Bangladeshi) hybridity, which they position in opposition to the identities of their Bangladeshi suitors.

Although the girls' spontaneous talk about Ardiana's "wedding proposal" reveals a range of different stances of individual girls and a range of discourses, including a discourse of romantic love and a discourse of cultural incompatibility, the group negotiates a consensus (Eckert 1993) in the form of a modified discourse of arranged marriage. In this discourse the girls' wish to get married to men they "know" does not constitute a wish to be able to date their future husbands in order to get to know them well.[3] Rather than revealing a western discourse of pre-marriage dating the girls are expressing their hope to get married to men they consider compatible with their "British" or "Londoni" Bangladeshi identities, without challenging the discourse of arranged marriage per se.

4.2.2. When do you wanna get married

The girls' agency is reflected not only in their objections to being married to boys from Bangladesh, but they also make it clear that they do not intend marriage to interfere with their own expectations and needs. However, consensus is not reached without negotiations, due to the heterogeneous nature of the group.

```
     Extract 2.1: 'When do you wanna get married'
(1)
A      when do you wanna get married
D                                       (1) after six years

(2)
A      (-) after six years (-) that long
D                                           I'm only

(3)
D      sixteen man (you know what I'm saying)

(4)
A      when do you wanna get married
R                                      (-) after I get my

(5)
A                     [bo]ring (man these lot are) boring
R      career do::ne (a[nd)]{drawling/dreamy voice}

(6)
A      I wanna get married after another two years (.) when

(7)
```

```
A     I'm eight[een]
R              [you] have to look at the situation
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This extract shows the reaction of the other girls to Ardiana's enthusiasm about getting married soon. Her question 'when do you wanna get married' contains the presupposition that her friends will get married, and, in fact, none of the girls question their future as wives, but neither do they want to rush into marriage. Like the young Asian women in the interview studies of Basit (1997), Dwyer (2000), Gavron (1997) and Shain (2003), the objections made by the girls in this group rest on the arguments of age, education and career prospects. Thus, Dilshana defends her wish to get married no earlier than in six years' time by highlighting her young age (staves 2-3) and Rahima states that her first priority is to 'get her career done' (staves 4-5). Ardiana challenges her friends in stave 2, 'that long', and stave 5, 'boring', but she herself is challenged by her friends when she postulates that she wants to get married in two years' time (see Rahima – stave 7).

The remainder of the extract shows how the three girls who take part in this conversation manage to negotiate a consensus despite their opposing stances.

Extract 2.2: 'When do you wanna get married' - continued

```
(8)
A         [I don't have to I don't have to]
R     how [are you gonna (xxxx-) once you are marr]ied how

(9)
R     are you gonna get that (er) thingie you know all this

(10)
A     [I wanna finish my quali]fications now yeah get a
R     [(stuff xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)]

(11)
A     good GCSE grade .hh then g[et a] really good job
R                               [yeah]

(12)
A     and [then get married]
R         [yeah that's what I] mean by career innit get
```

(In stave 12, "career" is printed in bold.)

```
(13)
A                        [but WHEN (xxxxxxxxxxxxx)] when
R     your career first [(right xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)]

(14)
A     [I'm eighteen]
D     [but have your] fun first yeah then you have your

(15)
A                         (.) I wanna have kids when I am
D     kids and everything

(16)
A     about twenty-five (-) that's (why now (.) having)

(17)
A     (.) enjoy myself with my [husb]and  (.) {laughs}
D                              [when I'm] (.) [when I am]
```

Ardiana first shows no sign of making any concessions to her friends' arguments and stances and instead deepens her opposition by categorically denying the validity of Rahima's point (see stave 8) but she then hastens to mirror Rahima's career expectations only two staves later (stave 10). Ardiana frequently leads the group in taking up what could be described as a stereotypically working class anti-school stance (McRobbie 1978; Willis 1977) which positions the girls in stark opposition to the stereotype of the timid, quiet and studious Asian girl (Shain 2003). Like the "Gang Girls" in Shain (2003) Ardiana tends to position "having a laugh" as more important than academic achievement and plays a central role in the group's boasting about truancy, challenging the other girls when they engage in talk about grades and schoolwork with utterances such as 'boring man talking about school {tut} school's boring' (see Pichler 2006). However, in staves 10 and 11 Ardiana adapts her usual anti-school stance to accommodate her friends' alignment with a discourse that highlights the value of education and career for young women. The vocabulary that is used by Rahima and Ardiana contains several nominalizations, such as 'qualifications', 'good GCSE grade', 'career', which suggest the institutional nature of this discourse. Thus, it is likely that the girls have encountered this discourse in their school, which promotes itself with the slogan ‘educating tomorrow’s women’ and, rather successfully, aims to continue the girls’ education beyond their GCSE exams.

These pro-education and career discourses also allow the girls in the group to position themselves as independent young women, who see their status not restricted to their future marriages. It is not clear from this extract whether the girls expect to continue with their careers once they are married, like the “Survivors” and the “Rebels” in Shain’s (2003) study. In fact, Rahima’s utterance in staves 8-10 seems to suggest that she expects there to be some difficulty in this regard (but, unfortunately, the end of the utterance in stave 10 was not fully audible). Despite the difficulty that some of the girls may expect in combining marriage and further education/a career, the extract also demonstrates that the girls clearly do not position marriage only in terms of obligations and duties as mothers or (house)wives. Instead, the girls emphasise their desire to ‘have your fun first’ (stave 14) and to ‘enjoy’ life with their husband (stave 17) before having children. The extract therefore also contains evidence of the girls’ active efforts to make room for their own needs and desires within this modified discourse of arranged marriage.

5. Conclusion

The spontaneous friendship talk of Dilshana, Hennah, Ardiana, Varda and Rahima shows that the girls position themselves largely within a modified discourse of arranged marriage, which, I argue, itself draws on a wide range of discourses and cultural practices negotiated locally by the girls in their group. The girls tend to position marriage arrangements as a joint family undertaking, but they also engage briefly with notions of romantic love and all insist on ‘knowing their partners’ without explicitly aligning themselves with a discourse of premarital dating. The girls’ negotiations also draw on anti-immigration discourses as well as on discourses of cultural incompatibility and imperial Darwinism to support their opposition to men from Bangladesh. Their conversation about marriage and education/career contains evidence of anti school stances at the same time as institutional pro-education and personal self-advancement discourses, concerns about continuing with further education at the same time as a discourse of personal self-fulfilment in marriage.

These varied and frequently opposing discourses allow the girls to draw on, challenge and negotiate a great wealth of cultural practices, views and norms about marriage arrangements, dating, marital relationships and schooling/career. At times the significance of and link to (an essentialised and stereotypical) notion of ethnic culture is acknowledged explicitly by the girls, as when they position themselves as British and Londoni in opposition to Bangladeshi suitors. More frequently, ethnic boundaries and cultural differences, which, as Brah (1996) argues, are constructed interactively and locally, remain implicit in the girls' talk about marriage as, for example, when Ardiana objects to her marriage proposal on the grounds of loving her boyfriend. These boundaries are constantly de-constructed, re-negotiated and/or synthesised by the girls, allowing them to engage in 'identity formations which cut across and intersect [...] frontiers' (Hall 1992: 310), that is, engage in the construction of hybrid identities. The British Asian identities which are negotiated by the girls locally in their group cut across and intersect with gender, social class as well as with institutional discourses of their school.

The girls' negotiations of these discourses and identities provide further evidence that they are not passive and shy 'victims of cultural practices which oppress them' (Shain 2003: 41; but see also Ahmad 2003; Basit 1997). Significantly, the spontaneous conversational data clearly show that this group of British Bangladeshi girls is far from being homogenous, as individual girls frequently introduce discourses or stances which can reflect the diversity found by Shain (2003) across four different groups of girls. My discourse analytic approach to the girls' positioning in their spontaneous talk captures both the complexity and the success of the negotiations in their group, emphasising the active role the girls play in (re)shaping cultural norms around marriage. The consensus that is established in the group is an alignment with a modified discourse of arranged marriage, which, rather than being a suppressive tradition from one clearly defined culture, emerges itself as a hybrid in the group's spontaneous talk and thereby makes a significant contribution to the girls' discursive construction of British Bangladeshi femininities.

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Appendix

I have transcribed the girls' conversations on a stave system, which, like a musical score, is read from left to right with simultaneous speech represented as aligned within one stave. On the tape the girls speak mostly in English, with some switches into Sylheti, a language spoken in a northern district of Bangladesh and related to, but considerably different from standard Bengali. Sylheti/Bengali utterances are represented in Roman script with a translation at the end of each stave and transcription conventions are provided in the appendix.

Transcription conventions are as follows:

A	Ardiana
D	Dilshana
H	Hennah
R	Rahima
V	Varda
?	identity of speaker not clear
{laughter}	non verbal information
xxxxxxxxxx*{laughing}*	paralinguistic information qualifying underlined utterance
[.....]	beginning/end of simultaneous speech
(xxxxxxxx)	inaudible material
(......)	doubt about accuracy of transcription
'......'	speaker uses words/utterances of others
CAPITALS or %......%	increased or decreased volume
bold print	speaker emphasis
>...<	faster speed of utterance deliver

-	incomplete word or utterance
/	rising intonation
yeah:::::	lengthened sound
=	latching on
(.)	micropause
(-)	pause shorter than one second
(1); (2)	timed pauses (longer than one second)
.hhh; hhh	in-breath; out-breath

Notes

Acknowledgement: I am very grateful to all the five girls for their time and enthusiasm and would like to thank especially Hennah for her overwhelming dedication and interest as well as for her continuing friendship.

1. Other topics, such as heterosexual relationships and sexual experience are raised in all three groups, albeit in very different ways, and therefore lend themselves to comparative analysis (see Pichler 2007; forthcoming).

2. This does not mean that the girls positioned their relationship with their parents as completely free of conflict in every respect. Hennah expressed considerable criticism of her father in matters other than marriage arrangements in the group talk with her friends, and she also reported several sources of conflict between the other girls and their parents in her interviews with me, occasionally aligning herself with dominant 'culture clash' discourses and challenging my post-structuralist celebration of hybridity (see Pichler, in press; forthcoming).

3. However, not all the girs object to dating per se. In fact, Ardiana, Dilshana and Rahima have boyfriends, but these relationships are not displayed publicly by them (Pichler 2001; in press).

Body politics through the media: Japan's first female voters with babies on their backs

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Abstract

This paper explores the role of the media which sent an ambivalent message at the critical moment when women first took the vote in Japan. Japanese women did not finally receive the franchise until 1946 during the American occupation following the country's defeat in World War Two.

Before the election, the media had actively campaigned for women's suffrage. Then, 39 Japanese women successfully got seats in the House of Representatives. Yet, women's issues disappeared from the news shortly after the election and they only got 15 seats in the 1947 election.

This paper examines coverage of the 1946 election by Japanese newspapers through Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA). I discuss the gender norms embodied in many photos of women voters carrying babies on their backs wrapped in *Nenneko* jackets, titled "Voting with her grandchild on her back". As women voters, young or old with baby on their backs, symbolized the mother's role which in turn stood for the psychological unity of the nation state, through the unity of the family. Women's bodies with babies camouflaged the occupation's true goal of demilitarization. Women's suffrage was welcome propaganda by both the media and American occupation as both innocuous and opportune. Women's issues were reported just as scandals in the newspapers after the election.

In this paper I present diverse photos of women voters carrying babies on their backs; this highlights the hegemony that Japan's newspapers exercised. It is assumed that media engaging in a discourse designed to elicit the consent of their readers who had the gender ideology of a multi-role model. In conclusion, hegemonic gender hierarchy was in fact strengthened by articles and photos which superficially focused on women's rights. I propose that there is a need to comprehensively rethink the history of women's rights in Japan.

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 91-104.

Key words: *female suffrage ~ post-war Japan ~ media propaganda ~ Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA)*

This paper explores the patriarchal gender ideology persistently enacted in the media discourses at the critical moment when women first took the vote in Japan. Japanese women exercised their right to vote for the first time in history in April 1946, during the American occupation following the country's defeat in World War Two[1]. The Constitution of Japan was established in November 1946, the same year the law guaranteed gender equality as is shown in the Newspaper illustration seen in Fig1.

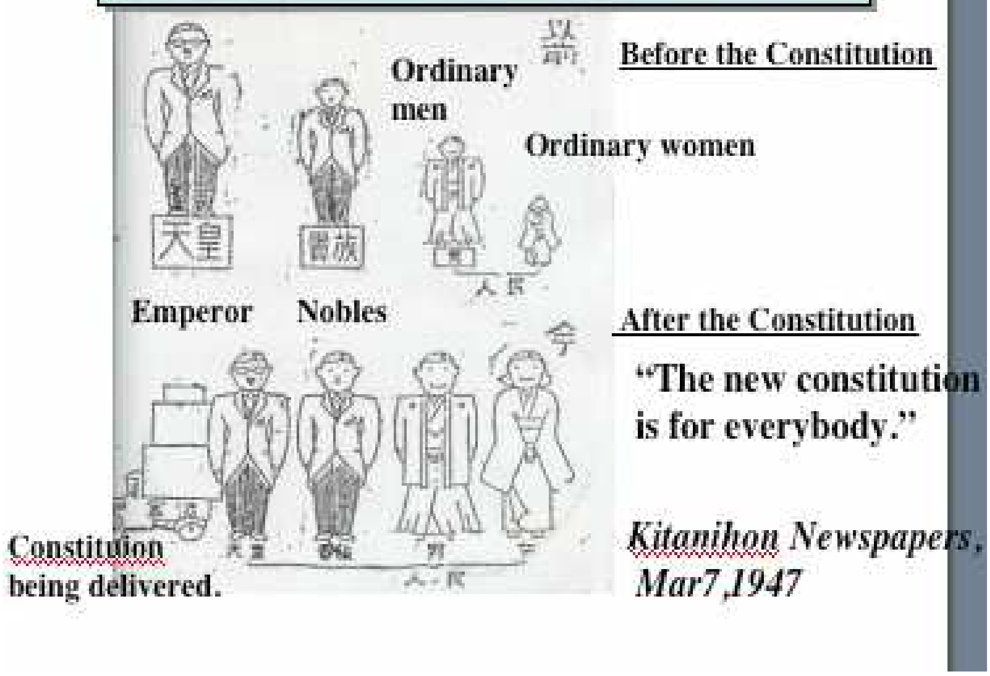
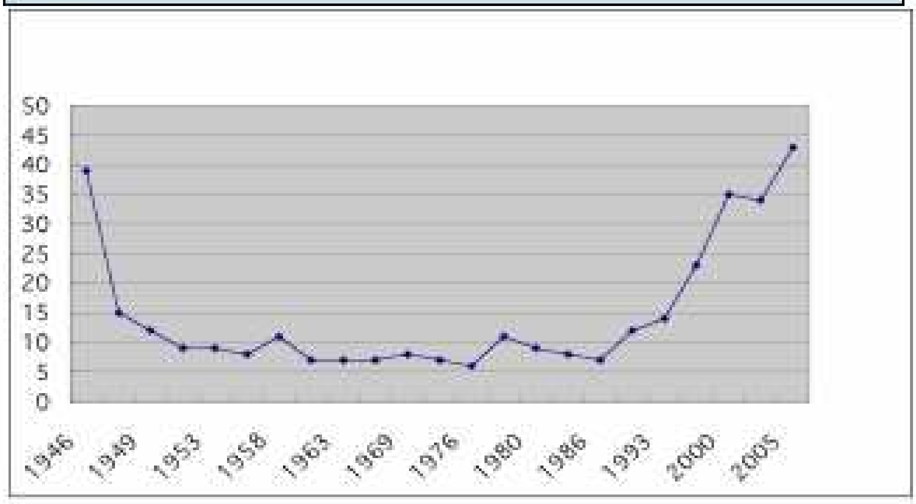


Fig.1New constitution: Equality for all?

Since then, people often said, "Japanese women have suffrage, so Japan is a gender-equal country, isn't it?" Women's suffrage has long been a symbol of democracy in Japan. However, the percentage of Japanese women in the Lower House is only 9% in the 2005 election putting Japan in the one hundred fifth place[2]. It is the lowest among advanced nations[3].

However, it was not a typical result. Of the 79 female candidates who ran for election, 39, a surprisingly high number, were elected into office in the 1946 election (a total of 466 seats were contested). This was the largest number of female legislators ever elected in Japan up until the 2005 election, in which 43 women were elected. This surprising victory of women didn't continue. We see from Figure 2, in the 1947 election, only15 women were elected.

Fig.2 Female parliament members in Japan



Reasons for this surprising change in women's fortunes are given by Ogai. She suggested that factors such as the multiple-member constituency system, the lack of male candidates due to a purge of public officials and confusion in the defeated nation had this effect. However, the media's responsibility for these sudden changes mustn't be overlooked

This paper examines the Japanese media coverage on voting day,1946, using Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth known as FCDA[4]). I have investigated how the symbolic practices of the media greatly contribute to reproduce or transform gender hegemony. Media discourse of April 11, 1946 presented diverse photos of women voters carrying babies on their backs wrapped in *nennek*[5] jackets (a nenneko jacket is a padded jacket to keep babies warm), and discuss the gender norms embodied, titled "Voting with her grandchild on her back." It is assumed that the media engaging in a discourse intend to elicit the consent of their readers who had the gender ideology of a multi-role model, coping with both a family and social participation at that time. Women's bodies represented new women's rights, but in fact, they still had a role to play at home. Thus, the hegemonic gender hierarchy was in fact strengthened by the media which superficially focused on women's rights.

This paper consists of four parts. First, I briefly introduce the history of the women's suffrage movement in Japan, and secondly, I move on to the transition of the media discourse of women's suffragists movements before the election, a voting day and after the election. Thirdly, I focus on the role of the media representation of the voting day. Then, finally I discuss this symbolism in post-war Japan

1. What is the history of women's suffrage in Japan?

The women's suffrage movement first emerged in Japan in the late nineteenth century, fueled by the growing interest in modern ideas from the West[6]. However, Japanese women were officially deprived of the franchise in 1889[7]. They did not finally receive the franchise until 1945, during the American occupation after the country's defeat in World War Two.

Immediately after Japan's surrender in August 1945, Ichikawa Fusae and other leaders of the women's movement in the prewar years resumed their campaign to obtain the franchise. In October, with the country under occupation, the government decided to grant women the vote, and the House of Representatives Election Law was amended to reflect the change. With this, the female franchise was enshrined in legislation. Though, it's worth noting, Korean and Taiwanese males drafted from Asia during the war had earlier been granted the franchise as a reward for military service, were deprived of their vote at the same time. In the general election of April 1946, Japanese women exercised their right to vote for the first time in history.

2. How did the media coverage of women's suffrage change?

This section examines the significance attached to "gender" and "politics" in the period between the launch of the campaign for women's suffrage in September 1945 and the general election of April 10, 1946. It's based on my research of the statements of women's leaders and ordinary female voters as carried in the pages of Japan's newspapers. To analyze this, I use FCDA, which consists of newspaper text analysis of the election with detailed examination both of the related news articles and context information before and after the 1946 election, including limited interviews.

During this period the three leading national newspapers, the *Asahi*, the *Mainichi*, and the *Yomiuri Hochi*, reported extensively on the question of female suffrage.. The *Asahi* was particularly full in its coverage. Well over 100 articles on women and politics appeared from September 1945 up until 1946 election. The large number of articles devoted to women and politics stands out, particularly considering the limited space available: due to paper rationing in the aftermath of the war, each issue consisted of only a single sheet printed on both sides.

Starting soon after the end of the war, the Asahi reported virtually every move that Ichikawa and her fellow campaigners made in their effort to gain the franchise. After the House of Representatives Election Law was amended in December to give women the vote, the paper carried a regular editorial entitled "To the Housewife in the Home" two to three times a month, which called on women to take an interest in politics[8]. With coverage of such depth and scope, the press was virtually running its own campaign for female suffrage. Then, 39 Japanese women successfully got seats in the House of Representatives. Yet, women's issues disappeared from the news shortly after the election, except for the occasional scandal or bad press. In the 1947 election, women got only 15 seats.

3. What did Newspapers signify by the photos of women with babies?

This section surveys news coverage of voting during the first general election in Japan in which women exercised the franchise, since it seems reasonable to examine the turning point. The *Asahi* carried four articles on the general election for the House of Representatives on April 10, 1946.

There are three main features. First, the paper is engaging in directive forms of speech acts that make a strong appeal to readers, as in "It's today! Let's go to the polling station" and "Put that vote to good use" (*Asahi*, Apr. 10). The newspaper is playing up to its readers as it calls on them to vote.

Second, in contrast with the discourses that emerged after the election, which depicted men and women as being in conflict and marginalized the latter, rhetoric and photographs are used to conjure up images of family solidarity, as in "Men, women all turn out together to vote" (*Asahi*, Apr. 10). This tendency is especially marked in three photographs of April 11 showing scenes of voting. The first, occupying four columns on the top of page 1 and captioned "Voting for the first time. Women turn out in a steady stream at the polling station," depicts children playing at an outdoor nursery with women queuing behind. The other two form a pair occupying six columns on the upper left-hand side of page 2; they were captioned "Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress listen to a minute-by-minute broadcast on the voting" and "Voting with her grandchild on her back". As you see, Figure 3 shows the ordinary women voters were juxtaposed with the Imperial couple just listening to the election results.

The third salient feature of these discourses is the central role accorded to women in the portrayals of the family that they present.

In this section, we consider the social significance of the gender representation in light of the contexts and manners. They include contradictory meanings. First, what normative concepts were used to interpret such portrayals? Of most interest in that regard is the woman in *nenneko* jacket depicted in the photo “Voting with her grandchild on her back” on page 2 of the *Asahi* for April 11. The same day’s *Yomiuri Hochi* (Apr. 11) and *Mainichi* (Apr. 11) likewise carry photos of a woman with her child or grandchild wrapped in a nenneko jacket on her back, though the voting station and individual portrayed differ.

Fig.3 Juxtaposition of the Emperor and mothers

“Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress listen to a minute-by-minute broadcast on the voting”

“Voting with her grandchild on her back”

***Asahi*, April 11, 1946, p2**

4. Why were the nenneko-wrapped mothers the symbol of the transition?

What then is the gender norm embodied in these portraits –of the woman voter in *nenneko* jacket, of the nursery with women voting in the background– and in the rhetoric of "voting day with mothers too heading for the polls, babies on their backs"?

At first glance it appears identical with the image of motherhood purveyed during the war, when mothers were seen as cultivators of human resources assisting and supporting their menfolk in war, according to Wakakuwa (see Fig4).

Fig.4 Sacrifice sons for God and war in wartime

Japanese women harvesting in wartime, "Shufunotomo", 1940, Wakakuwa 1995:179

But, there are differences too from the portrait of women current during the war, which stressed childbearing and motherhood as the means of fulfilling a woman's supreme duty of producing human resources. In the war years, at least, the archetypal mother was like the

Virgin Mary –revered for her willingness to sacrifice even her son for God and war (see Fig.5). You can see the shrine gate in the background.

But the woman in *nenneko* jacket is not focused on her child, nor does the child occupy the central position in the photo. Nonetheless, the child constitutes an indispensable element of the overall image as hinting at Japan's future.Wakakuwa argued the image of mother was "the symbol of the psychological unity of the nation state, of the state as family, binding the whole people together in a single 'blood' transcending all differences".

Fig.5 Sacrifice sons for God and war in wartime

In pre-war Japan, all forms of social organization were defined in terms of the concept of family, with the state itself being conceptualized as a single family with the sovereign Emperor. According to Ishida, "The everyday social order, which is governed by what appears at first glance to be a nonpolitical code of 'virtue and good morals,' forms by its very nature a continuum with the 'family state'". This arrangement has underpinned the hegemony that has dominated Japanese society since the late 19th century[9]. The symbol of this "family state" is the emperor himself, standing in an unbroken line of descent from the remote past, along with the emperor's family. However, having served as the symbol of national unity throughout the Pacific War, the emperor suffered a serious loss of prestige after Japan was defeated. The image of the woman in *nenneko* jacket appears to have been created as a symbol of the "citizens" of the new "democratic country", in place of the now-disgraced emperor. General Headquarters, GHQ originally believed that, in order to make progress in demilitarizing Japan, it would need to dismantle the old social structure identifying family and state, and build a new civil society in its place, according to Yoda. Thus, the switch of symbols signified the replacement of the emperor representing the "family state" with the ordinary citizen representing the new "democratic country." Post-war democracy camouflaged the occupation's true goal of demilitarization[10]. However, this new symbol took the form, not of a woman voting independently as her own person, but of one with a child —Japan's future— upon her back; that eloquently attests to how norms of womanhood were sought that gave primacy to the home, with women participating in society only in so far as that primary role allowed.

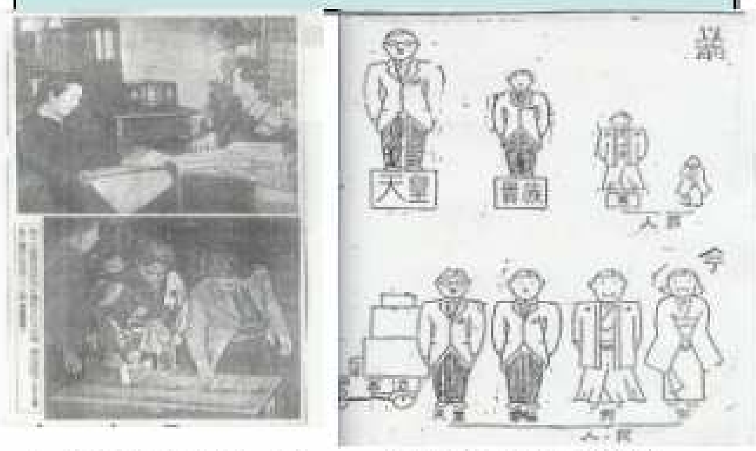
Somewhat more than a year later, the new constitution was introduced. This stripped the emperor of divine status and made him the symbol of the nation. Thus, the emperor was reinstated as the symbol of the "nation state." It has been pointed out that "the period between defeat in 1945 and 1946 was one in which the image of the vanquished emperor and gender boundaries were both in a state of upheaval", according to Kitahara. It was a time of turmoil, and the image of women in *nenneko* jacket, reflecting a conservative view of the family that hinted at the notion of blood ties, was doubtlessly used as an instrument for achieving political stability.

5. Conclusion

We can conclude that the reason why newspaper coverage of the 1946 election were full of nenneko-wrapped mothers lied in the symbolism of motherhood. It could elicit the consent of female readers. Far from being dismantled, the idea of the family state was restructured and strengthened through the medium of the female body. The family state came temporarily to be symbolized by the ordinary woman. However, the idea of the "family state" based on the asymmetrical relationship between the sexes, remained utterly unchanged. Women's suffrage was conveniently welcomed by both the media and GHQ[11]. Post-war democracy camouflaged the occupation's true goal of demilitarization.

In spite of the fact the Japanese Constitution states equal rights for all, postwar reality was very different. Behind women's suffrage, human rights for the colonialized Asian males were divested silently. If we look at fig. 6, we will see that the women's suffrage was bestowed for the unity of the nation state against the turmoil from the defeat, not for gender-equality. Women's suffrage was appropriated by the media and GHQ. This is the reason why the woman in the *nenneko* jacket took on symbolic significance in media coverage of the general election of 1946.

Fig.6 Symbol of the nation state?



Asahi, April 11, 1946, *p2*

Not for equality?

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Forged by War: The Visual Propaganda of Women's Mobilization in Japan during World War II). Chikuma Shobo.

Footnotes

1 This was later than in advanced western democracies such as New Zealand (1893), Norway (1913), Sweden and the United States (1919), and the United Kingdom (1927) and roughly around the same time as in France (1944). As for other parts of Asia, women gained the right to vote in South Korea in 1948 and China in 1949.

2 According to the survey of IPU, Inter-Parliamentary Union. See at http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.

3 Although the voting rate is not different among sexes.

4 The limitations of CDA, which focuses on the dimension of control, treating media dominance of discourse and overall male dominance as uniform and immutable, have been pointed out with increasing frequency. There is a growing realization of the need to transcend the shortcomings of this methodology, which has failed to identify possible points of departure for changing this pattern of domination. In response, feminist scholars have been engaging in extensive research focusing on processes of change and the identities thereby generated. Here I refer to this approach as feminist critical discourse analysis.

5 Nenneko is short for nenneko-banten, a padded jacket resembling a haori, worn when carrying a baby on one's back over the baby to keep it warm.

6 In 1878 Kusunose Kita, who paid taxes as the head of her household following her husband's death, filed a petition with Kochi Prefecture demanding the same right to vote as male heads of households. In 1880 women were granted the right both to vote and to stand for election.

7 The Women's Suffrage League was formed in 1923 in the wake of the rapid rise of the women's movement. However, the "universal franchise" granted in 1925 applied to men only as demands for female suffrage foundered in the face of stiff opposition, it being argued that a woman's place was in the home and women had no real advantage to gain from acquiring identical status with their husbands and fathers (Tsujimura 1997: 143).

8 I have interviewed on of the editors who wrote those editorials. He, denied that the directions of editorials depended on GHQ's command.

9 According to Takeshi Ishida, the family state as it evolved along society itself from the Meiji through the Showa periods is better thought of as a form of hegemony –a type of control conscious of rival hegemonies– than as an ideology. In Japan, dominated as it is by this identification of state and family, the family has since the Meiji period,consistently functioned as a mechanism for maintaining and recycling gender roles by identifying them with state and corporate hierarchies. Any strategy for overhauling gender roles will need to address this circumstance by constructing a rival hegemony.

10 The United States Initial Post-surrender Policy for Japan of September 1945 and the Basic Initial Post-surrender Directive to SCAP for the Occupation and Control of Japan of the same November, which set general policy guidelines for the initial phase of the occupation, defined the objective of the occupation as to ensure "that Japan will not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world." The occupation authorities enshrined "democracy" as the principle that "government" and "political parties" were to adhere to as opposed to "militarism." However, while the passage prohibiting restrictions on civil liberties and banning discrimination explicitly forbade discrimination on the basis of "race," "nationality," and "creed," bizarrely it made no mention of "sex." Nor was there any allusion to women's suffrage.

[11] Government were not hesitant to sacrifice women in return for the stability of the nation. In August 1945, immediately after the defeat, Government recruited unknowingly women for publicly-managed brothels , named RAA, short for Recreation and Amusement Association for American soldiers. Furthermore, in October, at the same time Government decided to grant women suffrage, they took a relief measure of women workers to return home for the demobilized soldiers. These two policies were completely contradictory in terms of the women's rights.

Female Sexuality in Greek-Cypriot Chattista: Traditional Ideologies Re-evaluated and Negotiated

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Abstract

Studies on Greek-Cypriot culture and the Greek culture at large have indicated that female sexuality is associated with the notions of honor and respect towards the males of the family; e.g. Argyrou (1996), Campbell (1964), Cowan (1990). Through a sociolinguistic-ethnographic investigation, this study examines how female sexuality is defined in traditional chattista performances. Chattista are rhyming couplets improvised impromptu, which often result in ritual verbal dueling. The data consist of videotaped and tape-recorded performances of chattista in private and public domains with "professional" and "amateur" singers. Supportive evidence is also elicited from ordinary conversations. The study demonstrates that men display a woman as the temptation that a man cannot resist, who is expected to control her sexuality and protect her chastity in order to preserve the honor of her family and consequently the respect towards the males of the family. Women, however, present themselves as female identities that have overcome certain taboos related to women's sexuality, such as becoming pregnant before they get married; yet they display themselves as good spouses that take good-care of and respect their husbands. The results indicate that, although in chattista, traditional ideologies are still preserved, modern views concerning sexuality are also displayed on the part of women. The transition from traditional ideologies to modern views is re-evaluated through negotiation and manipulation of meaning.
Key words: *gendered identities ~ sexual ideologies ~ honor ~ respect ~ Cyprus verbal dueling*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 105-124.

1. Female sexuality and the ideologies of honor and respect in the Greek cultures

Sociological, anthropological and folkloric studies on the Greek-Cypriot culture and the Greek culture at large have shown that female sexuality is perceived with negativity and it is defined in relation and in comparison to male sexuality. Campbell (1964), in his study of the Sarakatsani community, a mainly shepherd community in continental Greece, reports that in this community, men are associated with sheep, which are considered God's animals. Women are associated with goats, which are the animals of the devil that Christ has tamed for the service of man. Not only are women considered creatures of the devil, but because of the nature of their sexuality, they are believed to continually threaten the honor of men. Zoras (1975) points out that a woman's honor is often reflected in Greek love songs. He supports that a woman's honor became of primary importance in the Greek culture with Christianity, which has devalued and forbidden love affairs.

Cowan (1990) has studied the Sohoians, a community in Greek Macedonia. By examining dancing in dance events, Cowan finds that there is a social constraint on the female as compared to the male. In her dance, a Sohoian woman must find a balance between her trying to let go of everyday worries and maintaining control of her self and her body. This is mainly attributed to the fact that in the Sohoian world the defining feature of a woman is her sexuality. The way a woman displays her sexuality is an indication of respect towards the males of the family.

Similarly, in the Greek-Cypriot culture, the female is expected to control her sexuality and preserve her chastity so that the honor of her family is not threatened. Argyrou (1996), in his study of weddings in Cyprus, reports that in the past, a daughter's obedience to her father, especially in terms of protecting her chastity, was an indication that both his daughter and his wife, who has been delegated the role of the guardian, have taken the man of the household seriously. Thus a man could not be accorded respect by the community unless he was respected by his own family (wife and children) for taking his advice seriously. For example, in the older times, the woman's virginity was publicly displayed on the night of her wedding to show respect towards her father. That is, the sheets of the newlyweds' bed were immediately shown to the public for signs of the bride's chastity. According to my informants (Doukanari 1997), in the past, women who became pregnant while they were engaged, wore tight belts around their belly to conceal their pregnancy.

The above mentioned studies agree that female sexuality is always associated with the traditional values of honor and respect. Because of the nature of her sexuality, a woman is perceived as a temptation for men. Therefore, if she does not control her sexuality, the honor of her family is threatened. A female's control of her sexuality indicates her respect towards the males of her family – father, husband, brothers and sons. This relies on the cultural belief that a community respects a man who is first accorded honor and respect by his own family. Thus female sexuality, honor and respect are interrelated notions.

Argyrou (1996) observes that nowadays, the value of respect is one of the values that are not necessarily observed. For example, not only are signs of chastity not being publicly displayed anymore, but it is possible that the bride is pregnant or even gives birth to her child before her wedding. This of course is accepted if the woman is engaged. Thus engagement with the certainty of marriage and the sign of a woman's fertility allows the community to accept her loss of virginity.

These concepts of traditional and modern views about female sexuality become obvious in my data of chattista performances. Through an examination of male and female talk, the study demonstrates that men's talk indicates preservation of traditional values associated with female sexuality. Women's talk, however, while it still includes traditional values, it also reveals certain modern views of female sexuality, which are re-evaluated and negotiated in the context of chattista performances. There are even instances where female sexuality is explicitly proclaimed.

2. Chattista and the display of sexual identity

Chattista or Chattismata are spontaneous rhyming improvisations, usually couplets (two lines in a verse), which may take the form of verbal dueling between two or more individuals who perform in front of an audience. The performers of Chattista are either “professionals” or “amateurs”. This type of traditional folk poetry may take place in various events such as family and friendly gatherings, weddings, christenings, festivals and even funerals. For a more detailed description and a formal classification of chattista see Doukanari (1997).

In agreement with previous studies on Greek culture (e.g. Campbell 1964, Cowan 1990, Herzfeld 1985, and Seremetakis 1991) I have found that the identities men and women project in chattista performances are mainly displayed as gendered identities which are socially and culturally bound (Doukanari 1997). By focusing on male and female sexuality, this paper demonstrates how Greek Cypriot men and women display one type of gendered identity –the sexual identity– which is constructed based on the traditional values of honor and respect.

3. Approach, methodology and data collection

My investigation of social values and gendered identities is based on an ethnographic- sociolinguistic approach supported by participant observation and audio and video recordings. More specifically, I investigate the construction of sexuality within performances, with the particular situation at hand and the participants involved, taking into consideration their socio-historical backgrounds, their relationships and their alignments toward each other.

For the analysis of chattista as well as ordinary conversations and interviews, an interactional discourse analysis is used, which has been mainly informed by: Chafe (1980); Gumperz (1982); Schiffrin (1994); Tannen (1981 & 1984). In Doukanari (1997) I support that, in this kind of qualitative analysis, discourse is viewed as a socially and culturally defined way of speaking, which is dynamically created by participants in an interaction. This method allows the discourse analyst to investigate the actions the performers take to create meaning, present identities and express ideological, social and cultural values or taboos.

A large amount of data has been collected between the years 1980-2006 from both private and public settings, in which chattista take place. They consist of wedding celebrations, formal competitions at festivals, and friendly gatherings among Cypriot immigrants in the USA or Cypriots living in Cyprus. Additional data have been collected from ordinary discourse, including a conversation that took place during a television program between the television host and several actors. All the data have been transliterated, transcribed and analyzed based on Doukanari's (1997) transliteration and transcription systems. It is worth noting that in this paper, reference to female sexuality occurs in data from weddings, friendly gatherings, and ordinary conversations. It is not unusual, however, that reference to sexuality may also be observed in more public domains, such as formal organized competitions at festivals.

4. Analysis, results and discussion

This section demonstrates how Greek Cypriot men and women define sexuality in actual chattista performances. Female sexuality is constructed by both men and women through individual and collective effort, and through negotiation of meaning and the strategic use of language. What becomes interesting is that female sexuality is defined not in exclusion of male sexuality.

Note that in the examples throughout this section, the original text in the Greek-Cypriot dialect appears transliterated in ***bold and italics*** on each first line. Each second line is an idiomatic translation. Also, notice that although the Greek-Cypriot text rhymes, the poetic rhyme is unfortunately lost in translation. The following discourse transcription conventions are used based on Doukanari (1997): Dots (**. . .**) preceding or following each example indicate that more talk precedes or follows the example. The symbol >>> at right of line marks a continuation of the translated line without break in rhythm. CAPS mark very emphatic stress. Colon (**:**) indicates lengthened vowel sound. (Words) within parenthesis indicate ellipsis or paraphrases for clarification. [Brackets] are used for comments on quality of speech and context.

4.1. Men's Chattista

The analysis of male talk in chattista performances, as well as ordinary conversations, reveals that men display traditional values and taboos associated with male and female sexuality. In chattista, it is common that, two men engage in verbal dueling, aiming to top each other, by projecting aspects of masculine identities. In their exchanges, men often use vulgar and offensive language.

4.1.1. The sexually active man = Positive, The sexually active woman = Negative

A singer may project his male image as an amorous man and a womanizer. The other singer tries to negate his opponent's masculinity by making reference to the females of the opponent's family or the females that presumably the opponent hangs around with. Female sexuality is often displayed as a negative and inferior trait and is used as a point of attack for the male. In the following example, taken from a friendly gathering among Greek-Cypriot immigrants in 1989, Maryland, USA, a male performer of chattista implies that a sexually active man is considered a positive trait. Seventy-nine year old Pappus, meaning Grandpa in Greek, projects his positive male image by appearing as an amorous man and a womanizer. Pappus refers to a woman who presumably fell passionately in love with him:

Example A
The sexually active man = Positive
…

1 Pappus: ***Efilun ndin, dge lalen mmu. dhakka me na poniso,***
I was kissing her, and she was telling me, bite me >>> 'till I hurt,

2 ***na me pona I vukka mu, na me sse lizmoniso.***
so my cheek will hurt, (and) I won't forget you.

3 Audience: [laugh]

. . .

In this chattisto, Pappus emphasizes the woman's passion while they were kissing. A woman falling passionately in love with him is a compliment for a man. What makes Pappus' chattisto even more amusing is that although he is an older man, he tries to project his male image of being a womanizer and a great lover. Now, thirty-three year old Adhamos (the husband of Pappu's granddaughter), comes up with the following chattisto, in order to neutralize his opponent's male image by offending the woman that presumably Pappus goes around with:

```
Example B
The sexually active woman = Negative
. . .

 7 Adhamos:   Tin  mavrin  tin  kolomavrin tin
trizolaomenin,
        That dark, that jetblack and female lunatic,

8   Evastas  tus  dge yirizes  dge  pienne  ngordomEni,
   You were holding (hands) and going around (with >>>
 such women) and (that woman) was walking proudly,

9            Audience:  [laugh]

10   Adhamos: dge pu  na xeris  yero  mu  pu  'tan
xikolomEni.
 and how would you know my old man that she was
 bottomless. i.e., she was so sexually active that she
 lost her bottom)

Audience: [laugh, applaud]
. . .
```

Adhamos here creates an effective chattisto to humiliate his opponent's masculinity. The participle *xikolomeni*, literally "bottomless" (line 10), is used metaphorically to mean a woman very sexually active with a lot of men. This is a ritual insult for Pappus because for a real macho man, it is not a challenge to go out with women who have been very sexually active with a lot of men. This is in agreement with Argyrou (1996), who emphasizes that in the traditional Greek-Cypriot culture, a woman sexually active with a lot of men is not an ideal woman to go around with or to get married to. What is deducted from the above exchange of chattista between Adhamos and Pappus (Examples A and B) is that a sexually active man is positive. A sexually active woman is negative and has implications for the male image. That is, the man's image as amorous and sexual is negated if the woman involved is sexually active with a lot of men.

4.1.2. Woman = Temptation, Man = Male who cannot resist temptation
In chattista, men often depict women as temptation and themselves as males who cannot resist temptation. The following excerpt, taken from the same friendly gathering, demonstrates that women, because of their sexuality, are viewed by men as temptation that a male cannot resist:

Example C
Woman = Temptation, Man = Male who cannot resist temptation

. . .

1 Pappus: ***Allaxen dge stolistiken o mirodhatos krinos***
She changed and got all dressed up the fragrant lily

2 ***dge pien mes tin eklishan ston Ain Konstandino***.
and went inside St. Constantine's church.

3 ***Tin oran pu tou kondepsen endgisen tis dge Dginos***.
At the moment that she came close to him, even He touched her.

4 Audience: [laugh]

. . .

In this chattisto, Pappus uses a metaphor, in which a beautiful woman is identified with a fragrant lily (line 1). Thus the woman is associated with temptation. Pappus continues that the woman went to

St. Constantine's Church and when she approached St. Constantine, He touched her as well. A saint is the representation of purity and resistance to temptation. Here, however, Saint Constantine, as a male, touches the woman. This, of course, implies that the "*touching*" is not so innocent. By the use of this metaphor, the performer gives a symbolic justification for touching a woman –a justification that even a male saint cannot resist the temptation of a beautiful woman. Thus Pappus' couplet extends and reflects the Greek-Cypriot cultural perception that men are thought to have difficulty resisting the temptation of a woman.

> The fact that women are considered temptations to men has been reported by other researchers as well. Sant Cassia (1981) emphasizes that the notion of a woman being a temptation for men is so central to the Greek-Cypriot culture that when engagements break out, the girl's parents worry about her possible difficulty to marry in the future. This is based on the belief that a man cannot resist having a sexual relationship with his fiancée. Loizos (1975) points out that, the men of "Kalo" village in Cyprus, treat life with a Wildean realism, which says that men can resist everything but temptation. Argyrou (1996) makes similar observations in his data of Cypriot weddings. Campbell (1964) and Cowan (1990) also report on the notion of temptation in Greece.

4.1.3. Female sexuality: A threat for male and family honor

There is another implication of female sexuality on males. That is, whatever women do that offends their honor, strongly reflects on the males of the family as well because this means that they have not protected their family honor by looking after their women. A lot of chattista, are insults against the opponent's mother. In the following example, Pappus recites a chattisto in order to offend his opponent's male and family honor.

Example D
Female sexuality: A threat for male and family honor
. . .

1 Pappus: ***I mana su dg' i mana mu epian is ton milon***,
your mamma and my mamma went to the mill,

2 ***i mana mu irten ghliora i mana su ivren filon***.

```
        my  mamma  came  back  quickly,  (but)  your  mamma
found a lover.

3       Audience:   [laugh, applaud]

                              . . .
```

In this example, Pappus creates a ritual insult about Adhamos' mother; *"my mamma came back quickly but your mamma found a lover*" (line 2). By using this insult about his opponent's mother, Pappus automatically offends Adhamos' honor, and therefore, his masculinity. If one's mother finds a lover, it is the man's fault because he has not protected his family honor by looking after her.

These results tie in with other studies on Greek culture. Herzfeld (1985) observes that in the Glendiot community in the Greek island of Crete, one of the traits of a man who is "good at being a man" is to be able to protect his family from sexual and verbal threats. Campbell (1964) argues that in the Sarakatsani community, it is imperative that men protect the honor of the women, which include the wife, mother, sisters and daughters.

Female sexuality and honor are directly associated with the value of respect. For example, Cowan (1990) explains that the way a Sohoian woman displays her sexuality in her dancing is an indication of honor and respect towards the males of the family. Argyrou (1996) also reports that in the Greek-Cypriot culture, female sexuality, honor and respect are interrelated. A woman is expected to show respect towards the males of her family by protecting her chastity or sexuality so that she will not offend the honor of males. According to Greek-Cypriot tradition, the community respects a man who is respected by his family.

4.1.4. Female sexuality: A threat for nation's honor

The association of female sexuality with honor also becomes obvious in my data of ordinary conversations. The following example, taken from a television program in 2003, proves that a woman's sexuality is associated with honor even in non-traditional discourse. However, this example demonstrates that women's sexuality is not always restricted to family honor, but it can even extend to the nation's honor. In this particular program, the host invited some actors to talk in an entertaining way about the forthcoming presidential elections in Cyprus. At a particular point, the host addressed the question as to whether these actors would vote for a woman to become a president. While an actress firmly supported the idea of a woman becoming a president, one actor said he would not vote for a woman, and gave an interesting justification for it.

```
Example E
Female sexuality: A threat for nation's honor
                              . . .

Actor A:[Using ironic facial expressions and a sarcastic
tone of voice]
        An en orea yineka na tin i proedhros
        If it is a beautiful woman, will we, the
president,

2       enna tis enna tis ehumen embistosinin
        will we will we trust her

3       na tin na tin istilumen exo me ton Kofi Annan?
        to send her to send her out with Kofi Annan?

                              . . .
```

In the above example, the actor presents the Cypriot traditional view that a potential female president may become a temptation for a male politician such as Kofi Annan (the previous Secretary-General of the United Nations). The key words here are "*orea yineka*" (beautiful woman). This reminds us of the example we have seen earlier (Example C) depicting the woman as a "fragrant lily" who becomes a temptation for a man. In Example E, "a beautiful woman" is implied to be a temptation for politicians and a threat of honor for the nation. Thus, the actor here displays himself as a protector of the nation's honor. This is an interesting finding, taken from a contemporary conversation – not from a traditional event such as chattista – that raises again the issue of honor, but at a different level. In a sense, it is an extension of a larger family honor –the Cypriot nation's honor. This finding ties in with Herzfeld's (1986) suggestion that Greek identities should be defined with more emphasis on national identity.

Example E also provides supportive evidence that it is not only in traditional genres that we come across the issue of honor as it relates to women's sexuality. In fact, here we have an actor, a representative of the avant-garde that would normally fit Argyrou's (1996) definition of the "city dweller or bourgeoisie". The city dwellers, as opposed to the villagers, are according to Argyrou, the urban middle class Greek-Cypriots with a Eurocentric ideology that emerged since the 1930's, who display modern/western views. However, in our example, it is obvious that the actor (a city dweller or bourgeoisie) displays a traditional identity in regard to female sexuality. This is proof that city dwellers may portray aspects of traditional identities even in ordinary discourse.

It is important to emphasize, however, that the display of a certain type of identity may not necessarily imply the actual possession of that identity. In fact, while making his statement about a woman president being a temptation for men, the actor's ironic facial expressions and sarcastic tone of voice may indicate that he is trying, in a playful way, to ridicule society's traditional views. Therefore, although the participants may often project aspects of their actual selves, what they mostly present, are aspects of what Herzfeld (1986) refers to as a "symbolic identity". This type of identity is based on and reflects social and cultural expectations. As Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003: 59-60) state, "Gender ideology and assumed gender identity enter into shaping both the face individuals want to project and the face others are willing to ascribe to them." This view, about socially constructed identities drawing from a vast array of ideologies is also expressed in Hall and Bucholtz's (1995) edited volume.

The examples so far, ultimately reveal that men's display of female sexuality as temptation and a threat of honor is found both in ritual performances of chattista as well as in ordinary discourse. The fact that ordinary discourse leads to similar findings serves as supportive evidence that sexual identities projected in chattista performances, are in essence reflections of the reality of culture. As Danforth (1982: 29) points out, expressive behaviors such as a ritual performance is "a symbolic system or language that plays an important role in the construction of any cultural reality and is therefore part of the conversation with significant others". Chattista performances are one kind of the symbolic systems of the Cypriot culture, one type of language, in Danforth's sense, that expresses meaning and communicates information about culture.

4.2. Women's Chattista

In the previous section (4.1) we have seen how men define female sexuality. This section will demonstrate how women depict female sexuality. We will see that although women still preserve traditional ideologies, they also display modern views concerning sexuality.

4.2.1. Female sexuality re-evaluated and negotiated

In women's chattista, female sexuality as it relates to male honor and respect also becomes obvious. But for women, female sexuality, honor and respect acquire a different meaning. This is accomplished through re-evaluation and negotiation of meaning. In Example F below, a woman displays a modern view regarding the ideology of female sexuality, family honor and respect. The following excerpt is from a wedding that took place in 1988 at Frennaros, a village in Cyprus. The bride became pregnant while she was engaged. She decided to wait for her only sister and brother-in-law, who were studying in Italy, to come for the wedding. As a result of her decision to wait, the bride had given birth to her child before her wedding. This incident instigated a verbal antagonism with chattista between the bride's mother, Yorkulla (a woman in her forties), and a 62-year old professional male folk singer, Pkieris Pkierettis, during the wedding ceremony. This is how their verbal dueling was carried out:

Example F
Female sexuality re-evaluated and negotiated

. . .

1 Yorkulla: ***E:n bu ton Afendin don Theon im' efharistime:ni:***
E: to God the Lord I'm thankful

2 ***yaraman aman aman im'efharistime:ni***
indeed I'm thankful

3 ***O:n ivra ghambrues omorfus dg'ehun karkian mele:ni:n***
O: I have found handsome sons-in-law who have a sweet heart

4 ***yaraman aman aman dg'ehun karkian mele:nin***
indeed they have a sweet heart

5 ***O:n dge 'koma to kallitteron pu fkikan prokomme:ni:***
O: and even the best of all that they turned out to be virtuous

6 ***yaraman aman aman pu fkikan prokomme:ni***
indeed that they turned out to be virtuous

7 Pkierettis: ***E: Yorku ivres kalus ghambru:s man o: kamos su o:mos,***
E: Yorku you found good sons-in-law but this is your pain,

8 Audience : [laugh] ***Ela!***
[laugh] Come!

9 Newlyweds: [laugh]

10 Pkierettis: ***E: pu tes dhulies tu fenete pu ksevin nakkon pro:mon***
E: his actions show it that (the baby) came a bit early

11 Audience: [laugh]

12 Yorkulla: ***O:n pos eminen dge yennisen en dg' en kammia 'timia***
O: (the fact) that she waited and gave birth is not any dishonor

13 ***O:n berimenen t'adherfia tis na 'rtun, pu 'tan stin Italian***
O: she waited for her siblings to come, who were in Italy

. . .

In this example, Yorkulla sings a chattisto praising her sons-in-law (lines 3-6). She emphasizes the fact that her sons-in-law are not only nice and handsome, but virtuous "*prokommeni*", as well (line 5). Pkierettis, who is playing the violin and singing during the wedding, responds to her with another chattisto (lines 7 and 10). With this couplet, Pkierettis questions Yorkulla's family honor, implying that her daughter had a sexual relationship with her "*virtuous*" son-in-law before marriage. Pkierettis bases his argument on the fact that her son-in-law's actions are obvious since their three month old baby is present at the wedding.

Yorkulla immediately improvises another chattisto and responds to Pkierettis in order to save her family's threat of honor and as a consequence, their loss of respect (lines 12-13). She provides a justification that the baby's birth is not an evidence of lack of honor. The couple's baby was born because they had to wait for their siblings to come from Italy. Yorkulla here re-evaluates the issue of honor. In a sense, she portrays herself as a defender of family honor in order to alleviate her family's threat of respect. Notice how she carries out her argument. She mitigates the "dishonorable act" in a very strategic way. She avoids her daughter's loss of virginity and focuses on the sign of her fertility, so that the community will accept the fact that the mother has not failed her role as a guardian, her family is still honorable, and therefore, her husband is respectful. What becomes interesting here is that, while the woman adopts a modern view to justify her daughter's loss of chastity, she simultaneously displays a traditional view, by acknowledging the value of honor and respect as issues worth taking into serious consideration.

From the above example, we can deduct that, nowadays, it may be acceptable for a bride to become pregnant or even give birth to her child before her wedding, as long as she is engaged. As Argyrou (1996) claims, engagement, with the certainty of marriage and the sign of a woman's fertility, allows the community to accept her loss of virginity. This becomes evident in many women's chattista sung at weddings. The female singers make abundant reference to the fact that the bride is pregnant as well as to the child that will soon be born.

4.2.2. Female sexuality explicitly proclaimed

In the previous example (F), a woman re-evaluates and negotiates female sexuality, the value of honor and respect. She displays modern views concerning sexuality. The transition from traditional ideologies to modern views is re-evaluated through negotiation and manipulation of meaning. In the following excerpt from another wedding that took place in 1992 at the Paralimni Village, Kyriaku Muaimi, an even older woman in her sixties, does not feel obligated to negotiate female sexuality. She explicitly and proudly announces to the guests at the wedding, that her granddaughter is pregnant. It is worth noting that, Muaimi is the grandmother of the bride, and happens to be a professional folk singer of chattista.

Example G
Female sexuality explicitly proclaimed

. . .

1 Mouaimi: ***I Tonia evarethiken din oran mberimeni***
Tonia is bored (and) she can't wait

2 ***na stamatiso dge kani yati en angastromeni***
for me to stop (singing) and that's enough, because she is pregnant

3 Audience: [laugh]

. . .

In this example, the grandmother also displays a non-traditional modern view in reference to women's sexuality, but in a more direct and explicit way. She displays a female identity that violates in a sense the traditional values of female sexuality, honor and respect. What becomes interesting is that the same woman previously sang other chattista, advising her granddaughter to take good-care of her husband. The bride's grandmother addressed the following two consecutive couplets to the bride in order to proclaim the traditional value of respect on the part of a woman towards her husband.

```
Example H
“Respect” is taking good-care of your husband
                              . . .

1 Muaimi  E:n enan trauin enna po Tonia dge na to pkiasis
   Eeeh, one song I will sing, and you grasp it Tonia.

2  E: yalia sta sherka na kratis hamna ta na ton sasis
   Eeeh, (even if) you hold crystals in your hands, drop
>>> them to take care of him (your husband)

3  E:n dunda trauthkia pu lalo resse ta mes to nnu ssu
   Eeeh, these songs that I am saying, put them in your
mind

4  E:n dge yoni etsi tu kamna Tonia mu tu pappu su
   Eeeh this is what I also used to do to your grandpa,
my Tonia (i.e., I took good-care of your grandpa)

                              . . .
```

In the above couplets, the grandmother advises her granddaughter to drop whatever she holds in her hands, even if it is crystal, to take good-care of her husband. She emphasizes that this is what she (the grandmother) used to do as well. Kiriaku's couplet reveals the traditional Cypriot cultural expectation that a woman should take good-care of and show respect toward her husband. In this example, the singer, Kiriaku Muaimi, has projected a traditional identity of the respectful woman. However, the implied notion of "respect" here has another dimension –

that of the woman who serves her husband. This notion of "respect" is different than the "respect" related to a female's control of her sexuality.

If we put Examples F, G and H together, we can detect that while traditional views, such as women should be respectful by serving their husbands are still preserved, women's views concerning sexuality seem to have changed. Thus, we can safely say that, modern ideologies have emerged on the part of women, even in traditional practices, such as chattista performances. This is interesting because women (e.g. mothers or grandmothers), who serve as guardians to a girl, tend to have overcome one of the strongest taboos in the traditional society; that is, the protection of women's chastity before they get married. In addition, it becomes obvious that these projected female identities entail both traditional and modern views. The results indicate that, on the part of women, the display of gendered identities, in regard to female sexuality, are not constant, but are subjects to change, and that traditional and modern ideologies are intertwined. This is in agreement with Herzfeld's (1986) view that gendered categories are "symbolic categories", which are labile and manipulable. Of course, since Herzfeld is not restricted solely to the investigation of sexual identities, his gendered categories include both male and female stereotypes as having the capacity of variation and change. In Doukanari (1997), where I have investigated other types of gendered identities, I have found that male categories can also be labile and manipulable in regard to other gendered categories. However, in this paper, which primarily concentrates on the display of sexual identities, it appears that, in regard to the traditional definition of female sexuality, males are still more resistant to change than females.

Sociological studies of Cypriot society (e.g. Mylona *et al* 1981) record that liberal sexual ethic is more prevalent in towns and among middle-class educated women than in villages or among the lower urban classes. Argyrou's (1996) anthropological study shows that a growing number of young urban middle class women find this intolerable, and struggle to change, by getting for example, a university degree. My data, however, which have been collected between the years 1980-2006, show a different type of women. These women are villagers, middle-aged or older, mothers and grandmothers, who do not have much of a formal education, struggling through traditional performances for the acceptance of sexual liberation –at least, when women are engaged to be married.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the analysis of male talk in chattista performances reveals that men display and support traditional views associated with sexuality. That is, female sexuality is considered negative and inferior as compared to male sexuality, which is considered positive and superior. While a sexually active female is not a compliment for a man, a sexually active male is glorified for being amorous and a womanizer. A woman is always temptation for men, and as temptation, she poses a threat for male honor, family/national honor and respect. A man is justified for not being able to resist female temptation.

The analysis of female talk in women's chattista indicates that women still preserve traditional ideologies by displaying themselves as good caretakers of and being respectful to their husbands. However, they also re-evaluate and negotiate traditional ideologies in regard to chastity issues. That is, female sexuality, as it relates to honor and respect towards the males of the family, acquires a different meaning. Also, women are not reluctant to even explicitly proclaim a woman's pregnancy to the public. Thus women, display modern views concerning sexuality and seem to have overcome one of the strongest taboos in a traditional society.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge all the people and organizations that have helped me with my work: All my participants and informants; The Cultural Center of Larnaca; Foto Larko, Larnaca; Sigma Television Station, Nicosia; Radio Capital, Limassol.

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Las mujeres y la ciencia: ¿un caso de igualdad o de "diferencia"?

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Abstract

This study is an approach to the written work of several women scientists (e.g. I. Stengers, Marie A. Hermite, D. Vaughan), through texts belonging to interviews where these women present their viewpoints on the scientific world. We claim that the gender mark in these cases should not be looked for in tracks appearing at the surface of their writing, as we found in earlier work (cf. Olivares 2002, 2003a, 2003b), but on their sensitivity and positioning with respect to the problems in the world. When intellectual women deal with the domain of knowledge, science or *epistemé*, their language, in principle, is not different from that of their men colleagues. However, it is in the domain of emotional intelligence –i.e. concerning attitudes, sensitiveness, raising awareness regarding environmental issues, ecology, among others— that the "difference" can be seen, even if only qualitatively. Women scientists tend to be more "conciliatory" when speaking about problems menacing us (e.g. I. Stengers in her defense of ecology and democratic spirit). They want to be fair in their evaluations of others (M. A. Hermite). They also rise against the "incompetence" of aerospace technology (e.g. work by D. Vaughan). Equality and difference exist side by side in their writings.
Key words: *'difference' ~equality ~ women scientists*

1. Introducción

El propósito de nuestro estudio es una aproximación a los escritos de algunas mujeres científicas (e.g. I. Stengers, M- A. Hermitte, D. Vaughan entre otras) sacados sobre todo de entrevistas en las que reflexionan

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 125-141.

sobre su propia concepción del mundo científico. Nuestra idea central defiende que la marca del *género* en estos casos no debe buscarse en huellas que aparecen en la superficie de sus escritos o enunciados, como hemos estudiado con anterioridad (cf. Olivares 2002, 2003a, 2003b), sino en su *sensibilidad* y *posicionamiento* ante los problemas del mundo. En efecto, cuando las mujeres intelectuales abordan el terreno del conocimiento, de la ciencia o de la *epistemé,* su lenguaje, en principio, no se diferencia del de sus colegas masculinos. Ahora bien, en el ámbito de la inteligencia emocional, i.e. en el mundo de las actitudes, la sensibilidad, la concienciación ante problemas medio-ambientales, ecología, entre otros, es donde emerge la diferencia aunque sea sólo de tipo cualitativo. Las mujeres científicas suelen ser más conciliadoras ante los problemas que nos amenazan, (e.g. I. Stengers y su defensa de la interdisciplinaridad y del espíritu democrático). Quieren ser justas en las evaluaciones del otro, para lo que proponen comisiones de expertos (M. A. Hermitte). También se contra los "descuidos" de la técnica aeroespacial (e.g. los trabajos de D. Vaughan*).* *Igualdad* y *diferencia* conviven en sus obras. Nuestro trabajo, presentará, pues, una pequeña muestra de algunos hilos conductores de su pensamiento.

A continuación examinaremos de forma propedéutica una serie de conceptos de índole general, para en un segundo tiempo abordar aspectos precisos de nuestras tres intelectuales.

1.1. Sobre algunas nociones clave: lenguaje / sexo / género

No es una novedad el afirmar las estrechas relaciones entre *lenguaje, sexo y género*. Toda una tradición de estudios sobre estos aspectos ha florecido en el panorama internacional. Como ya pusimos de manifiesto (Olivares 2002, 2003a) y siguiendo una célebre cita de Marina Yaguello (1992) una lengua no es un bloque homogéneo, sino que está ligada a una serie de parámetros sociales, situacionales, étnicos etc., pero sobre todo a la diferencia sexual entre hombres y mujeres (Lakoff 1975, Colaizzi 1990, Irigaray 1990, Amossy 1991, Coates 1993, García Mouton 1999, Cameron 2003 entre otros). Dicho en otras palabras, dando por sentado la interrelación entre lengua y sociedad, hay una serie de *variables sociales* como afirma la sociolingüista Mª T. Turell (1984) dentro de ellas está evidentemente la *variable sexo*.

Evidentemente, existen diferencias entre el uso del lenguaje por parte de los hombres y por las mujeres. Se han detectado una serie de rasgos, suprasegmentales (entonación, timbre etc.), fonéticos, léxicos, sintácticos e incluso gestuales. Las causas de esta diferenciación son variadas, además de aquellas que tienen su origen en la biología (causas psicológicas y fisiológicas). El lenguaje femenino o la lengua de las mujeres en esta línea diferenciadora posee "una mayor riqueza verbal", "una mayor cortesía", una "mejor calidad" (López García & Morant 1991, 1995) frente al discurso más duro, racional, menos cortés y directo de los hombres (Martínez Benlloch & Bonilla 2000). También recordaremos que otro tipo de estudios, de corte antropológico (Buxó-Rey 1978) postulan la diferencia como el resultado del estatus social tradicional al que han estado sometidas las mujeres (discriminación social, ideológica etc.).

Dada la íntima relación entre *sexo y lenguaje*, también debemos definir el concepto de *género* frente a *sexo*. Evidentemente, tras lo que hemos apuntado en nuestro párrafo anterior, este último reposa sobre caracteres fisiológicos innatos (Bassov 1986) mientras que el primero, *el género*, está ligado a una serie de rasgos de tipo cultural, psicológico y social (i.e. *rôles* estereotipados de madre, ama de casa etc. en la familia tradicional). Ya Simone de Beauvoir, pionera feminista, afirmaba que "la mujer no nace, se hace". Hay un cierto radicalismo en esta afirmación de la ilustre filósofa francesa, que no compartimos al cien por cien, pues biológicamente se nace hombre o mujer. Ahora bien, pensamos que ella quería subrayar con esta frase provocadora que la "mujer se hace" en medio de un entorno que la modela e insta a una serie de comportamientos de "mujer" (esposa, madre, crianza de los hijos, disponibilidad, coquetería, banalidad,) frente a los del "hombre" (macho, seguridad, agresividad, profundidad, lógica, racionalidad). En este sentido los *rôles de género* están "tipificados", "estereotipados". Por eso, citamos la definición dada por Cameron (2003: 202) hace unos años también aquí en Valencia: "By 'gender' I mean a social system which defines subjects as men or women, and governs the relationships between them. By 'sexuality' I mean a social system regulating the forms and the expression of erotic desire". Así, el *género* (Olivares 2003a: 235) funciona como un sistema de valores, relativos a la diferencia sexual. Es un "constructo"socio-cultural ligado a un contexto histórico dado.

1.2. Aportaciones del feminismo: igualdad y diferencia

Nuestra recientemente galardonada, feminista y filósofa valenciana, Celia Amorós, en su ensayo sobre *La gran diferencia y sus pequeñas* consecuencias (2005) hace un análisis pormenorizado de estos dos conceptos en la base de los movimientos feministas. Amorós distingue de forma palmaria *igualdad* e *identidad*. Así, igualdad desencadena la idea utópica de "mundo igualitario" (*ibidem* 87), mientras que el término identidad desencadena la idea de estereotipo *(ibidem* 88). La igualdad supone, pues, una relación de equivalencia, una relación de homologación. Los iguales lo son ante la ley. Entre ellos no hay identidad, lo que justifica que haya ámbitos de poder. Así, los varones son individuos, son iguales. Mientras que largo tiempo las mujeres han sido "indiscernibles", en el lugar del espacio de los iguales (individuos), ellas son las idénticas. Aún en nuestros días, a la mujer de forma peyorativa cuando se la quiere ofender, se dice de ella que es una "individua", uso imposible en el ámbito masculino, pues los hombres han sido individualizados. La falta de individualización explicaría, por consiguiente, la consideración de "multitud indiferenciada" que ya desde Plantón se predica de las mujeres (ver estereotipos). Así, el espacio de las mujeres es el espacio de "las idénticas" (*ibidem* 109). La identidad se define como el conjunto de términos indiscernibles que comparten un predicado común, por ejemplo cuando decimos: "las mujeres son coquetas".

Encuadrando el tema en el contexto ideológico, ha sido el feminismo quien ha apuntado hacia este tipo de cuestiones desde el siglo pasado. De forma sintética podríamos decir que ha dado lugar a dos grandes escuelas: a) el feminismo de la *diferencia,* hablar de "mujeres", en lugar de la "mujer", es individualizarla y establecer una diferencia frente al hombre, poniendo en cuestión las atribuciones tradicionales femeninas (ver los trabajos de L. Irigaray: "la différence sexuelle" heredera del estructuralismo y deconstructivismo de Derrida y el grupo de feministas italianas en torno a L. Muraro); su discurso es cercano al anarquismo, con un cierto voluntarismo, al proponer una “cierta libertad interior” (¡como pasaba con los esclavos...!); b) el feminismo *vindicativo* o de la *igualdad*,[1] luchador, que tiene sus raíces en los Estados Unidos y se extiende a Europa. “La igualdad está íntimamente unida a la idea de vindicación de la que se puede y se debe mantener que ha sido históricamente el nervio de todo feminismo” (Amorós 2005: 289). El feminismo buscará la igualdad en derechos, eliminar las barreras discriminatorias y la dominación masculina y la liberación de la mujer. Dos escuelas, pues la americana y la europea que buscan borrar los estereotipos y el conformismo de los *rôles* de género.

1.3. Las mujeres y la ciencia

Las mujeres, tradicionalmente, han asumido poco a poco una serie de responsabilidades, profesiones, de *rôles* desde su incorporación al mundo del trabajo. Así, la enseñanza, primero en el nivel de primaria y secundaria y más recientemente en la Universidad, tareas administrativas o comerciales han sido los “sitios” privilegiados para la mujer como colectivo que ha querido emanciparse. Más concretamente en el terreno académico, intelectual, la incorporación, aún siendo cada vez más numerosa sobre todo en las mal llamadas áreas de “letras” o ciencias del hombre (i.e. filosofía[2], lingüística, literatura, historia etc[3].) en las ciencias “blandas” (biología,[4] medicina, sociología, psicología etc.) las filas se van enriqueciendo mientras que las ciencias “duras” (física, matemáticas[5]) son todavía mayoritarias “masculinas”. No olvidamos las escuelas politécnicas que cada vez tienen más estudiantes mujeres.[6] Así, a modo de curiosidad, Sánchez Ron[7], en su libro sobre la ciencia en España en los siglos XIX y XX, dice que las mujeres dedicadas a tareas científicas fueron poco numerosas en todos los países a lo largo de la historia. En efecto, cita seis mujeres entre más de mil hombres. En el ámbito de la historia de las ciencias a nivel mundial, bajo la dirección de Philippe de la Cotardière (2004), el panorama no es más alentador. Solamente aportaremos algunos nombres paradigmáticos asociados a su pareja, como es el caso de Pierre Curie (1859-1906) y Marie Curie

(1867-1934) con sus trabajos sobre el átomo de uranio asociado a la la radioactividad, los Joliot-Curie (Frédéric (1900-1958) e Irène (1897-1956) que estudian la radiactividad artificial, en física atómica, la austríaca Lisa Meitner (1878-1968) o la americana de origen alemán María Goeppert-Meyer (1906-1972) y sus trabajos sobre el núcleo atómico, así como los de la matemática alemana Emmy Noether (1882-1935) sobre la ley de conservación en la base de las simetrías matemáticas.

2. Estudio de casos

Nuestro propósito es analizar unas entrevistas realizadas a tres mujeres científicas/ intelectuales por *La Recherche*[8]*,* la primera, química, filósofa e historiadora de la ciencia (I. Stengers), la segunda, jurista (M-A. Hermitte) y la tercera, socióloga (D. Vaughan). Comenzaremos presentado brevemente a nuestra mujeres.

2.1. Isabelle Stengers (Bélgica, 1949)

Licenciada en química, doctora, filósofa e historiadora de la ciencia. Profesora en la ULB (Universidad Libre de Bruselas), es directora del grupo "Etudes Constructivistes GECo, ULB. Es autora de numerosos libros y ensayos. Dos de ellos en compañía del premio Nóbel de Química de 1977, I. Prigogine, *La Nouvelle Alliance* (1979) y *Entre le temps et l'éternité* (1988), que constituyen una reflexión sobre la física enfrentada a los problemas del tiempo y la irreversibilidad; *Cosmopolitiques*, 7 volúmenes (1996-1997), un estudio sobre el poder de los conceptos científicos; e *Hypnose entre magie et science* (1992), sobre la complicada relación entre hipnosis, psicoanálisis y la ciencia. También ha escrito sobre historia de la ciencia, filosofía especulativa (*Penser avec Whitehead*, 2002) y sobre política (*La Sorcellerie capitaliste*, con P. Pignarre 2005).

Nuestro comentario versa sobre una entrevista[9]: "Et si un jour les sciences devenaient civilisées…" / Y si un día las ciencias fueran civilizadas … Entrevista aparecida en *La Recherche*[10] el 7 septiembre 2003: 67-70.

Se trata de una sección constante de la revista en la que se entrevistan a personajes científicos de actualidad. El documento comporta 11 preguntas del periodista a la entrevistada, I. Stengers, sobre su opinión sobre las ciencias y “cómo pensarlas”con sus respectivas respuestas. Como todo texto, podremos abordarlo atendiendo a dos niveles de estudio. Por una parte, los aspectos del contenido de sus respuestas, y por otra, algunos aspectos formales o discursivos que analizaremos como pistas o huellas que revelan un talante diferente, de mujer.

Ante las preguntas del entrevistador, Stengers desgrana todo su pensamiento humanístico, ahora bien, no exento de crítica. Así, frente a afirmaciones tales como la de Heidegger “la science ne pense pas”/ la ciencia no piensa. Ella deslinda el concepto que tenemos de las ciencia y lo que nos imaginamos que es el “esprit scientifique”/el espíritu científico, ya que las ciencias son el resultado de un proceso histórico y político. Ella postula que las dos actividades: la científica y la reflexiva no son antinómicas. Ciertamente, frente a una actitud de especialización y de desprecio hacia otros saberes, muchos científicos sí practican la actividad científica y el “pensar”. A pesar de eso, la ciencia actual se muestra decepcionante, pues ha perdido la perspectiva colectiva, víctima de una especialización. En efecto, los investigadores se embarcan en lo que se ha llamado la “big science” lo que se busca es más la tecnología que las grandes cuestiones. Aunque ha habido siempre una simbiosis entre ciencia y tecnología, no obstante esta simbiosis se convierte en una especie de circularidad. En este punto crítico tenemos ante nosotros dos vías a) renunciar a las cuestiones “exigentes e inventivas” y sucumbir a una “tecno-ciencia”, o por el contrario, “la invención científica”, el diálogo con otros saberes, es lo que ella denomina “entrar en civilización”. Según, Stengers, a pesar de que los científicos han perdido el contacto entre ellos, pueden cambiar, dejando su culto a la autonomía. Esto debido a que tienen inquietud frente a las políticas actuales, al neoliberalismo, aunque quieren parecer “apolíticos”, unido también a las políticas de “progreso” actuales en donde los movimientos sociales les interpelan y demandan su autoridad.

Otro punto importante de la entrevista es el papel que otorga a las “conferencias de ciudadanos” en tanto que formas de consulta democrática para problemas candentes de nuestra sociedad como los OGM (i.e. organismos genéticamente modificados). Ciertamente, la consulta a los ciudadanos habría ayudado a una mejor gestión del problema, aunque a menudo, señala también nuestra pensadora, son los mismos ciudadanos los que toman la iniciativa, como el caso de los padres de los niños con miopatías que rechazaron ser el porta-estandarte de un progreso que no estaba asegurado. Cita también otro caso, el Act up y los enfermos de sida que han creado una competencia distinta de los científicos pero con les permitía el contacto de forma inteligente con aquellos.

Para ella, únicamente las ciencias son innovadoras cuando se plantean preguntas que no se habían formulado con anterioridad, es decir cuando son críticas y proponen preguntas y respuestas. Por eso, piensa que la cultura racional (resultados, ecuaciones, principios) deberían enterrarse para dar paso a lo que llama la “aventura de la ciencia”, es decir las “pasiones” de los que la produjeron.

En cuanto a los aspectos discusivos sólo resaltaremos algunos rasgos que consideramos paradigmáticos. En el juego de turno de habla entre el entrevistador y la entrevistada se producen una serie de marcas enunciativas. Cuando hay una pregunta directa y la respuesta es un verbo epistémico, entonces emplea el deíctico de primera persona *je crois*, (p. 68) (“Je crois que les sciences expérimentales ont toujours été en symbiose” (p.68)/ “Je ne crois pas que les scientifiques soient capables d’y arriver seuls (p. 68). Cuando hace referencia a la obra en colaboración con la otra historiadora de la ciencia: B. Bensaude – Vincent, surge el *nous* / nosotras, por ejemplo: “Ce que nous appelons sciences résulte d’un processus historique [...]” (p.67), mientras que el pronombre *on* tiene el valor del sujeto indefinido o la comunidad científica: “on entretient même l’idée que la créativité scientifique dépend d’un certain mépris de telles questions [...]” (p. 67) / “On a vu le même genre de démarche avec Act up et les malades du sida” (p.70). El uso de las comillas sirve para poner de relieve una noción, mencionada, que se somete a definición metalingüística o crítica: “Ce que nous appelons “sciences” résulte…” (p. 67) , la “big science”, (p. 68) “la techno-science” (p. 68), “c’est que j’appellerais “entrer en civilisation”, “néolibéralisme”, (p.68) “le fait que l’Association française [...] puisse ne pas s’identifier aux recherches génétiques “qui –vont-sauver-leurs-enfants” (sic. p. 69). Enunciados asertivo-evaluativos que expresan una toma de posición luchadora: “Mais voilà les scientifiques d’aujourd’hui ont une assez mauvaise tolérance à la perplexité” (p.70), “Cela fait longtemps que les études de sciences sont spécialisées [...] C’est en cela que la science actuelle est pour moi décevante: elle produit de moins en moins d’intelligence collective” (p. 67). “Tels qu’ils sont formés aujourd’hui, ils sont aussi à l’aise dans un forum de discussion qu’un chat dans une baignoire” (p. 70). En su afán de definir lo que piensa que es la tarea de la historia de la ciencia el uso de adjetivos tales como *vraie* es fundamental: “La vraie histoire des sciences sont les aventures…” (p.70). Sus convicciones últimas van expresadas de forma modalizada, atenuada, mediante condicionales: “Je souhaiterais que les enseignants racontent ces aventures à leurs élèves” (p.70).

2.2. Marie-Angèle Hermitte

Es doctora en derecho. Ilustre jurista, Directora de investigación en el CNRS, encargada de la agencia de “expertise scientifique” la entrevista que estudiamos apareció en *La Recherche* 309, mayo 1998: 95-97, titulada: “Marie-Angèle Hermitte: Pour une agence de l’expertise scientifique” / M-A. Hermitte: Por una agencia del peritaje científico. Se trata de 17 preguntas con sus respectivas réplicas. La entrevista viene justificada por el al interés que despertó la propuesta de la mencionada jurista en torno a la creación de una *agencia de expertos* científicos. Hermitte, de formación, como ella misma explica, en derecho privado y derecho económico europeo, hacia 1986, se interesa de forma autodidacta por la introducción de nuevas técnicas, esencialmente en biología vegetal, después en las biotecnologías y en genética humana. El contacto con estas disciplinas la llevan a confrontar sistemas de pensamiento *conflictivos,* es decir, se plantea el tema capital de la repercusión / llegada de los resultados científicos a una sociedad sin gran preparación. Dicho en otras palabras, la cuestión clásica de la relaciones entre democracia y ciencia. Para salvar el abismo, lo que llama el "eslabón perdido" propone la creación de una agencia de *expertise,* pues constata que una serie de decisiones parecen ser tomadas de forma democrática cuando en el fondo no está claro. Cuestiones alimenticias como el caso de aditivos por ejemplo. Su preocupación es que el proceso de decisión sea claro para lo cual es fundamental la independencia de los expertos. Además, hay que organizar lo que ella llama en derecho "le principe du contradictoire", según el cual todas las tesis, incluso las más descabelladas puede ser consideradas, puesto que la cultura científica tiende a rechazar las hipótesis marginales para centrarse en aquellas que tienen un cierto consenso. Como buena jurista, su concepción del mundo es *polémica*. Dicho de otra forma, ella quiere indicar por medio de la palabra *polémica* la idea de lucha, de confrontación verbal (i.e. hay tesis dominantes, menores, marginales). Por el contrario, para el científico (e.g. el biólogo) hay una *realidad*, y no considerará honesto exponer una tesis *atípica*. En este sentido, constata que a menudo el experto está ligado a intereses industriales, a redes de influencia, creándose interrelaciones. A lo que se añade el hecho siguiente: en las decisiones de un ministro es la comisión de expertos quien tiene el verdadero poder. Como las comisiones de expertos están formadas por la gente más conocida en su terreno, constamos que en una etapa concreta, el mismo científico es reclamado por todas partes. A lo que se añade que ciertos expertos son escogidos porque van en el mismo sentido que las orientaciones que se desean realizar. Cuando hay una catástrofe, ligada a la utilización de un producto, las víctimas ya no se contentan con indemnizaciones, sino que quieren encontrar al responsable en el sentido jurídico. En este sentido, Hermitte pone sobre el tapete la responsabilidad de los expertos, para ella el experto deberá ser medido con el mismo rasero del derecho común, su responsabilidad se dará si ha ocultado voluntariamente información. Pasando a ejemplos concretos, el estudio de los expertos nunca es suficiente, pues en el caso de los organismos genéticamente modificados, podemos hacernos preguntas sobre si tal gen del maíz puede transmitirse a tal especie animal, pero las respuestas no son claras. En estos casos, la *expertise* debe tener en cuenta todos los aspectos. En caso de proceso, el juez deberá tomar una decisión después de haber oído las partes. Del mismo modo, el experto, no exactamente como hace un jurista, debe también escuchar los argumentos. Hemos visto que los expertos tienen un papel decisivo aunque su papel sea simplemente consultivo. En este sentido, la agencia organizaría los peritajes/*expertises* y fijaría las reglas de procedimiento. Su propuesta, finalmente, es la creación de una "agence pour l'expertise" que debería remunerar directamente a los expertos y no el estado. Estaría financiada por los industriales. Pero para salvaguardar la independencia política e industrial tendría que ella misma identificar y seleccionar los expertos.

Desde el punto de vista discursivo, constatamos algunas diferencias con las respuestas de Stengers. La formación de jurista lleva a Hermitte al empleo sistemático del deíctico de primera persona *je*. Por eso, se produce la asunción de la responsabilidad enunciativa que deja sus huellas en el texto: "ma formation" (p. 95), "J'ai commencé" (p. 95), "j'ai été confrontée à des systèmes de pensée" (p. 95), "Je me suis rendu compte" (p. 95), "je pense que le point le plus important de l'expertise..." (p. 97) "J'emploie un terme qui correspond à ce qui est couramment pratiqué..." (p. 97), "Je crois effectivement que les juristes pensent que la société..." (p. 97) No hemos encontrado ningún deíctico personal en plural /(e.g. *nous*), pero sí hemos localizado el uso de *on* (equivalente al indefinido se o al colectivo *nous*) para enunciados en el que nuestra jurista no se implica sino que constata hechos, veamos dos ejemplos: "Par ailleurs, certains experts sont choisis parce qu'ils vont dans le sens des orientations qu'on souhaite leur voir prendre" (p.96), "D'une part, il y a une dépendance de l'expert [...] On ne peut évidemment pas l'éviter" (p.96).

Siguiendo con nuestro análisis, añadiremos que el conjunto de las enunciados tiene una fuerte carga argumentativa, típico del lenguaje de los juristas en el que abundan los conectores (*mais, alors, en fait*): "Le mot polémique me gêne un peu... Mais si vous l'entendez au sens de la lutte, alors, oui, on peut dire que la pensée juridique conçoit le monde selon le mode de lutte. En fait, il y a là une position [...] (p. 96).

2.3. Diane Vaughan

Profesora de sociología en el Boston College, Massachussets, las conclusiones de su trabajo sobre la explosión de la nave espacial *Challenger* aparecieron en 1996 en una obra que le supuso numerosos premios: *The Challenger Launch Decisión, Risky Technology, Culture and Deviance at NASA* (The University of Chicago Press). Especialista en lo que se ha llamado *deviance* / desviación. De hecho, algunos análisis recientes de grandes accidentes han mostrado que la *deviance* no se limita únicamente a los individuos. La gran catástrofe del *Challenger* le sugirió este nuevo concepto, que se aplica a toda una organización. Como veremos en nuestra entrevista, la autora analiza de forma pormenorizada todos los aspectos del fiasco espacial. La entrevista analizada es la siguiente: "Diane Vaughan: les leçons d'une explosion / D.V. Las lecciones de una explosión. *(La Recherche* 329, marzo 2000: 109-111). A través de ella, vemos que reflexiona sobre el concepto de "desviación"que es el resultado de la acumulación de anomalías que se transforman en rutinas. La autora explica que en la base de la *desviación* hay una serie de lecciones que hemos de sacar. Vaughan une, pues, un fino espíritu analítico de los comportamientos institucionales con un afán pedagógico. Así, según sus palabras, los accidentes recientes de la NASA (e.g. las dos sondas a Marte) se deben a que los programas espaciales comportan muchos colaboradores, subcontratas; se comenten errores sistemáticamente que el gran público ignora. Así, Vaughan explica que en la época de la catástrofe del *Challenge*r (1986) se encontraba trabajando sobre la noción *inconduite*/ mala conducta, es decir comportamiento individual erróneo. El *Challenger* tenía, según la explicación oficial, todas las apariencias del perfecto ejemplo. Al iniciar su trabajo sobre el *Challenger* no esperaba que pudiera poner en cuestión las conclusiones de la Comisión presidencial. Dicha comisión colocó la responsabilidad sobre ciertos individuos que habrían ignorado las recomendaciones de los ingenieros, las reglas de seguridad, no se trataría de un simple caso de accidente técnico sino de un caso de conducta errónea. Así, sólo fueron llamados cinco ingenieros que precisamente se habían opuesto al lanzamiento y no todos. No se pasaron encuestas exhaustivas como habría hecho un sociólogo. Como la Comisión sólo disponía de tres meses entonces estaba sometida a limitaciones de orden práctico. A lo que se añade que las entrevistas no fueron hechas por los mismos miembros de la Comisión. Una vez presentado el estado de la cuestión, Vaughan muestra en su análisis que durante los años precedentes la NASA había instaurado progresivamente una situación que les conducía a considerar que "todo iba bien" mientras que algo iba mal. Así se produjo un proceso por el cual los individuos fueron llevados a hacer una serie de cosas que en otro contexto habrían sido consideradas deliberadamente "desviantes". Pone como ejemplo que en el programa de la NSA había ya un programa de "riesgo aceptable": "the acceptable risk process". Se produjo una especia de "fe en los métodos" y había que aplicarlos rigurosamente. Por eso, cuando surge la oposición de los ingenieros de Thiokol[11] al lanzamiento, no se tiene en cuenta, porque no supieron presentar a los managers los argumentos adecuados. Se había desarrollado un contexto de *croyance* /creencia. La decisión de proceder al lanzamiento no tuvo nada de anormal en el *contexto cultural* de la época. Había una cultura de las subcontratas ya en el *Apollo,* pero en el *Challenger* se multiplicó y aumentó el peso de la burocracia; además hubo una fuerte presión debido a dificultades presupuestarias. Para ella, la diferencia entre ambos programas, el *Apollo* y el *Challenger,* es que el primero era experimental y el segundo operacional. Por consiguiente, según Vaughan, una nueva cultura hizo posible la normalización de las desviaciones. En la misma línea crítica expresa su desconfianza ante el nuevo lema del dirigente actual de la NASA: "Better, faster and cheaper"/ Mejor, mejor más rápido, más barato. Lo que supone un *oxímoron* o contrasentido. Aunque los errores son inevitables, ya que no se pueden controlar todos los parámetros de una situación sí que es capital tome nota de sus errores. Para ella, hay que ampliar cada vez más el campo de análisis de los errores en sistemas complejos tales como los hospitales o los controles aéreos para poder explicar los errores y ayudar a tomar las buenas decisiones.

Finalmente desde el punto de vista discursivo, las réplicas a las preguntas del periodista combinan la implicación de la socióloga respondiendo en primera persona como en "Je venais à l'époque de finir un livre…” (p. 109), “Je crois d’abord que la Commission” (p. 109), en forma negativa también: “Je ne crois pas qu’il faille”. Identificamos marcas dialógicas en el empleo de formas del imperativo en primera persona del plural: “N’oublions pas que les programmes spatiaux” (p.109), y en segunda: “Ajoutez à cela que les membres de la Comisión” (p. 110). Además, Vaughan utiliza la pasiva o la voz medio-pasiva como estrategia privilegiada para diluir la responsabilidad del agente, capital en el hilo argumentativo de su discurso: “Des erreurs sont faites en permanence dans toute organisation complexe” (p.109), “Mais petit à petit, s’est instaurée une sorte de foi dans les méthodes…” (p. 110), “La conclusion suivante s’imposa alors à la Comisión” (109). Las réplicas tienen un fuerte carácter argumentativo mediante el uso de marcadores de reformulación: *c’est-à-dire*, de contraste: *cependant*, *or*, *mais* o de consecuencia: *donc*.

3. A modo de conclusión

Hemos hecho un recorrido somero sobre una serie de distinciones de tipo conceptual con el objeto de analizar las relaciones de las mujeres con la ciencia. La *igualdad* conlleva la idea de los mismos derechos que el individuo masculino. Evidentemente, en el caso de la ciencia, nuestras intelectuales se han ganado el respeto de la comunidad científica por su propia labor. La *identidad,* término hipostasiado, comporta tanto la reivindicación de la *diferencia* como la defensa de unos derechos, raza, etnia, etc. No deberemos caer en los tópicos sobre los comportamientos de las mujeres y sus diferencias, que evidentemente lo son, de tipo biológico, lo cual nadie pone en duda. La ciencia en tanto que dominio de la *epistemé* no tiene por qué ser “de hombres” o de “mujeres”, el *logos* transciende los sexos. No es un problema de *género,* la *diferencia* hemos de buscarla en las actitudes, la toma de posición ante problemas. Hemos analizado las relaciones entre ciencia y civilización basándonos en una serie de reflexiones humanístico-culturales (ver I. Stengers). Además, temas tan esenciales como la salud, el poder institucional, búsqueda de una ética hospitalaria han sido tratados por M-A. Hermitte. Finalmente, D. Vaughan ha propuesto un análisis lúcido sobre la cultura institucionalizada de las *desviaciones*. *Igualdad* es un término que desencadena los derechos inalienables de todo ser humano, *identidad* es la aceptación de la especificidad dentro de un grupo y conlleva, pues, la *diferencia* frente al otro. Aceptar la *diferencia* es justamente el aspecto más pertinente en el análisis de todo tipo de relaciones. En consecuencia, nuestro trabajo ha pretendido poner de relieve este binomio no antinómico: las producciones del *logos* transcienden el *género*, pero las motivaciones profundas que los han provocado no.

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Notas

[1] Ver el excelente trabajo sobre la igualdad de A. Valcárcel (1993).

[2] No podemos enumerar las grandes figuras femeninas en el terreno del pensamiento, sólo por razones de economía citaremos a Maria Zambrano o María Moliner ejemplos paradigmáticos del s. XX.

[3] El estado de la cuestión que presentamos puede aplicarse, salvando algunas distancias, al panorama español y al francés que ha sido nuestro objeto de estudio. Así, en el país vecino, la enseñanza está también mayoritariamente en manos femeninas, mientras que áreas de conocimiento como la filosofía, o la física o las matemáticas siguen siendo áreas masculinas.

[4] Recordemos el caso de la primera académica científica de la RAE, la investigadora del CSIC: Margarita Salas cuyo discurso de entrada a la academia fue sobre "Lenguaje y Genética"el 4 de junio de 2003.

[5] Aportamos, con satisfacción, este dato anecdótico que prueba, no obstante, un cambio: la profesora Olga Gil Medano de la Facultad de Matemáticas de la Universitat de València es la nueva Presidenta de la Real Sociedad Matemática Española desde el 27 de octubre de 2006.

[6] Recordemos que desde el CSIC se ha creado una comisión sobre las mujeres y la ciencia: consultar la pág. http://www.csic.es/mujer_ciencia.do

[7] Cf. M. Sánchez Ron (1999) también académico de la RAE.
[8] *La Recherche* es una prestigiosa revista divulgativa francesa de larga tradición, ligada en su creación al Centre Nacional de Recherche Scientifique (CNRS).
[9] Este trabajo nos ha venido sugerido, además de nuestro interés por los escritos de mujeres, como una continuación de los análisis de entrevistas a hombres: "Las manifestaciones de los científicos: ¿un ejemplo del equilibrio entre el discurso fundacional y la modestia –cortesía?", estudio que aparecerá próximamente en el número sobre Pragmática y Cortesía de *Quaderns de Filología, Estudis Linguistics,* Universitat de València ed. por P. Bou, A. Briz y A. Sopeña.
10. La traducción es nuestra. Además, hemos de recordar que esta entrevista se justifica, pues la autora acababa de sacar al mercado un nuevo libro junto con Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent (2003).
[11] Se trata de un grupo de productos de caucho sintéticos derivados de compuestos orgánicos para sellar aperturas.

Gender and sexuality discussion in an EFL College Classroom in Japan: Finding an Appropriate Pedagogical Strategy

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Abstract

This article explains how a language educator in a women's junior college in Japan found and implemented an appropriate teaching strategy to explore issues of gender and sexuality with students. This strategy involved the use of a narrative-based pedagogy, which used life-history narratives from interviews with queer individuals and that elicited in-class narratives. Six main reasons are given for the effectiveness of this teaching strategy: (a) it takes account of surrounding sociocultural conditions and focuses on local queer lives; (b) it can be adopted for use in learning contexts that have traditionally been averse to issues surrounding sexuality; (c) it affirms the identities and rights of queer-identifying individuals in the face of masculinist ideologies; (d) it avoids reinforcing sexual identity stereotypes; (e) it harmonizes with principles of effective language teaching and provides valuable data for language analysis. This article hopes to encourage educators interested in alternative pedagogies to use this or other locally-based strategies to integrate sexuality issues into their teaching lives.

Key words: *heteronormativity ~ gender and sexualitty ~ queer narratives ~ EFL teaching ~ queer pedagogy*

This article offers an account of my efforts as a language teacher to find and implement an appropriate pedagogical strategy for classroom inquiry into issues of gender and sexuality. The first section of the article adopts a reflexive tone to describe the background of my search for an appropriate pedagogical strategy that was culturally appropriate and

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 142-160.

institutionally viable. This is followed by a description of the workplace setting in question, which I characterize as a heteronormative environment, i.e., a web of social sites where dominant practices equate conventional heterosexual relationships with "normal" sexuality (cf. Butler 1990). The following sections detail the narrative-based approach and conclude with a section on the potential of this approach to promote language acquisition.

Classroom inquiry was based on life-history narrative data provided by two participants in my doctoral dissertation study (O'Mochain 2005): Naomi, a self-identifying lesbian and university student, and Kaito, a gay teacher of English in a senior high school. Their stories are presented here as they seemed effective in eliciting an understanding of the difficulties faced by queer people as well as an appreciation of queer resistance to dominant norms of gender and sexuality. Reading through Naomi and Kaito's autobiographical data stimulated a fruitful classroom discussion and new in-class narratives, in which the gaps in heteronormative dominance could come to light. One in-class narrative is presented in this article to illustrate the potential of this activity to problematize stereotypical notions of sexual identity.

1. The Search for the Right Teaching Strategy

This section attempts to incorporate elements of a review of relevant literature into a more reflexive account of how and why I sought a particular type of pedagogical strategy for my EFL college classroom. I tell the story of what I perceived as the main challenges involved in raising sexuality issues in my own particular teaching context, and how I arrived at a pedagogical strategy that I believed could address a wide range of needs. As an educator with a queer identity, I have long felt a personal investment in the task of confronting heteronormative discourses in the classroom. My awareness of these issues prompted a desire to find a suitable pedagogy in my teaching life. However, I wanted to find a pedagogical strategy that would stand on its own merits, and not simply reflect my own personal interests. In addition, I was teaching in a Christian college where I believed my job was at risk if I introduced pedagogies that could be construed as promoting homosexuality, and where students rarely felt called or encouraged to respond to innovative approaches into sexuality issues. I feared that any of my students who were questioning their own sexuality or who identified as lesbians would find few resources in the college or in wider society to help them create a coherent and affirmative narrative of self. In addition, my readings of relevant literature left me with a series of tensions and dilemmas. Some of these readings include the following:

Kubota (1999) points to the dangers of reductionistic representations of Japanese culture. She maintains that dominant discourses in academia often construct a cultural dichotomy of West versus East, often casting the former as more progressive or critical than the latter. Reading Kubota's article made me aware of the danger of becoming part of a Western discourse that orientalizes the Asian *other*. Further considerations were prompted by reading Valentine (1997). In his exploration of how language constructs marginalized sexual identities in Japanese contexts, Valentine argues that "The predominant image of homosexuality in Japan is Western" (p. 96). This means that Japanese people with a queer identity can be made to feel a radical disconnection between Japaneseness and queerness, perhaps accentuating their emotional distress. I felt that this was one of the issues that was worthy of concern for educators in Japan. I sought a teaching strategy that would focus on queer lives in the local context, not as something relevant to people far away whom students could never imagine meeting or interacting with, nor as something that could be over-simplified in dichotomizations of East and West. In their research into sexuality education in Japanese high schools, Castro-Vazquez & Kishi (2002) concluded that the Japanese Ministry of Education, many parents, and many teachers in Japan promote a culture of silence around issues of sexuality. "Let sleeping dogs lie" seems to be the guiding principle of choice. The discussion of sexuality at school or at home is often disqualified.

While Castro-Vazquez and Kishi's analysis was convincing, I was also aware of contrasting findings that indicate more positive developments and potentialities. Lunsing's (2002) sociological study of diverse sexualities in Japan reached broadly positive conclusions regarding present and future social conditions for queer people in Japanese sociocultural contexts. I read various newsletter articles by Joritz-Nakagawa (2000) concerning her pedagogical interventions to affirm the identities of her students who are not heterosexual. This had been a positive experience for her overall, and she finds that students are increasingly interested in queer issues. Modica (2000) also reports positive learning outcomes in his university EFL classroom where he conducted a course exploring sexuality awareness. He reports how, "Students of limited proficiency who began as silent observers were soon interjecting, even interrupting in group discussions, energetically struggling to express themselves" (p. 7). Summerhawk (1998) also points to positive developments regarding gay issues in ESL/EFL classrooms. While many students feel uncomfortable initially if sexuality issues are raised, this feeling gives way to a stronger curiosity if the proper conditions are met. Summerhawk suggests various strategies for discussion of sexualities in Japanese language classrooms, including bringing in speakers to initiate inquiry into gay life in Japan. I thought this was an excellent idea, but, as I explain in the following section, institutional constraints in my particular workplace setting foreclosed the possibility of queer guest speakers.

Another major concern in my search for a pedagogical strategy was a desire to redress the lack of visibility of lesbians in Japanese sociocultural contexts. Valentine (1997) points out that lesbian relations have gone largely uncategorized in Japanese social histories. This is reflected in language usage. "Lesbians are still relatively ignored today, having fewer labels than their male counterparts" (p. 97). Lubetsky (1998) provides an account of a student who felt suicidal because of the stigmatization she experienced with her lesbian sexuality. The account of needless emotional trauma was echoed by various lesbian-identifying contributors to, "Queer Japan" (Summerhawk, McMahill & McDonald 1998), a collection of personal stories by Japanese queer people. Reading these accounts made me ask myself how I could find a culturally and institutionally appropriate teaching strategy that promoted awareness of lesbian lives, while also promoting a sense of solidarity between young straight-identified women and their lesbian peers. I was convinced that such common ground exists because one of the ways in which hegemonic masculinity materializes itself is in the subordination of women through norms of female domesticity and of exaggerated femininity. Speaking specifically of Japanese sociocultural contexts, Toga (2003) identifies three main signifiers of dominant versions of masculinity in Japan: “Breadwinning, heterosexuality, and domination over women” (p. 138). There was a need, then, to draw attention to the workings of masculinism. I thought that the U.K. film *Bend it like Beckham* (Chadha 2002) dealt with these issues in an informative and entertaining way, but I did not know how to present the movie in class in an effective way.

While gay men often enjoy more visibility than lesbians in contemporary Japanese cultural products, representations of gay men usually remain confined to stereotypically effeminate members of the entertainment industry (cf. Lunsing 2002). If my students were ill-informed, I hoped to make them aware of the fact that gay men live locally and that they are in all walks of life. The stereotyping force of media representations and the difficulties faced by queer-identified women and men in Japanese society should be acknowledged, I reasoned, in a way that presents gay men as real people, constrained by familial and social pressures yet resistant and agentive in diverse sectors of society.

My list of demands for an ideal pedagogical strategy was further idealized by consideration of Cynthia Nelson’s (1999) paper on queer pedagogies in EFL contexts. Nelson distinguishes between a pedagogical *focus on inclusion* that is mainly concerned with gaining rights and recognition for queer people, and a *focus on inquiry*, where the complexity of individual subjectivities and of particular cultural contexts is acknowledged and explored. I believed that particular sociocultural and institutional constraints justified a strategic focus on inclusion in my EFL classroom in Japan, but I also saw the need for a simultaneous focus on inquiry that would prevent unhelpful simplifications of complex realities. Butler (1990, 1993) argues that the repeated use of discursive strategies and language signifiers solidify over time in an individual sense of *natural* sexual identity. Thus, dominant heteronormative discourses work as and through language to confer heterosexuality with normal, natural, taken-for-granted status. Thus, attention to the role of language in constituting normalized sexual subjects became another element in my search. Was it possible to implement an approach in the classroom that raised awareness of issues of inequitable power relations for sexual minority groups, while also making space for appreciation of complexities to emerge in an open-ended context of inquiry? Particular sociocultural contexts and individual subjectivities are often more complex than is generally appreciated.

After many months of grappling with this diverse range of theoretical issues and pragmatic constraints, I began to feel there were too many conflicting requirements to allow me to achieve all of my goals. How to solve the problem? The first inkling of a solution came with the reading of Asanuma Shigeru's (1988) essay on autobiographical writing methods in Japanese education. Asanuma recounts how politically active educators in post-World-War-II Japan promoted pedagogical practices of "seikatsu tsuzurikata," the writing down of one's everyday life experiences in a way that helps individuals obtain "social consciousness of their community life" (p. 157). It was believed that written autobiographical texts by students could promote their own awareness of unjust power relations in their own lives. Readers of these texts could empathize with disadvantaged members of society as they could relate to the stories of real people narrated with an honest voice. Asanuma's account of the potential of personal texts to promote socially transformative changes in Japanese contexts set me on a new course of thought. I considered using "Queer Japan," (Summerhawk *et al* 1998) in my classroom. After some consideration, though, I realized that I had a more valuable resource at my disposal. As part of my doctoral dissertation research, I had interviewed Japanese teachers and students with a queer identity. I had obtained the life-history narratives of individuals who hailed from the same region as my students. This was advantageous, I believed, as was the fact that these narratives were produced in face-to-face interactions. "Queer Japan" offers translations of autobiographical essays and stories composed by diverse individuals. As a language educator, I was interested in providing students with communicative, authentic language material that showcased local language learners who had gained a high level of communicative competence in English. The more I thought about it, the more logical it seemed to use these life history narratives in my classroom. I believed I had finally found an appropriate pedagogical strategy that was defensible in the particular educational institution where I was teaching. Details of particular institutional constraints are provided in the following section.

2. Nishi College: A Challenging Institutional Environment

Contemporary Japanese milieus are characterized by dynamic blendings of cultural elements and styles from indigenous and foreign sources. One example of this phenomenon is found in the large number of tertiary and secondary level educational institutions founded by non-Japanese organizations and individuals. Nishi College was founded by U.S. missionaries in the late 1800's as a college for young Japanese women. Today, it provides a two-year course for high-school graduates who want to major in English. Nishi, as a junior college open only to women, where men hold most senior administrative positions, and women predominate in secretarial and cleaning work, can also be defined as a gender-normative social site. No official teaching materials in the college make reference to non-normative sexualities, thus ensuring the continued dominance of normalized, monosexual pedagogy. However, individual teachers at the college have a substantial margin of autonomy for certain courses if the curricular program has not been pre-assigned.

Many of the norms and practices at Nishi are embedded within discourses of Christian belief systems. First year students are required to attend chapel service frequently. Hymns are broadcast over the public announcement system during this "chapel hour." The curriculum includes two required courses on Christianity and a course on Biblical Studies for graduate students. Religious iconography includes pictures in hallways, Nativity figures at Christmas time, and biblical verses inscribed in stone walls and on imposing iron gates. The educational setting is permeated, then, by the signifiers of a Christian cultural value system. This aspect of the educational setting seems relevant here for a number of reasons. Firstly, it can inhibit teachers from initiating pedagogies which are likely to be interpreted as subversive of the college ethos. For example, in a sociology class that I taught in Nishi in my first year, one of the students identified herself to me as a Christian the week after I distributed a course plan which included topics such as lesbian and gay rights in society. The student told me that she had spoken to administration staff, and she had obtained permission to leave the class at any time if she found any material offensive. Needless to say, this information did little to encourage my confidence in dealing with sexuality issues in the classroom. Additionally, many trusted work colleagues told me that no queer teachers have come out publicly in Nishi classes for fear that their annual contracts might not be renewed.

A second reason for detailing Christian aspects of the college is because it seems reasonable to conjecture that a theocentric cultural value system may discourage innovative or exploratory negotiations with gender or sexuality by students. Similar discouragement may be present in wider sociocultural norms. By and large, Japanese high schools and colleges do not provide experience in discussing these issues in a classroom context (cf. Sugiyama, Komiya, Watanabe & Tsuzuki 2002). In addition, like most other tertiary-level educational institutions in Japan, Nishi college has no club or social group for queer students. For all these reasons, I saw the college as a particular institutional context where there was a need to problematize dominant identity categories of gender and sexuality, and to affirm the identities of those students who experience same-sex desire.

3. Description of the ICS Course

The pedagogical strategy described in this article was made in an “Introduction to Cultural Studies” (hereafter ICS) course at Nishi college. My class was with six graduates of the two-year program who had a high-intermediate to advanced level proficiency in English. The first twenty class periods focused on readings and activities from a cultural studies introductory textbook (Giles & Middleton 1999). The authors' focus on cultural constructions of gender and sexuality in people's lived experiences facilitated an extension of themes. The final ten class periods of the ICS course were dedicated to reading through life-history narrative interview data and to discussion.

As part of my doctoral dissertation research into the implications of queer identities for teachers and students in Japan, I conducted ethnographic interviews with six participants who provided me with their life-history narratives. I believed that these narratives could form the basis for a stimulating and challenging classroom discussion. Very often, teaching materials and cultural products focus on fictitious scenarios or characters and they involve Western cultural contexts. In contrast, the type of pedagogical strategy I adopted was "local" as the narratives came from actual people from the same region as the students, so that the stories could have a stronger sense of relevance and a greater impact on the students' consciousness. In the ICS class, we enacted and analyzed the interview data that sourced the life history narratives. We worked on five narratives, which formed the basis for stimulating discussion. Four of the narratives came from queer-identified people, while one of these narratives was provided by a young North American heterosexual-identified male. His life-history narrative was included to promote awareness that consideration of sexuality issues involves looking at heterosexuality, as well as other sexualities (cf. Butler 1993). As Nelson (2000) argues in her consideration of lesbian/gay content in school curricula, there is a value in "[i]ncorporating gay content without making gayness the main point" (p. 98).

I taped and transcribed these discussions and provided transcripts of classroom discussion to the students later for further collaborative inquiry. Having read the narratives in class, students often responded with stories from their past experience, or stories about people they knew, which I refer to here as "in-class narratives." Thus, we can speak of a "narrative-based" pedagogy. Time only permitted that we work on five narratives during the ICS course, but each narrative formed the basis for a stimulating discussion. Students read over discussion transcriptions, clarified their original meanings, and discussed the issues in greater depth. Several instances from the Nishi college class seemed to indicate a move away from reproductions of static notions of gender and sexuality towards more fluid and open-ended understandings. These instances are outlined and explored in the following sections of this article.

4. An Appropriate Pedagogical Strategy

This section shows how a type of narrative-based pedagogy was actualized in my particular classroom context to explore issues of gender and sexuality. Data from two interview participants, Naomi and Kaito, are presented here. Their vivid descriptions of emotional difficulties based on sexual identity promoted interested and empathetic discussions in the classroom. Their stories illustrated the empowerment gained by those individuals who resist hegemonic discourses of sexuality by positioning themselves on the side of their own erotic desire (cf. Bracher 1993). I have chosen these two life-history narratives out of the six that were seen during the semester as they seem to best illustrate the achievement of goals outlined in the first section of this article.

4.1. Classroom Discussion of Naomi's Life-History Narrative

In the ICS class, we explored narrative data from "Naomi," a Japanese university student. In her life story, she spoke of past emotional difficulties, and she related her sense of isolation after she formed a relationship with a former female high-school classmate. She thought that "in the world there was no one else like me because I was lesbian." Her family just wanted her to act like a "little girl" in everything, but she felt guilty about her "secret." Her anxiety grew to a level where she stopped attending school and could not eat for three months. This was an extremely painful period in Naomi's life. In her first two years in university, she dated various men, but she never experienced full emotional or sexual satisfaction with them. Thankfully, she was able to come through various crises, and today she is happy identifying as a lesbian to her trusted friends. She foresees problems with her family who expect her to marry and have children. She cannot imagine being able to tell them that she hopes to form a family with a woman. “I feel distress with my family because of my secret. I have to be a little girl in my family.” Naomi is resolved, though, to continue affirming her love of women. After graduation, she hopes to pursue her passion in art with a specialization in the female nude. She hopes to raise a child with a life partner in the future.

This story of a young queer woman was explored in tandem with the story of a young straight woman. The first half of the class period for two sessions was concerned with Naomi, the second half with the character Jess from *Bend it like Beckham*. In the film, Jess conceals the fact that she plays soccer on a women’s team. When her secret is discovered, her parents are appalled. “Playing soccer is fine for boys,” they tell her, “but not for young women who should be preparing for marriage and motherhood!” Another episode of crisis in the film occurs when the mother of Jess’s best friend assumes, erroneously, that her daughter is in a lesbian relationship with Jess. The story, of course, comes to a conventionally heterosexual ending, but not without first having touched on some interesting issues. I chose the film because there are resonances between the experiences of Naomi and Jess. Both felt a deep sense of isolation because of the secret they could not share with their families. Both had to negotiate the consequences of being identified as lesbian, rightly or wrongly, in social contexts. Finally, both experienced the imposition of masculinist ideals that enshrine norms of femininity and domesticity for young women. The juxtapositioning of these two narratives, that of Naomi and of Jess, allowed students to make parallels between the story of Jess and that of Naomi. In our classroom discussion we explored commonalities between the two characters. In our discussion of Naomi’s narrative, Ami mentioned that Naomi’s story had made her aware of the fact that, while she had seen homosexual men on television in Japan, she had never seen any lesbians. *“I just realized that there are so many gay male people on television but no lesbians. No one openly.”* An awareness of familial and cultural pressures to produce a "normal" gendered and sexualized self seems evident also in Eri's reply to my question on similarities between Naomi and Jess: "*They [Jess and Naomi's families] want them to be always like little girls.*" Yukari and Kaori considered the reactions of others if Naomi adopts a child with her lesbian partner:

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Robert: And what about adopting. If she [Naomi] and her
partner adopt a child.
Yukari: Of course that kind of couple doesn't have any
harmful kind of effects on people surrounding them. But
for people who see the couple gay couple. For them it's
not natural.
Kaori:  It doesn't happen it their daily life a lot.
Robert: So if you went to a city where it does happen in
daily life a lot do you think people would become used to
it?
Kaori: Yes. Become used to it.
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These comments may indicate an awareness of how visibility and repetition confer cultural intelligibility upon gendered subjects and familial arrangements to create a "natural" effect (cf. Butler 1990, 1993). The role of the mass-media in representing the "natural" is also significant and worthy of classroom inquiry. Depending on the content of interview narrative data, individual educators could choose other cultural products such as television shows and literary texts, to further accentuate the relevance of sexuality issues to everyone. The use of Naomi's narrative in the ICS class promoted awareness of the role of societal norms and mass-media representations in the production of sexual identities, as well as universalizing the concerns of young women, whether they identify as, or are identified as, heterosexual or homosexual. It also helped affirm the identity of any students who have non-normalized sexual desire.

4.2. Classroom Discussion of Kaito's Life-History Narrative

The following life history narrative was from Kaito, a Japanese senior high school teacher of English. As a boy, Kaito was bullied by junior high schoolmates because of his non-traditional performances of gender. His parents demanded that he attend karate lessons for five years so as to make him into "a real man." When he was in his twenties, he wanted "to be straight." When his parents badgered him to find a wife, he would say that he was not interested in marriage. But they insisted, declaring that "Marriage is not something that you're interested in. It's something that you have to do. As a human being." In the end, Kaito married a woman he knew. He thought that if he had children with this woman, then he could live a heterosexual life for the sake of his children. The marriage, however, was short-lived. He spent large sums of money visiting psychiatrists and seeking a "cure." In the past ten years, Kaito has been able to compose a new narrative of self, one which values his gradual acceptance of his erotic desire for other men. He has started a small local organization for gay teachers, and he hosts a website that has answered over a hundred queries from gay teachers and students. He recently married his boyfriend in a private ceremony in Japan.

Kaito's autobiographical narrative held the interest of the ICS students and it stimulated a lively discussion. Awareness of the role of language in constituting gendered and sexualized subjects was apparent in some students' comments. Atsuko focused on the notion of the "real man" as a contingent linguistic signifier: *"His parents tried to teach him to be a real man. I don't know what is that real man."* This comment initiated a discussion in which I asked the question, "What is a woman?" Atsuko replied, *"I don't like the question. It's difficult to say. There are different kinds of masculine and feminine."* Atsuko's reply shows an awareness of the ways in which dialogic language can shape perceptions of reality. Any particular question is chosen over another question that could have been asked. Some questions assume monolithic, universal identities, while others imply contingency. Atsuko's comment displayed an independent style of thinking by rejecting the question's inherent assumptions that may over-simplify complex realities. The same can be said for Maki's comment, *"Some guys now are trying to be not totally masculine or feminine. Just more neutral. They think it is cool maybe because it is something new. It's a new way and they like to do new things*. In this case, the contingent, fluid nature of gender performances was brought to light.

Yukari's focused on the connotations of the signifier "straight" in the discussion on Kaito's life-history narrative: "I don't agree with this expression to describe heterosexual person to be "straight" people. That means homosexual people are not straight. Just winding… I don't think it's an appropriate expression." These comments showed an awareness of the role of language and of stigmatizing discourses in the construction of gendered and sexualized identities. Other students also raised the point that the popular image of gay men taken from TV shows, movies, and other mass-media is that homosexual males are only found in the entertainment industry, when in fact they can be teachers, doctors, or in any profession. Kaito's story evoked sympathy, but without casting him as a passive victim or as someone to be given moral privileges. This was evident in Maki's comment that Kaito should not have considered having children as a means to becoming heterosexual: "I know how difficult life is for him [Kaito]. But he wants to have kids and marriage. But he doesn't think about how kids feel and how kids have to face gender issue." They also showed appreciation of the difficulties faced by individuals such as Kaito, and a recognition of how discrimination and stereotypical representations can cause considerable emotional difficulties. This seemed evident in Yoko's comment, "To change their bad image against that kind of [gay] couple there should be a kind of education. Or correct information for them."

The discussion of Kaito's narrative was valuable, not only for the issues involved in the story itself, but also for the related issues it raised. Kaito had experienced verbal bullying in elementary and junior high school. Both Atusko and Eri spoke of former classmates they had known in elementary or high school who were sometimes stigmatized by name-calling as "okama" ("faggot"). The students expressed sympathy for those who are bullied at school, while recognizing the inner-resources of those who withstand stigmatization. Yukari mentioned that the boy who had been labeled as "okama" by some classmates seemed to defuse taunting by ignoring it: "*Mentally he is a very direct person and very strong person.*" The ICS students drew multiple interpretations from Kaito's narrative, which challenged uni-dimensional representations of gay men, provided new insights into the power of hegemonic sexuality/gender regimes to regulate the meaning of language, and also raised new questions on legitimate means of challenging dominant ways of thinking. Kaito's narrative also elicited a "queer story" from Reiko, a member of the ICS class. Her narrative is explored in the following section.

4.3. Classroom Discussion of Reiko's In-Class Narrative

The story of Reiko's classmate begins with an extract from classroom discussion data:

> Robert: I wonder did any of you know of classmates who were bullied like Kaito was? Say in elementary or high-school?
> Reiko: When I was an elementary school student next to my class there was a boy who was gay.
> Robert: In elementary school?
> Reiko: Yeah. And his best friends were girls. But he had really cute face. Guys liked him and girls liked him. He was kind of pop, very popular student.
> Robert: What age do you remember him like that in school?
> Reiko: Ten.
> Robert: Did the atmosphere stay like that when he went to high school?
> Reiko: I think he went to a boys high school. My friend told me he had boyfriends. He was very popular. Maybe boys liked him.
> Maki: As a friend?
> Reiko: Not as a friend. Boyfriend. And serious relationship
> Robert: Yeah. That's surprising. And you said he had a cute face. Is that a big factor in being liked?
> Reiko: I think so. But not just face. His character is friendly and he likes to talk with boys and girls. He never spoke ill of somebody. Very warm atmosphere. Still now I heard he have surgeon of penis. Took it off.
> Robert A gender re-assignment operation?
> Reiko: Yes. We live very close area. People around this area know that. And I think they don't have any shocking feeling. They encourage. A very good atmosphere.

It seems significant that Rieko felt comfortable about sharing this unusual narrative in a context where it would normally be silenced by tacit hegemonic regulation. Rieko's story was queer in the sense that it resisted easy categorization. Neither dominant heteronormative discourses nor approaches which focus on the victimization of lesbian and gay youth can readily explain the story of a feminine boy who has intimate relationships with other boys and experiences considerable popularity both at school and in his local community. This degree of approval seems to have been unabated by his decision, as an adult, to undergo a gender re-assignment operation. Rieko described high levels of approval for her former classmate, both in his school and in his local community. If nothing else, the story of Reiko's friend points to the complexity of individual subjectivities and of cultural contexts. This boy's narrative, related by Rieko, brought out to all of the participants in the discussion that the landscape of sexualities in Japan is more varied and complex than hegemonic representations suggest. Her in-class narrative showed that not all gender atypical boys go through the same type of tribulations as those experienced by Kaito. Some young people may be able to exploit gaps in heteronormative dominance and to quietly subvert dominant paradigms of gender and of sexual identification. While acknowledging that multiple interpretations of Rieko's story are possible, the emergence of the story itself may underline its value as an appropriate strategy framing discussion of gender and sexuality issues in a problematical environment. There are many queer stories to be told, and a wide variety of educational settings can provide a valuable forum for their narration.

5. Conclusion

The approach I adopted in my classroom in a women's junior college in western Japan constitutes one attempt to explore gender and sexuality issues in a particular cultural, institutional, and educational context. It allowed students both to produce language and to analyze language in a meaningful way. The teaching strategy outlined in this paper may be a valuable element within a broader program for transformation. It allows marginalized voices to be acknowledged through the enactment of life-history narrative data in the classroom. Life stories from Naomi and Kaito showed that they had experienced intense emotional trauma because of the stigmatization associated with their sexuality. But both of them also resisted familial and societal pressures to conformity and integrated their erotic desire into their professional and personal lives. Working with life history narratives from Naomi and Kaito promoted a sense of solidarity with "real people" who had experienced stigmatizing, societal power relations, but who had resisted pressures towards conformity and who had succeeded in composing a more empowering narrative of self according to their own values and erotic desires. In-class narratives such as Reiko's account of a former classmate, also highlighted the complexities of sexuality issues. In spite of the fact that the ICS students probably had little or no experience of discussing sexuality/gender issues in a classroom context, and the faith-based system of the institutional context constituted an inhibiting environment, these students engaged with the issues in a mature and challenging way. This pedagogical strategy outlined here fits within an effective language education program. It may prove valuable in affirming the identities of students with queer identities and promote more open-ended and empathetic values and imaginations of gender and sexuality.

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May ‘New Men’ Be Discursively Constructed?: an Approach through British Men’s Magazines’ Problem Columns

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Abstract

Focusing on problem pages as a section in British men’s magazines where the ‘new man’ is often represented, this paper draws upon Fairclough’s (1989, 1992) early CDA work on socio-cultural change to shed light on the discursive construction of ‘newmannism’ in specific print-media genres. A detailed case study is herein undertaken evidencing the crucial role of linguistic options in the discursive constitution of the ‘new man’ as a gendered subject position. Such a case study substantiates (i) how this masculine-identity construction process is carried out in and through language, and (ii) how existing discourses on masculinity are articulated in media genres where language features prominently. The analysis of a textual sample from *Later* magazine unveils the processes whereby (i) such a discourse on masculinity as ‘newmannism’ is discursively constructed in men’s magazines’ problem pages, and (ii) readers temporarily ‘attach’ to this subject position in their gender-identity-construction activity when reading problem pages like this. The effectiveness of CDA is finally underlined as a resource to decipher the mechanisms regulating the articulation of subject positions such as the ‘new man’ in the discourses on masculinity constituted in popular-culture genres like men’s magazines.

Key words: *identities ~ CDA ~ masculinity ~ ‘new man’ ~ discourse*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 161-177.

1. Introduction

1.1. Gender Identities and Gendered Discourses in Contemporary Post-Structuralist Discourse Theory

A fundamental assumption in contemporary post-structuralist cultural and discourse theory assumes that discourses position individuals as social subjects whose identities emerge as "points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (Hall 2000: 19). 'Subject positions' may be understood "in terms of the empty spaces or functions in discourse from which the world makes sense" (Barker 2004: 194), and are taken to incorporate "both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire [...] within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned" (Davies & Harré 1990: 46). It is imperative to acknowledge the major influence of Althusser and Foucault in the early theorizations of subject positions in post-structuralist discourse theory.[1]

Focusing on *gender* identities, we consider the existence of various 'gendered discourses' which are articulated in society by actually "*positioning* women and men in certain ways" (Sunderland 2004: 21), so that "we can assume that there is a set of discourses of femininity and masculinity" (Mills 1997: 17)[2]. As it is, "gender can be thought of as a particular discourse [...] Gender is inscribed in the subject along with other discourses, such as those of ethnicity, class and sexuality, in a variety of cultural practices" (van Zoonen 1992: 20). In this context, discourse many be understood as "an institutionalised use of language and language-like sign systems. Institutionalisation can occur at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural and the small group level. *There can also be discourses that develop around a specific topic, such as gender* or class" (Davies & Harré 1990: 45; emphasis added).

1.2. CDA and the Discursive Construction of Identities

CDA may be taken to be "a linguistically oriented discourse analysis firmly anchored in social reality and with a deep interest in actual problems and forms of inequality in societies" (Blommaert 2005: 6).

Wodak has defined CDA to this regard as "the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication. This research specifically considers institutional, political, *gender* and media discourses [...] which testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict (2001: 2; emphasis added). CDA takes for granted a dialectical constituency relation between discourse and society (van Dijk 2001: 353), so that it may be useful "to distinguish three broad domains of social life that may be discursively constituted, referred to as representations, relations and identities" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 273). CDA posits in this respect that discourses do not just represent identities and social relations, but they also contribute to constructing them (Fairclough 1989: 102-106; 1992: 137-168; 1995a: 227-232; 1995b: 125-149; 2003: 159-163). Furthermore, discourses are theorized as producing *subject positions* with which individuals negotiate their own identities: "subject positions are specific to discourse types and ideologically variable" (Fairclough 1989: 102)

1.3. Men's Magazines and the Construction of Discourses of Masculinity
Men's lifestyle magazines have become a consolidated print-media sector in Britain since the mid-eighties. This market includes titles like *FHM*, *Arena*, *Men's Health*, *Maxim*, *Esquire*, *Loaded*, *Stuff for Men*, etc. Over the past few years, there has been an increasing academic interest in men's magazines as a popular-culture artefact (Nixon 1996; Edwards 1997; Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks 2001; Benwell 2003). For they have a fundamental role in constructing and distributing various discourses on masculinity in contemporary UK along with the subject positions associated with them.

Together with other images of masculinity like the so-called 'new lads', 'retributive men' and 'metrosexuals', the 'new man' has come to delineate a major subject position in the discourses on masculinity articulated in different popular-culture genres –men's magazines' included– over the past two decades (Nixon 1996; Edwards 1997; Beynon 2002). The so-called 'new man' has thus come to demarcate a pervasive image of masculinity in the discourses on masculinity constructed since the eighties across various popular-culture genres in contemporary Britain. Although men's lifestyle magazines are admittedly a key arena for the construction of such gendered discourses on masculinity in Britain (Benwell 2003), and gendered subject positions like the 'new man' are recurrently represented in this genre (Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks 2001), no attempts have been made to date trying to decipher how language and masculinity interplay in the constitution of this version of masculinity, which is often invoked in abstract terms (Nixon 1997, 2001).

1.4. Objectives

Considering the above-mentioned arguments and theoretical framework, this paper means to show how 'newmannism' as a form of discourse on masculinity generates identity-construction processes in men's magazines' problem pages as a genre. Together with this fundamental purpose, this contribution will demonstrate how masculine subject positions are constructed in actual samples of language. In addition, the present paper will cast light on the validity and instrumentality of Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2003) CDA framework as an analytical resource for examining the discursive construction of subject positions on masculinity. Therefore, in its scope and purpose, this contribution means to be consistent with both current research on gender and language assuming the existence of various 'gendered discourses' (Talbot 1998; Sunderland 2004) in society, and with CDA's major concern with gender issues (van Dijk 2001).

2. Methodology: Fairclough's CDA Framework

In order to examine the processes whereby 'newmannism' is discursively constructed in specific genres like men's magazines' problem columns, a case study is herein undertaken where Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2003) CDA framework is implemented over textual sample from *Later* magazine. Fairclough's CDA approach has been chosen on the grounds of its concern with issues of socio-cultural change and change in discourse (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 264-265). In actual fact, Fairclough's is one among the different approaches to CDA, which "is not a homogenous theory with a set of clear and defined tools but rather a research programme with many facets and numerous different theoretical and methodological approaches" (Wodak & Ludwig 1999: 11)[3]. The sample —see Appendix— has been selected as consistent with the results of a wider project (de Gregorio-Godeo 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b) exploring the constructions of masculinity in British men's magazines' problem columns.

Although further references are made to Fairclough's more recent work (1995a, 1995b, 2003), this paper mainly draws upon his earliest work (1989, 1992) of his ever-changing CDA framework, where he most overtly deals with questions of socio-cultural change and change in discourse. Fairclough's CDA approach is characterised by a simultaneously three-fold consideration of discourse, where "discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice" (Fairclough 1995a: 97). Analyses of actual discourses will accordingly focus on (i) the description of the textual dimension of discourse; (ii) the interpretation of the interaction or discursive practice; and (iii) the explanation of discourse insofar as socio-cultural action resulting from a given social matrix and embodying a certain ideology.

3. Discourses on Masculinity in Men's Magazines: a Focus on Problem Pages

3.1. The Discourse of 'Newmannism'

So-called 'newmannism' may be seen as a discourse "that, while acknowledging that men and the male role have now changed, is unclear how and so indiscriminately scrambles together elements derived from both the 'nurturer' and 'narcissist' strands" (Beynon 2002: 164). The new man has been metaphorically described as "the ideal partner for the modern, liberated, heterosexual woman [...] a softer, more sensitive and caring individual, who also avoids sexist language, changes nappies and loves to shop all day for his own clothes" (Edley & Wetherell 1997: 204). Problem pages in men's magazines tend to represent different aspects of the new man discourse. That is the case of the new man's rapprochement with the realm of femininity:

> Q: I live with my girlfriend and over the last few months we've been having huge arguments, usually started by her complaining that I always control what we watch on TV. I work hard and want to just sit and relax. Can we do anything to sort this out?
> THE EXPERT
> You can do something to sort this out. If you are sharing your life and living space with your partner there is bound to be conflict about who controls what and who feels they are making most of the sacrifices. You both need to realise that living together and making compromises means listening too and accepting the other person's point of view. If you don't you will end up being like two separate states at war and you might need to bring in the UN in the form of a relationship counsellor (*Later*, September 1999, p. 27).

The new man's effort to come to terms with his emotional dimension is similarly represented in the problem columns of men's magazines:

> Q. My best mate has recently got a great job and I'm really jealous. What can I say to him?
> J S, Oxford
> A. Tell him that you want to feel pleased for him, but that you also feel very envious. If you can communicate that envy in terms of what you wish you had – rather than what a jammy git he is – then he's also less likely to feel quite so threatened or undermined. And by focusing on exactly what you envy about your mate's job, you can begin to look at ways to achieve the same for yourself (*ZM*, August/September 1999, p. 80).

Newmannist preoccupations with personal looks and body care likewise permeate men's magazines' problem pages on a regular basis:

> Q. Ever since I hit 25 last year I've become aware of how knackered I look. My mates are the same age but could easily pass for younger, whereas my face has become saggy and tired-looking. My boss keeps teasing me and people quite often think I'm well into my thirties. I'm very conscious of my double-chin and jowls – are there any exercises I could do to firm up my face?
> TV, Northampton

> A. Your appearance has a lot to do with general well-being. A stressful lifestyle, poor sleeping and eating habits, too much booze and a lack of exercise have a hugely negative effect on how you look. Scrutinise your workload in relation to exercise, hobbies and social activities, and aim for a balance. Facial exercises will help in addition to cardiovascular workouts. Ensure you sleep at least six hours per night and eat a wholesome and varied diet (*FHM*, September 1999, p. 304).

3.2. 'Laddish' Discourses

Although newmannism is pervasively represented in men's magazines' problem columns, alternative masculine subject positions are also articulated in these publications. That is the case of so-called 'laddishness' or 'laddism', that is, a discourse on masculinity "which may be seen as a reaction to the idea of the caring, sensitive 'new man' produced by the feminist movement. So laddism is characterised by a climate of rough behaviour, excessive drinking ('lager louts') and all-male attendance at soccer matches" (Storry & Childs 1997: 338). According to Edwards,

> where the New Man was caring and sharing the New Lad is selfish, loutish and inconsiderate to a point of infantile smelliness. He likes drinking, football and fucking and in that order of preference [...] in short, he is that most ghastly of all configurations, defensively working-class which also means defensively masculine (Edwards 1997: 82).

Problem pages consequently delve into representational practices of boozing and urge men to enjoy life to the full in accordance with laddish ideologies:

> Q: If I drink water between pints on a booze binge, will I get pissed slower or quicker?
> Charlie Squires, Essex
> A: The water makes little difference either way, according to Mark Bennett of Alcohol Concern. `The amount of alcohol and the period of time determine how drunk you get. Nothing else.´ Drinking water may reduce your speed and capacity but not the amount of alcohol in your body. You'll be in the bog more often too, which cuts boozing time. Bennett's advice is, `Know how much you can drink before you start out – and stick to it. Use soft drinks to keep within your limits.´ (*Maxim*, October 1999, p. 202).

Sexism, homophobia and the parody of the 'new man' also feature prominently in the laddish discourses on masculinity constructed in men's magazines' problem pages:

> Dear Karen
> I'm desperate to shag this 22-year-old. I know her very well and we are good friends, though I've fancied her since day one. She has huge tits. But I'm worried if I make a pass and she doesn't like it, she'll hit me.
> Adam, Manchester
> Your problem is that you want a fuck but don't have the balls to ask. Christ, I've never seen such a wimp. Pussy does not spill out of those little gumball machines at the mall, you know. (If it did, I'd own a few.) You have to risk your arse to get some – that's the law. So, yellow-belly, why not take her for a drink and then say you fancy her? You know, in a few years you'll look back on this and think, "All that fuss over a pair of tits that aren't even attached to an offshore bank account and a bag of drugs." (*Sky Magazine*, September 1999, p. 163).

3.3. Negotiating Tensions between 'New Man' and 'New Lad' Discourses

Despite the clear representation of new man and new lad discourses in men's magazines' problem pages, a tension between both subject positions is sometimes depicted in these periodicals, which produces the articulation of a subject position defining "a would be New man who can't quite shake off his out-moded, but snug fitting, laddishness" (Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks 2001: 35). A clear example accounting for the construction of borders between 'newmannism' and 'laddishness' emerges when attitudes towards fathering are at stake:

> Q. My wife is pregnant with our first child and I don't want to be in the delivery room when it pops out –the thought makes me feel sick, and I'm sure it would murder my sex drive. Got any good excuses I can use?
> BH. Portsmouth
> A. This is a common fear among men, but not always a rational one. "Your sexuality is not that delicate," says Frank Pittman, a marriage and family therapist who thinks it's going to take more than a slippery placenta to destroy your sex drive. His advice: take a front-row seat. "The more involved you are at the beginning of the process, the sooner and stronger the connection will be between father and child," says Pittman, a trifle optimistically. But if you think you may be particularly squeamish, make sure

> you don't hang around at the business end – make yourself useful by mopping your wife's brow or, better still, holding her hand and letting her crush yours when the going gets tough. Oh, and ignore all the abuse she'll throw at you for causing all the pain (*Men's Health*, July/August 1999, p. 97).

4. A Case Study Dealing with the Discursive Construction of Masculinity in Men's Magazines: 'Newmannism' in a Problem Page

The following case study examines the discursive construction of the new man in a sample from the problem column of *Later* magazine. The sample is included in the final appendix, and is explored through a detailed implementation of Fairclough's CDA framework.

4.1. Describing the 'New Man' at a Textual Level

4.1.1. Lexical Classification Schemes

By and large, vocabulary in the sample analysed is articulated around the following classification schemes:

- ✓ Men's concerns over personal looks ("spend more time in front of the mirror"; "worrying about how I look"; "look good" [3 times])
- ✓ Male narcissism ("vain"; "narcissistic men"; "the story of Narcissus"; "falling in love with his reflection"; "love themselves")
- ✓ Negative results of narcissistic attitudes in men ("problem"; "a real turn off"; "make too much of a fuss"; "condemned to isolation")

4.1.2. Processes and Participants

Following Halliday's (1994) systemic-functional taxonomy of processes and participants, a number of transitivity choices may be highlighted as ideologically relevant. Firstly, the reader is constructed as 'identified' participant of relational processes used in his own description ("how I *look*"; "I'*m* so vain"; "the fact that I *look* good"; "you *looking* good"; "are you making yourself *look* good"). However, the reader's attempt to excuse his narcissistic behaviour on account of his partner's desires involves the representation of his girlfriend as ‘sayer’ of verbal processes (“My girlfriend *told* me”; “She *says*”) and ‘senser’ of mental processes: (“she also *likes* the fact that I look good”; “maybe your girlfriend *likes* you looking good”). Nonetheless, other behavioural processes help to construct the reader’s narcissistic conduct in return (“that I *spend* more time in front of the mirror and *worrying* about”).

4.1.3. Negation

Negatives incorporate the assumption that men tend to be excessively preoccupied with personal appearance (“Maybe your girlfriend likes you looking good, but *not if you make too much of a fuss about it*”; “Many women give up on narcissistic men, as they feel they can *never love them as much as they love themselves*”).

4.1.4. Modality

In using the modality marker *maybe*, the counsellor comes to question the reader’s attempt to justify his narcissistic attitude only to satisfy his girlfriend’s likes (“First, *maybe* your girlfriend likes you looking good”). At any rate, there is an emphasis on women being incapable of handling men’s excessively narcissistic behaviour (“Many women give up on narcissistic men as they feel that they *can* never love them as much as they love themselves”).

4.1.5. Aspects of Cohesion

Comparative connectors project an image of competitiveness in the couple over personal-look concerns (“My girlfriend told me that I spend *more* time in front of the mirror and worrying about how I look *than* she does”; “many women give up on narcissistic men as they feel they can never love them *as much as* they love themselves”). Moreover, the abundance of forms of personal reference reveals the relevance of masculine personal-appearance preoccupations for the negotiation of partnership relations between men and women (“*My* girlfriend told *me* that *I* spend more time in front of the mirror and worrying about how *I* look than *she* does”; “many women give up on narcissistic men as *they* feel *they* can never love *them* as much as *they* love *themselves*”).

Furthermore, the lexical repetition of certain items helps to represent male narcissism as highly conflictive for life in couple ("problem" [three times]; "girlfriend" [twice]; "look good" [three times]).

On the other hand, adversative *but* evidences the hindrances of an excessive narcissism in men ("She says it's a real turn off that I'm so vain. *But* I also know she also likes the fact that I look good"; "Maybe your girlfriend likes you looking good *but* not if you make too much of a fuss about it"). In point fact, the utilization of consecutive *so* at the end of the reply makes it clear that such attitudes may be highly negative for men ("*So* be warned").

4.2. Interpreting the Discursive Construction of 'Newmannism' at an Interaction Level

4.2.1. Discursive Practice Activated in *Later* Magazine's Problem Column

Textual features contribute to constituting a discursive practice revolving around men's deep preoccupation with personal looks. A type of discourse is thus articulated following the generic conventions of problem pages, and incorporating features of media, counselling and pseudo-epistolary discourses. Such a discursive practice comes to configure a subject position among readers constructing men as highly worried about personal appearance. This subject position on masculinity is articulated on the basis of the interaction among the individual reader writing in, *Later*'s counsellor, the section's editorial board, and the plurality of magazine consumers, thereby positioning readers as highly worried about personal appearance.

Reading men's magazines' like *Later* entails an identity-negotiation process for male magazine consumers, where individual magazine consumers come to take up –or resist– this deep preoccupation with personal looks assumed among ideal readers. The selection and publication of questions and answers like this may be conceived of as representative of ideal male readers' concerns, and certainly involves some degree of editorial 'manipulation' (McCracken 1993: 57) in accordance with *Later*'s ideological policy.

4.2.2. Presuppositions

In a significant way, a number of statements activate the presuppositions that there exist men excessively preoccupied with personal appearance ("Maybe your girlfriend likes you looking good, but not if *you make too much of a fuss about it*"; "Many women give up on narcissistic men, as they feel they can never love them *as much as they love themselves*").

4.2.3. Intertextuality and Implicature

Considering the reader's precise question, the counsellor's intertextual allusion to the myth of Narcissus involves a flouting of the maxim of relevance, which leads readers to draw the implicature that the same may apply to the reader writing in himself.

4.2.4. Speech Acts

At the beginning of this reply, the counsellor's use of indirect speech acts serves to subtly make the reader aware of his narcissistic behaviour ("Are you making yourself look good for her or for yourself?"). Nonetheless, the counsellor progressively moves onto a self-assured use of a directive warning this man of the eventually negative results of his conduct ("So be warned").

4.3. Explaining 'Newmannism' as a Socio-Cultural Process

The discursive practice taking shape in the problem page published in *Later* magazine is part of wider cultural practices of representation of men and masculinity in British popular-culture genres –men's magazines included– at the turn of the millennium.

4.3.1. Social Matrix

'Newmannism' has been accounted for as a discourse of masculinity shaped by such social and cultural determinants as the feminist challenges to traditionally patriarchal constructions of masculinity; the emergence of more feminised images of masculinity; and the impact of consumerism on men (Edwards 1997; Nixon 1996). In this context, men's magazines have been conceived of as "providing readers with a form of 'constructed certitude' [...] a kind of cultural comfort zone, giving men the discursive resources to handle their changing circumstances and experiences" (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks 2001: 196).

4.3.2. Underlying Ideology
The ideological repertoire displayed in the textual sample herein examined is consistent with contemporary constructions of 'newmannism' in Britain, and its "sanctioning of a highly staged narcissism through the codes of dress and grooming" (Nixon 1996: 202).

4.3.3. Social Effects of Discourse
The 'new man' and the 'new lad' are but media constructions, so that further ethnographic and sociological work should be undertaken to examine to what extent actual men are incorporating ideological repertoire of 'newmannism' in their personal identities. As Nixon insists,

> we would need more evidence to see how these images are transforming gender and sexual identities amongst groups of men and women, the value of attending to [e.g.] the 'new man' images is that they direct us towards the possibility of a shift in these identities and relations (1997: 329).

5. Discussion and Conclusions

In Fairclough's view, every text, however short it may be, counts as a form of discourse incorporating its three constitutive dimensions and "can fruitfully be examined in terms of the co-presence and interaction of these constitutive processes" (1995a: 6). Reading problem pages – together with other individual interactional practices– may be taken as an identity-negotiation process for male readers which actively contributes to their masculine identity configuration[4]. In particular, reading lifestyle magazines for men entails temporarily taking, or resisting, the subject positions on masculinity (e.g. 'newmannism') constructed in this particular type of texts.

Focusing on the image of the 'new man' as a distinctive masculine subject position, this case study has shed light on how (i) this masculine-identity construction process is carried out through specific samples of language, and (ii) existing discourses on masculinity are articulated in specific genres. The analysis of a textual sample from *Later* magazine has unveiled the processes whereby (i) such a discourse on masculinity as 'newmannism' is discursively constructed in men's magazines' problem pages, and (ii) readers temporarily 'attach' to this subject position in their gender-identity-construction activity when reading problem pages like this. Indeed, the 'new man' is articulated at all three discursive layers, specific linguistic features —lexis, verbal processes, modality, cohesion, presupposition, implicature, speech acts, etc.— having a fundamental role in this process.

By way of conclusion, the effectiveness of CDA must be underlined as a resource to decipher the mechanisms regulating the articulation of subject positions such as the 'new man' in the discourses on masculinity constituted in specific popular-culture genres such as men's magazines.

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Appendix:
Sample Analysed (*Later* Magazine, September 1999, p. 26)

Q: My girlfriend told me that I spend more time in front of the mirror and worrying about how I look than she does. She says it's a real turn off that I'm so vain. But I know she also likes the fact that I look good, so what's the problem?
THE EXPERT
A: Your problem can be broken down into two parts. First, maybe your girlfriend likes you looking good, but not if you make too much of a fuss about it. This leads onto the second part of the problem. Are you making yourself look good for her or for yourself? The sad part of the story of Narcissus was that by falling in love with his reflection he was condemned to isolation. Many women give up on narcissistic men as they feel that they can never love them as much as they love themselves. So be warned.

Notes

1. Subject positions as a notion has raised interest within different social constructionist discourse analysis approaches, including Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, discursive psychology and CDA (see Jørgensen and Phillips's (2002) for detailed overview).
2. "Gender as a category intersects with, and is shot by, other categories of social identity such as sexuality, ethnicity, social position and geography" (Lazar 2005: 1).

3. For a reviews of different approaches, see Fairclough and Wodak (1997) or Wodak and Meyer (2001).
4. Individuals' gender identities are articulated in many other verbal interactions throughout their lives: "people enter into different subject positions in discourses. These can shift in an individual's lifetime, or indeed within the course of a single day [...] These contradictions are part of our gendered identities" (Talbot 1998: 156-157).

Masculinity as Public Performance: Gendered Language Patterns and Religious Identity in a College Classroom

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Abstract

This paper reflects on the male-dominated teaching discourse (lecturing) as used at a religious post-graduate college in Canada and the linguistic demands such a method seems to create among male participants. Lacan's (1968) theory of intersubjectivity is uniquely helpful in understanding the position of men as male/masculine linguistic participants. The study suggests that lecturing is a powerful tool of gender performance and that it is of particular power in propelling male learners into masculine performance of public speech. Lecturing is understood as a specific speech act, creating a stylized celebrative occasion of knowledge and knowing. In this study, the gendered speech performances set up a hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995; Swain 2003). Because there is a transference relationship that lecturing presupposes, the silence of female students and the speech of male students affirms the possibility that within 'God-talk' (Ruether 1996) in particular, participants perform devout behaviour in gendered ways. This college study explores the participation of the students in an evangelical theology classroom. The clash of conservative/spiritual masculinity with pro-feminist/social justice masculinity in pedagogy is seen as in tension in this context and as provoking questions of gender speech performances alongside religious identity (Clatterbaugh 1990, Skelton 2001).

Key words: *Masculinity ~ Linguistic Space ~ Religious Identity*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 178-198.

1. Introduction

The feminist social critic, Camille Paglia (1992) discusses the power of American-style evangelical[1] Christianity in her essay, 'The joy of Presbyterian sex,' saying there are 'Protestant looks, Protestant manners, Protestant values' central in American society today, and that being a Protestant evangelical Christian is about being in and of a specific 'tribe' with a specific, strict code of behavior, behavior which includes particular language habits and patterns (p. 29). She goes on to suggest that all societies, including America, continue to need organized religions precisely because of the 'austere, enduring legacy' of them (p. 37); in fact, she sees it as a mistake for today's American-style evangelical Christian 'tribe' to attempt to be anything other than strict because the demands of belonging and the rules of exclusion and inclusion are precisely why people, and women in particular, continue to choose it. That is, Paglia, a radical liberal feminist, believes the very austerity of religion is part of what drives many women to current expressions of evangelical Christianity. Because of the continual and rising popularity of evangelical Christianity in American public life, this paper explores one specific setting within it: life at an evangelical theology college.

Laurie Goodstein (2004) of *The New York Times* reports that religion has edged its way into the forefront of American life in the last twenty years in particular. Though American history has been woven with religious issues from its inception, the interest in religion and national concerns since the 1980s has risen to now hold at 53% of Americans citing religion as the key to how they vote (up from 22% in 1984—an all-time high at that point). It is now 'a normal thing' to discuss the role of religion in American society (Goodstein 2004: 2). Because of Canada's proximity to the States and the vast influence America has in the world in general, such sociological influences also impact on modern Canadian society (Stackhouse 2002).

It is within this highly religiously-charged American era that I went looking for intersections of religion, gender, and language habits, specifically within the evangelical Christian community and women's use of linguistic space as indicative of their role and place in a Christian community. My specific concern here is lecturing —the daily lecturing as happens in university courses. I locate my research in a Canadian evangelical theological graduate college because it allows for a discussion of religious identity and lived practice to bear on women's silence in this setting and as part of currently experienced 'Protestant manners, Protestant values'.

2. The Study

One of the most observable influences of feminism on North American Christianity is the increase of women in theological education (Mutch 2003). However, their presence in co-educational lectures, such as the context examined here, reveals power discrepancies, even amidst these modern egalitarian times. Ways of being female include quietness as specifically demonstrative of morality. Historically, and until relatively recently, theology schools were the domain of men so that women in theological education have an unusual set of conditions if compared to those in the university experience in general where women's place and equality are perhaps more solidly assumed.

Little more than a century ago women were not allowed into most college classrooms, let alone theology. When protesting in 1910 on the admission of women to the University of Michigan, the college president said, "We shall have a community of de-feminated women and de-masculated men. When we attempt to disturb God's order, we produce monstrosities" (in Frazier & Sadker 1973: 144). Gender and religion are connected, and much of 'God's order' is seen in the preservation of traditional masculine/feminine roles. Any variation of 'God's order' is viewed as a 'monstrosity'. As such, taking sociolinguist scholarship into a theology college appeared to me an important place to explore how religion and issues of religious identity influence gendered language practices today.

Women enter theological training en route to ordination' that is, en route to becoming ministers or pastors. However, many of today's evangelicals see ordination as something still reserved for men, with women limited to supportive roles (Grenz & Kjesbo 1995). The debates within evangelical Christianity concerning the ordination of women are vigorous and dynamic (Grenz & Kjesbo 1995, are among a host of academics writing on the subject). Yet, in spite of these continuing debates, it is interesting to find more and more women pursuing theological graduate degrees. Regardless of the range of views on women's roles at home or in the church, women today enroll and complete theological education and go on to careers in evangelical churches (Grenz & Kjesbo 1995; Busse 1998; Mutch 2003; Hancock 2003). There is also growing feminist thought within modern evangelicalism in spite of strong lobby groups on the religious right, such as Focus on the Family or Concerned Women for America, which promote and push 'traditional values' as central to being Christian (Coontz 2003).

For one year, I worked on a research project at this post-graduate college. My project was to focus on the views of feminism among devout Christians living in the area. The results of the interview study are discussed elsewhere (Jule 2004c, 2004d). However, as one trained in ethnographic methods and feminist linguistics, the year took on a slightly different focus for me, one that worked alongside the interview study. As a visiting scholar, I was able to sit in on any class of interest, either as a regular attendee or as a drop-in/on-off visitor. As such, what emerged was an ethnographic experience, one where I became a participant observer. What emerged quickly for me as a curiosity was the most used style of teaching at the theology college: lecturing.

3. Lecturing as Teaching Method

Lecturing is a major part of university teaching. My need to appraise the method emerged from my general interest in silence in classrooms and in silence as something uniquely and most often experienced by those born female. My previous work focused on a primary classroom and explored which speech acts teachers use to propel boys to speak up more than the girls during formal-classroom language lessons (2004a and 2004b). I identify this amount of talk as 'use of linguistic space' and highlight certain classroom teaching methods as legitimating participation of boys while serving to maintain silence among the girls.

Much research concerned with gender and its role in affecting classroom experience points to males as significant classroom participants and females as less so. Research, such as Walkerdine's (1990), Bailey's (1993), Corson's (1993), Thornborrow's (2002), and Sunderland's (2004), settles on teachers' lack of awareness of this linguistic space and of how teachers themselves overtalk in the education process and, in general, give more attention to their male students (Mahony 1985; Sadker & Sadker 1990; Jule 2004). Girls in particular are seen as often 'passive, background observers to boys' active learning' (Spender & Sarah 1980: 27). Other feminist sociolinguistic work suggests that the linguistic space used by male learners signifies and creates important social power and legitimacy (Holmes 1998; Baxter 1999, 2004). That is, who speaks tells us something about who matters inside the classroom. That men at this college participate more in question-answer time while their female classmates largely serve in the role of audience members suggests larger expectations of the community around them. That is, men contribute; women support the contributions.

Teachers and college professors talk more to their male students, beginning in the first years of schooling and on into post-graduate work. In general, women are rarely called upon to contribute and often find it difficult to interact with their professors. Sadker & Sadker (1990) suggested that female college students are the invisible members of the class. They suggest that one of the ways this invisibility is reinforced is through male domination of speech and through continual female silence. Kramarae & Treichter (1990) suggested that the reason women experience a 'chilly climate' in most academic settings (the college/university setting in particular) is male control of the linguistic space. Women in many college classrooms are marginalized from discourse and their silent position demonstrates and reinforces their lack of significance. That women in theology may be further silenced because of belonging to a particular religious identity tells us something else, something more, about the relationship of religion and gender and the influence of religious views on gender performance —the manners and the values.

Lecturing is a common teaching method at the college level. However, lecturing is often used in non-university settings as well, such as public lectures held in neighbourhood libraries or art galleries. In any circumstance, lecturing is a formal method of delivering knowledge: an expert prepares the lecture well in advance, allowing for considerable research, study, and rumination as well as carefully thought –through ideas and organization. People attend such public lectures for a sense of shared experience —one shared with the expert-lecturer as well as one shared with others in the audience. Lectures in such places are called 'celebrative occasions' by Goffman (1981). Frank (1995) articulates his amazement that people will disrupt their daily lives to come and hear such a lecture because they have 'self-consciously defined themselves as having emotional or practical needs; they arrive already prepared to be affected in certain ways' (p. 28).

However, university lectures are part of people's daily schedules; both the lecturer and the students are usually present for obligatory reasons. The lectures are meant to disseminate knowledge for the set purposes of fulfilling the requirements of a given course. Depending on the nature of the course material, whether the course is mandatory or optional, and the size of the student group, lectures may well constitute up to thirty hours of a given course in one semester (up to three hours per week for ten weeks of an undergraduate mandatory course —in most institutions). Such lectures occur with such frequency that much emotional involvement is limited and not often experienced as a 'celebrative occasion' but as a necessary practice in the university experience.

Roland Barthes (1971) considered the university lecture in terms of politics, belonging, and a location to rehearse performance discourse. While the lecturer is lecturing, the students are often silently attending to the ideas and often writing notes on specific new vocabulary or content pertaining to the lesson material. The ideas expressed are in the hands of the lecturer. Much freedom is allowed concerning his or her politics, his or her power/ego issues, and his or her ability at discursive performance. As such, the lecturer has enormous control over the mood and the dynamics of the room, as well as the significance placed on the material discussed. Lecturing as teaching method works by conveying information through summary and through elaboration –both at the discretion of the lecturer. The lecture is a gesture which presents the effect of universal truth. In these ways, it remains a 'celebrative occasion'. During question-answer time, students have opportunity to publicly interact with the professor, briefly taking on the role of performer themselves by signaling investment, interest, and involvement.

Goffman's (1981) ideas on the lecture differentiated between 'aloud reading', which is often perceived as more scholarly, and 'fresh talk', which is often perceived as more informal though not necessarily more engaging. Barthes (1977), Goffman (1981) and Frank (1995) all recognized the lecture as a multi-layered performance. Of course, students reading the lecture material would be faster, more time efficient than attending class and listening to a fully performed lecture. (Perhaps listening to a cassette of the lecture while driving or cleaning the house would also be more time efficient). Nevertheless, the university lecture persists as a marker of scholastic participation —both attending lectures and performing lectures are parts of the academic experience. Spoken delivery is also taken as candid and dynamic, more 'real' than listening to a lecture on tape or reading the notes of a lecture silently at home. Reading *A Room of One's Own* is one type of experience; sitting in Girton College's lecture hall in 1928 and listening and watching Virginia Woolf present it would be quite another. A valuable academic lecturer is certainly one to be encountered if at all possible. As a result, the pedagogy of the lecture is 'intensely personal', even if it is personal in precisely impersonal, academic ways (Frank 1995: 30).

4. Lecturing as Power

A lecture presents a text which somehow appears to be independent of the lecturer but instead reveals the value of the lecturer's personal presence; it is a mark of the lecturer's authority. What fascinates me is the way the participants themselves also play the role of performers as well as the role of audience members. This performance is briefly seen during the question-answer time of the lecture —a time students pose questions to the lecturer. Lacan (1968) and his work on 'the other' as the one observed with 'the subject' as the observer influence my understanding of power relations in classrooms. His ideas propel these questions: Who is observing? Who is being observed? Which action signals and evokes power? Feminism offers various responses to these questions but it may be fair to say, in light of the vast feminist scholarship concerning pedagogy, that power largely lies in the teacher's hands. The teacher observes and the teacher speaks; both signal power. Holding the floor is the teacher's prerogative and is something which demonstrates the room's point of reference; that is, power is revealed in and created through the language practices of the lecturer. The lecturer is the subject or, for Lacan, the lecturer is the 'presumed-to-know'. The lecturer is perceived as knowing and the audience members are the ones seeking the knowledge; they are the observed. What is said in lectures implicitly and explicitly hints at the personal: the lecturer's views, the lecturer's opinions on a host of issues, the lecturer's personal life and choices, including religious and moral ones.

Lecturers in a theology college also reveal the particular context. I here suggest that lecturing, followed by question-answer periods, as is the pattern in this college, alienate the female students at this college because the feminine/masculine tendencies in classroom settings are validated and condoned by feminine/masculine patterns of behavior within evangelical Christianity itself. With the steady increase of female theology students, it seems worthwhile to reflect on the continued high prevalence of lecturing as common teaching method in a theology college and position it as a masculinist pedagogical tool, one that rehearses female students in feminine patterns of silence. At the same time, lecturing rehearses male theology students in masculine tendencies to dominate linguistic space. That is, the use of lectures in this theology college works to reinforce hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995; Swain 2003); a masculinity which insists on feminine subservience and ‘reverent awe’ (Gallop 1995). Because of the transference of information/knowledge that lecturing presupposes, the silence of female students during question-answer time (a time they could speak) affirms the possibility that women behave quietly as a way of performing a specific and understood role of feminine devout behavior: women are quiet in such a setting because their religion values their silence.

5. Morality as Gendered

In 1982, Carol Gilligan wrote *In a different voice* which explored various ideas of gendered language patterns: a woman’s place in society, gendered patterns in dealing with crisis and intimacy, as well as gendered patterns of expressing morality. To Gilligan, morality is closely if not entirely connected with one’s sense of obligation and views of personal sacrifice. She goes on to suggest that masculine morality is concerned with the public world of social influence, while feminine morality is concerned with the private and personal world. As a result, the moral judgments and expressions of women tend to differ from those of men. In light of Gilligan’s ideas, it may be reasonable to suggest that students of theology invite the suggestion that masculine behavior is particularly connected to public displays of influence with feminine behavior not concerning itself with public displays of participation, such as use of linguistic space. Women are rehearsed into silence for moral reasons; their silence demonstrates to others and to themselves their devoutness to God: their silence is their way of being good. Out of respect for others and for God, women are quiet.

The current increased presence of women, the rise in feminist theology, and the growth of women’s ordination have significantly changed the nature of theological education. Recent research into the lives of evangelical women who chose theological education indicates that the lived experiences of these women are often painful and confusing ones (Gallagher 2003; Ingersoll 2003; and Mutch 2003). With various other religious experiences possible, some women remain in their evangelical subculture because they also experience support and solace in their church involvement. Women who study theology say they are often dismissed as feminist for pursuing theology and are marginalized as a result. Others feel marginalized and limited and nervous about their possible or future contributions; they anticipate problems though have no experience yet (Mutch 2003). Canadian women in theological education largely report that being a woman in ministry requires 'commitment of conviction' which is carried out within the 'context of challenge' (Busse 1998). Most cite loneliness and stress as part of their career choice and part of their theological education experiences. Nevertheless, women continue to enroll and to graduate and to go on to seek ordination in various evangelical denominations.

Much debate in theology education settles on how or if a woman can represent God or Christ to the church as some see the role of minister or pastor to be: to represent Christ. As such, women who choose to enter theological training at an evangelical college do so with a burden of explanation. Unlike their male classmates, they will have had to grapple with the possibility that their sex (being born female) will be a distraction at best or a continual controversy and challenge at worst.

6. The Theology College

This particular theology college is located on the University of British Columbia's large campus in Vancouver, Canada[2]. The college advertises itself as 'an international graduate school of Christian studies' (school website). It also advertises itself as a 'transdenominational graduate school', not affiliated with a specific Christian denomination, though it clearly articulates evangelical Christian ideas (such as 'to live and work as servant leaders in vocations within the home, the marketplace, and the church').

Forty percent of the student body is Canadian with an equal number (40%) from the United States; the remaining twenty percent are from other areas including Britain and Australia as well as some who travel from parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There are 350 full-time students and approximately 350 part-time students. Because the college is for graduate students, most are over the age of twenty-five and all have one degree behind them. This degree need not be theology; students come from a variety of fields (including education, medicine, law, arts, sciences). There are roughly 40% female to 60% male students. There are no student residences set aside for this college. Students are encouraged to find their own accommodations through the university's housing office or to live off campus. The students I spoke to all lived off campus and independently.

Students choose from a variety of Master's programmes, including a Masters of Divinity (the degree needed for ordination in most evangelical churches). There are no doctoral programmes offered, though some students continue on to Doctor of Theology at larger theology colleges, such as those at Oxford, Harvard, Yale, or Princeton. Most, however, enter theology college to eventually gain ordination to serve as clergy in the evangelical church. This they can do with a Masters degree.

The college employs nineteen faculty members: seventeen are male, two are female. The first woman was hired in 1991 and still holds the post. The other was hired in 2000. The imbalance of male to female faculty members, particularly in light of the male: female ratio represented in the student body, was my first clue to particular gender issues in such a setting. It is my suggestion that the religious views of this community have greatly influenced the low numbers of females in faculty positions as well as their lack of linguistic space in the classrooms.

7. The Classes

In light of the specifics of this evangelical community, the college is a unique location for sociolinguistic gender research. I spent eight months (one academic year) at this college as a visiting scholar. The college provided me with office space as well as access to all classes. Fifty-five classes are offered every twelve weeks (Fall term, Spring term, Summer term). The mandatory core classes are held in lecture halls which fill at two hundred students; however, some elective courses fill at ten or twelve and some classes run with forty to sixty students.

I sat in on two of the large lectures, both consisting of approximately two hundred students, both core courses. Both courses were held once a week during the Fall term. Both classes ran for three hours with one or two breaks. Both lecturers were male; the large lecture classes at the college were all taught by male faculty. The courses taught by the two women were smaller grouped classes and were not core requirements.

The male lecturers were known as senior scholars in their fields; both were well published and well known in evangelical circles. All lectures in the core courses held in the main lecture hall (such as two in focus here) are also taped onto audiocassettes and sold in the college bookstore; hence, classroom lectures in this college serve the purpose of instruction as well as supplementary income for and promotion of the lecturer and the college.

It was clear that both lecturers, Dr. Smith and Dr. Jones[3], had lectured on their material before, perhaps for years. Dr. Smith was over fifty years old; Dr. Jones was in his late forties. Both were of British extraction and their accents identified their ethnic background and their training. Both lectured from prepared agendas given to students. These two classes were chosen because of the similarities in class size and in their use of lecture-style, but mainly because both classes represented the 40:60 ratio of female students to male students as seen in the college more generally.

Dr. Smith began each class with approximately five minutes of announcements, such as where to collect marked assignments. Dr. Smith had three tutorial assistants who marked weekly essay submissions. Sometimes one of the tutorial assistants (all of whom were male) would speak to these details before Dr. Smith would ascend the podium. A microphone was usually clipped onto the lapel of Dr. Smith's suit by a sound technician so as to record the lecture as well as to allow the entire lecture hall to hear adequately. The lecture would then begin with a two or three minute prayer by Dr. Smith. Dr. Smith would speak without visible notes, though students followed along in the student packs where each lecture was provided in outline form –something purchased at the beginning of term. Most students appeared to use the lecture outlines to follow along and write steady notes throughout, filling in each section of the page. At the end of the three hours (including one half-hour break), twenty minutes would be given over to questions from the students. For the twelve weeks of lectures in Dr. Smith's class not one woman asked a question. Three to five male students would ask suitable questions, all higher order questions spoken into standing microphones. Each week, different male students would ask questions. No female students spoke the entire term.

Dr. Jones' class appeared less formal than Dr. Smith's. Dr. Jones did not wear a suit and often arrived late and with scattered papers. Nevertheless, Dr. Jones also had the aid of three tutorial assistants who often started off the class on time for him with announcements of assignments or sometimes reminders of college activities (such as the Christmas banquet ticket sales). Dr. Jones usually began his lectures with a joke or humorous anecdote from his family life. Eventually an opening quick prayer was said, and Dr. Jones would begin his lecture. Dr. Jones used PowerPoint images which would include particular Bible passages under examination in the lecture or photographs of Biblical sites or maps. Students took copious notes; only a course outline indicated the general lecture topic per week. Dr. Jones gave a very long break, sometimes one hour. During the hour, Dr. Jones would retreat to his office. Dr. Jones also gave time for questions, often as long as ten minutes but averaging seven minutes most weeks. In the twelve weeks spent sitting in on Dr. Jones's lectures, one woman asked a question once. It was brief and answered quickly, but it stood out to me as indication of some accessibility for women in the less celebratory occasion.

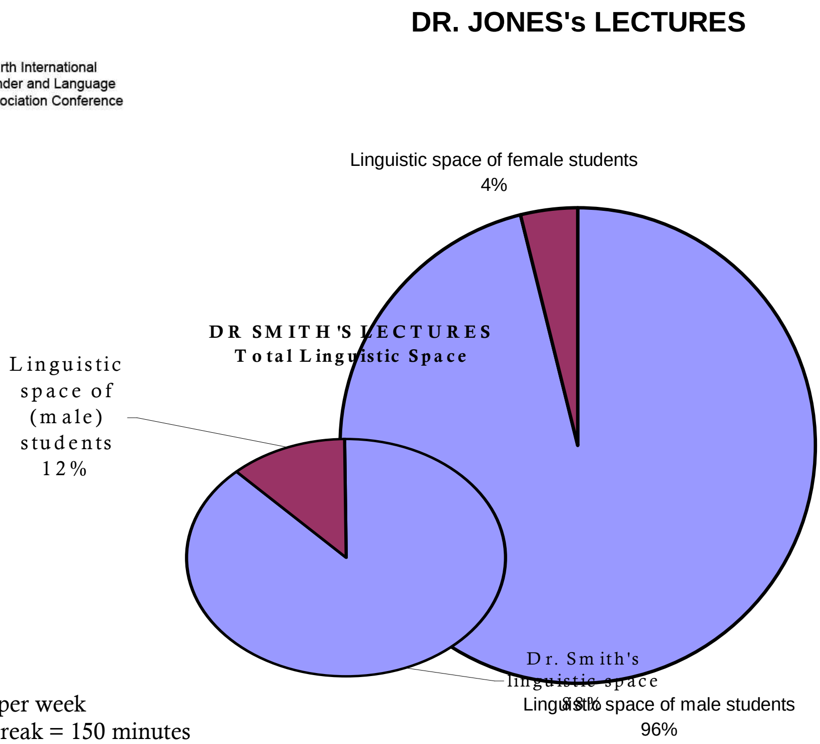
In my opinion, Dr. Jones was the more engaging of the two lecturers, though in my casual conversations with students, they noted very little difference. The content of each course seemed of more significance to the students than the personality of the professors, even though all students were aware of the distinguished academics in their midst and mentioned this often to me. When I asked both lecturers (casually and privately) if they noticed that only men asked questions during question time, Dr. Smith said he had not noticed this; Dr. Jones said he had noticed this ‘years ago’. He also said, “Women don’t like to ask questions in public.”

To highlight the discrepancy of linguistic space, Dr. Smith’s and Dr. Jones’s classrooms are represented in pie-chart form.

8. Discussion

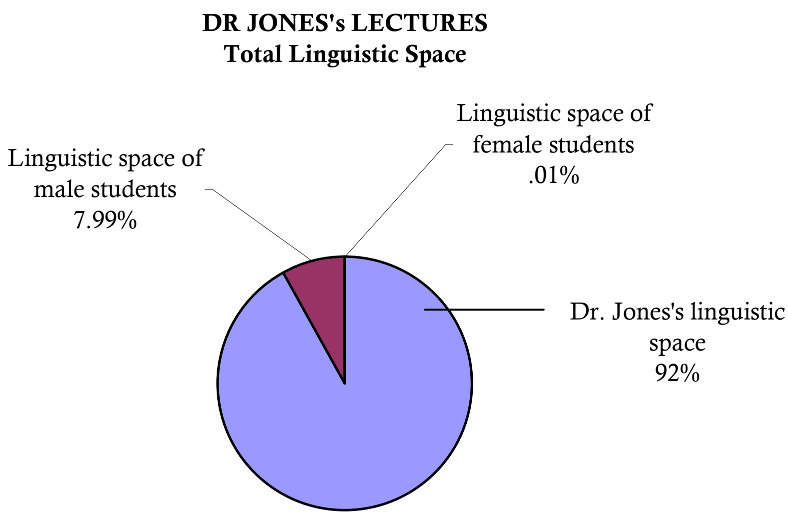
Both Dr. Smith and Dr. Jones use most of the linguistic space during their lectures. This is not surprising, considering the method of instruction. However, of the remaining linguistic space, men used disproportionately more. In Dr. Smith’s lectures, the male students used all of the student linguistic space: 100%. In Dr. Jones’s room, the male students used much more than 60% to 40%, as is the population ratio. Instead, the male students speak over 90%.

Given the prominence of evangelical voices in current North American life, it is not surprising that social scientists like me have interest in exploring the intersection of religion, gender, and language. Many other researchers have undertaken numerous studies on the relationship of evangelical faith and femininity, most recently Gallagher (2003) and Ingersoll (2003). Both scholars offer robust research on gender and the evangelical sub-culture. Both suggest that evangelicalism appears a personally salient and robust religious experience to many, even with (or perhaps because of) high levels of participation and adherence to traditional Christian teachings concerning a woman’s place in the home. Its ability to thrive in the midst of larger secularism and current religious pluralism is in part because it is a religious subculture that appears to accommodate cultural engagement along with theological orthodoxy (Smith *et al* 1998 in Gallagher 2003).



200 students
60% male
40% female

180 minutes of lecture per week
minus 30 minutes for break = 150 minutes
plus 20 minutes for questions



200 students
60% male
40% female

180 minutes of lecture per week
minus 60 minutes for break = 120 minutes
plus 10 minutes for questions

Evangelicalism and evangelical theological education thrive not because they are effective in establishing a market niche (which they have done, Gallagher 2003) but because they are somehow relevant and useful to the people involved. The 1980s and 1990s in particular emerged as anti-feminist in American society as well as in evangelical circles (what is termed the 'backlash', Faludi 1993). In spite of earlier feminist claims made by many evangelical women, the Christian 'right' began to assert political pressure on issues concerning 'the family' and in opposition to gender issues. In short, evangelicals articulate a view of society that rejects modernity and relativism in favour of a preoccupation with certainty and control. Their views emerge from a belief that men serve as 'benign patriarchs' who insulate their families from the complexity of secular life (Gallagher 2003). As a result, both men and women achieve morality and peace of mind by behaving in stereotypically masculine and feminine ways (men to lead, women to submit to male leadership and significance).

It may well be that women choose evangelicalism precisely as a way to find meaningful communities and to reduce the stress of navigating more complex gender roles at work and with family (Busse 1998). Gallagher (2003), in her discussion of women in evangelicalism, suggests that evangelicals 'accommodate feminism but do so selectively' (p. 11). Gallagher suggests women remain in evangelicalism precisely because of the set roles for women. Such women find the clarity 'empowering'. She says that the rhetoric of masculine Christianity appeals to men as well as many women. Even organizations within evangelicalism which support and promote female ordination do so within the set dogma, offering differing interpretations of key scriptures concerning the role of women but not differing interpretations of gendered behaviour; men are still to lead (never to submit), women are still to support male 'headship' (even if ordained).

These complexities within evangelical circles, specifically that one could be a female ordained minister and still remain a woman committed to submission as a key moral and gendered behaviour, suggest that women in this college manage the contradiction with these ideas. These women have proceeded to pursue theological education, not for reasons of liberation or female emancipation from male domination in the church, but as a way to serve. Though some women may have difficulty remaining in such a context, many appear to remain and further invest themselves precisely because of a sense of clarity. They remain in their 'context of challenge' because of their 'commitment of conviction' (Busse 1998). They work out their gender roles within a larger framework of male leadership and domination. Even if ordained, women see their roles as supportive and not leadership-driven.

That lecturing is used in such old-fashioned ways within this theology college (and my guess is in many others as well) suggests a clash of conservative/spiritual masculinity with pro-feminist/social justice masculinity within university education (Clatterbaugh 1990; Skelton 2001). In fact, such a domination of linguistic space is what Skelton calls 'the school and machismo': that the ways males experience or exploit educational opportunities are 'skills' which males in society 'learn to develop' (p. 93).

9. Conclusion

I agree with Camille Paglia (1992) in that there are 'Protestant looks, Protestant manners, Protestant values' and that the codes of belonging to evangelical Christianity are attractive to many women. That women choose to belong and to support a religion which sees stereotypically gendered behavior as desirable might explain their alarming silence throughout the courses I observed at two theology courses. The women remained silent all term. Such specific manners and values are part of being specifically devout.

Women's roles, even if appearing to reach for the top levels of church governance by enrolling in Masters of Divinity programmes, are supportive roles. The 'Protestant looks, manners, and values' seem to include feminine silence. Though the evangelical world has competing debates within it concerning the role of women in the home, in society, and in the church, it appears to be the case at this college that female presence has not meant an upset in 'God's order' and that women serve as supportive listeners to the larger male-dominated linguistic space of the lectures.

If there had been a fear that women in theological education would 'de-feminate women and de-masculate men' this fear appears an unnecessary worry because, even when present, women continue to behave in quiet, submissive ways in these college classrooms. A masculine style of seeking influence as a way to be moral seems also at work at this college; the men acted the part of knowing and belonging to power, while women served the part of audience. These patterns are so commonly seen in other pedagogical research that the findings are not surprising. What this research does point to is cultural and historical threads which have appeared as patriarchal but which may reveal women consciously colluding in such patterns.

Many women remain in evangelical Christianity; women participate in theological education; women continue to serve well as audience members in their own educational experiences; and lecturing as pedagogical tool remains a popular teaching method at this college. These are the Protestant manner and values at work in American society. The lecturer as performer is well-received and well-supported by college life in general. The male privileging of the style is one not well-interrupted and my guess now would be that both the men and women who belong to such groups would defend it as 'God's order'. The popularity of evangelism, particularly in America, gives rise to feminist scholarship in a search for women's experiences in public life.

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Notes

[1] The term 'evangelical' will be used to refer to those of Protestant faith who are Pentecostal, fundamentalist, or mainline liberal—terms articulated by Gallagher 2003. She also suggests evangelicals are generally anti-feminist and anti-big government; they hold these views because of their perceptions of what 'the Bible says' and they promote the 'Good News' to convince others.

[2] There are several theology colleges on the University of British Columbia's campus. The one examined here will remain nameless for reasons of anonymity.

[3] The names are fabricated to protect anonymity. Also, 'Doctor' is the title used for professors in Canada, indicating a PhD as well as professor status. To be called 'Professor' indicates no PhD and, hence, fewer credentials.

Explicit hetero identity on Internet forums

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Abstract

Sexual identity is often made explicit by only those who do not fit into heteronormative expectations of the society (lesbians, bisexuals, gays etc.). Thus heterosexuals have not named, talked nor made hetero identity an explicit frame of sexual life. Recent developments in contemporary sexual identity discourse in Finland, however, suggest that hetero may become explicit starting point for discussing sexual life. Naming oneself and others as straight / hetero has become possible, sensible and in some situations necessary, too. In this article I analyze the mobile use and discursive functions of explicit hetero identity on several widely read Finnish Internet forums. Discourse and rhetorical analysis are applied to build up an argument that hetero identity on Internet forums is liquid and multifunctional. Besides manifesting sexual orientation, hetero category in discourse is used to shake, but also to re-establish and legitimise prevailing sexual hierarchies.

Key words: *sexual hierarchies ~ Internet forums ~ discourse analysis ~ hetero identity*

1. Introduction

Heterosexuality has a taken-for-granted status in Western societies. Instead of being normal, natural or neutral, heterosexuality has been argued to be a vigorously established and maintained social norm (see Ingraham 2001; Jackson 1999; Katz 1996; Salonen 2005a). As an effect of this norm sexual identities are usually made explicit by only those who do not fit into heteronormative expectations of the society (lesbians, bisexuals, gays etc.) Straights, on the contrary, are not expected to claim

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 199-214.

their identity and to tell their stories. Thus, the taken-for-granted of heterosexuality is partly achieved and maintained in silence while heterosexuality in discourse is located outside the discourse (Jackson 1999: 173; Katz 1996: 182). Heterosexuality is apparent and obvious in everyday talk, but yet never announced or made explicit. It is an invisible and therefore unoriented category of talk and frame of sexual life. (Kitzinger 2005; Richardson 1996: 13.)

Recent developments in contemporary sexual identity discourse in Finland, however, seem to challenge and contradict the "invisible", and "outside of the discourse" conclusions about heterosexual talk. Consider, for example, these three randomly selected examples from Finnish contemporary culture. 1) In 2005 a novel, *Hetero* by Kari Aartoma (Sammakko) was published. The back cover of this book informed its readers: "Hetero gives voice for the silent majority that has been forced out from the contemporary entertainment". And in the front cover another well known Finnish novelist, Reijo Mäki, comments: "I love Aartoma, although I am hetero, too". 2) Finnish songwriter, columnist Juice Leskinen writes in his regular newspaper column (Aamulehti 15.11.2005): "Another type of sexual thinking has established such a solid position that a normal suffers. I am so much and throughout hetero that I almost feel ashamed. Sometimes I even consider myself deviant." 3) A blog called Pro Hetero was set up on Internet in 2005 (prohetero.blogspot.com). This blog claims to "fight for heteros and to punish undisciplined –for manhood and womanhood, brothers and sisters."

In these examples hetero identity is conceived as an explicit frame for understanding sexuality. Instead of being silent or repressed category of talk it could as well be interpreted as loud, entertaining, shameful and aggressive. Diane Richardson (2004: 402–403) suggests that new forms of otherness through mainstreaming lesbians and gay men might cause self-conscious public heterosexual identity at both the individual and collective level to emerge. This seems to be the precise case in Finland as categorizing oneself and others as straight/hetero is becoming possible, sensible and in some situations necessary, too.

In this article I will analyze how hetero identity is made explicit on Finnish Internet forums. I will focus on scrutinising how this "new" sexual identity category is used on real language practices. In the past very little attention has been paid on critical studies on heterosexuality or heterosexual talk. Jonathan Katz (1996: 178) claims that "such privileging of the [heterosexual] norm accedes its domination" and for similar reasons Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick (2003: 153) suggest that "more attention should be paid to the language in which heterosexual identities are manifested". In this article I use discursive and rhetorical analysis to critically explore how hetero identification is made and what consequences these performatives may have in the light of recent debates on heteronormative practices and theory.

2. Identity categories in rhetorical and consequential use

Identity theories often separate personal identity from social or group identity. Personal identity is used to refer to individual's own understanding of oneself (self concept). It provides an answer to the question, "Who am I?" Social identity, on the contrary, refers to group memberships of an individual. In Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel & Turner 1986), for example, it is thought that people mark difference of 'ingroups' and 'outgroups'- groups which an individual belongs to and groups that an individual is not part of. In this type of approach it is assumed that people have a psychological need to categorize the world around them. In the categorization process people emphasize similarities among issues that are positioned in one category as well as they emphasize differences between different categories. As a consequence of this cognitive process outgroups are perceived stereotypically and ingroups are favored.

If explicit hetero identity was to be analyzed through this sort of theoretical lens, the study might reveal changes in the sexual identity categories and their relations. It might also raise a question whether the universally assumed psychological need to categorize has changed. Moreover, it might provoke a question on what extent explicitly made identity categories describe real personal identities or group memberships. As these questions suggest, the approach would treat identity as pre-discursive, unified, realist and essential (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 25; Widdicombe 1998: 193-194). It would be impossible, for instance, to ask how hetero identity is manifested or how ascriptions of hetero are used in social interaction.

The approach taken in this article is different. I presume that identities are worked out in discourse (cf. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998; Benwell & Stokoe 2006). Instead of presuming pre-discursive or unified identity, I understand gender and sexual identities to be contextually bound processes, which often manifest themselves in language (see Bucholtz, Liang & Sutton 1999; Cameron & Kulick 2003; Litosseliti & Sunderland 2002).

It is worth noticing that in this article hetero identity is not considered as a single and coherent identity, which then is somehow achieved in discourse. Instead, I shall argue that introducing oneself as hetero besides making hetero identity explicit performs other discursive functions. In addition to analyzing how hetero is made explicit I shall make a case of scrutinizing explicit identity ascriptions in respect of their rhetorical and consequential use while discussion on other sexualities and sexual tolerance builds up on Internet forums.

According to Michael Billig (1987/1996; 1991) language in its common use is always rhetorical and argumentative. Calling a person a fag or gay may refer to the identity of that person, but in many social and cultural contexts it is also an act of mockery, which is used to discipline those who cross borders of acceptable behavior (see Lehtonen 2003: 143-148). Similarly, making hetero identity explicit can also be perceived as a performative speech act (Austin 1976). It is not necessarily a description with direct reference to the reality beyond the expression, but an act that may (re)produce a very different reality (cf. Kulick 2003). It is an act that reproduces, maintains and contests social relationships. It is this consequential reality production I further explore in this article.

3. Data

The analyzed data corpus consists of discussions on six internet forums in Finnish. All forums are open and public forums which anyone can read and surf. Participation in discussions is possible for all after registration to the site. All these sites are popular and have thousands of visits each and every day. As the data is public it has been collected the same way as any public media data would be collected. It means that the discussants have not separately been informed neither asked permission for data collection. Site guidelines and instructions, however, tell users that their postings are public and can be used for other purposes. In the posted messages discussants appear to be aware of other readers and therefore possible researchers, too.

Initially analyzed forums were sought after typing "hetero" and "I am hetero" into various web research engines (in Finnish language hetero equals to both straight and hetero. In Finnish the search words were "hetero" and "olen hetero"). Results indicated several sites with active discussion forums including plenty of explicit hetero ascriptions. Interestingly none of these sites focused on gender, sexuality or sexual education, but revealed wide array of discussion topics on everything that goes on in a society. The relevant sites were further limited on the basis that they would represent various types of user groups and have similar types of beginnings for discussion threads where hetero identity is recurrently made explicit. All six selected forums had at least one discussion thread which started with more or less the same list of questions. "What is your sexual orientation? What do you think of sexuality? What do you think about gays, lesbians and bi-sexuals?" These threads were fully included into data corpus, which then ended to include 788 messages in all (see table 1 for summary).

Data corpus was collected and accessed twice, first in May 2005 and later updated in October 2006. Some of the discussion threads had long history as the very first messages in some threads were dated in 2001 while the last message had been posted in 2006. Some of the discussions are still open, but some have been closed and are not accessible any more. Most of the messages are published under pseudonyms – some forums also had miniature pictures attached to the side of each message.

In this study I do not analyze pseudonyms and therefore I will omit them from the data excerpts. Generally site specific differences are small and in the light of this data definitely not worth an argument. Thus, I shall use data excerpts to demonstrate analysis and arguments without reference to any specific site. After all, the aim of this article is to discuss explicitness of hetero identity as an emerging phenomenon.

Site name / address	Description	Target groups / users	Number of messages in data
www.demi.fi	Run by young women's magazine, Demi.	Attracts teenage girls and young women	110
www.iltalehti.fi	Site is run by daily published yellow press paper	Various, readers of the same newspaper	98
klubitus.org	A site that offers latest news on bars, clubs and restaurants	Young adults, both men and women	373
www.tukiasema.net	Support and information channel for mental health, relationships and family	Young adults and parents. Students and professionals. 2/3 of the users are women.	105
Keskustelu.jatkoaika.com	Sport site (ice hockey)	Men	34
www.kiss.fi	Support site for the KISS FM Radio channel	15-35 years old city people	68

Table 1.- Analyzed discussion forums and their descriptions

4. Fixed and fluid identity ascriptions

According to Zygmunt Bauman (2004: 19) asking "who I am" makes sense only once you believe that you could be someone other than you are. Asking sexual orientation from discussants on any Internet forum therefore proposes that the sexual identity of present discussants is not taken for granted. In this context the most obvious way to make hetero identity explicit would be by simply saying: "I am hetero". This sort of identity statement is, indeed, sometimes used on the analyzed Internet forums. More often hetero identity and its nature are, however, emphasized by more detailed descriptions. While discussants relate to other possible sexual categories being "just hetero" does not seem to be enough. Instead, several messages elaborate hetero identity by stating, for example, "I'm fully hetero", "I'm thoroughly hetero" or "I'm 100% hetero". In some messages hetero is also reflected as a source of pride and the only possible way of living. A message states, for example, that "I am proud to be 100% hetero" or "I have always been hetero and I will always stay hetero".

Identities are often established in relations of contrast. Steven Seidman (2003: 50) suggests that heterosexual identity is established by creating distance to homosexuality. While making hetero identity explicit some discussants may in the context of their disclosure state that "thinking about anything else makes me puke." Some others acknowledge that the discussion takes place on a public forum and they put hetero identity on show as a precaution against associating themselves for anything else: "For the sake of my boyfriend's mental health I need to say that I am regular hetero…"

The excerpts above demonstrate how hetero identity is recurrently displayed as a strong, coherent and stable stand. Theoretical writings on heteronormativity commonly argue that heteronormative practices make heterosexuality seem coherent, fixed, stable and monolithic form of sexuality (Berlant & Warner 1998: 548; Richardson 1996). In this respect coming out as hetero seems to function as a heteronormative practice. The existence of hetero identity *a priori* is plainly confirmed by making hetero identity visible.

Heteronormative practices by definition privilege heterosexuality (see Berlant & Warner 1998; Richardson 1996). Displaying hetero identity stable, fixed and in contrast to homosexuality, however, does not necessarily mean that heterosexuality is simultaneously and continuously privileged. Introducing oneself as hetero does not necessarily imply fun and desirable life, but can also sound dull and unfortunate:

> "I am a regular, dull hetero"

> "Hetero – unfortunately… I feel some attraction to women, but not enough to say that I was even bisexual.

> "Unfortunately I am fully hetero. Unfortunately because if I was for example bisexual, I would have more choices…"

Comparing hetero life to other possible ways of experiencing sexuality often produces other sexualities more desirable than heterosexuality. Although these examples do shake the privileged status of heterosexuality, they persistently hold on to the notion of fixed and stable sexual identities. In the data, however, hetero identity is not recurrently displayed as fixed, coherent and stable. Quite the opposite, several messages, for example, elaborate in a calculated form how much or little discussants are straight or twisted. Some state, for example, that "I'm a half hetero" or "I'm 85% hetero". Other postings make cautious and temporary statements about sexual orientation while the very same people still relate themselves to heterosexual identity:

> "I think I am more or less hetero"

> "I'm hetero, but I wouldn't swear it for sure."

> "I suppose I am hetero, but I do not block out other options, either."

> "I am pretty sure that I am hetero although nothing is for sure at this point of life."

According to Matthew Waites (2005: 562) current debates and discussions on sexual identities, whether law, social policy or popular discourse, have widely accepted that an identity is fixed prior to adulthood. Perhaps the only case, where sexual identities have been perceived fluid, has been in a strongly heteronormative perception to understand homosexuality as a developmental and passing phase of normal heterosexual development (Adams 1997: 92-93; Salonen 2005: 121-122).

The explicit hetero identity of internet forums does not fit this picture when it is presented uncertain, self-conscious and able to transform into something else. Instead of heterosexuality being a developmental objective, hetero identity seems to become fluid and blurred. In this context, hetero identity could even be argued to be a temporary phase of life, too. It has been argued that bisexuals find their sexuality flexible and consequently hard to define by using binary category of homo/heterosexual (Kangasvuo 2006). Similarly, hetero identity appears flexible; to be hetero on these forums and at this particular moment does not imply that the person will always stay the same.

Explicit hetero identity is used in the maintenance of sexual hierarchies although the very same explicitness may also challenge heteronormative structures of understanding. Thus, assuring heterosexuality is not a straight-forward and simple act, but a cautious way to negotiate what it means to position oneself in the sexual discourse as "normal". This act is undertaken delicately in relation to acknowledging that normality claims could in the very same context also be questioned and contested.

5. Rhetorical hetero identity and sexual tolerance

In the data corpus hetero ascriptions often function as tools for manifesting contradictory hetero identity. The data contains few pieces of discussion about sexual tolerance, which also seem to present much more than just identity ascriptions. Michael Billig (1987/1996) has argued that categories are made for socially and contextually bound thinking and arguing. All categories can be rhetorically used for legitimating arguments as well as they can be used for defending opinions. In this respect, treating hetero identity also as a rhetorical device may open up new insights into what it means to make hetero identity explicit.

In a recent survey (Salonen 2005b) it was found that young people in their response to sex education at school from time to time mentioned that they do not like gays because they are heteros. In this sample ascribing to hetero category rhetorically justified and explained the dislike of gays. The statement produced an argument for the defense of sexual hierarchies. Hetero ascription rhetorically functioned to serve the maintenance of privileged heterosexuality as it supported intolerance toward other sexual orientations.

As a direct answer to this type of cultural logic some messages on Internet data elaborate on hetero identity in relation to sexual tolerance and specifically, gays and lesbians. One message summarizes this relationship sharply:

> "I myself, I am hetero, but I am not against gays or lesbians –not at all."

This particular opinion reminds of an expression, "I am not a racist, but", which usually continues by giving justifications and explanations for the support of racism (see Wetherell & Potter 1992). Now, instead of denying a certain identity category this discussant comes out straight and then appears to foresee what other forum readers might think of this act. In argumentation all statements have explicit and implicit meanings (Billig 1987/1996: 120-123; Billig 1991: 44). This statement implicitly suggests that making hetero identity explicit might mean that the writer confronts lesbians and gays. So, it has to be clarified what being hetero does not in any case mean to this person. Racism is commonly condemned; similarly sexual intolerance is suspicious. That is why making hetero identity explicit requires clarification in respect of individuals' attitude toward other sexual orientations.

The same explanatory process or discursive strategy seems to be in use, whenever sexual tolerance is supported and argued for. At times being fully hetero and tolerant is also highly controversial issue. If discussants claim to be more than "just heteros" and yet do not even relate to gays and lesbians, then tolerance towards them may appear a bit unreasonable –at least something that does not harmoniously fit with explicit hetero identity:

> "I'm 100% hetero, I don't even have gay or lesbian friends or acquaintances, but yet I'm tolerant towards gays."

Although hetero ascriptions often appear contradictory in terms of sexual tolerance, they from time to time also function in support of tolerance toward other sexualities. First of the following excerpts relates hetero identity to the position of bisexual in the society, and the second to the discussion whether fertility treatments should be limited to hetero-couples or allowed to everyone regardless their sexual orientation.

> "First of all: I am hetero. But I have one bisexual friend and I feel offended when they say that s/he is somehow sick."

> "Help me! I'm so pissed! How can you be so intolerant!!! In my opinion they should be allowed to everyone!! And I myself – I am hetero."

Both of these statements introduce the presenter of the argument as hetero. In the first example hetero identity is put on display in the very beginning of the opinion, in the second it is in end. I imagine that even in contemporary culture it could be possible to defend rights of a bisexual friend without first making one's sexual identity explicit –or yet coming out straight. Similarly I imagine that fertility treatments are defendable for everyone without making clear that the person presenting the argument needs to be a hetero. Why hetero identity is then announced and made explicit in both of these comments?

Category entitlements are not randomly taken or rejected. Rather in making arguments they show interest which discount the statement or increase plausibility of the statement (Potter 1996: 115). In these opinions, I argue, relying on hetero category gives pro-tolerance statements additional weight. Individuals who post these opinions cannot be located in the same group of people whose rights are being defended. Mobilizing hetero category makes the argument more tenable than an argument which would be backed up by identity categories such as lesbian, gay, or bisexual. When talking about sexual tolerance, disclosing hetero identity is a way to convince listeners or readers of this particular opinion. It makes an opinion sound authentic and unselfish.

6. Irony and hetero identity

So far statements and arguments making hetero identity explicit have been analyzed by only probing their discursive and rhetorical logic. Arguments, however, are never without possible counterarguments (see Billig 1987/1996). The next extract weaves together various arguments from the whole data corpus and illustrates how hetero identity is made explicit in the context of an on-going discussion on sexual tolerance. All six discussants are different and they post only one message each. Previous discussants on this thread had wondered, if they should have any opinion on other sexualities. The next six discussants apparently decide to have some opinion and although they all submit only one message each; the discussion makes a complete u-turn.

> [#1] Lesbian or gay, it's all the same, they are people like heteros, too.
>
> [#2] Regular people :D I also have some of them in my circle of friends ;) but I am hetero.
>
> [#3] I don't understand you guys who say that 'they are people'. Who has claimed that they aren't?
>
> [#4] 'They are people' Really?! ... I have problems with no one. I approve heteros.
>
> [#5] What do you think about heteros?
>
> [#6] THEY ARE COOL!!! Fight more for your rights<33
> And I am hetero.

The first discussant seems to empathize with gays and lesbians as the message locates them in the same category of people. This category, however, already consists of heteros. Heteros are presented as pre-existing and this comment may therefore be interpreted to privilege it in respect to other sexualities at the hand. The second message seems to affirm the first argument. Gays and lesbians are just "regular" and therefore tolerable. The discussant admits to know some of them. Possible conclusion following this statement –that this particular discussant too might also be one of them– is then strongly rejected, when the participant distinguishes oneself from them by stating "but I am hetero".

The message (#3) following these comments positions itself in a strong opposition against previous messages. The discussant makes it clear that of course gays and lesbians already are part of the people category –not just to be included. And the following message (#4) affirms this stand and further displays ironically sounding tolerance toward heteros by approving them, too. The position of giving or rejecting approval is privileged. Instead of approving gays and lesbians the discussant takes a position where even heteros can be approved. By this matter it provides irony over commonly acknowledged and used discourse where opinions on other sexualities, excluding heteros, are sought after. Through the use of irony the opinion seeks to destabilize the privileged status of hetero identity. This becomes clear as the following message (#5) of this discussion directly asks what other discussants think about heteros. This opinion creates an open change to reflect hetero people as a sort of "outgroup" for discussants. Perhaps the question with this type of embedded irony is too strange or outrageous since there is only one more message over the same. The final posting on this theme assures that heteros are "cool" and they should hold on to their rights.

On Internet forums hetero identity is often explicit and it is used as a rhetorical tool for various aims. Self-conscious debate or discussion on what it means to be hetero, however, remains non-existent. When there is a possibility for such a discussion, it is covered in irony and stopped. Interestingly the last discussant (#6) willingly gives credit for heteros while claiming to be a hetero, too. The discussant (#6) also presents hetero rights to be defended implicating that they might be under threat. This is remarkable because nowhere else in the whole data corpus sexual rights are encouraged to be defended and the only case where it takes place is in a situation when the least expected sexual rights, hetero rights, are under the disguise of irony brought into the discussion. After this comment there seems to be nothing else for other discussants to say and a new discussion subject has room to move in. When there is a chance for a reflexive discussion on heterosexuality, the discussion ends rapidly. This may mean that the norm of heterosexuality is being reinstalled in the discourse by making hetero identity and hetero rights explicit. At least it ensures that on the Internet forums an openly self-reflexive hetero identity with no irony is yet to emerge.

7. Conclusion

According to Steven Seidman (2002) the public sphere of sexuality has transformed so that the long "era of the closet" for lesbians and gays is now over. Diane Richardson (2004: 406) has further suggested that the inclusiveness of lesbians and gays in the public, although partial, is related to the emergency of public and self-reflexive heterosexuality. In the past few years sexual discourse has similarly changed in Finland and hetero has become an explicit identity. This article has demonstrated and analyzed how discursive "coming out" of heterosexuality actually takes place. Further the article has analyzed how explicit hetero identity is rhetorically used in talking about other sexualities and sexual tolerance.

It would be misleading to think that hetero ascriptions refer to some easily identifiable features of talk, thoughts, feelings or behavior. When identity is made public it is not a neutral act referring to some personal identity, but thoroughly social and consequential act with several contradictory functions. Explicit hetero identity descriptions, on the one hand, reinforce heteronormative understandings on sexual hierarchies. On the other hand, they can contradict and contest the form and content of heteronormative structures of understanding. Moreover, in the discourse positioning oneself as hetero may legitimate and support sexual intolerance, but it may also establish acceptance of different types of sexual living.

Although hetero category is commonly used on Internet forums, there seems to be no discussion what the category is used for or what it means to the discussants themselves. In this sense questions like "what do you think about heteros?" –even if they are used ironically– are important since they create space for reflection. The sexual discourse no longer restricts making such strange questions, but rather supports and ables. Explicit hetero identity has emerged into the discourse. A more reflexive and less ironical debate over hetero identity, however, is yet to be invented.

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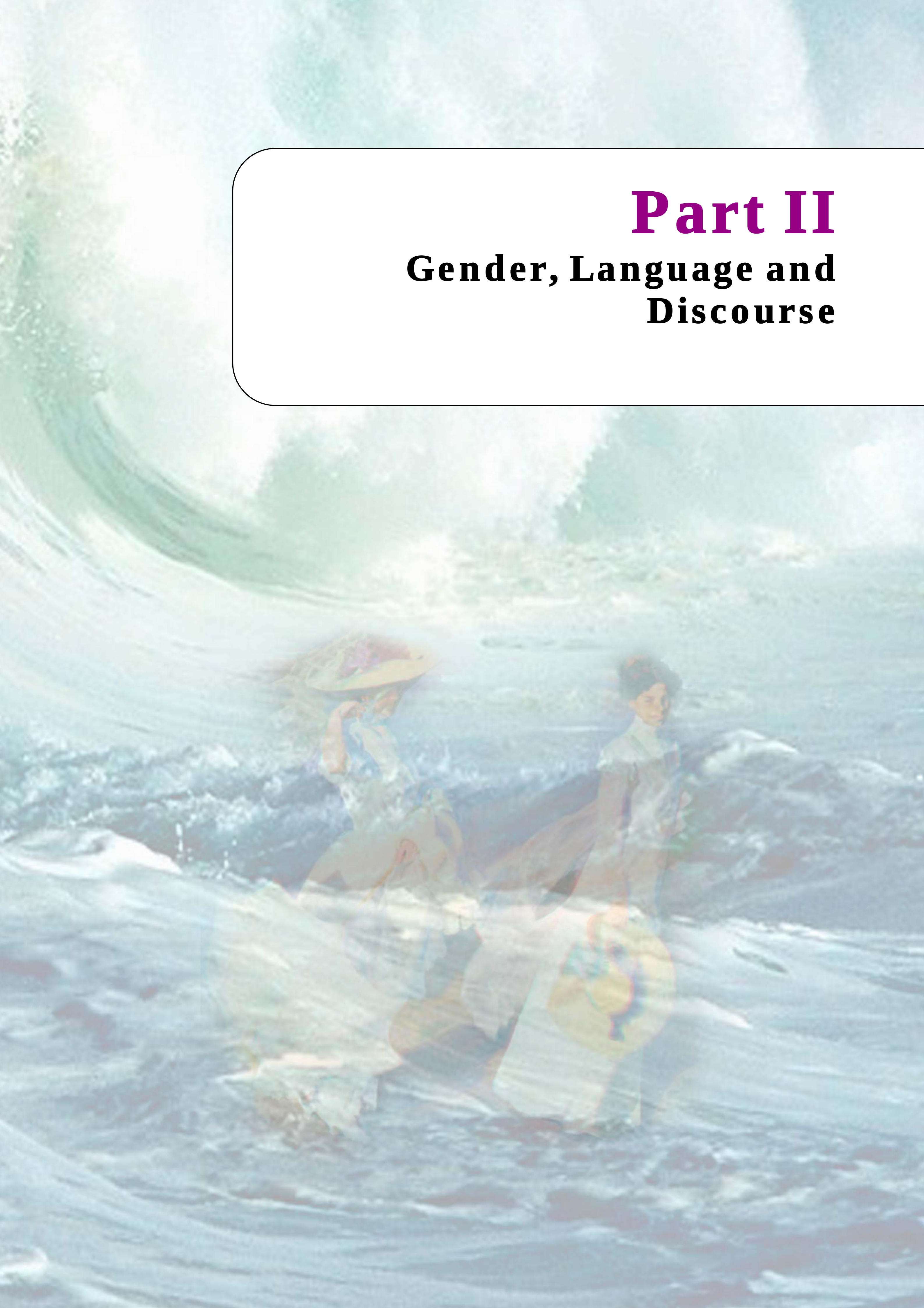
Part II

Gender, Language and Discourse



Descripción funcional y crítica feminista: lectura alternativa del género gramatical en español

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Abstract

This essay proposes a new perspective on the operation of grammatical gender in Spanish. It centres on its fluctuating and innovating realizations at the levels of both speech and norm, and on the several factors—formal, semantic and pragmatic—which, it is argued, account for such variation. Finally, it explores the possibility that the fluctuating behaviour of the morpheme may be fostered by a similar unstable configuration of the category at a systemic level. The essay uses the methodology and theory of functional structuralism in the light of feminist linguistics.

Key words: *gender ~ grammatical gender ~ Spanish ~ feminist linguistics ~ functionalism*

La categoría flexiva de género gramatical es uno de los escasos aspectos morfosintácticos del español –y de muchas otras lenguas– cuya descripción se ha visto estimulada y hasta agitada por la conexión que presenta –o se le atribuye, según el punto de vista adoptado– con la categoría sociocultural de *género* (con la de *sexo natural* dicen muchas investigaciones).

El principal punto de conflicto reside en la configuración asimétrica de la categoría. Para quienes la interpretan socioculturalmente, la posibilidad de que los sustantivos masculinos puedan subsumir la referencia genérica a individuos de uno u otro sexo propicia la ocultación de la mujer en el discurso y requiere el fomento de usos alternativos verdaderamente incluyentes. Quienes alegan el carácter puramente formal o gramatical de la categoría y de las relaciones que se

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 217-232.

producen en su seno niegan cualquier vinculación entre el genéro gramatical y el género sociocultural.

Lo que nos proponemos en esta contribución es someter a examen crítico la concepción formalista de la categoría, en el marco de la crítica feminista del lenguaje, pero haciendo uso de los instrumentos teórico-metodológicos propios del estructuralismo funcional.

1. El proceso descriptivo: habla, norma y sistema

Resulta imposible ahora detenerse en los antecedentes del tema. Como punto de partida, participamos del planteamiento de Milagros Fernández Pérez (1991) según el cual el género gramatical es un signo mínimo abstracto y, en concreto, un *morfema flexivo* 1) por su organización sistemática en una estructura de dos términos –masculino y femenino- que se oponen paradigmáticamente sobre la base común de pertenecer ambos a la clase del *género;* y 2) por sus implicaciones en la organización de signos complejos a través de las relaciones de concordancia. De su organización estructural también forma parte, en opinión de esta autora, su asimetría funcional, esto es el carácter marcado del *femenino* frente al *masculino,* que sería el término no marcado de la oposición y representaría a la categoría, en calidad de archimorfema, en los casos de neutralización (1993: 53-54).

Esta última propiedad del género ha recibido explicaciones muy diversas, pero la citada es la más habitual en la morfología estructural. En el mejor de los casos, se trata de una simplificación que no resulta consistente con los datos. Así, no parece capaz de dar cuenta de lo que se observa en los siguientes ejemplos:

1a) Ovejas y carneros pastaban tranquilos en la pradera

1b) Carneros y ovejas pastaban tranquilos en la pradera

1c) Vimos un rebaño de ovejas que pastaba en la pradera

Si desde el punto de vista sintáctico, la resolución de la concordancia de los ejemplos 1a) y 1b) parece exigir el masculino, desde el semántico –caso 1c)– es el femenino oveja el término genérico, incluyente o extensivo de la oposición de género oveja/carnero, de modo que el referente asociado al término masculino queda comprendido por el denotado con el femenino.

Podría decirse que el estructuralismo ha llegado en ocasiones a la descripción del sistema ahorrándose las operaciones y etapas previas de análisis: las que tienen su punto de partida en la observación de la actividad verbal concreta –del hablar en términos coserianos–; hacen escala en la norma, esto es, en las realizaciones más o menos constantes y tradicionales en una comunidad lingüística; y alcanzan el máximo nivel de abstracción con la descripción de las pautas y modelos del sistema.

Y es que puede afirmarse que, quizá con la excepción del morfema de número, aunque por razones bien distintas, la realización del género gramatical en español se singulariza frente a la del resto de morfemas flexivos por su dinamismo sincrónico, particularmente en los sustantivos que forman parte del sistema de referencia a personas. Esto es, por la aparición de formas debidas a la creatividad individual –en el habla– pero, sobre todo, por la competencia estable entre soluciones innovadoras y tradicionales –es decir, por la coexistencia de varias normas parciales de realización. Pero ni las formas esporádicas ni las variantes estables han sido suficientemente valoradas a la hora de presentar el encaje del género gramatical en el sistema morfológico del español.

2. El género gramatical en el habla

Entre las formas esporádicas o variantes ocasionales -que revelan, no obstante, un alto grado de conciencia del sistema- encontramos, por ejemplo, recategorizaciones metafóricas de nombres animados e inanimados como nombres de persona. Entre los nombres animados encontramos ejemplos como:

2a) (él es) un merluzo; un gallina

2b) (ella es) una lagarta; una bicha

Son palabras cuyo género puede manifestar vacilaciones ligadas al sexo del referente al que se aplican:

3) (él es) un/una fiera; un/una bestia; un/una rata

La recategorización de nombres inanimados es menos frecuente:

4) (él/ella es un/una) mamarracho/mamarracha; fenómeno/ fenómena; monstruo/monstrua; capullo/capulla; elemento/elementa

Por otro lado se encuentran las formaciones secundarias de carácter expresivo con nombres de persona o de animal.

5) nuera → nuero; yerno → yerna; caballero → caballera; dama → damo; víctima → víctimo; poetisa → poetiso; toro → tora; oveja → ovejo; culebra → culebro; el gorila → la gorila

Es cierto que los ejemplos aducidos han surgido o tienen alguna vitalidad en variedades de lengua distintas de la estándar. A este respecto resulta interesante observar cómo las pautas morfológicas del sistema de género rigen para todas las variedades del español, que difieren solo en la forma de realización.

Por otro lado, reviste notable interés en estas formaciones la doble orientación de la realización del género. Esta bidireccionalidad del proceso flexivo observable en pares como nuera → nuero; yerno → yerna; toro → tora; oveja → ovejo sugiere que no existe una restricción inherente a la categoría que autorice a tratar la moción de género, como hace la mayoría de lingüistas, en términos de formación del femenino.

Dentro de este apartado caben otros fenómenos que solo podemos dejar apuntados. Primero, la negación expresiva mediante la oposición de género gramatical –vid. González Ollé (1981) y García Page (1991).

6) No quiero coche ni cocha; No me vengas con películas ni películos

Y, en segundo lugar, las vacilaciones de género provocadas por la existencia de un artículo alomorfo femenino el (Álvarez de Miranda 1993):

7) este/ese/aquel área, aula, agua; mucho hambre; nuestro hacha; su único arma; aquel alma arrepentida; estaba todo el agua muy oscuro

3. Competencia de normas en la realización del género: los nombres referidos a personas

La complejidad de la flexión de género en estos casos tiene que ver, al menos, con los 1) distintos procesos formales disponibles para la distinción de sustantivos femeninos y masculinos; 2) con preferencias sociolectales y/o dialectales y 3) con las restricciones que afectan al uso de muchos sustantivos femeninos.

Los recursos formales disponibles para el contraste de género y de sexo en nombres de persona pueden resumirse así, de acuerdo con Ambadiang (1999):

Contraste por heteronimia	padre/madre yerno/nuera hombre/mujer padrino/madrina
Contraste de tipo sufijal	conde/condesa director/directora diputado/diputada presidente/presidenta
Contraste por moción del artículo	el testigo/la testigo el novelista/la novelista el atleta/la atleta el camarada/la camarada
Contraste por adjunción de *mujer*	el policía/la mujer policía el bombero/la mujer bombero el soldado/la mujer soldado el médico/la (mujer) médico (médica)

Ahora bien, de esta gama de posibilidades, las soluciones formales concretas que puede recibir la oposición de género en estos sustantivos tienden a variar en función de las creencias y actitudes de los hablantes y no se extienden de manera uniforme a unidades de estructura similar. Esto es, existen *normas parciales* que compiten en el seno del estándar, pero también existen diferencias dialectales en el nivel de la norma ejemplar.

Por ejemplo, muchos sustantivos que se oponen por el artículo en el español de España se prestan al desdoblamiento de tipo sufijal en las variedades estándar americanas. Además, la escasa uniformidad de las soluciones formales en el español peninsular contrasta con la regularidad y consistencia con que las modalidades americanas acuden al contraste desinencial. Ambadiang, por ejemplo, aduce diferencias como las siguientes (1999: 4867-4868):

9a) Español de Chile: el cliente/la clienta; el juez/la jueza; el pesimisto/la pesimista; el testigo/la testiga

9b) Español de España: el cliente/la cliente, el juez/la juez(a); el pesimista/la pesimista

9c) Español de México: el presidente/la presidenta; el huésped/la huéspeda; el testigo/la testiga

Otros condicionantes, como decimos, obstaculizan la actualización y difusión de términos femeninos, o mejor, del contraste formal en el propio sustantivo. Y estos condicionantes no son otra cosa que usos tradicionales que entran en conflicto y conviven en un mismo estado de lengua con tendencias innovadoras. Podemos hablar de tres tipos de factores:

a) La forma de la palabra. Al lado de segmentos finales de palabra que se prestan con facilidad a la moción, otras terminaciones parecen acomodarse peor a ella. Así, frente a oposiciones del tipo

10) abogado/abogada; profesor/profesora; obrero/obrera

Las terminaciones -e, -ente, -ante, -al o -z no se comportan de modo uniforme, ya que al lado de formas más o menos difundidas (11a), hay otras que todavía no han arraigado (11b):

11a) jefa; presidenta; infanta; chavala; jueza

11b) (?) conserja; agenta; estudianta; fiscala; aprendiza

b) La existencia de una oposición previa de género masculino/femenino correlativa al contraste humano/no humano. El término masculino tiene referente sexuado y el femenino puede tener referentes muy variados, como se observa en

12) objeto: jardinero/jardinera; segador/segadora; entidad: asegurador/aseguradora; constructor/constructora; ciencia, arte o técnica: químico/química; físico/física; músico/música

c) El carácter despectivo de algunas denominaciones femeninas y el significado 'esposa de'.

Los nombres femeninos que designan a la esposa de quien ejerce un cargo o profesión tienden claramente a desaparecer en la norma culta del español ante el empuje de la oposición de género estrictamente paralela a la distinción de sexo. No ocurre lo mismo con el valor despectivo o burlesco, ausente en el masculino, de muchos otros sustantivos, como:

13) individua; parienta; socia; verdulera; tipa; sargenta

Son estos los casos prototípicos en los que se ve reflejada la relación que el hablante establece entre los referentes de los nombres citados y él mismo, es decir, el estatuto social que les otorga (Ambadiang 1999).

4. La asimetría funcional de la categoría y su interpretación cultural como factores de fluctuación en la realización del género

La crítica feminista niega el valor genérico del masculino y la neutralidad de los usos llamados incluyentes o extensivos de este. Para ello se apoya, entre otros argumentos, en la frecuencia de aparición de ejemplos que revelan claramente un sesgo androcéntrico, como

14a) No os llevéis nuestra Roma portátil, donde **todos** podemos tener nuestras casas y nuestros coches, **nuestras amantes** y **nuestras esposas**, **nuestras secretarias** y fiestas y bebida y drogas (El País, 2-12-2005)

14b) Me ha dicho **el médico** que me pese cada mañana [...]. No es preciso añadir que se trata de **un médico obsesivo**, pero ni **los médicos** ni **las esposas** nos tocan en la lotería (El País, 29-9-2006)

donde las expectativas incluyentes de los términos masculinos supuestamente genéricos –en negrita– quedan completamente rotas por la aparición de un femenino que excluye a las mujeres del ámbito referencial de aquellos.

Por su parte, la lingüística que se pretende estrictamente formalista aduce, en su análisis del valor genérico del masculino, ejemplos como

15a) Los cargos de **director general** y **secretario ejecutivo** se adjudicarán tras un concurso competitivo.

15b) La escritora extremeña se convierte así en **el primer español** en obtener el prestigioso galardón internacional

15c) La prueba escrita y el examen oral resultaron **satisfactorios** y no tuvo problemas para superar**los** donde las palabras destacadas en negrita serían exponentes del carácter no marcado del masculino.

Como se aprecia, se tratan conjuntamente los aspectos sintácticos y semánticos, que deben deslindarse cuidadosamente.

4.1. Aspectos (morfo)sintácticos de la asimetría del género gramatical

La resolución de la concordancia es una de las instancias donde parece manifestarse el carácter no marcado del masculino. Nos referimos a la regla según la cual la coordinación de dos o más sustantivos de género distinto reclama el masculino en el adjetivo o en el pronombre que concuerda con aquellos, como en

16a) La pared y el techo resultaron **dañados**; El techo y la pared resultaron **dañados**

16b) La pared y el techo **los** insonorizamos; El techo y la pared **los** insonorizamos

Hay que notar, sin embargo, que si el adjunto precede a los sustantivos, la concordancia se establece con el más inmediato, como en

17a) Derribamos **las dañadas** paredes y techos del edificio

17b) Derribamos **los dañados** techos y paredes del edificio

La imposibilidad de

18) *Derribamos **los dañados** paredes y techos del edificio

tiene que ver, para autores como Roca (1989) o Ambadiang (1999) con restricciones propias de los procesos de concordancia antes que con la flexión de género. Pero cabe preguntarse, entonces, por qué las concordancias que se realizan en masculino sí están vinculadas al carácter no marcado de este y no responden a exigencias ajenas a la flexión de género en cuanto tal. Además, otros estudiosos, contemplan la posibilidad de que la concordancia en masculino tampoco resulte de aplicación automática cuando se trata de adyacentes posnominales, que tenderían a concordar con el género del último sustantivo (Camacho, 1999):

19a) Ha eludido la pregunta y el comentario **insidiosos**

19b) (?) Ha eludido el comentario y la pregunta **insidiosas**

Frente a todos los casos anteriores, el género femenino también conoce en español usos en los que se comporta como el miembro no marcado de la categoría en el nivel morfosintáctico (Fernández Ramírez 1951: 118 y ss; Mariner 1968; López García 1998: 237-238). Nos referimos a una serie de usos en los que figura un adjetivo, un pronombre o un clítico femenino, en singular o en plural, que sirve precisamente para expresar la indeterminación:

20) Lleva siempre **las** de perder. Se encuentra en **las últimas**. No me vengas con **esas**; **La** hizo **buena**; Se salió con la **suya**; Esta es **la mía**

4. 2. Aspectos léxicos de la asimetría del género gramatical

Por lo que se refiere a su manifestación flexiva, es decir, en el propio sustantivo, las nociones de marcado/no marcado presentan una articulación todavía más compleja. En primer lugar, debe precisarse –algo que no se suele hacer en la mayoría de trabajos– que la asimetría de la categoría y la eventual neutralización de la oposición concierne sólo a los pares de nombres animados opuestos por el género. Por lo tanto, quedan al margen de las nociones de género marcado, no marcado y neutralización todos los sustantivos inanimados, se agrupen o no en pares de opuestos, y aquellos animados que no presentan diferenciación sexual:

21) a) teléfono, funda, hierba; b) cubo/cuba; leño/leña; el orden/la orden; el cometa/la cometa; manzana/manzano; c) criatura; personaje; víctima

Entre los nombres animados se comportan de modo distinto los de animal y los de persona. En los primeros, la neutralización puede resolverse a favor del masculino o del femenino. En los nombres de persona el (así llamado) genérico siempre es el masculino. No obstante, tanto en unos como en otros puede faltar el génerico y, en los de persona, la neutralización está sometida a restricciones relativas al número y al artículo. Todo ello puede resumirse en el siguiente cuadro:

	Masculino genérico en singular y en plural	**Masculino genérico en plural sólo**	**Masculino genérico sólo con artículo (en singular o en plural)**	**Pares de nombres opuestos sin genérico (oposición de género no neutralizable)**	**Femenino genérico**
Nombres de persona	Niño(s) abogado(s) pintor(es) funcionario (s) doctor(es) profesor(es) presidente(s)	padres hermanos abuelos condes duques héroes (?) poetas (?) brujos	(el/los) artista(s) (el/los) testigo(s) (el/los) miembro(s) (el/los) mártir(es) (el/los) camarada(s) (el/los) atleta(s)	yerno/nuera macho/hembra varón/mujer niñero/niñera modisto/modista (?) monje/monja (?) sacerdote/sacerdotisa	
Nombres de animal	Gato(s) perro(s) burro(s)			toro/vaca gallo/gallina	abeja/(zángano) oveja/(carnero) paloma/(palomo)

Reviste especial interés preguntarse por los nombres de persona cuya oposición de género no puede neutralizarse. En este grupo encontramos algunos pares (*macho/hembra; varón/mujer*) imposibilitados para la neutralización porque el rasgo de sexo se encuentra máximamente especificado en ellos. Sin embargo, en otros pares no concurre esta circunstancia. Especialmente llamativos son los casos de nombres de profesión o agente en los que la moción de género se ha producido desde el femenino al masculino:

23) *niñera* → *niñero; ama de casa* → *amo de casa; modista* → *modisto; azafata* → *azafato*

La ausencia de genérico en estos pares se debe a la relación simétrica entre ambos miembros. Nótese que el genérico tampoco es el femenino. En todo caso, todo ello contrasta con la asimetría de la relación y la posibilidad sistemática de neutralización en las parejas de sustantivos en las que el femenino es el término más reciente (*doctor/doctora; arquitecto/arquitecta; ingeniero/ingeniera*).

Aun prescindiendo de las observaciones anteriores, subsiste el principal problema al que apuntan las investigaciones de corte pragmático: la dificultad de deslindar los supuestos en los que el masculino funciona como archimorfema respecto de aquellos en que actúa como miembro marcado. Una u otra interpretación depende de factores poco predecibles. Algunos son de tipo textual pero, en buena medida, intervienen las condiciones pragmáticas en las que se desenvuelve la comunicación. Por ejemplo, el conocimiento compartido de la situación entre los interlocutores. En un sencillo intercambio de turnos de conversación como el siguiente:

24) – *Me gustaría estar en la situación de Ricardo*

– *Desde luego, cómo se lo montan* ***los solteros***

la referencia genérica de *los solteros* depende crucialmente de la unidad que el emisor le contrapone implícitamente en función del conocimiento de la situación y de las presuposiciones pragmáticas que maneja –*las solteras* o bien *los casados*– y, al mismo tiempo, de que el receptor comparta esa información implícita. En otros casos, la interpretación resulta todavía más compleja:

25) *Las otras víctimas de otros partidos,* ***policías, militares, niños, ciudadanos de a pie, jueces, mujeres embarazadas*** (http://www.vistazoalaprensa.com/)

Para quienes interpretan el género gramatical en términos culturales, ejemplos como los anteriores son buena muestra del espacio de ambigüedad en que se mueve el llamado masculino genérico y del sesgo androcéntrico a que puede dar lugar. Este análisis ha venido acompañado de la promoción de un tipo de discurso caracterizado por la especificación transparente del sexo mediante el desdoblamiento del género y la duplicación formal, cuando se pretende hacer referencia conjunta a personas de ambos sexos. Así ocurre en estos tres fragmentos entresacados de textos de tipo jurídico-legal:

26a) *Es asumido por* ***todas las valencianas*** *y* ***todos los valencianos*** *que, desde que nuestro Estatuto se aprobó [...]* (Estatuto de la Comunidad Valenciana, Boletín Oficial del Estado, 11 de abril de 2006)

26b) ***Los Gobernadores*** *o* ***Gobernadoras*** *deben rendir anual y públicamente, cuenta de su gestión ante el* ***Contralor*** *o* ***Contralora*** *del Estado [...]* (Constitución de Venezuela, 1999, Art. 161)

26c) *Artículo 5. Condición de* ***andaluz*** *o* ***andaluza.*** *1. A los efectos del presente Estatuto, gozan de la condición política de* ***andaluces*** *o* ***andaluzas*** *los ciudadanos españoles que [...] tengan vecindad administrativa en cualquiera de los municipios de Andalucía.* (Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía, Congreso de los Diputados, 2 de noviembre de 2006)

De la notable proliferación en el español actual de usos como los anteriores nos interesa destacar los siguientes aspectos:

a) Su frecuencia de aparición es particularmente significativa en textos escritos y, en cualquier caso, en la comunicación de carácter formal con un destinatario múltiple o indeterminado.

b) Su difusión ha superado la etapa de uso ocasional y han sido adoptados por un grupo significativo de hablantes que los emplean ya sin finalidad extralingüística.

c) Son un exponente más de un proceso de variación que afecta al género gramatical, en cuya realización coexisten y compiten soluciones innovadoras y conservadoras.

d) A diferencia de los usos fluctuantes descritos más arriba -que son ejemplos de actividad lingüística gobernada por el sistema- el tipo de desdoblamiento señalado constituye una innovación orientada en sentido contrario.

5. De la norma al sistema en la caracterización del género gramatical

La descripción lingüística, señala Coseriu, "debe tener en cuenta que el "estado" que se describe es momento de una "sistematización", es decir, de una realidad dinámica, y registrar todo aquello que en el mismo sistema sincrónico es manifestación de su precariedad, o sea, de la dinamicidad real de la lengua. Así, [la descripción] debe destacar las contradicciones internas del sistema y sus "puntos débiles" [...]. No debe tratar de presentar como "equilibrado" aquello que no lo es" (1978: 272).

Y, precisamente, lo que caracteriza al uso del género en el español actual es la coexistencia sincrónica de variantes normales de realización que afectan, sobre todo, a un sector cualitativamente significativo de sustantivos –el de referencia a personas– y son un claro exponente del constante hacerse de la lengua en un marco de permanencia y de continuidad.

Así, a tenor de todo lo expuesto creemos que la configuración y funcionamiento de la categoría debería caracterizarse, al menos, por las siguientes propiedades sistemáticas, que se articulan en un entramado mucho más complejo que el planteado por Fernández Pérez, que hemos adoptado como punto de partida:

a) El género es un signo mínimo abstracto, con significado y significante gramaticales. Es, además, un morfema flexivo inherente al sustantivo, organizado en una estructura de dos miembros, masculino y femenino, e implicado en los procesos de concordancia.

b) El morfema de género posee la capacidad de asociarse a contenidos semánticos de carácter referencial, fundamentalmente al contenido «sexo». Es decir, la sustancia semántica «sexo» no es una propiedad del morfema de género. Lo que constituye un rasgo sistemático es la facultad de que el morfema informe una sustancia semántica de ese tipo.

Por otro lado, el modo de asociarse los rasgos de género y de sexo también responde a formas regulares de funcionamiento: 1) un sustantivo es de género masculino si se refiere exclusivamente a un varón o macho; 2) un sustantivo es de género femenino si se refiere exclusivamente a mujer o hembra. En este punto la constitución del sistema posee un grado de consistencia casi absoluto y prevalece casi sin excepción cuando entra en conflicto con factores formales, como la terminación (el califa, la virago).

c) El sistema privilegia la asociación de cada uno de los miembros de la categoría con determinadas manifestaciones sustanciales en la línea de expresión. El modelo más productivo es, sin duda, el de tipo sufijal que se ajusta a la correlación masculino □-o y femenino □̣-a. Esta correspondencia es más patente en los pares de sustantivos que presentan además oposición de sexo. Pero alcanza a los sustantivos en los que el género parece vinculado a otros contenidos semánticos y también a la mayoría de sustantivos cuyos rasgos de género no se asocian a ningún significado (libro/libra; velo/vela; acero/acera).

Todo ello confirma la relativa independencia de los módulos del sistema que rigen, por un lado, la conexión entre género y contenido semántico referencial y, por otro, la articulación del género con determinadas marcas formales. A pesar de todo, el sistema de género presenta en este aspecto puntos débiles, ya que también es capaz de vincular el género femenino con la vocal -o (la mano, la radio, la moto) y el masculino con la -a (el diploma; el enigma; el planeta).

d) Sin lugar a dudas, el principal foco de inestabilidad de la categoría se encuentra en la relación asimétrica de sus miembros. Y esa inestabilidad no está inducida sólo por la adopción de usos innovadores contrarios a la norma (duplicaciones del tipo españoles y españolas), sino que se debe también a debilidades internas del sistema, en las que, a su vez, tales usos hallan sustento. Por un lado, la asimetría no se materializa del mismo modo en la sintaxis y en el léxico. Por otro, en ninguno de estos dos planos existe una correspondencia unívoca entre cada rasgo de género y su carácter marcado o no marcado, como se ha señalado antes.

Por lo que atañe al léxico las nociones de oposición y neutralización conciernen solo a los nombres animados que presentan oposición de género y de sexo. En este sentido puede decirse que esta propiedad del género presenta un escaso rendimiento funcional.

Además, el representante del archimorfema coincide formalmente con uno de los términos de la oposición que, en los nombres de persona, es siempre el masculino. Este se ve así sometido a tensiones de signo contrario que forman parte del mismo sistema que, de una parte, prevé el funcionamiento del masculino como término referencialmente neutro y, de otra, lo vincula sólidamente con un rasgo de sexo específico. Por otro lado, los contextos en los que la oposición de género puede neutralizarse son sensibles a las condiciones pragmáticas en las que se desenvuelve la comunicación. Así, se abre un espacio en el que codificación y descodificación pueden no coincidir y, por los datos disponibles, la ambigüedad juega a favor de la interpretación del masculino como referido específicamente a varones.

Por lo que se refiere a la repercusión de la asimetría de género en los procesos de concordancia quizá habría que comenzar por replantearse la propia descripción de los hechos. No parece fácil justificar un comportamiento sintáctico según el cual la resolución de la concordancia exige para el género la forma no marcada –el masculino– y, en cambio, requiere las formas marcadas de número –el plural– y de persona –la segunda o la primera. En este punto urge reconsiderar la validez del concepto de género no marcado.

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Language & Grammatical Gender in Moroccan Arabic and English codeswitching: A levelling phenomenon

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Abstract

In this paper[1] I analyse grammatical gender which examines the switching between a modifier and a noun in both Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA) and English codeswitching and how the gendered MA vs ungendered English dynamic allows accommodation for a form of convergent flexibility. Here, in MA and English bilingual utterances, if an English noun ends in an /a/ the speaker will assign an MA feminine marker /a/ in the adjoining adjective (Adj) as in *kæmer**a** kbīr**a*** 'big camera'. The same can be said if the English noun is devoid of an /a/ final sound as in 'coffee' which will then be marked for masculine in its adjectival gender in the MA as in *coffee zwīn* 'nice coffee'. Here then, phonological shape accounts for grammatical concord and this is generally agreed upon by speakers in natural conversation. However, sometimes such phonological gender assignment is not always as transparently defined and MA speakers instead select a semantic frame application to nouns, irrespective of phonological shape and such semanticization is transferred across from the MA L1. Such assignment rules force the speakers in bilingual conversation to somehow 'agree' on noun assignment giving rise to either phonologically or semantically attributed MA adjectives and at times, there is feminine-masculine-feminine alternation until the end result is 'levelled' and agreed upon by both speakers. The main criterion here is absolute grammatical agreement which is essential in MA discourse and it is found that codeswitchers have strong grammatical intuitions of male or female-specific lexicality.
Key words: *grammatical gender ~ Moroccan Arabic ~ English, agreement ~ generation ~ codeswitching*

1 A similar paper was presented at the Conference on Communication and Information Structure in Spoken Arabic, University of Maryland, USA on 8-10 June 2006.

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 233-248.

1. Introduction

Hockett's (1958) definition of gender is that of classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words (1958: 231). However, this paper further analyses the physical loading of gender with phonological markings as well as semantic mapping and this is irrespective of associated words. It is only recently that grammatical gender has been considered and researched as a core linguistic category. Early work addressed the linguistic category of grammatical gender (Arndt 1970, Poplack 1982, Radford 1988) focusing on the host language semantic equivalent and links with phonological shape of host language words. Poplack's research denied that micro language variation amongst a single speech community exists and that there is a general unanimous agreement amongst speakers (1980: 25). Many approaches to grammatical assignment often attempted to assign gender assignment rules as in Tucker, Lambert & Rigault (1977) where in describing gender assignment for French, simplified it as being reflective of the natives speaker's competence in being able to trace back the noun from its terminal phone (1977: 62). In a paper comparing Arabic and English speakers, Clarke, Losoff, McCracken & Still (1981) asked informants to assign genders to a series of English nouns and found assignment of the masculine gender was given to nouns which are masculine in Arabic. In this paper semantic mapping with concept association is a frequent occurrence amongst Arabic and English speakers, but is more transparently evident amongst fluent or first generation speakers of Arabic. It is evident that grammatical gender assignment is one of the last aspects of second language acquisition to be mastered. Whether it is *le terre* or *la terre* in French is often a stumbling block for L2 learners. It appears, then that the mastery of grammatical gender is an indicator of language fluency (see Hawkins & Chan 1997 for their failed functional features hypothesis) and part of the native speaker's competency. Many researchers have investigated this grammatical category in L2 acquisition (Fransechina 2005) and have found that transparent features on N heads are attainable throughout one's life and not subject to a 'critical period' for learning a language. The main criteria are feature mapping, semantic or phonological assignment and their faithfulness to the usual settings and parameters of Universal Grammar. This paper then is an examination of grammatical gender amongst the British Moroccan speakers and their faithfulness to either phonological or semantic assignment systems and the assignment choice in terms of assignment systems and the compromise default of levelling.

2. Setting and Methodology

In the 1960s a few Moroccans came across from three major parts of Morocco to the UK; namely, Oujda, the Larache region and Dar al Bayða (Casablanca). The motive for migration was work-related and chiefly, manual labour was being offered to Moroccan citizens together with the prospect of a better standard of living and education. Moroccan migration to the U.K. in the 20th Century can be categorised into four phases (Cherti 2006):

- The first wave, which is the most significant, started in the 1960s and was characterised by the emigration of unskilled labourers who originated mostly from the northern part of Morocco, more specifically the Jbala region (Khmiss Sahel, Beni Garfet, Beni Arouss), Larache, Tetouan, Tangiers and the surrounding areas, with a smaller community from Meknes and a larger exodus from Oujda.
- Family reunification then followed from the early 1970s onwards with mainly wives and young children.
- The third wave started in the 1980s with young semi-skilled professionals and entrepreneurs, mostly from Casablanca, Larache and Oujda.
- The fourth wave started in the early 1990s with the emigration of highly skilled Moroccan professionals both from Morocco itself and France. A large majority of these most recent immigrants currently work in the finance sector in London[2].

[2] There is a large and ever-growing Moroccan community in the South-West of England that largely goes unnoticed in surveys but for this paper, all data recorded was from this region.

My corpus for this paper is made up of a total of 15 migrant and British-born Moroccans that currently reside in the UK. All speakers I recorded are bilingual with variations in fluency and skill. I used two interview sets of questioning; one for British-born Moroccans and the other for Moroccan-born. Questions asked were alternated between English and MA with some interrogatives in MA which were then qualified by an English discourse particle or vice versa to enhance the switching and to highlight noun and adjective agreement.

3. Speaker and Identity

In the Moroccan community in Britain, the correlation between speaker and identity is a telling aspect as it conveys a bi-cultural, bilingual backdrop for codeswitching analysis. Ethnic identity manifests itself through the use of MA. Generational patterns are quite obviously set out where we have the first group which is first and foremost fluent MA speakers and then English speaking. These were the first to arrive to the UK in the 1960s. They may have extensive ties amongst fellow Moroccans and so there is a constant reaffirmation of MA. The second group of first generation Moroccans is fluent MA/English speaking (with variations of Arabic fluency depending on the individual).The third group of second-generation speakers has been raised as bilinguals and has a wide non-MA speaking social network i.e. school, work etc. We expect to find then that group one who are MA dominant language speakers, irrespective of whichever language begins the sentence, to eventually revert back to the 'comfort' of MA. Group two and three's comfort zone could be either MA or English, but more often than not, English. My results show both depending on the individual's exposure to the ethnic language and speaker audience at the time of discourse. Here there is more flexibility but depending on fluency, topic, group membership allegiance etc, will eventually revert to the 'comfort' of English. The following examples are of [1] an MA dominant string uttered by a Moroccan-born speaker and [2] an English dominant string by a British-born speaker:

[1] la, gult lu yajib li al hammer, wa huwa ma jabu- š
No, say 1st PAST to him bring me DEF and he NEG bring NEG
'No, I told him to bring me the hammer, but he didn't bring it'

[2] You're always interfering, za ع ama, you think you know it all.
in other words
'You're interfering, as if you know it all'.

Levels of MA fluency amongst British-born Moroccans vary according to environment and exposure to MA in childhood. The above examples are one of many recorded where the 'comfort zone' of language is either in the MA or English in a string of discourse. Fluency in itself is not a determinant of CS. Poplack (1980) remarked that while speakers who are dominant in one language show a strong tendency to switch into L2 from an L1 base, more balanced bilinguals often alternate base languages within the same discourse (1980: 597). My data shows that group one favours MA where possible and in codeswitching MA is almost always the matrix language[3]. Group two and three, depending on situation, topic and other social factors, favour English as the matrix language but the reverse can be true if speaking to a grandparent, or elder relative for example. Therefore, even emblematic noun phrases, or single lexical items that are switched during codeswitching can be seen as fluent from the outside but the reality may be different. It can be estimated that 95% of group one speakers maintain MA as the dominant language amongst other MA speakers (this number drastically reduces to 50-55% when speaking with second or third generation speakers depending on topic and addressee). However, amongst British-born MA speakers 75% of their discourse is English dominant in general when speaking to other MA speakers, but again, this linguistic pendulum can swing the other way if speaking with any member of group one or with only monolingual English speakers[4]. This shows then that a speaker's

[3] For further research on codeswitching and the Matrix Language Frame Model, see Myers-Scotton's (1993) excellent work.
[4] Analysis conveys how on a micro level, British-born MA speakers switch their level of fluency when conversing with other speakers of a similar demographic rendering the statistic 95% English where MA lexical items are the EL and English the ML..

language repertoire is essential in determining what can be said, to whom and when which in essence permits language choice at a given situation. This is a key aspect in terms of grammatical gender with respect to phonological shape or semantic transfer.

4. Gender contexts

In monolingual MA discourse, the noun and adjective have to agree and concord identically maps features specifications of an adjective with the noun it modifies[5]. Lexically referential equivalents are also to be found in human nouns and most obviously in kinship terms, *walid* (m) 'father' and its equivalent *walida* (f) 'mother), *xaal* (m) 'maternal uncle', *xaala* (f) 'maternal uncle' with other non-kinship terms being modified for the feminine with the morphological addition of *–a* such as *mumurid* (m) 'nurse' and *mumarrida* (f) 'nurse', *usted* (m) 'teacher' and *usteda* (f) 'teacher' therefore highlighting formulaic feature mapping:

[3]

Feminine ---------------- Feminine
Masculine --------------- Masculine
Singular ----------------- Singular

kalb	*kbir*
dog	big
noun (MASC)	Adj (MASC)
Sing.	Sing.

Other MA nouns which are masculine can be modified to the feminine in terms of usage are the commonly used diminutives which are normally terms of endearment, speaking to children or sweetening phrases:

[4]

Noun	Gloss	Gender	Diminutive	Gender	Gloss
ħaluf	pig	MASC	*ħlilif**a***	FEM	little piglet

[5] Not only is concord mapping essential for grammatical gender but also in number as well as pronouns, prepositions and verbs.

galb heart MASC *glilib**a*** FEM little heart of mine

Switching between a modifier in language A and a noun in language B is becoming increasingly common across all generation groups of bilingual MA/English speakers and grammatical gender switching is prevalent amongst British-born *and* Moroccan-born bilinguals irrespective of fluency. Concord in MA identically maps the above feature specifications of an adjective with the noun it modifies where feminine nouns are morphologically marked for gender and carry the feminine suffix –a and in contrast, masculine nouns carry a zero suffix and are devoid of any such markings. Words in MA then follow a strict morphological ordering and are either masculine or feminine:

[5]	Aspects of the feminine	Aspects of the masculine
	kura 'ball'	*fuul* 'beans'
	xubza 'bread'	*tapsi* 'plate'
	qmaja 'shirt'	*ktaab* 'book'

[6] *a rajul al kbir ya skun quadm i*
the man (MASC) the big (MASC) (ASP) lives in front me
'the big man lives in front of me'

[7] *al warda a zina*
the flower (FEM) the pretty (FEM)
'the pretty flower'

[8] * *assarjum ma zela mwasaxa*
window still dirty
'the window is still dirty'

Lack of concord as [8] above then is ill formed and hence not uttered as *sarjum* is masculine and the modifying verb and adjective should also be masculine *ma zel mwasax*. As we have seen MA, unlike English has a two gender system and so MA verbs, adjectives and anaphoric pronouns always show gender agreement with MA adjectives always following the noun together with corresponding features specifications of number and gender:

MA masculine agreement

[9] šət waħed a rajul fi sūq ya biɛ karmuus
1st see DET DEF man in market ASP sell figs
'I saw a man in the market selling figs'

Above, the determiner *wahed* 'one/a' is masculine and so agrees with *rajul* 'man' which is also masculine as well as the aspectual marker *ya*[6]. The same can be said of the below; *ward**a*** 'flower' is feminine and so *məzint-h**a*** 'beautiful' is also feminine in line with noun-adjective concord:

MA feminine agreement

[10] *ɛatani* *ward**a** mazint-h**a***
give PAST, me rose FEM Sing. beautiful FEM Sing.
'He gave me a beautiful rose'

The same application is valid in codeswitched utterances where MA speakers cognitively determine the gender of an English noun (in natural discourse) and if it has a non /a/ noun-ending marker it is modified as masculine in the ML. The same is true if it the noun ends in an /a/ sound which will render it feminine in the ML. The addressee continues the gender in the same discourse. Consider the dialogue below where the phonology is 'carried over':

[11] Masculine agreement

Speaker 1:
Dad *ɛatani* *waħad al book mazin**u***
Dad gave PAST one DET DEF lovely (MASC)
'Dad gave me a lovely book'

Speaker 2:

Başaħ, fin dərt i**h**? Dyɛl madrāsa walla kifeš?
really where put it masc of school or wha

6 Although this has a final –a this should not be confused with the feminine marker –a as with Arabic aspectual markers, *ya* is masculine and *ta* is feminine.

```
   ‘Really, where did you put it? Is it for school or
what?’
```

‘Book’ above is devoid of a feminine sounding marker or an /a/ sound in the English and so is marked for masculine in the Arabic ML with a masculine pronoun (in bold). Cognitively, book in MA *kitab* is also masculine and the matching system here only shows phonological concord mapping. This is matched by Speaker 2 above that continues the same masculine agreement as a) ‘book’ in English is masculine in its shape (devoid of final ‘a’) and b) is also masculine in Arabic as in *kitab*. Here then, morphologically, phonological gender concord is matched across all generation groups:

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[12] Feminine agreement

Speaker 1:

 šuft        waħad   al   big house,  kbira     wa  zina
1s see PAST – one    DET big house,  big fem   and nice
fem
 ‘I saw a big house, it was big and beautiful’.

Speaker 2:

Liyεh, bghitu ta   šriw ha?   ɛala haqaš   šut waħda
beautiful down the road
Why  want ASP buy it fem  because    saw one fem
‘Why, do you want to buy it? Because I saw a beautiful
one down the road’.
```

Although ‘house’ is devoid of a final /a/ sound, the cognitive application is +feminine and the modifiers are +feminine in MA (in bold). This is because ‘house’ *dār* in MA is feminine and this semantic association spills over into the English. In encoding information structure we can therefore, ascertain and conclude that:

i. Phonology has more of a bearing over semantic association in determining noun gender in English *only* if both the English noun and the MA noun map phonologically.

This is the prediction for all cases of MA/English CS. It is also uni-directional in the sense that, if an English noun has an /a/ sounding marker, it will be +feminine in the MA, but, if an MA noun is either masculine or feminine, it has no bearing on the English adjective as there is no gender marking in English. This significant phonological versus semantic negotiation has not been studied in detail at all during general CS research. However, Boumans (1998) describes how assignment of Dutch feminine gender is associated with the noun's phonological shape where the Dutch noun *agenda* would be feminine due to the final /a/. Here his analysis is strictly phonological with no mention of the semantic application as in principle [i] above.

Semantic considerations, however, are part of the micro information structure of the clause as it overtly expresses whether a phonological or semantic approach has been applied and shares the speaker's own association with his private world. The process of grammaticalization conveys a phonologic → semantic transfer process or a semantic → phonologic transfer process. This in turn should provide us with a more psycholinguistic approach to codeswitching where micro-negotiated discourse is analysed and evaluated. During my recordings I note that the sense of personal meaning of a noun is either, shared, divided and then negotiated. At this stage there is a levelling where the final gender assignment is determined by speaker one, modified by speaker two and then fixed and agreed by both. However, we can conclude that phonological shape –*a* will almost always be the overriding feature in feminine gender assignment. Therefore, nouns such as 'camera', 'drama', 'cola' with clear phonological shapes will be marked for the feminine in MA and agreed by both parties or levelled as such in natural discourse.

However, identical mapping of features specifications can be overridden if we apply a semantic association to the equation. Chomsky (1995) concluded that mismatch of gender features cancels the derivation (1995: 309). However, this analysis only considered phonological aspects of such feature checking. A cognitive application may override this feature and render it feminine due to the feminine in the Arabic such as the nouns below. Contrastively, in MA/English codeswitching, other nouns are assigned a specific feminine gender marking due to a *semantic* application alone irrespective of phonological shape:

[13]

	honey	*ɛasl*	door	*bāb*	house	*dār*	car	*tumubil*
ENG- Phonological	masc	-	masc	-	masc	-	masc	-
MA - Semantic	fem		fem		fem		fem	

Therefore information structure of such gender assignment to the English noun portrays how a semantic rather than phonological adaptation has been applied by the informant at that given moment. The below highlights this notion:

Semantic Agreement

[14] Speaker 1:

Ama, fin dər ti al honey, *šet fi l* cupboard *wa ma laqitə - š*
Mum where put you DEF saw in DEF and NEG find NEG
'Mum where did you put the honey, I looked in the cupboard and didn't find it'

Speaker 2:
*šufi gballa, dərt h***a** *thema bi yedi al bāraħ*
look well put it there with hand my DEF yesterday
'Look properly, I pit it there with my own hand yesterday'

Speaker 1

*Yes, laqit h***a**
Yes, I found it

Interestingly in [14] above, Speaker 1 is British-born and assigns a masculine affix */laqit/* in concord with the English phonological shape of ‘honey’. However, Speaker 2, a Moroccan-born speaker even though, ‘honey’ lacks the feminine phonological marking in English assigns a feminine MA adjective as it is feminine in the MA and this cancels out the phonology of the English. Speaker 1 the realising the semantic compatibility and the affiliation between target and controller, agrees to this assignment rule and in turn the modifier is levelled. Therefore, our further examination leads to the conclusion that:

ii. MA Semantic applications may override the morpho-phonological make-up of an English noun provided there is such direct semantic concord in that affiliation.

Approaching this analysis from a semantic perspective proves rather illuminating in terms of concord and generational groups. Moroccan-born migrants at times override phonological shapes and attach semantic interpretations to nouns more swiftly and accurately than British-born bilinguals. Observations show that this is the case for 95% of phonological versus semantic pairing amongst group one speakers. This could be due to fluency and pragmatic forces such as how the noun is perceived in the speaker’s mind. Nevertheless, both groups switch between phonologic and semantic moulding with children adopting this skill very early on. Such seemingly lack of correspondence at the beginning of bilingual discourse between two or more interlocutors is quickly agreed upon with one ‘winning’ and accommodation is adhered to by the fellow speakers in that group.

5. Conclusion

This paper has examined the innovative notion of semantic versus phonological grammatical assignment and the differences borne out in terms of different generational groups amongst British-born and Moroccan-born bilinguals. Grammatical gender and concord where speakers of both generation groups engage in the semantic application of lexical convergence is essential amongst Arabic speakers. Data recorded shows, however, that Moroccan-born migrants are more skilled at this application than British-born bilinguals and this is to be expected. In highlighting this phenomenon where semantic gender overrides the morpho-phonological, it caters for a wider perspective on accommodation hypotheses and concord in general. There is sometimes evidence of concord mismatch in this levelling phenomenon where speakers of different generations are unsure of gender assignment in MA and/or whether to apply phonological or semantic agreement particularly as convergence in MA is learnt very early on[7]. This, at times, trial and error process is most evident amongst second generation British-born Moroccans as opposed to the more fluent MA speakers[8]. Concord across generations then is highlighted either semantically or phonologically and this is the crucial and salient aspect of this paper and has been little explored in previous research. The onus is on whether the agreement relation is determined as semantic or phonological. Such gender agreement and the matching of features and morphological systems in natural bilingual discourse has been little researched in the general domain of codeswitching but is fast gaining interest in linguistics as a grammatical category in its own right. Further research is needed to draw more detailed observations in order to make well-attested conclusions on the information structure of MA and English codeswitching amongst different generations of bilingual speakers and of future syntactic trends.

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7 For a comprehensive analysis on child language acquisition, refer to Corbett (1991) chapter 4.2.

8 This has been widely observed in natural discourse between a Moroccan-born parent and British-born child where a repair process takes place. A prime example is if the child says *dār zīn* ‘nice house’ and the parent corrects by repeating *dār zwin**a*** ‘nice house’ adding the feminine phonological marker as *dār* is a feminine noun in MA.

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Gender-related Linguistic Representation in Chinese and English

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Abstract

This paper investigates the linguistic representation of women and men in Chinese and English. Properties of the investigation involve explorations of gender-related linguistic referential terms, gender-related syntactic structures, semantic connotation, word formation, social gender as well as idiomatic expressions and proverbs. By discussing the existing gender-related representations in the two languages, the paper points out that a lack of grammatical gender in a language does not mean that the language is free from gender bias or de-communicated. The paper points out that languages such as English and Chinese, which are non-gender in grammar categories, can resort to a variety of linguistic means to construct gender asymmetry. Research on language and social practices posit that gender-related discrimination is an issue worth researching because one's thoughts and minds will be shaped with the language one uses or is exposed to. Awareness of linguistic related representation of women and men is particularly important, especially for those who are engaged in education and need the sensitivity to reduce inequality in educational settings.
Key words: *gender ~ asymmetry ~ English ~ Chinese*

1. Introduction

Many Indo-European languages and Semitic languages belong to "gender language" or "language with grammatical gender". These languages have a large of personal nouns and have a correspondence between the feminine and the masculine gender class and the lexical specification of a noun as female-specific or male-specific. The majority of gender languages include Arabic, Danish, Dutch, French, German,

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 249-264.

Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, etc. Even though English belongs to the Indo-European language family, it has eventually lost grammatical gender (Hellinger & Bubmann 2002: 5); on the other hand, Chinese does not belong to Indo-European or Semitic languages and it is not a language with grammatical gender.

This topic grew out of my interest in exploring how non-gender languages express gender-related messages linguistically. My daily contact with English and Chinese as a non-native teacher of English as well as a native speaker of Chinese spurs me on to conduct the present contrastive study. It attempts to explore how a language which lacks grammatical gender communicates gender related information. An assumption is proposed that if language is semiotic, then it must resort to a variety of linguistic means to construct gender related messages.

2. Review of the Study on Language and Gender

The study on language and gender has attracted considerable attention in the world in the past decades. The year 1975 can be regarded as a milestone to the study of language and gender in the west because in that year three important books, *Language and Women's Place* by Lakoff, *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* edited by Thorne and Henley, and *Male /Female Language* by Key were published. Ever since then a concern over the relationship between language and gender has greatly aroused people's interest. Plainly, there has been a general rising of consciousness about language and gender issues. Sexism is one of the major topics that have been studied since the 1970's. In contrast to the situations in the west, research on language and gender in Chinese is insufficiently studied territory because studies focusing on gender related linguistic research did not start until about two decades ago. (Shih 1984; Farris 1988; Wu 1991; Moser 1997; Yang 2004). Much of the illustrated materials in the area throughout are mainly from the European world.

However, fundamental to the study is the hypothesis that the formal and functional manifestations of gender in the area of human references follow general structure and more or less similar principles. The objective of this paper is to investigate how languages lacking grammatical gender express female-specific and male-specific linguistic messages. The properties of the investigation involve explorations on gender-related linguistic referential terms, gender-related syntactic structures, semantic connotations, word formations, social gender as well as idiomatic expressions and proverbs.

3. Gender-linked References

When people seek to bring about societal change they often focus on language practice and especially on ways of addressing or referring to people. In particular, two routine linguistic practices have been identified as unfair in English and as instances of sexism in language. It is possible in many situations to avoid referring to someone else's race or nationality; however, it is virtually impossible to avoid categorizing people by gender. When we refer to others, we identify them as men or women. For instance, we would say *she is a nurse and he is a driver* to identify a person's sex whenever a third person pronoun is used. In English, the issue that has attracted most attention is the lack of a gender-neutral, third-person singular pronoun; that is, the use of the male term he refers both to males in particular and to human beings in general, standing for the whole set (Schneider & Hacker 1973).

The prescription of "generic masculine" or "male generics" has long been the center of debates about linguistic sexism in English. The choice of male expressions are the normal are criticized by many feminists since such asymmetry will create impact on expectations of women and men and lead to the more frequent occurrences of corresponding male pronouns in English.

In comparison, the third person in oral Chinese does not distinguish female from male. In Chinese character "他" (ta) in spoken discourse to refer to both women and men. The absence of a masculine generic "he" in oral Chinese does not suggest that Chinese "generic he" is not problematic. The lack of grammatical gender in spoken discourse does not mean that gender-related discrimination is lighter in Chinese. What are possible ways of expressing female-specific or gender-indefinite personal reference in Chinese?

4. Gender-related Lexical and Syntactic Formation

4.1. Word Formation of Female Words in English

Word-formation is a particularly sensitive area in which gender may be communicated. In languages, with or without grammatical gender, processes of derivation and compounding have an important function in the formation of gendered personal nouns, in the creation and use of new feminine/female occupational terms. Look at the derivation of the female terms below.

Male Terms	Female Terms
actor	actress
god	goddess
governor	governess
host	hostess
prince	princess
steward	stewardess

A striking fact about the asymmetry in English is its marked and unmarked terms of nouns. It is noted that all the female terms are created by adding a specific suffix *-ess* to the male ones. The terms on the left are unmarked terms because they can also refer to female counterparts but the terms on the right are formally marked as feminine terms, which are derived from their corresponding male terms and are restricted to refer to females only. In addition, the feminine terms do not just refer the opposite sex of the referent but also differ from the masculine terms in other respects:

- The feminine suffix -ess may simply signal that the word refers to a female or it may mean "wife of ".
- The unmarked form can refer to men or human beings in general. The marked form is restricted to women.

The feminine suffix -ess may have additional connotations, often associated with negative meanings. *Manageress,* for example, seems to have connotations of lower status: one could be the manageress of a launderette or a cake shop, but probable not of a very important unit or company. Fortunately, this word is rarely used today. It has been mainly used in the past.

4.2. Chinese Characters with Female Radical

Many characters in Chinese are formulated by compounding graphs with radical. The female radical “女” nu (female) is a salient example that has been identified with covert sexism. Take the modern Chinese dictionary “Xin Hua Dictionary”, for example, which has 178 characters formed with the female radical with other graphs. These characters can be grouped into four major semantic categories. One group expresses *kinship relations*, such as 妈 ma (mother), 姑gu (aunt), 婶 shen (aunt), 嫂 sao (sister-in-law) and so on. The second group is used as *family names* like 姜 jiang, 晏 yan, 姚 yao, which have been inherited from the ancient family names in matriarchal societies. The third group has salient *gender-directed connotations* referring to quality associated with female beauty such as 妩媚(lovely, charming (of a woman), 娇娆(enchantingly beautiful), 婵娟(lovely, beautiful of a woman), 娈, 娴(refined, elegant of a woman), 婀娜(lithe and graceful of a woman’s carriage), 妍(beautiful), 姹(beautiful), 婷,(graceful) 媛 (a beautiful woman), 妙(young and beautiful). The fourth group has associations with *negative connotations* such as 妖yao, general means “evil; promiscuous (usually of women). 嫌(dislike, suspicion) **嫉妒(**be jealous); 要(force, coerce), 嫚(scorn, humiliate), to name just a few.

By counting the number of words in Group 3 and Group 4, among the 178 characters in the Xinhua Dictionary, over 30 of them are linked with distasteful associations, and over 30 other characters are associated with positive connotations. The criterion of classifying them into negative or positive categories is based on two aspects: first, on the explanation offered for the individual entries in the dictionary; second, on the bound phrases, where the female radical character is part of the component word. Take the character 妖yao, as an example, it generally means “evil; promiscuous (usually of women)”. Under its entry 14 bound phases are listed:

妖魔鬼怪 (demons and ghosts)	**妖娆**(charming and betwitching)
妖风 (evil wind)	妖道 (witch)
妖精(evil spirit)	妖媚(seductively charming)

妖孽 (a person associated with evil or misfortune)
妖言(fallacy)
妖氛(evil influence)
妖艳(seductive)

There are more bounded phases in which female radical is a component always contain derogatory connotations.

奸淫 (illicit sexual relation)
奸猾 (treacherous)
奸笑 (sinister smile)
奸贼 (traitor)
奸计 (an evil plot)
耍流氓 (behave like a hoodlum)
耍手腕 (play tricks)
耍赖 (act shamelessly)
耍嘴皮子(be a sick talker)
嫌恶 (detest, loathe)
嫌疑犯(suspect)
嫉妒(be jealous)
奴颜媚骨 (bowing and scraping sycophancy and obsequiousness)
奴颜婢 (subservient, servile)
妄下雌雄 (make irresponsible comments)
妄自尊大(have too high an opinion of oneself)
贪婪(greedy)

The fact that more than one-sixth of Chinese female compound words are associated with negative meanings and no similar words contain the graph 男 (nan) "male' bears such negativity. The other one-sixth of words containing female signific though do not connote overt negativity, a careful examination reveals that all those seemingly positively-associated characters containing female signific words are associated with qualities and traits required specifically for women's cultivation. These stereotypical feminine traits and specific feminine norms, expectations and requirements for the female members indicates a phenomenon where sexist asymmetry comes from different dimensions and is always covert in a male-dominated hierarchical society.

4.3. Gender-related Order in Bound Phases

The arrangement of male and female syntactic ordering, in many cases, is often fixed in Chinese. Chinese syntax provides an interesting illustration of the archaic hierarchical attitudes that have become embedded in word order constraints for Chinese spoken and written language. This syntactic rule requires that gender-specific words be ordered within noun phrases so that the male-gendered constituent precedes the female gendered constituent. Look at the following examples.

男女 (nannu)	men and women
父母 (fumu)	father and mother
兄弟姐妹(xiongdi jiemei)	Brothers and sisters
儿女 (nuer)	son and daughter
夫妻 (fuqi)	Husband and wife
乾坤[1] (qiankun)	male and female
太阳月亮[2] (taiyang yueliang)	sun and moon

To reverse the prescribed order and place female ahead of male in the above phrases would render the phrases very odd, or even wrong to native speakers of the language. Consider the sample noun phase 男女 (nannu), men and women, for example, if the prescribed order is reversed, the phase is not correct Chinese. In addition, if you change the order of the noun phrase 儿女ernu (sons and daughters) into女儿 nuer (daughter), the meaning is definitely altered. The former expression refers to both male and female off-springs but the latter expression refers to female ones only. Again, if you change the order of the two characters 父母 fumu (father and mother) into母父 mufu (mother and father), the term sounds ungrammatical. The Modern Chinese Dictionary does not have such a noun phrase as an entry. Interestingly, if we put the above set phases in reversed order in English, it is acceptable.

This linguistic category of gender-related ordering is distinguished by Whorf (1956) as covert linguistic category. Farris (1988) was the first to target the covert sexist categories in Chinese. He noted that such gender asymmetry of dyads would encourage sexism in language, relegating women to a sort of secondary position.

[1] "Qian" symbolizes male while "kun" female respectively.
[2] The sun symbolizes male while the moon female respectively.

A notable exception to the above noun phase constraint rule is the term 阴阳 (yingyang), 雌雄(cixiong) "female and male". It may be possible that both prosody and semantic converge in supporting the gender-sensitive arrangement of noun constituents, which may be useful in accounting for rare exceptions like the examples above.

Given the longstanding feudalism in Chinese history and male-priority and female-subordinate culture, it is not surprising to find Chinese, in a way, is stricter with the male and female ordering. Besides gender-related discrimination associated with the set phases above, the male and female ordering convention is tracked in Chinese idioms. The following examples below are cited to illustrate the point: 郎才女貌 (The man is talented and the women beautiful); 夫荣妻贵 (The husband is glorious and the wife honored); 才子佳人 (The man is talented and the lady beautiful);夫唱父随 (The husband sings and the wife in company); 男盗女娼 (The man is robber, and the woman is prostitute); 龙飞凤舞 (The dragon flies and the phoenix dances).[3]

4.4. Derogation of Feminine Words

Nouns in language are seen as labeling words, with the notion that things exist prior to their needing a name. There are many pairs of masculine and feminine words in English. In theory, these words have equivalent meanings. It is interesting to note that these assumed equivalent words referring to men and women do not actually have the same connotations despite their original meanings. Language can be said to convey predetermined and rather stable attitudes towards either sex. It is a widely spread cross-cultural phenomenon that words related to men, men's occupations and the like remain relatively stable in their meanings for centuries whereas those denoting women and their world have become worse in quality. Such asymmetry is shown in the process of feminine words becoming derogative. The feminine member of the pair invariably denotes a concept evaluated as negative or inferior.

It is noted that where there are gender-distinct asymmetric pairs of words, it is always the masculine terms symbolizing positive force and the feminine terms denoting triviality and enjoying lower status or even

[3] The dragon symbolizes the male, and the phoenix the female.

conveying unfavorable associations. The following pairs of female and male words carry different notation and associations.

governor:	A person who governs a state.
governess:	A woman at the head of a household or family or takes care of children.
master:	A man who has authority and control over someone or important fields.
mistress:	a woman who lives with a man as if she were his wife or is by him and visited for the purpose of conducting a sexual relationship.
major:	an army officer of medium rank
majorette:	A girl who marches at the front of a musical bank in a procession
Steward	A male airline worker but can also be a person who is responsible for administration in schools, hospitals.
Stewardess	A female airline worker

Paired words are originally intended to contrast with each other in sex of referents but actually they are contrasted in other ways too. For example, 鳏夫 guanfu(widower), 寡妇 guafu(widow). A Chinese saying goes "寡妇门前是非多" guafu menqian shifei du (A widow is likely to have affairs) reveals the same gender asymmetry because we do not have a similar saying about widowers. McCormick in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (1994) argued that language as such indicated a problematic general tendency to see women (but not men) primarily as objects of sexual attention, a tendency that made it difficult for other aspects of women's traits to emerge and develop. This kind of linguistic representation will result in a tendency to make it more difficult for women to develop other aspects equally as men in society.

Muriel Schulz (1975) called this process as "semantic derogation". Spender (1980: 22-23) gave a typical example of the English word *tart* which has gone semantic changes. The word originally referred to a small pie or pastry. It was first applied to a young woman as a term of love. Later on it changed to mean young women, who were sexually desirable; then it referred to women who were careless in their morals, and finally, it changed to mean women of the street. The Chinese term

[4] The definitions of the words are taken from *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of the Current English* and *Longman Dictionary*.

小姐 *Xiaojie* (Miss) has undergone semantic derogation in a similar way. Nowadays, one must be cautious when the term *Xiaojie* is applied to refer to a young female for fear of misunderstanding or offending the addressee, because the term may be associated with a young woman who provides immoral service in return for money. Thus, on occasion, a waitress prefers to be addressed with alternatives other than *Xiaojie*, in order to eradicate any association with immoral services. Obviously, words referring to females have been changed to be associated with derogatory connotation regardless of different cultural context.

5. Social Gender

Social gender is a category that refers to the socially imposed dichotomy of masculine and feminine roles and character traits (Kramarae & Treichler 1985: 173). An illustration of social gender in English is the fact that many higher-status occupational terms such as lawyer, surgeon, scientist, professor will frequently be pronominalized by the male-specific pronoun "he" in contexts where referential gender is either not known or irrelevant. On the other hand, low-status occupational titles such as nurse, secretary, will often be followed by *her*. Similarly, in Chinese we presuppose high status occupations of social gender are males. Thus we refer to 女医生 nu yisheng (female doctor), 女博士 nu (boshi; female Ph. D), 女记者 nu jizhe (female journalist) 女强人 nu qiangren (female strongperson), 女市长 nu shizhang (female major) 女法官 nu faguan; (female judge) and many more occupations. In contrast, if the gender of a minister, a Ph.D, a journalist, a major or judge is male, no gender-related modifier "男" {nan, male} is added to the professional term.

Social gender has to do with stereotypical assumptions about what are appropriate social roles for women and men. This phenomenon however is changing. Moser (1997) noted that the Chinese word processor is gender-biased in relation to social gender. He cited an example from the software in the word processor. When the user entered a given character, in the character winder would automatically appear a list of words and compounds associated with the character. He cites the examples of 男 nan (male) and 女nu (female), when the character 男 nan (male) is selected, there automatically pops up a set of characters that could follow it to form compounds: as in the compound 男人 nanren (man), 男子汉 nanzihan, (man/male) and so on, with only nine items altogether. In contrast, following the character 女nu (female), a much longer list, which amounts to as many as 46 compounds , including女神nushen (goddess), 女工 nugong (female worker), 女干部 nu ganbu (female carder), 女兵 nubing (female soldier) and so on. However this situation has been changed. I have checked these two words in the word processors and find the number of compound phases is much more balanced with 21 for man-compounds and 24 for women-compounds.

6. Gender-related images

6.1. Address Forms

Asymmetry in address forms is one of the salient ways of reflecting social hierarchy discrimination. As we know, in English-speaking speech communities, there is only one term *Mr.* for men but two traditional terms of address *Mrs.* or *Miss* for women, which reveal their marital status. Although in oral discourse, the third person of generic term has only one term “Ta” for both males and females in Chinese, this does not suggest that gender discrimination is lessened. As we all know, the accepted asymmetric naming convention in English and Chinese is for women to continue to adopt their husbands' names after marriage. Changes in address practice may be indicative of underlying changes in the social relationships between women and men. This asymmetric phenomenon has been changed since the foundation of the PRC. However, in rural areas or special districts like Hong Kong, Taiwan at present, such an addressing convention is still very popular. By changing women’s last names in address forms, women are denied an autonomous existence but are distinguished based on their marital status. In addition, it is most common for children to take the last name of the father.

Asymmetry exists in addressing practice even when both women and men enjoy the similar status. Wolfson (1989) reported a study conducted by his students on how male and female professors were referred to by secretaries and other staff in a large northeastern university in the US. The study found that secretaries used title and last name for male faculty or even young male faculty but first name for female faculty in most cases. However, contrasting to the previous research findings drawn from a northern university in US, opposite findings are drawn from an investigation by the writer about the address forms used by public servants in Beijing (Yan 2002). The survey finds female public servants at the ministries of the center government prefer to use more formal address forms, and they prefer to be addressed by more formal forms by their colleagues, where age and rank were similar. The study points out that there is a strong correlation between gender and address forms employed by civil servants in this particular Chinese speech community. The quantitative information in the analysis provides an impression that women in the administrative section enjoy as much status as their male counterparts. Given the current situation of women's status in Chinese society, however, this supposition may not be true. Some statistical reports indicate that the number of men in more powerful positions is much greater than that of women in almost all occupations and professions. For example, there are only 21.8 % of female representatives for the Ninth National People' Congress in China. The number of female civil servants is not only very small, the number of female leaders on the decision-making level is even fewer. Therefore, it can be argued where age and rank are similar, asymmetry in forms of address may be accounted for female uncertainty about their position or impact from workplace. This accounts for the more formal address forms used by and for female public servants in institutional settings. It can be argued that the practice of overt politeness in the use of address form in the specific context carries a kind of covert sexism by nature.

6.2. Idiomatic Expressions and Proverbs

Metaphors, which are used to describe only women, both in Chinese and English, have negative sexual and moral overtones which are not found for corresponding male terms. Women are called *birds, chicks and kittens* when they are young and attractive, but when they are old, they may be called *cows, dogs, pigs* and even *horses*. This message of numerous idiomatic expressions and proverbs can be found cross-culturally in Chinese. A Chinese dictionary, Synonymy Dictionary (Mei Jiaju *et al* 1983: 27) is examined in terms of sexually promiscuous entries. Surprisingly the analysis finds that the number of terms referring to sexually promiscuous women amounts to as many as to 33 under the entry "Promiscuous Persons", but far fewer pejorative terms exist for men. In contrast, only 5 terms for sexually promiscuous men[5] are identified. In addition, the dictionary has other four gender-specific abusive terms: 贱人(jianren, a humble person) 祸水(heshui, evil water), 雌老虎(chi laohu, female tiger), 河东狮子(hedong shizi, Hedong tiger), which are used to refer to women but there are no equivalent terms referring to males that can be identified in the same dictionary. This means that when we speak, we do not just utter linguistically but speak culturally and ideologically too. Such frozen expressions embody fundamental collective beliefs and stereotypes, which are available for continued practices of communicating gender.

Since language provides us with rich linguistic data for the study of the cultural beliefs and social values of society. Entries selected in the Chinese dictionary in way reflect culturally laden views and beliefs. In passing it is interesting to present a class survey once conduct by the writer in her class. She used her workplace as a testing site by asking subjects to write at least two gender-related proverbs or fixed expressions relating to women and men instinctively without a moment's thought. The survey consists of 42 subjects, with two thirds of the number are females. It turned out that a total number of 90 idiomatic expressions, proverbs and frozen folk sayings were written down with a rich and diversified content. I select those that were repeatedly cited by many people. The results demonstrate interesting patterns. Let us look at the following list.

Sayings cited by more than 3 students	Frequency	%
A. 女子无才便是德 (Women's virtue lies in their lack of talent.)	21	55%
B. 天下最毒妇人心 (Women are most evil in the world.)	9	21%

C. 唯女子小人难养也(Only women and petty men are difficult to deal with.)	8	20%
D. 红颜祸水 (Women are the source of trouble.)	5	12%
E. 男主外，女主内 (Men in charge of outside affairs while women in charge of household duties.)	5	12%
F. 男儿当自强 (Men should be responsible for their own cultivation.)	5	12%
G. 好男不跟女斗 (Men will not dispute with women.)	4	10%
H. 男盗女娼 (The man is robber, the woman prostitute.)	4	10%
I. 男尊女卑 (The man is noble, the woman is humble.)	4	10%
J. 不到长城非好汉 (You will not be a man unless you have been to the top of the Great Wall.)	4	10%

The items in the list are cited by more than three subjects. Among them 4 items A, B, C, D are depictions of women only, two items F, J, portray men only, and the remaining 4 items E, G, H, I depict both men and women. If you compare the two sets of sayings, which refer to men and women respectively, you may find that the expressions portraying men emphasize positive images of men or the necessity of male dominance over women. By contrast, those portraying women depict negative images of the sex. Expressions that involve both sexes always present two dyadic pictures. Men in the proverbial expressions are emphasized for their power over their counterparts. Women as a group obviously become a marked category, and are subject to humble and lower social positions. It is salient in the survey that the percentages over 20% selected by the subjects are Items A, B, and C, which demean women. Obviously, gender-related proverbs do echo the dominant social rules and norms concerning behaviors and roles of men and women in a male-dominant society.

One fact about the background of those subjects in the class survey should be pointed out: two thirds of the subjects were female students from a famous university in China. Given their educational backgrounds and their relatively high social status in the current Chinese society, the finding in a way reflects and recaptures Chinese cultural paradigms of gender relations and appear to reaffirm a gender-related social and cultural hierarchy in a patriarchal society. The findings drawn from the survey suggest that gender prejudice is obvious.

7. Conclusion

This paper investigates the linguistic representation of women and men in English and Chinese. Through discussing the existing gender-related representation in the two languages, the paper points out though Chinese and English both lack of grammatical gender, it does not mean that gender in the large sense cannot be communicated. The analysis has documented many other categories which express gender related messages that could be expressed by means of various other devices. Thus languages with a lack of noun classification, such as English and Chinese, can resort to a variety of linguistic means to construct gender asymmetry. The paper points out that linguistic biases that constitute a male-oriented view of the world will encourage gender unfairness and place women in a disadvantaged position. Such linguistic discrimination is harmful because gender-related discriminated terms, gender asymmetric representations may perpetuate stereotyped roles and reinforce biased views and attitudes towards women. As teachers of language, one of feasibility to eradicate gender-related bias in the first place is to lead action in our professional environment (Sunderland 1994) if we cannot eradicate sexism at a blow.

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Gendered Phonology, Morphology, and Animacy in Irish Sign Language

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Abstract

With National Science Foundation support, 12 months of research was conducted on a rare and dying form of gendered Irish Sign Language (ISL) used in Dublin, Ireland. In one segment of the Dublin deaf community, the native vocabularies for women (born before 1929) and men (born before 1944) are so different that they can impair communication on the most mundane of topics. For example, men and women have totally different signs for simple, everyday terms such as 'cat,' 'Monday', 'night', 'red', and 'carry'. These varieties emerged from sex-segregated education at two residential deaf schools in Dublin. Clearly, signers left with different vocabularies. What is not yet known, however, is whether these gendered language differences are also expressed in phonological, morphological or in any other grammatical system. This poster will report on the preliminary findings of the NSF-supported research project that show gender differences in the phonology of this sign language.
Key words: *school ~ gender ~ children*

1. Questions

1. Are there any distinctively gendered handshapes, movements, or points of articulation?
2. Is grammar gendered in any way?

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 265-276.

2. Background

The gendered signs originate from school language policies in Dublin, Ireland at St. Mary's School for Deaf girls and St. Joseph's School for Deaf boys.

3. Methodology

3.1. Coding the Data: ELAN

To convert our video data into a more easily quantifiable and analyzable format, we made use of ELAN, a program developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in the Netherlands (Figure 1). ELAN permits us to create dynamic, text-based notations linked to digital video files. In this way, we can create annotations that are linked to intervals of the video that correspond to certain signs, signers, or any aspect of these that we choose. These annotations can then be searched using any parameter or combination of parameters we have chosen to assign to the data, facilitating compilation, quantification, and analysis that would otherwise be unwieldy and difficult to keep track of.

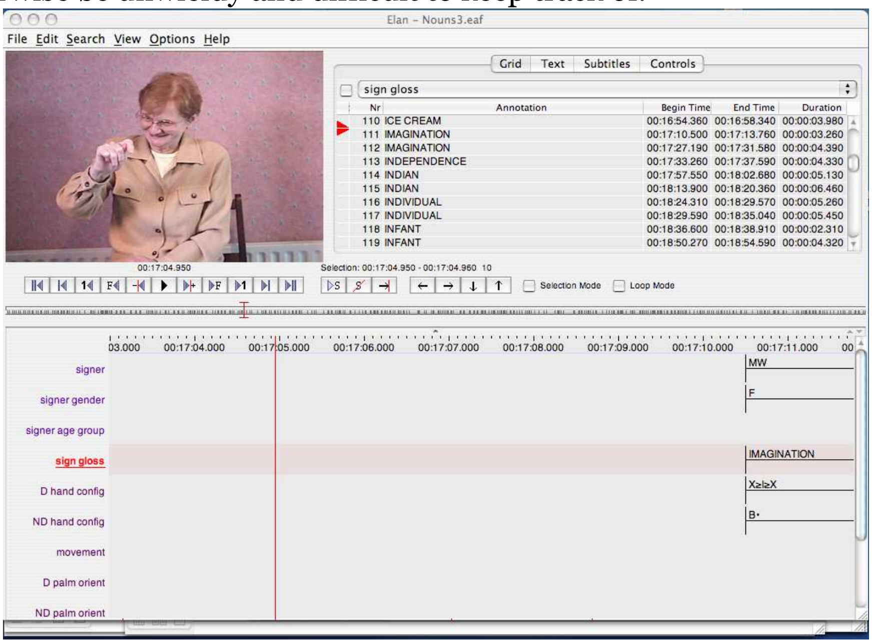

Figure 1.- The ELAN Interface

4. Findings

4.1. Gendered Handshapes

Our analysis has yielded gendered distributions of the phonological variable of handshape. Specifically, differences were noted in the production of the letters B, T and E.

The general B handshape has the thumb flexed toward and aligned with the palm, as shown in this illustration:

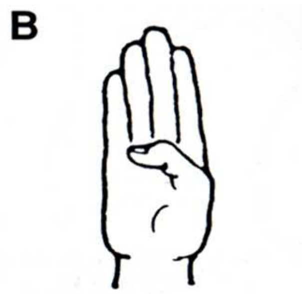

Figure 2. General B Handshape

A modified B is used in many signs. Modified B handshapes generally show variation in the placement of the thumb. The variation more closely associated with female signing has the thumb aligned with the fingers and pressed alongside the palm and forefinger, as shown in the female sign BANDAGE in Figure 3:

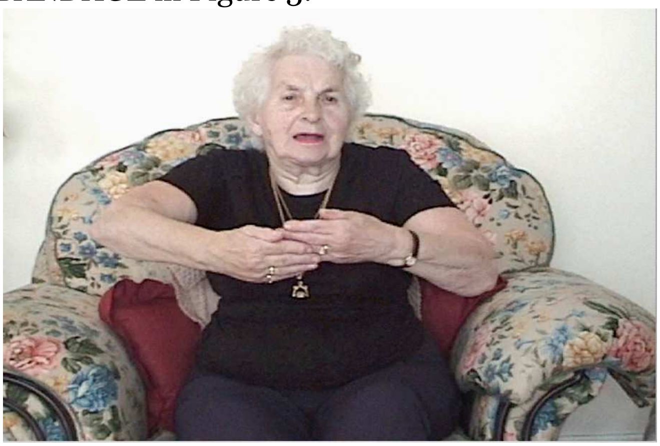

Figure 3. BANDAGE (female sign)

The variation more closely associated with male signing has the body of the thumb aligned with the palm, as above, but with the finger joint extending the tip of the thumb away from the palm, as shown here in the male sign for HANDS in Figure 4:

Figure 4. HANDS (male)

The formation of the letter T also shows gendered distribution. The T more closely associated with male signing is shown below in the sign for TEAR (Figure 5), with the thumb placed under the curled index finger:

Figure 5. TEAR (male)

The variation more closely associated with female signing places the thumb between the index and second fingers, as is done in the American Sign Language T: (shown in female sign TAKE-TURNS in Figure 6 below):

Figure 6. TAKE-TURNS (female)

Variations of the letter E are much less frequent than the above variations, but much more gendered in distribution. The E used occasionally by females has the finger joints and thumb extended to a great degree, resulting in the fingers and thumb being further away from each other and flatter than the male, 'standard' variation (shown in the female sign EXACT in Figure 7 below):

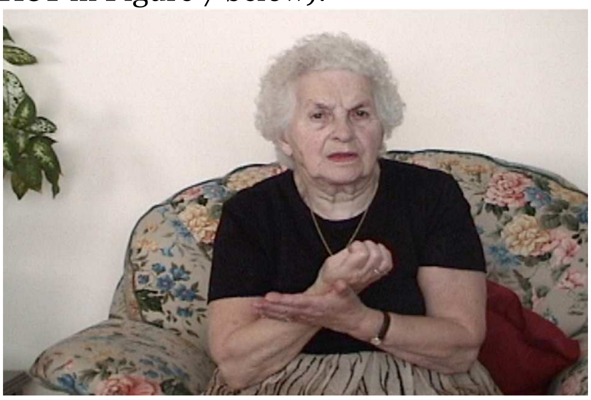

Figure 7. EXACT (female)

The male, ‘standard’ variation has the fingers and thumb touching each other and a more rounded palm shape, as in the male sign EASTER in Figure 8 below:

Figure 8. EASTER (male)

4.2. Movement

The sex of the signer matters for some movements (MOV) and places of articulation (PA). There appears to be a characteristically female twisting MOV, coded as ‘w’. The movement can be described as moving hand(s) smoothly in a 270-degree arc. An example of MOV-w is seen in the female sign, DECLARE (Figure 9). Similarly, there appears to be a characteristically male movement where two hands move back and forth (coded as ‘Z’) with no twisting motion as in the sign below (2h:Z) (Figure 10).


Figure 9. DECLARE (female) Figure 10. DEFEND (male)

There is another characteristically female MOV: open/close (coded as 'D/#') with two different handshapes (Y=/Y, 5"/O") in Figure 11; and one for a male sign involving an interchanging (@) MOV locked at the wrist in Figure 13 below.

Figure 11. FOX (female)

The specific handshape in the category of open/close, D/# in female signs as described as Y=/Y can be found in (and may not be limited to) FOX (figure 14), LEAF/LETTUCE, and PIG. The other signs with the same movement, but with a different handshape, 5"/O" are BRANCH/WOOD and MILK (figure 12).

Figure 12. MILK (female)

In male signs, the interchanging "@" MOV (at fingertips or locked-wrists) is found in GAME (figure 13) and GHOST.

Figure 13. GAME (male)

Many American Sign Language scholars have noted that modern signing generally occurs in a space from the bridge of one's nose to the bottom of their rib cages (Baker and Cokely 1980, Frishberg 1975, Battison 1978). Frishberg showed that signs occurring outside of this "signing space," such as signs on or over the head, or at the waist or hip are more archaic signs that move into the signing space over time (Frishberg 1975). Some of the places of articulation (PA) for the female Irish signs in our data include either unlikely and highly unusual PAs for sign languages, such as a sign on the back (e.g. CAMEL, Figure 14), or signs away from the core of the body which may indicate more archaic signing, such as in KING (Figure 15), MERCY (Figure 16), and MORNING (Figure 17).

Figure 14. CAMEL (female)

Figure 15. KING (female)

Figure 16. MERCY (female)

Figure 17. MORNING (female)

How the letter ‘A’ is produced in fingerspelled words also appears to have a gendered movement. In the photos below, code-switching is observed in the use of fingerspelled A by the woman. The first photo shows the man producing the A handshape facing his palm outward. The next photo shows the woman talking to the man, using the

A handshape with her palm facing outward. The photo after that shows the woman using the A handshape with the palm facing toward herself. The last A handshape is a woman's version of the A when fingerspelling as a woman, while the outwardly facing position of the A handshape is a male form.

Finally, we have noticed a marker of animacy that appears to be gendered. Women have a particular head shake, side-to-side movement that indicates animacy. It is used for the signs ALIVE, ANIMAL (Figure 18), LIVE, and LIFE. This marker of animacy is a strictly women's grammatical feature.

Figure 18. ANIMAL (female)

For other work on gendered Irish Sign Language, please see Burns 1998; Crean 1997; Leeson & Grehan 2004; Leeson & Saeed 2004; LeMaster 1990, 1993, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2006; LeMaster & Dwyer 1991; LeMaster & Foran 1987; LeMaster & Monaghan 2004; Leonard 2004; Mathews 1996a, 1996b; McDonnell 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Ó Baoill & Matthews 2000.

Acknowledgement

This material is based on work supported in part by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 0318498. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.

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Males' and females' voice quality: A socio-acoustic analysis

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Abstract

This paper points at the possibility of introducing a socio-acoustic method in the gender analysis of voice quality. The primary goal is the proposal of a combination of acoustics and sociolinguistics to understand the nature of the social functionality and social value of voice quality in terms of the way and the manner social disparities are displayed in men and women's voice quality.
Starting from the hypothesis that no word, no idiom, no grammatical structure is sociolinguistically innocent, we might hypothesize that linguistic patterns are either sex referential or sex preferential because they crystallizes the way a cultural scheme has been shaped. Males and females display their roles and their social disparities through the subordination of their behaviour to a linguistic code.
Thus the fact that speech protagonists are bound to accommodate their voice to the persons they are , to the persons they are speaking to and to the context in which they are found in has led us to query about the social dimension of voice.
Key words: *Gender ~ gender differences*

1. Analysis of Emphatic/non Emphatic Cognates in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic

The purpose of the experiment is to examine empirically certain acoustic cues to emphatic phonemes (**Arabic mutbaqa/muffaxxama**) in Mostaganem speech Arabic (MSA for short) and see whether male/female emphatic sounds are acoustically rendered in the same way or are submitted to culturally sex typed variations. The emphatic phonemes of Arabic are mostly stops and fricatives. Only four emphatic phonemes have an orthographic representation, they are the **/ṭ -ð̣–ḍ–ṣ/** (emphatics are sounds written with a dot under them). Sibawayhi, an

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 277-284.

Arab grammarian, describes emphatics as being the **/sād-dād-tā-zā/ða/**. Emphatics are described as sounds having two places of articulation. Added to their primary dental place of articulation (reference is made to the traditional emphatic phonemes), emphatics are "consonants which have a raising of the tongue towards the upper palate" (cf. in Sibawayhi II: 85, in Giannini & Pettorino 1982: 8). Lehn (1963) refers back to the Arabic terminology, which identifies emphasis as **Itbaq** "spreading and raising of the tongue"? **istiˤla?** "The elevation of the dorsum" and **tafxim,** "thickness heaviness". Furthermore, emphatics are described as pharyngealized consonants because of the pharyngeal constriction/contraction. This pharyngeal contraction is resultant of the tongue approximation to the pharynx creating in this case a small resonance cavity. Finally, increased tension of the entire oral and pharyngeal cavities is also a feature that specifies the emphatics of Arabic. However, Lehn makes it explicit that individual speakers do not equally exhibit the above features. In general, those features are less apparent in females' language features are less apparent in females' language. Jakobson states that spectrograms corroborate that pharyngealized consonants' energy is located in a lower frequency region and that the second formant of the vowel that follows a pharyngealized consonant is lowered (Jakobson 1962: 512). Lehn (1963) and Obrecht (1968) consider that the study of emphasis should rely on its basic domain, which is the syllable. A CVC syllable having C̣VC or CVC̣ is entirely emphaticized. The very idea that it is a suprasegmental (prosodic is the term used by Harrell 1957), emphasis may cross syllable boundaries and consequently affect the whole word.

For Harrell (1957) emphasis is evidenced by expressive and stylistic objectives. The pronunciation of an emphatic sound as a non-emphatic is a sign of effeminacy. If "one's usual pronunciation is non emphatic, the emphatic form may be seen variously overly formal, pompous, or crude and hick like" (Harrell 1957, in Kahn 1975: 41). The stylistic side of emphasis is what is relevant to our present study. Style in our analysis refers to a specific verbal behaviour that demarcates a speaker/a group of speakers **A** from another speaker/a group of speakers **B**. The experiment we have carried out is concerned with the question as to how emphatic sounds are acoustically rendered by female and male speakers. Therefore our analysis proposes some answers to some theoretical questions still asked by modern sociolinguists. These include for instance, questions as to whether there are acoustic cues that make male/female emphatics different and if emphatic/non emphatic cognates differ in terms of formant values when pronounced by either males or females. In such a case, one has to look for the motives which underlie the female/male, emphatics/non emphatics difference. Can we speak of the idea of a stylistic side that govern emphasis as advanced by Harrell (1957) and Kahn (1975)?

2. Formant Transition in MSA Males' and Females' Emphatic/ Non emphatic Cognates

To verify formant shift in males' and females' pronunciation of emphatics/non emphatics, the present study has taken the form of spectrographic observations. We have based our study on monosyllabic words with the syllabic structure C̣VC where C̣ stands for an emphatic. A CVC has been chosen because "the distribution of emphasis in utterances is most readily statable of the syllable" (Lehn 1963: 37). For purposes of our experimental study, ten native speakers of Mostaganem spoken Arabic ,five males and five females, read from a prepared list of words in which the emphatics /**ṭ-ḍ-ṣ**/ and their non-emphatic counterparts /**t-d-s**/ occur. For practical reasons only, our acoustic analysis is limited to /**ṭ-ḍ-ṣ**/, the emphatic sounds that are recognized by Arabic orthography. /ð̣/ has been discarded since it has been substituted by **[d]** in the same way as **[θ]** has been replaced by **[t]** and **[ð]** by [**d**]. In one word, the dental fricatives, **[θ,ð]** and the pharyngealized emphatic **[ð̣]** are not used in Mostaganem speech community. The general attitude is that the sounds [θ- ð-ð̣] are considered as rural. Our Informants were asked to repeat pairs like: /**ṭa:b- ta:b**/ (it ripened-he repented), /**tal-tal**/ (he had a quick look-plain), /**ṣa:b-sa:b/** (he found-he lost his value), /**ḍa:r-da:r**/ (house-he-did) **/ḍal-dal/** (shadow-debasement), **/ṣi:f-si:f/** (summer-sword). **/ṭi:n-ti:n/** (clay-figs)

The first and the second formants of vowels following emphatic/non emphatic sounds were then measured as will be shown in the tables1-2 below.

Table 1.- The frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of females' vowels after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in Mostaganem spoken Arabic.

Speakers	Formants	Vowels					
		ạ:	a:	ạ	a	ị:	i
Female 1	F_1	844	759	848	701	492	400
	F_2	2177	2277	2120	2370	2214	2457
Female 2	F_1	904	840	800	600	600	500
	F_2	1788	2000	1827	2000	2200	2400
Female 3	F_1	1216	1008	884	804	897	756
	F_2	2300	2600	2264	2600	2691	3024
Female 4	F_1	800	786	924	879	616	600
	F_2	2016	2096	1540	1722	2404	2688
Female 5	F_1	1000	900	844	813	641	612
	F_2	1900	2200	2110	2439	2387	2850

Table 2.- The frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of males' vowel after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in Mostaganem spoken Arabic.

Speakers	Formants	Vowels					
		ạ:	a:	ạ	a	ị:	i
Male1	F_1	800	700	748	700	600	364

	F_2	1280	1800	1309	1800	1700	2200
Male2	F_1	725	604	708	656	600	500
	F_2	1160	1700	1239	1704	1700	2200
Male3	F_1	900	800	800	600	800	600
	F_2	1400	1900	1350	1800	1800	2400
Male4	F_1	768	600	800	600	640	500
	F_2	1408	1834	1400	2000	1755	2210
Male5	F_1	800	600	750	600	600	400
	F_2	1400	2000	1450	1900	1800	2200

The results obtained from the spectrograms show an increase of $\mathbf{F_1}$ and a decrease of $\mathbf{F_2}$ after an emphatic consonant as compared to similar vowels after non-emphatic consonants. The raising of $\mathbf{F_1}$ is not as important as the lowering of $\mathbf{F_2}$ in emphatic/non emphatic sounds. This might be the reason Obrecht (1968) stated that what is to be taken into consideration in the study of emphasis is the second formant transition. The spectrograms of our male/female informants display differences in the frequencies of $\mathbf{F_1}$ and $\mathbf{F_2}$ of the vowels following emphatic/non emphatic consonants. However, a greater difference has-been observed in the lowering of male/female second formant. In males' vowels, $\mathbf{F_2}$ in emphatic context is much more lowered than the $\mathbf{F_2}$ of vowels following non-emphatics. In females, the lowering of $\mathbf{F_2}$ in vowels occurring in an emphatic context is not as salient as it has been observed in the $\mathbf{F_2}$ of males' vowels in the same environment. Such findings confirm the theories of Harrell (1957) and Kahn (1975). We, then, calculated the mean average of $\mathbf{F_1}$ and $\mathbf{F_2}$ of vowels after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in males and females. Consider the table below:

Table 3.- Mean average of the frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of males' and females' vowels after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic

Speakers	Formants	Vowels					
		ạ:	a:	ạ	a	ịː	i
♂	F_1	794	660	765	631	648	473
♀	F_1	953	859	860	759	649	574
♂	F_2	1337	1867	1334	1841	1751	2242
♀	F_2	2036	2235	1972	2226	2379	2684

The results obtained show that the mean difference in frequency between males' and females' vowels following emphatic/non-emphatic pairs is very significant. First, in all cases, either after an emphatic or after a non-emphatic consonant, the range of vowels' formants was higher in females than in males. Second, the results obtained demonstrate that the **F_2** of vowels following an emphatic consonant is lower in males than in females. Third, the mean difference between an **F_2** of a vowel following an emphatic consonant and an **F_2** of a vowel following a non-emphatic consonant proved to be lower in females than in males. This mean difference between: **/ạ:-a: /**, **/ạ-a/**, **/ị:-i: /** in Hertz is respectively as follows: 199 Hz-254 Hz-305 Hz.

Finally, the mean difference between an **F_2** of a vowel following a non-emphatic consonant and an **F_2** following an emphatic consonant is much higher in males. These mean differences in Hertz between males'**/ạ:-a:/**, **/ạ-a/**, **/ ị:-i:/** are as follows: 491 Hz- 517 Hz- 530 Hz.

3. Discussion

The "intra-dialectal variations" (Lehn 1963) of emphatics in men and women are stylistic and expressive. That females display less emphaticized **/ṭ - ḍ– s/** does not affect the phonological status of these consonants.

A higher $\mathbf{F_2}$ in females is stylistic. It allows females' voices be thinner and more pleasant. From an articulatory standpoint, emphasis is characterized by lip protrusion and a tongue retraction towards the pharyngeal wall. Lip protrusion lengthens the vocal tract and lower the formants During the process of socialisation males and females could "have learnt to alter their lip shape and modify their formant pattern" so as to make their formants move upward. Such an articulatory behaviour has a great deal of importance. The reason is that "spreading the lips will shorten the vocal tract and raise the formants, the characteristic way some women have of talking and smiling at the same time would have just this effect" (Sachs, Liberman & Erickson 1973: 81). As far as the rearward movement of the tongue towards the pharyngeal wall in emphatic sounds is concerned, we might suppose from the data obtained that the degree of tongue retraction in females is lower than that in males; that is why the second formant of female emphasis is not as low as that in males.

According to the first linguists who studied Arabic emphatics, the vowel following an emphatic consonant has the feature "fat" or "thick". Vowels adjacent to non-emphatic consonants do not have these features since they are characterized by a "thin" pronunciation. One may wonder how these observations can be beneficial to the analysis of emphasis on socio-cultural grounds. Similarly, one might investigate avenues related to the extent the elements "fat"-"thick"-"thin" are present or absent in the language of our male and female informants and verify whether this can be given a socio-acoustic interpretation.

The fact that the formants values of emphatics in females are higher than the formants values in males can be described as a response to socio-cultural stereotypes. Females are socio-culturally conditioned to speak in thin timbre.

They are not allowed to use "thick" or "fat" timbre. If they do so, they are said to be overly aggressive, harsh and unfeminine. "Fat" and "thick" timbre is widely used by male speakers (sometimes exaggeratedly). As the social normative system has devised which timbre is to be used by either sexes. Consequently, males as Mattingly (1966) suggested "aim towards an ideal "male" speech and females aim towards an ideal female speech"

In listening to females/males emphatic sounds, it seemed to us (though it might be subjective) that females' voices are softer, gentler and more expressive compared to male voices that sound rougher, harsher and stronger.

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Linking testosterone, physiological dimensions, and speech behavior: A preliminary report

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Abstract

Sociolinguistic studies have identified phonetic variables associated with perceived sexual orientation in men. These variables include duration and peak frequencies of /s/, VOT of voiceless stops, as well as duration and formant values of certain vowels. Some current theories posit that these speech characteristics are socially motivated in that speakers acquire them to signal identity or group affiliation. Adopting another perspective, the present study examines the role of biological (i.e. hormonal and anthropometric) factors on phonetic characteristics related to male sexual orientation. Saliva samples were collected from 40 men aged between 20 and 27 years in order to evaluate testosterone levels. Height, weight, and length of arms and legs were also measured. Subjects were then asked to produce 30 target words each composed of a consonant (voiceless stop or fricative) and a vowel. Acoustic analyses of the target words showed significant negative relationships between testosterone levels and duration of vowels and fricatives. Significant correlations also appeared between subjects' height and F2 of front vowels. These findings question certain sociolinguistic assumptions on the origin of gay-sounding speech and suggest that a number of the phonetic characteristics related to sexual orientation would be biologically based.
Key words: *Salivary testosterone ~ physiological morphology ~ speech and voice ~ gay-soundingness*

1. Introduction

In the last decade, a new line of sociolinguistic study has emerged with, as principal object of interest, phonetic variables related to the

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
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Valencia: Universitat de València. 285-295.

perception of sexual orientation. A number of speech characteristics have been identified as gay-sounding. These characteristics include higher peak frequencies and longer duration of fricative /s/, longer duration and greater formant dispersion of some vowels, and longer voice onset times (VOT) for voiceless stops (Linville 1998; Pierrehumbert, Bent, Munson, Bradlow & Bailey 2004; Smyth, Jacobs & Rogers 2003). Gay-soundingness has been shown to be perceptually related to feminine-soundingness (Gaudio 1994; Smyth *et al* 2003). This association finds a likely explanation in the similarities between speech patterns that characterize so-called gay-sounding men and those reported for women (Diehl, Lindblom, Hoemeke & Fahey 1996; Schwartz 1968; Whiteside & Irving 1997).

Yet, a central assumption of the above research is that the speech features associated with gay- and feminine-sounding male speech are acquired. The features are seen to be manipulated more or less consciously by speakers to convey group affiliation. Such interpretation seems to dismiss a priori the possibility that the features may reflect an influence of biological (e.g. hormonal or anthropometric) factors on speech production.

For instance, Linville (1998) observed that the gay men who took part to her study produced /s/ with higher peak frequencies than their straight counterparts, and hypothesized that this could reflect an articulatory pattern acquired unconsciously to signal group affiliation. As for the longer /s/ productions of the gay subjects, the author argued that “by increasing the duration of a fricative, presumably the speaker would be drawing attention to it” (p. 46), using this lengthening as a marker of membership in the gay male community. In considering biological factors, Linville (1998) measured the subjects' height and weight. She reported that gay and straight men did not differ considerably on these points, concluding that the articulatory features demonstrated in gay men's speech do not result from smaller dimensions of the oral cavity. However, this study was based on only nine subjects. Another example is the study by Avery & Liss (1996), who observed that vowel formants of less masculine-sounding men tended to be higher than those of more masculine-sounding men, though the difference did not reach significance. The authors interpreted these differences as being stylistically motivated, in that it was their impression that their subjects were not *greatly* disparate in height (but subjects' height was not controlled in the study).

Interpretations that seemingly take for granted the learning of gay- and feminine-sounding speech features lead to several fundamental puzzles. Learning of sociolinguistic variants, as seen in early studies by Labov (1972), is generally motivated by the speakers' awareness that some variants are socially stigmatized, while others are associated with power and prestige. Smyth *et al* (2003) point out that gay-sounding speech can be stigmatized even *within* the gay community. Thus, the assumption that a group of individuals would modify their speech to adopt stigmatized variants appears counterintuitive. Furthermore, the suggestion that gay men borrow or imitate women's speech patterns (whether consciously or not) to project gay identity appears problematic. In fact, Smyth *et al* (2003) noted that perceived and actual sexual orientation of their subjects did not *always* match, with some gay speakers sounding straight, and some straight speakers sounding gay. Considering this observation, one might well ask what social condition would lead some heterosexual men to learn speech patterns that may convey deceptive information of their sexual orientation.

Adopting a different tact, Pierrehumbert *et al* (2004) alluded to innate biological factors as playing an indirect role in gay-soundningness. Their study showed that formants of some vowels produced by gay men shifted toward more extreme values compared to the vowels produced by straight men. According to the authors, such speech characteristics could either reflect the manipulation of a special register learned in adolescence to convey affiliation to the gay community, or the selective adoption of certain female speech features during early language acquisition. Although Pierrehumbert *et al* (2004) offered no empirical support for this interpretation, they explicitly refer to genetic disposition and prenatal environment as potential triggers of such behaviors.

Relationships between oral physiology and speech acoustics have been widely studied (e.g. Simpson 2001; Sulter, Miller, Wolf, Schutte, Wit & Mooyaart 1992). Yet, Dabbs & Mallinger (1999), and Bruckert, Liénard, Lacroix, Kreutzer & Leboucher (2006) are among the few authors who have examined the effects of endocrinal substances on speech and voice. Their studies demonstrated that men with low salivary testosterone levels had a higher voice pitch (Dabbs & Mallinger 1999) and higher vowel formants (Bruckert *et al* 2006) than men with high testosterone levels. Such findings suggest that testosterone might affect the development of the physiological structures implicated in phonation and articulation. In fact, the influence of sex hormone exposure on growth and morphology is well documented (e.g. Kerrigan & Rogol 1992; Martin, Clark & Connor 1968). This research indicates that at least some aspects of speech and voice behavior are not socially but biologically determined.

Considering the preceding studies, and in light of the above issues, the aim of the present research was to examine the effects of hormonal and anthropometric factors (namely, salivary testosterone levels and physiological dimensions) on speech, and especially on the phonetic variables that have been associated with gay- and feminine-soundingness.

2. Method

2.1. Subjects

Forty (40) paid participants were recruited on the campus of the Université de Montréal during the summer and fall of 2006. They were all native speakers of Québec French aged between 20 and 27 years (average 24.07 years) with no history of speech problems. Use of medication, presence of oral abscess or gingivitis, and diabetes were exclusion criteria (Granger, Shirtcliff, Booth, Kivlighan & Schwartz 2004).

2.2. Questionnaire

After having read and signed a consent form, the participants answered a short questionnaire bearing on different aspects of their personal situation (study program, place of birth, ethnocultural background, sexual orientation).

2.3. Saliva samples
Prior to saliva collection, subjects were required to abstain from eating or drinking beverages other than water on the morning of the experiment (Lipson & Ellison 1989). They were also asked to avoid using toothpaste, dental floss or chewing gum (Dabbs 1991). Samples were collected two hours after wake-up. At the time of the test, subjects placed a pH paper (Precision Labs, no. 5090) under their tongue for two seconds to ensure pH neutrality. All subjects presented a salivary pH above 6.0. Then, the subjects washed their hands thoroughly with water and soap and rinsed their mouth twice with cool water to stimulate saliva production. A 10-ml saliva sample was collected in a sterile tube, and the samples were frozen at a temperature of -20°C within two hours following the test. Subjects were informed of the purpose of the saliva sampling at the end of the recording session in order to avoid a biasing of speech style.

2.4. Physiological measurements
Height and weight of each subject were measured using a standard medical scale (Seca, Model 700). To assess length of legs and arms, subjects were asked to form a 90° angle at joints by placing each limb on a specially designed graduated stand. Measurements were repeated twice for each limb.

2.5. Speech recording
The subjects' task consisted in producing target words presented on a computer screen. In performing the task, each participant sat in a sound-treated booth with a microphone on a headset (AKG, Model C477) placed at 5 cm and at a 45° angle from their lips. On a computer monitor placed at one meter from the speaker, 30 monosyllables constituting words were presented three times in random order. These monosyllables comprised a consonant (one of [p, t, k, s, ʃ, l]) and a vowel (one of [a, ɑ, i, u, y]), giving the following set of target words:

Pa	[pa]	‘Pa(tricia)’	*Ca*	[ka]	‘Ca(therine)’	*Cha*	[ʃa]	‘Cha(rlotte)’
pas	[p*a*]	‘not’	*cas*	[k*a*]	‘case’	*chat*	[ʃ*a*]	‘cat’
pie	[pi]	‘magpie’	*qui*	[ki]	‘who’	*chie*	[ʃi]	‘craps’
pou	[pu]	‘louse’	*cou*	[ku]	‘neck’	*chou*	[ʃu]	‘cabbage’
pus	[py]	‘pus’	*cul*	[ky]	‘arse’	*chu*	[ʃy]	‘I'm’
ta	[ta]	‘your’	*sa*	[sa]	‘his, her’	*la*	[la]	‘the’
tas	[t*a*]	‘heap’	*ça*	[s*a*]	‘that’	*là*	[l*a*]	‘there’
ti	[ti]	‘lil'’	*si*	[si]	‘if’	*lie*	[li]	‘dregs’
toux	[tu]	‘cough’	*sou*	[su]	‘cent’	*loup*	[lu]	‘wolf’
tu	[ty]	‘you’	*su*	[sy]	‘known’	*lu*	[ly]	‘read’

The subjects were instructed to produce the target words in a natural and neutral way by inserting them at the end of the carrier phrase *C’est le mot…* (“It’s the word…”). The obtained utterances were recorded at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz using a 16-bit soundcard (*CSL* 4400, Kay Elemetrics).

4. Analysis

4.1. Salivary testosterone assays

Saliva samples were assayed at an accredited laboratory (*Rocky Mountain Analytical*, Alberta, Canada), following a standardized procedure. First, an extraction of each sample was done to concentrate the hormones. To ensure reliability, the samples were duplicated and assayed twice. If the agreement between the two duplicates was poor, a second independent extraction was performed.

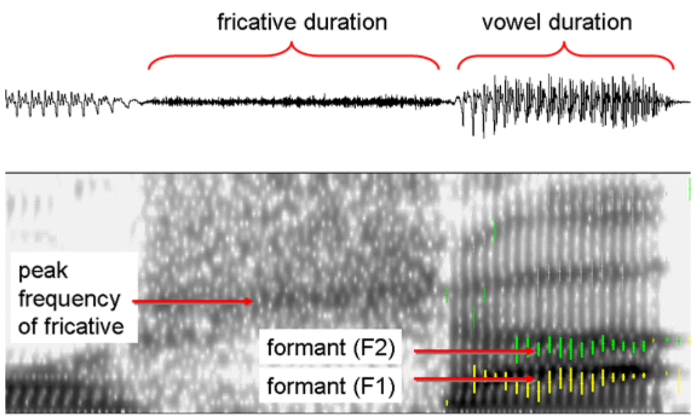
4.2. Acoustic analysis

One token of each target word was analyzed using a signal analysis software (*MultiSpeech*, Kay Elemetrics). Duration measurements were made from a waveform display, as illustrated in Figure 1. Five VOT values, five vowel durations, and five fricative durations were obtained and averaged for each voiceless stop/vowel/fricative, and for each subject.

As for frequency measurements, these were performed via spectrographic displays (see Figure 1 for an example). The first and second formants (F1 and F2) of each vowel were measured at the midpoint of vowel durations via a 2048-point FFT (Blackman window, 20% Nyquist). The peak frequencies of /s/ and /ʃ/ were obtained using smoothed 2048-point long-term average power spectra (Blackman window, 60% Nyquist). Additionally, mean speaking F0 was measured by applying peak-detection routines across the voiced portion of the carrier phrase corresponding to est le mot [eləmo], using a frame length of 25 ms and a 25-ms frame advance. Ten vowel formants and five fricative peak frequencies were obtained and averaged for each vowel and fricative produced by the speakers.

Measurement accuracy was assessed by repeating measures for two subjects. Accuracy was within ± 7 ms for duration and ± 18 Hz for spectral measures.

Figure 1.- Example of temporal and spectral measurements



4.3. Statistical analysis

An initial inspection of the raw data showed that the variables relating to testosterone levels, vowel formants and fricative peak frequencies were positively skewed so a logarithmic transformation was performed to these variables prior to the application of parametric tests. Pearson correlations were then performed using *SPSS* (version 11.5).

5. Results

Table 1 summarizes the significant negative correlations that were obtained between salivary testosterone levels and variables of vowel duration. Testosterone levels also correlate significantly with duration of /s/ (p = .019), and marginally with duration of /ʃ/ (p = .055).

The results also revealed significant negative relationships between subjects' height and F2 of /i/ (p = .041), /y/ (p = .003), and vowels overall (p = .011). Finally, subjects' weight correlates marginally with peak frequency values for /s/ (p = .060), but significantly overall for fricatives (p = .030). The other correlations were not significant.

Table 1.- Pearson coefficients between testosterone levels and duration variables (n = 40)

		[a]	[a]	[i]	[u]	[y]	Overall
Vowels	*r*	-.489	-.410	-.453	-.428	-.526	-.390
	p	.001	.009	.003	.006	.000	.013

		[s]	[ʃ]	Overall
Fricatives	*r*	-.370	-.305	-.347
	p	.019	.055	.028

6. Discussion

Overall, the results indicate a number of significant negative relationships between salivary testosterone levels and duration of vowels and fricatives. This finding may be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, the durational variations may be the consequence of hormonal factors acting directly on the temporal organization of speech (with higher testosterone levels corresponding to quicker movements). Speech timing may also be influenced by attention processes, which play an important part in verbal and serial memory, and which are affected by testosterone levels (Janowsky *et al* 2000).

As for the significant relationships observed between physiological dimensions (height and weight) and spectral variables (F2 and fricative peak frequencies, respectively), it is known that variations in the size and shape of the oral cavity affect acoustic resonances. **Sex** hormone exposure early in life may affect vocal tract growth, and this could be reflected in different resonances. In short, hormonal factors may have more direct or instantaneous consequences on speech timing, but only indirect consequences on spectral properties mediated by developmental changes in morphology.

A central aspect of the present results is that they parallel those obtained in research on sex-related speech differences. Specifically, men with low testosterone levels seem to present speech patterns approaching the ones reported for women (e.g. Whiteside 1996). On this basis, it might be argued that there is a single masculine-feminine continuum accounting simultaneously for between- *and* within-sex speech differences (Smyth *et al* 2003). However, the present observations do not support the notion that feminine- or gay-sounding speech characteristics are learned and manipulated to convey gender identity. Rather, the results indicate that a number of these characteristics may derive from biological factors. Moreover, further study on a larger number of subjects would be required to determine conclusively whether other near-significant variables in this report are not biologically influenced.

In terms of future investigations, it is of central interest to establish the nature of the links between testosterone and speech in general, and speech timing in particular. These links may bear paramedical implications, insofar as hormonal treatments, and especially the administration of testosterone supplements, is a growing practice in a demographically aging population.

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What is 'gay speech' in São Paulo, Brazil?

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Abstract

This paper reports the results of the first phase of a research project analyzing the linguistic evaluation of "gay speech" in São Paulo, Brazil. Fifty people stratified according to sex, age, education and sexual orientation were interviewed about what they considered it means to "sound gay" and were asked to evaluate previously-recorded texts as sounding "more gay", "less gay" or "not gay at all". Results indicate that high pitch and pitch dynamism are generally perceived as indicators of gay male speech in the Brazilian Portuguese (BP) spoken in São Paulo. Unlike findings in studies of English, the lengthening of word-final sibilants, although present in the speech of gay men in São Paulo, is not perceived as an indicator of gay BP speech. Some interviewees observed that gay men in São Paulo avoid the common practice of deleting plural /-s/ from nouns, thus adhering more closely to the standard. In general, these results reveal a fairly homogeneous perception of what linguistic features define gay speech in São Paulo.
Key words: *gay speech ~ linguistic perception of gayness ~ Brazilian Portuguese*

1. Introduction

Recent work on the relation between language and gender has called attention to the need for analysis that involves more than "simply" the linguistics of gender, especially when it comes to the expression of sexual identity. In the past few years, it has become more common to pursue linguistic analysis in combination with analysis from other fields, such as anthropology, psychology and social semiotics. In some cases,

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 296-305.

the study of the expression of sexual identity is broadened to such an extent that its linguistic component is almost completely set aside, as for example in Cameron & Kulick (2003), for reasons that they fully and coherently explain.

Some time in the near future I intend to venture into such waters, as part of a larger interdisciplinary research project being conducted at the University of São Paulo. Among the general goals of the Laboratory for the Study of Intolerance (LEI – Laboratório de Estudos da Intolerância) is a study of intolerance towards gay men in the city of São Paulo. However interdisciplinary such a future study might be, though, in this paper I focus on its linguistic aspects. Ways of speaking are generally recognized to be powerful social identifiers (e.g. Eckert 2000), especially in the social identification of gay men. The research presented here is pioneering in Brazil, since we have previously had no idea what it means to "sound gay" in Brazilian Portuguese. In other words, before conducting an interdisciplinary analysis of the social expression of intolerance in the city, we need to understand what linguistic features lead to the perception of "gay speech".

2. Sociolinguistic-Theoretical Background

Before outlining the framework in which this study has been conducted, I would like to mention some anecdotal findings: many of the interviewees said they think that when a man moves in a certain way, he may or may not be gay; when a man speaks in a certain way, he may not be gay, but he very likely is; but when a man moves *and* speaks in a certain way, there is very little chance he is not gay! Some of my informants not only expressed this opinion, but also in the last case stated that if the man *says* he is not gay, it is because he does not know it yet.

Of course such opinions are very subjective, but the fact that some of my interviewees happened to state those opinions allows us to state, in exchange, at least that:

(a) the stereotyped perception of gayness depends not only on linguistic facts, and therefore any study of gayness is by its nature interdisciplinary; and

(b) though subjective, the opinions I summarized above indicate that the social perception of gayness involves both qualitative and quantitative considerations; in other words, there seems to be a certain *amount* of traits that a man can display in his social performance without taking chances of being evaluated as gay, or the other way around (here I employ the term "trait" loosely).

This paper reports the results of the qualitative part of that analysis; that is, the quest for a set of linguistic elements that might function as social indices (Ochs 1991, Eckert 2000) of what is perceived as gay speech in Brazilian Portuguese. The most important question of this work, then, is the title of this paper: What is gay speech in Brazil? More specifically, what are the linguistic correlates of the expression of (male) gayness? (Another question, "*How frequently do those variants have to appear in the speech of a male person, so that he is socially evaluated as gay?"* is obviously quantitative in nature, and will be addressed in the next phase of this research.)

It is important to remember that the answer to this question does not depend on whether a man is actually gay or not. What matters for us is understanding what there is in the speech of men that is or can be considered gay. Recall the basic concept of "speech community" (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974, Milroy 1980), according to which linguistic variants not only indicate a certain group but can also be employed by individuals who want to be identified as belonging to that group, even though they may not actually belong.

3. Methodology and Field Work

In order to evaluate the perception of gay speech in São Paulo, I interviewed more than 50 people, stratified by age (up to 25 years old, between 28 and 35, and 40 or older), sex, sexual orientation and level of education. Sexual orientation was an important variable to take into consideration because it could be the case that gay and straight people evaluate what constitutes gay speech differently. Finally, level of education is a factor that should never be excluded from sociolinguistic studies in Brazil, since a diglossic situation exists in which spoken (or vernacular) and written (or educated) Brazilian Portuguese are very different. For this reason, we need to take into consideration the possibility of a correspondence between degree of education and their perception of gay speech. My initial hypothesis was that people with a lower level of education would come up with a more definite, restricted stereotype of gay speech.

Every interview was as informal and relaxed as they could be. In general, I started by asking the interviewees if they had any gay friends or relatives. Regardless of their response, I would ask them if they thought there was a gay way of talking or, in other words, if they thought gay men spoke differently (especially if compared to straight men). Generally, from that point on, I would ask the informants some or all of the questions below:

1. If you compare the ways gay and straight men talk, what do you think the differences are?
2. What kind of thing calls your attention, when you listen to a man talk, in terms of making you think he might be gay?
3. What would you change in your way of talking if you wanted to sound gay (*version for women*: what would change in a man's way of talking if he were to sound gay)?
4. What would you reinforce in your way of talking so that there would be no doubt you are *not* gay (*version for women*: what should be reinforced in a man's way of talking, so that it would be even clearer he is not gay?)

Most of the people I interviewed had trouble answering these questions. They tended to simplify everything by defining the gay stereotype as an effeminate man, even when they recognized that it is possible for a man to be gay without being effeminate, or for a man to talk in an effeminate way without being gay. For example, Bianca and Rafael, a couple of undergraduate students at the Institute of Economy of the University of São Paulo, said:

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Rafael: Acho que pelo tom da voz… é o tom da voz, assim…
é mais…
'I think it's the tone of voice … yes, it's the tone of
voice, like… it's more…
Bianca: é… pelo tom da voz… o ritmo
'yes… the tone of voice … the rhythm
Rafael: é… o ritmo é mais … devagar, assim…
'yes… the rhythm is more… slow, like…
Interv.:cê acha que o ritmo é mais devagar que no hétero?
'd'you think the rhythm is slower than the straight?
Rafael: é… ele fala mais… ah, não sei…
'yes… he speaks more… I don't know…
Bianca: ah… fala mais… feminino…
'well… speaks more… feminine…
```

The identification between the qualifiers "gay" and "effeminate" for a man has often been noticed in work done in English (Rogers & Smyth 2001, for example). However, that is not enough. Rather, I have been looking for linguistic cues, even if they were not very clear, about what is linguistically gay, in the speech of a "possibly" gay man. Some of the interviewees were a little more adventurous in their answers, such as Monica's attempted explanation:

Mônica: eu acho que eu identifico entonação
'I think that I identify intonation
Interv.:entonação?
'intonation?'
Mônica: entonação…
'intonation…'
Interv.:como é que é isso?
'what do you mean?'
Mônica: o modo como se prolongam algumas palavras… se acentua a palavra…
'the way how they lengthen some words… they stress the word…'

It is for this reason that, in addition to asking questions, I had the interviewees listen to five different men reading the same text (see Appendix 1) and grade the "gayness" of each reader from 1 to 5 – '1' being the least gay, and '5' being the gayest. By asking them to explain their grades, it became a little easier to identify linguistic traits that might function as indices of a gay speech. Interestingly, after listening to the readings, even the most clueless interviewee could come up with some description for their linguistic perception.

4. Results

After gathering the grades, it was interesting to notice how much agreement there was, especially with respect to the readers that sounded gayer, regardless of their sexual orientation or level of education. Among 53 informants, only five (i.e. 10%) disagreed on who deserved the two best grades (4 and 5), although they agreed on at least one, showing considerable homogeneity in the perception of sounding gay.

Table 1.- Informants who disagreed on who deserved the highest grades

	Carlo	Fernando	João	Marcelo	Márcio
DINO	3	5	2	4	1
MÔNICA	2	4	5	3	1
RAFAEL	5	3	1	4	2
JOSÉ	3	5	2	4	1
HÉLIO	2	5	4	1	3
FÁBIO	1	3	4	5	2

When the interviewees were asked to explain why they gave the highest grades to particular readers, they mentioned certain linguistic traits frequently and confidently. According to them, certain linguistic features were frequently present or especially strong in Fernando's reading: words were pronounced more carefully, with less deletion, especially of word final /-s/, and especially when it marked plural; the intonation rises and falls rather often and quickly; and stressed vowels are lengthened.

As Table 2 shows, the vast majority of interviewees rated Fernando the most gay-sounding reader:

Table 2.- Informants who agreed on who sounds gayer

	Carlo	Fern.	João	Marc	Márcio
Suplicy	4	5	1	2	3
Leonardo	4	5	3	2	1
Bianca	4	5	2	1	3
Thais	4	5	1	3	2
Norma	4	5	3	2	1
Hernâni	5	4	2	3	1
Christine	4	5	3	2	1
José Jr.	4	5	1	3	2
Ivanete	4	5	1	4	2
Cintia	4	5	3	1	2
Pedro	4	5	2	3	1
Marina	4	5	3	2	1
Esmeralda	4	5	3	2	1
Ana	4	5	1	3	2
Henrique	4	5	1	3	2
Paulo	4	5	1	2	3
André	4	5	1	2	3
Maria Paula	4	5	3	2	1
Augusta	4	5	3	1	2
Patrícia	4	5	3	2	1
Michel	5	4	3	2	1
Carlos	5	4	1	3	2

Pedro	5	4	2	3	1
Marcos	5	4	1	2	3
Rodolfo	5	4	1	3	2

The next step in this research project will consist of developing salience tests for each of these linguistic variables. The second (pitch dynamism) has been studied in English (Smyth & Rogers 2001, among others). However, if the other two linguistic variables are found to be salient indicators of gay speech, they may be more interesting in Brazilian Portuguese. For example, the deletion of the plural /-s/ is quite frequent in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese and, if my interviewees are right, there could be a correlation between sounding straight and deleting as many plural /-s/ as the urban dialect allows you. On the other hand, it would be interesting to verify how much longer stressed vowels are when a man sounds gay, compared to those situations in which he avoids showing gayness, be he gay or not.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, while there obviously remains a great deal more work to do, I believe that this preliminary study has provided several interesting results.

First, the perception of what it means to "sound gay" seems to be very homogeneous. This finding points up Labov's (1966) interpretation of the speech community as shared evaluation of linguistic norms and confirms results reported in other studies of gay speech in English.

Second, despite the fact that people are unable to spontaneously produce examples of what it means to sound gay, when presented with samples of gay-sounding speech, they are nevertheless able to specify particular features of speech.

Finally, without this preliminary study we would not have been able to identify the use of /s/-deletion as a potential marker of gay speech. While the findings for pitch and vowel length are similar to those reported for studies of English, /s/-deletion is likely not a feature that is exploited for marking sexual identity in English.

In future work, I will conduct a more detailed quantitative analysis of the features identified by the listeners as markers of gay speech, to determine whether such impressionistic perceptions are supported by actual performance. These results will not only contribute to the growing literature investigating the linguistic correlates of “sounding gay”, but will also expand this literature into a truly international perspective.

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Appendix 1

O Brasil acaba de eleger deputado federal o estilista, designer de alta costura, condutores de já esquecidos programas de televisão, e polêmico contador de verdades –Clodovil Hernandes. O “Hernandes” parece informação nova, já que todo mundo o conhece mesmo como Clodovil. Agora, ele é o Deputado Clodovil. Recentemente, o repórter perguntou ao recém-eleito deputado como ele chegaria a Brasília. Ele respondeu rapidamente: “chiquérrimo, é claro... porque eu sou mesmo”. Entretanto, quando o mesmo repórter lhe perguntou que projetos levaria para Brasília, Clodovil hesitou e acabou dizendo, juntamente com um gesto de mão: “não sei... eu não sei nem se há política nesse país.” Ora, política há... pois ele foi eleito. Em sua campanha, seu mote era: “Brasília nunca mais será a mesma”, já que ele pretende denunciar tudo o que chegar ao seu conhecimento. Vozes mais maldosas, por outro lado, dizem temer que Brasília jamais será a mesma porque o novo deputado mudaria a cor predominante da capital federal, de um branco acinzentado, para um vistoso cor-de-rosa...

‘Brazil has just elected as a Federal Representative the stylist, haute-couture designer, host of already forgotten TV programs, and controversial truth-teller Clodovil Hernandes. “Hernandes” sounds like new information, since everybody knows him as Clodovil. Now, he is Deputy Clodovil. Recently, a TV reporter asked the newly elected deputy how he would get to Brasília (Brazil’s Federal Capital). He quickly answered: “very chic, of course... because that’s the way I am.” However, when the same reporter asked him what projects he would take to Brasilia, Clodovil hesitated and ended up saying, together with a hand gesture: “I don’t know... I don’t even know whether there’s politics in this country.” Well, there is politics... for he has been elected. In his campaign, his motto was: “Brasília will never be the same”, since he intends to denounce everything that he gets to know. On the other hand, mischievous voices have said they fear that Brasília will never be the same because the new deputy would change the color of the federal capital, from a grayish white to an astounding pink.

Transgendered Translation of Mande and Maa Languages

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Abstract

In her 2001 study of linguistic gender, *Pronoun Envy*, Anna Livia analyzes the dynamic tensions between formal and semantic gender in French and English, asserting that "[i]n the event of a clash between the two systems, semantic gender will tend to take precedence over formal gender." This paper asserts that the same tendency is exhibited by Western(ized) scholars confronted with clashes between the formal linguistic gender in two African languages and the scholars' own semantic gender schemata.

As more African languages and cultures are documented by scholars writing in a world language such as English or French, issues of gendered translation arise. This is particularly evident in French with its formal gender marking, but it also occurs in English where linguistic gender is semantically governed. While gender-sensitive scholars have been attempting to find gender-neutral pronouns to replace the gendered "generic pronouns" in English, the reverse trend has been taking place in English and French language scholarship on African cultures. This paper examines cases from the Mande languages of West Africa and from the Maa languages of East Africa that illustrate what amounts to phallogocentric scholarly distortion of indigenous linguistic gender, rendering particular cases of both feminine and neutral nouns into the masculine. In the Mande languages, this paper will show that where certain nouns are gender-neutral and must be marked morphemically when gender is to be specified, the neutral nouns themselves become endowed with masculine gender upon translation into French and English and, subsequently, new feminized forms are created in both languages to pair with the now-masculine noun, even thought there is no grammatical motivation to do so in the language being translated. In the Maa language, the semantic distortion is even more overtly sexist: I will discuss the case of one formally feminine noun that is consistently translated as masculine. There is no grammatical motivation for transgendering this noun, but there are clear cultural incentives for doing so.

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 306-317.

This paper illustrates how the gender, position, and, sometimes, religion of the scholar-translator influence how and to what degree noun transgendering takes place.
Keywords: *sexism ~ transgendered translation ~ feminine nouns*

For more than 30 years, linguists have been wrestling with issues of the masculine gender as the linguistic norm (e.g. 1975 *Language and Woman's Place* by Robin Lakoff, 1980 *Man Made Language* by Dale Spender, etc.). The so-called "generic" masculine in which the unmarked case is masculine while the feminine must be marked (as in priest/priestess) has been a cause for feminist battle for all these years, and remarkable reductions of these gendered pairs have resulted: words such as *authoress, poetess, sculptoress* and *aviatrix* have been pushed off the lexical horizon by broadening the semantic scope of the unmarked *author, poet, sculptor,* and *aviator* to include women as well as men. Although few writers or editors tolerate a generic masculine pronoun as a rule these days, the issue of what to replace it with continues to be debated. Does it serve equity to offer a set of choices each time as in she/he, his/hers? Is it preferable to violate rules of number and settle for a plural pronoun with a singular antecedent, as in "every student should get their book by Friday"? As Baron notes, "It is doubtful that any one semantic gap in any language has ever received the attention that reformers over the years have lavished on our lack of a common-gender pronoun in English" (1986: 8).

This paper examines issues of normative masculinity from a slightly different angle by focusing on pronominal and nominal gender in translation into both English and French. English has a semantic gender system while French has both semantic and formal gender systems. Specifically, here we will examine translation into these languages from two African language groups: Maa from East Africa with a formal gender system and Mande from West Africa with its semantic gender system.

For scholars writing in languages such as English or French, issues of gender-accurate translation arise with both Mande and Maa. This is particularly evident in French with its formal gender marking, but it also occurs in English where linguistic gender is semantically governed. I will argue that the cases of translation I discuss here are examples of what Derrida 1975 called phallogocentric scholarly distortion of indigenous linguistic gender.

In the Maa language, the semantic distortion is overtly sexist: a socially and politically-charged noun which is formally feminine is widely translated as semantically and formally masculine. In the Mande languages, we will see that a specific neuter noun, which must be morphologically marked when gender is to be specified, has become semantically transgendered in translation. In the Mande language the word holds a linguistic version of intersexed status. Upon translation into French and English, it is made masculine. To add to the confusion, new feminine forms have been created subsequently in both French and English to pair with the now-masculine noun -- all this without any grammatical motivation from the Mande language. This paper explores both these instances of sexist transgendered translation and the apparent motivations for them.

In her 2001 study of linguistic gender, *Pronoun Envy*, Anna Livia analyzes the dynamic tensions between formal and semantic gender in French and English, asserting that “[i]n the event of a clash between the two systems, semantic gender will tend to take precedence over formal gender” in the selection of anaphoric pronouns so that, for example, a woman teacher will be referred to by her French pupils with the masculine “le professeur” but the pronoun used to anaphorize the masculine “professeur” will be the feminine “elle” in recognition of the teacher’s real-world, semantic gender (2001: 15). The same tendency is exhibited by some Western scholars when they confront clashes between the grammatical gender in these two African languages and their own culturally-grounded semantic gender schemata.

Maa, the language of the Maasai, Rendille, Samburu and other groups in Kenya and Tanzania offers the most transparently deliberate case of transgendering a formally feminine noun. Maa conjugates verbs through affixation of a neuter pronominal prefix, marked only for person, not for gender. In the 2nd person, plurality is indicated by a reduplicative suffix rather than by a distinctive prefix and in the 3rd

person, number is left ambiguous, both singular and plural sharing the same pronominal prefix.

I. Maa pronominal prefixes

a-pik	I put.
i-pik	You put.
e-pik	He/she/it puts.
ki-pik	We put.
i-pikipiki	You put (pl)
e-pik	They put

Maa has three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. Gender is marked through prefixes which have masculine, feminine, and neuter singular and plural forms. The feminine prefix, *en-* (sg.) or *in-* (pl.) becomes *enk-* or *ink-* before a noun that starts with /a/ or /o/.

II. Maa Gender Prefixes

Gender	Singular	Plural
Masculine	*ol-*	*il-*
Feminine	*en-*	*in-*
	enk-	*ink- /a,o/*
Neuter	*e-*	*i-*

Since Maa has both a semantic and a formal gender system, all nouns are assigned to one of the three genders. Animate nouns are either feminine or masculine. Neuter is available for inanimate nouns. The problematic word here is the word for the Supreme Being, *Enkai*, a feminine sg. noun.

Naomi Kipury, a Maasai anthropologist, notes that it was not until Christian missionaries came to Maasailand and translated the Bible into Maa that the nouns and adjectives referring to Enkai were masculinized. Before that, Enkai was seen as a middle-aged woman, she claims (1989: 167, note 7). Dorothy Hodgson devotes an entire chapter to the discussion of the feminine nature of the Maasai God within her larger work on women's spiritual and religious practices in Maasai communities of Tanzania. In addition to the feminine prefix, she notes that "En[k]'ai was addressed by such phrases as 'She of the black garment' (*Nolkila orok*), 'My mother with wet clothes' (*Yieyio nashal* *inkilani*), and ‘She of the growing grasses’ (*Noompees*)” (2005: 22, citing Voshaar 1998: 137).

Father Frans Mol, a Catholic priest who has lived in Kenya and studied the Maa language for decades, has produced a combination dictionary and encyclopedia on the Maasai language and culture that translates words and texts into English, *Maasai Language and Culture Dictionary* (1996). He has also published a book for Maa language learners, *Lessons in Maa: A Grammar of Maasai Language* (1995).

In his translations of Maa into English in these publications, the noun Enkai is consistently anaphorized with masculine pronouns, as in the following example:

> “Enkai [f] nanyokie: God Who is red, the red God. The Maasai refer to God as being red when they describe Him [emphasis added] as angry or in an angry mood.” (Mol 1996: 3)

For someone with Mol’s training, depth of experience of the culture, and degree of interest in the finer points of grammar of the Maa language to commit such an egregious violation of the translator’s principle of accuracy leaves little room for doubt of the motivation for doing so. In this case, the sociopolitical interests of the Christian faith trump issues of grammatical accuracy. Father Mol’s example has been widely followed: in churches throughout Christianized Maasailand where English is the language of worship, Enkai is spoken of as He and Him.

In the Mande languages of West Africa, all nouns and pronouns, with the exception of the words for woman, man, mother, and father, brother, sister, are formally gender-neutral. When gender-specificity is desired of an animate noun, a compound is formed by suffixing the lexemes for man and woman with appropriate tonal changes. Pronouns cannot be formally gendered; their gendered antecedents may be determined only when the sex of the nouns they anaphorize is clear. For simplicity’s sake, data will be offered only from Bamana (just one of the 71 languages in the Mande family) but the patterns illustrated hold for all.

III. Mande gender morphology

Neuter	Gender Morpheme	Gendered Compound
den (child)	*ke* (male)	*denke* (son)
	muso (female)	*denmuso* (daughter)
wulu (dog)	*wuluke* (male dog)	
	wulumuso (female dog)	

III.a. Mande neuter pronominals

n/ne	1st sg	"I/me" feminine or masculine
i	2nd sg	"you" feminine or masculine
a/ale	3rd sg	"he/she" feminine or masculine

IIIb. Mande anaphorization patterns

Denmuso, a/ale taara.	The daughter, she left.
Denke, a/ale taara.	The son, he left.
Den, a/ale taara.	The child, she/he left.

Despite the transparency of this ubiquitous pattern in Mande languages, some Mande gender-neutral nouns are routinely gendered in translation and anaphorized accordingly. While doing so is obligatory when translating into a language like French with formal gender marking, it is entirely optional when translating into English where gender is semantic and even animate nouns can have ambiguous gender (e.g. cat, fish, teacher, doctor). One glaring example of the transgendering of neuter nouns in translation is the word for griot or bard in Bamana: *jeli*.[1] By itself, the word *jeli* has no gender, either formal or semantic. It refers to a social status and occupation that may be filled by both women and men. To specify the gender of a specific griot, the above pattern of compounding through affixation of gender markers must be followed:

IV. Gendering the word *jeli* (griot) in Bamana

jeli	griot
jelimuso	female griot or griot woman
jelike	male griot or griot man

[1] Frank 1998 has observed the same phenomenon with regard to the Bamana word for "smith," numu.

V. Contrast of Bamana gender morphology with translation in French & English

Bamana	French	English
jeli	griot	griot
jelimuso	griotte	female griot, griot woman
jelike	griot	male griot, griot man

The gender-marked forms of *jeli* are compound nouns in Mande, which is an intermediate form between the monolexemes of French and the paraphrastic forms in English.:

The problem of transgendering of the Mande (Bamana) word begins here with the French terminology. Granted, to translate any noun into French, gender must be assigned. The French have endowed their translation of the neuter *jeli* with formal masculine gender: *le griot*. The translation of *jeli* had to be either feminine or masculine. However, as Greville Corbett notes, the phonological rules governing the gender-assignment of new words in French is such that the word *griot* is only slightly more likely to have masculine gender than feminine: words that end in /t/, even if the consonant is not pronounced, are masculine approximately 51% of the time (1991: 59, citing Tucker, Lambert & Rigault 1977: 68-125).[2] The choice of the French to masculinize their translation of *jeli* has set in motion further transgenderings in both French and English in ways that I have argued elsewhere should be abandoned in English (Hoffman 2003). By creating a feminine counterpart, *griotte*, the French have affirmed the addition of semantic masculine gender to the formal gender of the word *griot*.[3]

This unfortunate pairing is borrowed wholesale into English by one of the most widely-cited authors on griots: my dear colleague Thomas A. Hale. Hale's survey of the West African bards, *Griots and Griottes: Masters of Words and Music*, is a paragon of unintentional, but nonetheless undeniable, sexist transgendering of a formally neuter,

[2] Etymological studies of the origins of the word "griot" indicate that it is very likely to have once been pronounced with a final /t/ (see Tamari 1997 and Appendix G in Hale 1999).

[3] I have been unable to locate any information on date or time period of the addition of *griotte* as the feminine of *griot* to the French lexicon. To this day, it does not appear in the Dictionary of the Academie Francaise. The word *griot* itself only appears in the 9th edition, published in 1986. *Griotte* appears in all editions of that dictionary as a kind of cherry.

semantically intersexed noun. Hale first violates the rules of Mande semantic gender by assigning male gender to the word "griot" in English. He then compounds the error by borrowing from French the invented feminine correlate of *griot*, *griotte*. Despite his acknowledgement that the Bamana word *jeli* is neuter, and therefore, so is its translation, *griot*, and that it applies to both men and women, his careful observation is undermined by gratuitously transgendered anaphora like the following:

> "[the griot can lighten a tense atmosphere] with his word and his service as mediator." (1998: 34)

> "... the griot is more than an exhorter. He appears to combine the roles of cheerleader for his patron, manager of the competitor's financial and spiritual affairs, spokesman, and adviser." (1998: 43)

The word "griot," to be anaphorized faithfully and without sexist bias, must employ "he/she," "his/her," "him/her," or use the plural pronouns "they," "their," and "them" in the singular. To do otherwise is to endow a single gender where there was potential for both originally; in other words, to transgender a semantically intersexed noun.

Hale actually meant for his borrowing of the gendered pair from French to serve a feminist goal of increasing the visibility of women griots, the very existence of whom escaped the attention of numerous male travelers, explorers and scholars over the centuries. For example, when Hale interviewed the famous African-American author, Alex Haley, he found that, even after making his historic journey back to the land of his ancestors which resulted in the book and television series, *Roots*, Haley was unaware of the fact that griots could be women too. Hale accordingly explains his use of the artificial French word *griotte* in this way:

> ...by using both *griot* and *griotte*..., scholars can more effectively bridge the gap in knowledge about the oral tradition for persons outside West Africa. At the same time, the adoption of both *griot* and *griotte* signals to those who are unaware of the existence of *jelimusow* [griot women] and their sisters in neighboring West African cultures that women play an active role in the profession. Although *jeli* can refer to both sexes (a woman may say that she is *jeli* – *n[e] ye jeli ye*; Barbara Hoffman, personal communication, 1996), the

> central Mande *jeliw* distinguish when necessary between *jeli ke* and *jelimuso* – man and woman griot. Given the lack of information about women griots, it is useful to maintain the gender distinction in the regional terminology by pairing *griotte* with *griot*. (1998: 16)

First, let us examine the difficulties already inherent with borrowing the word *griot* from the French. With increasing afrocentric awareness in the US, the term has attained a remarkably wide adoption in the American English lexicon with some innovative broadening of its semantic scope to include a range of activities linked to communication in verbal, visual, or plastic media (Hoffman 2002).

It is a term readily available in written English, but relatively few speakers of English have learned it yet. For one thing, it is a difficult word for English speakers to learn to pronounce correctly. If it is first encountered in writing, the default assumption is that it is pronounced [griət] or [griot] –the final /t/ pronounced, as it is in "griotte" in French. Why is this the case?

The morphophonemics of English demand that words –even those that are cognates in English and French– whose written form ends in an alveolar stop have that consonant pronounced:

VI.French	English
Un tort [tor]	a tort [tort]
une part [par]	a part [part]
le pot [po]	the pot [pat]

The pronunciation of "griot" with a hard final /t/ clearly fits English morphophonemic practices for final consonants. For most native speakers of English, there is thus no difference between the pronunciation of "griot" and "griotte." However, the correct pronunciation can be easily be learned upon hearing it or upon learning that it is borrowed from French since words borrowed from French into English often retain the original French silencing of the final consonant:

VII. Pronunciation of words borrowed from French into English

Camembert	[kæməmbɛr]
Merlot	[mɛrlo]
Pinot	[pino]

Renault [rəno]

While I applaud Hale's rationale of promoting awareness of the existence of women griots, the adoption of "griotte" as the label for women griots is an even more troublesome misfit in English than is the word "griot." If one wanted to create a new lexeme for "griot woman,"(which I am not advocating) there are reasons not to use "griotte" and a number of productive means already available:

VIII. Formal linguistic problems with borrowing "griotte"
1. Spelling: no non-borrowed English sexed noun pair uses the strategy of doubling the consonant and adding –e to form the feminine:
shop-shoppe indexes "old", not "feminine"
comedian – comedienne indexes feminine, but is borrowed from French
2. Morphology: there are productive suffixes available in English to transform a masculine noun into a feminine one, the most common being -ess:

Actor – actress
Master – mistress
Host – hostess
This and similar suffixes work equally well in French:
Acteur – actrice
Maitre – maitresse
Hôte – hôtesse
Note however, that this is not a fully productive morphological rule in English:
director – *directress
teamster – *teamstress
gangster – *gangstress
cantor – *cantress
Another available suffix (also valid in French) is -ette
Bachelor – bachelorette (American English)
Fourche (pitchfork) – fourchette (French) [signals "small" not feminine]
Basin – bassinette [signals both feminine and small]
Côte – côtelette

3. Semantic considerations
The most significant problem by far with using the word "griotte" in English is that adopting a separate, sex-specific term sets up mutually-exclusive semantic domains:

If griotte = female *jeli*
then griot = male *jeli*

The unfortunate outcome, then, of popularizing "griotte" as the English translation of *jelimuso* is to further promulgate the fallacy that a "griot" is always a man. Despite Hale's laudable feminist intentions, this is the regrettable and unnecessary result.

To translate into French does admittedly force one to accept formal transgendering of neuter nouns; it is simply a fact that in a language with obligatory gender, one gender or the other must be assigned to every noun. It is not required, however, to then add semantic gender to the noun, nor to further formalize it by creating a neolexeme with both formal and semantic gender to complement it. In English, doing so is even less justified. English has readily available means to remain morphologically and semantically faithful to the source language. By importing the French gendered terms into English, Hale and those who follow the same practice force the transgendering of "griot." I say it is the duty of the translator to be as true to the source as possible, and so, having that possibility in English, let there be no "griottes." Just as we have escaped the trap of "waitress," "stewardess," and "directress," let us leave the word "griotte" aside and acknowledge that the honorable status and profession of the griot belongs to men and women alike, as it does in the world of the *jeli*.

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Telling the Same Story: His or Her Style

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Abstract

Bedtime stories are among the most popular discourse activities between parents and their children. Research shows linguistic differences between mothers and fathers telling a story. These differences are often in the amount of talk, kind of information provided, speech-acts performed, questions asked, and (non)supportive interactional style. The present study analyzes discourse characteristics in narratives of high-middle class educated mothers and fathers, users of Modern Hebrew. Parents were recorded while telling their children the "Frog Story" – a wordless picture book relating the story of a boy and a dog in search of a lost frog. This picture book has proven to be an efficient and reliable tool in narrative development research. Our gender analysis focuses on both content and structure of the stories. From the content point of view, there were differences related to informative knowledge and affective characteristics. From the linguistic point of view, we found register differences related to the choice of a more normative and literary language as opposed to colloquial and informal language. Style differences were found to be gender-directed not only according to parents, but also to child-addressee. Parents' narratives differed when directed to boys or girls, and a stereotyped view was clearly observed behind this behavior. This finding supports previous studies in that parents have different expectations from boys or girls.
Key words: *Narrative ~ parents ~ teller's gender ~ addressee's gender ~ stereotypes*

1. Introduction

Storytelling at bed time is a common western discourse activity between parents and their children that allows us to learn whether there is a unique storytelling style, and whether social motives lead to style

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 318-332.

differences. Those differences may be driven by narrator's gender and the socio-economic status of people involved, as reported in studies carried out in different places in the world. We will claim that another factor may be attributed to gender differences –social stereotypes. Stories and narratives, either told or read, represent heritage, values, beliefs and norms of the speaking community. They serve as a means to express, transmit and construct reality. The narrative proficiency is based on the teller's cognitive, linguistic, cultural and emotional ability. Therefore, in most western cultures parents' storytelling is considered to be a paramount contribution to the development of narrative, discursive and literacy ability of their children. Children are exposed to this kind of event from very early on, and they are expected to develop this ability at school age.

The study to be presented here deals with families' storytelling with particular interest in both narrative and linguistic elements that characterize fathers' vis-à-vis mothers' stories. In order to discard educational and socio-economic factors, we focused on a homogeneous group of educated parents, upper middle class. The study is based on 16 stories recorded in Hebrew by fathers and mothers who were asked to tell the "Frog Story" to their sons or daughters. The parents' age ranges between 29 and 43, and children's age is between 3 and 7. Over the past two decades, the "Frog Story" has been a popular and reliable task for investigations of different aspects of narrative. It is a wordless book with 24 pictures relating the story of a boy and a dog in search of a lost frog.

We were interested in answering the following research questions:

a) Are there style differences regarding teller's gender –mother or father?
b) Does addressee's gender –son or daughter– influence telling style?
c) What are the reasons for narrative style differences by interlocutors?

While storytelling is regarded as an important means for children's language and literacy development, scholars disagree about the nature of this importance. Some argue that storytelling only reinforces the genetic linguistics' ability (Pinker 1984), while others claim that linguistic and grammatical knowledge is not innate, and attribute great importance to storytelling for building it. Although we don't intend to deal with this question here, it is clear that children's exposure to stories largely contributes to their cognitive and linguistic formation. That is to say, language development is not only an inner process, but is also influenced by external exposure and its formation depends on the interaction between the internal and external forces.

Research on linguistics' exposure in different cultures dealt with lexicon, phonological awareness and morphosyntactic structures. In recent years, this research constitutes a wider description at the extended discourse level with one of its emphases on parents' language - especially mother's. Yet, the literature reports on only a few studies on fathers' as opposed to mothers' narrative (Gleason 1987), and this is the aim of the present study.

Parents attribute an educational value to story events (Nichols 2002). By and large storytelling has a social and cultural value (Brice-Heath 1982). Yet, narrative conventions are not universal, but rather change from one culture to another (Stavans 2001; Kupersmitt & Berman 2001; Wigglesworth & Stavans 2001). Narrative discourse not only reflects linguistic expression, but also a social activity that takes place in different surroundings and with different interlocutors. For example, we can differentiate between informal family discourse and formal school discourse. Stories told at home don't regularly just report events, but also include social, cultural, linguistic, rhetorical and emotional aspects.

The same story event may have different styles, and one of the reasons for that is who the teller is –the mother or the father. Research shows that there may be gender differences from the points of view of social interaction, linguistic use and linguistic and narrative function. Some scholars claimed, for example, that fathers use richer vocabulary and a larger amount of directives, resulting in a greater response by the child. However, their inconsistent conclusions allude that there may be other reasons for this behavior.

A study carried out by Ratner (1998) among educated speakers in the United States found that when playing with small children, fathers used more low-frequency nouns, whereas mothers used ultra-high-frequency nouns. Moreover, fathers' vocabulary was found to be more diverse, while mothers tended to repeat same words. Both parents used more infrequent words when addressing boys compared to those used when addressing girls. Another study, conducted by Davidson & Snow (1996) concluded that during family interaction in different circumstances, mothers spoke more than fathers and used richer vocabulary and more complex structures. They asked more questions and initiated general conversational topics more often than fathers, but there was no difference in initiation of knowledge topics.

2. The present study

Since in western societies, especially in upper middle class, fathers' role is considered to be equal to that of mothers', we would expect no salient gender differences in discourse interaction between parents and their children. However, the analysis of recorded texts shows interesting differences in quantity of talk, use of linguistic features, way of asking questions, discursive interaction and narrative style. Most characteristics were found to be more salient in mothers' speech. This is true both in quantitative and qualitative aspects of the speech. Figure 1 summarizes the average length of stories as measured by number of clauses (clauses were divided and counted according to Berman 1988 and Berman & Slobin 1994).

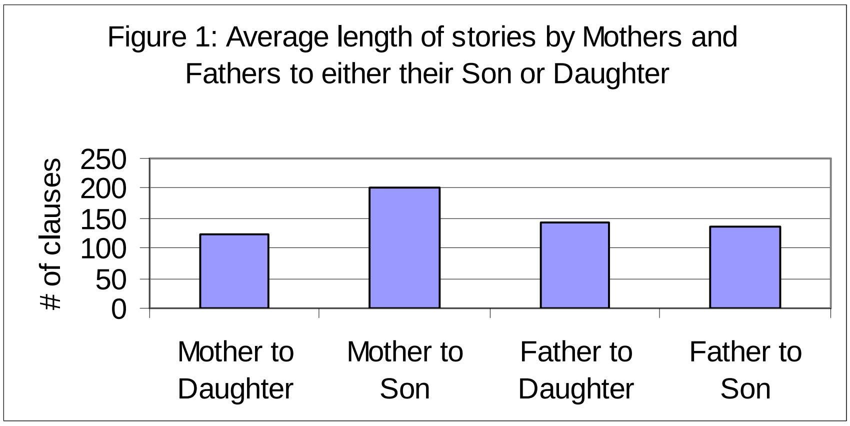
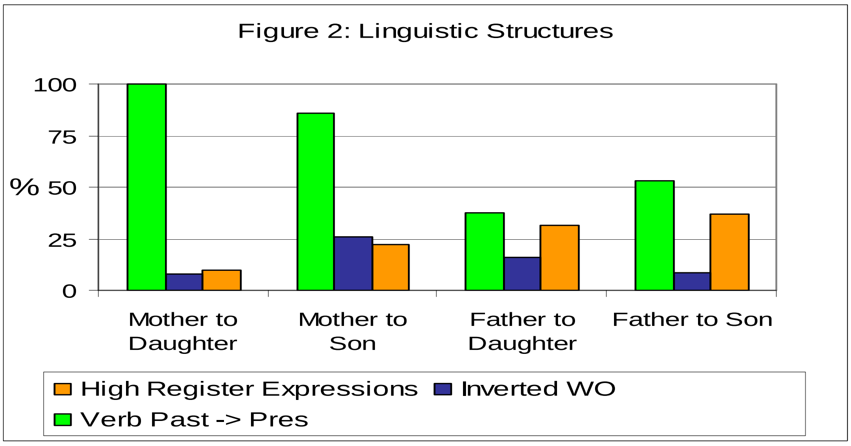


Figure 1: Average length of stories by Mothers and Fathers to either their Son or Daughter

Figure 1 shows the relation between the average number of clauses in fathers' and mothers' stories to their sons and daughters. The larger number of clauses was found in mothers' stories to their sons (201, as opposed to 122 in mothers' stories to their daughters). The length of fathers' stories, in contrast, was similar in stories told to their sons and daughters.

The use of linguistic features was also found to be different according to gender, as we can see in figure 2.



The analysis of the linguistic features used by the parents shows a salient difference in the use of present tense, especially in the transition from past to present tense. Usually, studies show a preference for the past tense in canonic narrative. In our opinion, the use of present tense in a storytelling event between parents and their children adds tension to the story, introduces the teller and the addressee to a present time framework, and in this way the story becomes more active and lively and creates intimacy with the listener. This was especially true in mothers' stories, and we attribute it to the emotional aspect of the interaction. For example:

> The boy *saw* a hole in the tree's trunk, and he **looks** inside. (m. to d.)
> Gil'ad *found* a hole in the ground, and he **calls**... (m. to s.)
> They *looked* beyond the trunk. And what **do** they **see**? (f. to s.)

Something very dangerous *happened*. The dog **fells**. (f. to d.)

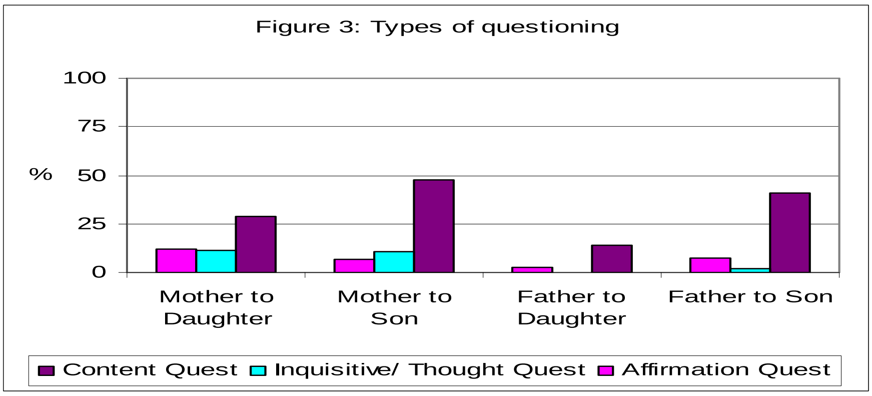
The need to create involvement and intimacy during storytelling between the parent and the child is one way of developing socialization skills particularly while engaging in an interaction which is both literacy and culturally driven. A closer look at the data revealed other linguistic features involved in this type of parent-child interaction. One such feature was the use of high register. Two elements were analyzed – vocabulary and word-order changes. When looking at vocabulary, we found that fathers use more expressions that are infrequent in colloquial register, especially when addressing boys. Although generally mothers use them less, they do so more to address their sons. Two opposing explanations may account for the high register vocabulary. On one hand, there may be a didactic purpose. On the other hand, it may be a sign of unawareness of the teller about the linguistic knowledge of the child. In any case, this cannot explain differences related to the addressee. The fact that both parents use higher register when addressing their sons than when addressing their daughters can be explained as a stereotyped expectation. The same has been found in classroom interaction between female teachers and boys.

The second element showing high register was word-order change, mostly placing the verb before the subject. This is very unusual in colloquial spoken Hebrew, but typical in high or literate registers, especially in children's books (Muchnik 1997). This use may be interpreted as another didactic means, an intended exposure to literary language, or a stereotyped view. This pattern was characteristic of the mothers' stories to their sons.

Question asking is another linguistic structure frequently described as characterizing females versus male language productions. For example, the study carried out by Tenenbaum & Leaper (1997) in Mexico found that fathers asked more questions than mothers, but both parents used larger number of questions in cross-gender interaction. The researchers conclude that the family communication style is affected more by the parent's gender than the children's gender. Similar results were found among European families, and researchers concluded that by and large fathers are less sensitive to the cognitive abilities of their children.

A study conducted by Rowe *et al* (2004) among low-income families in rural New England showed that both parents accommodate in the same manner to semantic and syntactic abilities of their children. Fathers asked twice the number of questions asked by mothers, especially open questions and clarifying questions, but they use fewer directives than the mothers.

In the present study we found a larger number of questions asked by mothers during story telling. We can differentiate between three kinds of questions – content questions, inquisitive / thinking questions and affirmation / tag questions, as seen in figure 3.



Overall, most questions asked by both parents were content questions, which are not only aimed to check understanding, but also to encourage the children participate in storytelling event. Content questions were more frequent in mothers' than in fathers' language, and in both cases they were more often addressed to boys than to girls. It seems then that parents expect boys to understand the story in a more practical, meticulous and accurate way. Here are some examples of content questions:

And who awakes from sleeping? (m. to s.)
And then, what does the frog do? (m. to d.)

And where did he look for frogy? (m. to s.)
And where from did these bees go out? (f. to s.)

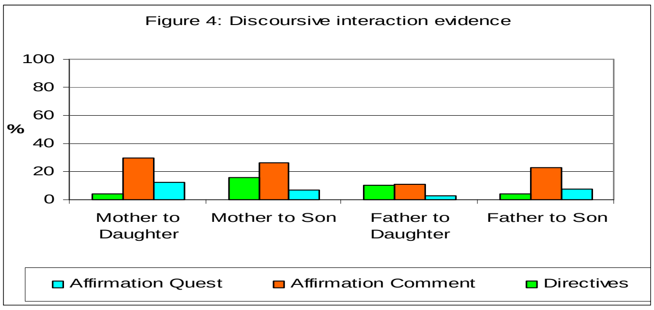
Questions aimed to encourage children to think and express their feelings were also found mostly in mothers' stories, and almost never found in fathers' stories. For example:

And what could have happen now? (m. to s.)
Why did he run away? Let's think together. (m. to s.)
Where do you think he went? (m. to d.)
And what do you think happened? (m. to d.)

Affirmation/tag questions are closed questions, and the expectation is that the answer will be positive. This sort of questions was found in mothers' as well as in fathers' stories. For example:

We'll call the dog Humi, okay? (m. to s.)
Like in the Poo story, right? (f. to s.)
Maybe we'll call him Shmulik? (f. to d.)
You liked the story. Didn't you? (m. to d.)

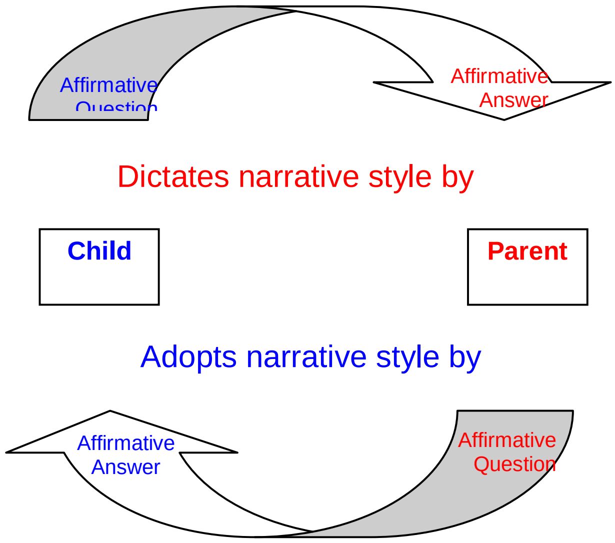
Gender studies in the 70s. (Lakoff 1972, 1975) claimed that tag questions are typical of women's language, and that this shows uncertainty and a need to get reinforcement of what has been said. We prefer to explain the use of affirmation/tag questions in mothers' storytelling style as a sort of softness of statements, especially in interaction with children. Affirmation questions also serve as a means to create interaction between parents and their children, like affirmation comments and directives. We can see it in figure 4.



Beside affirmation questions we found many affirmation comments, with the purpose of supporting and confirming the children's statements. Comments like these were found more in mothers' than in fathers' stories. For example:

> Right. You are right. (m. to d.)
> It really can be so. (m. to s.)
> Because of the owl, right. (f. to s.)
> Right, and he listened. (f. to d.)

As said before, affirmation comments are related to affirmation questions. In next figure we explain the large number of affirmation comments due to the fact that affirmation questions bring about affirmation answers.



In the above figure we show that when parents' stories include such interactions, the children adopt this pattern, and they create affirmation questions expecting to get affirmation answers. We see then that independently of gender, the large number of questions and answers of this sort in parents' discourse is a strategy to build up and develop the narrative.

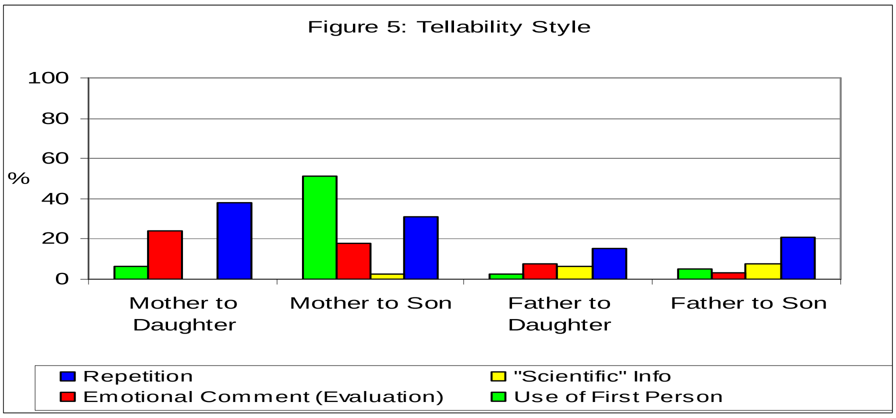
The common aspect of affirmation questions and affirmation comments is that both of them were mostly found in the same-gender interactions, that is to say, between mothers and daughters and between fathers and sons. We conclude that either there is a gender characteristic, which we can call "women's style" versus "men's style", or same-gender communicative interactions are better or more effective than cross-gender interactions. These findings provide further support to studies conducted by Tannen (1990, 1993) among English speakers and by Muchnik (1997) among Hebrew speakers.

In contrast to affirmation questions and comments, directives were found in interactions between mothers and sons and between fathers and daughters. The directives' function is to draw children's attention to details that the parents were uncertain as to whether the child understood or realized. For example:

> Maybe. **Let's see. Let's continue** the story and see. (m. to s.)
> **Look** what the frog has done. What did he do? (m. to d.)
> **See** what happens! The dog is running away. (f. to d.)
> **Look** what happened! They fell straight into the stream. (f. to s.)

In these examples we can clearly see gender differences in style. Mothers' typical directives are not real directives, but rather stimulators aimed to encourage children to follow the events or draw their attention to the task at hand. In contrast, fathers' typical directives come along with a clear and accurate guidance to the events. This difference reinforces previous findings in adult and children's gender studies. Thus, for example, Goodwin (1980, 1988) found that while playing, boys give clear directives to their friends, such as "you do this!", whereas girls' directives are usually a type of proposal involving the participants in making the decision, as in "let's do this".

We also studied the functions the different forms have in the story style from the point of view of children's support, personal involvement of the teller and the contribution of general knowledge to the child. The results are presented in figure 5.



This figure shows that mothers used more repetitions than fathers, either repeating a word or a phrase in order to emphasize it, or repeating a child's reaction in order to strengthen it. These repetitions often function as a strategy of gaining time that enables the teller to recap and organize the thoughts, especially when asked to invent a coherent and cohesive story in real time. Repetitions can then be related on one hand to the cognitive load created when trying to organize and chaining narrative events. On the other hand, they may be affected by the emotional aspect of narrativity. Here are some examples:

> Quietly, quietly, quietly… (f. to d.)
> Who are you? Who are you? Who are you, little kid? (m. to s.)
> And the dog barks, and barks, and barks after him. (f. to s.)
> They felt to the depth, felt, felt, felt, felt… (f. to s.)

In order to foster a more intimate relation with the child, parents, especially mothers, tend to use more emotional comments, mainly positive, while telling the story. For example:

> They saw their frog is **pleased and happy**, and has a whole family. (m. to d.)
> We feel very **lonely**, and we **like** pets very much. (m. to s.)
> And gave him **a strong hug**, because he was **afraid** he's wounded. (m. to s.)
> Gil was **very happy** to find his frog. (f. to d.)

The use of first person whether in singular or plural form, often has the function of signaling personal involvement, which helps making the storytelling an intimate event. A wide use of first person by women was found in other gender studies, both in children (Goodwin 1988) and adults (Muchnik 1992), and also in specific types of discourse, such as the one found in scientific articles (Argamon *et al* 2003). We found more use of first person in mothers' stories, especially when interacting with their sons. For example:

> **I**'m looking for **my** frog, that **I** wanted so much to be with **us**. (m. to s.)
> **I** see there is nobody around **me**. **I**'ll go and look for friends. (m. to s.)
> Who came out to **us** here? Who came out to **us** from the hole? (m. to s.)
> **I** didn't mean, but **I** suddenly saw a depth, so **I** stopped. (f. to s.)

In contrast to elements that show emotional involvement –found especially in mothers' talk– we found a large amount of pseudo-scientific information in fathers' stories, mostly when addressing their sons. For example:

> The gopher has feet; it doesn't have eyes. (f. to s.)
> The depth is a place that has a river-bed of a stream. (f. to s.)
> In the bees' nest the swarm is huge. There are thousands of bees in it. (f. to d.)
> The deer can climb on high rocks. They have sense. (f. to d.)

3. Conclusions

To conclude, we found special characteristics of story styles told by fathers and mothers to their children, sons and daughters, as seen in the summarizing table.

Our study shows that although there are differences in mothers' versus fathers' narrative styles, this does not seem to be related to linguistic but rather to interactive reasons. We found that the addressee's gender was very important, since parents' style changed according to child's gender. This can be explained as stereotypical beliefs of both fathers and mothers.

Characteristic	Mother to son	Mother to daughter	Father to son	Father to daughter
Linguistic	Inverted word-order Content questions Thinking questions Directives First person	Present tense Affirmation questions Affirmation comments Repetitions	High register	
Emotional		Present tense Affirmation comments Emotional comments		
Interactive	Directives	Affirmation questions Affirmation comments		
Stylistic		Repetitions Emotional comments	"Scientific" information	

When addressing their sons, fathers used high register and pseudo-scientific information, and mothers used inverted word-order, content and thinking questions, first person, as well as directives. When addressing daughters, fathers didn't use any special characterizing features. In interactions between mothers and daughters there was the largest number of characteristics, including affirmation questions and comments, present tense and repetitions. Emotional elements were only found in this interaction. We can conclude then that the different styles were not only related to speakers' gender, but also to the gender of addressees. Even more important –the accommodation to addressee's gender was caused by social stereotypes which lead to different expectations from boys or girls while in storytelling situations.

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Gender and Face

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Abstract

The subject of the paper is the relationship between face (the positive self-image created during social interaction) and gender. Men and women seem to differ in the ways they create and maintain their public image. The use of different self-presentation and face-maintenance strategies by men and women results from the fact that they belong to different "cultures" in which they perform different social roles and have different hierarchies of values.
The aim of the study is to analyse differences in self-presentation and face-maintenance between men and women. The data used in the analysis come from observations carried out during entrance exams at the University of Silesia. Candidates for MA programmes in English philology (men and women) were interviewed by the examination board appointed by the Philology Faculty. Several times I had the opportunity to sit on the examination board either as an examiner or a member of the board, and I was able to observe the prospective students' behaviour.
Key words: *gender ~ face ~ self-presentation ~ social interaction ~ dialogic discourse ~ stereotype*

1. Introduction

Face is central to the functioning of people in any social setting. It is the image of self which is created on the basis of judgements concerning a person's adherence to moral rules of conduct and position within a given social structure (Earley 1997). These judgements are both internal and external to the individual, as face reflects the interaction of self and others' perceptions and attributions (Earley 1997). Thus, face is a public

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 333-351.

property, determined by the participation of others and earned through social interaction (Goffman 1967; Lim & Bowers 1991; Mao 1994).

The basic, universal desire, inherent in human nature, "for a 'good' face" earns different interpretations in different cultures and social groups. Men and women also interpret it in different ways, because the constituents of 'good' are partially determined by gender (gender-specific face) (cf. O'Driscoll 1996). In other words, there are differences in the content of face. Lim says that "face is in terms of social values" (1994: 210; Goffman 1967; Chu 1985), and it is as complex as the value system of a society. Men and women have different hierarchies of values. Thus, their conceptualisations of face also vary.

The aim of this paper is to analyse differences in self-presentation and face-maintenance between men and women. The data used in the analysis come from observations carried out during entrance exams at the University of Silesia.

2. Discourse and gender

Discourse is "a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds (...)" (Candlin 1997: viii, in Sarangi & Coulthard 2000: xv). Spoken discourse is a means by which people interact socially, shaping both their relations with others and their identities (Chen 2002).

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Forgas 1981; Tajfel & Turner 1986), the social identity of individuals depends on their relationship with others, their individual characteristics (*personal identity*), and their perceived group memberships (*group identity*). "Tajfel's model highlights the psychological importance of social categories, and emphasises the individual's orientation to their ingroup rather than outsiders, whether the relevant boundaries involve ethnicity, gender, hierarchy or organisations" (Holmes & Marra 2002). Thus, gender is one of the social factors that shape the identity of the individual.

Gender is “a socially-constructed category” (Saville-Troike 2003: 77). It is accomplished in discourse and through discourse produced during social interaction. And what we call behaviour typical for women or typical for men “is not dictated by biology, but rather is socially constructed” (West, Lazar & Kramarae 1997: 119). Masculinity and femininity are cultural constructs (Baker 2005). Foucault formulates an anti-essentialist view according to which no universal subjectivity exists. Being a man or a woman is not a consequence of biological determinism or the existence of universal cognitive structures and cultural patterns. The way we understand gender is not constant either in time or in space, and depends on historical and cultural conditions. A particular gender is ascribed to individual persons by ordered regulative discourses.

In linguistics literature there are two approaches to discourse and gender studies, the *dominance approach*, which prevails in the seventies, and the *difference approach*, which became dominant in the eighties as the power relations between men and women underwent significant changes then (Cameron 1998, in Mills 2003). ‘Dominance’ feminist linguists claim that there is a clear connection between the subordinated status of women as a social group and their linguistic behaviour (Mills 2003). Women’s language can be characterised by hesitation, uncertainty, mitigation and the avoidance of direct and forceful statements. They use a lot of hedges and tag-questions. Men’s language, on the other hand, can be characterised by directness, confidence, interruptions and unmitigated statements (Lakoff 1973 1975). This can be explained by the asymmetry in power relations between dominating men and subordinated women.

‘Difference’ feminist linguists claim that “women and men are brought up in differently gendered subcultures” (Mills 2003: 214). Women and men represent two different approaches to social interactions. For women the main aim in conversation is to establish good social relations with their interlocutors and “to ensure that conversations go smoothly (rapport talk)”, while for men the main aim is to establish a position in the hierarchy (report talk) (Mills 2003: 166). There are differences between women’s and men’s styles of talk. Women put an emphasis on “caring, intimacy, and interconnectedness”, while men do so on “fairness, hierarchy, and independence” (Shimanoff 1994: 190). Maltz & Borker (1982, in West *et al* 1997: 130) claim that these differences are due to “the distinctive norms, conceptions and interpretations of friendly conversation they learn in segregated subcultures (that is, girls’ and boys’ peer groups)” (cf. Tannen 1985: 203; Duszak 1998: 259). The subculture of girls/women stresses cooperativeness and equality, while the subculture of boys/men stresses dominance and competition (Maltz & Borker 1982).

In recent years one more approach to discourse and gender studies has appeared, different from both the dominance and difference approaches, which can be called *the performance approach*. ‘Performance’ feminist linguists claim that gender is performed during social interaction, and that it is “constructed through a ritualised repetition of norms” (Butler 1993: x). Every individual, creating his/her identity during interaction with other people, is constantly negotiating his/her gender.

3. Stereotypes of femininity and masculinity

The common understanding of gender differences is reflected in the stereotypes of femininity and masculinity that function in the society. “A stereotype is a one-ended, exaggerated and normally prejudicial view of a group, tribe or class of people (...). Stereotypes are often resistant to change or correction from countervailing evidence, because they create a sense of social solidarity” (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2000: 346; Bartmiński 1998). But

> stereotype is not a fixed set of behaviours which exist somewhere, but the hypothesised version of the stereotype is something which is played with by those arenas where our ‘common’ experience is mediated, for example on television, in advertising, newspapers, and magazines (Mills 2003: 184-185).

Mills (2003) claims that forms of stereotypes are equally damaging to both men and women, as they consist of assumptions which differ from our own perceptions of ourselves. Caring, selflessness, and concern with one’s appearance are features prototypically ascribed to women and said to be a biological part of being female. Aggression and dominance are features which are a biological part of being male. Traditionally, femininity is associated with child rearing and man/husband caring, with the expressive and the private. But masculinity "is often described in terms of battle and warfare" (Mills 2003: 188), and is associated with the intellectual and the public (Peisert 1994).

Even though stereotypes usually involve prejudicial views, they may also refer to positive as well as negative features shared by the group of people in question. Having analysed data from everyday Polish, Peisert distinguishes between positive and negative features ascribed to men and women, respectively. The positive features typically granted to women include emotionality, perceptiveness, personal commitment and gentleness, while the negative ones include irrationality, inconsistency, unsteadiness and an inability to objectively look at problems. The positive features typical for men are chivalry, initiative, firmness and effectiveness, while negative ones are aggression, indifference, tactlessness and emotional coolness.

The stereotypes of femininity and masculinity, as well as some universal views, also include some culture-specific elements. In Polish culture, which can be defined as a "culture in transition," stereotypes, like other cultural aspects, are undergoing great changes. In former times, the prevailing stereotype of femininity was the stereotype of *Matka Polka* ("the Polish Mother") –selfless, devoted to her husband and children, and having no other interests than her home. Nowadays this no longer prevails. There have appeared other stereotypes of femininity: *split femininity* and *masculinised femininity*. The former can be described as connecting the private with the public. The majority of Polish women both are housewives and work to earn money. They do their best to be both perfect mothers/wives and employees, which is impossible, and this makes them feel *split*. The latter is a mixture of female and male features. Prototypical male features become characteristic for women, e.g. initiative, firmness, indifference and aggression. For many young Polish women their career is the most important thing in their lives, and they are ready to devote everything to it, even if they lose the opportunity to have a family.

The Polish stereotype of masculinity has also changed. Instead of the stereotype of *the sole breadwinner in the family*, prevailing in the past, now we have new ones, alternatives to the traditional one. The most important is the stereotype of *feminised masculinity*, borrowing prototypical female features, such as emotionality, personal commitment, gentleness, and giving up prototypical male aggression. For feminised males the private is important as the public; they try no longer to dominate in their families, but become helpful partners.

The stereotypes existing in our culture, including those of femininity and masculinity, strongly influence the way we perceive other people and interpret their behaviour, and the way we behave and present ourselves.

4. Face as a social construct

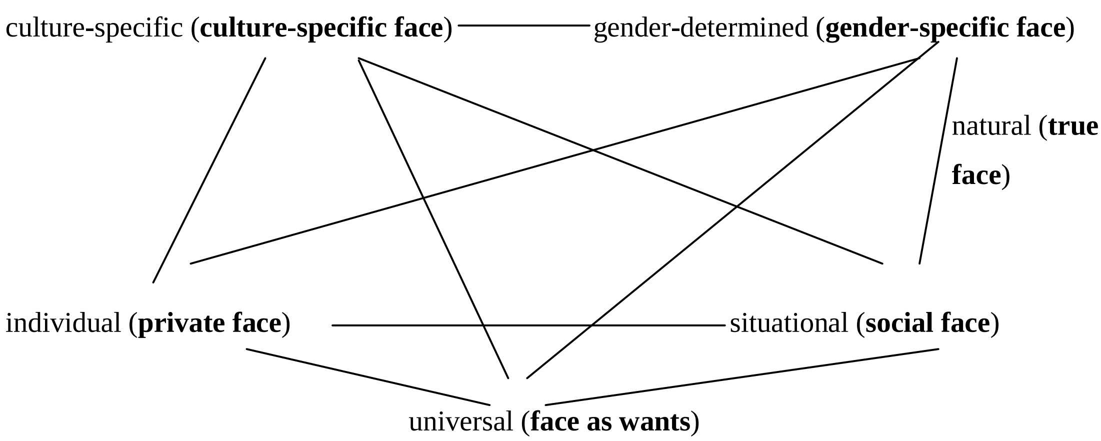
Face is a social construct. It is created by the participation of others during social interaction. Face is a complex entity shaped in terms of social values (Lim 1994: 210; Goffman 1967; Chu 1985). Goffman (1967: 5) defines it as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself" and "an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes."

In other words, face is a complex image of self which is socially constructed and determined by a system of cultural values. Exploring its complexities involves paying attention to a wide range of overlapping social categories, such as culture, competence and gender (Holmes & Marra 2002). Thus, face may be said to consist of distinct interrelated zones:

Face can be understood in terms of basic human wants and desires (Brown & Levinson 1987). The two desires are “for proximity and belonging” (fellowship face; or positive face) and “for distance and individuation” (autonomy face, or negative face) (O’Driscoll 1996: 4; Lim & Bowers 1991). Lim & Bowers (1991) claim that there is one more type of face, called *competence-face*, referring to the need to uphold an image of ability, which can be redefined as the desire that the individual’s abilities be respected. These three wants are inherently present in every individual, in every culture; the cross-cultural difference is only in their intensity.

Face has also culture-specific constituents. The basic, universal desire, inherent in human nature, "for a 'good' face" earns different interpretations in different cultures, because the constituents of 'good' are culturally determined (*culture-specific face*) (O'Driscoll 1996: 4); in other words, there are differences in the content of face (Mao 1994; Matsumoto 1988). Moral rules, hierarchies of values and social organisation are specific to particular cultures; thus the image of self created on their basis must also differ between cultures.

Fig. 1.- The complexity of FACE



Although face is a cultural construct, it is also a complex image of natural, species-given structures and processes. Beneath the sometimes dazzling, but always thin, cultural overlay, every individual has a natural ("true," "real," or "private") self, *true face* (Holland 1997: 162; Ashmore & Jussim 1997; Barker 2005). We differ a lot in the ways we behave, but we are similar by nature.

Every individual verbalises certain opinions about his or her self and identifies emotionally with these descriptions, creating in this way his *private face*. His *social face*, on the other hand, involves other people's expectations towards and opinions about this individual. Both self-images have a cultural character, and are specific for a particular time and place (Barker 2005). The forms they take depend on cultural and social circumstances. The basis of such an understanding of identity is the concept of *anti-essentialism*, according to which "the person is not a constant, universal entity, but a consequence of language use which constructs the grammatical "I". (...) People must "take" the subject position in discourses to be able to learn about the world and to create a coherent image of self" (*ibidem* 22). Thus, identities are discursive constructs which are neither permanent nor invariable. They change their meaning depending on time, place and application (*ibidem*, Ruhi 2002; Cabral Bastos 2002).

Gender-specific face does not reflect a natural state of affairs, but is a matter of different, "womanly" or "manly", representations (Baker 2005). It is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes specific for either women or men. Some elements of this image are perhaps universal, others depend on socio-cultural differentiation between male and female roles (Saville-Troike 2003). Thus, gender identity is socially constructed; it is a form of social identity, continually shaped and enacted in the individual's lifetime (Ruhi 2002).

These six face zones have distinct characteristics but each of them affects the others, so it is impossible to treat them separately. All of them comprise the overall image of self.

5. Self-presentation

Self-presentation consists in using behaviour to communicate some information about oneself to others. The two main self-presentational motives are to please others and to construct (create, maintain, and modify) one's public self in a way which is congruent with one's ideal (Baumeister 1982).

"Self-presentation is aimed at establishing, maintaining, or refining an image of the individual in the minds of others" (*ibidem*; cf. Goffman 1959). For Goffman, self-presentation is a ritually coordinated sequence of social actions by means of which a person gains his position in a network of social relations. A “true,” “real,” or “private” self is constructed through one’s choices and performances. Creating the self is a matter of self-presentation only insofar as it is concerned with establishing and maintaining one’s *public* self, that is, the image of oneself that exists in the minds of others (Baumeister 1982). Thus, face is “’a social self’ construction issue” (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi 1998: 188). Goffman (1959: 13) claims that

> When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed. They will be interested in his general socio-economic status, his conception of self, his attitude towards them, his competence, his trustworthiness, etc.

In other words, when participating in social interaction an individual tries to present a positive image of self, consistent with his/her true or pretended socio-economic status, his/her idea of goodness and trustworthiness, and the expectations of the important others. In some situations, by some linguistic choices and modes of behaviour he/she presents his/her competence, genuine or not, in the field in question. Some linguistic choices and modes of behaviour help him/her create the gender identity. All this information constitutes the overall image of self established during social interaction.

6. Gender and other social variables

The way people behave, create their self-image and maintain face depends on several social variables, whose importance differs from situation to situation. Among them we can find the following variables:

- social distance
- relative power
- type of speech event
- social settings
- gender

The *social distance* between the Speaker and the Hearer is a symmetric dimension (Brown & Levinson 1987). "The reflex of social closeness is, generally, the reciprocal giving and receiving of positive face" (*ibidem* 77).

The *power* (P) of the Speaker and the Hearer, relative not actual, is an asymmetric social dimension (*ibidem*). It is the degree to which the Hearer can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation at the expense of the Speaker's plans and self-evaluation. Brown & Levinson (1987: 77) claim that

> there are two sources of P, either of which may be authorized or unauthorized –material control (over economic distribution and physical force) and metaphysical control (over the actions of others, by virtue of metaphysical forces subscribed to by those others).

Usually, power comes from both sources at the same time. The reflex of a great power differential is deference.

Another variable that can affect the self-image an individual wants to project during social interaction is *the type of speech event* in which he/she takes part. Participation in different speech events often involves different power configurations.

Social settings or institutions, and communicative norms specific for them, strongly influence the character of self-presentation and face-maintenance strategies. In many cases, within some settings or institutions linguistic choices depend on relationships of dependence and authority, or power and solidarity (Verschueren 1999).

The last variable is *gender*, which often interrelates with power. As Mills (2003) claims, implicit in much feminist thinking about gender difference (e.g. Lakoff 1975) has been "a particular model of power relations, which presupposed that there was a more or less simple correlation between males and power and females and powerlessness". The linguistic choices determined by gender and those determined by a position of lesser power are often confused (O'Barr & Atkins 1980; in Mills 2003: 179). In fact, the use of so-called "women's language", as described by Lakoff, can result from

- the individual's idiosyncrasy

- the power relations of the Speaker and the Hearer.

O'Barr & Atkins (1980: 102; in Mills 2003: 179) argue that it is "neither characteristic of all women nor limited to women."

7. Interview as a form of dialogic discourse

Dialogue and monologue are treated as basic forms of talk (Bogdanowska 2003). They can be further divided into speech genres on account of a set of criteria (Kita 1998; Wilkoń 2003; Jakubowska 2004):

- number of participants (one, two or more)
- active or passive participation in the interaction
- character of the interaction (imposed or free)
- role relationship between the participants (symmetry (equality) or asymmetry (inequality))
- type of distance between the participants (intimate, individual, social, or public)
- level of participants' knowledge
- initiative in the choice of topic and interaction structuring (partnership or one participant dominance)
- topic (fixed or changeable) (private or non-private)
- interactional strategy employed by the participants (cooperation, conflict or persuasion)
- place of interaction (private or public)
- type of situation (formal or informal)

One of the dialogic speech genres is the *interview*. It can have either a spoken or a written form. Interviews can occur in different social contexts in which we can distinguish their situational variations:

- press or TV interview (journalist – celebrity)
- patient's medical history (doctor – patient)
- interview/survey – a data-collecting procedure (researcher – respondent)
- job interview (employer – potential employee)
- interview – a type of entrance examination (university/college teacher – prospective student).

Interview as a type of entrance examination involves more than two participants because the college or university body interviewing the candidates usually consists of three or four members of the staff. One of them is the examiner, who takes an active part and asks the candidate questions; the other two or three passively observe his or her performance. They form one party; the other one is the candidate, a prospective student, who has to answer the questions posed by the examiner; such is the type of interaction determined by the examination procedures and imposed by the board.

The relationship between the examination board and the candidate is asymmetrical, since the members of the board are superior with respect to knowledge, position, social status and age. That is why the initiative in the choice of the topic and interactional structuring is on the part of the examiner, who is in a position to dominate the candidate. However, nowadays there is a strong tendency to give the appearance of partnership, to treat candidates as equals and make them feel as comfortable and at ease as possible in order to get better results.

All the participants try to be cooperative; they adhere to the maxim of quantity (make your contribution such as required at the current exchange of talk), to the maxim of relevance (be relevant), and to some aspects of the maxim of manner (be perspicuous, avoid ambiguity, be orderly) (Grice 1975; cf. Kita 1998).

This type of examination usually takes place on the college/university premises, which makes the character of interaction formal and imposes on the participants certain requirements concerning the use of appropriate patterns of verbal and nonverbal behaviour.

8. Gender differences in self-presentation and face-maintenance – A discussion of the research results

The aim of my study is to describe and analyse self-presentation and face-maintenance strategies used by men and women.

The data used in the analysis come from observations carried out during entrance exams at the University of Silesia. Candidates for MA programmes in English philology (men and women) were interviewed by the examination board appointed by the Philology Faculty, consisting of three staff members. Several times I had the opportunity to sit on the examination board either as an examiner or a member of the board, and I was able to observe the prospective students' behaviour.

English philology at the University of Silesia is a field of study which is completely feminised. In both MA programmes, Teaching English as a Second Language and English in Business, women outnumber men. The same disproportion exists among the candidates.

The main aim of the examination board is to select from among the candidates a group of competent and knowledgeable persons who will be able to write and defend MA theses. Thus, the main criteria for selection are knowledge and abilities. And that is what should be presented by the candidates and checked by the examiners during the interview.

On the other hand, the candidates' main aim is to negotiate their public image, including "a presentation of self" in the presence of others so that "the others will in turn have to be *impressed* in some way" by them (Goffman 1959: 2 , in Saville-Troike 2003). Saville-Troike calls this "face" as *performance*. The most important zone of face that should be presented during the entrance examination is competence face, an image of ability.

There are no striking differences between prospective students' performances during the interviews. However, although both men and women seem to be concerned with appearing competent and impressing the examination board with their performance, what constitutes competence for the two groups is different (cf. Shimanoff 1994).

In the case discussed, the prospective students' competence should include communicative competence in English as a second language, and knowledge of a chosen field of study and the skills necessary to write and defend an MA thesis. Having observed their performance during the exam, I can positively say that although for both groups of candidates, men and women, competence consists of these three elements, the quality of these elements differs.

For women, communicative competence involves mainly the ability to produce grammatically well-formed sentences, correct pronunciation and fluent speech. Men are less strict in this respect. For them grammatical correctness is not of the utmost importance, even though they are not less competent than women. They do not pay so much attention to correct pronunciation, though they try to sound native-like and fluent. Many male candidates often use colloquialisms and slang words.

Presentation of their knowledge of their chosen field of study by female candidates is marked by the ability to enumerate authors and titles of reference books and to define main concepts and frameworks. The knowledge presented by men includes less details, but they are better at presenting different ideas in a broader perspective.

Female candidates, if well prepared, can effectively present their academic skills, putting them into practice. They are often ready to discuss the details of their research project together with a list of references. In general, male candidates are not so well prepared as women, but they put on a brave face and are more creative.

Men's and women's performances during the exam differ also with respect to the use of self-presentation and face-maintenance strategies. Female candidates adopt the following pragmatic strategies:

- presenting themselves as a fluent speaker of English (fast speech, grammatical correctness, correct pronunciation, fluency)
- presenting themselves as competent in the discussed area of research (enumerating authors and titles of reference books, defining main concepts and frameworks)
- presenting themselves as polite (frequent use of polite formulae)
- presenting themselves as hard-working, diligent and flexible
- the use of "feminine" patterns of behaviour (feminine style of dress, strategic crying)

Pragmatic strategies of self-presentation and face-maintenance adopted by male candidates include:

- presenting themselves as a fluent speaker of English (the use of slang, non-standard English, and idioms)

- presenting themselves as competent in the discussed area of research (making authoritative statements, presenting ideas in a broad perspective)
- assertiveness
- self-confidence
- presenting themselves as efficient and creative

These are the most striking differences in self-presentation and face maintenance between male and female candidates employed during entrance exams. There may be, however, some confusion between behaviour which is determined by gender and that which is determined by occupancy of the position of less power which characterises the candidates of both sexes (cf. Mills 2003: 179).

9. Conclusions

Although the candidates' main aim, to negotiate their public image, including "a presentation of self" in the presence of others, is realised by means of different strategies, the general outcome, causing the others (the examination board) to be positively impressed is the same.

Differences in self-presentation and face maintenance between male and female candidates for MA programmes result from different social stereotypes of how a man and a woman function in the society and from different social roles learned at home and at school. This coincides with the examination board members' perceptions of social structure and social life. In this way, face reflects the interaction of self and others' perceptions and attributions.

The prospective student's self-image is the outcome of several interrelating factors:

- culture (culture-specific face)
- nature (true face)
- individual traits (private face)
- universal human wants (positive, negative and competence face)
- situation (social face)
- gender (gender-specific face).

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Politeness: Always implicated?

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Abstract

Based on the relevance-theoretic distinction between *explicit* and *implicit* communication, and the notion of *explicature* of an utterance and its different types (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 1993, 2002), this paper argues that (im)politeness may also be communicated explicitly, and not only implicitly as has been normally claimed in the extant literature. The fact that certain linguistic expressions and paralinguistic features have a *procedural* meaning that does not affect the truth-conditional content of the utterance where they occur but leads the hearer to obtain a propositional-attitude description can be exploited by the speaker in order to communicate her (im)polite attitude explicitly, as part of the explicit content of that utterance. The hearer will in turn rely on such expressions and features so as to recover a description of the speaker's attitude and, hence, information about (im)politeness.
Key words: *relevance theory ~ (im)politeness ~ implicatures ~ explicatures ~ lower/higher-level explicatures ~ explicit/implicit communication*

1. Introduction

Relevance-theoretic research (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) has shown that, when interpreting an utterance, the hearer has to develop its *logical form* into a full-fledged propositional form by means of pragmatic processes. The result of such processes is the derivation of the *explicature* of the utterance. Among the pragmatic processes involved in the derivation of the explicature of an utterance is the identification of the speech act that the speaker is performing and

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 352-370.

her attitude towards the propositional content of the utterance. In order to do so, the hearer may rely on certain linguistic expressions and paralinguistic features that have a *procedural* meaning that helps him obtain information about the speaker's attitude. The attitudes that the speaker may intend to communicate can be very rich and varied, so it is reasonable to think that the hearer may infer information about the speaker's (im)politeness at this point of the interpretive process.

Traditionally, politeness has been assumed to be communicated implicitly as an implicature that the hearer has to recover when he realises that the speaker's linguistic behaviour deviates from 'efficient' communication. However, according to Sperber & Wilson (1986, 1995) and Wilson & Sperber (1993, 2002), the recovery of the explicature of an utterance amounts to the recovery of its explicit content and, therefore, belongs to the explicit side of communication. For this reason, this paper will argue and illustrate from a relevance-theoretic viewpoint that hearers may make judgements about the (im)politeness of individuals or specific acts when recovering the explicatures of utterances. This would lead to reject the statement that politeness is only communicated as an implicature and admit that it can also be communicated explicitly, as part of the explicit content of utterances.

2. Politeness implicated

Since the publication of Grice's (1969, 1975) and Searle's (1969) works, politeness has been considered to be communicated implicitly in much of the extant literature. Accordingly, politeness is an *implicature* that the hearer has to recover in order to understand the reasons why the speaker communicates her messages in a manner that does not apparently meet the standards associated with 'efficient' communication captured by the *Cooperative Principle* and its four maxims of *quantity*, *quality*, *relation* and *manner* (Grice 1969, 1975). Thus, Searle (1969) stated that the main reason why the speaker may select indirect speech acts may be her intention to be or seem polite. Similarly, Grice (1969, 1975) acknowledged that in those circumstances in which the speaker does not seem to abide by the Cooperative Principle and its maxims and conveys an implicit content her behaviour must be influenced by the operation of other conversational principles such as 'be polite'.

Leech (1983: 80) also admits that, even if the Cooperative Principle helps to explain in some cases the relation between sense and force of utterances, in other cases it in itself cannot explain why people are indirect and the relation between sense and force of non-declarative types of utterances. That is the reason why he complemented the Cooperative Principle with his *Politeness Principle* and why Lakoff (1973, 1977) proposed her *rules of politeness*.

Likewise, for Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987: 95) politeness is also the reason why speakers deviate from apparently efficient communication, and that deviation triggers an implicature: "Linguistic politeness is therefore implication in the classical way" but, more importantly, "[...] politeness has to be communicated and the absence of communicated politeness may, ceteris paribus, be taken as absence of the polite attitude" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 5). These authors also claim that "Politeness is implicated by the semantic structure of the whole utterance (not sentence), not communicated by 'markers' or 'mitigators' in a simple signalling fashion which can be quantified" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 22). According to Watts (1989: 136), politeness is then a conventionalised marked behaviour.

The assumption that politeness is an implicature raises several questions, such as what is really communicated when the speaker wants to communicate her polite attitude, if that indeed constitutes a message, what the content of that message is, whether politeness is always communicated or it is only communicated in certain situations (Fraser 2005: 67). In fact, it has been pointed out that politeness is taken for granted or anticipated and that it is the default norm for most communicative exchanges (e.g. Escandell Vidal 1996; Fraser 1990: 233 2005: 66; Jary 1998a, 1998b). This view of politeness coincides with what Watts (1989: 135) calls *politic behaviour*, a non-marked behaviour aimed at the establishment or maintenance of equilibrium in social relations. Consequently, it is only the breach of that default norm or politic behaviour that is noted and evaluated as impolite by interlocutors: "Competent adult members comment on the absence of politeness where it is expected, and its presence where it is not expected" (Kasper 1990: 193). If this is true, "[...] then it is hard to see how the claim that the use of [politeness] forms/strategies always communicates politeness can be maintained" (Jary 1998a: 2).

In fact, Jary (1998a: 9) thinks that the (im)politeness of any utterance or behaviour is the result of the speaker's intentionality and her reasons to use certain utterances or behave in a particular way. As regards the speaker's intentionality, her assumptions about her social relationship with the hearer influence her own (linguistic) behaviour and this, in turn, evidences if such assumptions are compatible or incompatible with those of the hearer's. If the speaker's behaviour is compatible with the hearer's assumptions, it is not *relevant*[1] enough for the hearer to pay attention to it and, hence, will not be marked in terms of politeness. On the contrary, if the speaker's (linguistic) behaviour is incompatible with the hearer's assumptions, it will be relevant enough for the hearer to pay attention to it because it evidences that the speaker is being more (im)polite that expected[2]. Regarding the speaker's reasons to use an utterance, her intention may be to communicate to the hearer that she is being more (im)polite than what he would have expected. However, the hearer will only interpret the speaker's linguistic behaviour in that way if he recognises that it is sincere. If the hearer recognises that the speaker's behaviour is insincere, he may attribute the speaker other intentions, such as that of flattering. In a similar way, the hearer will only conclude from a behaviour that differs from his expectations about (im)politeness that the speaker is impolite and has the intention of offending him if he can attribute to her that intention and recognises that she is being sincere to him.

This paper will not question the validity of the statement that politeness is communicated implicitly, as it can in fact be communicated in this way in some circumstances. What it will argue from a relevance-theoretic standpoint (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) is that the hearer can also retrieve information about

[1] See section 3 for a definition of *relevance*.

[2] Jary (1998a: 9) illustrates his ideas in a diagram with five interpretive routes that the hearer may follow in order to recover information about the speaker's (im)politeness.

(im)politeness when pragmatically enriching the linguistic material obtained from the decoding of an utterance, i.e. when recovering its explicit content. This is so because the occurrence of certain linguistic expressions and some paralinguistic features may guide him to obtain a very specific description of the speaker's attitude when interpreting an utterance. For this reason, the following section briefly summarises some of the claims about utterance interpretation made by this cognitive pragmatic model.

3. Relevance theory and utterance interpretation

Relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) is based on a property of inputs to cognitive processes: their *relevance*. This property is defined in terms of *positive cognitive effects* –strengthening or contradiction of previously held information and contextual implication of assumptions from the interaction of new information with old information– and the *cognitive* or *processing effort* needed to achieve these effects. *Ceteris paribus*, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input in a context of available assumptions, and the smaller the processing effort required, the greater the relevance of such input to the individual processing it. Moreover, relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) also proposes two general principles:

a) a *Cognitive Principle of Relevance*, according to which human cognition tends to be oriented to the maximisation of relevance;
b) a *Communicative Principle of Relevance*, according to which ostensive stimuli generate a presumption of their own optimal relevance.

Relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) does not conceive communication as a mere encoding-decoding process, but as an *ostensive-inferential* activity, in which inference intervenes not only in the recovery of utterance meaning, but also of speaker's meaning.

3.1. Understanding utterances

Relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) portrays utterance interpretation as a three-stage process in which decoding and inference work together. In order to process and understand an utterance, the first thing that the hearer has to do when hearing it is to decode it. The output of this process is a *logical form*, i.e. a set of structured concepts (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 10). However, that logical form is not fully propositional because its truthfulness cannot be tested. Therefore, the hearer has to develop that logical form into a full-fledged propositional form by means of inferential processes in which he has to resort to contextual information.

The development of a logical form into a fully propositional form requires that the hearer disambiguates the sentence uttered, since syntactic structures may correspond to different semantic representations, all of which are grammatically valid (e.g. Carston 1988, 1992, 1993; Wilson & Sperber 1998; Blakemore & Carston 1999). For example, when hearing an utterance such as (1) with two possible interpretations, the hearer has to decide whether it is the planes which are flying or the act of flying planes that can be dangerous:

(1) Flying planes can be dangerous.

Additionally, the hearer also has to assign reference to referential expressions, such as personal pronouns or proper names occurring in the utterance (e.g. Blakemore 1992; Wilson & Sperber 1993), and restrict the meaning of some lexical items. These *primary* pragmatic processes, known as *saturation* (e.g. Carston 2001; Récanati 2001), require that the hearer decides to which 'John' the speaker is referring in (2) and which 'house' is being alluded to in (3), or what 'coming soon' in (2) exactly means –whether it means five, ten or more minutes, sooner than expected, sooner than usual etc.– and to what extent the house in (3) is 'very expensive' –whether it is very expensive for everybody, whether it is more expensive than other similar houses, whether it is very expensive for its location, etc.[3]:

(2) John will come soon.
(3) That house is very expensive.

Finally, the hearer has to recover information about the speech act performed by the speaker and her attitude towards the propositional content communicated. This involves a further development of the propositional form of the utterance, since it must be embedded in an assumption schema that indicates to the hearer the speech act that the speaker is performing or her attitude towards that propositional content (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 182; Wilson & Sperber 1993: 5):

(4) [The speaker thinks/says/believes/regrets/is happy that [X]]

The result of these processes is the derivation of the *explicature* of the utterance, which is a combination of the information linguistically encoded in the utterance with contextual information that the hearer has to infer (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 181). The more contextual information the hearer has to use in order to obtain the explicature of an utterance, the *weaker* that explicature is and, the other way around, the less contextual information the hearer has to use to obtain its explicature, the *stronger* its explicature is (Wilson & Sperber 2002: 619).

In the last stage of utterance interpretation the hearer will have to derive the *implicatures* of the utterance. These are assumptions that the hearer can deduce when combining the assumptions that an utterance makes manifest with other contextual information he may have access to. Implicatures are implicit contents and their recovery is a process that belongs to what Sperber & Wilson (1986, 1995) consider to be *implicit communication*. On the contrary, the explicature of an utterance constitutes its explicit content, so its recovery falls directly within what they term *explicit communication*.

[3] In relevance-theoretic terms, what the hearer has to do is to construct an *ad hoc* concept (e.g. Wilson 2003).

3.2. Lower- and higher-level explicatures

The propositional form of an utterance constitutes its *lower-level* explicature. However, as mentioned above, that propositional form can be further embedded in an assumption schema that indicates to the hearer the speech act that the speaker is performing and her attitude towards the proposition that the utterance communicates. When the hearer embeds the propositional form of an utterance within an assumption schema, he obtains its *higher-level* explicature.

For the hearer to obtain the higher-level explicature of an utterance, he can rely on some morphological marks, such as verbal mood, which provides him with a description of the speech act that the speaker is performing (5) (e.g. Jary 2002; Sperber & Wilson 1995: 180; Wilson & Sperber 1988); sentential adverbials, such as illocutionary (6), attitudinal (7) or evidential (8) adverbials (e.g. Ifantidou 1992; Itani 1990; Tanaka 1998); syntactic constituents, such as parenthetical or comment clauses (9) (e.g. Ifantidou 1993; Itani 1990), or discourse particles, such as 'please' (10) and *hearsay* particles, which show the speaker's commitment to the content expressed (e.g. Blass 1989, 1990; Itani 1990, 1998):

(5) Give me a glass of water!
(6) *Seriously*, I need a glass of water.
(7) *Unfortunately*, I missed the train.
(8) *Clearly*, Jane did not buy the paper.
(9) Mary forgot the umbrella, *I suppose*.
(10) Can you stop talking, *please*?

These grammatical components of an utterance encode concepts that are not constituents of the proposition expressed by the utterance, but of its higher-level explicature. According to Wilson & Sperber (1993: 21), they are linguistic expressions that have a *conceptual* meaning that does not contribute to the truth-conditional content of the utterance where they occur, but constrain the hearer's recovery of its higher-level explicature. Therefore, these linguistic expressions have a *procedural*[4] meaning that facilitates the hearer's comprehension of utterances by guiding him in the identification of the speech act that the speaker is performing or her attitude towards what she communicates, i.e. in understanding the speaker's meaning.

Moreover, in addition to those grammatical components, the hearer can also rely on certain suprasegmental or prosodic features of the utterance, such as intonation, lexical or sentence stress, which encode a procedural meaning that lead him to retrieve some type of syntactic, semantic or conceptual representation about the speaker's attitude (Escandell Vidal 1998; Fretheim 1998; House 1989; Imai 1998; Narbona Reina 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001; Wilson & Wharton 2005). Besides, the hearer can also rely on the occurrence of interjections, which also encode a procedural meaning that allows him to recover a speech-act or propositional-attitude description that is related to the expression of feelings of delight, surprise, regret, amusement, etc. (Wharton 2003a). Likewise, facial expressions and gestures have a procedural meaning that enable the hearer to retrieve propositional-attitude descriptions similar to those he can retrieve from an interjection (Wharton 2003b). These linguistic expressions and paralinguistic components of an utterance interact with contextual and discourse assumptions and thus contribute to the recovery of the speaker's meaning.

According to Grice (1975), the explicit content of an utterance was its semantic content and corresponded to 'what is said', so that any inferred information was an implicature and corresponded to 'what is implied'. Nevertheless, as has been observed, the relevance-theoretic conception of utterance interpretation (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 2002) presents the recovery of speaker's meaning as more liable to the intervention of inference, and implies a shift from the initial Gricean twofold distinction to a threefold process in which the hearer

[4] *Conceptual* meaning refers to mental representations, whereas *procedural* meaning alludes to mental instructions about how to process utterances or their constituents parts (e.g. Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995; Wilson & Sperber 1993). Linguistic expressions typically having procedural meaning are discourse markers.

must recover (i) the semantic content of the utterance, which constitutes its logical form; (ii) what is said, which involves the inferential enrichment of that logical form in order to obtain its explicature, and (iii) what is communicated, which includes its implicatures (Récanati 1991)[5]. Furthermore, since the intervention of inference and the presence of some (para)linguistic material enable the hearer to retrieve a description of the speech act that the speaker is performing or of her attitude when recovering the explicature of an utterance, it is rather likely that he also infers information about (im)politeness when recovering the speaker's meaning by relying on that type of material, as discussed in the next section.

4. Politeness explicated

When interpreting an utterance, the hearer can develop its higher-level explicature in different ways and with different degrees of complexity. Thus, from an utterance such as (11), the hearer may only recover a description of the speech act the speaker is performing (12), a representation of the speaker's degree of conviction about its propositional content (13) or a description of the speaker's attitude (14):

(11) Peter is late.
(12) Mary$_a$ says that Peter$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.
(13) Mary$_a$ firmly believes that Peter$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.
(14) Mary$_a$ complains/regrets that Peter$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.

Higher-level explicatures are conceptual representations that indicate certain states of affairs and may contradict or imply other mental representations. Even if they have a truth-conditional content on their own, this content does not affect the truth-conditional content of their respective utterance (Wilson & Sperber 1993: 22).

As has been illustrated, the hearer can embed the fully propositional form of an utterance within an assumption schema describing the speaker's attitude towards the proposition that she communicates.

[5] In a similar manner, Bach (1994) distinguishes between *what is said*, the *implicitures* and the *implicatures* of an utterance.

Hence, it is reasonable to think that the hearer is also able to develop the explicature of an utterance so as to infer the speaker's (im)polite attitude when uttering it. In order to do so, he will have to carry out an inferential process in which he will have to combine assumptions of a different nature. Following the interpretive steps described by Sperber & Wilson (1986, 1995) and Wilson & Sperber (2002) in the previous section, in the case of an utterance such as (15), produced in a *deference politeness system* (Scollon & Scollon 1983, 1995)[6] where *neutral* phatic utterances are normally expected (Laver 1974, 1975, 1981), the hearer will decode it and obtain its logical form, which he will then enrich so as to recover its explicature (16). Once he has carried out these tasks, he will insert the explicature in an assumption schema, which will provide him with information about the speaker's attitude (17). When doing so, he may access contextual information regarding the fact that in a politeness system like the one in which the speaker and he are interacting, neutral phatic utterances are normally expected from participants who do not know each other well or do not have an intimate relationship and, hence, are considered correct or appropriate in that sort of social relationship:

(15) The bus seems to be delayed.
(16) The bus_x seems to be delayed at $time_t$ with respect to $time_y$.
(17) a. The speaker has said that the bus_x seems to be delayed at $time_t$ with respect to $time_y$.
b. The speaker has said *in a polite manner* that the bus_x seems to be delayed at $time_t$ with respect to $time_y$.

For the hearer to embed the lower-level explicature of an utterance into a higher-level one describing the speaker's (im)polite attitude, he will have to access different *contextual sources* (Yus Ramos 1997-1998, 2000). Among them, his encyclopaedic or cultural information about aspects or expectations about interaction in specific politeness systems plays a crucial role. Similarly important are the speaker's non-verbal

[6] A deference politeness system is characterised as a social relation in which there is no power difference between speaker and hearer, but there is social distance between them. This is reflected in the formula [-P, +D].

behaviour, since her gestures and facial expression may help the hearer identify her attitude; the hearer's biographical knowledge about the speaker, where he will find assumptions about her normal behaviour, her way of communicating specific attitudes, etc.; the hearer's general knowledge about what can be polite in certain circumstances, or other linguistic cues, such as intonation, lexical or sentence stress or tone of voice.

Concerning tone of voice, Brown & Levinson explained that, for instance, a creaky voice "[...] can implicate calmness and assurance and thence comfort and commiseration" (1987: 268) because of the low speech energy with which it is produced, while high pitch "[...] may implicate self-humbling and thus deference" (1987: 268) when used by an adult to another adult because of its natural association with the voice quality of children. However, following Wilson and Wharton's (2005) proposal, these types of tone of voice can be said to encode a procedural meaning that would lead the hearer to recover the attitudes associated with them when obtaining the higher-level explicature of an utterance.

Similarly, the placement of sentence stress upon particular elements of an utterance may contribute to the recovery of information about the speaker's (im)polite attitude. Thus, in a compliment such as (18), the placement of sentence stress upon the adjective may guide the hearer to infer that the speaker is intensifying or exaggerating her interest, approval or sympathy with him (Brown & Levinson 1987: 104-106) and, by doing so, she is addressing some of his positive face-wants and, hence, intends to be polite:

(18) What a w**ó**nderful sweater!

Likewise, gestures of prayer and supplication encode a procedural meaning that would permit the hearer to recover a description of the speaker's attitude when processing the utterance such gestures accompany.

The access and usage of these contextual sources may demand a greater level of inference from the hearer and, consequently, involve an increase in his cognitive effort, for he will have to expand his interpretive context so as to include the assumptions present in such sources. However, that increase of cognitive effort will be compensated by the recovery of a higher-level explicature containing a description of the speaker's attitude or (im)politeness.

In addition to tone of voice, prosody and gestures, there are other linguistic expressions which encode a procedural meaning that contributes to the recovery of higher-level explicatures and a conceptual meaning does not affect the truth-conditional content of the utterance where they occur. As mentioned above, relevance-theoretic research has shown that linguistic elements such as mood indicators, illocutionary, attitudinal or sentence adverbials, parenthetical or comment clauses and hearsay particles encode concepts that are not part of the proposition expressed by an utterance, but of its higher-level explicature. Therefore, the speaker may also resort to some of these linguistic expressions in order to communicate politeness.

In their complete classification of linguistic strategies that allow the speaker to perform *face-threatening acts* and communicate her intention to be polite, Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) paid a special attention to *hedges*. These are linguistic expressions which mitigate and soften the propositional content of FTAs. These authors distinguished four types of hedges, three of which are linguistic: illocutionary force hedges, hedges addressed to the maxims of the Cooperative Principle and hedges addressed to politeness strategies. With this last type of hedges, the speaker signals that she is aware of the fact that she is threatening the hearer's face, and suggests that what she says on the record might have been said off the record (Brown & Levinson 1987: 171-172):

(19) *Frankly*, I must leave now.

Some of the hedges addressed to politeness strategies are attitudinal and illocutionary adverbials, and comment or parenthetical clauses. As already mentioned, Ifantidou (1992) and Itani (1990) have shown that such adverbials have a conceptual meaning that does not affect the truth-conditional content of the utterance where they occur, but contributes to the recovery of information about the speaker's attitude. Likewise, Ifantidou (1993) has argued that parenthetical clauses encode concepts that are constituents of the higher-level explicature of an utterance. For this reason, it is reasonable to think that a speaker can resort to those linguistic expressions in order to communicate her intention to be polite towards the hearer and that the hearer in turn can use them to develop the higher-level explicature of the utterance where those expressions occur so as to recover a description of the speaker's attitude or intention to avoid any possible face-threat.

Accordingly, with an utterance such as (20) with the attitudinal adverb 'honestly', produced as a refusal to a previous invitation or offer to go to the cinema, the hearer could embed its lower-level explicature (21) within the higher-level explicature (22). But he could further enrich that higher-level explicature with contextual information about the speaker's intention to avoid a possible face-threat (23):

(20) *Honestly*, I must finish this paper.
(21) Peter$_x$ must finish the paper$_y$ at time$_t$.
(22) Peter$_x$ is telling me honestly that he must finish the paper$_y$ at time$_t$.
(23) a. Peter$_x$ is telling me honestly because he wants to avoid any face loss that he$_x$ must finish the paper$_y$ at time$_t$.
b. Peter$_x$ is telling me honestly because he wants to be polite that he$_x$ must finish the paper$_y$ at time$_t$.

Similarly, when hearing (24) with a parenthetical clause, uttered as a critique of Susan's late arrival, after recovering its lower-level explicature (25), the hearer could embed that lower-level explicature within a higher-level explicature (26). Then, he can further enrich its higher-level explicature with information about the speaker's (im)polite attitude, which he will obtain from the different contextual sources he accesses (27):

(24) Susan is a little bit late, *I think*.
(25) John$_2$ thinks that Susan$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.
(26) John$_2$ says that he$_2$ thinks that Susan$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.
(27) a. John$_2$ says because he$_2$ wants to be polite that he$_2$ thinks that Susan$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.

b. John$_2$ says because he$_2$ wants to avoid any face loss that he$_2$ thinks that Susan$_x$ is late$_y$ at time$_t$.

As has been seen, the occurrence of the (para)linguistic material discussed allows the speaker to communicate (im)politeness as part of her meaning, and not exclusively as an implicature that the hearer will recover as a result of the interaction of different contextual assumptions when he notes that the speaker's linguistic behaviour deviates from specific standards attributed to 'efficient' communication. Hence, a hearer's evaluation about the (im)politeness of another individual can be the output of the development of a logical form that he carries out so as to infer the speaker's meaning. Accordingly, hearers may infer information about (im)politeness when recovering the higher-level explicatures of utterances, since it is at this stage of the interpretive process that they retrieve a description of the speaker's attitude. Since the recovery of explicatures belongs to the explicit side of communication, it can be concluded that (im)politeness can be communicated explicitly.

5. Conclusion

This paper has argued that linguistic expressions, such as illocutionary, attitudinal or evidential adverbials, comment and parenthetical clauses, prosodic elements and paralinguistic material play a crucial role in verbal communication. They have a conceptual meaning that is not part of the truth-conditional content of utterances and a procedural meaning that contributes to the recovery of higher-level explicatures. Therefore, speakers can resort to them in order to communicate their intention to be polite or to avoid any possible face-threat. Hearers will in turn use them when developing the propositional form that they obtain after decoding and enriching the logical form of an utterance because such material constrains the description of the speaker's attitude that he will recover. As a consequence, it can be concluded that hearers may infer information about (im)politeness when recovering the higher-level explicatures of utterances. Furthermore, since the explicature of an utterance is part of its explicit content, it can also be concluded that hearers may infer information about (im)politeness when obtaining the explicit content of utterances and, hence, that (im)politeness can also be communicated explicitly.

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La búsqueda de integración en una sociedad hermética: Un reto para la cortesía

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Abstract

Integrating oneself into a society different to one's own does not only mean learning a foreign language but also strictly following certain social rules. An entire compendium of *savoir faire* impedes the sudden integration into the life of a small provincial community. There are codes and conventions governing behaviour: the politeness of place, savoir vivre, good manners ... these behavioural codes facilitate the every day life of individuals, their relationships and create social harmony. They define what is expected of everybody in any given place and/or time, what is permitted and forbidden, they dictate obligations according to social hierarchies, sex, age, etc. and allow people to assert themselves in adequate places following the aforementioned codes. It is in a certain way a facilitator, a mechanism to avoid awkward situations. The absence of an expected behaviour or, contrarily, the presence of an unexpected kind of behaviour attracts negative attention. Our contribution is based on Tracy Chevalier's novel *The Virgin Blue*.
Key words: *Politeness ~ hermetic society ~ social integration ~ behavioural codes*

1. Introducción

El propósito de este trabajo es el análisis de una parte del libro de Tracy Chevalier *El azul de la virgen*, en la que pone de manifiesto, de manera muy acertada, las dificultades con las que se encuentra una mujer americana, casada con un ejecutivo americano igualmente, que se esfuerza en vano por integrarse en la hermética vida de un pueblecito en

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
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Valencia: Universitat de València. 371-384.

Francia. A pesar de todos sus intentos por comprender la manera de parecer agradable a las gentes del pueblo, no lo conseguirá nunca: el estigma de la diferencia resulta un impedimento demasiado profundo para ser suavizado con los encantos de la cortesía.

2. *El azul de la virgen*

Isabelle de Moulin vive fascinada por el profundo color azul de la hornacina de la Virgen en la iglesia de su pueblo. Es la Francia del s. XVI, cuando el protestantismo libra una lucha feroz contra la religión romana. Cuatrocientos años más tarde, una americana, Ella Turner, llega al mismo pueblo con su marido, que ha sido destinado en Francia. Guiada por unos extraños sueños –y con la ayuda del bibliotecario de quien termina enamorándose– buscará el rastro del pasado, hasta desentrañar el secreto familiar, permanecido oculto durante siglos.

Ella Turner, en su estancia en el pueblo, hace todo lo posible por integrarse en la vida francesa, toma clases de francés, se fija en las costumbres de las gentes del pueblo, pero en vano; lleva la marca de la mujer americana en su aspecto y en su forma de comportarse, y no es aceptada. Este sentimiento de soledad, unido al descubrimiento de sus raíces y a la relación sentimental que entabla con el bibliotecario –otro ser desarraigado que conoce bien la vida americana por haber vivido en los Estados Unidos– provocarán la ruptura de su matrimonio.

3. La difícil búsqueda de la integración

Integrarse en una sociedad diferente a la propia –los lingüistas pragmáticos lo saben perfectamente– no estriba solamente en aprender la lengua, ni siquiera en seguir estrictamente las normas sociales del lugar; todo un compendio de *savoir faire* impide la súbita integración en la vida de una sociedad, sobre todo si se trata de una pequeña comunidad provinciana. Existen códigos y convenciones que rigen los comportamientos: la cortesía del lugar, el *savoir vivre* y las *bonnes manières* (que no se confunden con la etiqueta, aunque pueden llegar a ser igualmente rígidas). Estos códigos de comportamiento facilitan el día a día de los individuos, sus relaciones y crean una armonía social. Definen lo que se espera de cada cual en cada momento, lo permitido y lo prohibido, dictan las obligaciones según las jerarquías sociales, el sexo, la edad, etc., y permiten situar a las personas donde le "corresponde": es, en cierto modo, una comodidad, una evitación de situaciones comprometidas. La ausencia de un comportamiento esperado, o al contrario, la presencia de un comportamiento cuando no se espera ninguno, atraerá la atención de forma negativa.

4. Toma de contacto con la vecindad

Ella Turner, en su primer día como residente en el pueblo, entra en la panadería de la plaza, comercio prototípico del día a día de la pequeña sociedad provinciana.

Del texto de trabajo tomaremos no solamente los elementos lingüísticos sino los paralingüísticos, ya que éstos van a poner de manifiesto de manera fidedigna las actitudes ante la presencia de la extraña.

La panadera, ante la presencia de la extraña, realiza la correspondiente inspección:

> (24) When she finished with another customer she turned to me, black eyes scrutinizing me from a lined face, (...)
> "Bonjour, Madame", she said in the singsong intonation French women use in shops.[1]

Sin duda alguna, la americana había imaginado un escenario trasladado de su país: esa "cálida bienvenida" con la que se recibe al recién llegado a una comunidad de vecinos en los Estados Unidos. Pero "Madame la boulangère" permanece expresivamente inalterable clavándole su mirada inquisitiva:

> (24-25) "*Bonjour*", I replied, glancing at the bread on the shelves behind her and thinking: This will be my *boulangerie* now. But when I looked back at

[1] La numeración corresponde al texto referenciado.

her, expecting a warm welcome, my confidence fell away. She stood solidly behind the counter, her face like armour.
I opened my mouth: nothing came out. I swallowed. She stared at me and said, "*Oui, Madame?*" in exactly the same tone she'd first used, as if the last few awkward seconds hadn't occurred.

Bergson, en su obra *La risa* (1973), defiende que una de las formas de producción más fructíferas del discurso cómico es el tratamiento de la vida como un mecanismo de repetición. De la confrontación paradójica entre la flexibilidad –el cambio continuo de la vida– y la rigidez –la repetición– nace el principio bergsoniano de la comicidad. En nuestro entorno, en las continuas interrelaciones humanas, encontramos este antagonismo. El cambio constante en los fenómenos es lo que separa lo viviente de lo mecánico, en la fosilización de esa facultad de la naturaleza para el cambio encontramos una fuente inagotable de comicidad. La repetición es, por lo tanto, una especie de caricatura mecánica de la vida en su progreso continuo. La mente es vida, movimiento, y no admite la repetición.

La panadera, caricatura prototípica, repite en el mismo tono idénticas palabras, a sabiendas del embarazo expresivo de la extranjera. Su actitud se asemeja a la que describe Bergson en su citada obra, trascendental para el estudio de la comicidad; se dirige a la extranjera reproduciendo su acto de habla con la misma prosodia empleado desde el principio de la transacción y fijando en la cliente idéntica mirada indagadora.

(25) I hesitated, then pointed at a baguette. "*Un*", I managed to say, though it sounded more like a grunt. The woman's face modulated into the stiffness of disapproval. She reached behind her without looking, eyes still fixed on me. "Quelque chose d'autre, Madame?"

Y en el mismo intercambio:

"*Merci, Madame*", she intoned with a blank face and flinty eyes.
"*Merci*", I mumbled.
"*Au revoir, Madame*"

La panadería va a suponer para la americana un examen cotidiano. A lo largo de su estancia en el pueblo, procurará hacer todo lo posible por congraciarse la dueña, incluso intentar ponerse en su lugar. La protagonista realiza un esfuerzo de distanciamiento con el fin de imaginar la imagen que de ella misma tiene la persona que para ella simboliza la colectividad: una extranjera con poco dominio del idioma y carente de “mapa”.

> (25) For a moment I stepped outside myself and saw myself as she must see me: foreign, transient, thick tongue stumbling over peculiar sounds, dependent on a map to locate me in a strange landscape and a phrasebook and dictionary to communicate. She made me feel lost the very moment I thought I'd found home.

Sin embargo, la selección lexical que utiliza la enunciadora para expresar sus emociones y sentimientos de desvinculación ponen de manifiesto, además de la inseguridad que estamos comentando –estado emocional debido a las complejas circunstancias por las atraviesa que merman su autoestima–, una de las creencias irracionales de las que nos habla una rama de la terapia cognitiva, la TREC (Terapia Racional Emotivo Conductual).

La americana, obsesionada y ofuscada por el trato adusto recibido por la panadera, interpreta la visión que cree que los demás tienen de ella (*tan ridícula como parecía*).

La inseguridad y el afán por integrarse la conducen al empeño por demostrar continuamente que no es lo que parece.

> (25) I looked at the display, desperate to show her I wasn't as ridiculous as I seemed. I pointed at some onion quiches and managed to say, “*Et un quiche*.” A split second afterwards I knew I'd used the wrong article –quiche was feminine and should be used with *une*– and groaned inwardly.

El miedo al error produce en la protagonista tal efecto que una pequeña equivocación morfológica significa un desgarro interior.

> (25) She rang up the purchases on the cash register. Mutely I handed her the money, then realized when she placed my change on a small tray on the

> counter that I should have put the money there rather than directly into her hand. I frowned. It was a lesson I ought to have learned already.

El desconocimiento de las costumbres, como el lugar donde se deposita el cambio de la compra, también le supone un malestar evidente; lo que llama la atención es el lenguaje que ella misma emplea para referirse a dichos desajustes: el uso de verbos de obligación, dentro de la TREC, evidencia otro tipo de creencia irracional (*tendría que haber aprendido*). Obsérvese que ni siquiera utiliza la expresión de mandato (tener que) refiriéndose al futuro (una necesidad de ponerse al día de las costumbres locales) sino en el pasado, es decir que se recrimina no haber aprendido una costumbre cuando todavía no ha tenido ocasión para ello: la autocensura es exacerbada.

Otro elemento de malestar para la americana, relacionado con las costumbres locales, se refiere a la adecuada utilización de las fórmulas de cortesía:

> (42) I hadn't yet learned how to thank French people. When I was buying something they seemed to thank me too many times during the exchange, yet I always doubted their sincerity. It was hard to analyze the tone of their words.

Uno de los comportamientos que acompañan a la inseguridad suele ser la necesidad imperiosa de poner parches a las situaciones en las que el enunciador se siente incómodo. Esta *actitud reparadora* se manifiesta explícitamente en el siguiente comentario:

> (26) I turned to go, then stopped, thinking there must be a way to salvage this. I looked at her: she had crossed her arms over her vast bosom.
> "*Je – nous – nous habitons près d'ici, là-bas*", I lied, gesturing wildly behind me, clawing out a territory somewhere in her town.
> She nodded once. "*Oui, Madame. Au revoir, Madame.*"
> "*Au revoir, Madame*", I replied, spinning around and out the door.
> Oh Ella, I thought as I trudged across the square, what are you doing, lying to save face?

Faltar a la verdad de manera tan grotesca para *salvar la cara* le produce cargo de conciencia. Sin embargo, la reflexión posterior le conduce a una "penitencia" tal y como indican las terapias conductistas, la protagonista decide realizar una exposición al agente desestabilizador:

> (26) "So don't lie, then. Live here. Confront Madame every day over the croissants", I muttered in reply.

La huella que deja su desafortunada relación de vecindad con la panadera es tal que al regresar al comercio acompañada por su marido, la emoción le hace enrojecer y retomar sus percepciones anteriores; a pesar del comportamiento "cortés" de la panadera detecta "hostilidad" en su actitud hacia ella, y, evidentemente, esa hostilidad percibida la desestabiliza.

> (26-27) Later we stopped at the *boulangerie* for more onion quiches. I turned red the moment Madame looked at me, but she directed most of her remarks at Rick, who found her hilarious and chuckled at her without appearing to offend her in the slightest. I could see she found him handsome: his blond ponytail in this land of short dark hair was a novelty and his Californian tan hadn't faded yet. To me she was polite, but I detected an underlying hostility that made me tense.

Incluso su marido le recrimina su obsesión, tachándola de actitud paranoica típica de las americanas de la costa Este. Ella insiste en el efecto que le produce: desestabilización, inestabilidad e inseguridad.

> (27) "It's a shame those quiches are so good", I remarked to Rick out on the street. "Otherwise I'd never go in there again."
> "Oh babe, there you go, taking things to heart. Don't go all East-coast paranoid on me, now."
> "She just makes me feel unwelcome."
> "Bad costumer relations. Tut-tut! Better get a personnel consultant in to sort her out."

5. El estereotipo y la marca de la diferencia

El estereotipo (la imagen mental simplificada sobre un grupo que comparte cualidades estereotípicas) –presente en toda la parte de la obra de Chevalier que describe la presencia de la protagonista americana en el pueblecito– se hace explícito en el comentario de la profesora de francés:

> (29) If you do not pronounce the words well, no one will understand what you say", she declared. "Moreover, they will know that you are foreign and will not listen to you. The French are like that."

Otra alusión al estereotipo del carácter francés la hallamos en el comentario del marido de la protagonista:

> (55) "Hey, Ella what's happened to your optimism? You're not going to start acting French, are you? I get enough of that at work."
> (...)
> Even knowing I'd just been critical of Jean-Paul's pessimism, I found myself repeating his words. "I'm just trying to be realistic."
> (...)
> It was true that my optimism had diminished in France: maybe I was taking on the cynical nature of the people around me. Rick put a positive spin on everything; it was his positive attitude that had made him successful; that was we were there. I shut my mouth, swallowed my pessimistic words.

Los comportamientos diferenciadores de los habitantes del pueblo son descritos por la protagonista en los siguientes términos, que valoraremos según los principios teóricos de la cortesía:

- ✓ conversaciones interrumpidas en su presencia
- ✓ cortesía estrictamente aplicada en casos de necesidad interaccional (compras, etc.)
- ✓ responder a los saludos pero no iniciarlos

> (36-37) People were never in too much of a hurry to stop and chat with everyone.
> With everyone but me, that is. As far as I knew, Rick and I were the only foreigners in town. We were treated that way. Conversations stopped when I entered stores, and when resumed I was sure the subject had been changed to something innocuous. People were polite to me, but after several weeks I still felt I hadn't had a real conversation with anyone. I made a point of saying hello to people I recognized, and they said hello back, but no one said hello to me first or stopped to talk to me. I tried to follow Madame Sentier's advice about talking as much as I could, but I was given so little encouragement that my thoughts dried up. Only when a transaction took place, when I was buying

> things or asking where something was, did the townspeople spare a few words for me.
> (...) he and I were on nodding terms now but had not progressed to conversation. Give that about ten years, I thought sourly.

6. La cortesía en el círculo privado

La protagonista alude en numerosas ocasiones al concepto de *cortesía*. Tal vez con una idea preconcebida de la *politesse* francesa aprendida en los EEUU, llega al pueblecito intentando aplicarla y comprender el uso que los franceses hacen de ella. Sin embargo, los comportamientos no le cuadran: las flores que lleva a la anfitriona, según su forma de pensar, debería haberlas puesto en un jarrón con agua, y el vino, elegido con tanto cuidado, haber sido ofrecido en la cena. Las sonrisas corteses que recibe al llevar los regalos no suplen el desencanto de ver sus flores abandonadas en su envoltorio y esperar, en vano, que degusten el vino.

Por otra parte, la americana realiza un esfuerzo considerable para seguir las conversaciones en francés, sin embargo, la anfitriona se dirige a ella en inglés con afán de demostrar que su inglés es mucho mejor que el francés de su invitada.

Los temas de conversación que la anfitriona inicia tampoco ayudan al mantenimiento de un intercambio fluido. Desde el punto de vista de la cortesía, la anfitriona con una aparente facilitación del intercambio conversacional, está dañando la imagen positiva de su invitada. No podemos olvidar, por otra parte, que en esa velada las mujeres ejercen de acompañantes de sus maridos ejecutivos, por lo cual la presencia de la mujer extranjera es todavía más delicada: las demás acompañantes son francesas y se conocían, estaban por lo tanto en su ambiente, en tanto que la recién llegada desconoce las normas de la cortesía francesa y tiene dificultades con el idioma. Alejada de su marido, que se hallaba hablando de cuestiones empresariales con los demás ejecutivos, se siente perdida, extraña e incómoda.

Previamente, la americana se había sentido fuera de lugar al no haberse vestido adecuadamente para el encuentro: no habiendo recibido indicaciones sobre el tipo de velada, optó por un vestido clásico pero se trataba de una cena de campo informal.

(57) I felt simultaneously overdressed and frumpy. They smiled politely at me, and smiled again at the flowers and wine we brought, but I noticed that Chantal abandoned the flowers, still wrapped, on a sideboard in the dining room, and our carefully chosen bottle of wine never made an appearance.
(58) I found conversation among us adults tiring and at times demoralizing. (...) Chantal and I chatted awkwardly in a mixture of French and English. I tried to speak only French with her, but she kept switching to English when she felt I wasn't keeping up. It would have been impolite for me to continue in French, so I switched to English until there was a pause; then I'd start another subject in French. It turned into a polite struggle between us; I think she took quiet pleasure in showing off how good her English was compared to my French. And she wasn't one for small talk; within ten minutes she had covered most of the political trouble in the world and looked scornful when I didn't have a decisive answer to every problem.
(...) even though I made more of an effort than he did to speak to them in their own language. For all my struggle to communicate they barely listened to me.
(...)
"Hey, they were nice, weren't they?" Rick started off our ritual debriefing.
"They didn't touch the wine or flowers."

Tras la velada, la protagonista insiste en que la siguen considerando como extranjera, motivo por el cual se ve en la necesidad de "cambiar" con el fin de no destacar. Es aquí cuando interviene, de nuevo, la cuestión de *género* como *elemento diferenciador* de actitudes en las relaciones interpersonales. El marido de la protagonista, que lleva el pelo largo y rubio recogido en una cola, no siente la necesidad de cambiar su aspecto en lo más mínimo, es decir no entiende ni acepta una normalización homogeneizadora. La americana pretende encajar sobre todo por su condición de mujer acompañante.

(59) "You didn't seem too happy there, babe. What's wrong?"
"I don't know. I just feel – I just feel I don't fit, that's all. I can't seem to talk to people here the way I can in the States.
(...) "People still see me as American."
"You are American, Ella."
"Yeah, I know. But I have to change a little while I'm here."
"Why?"
"Why? Because – because otherwise I stick out too much. People want me to be what they expect; they want me to be like them."

> Rick looked puzzled. "But you already are yourself" (...) "You don't need to change for other people."
> (60)"It's not like that. It's more like adapting.
> (...)
> "I think you'd be a lot happier if you didn't worry so much about fitting in. People will like you the way you are."
> "Maybe" (...) Rick had the knack of not trying to fit in but being accepted anyway. (...) I, (...) despite my attempts to fit in, stood out like a skyscraper.

7. El estigma del americanismo

La americana se da perfecta cuenta de los elementos diferenciadores en su modo de vestir. Lo que siempre había considerado cómodo, le parece ahora vulgar y desaliñado, y siente vergüenza de ella misma.

> (60) I often felt invisible around them, a dishevelled ghost standing aside to let them pass. (...) They took the presentation of their images seriously. As I walked around I could feel them glancing at me discreetly, scrutinizing the shoulder-length hair I'd left a little too long in cutting, the absence of make-up, the persistently wrinkled linen, the flat clunky sandals I'd thought so fashionable in San Francisco. I was sure I saw pity flash over their faces.
> Do they know I'm American? I thought. Is it that obvious?
> It was; I myself could spot the middle-aged American couple ahead of me off just from what they were wearing and the way they stood.

Retorna una y otra vez a la evidencia de su nacionalidad –evidencia que ella misma reconoce en otras compatriotas– y al deseo urgente de ser aceptada en la sociedad en la que se ve obligada a vivir.

> (101) I intended to say something about being accepted by the French, about feeling like I belonged to the country.

En relación con esta obsesión de la protagonista, destacaremos la desagradable sensación que sufre cuando considera que su aspecto desaliñado de mujer americana es más evidente tras haber pasado una noche en casa del joven bibliotecario. Difícilmente un hombre en las mismas circunstancias sentiría tal malestar y habría temido que su aspecto delatase una infidelidad.

(178) I was sure everyone was staring at me, at the wrinkles in my dress, the rings under my eyes. C'mon, Ella, they always stare at you, I tried to reassure myself. It's because you're still a stranger, not because you've just – I couldn't bring myself to finish the thought.

El último elemento que pondremos de manifiesto es la actitud de desprecio que sufre por parte de un funcionario de aspecto anciano de la Biblioteca del pueblo, así como la invasión del territorio espacial de la americana por parte de éste.

(109-110) He eyed me suspiciously (...)
"*Bonjour, Monsieur Jourdain*", I said briskly.
He grunted and glanced down at his paper.
"My name is Ella Turner – Tournier", I continued carefully in French. (...)
He looked up at me briefly, then continued reading the paper.
"Monsieur? You are Monsieur Jourdain, yes? (...)"
He said something I didn't understand. "Pardon?" I asked.
Again he spoke incomprehensibly and I wondered if he was drunk. When I asked him once more to repeat himself, he waved his hands and flecked spit at me, unleashing a torrent of words. I took a step back.
"Jesus, what a stereotype!" I muttered in English.
He narrowed his eyes and snarled, and I turned and left.
(111) (...) he reappeared with a large box and dumped onto the desk. Then without a word or glance he walked out.
(...)
At noon he threw me out. (...) he (...) glared down at me and growled something. I could only work out what he meant because he tapped his watch.

En lo que se refiere al comportamiento grosero del funcionario, entendemos que lo podría ejercer igualmente sobre un hombre, sin embargo el hecho de atreverse no sólo a adjudicarle un apodo a la extranjera por el color del pelo sino a tocárselo nos conduce a considerar que tales hechos no se habrían producido en el caso de haber sido un hombre. Se trata, sin lugar a dudas, de un abuso de poder –dentro del poder que la situación le permite– por parte de esta "caricatura" de funcionario sobre una mujer que se muestra, de manera evidente, en inferioridad de condiciones por su poco dominio de la lengua francesa y por necesitar ayuda para localizar unos documentos. La invasión del territorio espacial es inaceptable y supone para la extranjera una afrenta.

(112) He was staring at my hair. “La Rousse”, he murmured.
“What?” I snapped loudly. A wave of goosebumps swept over me.
Monsieur Jourdain widened his eyes, then reached over and touched a lock of my hair. “*C'est rouge. Alors, La Rousse.*”
“But my hair is brown, Monsieur.”
“*Rouge*”, he repeated firmly.

8. Conclusiones

Tres elementos han configurado el análisis de una parte de la obra de Chevalier: las dificultades de integración en una sociedad con costumbres muy arraigadas, el agravamiento de esas dificultades en el caso de la mujer y la disparidad de usos corteses entre dos sociedades, incluso en el mundo occidental.

El desarraigo produce efectos inesperados: la protagonista –de profesión comadrona en los EEUU– tiene unos comportamientos en el pueblecito francés de inseguridad e inmadurez que nunca habría tenido en su país. Con una idea obsesiva de ser aceptada por los habitantes se convence de que tiene que cambiar su personalidad para adaptarse al estereotipo de la provinciana francesa, sin darse cuenta de que esos esfuerzos son menospreciados y de que nunca será aceptada sencillamente porque es diferente, es americana.

Las circunstancias personales en las que se encuentra acrecientan su inseguridad y su obcecación: está desocupada (por lo que dispone de todo su tiempo para concentrarse en las ideas fijas), no consigue quedarse embarazada, padece psoriasis, descubre un pasado misterioso en su ascendencia francesa y no encuentra la manera adecuada de comportarse en el pueblo sin llamar la atención.

La protagonista, una mujer culta con mundología y bien educada, se encuentra siempre en falta desde su llegada al pueblo y su concepto de la cortesía –al que continuamente se alude en el texto– queda continuamente trastocado en sus encuentros con los habitantes del pueblo, ya sean de clase modesta o incluso con los ejecutivos de la empresa en la que trabaja su marido.

Esta situación agobiante termina por hacer saltar en pedazos su matrimonio. Sus intentos desesperados por afrancesarse han fracasado.

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(Des)cortesía y género en graffiti de baños de mujeres de Buenos Aires

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Abstract

This paper examines verbal politeness and impoliteness in texts produced by young middle class university women on walls and doors of toilets situated in centers of high studies of Buenos Aires.
The article focuses on the roles that stereotypes of gender and knowledge of socio-cultural premises play in the group of women under study.
This collective phenomenon consists of written, asynchronous, anonymous and colloquial interactions integrated into an idiosyncratic context of community of practice, regulated by its own rules, and free from inhibitions about sexual taboos.
The corpus has been extracted from four graffiti' anthologies collected from those toilets and has been analyzed in light of politeness theory from a social cultural and discursive point of view.
Key words: *graffiti ~ politeness ~ impoliteness ~ stereotype of gender ~ cultural premises*

1. Introducción

Hasta donde sabemos, es ésta una primera aproximación al estudio de la cortesía y la descortesía verbales presentes en un corpus de graffiti de baños públicos.

El tipo de interacción que entablan esos graffiti se caracteriza por ser un diálogo asíncrono, una modalidad comunicativa coloquial, espontánea, informal, colectiva y con alternancia entre los co-participantes, como la de la conversación cotidiana cara a cara. A

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 385-398.

diferencia de ésta, empero, la interacción no queda actualizada en un lapso determinado y la falta de co-presencia física de los interlocutores impide aportar connotaciones materiales específicas al contexto de situación, tales como la comunicación gestual, la edad, la vestimenta y otros datos biográficos y de conocimiento interpersonal.

Tal contexto de situación tiene por entorno físico las paredes y puertas de baños de mujeres situados en centros de estudios superiores de Buenos Aires. De ese entorno y de los textos se infiere el sexo y la extracción social de sus participantes: mujeres jóvenes universitarias de clase media. Estos datos comunican rasgos de identidad de sus autoras. Otras identidades, de naturaleza textual, se reconocen por el modo en que las participantes se presentan en el discurso, entre ellas, la inclinación sexual, política, ideológica, ancladas en la identidad lingüística del grupo, la variedad dialectal rioplatense.

Las mujeres creadoras de graffiti que estudiamos constituyen una comunidad ad hoc, virtual y de identidad textual, como ocurre con las comunidades de internautas (Yus 2001); en la gran mayoría de los casos, sus miembros no se conocen o, aún conociéndose personalmente en la vida diaria, no se reconocen debido al anonimato que campea en la mayoría de los graffiti. Por ello, a diferencia de los interlocutores cara a cara, quienes siempre tienen a disposición sus identidades personales para relacionarse como individuos, los participantes de los graffiti, al no contar con ellas, se tratan como *congéneres*, es decir, establecen un trato representativo de su categoría genérica y social.

En nuestro caso, tan importante como el contexto de situación es el contexto de cultura (Halliday 1985-1994), porque en éste se inscribe el género o tipo textual *graffiti* y, según Martin (1986), los géneros describen el impacto del contexto de cultura sobre la lengua usada y manifiestan la institucionalidad que la lengua les acuerda para lograr determinados propósitos sociales.

El contexto de cultura abarca la ideología, los valores, las experiencias compartidas de una comunidad y sus expectativas acerca de los modos de comportamiento y de obtención de cosas. En el contexto de cultura de los graffiti, lo importante es el propósito comunicativo que persiguen: *la comunicación íntima entre congéneres*. Nos ceñiremos a un subgénero discursivo específico: *los pedidos de consejo*.

Como asevera la autora de la Antología (Castro 2004a,b) el baño público sostiene una suerte de foro de libre expresión e interrogación, un confesionario, una tribuna de denuncia donde los graffiti son objeto de intercambio social que revelan formaciones ideológicas, prejuicios, mitos, fantasías.

Justamente, un lugar público destinado a actos privados, en que el amparo del anonimato suprime la inhibición de la moral íntima y disimula la infracción de la norma social de escribir sobre paredes o puertas, resulta un ambiente propicio para moldear la presentación pública de la identidad y de la imagen pública que la acompaña.

De acuerdo con Bravo (1999), las relaciones entre el *ego* y el *alter,* plasmadas en el concepto de imagen, estarían motivadas, desde una óptica sociocultural, por dos necesidades humanas fundamentales: las de *autonomía* y *afiliación,* definidas de esta manera: en la autonomía, el individuo se percibe a sí mismo y es percibido por los demás como diferente del grupo; en la afiliación, se percibe a sí mismo y es percibido por los demás como parte del grupo. Se trata de categorías *virtuales,* planteadas en el seno de la cortesía lingüística, las cuales reciben contenido según la cultura de que se trate.

Hemos dado sus contrapartes para la descortesía (Kaul de Marlangeon 2005):

Al concepto de *autonomía*, hemos hecho corresponder el concepto de *refractariedad* en el sector de la descortesía, entendida como la autonomía exacerbada de verse y ser visto como *opositor* al grupo, en una actitud rebelde respecto de aquello que suscita su oposición.

Al concepto de *afiliación*, hemos hecho corresponder el concepto de *afiliación exacerbada* en el sector de la descortesía, entendida como verse y ser visto como *adepto* al grupo, al punto de escoger la descortesía en su defensa.

Refractariedad y afiliación exacerbada constituyen una descortesía de fustigación que el hablante descortés emplea para responder a un estado de desequilibrio o entablarlo volitivamente en pos de la prevalencia de su propia cosmovisión o de sus requerimientos de imagen, en detrimento del oyente y en razón de la afiliación de éste al grupo que el hablante considera antagónico.

El análisis de la cortesía y de la descortesía presentes en los graffiti escogidos, desde un punto de vista discursivo y sociocultural, supone estudiar el estereotipo de género asociado a la imagen pública de los miembros de la comunidad de práctica, imagen cuyos contenidos también están determinados por el conocimiento de las premisas socio-culturales del grupo.

En el presente trabajo nos abocaremos especialmente al análisis de *pedidos de consejo* encontrados en el corpus.

Cuando sea necesario, glosaremos entre paréntesis y en cursiva los términos idiosincrásicos de la variedad dialectal rioplatense empleada para las interacciones informales de los graffiti.

2. El estereotipo de género

El grupo femenino estudiado refleja un estereotipo de género basado en las características de casi todos sus miembros, evaluadas por éstos positivamente, a saber: ser joven estudiante universitaria, de clase media, delgada, desprejuiciada, moderna.

Coincidimos con Mills (2003: 184) en que el estereotipo caracteriza al grupo social como un todo y se difunde como experiencia común a través de los medios de comunicación. En nuestro caso, los graffiti coadyuvan con los medios de comunicación para la reproducción del estereotipo de género del grupo estudiado.

Tal estereotipo funciona como *índice de la afiliación al grupo*, porque la pertenencia a éste está cifrada en la posesión de aquellas características estereotipadas que capacitan a cada miembro para ser identificado como tal por los demás miembros de la comunidad de práctica, como acaece en el siguiente ejemplo:

> -¿Dónde me puedo levantar (ligar, establecer una relación amorosa informal) a una lesbiana?
> -Acá mismo, si querés, decime algo sobre vos, la edad, cómo sos y, si querés quedamos en encontrarnos. Yo me llamo Mariana, tengo 19 años, soy alta, morocha (de cabello y tez oscuros) y flaca.

(Facultad de Ciencias Sociales)
(Castro 2004a: 86)

En cuanto una de las intervinientes no se ajusta a ese patrón de referencia, surgen los comportamientos descorteses de refractariedad de las demás hacia ella por ser diferente o percibida como representante de un grupo ajeno o antagónico. Por ejemplo:

-¿Me recomiendan algo bueno para la maldita ¡¡celulitis!!?
-Suprimí los panchos (*emparedado de salchicha*), gorda.
-Hacé gimnasia.
(Facultad de Economía)
(Castro 2004a: 169)

En suma, deseamos subrayar que la afiliación de cada uno de sus miembros al grupo mayoritario se encuentra asociada a los contenidos de las características estereotipadas ya señaladas de ser joven estudiante universitaria, de clase media, delgada, desprejuiciada y moderna, valores que el grupo juzga positivos.

3. Premisas culturales

Según Bravo (1999), las premisas culturales son el conocimiento de las convenciones sociales que permiten explicar los comportamientos comunicativos según los valores culturales vigentes en una sociedad.

Esas convenciones, a modo de reglas no escritas, son de conocimiento común entre los individuos involucrados y difieren de las normas sociales en que no necesitan de una instancia punitiva que garantice su cumplimiento.

Una norma social que la gran mayoría de las productoras de graffiti *ipso facto* transgreden, es la de no escribir en las paredes y puertas de lugares públicos. Algunas pocas, que podríamos llamar infractoras ocasionales o instrumentales, incurren en infringir la norma con el propósito de proclamar su adhesión a ella. Cada miembro del primer grupo es refractario al grupo de las infractoras ocasionales y cada miembro de éste es refractario al primer grupo, como se advierte en los siguientes textos:

-No odiás a la gente que escribe en el baño. G.
-Boluda (*persona poco inteligente*), no te das cuenta que vos también lo hiciste
-Sí forra (*persona poco inteligente*), ahí está la paradoja, pero seguro que no te das cuenta de lo que significa.
(Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación)
(Castro 2004b: 33)

-Por qué escriben tantas boludeces (*tonterías*)
-Para que boludas como vos pregunten.
(Ciudad Universitaria, Pabellón III)
(Castro 2004b: 104)

Resulta indudable que *el escribir en las puertas y paredes de los baños* constituye una convención idiosincrásica del grupo en cuestión, la cual afianza la personalidad y la libre expresión de las protagonistas y establece un contenido de sus autonomías respecto de la sociedad en general y un contenido de sus afiliaciones al grupo que integran.

Este comportamiento se fortalece, bien con las declaraciones que producen al respecto:

-Que vivan las pintapuertas!!!
(Facultad de Ciencias Sociales)
(Castro 2004d: 80)

o bien con las inquietudes que plantean:

-¿No extrañan cuando el baño estaba todo escrito?
-Sí, sigan escribiendo que hace de este sitio un lugar divertido.

El placer que las productoras de graffiti sienten las impulsa inclusive a calificar su actividad con el anagrama “graffiticante”.

Otras premisas culturales del grupo mayoritario son la *ausencia de pudor* y la *desinhibición de lo tabú sexual femenino*. Ellas, a un tiempo, corroboran la actitud de afiliación de cada miembro del grupo mayoritario respecto de éste y cifran la autonomía de cada uno de dichos miembros respecto del resto de la sociedad.

Por otra parte, la *independencia de criterio* en lo amoroso, lo ideológico y lo político, la *promoción de la autoestima* y, aún más, *la expansión del yo,* son contenidos de la autonomía de cada miembro del grupo respecto de éste, es decir, de su necesidad de percibirse y de ser percibido como diferente de los demás.

4. Análisis de algunos pedidos de consejo

En este contexto sociocultural de los graffiti, los pedidos de consejos son rutinas de emisión cortés. A través de éstas, se manifiestan las regularidades observables en el comportamiento de los miembros del grupo sub-examen, es decir, las convenciones sociales que siguen y que las premisas culturales recién mencionadas trasuntan.

Hernández Flores (1999) ha estudiado el consejo en el español coloquial. Sostiene al respecto que el fenómeno de la cortesía responde a la ideología sociocultural particular del grupo y que el consejo se presenta sin pérdida de la atmósfera amistosa entre los interactuantes. Esta autora reconoce que el consejo involucra la auto-afirmación de quien lo suministra, como contenido de su autonomía, y propone tomar tal auto-afirmación como un compromiso del hablante para con sus propias ideas, que quedan pasibles de aceptación o rechazo por parte del oyente. Recíprocamente, ello acentúa la propia autonomía del oyente para adoptar una decisión independiente. Por otra parte, la confianza como contenido de afiliación provee una atmósfera amistosa y abierta, propicia a la expresión del consejo, acto por el cual el hablante reafirma su derecho a la confianza del interlocutor.

Por nuestra parte (Kaul de Marlangeon 2006), hemos estudiado el consejo en el horóscopo, como acto de cortesía positiva o afiliativa, basado en el acercamiento, a diferencia del punto de vista de Brown & Levinson ([1978] 1987), quienes, desde una cultura etnocentrista, sostienen que se trata de un acto amenazador del requerimiento de la imagen negativa del oyente.

En nuestros actuales ejemplos, el pedido de consejo siempre es cortés y afiliativo, en consonancia con el propósito social de conseguir una comunicación íntima entre congéneres. Como todo género discursivo, es una meta escalonada que cumple las distintas etapas de esa actividad en su *estructura esquemática*:

- La primera emisión corresponde al *pedido*. Suele comenzar, aunque no necesariamente, con *chicas*, un vocativo informal, de acercamiento, que da cauce a la actitud afiliativa y revela una cierta conciencia del grupo conformado por la emisora y sus posibles destinatarias (ejemplos 1, 2 y 6). Le sigue la solicitud propiamente dicha dentro del campo o tema del intercambio: cuestiones íntimas de comportamiento sexual. Ello determina que sea formulada en forma directa y sin necesidad de ser acompañada de atenuadores, pues el propio planteo de la cuestión constituye una muestra de aprecio hacia las destinatarias: *¿qué hago?*; *¿Cuál es la mejor forma de cuidarme?*; *¿Cómo conquistar a un hombre?*
- A continuación, mediante emisiones que aprueban cortésmente o reprueban descortésmente, se suceden las varias respuestas individuales, es decir, los consejos que expresan las auto-afirmaciones de las consejeras como sendos compromisos con las propias ideas de cada una. En analogía con la conversación cara a cara, suele haber alternancia entre las consejeras (ejemplos 1, 3, 4, 5, 6); rara vez la hay entre consejera y aconsejada (ejemplos 5 y 6).

Ejemplo 1)

-Chicas, cuál es la mejor forma de cuidarme:
forro (*profiláctico*) con tu pareja estable
forro + pastillas con ocasional
-Que él se haga una vasectomía
-Cerrando las piernas
-Eso es falta de imaginación
-Totalmente fuera de época
(Sociales Parque)
(Castro 2004a: 168)

En este Ejemplo 1 las consejeras revelan diferentes cosmovisiones dentro de un multiculturalismo. Ello es índice de su independencia de criterio y ésta es un contenido de la autonomía de cada una.

La reacción de las dos últimas opinantes de oposición al consejo de cerrar la piernas revela una actitud de refractariedad hacia la formación sexual de la consejera que lo emitió.

Ejemplo 2)

Chicas: Yo tengo un problema muy groso, estoy de novia hace cinco años y esa misma cantidad de años hace que estoy enamorada de otro hombre, amo a mi novio y al otro también. Lo peor es que a ambos engaño, uno con el otro y los dos me quieren. Tengo que decidir y es un problema, uno de ellos es el primer hombre de mi vida y el otro es mi primer amor, pero además es mi primo hermano
¿Qué hago, con cuál me quedo? Amo a los dos.
-Mirá yo amo a cuatro hombres (sí cuatro) y no me quejo ni me hago problema así que dejate de pelotudeces (*acciones que reflejan falta de seriedad*). ¿entendiste? Tota
-Eso siempre pasa pero te aseguro que si seguís con tu novio te vas a ahorrar muchos problemas con tu family.
(Ciudad Universitaria, Pabellón II)
(Castro 2004c: 60)

Tanto el pedido de consejo como su respuesta reflejan la expansión del yo. La primera opinante redobla la autopromoción buscando la preeminencia de la propia cosmovisión y la imposición de los propios requerimientos de imagen. Es refractaria a las ideas de quien solicita el consejo y su descortesía queda cifrada en la calificación insultante de ellas.

La segunda opinante emite su consejo desde una actitud afiliativa.

Ejemplo 3)

-Que alguien me ayude, no puedo dormir. Tomo pastillas que le afano (*robo*) a mi vieja . Tengo 19 años y ando como una zombi.
-Conseguite un macho.
-Andá a un sicólogo.
-Mejor buscate un homeópata y dejate de arruinar la salud con porquerías.
-Rezá mucho antes de meterte en la cama. Pedile a la virgen ¡te ayudará1
-¡Callate boluda!
-Son las malas ondas. Poné un vaso de agua debajo de la cama.
(Facultad de Ciencias Económicas)
(Castro 2004a: 172)

Este ejemplo constituye una gama de descortesía y cortesía.

La primera intervención manifiesta una descortesía de refractariedad hacia la cosmovisión de la peticionante, inferida a partir de la hipótesis gratuita de la carencia de vida sexual de la peticionante.

El solo contexto no permite elucidar si el segundo consejo está bien o mal inspirado. Si lo está bien, su propósito es cortés, a pesar de que la forma directiva de su expresión no cuida la imagen de la destinataria; si está mal inspirado, alude a la falta de equilibrio mental de la demandante, agravio reforzado por la forma directiva de la expresión.

La tercera emisión merece ser juzgada como de propósito cortés. La evaluación de *porquerías* atribuida a las pastillas para dormir, o bien no alcanza a la solicitante del consejo, o bien le inflige una leve falta de consideración.

Las respuestas-consejos cuarta y sexta están en la esfera de lo cortés afiliativo: sus emisoras evidencian una actitud comprensiva hacia la solicitante, desde sus respectivos mundos de creencias, en los cuales procuran incluirla.

La quinta opinante, mediante un imperativo insultante, revela una actitud refractaria al sistema de ideas de la cuarta consejera.

Toda la gama corrobora la independencia de criterio ideológico entre las intervinientes, como contenido de sus respectivas autonomías.

Ejemplo 4)

-¿Cómo conquistar a un hombre? No vengan con <u>la cama.</u>
-¿Por qué no?
-mientras no se aparezcan con el cepillo de dientes...
-hay que histeriquear!
-totalmente!!!
-sé vos misma, vienen solos...
-seamos sinceras: con un buen culo y unas buenas tetas seguro que vienen solos...
-¡? MENTIRA no vienen solos, hay que salir a buscarlos o vos creés que ellos se quedan esperando?
-qué concepción machista la que un hombre venga. La sartén por el mango o mejor dicho por el...
(Sociales Parque)
(Castro 2004d: 130)

Este ejemplo también es representativo de lo que hemos analizado en los anteriores: la pluralidad de opiniones en los consejos, aquí sobre el tópico íntimo de cómo conquistar a un hombre. A diferencia de algunas revistas que emiten consejos al respecto, las participantes los aportan dentro de una atmósfera de desinhibición de lo tabú sexual femenino y de ausencia de pudor.

En las intervenciones prevalece la necesidad de afiliación al grupo que conforman.

Ejemplo 5)

-Estuve a punto de hacer el amor con mi mejor amigo...¿qué hago?
-Just do it.
-¿Cuál es el límite? O cualquier camino lleva a Roma...
-Hacelo, yo hice el amor con mi mejor amigo y seguimos tan amigos como siempre.
-Mi primer y único novio es mi mejor amigo.
-A veces me pasa confundirme con mi mejor amigo: A veces creo que lo amo pero si después me arrepiento me muero si lo pierdo.
-Déjense de boludeces y culeen (*follen*) tranquilas.
(Facultad de Medicina)
(Castro 2004a: 119)

Como en el ejemplo anterior, hay aquí una atmósfera de desinhibición de lo tabú sexual femenino y de ausencia de pudor, que evidencia otra vez las premisas culturales que permiten afiliar al grupo. No obstante, las participantes difieren en las respectivas cosmovisiones; la de la última opinante no respeta las imágenes de sus congéneres cuando califica sus puntos de vista de *boludeces*, vocablo ajeno al registro empleado hasta ese momento. Sin embargo, su consejo *culeen tranquilas* se percibe como afiliativo.

Ejemplo 6)

-Chicas soy lesviana es común contesten
-Es común con B, con V, mm, no sé
-Entonces hacete tratar sos anormal
-Lesbiana con "b" ¿común? No se trata de eso, sino de lo que sentís, si sentís que sos lesbiana, entonces está bien, sé feliz, no te dejes llevar por prejuicios...
-No puedo, me asumo pareja de tu hermana ¿o también es común el incesto?

> -Qué pedazo de idiota que sos...¿qué mierda hacés en esta facu? Depende de la cultura que practiques mi amor...para nosotros está prohibido pero para otras culturas no...
> -Cada vez compruebo más la inteligencia de las chicas de sociales...
> -no te olvides de que este es el baño para discapacitados
> -Es para discapacitados motrices, no mentales, ¡forra discriminadora!
> (Sociales Parque)
> (Castro 2004a: 165)

La primera opinante finge graciosa e irónicamente tomar la consulta como ortográfica, con lo cual desplaza el eje de la cuestión.

La segunda consejera es refractaria a la cosmovisión de la peticionante e ignora descortésmente los requerimientos de imagen de ésta.

La tercera, en una actitud afiliativa hacia la peticionante, aconseja a ésta a no dejarse llevar por prejuicios, conducta valorada positivamente dentro del estereotipo de género.

La respuesta de la peticionante a este consejo tiene su clave de interpretación en la palabra *incesto*. Una pequeña cavilación acerca de su contexto de uso permite excluir cualquier contenido semántico que no sea el habitual. Entonces, al asumirse la solicitante como pareja de la hermana de la tercera consejera e interrogarse acerca de lo común que pueda resultar el incesto, alude aviesa y sorpresivamente a la posibilidad de que esas dos hermanas tengan trato sexual. Lo inesperado de este cariz lleva a replantear como deliberado el error de ortografía de la primera intervención de la solicitante y a inferir que constituía un adecuado anzuelo de ingenuidad para la tomadura de pelo de aquéllas que seguramente habrían de responder. Esa nueva intervención de la solicitante revela una estrategia de descortesía, porque el sarcasmo es un arma ofensiva por excelencia (Kaul de Marlangeon 1999).

A partir de esa intervención, se entabla un contrapunto entre la peticionante y la tercera consejera. Ésta reacciona con un insulto y una crítica, mediante los cuales evidencia su refractariedad hacia la ubicación ideológica de la peticionante. Luego de ese natural ex abrupto, la tercera consejera recobra la calma para justificar su cosmovisión y hacerla respetable; el cambio de tono pivota en el vocativo suavizador *mi amor*.

La siguiente respuesta de la peticionante continúa siendo irónica, como estrategia de descortesía.

La tercera consejera replica con un sarcasmo alusivo a la posible incapacidad mental de la peticionante. Ésta corrige acremente que el uso del baño es para discapacitados motores; su enfado se trasunta en el discordante *motrices;* inmediatamente cae en el insulto llano por el solo deseo de lesión.

5. Conclusiones

El presente trabajo indaga un subgénero específico, el pedido de consejo, dentro del género discursivo graffiti de baños públicos de mujeres de centros de estudios superiores de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. En ese contexto sociocultural, el género *pedido de consejo* posee una estructura esquemática particular. La primera sección de la estructura es el pedido propiamente dicho y constituye una rutina de emisión cortés y afiliativa, en consonancia con el propósito de conseguir una comunicación íntima entre congéneres.

El análisis de la cortesía y de la descortesía presentes en los graffiti escogidos, encarado desde un punto de vista discursivo y sociocultural, ha permitido relevar las características del estereotipo de género asociado a la imagen pública de los miembros de tal comunidad de práctica, imagen cuyos contenidos también quedan determinados por el conocimiento de las premisas socio-culturales del grupo.

Se ha comprobado que tal estereotipo funciona como índice de afiliación al grupo, cifrada en la posesión de condiciones estereotipadas que habilitan a cada miembro para ser identificado como tal por sí mismo y por los demás miembros de la comunidad de práctica.

Entre las premisas culturales reconocidas cabe destacar: el escribir en las paredes y puertas de los baños; la ausencia de pudor y la desinhibición de lo tabú sexual femenino, todas las cuales corroboran la actitud de afiliación de cada miembro del grupo mayoritario respecto de éste y cifran la autonomía de cada uno de dichos miembros respecto del resto de la sociedad.

Además se ha constatado que la independencia de criterio en lo amoroso y lo ideológico, la promoción de la autoestima y, aún más, la expansión del yo, son contenidos de la autonomía de cada miembro del grupo respecto de éste, es decir, de la necesidad de cada miembro de percibirse y de ser percibido por los demás como diferente del resto.

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Politeness and laughter in Japanese female interaction

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Abstract

This study aims to quantitatively examine variations in the sequential organisation of laughter (Jefferson 1979; Sacks, Jefferson & Schegloff 1976) and to interpret how those variations relate to politeness issues, i.e. to power and solidarity in Japanese female interaction –as drawn upon linguistic politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987). Based on the exploration, the study also seeks to interpret the association between laughter and female discourse, that is, to interpret whether or not the relationship between laughter and the above also influences various aspects of female conversation. According to the results of quantitative analyses of laughter, this study then demonstrates how laughter sequences engage with social factors and how laughter is coordinated by participants in both conversational and social contexts.
Key words: *laughter sequences ~ linguistic politeness ~ female discourse ~ Japanese interaction ~ power ~ solidarity*

1. Introduction

Despite the existence of many laughter studies that draw upon conversation analysis (CA) to examine listener response activities, there exists no detailed study in Japanese. CA contributes to identifying sequential organisations of laughter in Japanese; it also provides general patterns and orders of laughter. Levinson notes one crucial drawback of CA, however, in that CA tends to pay little attention to "the nature of the context as [it] might be theoretically conceived within sociolinguistics or social psychology (e.g. whether the participants are friends or distant

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 399-420.

acquaintances, or belong to a certain social group, or whether the context is formal or informal, etc.)" (Levinson 1983: 295). Following Levinson's suggestion, I discover such a limitation to exist when determining specific aspects of laughter occurrences in Japanese interactions –specifically in relation to social factors. Thus, in order to deepen my discussion and to find some association between laughter activities and social factors (through both a qualitative and quantitative means of analysis), this study will also employ linguistic politeness as interpreted by Brown & Levinson (1987).

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to explore the variations of the sequential organisation in Japanese, to draw upon organisations of laughter (Jefferson 1979; Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff 1976) in the course of examination, and to then interpret how those variations relate to politeness issues, specifically to power and solidarity in Japanese interaction. Furthermore, concerning such issues in Japanese female discourse, this study will also seek to discover some implications for female discourse, specifically whether or not the relationship between laughter and the above issues also influences various aspects of female conversation.

Data consists of 120 minutes of a videotaped corpus,[1] including conversations by twenty-two pairs of Japanese women. The data was collected at the Japan Women's University in Tokyo in 2004. Two types of dyads were used: two university students who were friends (11 dyads) and a teacher and university student who had never previously met (11 dyads). The participants were Japanese native speakers living around Tokyo. In each conversation, participants spoke for five minutes about a surprise in their daily life. The process of data collecting was as follows: (1) two participants sat in a room (a videocamera in front of them) and a director asked them to speak about a surprise in their life for five minutes (the participants had already been informed that the topic was "a surprise in their life"); (2) there was no-one apart from the participants in the room so they were able to keep talking freely; (3) after five minutes, the directors came back into the room and asked them to stop talking.

This study quantitatively investigates variations of sequential organisations of laughter from CA and then interprets the above variation through a perspective of linguistic politeness, of associations between laughter organisation, and of social factors such as power and solidarity. The study will conclude by identifying some implications concerning the interconnection between laughter and female discourse.

2. Theoretical frameworks

This section deals with three theoretical backgrounds: CA, linguistic politeness and female discourse. The first derives from Jefferson's sequential organisation of laughter (1979), the second deals with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, and the third concerns the association between female discourse in general and politeness.

2.1. Sequential organisation of laughter

Jefferson finds sequential organisation of laughter (1979) to consist of invitation and voluntary-based laughter sequences. The former consists of both the invitation to laugh and acceptance; one participant may invite laughter from another or from others and that invitation may then be either accepted or declined. The speaker indicates that laughter is appropriate by laughing in return (Jefferson 1979: 80). Following the speaker's invitation, the listener then laughs in acceptance. Based on these sequences, invitation occurs either following a turn in the conversation, "post-utterance completion," or while the turn is still in progress, "within speech." Consider the following example:

(1) Post-utterance completion (Jefferson 1979: 80)

```
Dan     I thought that wz pretty outta sight didju
        Hear me say'r you a junkie.
        (0.5)
Dan     hheh heh
          [
Dolly   hheh-heh-heh
```

Finishing Dan's utterance on line 1, silence occurs for 0.5 seconds. After that, Dan provides laughter and the recipient, Dolly, subsequently shares that laughter. Dolly's laughter is slightly distanced from Dan's previous utterance. In addition, silence evidences that invitation laughter is offered by Dan (Glenn 2003). Consider another instance:

(2) Within speech (Glenn 2003: 55)

```
Mason   You know they have the eh::: huh ·hhh most
        beautiful interior decorating (0.4)
        instihhhks of (0.3)
                                                      [
Jill    fhhh
```

First, Mason provides laughter in his utterance. In the middle of Mason's utterance, Jill gives a second laugh. In contrast to the post utterance completion in (1), the production of a laugh particle within the co-participant's utterance makes it possible for the participants to share some laughter.

Assuming an invitation by the first speaker, Jefferson (1979) describes two possible responses by the recipient: acceptance and declining. Acceptance is equal to the recipient's laughter from the first speaker's invitation as examined in (1) and (2) above.

By resuming non-laughing speech ('serious' conversation), the recipient can also choose to decline an invitation by the first speaker. In order to reach a non-laughter response, Jefferson notes, "the recipient must do more than refrain from laughing at any 'now,' but must act, at some 'now' to terminate the relevance of laughter" (Jefferson 1979: 83). Consider this in the following excerpt:

(3) Declination: Jefferson (1979: 84)

```
James:  I don't mind eh pullin'em but her comin at
        me-dat needle's what I can't stand.
        HAH
          [
  Vic:  Use- Tellim ga:s.
```

In (3), James invites laughter with post-utterance completion. At the same time, following the invitation, the recipient starts talking without any laughter and silence. The recipient performs her 'serious' response by referencing topical matters in the prior utterance (Jefferson 1979). In addition to these invitation and response sequences, there exists another type of format: voluntary laughter by the recipient. In contrast to the above invitation series, voluntary laughter is produced without any prior explicit laughter invitation and is regarded as a first laugh inviting a second (Glenn 2003). The following fragment indicates the typical pattern:

(4) Voluntary laughter: Jefferson (1979: 81)

```
Mike:   He says. I gotta git outta dih mood befo'
        I c'n git outta d I h ca:::h
           [ [
Gary:         A h ha ha
           [
Curt:      U-huh-huh
```

In this excerpt, Mike's first utterance makes voluntary base laughter occur such as "git outta dih mood" / "git outta dih cah" as uttered by first speaker, Mike. When "git outta dih cah" is clearly recognised as a joke, then the recipient produces voluntary laughter.

In contrast to these laughter series, co-participants sometimes laugh simultaneously in what is called "unison laughter" (Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff 1976: 2). Simultaneous laughter also has a format. Supposing that one of the laughers is a laugh-producer, then that person's laughter is treated as an invitation to laugh. The recipient's simultaneous laughter then consists of a volunteered laugh that is produced while the other speaker is proffering an invitation (Glenn 2003). Consider the following instance:

(5) Simultaneous laughter: Glenn (2003: 65)

```
169     Rick   £Well£ do you know 'er?
(0.3)
171     Rick   °h°=
172     Cara   = Do I know 'er?
173     Rick   Yeah.
174     Cara   I mean I know 'er,
175     Rick   Eoh hh!
```

```
(.2)
177     Rick   Oh you know her eh!
178     Cara   But I don't know 'er.=
179     Cara   = huh hh      · hhh
              [         [  ]
180     Rick    (h) you doh huh huh-  uh.
```

Cara first produces a laughable utterance in line 178. With her post completion utterance, she laughs by herself in line 179. Recipient Rick laughs at the exact same time as the first speaker in line 180. Triggered by the repeated utterance, "know her," which includes some sexual innuendo, simultaneous onset of laughter is produced vis-à-vis both a highly projectable laughable and the completion point of the laughable (Glenn 2003). Based on the above laughter sequences –invitation, voluntary, and simultaneous laughter– this study will analyse Japanese sequential organisation of laughter.

2.2. Linguistic politeness

The notion of "face" (Brown & Levinson 1987) derives from Goffman (1967) and is defined by Brown & Levinson[2] as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61). Triggered by Goffman's introduction, these authors note that "face" seems to tie in with being embarrassed or humiliated, i.e. with "losing face." Sometimes the participant's actions threaten the other's or her/his own face in what are called "face-threatening acts" (FTAs) (Brown & Levinson 1987: 60). Thus, "face" is characterised as a concept that relates to emotion and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced through people's interactions. Based on such descriptions, the authors define two versions of face where positive and negative politeness function in social interactions. Their definitions are as follows:

1) Negative face: the want of every "competent adult member" that his actions be unimpeded by others.
2) Positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others. (Brown & Levinson 1987: 62)

Given these descriptions of face, the authors provide some strategies for doing FTAs: negative and positive politeness. In the context of the mutual vulnerability of face, the authors claim five possible strategies for doing FTAs: "without redressive action, baldly," "positive politeness," "negative politeness," "off record" and "don't do the FTA". First, doing an act "baldly or without redress," means to do an act in the most direct and clear manner. As to the second and third manners (mentioning positive and negative politeness), positive politeness concerns "the positive face of the hearer, the positive self-image that he claims for himself" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 70), while negative politeness deals with "partially satisfying (redressing) the hearer's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 70). Moreover, an actor might proceed to the fourth indirect strategy, off record, which may have "more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent (i.e. there is just one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur)" (Brown & Levinson 1987: 69). The final approach is "don't do the FTA."

Moreover, the authors note that the above politeness strategies involve the following three social variables: the social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer, the relative power (P) of the speaker and hearer, and the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture.

On the basis of understanding linguistic politeness, I will now examine how this framework might contribute to my overall study. Returning to the possible politeness strategies offered by Brown and Levinson, laughter may involve both negative and positive politeness strategies, as well as off-record strategies. For instance, laughter may sometimes reflect amusement in joking situations. This laughter may make people get closer and work as positive politeness strategies. On the other hand, it may also involve embarrassment situations. For instance, following the speaker's criticism, the recipient may laugh to save his/her own face, and this laughter may work as negative politeness strategies. Additionally, in the case of power relationships between the participants, the co-participant may indirectly perform FTAs and employ laughter as an off-record strategy. Furthermore, the engagement with the above three social variables –D, P and R between the speaker and the listener, may influence the current study of laughter. Concerning the dyad types that are used in this data, social variables, power and solidarity may involve laughter activities in relation to the above politeness strategies. Thus, this study will draw upon the above theory and will explore the association between laughter and social variables in Japanese conversation.

2.3. Female discourse

Based on the exploration of laughter and politeness issues, this study will also seek some implications for the association between laughter and female discourse. In order to investigate this association, the following section notes some previous studies of female discourse in general (Tannen 1994; Holmes & Stubbe 2003).

In relation to the examination of laughter based on female discourse in our data base, this section deals with female discourse and politeness. Previous studies surrounding female discourse suggest that females tend to be indirect, collaborative providers of supportive feedback, that they tend to be negatively polite and eager to avoid disagreement (Tannen 1994; Holmes & Stubbe 2003). Considering the interconnection between these suggestions and this study, laughter activities by females in our data can be reflected by some aspects of the female discourse above. One limitation to this study, however, is that the data does not include any male discourse. It may be difficult to indicate what is a distinctive feature of female laughter without any comparison between female and male discourse. Despite this drawback, it might still be possible to consider some implications indicated by the above association. Therefore, based on the previous studies above, this study will finally discuss the association between laughter and female discourse.

3. Quantitative analysis: laughter sequences

Based on the sequential organisation of laughter (Jefferson 1979; Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff 1976) described above, this section deals with frequency in terms of the speaker's invitation, the listener's acceptance, the listener's declination, the listener's voluntary laughter, and simultaneous laughter between the participants. Table 1 shows distributions for turn-shapes in 22 Japanese dyads. The left box indicates laughter variations, the middle box indicates the teacher and student dyads, and the right box indicates the student-student dyads.

In order to examine the relationship between laughter sequences and social factors, i.e. between power and solidarity, this study particularly concentrates on the listener's declination sequences and on simultaneous laughter. I would like to observe how both the teacher as superior and the student as inferior perform this marker in their interaction. On the other hand, simultaneous laughter may help to increase and establish common grounds between the participants, and to emphasise their solidarity. Thus, this section particularly evaluates the results of the above two sequences.

Focusing on the listener's declination, two methods are distinguished from one another: plain and ambiguous. A plain method means that the listener does not reply with laughter, but rather that she indicates direct disagreement or seriously questions the speaker's prior utterance. In contrast, an ambiguous method indicates that the listener does not laugh for the speaker's prior utterance, but that he/she gives some acknowledgement markers such as "uhhuh" or "yes." Thus, it expresses indirect declination. There are also two types of simultaneous laughter in our data: simultaneous laughter and the one initiated by invitation from the speaker. Furthermore, focusing on the teacher and student dyads, table 2 shows the distribution of laughter organisation:

Table 1.- Distribution of laughter organisation in the 22 dyads

Laughter Dyads	T-S dyads (11)	S-S dyads(11)
Sp's Invitation (242):	128	114
L's Acceptance (141)	63	78
L's Declination (99):	**63**	**36**
Plainly (21)	**6**	**15**
Ambiguously (78)	**57**	**21**
L’s Decl→Accep (2)	2	0
L's Voluntary (199)	76	123
Simultaneous (28):	**8**	**20**
Simultaneous (22)	**6**	**16**
Invi-->Simul (6)	**2**	**4**

Table 2.- Distribution of laughter organisation in the T and S dyads (11)

Laughter Participants	Teacher as L (11)	Student as L (11)
Sp's Invitation (128):	48	80
L's Acceptance (63)	21	42
L's Declination (63):	**26**	**37**
Plainly (6)	**5**	**1**
Ambiguously (57)	**21**	**36**
L's Decl-->Accep (2)	1	1
L's Voluntary (76)	18	58
Simultaneous (8):	**2**	**6**
Simultaneous (6)	**1**	**5**
Invi-->Simul (2)	**1**	**1**

3.1. The listener’s declination

Table 1 shows that there is a significant difference in the frequencies noted between the teacher and student dyads and the student dyads (the listener in the teacher and student dyad: 63/99, the listener in the student dyads: 36/99). Moreover, concerning the two methods of declination, plain and ambiguous, the plain method evidences that occurrences are quite few when compared with instances of ambiguity; student dyads tend to evidence a plain method more often than the teacher and student dyads (the listener as the teacher and student dyad: 6/21, the listener as the student dyads: 15/21). On the other hand, the teacher and student dyads tend to choose an ambiguous response more often than the student dyads (the listener as the teacher and student dyads: 57/78, the listener as the student dyads: 21/78). These results convince us that the student dyads can give a direct declination reply because they are friends with one another. In contrast, the teacher and student dyad may involve a power relationship and such a relationship may allow the participant to choose more indirect declination.

Moving on to table 2, both the teacher and student as the listener tend to have a declination reply (the teacher as the listener: 26/63, the student as the listener: 37/63). When focusing on a plain way, however, it is shown that there are few such occurrences (6 occurrences in 63 declination replies). In each of the six occurrences, it is found that the teacher as listener tends to produce the plain way more often than the student as listener (the teacher as the listener: 5/6, the student as the listener: 1/6). By contrast, both the teacher and student as the listener tend to choose ambiguity in response (the teacher as the listener: 21/57, the student as the listener: 36/57). But still there is a slight difference in the frequencies between the teacher and the student in that the student tends to choose ambiguity more often than the teacher. Although the teacher and student do not tend to give plain declination, the teacher can choose this more often than the student because the teacher is superior to the student. Both participants, however, seem to prefer ambiguous declination. The student tends to choose this more than the teacher because the student may be concerned with the power relationship that is in place, thus causing him/her to choose a more indirect method of response. From the above results, it is clear that the teacher listener tends to accept or decline the student's invitation quite flexibly, whereas the student listener seldom declines the invitation from the teacher. In relation to the difference of declination between the teacher and student, it seems that the listener's declination may influence his/her interpersonal relationships involving power and solidarity.

3.2. Simultaneous laughter

From table 1, it is evident that the student dyads perform simultaneous laughter more often than the teacher and student dyads (the teacher and student dyads: 8/28, the student dyads: 20/28). The above results can be interpreted to mean that the degree of familiarity or shared knowledge between the participants influences the difference in the occurrences between the students dyad and the teacher and student dyad. That is to say that the participants in the student dyads are having friendly conversations and can thus easily achieve simultaneous laughter; on the other hand, participants in the teacher and student dyad might find it hard to immediately establish familiarity or shared knowledge because there is a power structure in place. Moreover, table 2 shows that in the case of the student as listener, the participants perform simultaneous laughter (the teacher as the listener: 2/8, the student as the listener: 6/8). In addition, it is evident that the student tends to react more spontaneously to simultaneous performance than the teacher.

Based on the quantitative analyses above, I have revealed significant differences in the frequency of laughter variations particularly concentrating on the listener's declination for the speaker's invitation and simultaneous laughter between the participants in terms of the two types of dyads. This section has briefly touched upon social factors such as power and solidarity. I am now considering politeness issues such as FTAs: how do FTAs relate to laughter activities by the participants in an on-going interaction? In the case of the listener's declination, it is assumed that the declination of a laughter invitation will possibly or potentially lead to FTAs towards the co-participant. In that case, how do participants then repair the conversational situation? Given the declination, what will happen to the proceeding interaction? How do the participants coordinate with one another through laughter activities? The next section will investigate these issues using our data.

4. The listener's declination of laughter: How do the participants avoid the possibility of FTAs?

This section seeks to understand the association between laughter activities and linguistic politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987) as based upon some fragments in the relevant data. Drawing on the politeness theory, it seems that the listener's declination of laughter for the speaker's invitation could possibly lead to FTAs by the speaker. Considering the two methods of declination in this study, plain and ambiguous, it seems that the former may negatively influence any additional interactions between the participants because of the listener's direct denial. On the other hand, the latter may not cause a bad effect for the participants' proceeding engagement because of the listener's indirect response. It could, however, result in an awkward situation. I am keen to observe how the participants react and how they regulate their interactions –that is to say, how they employ laughter after the listener's declination of laughter. This section also considers how the teacher and student interact (in light of the power relationship between them) using laughter strategies. With reference to their interactions, the study shows how power and solidarity cooperate with the performance of laughter activities. The following fragments are taken from interactions between the teacher and student. The student discusses her surprise in relation to her favorite film, "*The Lord of the Rings*." She has a favourite actor in the film but is disappointed by another film in which he played:

(5) J11 (Speaker: S, Listener: T)

24S: erufu no yaku wo(.)nasatte ru kata ga iru n [desu yo
Elf D role O CP: P person S be N CP: P FP
25T: [a hai
(0.4) oh yes
→→***INVITATION***
26S: de sono kata ga(0.5)sugoi(0.9) kakko yoku te : hh de(0.5)sugoi(.)a : kono hito
=> and that person S so cool: and and so well this person
hoka ni donna eiga ni deteru n da rou to omo tte [: ,
other to what film to appear N BE QT think: and
27T: => [hai ←←**DECLINATION** *ambiguously*
yes
<English translation>
24S: (in this film) (.) there is one actor who plays the [part of "Elf"
25T: [oh yes
(0.4)

26S: and, he is (0.5) so (0.9) cool and, hh and (0.5) so(.) (I) was wondering which films he plays except *the Lord of => the Rings*, and [: , **INVITATION**
27T: => **[**yes **DECLINATION** *ambiguously*

The student invites laughter by describing her favorite actor in line 26, "kakko yokute: hh" ((he is) so cool and : hh). Following this invitation, the teacher as the listener gives her acknowledgement marker "hai" (yes) in line 27; however, she declines the invitation using an ambiguous method. This ambiguous declination could potentially lead to the student's FTAs as mentioned above. Triggered by this declination, what happens to the forthcoming interaction between the participants? How do the participants engage with one another?

28S: inta(h)anetto de shirabe mashi te(0.3)de(1.0)ano(.)mitan desu yo ippon karite kite(0.2)
internet by search: and and um watch CP: P FP one borrow: and
soshitaraºhuhuº (.)nanka huhuhu nanka huhuhu chiga [tte hh huhuhu hh ←←INVITATION
=> then something something
29T: [u huhuhu ←←ACCEPTANCE
=>
30S: bikkuri te iu [ka(.)nanka(.) a : : (.)nanka(0.5) e↑(.)nani kore mita(h)i(h)na hhh =
=> surprise QT say Q something like well something like well what this like
31T: [ºhahº ←←VOLUNTARY ←← ACCEPTANCE
=>
32T: =e(.)douiu imi de=
well how meaning by
33S: =nanka(.) sugoi :
something like so
34T: ee=
uhhuh
<English translation>
28S: (I) searched for them through the internet, and (0.3) then(1.0) um (.) I got another one
=> and saw that, and (0.2) then ºhuhuº (.)something like huhuhu something like huhuhu
different [and hh huhuhu hh ←←**INVITATION**
29T: => [u huhuhu ←←**ACCEPTANCE** ←←**ACCEPTANCE**
30S: like [surprising (.) something like (.) um (.) something like (0.5) oh (.)↑ like what's this? hhh=
31T: => [ºhahº ←←**VOLUNTARY**
32T: =um(.) what do you mean =
33S: = something like (.) very :
34T: uhhuh: =

After receiving the declination, the student invites laughter quite intensely in line 28. In the first half of her utterance, she recalls how she borrowed another film in addition to *the Lord of the Rings*. When recounting this experience, she continues laughing for a while to show

how disappointed she is by the film. Motivated by this laughter, the listener accepts the invitation and laughs in the next line. Furthermore, following upon the first acceptance laughter, the listener then gives a voluntary laugh in line 31. The student then accepts the laughter in line 30 and tries to further amuse her listener by conveying her disappointment by the film through laughter: "e(.) nani kore mita(h) i(h)na hhh" (oh (.) like what's this).

Despite the first declination marker, the first listener's acceptance for the speaker's invitation works to repair their relationship and serves as the starting point for establishing common ground and emphasising solidarity. Moreover, it can be observed that voluntary laughter by the listener may emphasise their solidarity. Based on their first modification, how do the participants then engage with one another?

35S:=ka (.) dete tara(0.3)a : roodo obu za ringu ni deteta toki ga : sugoi kakko yokatta kara [: ,
-- appear and well Lord of the rings to appeared time S so was cool so
36T: [ee
uhhuh
(0.4)
37S: motto kakko yoku deteru n janaika toka omotte mono sugoi kitai wo shiteta
more cool appear N no Q like think: and tremendously expectation O was doing and
ra(h): h (.)nanka(.) sugoi [huhuhu ←←***INVITATION***
=> something like so ***JOINT CONSTRUCTION***
38T: [kitai ni hanshi(h)te h= ←←***ACCEPTANCE***
=> expectation to against: and
39S: =gyangu mitaina yaku toka yattete(.) [bikkuri shichatte
gangster like role like playing: and surprised: and
40T: [huh huh ee =
=> ↑↑***SHARED LAUGHTER*** *uhhuh*
<English translation>
35S: = um(.) when (he) was (in *the Lord of the Rings*) (0.3) um : when (he) played
the Lord of the Rings : (he) was so cool [so : ,
36T: [uhhuh
(0.4)
37S: I thought that (he) will be more cool in the other films, and I expected that and then (h) : h (.)
=> something like (.) very [huhuhu ←←**INVITATION** **JOINT CONSTRUCTION**
38T: => [against to the expecta(h)tion h = ←←**ACCEPTANCE**
39S: = (he) was playing something like the role of
gangster and (.)[(that) made me surprise and,
40T: => [huh huh uhhuh= ←←**SHARED LAUGHTER**

This fragment evidences how they establish their common ground through several laughter sequences including, for example, the joint construction of laughter and shared laughter. Following the listener's question in line 32, "e (.) douiu imi de=" (well (.) what do you mean), the speaker gives an account in lines 33-37 for why she is disappointed by the film and for why she thinks it is funny. In addition, lines 37 and 38 evidence that that the participants co-construct laughter sequences. In line 37, after the speaker is done explaining the situation, she is going to tell how disappointed she is by the film. Instead of doing this, however, she just laughs at the invitation and searches for her words with more laughter. Following the laughter, the listener co-constructs the forthcoming utterance with laughter again "kitai ni hanshi(h)te h" (against to the expecta(h)tion h) –this acts as the acceptance laughter. In the next lines, as based upon the creation of laughter sequences, the speakers continuously share laughter: the speaker then tries to amuse the listener by using more laughter when describing the actor's terrible role-playing in the film. The listener accepts the invitation and laughs in turn.

Concerning the politeness theory, it is clear that each of the above laughter sequences functions as a positive politeness strategy aimed at limiting the psychological distance between the participants. Despite their power relationship, the above sequences evidence (and encourage) solidarity to exist between the participants.

41S: =hitori(0.2)atashi ima hitori gurashi de hitori de yoru bideo mitete : =
alone I now alone living and alone and night video watch: and
42T: =ee ee =
uhhuh uhhuh →→***INVITATION***
43S: =E(.) mitai na huhuhu hh·hh h =
=> well like
44T:= uhuhu de sonomama(.)fan [ha →→ ***ACCEPTANCE***
=> and so far fan TP
45S: [ºndeº(.)fan ha(.)ya- horyuu [tte u huhuhuhuhuhuh hh ·hh
=> and fan TP well withhold QT
46T: [uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuh huh
=> (0.2) →→***SIMULTANEOUS***
47S: hai(.)sorega(.)nanka(.) konogoro ichiban bikkuri shita(.)koto desu huh[hhhhh
←←***INVITATION***
=> yes that S something like recently best surprised thing CP:P
48T: [sou desu ka : ←←***ACCEPTANCE***
=> so CP: P Q
49S: [sui ma sen huhuhhh
=> sorry: P

50T: [uhuhuhuh ie ie hhh (.)°to ne :°(.) atashi ha : =
=>   no no   well FP I TP
<English translation>
41S: = alone (0.2) now I'm living on my own and (I) was watching the video by myself and :=
42T: = uhhuh uhhuh=
43S: =>   = like (.) "what↑" huhuhu hh·hh h = ←←**INVITATION**
44T: =>   **ACCEPTANCE**→→ = uhuh and continue to be his [fan
45S: =>   [and (.) his fan (.) um- (I) am not sure (about this), [and u huhuhuhuhuhuhuh hh ·hh
46T: =>   [uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuh huh ←←**SIMULTANEOUS**
(0.2)
47S: yes(.) that is (.) something like (.) the most surprising (.)these days huh [hhhhh ←←**INVITATION**
=>
48T: =>   [is it : ←←**ACCEPTANCE**
49S: [I'm sorry huhuhhh
=>
50T: [uhuhuhuhuh no no hhh (.)°well° : (.) my surprise is : =
=>

Despite the fact that it establishes common ground and increases solidarity, this fragment demonstrates how conversation is actually very complicated and how the power relationship between the participants can be examined through an understanding of laughter. Until line 46, the participants emphasise their establishment of common ground by producing invitation and acceptance sequences along with simultaneous laughter. From lines 47 to 50, however, at the point when the speaker is going to conclude her surprising story, she realises that there is no punch line. She therefore invites laughter and laughs off the conclusion in order to save face. Following the invitation, the teacher accepts and laughs saying, "sou desu ka :" (is it :).

Following the listener's response, the student apologises for the situation with laughter. This laughter is interpreted as her own face-saving strategy. Thus, she might regard her story's poor conclusion as incorrectness under that conversational and formal setting and she might also apologise for that incorrectness. Moreover, the apology with laughter may prove a form of self-deprecation that allows the student to avoid a more 'serious' situation. In the next line, the teacher saves the student's face by laughing back: "ie ie" (no no). It may be possible to indicate that a power relationship between the teacher and student still influences the participants' interaction. The student as the inferior apologies for her poor conclusion and employs laughter to save her own face. To avoid a potentially tense circumstance after the student's apology, the teacher (as the superior) also tries to save the student's face by laughing in return.

From those long conversations, I am able to show how the participants engaged with one another using several laughter sequences after the initial declination marker; these serve as positive politeness strategies. These laughter sequences corroborate the establishment of common ground between the participants and emphasise solidarity. Despite this corroboration, however, it is also clear that power still influences their interactions. Laugher is employed as saving face and it functions as negative politeness strategies. In other words, this fragment evidences the complicated nature of human interactions and demonstrates how the participants coordinate themselves so as to function within conversational and social contexts.

In conclusion, this section looks at social variables, power and solidarity, and discusses how a listener's laughter activities might vary in accordance with social and conversational context. Moreover, it is possible to interpret each laughter activity by drawing upon different politeness strategies. I do not think that this observation strongly confirms the relationship between laughter and social variables. These results and observations, however, might open the door to seek such associations between laughter activities and social factors in Japanese interaction.

5. Implication for female discourse

Based on the above interpretations, this section seeks to determine various implications for the interconnection between laughter and female discourse. As mentioned in the frameworks section, one limitation to the following implications is the lack of any real comparison between male and female discourse. It may still be possible, however, to analyse some specific aspects of laughter as they derive from female conversational styles.

The preceding analysis reveals several laughter sequences: simultaneous laughter, shared laughter, and joint construction of laughter sequences by the participants. These sequences emphasised solidarity between the participants and served to reinforce positive politeness strategies. Concerning their associations with female discourse, these positive laughter strategies may involve several female conversational styles, including the female tendency to prefer collaborative, supportive, and facilitative interactions (Tannen 1994; Holmes & Stubbe 2003). On the other hand, an analysis of the data also reveals that some laughter activities are intended to save the speaker's own face and to soften FTAs as negative politeness strategies. Under this circumstance, it is also clear that power, as a social factor, may be involved in those laughter strategies. Considering their relationship to female conversation, those strategies may reflect another feature of female interaction: indirect communication and an effort to avoid disagreement in the course of conversation (this has been suggested in previous studies).

This brief implication may be difficult to confirm the association between laughter and female discourse. I believe it is worth while, however, to investigate this implication when considering a comparison between male and female discourse. It will also be valuable to consider how laughter distinctly influences both male and female conversation. In their 1977 study, Dunkan & Fiske quantitatively demonstrate that females tend to laugh more often than males. If additional laughter studies become available, it might be possible to corroborate their findings. Such a study would leave room for addressing more gendered issues in my later research.

6. Conclusion

This study first demonstrated the frequency of several variables in sequential organisations of laughter, i.e. invitation-acceptance/ declination, voluntary laughter and simultaneous laughter as they occurred in Japanese female conversation. Following the differences in frequency, the study explored the association between laughter and linguistic politeness by focusing on the declination of laughter. In the case of producing the declination marker, this study then observed how the participants coordinated themselves with one another vis-à-vis laughter strategies and how social factors were involved in determining laughter behaviour. The study finally presented some implications to be derived from the association between laughter and female discourse. This study needs to conduct a more detailed, comparative analysis, but at this point it is possible to conclude that laughter behaviours do not exist by themselves; they live within people's discursive engagements according to particular conversational and social contexts.

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Transcription conventions and Abbreviations

Transcription Conventions (Tanaka 1999; Glenn 2003)

A : code for name of speaker

[: the point where overlapping talk starts

] : the point where overlapping talk ends

£AAA£: pound voice indicate voice delivery materials in between

a gray square: length of laughter

Capital letter: emphasising

Underlining : highlights parts produced in a louder or more emphatic tone than surrounding talk

(( )) : commentary by transcriptionist

= : "latching" or contiguous talk: i.e. there is no pause after the completion of one utterance and the beginning of another

:: : sound stretch, e.g. Ah :::

- : cut-off

, : continuing intonation

? : upward intonation

↑: rising intonation of sound it precedes

. : (full stop) falling intonation

(.7) : the number indicates the length of a pause or silence measured in seconds

(.) : unmeasured micropause

° °: portions which are delivered in a quieter voice than surrounding talk is enclosed between degree signs
·hh : inbreath or inhalation, possibly laughter
h : (or (h)) aspiration, breathiness, possibly laughter

Abbreviations (Hayashi 2003)

CP: Various forms of copula verb BE	S: Subject particle
CP: H: Honorific forms of copula verb BE	ON: Onomatopoeia
FP: Final particle	Q: Question particle
QT: Quotation particle	DP: Dative particle
O: Object particle	TP: Topic particle
N: Nominative	ON: Onomatopoeia

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[1] The data in this study has been collected through the project of "Empirical and Theoretical Studies on Culture, Interaction, and Languages in Asia" (Project No. 15320054) funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. It consists of conversation, narrative, and talk during a goal-oriented joint task in English, Korean, Chinese, and Japanese. The representative of this project is Sachiko Ide, a professor at the Japan Women's University.

[2] In addition to Brown & Levinson, Lakoff (1975) and Leech (1983) also claims universality of linguistic politeness. On the other hand, motivated by a non-Western perspective, Hill *et al* (1986), Matsumoto (1988; 1989) and Ide (1989) have claimed that none of these frameworks can adequately take into account major linguistic devices for politeness such as honorifics in Japanese.

La teoría de la cortesía y el análisis conversacional como herramientas complementarias de análisis: El caso de la secuencia de cierre de la conversación telefónica

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Abstract

Over the last decades linguistic politeness has become one of the most studied phenomena. However, there are not many empirical works carried out on natural language, as most of these investigations are based on questionnaires and role-plays. From my point of view, the conclusions obtained from this kind of studies do not reflect the linguistic behaviour of a given speech community, since they are not based on real communicative situations.
Furthermore, numerous authors like Hopper (1989), House (1989) or Yeung (1997), among others have recognized the importance of analysing data coming from natural language. In addition, the majority of the studies on linguistic politeness are centred in speech acts such as requests, complaints, compliments etc. Nevertheless, I consider that linguistic politeness must be studied during interaction. In my opinion, there can be no expectation that results obtained from investigations about politeness in isolated statements will necessarily generalize to a complete and real conversation.
For these reasons, I have decided to use telephone conversations as the basis of my analysis, trying to show how necessary it is to complement two paradigms like pragmatics and conversation analysis, in order to study linguistic politeness occurring in real instances of language use.
Key words: *Politeness theory ~ conversation analysis ~ closing sequence ~ telephone conversation ~ politeness strategies*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 421-438.

1. Introducción

El objetivo de esta ponencia es resumir las conclusiones alcanzadas tras realizar un análisis conversacional contrastivo de la secuencia de cierre de conversaciones telefónicas en inglés americano y español peninsular con el fin de comprobar las diferencias y similitudes que existen en la codificación de la cortesía lingüística. En mi opinión, la complementariedad de ambas aproximaciones (análisis pragmático y conversacional) es necesaria para el correcto entendimiento de los mecanismos que operan en la secuencia de cierre de la conversación telefónica en dichas lenguas. Por un lado, el análisis pragmático, y más concretamente el estudio de las estrategias de cortesía, nos permite ver de qué manera el hablante codifica los movimientos conversacionales, ya que el análisis conversacional no llega a explicarlo. Por otro lado, este último sirve para comprobar en qué parte del cierre conversacional suele utilizarse cada estrategia, puesto que los modelos de cortesía no dan cuenta de ello.

2. Presentación de la investigación

Según Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) aunque la existencia de la cortesía es universal, su codificación lingüística, así como las estrategias que se emplean para llevarla a cabo varían en diferentes culturas. Debido a que esta afirmación ha sido formulada de modo intuitivo, considero que hacen falta trabajos en los que se intente demostrar la veracidad de muchas de las afirmaciones de estos autores, y de otros muchos estudiosos del tema. Para ello, se deben aplicar sus propuestas a un corpus de datos de lenguaje natural, que es lo que llevé a cabo en el presente estudio. Así, el enfoque metodológico de este estudio se deriva, en parte, del análisis conversacional, que es el que se encarga de estudiar fragmentos auténticos del uso del lenguaje espontáneo, tal y como tienen lugar en la vida real.

Otra de las razones por la que centro mi investigación en conversaciones es que considero, al igual que numerosos autores [Riley (1981), Ide (1989), Matsumoto (1989), Wootton (1989), Holtgraves & Yang (1990), Mey (1993), Hayashi (1994), Pavlidou (1994), Meier

(1995), Placencia (1996), Buck (1997) y Arundale (1999), entre otros], que el fenómeno de la cortesía lingüística debe estudiarse en la interacción y no sólo circunscribirse al acto de habla. En mi opinión, los resultados que se obtienen de las investigaciones sobre cortesía lingüística que se basan en un estudio de enunciados aislados, no constituyen una base adecuada para establecer conclusiones sobre tales enunciados una vez que se encuentren enmarcados en una conversación completa y real.

Por otro lado, la mayoría del análisis conversacional se ha llevado a cabo en lengua inglesa, y varios autores han expresado la necesidad de analizar otras comunidades lingüísticas, como Hopper (1992) o Lindström (1994), entre otros. Según estos autores es necesario confirmar si las normas defendidas por el análisis conversacional son universales o específicas de una determinada cultura. Este tipo de estudios, al igual que la presente investigación se enmarcan dentro de lo que Maynard (1990) denomina análisis conversacional contrastivo.

En cuanto al tipo de conversaciones elegidas para este estudio, y a medida que iba leyendo bibliografía que tenía a mi disposición, llegué a la conclusión de que el corpus debería estar compuesto por conversaciones telefónicas. Esta decisión se basó en el hecho de que considero que en el análisis de conversaciones cara a cara deben tenerse en cuenta los rasgos extralingüísticos (expresión corporal como los gestos faciales, los movimientos de las manos, etc...) tal y como han asegurado numerosos autores (Ochs 1979, Heritage 1984, Schegloff 1984, Mey 1993, Ambady 1996). El análisis de estos aspectos va más allá del ámbito de esta investigación, además de no ser el objeto de estudio propiamente. Por lo tanto, me decanté por las conversaciones telefónicas, ya que en éstas los participantes no tienen acceso a los gestos faciales o corporales del otro y el entendimiento mutuo llega, o no, a buen término tan sólo a través de la voz.

Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998) indican que el primer paso de todo análisis conversacional es buscar un fenómeno potencialmente interesante en el corpus de datos. Éste puede ser una clase determinada de turno o un tipo de secuencia, como las de apertura en las conversaciones telefónicas. En un principio, pensé centrar mi estudio en este tipo de secuencias, puesto que considero que en la fase de apertura las cuestiones de cortesía tienen especial importancia, y además existe bastante bibliografía en la que se estudia dicha secuencia (Goffman 1967, 1971, Schegloff 1972, Godard 1977, Sifianou 1989, Lindström 1994, Pavlidou 1994, Sifianou (en prensa)). Sin embargo, el hecho de que los participantes deban dar su consentimiento explícito para ser grabados al comienzo de la llamada hace que los inicios conversacionales sean totalmente atípicos. Los interlocutores saben quiénes son, lo que hace que se pierdan los saludos y los reconocimientos. Además, el primer tema de conversación casi siempre es la pregunta que hace la persona que recibe la llamada para saber a qué va destinada la grabación y cómo ha conseguido el que llama involucrarse en tal proyecto.

Finalmente, decidí centrarme en la secuencia de cierre, aunque la mayoría de la bibliografía encontrada sobre esta sección [Schegloff & Sacks (1973), Button (1990), Harford & Bardovi-Harlig (1992), Gallardo (1993, 1996, 1998) y Pavlidou (1998)], no trata la conversación en español. Tan sólo Placencia (1991), en una tesis doctoral no publicada, lleva a cabo un análisis contrastivo de conversaciones telefónicas completas en inglés británico y español ecuatoriano. De este estudio se derivan dos artículos que la autora publica años más tarde. En 1995, Placencia contrasta el uso que se hace de la elipsis en ambas lenguas, mientras que en 1996 analiza la cortesía lingüística presente en las conversaciones telefónicas en español ecuatoriano y compara los resultados con los datos obtenidos de su tesis doctoral sobre el inglés británico. Aunque Placencia no contrasta las mismas variedades del inglés y del español que se comparan en la presente investigación y no se centra en la secuencia de cierre, considero que sus aportaciones serán de utilidad, puesto que es el estudio que más se asemeja al que yo llevo a cabo.

La decisión de centrarme en el cierre conversacional se basó en dos motivos. En primer lugar, estimo que la secuencia de cierre es, junto con la de apertura, otra parte problemática de la conversación en lo que a cortesía se refiere ya que, mientras que la apertura amenaza la imagen negativa del interlocutor, el cierre conversacional va en contra de su imagen positiva. En segundo lugar, considero que a la hora del cierre conversacional los interlocutores ya han pasado el tiempo suficiente hablando para acostumbrarse al hecho de que están siendo grabados, tal y como indica Maynard (1990: 42): "... unnatural speech decreases with time is shared among conversation analysts in general...".

Heritage & Atkinson (1984) indican que utilizar material grabado permite llevar a cabo un examen detallado y repetitivo de determinados aspectos de la interacción y, por lo tanto, se pueden precisar aún más las observaciones que se hagan. Según los autores, el uso de este tipo de materiales tiene la siguiente ventaja adicional:

> ... providing hearers and, to a lesser extent, readers of research reports with direct access to the data about which analytic claims are being made, thereby making them available for public scrutiny in a way that further minimizes the influence of individual preconception. (Heritage & Atkinson 1984: 4)

Por su parte, Hopper *et al* (1986) comentan que para llevar a cabo un análisis conversacional se siguen cuatro pasos: (i) realizar grabaciones, (ii) transcribirlas, (iii) analizarlas y (iv) escribir un informe sobre la investigación. Puesto que el presente estudio es un análisis conversacional contrastivo, los tres primeros pasos se siguieron en las dos comunidades lingüísticas comparadas, mientras que en el último se contrastaron los datos obtenidos.

3. Procedimiento de análisis: la estructura de la secuencia de cierre y la cortesía lingüística

El primer paso del análisis del corpus fue escuchar todas las conversaciones para ver sobre qué versaba cada una, ya que en la secuencia de cierre se podía hacer mención a un tema que hubiese sido tratado con anterioridad. Al mismo tiempo, anotaba la duración de cada una de las conversaciones, el momento en que se iniciaba la secuencia de cierre y también me fijaba en quién era la persona que comenzaba el cierre. Finalmente, realicé las transcripciones de todas las secuencias y me dispuse a analizar su estructura y a identificar las estrategias y subestrategias de cortesía lingüística empleadas por los interlocutores.

Tras una revisión de diversa bibliografía y siguiendo principalmente a Schegloff & Sacks (1973), considero que la secuencia de cierre en inglés puede estar compuesta de los siguientes elementos:

1. Pre-cierre:
   a) Turnos de paso (*Well*, *OK*).
   b) Anuncio explícito (*I have to go because I have to get ready for work*).
   c) Expresiones sentenciosas (*That's the way it is*).
   d) Ofertas pretemáticas de cierre (*Were you sleeping?).*
   e) Intervención que, tras haber comentado varios temas de conversación, hace referencia a actividades que fueron interrumpidas por la llamada (*I let you now so that you can go on studying*).

2. Aceptación del ofrecimiento de cierre que se expresa en el pre-cierre:
   a) Acuerdos para un contacto en el futuro (*I'll call you tomorrow*).
   b) Expresión de buenos deseos y saludos para otras personas (*Give the children a kiss*).
   c) Caracterización final (*Thanks for calling*).
   d) Secuencia lateral.
   e) Cualquiera de los movimientos mencionados en el pre-cierre.

3. Despedida.
4. Despedida y cierre.

En mi opinión, el cierre de una conversación es una labor delicada y constituye una amenaza para la imagen positiva de los interlocutores, puesto que uno no sabe si el otro desea seguir hablando. Para mitigar dicha amenaza y para evitar que el oyente se sienta rechazado cuando el hablante decida terminar la conversación se emplean diversas estrategias. Por ejemplo, mediante el uso de pre-cierres el hablante va buscando la cooperación de su interlocutor. En esta primera parte, el hablante indica que no tiene nada más que decir, pero no termina directamente y cuelga el teléfono, puesto que podría dejar al oyente con la palabra en la boca y así dañaría su imagen. En su lugar, dispone de varias opciones, y todas ellas mitigan la amenaza que supone terminar la conversación con el oyente.

Por ejemplo, mediante el turno de paso el hablante cede su turno de habla al oyente para comprobar si este último también ha terminado o si, por el contrario, aún tiene algo más que decir, en cuyo caso se pospondría la secuencia de cierre. Así, si el oyente acepta el ofrecimiento, el cierre conversacional se produce de mutuo acuerdo. A menudo también se expresa el motivo que lleva al hablante a terminar la conversación, como queriendo indicar que le gustaría seguir hablando pero algo se lo impide. Otro ejemplo sería preocuparse por el oyente haciendo mención a la actividad que ha tenido que interrumpir para contestar a la llamada, indicando el hablante, de este modo, que va dejarle para que continúe con dicha actividad. Estas estrategias favorecen la imagen positiva del interlocutor. Pero el hablante también emplea estrategias orientadas hacia la imagen negativa del oyente. Un ejemplo sería la oferta pretemática de cierre, donde el hablante da opciones al oyente para que termine la conversación antes de introducir algún tema.

Del mismo modo, en la fase en la que el oyente acepta el ofrecimiento de cierre del hablante también se emplean diversas estrategias de cortesía destinadas a proteger la imagen positiva de los interlocutores ante la amenaza que supone el término de la conversación. Un ejemplo serían los acuerdos para contactar otra vez en un futuro. De este modo, los interlocutores aseguran que, aunque ahora tengan que separarse, estarán accesibles para un futuro reencuentro. Esta estrategia estaría orientada hacia la imagen positiva de los interlocutores, al igual que la expresión de buenos deseos y los saludos destinados a otras personas. Según Gallardo (1993), a través de esta última estrategia, se intenta rellenar el espacio de tiempo que dura la separación. Por otro lado, mediante la caracterización final, el H también puede preocuparse por la imagen positiva del oyente (*I just called to know how you were*). Por último, el intercambio final (3 y 4) es casi siempre un par de saludos de despedida, que pueden ser simétricos o no.

Aunque éstos son los posibles elementos que pueden formar parte de una secuencia de cierre en inglés, no se sabe con certeza si también será así en español, puesto que tal y como aseguran Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig (1992: 93) "Closings are culture specific, both in their obligatoriness and structure." Considero que es necesario aplicar estas propuestas a un corpus de lenguaje natural en otro idioma, como el español en este caso, para comprobar su universalidad y analizar las similitudes y diferencias.

El siguiente paso del análisis consistió en la identificación de las estrategias y subestrategias de cortesía empleadas por los interlocutores durante la interacción. Para dicha identificación he seguido la clasificación de estrategias propuesta por Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987), aunque he intentado adaptarla al tipo de actividad de habla en cuestión (la conversación telefónica) y a la sección en la que se basa el análisis (la secuencia de cierre). En la transcripción, a cada una de las estrategias y subestrategias les sigue un código en negrita que las identifica: *bald on record* **(ON)**, cortesía positiva **(C+)**, cortesía negativa **(C-)** y sin constancia (*off record*) **(OF)**.

En primer lugar llevé a cabo el análisis de las conversaciones telefónicas en inglés y a continuación el de las conversaciones en español, siguiendo el mismo procedimiento en ambos córpora. Una vez identificado el inicio de la secuencia de cierre, me dispuse a comprobar si la estructura de dicha secuencia correspondía con la propuesta elaborada. Para ello realicé un análisis conversacional de la secuencia completa para comprobar en cuantos intercambios y turnos se dividía cada cierre. Cada ejemplo está identificado por un número, al que le sigue entre paréntesis la duración en minutos y segundos de la conversación completa.

Puesto que la investigación sólo recoge el momento del cierre conversacional, cada ejemplo está precedido por un breve resumen de aquellos aspectos de la llamada telefónica llevada a cabo que puedan influir en la comprensión del análisis. A continuación, la estructura conversacional de la secuencia queda descrita a ambos lados de la transcripción mediante llaves y flechas en negrita. De modo que, en el lado izquierdo, se señala el lugar que ocupan el pre-cierre, la aceptación, la despedida y la despedida y cierre, mientras que, en lado derecho, se indica los elementos que componen cada una de estas partes.

Aparte de la estructura, en este análisis también se tienen en cuenta otros rasgos discursivos que pueden diferir de una lengua a otra tales como (i) quién es la persona que inicia la secuencia de cierre, (ii) cuál es la duración de la secuencia, (iii) casos de habla simultánea y (iv) ocurrencia de silencios. Todos estos datos aparecen en el análisis tras la transcripción bajo el título "Elementos discursivos". Finalmente, llevé a cabo la identificación de las estrategias de cortesía lingüística mediante el uso de códigos en negrita, tal y como expliqué anteriormente.

4. Conclusiones

Tras el análisis llegué a una serie de conclusiones derivadas principalmente del contraste entre las conversaciones en inglés y español. En primer lugar, mi investigación permitió mostrar la importancia que adquiere la complementación de dos modelos de análisis lingüístico –pragmático y conversacional– para un correcto entendimiento de los mecanismos que operan en el cierre conversacional telefónico. En consecuencia, comparto la afirmación de Mey (1993) de que la razón por la que el análisis conversacional no es capaz por sí mismo de dar cuenta del uso del lenguaje es porque deja a un lado las consideraciones de tipo pragmático. Es cierto que el análisis conversacional aporta una explicación estructural de la conversación, mostrando qué tipo de movimientos conversacionales sigue el hablante en todo el intercambio y, en concreto, para concluir su intervención. Sin embargo, para entender de un modo más amplio lo que el hablante pretende comunicar en sus movimientos conversacionales, es necesario conocer el contexto en el que se producen y de qué forma se codifican. Por lo tanto, podemos decir que el análisis pragmático es una herramienta indispensable para el estudio de la secuencia de cierre de la conversación telefónica.

Por otra parte, el análisis del corpus también permitió demostrar que de los trabajos de Schegloff & Sacks (1973) y Gallardo (1993, 1996, 1998) se obtiene una estructura para la secuencia de cierre que es aplicable a las conversaciones telefónicas tanto en inglés como en español. Sin embargo, el presente estudio mostró que existen ciertos movimientos conversacionales en partes del cierre de la conversación telefónica entre hablantes de inglés americano y español peninsular que ni Schegloff & Sacks (1973) ni Gallardo (1993, 1996, 1998) anunciaron. Tal es el caso de la ocurrencia de acuerdos para un futuro contacto, expresión de buenos deseos y saludos para otras personas en el pre-cierre de la conversación telefónica, y la aparición de estos dos últimos movimientos conversacionales en la despedida. Lo cual demostró que no se pueden realizar taxonomías definitivas en lo que a cuestión de estructura se refiere porque ésta siempre irá unida al contenido y a parámetros contextuales varios.

De otro lado, quedó demostrada la existencia del fenómeno que Sacks (1992), siguiendo a Bell (1984), denominó "diseño del receptor" para hacer referencia al hecho de que el hablante tendrá en cuenta al oyente siempre que se disponga a iniciar un intercambio conversacional. Desde el punto de vista de la teoría pragmática de la cortesía lingüística, podríamos decir que el concepto de imagen se convierte en pieza esencial para entender dicho fenómeno. Tal y como defendieron Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987), los hablantes, cuando se disponen a conversar, tienen en cuenta las necesidades del oyente, aunque personalmente enfatizaría que también tienen en cuenta su propia imagen. De este modo, la conversación en general y el cierre telefónico en particular, no es ni más ni menos que una negociación constante entre el hablante y el oyente de sus necesidades, preferencias, etc. y variables contextuales: P, D e I.

Respecto a las conclusiones que se derivan de la aplicación del modelo de Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) a mi corpus de secuencias de cierre de conversaciones telefónicas en inglés y español, habría que decir que los datos totales muestran que no existe mucha diferencia entre los dos córpora, puesto que la cortesía positiva predomina en ambos. Estos resultados están justificados por los bajos valores de las variables P y D en el acontecimiento de habla que ha sido objeto de análisis, ya que ambos córpora estaban compuestos de conversaciones entre familiares y amigos.

Respecto a la variable I, hay que decir que dependerá de la temática de cada conversación, aunque normalmente podríamos afirmar que también ostenta un valor bajo ya que los hablantes suelen conversar sobre temas que no parecen revestir demasiada trascendencia, por lo que no se percibe que la Imposición sea muy alta. Por todas estas cuestiones, puede afirmarse que el cómputo global de P+D+I daría un nivel de Seriedad bajo en general.

Por otro lado, puesto que en las dos lenguas el objetivo principal del hablante al iniciar la secuencia de cierre es el mismo (comprobar que el oyente no tiene nada más que decir y que está dispuesto a concluir la conversación), la subestrategia que tiene un mayor porcentaje relativo tanto en el corpus inglés (21,34% –172) como en el español (16,28% –98) es la subestrategia de cortesía positiva “Busque el acuerdo y evite el desacuerdo”.

En cuanto a los movimientos más representativos de cada parte en la que he dividido la secuencia de cierre de ambos córpora, los resultados revelan que en el pre-cierre del corpus en inglés predominan los anuncios explícitos con un 4,15% (10), mientras que en español aparecen en más ocasiones los turnos de paso con un 5,34% (7). Una vez más, estos resultados se derivan del modo en que ambos córpora se han recogido y del motivo de la llamada. En el corpus inglés, las personas que reciben la llamada saben que disponen de media hora gratis para hablar, por lo tanto el que llama debe explicarle los motivos para dejarle con el objeto de que no piense que va a estar todo ese tiempo al teléfono. Por otro lado, en español, la mayoría de los hablantes llaman para ponerse de acuerdo con el oyente para salir, por eso predominan los turnos de paso.

Respecto a los movimientos que aparecen en la sección de aceptación, hay que decir que son similares en ambos córpora, puesto que el movimiento más frecuente es el turno de paso con un 31,12% (75) en el corpus inglés y un 33,59% (44) en el español. Finalmente, en la despedida se han encontrado 6 de los movimientos propuestos en la clasificación en el corpus inglés y 1 en español. En el primero, se ha dado un turno de paso (0,41%) y 5 expresiones de buenos deseos y saludos para otras personas (2,07%), mientras que en el último sólo se ha producido una expresión de buenos deseos y saludos para otras personas, relacionándose todo esto con el uso y convencionalización de expresiones como *I love you* en inglés.

A continuación, comentaré las conclusiones que se derivan tras el análisis contrastivo en inglés y español de las estrategias de cortesía lingüística que aparecen en cada uno de los movimientos de la estructura propuesta para la secuencia de cierre de conversaciones telefónicas.

En el caso del turno de paso y de los acuerdos para un contacto en el futuro, los resultados son similares en ambos córpora. Por un lado, en el turno de paso todas las subestrategias son de cortesía positiva: 88 en inglés y 60 en español. Además, también coinciden en el orden del grado de ocurrencia, puesto que en los dos casos la más frecuente es "Busque el acuerdo y evite el desacuerdo", con un 90,91% (80) en inglés y un 83,33% (50) en español. En consecuencia, en ambas lenguas el hablante utiliza estos turnos de paso para indicar que no tiene nada más que decir y cederle el turno al oyente para ver si está de acuerdo en llegar al término de la conversación o si por el contrario desea seguir hablando.

Sin embargo, el contraste de los demás movimientos que forman parte de la secuencia de cierre de la conversación telefónica muestra que existen diferencias en la elección de subestrategias de cortesía por parte de los participantes del corpus inglés y español. Así, en el caso del anuncio explícito en inglés, la subestrategia predominante es "Cuestione, mitigue", con un 16,92% (11), mientras que en español la primera subestrategia es "Dé por supuesto o afirme la existencia de afinidad con el oyente." con un 20,83% (5).

En cuanto a las subestrategias encontradas en las referencias a actividades interrumpidas por la llamada, en inglés la primera en orden de ocurrencia es "Cuestione, mitigue" con un 21,88% (7) del total, mientras que en español las subestrategias que aparecen son "Dé o pida razones", "Dé por supuesto o afirme la existencia de afinidad con el oyente." y "Diga algo de manera incompleta", cada una en una ocasión

(33,33%). Algo similar sucede con las subestrategias encontradas en las secuencias laterales, ya que en inglés predomina "Cuestione, mitigue" con un 28,17% (20), mientras que en español la primera subestrategia es "Dé por supuesto o afirme la existencia de afinidad con el oyente. " con un 29,41% (10).

Por otro lado, en las expresiones de buenos deseos y saludos para otras personas la subestrategia predominante en inglés es "Haga regalos al oyente (bienes, comprensión, cooperación, compasión, solidaridad)" con un 31,82% (63). Sin embargo, en el corpus español predomina "Percátese o preste atención al oyente" con un 21,35% (19). El uso de estas subestrategias se explica por la índole de este movimiento.

Finalmente, en las caracterizaciones finales del corpus en inglés las subestrategias que aparecen en más ocasiones son "Percátese o preste atención al oyente" y "Haga regalos al oyente (bienes, comprensión, cooperación, compasión, solidaridad)", ambas con un 24,64% (17), mientras que en la primera posición en español se encuentran las subestrategias "Dé por supuesto o afirme la existencia de afinidad con el oyente." y "Cuestione, mitigue", las dos con un 17,95% (7). Estos resultados se explican por el propósito comunicativo con que se producen la mayoría de las caracterizaciones finales, es decir, dar las gracias en inglés y resumir el objeto de la llamada en español, como indiqué anteriormente.

En resumen, tras el análisis se aprecian algunas diferencias en la codificación de la cortesía lingüística en determinados movimientos conversacionales. Estas diferencias en la forma en que los hablantes codifican sus movimientos conversacionales se pueden explicar por el hecho de que, aunque el inglés americano sea una lengua orientada hacia la cortesía positiva, no por eso puede catalogársele como tal de un modo definitivo, ya que de alguna forma sigue conservando el rasgo diferenciador de la cultura anglosajona respecto a la mediterránea: la importancia atribuida a la Máxima de Tacto y a la consideración de la imagen negativa del otro.

De cualquier forma, siempre habrá de tenerse en cuenta las limitaciones de mi estudio tanto respecto al tipo discursivo estudiado como a la variedad lingüística en sí. Estas conclusiones me han llevado a pensar en futuros estudios comparativos que se podrían realizar. Considero que sería interesante llevar a cabo el mismo estudio contrastivo en otras variedades del inglés y el español para ver las posibles diferencias y las similitudes. Del mismo modo, otra posibilidad que también llama mi atención es contrastar en inglés y español la secuencia de cierre de conversaciones telefónicas entre interlocutores que no sean amigos ni familiares y observar qué resultados se obtendrían respecto a la influencia de la variable Afecto. Recordemos que Placencia (1995, 1996) ya realizó un estudio similar en español ecuatoriano e inglés británico por lo que sería interesante contrastar los resultados obtenidos por esta autora con los obtenidos en otro.

Antes de finalizar, me gustaría reiterar que los resultados de mi trabajo de investigación han mostrado la importancia de la complementación de modelos de análisis lingüístico en el estudio de cualquier tipo discursivo. En este caso, desde la pragmática y el análisis conversacional se han logrado explicar algunas de las similitudes y diferencias de la secuencia de cierre de las conversaciones telefónicas en inglés americano y español peninsular.

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Apéndice

1. [4162] (26.56)

- Contexto: B va a tener una celebración y ha estado preguntando el precio de varios platos de comida a A. Éste le va contestando y le dice que le enviará los menús que le interesen al día siguiente.

Pre-cierre	A: (1.5) Uuh. So, anyhow. **[C-2]** But anyway. **[C-2]**	
	But I'll take this thing to you in the morning? **[C+7, C+11]**	**Futuro contacto**
	B: oh OK. **[C+4]**	**Turno de paso**
	A: and I / I gotta **[C+3]** go to the bathroom now. **[C+9, C-5]**	**Anuncio explícito**
Aceptación	B: Alright. **[C+4]**	**Turno de paso**
	A: (laughs)	
	B: mhm.	
	A: .h Alright. **[C+4]** I'll talk to you in the morning. **[C+7]**	**Futuro contacto**
	B: Alrighty. **[C+3, C+4]**	**Turno de paso**
Despedida	A: OK. **[C+4]** Bye.	
Despedida y cierre	B: Bye-bye.	

<u>**Elementos discursivos**</u>

1. Duración del cierre: (0.16)

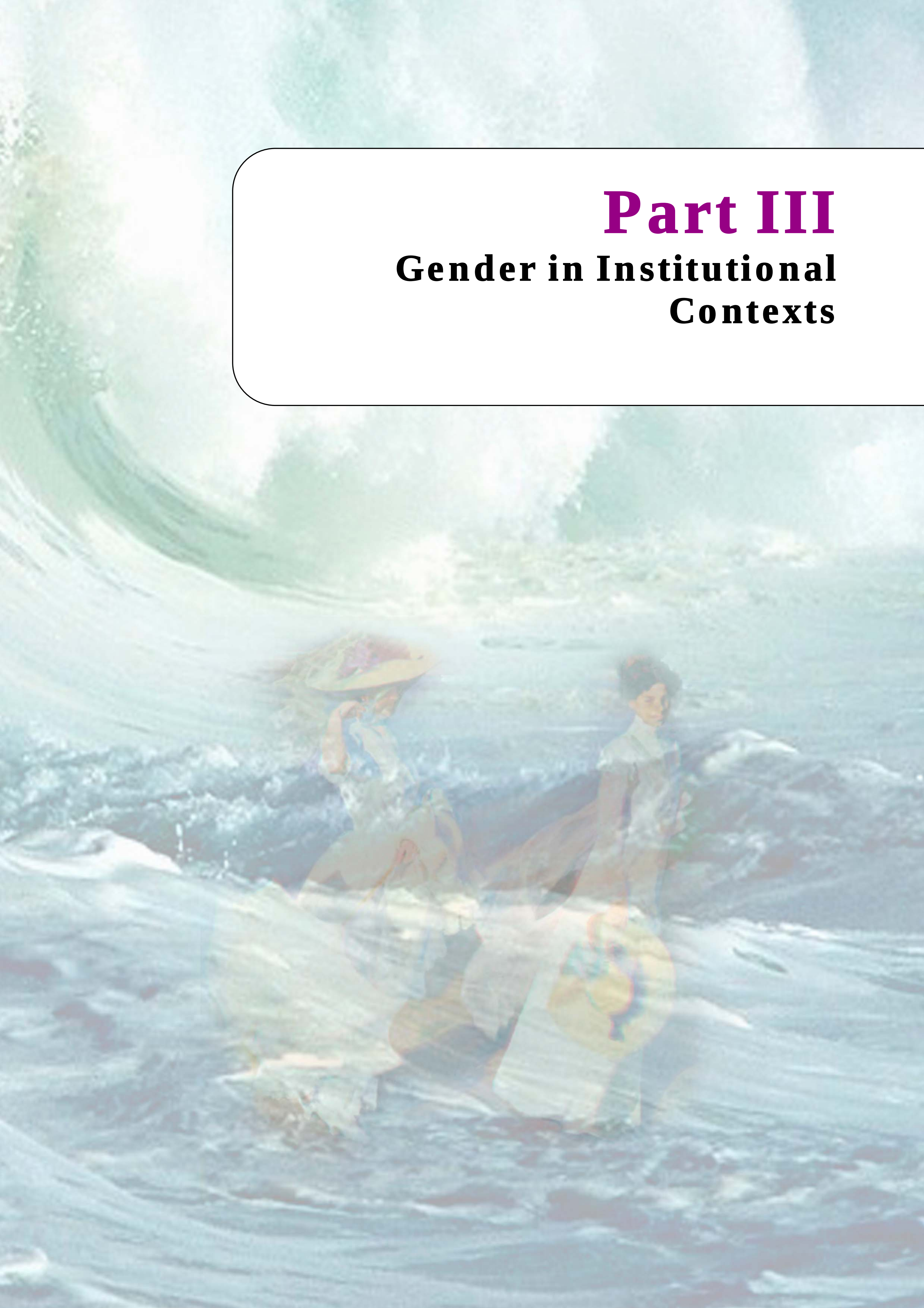
2. Iniciado por: la persona que contesta.

3. Nº de interrupciones y solapamientos: 0

4. Nº de silencios: 2

Part III

Gender in Institutional Contexts



"Did anyone feel disempowered by that?" Gender, leadership and politeness

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Abstract

The double bind facing women in positions of power is widely recognised: if they "do power" women leaders are regarded as unfeminine; if they "do femininity" they are regarded as unfit to lead. This conflict is evidenced in interesting ways in the discourse of the women leaders we have recorded in the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project. One resolution of the conflict involves embracing social roles which acceptably combine "doing power" with enacting a feminine gender identity, roles such as "queen" or "mother". In doing effective leadership at work, women leaders often draw on different roles for different tasks. The analysis of specific interactions where these complex identities are performed indicates that discursive features enacting authority are frequently followed by some kind of politeness-driven, face-oriented attenuation strategy, such as an apologetic comment, or a friendly, informal overture, often expressed in a humorous key. This paper illustrates some of the diverse ways in which such politeness strategies serve as resources to facilitate the reconciliation of the apparently inconsistent demands of leadership and feminine identity. The paper also raises some issues relating to post-structural approaches to language and gender research.
Key words: *gender ~ leadership ~ workplace discourse ~ post-structuralist approaches ~ humour*

1. Introduction[1]

The last decade of research in language and gender studies has undoubtedly enriched our understanding of "the complexity and the fluidity of the concept of gender" (Freed 2003: 699) as well as our appreciation of the heterogeneity within women's and men's linguistic practices. Those who oppose binary approaches to language and gender

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 441-459.

have argued that by drawing attention to the relatively small areas of gender difference, as opposed to the much larger areas of overlap in women's and men's ways of speaking, we assign differences an unwarranted level of importance, and feed the media frenzy which, as Cameron (1995) and Freed (2003) note, has become more and more obsessed with identifying differences in the ways women and men speak as the areas of difference contract. As researchers aware of the complexities of interaction in context, we need to avoid over-simplistic "women do this, men do that" approaches.

Acknowledging the force of such criticisms, it is also important to recognize that there remain many contexts where gendered expectations about normative ways of speaking persist, and workplaces are one such area (Holmes & Stubbe 2003a, Holmes 2006b). These expectations have a direct bearing on how women are perceived in the workplace and the options, including leadership roles, which are available to them. Despite gradual change, there is abundant evidence that women are still under-represented as a group at senior levels in many occupations. Language and gender research can usefully identify the many ways in which subtle and not so subtle patterns in organizational discourse contribute to this repression. As Cameron (2006: 4) says, "We may do women a disservice if in our eagerness not to (over) generalize or stereotype we deny that [prejudice and internalized anxiety about the female voice in public contexts] is an issue".

Although an increasing number of workplace leaders and managers are female, until relatively recently, the prevailing stereotype of a leader, chief executive officer, and even senior manager has been decidedly male (Marshall 1984, 1993, 1995; Olsson & Walker 2004; Martín Rojo & Gómez Esteban 2003). Leadership discourse has been dominated by masculinist norms and conventionally masculine styles of interaction for decades. With few exceptions, women have only begun to occupy roles with real power, status, and responsibility in professional white-collar organizations in the last two decades. And even when they make it to more influential positions, it has been argued that their contributions are often underestimated and undervalued, with women leaders often judged as less competent than male leaders (e.g. Berryman-Fink 1997: 259, Ely 1988).

A good deal of research in the area of leadership also indicates a remarkably masculine conception of what makes an effective leader, especially among male respondents. Indeed, the standard measures, including those involving communicative style, seem embedded in an authoritarian and masculine perspective on the way it is accomplished (e.g. Olsson & Stirton 1996). Leaders are typically characterized as authoritative, strong-minded, decisive, aggressive, competitive, confident, single-minded, goal-oriented, courageous, hard-nosed, and adversarial (e.g. Maher 1997, Sinclair 1998, Bass 1998, Harris 2002). And even research which takes a more dynamic approach, and which analyses leadership as a communicative process or an activity, rather than a set of identifiable characteristics (e.g. Northhouse 2001, Heifertz 1998), tends to present a rather masculine conceptualization of how leadership is ideally performed, including how it is discursively accomplished.

In this context, how do women break through the glass ceiling to discursively 'do leadership' in a convincing and effective way? '[C]aught between contradictory ideals of being feminine and being managerial' (Alvesson & Billing 1997: 150), how do they construct a powerful persona which is compatible with their gender identity? Our analyses of the ways in which a number of effective women leaders construct their professional identities at work suggest that many resolve this apparent paradox by selecting from a restricted number of socially recognised discursive roles for powerful women. These roles include socially acceptable positions of authority such as 'mother' and 'queen'. Our research indicates that effective women leaders make appropriate use of such roles in different contexts. In what follows, I support this claim by examining the ways in which women managers in different workplaces construct their workplace identities, reconciling professionalism with gender in their everyday interactions at work. First, however, I provide a brief description of our methodology and data base.

2. Methodology and data base[2]

The basic methodology adopted by the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project involves an ethnographic approach. Following a period of participant observation, we ask volunteers to collect recordings of samples of their normal everyday workplace interactions over a period of two to three weeks. This is followed by debriefing interviews to collect comments and reflections on this process. Some volunteers keep a recorder and microphone on their desks, others carry the equipment round with them in a small carry-case. Where possible we video-record meetings of groups, using small video cameras which are fixed in place, switched on, and left running for the whole meeting. As far as possible, our policy is to minimise our intrusion as researchers into the work environment.

We have found that over the recording period, people increasingly ignore the microphones and the video cameras. The equipment simply comes to be regarded as a standard part of the furniture, and there are often comments on the tapes indicating people have forgotten about the recording equipment. As a result, our database includes some excellent examples of workplace interaction which are as close to 'natural' as one could hope for.

The complete Language in the Workplace Project Corpus currently comprises more than 1500 interactions, involving 500 participants from 21 different workplaces which include commercial organisations, government departments, small businesses, and factories. The interactions recorded include small, relatively informal work-related discussions between two or three participants, ranging in time between twenty seconds and two hours, as well as more formal meetings varying in size from four to thirteen participants, and extending in time from twenty minutes to four or five hours. The corpus also includes telephone calls and social talk as it occurred, for example, at the beginning of the day, at tea/coffee-breaks, and at lunchtime. The data used for the analysis below draws from material recorded in meetings in both white collar and blue collar workplaces.

3.1. Reconciling leadership and feminine gender at work

Despite the fact that some women have succeeded in reaching senior management positions, there is undoubted evidence in the everyday talk in many workplaces, and particularly more 'masculine' workplace cultures and communities of practice that women continue to be marginalised in subtle and not-so-subtle ways at work (Holmes & Stubbe 2003a, Holmes & Schnurr 2006, Holmes 2006b). Our research indicates that effective women leaders respond to the challenges this offers in a range of ways, which include the following:

1) opt to work in women-friendly communities of practice, where feminine styles of interaction are non-deviant and unmarked;
2) conform to masculinist norms and identify with the corporate, male-dominated, business world;
3) make use of both authoritarian, powerful discourse as well as more relationally-oriented normatively feminine discourse as appropriate

In what follows, I focus on the third strategy. (See Holmes 2006b for further discussion of other approaches). A number of leaders in our data used this approach, demonstrating great sociolinguistic skill in selecting from a range of strategies according to features of the immediate context, as well as the type of workplace and workplace culture in which they were operating. One way in which women made this work was to adopt the socially powerful roles of "mother" and/or "queen" –roles which licensed them to "do power" in the workplace without arousing antagonism or condemnation for being "unfeminine".

2.2. Being 'mother'

The role of mother is an ambivalent one for a person in authority since mothers are not unambiguously powerful figures in our society. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the maternal role is, in general, regarded positively and commands some degree of respect.

In our data, the aspects of the motherly role which were employed included both authority and caring. The nurturer-caregiver role is an obvious one for people to allocate to senior women and Koller notes that in the business magazines she analysed, women managers were often 'conceptualised in terms of caregivers' (2004: 6). In example 1, Leila, the section manager, constructs herself as a motherly figure, concerned about the welfare of her staff.

```
Example 1[3]
Context: Regular team meeting in a government organization. The
team is discussing the best use of resources to address some
staffing problems. Leila is the meeting chair.
1.            [laughter throughout this section]
2.   Lei:     Emma you are part of the solution
3.            in that I think that ( )
4.   Em:      I only want to be part of the problem
5.   XF:      really
6.   Lei:     [laughs] [in fun growly tone] don't you
7.            dare be part of the problem
8.            I'll keep on giving you vitamin c bananas
9.            [laughs] chocolate fish [laughs]
10.           I gave I gave um I you know everyone
11.           had chocolate fish last week but Emma
12.           had more chocolate fish than anybody
13.           the only thing was she had holes in her teeth
14.           /[laughs]\
15.  Em:      /I couldn't eat them\
16.  Lei:     she couldn't eat them [laughs]
```

In this excerpt, Emma establishes the humorous key by contesting Leila's statement that she is *part of the solution* (line 2) to the staffing problem, joking that she only wants *to be part of the problem* (line 4). Leila then playfully threatens to feed Emma with various goodies (line 8), points out that Emma had *more chocolate fish than anybody* (line 12) when they were handed out the previous week, and then reveals information about the holes in Emma's teeth (line 13). The exchange concludes with a supportive comment from Emma *I couldn't eat them* (line 15) which is echoed by Leila, *she couldn't eat them* (line 16). Listening to the recording confirms that this is extremely collaborative harmonious all-together-now talk. This good-humoured exchange, characterized by laughter and a joking tone, clearly reinforces the supportive team culture of this close-knit and feminine community of practice, but it also constructs Leila in a nurturing, motherly role.[4] She humorously plays the role of mother to offset the more decisive and authoritative stance that her managerial role requires at other points in the meeting. Leila here uses the maternal option to reconcile authority and gender identity.

In example 2, Leila constructs Zoe as a capable manager using similar maternal imagery i.e. Zoe as mother to new staff members, and although there is also explicit humorous reference to ‘great aunt Zoe’, the general field from which the imagery is drawn is clearly the domain of older, respected family members.

Example 2[5]
Context: Formal meeting of a team of professional women in a government organisation.

```
1.   Lei:  I mean one we're gonna need Zoe um anyway
2.         to do handing over with the other librarians
3.         when they come /on\ board
4.   Ker:  /yeah\
5.   Lei:  and I think that they're probably going to feel
6.         a need for a little bit of mothering
7.         and I think Zoe will be good at that and the
8.         /other thing she's been\ really good with Kerry
9.   Ker:  /[laughs]\
10.  Lei:  I've watched her [laughs] I've seen her doing it
11.  Em:   mother librarian
12.        [laughter throughout this section]
13.  Lei:  she'll be sort of the great aunt librarian /[laughs]\
14.  Em:   /it's a very old [organisation name] way of
15.        approaching things\
16.  XF:   yes yes yeah ‘tis rather yes
```

Leila here identifies Zoe as a suitable person to induct new library staff. She frames this responsibility in terms of a humorously nurturing role: the staff will need *a little bit of mothering* (line 6). She then goes on to pay Zoe a compliment about on the way she looks after younger less experienced staff by stating that she has *seen her doing it* (line 10), i.e. mothering Kerry. The point is echoed in Emma’s contribution *mother librarian* (line 11), and expanded by Leila *she'll be sort of the great aunt librarian* (line 13). This brief exchange is clearly a teasing, somewhat tongue-in-cheek construction of Zoe as the best person to mentor/mother the new recruits, suggesting that these women are well aware of the irony of drawing on stereotypically domestic feminine characteristics to better perform their professional roles in the workplace. In this example, mothering is equated with supportive, nurturing behaviour rather than with stern authority, an alternative aspect of the role of mother, as Tannen (1994: 161) has noted.

In a third example, from a different community of practice, Jill, the Board Chair, adopts a maternal role to resolve a potential problem in a way that the participants will find easy to accept.[5]

```
Example 3
Context: Board meeting of six people. Tessa cannot find the
mouse which she needs to take the minutes on the computer, as is
normal in these meetings:
1.   Tess:   where’s my mouse
2.   Sam:    [laughs]
3.   Tess:   /(er)\
4.   Don:    /(no well)\ you’re sitting too far away
5.           from the /receiver\
6.   Tess:   /oh for\ goodness sakes how am I going
7.           to be able to do this
8.   Don:    eh? oh well I’ll do it if you want [laughs]
9.   Tess:   well f- just tell me from there
10.  Don:    no I can’t do that
11.  Jill:   okay well while while Tessa and Donald
12.          [laughs]: have a moment: [laughs]…
13.          um so I’ll go for a quick flick through the agenda
```

Tessa and Donald engage in a little skirmish, with Tessa complaining about the placing of the computer (lines 1,6-7) and Donald dishing out advice (lines 4-5) and offering to come and help (line 8), which Tessa irritably rejects (line 9). Jill is about to start the meeting. Instead of ignoring the skirmish, asserting her professional identity, and authoritatively taking the floor, Jill takes the opportunity to re-establish a pleasant tone and pour oil on the troubled marital waters by humorously adopting the role of ‘mother’ or at least ‘understanding older adult’ rather than ‘boss’. Her humour takes a very feminine form too, in that she playfully and supportively constructs the distracting pair as lovers who need a moment's privacy.

Jill's teasing comment (lines 11-12) is an effective strategy for asserting her authority in a low key way in the face of this diversionary spat. Using humour as an integrative discursive strategy, she manages to have her cake and eat it too, using humour to skilfully balance the need to be authoritative with attention to workplace relationships.

These examples illustrate, then, some of the ways in which effective women leaders adopts on occasion a social role which acceptably integrates their authoritative positions with their femininity, namely, that of 'mother'. By adopting a 'maternal' style of doing power, they effectively finesse the stylistic conflict which faces women in positions of authority. Another such authoritative role available to women leaders is that of queen.

2.3. Playing the Queen

Like the role of 'mother', the role of 'queen' cannot be regarded as an unambiguously positive construction. Discussing workplace interaction both with participants and with other audiences in presentations of our work, we found that people often made reference to the role of 'queen' when describing female managers. But many used the term to capture somewhat ambivalent attitudes towards such women, and it was sometimes used quite disparagingly: when someone was described as playing a queenly role there was often a suggestion that they were 'putting on airs' or behaving in ways 'above their station'. Sinclair (1998: 226) notes, for example, that in her research the term 'Queen Bee' was used to describe women who seemed 'more macho than all the other men in the senior management team put together'. Acknowledging this ambivalence, it is nevertheless clear that women who attract such a term are behaving in authoritative ways, and that others recognize that they expect to be treated with respect and deference.

One particular senior manager in our data who played the royal role very effectively was explicitly nick-named 'Queen Clara' by her team, a nickname that she was well aware of and which she exploited to the full.[6] Clara worked in a very hierarchical multinational company where roles and responsibilities were quite explicitly articulated, and people were clear about lines of accountability. While there was much friendly social talk around the edges, meetings were run relatively formally, with authoritarian decision-making very evident (and treated as unmarked) at points of controversy. The adoption of a queenly role was apparently Clara's solution to the double bind of the conflicting demands of gender identity and professional identity. The slightly ironic but very functional 'queenly' persona resolved the potential contradiction between the need to be commanding yet feminine.

Example 4 illustrates how Clara's team makes use of her queenly persona to demystify a potentially problematic point. In this meeting Clara is laying out the different roles that she and her male second-in-command, Sandy, have in relation to a specific project that the group is undertaking. She is the overall manager of the section and responsible for delivering the outcome of the project on time to the organization as a whole. Sandy is the day-to-day project manager, and at times their roles will overlap. She has been talking pretty well uninterrupted for about three minutes when the reference to her queenly role occurs.

Example 4
Context: First of a series of regular weekly meetings of a project team in multinational white-collar commercial organisation.

```
1.   Cla:  + then a just a couple of words about role
2.         and that is clearly um + Sandy and I have roles
3.         that may seem to overlap and we just wanted
4.         to make it clear where they did overlap
5.         and where they didn't overlap [drawls]: um:
6.         Sandy's the project manager
7.         he's responsible for coordinating the project ...
8.         and he's there to make sure that everything we
9.         you do while on on the project fits into that
10.        big picture ... my role is… I'm responsible
11.        I need to deliver to the rest of [the organisation]…
12.        so in a way I'm the person you're doing this for ( )
13.        [general laughter]….
14.  San:  because in effect you're working for for
15.        /two different +\
16.  Cla:  /two masters\
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17.  San:  two different masters
18.  Cla:  so when you're on the project where you're working
19.        for the master and when you're working on your
20.        normal job you're working for me
21.  San:  yes
22.  Mar:  the queen
23.  XF:   the queen
24.        [general laughter]
25.  San:  /the queen is a customer for the project\
26.        /[laughter]\ /[laughter]\
27.  Cla:  … I'm the one who's accountable …
28.        so I'm the person who has the final say on stuff
29.        that goes on… I'm the one whose gonna make
30.        that final decision… because it's my butt on
31.        the line okay?
32.        so that's make that clear as well the differentiation
33.        between Sandy and me
```

This long excerpt has been edited in the interests of saving space but it does usefully illustrate the complex functions of Clara's queenly identity. This authoritative persona means she can state people's different responsibilities quite explicitly (lines 1-12, 18-20), and also make quite clear the extent of her power and status (lines 28-30).

One interpretation of the laughter, interjections and humorous, overlapping contributions represented in lines 13-26, is that it is a reaction to the explicitness with which Clara is discursively doing power in this meeting. Both the content and the form of her discourse emphasise her authority: e.g. her long uninterrupted speaking turns together with the explicit direct language: *we just wanted to make it clear where they did overlap and where they didn't overlap* (lines 3-5), *Sandy's the project manager, my role is…*(lines 6, 10) *I'm the one who's accountable* (line 27), and so on. She uses short clear clauses with the minimum of modification. All this contributes to the construction of a very authoritative and normatively masculine leadership style. Her team's reference to her queenly identity (lines 22-25) can thus be interpreted as a way of managing the potential contradictions raised by the behaviour of a woman who adopts such an authoritative style.

Clara's willingness to be explicitly authoritative when required is also well illustrated by our much-cited example 5, which demonstrates how she resolves a conflict when team members want to bend the rules established at the beginning of the project. The team is discussing how best to provide instructions to other members of their organisation about a specialised computer process. The discussion revolves around a request to allow people to print off material from the computer screen (i.e. to 'screendump').

```
Example 5[7]
Context: Regular weekly meeting of project team in multinational
white-collar commercial organisation.
1.   Har:  look's like there's been actually a request
2.         for screendumps
3.         I know it was outside of the scope
4.         but people will be pretty worried about it
5.   Cla:  no screendumps
6.   Matt: we-
7.   Cla:  no screendumps
8.   Peg:  [sarcastically]: thank you Clara:
9.   Cla:  /no screendumps\
10.  Matt: /we know\ we know you didn't want them
11.        and we um er /we've\
12.  Cla:  /that does not\ meet the criteria
[several reasons provided why screendumps should be allowed]
13.  Cla:  thanks for looking at that though
14.  San:  so that's a clear well maybe no
15.  Cla:  it's a no
16.  San:  it's a no a royal no
```

Clara here gives a very clear directive that under no circumstances will people be allowed to print material from their screens. She states her position clearly and explicitly: i.e. *no screendumps* . And she does so three times (lines 5, 7, 9) without any modification, thus conveying her message in very strong terms indeed. Moreover, when Matt suggests this is simply a matter of what she wants, *we know you didn't want them* (line 10), she follows up with an explicit reference to the previously agreed and ratified criteria (line 12). In other words, this is a very clear instance of Clara doing leadership in an explicitly authoritative way.

As in the previous example, Clara's team have recourse to humour to manage th$e tensions created when a woman behaves in such a peremptory and authoritative manner. Peggy's sarcastic *thank you Clara* (line 8) provides an initial tension-breaker. Clara, however, then restates her position quite unequivocally *it's a no* (line 15). At this point Sandy makes an overt reference to Clara's queenly persona in another attempt to defuse the tension, *it's a no a royal no* (line 16). In this example, then, Clara draws maximally on the authoritative aspects of her queenly role, and, while they humorously appeal to that role to relieve tension, her team also clearly recognise its authority.

At the beginning of a meeting when she has just returned from holiday, Clara responds in a more playful way to her team's on-going joke about her royal identity. As background, to this example, readers need to be aware that the British Queen Mother had recently damaged her hip. Sandy is about the open the meeting but first addresses Clara directly.

```
Example 6
Context: Beginning of a regular project team meeting in
multinational white-collar organisation.
1.   San:    how's your mum
2.   Cla:    sorry?
3.   San:    she broke her hip didn't she?
4.   Cla:    my mother?
5.   All:    [laugh]
6.   Cla:    what are you talking about
7.   XF:     [laughs]: the queen mother:
8.   Dai:    [laughs]: the queen mother:
9.   Cla:    oh
10.  All:    [laugh]
11.  Cla:    [using a hyperlectal accent and superior tone]:
12.          my husband and I:
13.  All:    [laugh]
14.  Cla:    are confident that she'll pull through
15.  All:    [laugh]
```

While Clara is initially bemused by Sandy's questions (lines 1-6), it is clear, once she decodes the reference, that she is happy to play along with the charade and ham up her role as Queen Clara with a parody of queenly style: *my husband and I are confident that she'll pull through* (lines 12,14). Clara's queenly persona is exploited for entertainment purposes in this light-hearted example of pre-meeting social talk. On other occasions, however, as illustrated above, it serves, with varying degrees of irony, to help resolve tensions generated at times by Clara's explicitly authoritative behaviour.

The role of 'Queen Clara' thus enables Clara to resolve the inherent conflict between her role as manager and her feminine gender identity. This persona allows her to behave in ways which are authoritative without causing discomfort to or attracting resentment from her team members. It allows her to maintain a certain social distance, and contributes to the impression of dignified graciousness and status. But it also allows her to act in feminine ways, attending to interpersonal aspects of workplace interaction by participating fully in the team's high involvement interactional style, contributing to the general social talk and collaborative humour, giving generous praise and approval, and encouraging thorough discussion and exploration of problematic issues.[8] In this way, Clara successfully creates a satisfactory space for herself as a woman leader in a masculine workspace, adopting a way of doing leadership that does not negate her feminine gender identity. We could describe Clara, then, as a manager who creates her own myth, and who then effectively exploits it to maintain her feminine gender identity while also 'doing power' to achieve the transactional objectives of her organisation.

These two different roles, then, mother and queen represent two rather different strategies for resolving the tension between constructing an authoritative professional identity as a leader, and maintaining one's feminine gender identity in the workplace. The resolutions adopted by different women on different occasions tend to reflect the demands of the specific social contexts they encounter in their very different communities of practice.

3. Conclusion

The analysis in this paper has illustrated how a social constructionist approach offers both an explanatory framework and a tool for documenting change in progress. Examining in detail the complex ways in which effective leaders who are women construct their roles through strategic discourse choices in a range of workplace contexts, provides a means to document the challenges that these women offer to the masculinist discourse norms which dominate most workplaces. In order to be treated with respect, women often need to prove they can foot it with their predominantly male colleagues in many aspects of the way they do their jobs Some, however, are finding ways of effectively integrating aspects of more feminine discourse styles into their workplace talk. Using discourse strategies, such as humour and social talk, they strategically attenuate an assertive powerful performance in a variety of politic ways to produce a socially acceptable construction of leadership.

Moreover, by appropriating authoritative, powerful strategies when required, women contribute to de-gendering them and make it clear that they are tools of leadership discourse, and not exclusively of male discourse. In a range of ways, and to differing degrees, such women contest and trouble the gendered discourse norms which characterize so many workplaces, and which contribute to the glass ceiling they are trying to break through.

I have argued in a recent paper (Holmes 2006a) that we need to put women back at the centre of language and gender research. As linguists, we can highlight discursive behaviours which penalise women in many workplace contexts, on the one hand, while documenting active discursive resistance to sexist behaviours and attitudes on the other. Research which focuses on effective ways of contesting restrictive norms and stereotypes offers a way out of what has been experienced by some as a depressing cul de sac, as well as providing an optimistic indication that feminist linguists have much to contribute to social transformation.

As Susan Phillips says (2003: 260):

> While a great deal was gained by the new feminist conceptualizing of women as intersections of various aspects of social identity, a great deal was lost too. The rhetorical force of the focus on the universal key problem of a very broad

> men's power over women, rather than the particularities of problems like domestic violence and rape, was obscured, and really has not regained center stage in feminist writing since.

By adopting a "strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest" (Spivak 1985 as cited in Landry & Maclean 1996: 205), we can address this problematic issue in those contexts where male norms transparently dominate, as they do in many workplaces. What Boyne (1990: 170) labels "strategic essentialism" is a valuable tactic for regaining the strength which is inevitably dissipated when the focus is on difference and diversity, rather than on what is shared. To illustrate this concept, I have focussed in this paper on just one strategy, the skilful utilisation of aspects of social roles which allow women in leadership positions to operate with authority without compromising their femininity. There are a range of other effective strategies –they await further research.

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Notes

1. I would like to thank those who allowed their workplace interactions to be recorded, and other members of the Language in the Workplace Project team who assisted with collecting and transcribing the data. This paper draws on two earlier papers, namely Holmes (2005) and Holmes (2006a). Meredith Marra and Sharon Marsden assisted with the editing.

2. See Stubbe (1999) and Holmes & Stubbe (2003b, chapter 2) for a more detailed description.

3. This example is discussed more extensively in Holmes & Stubbe (2003a).

The following transcription conventions have been used throughout:

yes	Underlining indicates emphatic stress
[laughs] : :	Editorial and paralinguistic features in square brackets, colons indicate start/finish
+	Pause of up to one second
... /......\ ... .../.......\ ...	Simultaneous speech
(hello)	Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
-	Incomplete or cut-off utterance
?	Signals "question" where it is ambiguous on paper

… …	Section of transcript omitted
XM/XF	Unidentified Male/Female

All names are pseudonyms

4. See Holmes & Marra (2002), Holmes & Schnurr (2005), Holmes & Stubbe (2003a), for further discussion of the ways in which analysis of the distribution and type of humour may be used to characterize different workplace cultures and communities of practice.

5. This example is discussed further in Holmes & Schnurr (2005) and Holmes (2006b).

6. This section draws on material from chapter 2 of Holmes (2006b), and Holmes & Marra (fc).

7. We have used this example many times in earlier publications because it is such a succinct illustration of such a wide range of points.

8. See Holmes (2006b) for an analysis of Clara's attention to interpersonal aspects of effective leadership behaviour.

Borrowing and swearing – Gender in workplace interaction

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Abstract

The paper presents some empirical results and theoretical conclusions of a research aimed at studying the relationship between gender and language use at a Hungarian workplace. In the framework of a qualitative research I spent three months at two departments of a Hungarian factory where I studied the interface between gender and language use among 35 white-collar workers. In the paper I offer a detailed analysis of the linguistic strategy of two of the observed women leaders. In one case, while the language of the conversation was always Hungarian, the frequent borrowing of English words characterising the woman's speech played an important part in the specificly gendered construction of the quality of expertise. In the other case the frequent use of swear words characterising the language use of another woman helped constructing the quality of honesty also in a highly gendered way. I argue that language use plays an important part in constructing certain characteristics which characteristics themselves are gendered. Gender is thus indirectly constructed and should be conceptualised not as an attribute of people but rather as a field filled with meanings (specific to the given communities of practice) about 'man' and 'woman'.
Key words: *gender* ~ language use ~ *workplace* ~ *borrowing* ~ *swearing*

1. Introduction

Gender and language researchers have been interested in workplace interaction for quite long. (e.g. Holmes 2000; McElhinny 1998; Kendall & Tannen 1997; Coates 1995; Tannen 1994b etc.) Research has focused mostly on the interaction styles of males and females in managerial positions or in other professional occupations (e.g. physicians, teachers

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 460-473.

etc.) and more recently also on the gendered nature of workplaces themselves. However, most of the results come from research carried out in the English-speaking world. Previously no research has been done on the relation of gender and language at a Hungarian workplace setting. My own research tried to address this area.

Language, gender and workplace are polisemic categories, their examination thus requires more precise definitions of the terms. When I talk about examining language I am not interested in the abstract structure of *'la langue'* (cf. Saussure 1916) but in its use in given contexts and settings, that is *'la parole'* side of language. Nor am I interested in the highly systematic nature of parole itself that has been discovered by studies oriented mostly by ethnomethodology. What I focus on is the action we carry out by and through talking. (cf. Austin 1962)

By gender I mean a socially constructed part of our multi-faceted identity which is fluid and flexible, can take up different meanings in different contexts and is combined in highly divers ways with other aspects of identity such as age, nationality, ethnicity, class etc. My conceptualisation of gender is informed by trends in postmodern feminism (cf. Butler 1999).

Finally, by workplace I, first of all, mean the primary linguistic setting of the interactions studied (cf. Hymes 1972). When I talk about its organisational aspects I accept Boden's definition who claims that *"organisations are taken to be locally organised and interactionally achieved contexts of decision making and of enduring institutional momentum"* (1994: 19) That is, interactions at the workplace are, on the one hand, influenced by the specific characteristics of the setting and, on the other hand, create these characteristics and thus the organisation itself.

While workplace in general was identified as the primary linguistic setting of the research, the two actual departments under investigation were identified as two different communities of practice, as they satisfied the criteria set for such communities by Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992).

In my research I studied the interrelation of the above described three categories. Researching gendered workplace interaction thus means firstly, examining what role language use plays in the construction of gender, secondly, what is the role of gender in the use and interpretation of language and, thirdly, how the specific workplace context in which the interactions take place affects this relation.

2. The research

In studying the relationship between gender and language use at the workplace my actual research questions were the following: How do women and men communicate at the workplace? How do they present and effectuate their power in leading positions? How does their language use affect their workplace evaluation? What can be said about the gendered nature of the CofPs where interactions take place and how does this affect the first three questions?

To answer the above questions I spent three months at two functional units, the marketing and the operations department of a medium sized, privately owned Hungarian factory, in 2002. (Hungarian does not refer here to the ownership structure of the company but to the nationality of the employees and the language of the workplace.)

3. Methods

Aiming at studying the context dependent meaning of language use and its role in identity formation leads quite directly to the employment of the qualitative research tradition. To study meaning construction in the two chosen CofPs I used the method of participant observation. I spent three months at two departments of the company in the role of "observer as participant" (Atkinson & Hamersley 1998) or from another viewpoint as "peripheral member" (Adler & Adler 1994) of the groups. The subjects of the research knew that I was present as a researcher interested in communication at the workplace. However, they did not know that I was focusing on the relationship of gender and language. In the last third of the observation period I tape-recorded certain speech events which I later transcribed and analysed with the method of conversation analysis.

I also made semi-structured interviews with all members of both CofPs. Finally, I prepared the sociometric analysis of both CofPs.

Observation helped to understand the context of the interactions under scrutiny and thus led to a more valid interpretation of the actions carried out through and by talking, and the meaning created in the interactions. Conversation analysis was useful for a meticulous and detailed analysis of the interactions which, due to the temporary nature of talk, observation itself would not have made possible. Interviews were used to get a glimpse at the stereotypes about males and females, male and female leaders as well as to explore folk-linguistic opinions about 'male and female communicative styles'. Sociometric analysis was helpful in mapping sympathy and antipathy within the CofPs, in identifying central and peripheral members and gaining information about group opinion linked to work related success and leadership qualities of the group-members. The combination of the above methods resulted in rich and varied data, the analysis of which hopefully led to a valid interpretation of 'what was going on' in the two CofPs.

4. The two CofPs

The marketing department had 18-21 employees (there was some fluctuation) during the period under investigation. There were 4 men and 14-17 women. The head of the department was a 34 year old woman. All the employees were white, upper-middle or middle-middle class people doing white collar jobs. The majority of the employees were young (late 20s, early 30s), unmarried women with college or university degree. 4 women and 2 men worked in managerial positions.

The operations department had 17-19 employees in the same period. There were 9-11 women and 8 men, all white, middle-middle or lower-middle class. The head of the department was a 47 year old man. The average age was somewhat higher (42 year as opposed to 34 year at the marketing). Most of the employees were married, the majority of them had children as well. Only 60 % had college or university degrees, the rest of them had secondary education. All of them did white collar jobs but many of them worked in routine administrative positions. Only one of the women had managerial position as opposed to 3 men.

Although the scope of this paper does not allow for a detailed analysis of the two communities, I should mention that the two CofPs differed from each other along many different lines including interaction and leadership styles, norms and attitudes relating to work as well as to gender. Interestingly though, stereotypes about 'man' and 'woman', 'male and female leaders' as well as folk linguistic ideas about how 'man and women talk' proved to be very similar in the two communities.

5. Two examples

In what follows I would like to describe two of the observed linguistic strategies which, according to my intention, will shed light on the relationship of gender and language and has thus the potential of grounding theoretical conceptualisation of this relationship.

5.1. 'I'm not just a little blond girl'

The linguistic strategy I'd like to describe was most typically used by the female head of the marketing department, the 34 year old Klári. Klári reports to the director-general, the only person above her in the hierarchy and manages the work of approximately 20 people. She is a very pretty, elegant, young woman who emphasizes her femininity by her dressing and behaviour. She has kind manners and does not normally emphasize her hierarchical power with interactional tools.

In spite of this she is not very popular in her CofP. The sociometric analysis indicates a peripheral position in the group and both observational and interview data confirm that her subordinates do not like her very much. On the other hand, her subordinates consider her very good in her job, a truly successful manager who has the prospect of a big career ahead of her.

I would like to show how this evaluation is related to communicative strategies and conceptions of gender.

I quite soon noticed that, while the language of the examined workplace was Hungarian, quite a few English words were used at the marketing department and Klári was the one who used these English terms, expressions the most often. This did not go unnoticed as other people both from within and outside the CofP called my attention to this phenomenon as well.

The following is a typical excerpt from a meeting organised by Klári. The other participants were all members of the marketing department. They were product group managers one level below Klári in the hierarchy. The language of the meeting is, as always, Hungarian. I call attention to the words borrowed from English with bald type:

Transcription conventions:
[xxxx] simultaneous speech
= latching
(.) pause lasting less than 1 second
(2) pause in seconds
(...) untranscribable material
<xxx> remark of transcriber

Excerpt 1
Róbert: na it a szörviszíz <**services**> megkapja a maga magas pontszámát
Kati: Ez a hármas (...)? [szöpláj csén]<**supply chain**>
Róbert: [e- egyes] a kategória?
Kati: [tréde marketing menedzser?] <**trade marketing manager**>
Klári: [mindenkinek egyes] nem? hát [felhasz]nálói tapasztalatok kellenek
Kati: [nem csak a](2) hát ez a wörkin <**working**>(...) lídin edzs <**leading edge**>
Klári: [(...)]
Róbert: [(...)]az egyes az az, hogy(1.4)[láttam már kompjútert] <**computer**>
Klári: [jó, de nem (...)]
Kati: szöpláj csénes <**supply chain**> kettes, kontróler kettes, brend menedzser <**brand manager**>
Nelli: =kontróler <**controller**>? olyan hármas mint a szél
Róbert: nem nem nem hát
Nelli: nem?

Róbert:(...) az hogy exelt ismer, az egy dolog
Nelli: jó
Kati: brend menedzser <**brand manager**> kettő, (...) asszisztens ő a hármas? vagy
Klári: miért nem csak felhasználói ismeretek ezek? A wörkin nolidzs <**working knowledge**> ájtíben <IT> az programokat ír
Róbert: nem, az a lídin edzs <**leading edge**>
Kati: az a hármas
Klári: az a lídin edzs <**leading edge**> ? A lídin edzs <**leading edge**> az az aki aki olyan profin csinálja, hogy ő a tanácsadó
Kati: aki a mászter <**master**>
Róbert: hát ő írja a programot, igen

We can see that the English words, in this excerpt used without any problems by all participants, can be considered technical terms of their profession. While *computer, brand manager, controller* and to a lesser extent *supply chain* are quite widely used terms at the company and in the business world in general, and can be considered to be on the way to become integrated into the host language *working knowledge* and *leading edge* are felt to be English words the meaning of which are not normally known for a Hungarian native speaker who does not speak English.

What is the function of the use of these borrowings? The use of these words come naturally to these managers whose university education included reading of English language literature and many of whom spent more or less time in an English language environment either studying abroad or working for multinational companies where the language of the company was English. The English words come to their mind first and, as everybody understands it, they do not make any effort to find the rarely used or non-existent Hungarian equivalent of the terms.

However, such English terms are not used with equal frequency by everybody, especially when speaking to an audience outside the CofP where knowledge of English is presumably much lower. I would like to argue that the fact that Klári uses these borrowings the most often and uses it not only within the CofP but also talking in front of an audience who might not understand these terms, serves a special function strongly related to the issue of gender.

Klári is the only woman in the board of managers and the youngest of them all. The role of the 'leader' in Hungary, as well as elsewhere, is traditionally a masculine position. Women often have a hard time to get themselves accepted as leaders.

Klári realizes that she has a problem as a top manager. Talking about one of his (male) fellow managers, she says: *„It took me a year to make him believe that I'm not just a little blond girl."* But she also says: *„To be a woman is a disadvantage until her professional expertise is discovered. From then on it's an advantage."* Thus she explicitly states that having yourself accepted as an expert helps to overcome the disadvantage caused by the fact that you are a woman. The frequent use of English technical terms helps her create the image of the expert.

That her strategy is partly successful is proved by the opinion of her colleagues examplified by the following quotes:

> "I consider her extremely energetic, dynamic, **professionally her knowledge** is absolutely **well founded**."
>
> "Perhaps she puts the human factor in the background a little bit, with her it's always the **work** which is **in the foreground**."
>
> "I consider her **absolutely good professionally**, as people she doesn't much care about us."

She is thus successful in having herself accepted as an expert while her colleagues feel that she does not really care about the people. This latter fact explains her low sympathy rating in the sociometric analysis.

Let me sum up my argument:

1. Klári is a woman in top managerial position.
2. Expertise, competence necessary for being accepted as a good boss are traditionally considered to be masculine characteristics.
3. Klári's communicative style is stereotypically feminine but she uses a high number of English borrowings in her speech.

4. The use of English borrowings helps to construct the quality of expertise.
5. This in turn helps her to be accepted as a boss in spite of the fact that she is a woman.

5.2. 'I eat the boys by the kilo'

While Klári could not gain the sympathy of her fellow workers, my second example describes a linguistic strategy used by a woman who is the most popular member of her Cof P. Nelli (28), who also works for the marketing department, is product group manager, head of a group of four women. She reports to Klári. In her appearance she is emphatically feminine. Her communicative style is relation oriented, she never emphasises her hierarchical role or power with interactional tools.

According to the results of the sociometric analysis she has a central position in the CofP. She received the highest number of votes in questions aiming to map up sympathy relations within the group. At the same time she is considered to be a successful boss.

The most typical communicative feature that she is famous for in the CofP is one which is generally described as a masculine strategy. This is the frequent use of swear words. The following examples were noted down in my research diary, all used by Nelli in front of many other members from inside and occasionally also outside her CofP.

> "What's this shit?" (Ez mi a szar?)
>
> "I'm pissed off with him." (A tököm tele van vele!)
>
> "I'll ask him/her where the hell he/she is." (Meg fogom kérdezni tőle, hol a picsában van.)
>
> "Fuck, I don't know his/her phone number!" (Baszd meg, nem tudom a telefonszámát!)
>
> "What the fuck?" (Mi a fasz?)
>
> "Róbert is an asshole!" (Róbert egy nagy gyökér!)

"Bloody hell!" (A kurva életbe!)

I should add that the use of swear words is not typical among the white collar workers of the company and during the observation period I noted only one other person using such terms, interestingly also a woman in her early fifties.

The combination of stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine strategies does not go unnoticed as it is proved by the following quotes by her colleagues:

> "Nelli was **extremely feminine,** she had to be told to keep back a little."

> "Nelli is a **democratic leader** but she also tries to be **firm**."

> "Nelli's communication is **masculine**, she is very direct, says what she thinks."

Women leaders using a stereotypically feminine, relation oriented communicative style are often accused of being manipulative, not saying what they really think. (Tannen 1994a) This could be one of the reasons why Klári was not a popular member of her CofP. As one of her colleagues said: *„as if everything had a coreography around her, there were a lot of formalities, humbug, a lot of eye-wash."*

I would like to argue that by the frequent use of swear words Nelli effectively constructs herself as an honest, sincere person who says directly what is on her mind. The following quote by her colleague explicitly creates the link between Nelli's communicative style, focusing especially on her frequent use of swear words and her character:

> "Nelli is very **loose-tongued**, she dares to say things, **swears a lot**, **doesn't hide her opinion**. She is **more human** than many others at the firm."

Nelli's strategy proves to be very successful. She is considered to be a very good boss and at the same time she is liked by her colleagues.

Let me again sum up my argument:

1. Nelli is a woman in middle managerial position.

2. She uses a mixture of stereotypically feminine (indirectness) and stereotypically masculine (swearing) communicative strategies.
3. Indirectness, in the case of women, is often associated with manipulation.
4. Swearing helps to construct the quality of honesty.
5. This, in turn, helps Nelli to be accepted as an honest person who is liked and respected by her colleagues.

6. Conclusion

Gender and language studies for quite long focused on the differences between how women and men communicate. As many recent studies have proved convincingly, we cannot talk about feminine and masculine styles in general (although studying linguistic ideologies helps us to identify stereotypically feminine and masculine communicative styles). (cf. Bergvall, Bing & Freed 1996; Bucholtz, Liang & Sutton 1999; Hall & Bucholtz 1995; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003). There is a wide variety in the styles of women as well as similarities in how certain women and men speak. Gender does not determine our language use. The above conclusion has been confirmed by my research results as well. While many differences have been identified between the styles of women managers, there were men and women managers who used almost identical styles. (In the present paper I could not go into details of these findings.)

Recent literature in gender and language studies claim that gender is not reflected in language use but is actually created by it. My findings seem to modify this approach slightly.

I would like to argue that direct construction of gender, that is the construction of a certain femininity or masculinity, is relatively rare, most often taking place during conversation in mixed pairs or groups focusing on building romantic relationships. Such situations are relatively rare in the context of the workplace. This, however, does not mean that gender plays no role in these situations. I hope to have proved that gender has an indirect effect on communication. People construct certain qualities, like expertise or honesty, which qualities themselves are gendered. Honesty is an important quality to be constructed for a woman who can otherwise be easily accused of manipulation. Expertise is a quality useful for a woman who wants to have herself accepted as a leader while male leaders need it much less as the meaning of maleness includes in itself the concept of expertise by default.

Gender construction thus takes place indirectly. It leads to the conclusion that, from a theoretical point of view, it is more useful to conceptualise gender not as an attribute one has or does but rather as a domain filled with meanings (specific to the given communities of practice) about 'man' and 'woman'. If, for example, this field contains meanings identifying expert and leader with male but not with female, then women in leadership positions are forced to react in some ways to this situation. (We should add that the domain is of course full with meanings about other collective categories like age, ethnicity, profession etc. which get combined with each other in highly diverse and community specific ways.) Thus these meanings affect both the linguistic behaviour and the interpretation of the linguistic behaviour of speakers moving within this field.

To sum it up:

1. Neither our biological sex nor our gender (conceptualised as an attribute we obtain through socialisation) determine language use.
2. In most cases gender is not constructed directly through language use either.
3. Language use plays an important part in constructing certain characteristics like honesty, expertise, courage etc. which characteristics themselves are gendered. Gender is thus indirectly constructed and should be conceptualised not as an attribute of people but rather as a field.

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Genre, langues et tabous sexuels au sein de populations migrantes subsahariennes francophones

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Abstract

This paper is focused on the links between gender, sexual taboo and language choice in multilingual populations. It is based on a study on HIV-prevention among francophone sub-Saharan migrants living in French speaking Switzerland. Among other things, this study aims to find out if the choice of French or African languages is perceived as a factor which influences the impact of sexual taboos on interactions with community members.
The results presented in this paper are drawn from quantitative and qualitative discourse analyses of 46 in-depth interviews carried out with sub-Saharan migrants. In the sample women and men are equally represented.
Our data suggest that the use of French instead of or besides African languages is seen by more than half of the interviewees as facilitating discussions about sexuality. The women of our sample report to a greater extend than men a strategic use of French in order to lessen the impact of sexual taboo, even though their overall level of proficiency in French is lower. Moreover, several women mention other taboo reduction strategies based only on African languages, such as in-group secret codes. The interviewed women seem thus particularly eager to find linguistic strategies helping them to lighten the burden of sexual taboo.
Keywords: *multilingualism ~ gender ~ sexuality ~ taboo ~ sub-Saharan migrants*

1. Introduction

Cet article est centré sur les imaginaires linguistiques et sociaux de locuteurs plurilingues (Houdebine-Gravaud 2002) et sur les liens qui s'y

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 474-487.

présentent entre l'identité de genre, les tabous sexuels et le choix de langue pour parler de sexualité. La problématique est abordée à partir de résultats issus d'une recherche sur la prévention VIH/sida chez les migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s francophones vivant en Suisse romande.

Plusieurs travaux récents ont mis en évidence que les personnes plurilingues ressentent davantage le poids des tabous sexuels dans leurs langues premières, acquises généralement au sein de la famille, que dans leurs langues secondes, souvent apprises à l'école (Harris *et al* 2003; Bond & Lai 2001). Dans des conversations impliquant plusieurs personnes ayant le même répertoire plurilingue, il semble donc que le code-switching vers la langue seconde peut permettre, grâce à une fonction de distanciation (Burck 2004), l'expression d'idées dont la thématisation serait perçue comme trop choquante dans les langues premières.

Pour ce qui est de la population originaire d'Afrique subsaharienne, des recherches ont montré que les femmes sont davantage que les hommes sujettes aux tabous sexuels et qu'elles sont donc plus que ces derniers limitées dans leurs possibilités d'aborder des contenus liés à la sexualité (cf. Zuppinger & Kopp 2002 pour une revue de travaux dans ce domaine). Peu de choses sont pour l'instant connues sur les éventuelles stratégies linguistiques utilisées par les migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s francophones –et plus particulièrement par les femmes– afin de tenter de réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels sur les interactions verbales. En revanche, une enquête conduite en Afrique du Nord, s'intéressant aux pratiques linguistiques de groupes de femmes plurilingues (Morsly 1998), souligne l'importance de stratégies de code-switching vers le français dans le but de lever partiellement l'autocensure dans des discussions sur des thèmes sexuels.

Compte tenu de ces observations et de l'importance de pouvoir parler ouvertement de sexualité dans le cadre de la prévention VIH/sida auprès des migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s de Suisse romande, nous avons décidé d'investiguer les stratégies langagières que cette population développe pour réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels. Dans cette perspective, notre recherche pluridisciplinaire sur la prévention VIH/sida chez les migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s francophones s'est fixée pour but de mieux comprendre comment cette population perçoit le français et les langues africaines en tant que vecteurs de contenus sexuels. Pour une investigation ciblée des enjeux de genre, nous cherchions en particulier à savoir s'il existe des différences dans le rapport des femmes et des hommes aux langues et à leur impact sur les échanges abordant la sexualité. Toutefois, l'attention ne se portera pas uniquement sur ces différences de genre, mais on essayera également de saisir dans quelle mesure les tabous sexuels, en tant que normes sociales pesant sur les discours, formatent les comportements langagiers, influençant par là même la manière dont les individus construisent leur identité de genre.

2. Présentation du projet

La recherche dont sont tirés les résultats empiriques discutés ici partait d'un double constat: premièrement, les données épidémiologiques montraient la forte prévalence du VIH/sida parmi les migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s vivant en Suisse (OFSP 2004); deuxièmement, les autorités fédérales en matière de santé publique militaient, en 2002, pour une approche foncièrement communautaire de la prévention pour cette population, impliquant des médiateurs/-trices d'origine subsaharienne et passant autant que possible par les langues africaines. A propos de ce dernier point, une enquête préliminaire (Singy *et al* 2004) ainsi que d'autres études auprès de migrant-e-s (Guex & Singy 2003; Singy & Weber 2000) incitent à penser qu'une partie de la population cible pourrait percevoir ces approches communautaires comme discriminantes et stigmatisantes, autrement dit comme un traitement de "seconde classe".

Sur cette base, ainsi qu'à partir des éléments de réflexions présentés dans l'introduction concernant le choix de langue et les tabous sexuels, deux hypothèses générales ont été avancées. La première admet qu'une prévention exclusivement communautaire porte en elle deux facteurs limitatifs potentiels: la crainte chez certain-e-s migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s d'être stigmatisé-e-s et celle d'une non garantie de la confidentialité. La deuxième hypothèse s'attache à vérifier dans quelle mesure, lorsqu'il s'agit de parler du sida et de la sexualité, le français et les langues africaines entretiennent un rapport de complémentarité fonctionnelle dans l'esprit des populations migrantes subsahariennes francophones. L'étude questionne également l'impact, sur les imaginaires linguistiques et sociaux, de l'importante hétérogénéité sociale de la population migrante subsaharienne, et en particulier de l'identité de genre. En effet, une troisième hypothèse de recherche admet une variation des opinions relatives aux deux premières hypothèses en fonction du profil socio-biographique des migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s (genre, ethnicité, statut légal, religion, niveau de formation).

Afin de soumettre à vérification ces hypothèses, 46 entretiens ont été conduit avec des migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s francophones, suivant un protocole articulant des parties semi-dirigées et dirigées. L'échantillon tente de refléter la diversité de cette population (cf. tableau 1).

Tableau 1.- Echantillon

Origine	Cameroun	6
	Guinée	7
	Rep. Dem. du Congo	7
	Sénégal	6
	Rwanda/Burundi	6 (4+2)
	Togo/Bénin	8 (5+3)
	Autres	6
Genre	Femmes	23
	Hommes	23
Statut légal	Suisses et établis (C)	6 (4+2)
	Permis de séjour (B et F)	21 (18+3)
	Requérants d'asile (N)	16
	Sans papiers	3
Formation	Universitaire	11
	Post-obligatoire	14
	Manuelle	19
	Illettrés	2
Religion	Chrétiens	30
	Musulmans	14
	Autres	2

Les entretiens ont été transcrits et soumis à une analyse de discours quantitative et qualitative, l'analyse quantitative s'attachant principalement aux réponses suscitées dans la partie dirigée de l'entretien. Elle vise à répartir les opinions des enquêté-e-s en quelques catégories, ce qui permet un traitement statistique descriptif des données. L'analyse qualitative, quant à elle, vise essentiellement à dégager les principaux arguments grâce auxquels les interviewé-e-s étayent leurs prises de position. Elle comporte également un volet de microanalyse discursive investiguant certains phénomènes formels précis (utilisation des pronoms, formes passives/actives, modalités, mises en relation sémantiques récurrentes, etc.).

3. Résultats choisis

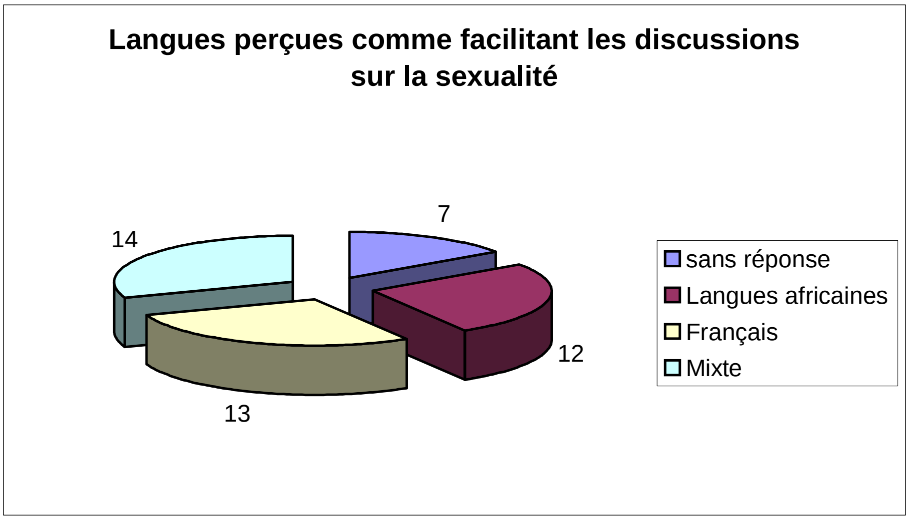
Nous avons sélectionné deux ensembles de résultats empiriques rendant compte des perceptions que les migrant-e-s subsaharien-e-s francophones ont du français et des langues africaines en tant que vecteurs de contenus sexuels et des éventuels enjeux de genre liés à ces perceptions. Les premiers résultats sont tirés d'une question du protocole d'entretien qui visait à dégager si, pour aborder certains thèmes liés à la sexualité, les migrant-e-s subsaharien-ne-s jugent avoir plus de facilité en français ou dans l'une ou l'autre langue africaine de leur répertoire plurilingue. Par la suite, nous nous attacherons aux propos des interviewé-e-s concernant une utilisation ciblée, de leur part, du français plutôt que des langues africaines pour réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels.

4. Quelles langues facilitent les discussions sur la sexualité?

Dans nos entretiens, nous avons demandé aux interviewé-e-s si, lors de discussions sur la sexualité, certains aspects leur paraissaient plus faciles à aborder en français ou dans l'une ou l'autre des langues africaines faisant partie de leur répertoire plurilingue. Compte tenu de travaux préalables (Harris *et al* 2003; Bond & Lai 2001; Morsly 1998) qui suggèrent que l'impact des tabous sexuels est moindre pour des personnes plurilingues lorsqu'elles parlent dans leurs langues secondes, nous nous attendions à ce que le français soit perçu comme facilitant la thématisation de la sexualité.

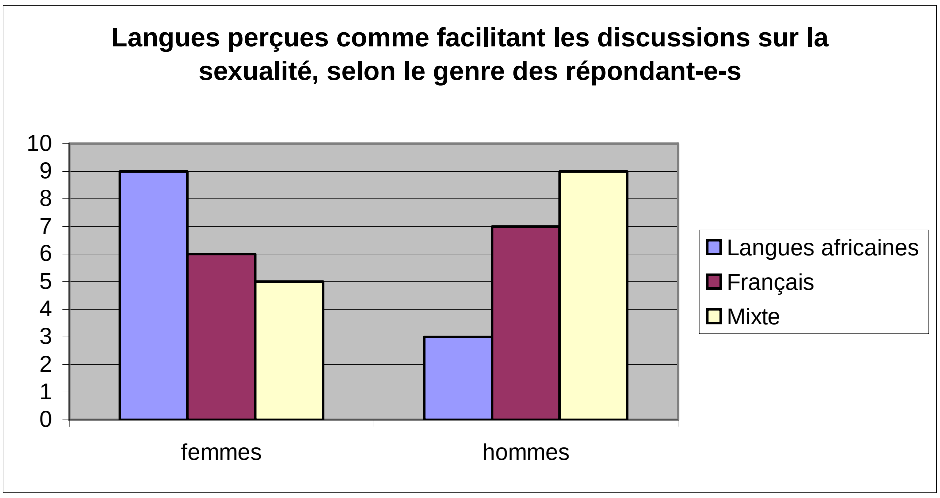
L'analyse statistique des réponses à cette question révèle une dissension importante entre les interviewé-e-s sur ce point. Le graphique 1 montre que les 39 réponses utilisables se répartissent à parts presque égales sur trois groupes, un premier considérant le français comme facilitant les discussions sur la sexualité, et deux autres groupes se prononçant l'un en faveur des langues africaines et l'autre en faveur de l'alternance codique entre langues africaines et français ("mixte").

Graphique 1



L'analyse de ces réponses sous l'angle de la variable "genre" (cf. graphique 2) montre principalement que les enquêtées féminines sont bien plus nombreuses à percevoir les langues africaines comme facilitant la thématisation de contenus sexuels que les enquêtés masculins: à représentation égale dans l'échantillon, 9 femmes ont répondu dans ce sens, contre 3 hommes seulement.

Graphique 2



La prise en compte du profil sociolinguistique des migrant-e-s interviewé-e-s offre une explication possible à cette inclinaison plus marquée pour les langues africaines chez les femmes. On constate en effet que les interviewé-e-s qui ont une maîtrise limitée du français sont en grande majorité de sexe féminin: parmi les neuf personnes jugées peu à l'aise en français par les intervieweurs, sept sont des femmes. Du fait de leurs compétences linguistiques, les femmes interviewées étaient donc logiquement moins susceptibles de percevoir le français comme facilitant les échanges, y compris sur la sexualité. L'incidence déterminante de ce facteur linguistique sur les réponses des femmes est d'ailleurs confirmée par le fait que parmi les neuf interviewées affirmant que les échanges sur la sexualité sont plus aisées dans les langues africaines, on retrouve six femmes ayant une maîtrise limitée du français. En définitive, si l'on considère uniquement la section féminine de l'échantillon ayant un répertoire plurilingue où le français occupe une place au moins équivalente aux langues africaines, on retrouve une majorité de sujets affirmant que le français facilite les discussions sur la sexualité.

L'analyse qualitative des réponses à cette question sur les langues comme vecteurs de contenus sexuels montre d'ailleurs que les perceptions des enquêté-e-s se recoupent en partie avec ce constat issu de l'analyse quantitative accordant une influence cruciale au niveau de la maîtrise du français. L'importance des compétences linguistiques des locuteurs ressort par exemple des propos suivants, tenus par une femme sénégalaise, qui met l'accent sur le lexique relatif à la sexualité, qu'elle maîtrise mieux en wolof que dans l'ancienne langue coloniale:

> Ouais, ça va être plus facile qu'en français, si je dois trouver les mots sexuels et tout, ça va être un peu compliqué, parce que je ne les connais pas, mais avec ma langue [wolof], je connais, je peux parler ça vite aussi.

Chez d'autres personnes, le lexique spécifique à la sexualité est apparemment mieux maîtrisé en français; tel est le cas de cette interviewée rwandaise:

> Vous allez être étonnée, les mots, on les sort en français avec mon mari et mes meilleures copines. Parce que dans notre culture, les langues maternelles ne nous ont pas transmises cette éducation. Mais la langue d'adoption, la culture d'adoption qui est le français, elle nous a transmis les mots pour dire ces choses-là. Si je parle sexualité, vie conjugale, vraiment ça sort tschaque, en français. Parce que ma culture d'origine, ma mère ne m'en a pas causé.

Cet extrait contient une explication particulièrement intéressante concernant les connaissances limitées du lexique sexuel par certain-e-s Africain-e-s dans leurs langues premières. En l'occurrence, l'interviewée rapporte que, dans son cas, l'éducation en matière de sexualité a été reçue à l'extérieur du milieu familial, dans un environnement francophone. Il est frappant de voir que cette migrante rwandaise rattache l'éducation sur la sexualité exclusivement à une "culture d'adoption" francophone et cette "langue d'adoption" qu'est le français pour elle. Par contre, cette éducation est apparemment absente de sa "culture d'origine", dont les normes imposent aux mères africaines de ne pas discuter de sexualité avec leurs filles, qui se retrouvent dès lors privées de ressources lexicales en langues africaines pour thématiser la sexualité. Cette explication suggère que le lexique sexuel des locuteurs dans les langues africaines est affecté par les tabous sexuels.

Un autre ensemble d'arguments reflète directement l'idée, mise en évidence par la littérature et mentionnée dans l'introduction, selon laquelle l'utilisation d'une langue seconde peut réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels. Plusieurs interviewé-e-s rapportent en effet spontanément que le français ou le code-switching –impliquant le français et les langues africaines– facilitent les échanges sur la sexualité en réduisant l'autocensure que les tabous sexuels imposent aux locuteurs. Concrètement, les difficultés de prononcer des termes sexuels dans les langues africaines semblent inciter plusieurs interviewé-e-s –et parmi eux, cette jeune femme burundaise– à opter pour le français lorsqu'il s'agit de thématiser la sexualité:

> Moi, je sais que si je parle de sexe, je parle en français. Si c'est quelqu'un qui connaît ma langue maternelle, je ne peux pas oser dire mon sexe en kirundi, c'est la cata, c'est honteux, non, je ne peux pas.

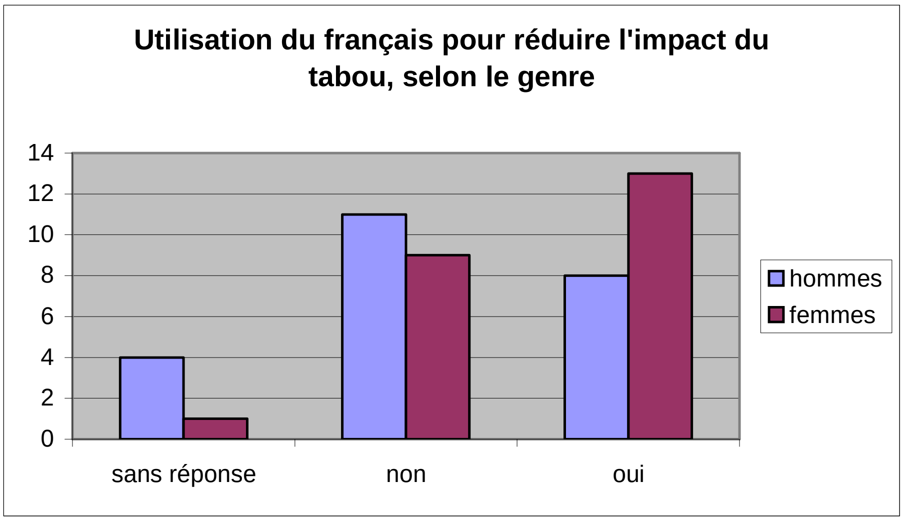
Ces propos montrent clairement la force des normes communicationnelles qui interdisent à cette locutrice d'aborder explicitement la sexualité dans sa langue première. Toute transgression de cet interdit serait apparemment catastrophique tant qu'on reste en kirundi, alors qu'un passage au français permet de parler plus librement.

En résumé, une première analyse des réponses concernant la perception des langues comme facilitant les discussions sur la sexualité a montré une tendance plus marquée chez les femmes de considérer le recours aux langues africaines comme plus aisé. Il a toutefois été établi que cette préférence est fortement conditionnée par le niveau de maîtrise du français des femmes subsahariennes interrogées. L'analyse qualitative souligne, quant à elle, certaines connections étroites entre les tabous sexuels et le choix de langue, en particulier chez les femmes. La force de ces tabous semble en effet inciter certaines enquêtées à opter pour le français avec la finalité explicite de réduire l'impact des tabous. Ce phénomène a fait l'objet d'une investigation systématique dans le cadre d'une autre question du protocole d'entretien, dont les réponses seront traitées dans les lignes qui suivent.

5. Le passage au français pour réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels sur les discussions: une stratégie typiquement féminine?

Nous avons demandé à tous les interviewé-e-s si, lors de discussions avec des membres de leur communauté du même sexe –nous qualifierons ces contextes de *in group*–, il leur arrivait de passer au français pour réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels, ou si pour eux une telle stratégie serait envisageable. La moitié des 41 interviewé-e-s s'étant prononcée sur ce point –soit 21 personnes–, ont répondu positivement, l'autre moitié –soit 20 personnes– négativement. Les avis sont donc partagés à l'extrême sur l'opportunité d'un emploi stratégique du français pour atténuer le tabou.

Graphique 3



Le graphique 3, présentant une analyse des réponses en fonction du genre des interviewé-e-s, montre toutefois que les femmes et les hommes se distinguent considérablement dans leurs positions à cet égard. Ainsi, la majorité des femmes (13 sur 22) se placent parmi les partisan-e-s du passage au français pour réduire le tabou, alors que la majorité des hommes (11 sur 19) a opté pour la position opposée. Ce résultat est d'autant plus remarquable du fait du niveau général de maîtrise du français plus bas au sein des interviewées féminines, précédemment signalé.

L'analyse qualitative des discours des interview-é-s qui n'envisagent pas le recours au français pour réduire l'impact des tabous sexuels montre que ce point de vue est essentiellement étayé par deux arguments. Premièrement, et comme on pouvait s'y attendre, quelques enquêté-e-s soulignent que, dans leur cas, un passage au français serait inimaginable vu leur niveau de maîtrise limité de cette langue. Deuxièmement, certains interview-é-s n'envisagent de toute évidence pas d'utiliser la langue coloniale dans des conversations entre compatriotes, indépendamment du niveau de français des interlocuteurs présents. Cette position suggère que dans certains groupes, les langues africaines jouent un rôle clé dans la construction de l'identité nationale post-coloniale (Adegbija 2000).

Parmi les tenants de cette deuxième position, on trouve notamment la plupart des interviewé-e-s sénégalais. Dans ce contexte les femmes sénégalaises se distinguent par le fait qu'elles disent développer des stratégies langagières en wolof avec pour but de lever partiellement l'autocensure sur la sexualité dans les discussions entre amies. Ces stratégies apparaissent comme une spécificité féminine, aucun homme de l'échantillon n'ayant rapporté des pratiques de ce type. Citons, à titre d'exemple, cette jeune interviewée:

> Ce serait très cru de parler de sexualité en wolof. Et justement pour revenir aux discussions que j'avais avec mes copines, quand on parle de sexualité en wolof, on ne va pas prendre la phrase toute faite en wolof, ce serait trop gros pour notre bouche, on prend des expressions qu'on aura créé nous-mêmes pour atténuer la chose mais c'est vrai qu'il y a plus de piquant quand on parle en wolof qu'en français, en tout cas à mon avis, c'est comme une sorte de code, en fait, et c'est le groupe, on se comprend dans le groupe, oui.

Le type de code groupal décrit ici rappelle ce que la littérature sociolinguistique sur le genre qualifié de code secret (Jungbluth & Schlieben-Lange 1999), notion qui renvoie à des formes discursives, partagées par un groupe restreint de locuteurs, où la fonction cryptique du langage occupe une place centrale, l'idée étant de ne pas être compris par d'autres lorsque des thèmes tabous sont abordés. Par ailleurs, la nécessité d'euphémiser l'expression de contenus sexuels en wolof est clairement mise en évidence dans ce verbatim, puisque les "phrases toutes faites en wolof" sont présentées comme "trop grosses pour [les] bouches" des femmes. Cette formulation témoigne d'un imaginaire linguistique intégrant certaines normes de genre, exigeant un parler "fin", plus contrôlé et censuré de la part des femmes (Singy 2004).

En fin de compte, les réponses à notre question sur une utilisation stratégique du français pour réduire l'impact du tabou montre que malgré la maîtrise en moyenne plus réduite du français chez les femmes, celles-ci tendent davantage que les hommes à l'utilisation stratégique du français. L'analyse qualitative montre que certain-e-s interviewé-e-s excluent le passage vers le français lorsqu'il s'agit de parler de sexualité, soit en raison de leur maîtrise limitée de cette langue, soit pour des considérations de loyauté linguistique. Mais, comme le montre l'exemple des femmes sénégalaises, cela n'implique pas pour autant l'absence de stratégies langagières en langue maternelle pour réduire l'impact du tabou: la création rapportée de codes intra-groupaux en atteste clairement.

6. Conclusion

Le présent article cherchait, à partir des résultats empiriques présentés ci-dessus, d'apporter quelques éléments permettant de mieux comprendre l'impact que le choix du français ou des langues africaines a sur les échanges *in-group* à contenu sexuel. Il s'agissait également d'investiguer les enjeux de genre ayant trait à cette question.

L'analyse quantitative des réponses aux deux questions traitées révèle, pour commencer, qu'il existe dans les perceptions de la plupart des personnes interrogées, des connexions entre les phénomènes de tabous sexuels et les langues choisies pour aborder la sexualité. Un peu plus de la moitié des interviewé-e-s semblent percevoir le choix du français –seul ou en alternance avec les langues africaines– comme facilitant les échanges sur la sexualité. Deux facteurs importants semblent expliquer la position des personnes qui favorisent l'utilisation exclusive des langues africaines: un niveau de maîtrise limité du français et des attitudes de loyauté linguistique.

Nos résultats qualitatifs tirés de deux ensembles de données présentés suggèrent, par ailleurs, que les femmes migrantes subsahariennes sont davantage que les hommes soumises à des normes sociales limitant leurs possibilités d'aborder librement les contenus liés à la sexualité, autrement dit à des tabous sexuels. C'est sans doute pour cette raison que les femmes disent encore davantage que les hommes opter pour un emploi stratégique du français lors de conversation abordant la sexualité et cela nonobstant leur niveau de maîtrise du français en moyenne inférieur à celui des hommes. Plusieurs femmes interrogées disent, par ailleurs, recourir à des stratégies langagières spécifiques en langues africaines pour parler plus librement de sexualité dans des discussion entre femmes des mêmes communautés. Elles parlent notamment de codes secrets reposant uniquement sur des ressources linguistiques tirées des langues africaines.

Dans la perspective du développement d'activités de prévention VIH/sida au sein des populations migrantes subsahariennes francophones, ces résultats soulignent, tout d'abord que, lorsque l'agent de prévention et la personne cible sont issus de la même communauté subsaharienne, le recours au français offre, dans certains cas, un potentiel de réduction de l'impact des tabous sexuels, en particulier pour les femmes, qui semblent fortement inhibées pour la thématisation de la sexualité. Ce potentiel ne devrait toutefois pas occulter l'importance des sentiments de loyauté linguistique et du niveau de maîtrise du français de la personne cible.

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Gender and Globalised Customer Service Communication in Poland

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Abstract

Over the last few years call centres have become a new and rapidly expanding arena for communication between customers and companies. The prescribed procedures for this type of interaction have followed international corporate norms. It has been claimed (notably by Cameron 2000a) that the prescribed communicative strategies for interaction with the customer in call centres resemble what is commonly referred to as feminine discourse. Therefore, as far as professional desirability is concerned, women may be expected to be 'naturally' suited to the work of call centre operators.

Customer service work entails the management of emotional states and involves attending not only to others' but also to one's own feelings and emotions (Hochschild 1983, Taylor & Tyler 2000). We have tried to determine how the concepts of customer service, emotional labour and feminine discourse are applicable to the analysis of call centre communication. Specifically, we have enquired whether in the local Polish context stereotypically feminine interactive skills (cf. Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak & Pawelczyk 2006) overlap with the patterns imposed by the global customer care standards.

For this purpose we have explored communication strategies in call centres and investigated three types of data: (1) written descriptions of call centre procedures, (2) interviews with call centre trainers, supervisors and operators, (3) recordings of customer-operator exchanges.

Key words: *call center ~ feminine discourse ~ globalisation ~ Poland*

1. Introduction

It is has been claimed that the prescribed communicative strategies for interaction with the customer in call centres resemble what is commonly

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 488-516.

referred to as feminine discourse. Furthermore, as far as professional desirability is concerned, females are described as "naturally" suited to the work of a call centre operator. According to Cameron the preferred communication strategies at call centres largely overlap with “ways of speaking that are symbolically coded as ‘feminine’ (and that in some cases are also associated with women speakers)” (Cameron 2000a: 333).

Indeed, in the context of customer service, the communicative skills which are *efficient* are those which provide *care* which is, in turn, a typically feminine domain: women’s most important role in society has for long been the care for others (cf. the traditional and historical roles ascribed to women and imposed on them in the process of socialisation). On the other hand, the same need for efficiency calls for a fairly *powerful management* of discourse; *taking control* in conversation is in many cultures perceived as a typically masculine skill.

We have looked into the practice of call centre work in Poland to see how the tasks assigned to operators are tackled in stereotypically feminine and stereotypically masculine ways. The present paper considers whether Cameron’s (2000a) claim applies to the local Polish context. Therefore, two elements of the local context will first be presented: gendered social roles and CC communication.

2. Women in Poland

What are the social roles of women in Poland? One dominating source of influence has been the knight-and-his-lady tradition, especially strong in Poland because of the country’s history Secondly, the Catholic Church has glorified the role of the woman as ‘Polish mother’ –patriotic and caring. After the Second World War, both the communist regime and the unceasingly strong influence of the Church preserved the traditional gender roles: for men to struggle for the country and support the family, and for women to care for the(ir) men and the family (cf. Walczewska 1999). In fact, the period of state socialism brought about women’s even stronger identification with the private sphere (home, family, religion) as a safe haven from the communist-oppressed public sphere (Graff 2003, referring to Sidorenko). In return they were socially appreciated as brave and resourceful in the face of everyday economic hardships. It is a debated question whether the self-sacrificing Polish woman has given way –after 1989– to the self-investing professional (Marody & Poleszczuk 2000).

2.1. Stereotypical Polish woman

The portrait of the contemporary Polish woman has been drawn by Kwiatkowska (1999), who studied stereotypical images of males and females in Poland. Kwiatkowska pointed to three groups of values relevant to the stereotyping of men and, especially, women in Poland. They are related to (1) the history of the Polish gentry and their traditional ethos, (2) Polish Catholicism and, in particular, the cult of the Virgin Mary; (3) the 'egalitarian' ideology of communism. The stereotypical Polish woman is a 'lady', whose complex social perception is shown in the following table:

Table 1.- The subtypes of the stereotype of a LADY (based on Kwiatkowska 1999)

A 'Lady' according to women	**A 'Lady' according to men**
traditional – patriotic, Catholic, caring for others	
	privileged – respected, treated with special attention, admired
ambitious – aspiring, independent	

Both women and men agree as to the stereotype of the *traditional* Polish woman: gentle, nice, empathic, forgiving, dependent on the man, accepting the priority of the (patriotic and Catholic) family over any other matters in her life. However, the *ambitious* subtype runs against the traditional subtype, and it is very significant that it should be favoured by women.[1] The stereotypes also reflect the nature of gender relations in Poland: women are disadvantaged and idealised at the same time (cf. men's stereotype of a *privileged* woman). In fact, *benevolent*

1 Kwiatkowska (1999) suggests that the co-existence of the two subtypes in the self-stereotype of a woman testifies to an ongoing social change which men either do not notice or do not accept.

sexism (cf. Glick & Fiske 1997) seems to be the dominating feature of Polish gender relations.

2.2. Women in the transitional labour market

Under state socialism Polish women were encouraged to participate in the paid labour force as well as work in the home and have (more) children. They were supported by the state's maternity benefits and its contributions to child rearing. The family and gender ideology were part of state policies: the working woman was a symbol often used by communist propaganda, showing off women's equality of opportunities under socialism.[2] However, the state's provisions dwindled dramatically after the political transformation following the year 1989. In comparison with other Eastern European countries (i.e. Hungary and Romania), the Polish state has most significantly restricted access to maternity benefits, thus forcing women out of the labour market. Nowadays, women in Poland are severely affected by job loss and their unemployment tends to last long (Fodor *et al* 2002). They are highly dependent on their spouses (and families) especially when they have young children because maternity and childcare policies force them to drop out of paid work.[3]

For women's job opportunities in post-communist European economies the service sector is of special significance. Fodor's (1997) job segregation theory which posits that most jobs are segregated by sex to the disadvantage of women also argues that in a time of economic transition women's concentration in the service sector protects them from unemployment. Additionally, women's much better educational credentials, in particular their "fluency in languages, analytic skills, better self-presentation, and more flexible retraining possibilities" (Fodor 1997: 486) provide them with a kind of "cultural capital" and security in the job market. In 1988 and through the period of transition women have continued to dominate the service sector and men –

[2] At the same time no effort was done to restructure the division of household work (Glass & Kawachi 2002).

[3] Women's unemployment rate was 20.3 in 2003 (cf. men's: 18.4) (source: Grotkowska *et al*) and 19.1 in 2005 (cf. men's: 15.9) (source: Skrzek-Lubasińska 2006).

industry. As the service sector has grown rapidly over the last 15 years, Glass & Kawachi (2002) suggest that "service sector experience still helps to keep women, but not men, out of unemployment".

However, as a consequence of the process of retraditionalisation and market discrimination, women who have young children are at a strong disadvantage compared to men and compared to non-mothering women, i.e. they are more likely to become unemployed (Glass & Kawachi 2002).

2.3. Customer service in a transitional economy: from 'customer is king' to 'customer care'

Traditionally, the aim of service work has been to make the customer satisfied. The old slogan, "the customer is king", suggests all too clearly who is in power in business encounters. Modern marketing is oriented towards the same effect (i.e. efficiency in business), however there has occurred a shift in power: it is the service worker who should be *in control,* though the customer does not necessarily need to realise this. The rhetoric of marketing reflects the change of attitude and the language of description has shifted from 'client' to 'customer' and from 'service' to 'care', with the new usage suggesting less formality, and more friendliness and warmth. In such a personalised context of sale and service, the agent's apparent openness and friendliness towards the customer is realised through discourse. 'Customer care' is what is practised and, on the whole, customers do not mind being cared for.

In the local context of Poland the slogan "(nasz) klient nasz pan" (a rough equivalent of "the customer is king") is a relic of the pre-war economy but it, interestingly, also proved attractive to communist leaders and survived through communist times. Hartman (2004) describes its quasi-official existence in a socialist economy as a manifestation of a game of pretend played by the producer/retailer and the customer in times of notorious shortages in the supply of almost any product or service. Later on, as a consequence of economic changes, a shift in power occurred: customers found themselves empowered and in a position to be served/cared for by service providers. The same master-servant metaphor created an antagonism, strengthened by the growing awareness of the customers of their being manipulated through advertising. Nowadays, the relationship should more accurately be described as a form of interdependence in which the fundamental notion is the interpersonal relation through which services are transacted (cf. ‘relationship marketing’ Rogozinski 2003). In this dialectical tension between the two sides of the transaction what is noteworthy are the local circumstances of the customer’s response to service as well as the behaviour of service people, in particular their willingness to subordinate themselves.

3. Call centres in Poland

In Poland, getting commercial information or finalizing deals over the phone is still a relatively new practice, both to customers and to business people. As customers, Poles are only beginning to be interested in the advice given to western European and American customers on “how to deal assertively with pushy salespeople”. Statistics show that it is the more educated customers who choose to turn to an infoline for product information or to use a bank hotline to make financial transactions (Datamonitor for 2005). Nevertheless, the area of customer service via telephone is growing more popular and stronger as we speak.

Here are some facts concerning the development of this market in Poland. Numbers differ, but it may be assumed that there are about 1000 call centres in Poland (Datamonitor for 2005). The majority of CC services in Poland (an estimated 60%) are outbound rather than inbound and their services are designed to provide customers with information, mostly in the areas of banking, the motor industry, insurance, telecommunications, publishing, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, information technology, and advertising. They are either in-house or outsourced CCs.[4]

[4] The area of outsourced services is relatively small, constituting about 10-15 per cent of the whole call centre market (Katarzyna Swatowska, marketing director, Call Center Poland, p.c.). One of the reasons is the relatively low CC brand awareness among Polish business people.

3.1. CC operators

Requirements for call centre operators and telemarketers involve good management of stress and monotony, an ability to be assertive, good communication skills, in particular skills for conflict resolution. On the linguistic side, candidates are expected to have no speech disorders and to have a 'nice' voice quality. On the whole, most of the attributes of a good CC operator involve *understanding* the customer well (by intuiting his/her personality and current mood) and *taking good care* of his/her needs. Thus, there are two tasks to tackle: one centres around providing information or making transactions, the other is communicative and therapeutic.[5] *What* is to be done is closely bound to *how* it is to be achieved.

The prestige of the profession in Poland is (still) relatively low. Most people doing the job have a high school education and they have to go through a specialized course preparing them for the job. The training is oriented towards the technicalities of providing service to the customer – how to input and retrieve information from the computer, and how to ask questions to find out exactly what the customer wants.[6] At the same time, however, trainers admit that one of the most difficult aspects of the job is *handling* customers, notably dealing with their stress and resolving conflict situations. Appropriate psychological training is still rarely provided.[7] CC work is rather exhausting, which results in high levels of staff turnover.

On the whole, global norms have been taken over for training in Poland. As it turns out, Polish CC consultants find it difficult to master

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Moreover, companies still find it difficult to trust outsource CC providers about handling their clients or information. (Katarzyna Swatowska, p.c.).

[5] Cameron (2000b) has pointed out that "the philosophy of 'customer care' may even lead to the redefinition of routine service work as a therapeutic activity in its own right" (2000b: 40).

[6] In the local Polish context, the average of CC operator is a woman aged 23-26 –in the opinion of trainers, young operators prove better than older ones for at least one reason: Young people are more frequently computer literate. (Swatowska, p.c.).

7 Today's trainers in good communication suggest that self-awareness in the key to successful communication –it teaches people to be open in disclosing their own as well as perceiving others' emotions better.

the strategies of the conversation, with the customers performing most of the conversational work (Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak and Pawelczyk 2004).

3.2. Training CC operators

In the process of training, call centre workers are taught how to take on a constructed identity of a person who is genuinely interested, understanding and caring. This attitude is supposed to serve the purpose of commercial efficiency. The target behaviour of the operator is definable in terms of positive and negative face wants, as listed in Table 2.

Table 2

POSITIVE FACE WANTS	NEGATIVE FACE WANTS
Get to like your customer: Gather up positive energy well before you start the conversation. Use 'positive' phrases. Try to match their communicative style.	**Don't impose on the customer:** Say 'I' rather than 'you'. Don't order people about. Don't interrupt the interlocutor. Don't rush them.
Work towards efficient communication: Confirm understanding. Make sure you are understood.	
Focus on the customer and make them feel 'special': Make the impression that you have been waiting for this very customer's call. Smile to the customer.	

Along with the requirement to mind the face wants of the interlocutor comes the necessity of being *in control:* in control of the voice quality, in control of (one's own and others') emotions, and ultimately in control of the conversation. The ideal CC operator is to be open and flexible, oriented towards the customer and able to influence him/her. To conclude, call centre operators are supposed to conform to the norm which is composed of a set of directives and guidelines, taught to the operators and published in call centre manuals.[8]

[8] Next to the personality characteristics qualifying for the job, such as self-confidence and composure, being very assertive is expected of the CC operator. This happens to be a particularly

Professional training also takes care of the candidate's voice quality and uses techniques which make one's voice nice and warm. Ideally, the effect of the so-called 'smiley voice' is obtained. Manipulating voice quality as well as intonation, rhythm and tempo in very unique ways provides an impression of the operator's friendliness, enthusiasm and competence.

4. Gender and Call Centre Work

The question we wish to consider here is whether the speaker's gender may play a role in the communicative activity practised at a call centre. Specifically, we would like to question the claim that, in the Polish context, women are stereotyped as better communicators and better service workers, and therefore better suited to work at CCs.

4.1. Women as (better?) communicators

Historically, in English speaking societies women have always been commented regarding their unique/special language use; this is documented in literature as well as in proverb lore. More importantly, there have been very explicitly articulated social expectations about women's communicative behaviour, phrased as prescriptions (Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 2002):

- ✓ Silence or taciturnity is a woman's virtue.
- ✓ Listening is a particularly desirable feminine quality.
- ✓ Women should be the guardians of linguistic propriety.
- ✓ It is desirable for a woman to be unimposing and considerate to others. (This precept, at the level of linguistic behaviour, involved listening rather than speaking, understanding rather than arguing.)
- ✓ When invited to speak, women were to display the virtue of 'sympathy' (cf. Donawerth 2002). The idea that a woman

difficult task to Polish trainees as most have been socialized into believing that modesty is the highest virtue and that boasting or showing off is contemptible.

should be 'useful' referred not only to her behaviour in general, but also to her communicative functions.
- ✓ Nineteenth century descriptions of an ideal woman conversationalist show her as being agreeable and useful, modestly knowledgeable and discreetly influential (Donawerth 2002).
- ✓ Women's participation in debates was legitimised by their being particularly skilful as discussion mediators.

This historical image of an ideal female speaker may be linked to the contemporary idea of woman as superior communicator. In a British Telecom booklet designed to encourage more telephone conversation feminine conversational habits and skills are extolled: women are presented as talkers more able (than men) to verbalise their emotional states (cf. Cameron 2000a; Talbot 2000).

Women are also believed to be dedicated telephone talkers. The stereotype of a woman who would be happy to talk all day is very much alive (cf. historical images of talkative women) and it is often taken for granted that for female call centre workers the job is pleasure rather than work. Sociologists Taylor & Tyler (2000) present the views of a call centre manager who claimed that women are 'naturally' better at chatting, interacting and building rapport and as they speak, "[i]t doesn't sound as forced" (Taylor & Tyler 2000: 84). If women have been considered better 'telephone communicators', it is frequently because of their voice quality: the preferred vocal signal is a 'girly' voice –high pitched, breathy, with 'swoopy' intonation (Cameron 2000c: 118). Finally, the emotional and attitudinal states projected by the operators, such as warmth, sincerity, excitement, friendliness, helpfulness, or of any emotion other than anger, are culturally coded as 'feminine' rather than 'masculine' (Cameron 2000a).

4.1. Women as (better?) service workers

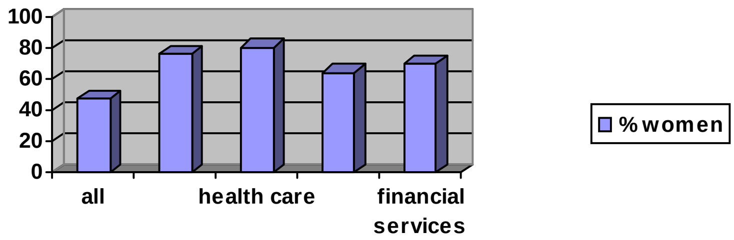
Another possible reason behind the suggestion that women may be 'naturally' suited to work at call centres is the general perception of women as better service workers. This again may be related to the historically enforced role of the woman as 'made for usefulness' (for a discussion see Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 2005). Also modern psychologists make claims about caring being an essentially feminine domain: Paoletti (2002: 808) quotes Graham (1983: 18) as follows: "'Caring' becomes the category through which one sex is differentiated from the other. Caring is 'given' to women: it becomes the defining characteristic of their self-identity and their life's work." At least in western culture women are made responsible for caring (Urgeson 1987, cf. 'compulsory altruism' Land & Rose 1985). It would thus seem that feminine social features perfectly fit the picture of a service person. In the minds of many people (including customers as well as employees) women are better suited to perform services to others –they (more easily than men) relate to others and are better at guessing other people's needs.

4.2. Polish women: useful, caring and communicative?

The historically perpetuated ideal of the "Polish mother" endowed women with the responsibility for caring for the country and for the family, often through self-sacrifice. As Hauser argues, "[i]n today's Poland the equation of Heavenly and Polish mother continues as a model of double service for women to follow. This double service entails service to her family and, through the family, to Poland. Fulfilling this double service guarantees the woman a 'double satisfaction' which she can obtain within the 'domestic' sphere (...) (Hauser 1995: 89). Additionally, as part of the communist legacy, women have endorsed their work outside the home as their special virtue. Recent opinion poll results indicate that the majority of Polish women (60%) claim that general societal respect for professionally active women is greater than for those working 'only' in the home (CBOS for 2003).

As a consequence of the shift in power brought about by the transition to a capitalist economy, the current relations in the service encounters make the *subordinate* role of service workers particularly marked. This subordinate role has been traditionally associated with the roles and position of women in the family. Statistical data (for 2003) about the structure of the labour market in Poland testify to the predominance of women in jobs involving personalised care:

Figure 1.- Sectors of the Polish labour market with highest participation of women: education – 76,1%, healthcare – 80,6%, hotels and restaurants – 64,6%, financial services – 69,7%, (all sectors– 47,5)



In the Polish context the universal (?) expectation of women to be 'naturally' caring is additionally strengthened by the Polish culture's preference for positive politeness (cf. Wierzbicka 1985).[9] It is possible that the two sources of expectations combine to place a double burden on Polish women: a double responsibility for making others comfortable and saving their positive face.

4.3. Feminine linguistic and communicative skills

In order to find out whether in Poland women are considered good communicators and service workers, we examined –in an earlier study– the (language-related) stereotypes of women in Poland (cf. Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak & Pawelczyk 2006).

The strongest stereotypes about gendered communication in Poland may be understood to project men –in relation to their interlocutor(s)– as authoritative, categorical and boastful. Polish women, on the other hand, are stereotypically believed to show high involvement in talking to others and show more understanding toward their listener(s). On the whole, the analysis of the differences shows women's greater emphasis

[9] Polish society has traditionally been oriented towards positive politeness. Therefore, in the process of socialisation there has been more emphasis on developing strategies for saving the positive face of the interlocutor.

on their own interlocutor-oriented behaviours ("women are careful listeners").[10]

What are –in the minds of the respondents– these special communicative skills possessed by women? Which of these skills are those of a perfect communicator? Do either stereotypical women or men better overlap with the ideal of a good communicator? Finally, which of them are useful in the CC context?

Table 3.- Women's stereotypical communicative behaviour

WOMEN (in comparison to men):

- ✓ often talk only for the sake of talking
- ✓ use diminutives more often than men
- ✓ speak more emotionally
- ✓ talk more
- ✓ ask more questions because they are nosy
- ✓ less often use vulgar and offensive words
- ✓ more often introduce new topics/themes into conversation
- ✓ are able to "read between the lines"
- ✓ use more adjectives to make their descriptions more vivid
- ✓ often talk simultaneously with other speakers
- ✓ are more oriented towards details
- ✓ show more understanding toward their listener

Table 4.- Men's stereotypical communicative behaviour

MEN (in comparison to women):

- ✓ are more fact-oriented
- ✓ are more matter-of-fact
- ✓ are more authoritative
- ✓ are more categorical
- ✓ are more brief
- ✓ tend not to use diminutives
- ✓ use vulgar words more often
- ✓ tend to stick to one topic in conversation
- ✓ like to show off

[10] Interestingly, our study of language stereotypes in Poland suggests that women are convinced of their possessing special communicative skills. For example, women themselves admit to their tendency to interrupt others, while stressing that this is motivated by their engagement in the conversation, especially as they have 'the ability to read between the lines'.

Now, the global requirements for communicative skills of a CC operator are the following: a potential CC worker is expected to master so-called customer service skills, such as to (1) be understanding, (2) control the conversation, (3) be solutions-oriented, (4) apply diplomatic approaches in situations of conflict.[11] Assuming that there are two major components of CC interaction –understanding and efficiency– the required skills could be grouped as overlapping with stereotypically feminine and stereotypically masculine.

Understanding the question/problem requires (1) sensitivity to interlocutor, (2) empathy, (3) flexibility, (4) relationship building, i.e. stereotypically feminine skills.

Efficiency requires (1) matter-of-factness, (2) problem solving orientation, (3) decisiveness, (4) managing own and others' emotions and handling stress, i.e. stereotypically masculine skills.

To conclude, Polish stereotypical feminine features overlap with global prescriptions for CC in terms of understanding (through empathy) and Polish stereotypical masculine features overlap with global prescriptions in terms of efficiency.

4.4. Are CCs really gendered in the local Polish context?

It is estimated that the majority of CC operators (in Poland) are women. Most CC experts, when asked to explain this situation, state that the job has relatively low prestige and is relatively low paying. Secondly, in terms of social perception in Poland this is stereotypically "a woman's job" –that of a 'telephone operator'. Therefore, relatively few men choose to work at call centres. Even if call centre posts are advertised (as open to workers of either sex), men rarely apply. Opinions of trainers about the relevance of gender are diverse: some claim that female

[11] Target features of interaction are "being nice and to the point" (cf. Ogórek 2006: "W infolinii ma byc milo i do tego na temat"): the operator is expected to
1.smile, make friends with the customer, listen (active listening) and accommodate, avoid awkward silence/pauses, build rapport, don't impose on the customer, ask 'facilitative questions'
2. be competent, be in control, and respond effectively.

consultants definitely better at inferring the customer's emotions and their mood, others consider this thinking stereotyped and unfounded.

Both groups of trainers insist that all the skills of successful operators may be taught and mastered through practice. However, some of the trainers express the reservation that communication skills desirable in CC interaction are learnable only to some extent and therefore it is the trainers' crucial role to select candidates with the right personality early on at the recruitment stage (cf. similar observations made by Cameron 2000c: 118).

5. Summary and prediction

We understand the process of training CC workers much as the process of imposing a constructed (i.e. inauthentic) identity on them, a process which Cameron (2000a) labels 'styling'. It is possible that women find it easier to cope with being 'styled', as they are socialised (to a greater extent than men) to 'please' and to be 'of use' to others. We predict at this stage that feminine discourse prevails in the performance of the service people (at call centres), yet we expect there to be a discrepancy between the CC preferred style and the actual performance of CC operators.

6. The study

We have examined 92 inbound (i.e. customer initiated) CC exchanges on company hotlines representing banks, airlines, telecommunications, cosmetics and the chemical industry. We have also conducted numerous interviews with CC trainers, supervisor, and CC operators.

In the telephone exchanges examined for the purposes of this study, the operators tackled such tasks as problem diagnosing, managing a customer in despair, responding to 'requests for the impossible'. We have analysed the styles of CC interaction and described them in terms of masculine and feminine communicative styles as defined by local gender stereotypes. As a result we have recognized two styles: (Style 1) predominantly masculine (i.e. overlapping with stereotypically masculine features), and (Style 2) involving both masculine and feminine features.

Style 1 – masculine	**Style 2 – masculine/feminine**	
matter-of-fact categorical/authoritative brief unemotional institutional	informational fact-oriented	empathic caring involved

The salient discursive and communicative features of the first style found in the performance of the Polish CC operators will be exemplified with the selected excerpts of the exchanges characteristic of the whole corpus.[12] The discussion will point both to the features present in the extracts as well as indicate what aspects are missing in terms of the CC operator's desirable communicative style.

The exchange discussed below took place at a (well-known) paint manufacturer's call centre

Excerpt 1(PAINT COLOUR)
1 O: Good morning, [first name surname], how can I help you?

2 C: Good morning, I have a problem, I'd like to paint my apartment, well <u>actually</u> I'd like to redecorate
3 it but I'm not sure whether I should paint or tile it, you know tiles are always more expensive but I
4 wanted to paint the kitchen anyway but I have a problem with color selection (3) because it seems
5 to me that the color indicated on the label differs from the color inside, maybe you could advise
6 me what to do?

7 O: Sir, I can't help you on the phone in color selection, you need to visit one of our color centers

[12] The excerpts are English translations of the original exchanges, conducted in the Polish language, are included in the Appendix.

8 located all over [country name], can you please tell me where you're calling from and I'll inform you about
9 your closest location.

10 C: Well, I'm calling from [city name] but maybe, you know, I was thinking that maybe I could get some
11 advice on the phone.
12 O: No, no, unfortunately it's difficult to advise on color selection over the phone.

13 C: Ok, you know what, I think I'll have to go to that center but the other thing is that my windows
14 face different directions and I have been wondering that the same shade may look different in a
15 different room, I don't know but is there any method
16 O: // that's why I recommend that you visit
17 one of our centers.

The client in the first (long) turn presents his/her concerns as to how his/her apartment should be redecorated. The uncertainty relates to the choice of paint, hence the call to the centre is very much justified (at least in the client's view). There are a number of items in the client's first turn pointing to the advice-seeking character of the call, e.g. *I have a problem* (used twice), *I'm not sure*, *it seems to me*. These items index the client's confusion as to decisions about redecorating. The pause made by the client in line 4 provides conversational space for the operator to offer some feedback to the verbalized concerns. The client's first turn is completed with a question to the operator. The qualifier *maybe* in the question attenuates its directness. This may point to the fact that the operator in no way reacted to the client's long description of the problems, nor did the operator show any sensitivity upon hearing the problem. In fact, the directly stated request for help receives a very decisive negative answer (line 7) reinforced with an imperative as to what the client should do (line 7 and 8). The operator's lack of flexibility and empathy continues as the client's plea for any kind of advice is repeatedly rejected with forceful negation (double *no*, line 12). The operator remains (consistently) solution-oriented yet not in terms of responding to the client's projected uncertainty. Rather the aim is to send the client off to another place. The client, insisting on finding out something during the call, draws on a marker of friendliness and/or informality (*you know*, cf. Holmes 1998). This clearly begs for some sensitivity and empathy which is –again– not offered (line 16 and 17). What is also significant is that the operator's authoritative stance manifests itself in that he/she interrupts the client (line 16 and 17), which in fact closes the interaction. Thus the operator is matter-of-fact and authoritative, yet fails to respond to the client's current needs. The exchange very much resembles an institutional interaction characterized by a question-answer sequence (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992). The operator's direct and negative responses significantly contribute to the brief character of the exchange. This is to say that while the client's turns are longer and more elaborate in terms of content, the operator' s contributions are short and uninvolved.

```
Excerpt 2  (GREASY HAIR)
1       C: Yes, I've been using this shampoo, but yes
generally my hair gets greasy but I just don't know is it
that
2             my hair is so hopeless or maybe this is how
the shampoo works↑=

3       O: = It's difficult for me to explain it. You
should check with a specialist. I don't know, have you
4          consulted  a beautician or a hairdresser? and
have you tried to find out whether it's just your
5          hair that tends to get greasy easily or maybe
the type of work you do influences the condition of your
6          hair?
```

In excerpt 2 the operator receives a call from a desperate client who would like to find out whether the shampoo he/she has been using makes his/her hair greasy. This is a very emotional call and the client is in need of reassurance that his/her hair is manageable (*I just don't* *know*, *maybe*, rising intonation at the turn transition). The operator's response, however, fails to mirror the client's emotional state, but instead intellectualises as to what may influence the client's hair condition (and refers the client to a specialist using a strong modal verb, and providing a list of plausible reasons). In terms of evidentiality, however, the modality of the operator's response is quite doubtful (*I don't know*, *maybe*). There is a misattunement between the client's emotionally charged inquiry and the operator's misaligned intellectual response. In fact, the operator is efficient in terms of being matter-of-fact and decisive but does not really understand the client's problem in terms of being sensitive to the interlocutor and building a relationship with him/her.

In excerpts 3 and 4 below (representing similar problems), clients' inquiries receive unmitigated negative answers. If the operator's negative responses were in fact mitigated by, for example, *I am sorry to say that but…* or *I understand you but…*, these pre-answering phrases could point to some sensitivity and/or empathy on the operator's side.

```
Excerpt 3 (PHONE 1)
1       C: = Yes and I was wondering about changing my
provider, well, I was considering you as one of the
2              options because you know, the main thing
is that [company name] has really high rates and I would
like to find
3              out first of all if I could become your
client but keep my current telephone number.
4       O: No, there is no such possibility. Ok, I admit
we now have a law
5       C:     // exactly, that's what I'm talking
6       about=
7       O: = But we don't have any arrangements with
[company name] yet.
```

In excerpt 3 the operator flatly rejects the client's suggestion (*no, there is no*) only to admit after a moment, in the same turn, that actually there exists such a law yet purely in theory. It seems that changing the order of the two clauses would contribute to being informational and/but at the same time projecting emphatic understanding of the client's problem. It is interesting that the client's interruption (line 5) attempting to re-focus the operator's explanation is again discarded with a latched negative response (line 7).

```
Excerpt 4 (PHONE 2)
1       C: You know it would be very convenient for me to
keep the same number because otherwise I would have
2              to let all my family and friends know
about my new number and
it is a bit of a hassle for me, right (4),
3       do you happen to know when it will be possible?
4       O: Unfortunately not.
```

In excerpt 4, the client proffers reasons for the convenience of keeping the same phone number. There is a strong appeal from the client for the operator's understanding as manifested by the invariant question tag (*right*) and a four second pause (line 2) that follows it. Since the operator fails to respond to these cues, the client states a direct question (line 3), which receives a negative response with no accompanying explanation.

The operators whose communicative behaviour resembles the first style (overlapping with stereotypically masculine features) come out as fact-oriented, yet the presented views are framed as categorical and authoritative. They fail to read the clients' emotional states and to respond accordingly.

In the second style (cf. Style 2 above) identified in the CC exchanges, the operators' communicative behaviour combines stereotypically feminine and masculine features: besides being informational and fact-oriented it is also involved (referring to operator's own experience), empathic (understanding the emotional state of the customer), and caring (for the feelings of the customer).

Extract 5 exemplifies an exchange in which the operator is oriented towards solving the client's problem but at the same time remains a truly involved interlocutor:

Excerpt 5 (DYED HAIR)
1 C: You know what, I have dyed my hair today and now I should probably cut it=
2 O: = What happened? Please tell me everything. What colour did you want to get?
3 C: My hair is dark brown and I wanted to get blond, well not really
too blond. I just don’t know
4 whether I kept the dye on for too long and now it looks uneven,
you know. Did I do something
5 wrong?
6 O: Are you naturally brunette? that is you were born
7 C: // yes, yes naturally.
8 O: Naturally, yes? Can you please tell me what dye you used?
Do you happen to still have the box at
9 hand ?=
10 C: = NO::, no, I don’t have it but [it was]
11 O: [you remember, yes↑]
12 C: very light blond↑
13 O: Mhm, ok, and the brand?
14 C: Uhm, it was… color naturals ↑
15 O: Mhm, right, good and it was very light blond,right?
16 C: Yes, yes and now my hair looks very strange. What should I do now?
17 O: You know what↑ well, I must admit that changing brown hair
into blond can be a bit difficult at
18 first because it should be made fairer by two shades at most
so that’s why your hair did not turn
19 out the way you wanted. This is neither yours nor the dye’s fault, no, you just
20 C: // yes↑
21 O: you just need to dye it one more time but not now, you should let your hair [rest]
22 C: [yes]

The client's problem, stated in line 1, is responded to both in the involved and informative way. The answer starts with the involvement aspect in which the operator assures the client he/she is fully tuned in to hearing about the misfortune (*What happened? Tell me everything*).

Though the client has already verbalized the problem (line 1), the operator is willing to listen to a detailed version of the incident, which, as Tannen (1989) explained, creates intimacy. The second part of the operator's response is information-oriented and carried out in the form of a direct question (*what colour did you want to get?).* In lines 4 and 5 the client poses a direct, highly emotionally-charged question which, although initially ignored, is returned to in line 19. The client is reassured that he/she is not to be directly blamed for the hair dye confusion. It is interesting to note how the operator remains actively involved in the dialogue with the client throughout the whole exchange. The client's answers are acknowledged (lines 8, 13, 15) before another question is asked. The exchange does not resemble a typical institutional exchange (Q-A framework) as the operator extensively relies on the pre-questioning format (e.g. line 8) as well as tends to clarify the inquiry (line 6). The operator actively pursues involvement with the client, as manifested, for example, by encouraging the client to recall the type of the product (line 11). This encouragement is interactionally realized by an overlap and the operator's rising intonation. Lines 17-19 again reflect the fact-oriented yet empathic exchange where the operator reiterates the facts and error made by the client, but is trying to understand the client's emotional state by not holding his/her accountable for the problem (*This is neither yours nor the dye's fault*).

In another part of the same exchange the client explicitly informs the operator about how he/she feels after the failed attempt to dye his/her hair (line 1). The operator, beginning the answer with the *involved* pre-answering phrase (*I'll tell you what*), informs the client what he/she should do next. The exchange takes on a quasi-therapeutic tone when the operator offers the unsolicited comforting closing comment (line 6):

```
Excerpt 6 (DYED HAIR)
1       C: You know, now I am feeling down because it
looks like it was
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2 O: // I'll tell you what, now you should
3 dye it a darker color and then after
some time when you want to go
blond again you will have
4 to decolor it first.
5 C: Mhm, ok, you know what, it's ok
6 O: // you really did everything ok,
it just that
the dye did not take.

In another exchange, the client is trying very hard to convince the operator to let him/her take a fish tank on board a plane.

Excerpt 7 FISH TANK
1 O: Just a moment, did I understand you correctly?
You're planning to carry a fish tank with water and
2 the fish.
3 C: Well, yes! That's why I think the best
solution is to have it with me all the time. I just don't
know if it
4 would fit in the overhead compartment or
if it would be
necessary for me to buy additional tickets for
5 the next seats.
6 O: Unfortunately I am sorry to say but the fish
tank itself cannot be treated as a carry-on item. What's
7 more, it is absolutely impossible to
carry a water-filled
tank as there is a risk that the water would spill
8 out or it may get smashed. Not only would
this be unpleasant
for you but it could also pose a threat for
9 the safety of your fellow passengers, couldn't
it?
10 C: You see, you look at it in a typical clerk-
like manner.
But for me this fish tank is really important
11 Please, believe me, it's not some sort of
a whim. I do need
to take it with me! I will be absent from home
12 for almost half a year!=
13 O: = mhm.

14 C: Who am I to leave the fish with? Taking care
of it is not that easy at all!
15 O: I'm sure it isn't!
16 C: Can you imagine that my own brother took care
of it for only 2 weeks, only 2 weeks, do you get it? I
17 come back and what do I see? My eyes
welled up with tears
when I saw that only half of the fish
18 survived.
19 O: Yes, it must have been very distressing.
20 C: And do you know what the fish tank looked
like? You can’t even imagine it, it was a total
shambles!=
21 O: = Yes, I agree, it must have been a very
upsetting experience. I can see that you are very
attached
22 to your fish and that’s why I can offer
the best solution
to this situation. Please call the cargo
23 department at [phone number], you will
receive all the necessary
information there.

The operator takes the client’s seemingly bizarre request very seriously. In making sure the problem has been understood correctly, the operator makes a statement (line 1-2) instead of a question which does not index the client’s plan of travelling with a fish tank as a kind of eccentricity but as a fact. The request must be refused. Yet, contrary to the pattern typical of Style 1 (above), the negative response (i.e. refusal) is informative (*no* + why) as well as appealing to the client for understanding (*unpleasant for you, couldn’t it?*). During the whole interaction the operator actively listens to what the client is saying. This is manifested by the use of minimal responses (line 13), mirroring comments (line 15) as well as empathic comments (line 19) which point to the operator’s understanding of the emotional state of the client. Each of the client’s statements is commented on by the operator in a reflective manner. Even though the client’s problem is unusual, a solution is still offered. Significantly, the proposed solution (focus on information) is preceded with a mirroring comment (focus on involvement) (lines 21-23).

The style described above as Style 2, combining masculine and feminine features, largely overlaps with the style prescribed for CC operators. The masculine features provide for the effectiveness of the service. However, the feminine features are indispensable for the provision of personalised care. The latter gives the company in question the 'competitive advantage' (Czerniawska 1998) over others in that it establishes the customer's personal/emotional bond with the company and contributes to the company's humanistic image (cf. Freemantle 1998).

Significantly, while some stereotypically feminine features seem perfect for CC communication, others would be *counterproductive*: (1) emotional (i.e. over-expressive of own emotional states); (2) talkative (= verbose; occupying too much conversation time) (3) pursuing many topics in one conversation; (4) talking simultaneously with other speakers.

It is also noteworthy that the operator's explicit reference to their *own* experience, which is often understood as framing empathy, may have different functions. For example, the cosmetics company consultant who says "I know from my own experience that…" [*ja ze swojego doświadczenia wiem, że…*] *shares* with the customer his/her experience of being a customer herself, i.e. puts herself in the position of the customer in this particular situation. This statement can be construed as an act of self-disclosure from the operator as the experience he/she shares with the customer belongs to his/her private sphere. On the other hand, the bank consultant, who assures the customer that his/her money is safe with the bank by saying "It has never happened to us, I have not witnessed such a case…" [*Nie zdarzyło się nam, ja nie spotkałem się z takim przypadkiem, żeby było coś takiego…*) in fact makes the declaration more precise by restricting the claim made. It is worth underlining that the function of *I* is indexed by the adjacent self-referring (institutional) *us*, i.e. *I* is defined by the preceding *us* in this specific context. Thus the operator has not been informed about such a situation as a representative of this specific bank.

7. Conclusion

The communicative style preferable in the context of CC service can be described as a 'both... and' style: an ideal CC worker possesses a mixture of communicative features stereotyped in Poland as feminine and masculine. Importantly, feminine and masculine features become salient (and indispensable) depending on the type of task to be tackled and the personality of the customer. Although the communicative behaviours which are stereotypically feminine (though not labelled as such by trainers) feature as core prescriptions for CC performance (thus they are valorised), CC operators have been found to fail in applying them in their interactions with customers.

It seems to be an accepted idea nowadays that communication is a skill to be taught, learned and improved (Cameron 2000b: 38). For one thing, communication is to be mastered for the sake of eliminating conflicts and providing for smooth co-existence. Thus, advice literature is based on the idea that the origins of problems frequently lie in communication breakdowns and that people's communication skills might (and should) be improved.

Much in the same vein, the idea that communication is a 'transferable' skill is also the basis of training in many contexts in which conversation is the tool for achieving commercial ends, for example at call centres. If communication at CCs involves both feminine and masculine skills, the question remains which skills are more easily trainable. Addressing this question is only one of the possible suggestions for further study.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS
C- client
O- therapist
.? – punctuation for intonation
↑ - rising intonation, 'intonation spike'

:: - elongation of the sound
(3) - timing in seconds
Here – increase in volume or emphasis
[ ] - overlap
// - interruption
= - equal signs indicate the so-called *latch*. i.e. neither gap nor overlap in talk

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Making Room for Gender in Task-Prompted L2 Oral Performance

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Abstract

Task-based language learning and teaching as a pioneering trend has stimulated a wealth of research in SLA. One line of research is to investigate the effect of different task conditions that may lead to variability in L2. The present study examined monologic oral performance of 20 male vs. 20 female Iranian EFL learners on participant rated LCIT (the least culturally inhibiting topic), i.e. '*city and population*' vs. MCIT (the most culturally inhibiting topic), i.e., '*love and marriage*' addressed to male vs. female teacher regarding fluency, complexity, and accuracy. 2×2×2 Repeated Measure Mixed Factorial ANOVA results indicated significant differences in terms of a) fluency as a matter of teacher's gender, and topic, b) complexity due to topic, and c) accuracy as a matter of teacher's gender, participant's gender, the interaction of the two, the topic and also due to the interaction of teacher's gender, participant's gender, and topic. Implications of the study are discussed.

Key words: *gender ~ task ~ variability ~ fluency ~ complexity ~ accuracy*

1. Introduction

A central concern in SLA studies over the years has been to elicit and examine samples of meaning-focused language produced by L2 learners. Such a concern rests on the methodological premise "that unless learners are given the opportunity to experience such samples they may not succeed in developing the kind of L2 proficiency needed to communicate fluently and effectively" (Ellis 2003: 1). This has been argued to be achievable through *'tasks'* the impetus for which comes

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 517-538.

from experiential learning paradigm in mainstream psychology (Nunan 1991). According to this paradigm

> immediate personal experience is seen as the focal point for learning, giving "life, texture, and subjective personal meaning to abstract concepts, and at the same time providing a concrete, publicly shared reference point for testing the implications and validity of ideas created during the learning process" as pointed out by David Kolb (1984: 21). But experience also needs to be processed consciously by reflecting on it. Learning is thus seen as a cyclical process integrating immediate experience, reflection, abstract conceptualization and action. (Kohonen 1992: 15).

Adoption of task, in effect, amounted to a turning point that stimulated a wealth of literature in SLA. A major contribution of task to the expansion of SLA research was made when 'variability' emerged in examining the relationship between language use, task, and language acquisition (Ellis 2003). This in turn led to a further expansion of literature by bringing along a wide range of theoretical frameworks and perspectives (Ellis 1994).

2. Variability: Dominant frameworks

Within the range of "almost overwhelming" (Wolfram 1991: 104) theoretical perspectives, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and cognitive accounts of variability have been of a celebrated status. Of the sociolinguistic accounts, *Labovian paradigm*, *dynamic paradigm*, and *social psychological paradigm* are distinguishable. As far as the psycholinguistic framework is concerned, *speech planning* and *speech monitoring* models are highlighted and finally the only cognitive account of variability is Skehan's *dual processing system*. In what follows, a brief description of each of the models is presented in respective order.

Labovian paradigm (Labov 1970), which has been immensely influential in shaping the earliest works on variability (Tarone 1982, 1983), identified social factors such as social class, age, and gender responsible for inter-speaker, and stylistic factors responsible for intra-speaker variation. As described by Ellis (1994), styles in terms of the Labovian paradigm are

> spread along a continuum according to the amount of attention paid by the speakers to their own speech (...) Attention serves as the mechanism through which causative social factors such as verbal task (in particular), topic, interlocutor, setting or the roles of the participants influence actual performance. (p. 122).

The dynamic paradigm (Bailey 1973; Bickerton 1975) drawing on language change studies states that varieties of language constitute a Creole continuum. Following this paradigm, inter-speaker variation may be due to the speakers' differential access to varieties, but intra-speaker variation occurs when speakers have access to multiple varieties and depending on the situational factors like topic, purpose, and addressee they choose to employ one variety rather than another.

Social psychological models explain variation in terms of the speakers' attitudes to in-group and out-group members (e.g. Beebe 1988). *Speech Accommodation Theory* (Giles 1971) is the most prominent social psychological framework that has motivated accounts of variability in L2 learners' language. Three types of variation in the speech of the speakers are distinguished, namely *convergence* (when the speaker adjusts his/her speech to that of the interlocutor), *divergence* (when the speaker keeps his/her speech distinct from and dissimilar to that of the interlocutor) and *maintenance* (when the speaker makes no attempt to change his/her speech). Speech accommodation is determined by the speaker's attitude to the interlocutor(s) and can take place at any levels of language use including lexico-grammatical or discoursal level (*ibidemem*). The appeal of Speech Accommodation Theory lies with the central emphasis it lays on the role of addressee as a predictor of variability (Ellis 1994).

Speech planning model proposed by Levelt (1989) assigns psycholinguistic sources for variability at several stages of speech production. The stages include a) conceptualizer stage at which situational factors and communicative purpose shape the speaker's decision as to the variety of language, b) the formulator stage where speech plan is made by opting for internalized lexicon, grammar and phonological rules, c) articulator stage which converts the speech plan into actual speech, and d) final stage which enables the speaker to get feedback of his/her own speech and make phonological and grammatical adjustments (see De Bot 1992).

Speech monitoring model (Morrison & Low 1983) resembles the model of language production proposed by Levelt (1989). However, it further distinguishes *macro-level* monitoring (involving adjustments in terms of communicative purpose and at sentence level) and *micro-level* monitoring (lexical, syntactic and phonetic adjustments). Morrison and Low (*ibidemem*) also propose *pre-articulatory* monitoring which occurs before the phonetic plan is made, and *post-articulatory* monitoring which operates on actualized speech.

Skehan's cognitive approach to variability characterizes modern trends of research in which tasks have become the focus of research in their own right (Skehan 1998; Robinson 2003 among others). According to Skehan (1996, 1998) language competence is composed of formulaic lexical expressions and grammatical rules. Speakers operate the 'dual processing system' which enables them to have access to both sources of knowledge. Nevertheless, depending on the communicative pressure or the accuracy demand, they have a varying dependence on lexical and grammatical processing resources (*ibidem*). Noting that in spontaneous production, due to the limitation of attentional sources, learners are more likely to rely on lexical processing, Skehan proposes that

> it may be possible to identify the task conditions and procedures that lead learners to place a differential emphasis on fluency, i.e. performance free of undue pauses, and false starts, complexity, i.e. the use of a wide range of grammatical structures, and accuracy, i.e. the correct use of grammatical structures (Ellis 2003: 25).

Models and frameworks reviewed so far constitute only part of the whole picture of theorizing task and variability and a single theory will be far from adequate in accounting for all the dimensions. As Zuenglar (1989: 66) puts it, "one theory will most likely be insufficient in explaining the complexity of performance variation". Ellis (1994: 132) makes a similar point maintaining that "the study of L2 variability calls for a perspective inclusive of both a sociolinguistic and a psycholinguistic perspective". Gender is one of the factors that can inherently be of interest to different perspectives of variability accounts.

3. Gender, topic and L2 variability

Although addressing gender issues in language education predates SLA, early works were almost invariably preoccupied with the so-called female superiority (see Chavez 2001; Sunderland 2000 among others). Another research trend was inspired by pure gender and language studies in which male and female communicative patterns were investigated. For example Coates (1993) argument that females' communication is cooperative and males' is competitive, hierarchically-oriented motivated classroom interaction research on male dominance in L2 situation (e.g. Spender 1982). Literature on the relationship between task and gender is particularly scarce concerning other aspects including communicative language use, since "TESOL profession [has] taken too long to examine gender" (Willet 1996: 344).

Robinson (2001, 2003) affiliated with Skehan's cognitive perspective identified three dimensions of tasks that cause variability in the learners' language, namely task complexity, task difficulty, and task conditions. In this triple categorization, task conditions (as interactional factors) divides into participation and participant variables. Gender, in Robinson's (2001) terms, falls in the subcategory of participant variables. O'Sullivan (2000) could show that both males and females tended to produce more grammatically accurate forms in the presence of female interviewers, but their fluency or complexity did not vary. O'Loughlin (2002), nevertheless, in a study on the effect of the gender of the examiner in the oral interview component of IELTS could not find any differences regarding the gender of the examiner neither quantitatively nor qualitatively. Young and Milanovich (1992) suggested that both the interviewers' and the interviewees' gender may be among the factors that bring about variations.

Topic of the task is also one of the influential factors in determining task difficulty or complexity (Brown, Anderson, Shilock & Yule 1984; Selinker & Douglas 1985). In different ways topic of the task can prompt variability, and gender preference of the topic can well be one of them. Gass & Varonis (1986) concentrating on same-sex and opposite-sex dyads, found, among other things, that "only in male/female conversations is the majority of the conversation devoted to personal topics. In both female/female and male/male groups, the conversation tends to be more objective, dealing with such topics as past and future university studies, job status, and job description..." (Gass & Varonis 1986: 337). Freed & Wood (1996) raised the issue of topic among the factors that determine the forms that occur in interaction. As Chavez stated, "[t]opics around which tasks are organized may also influence achievement scores of males as opposed to those of females" (Chavez 2001: 36) and one of the ways in which this can occur is through topic selection. She proceeded to quote several perspectives on gender preferences of speech topic in L1 (Bischoping 1993; Coates 1997; Johnstone 1993). Coates (1997) maintained that men prefer less personal topics than women. Johnstone (1993) concentrating on Midwestern men and women attributed physical and social themes to men's and community-related topics to women's stories. Bischoping (1993) endorsed a disappearance of the distinction between male and female preferred topics. Based on these, Chavez (2001) argued that if the differences applied to L2 as well, then performance on tasks would be influenced by the preferences.

Considering the theoretical accounts of variability reviewed above, and also allowing for the "under-researched sites as regards gender and language learning ... in developing countries, in Africa, Islamic countries..." (Sunderland 2000: 216), this paper addresses variability in Iranian context by asking the following research question:

What is the effect of participant's gender, teacher's gender or the learner-perceived cultural inhibition of topic on the fluency, complexity, and accuracy of L2 learners' monologic oral L2 performance?

4. Method

4.1. Participants

Participants in the study were 20 male and 20 female sophomore and junior English majors doing their Language Laboratory and Phonology courses at a private-control university in the Northwestern Iranian border town of Salmas. They were selected on the basis of a TOEFL test administration which yielded two equal-size (one all-male and the other all-female) homogeneous groups. Males' average age was 20.85 with the youngest and oldest being 19 and 25, respectively. Females' ages ranged between 20 and 26, and the average age equaled 21.65. Of the males, 12 (60%) spoke Azerbaijani, 3 (15%) spoke Persian, and the remaining 5 (25%) were the native speakers of Kurdish. With females, there were 11 (55%) Azerbaijani, 1 (5%) Persian and 8 (40%) Kurdish native speakers. (Azerbaijani and Kurdish are regional languages serving everyday communication in Iranian context. Persian is used as the official language through which almost everything, especially schooling and instruction, takes place.) They participated in the study as part of the course assessment throughout and near the end of the autumn semester from September 2005 through February 2006 in their respective courses.

4.2. Data collection procedures

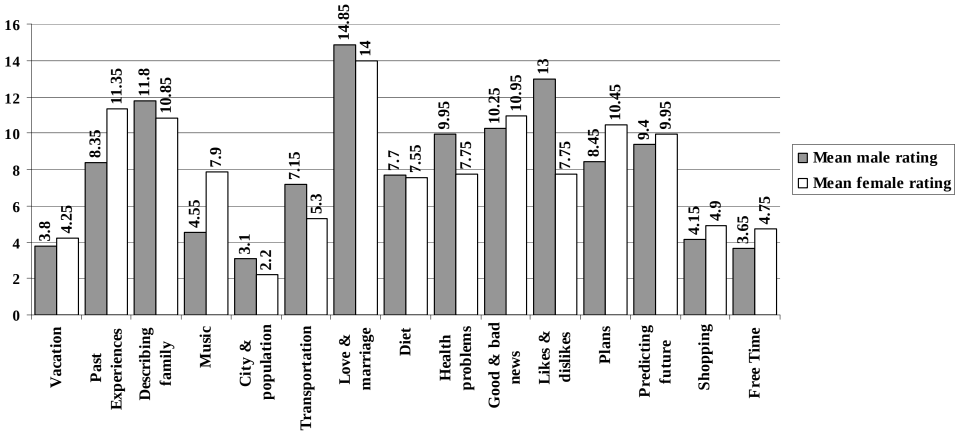
At the very outset, a criterion had to be established to identify culturally 'inhibiting' task topic. For this purpose, an operational definition was presented as follows:

Culturally inhibiting topic is by definition a topic which is not an explicitly moral, religious, social or political taboo, but remotely and by extension it may be associated with one or more than one of them following the norms of the society in question. The speakers as members of the social community are, therefore, likely to avoid expressing their ideas openly and straightforwardly when talking about it in interpersonal language use.

With the definition established, the next step was to substantiate the least culturally inhibiting topic (LCIT) and the most culturally inhibiting topic (MCIT) to be used as prompts in the experiment. This step involved several stages. At stage one, one appropriate level book was chosen out of three conversational English series with the longest record of use in Iranian context, i.e. *New interchange 3: English for international communication* (Richards, Hull & Proctor 1997), *Spectrum: A Communicative Course in English-Level 5* (Warshawsky, Rein & Frankfurt 1999) and *Headway: Upper intermediate* (Soars & Soars 1983). Another selection involved randomly picking out 5 general topics of the speaking activities/themes out of each of the three books. Conversations or speaking activities with similar themes and those explicitly provocative regarding religious (Islamic) norms, e.g. dating, were excluded from selection. The resulting 15 general topics included: *Vacation, Past Experiences, Describing Family, Music, City and Population, Transportation, Love and Marriage, Diet, Health Problems, Good and Bad News, Likes and Dislikes, Plans, Predicting Future, Shopping, and Free Time*. Subsequently these topics were presented to the 40 (20 male and 20 female) participants who were asked to number the topics from the least inhibiting (1) to the most inhibiting (15) on the basis of the operational definition. Therefore, for each topic there were 20 ratings by males and 20 ratings by females ranging from 1 to 15. The mean rating of each topic by males and by females determined the least and most culturally inhibiting topics strictly following the learners' own reactions to them. Figure 1 clearly illustrates that to the participants (regardless of their gender), the least culturally inhibiting topic (LCIT) was *'city and population'* while the most culturally inhibiting (MCIT) was *'love and marriage'*.

For the purpose of collecting the data, arrangements were made by having every individual participant at a time speak to the male and female teacher on LCIT (i.e. *city and population*) and MCIT (i.e. *love and marriage*) in the language laboratory. Each participant was given a two-minute planning time before performance and a five-minute speaking time, both constant across all participants and all four performances for each participant. The male teacher in the experiment was the first author, and the female teacher was a departmental staff member and course lecturer with whom the participants were already familiar. To meet the course schedule, the time gap between the two performances with male teacher and those with female teacher was 4 weeks. Teachers as addressees merely gave the topics and initial directions refraining from any feedback, or verbal interaction during the monologues. In order to eliminate uncontrolled planning, and preparation effects, arrangements were also made so that the participants who were finished with their task performance could not see the ones who were waiting for their turn. The spoken protocols of the participants on the four speaking events were digitally recorded.

Figure 1.- Mean rating of topics by male and female participants



5. Design

In this study, task-prompted, monologic spoken protocols of the same male vs. female participants addressed to the same male vs. female teacher about LCIT *(city and population)* vs. MCIT (*love and marriage)* were compared for fluency, complexity and accuracy. The dependent variables were fluency, complexity and accuracy (analyzed separately) with the independent variables being gender of the participant, gender of the teacher, and gender perceived cultural inhibition of the topic. Therefore, the statistical design of the study is a 2×2×2 (participant's gender × teacher's gender × topic) Repeated Measure Mixed Factorial ANOVA (see Table 1; note that participants are the same in rows).

Table 1.- Experimental design of the study

	Male teacher (addressee)		Female teacher (addressee)	
	Monologic talk on *'city and population'*	Monologic talk on *'love and marriage'*	Monologic talk on *'city and population'*	Monologic talk on *'love and marriage'*
Male participant	*N= 20*	*N= 20*	*N= 20*	*N= 20*
Female participant	*N = 20*	*N = 20*	*N = 20*	*N = 20*

6. Data Analysis

The recorded data files of the participants' speech converted to appropriate format and analyzed with Cool Edit Pro Version 2.0 which proved especially helpful with detecting pause lengths and marking out T-unit boundaries. Then, the recorded protocols were transcribed and coded for fluency, complexity and accuracy by two independent raters.

6.1. Fluency

The ratio of meaningful words per pause (WPP) was calculated for gauging fluency. Since there are no well-defined, universally agreed-upon criteria on pause, different local criteria are employed. *'Pause'* in this study following Crookes (1986) was operationalized as non-phonation in interclausal or intraclausal position longer than 0.60 seconds, false starts, occurrence of interword or intraword suprasegmental hesitation markers such as *mum*, *uh*, etc. (also known as filled pauses), and intraword vowel stretched longer than 0.60 seconds. In obtaining the fluency measures, repetitions, inaudible or fragmented words, unsystematic occurrence of disruption or distortion of speech by non-linguistic vocal sounds (such as coughing, sighing, etc.) as well as the words containing these occurrences word-medially were ignored. Coding for fluency did not include aspects of grammatical accuracy or mispronunciation as long as they were not meaningfully distinct. Kappa coefficients (as indices of inter-rater reliability) of the number of words and the number of pauses turned out to be 0.91 and 0.83, respectively.

6.2. Complexity

For establishing complexity of speech, different word occurrences (Types) were divided by total word occurrences (Tokens) and the result multiplied by 100. It is also known as Type-Token Ration (TTR) (see Richards, Schmidt, Platt & Schmidt 2003). Coding for complexity disregarded sentence fragments, repeated words, incomplete clausal units, and interclausal or intraclausal interjections. The inter-rater reliability levels (indicated by kappa coefficient) were 0.90 and 0.83 for the types (i.e. the number of different words) and for the tokens (or words), respectively.

6.3. Accuracy

The general approach is to obtain the percentage of error-free T-units to the total number of T-units. T-unit is defined as “one main clause plus whatever subordinate clauses, phrases, and words happen to be attached to or embedded within it” (Menhert 1998: 90). Kappa coefficient for the error-free T-units was 0.94 and the total number of T-units was 0.81. Repetitions, fragments, and clusters of indistinct propositional link with the adjacent clausal units were left out of consideration.

7. Results

7.1. Fluency

2×2×2 Repeated Measure Mixed Factorial ANOVA results showed that a) the mean word per pause (WPP) significantly varied across the speech addressed to male vs. female teachers, and also b) it varied significantly depending on whether the speech was about ‘city and population’ or ‘love and marriage’. However, participant’s gender and different interactions of variables did not prove significant. The results appear in Tables 2.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the participants’ monologues addressed to the female teacher contained a significantly higher mean of words (5.50) than the monologues addressed to the male teacher (4.55).

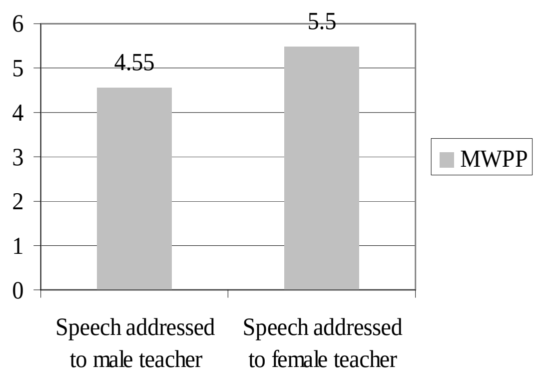
Table 2.- ANOVA for fluency as a factor of participant's gender, teacher's gender and topic

Tests of Within-Subject Contrasts			
Source	df	Mean Square	F
Teacher's gender	1	35.34	30.78**
Teacher's gender × Participant's gender	1	3.69	3.21 ns
Error (Teacher's gender)	38	1.14	
Topic	1	66.17	63.41**
Topic × Participant's gender	1	2.64	2.53 ns
Error (Topic)	38	1.04	
Teacher's gender × Topic	1	0.16	0.37 ns
Teacher's gender × Topic × Participant's gender	1	0.79	0.18 ns
Error (Teacher's gender × Topic)	38	0.42	
Tests of Between-Subject Contrasts			
Participant's gender	1	0.24	0.07 ns
Error	38	3.09	

** Significant at $p < 0.01$
ns = not significant

Fluency also significantly varied due to topic. On the task with LCIT (*i.e. city and population*), on average, the average number of words per pause amounted to 5.67 which exceeded 4.39 as the mean of words per pause on tasks with MCIT (i.e. *love and marriage*). Figure 3 shows the mean word per pause values on LCIT (*i.e. city and population)* and MCIT (i.e. *love and marriage*) tasks.

Figure 2.- Mean word per pause values in the students' task-prompted monologic talk addressed to male vs. female teacher MWPP = Mean Word Per Pause



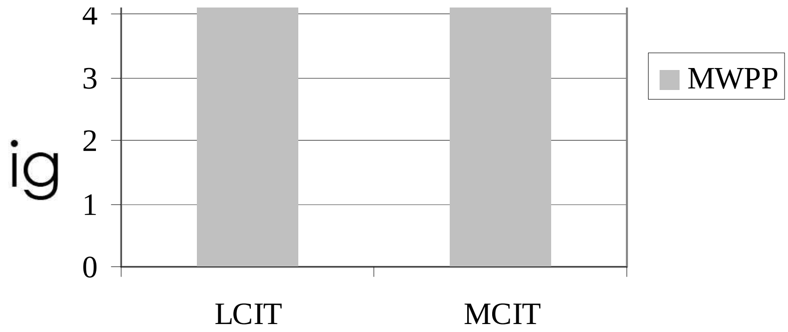
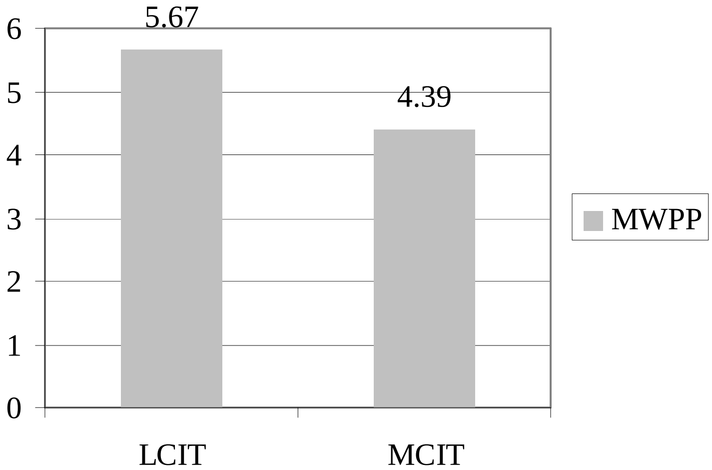


Figure 3.- Mean word per pause values in the students' task prompted monologic talk on LCIT vs. MCIT



MWPP = Mean Word Per Pause
LCIT = The Least Culturally Inhibiting Topic (i.e. city and population)
MCIT = The Most Culturally Inhibiting Topic (i.e. love and marriage)

7.2. Complexity

As far as complexity of production is concerned, ANOVA results could only establish significant differences with regard to LCIT (The Least Culturally Inhibiting Topic) *i.e. 'city and population'.* vs. MCIT (The Most Culturally Inhibiting Topic) i.e. '*love and marriage*' at $p < 0.01$. In other words, the participants' monologic, task-prompted speech significantly varied depending only on whether the topic of the monologue was '*city and population*' or '*love and marriage*'. All other differences regarding the other variables and their different interactions proved insignificant as presented in Table 3.

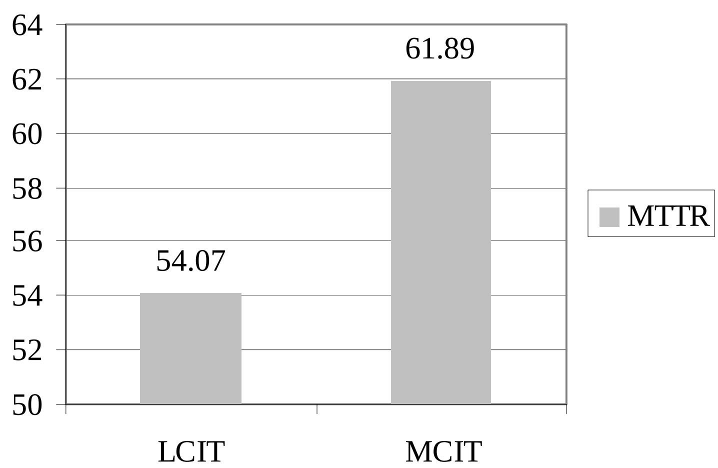
As shown in Figure 4, the participants' speech varied significantly ($p < 0.01$) depending on whether they talked about LCIT or MCIT. They produced a higher mean of Types per Tokens when talking about MCIT (61.89) than when talking about LCIT (54.07).

Table 3.- ANOVA for complexity as a factor of participant's gender, teacher's gender and topic

Tests of Within-Subject Contrasts			
Source	df	Mean Square	F
Teacher's gender	1	0.44	0.00 ns
Teacher's gender × Participant's gender	1	68.34	0.63 ns
Error (Teacher's gender)	38	107.65	
Topic	1	2390.81	22.53**
Topic × Participant's gender	1	381.95	3.60 ns
Error (Topic)	38	106.07	
Teacher's gender × Topic	1	229.08	3.71 ns
Teacher's gender × Topic × Participant's gender	1	18.25	0.29 ns
Error (Teacher's gender × Topic)	38	61.64	
Tests of Between-Subject Contrasts			
Participant's gender	1	356.67	1.81
Error	38	196.63	

** Significant at $p < 0.01$
ns = not significant

Figure 4.- Mean Type-Token Ratio on task with LCIT as opposed to task with MCIT



MTTR = Mean Type-Token Ratio
LCIT = The Least Culturally Inhibiting Topic (i.e. *city and population*)
MCIT = The Most Culturally Inhibiting Topic (i.e. *love and marriage*)

7.3. Accuracy

Results indicated statistically significant differences in terms of the mean percentage of error free T-units as a matter of a) participant's gender ($p < 0.01$), b) teacher's gender ($p < 0.01$), c) interaction of teacher and participant's gender ($p < 0.05$), and d) interaction of all three variables, namely participant's gender, teacher's gender, and topic ($p < 0.01$). In other words, 2×2×2 Repeated Measure Mixed Factorial ANOVA results showed that the average error-free T-unit number in participants' production significantly varied depending on the gender of the participant, gender of the teacher, interaction of these two, and the interaction of participant's gender, teacher's gender, and topic (See Table 4).

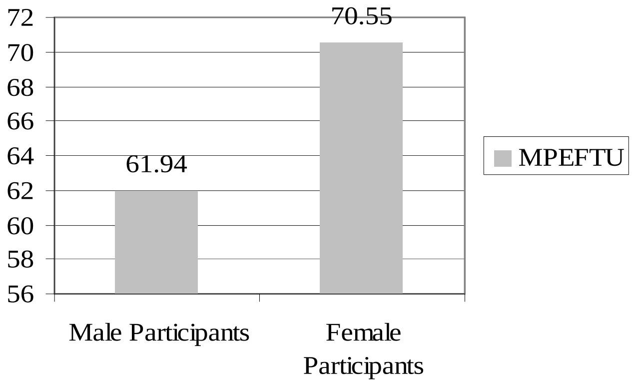
Table 4.- ANOVA for accuracy as a factor of participant's genders, teacher's gender and topic

Tests of Within-Subject Contrasts			
Source	df	Mean Square	F
Teacher's gender	1	1037.90	8.65**
Teacher's gender × Participant's gender	1	717.11	5.97*
Error (Teacher's gender)	38	119.93	
Topic	1	88.55	0.69 ns
Topic × Participant's gender	1	87.63	0.68 ns
Error (Topic)	38	128.24	
Teacher's gender × Topic	1	63.06	0.49 ns
Teacher's gender × Topic × Participant's gender	1	1061.57	8.34 **
Error (Teacher's gender × Topic)	38	127.24	
Tests of Between-Subject Contrasts			
Participant's gender	1	2959.86	11.26 **
Error	38	362.74	

* Significant at $p < 0.05$, ** Significant at $p < 0.01$, ns = not significant

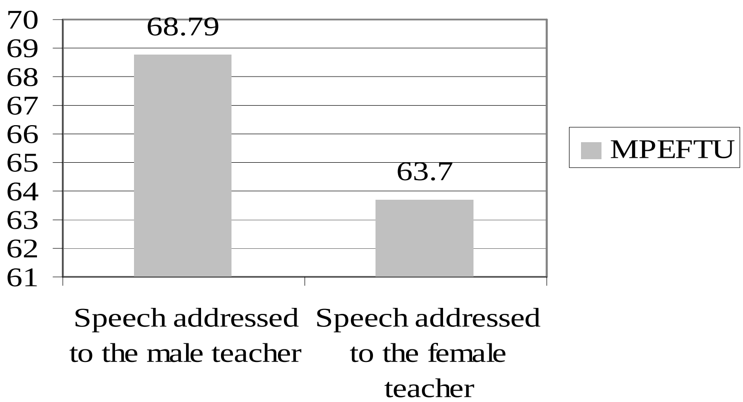
Starting with the between-subject factor (i.e. participant's gender), a greater mean percentage of error free T-units was found on the part of females than males. Results indicate that female participants in the study in general produced a significantly higher mean percentage of error-free T-units (70.55) than their male counterparts (61.94).

Figure 5.- Male and female participants' MPEFTU on task-prompted monologic tasks
MPEFTU = Mean Percentage of Error-free T-Units



Teacher's gender turned out to be an influential factor in determining the participants' percentage of accurate structures (Figure 5). Mean percentage of error-free T-units in the task-prompted talk addressed to male teacher (that is 68.79) was significantly higher ($p < 0.01$) than that addressed to female teacher (i.e. 63.70).

Figure 6.- Mean percentage of error free T-units in the participants' monologic task-prompted speech addressed to male as opposed to female teacher



MPEFTU = Mean Percentage of Error-Free T-Units

Referring to Table 4 above, it can be seen that interaction of teacher and participant's gender as well as the interaction of teacher's gender, participant's gender and topic all proved to be significant. However, due to space limitations, graphic demonstration of the significant differences and the related prose explanations were ignored. For the purpose of this article, it may suffice to say that the dominant pattern in accuracy measurement and comparisons was the fact that female participants in all possible task situations were more accurate than their male counterparts and the accuracy was higher especially with male teacher as the addressee.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

Results of the study indicated significant differences in terms of fluency depending on the teachers' gender. Participants' speech addressed to the female teacher was more fluent than that addressed to the male teacher. This can be attributed broadly to 'interlocutor' effect in Labovian paradigm (Labov 1970), dynamic paradigm (Bailey 1973; Bickerton 1975), Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles 1971) in which variability is influenced by the addressee. Following speech planning model by Levelt (1989) teacher's gender can be an instance of situational factor in conceptualizer stage. In terms of speech monitoring (Morrison & Low 1983), this can be associated with lexical adjustment at micro-level and pre- or post-articulatory monitoring. This finding brings together characterization of females' cooperative communicative pattern by Coates's (1993) and Skehan's (1996, 1998) formulation of fluency as a matter of spontaneous production. It can be speculated that the participants' anticipation of female teacher's cooperative style could have reduced communicative pressure and resulted in a more spontaneous, fluent style. This finding receives general support from Robinson (2001), and Young & Milanovich (1992). However, fluent speech in the presence of female teacher is rejected by O'Sullivan (2000) and O'Loughlin (2002) who failed to find such a variation in their studies. Furthermore, significantly higher fluency was found when the topic was LCIT than on MCIT'. Topic is one of the causative social factors in Labovian paradigm (Labov 1970) influencing performance variability occasioned by the attention mechanism. This finds support in dynamic paradigm by Bailey (1973) and Bickerton (1975) who treat topic as an instance of situational factors responsible for intra-speaker variability. It can also be argued that because of the least cultural inhibition of '*city and population*', it imposes less communicative pressure and contributes to spontaneity and thereby fluency of speech. General support to this finding is lent by Freed & Wood (1996), and Chavez (2001), Brown *et al* (1984), and Selinker & Douglas (1985).

As far as complexity is concerned, a higher complexity was found on MCIT. In other words, participants' speech was more complex when they talked about '*love and marriage*' than when they talked about '*city and population*'. In addition to being compatible with Labovian paradigm, dynamic paradigm, Freed & Wood (1996), and Chavez (2001) Coates (1997), Skehan's (1996, 1998) cognitive model specifically contributes to the interpretation of more complexity on culturally inhibiting topic. A plausible line of argument would be that since talking on '*love and marriage*' is inhibiting to the participants, they are more likely to experience communicative pressure to pick words. Also, if interest is taken to lead to familiarity and thereby complexity of production, this finding is confirmed by Bischoping (1993) who argues for disappearance of gender-specific interest in topic.

One of the primary findings of this study on accuracy was that females were in general more accurate than males. If accuracy can be equated with superiority in language, a higher accuracy of females can be attributed to the conventional female superiority in language capacity (Chavez 2001). Other supportive accounts are the triple categorization by Robinson (1996, 1998), Freed & Wood (1992), etc. Accuracy was found to vary significantly depending on the teacher's gender. Participants tended to produce a more grammatically correct L2 when addressing the male teacher. This emphasizes the interlocutor effect in prompting learner attention (Labov 1970), situational factors in dynamic paradigm (Bailey 1973; Bickerton 1975), and in Levelt's (1989) speech planning model, and participant factor as source of variability in

Robinson (2001, 2003). In particular, it seems to be consistent with Morrison & Low (1983) who proposes syntactic adjustments at micro-level. Higher accuracy in addressing the male teacher is refuted by O'Sullivan (2000) who suggested the opposite and O'Loughlin (2002) who failed to bear out any differences, whatsoever.

The findings bear several implications for SLA including:

- The clearest message of this study is for the task-based language teaching and learning. Gender can no longer be viewed a static, unitary variable related to the learners only. Rather, it must be seen as an ever-present reality inseparable from and interacting with performances of the learners, teachers, interviewers, interviewees, peers, and groups.
- Communicative oral language testing must be adequately sensitized to the fact that gender of the test-taker, tester, and males' and females' attitude to the test topic may introduce bias, and distort the reliability and validity of tests.
- Syllabus designers and curriculum developers must also make room for the gender of the prospective teachers, learners, and the topic within the target socio-cultural context as influential factors in determining quantity, quality, and nature of classroom interaction.
- Language teaching practitioners need to be duly attentive to gender which may affect or even obscure interaction in certain ways leading up to biased judgement of learner performance on the teacher's part.
- Among all other things, an intimate and at the same time an extensive understanding of dimensions of gender-related variability is called for in the realms of research, theory and practice in SLA.

Future research may shed light on various aspects of gender some of which can be

- SLA and gender identity focusing on regional, ethnic, religious, and multicultural contexts,
- discoursal, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and critical aspects of gender and ESL/EFL learning situation, and
- negotiation of gender identity in the second/foreign language classroom and the way it clashes or aligns with norms and aspects of gender interaction in L1.

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Discourse and Gender Identities[1]

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Abstract

This paper aims at assessing how gender identities are represented and constituted in a discursive event taking place in the classroom. For such, we have drawn on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodological and theoretical assumptions. We have proposed to establish the bounds between discourse and identities, defending the idea that identities are heterogeneous, constituted in the interaction, and, therefore, in the contemporary social practice, in which ideologies and power relations are embedded.

Key words: *discourse ~ identities ~ ideology ~ power relation*

1. Introduction

We propose with this paper to assess the discursive practice in the classroom and demonstrate how, in such practice, gender identities, especially female ones, are represented and constituted. In order to develop the analysis, situated in the social context, we have drawn on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), theory and methodology developed by the British linguist Norman Fairclough, who is interested in the language as a social practice, taking the language context as a critical dimension (Fairclough, trans. 2001 and 2003). CDA, embedded in an emancipatory character, look critically at the domination, resistance, and power relation, institutionally constituted. Thus, its pertinent and inevitable contribution. Such approach is concerned with denaturalize

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[1] This paper is sponsored by Fundação de Emprendimentos Científicos e Tecnológicos – FINATEC– Brasília/Brazil.

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International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 539-552.

social inequalities and how such inequalities are expressed, shown, constructed, and legitimized in the discourse (Wodak 2003). In this manner, we focus on values, beliefs and ideologies expressed through the text, the discourse, which constitutes social reality and identities, constituted in the interaction, including the classroom context, where daily episodes related to social cultural practices occur.

We dialogue with studies about social gender, defending identities as being social and discursive effects, becoming, in late modernity, as pointed by Hall (trans. 2001), a mobile celebration, since they participate in an ever-changing time, displacement, fragmentation, as well as discontinuity. Recognized today to be a construct, in the words of Rajagopalan (2005: 16), the identities are constructed and constantly being reconstructed in tune with the multiple influences they are subjected to. Identities are in a permanent state of flux. Persons assume and discard identities as they pass through different stages of their lives, partly in response to changes in their immediate circumstances. The more complex the attendant circumstances, the more radical and unpredictable the transformations they undergo.

We establish relations between discourse and identities, based on the notion of heterogeneous, multi-facetted identities, constructed in the contemporary social practices. They are, according to Litosseliti (2006), socially and culturally constructed through negotiated and appropriate discourses.

2. Discourse and Identities

Norman Fairclough (2003: 203) defends the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a way of critical social research, presenting as a contribution a better understanding of “how societies work and produce both beneficial and detrimental effects, and of how the detrimental effects can be mitigated, if not eliminated”. Thus, CDA orientates towards the perception of contemporary social reality and discourse studies which lead to struggles for social change, since it is interested in creating “a world in which people are not discriminated because of gender, age, or social class" (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996: xi).

According to this perspective, Magalhães (2004: 3) suggests: "the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been dedicated to the analysis of texts, discursive events, and social practices in the social historical context, mainly in the context of social transformations, proposing a theory and a method of discourse study".

The term discourse, based on CDA assumptions, is understood as a social life element, dialectically interconnected with other elements (Fairclough 2003). CDA, therefore, situates language as a social life momentum, and is open to the treatment of the various social practices.

Understood as social action, historically situated, social practices comprehend several moments of social life, which reach economical, political, and cultural domains, including daily life. Such moments are: the material world, social relations, action and interaction, people and their beliefs, their values, and wishes (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, and Fairclough 2003). The discourse, in turn, is situated in a network of practices, maintaining with the elements of this network a dialectical relationship. In this manner, as a dimension of social practices, the discourse is determined by social structures[3], but, at the same time, it has effects on the society when reproducing or transforming its structures. Thus, the discourse is taken as a form of action towards the world and the people, and as a way of representing the reality (Fairclough, trans. 2001). Thus, it maintains and supports power relations and ideologies while transforming them, constituting social relations and identities. Therefore, according to Litosseliti (2006: 10), "if language is constitutive rather indexical, then it has the potential to help establish and maintain social and power relations, values and identities, as well as to challenge routine practice and contribute towards social change".

By situating the discourse as constitutive of the reality, Fairclough (trans. 2001: 91) states that the discourse contributes to construct all the

[3] For Fairclough (2003: 23), social structures are very abstract entities. One can think of a social structure (such as an economic structure, a social class, or a kinship system, or a language) as definiting a potential, a set of possibilities.

dimensions of social structure that, directly or indirectly, shapes it and limits it; rules and conventions themselves, as well as the underlying relationships, identities, and institutions. In this manner, the discourse is not only a practice of representing the world, but giving meaning to it, constituting or constructing the world in meanings.

Fairclough (trans. 2001) understands the discourse as a social practice in a tridimensional conception, in which text, discursive practice, and social practice elucidate the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure. Any discursive event is considered as a text and as a discursive practice situated in a social practice. Thus, such conception favors the investigation of the discursive change in its relationship with social and cultural change.

In a model presented later, Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) give more emphasis to social practice, considering the discourse as a social practice momentum. In this way, these authors base on the social life conception as constituted by practices, being the social practice advocated as "habitualised ways, tied to particular times and spaces, in which people apply resources (material or symbolic) to act together in the world" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 21).

Concerning the moments of a particular practice and the articulation among them, Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999: 21) notice:

> A particular practice brings together different elements of life in specific (...) particular types of activity, linked in particular ways to particular materials and spacial and temporal locations; particular persons with particular experiences, knowledges and dispositions in particular social relations; particular semiotic resources and ways of using language and so forth. In so far as these diverse elements of life are brought together into a specific practice, we can call them 'moments' of that practice (...) and see each moment as 'internalizing' the others without being reducible to them.

Under this perspective, it is possible to notice that any practice articulates several elements of social life, which configures a dialectical relationship of articulation and internalization. In this manner, in the investigation of a discursive event in the classroom, identity relationships, hegemonic ideologies and practices can be perceived, shaping it and being shaped by it.

In this manner, understanding the discursive momentum means observing the articulation of the various elements of a social practice; it means observing how the individuals can position inside such practices, reproducing or destabilizing an order of discourse[4]. It also means perceiving the role played by the language, whether empowering or weakening in which, for instance, the identities constitution is concerned.

We understand that social structures and practices determine the choice of the discursive elements materialized in the text. In this way, by examining such elements, it is possible to identify the ideology/ideologies in the texts and in the social processes competing to the identities constitution.

By showing that the language is socially constructed, Fairclough (trans. 2001) points to the participants actions in the world in particular social historical conditions reflected in their political projects and in the power relations in which they participate. The author establishes a relationship between social construction and interaction and discourse with identity. Thus, Fairclough's approaches (trans. 2001, 2003) are tools to study the language in specific contexts (e.g. the classroom) and to understand the relationship between language and identity, unraveling the roles the institutions have in the identity constitution, showing how the power is distributed in society and unraveling the identities not as a ready thing but as a process socially and historically shaped by the power relations present in the discursive practice.

In this manner, we are required, therefore, to recognize the discourse and identity interrelation. The social gender is a social product being elaborated in the discourse. We construct ourselves as "subjects" in the discursive practices in which we are situated. In such practices,

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[4] Order of discourse is a Foucault's concept (trans. 1996). The order of discourse "refers to the totality of discursive practices in a society or institution, the interrelation among practices, articulations and rearticulations among them" (Magalhães 2000: 91). According to Fairclough (2003: 220), a discursive order is a specific combination or configuration of genres, styles and discourses constituting the discursive aspects of a network of social practices.

constituted by beliefs, values, feelings, world visions, ideologies, it is common to perceive the maintenance and production of stereotypes defined for men and women. Different social patterns are understood configurating both male and female ones. Such patterns are produced, conveyed and reproduced through social practices, one of them is the discursive practices in the classroom, in the events of literacy.

Social gender identity is, therefore, articulated and rearticulated each event of literacy, being this a social cultural phenomenon and, as such, an mediator instrument of the identification process of the social subjects. Thus, we can affirm that women and men learn how to be what they are in the interaction they participate. So, the construction and constitution of gender identities implicate the interaction of individuals acting in particular discursive practices in which they are positioned, implicate the positions they have and how they are positioned in the literacy events in the classroom.

Nevertheless, in the discursive context of the classroom, the female and male dichotomy is usually manifested, contributing to the construction of the asymmetric reality of gender relationships, internalized since childhood, mainly within the family, through discursive practices and events.

According to this perspective, Poynton (1989) defends that the construction of women's submissive identity begins as they are born, within the family, one of the main agencies of literacy, when, surrounding them, a background of meanings reinforcing naturalized stereotypes is created.

However, for Magalhães (2003), there are different ways contributing to the construction of female identity. For her, the discourse conveyed in society can be of domination or emancipation. The domination discourse is directly conveyed to patterns of dominating ideology. Through this, women do not have room for speech in society, being subject to stereotypes recalling old identities, those perceived as traditional. The emancipation discourse, on the other hand, is the one that, through discursive practices, tries to create, for women, a social place, some room for speech in which they are subjects.

Focusing our attention on the dominating discourses, which are often present in the classroom discourse, we affirm that there are women who fit passively stereotypes which characterize the “old” identities. Stereotypes coming to evidence that, despite the social cultural transformations occurring in the contemporary societies both locally and globally, many women are not aware of their subordinating position, and, therefore, do not demonstrate resistance towards the asymmetric relationships. Such position can be discussed in the school context, depending on the practices of literacy adopted by the school. However, in many educational institutions, teachers reproduce gender dichotomy when reinforcing in the classroom discourse social historical stereotypes culturally produced for them.

Thus, the literacy events, in the school contexts configure, many times, as a place where mechanisms are manifested, strategies to weaken women, who, in general, do not perceive such subtle strategies, of discrimination and prejudice towards them. And also: as a place where both female and male teachers reinforce hegemonic patterns, assuring, in such way, the maintenance of forms of prejudice and inequities.

However, considering gender identities as a social construction, conveyed by practices, and recognizing the mobility character, and transformation of modern times, it is possible to consider a meaningful change in gender relationships and in the construction of female identity in case there is a discursive change. Since, as the relationship between discourse and practice is dialectical, the discursive change contributes to social practice change, and vice versa. Such perspective is also defended by Street (1995: 16) who states that “social change involves challenging the given forms of dominating discourse and the production and affirmation of other discourses inserted in new material conditions”.

We cannot affirm that, in the world where changes occur with tremendous speed, identity construction –and the transformation of these through discursive practices– is responsibility of only the school institution. However, it is one of those participating in this process, since identities are constructed from the relations present in the discursive practices, made concrete, mainly in the classroom discourse. It is in this sense that we can relate the classroom discursive practices to the constitution of gender identities.

3. A Literacy Event[5]

By opening the discussion about pictures (images)[6] in the classroom, the teacher shows the first handout in which there is a photo of a drag queen, and asks the students what they would have to say about such picture. The students answer, for instance, *Oh, teacher, it's a faggy, it's brotherhood.*

The teacher asks what brotherhood means and Pedro[7] answers that it is a gay man. The teacher, with a disapproving attitude asks the group what they think about the term employed by the student. Many students, saying, at the same time, different terms, however, almost synonyms, reply that they find the term normal. Augusto says: *What is not normal is this* (referring to the drag queen). Patrícia, still concerning the drag queen, says that *men have to be like men*. Márcia takes the chance to say that *if things continue the way they are, there will be fewer men than there are already.*

Ilana affirms that things are changing and that, therefore, *many men take women's roles*. Henrique interrupts to say that *women and faggies worry about home and children, and this is not male stuff. Men do not think too much about that*. Renata questions *whether women really need to be interested only about children and cooking*. Opinions were controversial: some students said so. Pedro affirms that *women should only be concerned with this,* but other students, mainly girls, manifested contrary to such opinion. Débora spoke in a louder tone: *She* (referring to woman) *does whatever she wants with her life*.

[5] Transcript of a high school 1st grade class in a public school, audio recorded, in which the teacher had aimed at debating on social gender from two pictures extracted from a magazine with nation wide circulation.

[6] These are photos taken from a (Brazilian) magazine with nation wide circulation. The first photo is of a drag queen; and the second one, shows a female soldier. Both amplified.

[7] These are pseudonyms. Here, they have the effect to separate different acts of speech concerning boys and girls.

In this moment, the teacher calls out for silence, saying that such a discussion would not take them anywhere.

The second picture (a female soldier holding a gun) is presented by the teacher and some students are puzzled by the fact that we can have a woman holding a gun and joke by saying that *she does not look any sensitive nor delicate*. Rodrigo contests by saying: *but women are delicate*. Paulo states that *women should take care of their home and not hold any gun*. Rayra says that *it is OK for her to hold a gun; but, splitting the check, no way*. Many girls agree and some boys, too, since, for these ones, men should pay the bills, but some others thought that *if women were to split the check, all right*. Again, the teacher cuts short the debate. This time, she says that she would have to change the topic: the study of prepositions. Thus, the debate about figures (images) is effectively over and the discussion about conjunctions takes the rest of the class time.

4. The Analysis

We have noticed that in the literacy event, many stereotypes become naturalized, due to the back of recognition, especially by the teacher, of controversies, brought by the students, about the social gender. And what is worse, due to the interruption of the debate triggered by the students.

Shedding lights on a social problem and reflecting about it is a way of acting in the world, and, thus, provoking changes. This implicates in the denaturalization of what is naturalized, of what is taken for granted. The teacher, in spite of having brought to class a theme of social character, did not permit it to be properly problematized and reflected, being treated as a social practice that, as such, is incorporated into contemporary life. By doing so, the teacher demonstrates that she does not recognize the discourse as a form of action in the world, imbued of an emancipatory character, since, according to Fairclough's statement (trans. 2001 and 2003), the subject can be critic, reflecting on power, dominating, and hegemonic relations, institutionally constituted, and promote discursive[8] and social changes.

In the statement *Women must take care of home and not hold any gun*, we have, as a goal of the verbs *take care* and *hold*, objects, that, we could say, would express opposite sides-which could indicate conflicting identities –if there were not the presence of a negation before the verb *hold* and the modal *must* before the verb *take care*. We notice that the statement was constructed so that it reveals the woman related to the action performed in the home ambit. In addition, women fit a stereotype. We highlight that the allusion to the fact that women must not hold a gun is related to the assumption that women must not assume roles that go beyond their domestic life, performing, for instance, the soldier's role.

The statement *Women are delicate, yes*, with the presence of a linking verb, defines women as fragile, that is, we have here the traditional discourse regarding social gender that, in Magalhães' premises (2003), is associated with the dominating discourse. Women, once again, fit a stereotype reinforced by the word *yes*.

We can affirm that both sentences, W*omen are delicate*, *yes*, and *Women must take care of home and not hold any guns*, reinforce the same stereotype, which configures a dominating discourse.

Corroborating with a domination discourse, we have the statements *Women and faggies care about home and children, this is not men's stuff; Men do not think too much about that*. We evidence here verbs reinforcing the naturalization of beliefs and values. These are statements that express the assumption that there should be a division of labor between man and woman. Thus, women are associated with the private territory (domestic), while men are taken away from such space.

[8] Discursive change, according to Fairclough (trans. 2001: 128), is defined as: As those who produce it and the interpreters combine discursive conventions, codes and elements in a new way in innovating discursive events, they are, undoubtedly, producing cumulative structural changes in the discursive order: they are disarticulating orders of the existing discourse and rearticulating new orders of discourse, new discursive hegemonies.

Conflicting with the non-emancipated female identity, we have the statements *She does whatever she wants with her life*; *It's OK for her to hold a gun*; *If women are to split a check, it's all right*. Such statements indicate an emancipated female identity. That is, there is some resistance. There is, therefore, an emancipation discourse, confirming Talbot (1998) who states that people are not passively shaped by discourse. This suggests a changing perspective concerning gender identities, demonstrating a discursive practice which is characterized as a source of contesting and destabilizing a social order regulated by male dominating discourse (Bourdieu, trans. 1999). Therefore, it suggests that language can be used to challenge power, subvert it, since, " the order of discourse is not a strict nor closed system, on the contrary, it is an open system, which is put at risk in interactions nowadays" (Fairclough 2003: 207). This implicates, according to Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999), that resistance can destabilize hegemonic patterns, since resistance presupposes the sense of human agency, which, in turn, is interrelated with the notion that subjects are active and creative, able to promote changes.

This mixed composition of two discourses, of emancipation and domination, point to hybrid identities. This suggests, as Magalhães (2003 and 2005) states, the coexistence of "old" and "new" identities, which indicate conflicting identities. These, situated between traditional systems, drawbacks, and claims for change, destabilization, disruption with patterns regulating social relations.

Regarding identities constituted for men, in such class, we understand that tension between both discourses is not so strongly realized, as it happens with female identities. Male identities are constituted almost without any conflict, since there is little manifestation of resistance to hegemonic patterns, shaping such identities construction. In this sense, traditional identity is constituted for men. This can be proven by the sentences: *Men should pay the bills; Men must be like men; Women and faggies worry about home and children, and this is not male stuff; Men do not think too much about that*. Such statements demonstrate naturalization and legitimization of asymmetric and dominating social practices. Resistance can be perceived in the statement: *many men take women's roles*. However, as we can observe, this is a position soon hidden by other senses regulating a hegemonic practice.

5. Final Considerations

Language expresses aspects of the social cultural context in which it is produced, influencing us to think in this or that manner- so it also occurs in the studied context, in which we have the literacy events shaped by power relations (Barton & Hamilton 1998). Thus, through of the Critical Discourse Analysis, we could see how aspects of reality in a literacy event focused on the debate on pictures (images) are portrayed; we could notice what types of social relations are found there. We noticed that gender identities constituted are mostly traditional or hybrid, which denounces conflicting identities. And, regarding men, the constituted identity, predominantly, is still the traditional one.

The discursive event here presented makes us think that in the classroom context, many opportunities of deeper discussion on power and social gender issues are lost. This can occur due to the fact that several professionals of the education area still bare in mind that a debate about social gender involving power and ideology relations is not a "matter" to be taken into account in a discursive event in the classroom, since all discussions on text-images presented were considered non relevant, something that "would not take them anywhere". Relegated to forgetfulness are the implications concerning male x female dichotomy, which bring, according to Poynton (1989), ideas ideologically produced, constructing asymmetric relations that need to be problematized, including in the school context. In addition, in the specific context, it is possible to perceive that girls do not passively fit stereotypes, there is resistance. And this was not, as it can be evidenced, taken into account by the teacher.

A moment of discursive practice that could be used to reflect and to question values, beliefs, and social practices, as well as to raise a critical look towards the forms of ideology action, and also, to the strategies of construction of female identity, was not properly used. This implicates, as suggested by Fairclough (trans. 2001), naturalization of identity positions, reaching common sense status. On the contrary, a work of critical reading of text-images provides reflection about what is conveyed in the texts, as well as in the literacy events, which could be a beginning of changes in the discursive and social practices. And which could make from a discursive moment a place for struggle and resistance, a practice towards praxis (Lazar 2005). In this sense, Fairclough (2003) defends that it is crucial for us to position critically, reflecting on the power, dominating relations, so that, we could promote social and discursive changes.

The teacher cannot challenge nor negotiate dominating ideologies and power structures, in order to construct critical awareness, awakening in the students the desire, the need to resist and change. Thus, the discursive moment configures, in a general way, as a place of naturalization and legitimization of stereotypes.

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Where are women in Spanish Second Language textbooks? What they do? Who they are?

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Abstract

The paper discusses gender bias in Spanish as Second Language textbooks from the point of view of a women teacher. I have revised a sample of 13 textbooks (all but one, published in the last five years) for gathering information about how gender is represented. The paper is twofold I analyze the paper of nameless women in daily life scenes but also the reflection of celebrities. The former are analyzed through images, the latter through citations. More than one thousand references to celebrities have been recorded in relational database where aspects such as profession, nationality, role, and how they participate in the action have been counted. Historical comparison factors are introduced to try to establish a general trend in how more a more women of an increasingly panoply of jobs are being introduced in Spanish as Second Language textbooks. From a theoretical standpoint I subscribed feminist theory mainly the work of Sunderland and colleagues.
Some striking remarks can be drawn from current Spanish as Second Language textbooks, in my sample only two manuals have as many nameless women as nameless men, however in the case of celebrities men appear almost thrice than women (426 cited men versus 180 cited women at least once). But going deeper some imbalance are more disturbing like the fact than more than 60% of women are Spaniards when Spaniards only count about 10% of Spanish speakers in the world. Details such as age and occupation are further discussed. The paper wraps up with some recommendations for editors and authors in order to avoid stereotypes and a claim for diversity in Spanish as Second Language textbooks. The emergence of representative voices from varying social and cultural standpoints should be reflected in our textbooks.
Key words: *discourse ~ identities ~ ideology ~ power relation*

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International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 553-569.

1. Introduction

The paper discusses gender bias in Spanish as Second Language textbooks from the point of view of a women teacher. First, I analyze the paper of nameless women in daily life as shown by SSL texbooks illustrations and texts and later I take a look to the contribution of women celebrities to them.

My main objectives are:

- ✓ To show women's role in Spanish Second Language (SSL) textbooks.
- ✓ To motivate SSL student's critical thinking through women's presence in their textbooks in comparison with their own experiences and cultures.
- ✓ To contribute to the awareness of SSL textbooks' authors and editors when reflecting women's contribution to the Spanish culture and daily activities avoiding stereotypes.

I have revised a sample of thirteen textbooks of different levels oriented to High School and Adult students. While my focus has been intermediate, advanced and upper levels I have chosen preferently textbooks published in recent years: *Punto Final* (Marcos & Obra 2000), *Es Español* (Alcoba, Gómez & Borrego 2001), *Gente 3* (Martín, Sánchez & Sans 2001), *Sueña 4* (Blanco, Fernández & Torrens 2001), *Planet@ 4* (Cerrolaza, Cerrolaza & Llobet 2002), *A Fondo* (Coronado, García & Zarzalejos 2003), *Así me gusta* (González, Montmany, López, Arbonés & Llobera 2003), *Mañana 3* (López, Bartolomé, Alzugaray & Blanco 2003a), *Mañana 4* (López, Bartolomé, Alzugaray & Blanco 2003b), *Planet@ 3* (Cerrolaza, Cerrolaza & Llobet 2003), *Avance* (Moreno García, Moreno & Zurita 2004), *Abanico* (Chamorro, Lozano, Martínez, Muñoz, Rosales, Ruiz Campillo & Ruiz Fajardo 2005). *Curso de Perfeccionamiento* (Moreno García & Tuts 1991) had been published earlier but is one classic reference mainly because introduced a lot of literary works by women.

All the textbooks have been published in Spain by some of the most prestigious education editors like EDELSA –*Punto Final, Planet@ 3* and *Planet@ 4*–, SGEL –*A Fondo, Curso de Perfeccionamiento* and *Avance*– Anaya –*Sueña*, *Mañana 3* and *Mañana 4*–, Difusión –*Gente* 3 and *Abanico*–, Espasa –*Es Español 3*–, Cambridge –*Así me gusta*–.

2. Methods

The first problem I confronted was to handle data from my sample, it was easy to differentiate two big categories: nameless women, and women with name. Information about the former comes from different sources but I focus on illustrations together with how they appear in texts. In the latter case I have recorded name, gender, occupation, nationality and type of reference (illustration, artworks by women, artworks about women, article, biographical data) while in the case of illustrations I have recorded textbook, unit, page, number of people in the image by gender and age, a qualitative appraisal of their role (conservative or modern) and a brief description of what is going on in the illustration. I have also collected text where gender questions are treated.

3. Background

Surprisingly enough when I began my research, I found that there was no so much work about gender representations in Spanish Second Language textbooks. One exception being Isabel Galiano's 1993 short paper about the image of women in beginners' textbooks. Her work focused on the kind jobs carried out by women according to illustration in textbooks. She arrived to an almost hopeless conclusion:

> A pesar de todo, ..., predominan en nuestros textos las amas de casa y sí, echamos una rápida ojeada a la sociedad en la que vivimos, notamos que, **realmente, es así**;..." (Galiano 1993: 125)[2]. Our emphasis.

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[2] In spite of everything,.. housekeepers predominate in our texts, but if we look to the society in which we lived, we noticed that, truly, that is what they are; ... (Galiano 1993: 125).

Some time before Rodes & Simón had studied some English Second Language textbooks edited in Spain by Spanish publishers with a more critical view. They are somewhat surprised by the fact that sexism was still present in those books.

> Creíamos realmente que los libros de texto estaban más cuidados en cuanto al tema del sexismo, después de todo Gran Bretaña lleva trabajando para eliminarlo, a nivel oficial, más de diez años y también porque las nuevas tendencias metodológicas para la enseñanza-aprendizaje de los idiomas son muy sensibles a todo tipo de discriminación (Rodes & Simón 1992: 352).[3]

To avoid reiteration in the error, they wrote down some obvious advices for editors like: to use critically stereotyped representations through humor, to reflect social changes and to show women and men working together at the same level.

A not so different scenario was found by Lledó & Otero (1992) when looking at Spanish Literature textbooks.

> Si hojeamos los manuales de literatura el panorama no puede ser más desolador. La nómina de mujeres, y nos consta que escribían y escribimos, es escasa hasta rozar el insulto. Por ejemplo, en uno de los índices de un libro [Lázaro, F.; Tusón, V. (1988) Literatura Española, Bachillerato 2, Editorial Anaya] hay citada una sola mujer Rosalía de Castro; si investigamos un poco más descubrimos que a, Gabriela Mistral (Premio Nobel) la despachan [Lázaro, F.; Tusón, V. (1988) Literatura Española, Bachillerato 2, Editorial Anaya] con trece medias líneas... Tampoco, evidentemente, encontramos ninguna reflexión, ninguna crítica acerca del papel que los escritores atribuyen a las mujeres y la imagen que de ellas dan..." (Lledó & Otero 1992: 366)[4].

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[3] "We really believed that textbooks had already taken care of the sexism, after all Great Britain has been working to eliminate it, at official level, more than ten years and also because the new methodological tendencies for language teaching are very sensitive to all type of discrimination" (Rodes & Simón, 1992, 352).

[4] If we browsed through Literature textbooks the scenario cannot be more devastating. The list of women writers, and believe us they wrote and we write, is so short that is almost insulting. For instance, in one of the indexes of a book [F. Lázaro, F. & V. Tusón (1988) *Spanish Literature, Baccalaureate 2*, Anaya] is mentioned a single woman Rosalía de Castro; if we investigated a little more we discovered that some [F. Lázaro & V. Tusón (1988) *Spanish Literature,*

Isabel Guerra Pérez (1996) arrives to the conclusion that High School History textbooks neglect women contributions to Politics, Economy, Technology, and even Art.

Sitman, Lerner & Schammah-Gesser (1999) in a brief paper about Spanish Second Language textbooks have a more optimistic view, concluding that textbooks, authors and editors were in their way (at least some avoid the generic masculine).

The same year, however, Cerezal (1999), in a thorough study of ESL textbooks published in Spain, seems to have a less optimistic view.

> A pesar de algunos avances producidos en el terreno de la no discriminación basada en el sexo, los libros de texto siguen transmitiendo modelos y valores genéricos diferenciados para niños y niñas en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje. Podemos decir que se sigue presentando, en líneas generales, un modelo discriminatorio y sexista para las niñas y las mujeres en la sociedad actual, así como un modelo androcéntrico para los niños y los hombres (Cerezal 1999: 89).[5]

There is a very well established literature about gender and foreign language teaching (i.e. Litosseleti & Sunderland's 2002 edited volume *Gender identity and discourse analysis*). Sunderland, Cowley, Addul Rahim, Leontsakou & Shattuck 's paper in this volumes goes a little further to analyze the use that teachers do of both sexist and non-sexist materials.

4. Topics, teachers and Second Language Teaching

One problem teacher of any foreign language face is topics. I can think about two different scenarios in the SSL classroom, one where the class

Baccalaureate 2, Anaya] dispatch Gabriela Mistral (Nobel Prize) with thirteen lines. Neither, evidently, we did find any reflection, any critic about the paper that male writers attribute to women and the image that they give of them ...

5 In spite of some advances produced in the land of the nondiscrimination based on sex, textbooks continue transmitting models and generic values differentiated for boys and girls during the learning process. We can say that they continue presenting, in main lines, a discriminatory and sexist model for girls and women in the present society, as well as an androcentric model for the children and the men (Cerezal 1999: 89).

is culturally homogenous, and, another one when the class is culturally heterogeneous. In the latter, a simple analysis about what assumptions each one has about others could serve to open a vivid debate. In the former, is more difficult and to bring students to think about their own identity as "We" always comes defined by the contrast to "them". Here the task of educator can be overlooked, mainly when students are the foreigners. In many cases the biggest enemy is in our side when textbooks are involuntarily in charge of reproducing topics.

> [R]esearch on gender has taken these stereotypes as a starting point rather than as part of the object of study, taking for granted that they represent some kind of prototype -some kind of normal behavior, from which all other behavior is a deviation. But the study of gender cannot be based in popular beliefs about gender anymore than the study of physics can be based on popular beliefs about motion. In issuing this caution, we are not denying the existence and the importance of gender stereotypes: on the contrary, we believe that they require serious study. But taking such stereotypes as a starting point for the study of behavior, even if the intent is to show that actual behavior fails to conform to them, contains serious pitfalls (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 87).

The conscience of which the problem exists is shown in some teacher's books recommendations, like for instance: "It is suggested to make two sides: boys and girls, since some debate topics can be sexists like 'women cry more because they are weaker', 'men do not cry'… given the opportunity to faced gender groups" (Lopez *et al* 2003a: 40).

Fortunately enough teachers are not forced to follow those recommendations, it seems to me that it would be far more interesting to treat sexist topics either from a subversive or a collaborative point of view (Sunderland *et al* 2002: 245); male students had to defend the female students position, even if I think that the best solution will be to exclude some phrases from Spanish Second Language textbooks; after all the exercise is thought to use expressions as "Yo creo que -I believe that-…" "A mi me parece que -it seems to me that…", "(No) estoy de acuerdo -I (dis)agree with…"

On the positive side I have found paragraphs like the following:

> Also it is necessary to mention that the participation of the woman in rugby has become more and more active. Women no longer are mere spectators. Some countries like New Zealand... [are] examples of it. In Spain it does more than twenty years that women are fighting for having a similar position in rugby to that men actually have in this sport (González *et al* 2003: 36, my translation).

The precedent paragraph is brought in place to ask students if they think that there are men sports versus women sports and if they are surprised by the fact that women have not obtained the same treatment as men in the rugby practice.

5. The big picture

To me, it seems that a growing awareness about sexism in Spanish textbooks illustrations have conducted editors towards a neutral via where most of women (or men for this case) are represented doing nothing.

Somewhere else (Robles 2006), I have done a detailed revision of the illustrations represented in each of the thirteen books of the sample. Here I will refer only to the big numbers.

For better organizing the information, I have distinguished four age categories in each gender children, teenagers, adults and elders. Like babies have been considered small children usually carried out by their moms or in carts. They are present in only four textbooks *Mañana 3* –27–, *Planet@ 4* –5–, *Es Español* –1– and *Así me gusta* –1–. When classifying iconic representation by age I have found some problems, for instance is difficult to decide if a student (marked by books or her presence in a classroom setting) is either a young adult or teenager.

Most of the representations are adults ranging from 70 % in *Mañana 3* or in *Curso de Perfeccionamiento* to more than 95 % en *Es Español*, *Gente 3*, and *Abanico* (figure 1).

Females are underrepresented in both gender and age categories, only elder women (24 representing 61 % of the total elder) are more than elder men (table 1). Taking textbook-by-textbook figures are similar, in none but two (*Planet@*[6] 3 and *Planet@* 4) females are slightly over the 50 % of the total.

To sum up, women are misrepresented but not only in numbers also in the activities they are doing, the desired trend observed by some scholars (Rodes & Simón 1992, Galiano 1993, Sitman 1999 and Cerezal 1999) seems to be aiming neutrality, hundreds of people have no significant activities. This could be interpreted like a conscious attempt to avoid stereotyping by authors and editors but it has the counterpart of hiding women contribution to society. The challenge is not only being able to show actual women working both in domestic and public arenas but challenging androcentric values from a society where women daily activities are not appreciated, in Bourdieu's words:

> Ce travail domestique reste pour l'essentiel inaperçu, ou mal vu (avec, par exemple, la dénonciation rituelle du goût féminin pour le bavardage, au téléphone notamment …) et, lorsqu'il s'impose au regard, il est déréalisé par le transfert sur le terrain de la spiritualité, de la morale *et* du sentiment, que facilite son caractère non lucratif *et* «désintéressé». Le fait que le travail domestique de la femme n'a pas d'équivalent en argent contribue en effet à le dévaluer, à ses yeux mêmes, comme si ce temps sans valeur marchande était sans importance *et* pouvait être donné sans contrepartie, *et* sans limites, d'abord aux membres de la famille, *et* surtout aux enfants (on a ainsi observé que le temps maternel peut plus facilement être interrompu), mais aussi à l'extérieur, pour des tâches bénévoles, à l'Église, dans des institutions charitables ou, de plus en plus, dans des associations ou des partis (Bourdieu 1998 : 105).

Some have argued that textbooks are only a mirror of society but if so: Where are rural women? Where are impoverished women? Where are "elite" women? Where are women?

[6] In Spanish the symbol "@" is being to remark the writer's attempt to include both grammatical genders (e.g. niñ@s will refer to both girls –niñas– and boys –niños–), so the fact of using @ in the series' title is a declaration of good purposes.

6. What women are already in Spanish Second Language textbooks?

I have reviewed how famous personages are reflected in the thirteen SSL textbooks. In this analysis of celebrities I have taken in consideration the manner in which she or he appears, the page, the source, the textbook and a brief personal comment. In order to try to understand what all the thirteen manuals contain I have established six types of citations: Work, Image, Data, References, List, and a handy Others (figure 2).

Almost a 40% of citations are pieces of work, with similar percentages for women (39.3%) and men (37%). Always considering that women represent little more of a third of the category (125 versus 276). That proportion is a constant. Analyzed textbooks contribute in a very different way: from the null contribution of *Mañana 4* and *Es Español*, to a single contribution in *Mañana 3*, *Así me Gusta* and *Abanico* (versus twenty men), until the forty two appearances of *Curso de Perfeccionamiento* (as opposed to sixty and nine men).

Author's work is followed, in importance, by references where I include literal references to celebrities. The total figures are short only 57 of in a total of 1097 (table 2). A Fondo, Abanico and Avance have around a ten percent and the rest even smaller values.

Similar numbers appear in the categories of Data and Image. In the case of the Data I could emphasize the 39 appearances of Punto Final that suppose more than half of the total of 56. Although of those 39, 24 belong to a historical review of "women who have contributed to History". Something similar happens with the images where 17 out of 49 are in *A Fondo*. Of those 17, 8 appear in a particular exercise (Coronado et alii 2003 72) to complete the feminine of some professions: Eleanor Roosevelt, Marie Curie, Coco Chanel, Catherine the Great, Agatha Christie and Juana de Arco with only two Spanish speaker women: the Galician sociologist Concepción Arenal and Isabel de Castilla.

The List category is integrated by women who appear in three lists; one in Curso de Perfeccionamiento, where six women versus 10 men are introduced to ask students there opinion about 16 official heroes; another one with seven women, of a total of 26 consecrated writers, in Planet@ 3. Marie Curie and Teresa de Calcutta are not so visible in a

Gente 3 list of 30 "Humankind genious." In this list, the presence of Hispanics is reduced to Picasso, García Márquez, Goya and Cervantes, a not so bad roll for an English as Second Language textbook.

The category others is composed by two news articles, one scientific women, an exception very welcome (Moreno & Tuts 1991: 320), and another one about Ana Tutor, one of the first Spanish women to be Governor of Madrid (Moreno & Tuts 1991: 210). In this category there are some interviews: to Inés Sastre (Moreno & Tuts 1991: 321), Victoria Camps (Alcoba et alii, 2001, 140), Elena Ochoa (Marcos & Obra 2000, 139), Arantxa Sánchez Vicario (Moreno *et al* 2004: 151), and twice to Dolores Mar (Moreno *et al* 2004: 133, 144, 199).

In none of the categories women's numbers overcomes men's figures, the exception being Punto Final where the Image category and more widely the Data (as consequence of a single list with 24 women (Marcos & Obra 2000: 14). The category others in Es Español is a mirage formed by a single interview to Victoria Camps (Alcoba *et al* 2001: 140).

7. Invisible women?

> Era el día seis de marzo de mil novecientos cuarenta y uno. En el libro de inscripción de defunciones del cementerio del Este, anotaron el nombre y dos apellidos de diecisiete ajusticiados. Dieciséis hombres y una mujer. Una sola: Isabel Gómez Sánchez. Hortensia no figuraba en la lista. El nombre de Hortensia Rodríguez García no consta en el registro de fusilados del día seis de marzo de mil novecientos cuarenta y uno. Pero cuentan que aquella madrugada, Hortensia miró de frente al piquete, como todos (Dulce Chacón, *La Voz Dormida*[7]).

7 It was the sixth of March of 1941. In the deaths book of the East cemetery, they wrote down the name and two surnames of seventeen people executed that morning. Sixteen men and one woman. A single one: Isabel Gomez Sanchez. Hortensia did not appear in the list. The name of Hortensia Rodriguez Garcia has no place in the roll of those shot on March 6, 1941. However someone tells that at dawn, Hortensia was in front of the platoon like everybody else. –My translation.

Hortensia is not the only women neglected by authorities; she was denied even the right to be registered in the Official Death Records of Madrid cemetery. Unfortunately half century later I have found that women are if not neglected at least overviewed. Only a few women are represented several times Isabel Allende (19), Rosa Montero (12), Carmen Martin Gaite (10), Elvira Lindo, Cristina Peri Rossi, Maruja Torres, Frida Khalo, Angeles Mastretta, Laura Esquivel, Rigoberta Menchú, Soledad Puértolas y Marie Curie between five and ten times and a long list, up to one hundred eighty, where 132 women appear in a single case (table 3).

The ideal portrait of the 180 women in the thirteen textbooks is a Spanish woman (113) who can be either journalist (31) or writer (28), even scientist or artist (15); in the case of the non Spaniards most, even if they are little, are Hispanics (21) mainly writers (11) and in the case of not Spanish speaker (36) most are actresses Marilyn Monroe, Susan Sharandon, Madonna... up to 12. A very different portrait is that of men (426), they are mostly Spaniards (221) writers (75), or artists (52) and, to a lesser extent journalists (36) some Hispanic (81) also writers (39) and artists (31); and more diversity among the non native speakers (109) with artists (33), scientists (28), and writers (12).

When talking about women, it is interesting to emphasize the high number of journalists who in addition are always Spanish, up to 27% of the Spaniards, that can be a consequence of my own choice when including them between celebrities. This was one my doubts at the beginning, but at balance time it does seem a right election, those 31 women with name are the reflection of a society that is changing more than what the numbers show, in fact the number of women journalist approaches the number of men journalists in the textbooks (31 vs. 37). As I think that the choice of a news article is related to both subject and literary quality couple with the fact that the gender's author is not so obvious (initials for the first name) the election is not so gender bias, so for once we are faced with the fact that women and men are equal.

As we see, overall in SSL textbooks we can find that named women mostly write and they come from Spain. Their nationality comes like no surprise because we are dealing with textbooks published in Spain (Figure 3).

In the following paragraphs I would like to mention some of the many Spanish speakers women that could do their way into the SSL textbooks. The repertoire is not as exhaustive as it can be but I want to put some of them into focus even if official narratives have ignored them.

Logically, there are more absences that presences. It is clear that authors have no an easy choice because they have not enough room for every woman that deserve to be in SSL textbooks. Even so, I would like to remark the inexcusable absence of some. Only a few working women are in our textbooks but not even one lesbian is mentioned as such. This is also the case of union women, vindicatory women, sport women, politician and mainly intellectual women. If I fall in the trap of associating Spanish Foreign Language with Literature, I would like to mention Dulce Chacón, but also to a good handful of peninsular writers: among the classic ones (if we agree to consider as such those present in the most recent anthologies) Santa Teresa, Fernán Caballero, Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda, Pardo Bazan, or Rosalía de Castro (Martinez Sallés 1998: 14). Among the current ones: Almudena Grandes, Belén Gopegui, Carme Riera, Ana Rosetti, or Lucia Etxebarría (Martinez Sallés 1998).

Unfortunately books published in Spain usually forget about Latino writers from the United States. This is the case of Esmeralda Santiago, Ana Castillo, Helena Viramontes, and Mary Helen Ponce (University of Pennsylvania 2005). Close to get into SSL textbooks is Sandra Cisneros almost as popular in the United States as Isabel Allende. Mexico, the country with more Spanish speakers –and writers–, has no contribution, first I should mention Elena Poniatowska that not only writes in her own but writes about other Latin-American women writers (Poniatowska 2001). Others like Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and, an endless number of current writers –Marisa Puga, Margo Glantz, Carmen Boullosa, Inés Arredondo, Julieta Fields and some more– (Instituto de las Mujeres del Distrito Federal 2005).

In addition to Isabel Allende and Gabriela Mistral, Chile has writers like Maria Luisa Bombal. From Peru is Blanca Varela, from Panama Berta Alicia Peralta, from the Dominican Republic Julia Alvarez.

Outside the field of Literature, I miss Ellen Ochoa –astronaut-, Celia Cruz, Gloria Estefan, or Albita –singers– (Amaya-Roldan 2005). The outstanding fighter by the dignity of Mexican lesbians Claudia Hinojosa has not been able to break the crystal ceiling that traditional family and sexual relations impose on SSL textbooks, as is the case of Chavela Vargas. Maria Bernaldo de Quirós and Mari Pepa Colomer dispute the title of first Spanish woman to fly but are not mentioned; two Wimbledon winners –Conchita Martínez and Lily Alvarez– and intellectual women such as of Maria Zambrano, Carlota Solé, Celia Amorós, Amelia Valcárcel and Adela Cortina. Clara Campoamor is absent even from the list where her counterpart –Victoria Kent– in the debate about the feminine suffrage during the Second Republic (Marcos & Obra 2000 14). This fact comes like not surprise because the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War including a good part of the 27 poets and the La Institución Libre de Enseñanza are usually forgotten.

Even if male filmmakers are common, women are not present, among them I miss Gracia Querejeta, Isabel Coixet, Laura Mañá, Paula Rodriguez (*Pinochet' s Children*); Lucia Cedrón (*En Ausencia*), Lídice Perez (*La Bella Otero*), Niurka Perez (*La Señora Sentimiento*), or Belkis Vega (*Del sueño a la poesía*). Among the youngest, I miss Josefa Molina, or the Mexican Beatriz Mira Andreu.

I hope that by now is clear that the problem is not the lack of women, I recommend to take a look to the list of books that Spain took the women building at the Chicago's Universal Exposition where we can find more than 400 books written by women or, about them from the very conservative Carderera's La Ciencia de la mujer, al alcance de las niñas, to the vanguardist Wright de Kleinhans' La emancipación de la mujer –Women's emancipation– (Clarke *et al* 1894). In the Chicago's exposition were also present Gomez de Avellaneda's Obras literarias and Carolina's Coronado Vanidad de vanidades; the work of both has been the object of an interesting debate:

> In the discussion of woman's writing nineteenth century Spain, the poetry of Avellaneda and Coronado became the polarized touchstones of masculine and feminine language (Bieder 1995: 105).

8. Final thoughts

To sum up, women representation is, besides low in absolute numbers, monotonous in their activities.

The challenge is not only to show real women in both public and domestic places but also to defy androcentric values in a society that does not value women related activities (Conkey & Gero 1995).

One problem that is important to have into account is the fact that values, topics and stereotypes are born thanks to certain socializing agents, but among those agents of socialization there are women, many women, as there are woman authors of SSL manuals. So can we as women take responsibility for the paper of women in society? No, we cannot because we are not but victims of this system.

> That woman should be the one to bear the burden of blame should come as no surprise. This figure is after all as old as Eve herself" (Blanco 1995: 121).

I have emphasized the role of authors but I am well aware of editors' power and the importance of their explicit or implicit guidelines

I wish a no so far away future where women figures even men figures but more than a balance and I am waiting for an imaginative change that will reflect social change.

I will be thankful if women are represented like the firewomen, policewomen, lawyers, pilots, ... that they already are, but also in directive jobs and even like Queen of Spain by her own right.

Nevertheless, teachers are the key of the learning process and they can convert a sexist book in a mean to fight for equality and, on the contrary, a non sexist book can be use to dismiss women, as Sunderland and colleagues have concluded:

> Though these small-scale studies have not produced large amounts of data, they indicate three things clearly. First these teachers (and presumably

> others) draw on and produce a range of gendered discourses. Second, teachers' discourses around a given text is diverse and cannot be predicted from the text itself. Third, along with concerns about texts which maintain traditional representations of gender roles there should be concerns (possibly more concerns) about those which do go beyond traditional representations, since these may not be done justice to (Sunderland *et al* 2002: 251).

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Language Representation in Russian EFL Textbooks

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Abstract

The study explores gender representation in modern EFL textbooks used in Russian public schools. It examines two textbooks used in the fifth grade of a public school in Western Russia. The fifth grade is the first year of compulsory second language education, the first time the majority of Russian children are exposed to a different language and a different culture. The following three aspects are analyzed in the textbooks: topics, gender assignment to roles, and dialogues meant for conversational practice. The study makes an attempt to answer the questions of how gender is represented in the textbooks and whether this representation mirrors Russia's gender reality. The current language and gender situation in Russia, which was impacted by the seventy years of proclaimed gender equality, the language contact situation found in EFL textbooks, and the textbook users' views of gender are taken into consideration in an attempt to answer the research questions.
Keywords: *Gender ~ Education ~ Textbooks*

1. Introduction

For almost seventy years of "communism" Russia claimed equalities between people, including that of gender (Andrews 2000). The present study makes an attempt to examine how proclaimed gender equality manifests itself in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) 5th grade textbooks written in the Soviet Era by Russian authors who have a command of English. What gender tendencies are observed in Russian children and what kinds of gender ideologies are they presented with? Is the proclaimed gender equality manifested in the textbooks or do they

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 570-588.

try to capture gender ideology of the culture of the English language represented in the books?

The study is based on the analyses of two textbooks: "Happy English" and "New Millennium" that have been used in a Russian secondary school in the past several years. The purpose of the study is to explore gender representation in modern EFL textbooks used in Russian public schools. The objective is to gain a better understanding of gender issues in EFL educational materials, and explore these issues in an English-Russian language contact situation.

2. Literature Review

A lot of research has been done on gender representation in American English as a Second Language textbooks (Giaschi 2000; Yen 200; Hartman & Judd 1978; Porreca 1984). The representation of women as inactive, passive, fashion-oriented objects to be observed; and of lower status than men in the work field was noticed by a number of researchers (Giaschi 2000; Hartman & Judd 1978; Porecca 1984). Other researchers found a more balanced representation of males and females when it came to occupational and social roles. Yen (2000) in the analyses of Taiwanese EFL and American ESL textbooks found that in the ESL textbooks the gender representation was more balanced than in the Taiwanese textbooks: "...there were more positive and less biased descriptions in the pictures and readings" (p. 126); in terms of occupations women were also given more untraditional roles. Jones (1997) in the analyses of three American ESL textbooks concludes that gender balance was achieved through the occupational and social roles in which men and women were portrayed. On the other hand, the author (Jones 1997) also found that imbalances in the number of dialogue initiation and words spoken by men and women. She argues that "Frequent and regular gender imbalances in dialogue roles may thus predispose students to make assumptions about the gendered nature of verbal behavior of native speakers of the second or foreign language, and they may accordingly continue to imitate it in class –probably to the disadvantage of the female students" (Jones 1997: 474). A different view is held by Sunderland (2000; 2001). In her research observation and interviews with teachers showed that a gender-biased text, as well an unbiased one, could be presented in different ways. And as a result, these materials could have different impacts on students. The categories of ‘subversion” and “endorsement’ are offered for dealing with these texts. “Endorsement means that the teacher is broadly supporting the gendered discourse...Subversion means that the teacher is undermining the gendered discourse” (Sunderland 2001: 277).

Brantmeier (2003) also looks beyond the textbooks themselves, and considers the influence of the materials on the actual or potential users. The author examines the connections between the text content in a Spanish as a second language text and the reader’s gender. Her findings suggest a strong correlation between the reader’s familiarity with the topic of the text and his/her performance on comprehension tasks. Females had better scores in such tasks when the text discussed was about a housewife and where all characters were female. Men performed better on a text about a boxing match with all male characters.

In my review of literature I came across some articles that do not directly examine textbooks, but could be considered during textbook evaluation. The issues of occupational terms and address in the professional environment in Russian are discussed by a number of researchers. Martynuk (1990) talks about professional terms for women in Russian. She examines 5000 professional terms referring to women in mass media. 60.1% were used in masculine, and 50% of these terms did not have a feminine alternative with the same stylistic register. The terms that never occurred in masculine were names of “less prestigious occupations”, such as ‘niana’ (babysitter), ‘sidelka’ (nurse) (Martynuk 1990: 107). Bogomolova (2001) addresses the issue of address in official, political sphere. She argues that with the collapse of the Soviet Union old terms of address became inapplicable, but the new ones have not been established. She states that women now are addressed through and idealized image of a “mother”: Mothers of Russia, Women of Russia.

Doleschaland & Schmid (2001) examine how nouns refer to men and women in Russian. They describe the following ways of referring to females: by feminine nouns, which are mostly derived from male nouns; and by masculine nouns. “In official contexts, feminine nouns are not appropriate, since they imply a sexualization of the referent… in more informal situations the gender of the referent plays a role, therefore a female forms are widely used, even if they are derived with the help of suffixes… which have depreciative connotation.” The findings of their experiment provide evidence contrary to the notion that occupational terms without feminine version are as often referred to males as to females. They also examine the role of women in Russian proverbs. Two major roles of women are outlined –that of a mother and that of a wife. The wife is usually surrounded by negative connotations: the “prevalent message is the notion of a weak and illogical female intellect”. The image of the mother, however, is a positive one, a symbol of light and warmth.

The issue of linguistic space in second language classroom and the problems associated with second language writing should be considered during the textbook examination: such factors as topic of writing assignments and conversational practices included in the textbook could influence the students’ linguistic space and the quality of writing assignments.

Kubota (2002) suggests a new approach to examine second language writing, and states that gender is one of the variables to consider. The author talks about the differences that males and females might have in both the process of writing and the product of writing. Such factors as topic choice, word choice, syntax and others could be influenced by not only the writer’s, but also the reader’s gender. The writing topics included in textbooks, as well as the suggested strategies and vocabulary could be examined from this perspective.

Jule (2002) explores the linguistic space (time spent talking) used by male and female students in EFL classrooms. The analysis of 40 hours of videotaped classroom interaction (with almost equal numbers of male /female ratios) in a Punjabo school revealed a “9:1 ratio of linguistic space in favor of the boys” (p.45). These disturbing numbers, in researcher’s opinion could be due to different factors, among which is the type of student-teacher interaction in the classroom (boys are more encouraged to speak). The findings of this study are similar to those in

LeMaster *et al* research (1998), where teacher's linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors encouraged boys' talk and silenced the girls. Both of these studies (Jule 2002; LeMaster *et al* 1998) could be considered when examining gender representation in textbooks. Linguistic space of male and female students could also be influenced by the topic of conversations in the books. Males and females might show different level of interest in various topics, and as a result either elaborate on it, or chose to be silent. Another factor is the fair representation of male and female characters in dialogues: female students are less likely to have the same chances to participate in the conversations if their characters don't talk much.

Lastly, to help us understand the nature of gender ideologies found in the textbooks, a look at cross-linguistic studies is necessary. Martynuk (1990) and Andrews (2003) examine gender differences in two languages: Russian and English. They both find similarities in gender and language tendencies in Russian and English. Martynuk states that "Russian and Western cultural beliefs of male and female inalienable qualities are reflected in the two languages in basically the same way" (Martynuk 1990: 99). The author examines lexical items to describe men and women and connects it to the gender-specific stereotypes: women are judged against an idealized image of "mother', men – 'effective providers'. Andrews examines attitudes towards non-standard pronunciation in Russia and USA. He finds similarities between the two societies: downgrading of females with non-standard dialects is more dramatic than that of males. In both societies females are expected to be more 'correct than males.

As we can see, studies have been done on gender representation in American ESL textbooks, some looked at EFL textbooks published in other countries, such as Taiwan, others examined gender representation in second language books other than English: Spanish as a second language. There are a number of studies concerning gender issues in professional spheres, and those comparing the two languages: Russian and English. However, very limited research exists on EFL books published and used in Russia. This study, therefore, fills a gap in the knowledge of gender representation in Russian EFL textbooks. It does so by answering the following research questions:

How is gender represented in the EFL textbook used in a fifth grade classroom of a public Russian middle school? Considering the contact situation, does gender representation in the textbooks mirror the “gender reality” in Russia?

3. Research Site and Data Collection

Compulsory second language education in public Russian schools begins in the fifth grade and continues for five years. Prior to that children are not required to study a foreign language; grades 10 and 11 (high-school) are not considered compulsory education. During these years teachers use books published in Russia and approved by the Ministry of Education. Each year a list of approved (recommended) textbooks is published in an official magazine of the Ministry of Education titled “Vestnik Obrazovaniya” (Bulletin of Education). Among the recommended texts are those that have not been approved before and those that have been approved in previous years. The teachers then chose the textbooks from the recommended list to be used for the next academic year. One requirement that the teachers have to follow when choosing a book is its availability in the school library: the students borrow the book from the library and return it at the end of the academic year. Unfortunately, not all the books on the recommended list are also available to the teachers and the students in the library. For the next academic year (2006-07), for example, out of 32 recommended texts on the approved list only three (two that were used previously and one new) are available at a school library in Western Russia, the school where I have received my elementary through high-school education.

The books examined in the study have been used for several years in the fifth grade (the first year of compulsory second language education) of a public school in Western Russia. The fifth grade was chosen because this is the first time the majority of Russian children get in contact with a different language and a different culture. The two books were recommended by the ministry of Education, “Happy English” has been used in previous years, "New Millennium" is new. The study examines the books that were chosen for use in the classroom by the English teacher of a school in Western Russia. The third book that was also available in the library was not chosen because it is part of an unfinished series (higher levels from the same series have not been published). The chosen books are part of complete series.

4. Data Analyses

The following three aspects were analyzed in the textbooks: topics, dialogues, gender assignment to roles. Topics: quantitative analysis was done to see the ratio of male vs. female –oriented texts. Whether the topic is male-oriented, female-oriented or neutral was determined through a questionnaire filled out by the Russian children, the users of the analyzed books. The following aspects were analyzed in the dialogues meant for conversational practice:

- ✓ Initiations of dialogues
- ✓ The last word in dialogues
- ✓ Linguistic space (how much do males vs. females speak)
- ✓ Topic of conversations (how talk is assigned in terms of topic).

Gender assignment to roles: the frequency of gender assignment to particular roles was analyzed using quantitative methods. Children's perceptions of the roles were determined through a questionnaire containing a list of the roles from the books.

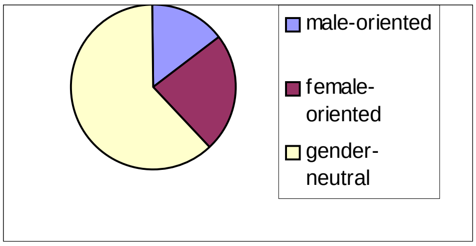
To answer the first question of the study I first analyzed how the three aspects mentioned above (topics, dialogues, roles) are represented in the textbooks. To answer the second question two aspects were analyzed: first, children's perceptions of professions, activities and roles; second –the analysis of gender and language situation in the Russian language and the republic of Russia through findings of previously-done research on issues of language and gender in the country.

5. Findings

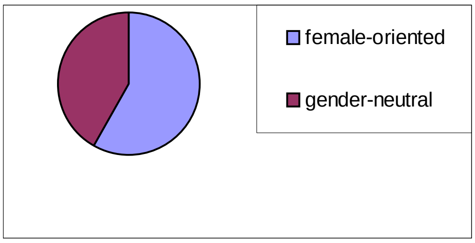
5.1. Textbook analyses

Topics: In the textbook "Happy English" 42% of all topics are gender-neutral, 58% are female-oriented. There are no male-oriented topics. Gender-neutral category includes the following topics: "Hello", "Nice to Meet you", "Meet the family", "sightseeing in London", "Asking the Way", "A Look at the British History", "Parties and Holidays". Among the female-oriented topics are "At a Department Store", "At a Food Shop", "Takeaways and Cafes", "Would You Like a Cup of Tea", and "At Home". The following topics are gender-neutral in "New Millennium" (62% of all topics): "This is Me", "My Family", "School and Daily Routines", "Interests", "Animal World", "Down Memory Lane", "Town and Village", "Summer Plans". 23% of all topics are female-oriented in "New Millennium": "My Things", "House and Home", "Yummy, Yummy". "Sports" and "My Planet", that constitute 15% of all topics, are male-oriented.

"New Millennium"



"Happy English"



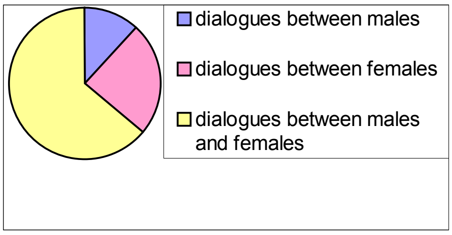
5.1. Conversations

Linguistic space: the majority of dialogues in "Happy English" are between the two sexes –59%, followed by dialogues between males– 27%, and females –14%. The majority of all dialogues in "Happy English" are between adults and children. A male spends 77% of his time talking to boys and 23% –talking to a girl. A female adult spends 45% of her time talking to a girl, 40% –talking to boys, and 15% –talking to both male and female children.

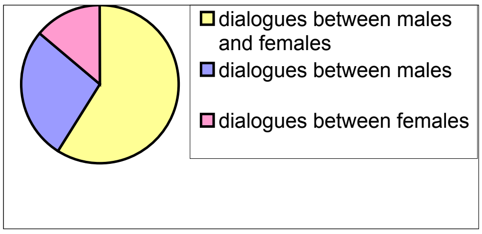
The picture is different in "New Millennium": 64% of all dialogues are between the two sexes, followed by conversations between females –

24%, and dialogues between males –12%. The majority of dialogues are between children. A female adult spends 4% of her time talking to a girl. There are no interactions between male adults and children.

"New Millennium"



"Happy English"



Topics of conversations: Out of all topics discussed in dialogues meant for conversational practice 69% are discussed between the two sexes in "Happy English". 58% are talked about between males, and only 16% of all topics are discussed among females. There are no topics that are discussed between females only. The topics that are discussed between males only are: "Phone Number", "Computer Games", "House", "Activities", "Party", "Books". In "New Millennium" 67% of all topics are discussed between the two sexes, 42% are between males, followed by 17% of topics discussed by females. There are no topics that re discussed between females only. Topics discussed between males only are: "Invitation", "Introduction", "Activities", "Family".

Initiations and Final Words: In "Happy English" in dialogues meant for conversational practice initiations are done by females 56% of the time, and males –44% of the time. Men have a "final word" 60% and women –40% of the time. The majority of initiations produced by females happen in dialogues about "food" –86% of the time and "Greetings" –100% of the time. In conversations about food males have a "final word" 86% of the time, and in food-related dialogues it is males who have a final word 100% of the time.

In "New Millennium" males and females both initiate 50% of the time. The "final word" is done by males 60% and females –40% of the time.

“Happy English”

	Males	Females
Initiations	44%	56%
Final Words	60%	40%

“New Millennium”

	Males	Females
Initiations	50%	50%
Final Words	60%	40%

Gender Assignment to Roles: In “Happy English” of the 21 examples of women in the textbook, 33% were shown as teachers, 24% as store clerks, 10% as either office assistants or flight attendants. Of the 27 examples of men in the textbook, 22% were store clerks, 15% were police officers, 11% were teachers, 7% were museum clerks, and 3% were mail carriers, conductors, magicians, waiters, doctors, chemists, artists, writers, singers, engineers, actors, or astronauts. The analysis of sports and activities reveals the following particularly male activities: ping pong, basketball, gymnastics, boxing, cricket, soccer, judo, badminton, science, handicraft, roller skating, bicycling, skiing (1:1), swimming, cooking. The activities that are presented as female-specific are: golf and photography. Males dominate females in the following categories: chess (3:1), baseball, music (2:1), collecting stamps, painting (4:1). Females dominate males in the two roles: server (11:5) and care-taker (3:1). Males and females are presented as equal in tennis (1:1)

In “Happy English” females dominate in the roles of a caretaker with a male-female ratio of 1:3; and that of a server with a male-female ration of 5:11.

In “New Millennium” males and females are represented equally in the professions of “doctor” (1:1), and professional athlete (1:1). Males dominate in the categories of “taxi driver”, “TV star”, “School Principle”, “Hotel worker”, “Farmer”, “engineer”, “Astronaut”, and “Magician”. Female dominate in the following occupations: “police officer” (5:4), “dancer” (4:3), “teacher” (2:1), and “student” (3:1). The analysis of activities and sports reveals the following “female-only” activities: “badminton”, “talking”, “dancing”, “photography”. Females dominate in “music” 6:10, “reading” 3:5, “swimming” 2:3. Males dominate in “soccer” 13:3, basketball 3:1, walking 5:2, watching TV 5:2, “tennis” 5:3, computers 8:2. Males and females are presented equally often in "painting" 1:1, volleyball 1:1, skiing 1:1, skating 1:1, fishing1:1. Male-exclusive activities are: "bicycling", "hockey", "baseball", "gymnastics", "karate", "boxing", "chess", and "lotto".

The roles of "server" and "caretaker" are less often in "New Millennium". "Server" is presented as female 100% of the times, "care-taker's" presentation is 50% male and 50% female.

5.3. Children's Perceptions

To answer the second question of the study (Does gender representation in the textbooks mirror the "gender reality" of Russia?) we need to understand how Russian children view gender. To achieve the goal a questionnaire was conducted, where Russian fifth-graders expressed their opinions on the "maleness" or "femaleness" of: 1) occupations, 2) sports and activities. The representation of these professions and activities in the textbooks was compared to how they are viewed by the children.

Occupations: In my analyses of occupations I included professions that appeared most often in the book, and that constitute not less than 10% of all appearances of professions.

In "Happy English" women are mostly "teachers", "store clerks" or "office assistants" and "flight attendants". Men are mostly "store clerks", "police officers", or "teachers". The majority of children view the profession of a teacher as "suitable for females" –55%. It is viewed as "suitable for men" by 7% of the children. The rest (38%) think it is suitable for both men and women. In other words, the way teachers are represented in the textbook mirrors the minority of children's perception of the profession, the 38% who consider it to be suitable for both sexes.

The profession of a "store clerk" is viewed by the majority of children as "female" –76%. 21% think of it as suitable for both men and women, 3% say it is suitable for men. The book presents a "store clerk" as suitable for both sexes. It is the first most often occurring category for males and second most often for females. The book's representation of male store clerks and children's perception of the profession do not agree. Men are portrait as store clerks most of the time in "Happy English". It is, however, a large category for women as well. So, by representing store clerks as men and women most of the time the book reflects the perception of the minority of children, those saying that the profession is suitable for both men and women (21%).

Of the 21 professions men are police officers 19% of the time (second largest category following "store clerks"). 93% of children view this profession as suitable for men. 7% think of the profession as gender-neutral. The textbook reflects the majority of children's perception of a police officer.

The professions of flight attendants and office assistants are viewed by the majority of children as female. 86% of children see these occupations as suitable for women, 7% –as gender-neutral, the other 7% think of it as suitable for men. The textbook's representation of these professions is done through females only. It does reflect the perception of the majority of children.

So, we can see that the representation of three out of five (60%) most often used professions in "Happy English" mirror children's perceptions of these occupations.

In "New Millennium" men are mostly "police officers" – 16%, followed by "teacher", "doctor", and "athlete" – 12%. Women are mostly "teachers" –25%, followed by "police officers" –21%, "student", "athlete" and "doctor" –13%.

As discussed above, the majority of children view the profession of a police officer as male. By presenting police officer as a female-dominant profession (5:4 female to male ratio) children's perceptions are not reflected.

The representation of "teacher" in "New Millennium" reflects the perception of the minority of children. It is the second largest category for men and first largest for women. Only 38% of children, however, consider it gender-neutral.

"Doctor" is viewed as gender-neutral by 66% of children. The equal representation of "doctor" (1:1 male-female ratio) by males and females mirrors the majority of children's perception of the profession.

"Professional athlete" is a category that is equally represented by males and females in "New Millennium". It mirrors the perception of 7% of all children. The majority (86%) consider it to be suitable for men. In other words the perception of the minority of children is presented in the textbook.

"Student" is viewed by the majority of children (86%) as a gender-neutral occupation. In "New Millennium" it is represented by both sexes, with female dominance (3:1 female –male ratio). Representing "student" by both males and females mirrors the majority of children's perception of the occupation.

So, we can see that the representation of two out of five (40%) most often used professions in "New Millennium" mirror children's perceptions of these occupations.

Activities: All activities and sports were included in the analyses. Unlike professions, many of the sports and activities were only mentioned one time in the textbooks.

There are two female-only activities in "Happy English": golf and photography. Only 7% think of "photographer" as a female profession, therefore the perception of the minority of children is represented. Golf is viewed as female-oriented by the minority of children (3%). The majority of children (72%) think of it as a male-oriented activity. So the textbook represents the minority of children's views of golf and photography.

The following activities are represented by males and females in "Happy English" with boys dominating the category: chess (3:1 male-female ratio), music (2:1 male-female ratio), collecting stamps and painting (4:1 male-female ratio).

Chess is considered gender-neutral by 48% of children. 45% think of it as interesting for boys. 7% think it is interesting for girls. Representation of 75% of males and only 25% of females as chess players is not representative of the majority of children's perception of the activity.

Music is considered female-oriented by the majority of children (62%). Only 7 % feel it is interesting for boys. 31% consider it gender-neutral. The textbook, therefore, represents the minority's perception of the activity.

Collecting stamps: 48% of children think it is interesting for boys. 45% of children think it is interesting for both boys and girls. 7% of children consider it interesting for girls. The 4:1 male-female ration is a representation of the minority of children's perception of collecting stamps

Painting: 55% of children consider it interesting for girls. 34% of children feel it is interesting for both boys and girls. 10% of children think it is interesting for boys. The representation of the activity through males and females with 4 to 1 male-female ratio represents the perceptions of the minority of children.

Boys and Girls have an equal representation in tennis in "Happy English". 55% of children view tennis as interesting for both boys and girls. 17% think it is interesting for girls. 28% view it as a male-oriented sport. The book represents the opinions of the majority of children.

The following are male only activities in the textbook: ping pong, basketball, baseball, gymnastics, boxing, cricket, soccer, judo, badminton, science, handicraft, roller skating, bicycling, swimming, and cooking.

Ping Pong: 76% of children consider it to be interesting for both boys and girls. 7% think it is interesting for girls, 21% consider it interesting for boys. The textbook represents the perception of the minority of children.

Basketball: 62% say it is interesting for boys, 38% - interesting for both boys and girls. The textbook represents the perception of the majority of children.

Gymnastics: 59% of children think of it as interesting for girls, 14% of children consider it to be interesting for boys; 28% think gymnastics is interesting for both boys and girls.

Boxing: 83% of children consider it to be interesting for boys. 17% of children think it is interesting for both boys and girls. The percept of the majority of children is reflected in the textbook

Cricket: 66% of children think it is interesting for both boys and girls; 31% of children think it is interesting for boys; 4% of all children think of it as a female activity. The book represents the views of the minority (31%) of children.

Soccer: 97% of all children think it is interesting for boys. 3% of children think it is interesting for girls. The book mirrors the opinion of the majority of children.

Judo: 66% of children think of it as interesting for boys, 35% of children think it is interesting for both sexes. The text reflects the views of the majority of children.

Badminton: 55% of children think it is interesting for both sexes; 31% of children think it is interesting for girls; 14 % of children think it is interesting for boys. The textbook represents the views of the minority of children.

Roller skating: 59% of children think it is interesting for both boys and girls. 35% of children think it is interesting for girls, 7% of children feel it is interesting for boys. The textbook represents the perceptions of the minority of children.

Bicycling: 79% of children think it is interesting for both sexes. 21% of children say it is interesting for boys. 3% of children think it is interesting for girls. The perception of the minority of children is presented in the textbook.

Swimming: 90% of children say it is interesting for both sexes. 7% of children say it is interesting for boys. 3% of children say it is interesting for females. The book mirrors the perception of the minority of children.

Baseball: the majority of children (76%) think it is interesting for boys. 17% say it is interesting for both sexes, 7% think it is interesting for females. The textbook represents the opinion of the majority of children.

Cooking: 79% of children say it is interesting for girls, 7% of children feel it is interesting for boys. 14% of children think it is interesting for both boys and girls. The textbook represents the views of the minority of children.

So, the way 14 out of 20 (70%) sports and activities are represented in “Happy English” in the way the minority of children view them. Only 30% of sports and activities are represented in the way the majority of children view them.

In “New Millennium” males dominate in the following categories of activities:

Soccer: 13:3 97% of all children think it is interesting for boys. 3% of children think it is interesting for girls. The views of the majority of children are mirrored in the book.

Basketball: 3:1 76% of all children think it is interesting for boys. 17% of children think it is interesting for both boys and girls. 7% of children think it is interesting for girls. The book, therefore, represents views of the majority of children.

Walking: 5:2. 97% of children consider it to be interesting for both boys and girls. 3% think it is interesting for boys. The book represents the opinions of the minority of children.

Watching TV: 5:2. 72% of all children think that it is interesting for both girls and boys. 21% of children think it is interesting for boys. 7% of all children think it is interesting for girls. The book represents the views of the minority of kids.

Tennis: 5:3 55% of children view tennis as interesting for both boys and girls. 17% think it is interesting for girls. 28% view it as a male-oriented sport. The book represents the opinions of the minority of children.

So, the way 40% of all activities are presented in the textbook align with how children view these activities.

To summarize, “Happy English” reflects the way children view professions 60% of the time; activities –30% of the time. “New Millennium”‘s representation of 40% of professions and 40% of activities align with how the majority of children view these professions and activities.

Brantmeier (2003) also looks beyond the textbooks themselves, and considers the influence of the materials on the actual or potential users. The author examines the connections between the text content in a Spanish as a second language text and the reader’s gender. Her findings suggest a strong correlation between the reader’s familiarity with the topic of the text and his/her performance on comprehension tasks. Females had better scores in such tasks when the text discussed was about a housewife and where all characters were female. Men performed better on a text about a boxing match with all male characters.

6. Discussion

The analyses of the textbooks reveal the following tendencies: Although there are no male-oriented topics in "Happy English" and more female-oriented than male-oriented ones in "New Millennium", topics are mostly gender-neutral in "New Millennium". This fact contributes to the fairness of gender representation in the discussed materials. The impact that the gendered text has on its readers was discussed by Brantmeier (2003). The gender-neutrality of topics in "New Millennium" might potentially eliminate the issues of test scores being lower because of the gendered texts used in it.

Regardless of the topics, however, conversations between females are the most seldom to occur. Females also discuss the most limited number of topics, and there are no female-specific topics. In other words, female voices are not heard as often as male voices. Preference for male voices over female voices was described by Andrews in his study. In interviews the females participants expressed their dislike of the female voices (Andrews 2000: 36). This aligns with the tendencies observed in the textbooks.

The analyses of the children's perception of occupations and activities and their representations in the textbooks align only part of the time. The representation of the roles of a "care-taker" and "server" do align with how children view these roles. Researchers of gender issues in Russia often emphasize that a female is often judged against an idealized image of a mother (Martynuk 1990; Doleschal & Schmidt 2001). The derogative terms for females usually go against this image: "women are stigmatized for impure sexual behavior in accordance with their role of a mother" (Martynuk 1990). The way sports and activities are presented in the texts only partially align with how children view these activities. The male dominance in many of these activities goes along with the findings on active-passive vocabulary in Russian. Negativity associated with passivity is represented by male terms. It is much worse for a male to be passive than for a female: 'borov', 'tyufyak' and other terms referring to a passive male.

7. Conclusions

The analyses of gender representation in the textbooks and children's perceptions of gender indicate that not always do the books mirror how Russian children view gender. Findings of the researchers studying language in Russia and gender go along with the picture of gender in the textbooks. The similarities found in cross-linguistic studies, however, make it impossible to say whether the way gender is represented in the textbooks actually mirrors the gender reality of Russia.

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Gender-normative activity and discourse coherence in a community of American English-speaking preschoolers

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Abstract

Sheldon & Engstrom (2005) found that American English-speaking preschool girls and boys coordinate their conversational behavior in spontaneous pretend play differently, producing a different quality to the coherence of their discourse. Their study yielded support for the *Two Systems of Mutual Engagement Hypothesis* (TSME). Coherence was measured by comparing turn-taking behavior, topic continuation, reciprocity, etc. Our present work measured the same data set according to a different coherence measure, introduced in Centering Theory (Grosz, Joshi, & Weinstein, 1995). This application of Centering Theory (CT) revealed significant differences in discourse coherence between gender-normative and non-normative activities. A significant difference was observed between girls' and boys' discourse in the form that the center of attention took in an utterance (here, whether lexically realized or a pro-drop). The differences were consistent with the Two Systems f Mutual Engagement Hypothesis, and provided some new precision in the measure of discourse coherence. We discuss these outcomes for both Centering Theory applied to children's multiparty talk, as well as for research on the intersection between discourse and gender.
Keywords: *Centering Theory ~ coherence ~ gender ~ child discourse*

1. Introduction

In the study reported in this paper, we bring together two streams of research in order to measure text coherence in children's language. We made a novel application of Centering Theory algorithms (Grosz, Joshi,

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 589-607.

& Weinstein 1983, 1986, Walker, Joshi & Prince 1998) to children's spontaneous talk. Joining Centering Theory (CT) to the study of child language and to the description of gender differences in talk is an original contribution to research in all three areas and pushes work ahead in these domains. Child discourse is a relatively new domain for the application of CT theory and methodology, as is the application of CT to measure coherence in oral texts that are the product of contextualized (purposeful), spontaneous, multiparty, talk in interaction. Much previous CT research has measured coherence in studies of constructed examples of adult discourse, e.g, Grosz *et al* (1995). Some studies have applied CT to adult spoken discourse such as Brennan's (1998) psycholinguistic study of dialogic talk in which a speaker described a basketball game to a partner who was unable to see or hear the game. In the study reported here, we extend the application of CT to a different context: children's spontaneous multiparty talk during the enactment of imaginative play.

We embarked on this study to also explore whether research on language and gender might benefit from the precision of CT methodology in the characterization of discourse. Prior research in language and gender has described different qualities related to the continuity of talk in adult and child female and male groups (e.g., Coates 1996, 1997, 1998, Tannen 1994, Pilkington 1998).

The following short description our data provides context for our report. Sheldon and co-authors have been characterizing gendered discourse in a transcribed videotaped corpus collected from three, four, and five-year-olds in a preschool community of practice (e.g., 1990, 1992, 1996a, 1996b, 1998, 2005). The children are native speakers of English who resided in the Minneapolis - St. Paul metropolitan area in Minnesota, in the U. S. They were grouped into friendship triads and videotaped during unsupervised spontaneous play in the same playroom. The room was set up in a different type of design each of the three times a group played in it. The three designs were for a room containing 1) gender-normative (stereotypical) feminine playthings and resources, or containing 2) gender-normative (stereotypical) masculine playthings and resources, or 3) a gender-neutral design, containing gender-neutral playthings and resources (described further in Sheldon 1990, 1992 & 2005). Each triad played in all three of the room set-ups, but on different occasions and in a counterbalanced order.

Differences in the quality of discourse continuity and coordination have been noticed informally in this community of practice. A first study was made by Sheldon & Engstrom (2005) to develop a characterization of the styles of engagement and continuity and to test the hypothesis that discourse coordination and coherence is related to the gender composition of the group. They studied the patterns of one all-girls and one all-boys triad in spontaneous interaction for a total of 52 minutes. The room was set up as a housekeeping area (i.e., with normative resources for girls: a housekeeping area with a toy stove and sink, cooking pots, a basket of plastic food items, plastic utensils and paper plates and cups, a child size dining table and chairs, baby dolls, a high chair and a crib with blankets, a telephone and child's easy chair, dress up clothes for girls and boys, and a mirror. A doctor's kit was in the room too, although it was not intended as a gender-related resource).

The measures that Sheldon *et al* (2005) used, described below, revealed different discourse patterns in the multiparty talk in these play groups in this room set-up. They characterized the difference in terms of the *Two Systems of Mutual Engagement Hypothesis (TSME)*. Girls' discourse and interaction was *more integrated and reciprocal,* with a *longer mutual focus*. Boys' discourse and interaction was often a *disjointed collection of turns* with *frequently shifting foci,* alternating with periods of *sustained coordinated engagement*.

Sheldon *et al* (2005) compared mutual engagement using measures for the number of topics, topics per minute, number of speakers per topic and length of on-topic turn exchanges. The following is a summary of some of the outcomes described in their paper.

The length of the girls' and boys' sessions was very similar: 26 minutes each. The boys' session was 25 seconds longer. Yet boys produced 57% of the total number of utterances for the two groups, producing an average of 31 utterances per minute to the girls' 24. However, the girls had a slightly longer mean turn length counted in number of utterances (1.8 ~ 1.7) or number of words (8.1 ~ 7.1). Boys produced more topics overall. The girls' rate of topic production was 79% of the boys'. The girls' topics were developed for more turns and the girls produced more topics that 2 or 3 speakers were contributing to (dialogic or multiparty speech) than the boys did. The boys' discourse had more topics overall, and more that a single speaker was developing alone (monologic speech).

Sheldon *et al* (2005) interpreted these discourse patterns to be the performance of gender in the social world through language. TSME assumes that features of girls' and boys' conversations, when present in conversations, follow from styles of interaction shaped by gender norms, which speakers align with and reproduce. Some patterns found in this community of practice are consistent with some patterns found in adult all-female and all-male multiparty conversational data, as previously mentioned.

Overall, these differences in discourse styles between the boys and girls suggest that we might find differences in *local* coherence as well; we thought that CT measures of the same data would provide a useful comparison for the TSME. Centering Theory (Grosz, *et al* 1983, 1986, 1995) offers a framework to measure how discourse maintains a center of attention. The placement of a center of attention will determine both how coherent a discourse. CT claims that *discourse follows expectations of continuity, sustained focus, and shared attention*. CT identifies whether a speaker's center of attention is maintained or shifted during discourse production. Centers are entities that link utterances together in a discourse. The following is a brief overview of CT.

2. Centering Theory basics (Circles are in examples to identify centers)

Grosz *et al* (1983, 1995) proposed Centering as a theory of the speaker's attentional state during discourse production. The rationale behind this theory includes the observed fact that the content of propositions might not be sufficient to resolve who or what is referred to by some utterance.

In addition to helping with resolution of a referent, CT provides a tool to measure local discourse coherence.

Coherence is considered to be both 'global' and local', and local coherence is constructed from linking utterances in a row with the same center of attention (Grosz *et al* 1995). The centers of attention themselves are referred to as *centers*. **Centers**, generally, are expressed by NPs and include those entities that are denoted by the linguistic utterance. (1) is a sentence that, when uttered, would refer to several different centers:

(1) A tortoise of the Spanish coast eats only a fish found in submarine caves.

In (1), the centers include 'tortoise', 'Spanish coast', 'fish', and 'submarine caves'. What is important about these entities is that they form the possible links to a subsequent utterance. Because one can construct the following discourse by discussing one of those centers, these are called the 'forward-looking centers'.

The **forward-looking centers** are ranked according to the prominence that they hold in an utterance. Grosz *et al* (1995) offered a hierarchy for forward-looking centers' prominence based on the grammatical role of the noun in the sentence:

Subject > Object(s) > Other

tortoise > fish > Spanish coast, submarine caves

The highest ranked of these forward-looking centers that is expressed in the following utterance is the backward-looking center, that which links back to previous discourse.

(2) It mates by first making bubbles in the water to attract a partner.

Thus, 'it' in (2) would be predicted to refer preferably to the tortoise.

After the forward-looking and backward-looking centers are known in an utterance, the next step in a Centering Analysis is to apply two rules that contribute a selection of more coherent discourse. The first rule is that if any center is pronominalized, the backward-looking center must also be expressed as a pronoun (Grosz *et al* 1995). This rule did not play a role in our present study.

The second rule, which forms the metric of the study in this paper, relates to how utterances form transitions between each other. One broad division is whether a pair of utterances includes the same entity as their backward-looking center (Cb). Those that do not maintain the same Cb are called 'shifts'. Among those that do maintain the same Cb across a pair of adjacent utterances, if the backward-looking center is in the most highly ranked forward-looking center (Cp) in the second utterance, the transition is called a 'continuation'. If the backward-looking center is instead demoted in prominence, then the transition type is a 'retention'. In (3-6), examples of these three transitions types are provided.

(3i) A tortoise of the Spanish coast eats only a fish found in submarine caves.

CONTINUATION
(4ii) It mates by first making bubbles in the water to attract a partner.

(4iii) It starts family life by building a nest in the sand.

Cb(ii) = Cb(iii) = Cp(iii)

RETENTION
(5ii) It mates by first making bubbles in the water to attract a partner.

(5iii) A sunny beach allows it to rest when not impressing the opposite sex.

Cb(ii) = Cb(iii) ≠ Cp(iii)

SHIFTING
(6ii) It mates by first making bubbles in the water to attract a partner.

(6iii) A windy day, however, can pop bubbles underwater.

Cb(ii) ≠ Cb(iii)

When reading discourse segments with different transition types, we can see how they do seem to create differential degrees of coherence. When judging a discourse segment for coherence according to the transition types, the ranking is the following:

Continuation > Retention > Shifting

As described in the Method section below, this ranking allows us to quantify a measure of coherence in discourses and compare them simply in terms of how much of each category the transitions occupy.

3. Method

We worked from the transcribed video record of the preschoolers' spontaneous and coded the same TSME data using CT algorithms according to the rules for deciding the centers as explained above. We then applied the rule for transition types, considering that more coherent discourse contains more continuations and fewer shifts.

Some methodological decisions had to be made in order to use the Centering constraints to make decisions on natural discourse. One seemingly straightforward question is what constitutes an utterance. For our analysis, we only considered utterances that contained minimally one noun (or implied a noun, as in pro-drop). Thus, utterances that included only a discourse particle (e.g. "well", "oh") were excluded from analysis. Also, false starts were not considered, as they would not serve as links to the following discourse.

Another problem for using Centering in natural data is how to treat overlapping speech that sounds simultaneous. One solution involves the time-consuming process of using technology to time the onsets of overlapping utterances to determine which one began first and to consider this to be first in the sequence. Although it might seem desirable to precisely determine the exact order of overlapping utterances in a sequence if the difference in their start-times is short enough, it is unlikely that the second utterance is in response to the first.

A second solution to the problem of near-simultaneous speech is to consider that the overlapping utterances occur at the same time and thus the utterance before them has two transitions (to each of the overlapping utterances). There would also be two transitions to the utterance following the overlapping speech (from each of the overlapping utterances). Although this latter solution complicates the concept of transitions, it was adopted here so as to avoid arbitrary decisions about the sequence of utterances. We adopt this strategy also because it is likely that the discourse participants themselves would also be uncertain about which utterance was first. Schober & Clark (1989) discuss the general problem for the analyst, of reconstructing the way a conversation is processed by the interactants.

In the present study, we counted the number of transition types in the boys' and girls' discourse segments. We also considered the *form* that a backward-looking center took in an utterance, namely, whether it is expressed lexically or has a zero-form, due to pro-drop.

Table 1 provides short sections from each of the transcripts to illustrate how the data were coded using CT algorithms.

Two discourse extracts, placed side by side in columns in Table 1, illustrate each pattern. Continuing centers are a measure of more discourse coherence than shifting centers. And a high proportion of shifting centers is a measure of less discourse coherence.

4. Results

First, we considered whether there is a statistically significant difference between boys' and girls' discourse, irrespective of their activity. Figure 1 shows the numbers of each transition type in talk produced in the girls' group and in the boys' group. As mentioned earlier, the boys' session contained more talk overall. We performed a chi-square analysis that compared discourse during the full twenty-six minutes of talk in interaction for each session. A comparison of the Centering transition types found no significant differences between boys' and girls' discourse coherence, $X^2 = 4.15$, $p > .05$. So, in the full sessions, boys' and girls' discourse do not show any significant differences in discourse coherence, as measured by Centering Theory algorithms.

GIRLS – Continuing centers	BOYS - Shifting centers
	Cf: {Elaine, Arlene}; Cb = Arlene; Transition Type= SHIFT
1g. Erica: It's butter. Cf: {butter}; Cb = butter; Transition Type= SHIFT	1b. Robert: I got the food, guys. Cf: {Robert, food, (Connor, Mark)}; Cb = Ø; Transition Type = SHIFT
2g. Elaine: It's butter. Cf: {butter}; Cb = butter; Transition Type= CONTINUE	2b. Connor: Supper time. Cf: {Supper time}; Cb = Ø; Transition Type = SHIFT
3g. Erica: Butter. Cf: {butter}; Cb = butter; Transition Type= CONTINUE	3b. Robert: I got the food. Cf: {Robert, food}; Cb = Ø; Transition Type = SHIFT
4g. Arlene: Well—[not analyzed] 5g. Elaine: That's what mommy putted on it. Cf: {butter, mommy, bread}; Cb = butter; Transition Type= CONTINUE	4b. Mark: Here's the shotter (i.e. the syringe). Cf: {syringe}; Cb = Ø; Transition Type = SHIFT 5b. Robert: Look at the food, guys. Cf: {(Mark, Connor), food}; Cb = Ø; Transition Type = SHIFT
6g. Erica: Yeah, wh—that's what [I—put] Cf: {butter, Erica}; Cb = butter; Transition Type= CONTINUE	6b.__________ I got—Give the baby a shot. Cf: {(Mark, Connor), baby, shot}; Cb = (Mark, Connor); Transition Type = SHIFT
7g. Arlene: [I always] love butter on mine. Cf: {Arlene, butter, bread}; Cb= butter; Transition Type= RETAIN	7b. Connor: (To himself) And HERE's a shot. Cf: {syringe}; Cb = (syringe [inferable from shot]); Transition Type = SHIFT
8g. Elaine: Well, I must say you cer[tainly do].	

Table 1.- Contrast between girls' discourse and boys'

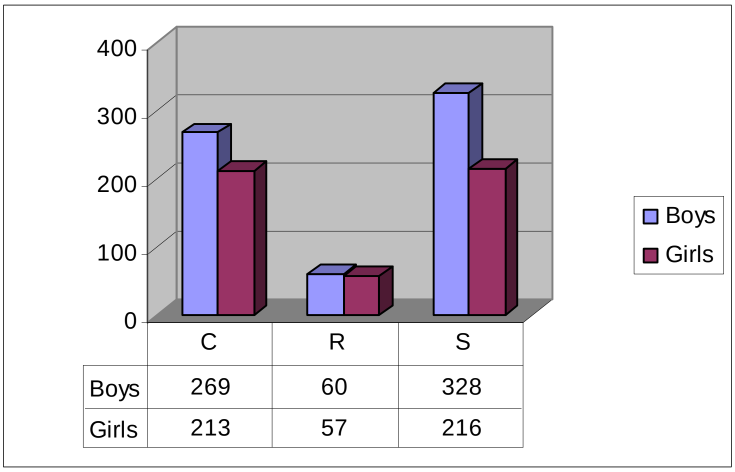
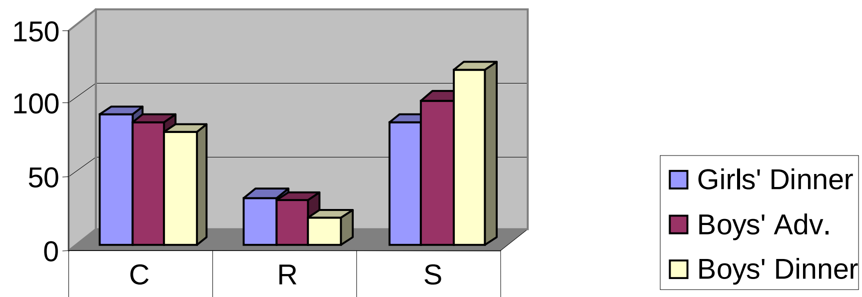


Figure 1.- Transition type by gender group. (*C*, *R*, and *S* denote *continuation*, *retain*, and *shift*, respectively.)

When, however, we considered the activity that the children were engaged in during the discourse, differences did emerge. The girls were engaged in a gender-normative activity, a domestic dinnertime play, which included choosing and cooking food, setting the table, serving at the table, sitting down to eat, having a dinnertime conversation, getting a phone call, etc. The boys were engaged in both gender-normative and non-normative activities during their session. They too started the session out in the domestic dinnertime mode and enacted some of the same activities: choosing and cooking food, putting utensils and plates on the table, sitting down to eat. But it was comparatively short lived and the activities were performed more individualistically than in the smoothly coordinated and jointly integrated style of the girls. The boys soon abandoned the domestic mode of play. They spent time in individual play with objects but without a common activity focus. Sometimes they imaginatively transformed domestic objects for uses as non-domestic items, e.g., a piece of toast became a camera. One imaginatively transformed the room from a domestic area to an outdoor place in which to hunt wild animals. They finally settled on the joint construction of a non-domestic action-adventure script, creating a fort from the kitchen table, chairs, and appliances, to protect themselves from a polar bear that was breaking in. A fuller comparison of how the boys and girls played in this same physical space, but imaginatively transformed it into different places with symbolically different objects, can be found in Sheldon & Rohleder (1996).

A comparison of the girls' and boys' discourse while engaged in gender-normative activities (girls' dinnertime pretend play vs boys' action-adventure pretend play) did not show any significant difference in discourse coherence, $X^2 = 5.33$, $p > .05$. Significant differences emerged when we compared the girls' discourse during a gender-normative play activity (dinnertime) and boys' discourse when they were engaged in a gender non-normative play activity (dinnertime).



	C	R	S
Girls' Dinner	88	32	83
Boys' Adv.	83	30	98
Boys' Dinner	76	18	119

Figure 2.- Transitions according to gender and normativity: Girls' dinner vs. boys' adventure vs. boys' dinner

Figure 2, shows the distribution of centers in gender normative and non-normative activities that these groups engaged in. A CT analysis of collaboratively constructed discourse during the girls' dinner is similar to the discourse coherence constructed by the boys in their action-adventure pretend play. A 3 x 2 chi-square analysis comparing discourse coherence and gender normativity of activity was significant, X^2 value = 11.44, at 4 degrees of freedom; $p \leq .025$.

Whether one measures coherence in the boys' discourse across their entire session, shown in Figure 1, or within their discourse activities when they are separated out as shown in Figure 2, one finds more shifting centers proportional to continuing centers in the boys' discourse, compared to the girls' discourse.

These comparisons are consistent with a claim that sex/gender of the speakers, alone, does not yield discourse differences in these data as measured by CT. But gender normativity does.

Although the boy's discourse in the action-adventure context was more like the girls' than like their own dinnertime talk, what is left unaccounted for, however, is why the boys' dinnertime discourse is not significantly different, by a CT measure, from their action-adventure discourse. We plan to pursue this issue in the future but further discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

We considered other parameters to explore the possible interaction between discourse differences, gender and activity. One parameter that contributed a significant effect is whether the discourse was monologic or dialogic. When girls and boys produced continuations across utterances (i.e. the most coherent discourse), the boys produced significantly more continuations from their own, monologic, speech than the girls did. The girls produced less monologic speech, and more of their continuations were in multiparty talk. Monologic speech was the context for boys' coherent discourse almost twice as often as it was the context for coherence in girls' speech, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Boys produced almost twice the number of continuations in monologic speech than girls did, a difference that was statistically significant, X^2 = 8.94; $p \leq .01$. Monologic continuations are those in which the speaker's own discourse provides the contingent utterances that are measured by CT. This high degree of continuations in boys' monologic speech indexes an important quality in the boys' interaction, namely, noticeable disjointed linguistic and social engagement. In using monologic talk, an individual reports to the others what she or he is doing, but the other children may or may not be paying attention.

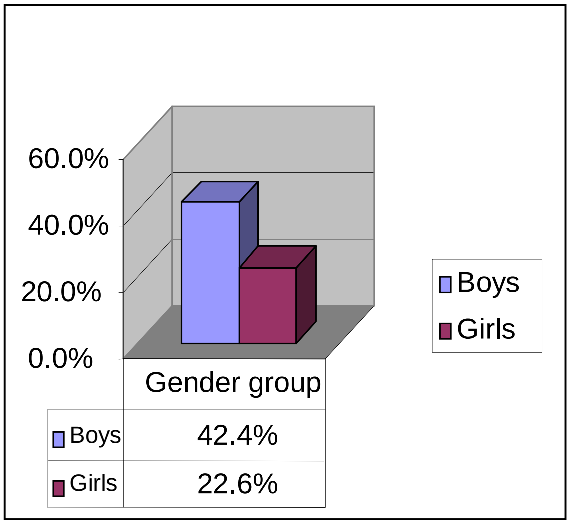


Figure 3.- Percentage of continuations in monologic speech

To describe this in another way, the girls produced the most coherent transition type, continuations, more frequently in non-monologic talk. Whereas, the boys' continuing centers were distributed more evenly between monologic and multiparty discourse than the girls' were. We think that a CT analysis of the discourse context that makes a distinction between monologic and non-monologic talk, is more revealing, bringing to light some important stylistic differences in the talk in interaction of these girls and boys. We see a connection between these discourse differences and the influence that gender prescriptions have on these children, mediated by pretend play activity preferences.

In addition, an important difference between the boys' and girls' discourses, which may inform our notion of coherence is the *form* that a backward-looking center takes. The girls were significantly more likely to express a backward-looking center lexically (i.e. with words), whereas the boys used pro-drop centers more frequently. These differences in form are represented in Figure 4 as overt (lexically-realized) and non-overt (pro-drop) centers.

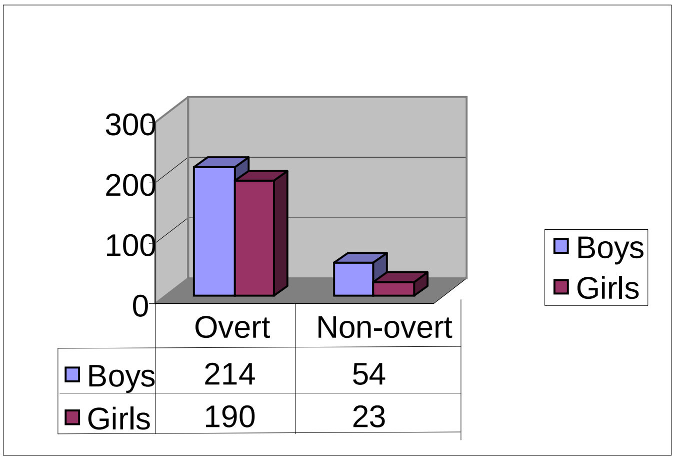


Figure 4.- Overt and non-overt center forms by gender group.

We considered that the form of the center, whether overt or non-overt, was an important difference in their talk. As we see in Figure 4, boys had more non-overt centers and the difference was significant, X^2 value = 7.71; $p \leq .01$. This result affected how we conceptualized coherence, because the form differences reflected different functions.

The girls expressed continued centers explicitly more than boys, who used the zero-subject imperative form more frequently. Girls seem to have used more declarative sentences in which the subjects are expressed. They often identified addressees by name, as if expecting a response from their conversation partners. Boys seemed to have used more directives, which could account for much of their non-overt referents.

4. Discussion

This investigation can serve to deepen our understanding of how discourse styles might be affected by gender norms. First, considerations of context and communicative purpose are essential when asking how discourse style may be relevant to gender. The use of different sentence forms (here, declarative vs. imperative) corresponds to different communicative purposes. As has been reported before (e.g., Sachs 1987, Goodwin, 1980) it is not unusual for boys to use more direct commands with each other than girls use among themselves.

This investigation also underscores that the speakers' activity is relevant to their talk. Boys' talk more closely matches girls' (measured by CT) when they're both engaged in a gender-normative activity: for girls it was planning and enacting dinnertime activity and talk, for boys it was planning and enacting an action-adventure scenario. We claim that these children orient to the gender normativity in their pretend play activity and *that* is indexed in how they jointly create oral texts. Our research is making no claim that these girls and boys have any differences in discourse *competencies*. Our results are consistent with our understanding that language is the medium for engaging in an activity. When children's activities have different symbolic loadings in a community's gender system, and children *align* with gender prescriptions and perhaps practice them more, their talk can reflect that. Our findings are also consistent with critiques of some language and gender research that in the past have solely looked at the form of utterances, without taking into account function and other contextual features.

What we have found is that differences in gender normative pretend play activity participates with different discourse styles. The discourse styles are shaped by the degree to which a particular center of attention is maintained throughout the conversation. This outcome serves as an important validation of Centering principles as a measurement of discourse coherence in natural speech, in this relatively unexplored domain for CT, of children's, multiparty, spontaneous discourse, even though not all aspects of Centering were considered here (e.g., the distribution of pronouns).

What this outcome means for research on the interaction between language and gender, as well, is that the patterns of transition types as a measure of discourse coherence are capable of characterizing gender differences in discourse styles in a rather precise way. That we found these styles to be in play during gender normative activity, and not across the board in these two groups' talk in interaction, is also a refinement of our understanding of how and when gender and talk intersect, including when gender is not readable from talk at all.

One direction for future work would be to consider why gender normative or non-normative pretend play activities would differentiate the interactants' discourse in these ways. We intend to pursue this question.

The success in measuring gender differences in talk notwithstanding, the conceptualization of discourse coherence in CT does miss some complexity involved in natural discourse and in gendered talk in interaction specifically. However much Centering principles may correlate with our intuitions of the distribution of centers of attention in language use in general, it is important to note that, currently, the rules for Centering analysis are defined quite generally and some discretionary decisions have to be made to apply the theory to natural discourse. Questions arose in this research about what constitutes an utterance, what to do with repetitions, how to treat interruptions and simultaneous speech, as well as change of pronoun number. Centering Theory itself currently offers little direction with which to engage with such complexities of natural text.

In addition to these general methodological concerns, Centering also misses subtle differences in coherence that we observed in all-girl and all-boy groups. For example, the boys seemed to use more imperatives than girls, in which the center of attention may be maintained. How coherence is constructed appears to differ by the sentence types used (e.g., imperatives vs. declaratives), but Centering principles provide no guidance on considering utterance form in an analysis.

The issue of repetition is an important one with regard to characterizing gender differences in discourse, because girls seemed repeat one another's utterances more than boys, a phenomena that has been described as 'echoic' and noted in women's talk.

Moreover, the quality of shifts appeared to be notably different. Shifts are a broad category and can include both a simple change of discourse focus related to the topic of talk (e.g., from talk comparing one doll to another to talk about a doll's favorite food), to the introduction of a new topic (e.g., from talk about the piece of toast one has in hand to talk about the monster at the door). These degrees of difference are not characterized by marking the transition type as a 'shift'. Therefore, the label 'shift' under represents discourse behaviors and may not sufficiently contrast the girls' and boys' discourse styles. While these distinctions may belong more to the domain of 'global coherence', i.e. what the discourse is about generally, measures of local coherence might be expected to also reflect nuances of topic development, and hence, shifts in attention during talk.

In conclusion, our study has provided a new characterization of differences in discourse coherence in girls' and boys' pretend play, which is related to the gender-normativity of their activities. This provides a stepping off point to refine our CT measurements with more discourse data from this preschool community. At the same time, our application of CT to this complex discourse domain has provided methodological food for thought as well.

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Part IV

Gender(ed) Representations in Literature, Cinema and the Mass Media

Female Sexuality and language in Hardy´s *Jude the Obscure*

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to show how Hardy, in his last novel, *Jude the Obscure*, begins to write openly about female sexuality at a time when social conventions were very strict and women were supposed to be mothers and wives. He tries to present a literary and social stereotype of the last decades of the nineteenth-century, the *new woman*, using a vocabulary that reflects the main characteristics of this new type of woman.

The *new woman* was the kind of woman that supposed a threat to the social restrictions of Victorianism: she demanded the right of women to escape the slavery of the home, to work, to have an education, and to be economically and socially independent. The *new woman* also questions the institution of marriage and the traditional roles of women.

But Sue, Hardy's main character does not entirely behave according to this new stereotype, since if it is true that at first she refuses all the sexual taboos of the time, in the end she accepts all the Victorian conventions about marriage and sexuality, and tries to lead a life which conforms with the social and moral roles of women as mothers and wives. Therefore, I believe that Hardy was not successful in achieving to depict a female character that was a complete woman.

There is however in the novel a particular use of the language and a set of words and expressions that give shape to the main traits of this literary and social type, and this body of words and expressions proves, in my opinion, that Hardy's ideas in this novel are somewhere between the concept of the *new woman* and the traditional social conventions, all too valid in that decadent Victorian society.

Key words: *Thomas Hardy ~ Jude the Obscure ~ 'new woman'*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 611-621.

1. Introduction

In this paper we will see how Hardy, in his last novel, pretended to create a character, Sue Bridehead, who supposedly conformed to the literary and social stereotype of the fin de siècle, the “new woman”. However, he did not succeed in his adventure.

At the beginning, Sue is presented as a rebellious woman who represents the new values of modernity. She is manifestly against marriage and the traditional roles assigned to women as mothers and wives; she also behaves in relation to the opposite sex as one who talks openly about sex and who can be a man´s friend. She does not accept religious norms either, and she lives and works reminiscent of the women belonging to the first generations of feminists. Sue also demands education for women.

In spite of all this, when she goes to live with Jude and becomes a mother, things begin to change. When all her children die, something changes in her and she goes back to religion and to the traditional roles of women.

Therefore, Hardy was not successful in creating a “new woman” in his character of Sue. She could not be a complete woman and she was trapped between the new ideas about women in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the traditional ones of Victorian society.

All this can be seen throughout the words and ideas uttered by the two main characters in the story, Jude and Sue, whose love story becomes something impossible in the end because the weight of social conventions and traditional values is too heavy for them to overcome.

America has in the world in general, such sociological influences also impact on modern Canadian society (Stackhouse 2002).

2. The “New Woman”: Sexuality and Language

The “new woman” was a social and literary stereotype of the last decades of the nineteenth century. She was born in the 1880’s and had some aspects in common with the “fallen woman” and the “decadent woman”. As a social stereotype, the “new woman” belongs to the second generation of English feminists, and her main characteristics are hostility towards men, the questioning of the institution of marriage and the restrictions of the home, and rebellion, challenging social conventions. As a consequence, she is socially rejected, as Jordan (1983) claims.

In the case of the "new woman" as a literary stereotype, we find that sexual issues are expressed openly, education is demanded, the same as equality and work for women. Also, maternity is presented as the solution for all this controversy, but sexual taboos are eliminated by the authors of these stories.

Nonetheless, the "fallen woman" and the "new woman" have in common the fact that they are defying and challenging elements in society; they question many moral conventions, especially in relation to marriage and sexuality. The Victorian society sees these characters as women who have found their own perdition because they have not fulfilled their traditional roles as wives and mothers. However, the "fallen woman" is a passive victim of her circumstances, whereas the "n"ew woman" is rebellious and fights for her ideals even though she finds herself rejected.

As regards the "decadent woman", for most Victorians both the "new woman" and the "decadent woman" are the same: they both produced deep fears about the future of sex, class and race. They were seen as opposed to the values considered essential for the survival of the established culture, that is, they really acted against the norm in that decadent Victorian society, according to Dowling (1979).

As regards sexuality and language, Sue shows herself as rebellious –she has read John Stuart Mill–, she does not accept her condition as a woman: "Why should I suffer for what I was born to be?" (p. 285). However, she is not able to feel her own sexuality. Hardy defines Sue as a sexless woman, "her curious unconsciousness of gender" (p. 2 03), and she talks of herself in the same terms: "I have remained as I began" (p. 203), she says, or "I must be cold-natured, sexless" (p. 203). But Jude feels his sexuality, and it is the sexual impulse which attracts him to his first wife Arabella, who is defined by Hardy as "a complete and substantial female animal" (p. 81). In contrast to Sue, Arabella feels her sexuality, and the "missile" she throws at Jude stands for a phallic symbol, she captivates him: “He gazed from her eyes to her mouth, thence to her bosom, and to her full round naked arms…” (p.83). Nevertheless, the spiritual part does not work in her, and that is the reason why both Sue and Arabella are incomplete women. They complement each other and the two of them join the spiritual and the sexual parts that will provide Jude with the right woman.

As we can see, Hardy expresses his opinions through his characters, and he talks openly about sex, but in a subliminal way. He uses language as the means to express the new ideas about women, sexuality and marriage in his novel, and, in this respect, he is innovative and daring for his time.

3. The questioning of marriage and traditional roles

One of the most important and innovative aspects of this novel is the questioning of marriage and the traditional roles of women.

Women were supposed to be mothers and wives and were raised for that purpose. They did not receive a proper education and they did not have access to higher education. Their sphere was that of the home, looking after their husbands and children, and before that their fathers and brothers. They were called “the angels in the house”, whereas their fallen sisters were called “fallen angels”. The world outside was that of men, whose role was to work to keep their families and who had received the adequate preparation for their careers.

All these traditional values are questionable in the character of Sue. At the beginning she does not want to marry or have children, she has no mother instinct. She wants to live her own life and work. For that purpose, she enters a Training College; she wants to be a “first-class certificated mistress”, then was one of the very few careers open to women. Prior to that, she had been working in a religious objects shop, a contradiction as she always questioned traditional religious values.

However, Sue cannot accept the strict norms imposed by the College on its female inmates. Even these “modern institutions” were very much framed around the moral restrictions which were expected of women in that Victorian-style society. As a result she is expelled, but with the help of her husband Phillotson, she gets a job as a type of assistant teacher. She stops working only when she goes to live with Jude.

As regards language, there is a whole range of words and expressions that refer to the "new woman" Sue represented. She is called "clever girl" (p. 156), "townish girl" (p. 160), "learned" (p. 2 01), "not exactly a tomboy" (p. 162), "creature of civilization" (p. 2 01) and "a product of civilization" (p. 191). All these terms are very significant as they reflect symptoms of modernity associated with the "new woman". New women were considered to be intelligent and learned, meaning they had access to education. They were also the result of civilization, that is, the evolution of the role of women that took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century; nonetheless, Sue was close to being "a tomboy". This means that these new women were not very feminine as they did not conform to the social norms nor did they fulfil the traditional roles expected of women.

In relation to marriage, Hardy expresses his opinion through his two main characters, Jude and Sue. Jude gives a definition of what marriage means to him: "a permanent contract [based] on a temporary feeling which had no necessary connection with affinities that alone render a life-long comradeship tolerable" (p. 115). In the case of Jude, it is his animal sexuality which leads him to marriage with the wrong woman, Arabella: "animal passion led him to marry the wrong woman" (p. 139). He feels passion for her, but then he understands that he needs spiritual affininty with the woman he chooses as a life-long companion. For Jude, "marriage meant tragic sadness" (p. 137) making two people spend the rest of their lives together, whatever the circumstances. In that concept lies the tragedy of Victorian marriage.

In Sue's case, things are very different. At first, she shows herself as a daring woman buying those naked figures of Venus and Apollo which represent sex, but in reality she does not accept her sexuality. What attracts her to Phillotson is their spiritual and cultural proximity, in contrast to Jude. Nevertheless, as time goes on, she realises that she cannot live with her husband and have a sexual life with him: "... what tortures me so much is the necessity of being responsive to this man whenever he wishes, good as he is morally!- the dreadful contract to feel in a particular way in a matter whose essence is its voluntariness!" (pp. 2 73-4) She believes sex to be something that you have to feel, something that cannot be based on the formal contract of marriage. With this, Sue questions one of the most important pillars of Victorian society, that marriage is the only licit frame for sex. Therefore, it is clear that she cannot tolerate sex with Phillotson and she feels trapped in an institution that makes a man and a woman be together for life: "It was the cry of a rabbit caught in a gin" (p. 2 74). So, in the end, she deserts Phillotson.

It has been said that Sue suffers from frigidity since she cannot enjoy sex with the men she loves. Some critics have associated this with her spirituality. My opinion is that she feels so much pressure from outside to be the perfect woman who joins the traditional roles with the traits of the "new woman" that she cannot cope with that dual role. Sue cannot become a complete woman; she is trapped in a transitional stage of transformation and modernization that was taking place in her time. It has even been suggested by Summer (1981) that she causes harm or destroys the men she finds in her way, and Jude is just one of them. However, the problem is that Sue cannot accept her sexuality in the new frame of the changes that were occurring at the end of the nineteenth century. She does not reach a balance between her intellect and her emotions.

In contrast, Jude shows a correct balance between his flesh and his spirit. He is just an ordinary man with varied and strong instincts. He is basically a good man who cannot make his dreams come true. He is a symbol of the destruction of a complete man by the conventional attitudes of a worn-out society, as Summer claims (1981).

But Hardy shows again his disagreement with the social restrictions of his time and offers a solution for all these problems: divorce. In Sue's words he explains that men and women should be allowed to lead separate lives when the ideal union of spiritual and sexual affinity does not work: "I am certain one ought to be allowed to undo what one has done so ignorantly!...When people of a later age look back upon the barbarous customs and superstitions of the times that we have, the unhappiness we live in, what will they say!" (p. 2 76).

Divorce had been a controversial issue throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. New laws had been passed which gradually regulated and improved women's position in a process where men had a privileged situation. Hardy shows himself in favour of the existence of the legal possibility of putting an end to unhappy and unfortunate unions. As a consequence, both Jude and Sue get the divorce from their former companions. In this sense, they show again symptoms of modernity and open-mindedness.

4. Failure to create a "new woman"

However, Sue becomes a failure to be a "new woman" because in the end she accepts social conventions. At first, she decides to go and live with Jude after deserting Phillotson, she does not want to be respectable.

Phillotson is also ahead of his time letting Sue leave. He cares nothing for social conventions either, but he suffers the consequences of his deeds. He accepts this out of love and respect for Sue, despite his friend advising him to do the opposite, to conform to the traditional ideas about marriage.

At first, Sue does not want to be a mother. Her sexual and maternal instincts appear out of jealousy for Arabella and for Little Father Time, Jude and Arabella's son. Before that, she had not wanted to have sex with Jude, having no animal passion. She is described as "a phantasmal, bodiless creature" (p. 324).

Sue does not want to marry Jude as she rejects marriage. She just wants them to be lovers, seeking comradeship with Jude and not sex, so their relationship is incomplete. Sue and Jude cannot succeed as a couple because they are ahead of their time.

Finally, Sue goes back to social rules and conventions: she has two children by Jude and she is expecting another one, and she becomes a mother for Arabella and Jude's son. However, Sue is a cold mother changing to a true one only when she loses her own children. She does not succeed as a mother and is punished by Little Father Time, who kills himself and the children: "Done because we are too many" (p. 410). She does not have the courage of living according to the meaning of her opinions because "...under the affectation of independent views you are as enslaved to the social code as any woman I know!" (p. 305). These are Jude's words as he accuses her of not living according to her beliefs.

In the end Sue cannot live with so much pressure and decides to go back to the traditional views of religion and marriage. She feels the death of her children as her punishment for having transgressed all the social and moral conventions of her time. As a consequence she returns to her true husband, Phillotson, and leaves her true love, Jude, for ever. She is not a real "new woman".

5. Transitional stage and pessimism

As we have seen, Hardy's novel is somewhere between the new ideas and the traditional ones. It is also involved in the pessimism that characterised the last years of the nineteenth century. He does not succeed in creating a "new woman"; Sue is an incomplete woman: she cannot join flesh and spirit in her; therefore, she suppresses her instincts, both maternal and sexual.

We can find the new ideas that began to emerge in the fact that Sue and Jude live ahead of their time, they want to have a relationship based on comradeship and sex, but they find opposition from the people around them. They talk about themselves saying that "we are a little before hand, that's all" (p. 354) or "as for Sue and me when we were at our best long ago- when our minds were clear, and our love of truth fearless- the time was not ripe for us! Our ideas were fifty years too soon to be any good to us" (p. 482). This is one of the reasons why their relationship fails. Sue and Jude wanted to live in a way that was extraordinary for late Victorians, and Sue lives trapped between the traditional values and the new ones. Nevertheless, they do not feel that they are immoral, they think that they are faithful to their feelings, but they feel the pressure of a society that does not accept the way they are: "we have done that which was right in our own eyes" (p. 378). Through their words and deeds, Hardy questions the right of a society which was basically hypocritical to question the lives of people who acted according to their own morality.

But Sue cannot stand the pressure of those people who judge them and point at them as deviant from the norms with which they did not conform. So traditional ideas win over new ones in the sense that Sue returns to Phillotson who she now feels is her true husband, not Jude, and accepts sex with him. She also goes back to the traditional values of marriage and religion, and she utters words such as “I shall try to learn to love him by obeying him” (p. 437). These are certainly strange words pronounced by a “new woman”.

After the death of her children something breaks in Sue preventing her from continuing with her former life. She accepts disgrace as the right punishment for having broken those religious and moral values she and Jude did not believe in before. She even thinks their love sinful: “we went about loving each other too much- indulging ourselves to utter selfishness with each other” (p. 413).

Sue and Jude were punished for their new ideas. Jude calls himself a seducer, so he moves back in time to Victorianism: “Yes, Sue- that’s what I am. I seduced you...You were a distinct type- a refined creature to be left intact” (p. 418). He does not stop loving her, and she does not stop loving him, but she feels inclined to carry out her own duty and leaves Jude to his fate. He dies after becoming a complete man, accepting and joining both his spiritual and fleshly natures. Sue does not have the courage to live according to those two aspects of her nature; that is the reason why she is a failure as a “new woman” and never becomes a complete woman.

All this pessimism of the fin de siècle is comprised in Arabella and Jude’s son, Little Father Time, who represents the old ideas preventing the new ones coming in: “-boys of a sort unknown in the last generation- the outcome of new views of life. They seem to see all its terrors before they are old enough to have staying power to resist them” (p. 411). It is clear that Victorians were afraid of the new changes coming in; the late nineteenth century was a time of adjustment, and people were reluctant to accept those alterations in their traditional views. Therefore, Little Father Time also stands for the failure of those revolutionary winds and Jude and Sue’s aspirations: “The boy’s face expressed the whole tale of their situation” (p. 411).

Consequently, it is clear that Hardy moves from the representation of Sue as a “new woman” to her transformation in a “fallen woman”, making Jude her seducer. Like other fallen women of literature, she is punished not with her death but with that of her children, and Jude also dies after losing Sue and his family. This is a traditional end for a revolutionary novel; Hardy was not brave enough to question the validity of traditional Victorian ideas to the end.

6. Conclusion

We can conclude, then, that Hardy is successful in including in his last novel some elements which are representative of the ideas of what ”new woman” meant. He, for the first time, writes openly about an issue that was a social taboo at that time, female sexuality. He is also the first one in analysing woman’s nature and psychology in Sue, trying to understand her emotional problems and fears. All this undoubtedly meant an important step forward.

However, whereas at the beginning Hardy uses a vocabulary that reflects the traits of this new kind of woman, demanding her right to work, education and sex, he gradually returns to the traditional Victorian values of marriage, maternity and virtue. Because of all this Hardy could not achieve the depiction of a character that was a complete woman.

To reach a final conclusion, I believe that there is enough evidence throughout this paper to affirm that Hardy shows in his use of language and his concept of gender that he is positioned somewhere between the concept of the “new woman” and the traditional social conventions. Perhaps if he had written another novel, he could have created a female character who conformed to the new values after this transitional time in that decadent Victorian society.

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‘Marriage would be such a dull affair’. Ideal Irish womanhood in Maud Gonne’s autobiography *A Servant of the Queen* (1938/1994)

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Abstract

This article examines discourse representation in Maud Gonne’s (1865-1953) autobiography *A Servant of the Queen* (1938/1994). More specifically, the article focuses on a few select instances of discourse representation which deal with the theme of marriage and family life. Through an examination of the forms and functions of discourse representation in the analysed extracts, the article will discuss their contribution to the writer’s discursive identity construction. Specific attention is paid to the writer’s identity construction in relation to the discourse of early twentieth-century ‘ideal’ Irish womanhood, which positioned women within the private sphere, as wives and mothers.
Key words: *Maud Gonne ~ Irish nationalism ~ autobiography ~ gender ~ discourse representation*

1. Introduction

Maud Gonne (1865-1953) is probably most widely remembered as the woman who inspired the poet W. B. Yeats to write some of his most well-known love poetry. Gonne, however, was much more than a poet’s muse. She was actively involved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Irish nationalist movement as Ireland started to break away from the British Empire: she, among her other activities, gave speeches, founded the nationalist women’s organisation Inghinidhe na hÉireann

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 622-635.

(Daughters of Ireland) in 1900, and was a prolific writer, publicising the cause of Irish republicanism both in Ireland and abroad.

Gonne's autobiography *A Servant of the Queen* (1938/1994; henceforth *SQ*) can be characterised as an essentially nationalist narrative, as it focuses on recounting her experiences and activities in the nationalist movement and expressing her political views. Thus, *SQ* follows the model of the nineteenth-century (male) nationalist autobiographies. As Steele (2001: 145) points out, however, "while indebted to the male institutional model [of nationalist autobiography], [her narrative] repeatedly returns to the fact of her gender in order to remind her audiences of the additional problems she faced as a female revolutionary in Ireland". As a woman who entered the public sphere through participating in the masculine and male-dominated nationalist movement, Gonne was among those women who were "labelled evil, unnatural [and] unfeminine" (Ryan 1999: 258). Such labelling was due to these women's deviation from the ideal Irish femininity (discussed in more detail below), which positioned women within the confines of the home.

This article examines Gonne's autobiography, and, more specifically, select instances of discourse representation in the text. All the extracts analysed here more or less explicitly address the theme of marriage and family life. In examining these instances of discourse representation, I am interested in the kinds of meanings Gonne attaches to marriage and family life, and, at the same time, to her own actions and life outside the home, in the public sphere, in a context where women's contribution to the public sphere was not as common and not as widely accepted as it is today.

Examining this particular theme is interesting for at least two reasons. Firstly, feminist analyses and interpretations of early twentieth-century Irish womanhood emphasise the importance of the 'ideal Irish womanhood' in constructing women's identities, and an important element in that construction was the view that the ideal Irish woman was a wife and a mother and stayed within the home. Secondly, Maud Gonne's personal life in particular has been the topic of much discussion for a number of reasons; her life has been characterised as unconventional in more ways than one. It is thus important to examine her own identity construction in her autobiography to see how she negotiated these constraints imposed on women. Next, I will briefly discuss the early twentieth-century ideal Irish womanhood and the ways in which Gonne has been seen to breach the conventions of traditional Irish femininity.

2. Maud Gonne and the ideal Irish womanhood

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the prevailing ideal of Irish womanhood was promoted both by the Catholic church and the Irish nationalists; according to Innes (1993: 41-2), Mother Ireland and the Mother of God became "potent social, political and moral forces" by the late nineteenth century, and "Both demanded the allegiance of men and women alike, but it was for women that they provided models of behaviour and ideals of identity." The traits attributed to this ideal Irish woman included motherhood, chastity, passivity and obedience (see, for example, Innes 1993). Thus, although both women and men were expected to make sacrifices for the common good, the expectations were gendered, and women were not, unlike men, expected to either give their lives or act in the public sphere to serve their country. In her discussion of the ideal Irish woman in the 1920s and 1930s, the time when Gonne wrote her autobiography, Valiulis (1995: 117-118) summarises the qualities of the ideal Irish woman as follows:

> She was first and foremost a mother who inculcated in her children, her sons in particular, a love of country, of Gaelic culture and tradition, of freedom for Ireland. [...] women's role was to produce and educate sons in the nationalist tradition to be good and virtuous citizens [...] All of this bespeaks an air of self-effacement, of meekness, of indirectness. What it lacks is passion, vitality, independence, and assertiveness. What it does not incorporate is a public identity for women.

These female ideals were incarnated in the different female symbols of Ireland featuring in the nationalist discourse, such as Erin and

Cathleen ni Houlihan. So strong was the female iconography of the nationalist discourse that "on the eve of the 1916 Rising [a rebellion against the colonial rule in Ireland on Easter, 1916] young men were lectured that there was no such person as Cathleen ni Houlihan calling upon them to serve her" (McCartney 1968, quoted in Ward 1998: 105). Maud Gonne in particular has been very strongly linked to these female icons; as Innes (1993: 130) observes, she was "a figurehead, a symbol of Cathleen ni Houlihan, of Ireland itself, of the beauty and dignity which would return to Ireland when 'the Stranger' [the English] had been repelled."

Despite epitomising Ireland itself, Gonne, however, failed in many ways to live up to the ideals so strongly advocated by the Catholic and nationalist discourses of ideal womanhood. Her autobiography leaves untouched many details of her private life which have been discussed by posterity (see, for example, Sawyer 1993). She had two illegitimate children, one of whom died in infancy, with the French politician and journalist Lucien Millevoye, and her relationship with fellow nationalist John MacBride ended in the civil dissolution of their marriage. In her autobiography, Gonne mentions none of these deviations from the norms; in *SQ*, she presents Lucien Millevoye as her political ally, only refers to her illegitimate daughter Iseult as her "niece", and ends her narrative in the year 1903 and her marriage to MacBride, leaving the details of their unsuccessful married life thus untold. Most importantly, Gonne failed to fulfill the role of an ideal Irish woman by taking up the fight against the British Empire in a 'masculine' way –in the public sphere.

Against such a backdrop, it becomes interesting to examine the ways in which Gonne deals with the topic of marriage and family life in her life story, and the kinds of meanings she attaches to them. Next, I will outline my approach to examining her autobiography.

3. Aim and approach

Maud Gonne's autobiography can be conceptualised as a discursive space in which the norms discussed above are negotiated through drawing on different discourses and forming different discursive configurations. One specific textual feature through which different discourses and subject positions can be introduced and negotiated in texts is discourse representation, the representation of speech, thought or writing. Following Fairclough (e.g. 1999), I regard discourse representation as a form of intertextuality. Broadly, through an examination of intertextuality, it is possible to investigate "how texts selectively draw upon *orders of discourse* – the particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances" (Fairclough 1999: 184; emphasis original). When applied to investigating how gendered identities are discursively constructed in texts, intertextual analysis "can help to foreground traces of the type of hybridization that occurs when new and old gendered paradigms coexist in tension with one another" (Walsh 2001: 29). In the case of Maud Gonne's autobiography, this hybridisation can be illustrated through an examination of the theme of marriage and family life in the text, and how this theme is dealt with by a woman who, as was discussed above, in many ways questioned the prevailing ideals of Irish womanhood.

Discourse representation, by introducing different characters, and, consequently, potentially different voices and discourses into texts, can be a powerful means of identity construction. Thus, discourse representation does not only serve different textual functions (such as dramatising, evaluating or legitimating), but it is also linked to power structures and the distribution of power in discursively creating social identities for people (Caldas-Coulthard 1994: 303-4, 307; see also Talbot 1995). As Sunderland (2004: 143) points out, "Dialogue allows for a range or alternative and perhaps oppositional discourses, as well as dominant ones, and for the former to constitute an implicit or explicit challenge to the latter." This, as will be illustrated by the examples analysed below, is exactly what takes place in Gonne's life story, in which instances of discourse representation abound.

Next, through an analysis of a few select examples, I will examine the different forms and functions of discourse representation in Gonne's autobiography, and how these instances of represented speech and thought contribute to her identity construction.

4. Marriage: The last thing to think about

My first example, although a very short one, is also an extremely telling one. Gonne's blossoming interest in the Irish republican movement and its goals and ideals constructs her as a specific type of woman, as is illuminated through the represented speech of others. Her friend Lilla, who "had just become engaged to a young Scandinavian [...] and was very happy", "was very anxious to find a fiancé for me [...] But marriage was the last thing I was thinking about. 'You are such a strange girl,' she would say." (*SQ*: 74-5). Through Lilla's speech, the discourse of the ideal womanhood is introduced into the text, as Gonne's 'strangeness' only becomes understandable to the reader if she or he shares the presupposition embedded in Lilla's utterance that fiancés and marriage was, in fact, what Gonne was supposed to have been thinking about instead of Irish politics. Thus, the idea of fulfilling one's womanhood through finding a husband looms in the background, and in fact sets an interesting backdrop to the rest of the narrative; the story is constructed as a story of a strange, exceptional girl. Finding a fiancé and marrying, however, is not presented as a viable plan. In the next example, Gonne again represents the speech of two different women –one representing the private and the other, namely herself, representing the public sphere.

One of the many activities that Gonne engaged in to promote the cause of Irish republicans was canvassing in England; by ensuring that the political powers in England were sympathetic to the idea of Irish republicanism, the republicans tried to pave the way for Irish independence. The following extract is part of Gonne's description of her actions in trying to ensure that the election results in a Lancashire by-election are not unfavourable to the nationalists. The Salvation Army is presented as a strong social force in the area, and it is Gonne's responsibility to talk to the Salvation Army Captain and convince him that his people should not vote for the Conservatives, as their election victory would be harmful to the republicans. As Gonne calls on the Captain, he, conveniently, is not at home, and Gonne engages in a conversation with "his pretty young wife" (*SQ*:121):

> "Kitchens are cosy places," I said. "Let me come into yours and we can talk while you are preparing dinner."
> "I would liked to have heard you speak [about the situation in Ireland in a public meeting] last night; some of our people came in after and said you were better than the men. I always say women are more convincing. They do wonderful work in the Army." She pointed to a very attractive baby playing on the floor of the spotless kitchen: "I used to lead the singing often, but now I can't get out much because of her." We compared notes on stage-fright and I confessed that I had never made a speech till last night. (*SQ*: 122)

The setting, or the realm of the Salvation Army Captain's wife is the kitchen, and her activities consist of preparing dinner, looking after the baby and cleaning (note the 'spotless' kitchen). The two women are presented in sharp contrast to one another; the public sphere is Gonne's sphere of life, whereas the Captain's wife is confined to the home and "can't get out much". In the represented speech of the anonymous wife, women as a group are established as inherently adept at public speaking, as is evident from not only from the wife's utterance but also from Gonne's confession at the end of the extract –she had never given a speech before, and yet outperformed men.

This piece of discourse representation thus presents Gonne as the antithesis of the Captain's wife, and positions her in the public sphere, away from children and cleaning. It also constructs Gonne as a skilled and eloquent public speaker, and this ability is also attributed to all women collectively. The dialogue can be interpreted as a criticism of confining women to their homes. Furthermore, having women confined to the private sphere is presented as a waste of human resources, as women are "more convincing" in public life than men are. Secondly, this could be interpreted as an expression of solidarity to women who, unlike Gonne, have not had the possibility to act in the public sphere. Most importantly, however, Gonne herself is established as an exceptional woman and, while representing all women as good speakers, it is ultimately Gonne's contribution to the nationalist movement that is represented as important.

Towards the end of *SQ*, the theme of marriage is again foregrounded more explicitly (or actually backgrounded, as will become evident), this time through a more indirect form of discourse representation. Here, Gonne deals with the prospect of receiving a proposal from John MacBride. As in the first example, Gonne presents herself as preoccupied with something else than marriage:

> He [John MacBride] was returning to France and asked me to meet him in Paris. He had asked me to marry him in America and I had replied that marriage was not in my thoughts while there was a war on and there was always an Irish war on. I feared it might be that personal reason that was bringing him to France, but I hoped there might be a more interesting reason. (*SQ*: 342)

The choice to represent MacBride's proposal and Gonne's refusal to consider it as indirect speech lessens the dramatic effect of the proposal, and downplays the significance of the whole dialogue. A "Will you marry me?"-type of dialogue would have been more dramatic and conventional, and the way Gonne embeds the proposal in her narrative only in passing serves to distance Gonne from the conventional womanhood; it is as if she had forgotten to discuss it earlier or simply did not consider it important enough to be discussed earlier. The effect of downplaying the whole affair is heightened by its place in the overall narrative, as instead of recounting it while discussing their time together on a lecture tour in America (*SQ*: 310-313) where they went to promote the cause of Irish republicanism, Gonne only refers to it later on in the narrative, as is indicated by the use of tense here ('had asked', 'had replied'). Further, she represents marriage as simply uninteresting, and, as in the representation of the words of her friend Lilla, she adopts a position in which she places the country's interest before her own. This can be interpreted as Gonne drawing on the nationalist discourse, and, more specifically, its demand of self-sacrifice in putting the country's interest before one's own, personal interests. However, Gonne can be said to assume the (masculine) position of an ideal nationalist rather than the ideal woman; while there is an Irish war on – and there always is – she cannot contemplate fulfilling her role as a woman but rather chooses a life in the public sphere.

4. Marriage would be such a dull affair

The theme of self-sacrifice is also embedded in the following extract, representing Gonne in dialogue with W. B. Yeats.

> Next day when he [Yeats] called to take me out to pay my customary visit to the Lia Fail ['The Stone of Destiny', a magical stone appearing in Celtic mythology], he said:
>
> "You don't take care of yourself as Kathleen [Gonne's younger sister] does, so she looks younger than you; your face is worn and thin; but you will always be beautiful, more beautiful than anyone I have known. You can't help that. Oh Maud, why don't you marry me and give up this tragic struggle and live a peaceful life? I could make such a beautiful life for you among artists and writers who would understand you."
>
> "Willie, are you not tired of asking that question? How often have I told you to thank the gods that I will not marry you. You would not be happy with me."
>
> "I am not happy without you."
>
> "Oh yes, you are, because you make beautiful poetry out of what you call your unhappiness and you are happy in that. Marriage would be such a dull affair. Poets should never marry. The world should thank me for not marrying you. I will tell you one thing, our friendship has meant a great deal to me; it has helped me often when I needed help, needed it perhaps more than you or anyone ever knew, for I never talk or even think of these things."
>
> "Are you happy or unhappy?" he asked.
>
> "I have been happier and unhappier than most, but I don't think about it. You and I are so different in this. It is a great thing to know one can never suffer again as much as one has suffered; it gives one great calm and great strength and makes one afraid of nothing. I am interested in the work I have undertaken; that is my life and I live, - while so many people only exist. Those are the people to be pitied, those who lead dull, uneventful lives; they might as well be dead in the ground. And now, Willie, let us talk of the Lia Fail. You know I hate talking of myself; I am not going to let you make me." (*SQ*: 318-19)

Looking at the overall structure, and the length of the turns, Yeats' turns, except for the first one, are conspicuously shorter than Gonne's. Their brevity, however, does in no way diminish their significance in the dialogue, as they have important functions as regards Gonne's identity construction. In Yeats' first turn, Gonne is represented in the familiar, feminine terms (beautiful), but she is also contrasted with her sister Kathleen who, unlike Maud, takes care of herself, and thus her face is not "worn and thin". In the "tragic struggle" of fighting against the British Empire Gonne has sacrificed what is one of the most precious things to a woman –her looks. Married life with Yeats and acting in the republican movement are given opposite meanings, the former positive ("beautiful") and the latter negative ("tragic"). The presupposition embedded in the last sentence of Yeats' first turn also contributes to the representation of these two spheres of life in opposing terms, as it is implied that Gonne is misunderstood, unlike she would be "among artists and writers". This misunderstanding could point to Gonne's identity as a woman, which complicated her actions as a republican acting in the public sphere –within the home she would be 'understood'.

The presentation of Yeats as 'popping the question' repeatedly represents Gonne as a loyal republican, who, despite reoccurring offers of a "beautiful life" chooses to pursue the "tragic struggle". Although on the surface Gonne's first turn, as well as Yeats' next statement ("I am not happy without you.") and Gonne's reply to it are about Yeats' happiness (as 'Poets should never marry.'), they allow Gonne to elaborate on the theme of happiness. More importantly, this allows for Gonne's representation of marriage as a "dull affair" and the expression of her disregard for the whole issue of personal relationships ("I never talk or even think of these things.").

Towards the end of the dialogue, Yeats again plays an important part in eliciting information from Gonne ("Are you happy or unhappy?"), allowing Gonne to offer a further negative evaluation of married life, and of those who lead such lives, as they "only exist" and "lead dull, uneventful lives". Gonne's work, on the other hand, allows her to "live". Republicanism, thus, in sharp contrast to the conventional married life which is dull and uninteresting, gains adventure-like qualities, and is represented as a possibility to escape the confines of the home and marriage –the essential building blocks of traditional, ideal femininity.

To summarise, this lengthy piece of represented dialogue contributes in a number of ways to Gonne's identity construction as a good, loyal republican. She is represented as having turned down several proposals from Yeats, and consequently abandoned what is represented as an easier life, instead continuing her "tragic struggle". She is also represented as selfless and self-sacrificing (loss of good looks, although she is still represented in the traditional, conventional terms as beautiful), qualities certainly attached to good republicans. This representation of Gonne as a selfless, dutiful republican and above all in the service of the nation's common cause is further emphasised by the way in which the dialogue is framed; the dialogue starts off with the mention of Gonne's "customary" visits to the Lia Fail, and ends with the same theme. Attributing the quality "customary" to her visit, and preferring the topic of Lia Fail to the more personal ones ("And now, Willie, let us talk of the Lia Fail. You know I hate talking of myself; I am not going to let you make me") amount to the perception of Gonne as a dutiful and self-sacrificing nationalist; she simply does not have either the time or the wish to think about herself, as the service for the nation takes up her time.

5. Discussion

As regards the ideal Irish womanhood, Gonne explicitly mentions and acknowledges her 'strangeness' and deviation from the norm. Moreover, throughout the examples discussed here she attaches negative qualities to the model of the ideal womanhood and the sphere of domestic life. In general, marriage in Maud Gonne's autobiography is represented as an undesirable choice. Marriage on one hand and active participation in the public sphere, or, more specifically, in the nationalist movement, gain sharply different meanings, as the private sphere is labelled as 'dull' and 'uneventful' as opposed to the public sphere, which gains positive, even adventure-like meanings. Furthermore, family life for women appears as a waste of human resources, as women are inherently more capable than men to speak in public.

Most importantly, the instances of represented discourse analysed here, although on the surface addressing the theme of marriage and family life, have the function of establishing a strong, dutiful republican identity for Gonne, emphasising self-sacrifice as one of her defining qualities. The ideal Irish womanhood with its demand for marriage, motherhood and family life is juxtaposed in these instances of discourse representation with the demands put forward in the republican discourse. In a sense, Gonne's autobiography constructs two types of self-sacrifice in oppositional terms: the self-sacrificing mother, embedded in the ideal Irish womanhood promoted both by the Catholic church and the discourse of Irish nationalism, is abandoned in favour of a male republican self-sacrifice, in which an individual sacrifices her personal life for the benefit of public good by acting in the public sphere. It can thus be argued that in the instances of represented dialogue examined here, by distancing herself from the other women and from the ideal Irish womanhood in general, Gonne assumes not the traditional feminine identity, but the masculine position of a republican soldier who acts in the interest of her (his!) country in a 'male' fashion. She is simply unable to perform her role as a 'woman' while there are more important things to attend to.

Finally, Gonne's autobiography can be viewed as an apology, or as a defence of her actions as an 'unconventional' woman. Through these instances of represented discourse emerges a woman who, although attaching positive meanings to her choices as her actions have provided her with a sense of purpose in her life, has made sacrifices in order to promote the republican ideals. Thus, it can be said that these instances of discourse representation also function as justifications for her actions, perhaps attempting to make her choices more acceptable to the assumed readers who condemn her for abandoning the ideal model of Irish womanhood.

To conclude, as Liljeström (2004: 11) points out, "Autobiographical texts perform influential political and ideological work. They are assimilated into political agendas, and they construct and codify gendered selves." Although Gonne's autobiography is very illuminating as regards the subject positions available for women in the early twentieth-century Ireland, and especially for those women actively contributing to the nationalist movement, her life story has not been allowed to "perform influential political and ideological work". Unlike autobiographies by Irish republican men, which "have been instrumental in shaping the ways in which republicans have been historicised" (Ryan 2004: 46), women's autobiographies have not been granted similar status, although through an examination of them we would gain insights into the gendered nature of Irish nationalism and the nationalist discourse. One way of investigating women's autobiographical texts is studying discourse representation in them. The examples discussed above illustrate not only the many forms of discourse representation but also its function and importance as a textual strategy in establishing social identities for people through the introduction of different characters and, consequently, of different, at times competing discourses into texts.

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(Sexy) Fragments of a Lover's Discourse

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Abstract

This paper analyses romance novels, a genre of popular literature which has enjoyed very little critical acclaim, and has accumulated over time a series of prejudices and negative associations. The author vindicates both romances and their readerships –they involve entertainment as well as the pleasure of reading, and constitute a typically 'feminine' genre, as they voice the shared experience of women, a set of shared and familiar interests, not only through processes of female narrative perspective, but also through the articulation of a feminine real –sexual, material, emotional– that makes the reader feel she is at home, in contexts and practices she perceives as her own.
Key words: *romance novels ~ popular literature ~ gender*

1. Introduction

Since no other genre has been more neglected than romance, I am probably expected to start by adopting a defensive position that could explain or justify my interest in these narratives. If you ever have been romance readers or soap opera viewers, I'm sure you have felt guilty about enjoying a kind of narrative that is consistently ridiculed by high culture and "serious" media. It is interesting to notice that when it comes to romance, society has always felt free to judge not only the literature (there is nothing wrong in this, this is what we do everyday), but the reader herself. The books are regarded as trash and their readers as unintelligent, uneducated, unsophisticated, neurotic or complicit with patriarchy and capitalism. I must admit that I have felt myself a victim

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 636-651.

of these critical prejudices and when years ago, in academic and feminist circles I was asked about my research topic I always answered with elusive terms such as “popular female literature”; “popular narratives for women” or –this one definitely safeguarded my reputation— “gynocentric texts”. When, since I persisted in reading romances and, what is worse, even enjoying them, sometimes I was caught up “in flagrante delicto”, I had to explain my colleagues that my curiosity about “la novela rosa” was simply academic; that my approach was to be basically “sociological or discursive” (the literary one was, of course, disregarded in this kind of texts), and that I would apply such theoretical concepts as “intertextuality”, “liminality” and “cultural studies” that allowed more fluidity between the canonical and the marginal.

Thank God I have grown up and overcome these prejudices. All these years I have found fascinating that other popular genres –mystery, fantasy, sci-fi, western, horror— never have to be justified or explained. No other genre needs so much defending or excusing as romance. Tania Modleski has noticed the grandiloquent tone of the titles of many critical studies about male popular genres (11): “The Gangster as a Tragic Hero” (Warshaw), “Thrillers: the deviant behind the consensus” (Palmer) and *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (Wright). A critical attitude that can be contrasted with that existing towards romances in some illustrative titles like “Soft Porn Culture” (Douglas), “Paperback Virgins” (O’Toole), “Pulp in the Pink” (Batsleer), “Pornography for Women” (Snitow), Guilt without Sex (Margolies) or “The Tempestous, Tumultuous, Turbulent, Torrid and Terribly Profitable World of Paperback Passion” (Turner), *The Alienated Reader: Women and Popular Romantic Fiction in the 20th Century* (Fowler), “An unsuitable genre for a feminist?” (Kaplan).

What I find particularly irritating about the low esteem romance has always triggered in academic and media circles is, I insist, that judgement is not on the literature but on the readers, who are taken as vulnerable, easily impressed and duped by these escapist fantasies. It is funny that this is a very old story: the same 18th century patronising views about the dangers of female novel reading. Indeed we can always argue that most popular fiction is based on fantasies, creations of the imagination that are not intended to conform to real life. Most people understand or accept the way in which fantasy works when they sit down to read books by, for instance, Robert Ludlum, Stephen King or Dan Brown. Most critics understand that readers know the difference between real life and fantasy, but for some reason, when it comes to romance novels, critics worry about whether readers will be able to tell the difference between what is real and what is not. I do not want to sound too touchy, but is it because most romance readers are women that they are being treated as if they were vulnerable children who do not know where fiction stops and real life begins?

Actually, it is this assumption of the vulnerability and inferiority of romance readers what seems to lie behind the work of many critics of the genre who try to explain its popularity with psychological arguments such as its therapeutic, compensatory and self-helping value. Tania Modleski, *Loving with a Vengeance: Mass-produced Fantasies for Women* (1984)*;* Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance* (1987); and Carol Thurston, *The Romance Revolution: Erotic Novels for Women and the Quest for a New Sexual Identity* (1987) would exemplify this new tendency in romance criticism. After exhaustive ethnographic research on women as readers and viewers of romance, these critics conclude that romantic narratives provide an escape from powerlessness, from meaninglessness and lack of self-esteem; that they compensate women for their emotional, sexual and financial dissatisfaction; that they answer a set of female desires and needs that are produced by, but cannot be fulfilled within patriarchal culture.

It is true that the escapist dimension of romance is reinforced by its editorial advertising policies. The ad for Mills & Boon reads: "*Escape into a world of love and adventure"* and the one for Harlequin reads: *"Your passport to a dream of romance and adventure"*. But I would not take this commercial strategy as a critical parameter.

I seems to me that if we mystify the vicarious dimension of the genre we end up patronizing its readers and viewing them as poor, dull, frustrated housewives who have to be compensated with the stories of these adventurous and charming heroines. It is as if we were assuming that, in reading romances, the failures and deficiencies of these women are to be temporarily replaced by the emotional, sexual, professional victories of these assertive, independent and sexy heroines.

I think that, somehow, this kind of argument paradoxically perpetuates female victimization. Although the genre has recently been approached in more sympathetic or benevolent terms, even by feminists (the books I have mentioned above would illustrate this new critical attitude), it is a fact that in scholar criticism of romance there is a strong sense of the reader as the Other (I myself am referring to the readers as "they" as opposed to "us"), the Other as someone less analytic, less educated and enlightened, someone whose tastes and fantasies have to be justified on social and psychological grounds.

It is time to overcome these prejudices and vindicate the pleasure of reading, the entertainment factor, that is so important when it comes to popular culture. Pleasure and entertainment are reasons enough for romance to have emerged, survived and evolved into its present multiple forms. In this postmodern world inhabited by intellectually skeptics, ideologically cynics, deconstructionists, and even by radical feminists and politically corrects (and I would include myself in any of these categories) we may ask how is it that the popularity of romances continues? The answer is FANTASY (in a broad sense, I'm not talking about texts populated by dragons, cyborgs and Draculas): I mean this momentary permission to enjoy and even identify with the story and its characters without necessarily having to be pitied or justified for it. Readers of romance are of course perfectly aware that they are not facing a realistic representation of the social world (indeed, here lies much of its attraction). However, romanticism and realism can coexist at different levels of our subjectivity. Stevie Jackson, one of the many feminists who has broken the silence about her forbidden desires and has "come out" as a secret fan of romance, argues that it is perfectly possible to be critical of heterosexual monogamy, critical of romantic fantasy and still fall passionately in love (56). It is already widely admitted that our subjectivities are contradictory, inconsistent and incoherent to that point, so it should not surprise us that romantic ideals are deeply embedded in our imagination even when we are critical of them at a conscious level. Similarly, it is possible to recognize that romantic love is a site of women's complicity in patriarchal relations while still admitting that it can be also a site of resistance. If we start assuming this argument, that love, as any other emotion, is a cultural construction that can be negotiated and contested, we can stop viewing romance simply as a means to brainwash women into patriarchal subordination.

But before going any further with the critical reception of romance narratives, it would be useful to offer a brief summary of their typical script:

The heroine, usually beautiful and unexperienced, is placed in a social limbo, that is, her family and friends are distant or invisible and her occupational realm is only vaguely filled. Consequently, her relationship with the hero takes place in a private sphere which excludes all concerns but their mutual attraction. The rest of the world functions simply as a backdrop or scenario, often exotic and luxurious, as determined by the hero's wealth and status (Jones 1986: 198-99). The hero, older than the heroine, is successful in his public life, but remains a mystery in his private one. He is sexually expert and considerably domineering. She tries constantly to interpret his behaviour, which alternates abruptly between tenderness and rejection. After a big misunderstanding of his true intentions (which are always good and decent), she finally accepts his motives and his offer of love and marriage

But this conventional formula has been recently updated by the editors to fit within the new models of masculinity and femininity. The presence of nurturing and caring men on the one hand, and heroic, cool-hearted or independent women on the other would exemplify the reversal of generic roles that is now taking place in contemporary romances. The formula has been also expanded as far as the female professional world is concerned, although most editors use women's work simply cosmetically, that is, to create a glamorous identity for the heroines (actresses, advertising designers, lawyers, consultants, and event scientists). When the romantic plot gets complicated, the woman's professional duties are minimized so that the love conflict can occupy the center stage and the heroine can dedicate her life to her man.

According to Rosalind Jones, “romance relation with feminism is only a flirtation”, that is, although writers can expand the formula in feminist and liberal directions, they should never trespass its basic romantic requirements (1986: 203). And it’s interesting to notice that despite the heroine’s feminist claims for sexual initiative or professional opportunities, it is always clear that the basic premise of romance goes unchallenged: the greatest goal and pleasure in a woman’s life is the love of her man.[1]

I have found similar contradictions and inconsistencies after the editorial attempts at enacting other politically correct discourses in the romantic story, and the effect is even more striking when this enactment takes place in historical romances. You may find, for instance, feudal heroines advocating for sexual freedom, contraception or economic independence; and what is worse, Viking warriors with environmental or pacifist concerns and Saxon lords who are benevolent and even sympathetic with homosexuality and physical disability.[2] Through these examples it is interesting to notice the perverse ways in which a medieval past can be re-created by trying to forcibly and very unconvincingly adjust these contemporary political discourses –feminism, environmentalism, post-colonialism, multiculturalism– into a totally unrelated historical scenario. At this point I have included two quotes from historical romances that might help to illustrate these strategies. In The Lord of Hawkfell Island the racial component (Rorik is a Viking warrior, and the heroine an Irish Celt) is clearly used to eroticize the difference, and therefore, very deliberately incorporated to the sexual crescendo of the story:

1 By echoing Marxist terminology, Rosalind Jones draws a careful analysis of the conflicts between feminism as an “emergent” ideology and romance as a “residual” one, and groups them into three kinds of contradiction: narrative discontinuity, irreconcilable settings, and inconsistency in realist dialogue (1986: 204-210).

2 Beyond these more or less comic examples, probably we should start looking at these editorial policies more suspiciously, because these efforts to make romances more politically or ideologically respectable, by introducing controversial issues and forcing characters to take a position about them, might be hiding the old elitist attitude that assumes the inferiority of the masses and thus their need to be morally trained.

> Rorik was indeed a handsome man. She'd seen him naked and found him interesting, more than interesting, truth be told, fascinating. His body intriguing, so very different from hers, all bronced and lightly furred with golden hair, his body lean, his strength exciting as it was deadly, aye those differences were dazzling, they made her eager to know more, to learn things she'd never really considered significant before. He was dangerous and that made her want to test those boundaries as well, for she imagined that it was all tied up in his warrior's essence. He was dangerous and he was vital, and she wanted to learn about him, all of him. (*Lord of Hawkfell Island* 73)

The second example is from a time-travel romance (one of the favourite formulas): Here the heroine is a prim and beautiful 1990s professor of archaeology who rescues a 1000 year-old Scandinavian sword out of which Thorn, a magnificent Viking warrior, victim of an old curse, appears. Again, historical, cultural and racial confrontation plays a very specific erotic function as the journey motif becomes a process of mutual discovery:

> By the time his licking turned into kissing Roseleen was a squirming mass of sensitized nerves that reacted to Thorn's slightest touch. And her perception of medieval man was changed forever.
> All of her historical research and studies had led her to believe that in those days, sex had been a tiresome, though necessary duty governed by the Church. And duty had been tended to quickly and efficiently. Also, medieval attitudes had held women as valueless unless they owned property. Both of those facts supported the conclusion that women wouldn't have been given much care or tenderness by men, and certainly not the kind of stimulating foreplay Roseleen had just been so generously treated to.
> And Thorn wasn't done. He might come from a pagan era that preceded Church intervention in the bedroom, but Vikings had an even worse reputation with women. Rapers and pillagers just didn'd call to mind pictures of gentle, sensitive sexual partners, yet her Viking was being just that. Whereas his tongue had been stimulating, his kisses were incredibly hot. Or maybe it was her skin that was hot. (*Until Forever* 182)

Actually, courtship is the real focus of these stories because it is regarded as that period in the heroines's lives in which they have to test their abilities to negotiate the conflict between male desire and long-term commitment (a negotiation which reminds us too much of Richardson's *Pamela* to go unnoticed). But probably the basic aspect of romantic love that is projected though a completely female gendered perspective is sex. Although it is not supposed to be the basis of the relationship, the sexual tension is all pervasive, it permeates the entire text to such an extent that one ends up wondering "why do they call it love when they mean sex?" It is a fact that in romance narratives emotional tension and sexual arousal are made to interact in complex ways that critics have related to specific manifestations of female eroticism. Thus the frequent interruption of sex scenes, the overall delaying structure of the plot, the strong emphasis on foreplay and the preliminaries of the sexual act may well correspond to many women's experience of sex as better in anticipation (Thurston 156-58). Every single element in these novels seems to be endowed with an erotic load and structured around this aforementioned tension: the one that exists between romantic emotion and sexual arousal. It is precisely the relevance of this tension which allows and invites the use of erotic euphemisms, a rethorical device that has been interpreted also in relation to women's distinct sexuality. Euphemisms help formulate an evocative, suggestive, imaginative, insinuating experience, which are precisely the terms in which psychological research has defined female sexuality, as opposed to a more visual, genital-centered male sexuality. At this point I would like to mention a sociology research work comparing two types of sexual material that popular culture represents as proper examples of fantasy for men and women. [3]The material chosen as properly representative fantasy for men is the Forum column in *Penthouse* magazine,and the material chosen as representative fantasy for women is the historical romance. The conclusions of this comparative analysis evidence that the socially acceptable fantasies for men and women differ greatly. The acceptable male fantasy presented in the Forum letters in *Penthouse* magazine is one in which a man and a woman, often strangers, meet and enjoy a highly-charged sexual encounter with no emotional strings attached. The fantasy often includes other partners, varying forms of sex, lesbianism (male homosexuality is often excluded), and voyeurism; it is described in

[3] Stampley, G. "The Historical Romance vs. The Penthouse Forum". Available at http://www.whiterose.org/ginger/writing/romance.html#17.

explicit detail and by using words that are often vulgar. Contrastingly, the acceptable female fantasy concerns a young, considerably unexperienced woman and her lover, with whom she enters into an exclusive relationship, often ended in marriage, and with whom she has repeated sexual encounters that are enhanced for both parties by the love they share. The language used to describe their encounters is more euphemistic and never crude.

Whether we want to agree or disagree to these popular stereotypes about male and female eroticism, at least we must admit that euphemistic passages help stimulate readers' imagination and reinforce their expectations about sexual representation in romances. That is why clinical, mechanical or obscene terms are rarely used and when used, they are received unsympathetically by most romance readers, who confess that although they find sex scenes sexually stimulating, they can feel turned off by the use of crude language (Thurston 1987: 149).

To illustrate this I have picked up several quotes that I'd like to analyse in some detail. I have decided to open this sort of "romanticised version of the Kama Sutra" with the kiss, because the kissing scenes are intentionally titillating and they can be considered the first erotic explosion in the relationship:

> In the next instant his lips were on hers, and his fiery kiss warmed her to the core of her being, twisting, bruising, demanding. His mouth moved hungrily over hers, forcing hers to open beneath his mounting ardor. His tongue played upon her lips, then slipped within to taste leisurely the full sweetness of her mouth ... She was held in an unyielding vise, her waist clamped beneath his arm, and her soft breasts crushed against his chest. His hand slid downward over her buttock, pressing her to him until she could not ignore the evidence of his burning passion ... (*A Rose in Winter* 94)

Such seductive kisses and the passion they arouse are one way in which a man or a woman can identify his or her true love.

In a similar fashion, desire and its bodily symptoms are also formulated in a highly codified language (let's take, for instance the "evidence of his burning passion" in the quote above). Here nature metaphores and biological determinism are quite common, as in the following example, where the conventional image of the fire is exhaustively employed:

> He was burning for her in a white-hot heat that inflamed his every pore...and his mind was scorched with orange flames and fogged with a dark, dense smoke. His body was still on fire, molten desire surging through his veins. (*Worth Waiting For* 46)

"Storms of desire", "rushing rivers" and "floods of ecstasy" are also recurrent formulas for these situations. When the sexual act properly is approached, authors make use of a prolific repertoire of euphemistic clichés that perfectly depict the traditional generic roles. The warfare imagery that is over-explicit in the next quotes illustrate this heteronormative representation, that is, there is no doubt about which actions and attitudes are to be expected from to each lover:

> Killing her softly with his weapon, he was encompassed by her body and they lay still, panting like gladiators evenly matched who salute each other before renewing the struggle. (*Mistral's Daughter* 155)
> Tired with the battle he raised her for his invasion. With a sure instinct, his powerful body overwhelmed hers, leaving Meg a languid, drained suplicant. (*The Winter Heart* 110)

Despite the editors' claim that euphemisms are a thing of the past, realistic anatomical language is still avoided in lovemaking scenes, probably because authors are too worried to achieve the heightening effect they are going for in these passages. It is not because adult romance readers are so conservative that they cannot tolerate frank language about sexual matters, but because, in the context of these stories, sexiness has to be tempered by romanticism –that is, what is sexy has to be also romantic–, and this complex balance is achieved through careful stylistic choices. At this point, I found particularly fascinating the references to the protagonists' genitalia, and I have picked up several examples of these codified representations of both male and female "unnameable parts". As for male genitalia, a sample list would include: "the full length of him" (*Brave the Wild Wind* 102); "the essence of his masculinity" (*Love Storm* 153); "the pressure of his tender yet urgent manhood" (*A High Price to Pay* 161); "The fullness within her" (*A Moment of Magic* 184); or "the warm granite of his need" (*Defiant Love* 82). As regards female genitalia, examples such as "her soft womanhood" (*A Moment of Magic* 184); "the most exquisitely sensitive point of her" (*Defiant Love* 159); "the tangled heat of her femininity"(*Catspaw* 216); "the key to all her frenzy" (*Sweetheart Contract* 121)**;** "the core of her sensitiveness" (*A Little Magic* 138); and "the warm, moist vulnerability of her" (*A High Price to Pay* 162) would be illustrative enough. Similarly writers display all kinds of fireworks and pyrotechnic excesses during climax. So when she reaches orgasm they say that she: "reached her zenith"; "crested in waves"; "splintered apart"; "quivered in waves of pleasure", or that her "warmth flooded her".

It seemed appropriate to include a full quote that contains all kinds of euphemisms for female sexual response (for both the heroine's genitals and orgasm). Here, oral sex is represented with a visual-emotional imagery that depicts the woman's body as the shrine at which the hero worships:

> She felt like a pagan goddess with Blackheart kneeling in front of her, slowly worshipping her body with his mouth and fingers. She felt decadent and sinful and gloriously alive, and when his mouth sank lower to the tangled heat of her femininity, her heart and soul emptied in a rush of pleasure, so heady that she had to brace herself against his strong shoulders or lose her balance ….Her body trembled against his mouth, and the world began to slip away, bit by bit, until it finally shattered in a tumbled rush, and her body convulsed in a white-hot heat of love. (*Catspaw* 216)

The blasphemous overtones of sinfulness have their counterpart in the work of more conservative authors (like Barbara Cartland, the "queen mother" of romance), where sex scenes are apparently less explicit and euphemisms less specific about organs and actions. The conventional motif of "body language" would account comprehensively for the entire relationship and would replace the detailed descriptions of other novels:

> The language they used was the language of the gods, and the love they expressed with their lips, their hearts and their bodies was the manifestation of love which both men and gods used since the beginning of time. (*The Passion and the Flower* 157)
> And then, once again, they were speaking the language of lovers, that is as old and as wonderful as time itself. (*Jet Nurse* 188)

But observed in more detail, these linguistic options are *only apparently* chaste. Sometimes, the euphemistic signifier acquires a mystical tone that ends up calling attention upon the signifieds in a way their prudish authors would never have suspected: "With a kiss he carried her up towards the stars that were now shining in the sky outside" (*Love for Sale* 187); "He carried Magnolia on waves of ecstasy into the starlit sky" (*Dollars for the Duke* 201). With the idea of elevation or expressions like "waves of ecstasy" one might conclude, that, though the intention is good (at least decent), the effect is perverse, that is, most eloquent, for romance readers, already familiarized with this kind of associations.

At this point, I'd like to mention a very interesting work by Rosalynn Voaden, where she compares modern romances with the testimonies of medieval mystics. Although the two genres may seem strange bedfellows, these two representations of women's experience do reveal important similarities. This critic points out that in many cases, the language to express the unitive visions is sexual and highly erotic. The visionaries see themselves as the receptive and passionate brides and lovers of Christ, yearning to be united with His bleeding crucified body (79). In the quote that follows, one of these women, Hadewijch of Brabant, describes the moment of consummation, the climatic union with God, as endowed with a sort of orgasmic intensity:

> With that he came in the form and clothing of a Man… wonderful and beautiful and with glorious face, he took me entirely in his arms, and pressed me to him; and all my members felt his in full felicity, in accordance with the desire of my heart and my humanity … I could no longer recognize or perceive him outside me, and could no longer distinguish him within me. Then it was to me as if we were one without difference. (Petroff 1986: 196)

It seems to me that searching for literary connections of modern romance is relevant inasmuch as we can trace the formula many centuries back: from the aristocratic stories of classical antiquity, to the medieval and Renaissance manifestations of courtly love, the seduction plots of 18th century France and England, the Victorian sensation novels and melodramas, to the contemporary Mills & Boon or Harlequin series. Yet, for some critics and historians (Radford, Pawling) this journey would be a chronicle of decadence in that none of romance's original elegance has been retained and the present version is just a lightweight commercial kind of subliterature that is object (together with its readers) of trivialization and contempt. Although I disagree with such simplistic accounts of literary and social change, at least I would like to point out that there are two common features in this wide spectrum of genres which still function as the pivotal elements around which most critical works about romance are built: the prioritization of the sentimental and the feminine focus. Yet, my main objection to this kind of genre-based analyses is that, to a great extent, they do not take into account the historical conditions in which both the production and the reception of the romantic formula take place, and therefore, assume a universal, transhistorical dimension of the genre. When it comes to heterosexual love, it is true that we have to stress its "typicality", but not its universality.[4] It is precisely for this reason that I prefer to adopt the concept of "discourse" instead of the concept of "structure" for my analysis of romance fiction.[5] Instead of trying to explain the mechanics of romantic love according to a single (typical) model, a discursive paradigm allows for plurality and contradiction within the genre. This advantage is significant when dealing with sentimentality, but it is even more important when dealing with femininity, because it excludes the assumption of a stable, never-changing female subject, and the all-too-

[4] A book that explores the "typicality" of romantic love and after which I have titled this article, is Roland Barthes' *Fragments of a Lover's Discourse*. In this magnificent sentimental encyclopaedia, the French critic presents the classic love affair in a series of alphabetically ordered figures or *topoi*, arranged around the climatic moment of falling in love. The fact that, Goethe, Freud, Lacan or Sartre are cited in the margin of this typical lover's discourse seems to reinforce the idea that when it comes to love, everything is already written, already scripted.
[5] Sánchez-Palencia (1997).

quoted idea that popular formulaic literature simply naturalizes a certain set of beliefs and perpetuates the status quo. If, as suggested above, emotions are situated discourses (culturally and historically), then romance fiction requires an exploration of the different complicities and resistances of women to its representations of femininity and sentimentality.

In the cultural construction of female gendered audiences, romance industry resorts to discursive strategies that are usually ignored in most critical approaches. In reading these narratives, it is easy to perceive the illusion of a collective experience, a set of shared and familiar interests, not only through processes of female narrative perspective, but also –and more important— through the articulation of a feminine realm –sexual, material, emotional— that makes the reader feel she is at home, in contexts and practices she perceives as her own. At this point I would like to finish by emphasizing the figure of the consumer, to compensate what I consider one of the major weaknesses of romance criticism. I am referring to its failure to recognize the institutional matrix (conformed by commercial and industrial factors) to explain the popularity of the genre. It seems to me that critics usually move from textual interpretation to sociological explanation to conclude that changes in the narrative features or the very popularity of the genres must be attributed to ideological transformations in the sorrounding culture. I do not deny that romance popularity may to a great extent be attributed to its appeal to women's beliefs, fantasies and needs; but I think that other factors (that are usually ignored by academic criticism) have to be brought to the forefront.

Thus, carefully devised production, distribution, advertising and marketing techniques are to be acknowledged definitely at the basis of romance million sales. One of the most important strategies is the editorial policy of superespecialization and diversification. The romance market has been customized to surprising extremes, by launching special lines and collections that try to fit the specific expectations and preferences of any section of the reading public. Different lines of category romances change or disappear, while new lines are created, but they all vary in length and emphasis and the underlying message seems to be that there is a romantic story for each romance reader, whatever her preferences or fantasies: you name it, you get it. A sample of the most popular lines of Harlequin series romances would include Blaze ("Harlequin's sexiest series yet! Red hot reads that you will want to get your hands on"); Duets ("A fun, entertaining 'lighter side of love' read that delivers romance with comedy"); Historicals ("Vivid historical romances that capture the imagination with their richness, passion and adventure"); and even Medical Romance ("Passionate love stories set in the dramatic world of modern medicine... where love is only a heartbeat away!")

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“Landscapes Of The Male Mind”: A Feminist Reading Of English Romantic Poetry

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Abstract

Of all the features associated with English Romanticism, landscape and subjectivity are, perhaps, the most inclusive and most evocative. The title of my paper captures the significance of feminist readings of the poetry by the “Big Six Romantics”: W. Blake, W. Wordsworth, S.T. Coleridge, Lord Byron, P.B. Shelley, and J. Keats. Gilbert and Gubar, Anne K. Mellor, Margaret Homans and Mary Poovey are some of the feminist critics here commented who denounced the patriarchal ideology pervading the representation of landscape in the poems by the “Big Six”. They read the so-called “romantic symbol” as the immaterial sublime guise that legitimises and perpetuates patriarchy and capitalism in early nineteenth century Britain.

With the representation of landscape as major argument and feminist readings as basis, this paper explores the exclusion of the female from the imaginative mind’s sublime experiences. Landscape and women in romantic poetry are intellectually and emotionally penetrated by the male poet’s gaze who, in turn, creates beautiful signifiers that effectively reproduce patriarchal relationships. Indeed, the growth of the romantic poet’s mind and its resultant symbol is only accomplished by appropriating landscape and the female, defining both as beautiful objects whose eventual fate, however, is denial and obliteration.

Key words: *Romantic ~ poetry ~ feminist ~ readings ~ landscape ~ subjectivity*

1. Introduction

Of all the features associated with English Romanticism, landscape and subjectivity are, perhaps, the most inclusive and most evocative. The examination of landscape as signifier in some of the major works by the

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 652-664.

romantics reasserts the centrality of M.H. Abrams's (1953) critique of Romantic poetry: all the romantics shared a strong attraction for the self as creative mind together with a profound desire for unity and immortality embodied in the aesthetic symbol. Yet, a complete reliance on Abrams's position entails some limitations. Himself a romanticist, Abrams misrecognized nature as mind, object as subject, organics as art, and, thus, willingly or unwillingly, failed to perceive the ideological implications involved in the celebration of romantic ideals. It was in the late 1960s that the first critical voices emerged to react against Abrams's approach and claim that romantic landscapes are *of* the mind and that the symbol is the immaterial guise that the subject's appropriation of landscape takes. In his influential *The Romantic Ideology* (1983), Jerome McGann concisely summarizes such a reaction:

> Like Hegel, Abrams offers a program of Romanticism rather than a critical representation of its character; as such, both reify certain key romantic self-conceptualizations like 'spirituality', 'creativity', 'process', 'uniqueness' and 'diversity'. Indeed, the concepts of 'synthesis' and 'reconciliation' lie at the very heart of Romanticism's self-representation and as such they must be subjected to critical analysis. The analysis is difficult to perform, however, since the ideologies of Romanticism seek to persuade us that such concepts are fundamental and, hence, they need not –cannot– be analyzed (32-33).

The analysis and questioning of romantic premises has primarily been done from three positions: Deconstruction, with its focus on the relation between romantic ideals and rhetorical structures; New Historicism, with its denunciation of both the romantic symbol and the poet's autonomy as a fantasies that legitimise capitalism in nineteenth century Britain; and Feminist Criticism, with its endeavour to reveal women's oppression behind the legitimation of the romantic ideology. Anne K. Mellor (1988) was one of the first critics who denounced the patriarchal ideology pervading the representation of landscape and subjectivity in English Romantic poetry. In *Romanticism and Gender* (1993), Mellor pays special attention to the construction of the beautiful and the sublime as aesthetic categories in Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and*

Beautiful [1757], a text that served as source of inspiration for romantic notions of self and landscape. In Mellor's own words:

> Burke's aesthetic classifications participated in… a powerful hegemonic sexual politics. As he constructed the category of the beautiful, Burke also constructed the image of the ideal woman… the sensuous and possessible beloved…Burke revealingly commented that 'we submit to what we admire but we love what submits to us' [Burke 1990: 103]. The ideal woman, then, is one who engages in a practice of what today we would call female masochism, willingly obeying the dictates of her sublime master. (108)

All throughout romantic poems, women and landscape are represented as feminine, as beautiful objects that "willingly obey", or effectively reproduce, the dictates of the male poets' sublime minds. With Mellor's critique as basis, this paper explores the contribution of Romantic poetry to discourses on gender, analysing in what ways the portrayal of the female as a source of morality, beauty and love actually legitimises and perpetuates patriarchal ideology.

2. Landscape and Women as a Moral Refuge in Romantic Poetry

One of the earliest and most immediate illustrations of romantic landscape *qua* moral refuge is found in what has traditionally been celebrated as "the landmark of English Romanticism" (Drabble 1985: 596): Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). In the "Preface" to the 1802 edition, Wordsworth marks his decision to choose the natural world (rather than towns or villages) to explore the "nature" of man because "the *essential passions of the heart* find better soil in which they can attain maturity" (Wu 2001: 357, my italics). All throughout the collection, poems celebrate the true self as a creature of feelings; landscape, in turn, plays a crucial role in the configuration of such an ideal. The natural world appears as a realm in which man, free from society's ills, may reflect on his true essence. Nature, in other words, becomes the stimulus for the poet to engage in a process of self-discovery, which concludes with the reassertion of man's own supreme and superior nature. In its concealment of irrational impulses, social oppression and death, romantic landscape serves as a fantasmatic screen that enables poets to speak with ultimate moral authority. Coleridge's "The Nightingale", for instance, celebrates landscape as a pure setting to reflect on true feelings as opposed to the insincerity of society. The poetic voice criticises the false associations of melancholy that have been constructed by poets around the nightingale's song, poets who "lose the deep'ning twilights of the spring/ in ballrooms and hot theatres" (36-7, Wu 2001: 212). Later on, he exclaims: "we may not thus profane/ Nature's sweet voices always full of/ Love and joyance" (41-3, Wu 2001: 212). Similarly, Wordsworth's "Lines written in Early Spring" also contrasts the peace and integrity of a beautiful landscape with "what man has made of man" and represents such a landscape as stimulus of the poet's pleasant feelings and nostalgia for a loss natural order: "I heard a thousand blended notes,/ while in a grove I sate reclined,/ In that sweet mood when pleasant thoughts/ Bring sad thoughts to the mind./ To her fair works did nature link/ The human soul that through me ran;/ And much it griev'd my heart to think/ What man had made of man" (1-8; Wu 2001: 233).

Wordsworth's "The Mad Mother" and "The Female Vagrant" further denounce the tragedies of an emerging industrial society and exalt not only landscape but also women as a source of moral behaviour. Both the female vagrant and the mad mother are portrayed as victims of social injustice who, as a result, attempt to find shelter in nature. The poetic voice in "The Mad Mother" reproduces the words of a helpless woman, excluded from social life. Apart from exalting the feelings of love the mother feels for her baby "Oh love me, love me little boy/ Thou are thy mother's only joy…he saves for me my precious soul" (41-2, 48; Wu 2001: 245), the poem exalts landscape as a retreat from corrupt civilization: "But safe in a cradle, here/ My lovely baby, thou shalt be…Thy father cares not for my breast…But he, poor man, is wretched made…We'll find thy father in the wood./ Now laugh and be gay, to the woods away,/ And there, my babe, we'll live for aye" (17-8, 61, 78, 98-100; Wu 2001: 244-46). Wordsworth's "The Female Vagrant" also presents the "artless" story of a poor woman, thus exhibiting again sensibility combined with humanitarian concerns for the life of the poor. The poetic voice reproduces too the words of the protagonist who begins remembering the happiness of the early years of her life. The bliss of those past moments was motivated by the love she received from her good, pious and honest father, and from her young lover, "whom I had loved so long that when I love him I cannot say" (64-5; Wu 2001: 217). But this love and bliss were soon destroyed first by a wealthy tyrannical neighbour who deprived his father of their humble cottage, and second by "sword and ravenous plague" that ended with the life of her young lover. Even though both poems are still nowadays read as instances of Wordsworth's "early humanitarianism" (Day 1996: 48) and concern for social problems, they constitute unambiguous proves of the poet's appropriation of women and landscape as objects of male desire. The actual motivations behind the sufferings of the mad mother and the female vagrant are not strictly found in poverty and war as in the loss of a male lover: the mad mother mourns for the baby's father, who now "cares not for my breast", and decides to find a substitute in the woods. Likewise, the female vagrant feels despair at the loss of two men: her pious father and her young lover. The despair of both female protagonists is determined by the loss of a man that aggrandizes their subjectivities as beautiful objects to be loved. Behind both female figures we can thus discover some kind of masculine, paternal identification: They are certainly enacting some fragile femininity (they are indeed helpless victims of social ills), but on the symbolic level both female protagonists are in fact identifying with the paternal gaze, which constricts their meaning as beautiful beings dependant on men.

3. Landscape and Women as Beautiful Creations of The Romantic Subject

The Romantics' appropriation of nature and women as "beings for the Other" not only served moral purposes; it also responded to existential anxieties, a response described by Mellor as follows: "By usurping the mother's womb, life-giving power, and feminine sensibilities, the male poet could claim to be God, the sole ruler of the world" (1993: 23).

Indeed, one of the defining traits of English Romantic poetry is the reformulation of the subject of certainty as creative Imagination, a faculty through which man perceives, creates and controls the world around him, including women and the natural world. This is, in Abrams's opinion, the essential Romantic achievement, what he calls "natural supernaturalism" (1973): the secularization of the supernatural powers of God, now "naturally" transferred to the mind of man. Abrams, however, fails to perceive the ideological implications of such secularization. With male imagination as absolute subject, the biological properties of women and nature come to be deprived of significance. Both stand, in romantic poetry, as material supports of the romantic symbol, they appear as no more than empirical stimuli that prompt the poet's process of self-discovery, perceptions that he must necessarily transcend to reach the realm of absolute truth, located, of course, within the poet's own self.

Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" (1802) clearly reproduces the poet's appropriation of nature and women in his celebration of the romantic symbol, an appropriation that takes the disguise of a wedding between the male subject and the female object: "Oh Lady, we receive but what we give,/ And in our life alone does nature live;/ Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud... From the soul itself must issue forth/ A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud/ Enveloping the earth!" (47-9, 53-5; Wu 2001: 545). It is the male mind that circumvents the meaning of nature and women for his own intellectual purposes; and eventually, in a fantasy of love and synthesis, obliterates them to achieve absolute power: "Joy, Lady, is the spirit and the power/ which, wedding nature to us, gives in dower/ A new earth and new heaven" (66-9; Wu 2001: 546).

Wordsworth's "Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey" (1798) also represents landscape as a reality that supports the male poet superior experiences; it is "the anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse/ The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul/Of all my moral being" (109-11; Wordsworth 1994: 207), a world that, once perceived through the senses, is abandoned by the poet to create a new transcendental realm out of his memory. Just as landscape, Wordsworth's sister Dorothy is placed in a silent, supportive position to facilitate the poet's self-elevation. Wordsworth's notion of the transcendental imaginative mind is further explored and reasserted in his later unfinished work, *The Recluse*, where he presents himself as a prophet whose mission is to announce the truth of the "Mind of Man/ My haunt, and the main region of my song" (40-41; Wordsworth 1994: 755). The message of *The Recluse* coincides with Coleridge's revelation in "Dejection: An Ode": both celebrate Imagination's power to transcend time and place and incorporate external objects within. Love and marriage are again used as symbols to ground Imagination's synthesis with external objects: "the great consummation" (58) in which the Mind of man is "wedded to this goodly universe/ In love and holy passion" (51-52; Wordsworth 1994: 755). Once announced "his high argument" Wordsworth includes within *The Recluse* a revised version of an earlier autobiographical poem in fourteen books, *The Prelude* (1805), in which his memory of past experiences works in the service of this truth of the Mind of Man. Landscape, in turn, is represented as the instrument that stimulates and assists the mind's self discovery; it is misrecognised as a memory that reasserts the subject's certainty in moments of desperate uncertainty. This pattern of misrecognition is present in the most climactic moments of *The Prelude*, episodes such as the crossing of the Simplon Pass in Book VI and the ascent and descent of Mount Snowdon in Books XIII and XIV, in which uncertainty is misrecognized as evidence of the subject's truth.

Having described his 1790 trip to revolutionary France, Wordsworth moves on in Book VI "Cambridge and the Alps" to describe his journey to the Simplon Pass, motivated by a desire to contemplate an instance of infinite sublime landscape "Loth to believe what we so grieved to hear/ For we still had hopes that pointed to the clouds" (586-87; Wordsworth 1994: 648). His hopes in landscape ended, however, in dejection: "We questioned him again and yet again;/ But every word that from the peasant's lips/ Came in reply, translated by our feelings,/ Ended in this,– *that we had crossed the Alps*."(588-91; Wordsworth 1994: 648). Wordsworth is dejected in the face of a discrepancy between his thirst for absolute infinity and the finite height of the Alpine pass. It is in the present, when remembering and writing his experience, that he realizes the impossibility of actualizing man's infinite hopes in the sensory world. Material landscape disappoints the poet but, as Northrop Frye argues, "in the magnitude of the disappointment lies its consolation" (1963: 56). Wordsworth derives from the frustration of desire the superior transcendental power of the mind; loss, as a result, is celebrated as a gain: "Imagination…that awful Power rose from the mind's abyss… I was lost;/… But to my conscious soul I now can say–/ "I recognize thy glory" (VI. 592,594,598-99; Wordsworth 1994: 684).

Wordsworth's process of self-recuperation culminates in Book XIV "Conclusion" in which, in a manner reminiscent of the Simplon Pass episode, the poet experiences a climactic revelation: the overwhelming form of Mount Snowdon, which reminds the poet of his own transitory body, is misrecognized as a product of the male subject's sublime infinite mind. The closing lines of *The Prelude* thus celebrate the belief in a future time where men shall learn the truth of their own Minds, a being superior to the works of Mother Nature: "Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak/ A lasting inspiration, …/Instruct them how the mind of man becomes/ A thousand times more beautiful than the earth/ Of which he dwells, above this frame of things/… as it is itself/ Of quality and fabric more divine". (XIV. 444-45, 448-50, 453-54; Wordsworth 1994: 752).

The "Second Generation" of Romantics, even if they were critical of the egotistical and anti-communal character of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's creative imaginations, also represented landscape and women in a way that reproduces patriarchal ideology. Lord Byron's most romantic work *Childe Harold Pilgrimage* (1816) has been read by many as a celebration of the Wordsworthian landscape, where the male mind finds both a refuge from social evils and an emblem to reassert his true transcendental essence: "I live not in myself, but I become/ Portion of that around me;/ …I can see Nothing to loathe on Nature, save to be/ A link reluctant fleshy chain,/ Classed among creatures, when the soul can flee,/ Of ocean, or the stars, mingle, and not in vain. (III. 680-81, 683-88; Wu 2001:693). All over the cantos, Lord Byron expressed his longings to merge with a beautiful, ever-changing landscape, described as feminine: "the kindest mother still/ though always changing, in her aspect mild/ from her bare bosom, let me take my fill" (II. 325-27). Even if Byron's pantheistic desires are questioned all throughout the cantos, and parodied in his later, somehow unromantic, *Don Juan* (1818-24) his hopes for love and merging with female landscape pervade the last lines of Canto the Third and the Fourth.

Landscape in P.B. Shelley's poems is also represented as a female entity that the poet desperately loves. Significantly enough, this love for a female figure, however, takes very different meanings in each of his two major works. Shelley's early poem *Alastor; or The Spirit of Solitude* (1815) satirizes the male protagonist's love for the "veiled made" (152; Wu 2001: 828) as it proves to be no more than a narcissistic projection of Alastor's love for his own self. This satire constitutes quite a direct critique to Wordsworth's "higher mind" as asserted by Shelley himself in the poem's preface: "The poet's self-centred seclusion was avenged by the furies of an irresistible passion pursuing him to speedy ruin... They [solitary poets] languish because none feel with them their common nature. They are morally dead... Those who love not their fellow-beings live unfruitful lives, and prepare for their old age a miserable grave." (Wu 2001:824). Shelley's later *Prometheus Unbound* (1821), nevertheless, does constitute an instance of the poet's appropriation of women and landscape in the service of the romantic mind. Just as in Coleridge's and Wordsworth's poetry, love is the fantasy that conceals the poet's actual obliteration of the beloved object. External landscape takes the form of feminine spirits (Earth, Ocean and Moon) that, together with Prometheus's mother, Asia (the prime female figure in the poem), serve as moral guide and support in Prometheus's eventual triumph over Jupiter. Love for landscape and for women breeds power, yet the ultimate agent of power is Prometheus, the male subject.

John Keats's poetry is characterized by an incessant quest for absolute truths, a quest that, although thoroughly mediated by questions, unquestionably assumes as realm of truth the aesthetic category of the beautiful. In all his poems without exception, the beautiful is identified with female figures. "Ode to a Nightingale" and "To Autumn", the poems in which the presence of nature is most salient, represent the natural world as female, either as a nymph "light-winged dryad of the trees" (7; Wu 2001: 1058) or as a season with "hair soft-lifted by the winnoning wind" (15; Wu 2001: 1080). Even if Keats eventually questions the truth of beautiful landscape in "Ode to a Nightingale": "do I wake or sleep?" (80; Wu 2001: 1060), such a question makes the truth of landscape dependent on the "I" that writes the poem. "To Autumn", in turn, resolves the poet's question by means of usurping landscape's annual seasons, a trope of change in permanence used by Keats to sustain the transcendence of his ideal self.

All the male romantic poets without exception submitted the female to the demands of the romantic ideology. Sensory landscape and the female body were threatening to male hegemony because they recall the powerful, procreative and forbidden body of the "mother", which, as a result, would deny the truth of the creative powers of the male poet's imagination.

4. *Frankenstein* by Mary Shelley: The Critique of the Romantic Mind

Celebrated as a critique of the risks inherent in the romantic definition of self as creative mind, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* has also been read by feminist critics as a parody of the masculinism of such a mind. Already in 1979, Sandra Gilbert & Susan Gubar saw the story of Frankenstein's creation of life from death as a parody of man's appropriation of women's biological role; an attack on the male exploitation of the female (1979: 213-47). Mary Poovey (1984: 142) further celebrated the monster as a new myth representing female helplessness in a male-dominated order. One of the most compelling readings of *Frankenstein* as both literalization and critique of the Romantics' appropriation of landscape and women's procreative role has been provided by Margaret Homans in "Bearing Demons: Frankenstein's Circumvention of the Maternal" (1996). Homans describes Mary Shelley's novel as a work about the "collision of andocentric and gynocentric theories of creation, a collision that results in the denigration of material, maternal childbearing through its circumvention by male creation" (392). What the novel ultimately condemns is, in her opinion, the male mind's eventual neglect of the maternal for the sake of the egocentric paternal, with the resultant death or obviation of women and landscape (just as the romantics did in their poetry, neglecting the material for the sake of their own minds). *Frankenstein*, indeed, is full of dead mothers: both Victor's mother and his fiancée were orphans; his mother died of scarlet fever; Justine (the beloved servant of the Frankenstein family) is said to cause the death of her mother, and herself as foster-mother to William (Frankenstein's little brother) is executed for her crime.

All throughout the novel, landscape is also represented as feminine; it is Nature the very place that Frankenstein resorts to after his mother's death: he moves to Ingoldstadt University and, under the influence of Natural Philosophy, he is determined to pursue "Nature to her hiding places" (52). Likewise, Walton (Frankenstein's double) also seeks in landscape what Homans calls "her sexual secrets" in order to "satiate his *ardent* curiosity" (Shelley 1994: 14, my italics) Frankenstein's usurpation of the maternal, both of women's procreative role and of nature's biological processes, when bringing a corpse to life is described in the novel as if it were an act of necrophiliac rape: "dabbling among the unhallowed damps of the grave" he "disturbed with profane fingers the tremendous secrets of the human frame" (52)

Further evidence of the novel's critique of the male mind's circumvention of nature and the maternal is provided in chapter five: Once the monster is brought to life, Frankenstein, exhausted, falls asleep and has a prophetic dream in which he relates his own actions to the future death of Elizabeth and to the past death of his mother: "I thought I saw Elizabeth, in the bloom of health, walking in the streets of Ingolstadt. Delighted and surprised, I embraced her, but as I imprinted the first kiss on her lips, they became livid with the hue of death; her features appeared to change, and I thought that I held the corpse of my dead mother in my arms" (56). The monster, furthermore, often appears where Elizabeth as Frankenstein's fiancée should be. He intervenes in Frankenstein's wedding night and kills Elizabeth, a horrible event read by Homans as proof of the destructive effects of Frankenstein's "love" for an ideal. What Frankenstein loves and desires is not Elizabeth but a narcissistic ideal resulting from his own imaginings and represented, thus, by the monster. In fact, Frankenstein's creature has female attributes: He is bodiliness and is also forbidden to fulfil his own desires (Frankenstein eventually rejects the monster's proposal to create a female demon to palliate his solitude). If the monster is the embodiment of Romantic imaginative desire "Why", Homans wonders, "is it a he?" (Homans 1994: 385). Her answer reads as follows: "By making the demon masculine Shelley suggests that romantic desire seeks to do away not only with the mother but with all the females so as to live finally in a world of mirrors that reflect a comforting illusion of the male self's independent wholeness" (385). The demon, in other words, represents what it feels like to be the undesired embodiment of Romantic imaginative desire, capturing the helplessness felt by a being defined by and for egocentric minds. Rejected merely for being a body, the monster suffers what Mary Shelley, as P.B. Shelley's wife, may have suffered herself under the unattainable demands of Romantic desire.

5. Conclusion

In the light of the romantic representations of women and nature here discussed we can conclude that the female stands in English romantic poetry as a beautiful object to be loved by the poet's sublime self. Its essence is defined as a "being-for-the poet" that serves his moral and intellectual purposes. As moral guides, romantic landscape and women grant the male poet with ultimate moral authority; as beautiful creations, in turn, they reassert the romantic ideal of the self: a God-like subject who claims to create the very objects he perceives thanks to what Coleridge called "the shaping spirit of the Imagination". (quoted in Wu 2001: 547). Landscape and women are, therefore, emotionally and intelectually penetrated by the male poet's gaze who, in turn, creates beautiful signifiers that effectively reproduce patriarchal relationships. Indeed, the growth of the romantic poet's mind and its resultant transcendental symbol are only accomplished by "loving"/appropriating landscape and the female, defining both as beautiful objects whose eventual fate, however, is denial and obliteration.

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Enric Valor: la dona adolescent narrada

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Abstract

Enric Valor is one of the most important 20th-century Valencian writers. He collected a great deal of popular, traditional tales and rewrote them into contemporary Catalan. This paper analyses several of Enric Valor's feminine characters, who are portrayed following a traditional binary gendered ideology, which sees and men as actors women as (sexual) objects.
Key words: *Enric Valor* ~ 'Rondalles' ~ *female adolescent characters*

0. Introducció llarga per a un tema extens

Sembla que al planeta Terra la dona i l'home existeixen des de molt abans de la fundació de la jove Unió Europea. I probablement per això i prou abans d'inventar-se el llenguatge articulat entre els elements i, sobretot, les elementes dels clans de Cromanyó, tan bon punt van col·laborar com una parella de fet, transitòria, ocasional o com fóra van sorgir els tercers elements coneguts com *criatures d'animal homoterm de pell nua*. És a dir els actuals xiquets i xiquetes. Aquesta gent menudeta resulta que quan arriba als tres o quatre anys ja els fascina l'acte social d'escoltar els fets realitzats pels *adults d'animal homoterm de pell nua*. Però, això sí, sempre dins la gran cova del clan i al voltant del foc vivificador. Ja tenim un contacontes emissor, un relat-missatge i un receptor infant, els tres elements fonamentals d'allò que molt de temps després seria proposat, descrit, estudiat i propagat com literatura

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 665-673.

per a infants i joves, literatura infantil i juvenil, C*hildren's Literature* o també com *Books for Young People*.

Personalment, aquesta darrera etiqueta em convenç més perquè declara que s'hi tracta de llibres i que aquests s'han escrit o produït tot pensant en la gent jove(neta). *It's to say*: que hi ha llibres d'informació per a criatures. I també llibres d'entreteniment per a la mainada. Això de si constitueixen literatura o no ara no anem a discutir-ho. Però sí que cal aclarir i refrescar que molta producció narrativa que es proposava a un públic escoltador adult *sempre* tenia una àrea més o menys extensa pensada per a ser escoltada per la gent menuda. En les terres de l'Occident europeu com a mínim ho podem observar des de la *Ilíada* i l'*Odissea* fins a , per exemple, la novel·la *Curial i la Güelfa* com i també al *Tirant lo Blanch* en la literatura catalana general. En la literatura anglesa general jo sempre he admirat el meravellós inici de la novel·la *A portrait of the Artist as a young man* (Penguin Books, 1992) de l'excel·lent James Joyce.

Aquí podem comprovar que un gran escriptor ret un just homenatge als relats de la narrativa de tradició oral popular. O la dels *illiteratti* que és la mare de totes les literatures. Però la producció per a infants i joves ha estat prou mal vista en certes àrees de les llengües europees per prejudicis religiosos força marcats pel puritanisme en certes etapes dels segles XVI, XVII, XVIII i del XIX. I encara del segle XX proppassat.

I una qüestió que sempre m'ha interessat molt és el fet d'identificar l'heroi del relat. Si és un xiquet o si n'és una xiqueta. Quasi sempre en són xics. Poques vegades n'hi trobem de xiques. I un altre aspecte que m'interessa és identificar-hi com és tractat l'heroi. Si és xiquet no cal anar a estudiar a la Cambridge University: els autors i les autores ens el reporten com un home però en format petit fins no fa massa anys. Però si el nostre personatge és una heroïna, tant els escriptors com les escriptores *la tracten també com un xiquet* fins no fa gaires anys.

Aquesta darrera qüestió es prou interessant d'estudiar-la i fer-ne una anàlisi afinada. Perquè ací encara perdura el tema o tòpic de la poesia trobadoresca medieval amb la *Midons/Meus Dominus*. O allò que s'ha definit com el tòpic o *tema de la virilització de la dona*. Hom descriu, presenta i tracta la dona amb les virtuts de l'home. I tots sabem que la Bíblia ja ens parla de la *Dona Forta*.

1. Enric Valor en una primera fase de la seua producció literària es va dedicar a la replega de rondalles. Després en va fer una redacció dels relats tot usant-hi els mecanismes de l'escriptura millorativa. I d'entre totes les seues 36 rondalles, només comentarem breument I queixalets també i El patge Saguntí. Els actants principals hi són dones adolescents d'una quinzena d'anys i també perquè pertanyen a grups socials diferents. Una a la classe popular i l'altra al grup o classe aristocràtica.

Enric Valor ens presenta els personatges molt succintament en la fase de la clàssica *descriptio puellae*.

2. Inicialment les rondalles de la tradició oral popular –**TradOrP**– que es conserven en la versió d'Enric Valor, molt literaturitzada, no tenien altre objectiu que narrar els fets d'un personatge X que en sortia del seu lloc d'assentament, fóra una cova, o un llogaret remot, i arribava a un altre lloc després de suportar com a subjecte pacient/actant o de realitzar com subjecte agent/actant una sèrie bastant limitada d'actes, quasi sempre tres situacions en manta ocasió reiterades, dels quals l'heroi n'era el vencedor, aconseguia un premi com a solució del relat a voltes obert, amb possibilitats de continuació en la progressió temàtica. Pensem en les segones parts. D'altres amb fórmules de tancament definitiu com la que podem llegir a *El patge Saguntí*. "*Un temps després, el duc, captivat per la bondat, la bellesa i la rectitud de Llucina, que ja li havia contat quina era la seua nissaga i la seua història, la demanà per esposa i es casaren, i foren feliços amb els fills que tingueren, fins que Déu els va anar cridant un per un i a la seua hora*". O semblant.

En general, doncs, s'assemblen a l'exposició de la realització de l'ancestral camí iniciàtic que en diverses cultures conegudes era molt més complicat per als xicons que per a les xicones.

En diverses rondalles elles, les xiques, constitueixen *la cosa guanyada*, el guardó o premi, la recompensa o el trofeu. Depèn de l'àrea geogràfica i dels usos socials i la *Weltanschauung* pròpia. Però generalment totes proposen o aporten una visió masclista de les dones de cada territori de la parella humana. Els nostres avantpassats, els il·lustres Cromanyons, se'ns apareixen així durant milers danys. Però mai no hi diuen que *elles*, les Cromanyones, són les grans inventores de les petites solucions a les necessitats de la vida quotidiana. Són les tenaces observadores del món o territori del clan. Recullen llavors comestibles, fulles per a fer infusions, herbes menjables, fruites. I, sobretot, descobreixen la forma de conservar-ho tot, la carn i altres aliments en bones condicions. Passen d'usar les closques naturals i concavitats òssies dels animals a inventar els bols i tasses a base d'argila pastada, cuita i vernissada. Però ells, els mascles cromanyons sempre són caçadors, els guerrers amb llances, fones. I garrots descomunals. Ells varen desplaçar també la Deessa Mare que era l'ésser central de la Religió Antiga, matriarcal, la gran protectora total i omnipotent. Etcètera. Ara la religió des de fa uns set mil anys més o menys és antropomòrfica i amb tendència al monoteisme Déu, Manitoo, Al·là. I d'altres.

3. La rondalla segons la definició del diccionari "*és una narració breu, popular, sovint de transmissió oral, de caràcter fantàstic o amb elements reals, destinada especialment a l'entreteniment dels infants*".

En general els textos de la narrativa de tradició oral popular no solen aportar situacions de tipus eròtic o sexual. Almenys, no n'aporten massa visiblement com la del patge Saguntí d'Enric Valor. Però de vegades sí que hi apareixen crípticament, elements que podem identificar com símbols que remeten a l'àrea del sexe en general. D'aquí se'n deriven les modernes interpretacions o descodificacions i lectures en la línia de l'anàlisi psicoanalítica de S. Freud o de Jacques Lacan. Inicialment, emperò, no hi havia cap voluntat transgressora aparent de la norma general. Si apareixen en els relats és perquè formaven part de la cultura, dels rols, de la manera d'entendre la vida i les relacions al si del grup o clan.

4. Com que les rondalles que actualment coneixem tenen al voltant de 4000 anys d'anar rodant pel món, podem localitzar en alguna d'elles una espècie de programa de comportament individual sancionat pel propi grup del clan. Un conjunt de pautes de tipus didàctic basades en l'esforç individual però davant o en presència del grup que aprova o en reprova el resultat. L'obtenció del bé desitjat, la caça per exemple, sol acabar amb la recepció d'un càstig o sanció negativa per als dolents. O bé en un premi o sanció positiva i d'exaltació grupal per als bons.

En Enric Valor trobem aquests aspectes universals. Toneta la protagonista de *I queixalets també* realitza un acte dolent perquè ja des del bell inici de la seua aventura transgredeix la norma general del grup: **No aneu a rentar la roba al safareig de nit**. Ella hi va a les deu de la nit i s'hi troba el dimoni. Aquesta rondalla amb dimoni no sembla massa antiga perquè aquest element de l'imaginari rondallístic pertany als continguts bíblics tant del Vell com del Novell o Nou Testament. La càrrega més pregona per la inesperada aparició d'un xiquet amb queixals monstruosos sembla orientar-nos en l'avís o prevenció: Una jovencella de nit i a soles pot ser agredida sexualment amb la conseqüència biològica de tenir un fill del dimoni pare agressor. Així doncs els referits queixals s'adhereixen a una simbologia fàl·lica acceptada en l'àmbit de la cultura planetària.

Aquest relat pot proposar-se amb un esquema senzill.

a) Una nit –Prohibició– Toneta realitza la transgressió durant el curt viatge iniciàtic.
b) El plor d'una criatura i desaparició.
c) El safareig i la dona endolada.
d) Conversació i contrast: "Queixalets com aquests " ?
e) Resolució del conflicte.
f) Conseqüències aplicables a tot element del grup receptor.

5. Pel que fa a l'altra rondalla, *El patge Saguntí* proposa el relat d'una aventura més complexa amb una intervenció extranatural –sant Vicent Ferrer hi fa miracles– un tema interessant: la transformació aparent per disfressa d'una donzella en un jovencell de 15 anys. És a dir: la virilització de la donzella Llucinda en el patge Saguntí. És el tradicional *déguisement* del teatre francés, el *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* de Tirso de Molina. O el més ancestral actor masculí que realitza el personatge femení, de dona, en la Comèdia atel·lana en llatí.

La rondalla amb paratext *El patge* Saguntí tot i que és un típic relat linial amb un inici, un nucli i una resolució final, proposa una història contada per un narrador omniscient genèric que si no és més complicada sí que hi aporta elements propis d'un text de tall realístic amb descripcions de personatges i llocs. I, sobretot, amb una estructura genuïna adherida als models analitzats per Vladimir Propp (*Morphologie du conte*).

A. En una seqüència inicial Llucina, de la petita noblesa valenciana, perd els seus pares en poc temps. S'empobreix. Demana ajut al Pare sant Vicent Ferrer (element extranatural en el món de la creença religiosa catòlica).

B. Se li apareix el propi sant. Consells i programa d'actuació.

C. Llucina, en un inusitat camí iniciàtic que conforma la segona seqüència, es disfressa amb hàbits propis de xicot aconsellada, aspecte evidentment força xocant, pel sant valencià. Aquest fou prou estricte amb els comportaments socials de la dona valenciana en particular i de l'europea en general del seu temps (segle XIV-inicis del segle XV).

D. L'arribada al palau del duc pel qual demana i és rebut.

E. Aquesta seqüència s'inicia amb l'acceptació de Saguntí fins ara Llucina, com a patge de la dona del duc.

F. Ja en el tram central del relat sorgeix el més inesperat conflicte: la senyora duquessa s'enamora del jove Saguntí (Llucina). Aquest refusa les insinuacions i gestos amorosos de la càlida duquessa.

G. La duquessa li posa davant del senyor duc tres llevantances o falses acusacions que caldrà que Llucina les resolga.

a) La primera prova és la lectura del Tirant. La realitza amb l'ajut de sant Vicent Ferrer.

b) La segona prova. Portar una gran serp al palau del duc. També la resol.
c) La tercera prova: Sanguntí diuen que ha dit que farà parlar la serp. La supera sense problemes.
d) La darrera seqüència correspon a l'explicació de tot l'embull. I, com era d'esperar, el senyor duc imparteix justícia. La duquessa mor. Perquè és molt dolenta.

H. Les conseqüències són evidents. Pels mèrits quantitatius del patge Saguntí, s'hi produeix un salt qualitatiu: el seu reennobliment. L'adolescent de quinze anys Saguntí / Llucina recupera el seu inicial estatus de noble però força augmentat. Ara, a més a més, esdevé l'esposa del duc que la demana però no se sap a qui. Així doncs acaba l'aventura com a duquessa. És el miracle / premi a l'excel·lent comportament assenyat de la bella Llucina / Saguntí. El grau màxim al qual podia atènyer un element de la petita noblesa. Una desclassada podríem dir-ne que, d'acord amb la terminologia marxista, ara es reclassa per tornar al grup o classe social d'origen, l'aristocràcia del Morvedre del segle XVII.

6. En aquests relats valorians podem trobar el tractament particular que Enric Valor dóna a dues dones adolescents narrades. En el primer sabem poc de Toneta tret que és, pels actes que realitza, una adolescent prou lliure perquè transgredeix una norma general per a totes les dones joves del grup. Però ja no sabem res més si llevem que cau malalta com a resultat de l'experiència viscuda i doncs com un efecte de punició pel mal comportament.

En el cas de Llucina / Saguntí rebem una suficient informació sobre el lloc d'origen, la família, l'època en què transcorre la història (segle XVII). També ens proporcionen un retrat de l'adolescent. I alguns aspectes de tipus psicològic. Aquesta característica és tan pròpia dels relats realistes tradicionals que ens dóna arguments per a no atorgar-li l'adequat estatus de rondalla d'acord amb la definició aportada més amunt. Però no hi trobarem cap aspecte que vorege la sexualitat com tampoc massa elements que mostren un tractament eròtic mínim. I també perquè Enric Valor hi ha introduït la retòrica apropiada per als relats literaris cultes.

7. **Aquestes característiques** succintes en les rondalles també les trobem en les grans novel·les d'Enric Valor que configuren el Cicle de Cassana. Hi ha diversos elements femenins proposats com dones adolescents. Però en les novel·les Enric Valor sí que sol narrar algunes seqüències que cauen plenament en l'àrea d' un erotisme molt matisat i força elegant. En aquests casos , les dones adolescents solen ser víctimes de l'acossament de part dels homes adolescents. En les novel·les es veu amb nítida claredat que els adolescents tracten les xicones com si fossen merament animals objecte de caça. Interessa recordar que el verb acossar i tots els del seu camp semàntic vénen a significar "*exercitar a córrer un animal. Perseguir obstinadament fins a no poder fugir*".

Tenim els casos de la jove Lutgarda que, davant les frisoses pretensions del jove Albert Mauri, comunica a la senyora mare d'aquest les accions del seu fill. Aquesta senyora, molt pietosa i religiosa, considera que el fet d'engrapar-la a l'hort de casa és una aventura innocent del seu fillet, que ja té catorze anys . I li dóna una dobleta d'or. L'honesta Lutgarda molt dignament refusa la moneda. I tot seguit abandona la casa on treballava de criada (ps. 147-148, SLTP).
El senyoret Albert, producte de la petita noblesa residual de l'Antic Règim, encara manté una opinió prou cinegètica sobre les dones. Així doncs més avant també provarà de caçar Llúcia, la filla dels masovers del seu mas de muntanya (ps.209-216, SLTP). La mare de la mossa que ja compta amb quinze o setze anys se n'adona de l'embolicat afer. Aleshores i amb una excusa no massa convincent, tramet la filla al veí poble d'Ibi per canviar d'aires. Més avant ella i el seu home abandonaran el mas de la senyora. Tots aquests en la novel·la *Sense la terra promesa*.
També, però a la novel·la *Enllà de l'horitzó*, Enric Valor narra l'accossament que ha patit la senyora Càndida quan, encara adolescent, la superiora del convent on ha ingressat de novícia requereix d'ella certs contactes no massa espirituals ni místicament religiosos.

I finalment, però sense esgotar-ne la mostra, un cas que recorre molt d'espai en la vida de don Frederic Genovart és la seua relació amb Mariu. Aquesta era filla dels masovers del mas de muntanya familiar. Frederic i Mariu tenen certes experiències i jocs eròtics no massa rars entre adolescents i sense més transcendència. Però ja d' adults i essent ella ja viuda, Mariu es lliurarà a don Frederic en una inusitada seqüència plenament inserida en l'àrea de la sexualitat. Aquestes són unes situacions molt més elaborades pel novel·lista que deixarem per a una altra ocasió.

I, finalment, cal manifestar que l'objecte que tractem és interessant. Perquè Enric Valor narra unes dones adolescents amb l'aparell més paradigmàtic i tradicional d'una ideologia encara vigent avui mateix en totes les literatures, però que cal rebutjar: la dona objecte. Però com que no es tracta d'esgotar el present tema, donem per conclosa la nostra intervenció. Moltes gràcies.

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A bridge between two different worlds: On the reflection and fracture of stereotypes in the Harry Potter novels

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Abstract

The unprecedented success of the Harry Potter series in the history of children's and juvenile literature has been a controversial topic among scholars. The Harry Potter phenomenon (so-called Pottermania) has assembled fans and academia together around the world. Events such as Nimbus 2003, Accio 2005, Patronus 2006, Sectus 2007, of international relevance, aim at determining the role played by the Potter novels among youngsters living in a society with a marked growth of consumerism.

Some of the analyses carried out recently (Zipes 2002, Whited 2002, Gupta 2003, Heilman 2003, Lurie 2004, Blake 2005), share a common interest in framing this bestseller either as an element of the compendium of works acknowledged to be "quality literature" or else as an example of paraliterature.

Furthermore, the question is raised as to the reader's implied need to find a behavioural model. Does she really look for a sociological paradigm of their society or does she simply seek fun in her spare time?

I will make an attempt to differentiate these aspects of quality literature in relation to the potential ties to linguistic patterns. A brief analysis of the narrative structure and the language used by the author in the first and second books will be carried out. The perspective will be gender identity. Above all, the reflection or, by contrast, the fracture of gender stereotypes will be the point of departure by examining adjectives, verbs –activity verbs, communication verbs, mental verbs, causative verbs, verbs of simple occurrence, verbs of existence or relationship and aspectual verbs–, adverbs and so on.

In summary, Rowling seems to make use of a very clear differentiation in her books between the world of Magic and the non-magic world of Muggles as a tool for developing the narrative stream by means of either considering gender stereotypes or refusing their presentation. This seems to be an invitation of the author for the audience to cross the bridge of their mental schemata and walk across two different worlds. The main challenge is to reconstruct the inherent

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 674-690.

characteristics associated to the romantic notion of the hero and, as a consequence, depriving him of a superhero element.
Key words: *gender identity ~ fracture of stereotypes ~ gender differences ~ Harry Potter novels*

1. Gender identity: the idea of oneself

Before we look at Harry Potter, it is worth looking at some basic concepts in order to lay down the theoretical principles of my analysis.

Firstly, taking into account gender, it seems appropriate to establish a clear distinction between what is biologically determined ('sex') and what is culturally associated to our identity ('gender'). Thus, sex would be formed by all those biological components of masculinity and femininity, whereas gender would be reflected as a compendium of different aspects of cultural, psychological and social nature of identity.

Dealing with the different lexical aspects to which the term identity alludes some of the meanings found in both Spanish and English dictionaries will be detailed here. In the electronic version of de la Real Academia Española's dictionary the definition is as follows:

> *Identidad*. (Del b. lat. identitas, -ātis).2. f. Conjunto de rasgos propios de un individuo o de una colectividad que los caracterizan frente a los demás. 3. f. Conciencia que una persona tiene de ser ella misma y distinta a las demás.
> *Identificar* 2. tr. Reconocer si una persona o cosa es la misma que se supone o se busca.

The Webster's Dictionary[1] and the Merriam-Webster's Thesaurus define this category as follows:

> *Identity*: Etymology: Middle French *identité,* from Late Latin *identitat-, identitas,* probably from Latin *identidem* repeatedly, contraction of *idem et idem,* literally, same and same.
>
> **1 a :** sameness of essential or generic character in different instances **b :** sameness in all that constitutes the objective reality of a thing **:** **ONENESS**

> **2 a :** the distinguishing character or personality of an individual **: INDIVIDUALITY b :** the relation established by psychological identification.
>
> *Identification*: **1 a :** an act of identifying **:** the state of being identified **b :** evidence of identity.
> **2 a :** psychological orientation of the self in regard to something (as a person or group) with a resulting feeling of close emotional association **b :** a largely unconscious process whereby an individual models thoughts, feelings, and actions after those attributed to an object that has been incorporated as a mental image.

Hence, identification would derive from the very process of recognition of one's own identity. Identity, then, would be both the characteristics which define us as unique and diverse from the other, but also our proximity to others and, as a consequence, what makes us equal. Gender identity seems to be the result of the negotiation between oneness and otherness. Furthermore, it is a negotiation between what is established, the socially acquired patterns, and the internal mechanism which indicates what people feel they are. Looking at cross-cultural aspects, there seems to be little difference between the Spanish and the English-speaking context definitions.

The idea of "aspiration" to what the individual desires to be is what Goffman describes best in his article "The arrangement between the sexes" (1977):

> In so far as the individual builds up a sense of who and what he is by referring to his sex class and **judging himself in terms** of **the ideals** of masculinity (**or** femininity), one may speak of *GENDER IDENTITY*.

In sum, it is this "ideal" of the socially established basis for femininity or masculinity that is actually intrinsic to the notion of gender identity.

2. Gender, language and society

Gender Studies has a multidisciplinary nature, being approached from fields such as anthropology, psychology, history and sociology. Nevertheless, the existing relationship between gender and language seems to be observable from the constructivist perspective mainly targeted as an evolutionary medium. That is to say, gender identity is not an isolated aspect of identity with which the individual grows up –it is not a fixed, stable variable of the individual traits– but it is transformed, developed and self-constructed. Thus, gender scrutinised from a sociolinguistic angle may be established as a social construct – then "doing gender" would be an appropriate approach. Constructivism requests an acquisition of a generic status. A status carefully developed through psychological, cultural and social means, not only individually but also by the interaction with each other. Not only it is a construction of the self-concept of individuals but also of the perception of others.

Moreover, constructionist theories –mainly devoted to the psychological and sociological fields– deal with the premise that we develop our idea of gender by observing the social norms, sociocultural aspects and activities surrounding us. Therefore, it is highly desirable to connect gender with a determined social and historical context. As a consequence, gender intrinsically proclaims a dynamic aspect. Studies by Kessler & McKenna (1978) and Butler (1990) are examples of the analysis of gender as a constantly changing variable.

On the one hand, several studies have approached gender from a multidisciplinary perspective, though Hall & Bucholtz's 1995 publication examines gender identity and language in great depth, and, for that reason, is a reliable source for transcription for the purpose of this paper. To this end, I will just focus on the expression "communities of practice" which Eckert & McConnell-Ginet explain as follows in the above mentioned Hall & Bucholtz's edition:

> A single individual participates in a variety of communities of practice at any given time, and over time: the family, a friendship group, an athletic team, a church group. These communities may be all-female or all-male; they may be dominated by women or men; they may offer different forms of participation to women or men; they may be organized on the presumption that all members want (or will want) heterosexual love relations. Whatever the nature of one's participation in communities of practice, one's experience of gender emerges in participation as a gender community member with others in a variety of communities of practice. (1995: 469)

The notion of community is interesting for the purpose of this paper not only because of the clear intention of associating the individual with the idea of participation in a multitude of social actions, but also because belonging to a community is also connected to the magic community developed through the novels by J.K. Rowling. I will develop further the critical hypothesis that deals with the author's intention of separating groups according to this notion of community in terms of sexual stereotypes.

One of the most recent theories to explore identity is '*queer theory*'[2]. Queer theory revisits the speech act theory developed by Austin and J.R. Searle in the 1960s. For the sake of this analysis, I will briefly deal with the basis of this linguistic theory. Speech acts constitute the minimum unit of linguistic communication. According to Searle, speech acts are not symbols but productions of an instance of a sentence under certain circumstances. 'Felicity conditions', that is, social norms which coincide with the social environment in which those speech acts take place, and, in addition, which coincide with a previous context of authority, hence speaker and hearer share the presupposition that, because of the previous referents in the language, speech acts become performative and formulaic. An instance of performatives would be –in the Harry Potter terms– would be the declaration of houses to which the Hogwarts' pupils would belong. Then, speech acts theory show that many social realities are so because of the sentence nature of language.

Additionally, gender roles do play a fundamental role in the performativity of gender. Generally speaking, playing a role is linked to the idea of representation and of construction. Thus, gender roles are dynamically constructed the same as gender identity is.

Therefore, speech acts are social acts which function as mechanisms of coordination for future actions within a determined historical and cultural context. In sum, we do gender.

3. Gender approaches

Regarding the linguistic field, I will briefly review some of the most recently developed empirical approaches to gender.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the predominant tendency was to point out gender differences in terms of subordination and domination. That is, while men dominate discourse, women are the subordinate elements of the conversation. In order to determine power and status in the linguistic interaction, conversation analysis greatly contributed to the examination of aspects such as interruptions, turn taking schemata, etc. This tendency corresponds to the so-called '*dominance approach'*.

'V*ive la différence*' could be the underlying maxim in the 80s and 90s. Differences between men and women are analysed as an expression of a gender-based subculture which prepares diversely men and women through the agents of socialisation (the family, peers, at school, etc.). It is then coined the expression "cross-cultural communication". This tendency corresponds to the '*difference*' or '*cultural difference approach'*.

Thus, the difference between both tendencies lies in the fact that the dominance approach interprets interruption as a sign of power, whereas interruptions are observed according to the gender of the interlocutor in the difference approach. In general terms, men concentrate on interruptions within the usual conditions of the conversational flow, whereas interruptions, according to women, would be an aggressive token and, as a consequence, a personal attack.

Lastly, during the 1980s, men's and women's language was analysed regarding power ('*power/deficit approach'*). Interruptions in the doctor-patient interactions were examined. Due to the fact that interruptions were more frequently present in women's discourse rather than in men's discourse, the conclusion was quite inaccurate: women's language is intrinsically inferior and powerless.

4. Stereotypes

Generally, stereotypes are hyperbolic, exaggerating generalisations of those traits that delimit the individuals' personality. Basically, stereotypes deal with physical details, but also with social and psychological traits.

Interestingly, stereotypes actually function in the society. It is amazing that such exaggerations as to say that all men are active, strong and energetic, and that women are just the opposite, paradoxically have a place in our belief system. It is a valid variable for gender demarcation. Stereotypes are then socially validated and proved as behaviourally apt to become a paradigm for appropriateness criteria. As a consequence, stereotypes are adaptable to the social circumstances.

It is worthy noting that the Real Academia Española's dictionary adds a curious nuance to the ones I have exposed above: the unchanged nature of stereotypes.

> *estereotipo*. 1. m. Imagen o idea aceptada comúnmente por un grupo o sociedad con **carácter inmutable**.

Nevertheless, the idea that stereotypes do not change through time does not really fit the dynamic essence of society. For instance, let us take the example of a rather old-fashioned stereotype: that woman are somehow unfit for the workplace, an idea that is no longer widely accepted.

Taking into account both the Webster's Dictionary and the Cambridge Dictionary online definition of the term *'stereotype'* a cross-cultural difference sheds light to this social variable: whilst immutability is of a certain significance in the Spanish culture, fixation and social acceptability seem to be of main relevance in the English-speaking countries.

> a simplified and standardized conception or image invested with **social** meaning and held in common by members of a group.' (Webster's Dictionary)
> a **fixed** idea that people have about what someone or something is like, especially an idea that is wrong.' (Cambridge Dictionary online)

5. The Harry Potter phenomenon

The unprecedented success of the Harry Potter series in the history of children's and juvenile literature has been a controversial topic among scholars. The literary character of the books has been questioned above all things. Zipes (2001) coined the term *The Harry Potter Phenomenon,* since, according to him, these novels cannot be categorised as literature. One of the main tendencies available at this moment is that a wide and abundant marketing campaign has been launched. However, it seems unthinkable that both youngsters and adults wait anxious for the next Harry Potter book to come. The novel is read in English all over the world even before the numerous translations are published. And, we cannot forget the arduous task by Rowling of reconciling different topics and symbols used in the fantastic literature from Celtic to Scottish traditions.

But it is precisely because of the feeling of disconnection with their social and cutural reality that becomes more appealing for the readers. Blake (2005) points to what he calls a retrolutionary effect. That is, the hope in a post-modern society to return to a traditional world, forgetting the pda, the electronic mails, etc.

Eventually, Gupta (2003) affirms that the very success of the Harry Potter books lies in the reflection outside the books context, that is to say, young readers feel connected to the competitions when reading about the Quidditch game in the books. They also feel able to read fluently and to comment on the exciting adventures Harry and his peers encounter in the novels.

6. Harry Potter and *The Philosopher's Stone*

The main aim of this paper is to examine the reflection or fracture of gender stereotypes in the first two Harry Potter books –*Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997) and *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1999). For that purpose I will begin with a narrow compilation of characters' descriptions which, in my opinion, can be a clear instance of the aspired aim.

6.1. The Dursleys

> (1) 'Mr Dursley was the director of a firm called Grummings, which made drills.' (Rowling 1997: 7)
> (2) 'Mrs Dursley was thin and blonde and had nearly twice the usual amount of neck, which came in very useful as she spent so much of her time craning over garden fences, spying on the neighbours.' (Rowling 1997: 7)

The description of the Dursleys by J.K. Rowling illustrates two of the most common and perpetuated sterotypes. We are told about Mr Dursley's occupation (1), firstly. The connected role would be that of the 'breadwinner'. Whereas Mrs Dursley's (2) physical details are talked about by means of adjectives also connected to gossiping. The connected role then would be the household chores.

> (3) 'Mr Dursley hummed as he picked out his most boring tie for work and Mrs Dursley gossiped away happily as she wrestled a screaming Dudley into his high chair[3].
> ... At half past eight, Mr Dursley picked up his briefcase, pecked Mrs Dursley on the cheek... ' (Rowling 1997: 8)

In the next page the description continues with an enumeration of the daily activities of Mrs Dursley(3). And, on the other hand, the professional career of Mr Dursley is again mentioned. It is worth noting the use of symbols usually connected to the masculine gender such as the tie and the briefcase (4).

Moreover, talkativeness is a recurrent trait of Mrs Dursley. It is described by means of adverbs such as 'away' –which adds a nuance of repetition and, as a consequence, of habit– and 'happily'. And, in addition to the stereotype of women being talkative and talking nonsense, Rowling informs about Mrs Dursley's secondary activity: to care for her son. Hence two of the most connected stereotypes to the feminine gender: idleness and care for others.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the explicit reflection of stereotypes in a story for young readers implies a risk of consolidation for such a special audience, since youngsters are developing their social and personal identity. However, I do think that Rowling is establishing a clear contrast between the Muggles world –no magical beings– and the magic world of Hogwarts. As I mentioned earlier, it is a critical viewpoint of an archetypal society in which hierarchy plays a doubtful but fundamental role. To illustrate this aspect we can examine the contrast between the expressions 'boring tie' and 'gossiped away happily' used in the descriptions of the most stereotyped characters of the first volume. That is, men work –a really hard and boring activity– whilst women, on the contrary, stay at home as their private domain and live happily forever as traditional fairy tales have depicted women for ages.

Dudley Dursley, the grotesque cousin of Harry Potter, contains some of the illustrated above stereotypes as we can see in the following example:

> (4) '... playing a computer game with his father, being hugged and kissed by his mother...' (Rowling 1997: 19)

This example also demonstrates that there are two connected roles with stereotypes, those of fatherhood and motherhood. Mothers are relegated to the caring of others and, therefore, are associated to the affective and protective pattern of human beings. In contrast, fatherhood refers to the fun side of life and, nowadays, to technology. Literature frequently uses a clear-cut distinction between masculine and feminine gender in terms of aptitudes. That is to say, women are usually found in the emotional arena and are responsible of the acquisition of language and, as a consequence, connected to the reading competence. Men, on the other hand, stand out from women for being naturally able to solve spatial conflicts, hence men's ability at managing instruments.

And last but not least, for the purpose of examining another aspect associated to the masculine gender from a stereotype-based perspective, I will briefly compile a few examples:

> (5) 'Dudley's favourite sport: Harry-hunting' (Rowling 1997: 28)
> (6) 'Smelting boys' – 'They also carried knobbly sticks, used for hitting each other while the teachers weren't looking. This was supposed to be good training for later life. ' (Rowling 1997: 29)

> (7) 'Get the post, Dudley', said Uncle Vernon from behind the paper. –Make Harry get it. –Get the post, Harry. –Make Dudley get it. –Poke him with your Smeltings stick, Dudley.' (Rowling 1997: 29-30)

Consequently, Rowling adds a different nuance to this representation in Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone, since the promotion of an aggressive behaviour in social contexts such as the household is used by the author as a critical tool for the narrative stream. The critical aspect is observed in the use of a humorous archetypal character –the caricatured Dudley– and the extension to another prototypical context –the school– by means of the 'Smelting boys' group.

6.2. Hermione

Hermione, the female form of Hermes, messenger of the gods, is represented in the Greek tragedy as the daughter of Helen of Troy and Menelaus, King of Sparta.

In the classical and contemporary literature the name of Hermione has been written in the Bible, the Greek texts such as Andromache and Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. In the 20th century D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love*, (1919) and Hilda Doolittle's *HERmione* (1981) put emphasis on the psychological insight of the character. Thus, Hermione is built as a resolve woman whose intellectual ability out of the ordinary allows her to seek for knowledge in every act. Rowling's Hermione seems to be provided with an intertextual nature, then. Therefore, Hermione is the name of a powerful and strong female character.

After the introductory description of the character above, I will examine Hermione in the narrative flow. First of all, Hermione is originally described as accompanied by Neville. Neville has lost his toad and Hermione is helping him to find it. Interestingly, Hermione is introduced to the narration in the context of helping others. It is an anticipation of the connection with maternity. It is worth mentioning at this point that feminine language is associated to the affective and interpersonal use of the language. In contrast, referential and informative aspects of the language would be mainly allocated to men. It is generalised that women's language is oriented towards solidarity. Nevertheless, in *Harry Potter and the Philosopher Stone* Hermione shows this interpersonal attitude towards her peers but the same happens with Harry, who appears to be interested in the well-being of others.

In relation to physical details, and before Hermione introduces herself, we are told that she has got '*a bossy sort of voice, lots of bushy brown hair and rather large front teeth.*' Bossy is translated both into Spanish and Catalan containing the same nuances. However, in the Catalan translation Hermione's appearance is described in other terms: "mousy teeth". This expression seems to anticipate the cultivated Hermione that Rowling extensively elaborates through the pages.

Regarding the pragmatic use of language, in the first speech of Hermione some common characteristics can be observed. The reiterative use of hedges –question t*ags* such as '*is it?*', '*are you?*'; clarifying expressions such as '*I mean*'; others such as '*of course*', '*you know*' and '*by the way*'; fast speech ('*She said all this very fast.*') in contrast with the characteristic dropping of Ron and Harry (*'Course*' for 'of course', '*Said*' for 'It is said', '*Wish*' for 'I wish').

Later in the book, the fast speech connected with Hermione is repeatedly described, although nobody is talking except for her. She is also said to be whispering. Thus, the gender stereotype of whispering in relation to women is firstly introduced: *'No one was talking much except Hermione Granger, who was whispering very fast about all the spells she'd learnt* [...]' (Rowling 1997: 86).

To this end, I will revisit Trudgill's *Sociolinguistics* (1988) in which Trudgill analyses gender differences from a sociolinguistic perspective. Trudgill concludes that women are more oriented to the social status language conveys. Women would be expected to use standard linguistic forms much more frequently than men do. Hence the characteristic dropping associated to men. However, in my opinion, in the first two Harry Potter novels there is no stereotyped use of the language in this sense. Hermione's know-it-all image is clearly reflected in many aspects of Rowling's description of the character. And, to this end, the use of this metaphor is a sort of stylistic manner adopted by the author and not so a gender difference in itself.

Another linguistic aspect related to gender differences, qualitatively speaking, would be the use of terms connected with expectations and hopes, that is, what could be expressed as "emotional language": i.e. '*hope*', '*expect*', '*goodness!*'; also by means of instensifiers such as '*ever so pleased*'. Words are sometimes italicised for emphasis. Eventually, the use of emotional language conveys a certain association to the affective function of women and, therefore, seems to be a gender stereotype.

Here, I will observe what is said about Hermione's character: 'she was such a bossy know-it-all' (p. 121); 'Harry couldn't believe anyone could be so intefering' (Rowling 1997: 115) ; 'said Hermione, rather bravely, Harry and Ron thought' (Rowling 1997: 194).

At the very beginning, Hermione appears to be a threat to the growing friendship between Harry and Ron, but, shortly afterwards – Hermione's worth recognised– Hermione's character becomes well established in the trio. Each of them possess an aptitude to overcome the difficulties they encounter throughout the story.

On the other hand, it is also worth noting what the character tells about herself: 'Of course not' said Hermione briskly. 'How do you think you'd get to the Stone without us? I'd better go and look through my books, there might be something useful…' (Rowling 1997: 197).

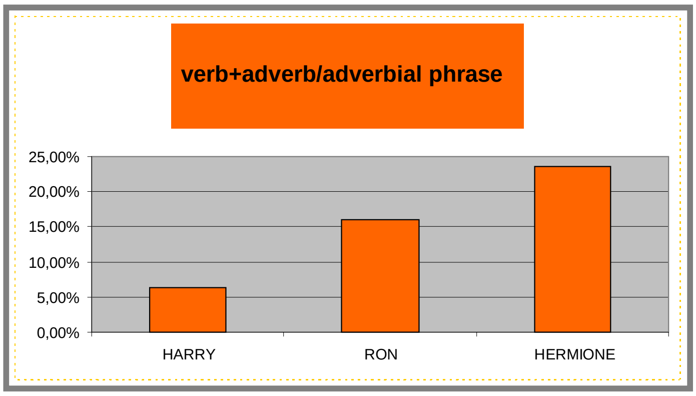
Hermione shows a great determination to act. She is willing to participate in the adventures Hogwarts' daily life conveys, and she is conscious of being the mind without which the happy ending of these adventures would not be such a success.

To sum up, Rowling could have made a mere subversion of roles, that is, she could have given Hermione an active and strong role and, by contrast, Harry a passive and observer nature. However, Harry plays an active role at times while Hermione just thinks and passively observes the best conditions of the situation, and, on the contrary, Hermione acts at times while Harry states what should be done. Thus, Rowling provides the audience with two different approaches of gender and, therefore, invites readers to question social models of behaviour.

7. Harry Potter and *The Chamber of Secrets*

Regarding the second novel, I will briefly refer to the qualification of the characters by observing the linguistic constructions of the main characters.

The omniscient narrator qualifies characters by means of adjectives –verb constructions: verb + adverb/adverb phrase– as for example: regarding Harry Potter: 'burst out angrily', 'said desperately', 'whispered urgently'; Ron Weasley: 'sighed happily', 'said Ron sleepily', 'said Ron in exasperation'; and Hermione Granger: 'said Hermione miserably', 'said Hermione with a small voice, 'with a bossy sort of voice'. For a graphic image of the results see the graph below.



In relation to the characters' language use, the same patterns employed by Rowling in the first Harry Potter novel are present in the Chamber of Secrets book: Hermione uses linguistic hedges and tags i.e. 'is it?', 'are you?', 'of course', 'you know', 'by the way', 'I mean', etc; both Harry and Ron reiteratively make use of droppings: i.e. 'Wish', 'Said', 'Course', and so on; and Mrs Weasley repeats 'dear' over and over.

Regarding lexical verbs, I have randomly chosen two chapters in the Chamber of Secrets book and observed some of the verbal constructions used in the speech and descriptions of 3 characters –Harry, Hermione and Mrs Weasley. See some examples in the chart below.

Harry	Hermione	Mrs Weasley
creeping to the window	Shriek	Shout
pushing it up	Squeak	say in a deadly whisper / snap
climbed onto the window	Wail	Shriek
dashed around his room	Squealed	Cooking breakfast
moved back	Whimper	to call us for breakfast
snatched up Hedwig's cage	raised a trembling hand	was clattering around
passed it out to Ron	flushing furiously	Swelled like a bullfrog
backed away	said Hermione sceptically	said Mrs Weasley, starting to clear the table
listened anxiously	said Hermione cautiously	kept patting her hair

In sum, Harry's speechs are mainly developed by activity verbs, whereas both Hermione and Mrs Weasley are relegated to hysteria-related verbs. Finally, Mrs Weasley's language clearly belong to the household ambit.

8. Conclusions

Due to the fact that the reflection of stereotypes is present in the two Harry Potter novels examined and this is a potential risk for stereotypes to become reinforced in a young audience, I have devoted a brief part of my analysis to deduce from the reading whether a fracture of stereotypes is also represented in the books. Surprisingly, there is a fracture of stereotypical concepts regarding the role subversion developed in the Hermione's character. She is represented as the reasoning alma mater of the trio formed by Harry, Ron and Hermione. She has a problem solving role mainly observable by her logic and cautious nature.

The underlying contrast between Muggles and the magical Hogwarts seems to be used as a tool for Rowling to introduce a social critique of stereotypes. Mrs Dursley and Mrs Weasley serve as a counter-model for those women who aim at departing from a traditional view of women as slaves of the household ambit. Mr Dursley is the breadwinner par excellence. He is clearly oriented to his professional career –as most men do– and no other inconveniences, whether magical or real, may enter his life.

Rowling seems to have (un)consciously described the surface of two different worlds with the objective of representing reality as it is: stereotypes are present in our society though they can be relegated to a secondary role. Perhaps Rowling's intention was to consider children's literature as a prolific field for introducing sociological aspects and, as a consequence, her unconfessed need to be considered a quality-literature author.

In brief, the role subversion of the characters in the novels and the potential dual nature –active/passive– of the Harry/Hermione duo are intended to question socially validated behavioural models. May J. K. Rowling be providing the audience with a conception of the two characters as interchangeable and, therefore, possessing the same heroic qualities?

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Notes

[1] Webster's Dictionary and Merriam-Webster's Online Thesaurus are available in http://www.m-w.com/.

[2] See http://www.theory.org.uk. 'What is Queer Theory? Queer theory is a set of ideas based around the idea that identities are not fixed and do not determine who we are. It suggests that it is meaningless to talk in general about 'women' or any other group, as identities consist of so many elements that to assume that people can be seen collectively on the basis of one shared characteristic is wrong. Indeed, it proposes that we deliberately challenge all notions of fixed identity, in varied and non-predictable ways.

[3] These symbols have been extracted from Turin's (1995) analysis on children's picturebooks.

Género y representación en el cine español postfranquista

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Abstract

En el marco de los actuales debates sobre cine español postfranquista se ha planteado la conexión entre las prácticas fílmicas y los contextos entendiendo los productos culturales como sintomáticos de determinadas coyunturas socio-históricas. Partiendo de esta consideración, el estudio sobre las representaciones cinematográficas debe entenderse en relación a los contextos discursivos en los que surgen. En este sentido, partimos del concepto de "discurso", planteado por Colaizzi como "un principio dialéctico y generativo a la vez, que remite a una red de relaciones de poder que son histórica y culturalmente específicas, construidas y, en consecuencia, susceptibles de cambio" (1990b: 20). Esta noción de discurso nos permite comprender la aparición de elementos tensionales en los textos que deben leerse en relación con la encrucijada histórico-social de la transición y la democracia. En este sentido, el movimiento feminista en los años posteriores al fin del franquismo supuso una forma de resistencia ante el enraizado sexismo que todavía se seguía manteniendo en la sociedad española.
Un texto como *Vámonos, Bárbara* (Cecilia Bartolomé 1977) resulta sintomático de la crisis del sistema patriarcal en la representación cinematográfica. A partir de la retórica de la cotidianeidad, la película de Cecilia Bartolomé subvierte la lógica representacional imperante, anclada en el estereotipo de género, y permite la introducción de un nuevo marco del deseo para la mirada espectatorial. En este sentido, a través de diversos mecanismos: la falta de cierre narrativo, la representación de la maternidad como experiencia diversa, el viaje como fundamento de la identidad de la mujer o la solidaridad entre mujeres, la película de Cecilia Bartolomé explora los procesos subjetivos de la "feminidad", deconstruyendo el imaginario patriarcal sobre "la mujer" y planteando una alternativa feminista a partir del viaje y la experiencia.
Key words: *Género ~ Representación ~ Discurso*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 691-705.

1. Introducción

En el marco de los actuales debates sobre cine español postfranquista se ha planteado la conexión entre las prácticas fílmicas y los contextos entendiendo los productos culturales como sintomáticos de determinadas coyunturas socio-históricas. Partiendo de esta consideración y, por tanto, entendiendo el estudio sobre las representaciones cinematográficas en relación a los contextos discursivos en los que surgen, el presente texto propone una reflexión sobre los modos de representación de la feminidad en el cine postfranquista y su relación con el contexto socio-histórico a partir del análisis de un texto, *Vámonos, Bárbara* (Cecilia Bartolomé 1978), que se presenta como sintomático de este mismo proceso histórico, al problematizar los mecanismos representacionales normativos sobre la noción de "feminidad". En esta película, de hecho, se empiezan a introducir los marcos discursivos en torno a los que girarán algunas de las problemáticas más relevantes planteadas por el movimiento feminista en España (cuyo resurgimiento iniciaba su andadura en estos años tras la etapa dictatorial): la emancipación de la mujer, la sexualidad femenina, la solidaridad entre mujeres, la conquista del espacio discursivo o la desencialización de la maternidad.

Vámonos, Bárbara nos relata, en términos de *road movie,* la historia del desamor, de lo que significaba un divorcio en el contexto de finales de los 70, en plena transición democrática. La película pone en escena la emancipación de la mujer en el período de la transición española, aludiendo a una realidad social y legal sexista en la que la mujer debía obediencia al marido. La historia cuenta cómo Ana, una mujer de mediana edad, tras una primera aventura con un compañero de trabajo, se da cuenta de la soledad y el vacío existencial que le supone la vida matrimonial y decide separarse de su marido Carlos. Para escapar del asfixiante mundo familiar en que se encuentra inmersa, emprende un viaje (por Tarragona y alrededores) junto a su hija Bárbara en plenas vacaciones de verano. En su transcurso, ambas se alojan en casa de la tía Remedios, pero la visita acaba cuando ésta contacta con Carlos y le hace sabedor de las andaduras de su mujer. Ana decide irse con su hija a casa de una antigua amiga, Paula, y allí conocen a Iván, un guía turístico con quien Ana entabla una relación. Pero la vida con su nueva pareja no resulta ser sino un retorno al mismo tipo de vida que llevaba con su marido. Finalmente, al acabar el verano y durante el viaje de regreso a Barcelona, Ana decide abandonar a Iván y seguir su idea inicial de emancipación, volviendo a la ciudad junto a su hija Bárbara.

En el análisis que voy a establecer, centrado en algunas de las secuencias más significativas de la película, querría destacar algunas cuestiones que parecen reveladoras de un discurso que pretende alterar la hegemonía no sólo de los patrones ideológicos respecto a la categoría "mujer", sino también estéticos y representacionales. Este discurso se vehicula a través de la inscripción de "lo cotidiano" en la representación. Es por ello que, desde nuestro punto de vista, se puede aplicar el concepto de "cine de mujeres", para hablar de la práctica cinematográfica de Cecilia Bartolomé, tal y como lo entiende Colaizzi (1998): como un "contra-cine" capaz de cuestionar, a través de la representación, los modelos hegemónicos a los que se enfrenta nuestra mirada, logrando des/erotizar el cuerpo de la mujer y despojarlo de la pasividad a la que está sometido en el cine clásico como puro objeto de deseo. En el ámbito específicamente español, el "cine de mujeres" se establecía subvirtiendo los patrones patriarcales arraigados en el cine más comercial y, a diferencia del cine feminista de vanguardia desarrollado fuera de nuestras fronteras (Kuhn 1991), iniciaba su andadura dentro de la narrativa fílmica, en un contexto en el que debía, al mismo tiempo, presentar una alternativa a la llamada "comedia hispánica" de los 70, cine reaccionario donde los haya, y plantear los términos de la representación fuera de la lógica vanguardista para poder llegar a un público más amplio.

Como recuerda Bugallo (2002), tras los largos años de dictadura, el cine comercial que se imponía con fuerza, la comedia cinematográfica de los años sesenta y setenta, presentaba una progresiva erotización del cuerpo femenino que revelaba hasta qué punto se intentaba crear en el tardofranquismo la ilusión de una mayor liberalidad sexual para continuar, sin embargo, perpetuando los principios morales del régimen.

En este contexto, la película de Cecilia Bartolomé aflora con una nueva mirada que emerge desde la cotidianeidad. Ni embellecido ni espectacularizado, el cuerpo femenino aparece representado dentro de un espacio rutinario, conocido, captado por la cámara para erigirse como un elemento a partir del cual poder elaborar un discurso que integre “la complejidad de lo real”, los matices e “imperfecciones” del mundo cotidiano, anclando el cuerpo en la historia, en el tiempo en lugar del mito.

2. Resorte escénico: representación del cuerpo

El film comienza “in media res” con una secuencia en la que se presenta la relación de Ana con un compañero de trabajo, imprimiendo en el discurso un tono cotidiano y reflexivo que desmonta cualquier posible idealización sobre el discurso amoroso. La secuencia se inicia con un plano medio de dos cuerpos desnudos. Las siluetas, recortadas a contraluz, dejan entrever que se trata de un hombre y una mujer que acaban de hacer el amor. Al fondo de la escena hay una pecera. El hombre se levanta y se viste, saliendo del plano. La mujer permanece, durante un momento, tumbada. Hay un salto de eje y un cambio a plano medio de la mujer, que se levanta y se empieza a vestir. La cámara sigue su movimiento. Ella se dirige al hombre y le da las gracias. Luego aparece en plano medio frente a un espejo. Ella se refleja en él, se pone las gafas y se abre la camisa, observando sus pechos semidesnudos. Inmediatamente se tapa, avergonzada. Luego, se quita las gafas y dirige una mirada al hombre que, a través del reflejo, se convierte en una mirada directa a cámara. “¿Tú crees que todavía estoy bien?”, le pregunta. Contraplano del hombre en plano general: “Ya empiezas otra vez”. Corte a plano medio de la mujer: “No, no es eso”. La mujer se gira y se dirige a él, saltando el eje de la cámara: “Me gustaría saber por qué lo hemos hecho”. Cambio a plano general. “Resulta evidente”, contesta el hombre.

Esta escena se presenta ajena, como he señalado, a la representación del cine erótico o de la comedia popular española de los setenta. La exhibición del cuerpo femenino en gran parte de la llamada “comedia hispánica" se concentra en las extranjeras, en "las otras", que se conviertían en el máximo exponente de "liberalización sexual" en películas como *El turismo es un gran invento* (Pedro Lazaga 1968). El aspecto de estas comedias va cambiando a medida que avanza la década de los setenta, pero el estereotipo de género se seguía manteniendo: la mujer continúa en su rol de novia, esposa o amante, siempre en un segundo plano respecto del protagonista. Si en las comedias del tardofranquismo, la mujer española era la representante de la moral católica y la castidad, en los setenta deja espacio a un comportamiento un tanto libidinoso para recuperar al novio o marido y, de esta manera, restituir el orden social. La aparente "libertad sexual" de la mujer española queda, por tanto circunscrita a "un espacio dominado y vigilado por los poderes políticos y sociales, ya sea a través del matrimonio o de la relación de novios formales." (Bugallo 2002: 231) El cambio que presentan las comedias de los setenta es superficial, por tanto, en lo que respecta al papel de "la mujer española" en películas como *El reprimido* (Ozores 1974), donde ésta representa el papel de sacrificada esposa, a diferencia de la "mujer francesa", cuyo rol es el de "liberada sexual". Como es común en estas comedias, el cuerpo de la mujer sensual se representa tradicionalmente embellecido, espectacularizado y erotizado y, de hecho, como ha señalado Hopewell (1989), en la mayoría de las películas de la transición, la mujer aparece representada como objeto sexual, como espectáculo dirigido a la mirada pero ninguna de estas películas desarrolla la sexualidad femenina.

La propuesta textual a la que se enfrenta la mirada en *Vámonos, Bárbara,* sin embargo, emerge como un discurso alternativo a la espectacularización del cuerpo femenino y su inclusión en marco del deseo. Como podemos observar en el primer plano, el contraluz que recorta las figuras desnudas nos presenta a los cuerpos bajo un mismo nivel estético y los iguala en su configuración visual. En esta primera escena sexual, la representación no nos sugiere una mirada placentera dirigida única y exclusivamente al espectador masculino sustentada en la contemplación de la mujer como objeto de deseo a través del troceamiento de su cuerpo en primeros planos. La inclusión de ambas figuras en un solo plano y su presentación desde un mismo planteamiento estético supone lanzar otra mirada y significar los cuerpos desde una retórica de igualdad visual.

En esta primera secuencia se va a adoptar un punto de vista alejado de la estilización del cuerpo femenino y centrado en la implantación de lo cotidiano. A lo largo del film podremos comprobar cómo la cotidianeidad invade la representación y consigue establecer un lugar apropiado para la identificación de la espectadora sin que esto suponga una ruptura con los resortes narrativos. La puesta en marcha de la retórica de lo cotidiano consigue también introducir en la representación un cierto "efecto de extrañamiento" al evitar elementos que contribuyen a la construcción del relato, tales como la música extradiegética. En los primeros planos que hemos descrito, la ausencia de ruidos o música contribuyen a crear un "efecto de realidad" que, paradójicamente, se convierte en un "efecto de extrañamiento" para la mirada espectatorial. El sonido diegético, que es sonido ambiental, apenas nos da información acerca de lo que allí se está representando. Únicamente podemos apenas oír las burbujas de una pecera, pero ninguno de los dos personajes habla. El efecto de extrañamiento se acentúa gracias al singular comportamiento de los personajes en los primeros planos de la secuencia, donde la relación entre ellos aún no está definida para el espectador. La escasez de información con que el espectador se topa en esta sucinta presentación genera una actitud activa en él, al crear una necesidad de dar significado a esas imágenes.

Esta escena puede darnos la clave para entender la relación que se quiere representar de los dos personajes y para introducirnos en el escenario vital de la protagonista. La primera aventura sexual fuera del matrimonio desencadena la decisión de Ana de separarse de su marido. Pero la relación entre los amantes esta marcada con una cierta frialdad. La distancia con que se presenta la relación se establece a partir de la ruptura con la emotividad clásica. El diálogo de miradas para describir la pasión amorosa se sustituye por un diálogo tal cual. Un diálogo que se produce en planos/contraplanos, pero que introduce la palabra para comprender la relación, para entender no a partir de lo sentimental sino de lo racional. Ana interroga a su amante: "¿Por qué lo hemos hecho?", destruye la “magia” de la escena romántica, rompe la identificación que se generaba en el cine clásico e incluso se sincera con él diciéndole que no le atraía especialmente. Los dos personajes hablan de lo ocurrido y, a partir de ahí, se enmarca el contexto vital de Ana.

Hay dos elementos en la presentación de la relación de Ana con su amante que resultan particularmente significativas: por una parte, el hecho de retratar el adulterio de la mujer en relación al goce sexual femenino y, por otra, el haber decidido como escenario del mismo el lugar de trabajo. En las comedias de los 70, el adulterio estaba representado como un ámbito que pertenecía a la “sexualidad masculina”, trasladando el lugar de la sexualidad femenina (particularmente, el de la mujer española), a la reproducción dentro del matrimonio para perpetuar el orden social (Bugallo 2002: 227) A pesar de que en algunos films cabía el tratamiento de la sexualidad femenina y el deseo fuera del matrimonio, solía estar representado bajo tintes moralistas, como se hace patente en el cine negro, con la representación del estereotipo de la “mujer-araña” representada en el cine negro (Carmona 1996: 254-260), como una seductora que tienta al hombre para causarle su destrucción.

El segundo elemento, el lugar donde acontece la acción, resulta revelador del punto de vista de la apropiación del discurso cinematográfico por parte de las mujeres. El espacio supone la introducción del sexo en el lugar de trabajo, un lugar relativamente público en comparación a lo privado de la casa. El contexto donde aparece representada esta sexualidad femenina lo aleja del hogar. Como pone de manifiesto Bugallo (2002), en las comedias de los setenta, el hogar había sido el lugar privilegiado para el desplegamiento de la sexualidad de la mujer española, relegada al matrimonio y la reproducción e instalada en la defensa y perpetuación del orden patriarcal. De hecho, la sexualidad femenina se había visto restringida a su papel reproductor dentro del ámbito del matrimonio y las medidas legales puestas en marcha durante el franquismo habían estado dirigidas al mantenimiento de la mujer dentro del dominio del hogar y a su dependencia económica y legal respecto del marido (Gámez Fuentes

2004). Todo ello había supuesto una vuelta al prototipo femenino de la perfecta casada, del "ángel de hogar" cuya misión en la vida era el cuidado del hogar y la familia (Nash 1996).

El largo período de la dictadura franquista supuso para la mujer, como vemos, una vuelta al mundo de lo privado, situación que se prolongó, como recuerda Gámez Fuentes (2004), hasta bien entrados los años setenta. Esto se plasmó en el hecho de que, aunque el incipiente proceso de liberalización femenina había supuesto para algunas mujeres el acceso al mundo laboral, la mayor parte de ellas estaba destinada al cuidado del hogar y la familia. Como hemos señalado, frente al aparente proceso de apertura, la mayoría de las comedias españolas de finales de los sesenta y principios de los setenta (*Objetivo bi-ki-ni,* Mariano Ozores 1968*; No desearás al vecino del quinto*, Ramón Fernández 1970), que gozaban de un gran éxito entre el público, se empeñaban en señalar que, frente a la libertad sexual de la que gozaban las extranjeras, el camino que debía seguir la mujer española era la maternidad (Bugallo 2002).

El proceso de modernización llevado a cabo tras la muerte de Franco no había conseguido borrar la imagen de esta mujer tradicional, que todavía se encontraba arraigada en la sociedad española:

> Si hay un cambio paulatino en la representación de la mujer española a medida que la década llega a su término, y la castidad del principio de los setenta deja lugar a un comportamiento más desinhibido, el cambio es sólo aparente porque la mujer española sigue siendo la encargada de salvaguardar, en última instancia, el orden patriarcal. (Medina & Zecchi 2002: 27)

Como hemos apuntado, en las comedias españolas de los 70 hay un denominador común: la exhibición del cuerpo femenino de la extranjera y el contrapunto de casta esposa reservado a la representación de la "mujer española". A pesar de que la mujer española en el tardofranquismo empieza a dibujarse con otros tintes más sexuales, su finalidad no deja de ser la misma, apunta Bugallo:

> El cuerpo nacional femenino no está destinado a ser una simple aventura sino para una misión más seria: el matrimonio. Sin embargo, su exhibición, por exigencias patrióticas, se produce en un recinto acotado por las normas

> sociales del buen ciudadano español: la alcoba matrimonial y siempre con un fin nacional. (2002: 223)

Frente a esto, el cine de mujeres que empieza a desarrollarse a finales de los setenta y durante la década siguiente, presenta personajes femeninos contrarios al modelo oficial. Presente en los films de Cecilia Bartolomé así como en los de otras directoras de la época (*Gary Cooper que estás en los* cielos, Pilar Miró 1981) encontramos un retrato totalmente distinto de la sexualidad femenina. Contrariando la representación de esposas y novias ideales, fieles y sumisas diseñadas en la comedia española de los 70, las protagonistas de estos films son mujeres fuertes, independientes y autónomas. No resulta casual que la película de Cecilia Bartolomé comience con la escena sexual iniciática de la protagonista (pues el texto dirige la atención acerca de la experiencia de Ana representando su subjetividad) y tampoco es fruto del azar que la secuencia se desarrolle en el contexto laboral.

En la película de Cecilia Bartolomé, el cuerpo de Ana permite establecer un discurso alejado del régimen dictaminado por la representación oficial. La estética propuesta por el texto excluye el carácter de objetualización a la que ha sido sometido el cuerpo de la mujer. Cuando Ana se sitúa semidesnuda (con la camisa desabrochada) frente a un espejo que hay en el laboratorio, su cuerpo da la espalda a los espectadores, pero vemos su imagen de cara, reflejada en el espejo. Su rostro expresa, al mismo tiempo, vergüenza y retraimiento. Ana permanece inmóvil durante unos segundos, pero enseguida abre su camisa y muestra sus pechos. Avergonzada, baja la vista y se tapa. Luego mira directamente al espejo y el reflejo de su imagen se transforma, cinematográficamente, en una mirada a cámara que, aunque mediatizada por el reflejo, no deja de ser una alusión, más o menos directa, al espectador. Con este gesto, dirigido en lo profílmico a su amante y, en lo extra-fílmico, al espectador, Ana nos devuelve la mirada.

La representación que persigue el texto implica volver consciente el discurso acerca del cuerpo femenino, lograr establecerlo fuera de la erotización perseguida en el cine convencional que, como indica Mulvey

(1988) se realiza en la pantalla a través de la presentación de tres miradas explícitamente masculinas: la de la cámara, normalmente masculina; la de los hombres dentro de la narración y la del espectador masculino. En el caso que nos compete, ninguna de estas tres miradas están presentes en la representación de la mujer.

El texto invita a la reflexión acerca del estatuto corporal de la mujer y del lugar que ocupa en el juego del deseo tanto en el ámbito social como en el representacional. En este sentido, a lo largo de la película se patentiza la preocupación de Ana por su edad y por el lugar que ocupa en el juego del deseo. Esta preocupación ya aparece esbozada en esta primera secuencia. "¿Tú crees que aún estoy bien?", le pregunta a su amante mientras se mira al espejo. La interiorización de Ana de patrones que determinan la identidad femenina en relación con el cuerpo se revela en su preocupación por mantener la imagen ideal (joven y atractiva) acorde con los modelos estéticos habituales. Pero este hecho tiene también otra lectura que resulta significativa desde el punto de vista de la recepción espectatorial de la imagen. La preocupación de Ana consigue evidenciar y sacar a la luz el discurso sexista acerca del cuerpo femenino, al mismo tiempo que consigue deshacer, a través de la reflexión sobre su propio cuerpo, que se presenta semidesnudo ante el espejo, la espectacularización del mismo.

Existen varios elementos en la representación que logran descomponer el mecanismo del deseo al evidenciar su carácter socialmente construido. Por una parte, la pregunta de Ana explicita, de alguna forma, esa construcción del cuerpo de la mujer como objeto de deseo a través de la reflexión de la protagonista sobre su propio cuerpo. Por otra, la puesta en escena se aleja de la espectacularización a la que somete al cuerpo la representación fragmentada del mismo. El plano medio y la disposición de los elementos en la escena impiden una descomposición de la imagen en diferentes planos destinados a objetualizar el cuerpo de la mujer. En la composición del plano, Ana da la espalda a la cámara, pero su cuerpo y su mirada nos interpelan a través del espejo. El cuerpo de Ana se convierte en un cuerpo doblemente significado: por una parte, el cuerpo "real" (que nos da la espalda) y, por otra, el "representado" (que nos mira). Ambos, situados en el mismo plano dan cuenta que el discurso que nos trasmite el “cuerpo representado”, el del espejo, se sitúa bajo la misma óptica cotidiana que se pretende trasmitir durante todo el film, evidenciando la condición de la mujer en cuanto “cuerpo cotidiano”, sujeto “real” y no objeto de deseo intemporal. Asimismo, los focos de luz que hay en el espejo nos devuelven una imagen del cuerpo de Ana más “realista”, más cotidiana y menos idealizada que las imágenes cuidadosamente estetizadas mediante la iluminación.

Para que haya deseo hace falta un cuerpo contemplado y una mirada que se detenga en él, que nos indique que ese cuerpo está ahí sólo para el disfrute visual. Pero esto se deshace si este mismo cuerpo que vemos no se ofrece para ser contemplado, sino para ser pensado. Cuando la protagonista empieza a hablar y cuestionarse su propia belleza, entonces desaparece la fantasía. Al verbalizar la preocupación por el propio cuerpo, por la belleza o fealdad del mismo, se está destruyendo el placer que produciría sólo el elemento visual. Al introducir un aspecto inquietante en el relato (el paso del tiempo) se desmitifica la imagen femenina. La representación, por tanto, no reclama la separación y el goce del espectador ante el cuerpo de la mujer, sino la identificación con la misma.

De este modo, durante la secuencia, el texto no permite una mirada absorta que se deje llevar por el deseo, sino una mirada reflexiva, que se detenga a pensar acerca de qué significa ser objeto de deseo o no serlo. Ana es presentada, no como un puro objeto de deseo, sino como un sujeto que piensa y actúa, que nos trasmite la insatisfacción y la sujeción a la que ha estado sometida durante tantos años. Evidenciar todo esto supone reclamar una mirada comprensiva, reflexiva, no sólo que mire el cuerpo de Ana, sino que se pregunte acerca del significado de dicho cuerpo en el contexto del deseo. La secuencia consigue desmontar la “mirada masculina” a través de la puesta en escena de la insatisfacción sexual de la mujer y la representación de la cotidianeidad. La misma representación del cuerpo de Ana nos mueve a establecer esta reflexión, pues al devolvernos la mirada, Ana está interpelando a los espectadores, haciendo evidente el carácter representacional de lo que vemos y rompiendo el espacio habitable que construye la narración fílmica clásica.

3. Resorte narrativo: experimentación del viaje

Pero esta ruptura, esta manera de contrarrestar la norma no está restringido a los resortes de la imagen fílmica, no se trata únicamente de momentos específicos del filme en los que surge el discurso feminista. En este caso, Cecilia Bartolomé ha optado por explorar también mecanismos narrativos que impulsen esta alternativa, construyendo un universo, también desde el mundo cotidiano, que permita un acercamiento cercano y cálido, a los personajes y sus prácticas de resistencia. Huyendo de la abstracción que supone el cine de vanguardia, la directora nos presenta una historia fácilmente reconocible para los espectadores, una historia que se vehicula, sintomáticamente, a través de la noción de "recorrido". El recorrido, en *Vámonos, Bárbara*, sugiere la capacidad para ejecutar prácticas de resistencia (frente a la familia) desde modificaciones vitales que se expresan en cambios subjetivos. Efectivamente, la protagonista decide cambiar su vida, romper con un matrimonio que sólo le ha otorgado frustración tras frustración y esto únicamente puede lograrlo experimentado un cambio en su propia subjetividad, en la manera de sentirse y pensarse a ella misma, una manera que Ana construye paso a paso a través del viaje.

Ana intenta regresar a sus orígenes, a una infancia cuya idealización se consume. En este caso, los orígenes no son la respuesta que la protagonista busca, puesto que tal respuesta no es "esencial" (no está en la esencia), pero tampoco es algo acabado, definitivo. El viaje, como respuesta a las inquietudes vitales de Ana, no puede ser un recorrido hacia el pasado. Es más, el viaje tiene, en la película, sus propios fundamentos: el camino, la experiencia, el deseo. Deseo de conocer, expresar, indagar en su subjetividad, un deseo que se da en términos de trayecto vital.

La película nos cuenta esta historia en la que Ana sale del hogar junto a su hija Bárbara. Un hogar que, además, aparece descrito en penumbra, un hogar vacío, marcado por la soledad. La salida marca esa ruptura con lo anterior y la instauración de la lógica del viaje en la vida de las protagonistas. Una "lógica" que nada tiene que ver con aquella que regía la anterior vida de Ana, una vida supuestamente ordenada y recta. La lógica del viaje, por tanto, será otra, puesto que se determinará a partir de la creatividad y la novedad: buscar sendas inusuales; dormir en la playa; perderse en el camino...

De hecho, es Bárbara quien incita a su madre a vadear, a abandonar la autopista y explorar caminos diferentes para llegar a casa de la tía Remedios. "¿Por qué no rodeamos por esos montes?", le dice. Y dejan la autopista cuando salen de Barcelona para rodear, para alcanzar otro camino que no sea el que marca la lógica imperante. Y se pierden. Pero la pérdida no está contemplada con ansiedad. El rodeo por el monte, la subversión que, desoyendo los consejos de su madre, hizo Caperucita, no es aquí un error del que haya que enmendarse, sino una cierta liberación de la "lógica" que ha regido la vida de Ana hasta ese momento. El camino no se sugiere como algo predestinado, sino que representa algo que debe ser encontrado, investigado, descubierto.

Pero la desobediencia de Ana, la ruptura, había acontecido antes: cuando la protagonista decide dejar a su marido. Este hecho resulta crucial para entender su significado en el contexto socio-histórico al que el film hace referencia: la España de la transición, vivida por algunos (como la madre de Ana) como un periodo de desorden, de inestabilidad política. Antes de la salida, es precisamente ella misma quien, postrada en la cama, y rodeada por los suyos, le reprocha su actitud: "Y es que este verano todo está desquiciado. El país está patas arriba. Hasta tú te estás contagiando". Pero la madre de Ana representa un signo de la autoridad perdida. Nada puede hacer contra la decisión de su hija, como nada podrán hacer frente a ella los diversos elementos que se intenten interponer blandiendo la bandera de la lógica, de la corrección, de la racionalidad. Ana, de hecho, adopta un discurso opuesto a dicha racionalidad. El "desorden" de su comportamiento se expone como el lugar desde el que decidir, dirigir y disfrutar de su propia vida. Contra ese "desorden" se erigirán diversas voces: la de su madre, la de la tía Remedios, la de su exmarido Carlos, incluso la de Iván, su último amante, con el que creía haber encontrado una relación menos convencional y del que se despide de esta forma: "Perdona Iván, pero no. No quiero volver a lo mismo. Te agradezco mucho lo que has hecho por nosotras y, por favor, no te enfades conmigo. Un abrazo muy fuerte. Ana."

A diferencia del cine clásico, en este caso, la renuncia no implica una pérdida del objeto, no supone un desgarro del deseo, sino bien al contrario, la renuncia es positiva puesto que implica la asunción y el compromiso con otro deseo. La emancipación, el viaje, la experiencia, es el deseo que, en realidad, Ana persigue. Y en ese viaje hay un elemento irrenunciable, imprescindible: su hija Bárbara, con la que entabla una relación cómplice, fundamental. Una relación basada en el entendimiento y comprensión entre las dos mujeres. De esta manera, y sorteando una representación idealizada de la maternidad, la relación madre-hija se establece en el film a partir de un pacto de comunicación: "A partir de ahora, tú me cuentas todas las cosas que te preocupen, tus problemas. Yo te cuento los míos y lo arreglamos entre las dos". La historia va diseñando un proyecto común, una colaboración entre ambas que se traduce en la solidaridad y comprensión de Bárbara respecto a su madre. El film aboga por la asunción de la maternidad no como algo que se encuentre en la esencia de "la mujer" sino como una relación donde las partes construyen algo nuevo. Ana representa el pacto, un modelo alternativo, más democrático del que ella vivió como hija. Este modelo de educación se fundamenta en la solidaridad entre las mujeres. Madre e hija, al comprender y compartir el camino, se sitúan en un marco distinto al de los demás, que les permite recorrer sin temor, aceptar la pérdida y renunciar al pasado sin miedo, explorar lo desconocido y descubrir senderos que se bifurcan. En el recorrido, Bárbara aprende de su madre que la audacia puede otorgar nuevos horizontes. O tal vez es la madre quien, dejándose llevar por el juego y el deseo, aprende de la hija, quien le propone algo que nadie le había expresado nunca: abandonemos la autopista, gris, aburrida y monótona y adentrémonos en la maleza, rodeemos esos montes, aquellos que todavía pocas personas osan atravesar.

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Challenging Conservative Discourses: the Case of *Σχεδόν Ποτέ* ('Almost Never')

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Abstract

In this paper, my focus is on how *conservative* gendered discourses –defined as those that sustain unequal power relations between men and women– can be seen as being *challenged* in the 'text' of the Greek fictional TV series, *Σχεδόν Ποτέ* (*ΣΠ*) ('Almost Never'). This exploration is part of my analysis of how women are construed in terms of gender roles and sexual practices in *ΣΠ* in my attempt to answer the overarching question 'How is the change in gender relations that can be argued to be taking place in modern (urban) Greek society represented in this TV series, and how are these representations consumed by young Greek women viewers?' To this end, I employ an adapted Faircloughian CDA framework of analysis (mainly, Fairclough 2001a, b, 2003). More specifically, I show how these *challenges* to *conservative* discourses are manifested in the series through the use of lexis with negative denotation and lexis with negative connotations, the narrator's role, the juxtaposition between text and image, irony and practices. Such challenges to conservative discourses can be seen as indicative of the social change in terms of gender roles that can be argued that Greek society is going through.
Key words: *CDA ~ challenging conservative gendered discourses ~ iron*

1. Introduction

In this paper, I focus on how *conservative* discourses can be seen as being *challenged* in the 'text' [note 1] of the Greek fictional TV series, *Σχεδόν Ποτέ* (*ΣΠ*) ('Almost Never'), considered by viewers and non-viewers as the Greek *Sex and the City*. *ΣΠ* is about

> [f]our beautiful and successful women near their thirties –Maria, a radio producer, Stefania, a pro bono lawyer that works in an institute for battered women, Va[d]a, an actress and Kalia, a fashion shop owner and fashion designer– [who have] set their minds on finding the right guy to fall in love with (http://www.clproductions.gr/en/television/almost-never-1).

Explicitly concerned with gender relations and sex issues, I chose *ΣΠ* because it is a clearly *gendered* site (cf. Sunderland & Litosseliti 2002), and thus very fruitful for investigating how women are construed in *ΣΠ* in my attempt to answer the overarching question 'How is the change in gender relations that can be argued to be taking place in modern (urban) Greek society represented in this TV series, and how are these representations consumed by young Greek women viewers?' [note 2] Indeed, what could be read as challenges to conservative discourses could be an indication of this transitional phase of modern (urban) Greek society is going through.

In this wider attempt, I draw on Fairclough's approach to CDA (mainly 2001a, b, 2003), as it explicitly links discursive change with social change; changes in society are linked with changes at the discursive level being *mediated* through *interdiscursivity* in the sense that there is linguistic and intertextual heterogeneity of texts in periods of intense social-cultural change [notes 3, 4] (Fairclough 1992b: 195, 215). Often, this 'intertextual heterogeneity' refers to the co-existence of *competing/contradictory* discourses, see in my case, conservative discourses, challenges to those and progressive ones (Kosetzi 2007b), functioning as an indicator of the sociocultural change I am arguing Greece is going through (see section 4.1). The existence of these *competing/contradictory* discourses has been conceptualised *both* as *conservative* (Wetherell *et al* 1987; Lazar 1993, 2000, 2005), *and* as *progressive*, in the sense of leading to potential change (e.g. Hollway 1984; Fairclough 2001b; Sunderland 2004). I would also argue for the positive potential of contradictions, because of the fact that discourses are situated in specific place and time (e.g. Wodak 1995), and are thus indicative of these (e.g. Blommaert 2005), even if they are marginal.

Thus, challenges to conservative discourses and progressive ones will be telling of the times.

However, I have adapted his framework in light of issues regarding CDA and fiction (e.g. irony, see Sunderland 2004), and issues that emerged from my data (e.g. the narrator's role). Thus, under 'interactional analysis' of stage 2 of Fairclough's framework (e.g. 2001b: 238), I account for linguistic analysis, irony, visual analysis, narrator's role, interdiscursivity, and social analysis (see Kosetzi 2007a forthcoming).

In this framework, *discourse* is used in two senses: "as an abstract noun, meaning language and other types of semiosis as elements of social life" [note 5] and, "as a count noun, meaning particular ways of representing part of the world", i.e. different discourses can represent the same 'part of the world' from different perspectives (Fairclough 2003: 26). *Conservative* discourses, in particular, are those that favour "a traditional, asymmetrical arrangement between the genders whereby women and men each have specific gender roles, responsibilities and expectations to fulfil" (Lazar 2000: 377), and thus sustain unequal power relations between men and women (cf. Coates 1997). By *challenge*, I refer to criticising a (conservative) discourse. Discourse identification is based on features of the text, which act "on the one hand as *traces* of the productive process, and on the other hand as *cues* in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough 1989: 24, emphasis in original) (see section 2.).

Finally, this paper draws on some further key theoretical premises. First of all, I align myself with the view that there is a *dialectical* relationship between media and society, i.e. the media *shape* and *are shaped* by society (e.g. Kastoras 1990; Fairclough 1995a; Kakavoulia *et al* 2001). Regarding media and gender, in particular, "all media are central sites at which discursive negotiation over *gender* takes place" (van Zoonen 1994: 41, emphasis in original). Moreover, "*[n]o* representations in the written and visual media are gender-neutral. They either confirm or challenge the status quo through the ways they construct or fail to construct images of femininity and masculinity" (Weedon 1987: 101, my emphasis), or they may do both simultaneously.

Furthermore, CDA, having been marginally used to analyse fiction, *can* and *should* be more widely applied to (TV) fiction (Kosetzi 2007a forthcoming).

2. Means through which challenges take place

Challenges to conservative discourses usually take place in my TV data through a number of ways:

- ✓ The use of lexis with negative denotation and other with negative connotations, used to express criticism
- ✓ Irony
- ✓ The juxtaposition between text and image
- ✓ The narrator's comments
- ✓ Representations of practices

2.1. Lexis

Lexis is important because of its relation to ideology; in Fairclough's words (1992a: 185) "the meanings of words and the wording of meanings are matters which are socially variable and socially contested, and facets of wider social and cultural processes". More specifically, the meaning of a word or utterance can have a number of functions (in relation to social processes), e.g. it can *maintain* unequal power relations as it legitimates, dissimulates, and/or reifies a state of affairs (e.g. Thompson 1984; e.g. to call a sexually active woman a 'slut'), or it can *challenge* a state of affairs (e.g. West, Lazar & Kramarae 1997: 119; e.g. to characterise motherhood as 'not heaven', as opposed to 'something wonderful'). For these reasons, the choice of one specific lexical item over an (available) other is important. What is also important is the *presence* of the meaning (and consequently of the word), as opposed to its *absence*, in the first place. Needless to say, how lexis is used, e.g. straightforwardly or ironically (see below) is of utmost importance.

2.2. Irony

In order to analyse instances of irony [note 6] present in my data, I draw on Clift (1999). Clift draws herself on Goffman's *footing* (1979), see his distinction between 1. the animator of an utterance, the person who articulates it, 2. its author, the person who 'wrote' it, 3. its principal, the person committed to its proposition. Clift argues that in irony, there is a 'footing shift', from "committed participant [which is the "default assumption in talk"] to detached observer" (1999: 532). Further, this shift of footing achieves the existence of two meanings, or to use Goffman's (1974) terminology, *framing*. According to that, there is one meaning inside the other; when there is footing shift, "the ironist frames what is said, thus becoming principal of an outside –framing– meaning" (Clift 1999: 533). Finally, irony is used for detachment, as it is "framed evaluation" (1999: 546).

What is of utmost importance here is irony's *function*. In my data, irony *challenges* a discourse [note 7], similarly to Speer (2002), Potter & Speer (2002) and El Refaie (2005). Specifically, Speer (2002) demonstrates how the participants in her study of sexism and leisure (within a discursive psychology framework) exaggerated and made fun of fears of injury considered by men to be reasons for women's non-participation in activities 'non-traditional' to their sex and thus "exploit[ed] [such] sexist arguments in an ironic fashion to expose and challenge sexist assumptions" (2002: 247). Speer & Potter (2002) similarly analyse an extract from a television documentary on the 1998 Gay Games in Amsterdam presented by an 'out' gay man, Richard Fairbrass. Commenting on a football match between a gay and a straight team, Fairbrass mocks the heterosexual stereotype for football playing, and "his interjection, through its ironic placement, works to highlight the social construction of sexuality and the mechanisms through which heterosexuality comes to be seen as normative" (Speer & Potter 2002: 173). Irony worked in a similar way in a different study. Analysing Austrian newspapers, El Refaie (2005) found a small number of articles ironically highlighting the absurdity of prejudices and racism, common in other articles, and thus challenged their naturalness.

2.3. Visuals
Having embarked elsewhere on a theorisation of visual analysis (Kosetzi 2007a forthcoming), here, I limit myself to the relation between text and image, directly related to the focus of this paper. The relation between text and image has variously been conceptualised as complementary or even contradictory (e.g. Stephens 1992; Meinhof & van Leeuwen 2000; Sunderland 2004; van Leeuwen 2005). In my data, I have identified cases where it seems to be contradictory, thus challenging the conservative discourse in point (see case I below). Kress & van Leeuwen (1996: 18), discussing the case of ads, similarly note the possibility that "the verbal text is studiously 'non-sexist', while the visual text encodes overtly sexist stereotypes", which could be the case here, too (cf. Jewitt & Oyama 2001).

2.4. The Narrator's Role
In *ΣΠ*, there is a character, Maria, who is also narrator. As narrator, Maria comments on what other characters say/do and on herself through Voice Overs (V.O.s) in ways that (may) challenge a discourse, employing *ironic* commentary. Both V.O.s (cf. Lothe 2000; Akass & McCabe 2004) and irony (see above) can be used to achieve distance to what is shown.

3. The Analysis
3.1. Social Context
3.1.1. Political Action
Currently, in Greece there is a National Action Programme for Gender Equality aiming to the efficient use of human resources, irrespectively of gender, and the elimination of any discrimination against women. Broadly, the goals of the Programme is to develop strategies promoting women's position in economy, lifelong learning, the workplace, women's participation in decision-making posts, to improve knowledge of legislation, to promote equality in everyday life including changing

stereotypes about gender roles (Tzavella 2004), the 'tool' being *gender mainstreaming* [note 8].

3.1.2. Education
Women's participation in higher education has increased currently (Chrisakis, 2005; http://www.in.gr/news/article.asp?lngEntityID=689237&lngDtrID=244, 2006), while in 2001, 59% of the students in universities were women, as well as 50% of the students in Master courses (Ketsetzopoulou & Simeonidou 2002).

3.1.3. Employment
During 1991-2000, the percentages of working women increased and women's unemployment rates decreased (Athanasiadou, Petropoulou & Mimikou 2001; Ketsetzopoulou & Simeonidou 2002). After 2000, the percentages of working women further increased (Tsatsouli, Dimopoulou & Potiri 2003).

3.1.4. Media
The National Report of Greece after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing acknowledged that some progress has been made both regarding women's promotion to senior positions of media institutions and gender representations (General Secretariat for Equality 1999). More specifically, Paidousi (2000) draws attention to representations of independent women in TV series, whilst those of women subordinated to men emotionally and financially are fewer and fewer.

3.1.5. Interpersonal relationships
Currently, what is frequently heard in the media is that the roles between the sexes in interpersonal relationships have changed, i.e. that nowadays women are 'hunters' (e.g. in *Stoma me Stoma*, a prime-time show, 9/1/2004; in *Apoklistika*, an afternoon 'gossip' TV programme, 1/06/2004, in *Auto pou Theloun oi Gunaikes*, an early evening, live, competition-like TV programme, 24/12/2004, 27/12/2004, 30/12/2004, in a pop psychology talk-show *Kitaw Brosta*, 29/12/2006,

and also in broadsheet newspapers, *Ta Nea* (Kaitanidi 2004); in gossip magazines, e.g. [Shock] (http://www.myworld.gr/browse/17334, 2006) [notes 9, 10].

3.2. Linguistic/Semiotic Analysis

3.2.1. Challenging 'Women's Bodies Always Need Fixing'

In *ΣΠ*, there is the *conservative* 'Women's Bodies Always Need Fixing' discourse (e.g. Smith 1988, 1990; Wolf 1991; Faludi 1992), articulated through *verbal* and *visual* realisations (Kosetzi 2007b). However, there are also instances where this discourse is *challenged*.

Case i [note 11]:

Women come and go. They are all beautiful and well-groomed. Camera shows a woman's foot and the frame freezes in the shoe.	Super goes in front of the screen that is being typed at that time: shoes 250 euros.
A woman's leg (freeze frame).	Super again: laser hair-removal 3,000 euros plus the pain.
A woman's thighs (freeze frame).	Super: gym 312 hours per year.
A woman's head (freeze frame at hair).	Super: hairdresser: 2,500 euros per year.
Freeze frame at a woman's breast.	Super: breast, a tear, 4,500 euros.
Freeze frame at a manicured female hand.	Super: manicure: 2,000 euros per year.
	Maria's V.O.: And the result? Not even a wedding ring.

Here, women are engaged in a number of beauty practices in order to become more desirable/beautiful, such as buying shoes, undergoing hair-removal, going to the gym, having plastic surgeries, and manicures, and ultimately to get married (see the V.O.). While the *visual* track could be read as a set of images-realisations of 'Women's Bodies Always Need Fixing' interwoven with the discourse I name 'Marriage: Women's Ultimate Goal/Happiness' (Kosetzi 2007b), the *written* track instead poses a *challenge* to them, at it provides information on the amount of money, time and the psychological and physical cost (see [the pain], [a tear]), which could lead viewers to read all these changes disapprovingly. In this way, visual and verbal tracks appear contradictory (for the relation between text and image see 2.3.).

Women's efforts to become more beautiful are also represented from a *man's* point of view, and are represented *critically*:

Case ii:

In a club. MS [note 12] of Stephania and Telis talking.	Telis Look, I am sick and tired of all these chicks who dress up, make up and strive to act as if they were sexy. […] Telis You see all these chicks with a suntan; they are one step away from developing melanoma. They get burned in the solarium, they become dry like raisins and rough like a bag of nails. Then they act as if they were beautiful.

The women are referred to as *πατσαβούρες* [rough like a bag of nails], they are [one step away from developing melanoma], and *σταφιδιάζουν* [become dry like raisins], not flattering descriptions of women –given through these specific metaphors in Greek– who resort to beauty practices for the opposite effect, to look beautiful to others. Additionally, they do not make mere efforts, but they [strive], and they are not even seen here as sexy or beautiful –consider the choice of [act] used twice, as opposed to 'be' that could have been employed instead (see also 2.1.), combined with the *conditional* [as if] in [act as if they were sexy] and [act as if they were beautiful], i.e. they are not, Telis seeing through women's efforts. All this lexis is *derogatory*, whilst no positive alternative is offered. In other words, Telis is criticising women's practices that the conservative discourse implies. Although he does not say that women's bodies do not need fixing, he is critiquing (the above) extreme beautification practices, leading to the challenge to the discourse in this specific way. However, he is implicitly positioning those women as stupid, and his challenge is not a feminist one.

3.2.2. Challenging the discourse 'Marriage: Women's Natural Goal/Happiness'

In *ΣΠ*, although the characters draw on the *conservative* 'Marriage: Women's Natural Goal/Happiness', significantly, marriage is also construed as something problematic, via both *practices* and *language*. As regards *practices*, Stephania works voluntarily in a centre for abused women, thus representing marriage as potentially (and often actually) far from 'rosy' and certainly not the 'and they lived happily ever after' ending of fairy tales. Additionally, married people in the series are few and portrayed as having problems: Panos is married with a child, and has an affair with Kalia, during which his wife was pregnant again; Zinos divorced his wife to be with a considerably younger woman; and Katerina's husband also had an affair (see case iii). Apart from these cases, where women are cheated on, there is also Martha, who after her husband cheating on her repeatedly and beating her up (these were represented to the viewers through Martha's account), resorted to the centre where Stephania worked. She got a divorce, wrote a book about her life, and took care of herself and her outer appearance. Thus, her way out of her marriage was represented as a liberating experience, and she became emancipated and powerful. Not to mention that the existence of divorce *per se* reveals that marriage is not the only possibility, i.e. it is a challenge to the institution of marriage itself, and it can be positive (at least in this case).

'Marriage: Women's Natural Goal/Happiness' is also challenged *verbally*: Maria met her married friend with a child, Katerina. Katerina praised how lucky she is in her (married) relationship, something that Maria lacks as she does not have a boyfriend (or husband), and constantly used the *first person plural* to include her husband to what she referred (e.g. We started a diet, we lost 8 kilos). However, this 'perfect' image of marriage is *challenged*:

Case iii:	
Inside Katerina’s car: she is driving, Maria is sitting next to her, Katerina’s little boy is in the back seat. CU of Katerina talking to Maria. MCU of Katerina’s son MCU of all of them, camera out of the car shooting.	Maria (V.O.) I forgot that when you get married, you go to the sphere of ‘our’, our cottage, our kilos, our child.
	[…]
Katerina’s husband calls to inform her that he would be late (again) in the evening. Katerina does not like this fact at all and raises her tone of voice. CU of Katerina, her profile to the camera, turning to Maria, a faint smile.	Maria (V.O.) Our husband cheating on us.

The marriage discourse is challenged first of all by Katerina losing her calmness and raising her tone of voice when talking to her husband, conveying to viewers that there is something wrong going on in this marriage, and probably he is having an extramarital affair, as it is not the first time to go home late and stay to the ‘office’ instead.

Furthermore, Maria already starting with an *ironic* metacomment, revealed also through her tone of voice, regarding the fact that in a marriage [we/our] is used (see Katerina’s words, ‘We started a diet, we lost 8 kilos’), ends with *Το κέρατό μας* [Our husband cheating on us], the absolute challenge to marriage with its assumptions of ‘for life’ and mutual fidelity. In this way, the hunch that viewers have from Katerina’s reaction to her husband’s phonecall that her husband is cheating on her is verified through Maria’s V.O. as narrator. In this ironic metacomment, Maria relies on the very discourse that she is working to challenge, Katerina’s comments, to make a mockery of it (cf. Speer 2002; Speer & Potter 2002; El Refaie 2005), *framing* the whole incident (see 2.2.), although as a character, she employed the conservative 'Marriage: Women's Ultimate Goal/Happiness' (see Kosetzi 2007b). Thus, although this interaction started as a paean to (married) relationships, it 'shifted' into a mockery Maria using Katerina's [we/our] negatively. In these ways, 'Marriage: Women's Ultimate Goal/Happiness' is *challenged*, especially the 'happiness' part, as when a husband cheats on his wife is not exactly a 'happy' situation.

3.2.3. Challenging 'How to Get Your Man and Keep Him'

Another conservative discourse widely employed in *ΣΠ* is 'How to Get Your Man and Keep Him' (e.g. Gauntlett 2002; Litosseliti & Sunderland 2002; Sunderland 2004). There are, however, a number of instances that challenge it. One of those is the following:

Case iv:

¾ shot of Vada and Isidoros, her boyfriend, in nature, MLS	Maria (V.O.) … at Lycabetus, Vada tries to find peace copying the cranky character and whims of her new-in-her-life - for this week - love to prove to him that they are a perfect match. Because of him, she developed the habit of being a vegetarian, an obsession with walking barefoot to feel nature's vibes, and the habit of talking to plants.

In this example, Maria, as narrator, introduces Vada to the audience for the first time. Her lexical choices are very interesting: the verbs ξεπατικώνοντας [copying] and κόλλησε [she developed the habit of] [note 13] connote change in the sense that Vada did not have these habits before. Instead, they mark an adaptation to her boyfriend, as she just imitates him, also manifested linguistically via the clause that signifies purpose [to prove to him that they are a perfect match], i.e. to get the relationship to last (for semantic relations, see Fairclough, 2003), hence 'How to Get Your Man and Keep Him'. However, neither ξεπατικώνοντας nor κόλλησε have positive attributes. Along the same lines is what Vada is imitating, i.e. her boyfriend's [cranky] nature and [whims], which also have negative connotations. One of these whims turned into an [obsession], again definitely neither a neutral word nor a positive one. Additionally, [peace] sits uncomfortably with [cranky], going against common understandings and assumptions; how can one find peace by copying another's crankiness? All this negative lexis expresses criticism on Maria's –the narrator– behalf of Vada and her actions, and thus challenges 'How to Get Your Man and Keep Him'. Finally, Maria's tone of voice is ironic, marking a shift from Vada's practices to keep her new boyfriend to a criticism, Maria framing an outside meaning, i.e. possibly that Vada should not be adopting these practices (see Clift 1999 and 2.2 above).

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have demonstrated how *challenges* to the conservative discourses 'Women's Bodies Always Need Fixing', 'Marriage: Women's Natural Goal/Happiness' and 'How to Get Your Man and Keep Him' in *ΣΠ* are realised through lexis with negative connotations and other with negative denotation, used to express criticism, the juxtaposition between text and image, the representation of practices, the *narrator*'s comments through V.O., and *irony*.

Moreover, the presence of such challenges to the conservative discourses are important as they may point to social change (see section 1.); they can be manifestations of the transitional phase that modern (urban) Greek society can be seen as going through, where women are better educated than in the past, make considerable strides professionally, are thus financially independent and the man is no longer the automatic 'breadwinner' of the family, framed in a broader context of EU equal-opportunities legislation and gender mainstreaming, possibly leading to changes in interpersonal relationships, too (see 3.1).

However, such challenges may be more obvious in some cases than in others, pointing to the existence of multiple/alternative readings, part and parcel of fiction (cf. Unger & Sunderland 2005), and in accordance with (recent) calls within CDA (Wodak 2007a forthcoming, b). These however are not discussed here due to space restrictions, but see Kosetzi (2007b). Additionally, in order to be able to make claims regarding social change, research on the consumption of these challenges is necessary, to verify whether or not this is indeed the case (see Kosetzi 2007b).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Ruth Wodak for her useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Responsibility for the final outcome lies entirely with me.

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Notes

1. Considering the TV series' episodes as 'text' is in line both with CDA (see e.g. Fairclough 2001b, 2003 for that texts are not only written or oral, but also include other forms of semiosis), and with media studies, where 'text' can refer to "any kind of media material, such as a television programme…" (Gauntlett 2002: 16).
2. This paper is part of a broader research project undertaken for my PhD thesis, where both the series and the audience (female focus groups) are analysed. Here, I focus on the series.
3. (see also e.g. Lazar 1993, 2000, 2005; Fairclough 1995a, 2005; Walsh 2001).
4. Seen from different perspectives, interdiscursivity can also signal 'ideological dilemmas' (see Billig *et al* 1988), or an attempt to accommodate multiple audiences or stylistic reasons.
5. The notion of *discourse* is distinguished from that of *text*: "A text is a product rather than a process – a product of the process of text production. … *discourse* … refer[s] to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part" (Fairclough 1989: 24).
6. Irony can be seen as close to *sarcasm* and/or *humour*. In relation to the latter, (some) instances of irony can also be perceived as humour, in the sense that irony might cause a smile/laughter at times. However, I do not see humour to be the major 'feature' of the series. With reference to the former, sarcasm has been defined as an "overtly aggressive type of irony, with clearer markers/cues and a clear target. There is no consensus on whether sarcasm and irony are essentially the same thing, with superficial differences, or if they differ significantly" (Attardo 2000: 795; see also Jorgensen 1996). However, the answer to such (theorisation of a) distinction between irony, sarcasm and humour exceeds the scope of this paper.
7. For a discussion of other possible functions of irony, see Kosetzi (2007a forthcoming, b).
8. The concept of gender mainstreaming emerged in the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (Pollack & Hafner-Burton 2000), and, as set by the Council of Europe, involves:

the reorganisation, improvement, development, and the evaluation of the process of implementing policy in order to integrate the perspective of gender equality in all policies in all levels and stages by the agencies that are involved in implementing policies (http://www.kethi.gr/english/entaxi/index.htm).

However, gender mainstreaming has been criticised as just involving 'adding women' (see e.g. Pantelidou Maloutas 2005; Lombardo & Meier 2006). Indeed, discourses about (self-)representation of women are also important, and not only numbers, as well as a reconceptualisation of gender, seen not as a hierarchy or dichotomy (Pantelidou Maloutas 2005).
9. Informal personal observations.
10. Despite all these developments and the positive measures enforced, this does not mean that there are not problems to be solved and areas to be improved (for details, see Kosetzi 2007a forthcoming, b).
11. I restrict myself here in illustrative cases, presenting the data in two columns: the visual elements (and contextual information) on the left and the dialogue on the right (cf. Myers 2001), with 'traces' highlighted. The analysis is conducted in the original language, but translated in English for non-speakers of Greek, concurring with Fairclough (1995b: 191) who contends that "discourse analysis papers should reproduce and analyse textual samples in the original language, despite the added difficulty for readers", and Stubbs' (1997: 108) criticism of 'extreme decontextualisation', i.e. data presented only in translation.
12. Regarding the visual elements, I also account for camera shots in relation to the amount of a person/object included within a given frame in order to describe the setting. Following Holland's (1997: 56) classification, I make use of the following categories:

Close-Up (CU) "Just above the head to the upper chest. Cuts just below the necktie knot"
Medium Close shot (MCU) "Cuts the body at the lower chest, just below the armpit"
Medim Shot (MS) "Cuts the body just below the waist"
¾ shot "Cuts just below the knees"
Medium Long Shot (MLS) "(full length shot) The entire body, plus a short distance above and below".
13. The Greek verb used *κόλλησε* is more negatively loaded than the periphrastic English translation suggests.

What do we laugh at? Gender representations in “3rd Rock from the Sun”[1]

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Abstract

Chandler (2006) argues that representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of ‘reality’ such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts [...] such as gender, ethnicity, race, etc (cf. Fairclough 1995). These representations are often manipulated, exaggerated or distorted, with the purpose, among others, of making us laugh. Such is the case of the representation of gender in the American TV sitcom *3rd Rock from the Sun*.

Upon assuming human form, a team of aliens who are on a fact-finding mission on the Planet Earth find themselves trapped in the bodies of three men and a woman. Lacking the awareness of what it means to grow up being a man or a woman, they find themselves immersed in different types of interactions with humans which they try to handle by applying logic, naturalness and honesty –as they would do in their world, where truth prevails upon politeness and social conventions; and gender does not exist. The result is a series of disparities that violate certain social premises and that make them hilariously funny and pragmatically extravagant, especially in the case of Sally, the woman and Dick, the eldest.

In this article I concentrate on the representation of women (Giles 2003) and femininity by analysing the character Sally in several episodes in which she is humourously portrayed as the alien overwhelmed by the juggernauts of being a woman who does not know what is socially expected from her. My intention is to show what kind of gender messages are present in the series –which often creates humour by making Sally act “inappropriately”. Across many theories of humour it is accepted that humour can provide some form of tension release, and can facilitate a reinterpretation of a given situation or event (Koestler 1964; Martin & Lefcourt 1983 in Moran & Massan 1999). Underlying the analysis is the intention to prove how humour may help to question many established

[1] This is the first draft of the paper.

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 726-750.

stereotypes and can help override sexist representations of women, as well as some social premises concerning gender biases.
Key words: *gender ~ media representation ~ multimodal ~ humour*

1. Introduction

Chandler (2006) argues that representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of 'reality' such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts [...] such as gender, ethnicity, race, etc (cf. Fairclough 1995). These representations are often manipulated, exaggerated or distorted, with the purpose, among others, of making us laugh. Such is the case of the representation of gender in the American TV sitcom *3rd Rock from the Sun*.

Upon assuming human form, a team of aliens who are on a fact-finding mission on Planet Earth find themselves trapped in the bodies of three men and a woman. Lacking the awareness of what it means to grow up being a man or a woman, they find themselves immersed in different types of interactions with humans which they try to handle by applying logic, naturalness and honesty –as they would do in their world; where truth prevails upon politeness and social conventions and gender differences either do not exist or are irrelevant. The result is a series of disparities that violate certain social premises and that make them hilariously funny and pragmatically extravagant, especially in the case of Sally, the woman, and Dick, the eldest.

In this article I focus on the representation of women (Giles 2003) and femininity by analysing the character Sally in several episodes in which she is humorously portrayed as the alien overwhelmed by the juggernauts of being a woman who finds it difficult to act in the way that is socially expected of her. My intention is to show what kind of gender messages are present in the series– which often creates humour by making Sally act "inappropriately".

Humour, as has been often argued, implies a violation of the social, linguistic norm or "subjective moral order"; at the same time that, as argued across many theories of humour, it is accepted that it can provide some form of tension release, and can facilitate a reinterpretation of a given situation or event (Koestler 1964; Martin & Lefcourt 1983 in Moran & Massan 1999). As stated by Bippus (2003), “its ambiguity enables it to be used to communicate and enforce social norms and relational expectations (Kane, Suls & Tedeschi 1977; Seckman & Couch 1989; Slugoski & Turnbull 1988; in Johnson 1990) with the possibility of saying “Only kidding!” if comments are not well received (Johnson 1990)”. Underlying the analysis is the intention to prove how certain intended humorous comments may help question many established stereotypes and can help override sexist representations of women, as well as some social premises concerning gender biases.

2. TV sitcom 3rd Rock from the Sun

The TV series *3rd Rock from the Sun* is an American TV situation comedy that ran from 1996 until 2001 (season 1-season 5). The show was about a “family” of four extraterrestrials who landed on Earth to observe the human race, while pretending to be one of them. The show was aired in America on NBC and exported to many countries. The TV series was very popular and its protagonists won different awards for their interpretation in the series[2].

The aliens are four characters in total: Dick Solomon (the father and the main character; the episodes titles are often play on words on his

[2] Due to restrictions in space I will refer to different web pages that can be consulted to complete the information on the TV sitcom itself and concentrate here in the analysis. http://www.3rdrockfan.com/mrsDubcek.aspx

name: e.g. *Post Nasal Dick, Dick's First Birthday, Dick Smoker, Green-Eyed Dick, The Art of Dick, Ab-Dick-tedI Enjoy Being A Dick, Assault With A Deadly Dick)*, Sally Solomon (Dick's sister), Tommy Solomon (Dick's teenager son) and Harry Solomon (Dick and Sally's brother). As argued in the presentation and summary of the series[3], itprovides:

> [...] the bizarre vantage point of an innocent seeing everything for the first time [...] it provides the comic framework from which to satire the human condition and American society, to look at all of the injustices and absurdities and humorously point them out to us. *3rd Rock* cuts through our taboos and traditions with a childlike inquisitive logic and an impeccably paced humorous twist. We, the viewers, see ourselves in *3rd Rock*, and we see ourselves as the aliens." The humor of *3rd Rock* is always twisting the viewpoint to show the angle of an outsider looking in. *3rd Rock,* which we know as Earth, is the way travelers would look at the world —an insignificant blue speck that is, the *3rd Rock from the Sun*.

In my opinion, the series offers a rather unique environment to learn and teach about the human condition, about many aspects having to do with social premises; as well as with social, and conversational rules and pragmatic principles. Indeed, about all aspects that are part of social interaction, since it is not often that one gets the chance to look at human interaction "from the outside" unless it is through some kind of fiction. In this article and due mainly to space limitations, I will focus on the statements and image that the aliens have of what it means to be a woman.

3. Multimodality: Representation, gender humour and stereotypes

3.1. Multimodality

The idea of multimodality and multimodal theory has already been present for a while in linguistics (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen 1996), but is still at its beginnings, with regard to the production of pieces of research

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3 http://www.tv.com/3rd-rock-from-the-sun/show/181/summary.html?full_summary=1&tag=showspace_links;full_summary

that include all the aspects that a multimodal analysis demands, looking into not only discourse and design but also production and distribution factors. However, this is not possible until we move to a multimodal medium of publishing, where space limitations will be substituted by parallel document/s that the reader can have access to –if interested– through linking for example. In that way images and sound can be also part of the analysis. This piece of research can be said to be an attempt to partly provide a multimodal analysis with the limitations imposed by the medium in which it will be published.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) see multimodal texts as making meaning in multiple articulations. Essential to my analysis is that as argued by Kress & van Leeuwen (2001: 8), any discourse may be interpreted differently from the way it was intended. A story may be written to entertain, but an interpreter may not be entertained because of the story's built-in ethnocentric bias against, for example, the interpreter's ethnic group. They argue that the degree to which intention and interpretation will match depends on the context (cf. Gregori-Signes 2005). Taking this argument as the point of departure for my analysis, I have drawn upon several concepts that helped me understand what type of representation of gender is offered in the series, such as the relationship between gender and humour, the concept of schemata, keying markers and the concept of implicature and inferencing.

3.2. The interaction between gender and humour

Along the same lines as Crawford (2003: 1413), who claims that "women and men use humour in same-gender and mixed-gender settings as one of the tools of gender construction, the purpose of this paper is to give an example of how humour can help alter and/or maintain certain roles or patterns assigned to both men and women. That is, "the unique properties of humour make it a valuable tool for gender deconstruction" (Crawford 2003: 1413).

As argued by Kotthoff (2006: 6) the relationship between gender and humour is becoming more and more complicated since "joking styles still play a part in social typification, [....] studies of male and female humorous behaviour have become more sophisticated and the theoretical conception of gender has also changed in social and cultural studies" (cf. also Crawford 2003). *3rd Rock from the Sun* is one of the many examples that may be useful to study the relationship between gender and humour. In the series, gender is in fact a humorous issue, that yields to humorous comments both in overt and covert ways; it is almost always the center of humour that often foregrounds attention in both affirmative and subversive ways (Holmes 2006).

The study of gender and language (Crawford 2003: 14), is multidisciplinary with contributions from many different disciplines. Revising the different approaches to gender goes beyond the intentions of this article. However, I believe it is necessary to outline certain principles that sometimes come from opposite positions (e.g. essentialists, social interactionists, social constructivists) and that form the foundations for this series. That is, always using a playful mode and with the intention of being funny the series assumes that:

a) men and women are different;
b) men and women are assigned different tasks in life (e.g. Sally does the housework because she is the woman);
c) being a woman implies having some limitations both phsysical and psychological (feelings, sudden mood changes etc.).

3.3. Conversational humour & Schemata

Conversational humour has been a topic of research for a long time now, and it is not the purpose of this article to review the literature available on the topic, but to analyse and discuss examples of gendered humour generated in the series through conversation. The basic premise that underlies the whole series is that although the aliens know several languages, among those English, they are unaware of the pragmatic dimension of language which among the many misunderstandings that this may cause, implies a total incapacity for going beyond literal meaning.

According to the theory of schemata, a new experience is understood by comparison with a stereotypical version of a similar experience held in memory. The new experience is then processed in terms of its deviation from the stereotypical version, or conformity to it (Cook 1994:

9). Meanings are constructed in the interaction between a text and the interpreter's background knowledge and schemata are activated by either linguistic items in the text or contextual cues. Once activated, schemata generate expectations and these fill in what is not explicitly mentioned in the text. However, expectations may be subverted, resulting in incongruity, which may give rise to humour. As is the case with many comedies the characters have been sketched to fit certain stereotypes in appearance and are meant to be humorous. But *3rd Rock from the Sun* is different form other series in that the humorous effect is mainly caused by their reacting in the exact opposite way expected of such a stereotype (e.g. Sally who apparently has the body and looks of a "bimbo" tends to act more like a man than a woman).

3.4. Keying markers

Kotthoff (1998, 1999, 2006) argues that laughter particles in utterances are important keying markers and that they often index that a text is to be interpreted as humorous. In TV sitcoms, although the audience is free to laugh at anything they find funny, canned laughter is often inserted in certain extracts, right after a humorous remark or action. Such is the case of comments about gender. Thus, keying markers, such as laugh tracks, longer-than-usual pauses or silences, exchanges of looks, funny face expressions etc., following an utterance are essential for a multimodal analysis of gender de/construction since if the audience find something funny, surprising or weird, it maybe because they are induced to do so.

3.5. Inferencing, implicatures and explicatures

As has often been argued in the field of pragmatics, much of conversational discourse involves inferencing, a fact that aliens seem to ignore and that is the basis upon which humour is built in the series. The aliens tend to interpret everything literally ignoring double meanings, innuendos, and social norms which lead to misunderstandings and "wrong" conclusions on their part.

With regard to women and gender, the aliens come to conclusions that seem to activate schemata and scripts that clash with/confirm-depending on the individual (Gregori 2005; Kress & van Leeuwen 2001) –what women are like. They do so by exaggerating or distorting certain women related activities (e.g. Sally becomes obsessed with her boyfriend, with make up, with dating, with looking beautiful and with men, among others). The question here, however, is whether the audience actually believe that the aliens conclusions are incongruent with what women really are; or whether they think women are correctly portrayed. That is, the fact that certain gender-related situations are keyed as humorous can have different interpretations on the part of the audience: a) the audience believe that the series is portraying reality and therefore women could be said to be "dysfunctional" human beings who cannot control their emotions and thus, act according to what their femininity dictates them; b) the audience interprets women's behaviour in the series as a distortion only created with the purposes of making us laugh; c) the audience believes that the representation of women is exaggerated but that there may be some "truth" in it; or, at least, that there may be some truth in the way women are perceived by certain members of society. In any case, the series leads to inferences of many types about the issue of gender, and this can be used as a starting point to alter, change or influence the final representation of women in society.

4. Objectives of the analysis

The objective of the analysis is to find out what kind of preconceived ideas about women are activated through the script provided to the aliens before they come to Earth, in contrast with what they gather from their direct observation of women's behaviour. I will analyse the first season in depth, since it is in this first season, when the aliens first try to come to terms with their gender and sexuality. Although the whole series is about the discovery of human beings by aliens, it is in the first episode in particular, when they become aware of –and rather confused about the existence of two genders and of the different (sexual) feelings that each one of them has according to their sex and age.

5. Reactions to the intended humorous view of women and their role

The whole issue is approached in a humorous manner but always presented from two points of view that require two different discourse/pragmatic strategies from the producers. That is, humour derives from: a) the interaction of the aliens with human beings; b) the interaction between the aliens themselves.

The humour deriving from the interaction between the aliens and other human beings is based on implicatures, double meaning, and a combination of several elements already described by Raskin (1985). The interactions between aliens and humans make the audience laugh at the social incompetence of the aliens who break politeness norms, social conventions (e.g. when they arrive at the party, the host asks Dick if she can take his coat to which he answers "Yes, as long as I can keep my pants"); and human habits in general (e.g. Harry is found having a shower fully dressed with his coat on). These situations are presented in sketches where humorous keying is almost always present at some point.

Humour is built into the series by a combination of visual and verbal elements such as exaggerated gestures, especially on the part of Dick, Sally and Harry either as a reaction to a particular situation or statement or as part of the characterization of the character itself (Sally's gestures for example are rather "unfeminine, and so is her voice and manners). Their physical appearance is also exploited with humorous purposes. Thus, in episodes 101 & 104 Sally dresses up exaggerating the "femme fatal" look and in Episode 203 *Big angry virgin from outer space*, Sally dresses up right in the opposite way, trying to copy the good wife's style of dressing and speaking as pictured in sitcoms such as the Dick van Dyke's series, for example; and tries to show her boyfriend that her only intention is to please him.

Nevertheless, it is conversation humour that is especially significant in the series, and as such it requires special attention. Producers structure reactions to the humorous comments on the part of the characters in two ways:

i) they go unnoticed on the part of the characters who seem to be oblivious to the rule-breaking –as is the case of most sitcoms (cf.

Gregori, Pennock & Bou 1998); "po-faced'' (serious) responses to humorous teasing according to Drew (1987) are precisely non-amused reactions to a humorous turn in conversation in which case, the characters ignore the humorous remark and proceed without any further comment. The reason being that these funny situations are created for the audience's benefit not for the characters', and the only disruption to the progress of the sitcom is merely laugh tracks (or real laughter if the sitcom is being represented in front of an audience) and a move on to the next scene or sketch (cf. Gregori 2005).

ii) they are followed by a verbal, non-verbal or physical reaction on the part of the characters: usually an expression of disbelief or a verbal reprimand to the aliens for their behaviour ('That's not funny!') on the part of the characters. Along the same lines, one of the options of the audience of a humorous turn is to deny (self-defeatingly, in fact) its humorous nature.

As argued by many different authors there exists both laughter without humour and humour without laughter. So, it should be left to the audience to decide whether a particular remark is or not humorous. Nevertheless, the difference between real conversations and sitcom dialogues is the use of laughter tracks, which somehow may force or at leas induce the audience to reconsider the nature of the remark, whether acknowledge or unacknowledged by the characters themselves.

To sum up, *3rd Rock from the Sun* makes us laugh by recurring to two types of humorous strategies. One is *internal* and dependent on our knowledge of the world and how, accordingly, the aliens are seen as to not fit into it. The other is *external* and presents us with the other side of the coin, how we are seen by the aliens and how their knowledge of their world –different from anything we know– presents us as incongruent, extravagant and complex in their eyes. It is these opposite points of view that make it interesting for the purpose of analysis. The audience laughs at it because of the capacity that human beings have to understand and account for any "deviation from the norm" (cf. Garfinkel 1967) and account for their actions as well as those of others. As for the expression of gendered-humour, this is alternatively expressed both overtly and covertly and in an affirmative or subversive way. Needless to say that this technique has been used before and is the basis on which the argument of most films and series rests on.

In order to find out what kind of preconceived ideas about women are activated through the script provided to the aliens before they come to Earth, I will pay attention to several factors such as: the kind of gender messages present in the series, the ideas that aliens build of women and their social role, the role of humour in the reinterpretation of gender and whether it helps question many established stereotypes and/or overrides sexist representations of women, as well as some social premises concerning gender biases.

6. Femininity in 3rd Rock from the Sun

As reported by Ochs (200: 339) the notion of gender centers on the premise that the notions of men and female are sociocultural transformations of biological categories and processes. As argued above, 3rd Rock humorous remarks are based on some preconceived ideas about women which, at the same time may also be used as a way of fighting back or asserting certain stereotypes. Different audiences may react differently and what is humorous for some maybe an offense for others (Gregori 2005).

6.1. Gender inequality: Biological differences & Social status

Without knowing exactly where this idea comes from, the aliens somehow assume that the woman has a lower status, as can be inferred from example 1.

Example 1
(The aliens drew straws to see which body each of them was going to get, Sally lost and, thus, she was given the body of a woman).
Dick: Sally I want you to observe her and find out what women in this planet do
Sally: Why can't Harry do it?
Dick: Because you're the woman
Sally: That brings up a very good question. Why am I the woman?

Dick: Because you lost! [101 → 2:14]

This exchange sets up the humorous key under which a great deal of the series rests: female role expectations are different from male role expectations. Humour is based on the fact that the aliens have internalised a cognitive schema concerning men and women behaviour, thus not only "enacting masculinity and femininity seems natural" (Crawford 2003: 1417) but also accepting and learning to live with it is part of being human. In example 2, Sally finds that after having been relegated to being the woman, she is constantly being bossed about by Dick. She finds that this treatment is a demeaning for someone who is the second in command and a well qualified soldier on her planet.

Example 2
1 Dick: A date! It's a perfect opportunity. You'll go
2 Sally: No I won't!
3 Dick: Trust me. I know what's best
4 Sally: **Why are you treating me like this**?
5 Dick: Like what?
6 Sally: Like this.
7 Dick: This
8 Sally: There, you just did it
9 Dick: I don't know what I'm doing
10 Sally: **You're acting as if I can't make decisions on my own**. I'm second in command, you know?
11 Dick: Well, one of us has to experience sex and I'm getting nowhere with her.
12 Sally:Why didn't you say so? I mean if sex is so important you and I can do it. Right here, on the desk. Get it out of the way
13 Dr. Albright: ok. I'll leave you alone to your venge lesson

Thus, one of the main objectives for the three aliens is to act as would be socially expected of men and women, but failing continuously to do so. Gender characterisation therefore becomes one of the main sources of humour.

Humour and gender are often paired in situations such as the one portrayed in example 3 –one of many in which the aliens find that they cannot control certain reactions or feelings which they believe are in the nature of either men or women.

The aliens believe that Sally's reactions are the result of her being a woman and that whatever she experiences is something "given" to her that all women on Earth go or have being through. So she finds herself in situations –such as the one illustrated in example 3– which she is unable to control. Thus Sally finds herself heartbroken and crying because her boyfriend does not call her back. She does not know why she feels like that and declares herself unable to control it, something she is not used to.

Example 3
Sally: He said he'd call
Dick: Yes I know
Sally: He promised. He said he'd call
Dick: That changes everything
Sally: **Dick I can take more pain than the rest of you put together but right now I just feel so icky. Dam it Dick! Just give me some pain that I can define**!
Dick: I am not going to jam your hand in the toaster again.
Sally: You **just can't imagine what it feels like Dick**. It's like he reached in and pulled all the bones out of my body *[she starts to cry]*
Dick: My god what are you doing?
Sally: **Apparently I'm leaking**!
Dick: Well, stop it!
Sally: All right Commander
She leaves the room crying

Additionally, the above examples (and the rest of the series) tell us that the aliens assume, from the very beginning that women are not only different but more complicated than men, as inferred from examples 4 and 5. Consequently, they soon realise that what seemed like a simple task turns out to be more difficult than expected, especially for Sally.

Example 4
1 Tommy: Every night!
2 Sally: No. Absolutely not!

3 Dick: Ok, fine, you leave me no other choice! Now we have to experiment at a party.
4 Sally: Dick, listen to me. **Women are trouble**. I should know. I've been one for two weeks!
5 Dick: I know. Which brings up another point. **I command you to shave under your arms.**
[*Laughs*]
6 Sally: Doable. I'm sorry you find me so offensive [*starts to cry*]
7 Dick: Damn it! put yourself together man. We are going out!
8 Sally: Ok. Ok. Give me an hour
9 Dick: An hour?
10 Sally: Yeah, an hour. I've got to rotate this! [*points at her breasts*] it's a party

Example 5:
1 Dick: Liutenant we need to talk!
2 Sally:This is all your fault! I didn't want to be the woman, you made me be the woman!
3 Dick: You condecorated better: I thought you could handle it.
4 Sally:Well I can't. This is hard [*starts crying again*]
5 Dick: Please don't. No no please no
6 Sally:[*goes on crying*]
7 Dick: Maybe he can't call, maybe his phone is out, maybe he injured himself running with scissors or using the dry cleaning bag as a toy!

In sum, the whole series is about what it means to be a man vs. what it means to be a woman and in turn, what it means to be human. In their belief women and men are different and they have different social roles and tasks assigned accordingly. Thus, the aliens try to copy everything the different sexes do and keep it strictly separate, since that will –theoretically– allow them to be more efficient in their collection of information. This is all done in a playful, humorous key and humour is built through Sally's reactions when faced with attitudes or situations in which she is expected to behave "as a woman".

6.2. Men vs. women: social alignment, bonding and biting

There are three 3 other women who appear regularly in the series apart from some other secondary characters and they all represent certain stereotypes, a common practice in sitcoms: Dr Mary Albright, an average academic; Nina, the secretary; and Mrs. Dubcek, a low class an uneducated woman who rents the aliens the flat in which they live.

Although their reactions to Sally's behaviour show that they find her a bit weird, they still bond with her when she needs it, using gender-related humour against men. As reported by Kotthoff (2006: 15):

> The first works on conversational joking among women called attention to the display of commonalities, equality, and group ties through humour (Kalcik 1975; Jenkins 1985; Painter 1980; Davies 1984). These studies showed that women's humour produced intimacy and familiarity. Women joked about shared experiences of disappointment, of having to deal with difficult people, and overcoming the constraints of their lives.

In episode 4, Sally has her first experience of this cooperative form of joking when Mary and Nina share with her some of their personal misfortunes with men. During this conversation, Sally comes to the conclusion that her episode with Brad is similar to other women's experiences and that being tolerant with this kind of behaviour is part of being a woman.

Example 6
1 Nina: You see Sally, you are not the problem. Guys are jerks. You are never going to find the perfect man
2 Dr. Albr: Yeah the perfect man would have Bill Gates's money, Jimmy Smith's ass, Lemison's shoulders, Michael Jordan's thighs…
3 Nina: And we need a brain
4 Dr. Albr. Ha! No we don't!
[laughter]
5 Nina: Yeah you're right. Then he'd think like a man.
You see Sally, there's just no dealing with the opposite sex.
6 Sally: **Yes, yes the opposite sex! I didn't do anything wrong! It's men, they are completely opposite sex! They hunt, we gather. They sweat we glow. They shit we wipe**

YOU [*addressing a guy in the bar*] your sexual organs are in completely diametrical opposition to mine!
7 Guy: Hey so can I give you a call sometime or?
8 Sally: Yeah hahaha I'll be waiting by the phone hahaha [*leaves the room*]
9 Nina: have we poisoned her?
10 Dr. Albr: Noo. Now she a boxam leggy powdy bitch with attitude [*laughter*] I think she'll do just fine.
[*Sally goes to visit Brad again*] [*the previous time something happened between them and Brad has his arm broken*]
11 Sally: Hello Brad
12 Brad: Sssally
13 Sally: I came here to tell you that I understand your limitations *[tch]* I expected too much. I'm so sorry. All the best.

Humour here is based on the fact that Sally is unaware of the pragmatic function of this cooperative form of joking and interprets everything literally, one of the main handicaps of the aliens.

Nevertheless, the outcome of the exchange is cleverly designed and has the same effects as if she had understood it: Sally moves *one step forward* towards understanding what it means to be a woman and *aligns herself socially* with this role; at the same time that the conversation creates a bond between her and the rest of the women on the planet that she did not have before.

6.3. Indexing un/femininity

It is a fact argued by many studies on gender that it is difficult to pinpoint what is characteristic of a woman and what is not, especially nowadays, when many women claim their right to move away from more traditional images of women. Ochs (1992: 342) talks about "indexing gender" and argues that "in relating sociocultural constructions of gender [...] few features of language directly and exclusively index gender". I would like to take this concept a step forward and talk about indexing femininity/unfemininity which would include other features such as behaviour, gestures, and social and cultural expectations among others. That is, despite the fact that the aliens assume that certain characteristics of being a man/ woman all come in the one package, Sally does not conform. This is reflected in the series with: a) the way she deals with her beauty; b) the way she talks to both men and women. That is, her character has been manipulated, with humorous purposes, to represent just the opposite to what her looks have required for a long time in some media representations.

Despite the fact that the aliens assume that certain characteristics of being a man/woman all come in the same package, in the case of Sally humour is built through the clash that is produced by her “rebelion”. That is, Sally represents the opposite of ladylike behaviour and she acts so accordingly, breaking all expectations that humans have about a *beautiful blonde lady*. It is also worth noticing that she's not alone in this role, since Dr. Albright and Nina, and Mrs. Dubcek themselves, also break stereotypes regarding ladylike behaviour. This, in my opinion, is not new, and has been made obvious and still is in many TV series that are making an effort in breaking the stereotype of the submissive woman –taking the term in its broadest sense– and favouring unladlylike behaviour as a step towards gender equality. Still, canned laughter indicates that this is done with humurous purposes. she has a deep voice, moves ungracefully and roughly, her way of walking and sitting is not graceful; she dresses either to exaggerate her woman condition as a femme fatal or as a “lady” when trying to conform (*204 Big Angry Virgin From Outer Space*). Additionally, she hits and menaces men in the way men often do and takes the initiative when this would not be expected.

6.3.1. Beauty, women's looks and gender norms of behaviour

Sally, as she repeats many times, has been provided with the perfect conditions to experiment femininity. And she is convinced- and proves it, when she realises how men react in her presence- that her body makes her irresistible and capable of arousing any male's sexual desire. No matter what she says or how she acts, men feel attracted to her, as is the case with the boy in the bar who despite her incoherent words still wants to call her.

Example 7:
Dick: How old are you?
Sally: Well, whatever the perfect age is by me I mean maybe I got stuck with being a woman but at least I'm in my prime. Check it up how firm this is hard [*pulls up her shirt so that Dick can touch her stomach*] You know if I was a guy I'd be all over me right now.

However, although she has been given the appearance of a beautiful woman, a *'body for sin'* she does not know neither the societal norms of beauty, nor how to socialize or how to behave as a woman. Her actions are keyed with laughter and are supposed to be humorous. Despite the effort that Sally makes to behave *like a woman*, she is humorously portrayed as overdressing, her manner of speaking with a rather masculine voice (Pennock 2006); adopting masculine postures, and distorting her face (Porter 2002, in Kotthoff 2006) and body whilst trying to be humorous.

Example 8:
[Sally's at the bar talking to a guy]
Sally: hey, if you could change one thing about me what would it be?
Guy1: [*he looks at her*] Nothing
Sally: Bingo (0.5) [*she smiles*] Doesn't get any better than this ha? Check this out. [*Pulls up her shirt*] See

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how this curves round here [pointing and moving her
finger up and down her stomach] oopsie daisy brings back
just like a cat
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6.3.2. Active vs. Passive role of women: Striking back

Related to the above mentioned is the fact that she always strikes back to men's comments, although this is also a characteristic of the other women in the series. That is, Sally represents the opposite of ladylike behaviour and she acts so accordingly, breaking all expectations that humans have about a *beautiful blonde lady*. She ignores most of the social conventions of talking lady like and acts according to what she feels rather than what is expected of her by adopting an active role in relationships, being the one who initiates actions which have traditionally been assigned to male characters in many media representations (e.g. asking her boyfriend out, assaulting her boyfriend and many other men in the series, threatening men etc.)

She also has a masculine, deep voice and flat intonation. This seems to go along with what Pennock (2005, 2006) argues is found in many young American actresses nowadays, who have adopted a creaky voice which lowers pitch thus making their voices more similar to men's. He puts forward that deeper, creaky voices are felt to be more attractive.

The other women in the series also react similar to Sally, helping therefore break the expectations that the aliens have about women's behaviour. This, in my opinion, is not new, and has been made obvious and still is in many TV series that are making an effort in breaking the stereotype of the submissive woman –taking the term in its broadest sense– and favouring unladylike behaviour as a step towards gender equality. Often, on TV or cinema a traditional performance of masculinity, can be exploited by women to communicate distance from societal expectations o femininity (Kotthoff 2006: 14). Still, canned laughter indicates that this is done with humorous intentions.

6.4. Preconceived ideas about women

The representation of women in the series is reached, in the first season of the series, through the characters of Sally, Dr. Mary Albright, Nina Campbell and Mrs. Dubcek. All of them are different and have been intelligently chosen to represent certain stereotypes which allow the series to give a fair –or at least varied– representation of women. This is what makes the series a good medium to explore gender.

6.4.1. The women in the series: Sally vs. others

Dr. Mary Albright, Nina Campbell and Mrs. Dubcek are the other women in the sitcom. Although they have been stereotyped to be funny. The main difference between them is that Sally has not had any previous experience of “being a woman”. Dr. Albright: a colleague of Dick’s at Pendelton University who becomes instantly attracted to the alien physics professor. As Dick begins to reciprocate Dr. Albright’s romantic feelings, it is their relationship which makes him extend their stay on Earth and ultimately begin to understand human emotions.

Humour is obviously reached through Sally, the alien who throughout the first season is seen to go through and suffer most of the preconceived ideas of women. They do not specify how and where they got these ideas from but, supposedly, their minds were filled with some basic information about the human race which, surprisingly, they find is not quite the same as they were told. For Sally, gender is something “given” to her which:

a) most of the time she tries to fight back (her previous condition as equal, powerful, strong etc. makes her rebel against this “weak” human state she has to go through) but the others, and society do not let her.
b) some other times she finds carried away by (e.g. when she cries because a man does not call her; when she argues that she needs an hour to get ready);
c) and some others she will be pleased with (e.g. after using beauty products she finds herself irresistible and likes it).

With regard to language, and although it maybe exaggerated and done with the purposes of being humorous, Sally's character turns out to be a good representation of the fact that, as argued by Ochs (2000: 342): “in relating sociocultural constructions of gender [...] few features of language directly and exclusively index gender”. This is very well depicted in the series by Sally, who ignores most of the social conventions of talking lady like and will act according to what she feels rather than what is expected of her. She also has a masculine, deep voice, flat intonation and not

5.4.2. Gender inequality: social & human status

The aliens somehow assume that the woman has a lower status since as stated in the first episode, Sally is the woman because she lost. That is, they drew straws to see which body each of them was going to get, she lost and she was given the body of a woman, a real bimbo.

> Example 9:
> **Dick:** Sally I want you to observe her and find out what women in this planet do
> **Sally:** Why can't Harry do it?
> **Dick:** Because you're the woman.
> **Sally**: That brings up a very good question. Why am I the woman?
> **Dick**: Because you lost! [101 → 2:14]

This first exchange sets up the key under which the whole series will be based: female role expectations are different from male role expectations. Thus, Sally –second in command and a well qualified soldier in her planet– finds herself relegated to.

In their belief that women and men are different and have different social roles and tasks assigned accordingly, the aliens try to copy everything the different sexes do and keep it strictly separate, since that will –theoretically– allow them to be more efficient in their collection of information. The humour is based on the fact that the aliens seem to have internalised a cognitive schema and "enacting masculinity and femininity seems natural" (Crawford 2003: 1417). Accordingly, Sally is in charge of finding out everything about women.

5.5. Men vs. women: social alignment, bonding and biting

As reported by Kotthoff (2006: 15):

> the first works on conversational joking among women called attention to the display of commonalities, equality, and group ties through humour (Kalcik

> 1975; Jenkins 1985; Painter 1980; Davies 1984). These studies showed that women's humour produced intimacy and familiarity. Women joked about shared experiences of disappointment, of having to deal with difficult people, and overcoming the constraints of their lives.

Already in episode 104 Sally has her first experience of such cooperative form of joking when Mary and Nina share with her some of their personal misfortunes with men. During this conversation, Sally comes to the conclusion that her episode with Brad is similar to other women's experiences and that being tolerant with this kind of behaviour is part of being a woman.

Example 10:

Nina	You see Sally, you are not the problem. Guys are jerks. You are never going to find the perfect man
Dr. Albr.	Yeah the perfect man would have Bill Gates's money, Jimmy Smith's ass, Lemison shoulders, Michael Jordan's thighs…
Nina	And we need a brain
Dr. Albr.	Ha! No we don't!
	[laughter]
Nina	Yeah you're right. Then he'd think like a man. You see Sally, there's just no dealing with the opposite sex.
Sally	Yes, yes the opposite sex! I didn't do anything wrong! It's men, they are completely opposite sex! They hunt, we gather. They sweat we glow. They shit we wipe YOU [*addressing a guy in the bar*] your sexual organs are in completely diametrical opposition to mine!
Guy	Hey so can I give you a call sometime or?
Sally	Yeah hahaha I'll be waiting by the phone hahaha [*leaves the room*]
Nina	have we poisoned her?

Dr. Albr.	Noo. Now she a boxam leggy powdy bitch with attitude
	[*laughter*] I think she'll do just fine.
	[*Sally goes to visit Brad again*] [*the previous time something happened between them and Brad has his arm broken*]
Sally	Hello Brad
Brad	Sssally
Sally	I came here to tell you that I understand your limitations *[tch]* I expected too much. I'm so sorry. All the best.

The humorous side here is that Sally is unaware of the pragmatic function of this cooperative form of joking and interprets everything literally, one of the main handicaps of the aliens. Nevertheless, the outcome of the exchange is cleverly designed and has the same effects as if she had understood it: Sally moves one step forward towards understanding what it means to be a woman and aligns herself socially with this role, at the same time that this conversation creates a bond between her and the rest of the women on the planet that she unacknowledged before.

7. Conclusions

In this article, I have analysed the representation of women in the series *3rd Rock from the Sun*. As is the case with many situation comedies, the series is to be interpreted as a comedy whose intention is to enjoy the audience and to make them laugh. One of the issues used as a humorous instrument is gender and its representation.

Due to space limitations, this article has focused on the representation of women through the character Sally for several reasons: a) in the eyes of the aliens, Sally is supposed to impersonate the "perfect woman": right age and right body; b) with regard to women, it is Sally's social behaviour that allows a contrast between the aliens schemata (which have apparently been provided to them and held in their memory before coming to Earth as a way of providing them with some helpful information and help them to adapt to human life) and reality. Supposedly, the incongruity between what they believe is the correct behaviour of a woman and what women really behave like (e.g. as shown by other characters in the series, who, for example use verbal dueling continuously) is what rises humour.

The result of this contrast is that the series provides a rich environment to allow gender deconstruction and to break as well as build on certain female role expectations. The sitcom is divided into sketches which are supposed to end with a humorous remark. As such, Sally's behaviour is always celebrated with laughter, which, in terms of gender may have two opposing consequences:

a) perpetuate the traditional gender roles, since if we laugh at it it may mean that we find it as deviating from the norm, an incongruent behaviour; and in many occasions. Sally "rebels" against the image of the bimbo that she is supposed to have been provided with and which clashes strongly with what she was used to as an alien: power, strength, capacity to decide, etc.

b) at the same time that her distancing from traditional gender roles can help proposes a renegotiation of traditional standards. Since the incongruities may be questioned and the feminine role redefined accordingly.

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Villains and princesses: gendered identities in press coverage of asylum in Scotland

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Abstract

Taking a Foucauldian approach, this paper identifies press coverage of asylumas a site of struggle where competing discourses vie for dominance and a simplistic distinction between positive and negative portrayals is problematised.
Many articles lend themselves to a Proppian reading, with "heroic" indigenous people and "villainous" asylum seekers. Military discourses and animalistic metaphors further reinforce the negative masculinity of the villains. Newspapers that take a more empathetic or challenging stance reproduce these discourses to very different effect, using them to highlight and criticize situations in which asylum seekers are arguably treated like criminals and animals.
One interesting set of articles casts a woman as "indigenous hero", thus arguably equating "heroic" elements of identity with femininity and "othering" the asylum seeking men yet further. Another set, about the threatened deportation of a family, focus on the young daughter's recent role as a 'gala princess'. Whilst superficially 'positive', this coverage is arguably disempowering in that it constructs the asylum seeker as a young, passive, stereotypically female character who "needs saving".
The paper concludes that discursive and narrative analyses provide a multi-faceted view of the construction of asylum identities in the press, and that gender shows itself to be central to any such analysis.
Key words: *identity ~ asylum ~ media ~ gender*

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 751-769.

1. Introduction

This paper developed out of media monitoring research carried out for Oxfam UK's Asylum Positive Images Programme. The paper considers the gendered nature of the identities constructed in press coverage of asylum in Scotland. The under-representation of women asylum seekers in press coverage of asylum has been documented previously, for example Article 19 (2003) and Oxfam (2006) both point out that when photographs of asylum seekers were used with articles (as opposed to, for example, the regular use of photographs of politicians with such articles) these tended to be of young asylum seeking men, thus reinforcing the stereotype of asylum seeker as 'angry young man' rather than engaging with asylum seekers' relationships within families and communities. My data show a similar pattern in terms of verbal content: of almost 300 articles, only a handful feature female asylum seekers as the main protagonist(s), and in all of these cases the asylum seekers are children or young people. Whilst the paper recognizes this numerical anomaly, however, it is qualitative rather than quantitative in its approach. Its main focus is on case studies, sets of articles that have been identified as having the construction of gendered identities as a major element. By revisiting the work of Propp (1968) and Greimas (1983) on narrative functions and binarily opposed narrative roles through a Foucauldian lens, the paper identifies press coverage of asylum as a site of struggle where competing discourses vie for dominance and a simplistic distinction between positive and negative portrayals is problematised. In particular, the paper observes the illuminating interplay between gender identity and asylum seeker / indigenous community identity at the level of both lexical choice and narrative function.

When attempting to identify competing discourses, it is useful to look for patterns in the language used to represent individuals and groups, for example lexical sets suggesting specific discourses. This paper will include such analysis, and will specifically illustrate the ways in which some discourses are recycled in ways that challenge their original, or traditional, use. In addition, however, the paper will examine patterns in the narrativisation of the articles. The paper argues that narrativisation of events, whilst an inevitable part of the construction of news, can also be viewed ideologically. Looking at narrativisation allows us to take a step further the pattern identification we begin at a lexical level. The ways in which different characters push the story forward, and the ways in which characters relate to other characters, are themselves value-laden. So, rather than just being able to view one individual or group as being portrayed relatively more positively or negatively than others, it allows us to see a dynamic relational aspect which adds another dimension to considerations of representation and, by extension, relative status in wider society.

2. Relation to their work

On first reading through the three months' coverage of asylum covered in the Oxfam project, one of the key things I noticed was the strikingly traditional nature of many of the narratives in articles that have gendered identities as a major element and it occurred to me that it may be fruitful to examine the narratives in relation to some of the classic work of Propp and Greimas. Propp (1968), in a study of Russian folk tales, argued that all of them could be reduced to the same structure. This structure he based on narrative functions rather than individual characters: what the characters achieve is seen to be what moves the story on[1]. Greimas (1983) argued that Propp's long list of narrative functions could be further reduced to a small set of binary opposites: subject/object, sender/receiver and helper/opponent. It is still the case that it is not the individual characters that are important; rather it is the relationship within each set of binary opposites and how this is played out. In this paper, too, it is the relationships I am interested in teasing out: relationships between asylum seekers and indigenous people, between the general public and politicians, and between men and women, as well as the ways in which these various binary opposites (if indeed they are constructed as such) interact with each other. If these press narratives about asylum can be read as traditional stories of heroes battling villains, then that may well suggest that the discourses around asylum available to Scottish society, or UK society more widely, or at least the discourses around asylum that members of these societies choose to draw upon, are themselves traditional. Although the limited scope of this study can only surmise about the relationships between press coverage and relationships in wider society, it is possible that the narrative functions served by different groups and individuals in these stories, and the relationships between these, have much to tell us about underlying assumptions about the roles different groups and individuals have to play in society. Thus, analysis of newspaper data in this paper can be argued to highlight for us the state of the debate in the public domain over issues of asylum and the roles asylum seekers, the general public and politicians are assigned in that debate. It will in particular be interesting to observe to what extent my observation of the traditional nature of the narratives holds under further examination, as such traditional representations could be argued to stunt the development of complex, multi-dimensional relationships between members of the asylum and indigenous communities in Scottish and UK society. Reports on press coverage of asylum have all found that lack of contextualisation, lack of diversity of sources and use of stereotypical images contribute to a general lack of complexity in the reporting, although when we look at all reports together there would appear to have been some improvement over time (Oxfam 2001; Welsh Media Group 2002; Article 19 2003; ICAR 2004). The observations made in this paper bring a new perspective to this lack of contextualization.

The paper draws upon and complements well known work on lexical representation and narrative structure by such authors as Fowler, Fairclough, Van Dijk and Bell. Fowler (1991) draws our attention to the implications of both word choice and transitivity for how news actors are portrayed. Transitivity analysis proves a useful tool when looking at this data both as regards where responsibility is seen to lie and the different functions that are attributed to male and female news actors. Fairclough (1995) talks about presences and absences in texts, in that only certain (relevant) aspects of an event turn up in any one article that is written about it. He says that it is also possible to identify 'degrees of presence' in the sense that content can be foregrounded, backgrounded or presupposed. This is relevant to my work in the sense that what we are told –or not told– about a person, either in relation to the immediate events or their background more generally (for example the reasons why a person may have sought asylum in the UK) has implications for which positions they can be seen to inhabit or functions they can be seen to carry out.

Van Dijk (1998) brings in a relational aspect when he observes a common relational pattern in news discourse that he labels the ‘ideological square’. This consists of an ‘us’ group and a ‘them’ group. The ‘good’ acts of the ‘us’ group tend to be highlighted and their ‘bad’ acts mitigated, while the ‘good’ acts of the ‘them’ group are mitigated and their ‘bad’ acts highlighted. The suggestion I make in this paper, that it is useful to look at news narratives about asylum in relation to Proppian narrative functions, builds upon this idea of a relational ideological aspect to media representations by providing us with various positions for each actor to inhabit. Bell’s (1999) work on news story structure is illuminating as regards implications for readers’ understanding of cause and effect in the events that have been reported, and is further strengthened by its engagement with the practicalities of the day to day running of a newsroom, Bell himself having worked in the past as a journalist. He points out that news narratives, unlike most informal oral narratives, are not chronological, and therefore do not have the same time structure as the events they report upon. He argues that it is therefore possible for the order in which events have occurred, and by extension the cause and effect relationships between different events, to be ‘lost’.

In an attempt to make links between detailed linguistic analysis and wider social theory as other work has done with conversational discourse (see for example Fraser & Cameron 1989, Coates 1999) it is illuminating to view this press coverage in the light of what Foucault (1980) has said about power/knowledge and dominant and deviant positions. Foucault coined the term ‘power/knowledge’, suggesting that power and knowledge are so closely related that they can be included in the same concept. His point was twofold: firstly, the more (dominant) knowledge a person has, the more powerful they are likely to become; secondly, the more powerful someone is, the more likely it is that *their* knowledge will be viewed as valid. The knowledge of the power holders becomes dominant (Foucault terms it 'dominant discourse') and thus becomes taken for granted and by extension gains the status of 'truth'. Dominant discourses by definition create categories of 'deviants' who are seen as being in opposition to 'the norm'. Foucault's work is relevant to this paper because the press presents us with 'knowledge' on a daily basis and different publications could be seen to be vying for their knowledge to be accepted as truth or dominant discourse. What constitutes 'truth' in relation to asylum is a highly contested issue and the position of different newspapers on, for example, whether it is asylum seekers or those who develop the policies to 'deal' with them who should be considered 'deviant' varies greatly.

3. The data

3.1. Case Study 1: Unrest in Detention

3.1.1. Introduction

In July 2004, a detainee at Harmondsworth detention centre outside London committed suicide, which provoked a disturbance among fellow detainees. A number of detainees were then transferred to Dungavel detention centre in South Lanarkshire, the only detention centre in Scotland, where a few days later another detainee killed himself. There were significant differences in the way different papers reported these events. To foreground the suicide in such a story would potentially position the asylum seekers as heroes, in the Proppian sense that they are protagonists whose 'family member' absents himself, thus leaving them bereft and wishing to embark on some kind of a 'quest' to right the wrong/fill the void. Most stories however backgrounded the suicide, thus decontextualising the disturbance and reinforcing the image of 'asylum seeker as angry young man'. The backgrounding of the suicide and decontextualisation of the disturbance constructs the asylum seekers not as heroes or protagonists but as 'villains' who upset the equilibrium of the detention centre (hero) and by extension the state.

Some papers go further by highlighting the role played by the police in bringing order to the disturbance. The police can be viewed as the 'helper' who assists the hero in defeating the villain.

Thus the portrayal of events ranges from a complex situation that raises many questions about asylum seekers' mental health, the suitability of detention centres and indeed detention as a method, to asylum seekers as a threat to national security, to a situation of conflict between asylum seekers and police. These various portrayals, because of the narrative functions involved, can be read ideologically. Where the asylum seekers are heroes (protagonists), they are given the status of a central character, a person who can play a central role in society and have a complex identity. Where they are villains they are seen as a problem for the heroes that must be dealt with. Where the police are involved in the helper role there is ideological closure: the villain has been dealt with and any more complex issues have been closed down.

3.1.2. Contextualisation, deconstextualisation and recontextualisation

The *Glasgow Evening Times* was the only paper in the sample to carry the story on Tuesday 20 July, which is surprising given the events occurred in South East England and the *Glasgow Evening Times* is a regional (tabloid) paper based in Glasgow and covering that city and the west of Scotland. The headline read 'Riot after asylum seeker's death'. Significantly, this is the only headline that included any reference to the suicide itself and thus suggests from the outset a link between the death and the violence that followed. The Chief Inspector of Prisons, Anne Owers, is quoted as saying that Harmondsworth was 'failing to provide a safe and stable environment' and that 'this was reflected in increasing levels of disorder, damage and escape attempts'. The implication is that these problems could have been to blame for the suicide. In this article, the asylum seekers are given the role of hero. Anne Owers' quote points to 'villainous' issues that are causing potential harm to the asylum seekers. In narrative terms this leaves the situation open for 'helpers' to aid the situation of the asylum seekers and challenge the status quo.

The *Evening Times* continued the story on Wednesday 21 July, in its 'Britain today' section on page four, under the headline '16 in asylum riot quiz'. The lead sentence reads: 'Sixteen men are today being quizzed by police about riots that rocked a refugee centre'. There are several points here that set the *Evening Times'* approach apart from that of the other papers. Firstly, the situation is referred to as a 'quiz'. This suggests there are unanswered questions about the events that took place and does not, as some of the other papers do, immediately suggest guilt (villainy) on the part of the asylum seekers. Secondly, the *Evening Times* is the only paper to call the asylum seekers 'men' –a simple label, perhaps, but one that allows for the fact that their identities are more complex than simply being 'asylum seekers', and that they may have shown an emotional, human reaction to the death of a fellow detainee. Arguably the asylum seekers are still in the role of protagonist here. Thirdly, the grammatical construction of the phrase 'riots that rocked a refugee centre' puts the noun 'riot' in the position of agent and avoids use of the verb 'to riot', which would portray the asylum seekers as more violent. This is interesting in narrative terms because it places an abstract entity (the 'riot') in the role of villain, thus not assigning direct blame and suggesting the situation is complex.

The Herald, a broadsheet paper with similar geographical reach to the *Evening Times* and produced by the same company, carried the story on 21st July with the headline 'Arrests after violence at detention centre'. In a similar way to the *Evening Times* coverage, there is use of nominalisation ('arrests') and an abstract noun ('violence') which avoids assigning blame for the disturbance to the asylum seekers. That said, although the story is contextualised with information about the death, this does not happen until later in the article. A sample sentence reads: 'The tornado unit, a squad of prison officers with a *formidable reputation* for swiftly bringing control back into the hands of the authorities, was *deployed* early yesterday to *quell* the disorder which broke out within hours of *the death*'. The assignment of narrative roles is complex and ambiguous here. The narrative structure could be seen to construct the 'tornado unit' as helper, coming to the aid of the heroic state against the villainous asylum seekers. The tone of this sentence however, visible in the use of words such as ‘formidable reputation’, is critical of the ‘tornado unit’, so the roles are not clear cut. It is important to note the use of military discourses, visible in the use of the words ‘deployed’ and ‘quell’. Two things can be said about this. Firstly, regardless of where blame or responsibility are seen to lie, the asylum situation is portrayed as a battle. Secondly, this discourse is stereotypically masculine. Both of these points reinforce the ways in which asylum has traditionally been constructed.

The *Scottish Daily Express*, the Scottish edition of a UK wide paper that places itself in the middle ground between tabloid and broadsheet, which also put the number of arrests at sixteen, devoted the whole of its page three to the story on 21 July. The headline focuses on cost: ‘£500,000 cost of riot at the asylum “hotel”’. The *Express* also uses the word ‘riot’ and, for most of the article, deals with the violence itself rather than providing any context of what preceded or followed it. The fact that the word ‘hotel’ appears in quotation marks suggests that it is taken from a source and, indeed, one of the centre’s chaplains, Mr Kehra, is quoted as saying that the conditions at the centre are very favourable. The use of the word ‘hotel’ –which is arguably not immediately relevant to the story– implies that the detainees had no reason to riot as they were living in such (allegedly) good conditions. So the Express goes further than decontextualising the disturbance: it recontextualises it with material that reinforces their ‘villainous’ nature. The ‘suspected suicide’ is not mentioned in the article itself until the fourth paragraph.

Once again there is use of military metaphors which constructs the asylum situation as a battle and constructs the asylum seekers themselves as stereotypically masculine. The following sentence is an example of this: ‘Riot forces fought a 16-hour battle to quell an uprising by asylum seekers yesterday at the UK’s leading detention centre’. Indeed, the use of the word ‘uprising’ divides the battle situation yet further into binary opposites by suggesting the asylum seekers acted, and, perhaps more pertinently, *decided* to act, as a unit. Any contextualisation in the form of individual asylum seekers reacting to the death of a friend is disallowed, and this exclusion of emotion further reinforces stereotypical masculinity. The following sample sentence includes particularly interesting elements: 'Rapid-response "Tornado unit" prison officers were called in to corner 80 rioting inmates …'. The use of 'inmates' constructs the asylums seekers literally as villains, being as it is a word usually used for prisoners, and the use of the word 'cornered' dehumanises them as it usually used to refer to the hunting of animals.

3.1.3. Recycled discourses: evidence of a site of struggle?

The *Scottish Daily Mirror*, the Scottish edition of a UK wide tabloid newspaper, carried the move from Harmondsworth to Dungavel on Thursday 22nd July. The lead sentence reads: '200 asylum seekers are moved to Dungavel after detention centre battle'. Like the Express, the Mirror uses military language. However, the 'battle' is presented as an event rather than a process involving agents, so the asylum seekers are not blamed for the incident. The next sentence continues in this vein, including information about the situation in an adjective modifying the detention centre: 'coach-loads of asylum seekers from a *riot-hit* detention centre in England were secretly shipped to Dungavel yesterday'. The detention centre is then referred to as 'the controversial former jail', the inclusion of which creates an implication that there may be reasons for the detainees to react against conditions.

The Herald carried a story about the further suicide at Dungavel on the bottom of page 1 and continuing on page 2. The article states that Home Secretary David Blunkett believes conditions in Dungavel to be satisfactory and says, 'the announcement astonished Dungavel's many critics, but they may not have to wait long to return fire.' This sentence sets up an 'us and them' pattern that we have not seen in this sample before: critics as heroes versus the Home Office as villains. The Mail and the Express have placed taxpayers against the government, but this is very different in that it questions not what money should be spent on, but the very existence of a detention centre in the first place. These hero and villain roles are reinforced by the recycling of military discourses that are often used to construct a battle context between asylum seekers and the state.

The Scottish Daily Mirror discusses the story in its editorial on 26th July. It states that prisoners should not be treated like cattle (suggesting that people in Dungavel *are* treated in this way) and goes on to say, in italicised type, '*it is even worse when we do this to people who have not committed any crimes at all*'. This is an interesting recycling of the discourses that cast asylum seekers as animals and criminals, for example the use by the *Express* of 'cornered' and 'inmates'. It is interesting that the word 'we' is chosen in 'we do this to people …': it sets up an 'us and them' pattern of indigenous people as villains versus asylum seekers as heroes. The *Mirror* itself and presumably most of its readers are not people who are either involved in the detention process or advocate it, so this use of 'we' suggests that people should take responsibility even if they are not involved themselves, i.e. that they should campaign against Dungavel.

3.2. Case Study 2: Misheel – a visible female asylum seeker?

Female asylum seekers are notably underrepresented in the sample I studied. In fact, out of a total of almost 300 articles, only two articles and some related letters feature a female asylum seeker as a main protagonist. She is 8 year old Misheel Narantsogt, whose family have lost their asylum appeal and are due to be sent back to Mongolia, from where Misheel's father, Jugter, is a political refugee. In the meantime, they have been placed in Dungavel detention centre. It is striking to observe which roles Misheel inhabits and which functions she carries out, and to question why she is the only female asylum seeker to have any profile in three months' press coverage of asylum.

The Evening Times runs the story with the headline 'Gala girl ordered out of UK.' The lead sentence reads 'Gala princess Misheel Narantsogt has lost her battle to stay in Britain.' There are two interesting things to say at the very outset of the article. Firstly, yet again we see the recycling of military discourse from an empathetic and arguably campaigning stance. Misheel is constructed as a 'battler', but a battler of a very different kind to that seen in articles about the Harmondsworth disturbance. Here Misheel is assigned the role of hero. Secondly and relatedly, there are seemingly contradictory discourses in play, with a tension between the active and arguably masculine role of battler and the passive, feminine role of 'princess'. The syntactic constructions related to these roles fit the active / passive binary opposition too. Arguably the placement of an asylum seeker in the role of (potentially) active hero is undermined somewhat by the fact that she is a female child coverage of whom personalises the asylum issue and encourages an emotional reaction from readers. The following sample sentences from the article further illustrate the fairytale discourse: 'Misheel touched the hearts of the nation …'; 'The girl had been due to take pride of place in the Mayor's Parade in Liverpool as a *princess*'; 'Her devastated mum, Shinee, was forced to tell Misheel she had been *locked up in a castle*.'

The Scottish Daily Mirror runs the story with the headline 'Kicked Out. Heartless Home Office sends gala *princess* to danger zone.' The lead sentence reads: 'Home Office pen-pushers have given the order to send *pretty Dungavel princess* Misheel Narantsogt back to Mongolia.' The article is wholly empathetic to the Narantsogt family's situation, and the newspaper ran a campaign in support of the family in the recent past. Like the *Evening Times* coverage, however, the fairytale discourse constructing Misheel as a princess is dominant and no other contradictory discourses are present in the article. It is perhaps notable to point out that Misheel is given considerable voice in this article. There are several quotes from an interview with her. Examples are: 'I'm so sad. I am leaving so many friends. I cannot believe this is happening again … I was so happy at the pageant and the people here are so kind to me … I really am afraid to be going home. If someone could try and help us I would be very grateful.' Although she is given a voice, her words place her in a passive position from which she is asking for help. This is hardly surprising given that Misheel is an eight year old girl, and the coverage undoubtedly provoked the emotional reaction in the readership that the paper was aiming for. It could be argued however that this campaigning article simultaneously disempowers asylum seekers. By personalising the coverage to Misheel the article depoliticises her father's position as a political refugee, and by focusing on a (female) asylum seeking child, the article arguably by extension positions asylum seekers in general as passive, powerless people who need saving.

3.3. Redoubling the binary opposition: WPC's claims about asylum seekers

One set of articles that is very interesting as regards gender and narrative roles covers the claims of a Woman Police Constable in Medway, Southern England, that the council are underestimating the violence that is arising from asylum seekers being housed in the area. One might question why this story ever became 'news'; presumably if the events the WPC claims were newsworthy enough in themselves they would have made the news previously. As it is, the main focus of this story is the WPC's claims rather than actual events. It seems to me that the fact that the Police Constable is a woman is what has made this story newsworthy. If we consider the articles in terms of gender and narrative roles, they cast an indigenous woman as a traditionally masculine hero, and this has considerable implications for how the asylum seekers are constructed in relative terms.

The Scottish Daily Mail carried this story on Tuesday 20th July on page 8. The story takes up the top two thirds of the page. The headline reads: 'WPC who dared to tell truth on asylum seekers'. This headline frames as truth that which is in reality opinion. This WPC has made a claim that has been challenged by the council. However, the *Mail* does not source the council until the end of a relatively long article, until which time the suggestion introduced by the headline could potentially stand in readers' minds. The use of 'dared' suggests that speaking out on this issue has taken courage and that the opinion she is expressing is not dominant knowledge. Daring is a heroic and stereotypically masculine attribute. For the remainder of the article the WPC is an active subject. The sub-headline reads 'Stabbings, robberies, hundreds of squatters and a no-go shopping centre. That's the reality, warns policewoman'. The word 'reality' further underlines that this is being framed as truth.

Listing the alleged events and situations in this way gives weight to them: the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Furthermore, no quotation marks are used. If this were a direct quote, or parts of several direct quotes given by the WPC, we would expect quotation marks to be used. Their omission, therefore, suggests some editorialising on the part of the paper and further frames the WPC's opinion as fact. This constructs the WPC in an active, vocal, and therefore arguably powerful position, which is reinforced by the use of word 'warns'. One sentence in the body of story says that she 'shocked councillors by telling them they were underestimating the impact of asylum seekers'. The use of 'telling' again suggests fact and therefore power (cf. Foucault's notion of power / knowledge). Words like 'claiming' or 'suggesting' could have been used instead. And 'shocking' seems rather strong when we finally get to hear from one of the councillors at the end of the article. He is reported as saying that it is not always the asylum seeker who is the perpetrator of the crime and 'this is in no way disproportionate to the crime levels in Medway'.

The Scottish Daily Express carried this story a day later, on Wednesday 21st July on page 2. The headline reads: 'Praise for WPC who spoke out'. Again, this is a contentious issue and it is not the case that the WPC was praised by everyone who heard about her actions; the council have challenged her claims so the headline would not appear to be a fair representation of the story as a whole. Similar themes to those in the *Mail* article arise in the lead sentence which reads: 'A straight-talking policewoman was the toast of the town last night for daring to tell the truth on how asylum seekers were wrecking residents' lives'. Again the WPC's claims are framed as fact and the same difficulty in making them is suggested. Describing her as 'the toast of the town' when the issue is contentious is, again, problematic, as it suggests support for her was unanimous. It also carries echoes of fairytale narratives, such words being used when the (almost exclusively masculine) hero has completed his quest and defeated the villain(s). So once again we have asylum seekers being constructed as villains in the midst of a very traditional narrative. Indeed, the words 'how asylum seekers were wrecking residents' lives' polarise 'asylum seekers' and 'residents'.

Moreover, the implication of this is that asylum seekers in the area are not to be considered 'residents', and thus are not seen as part of the community. There is no qualification in terms of numbers, the implication being that all asylum seekers are causing difficulties for all (other) residents. The quote from the councillor in the *Mail* article said that not all events were perpetrated by asylum seekers. Similarly in the *Express* article, the council source is placed at the end of the article. It reads as follows: 'A council spokeswoman said: 'The last thing we want to do is increase tension. We believe the facts and figures used by the WPC were anecdotal and are yet to be substantiated'.

It would seem to me that the use of such traditional discourses and narrative roles in these two stories, alongside an opposition of both nationality and gender serves to 'other' the asylum seeking men even further than they have been in the other examples in which they have been constructed as stereotypically masculine villains. Stereotypically heroic aspects are placed on a female rather than male character, thus equating femininity with heroism and masculinity with villainy and allowing each to redouble the other, which in turn redoubles the binary opposition between indigenous people and asylum seekers.

4. Conclusion

As first impressions suggested, it has been illuminating to look at the interplay of gendered identities in press coverage of asylum in relation to Propp's and Greimas' work on narrative and Foucault's social theory, the focus on gender and the focus on narrative both adding new dimensions to work in this field. To consider narrative and competing discourses takes us beyond simply judging a portrayal as positive or negative and allows for a more multi-faceted analysis. We have seen for example, in the Harmondsworth and Dungavel case study, that the construction of a person as a hero or a villain has as much to with structure as it does with word choice. That is, the extent to which an event is contextualised has implications for the roles individuals within the story are seen to play. Arguably the extent of the coverage of these disturbances itself reinforces the stereotypically masculine image of asylum seeker as angry young man. To decontextualise, or even recontextualise in the case of the *Express*, these events, further heightens the stereotypical nature of the image by removing or recasting the reasons for the disturbances. Some papers do maintain some degree of contextualisation however, and the recycling of animalistic and militaristic discourses in ways that challenge their original usage and recast hero and villain roles makes the picture slightly more complex. The overall picture is stereotypical but not unwaveringly so.

Given that so little of the coverage has female asylum seekers as main protagonists, it is also illuminating to consider the interplay of gender and asylum identities in those stories that do. It is perhaps coincidental given that we are dealing here with only three months' coverage, but the two minor case studies of Misheel and the WPC's comments show that engagement with gender that may initially seem to contrast starkly actually work in not dissimilar ways in their general portrayal of asylum seekers. The WPC case study can be seen to redouble the stereotypical angry young man image by setting it against an indigenous female who is cast as a stereotypical hero. Heroic qualities are mapped onto an indigenous female which serves to cast the male asylum seekers as all the more villainous.

The Misheel stories can be viewed positively in that they do depart from the stereotype of asylum seeker as angry young man by focusing for a change on a female asylum seeker. That said, although in one paper's coverage Misheel is portrayed as both a battler and a princess, the princess role more than wins out on column inches, and the other paper's coverage focuses wholly on the princess role. Misheel is given a voice, something that is rarely seen in press coverage of asylum and is to be welcomed. Furthermore, it would be simplistic to argue that running a human interest story that appeals to readers' emotions is a negative thing, as it undoubtedly causes engagement with the human experience side of asylum, something that is rarely touched upon. Voicing the asylum situation through an eight year old child, however, depoliticises it, and the fact that that eight year old child just happens to be female and a 'gala princess' arguably casts asylum seekers in general in the role of powerless people who need saving. It is challenging coverage in some senses, but perhaps not as challenging as it could potentially be.

The paper has shown the importance of going beyond categorisation of portrayals as either positive or negative and the fruitfulness of engaging with discursive and narrative analysis to create a more multi-faceted picture. It is also clear that gender plays a key role in constructions of both asylum seekers and indigenous people in press coverage of issues of asylum, and should be engaged with in studies of such coverage.

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Notes

[i] Vladimir Propp analysed a whole series of Russian folk talkes in the 1920s and decided that the same events kept being repeated in each of the stories. These, he reasoned, were narratemes, or **narrative functions**, necessary for the narrative to exist. Not all of these functions appear in every story, but they always appear in this order. These 31 functions are as follows:

1. A member of a family leaves home (the hero is introduced)
2. An interdiction is addressed to the hero
3. The interdiction is violated
4. The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance
5. The villain gains information about the victim
6. The villain attempts to deceive the victim to take possession of victim or victim's belongings
7. Victim taken in by deception, unwittingly helping the enemy
8. Villain causes harm/injury to family member
9. Misfortune or lack is made known, hero is dispatched
10. Seeker agrees to, or decides upon counter-action
11. Hero leaves home
12. Hero is tested, interrogated, attacked etc, preparing the way for his/her receiving magical agent or helper (donor)
13. Hero reacts to actions of future donor
14. Hero acquires use of a magical agent
15. Hero is transferred, delivered or led to whereabouts of an object of the search
16. Hero and villain join in direct combat
17. Hero is branded
18. Villain is defeated
19. Initial misfortune or lack is resolved
20. Hero returns
21. Hero is pursued
22. Hero is rescued from pursuit
23. Hero unrecognised, arrives home or in another country
24. False hero presents unfounded claims
25. Difficult task proposed to the hero
26. Task is resolved
27. Hero is recognised
28. False hero or villain is exposed
29. Hero is given a new appearance
30. Villain is punished
31. Hero marries and ascends the throne

These narrative functions are spread between the main characters. Propp also decided that a narrative needed to have
the **villain**, who struggles with the hero
the **donor**, who prepares and/or provides hero with magical agent
the **helper**, who assists, rescues, solves and/or transfigures the hero

the **Princess**, a sought-for person (and/or her father), who exists as a goal and often recognizes and marries hero and/or punishes villain
the **dispatcher**, who sends the hero off
the **hero**, who departs on a search (seeker-hero), reacts to the donor and weds at end
the **false hero** (or antihero or usurper), who claims to be the hero, often seeking and reacting like a real hero (i.e. by trying to marry the princess)

Feminisation in Linguistics, Women in Politics: How is the French Press Coping?

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Abstract

This paper investigates the impact of two recent laws in France: first a law on political parity which aimed at changing both structural and conceptually the French political landscape; second, a decree that has enforced usage of feminization in official texts, i.e. usage of feminine words when referring to occupations filled by women in order to ensure women's visibility. The analysis examines a number of issues: Has feminization been a success in mainstream discourse; is the party line alignment (left-right) proved relevant in a recent study focusing on feminization also valid in the 2006 journalistic discourse; does parity in politics mirror or entail parity in discourse, i.e. has the imposed presence of women in politics lead to a different representation of women in political discourse? Our investigation is based on analysis of a corpus consisting of newspapers articles in the three mainstream newspapers in France
Key words: *French language ~ linguistic policy ~ journalistic discourse ~ political parity ~ linguistic feminization ~ gender ~ elections ~ political parties ~ ideology*

1. Exploring Feminisation: a Sign of Real Change?

The bill on parity (known in French as *loi de la parité*) voted into law in June 2000 shook the French political landscape –or at least was meant to do so. According to this law, 50% of the candidates on any electoral list in France must be women. The aim was to ensure women's presence in the political sphere, and thus to break one of the last masculine strongholds in the public space. That same year saw another move towards gender equality, less known but equally controversial; this time

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)

Valencia: Universitat de València. 770-793.

equity was to be achieved at the linguistic level. A decree, signed in March 2000 by the Minister of Education and Research Claude Allègre, recommended feminisation of nouns referring to women in any official text; this was to ensure women's visibility and therefore equity in language. Seven years after these two major initiatives, what effects have these decisions had? Did they fulfil their promises of equality and equity? Does women's presence in public life also ensure their visibility in language? If it does, what kind of visibility does it ensure? These questions will be answered in three stages. An assessment of both issues, parity in politics and parity in language, will be made based on two recent studies. Second, working from a corpus based on articles published in major French newspapers and Internet sites, I establish the extent to which the French press applies feminisation. Third, I examine the extent to which such a language change signals a change in political discourse.

2. French Politics and Linguistic Change

Two recent analyses focusing on women's presence in politics and in language inform the present research. Joan Wallach Scott's *Parité*! (2005) asserts that parity in politics as well as feminisation in language were two necessary steps in the struggle for recognition of women in society and in language; the second study, Moreau's linguistic survey (2006), establishes that linguistic policies encouraging feminine forms' usage has been partly successful and in relation to the political spectrum.

2.1. Politics and Women Politicians

The parity law is one of the most challenged and challenging laws in French history. In her most recent book on French political history and feminist theory, Joan Wallach Scott (2005) argues that such a law was necessary to ensure the right of political representation, to women and of **all** marginalized groups (women, non-white, non-heterosexuals). Proponents of the law[1], and feminist historians such as Scott, argue that inscribing gender in politics would eventually make gender redundant (see discussion in Schor 1995; Balibar 1997).

Indeed, such a bill counters the 'hypocritical' rhetoric of universalism and the notion of the abstract individual in French politics. Both notions are, according to Scott, a way to justify discrimination against women: women, symbolizing sexual difference, are not perceived as able to represent the abstract and universal being who symbolizes the best representative of a party or of a country; only the male being can.

Therefore, this law should serve to clarify that all individuals, men **and** women, are sexual beings and that no being of any sex can represent an abstract individual. A law enforcing parity was therefore regarded as the only way to challenge sexist conceptualization and structural inequity. On a pragmatic level such a law was considered necessary to impose a change in the political landscape: France has stood, and still stands out, among European countries and among western powers as one of the least favourable to women in the realm of politics. The chronology below (Table 1)[2] shows the progress that has been made in the last 50 years.

Table 1.- Political Under-Representation of Women in French politics

1789	The French revolution leaves out women from the voting system although it is called suffrage 'universel'.
1944	General de Gaulle signs the law giving French women voting rights (German women have had the vote since 1919).
1995	At the Beijing conference, France lags behind Uganda in terms of female representation in politics (Scott 2005). The ratio of women in politics is as low as 12%, one of the worst in European countries.
2000	A parity law requires that parties include 50% of women candidates within their electoral lists.
2005	The percentage of women elected to municipal positions rises to 45%. However the percentage of women elected to the higher positions remains as low as before the parity law, 7%.
2006	Ségolène Royal is officially nominated and elected as the representative of the socialist party, one of the two major parties to compete for the presidency of the country.

Scott sees a parallel between parity in politics and parity in language, pointing out that words describing women should be morphologically changed to ensure that the role of women is made visible: the more visible women are in language, the more obvious men will be considered as male beings and not as a generic. Hence the generic masculine could no longer apply either in politics or in language.

2.2. Politics and Linguistics
Indeed proponents for the feminisation of nouns[3] referring to occupations and professions argue that women's visibility in language means "empowerment": in the same way as the law on parity, the law on feminisation should lead to a progressive change in mentality and therefore a move towards real equality between the sexes. Feminisation of titles and professions had been demanded by a number of feminists in France, including politicians (Y. Roudy), linguists (M. Yaguello) and theoreticians (B. Groult).

Table 2.- Linguistic Representation of Women in the French Language

1970- 1990	In Francophone countries, namely Quebec, Belgium and Switzerland, feminisation is widely used, for example in the titles *professeur*-e, *auteur*-e, which were not used in France.
1984	Yvette Roudy's Commission des Droits de la Femme is set up to examine the feminisation question.
1986	Official endorsement for feminine forms but with no result.
1998	Publication of the writing guide *Femme, j'écris ton nom*, which advises on the various feminine forms available.
2000	Claude Allègre's decree implements feminisation of professions so that women are no longer suppressed in texts and laws. Constant and vociferous opposition from right wing parties, and the French Academy (Académie française).

Table 2 shows that the year 2000 was crucial to parity in language although Fujimura's study (2005) points out that already in 1998 feminisation was applied in journalistic discourse. A few studies have studied the impact of the campaign for implementing feminisation of titles and professions. However Dister & Moreau's study (2006) is the most recent and the most comprehensive political analysis of such a linguistic policy. This research analyzes the gender of words used by the political parties to describe female candidates for the 1989 and 2004 European elections in French-speaking Belgium and France in order to assess the impact of feminisation. Their study confirms a clear progression towards the feminine option as shown in the table 3; the feminine words, scarcely used in 1989, are widespread in 2004. Table 3 also reveals that Belgium, following the example of other French-speaking countries such as Canada and Switzerland, is quicker than France to implement linguistic change and reforms.

Table 3.- Use of feminine words to designate a function held by a woman (Dister & Moreau 2006)

	1989	2004
Belgium	62%	92%
France	74%	85%

Dister and Moreau's study also points out that each party has developed a different linguistic culture, this culture being consistent with a politico-ideological left-right axis. Feminine words the parties make use of (with exceptions) can be plotted on an axis similar to the left-right axis, the progressive parties using more feminine forms than the conservative ones. Table 4 shows the figures obtained in 2004 in France, the least favorable parties to feminisation being the extreme right (FN= front national).[4]

Just as women's political presence is greatest in the lower ranks, feminine titles have been applied more easily to professions with a lower status. However, professions that were always referred to with a masculine word in 1989 are by 2004 generally indicated by a feminine form, for instance *députée* (deputy) and *maire adjoint* (assistant mayor).

Table 4
France 2004 : Feminisation per party (Dister and Moreau 2006)

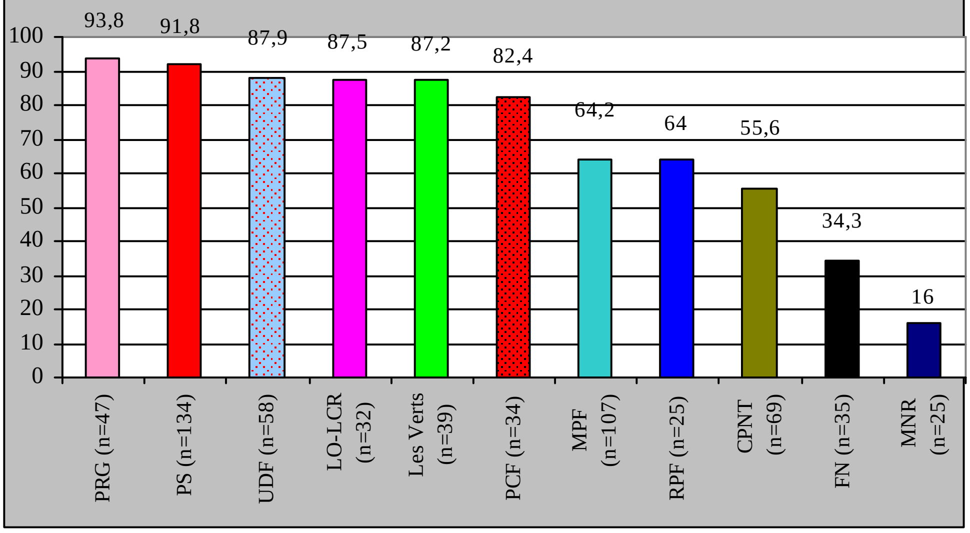

Table 5.- Most feminised terms in 2004 (compared with 1989)
(Dister & Moreau 2006)

	n =		**% de F**		**Difference**
	1989	**2004**	**1989**	**2004**	
Présidente (president)	14	44	71.4	95.5	+24.0
Conseillère (advisor)	54	148	42.6	81.9	+39.4
Adjointe (aid, assistant)	7	30	28.6	86.2	+57.6
Députée (deputy)	9	32	0	96.8	+96.8

Finally, Dister and Moreau's study clarified two new practices in the French political discourse:

- ✓ New feminine forms are found for prestigious functions, usually the last ones to be feminised because of the prestige attached to the word. The nouns *maire-adjointe* (female adjunct mayor); *adjointe* (female assistant), *conseillère* (female counselor), *avocate* (female lawyer),

directrice (female director), *députée* (female deputee) are more common than before.
- ✓ New masculine forms are found for traditionally feminine and lower status professions *aide soignant* (male nurse's aid); *infirmier* (male nurse).

On a sociolinguistic level, we can conclude that the choice of a feminine or masculine form is not indifferent politically, nor socially. On the contrary, it is a deliberate message regarding political preferences.

However, Moreau's study was limited to political denominations in very specific settings: formal denominations used by political parties. The present study focuses on journalistic discourse in order to answer three questions:

1. Does this linguistic change apply to a less formal discourse, the journalistic discourse?
2. If so, does political alignment also explain linguistic choices?
3. Does this linguistic change lead to a different representation of women in political discourse ?

3. Journalistic discourse

Our corpus comprises 100 computerised articles that contain the names of recently appointed female heads of states (M. Bachelet, A. Merkel, E. Johnson Sirleaf) or female contenders (S. Royal). Names of other prominent female politicians were included in the study when they appear in co-occurrence with the above-mentioned heads of states.

The corpus was collected throughout the year 2006 and early 2007. The articles were chosen to represent a wide spectrum of the French political landscape, i.e., most political trends, from the following sources:

- ✓ The three major French newspapers representing the different political trends, *Le Figaro* (conservative), *Le Monde* (centre) and *Libération* (left wing) and available in an electronic form;

- ✓ Internet sites (see the list in the bibliography) to contrast or support the findings of our study devoted to mainstream newspapers.

Only very few of the articles are devoted to the female politicians themselves: 20% of our corpus are particularly focused on each female leader. These few occurrences will be the most fruitful for our qualitative study (Section 4, *infra*).

3.1. Inscribing gender

In order to inscribe the feminine gender in female occupational terms, the following morphological changes are available in French:

Feminine article + non-gendered noun
Feminine article + feminine noun
Feminine article + compound with *femme*
Masculine article + compound with *femme*

From a quantitative point of view, the present study shows that feminised forms are now accepted by most journalists, or at least editorial boards of mainstream newspapers in France, whatever their political affiliation. Thus the use of:

la présidente to refer to Bachelet and Sirleaf;
la future présidente to refer to Royal;
la ministre to refer to the previous functions of Royal and Bachelet;
la chancelière to refer to Merkel

is now widespread, although masculine forms were long considered an unmarked form to refer to men and women. Hence the results in our corpus show no differences among the three newspapers except for the term minister. In the table below the two most politically divergent newspapers are cited since the newspaper *Le Monde* aligns itself with *Libération* as far as feminisation is concerned (Fujimura 2005).

Table 6.- French journalistic discourse and feminisation in 2006

	Morphological choices to refer to a woman in politics	**Examples found in our corpus***	**% of occurrences** *Libération*	*Le Figaro*
France 2006	Feminine det. + feminine noun	*La présidente* *La chancelière* *La députée*	100%	100%
	Feminine det. + non-gendered noun	*La ministre*	100%	85%
	Féminine det. + non-gendered noun + femme	*La ministre femme*	0%	0%
	Masculine det. + non-gendered + femme	*Le ministre femme*	0%	0%
	Feminine det. + non-gendered noun + feminine adjective	*La chef allemande*	50%	50%
	Feminine det. + nongendered noun + masculine adjective	*La ministre néo-zélandais*	0%	0%
	Masculine det. + masculine noun	*Le chef de gouvernement* *Le premier ministre* *Le ministre*	50% 100% 0%	50% 100% 15%

* Occurrences such as la ministre néo-zélandais were found in newspapers other than these mainstream newspapers. Indeed newspapers outside our corpus are quite inventive; they also tend to add the word femme (woman) to ensure female visibility as in the following sentence: La femme soldat américaine Lynndie England (The woman soldier Lynndie England).[5]

Chronologically, left-wing *Libération* has applied the rules of feminising nouns before the first official texts, since 1995 (Fujimura 2005); it stands out as one of the most avant-garde newspapers in that regard. The feminine forms such as *la députée*, *la* (*vice*) *présidente*, *la ministre, la chancelière* are now commonly used:

> **La chancelière** allemande [...] espère pouvoir tenir son pari. (*Libération* 09.01.07)

However *Libération* does not hesitate to use less common forms such as *la soldate* (the female soldier) or *la policière* (the police woman), although they are not yet found in all dictionaries and although Radio-France uses *femme soldat* or *femme policier*:

> **La soldate** américaine Lynndie England (*Libération* 20.03.06 ; *Le Monde* 09.09.05) (the female soldier LE)

Le Figaro is more conservative: in Fujimura's study the usage of *la secrétaire d'Etat* is down to 45.5 % whereas it is up to 100% in *Libération*. *Le Figaro* is also known to be the medium for the French Academy's invectives against feminisation and against feminists, for example see Maurice Druon's statement:

> En français, l'espèce homme, ou le genre humain, si on préfère, est du masculin. Il en va de même pour les ministres, considérés comme un sous-ordre éminent dans le genre humain. Que les dames gratifiées d'un portefeuille restent donc Madame le ministre[6].
> (In French, the 'species'man, or mankind, if one prefers, is of the masculine gender. The same is true for ministers, considered as an eminent subspecies of mankind. The Ladies who are privileged to have a portfolio must still be addressed with Madame le Minister) [i.e. the masculine form]

Interestingly, *Le Figaro* refers to women in power with the feminine forms, for example *la présidente*, *la secrétaire d'Etat*, *la chancelière*, *la femme politique* (counterpart of the former generic form *l'homme politique*):

> La présidente chilienne Michelle Bachelet (Le Figaro 27.05.06)
> Le gouvernement du Liberia et sa présidente Sirleaf (Le Figaro 27.03.08)

> La présidente Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf (Le Figaro 21.06.06)
> Le même Steinmeier qui a déclenché le conflit en mettant en garde la chancelière (Le Figaro 12.12.06)

However, despite the apparent success of France's latest linguistic policy in mainstream newspapers there is still evidence of uncertainty.[7] Again, these hesitations appear across all party lines.

3.2. What motivates fluctuating feminisation?

In Table 6, we can observe the fluctuation of two denominations: two concurrent forms are found to refer to a female minister or female leader: le/la *ministre* and le/la *chef* i.e. sometimes the noun is used with the feminine determiner; sometimes it is not. This section examines these two cases (*chef* and (*premier*)-*ministre*) to find the reason for this fluctuation.

The three newspapers, *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *Libération* hesitate when using the word *chef* (leader). This term is found both feminised, *la chef* (the leader) or not feminised (*le chef*), depending, it seems, on the journalist:

> **La chef** de la diplomatie américaine (*Le Figaro* 11.03.06)
> Elle est devenue **le chef** (*Le Figaro* 13.01.06)
> **La chef** de file de la CDU-CSU avait toutes les peines du monde à décrocher un rendez-vous (*Libération*, 09.01.07)
> (The leader of the CDU-CSU parties had all the difficulties in the world to get an appointment)
> "Ce débat mené en France sur l'euro m'inquiète assez" déclare **le chef du gouvernement allemand**. (*Libération* 13.01.07)
> ("The actual debate in France about the Euro worries me quite a bit", declares the leader of the German government)

There are also certain forms (Table 7), recommended in other French speaking countries[8], that ensure women's visibility <u>in the plural</u> as well. However these forms were not found in our corpus:

Table 7.- Alternative forms available for *chef* (leader)

Countries	**Forms available** **Sing.**	**Plural**	**Sources**
Switzerland	*la chef, la cheffe*	*les chefs*	T. Moreau (1999)
Canada, especially Québec	*la chef, la cheffe*	*les cheffes*	L. Larivière (2005)

Indeed, the form *cheffe* is used on official sites of the Swiss and of the Luxembourg governments:

> La cheffe adjointe du gouvernement Kieber-Beck a aussi rendu visite […]
> (The adjunct head of the government Kieber-Beck also visited […])
> http://www.ejpd.admin.ch/ejpd/fr/home/dokumentation/mi/2001/2001-07-11.html

> La cheffe du département fédéral des Affaires étrangères suisse […]
> (The head of the federal department of the Swiss Foreign Office […])
> http://www.gouvernement.lu/salle_presse/actualite/2004/03/09calmyrey/index.html

French journalists apply, to the letter, the principles spelt out in the official writing guide *Femme j'écris ton nom* (1999) published by the former INALF, Institut national de la langue française. The masculine form *le ministre* was only found in *Le Figaro*, and only when referring the French Defense Minister Michèle Alliot-Marie:

> Mais **le ministre** [de la défense] reste persuadé d'avoir sa carte à jouer (*Le Figaro* 13.03.06)
> (Here the term *le ministre* refers to the female French Defense Minister)

The avoidance of the feminine marker *la ministre de la defense* in *Le Figaro*, when referring to the French Defense Minister Michèle Alliot-Marie, could be explained by taking into account the wish of the Minister herself not to be referred to with the feminine form. However we found that *Le Figaro* also uses sometimes the feminine form to refer to Michèle Alliot-Marie:

> […] **la secrétaire** d'Etat américaine Condoleeza Rice. **La ministre de la Défense** Michèle Alliot-Marie représente la France.(*Le Figaro* 11.03.06)
> ([…] the Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice. The Defense Minister Michèle Alliot-Marie represents France.)

This practice could lead to confusion since the same person is referred to with both the male and female denomination, in the same week and in the same newspaper. However, *Libération* consistently uses the feminine, *la minister,* when referring to Michèle Alliot-Marie:

> **La seule représentante** de l'état, **la ministre de** la Défense (*Libération* 12.12.06)
> (The only representative of the State, the Defense Minister)

We also noted all newspapers' reluctance to feminise the expression *premier ministre* (Prime Minister):

> **Le premier-ministre** néo-zélandais Helen Clark ou **la secrétaire** d'Etat américaine Condoleeza Rice (*Le Figaro* 11.03.06)
> (The New-Zealand Prime-Minister Helen Clark or the American Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice)

Since female politicians are referred to with a different grammatical gender for the same noun *ministre*, this different usage leads to a few morphological problems when two different forms, masculine and feminine, are used in the same sentence to refer to two female ministers:

> **La ministre** de la défense Michèle Alliot-Marie et **l'ex-premier ministre** Edith Cresson (*Le Figaro* 08.03.06).
> (The Defense Minister Michèle Alliot-Marie and the ex-Prime minister Edith Cresson)

Some more daring newspapers use the feminine article to inscribe the feminine gender in the *premier ministre* title; however, because they ignore the agreement of the adjective *néo-zélandais* (and not *néo-*

zélandaise) which stays in the masculine, we are left with a somewhat disconcerting expression:

> **La Premier ministre** néo-zéland**ais** Helen Clark a annoncé (http://www.wikio.fr/international/oceanie/nouvelle_zelande/helen_clark)

Many studies have found that resistance to feminising functions such as *premier-ministre* is more likely to have a sociological basis than a linguistic one (Houdebine 1987 and 1999 ; Mathieu 1999). According to this theory, *premier ministre* is not feminised because the noun refers to a powerful position. However a linguistic explanation should also be considered: since only the addition of a hyphen makes a different reading, the expression *la première-ministre* (the female prime minister) (with hyphen) could confuse readers with the meaning of *la première ministre* (the first female minister) (without hyphen). This ambiguity is obvious in the following title on Radio-Canada:

> Helen Clark, première ministre de la Nouvelle-Zélande (*Radio Canada* 03.03.06)

In the sentence above, since there is no hyphen, the underlined expression could mean 'first female minister' when it meant 'prime minister'.[9]

However frequency of occurrence seems to play a role in which forms will be feminised: if *Libération* were to use *la première-ministre* it is likely that other newspaper would follow suit. Indeed our study found that the most common expressions are the most often feminised in all newspapers. Otherwise how can one explain that *Libération* more frequently feminises professions which are less likely to be filled by women such as *soldate* (female soldier) or *policière* (policewoman) than does *Le Figaro* which, nevertheless, feminises prestigious professions which have become recently the focus of the journalists? This is contrary to the trend predicted by Dister and Moreau's study but logical when taking into consideration frequency of usage.

3.3. A real linguistic change?

At the beginning of this section two questions were posed:

1. Does the linguistic change recorded in Dister and Moreau's study apply to a less formal discourse, the journalistic discourse?
2. If so, do we find the same political alignment to explain linguistic choices?

We can now answer positively to the first question and negatively to the second.

Overall, the study of journalistic discourse confirms the success of this linguistic policy, where it seems to be even more widely spread than in the political party discourse. We have also observed an example of a potential *semantic reversion*, i.e., a change towards semantic equity (i.e. desexualization of a term referring to the female being) with the usage of a somewhat unusual term *la favorite* (the favorite female candidate), feminine form of *le favori* (the favorite male candidate or the favorite candidate of any gender), widely used to refer to Royal:

> La favorite des sondages n'aurait pas d'idées (*Le Figaro* 17.11.06)
> (The favorite female candidate is said not to have any idea)
> La favorite essuie ses premiers revers (*Libération* 28.10.06)
> (The favorite female candidate knows her first boos)

This form could have been avoided since it has a sexual connotation: In the French electronic dictionary *Trésor de la langue française*[10] the following secondary meaning is found for the word *favorite*:

> **2.** *Spécialement* **a)** Maîtresse préférée (d'un roi, d'un prince)
> **2**. *Especially* **a**) Preferred mistress (of a king, of a prince)

Although perhaps the expression was on occasion used maliciously, the high frequency of its occurrence in neutral contexts has actually produced a semantic amelioration of the word. This linguistic change would result from parity in politics and confirm a step towards changing conceptualization, the aim of the proponents of parity.

However, our results contradict certain other points made in Dister and Moreau's study which predicted that:

1. First, the usage of feminine forms would follow very clear party lines. Thus, in the left-wing newspaper *Libération*, feminine forms would be much more common that in the conservative newspaper *Le Figaro*. Our study did not find correlations in French journalistic practices;
2. Second, the more prestigious the function, the less likely it would be for the feminine expression to be used. The divide between political parties should then have been clear, with conservative newspapers more often feminising less important professions than the prestigious ones. However, no striking difference was found between conservative and progressive newspapers. On the contrary, professions such as *la soldate* (female soldier) are found in both *Le Figaro* and *Libération*.

Frequency of usage could be the explanation, left-wing newspapers feminising all professions and conservative ones following suit once the form is established. Moreover, the example of the title *premier ministre* suggests that a linguistic explanation is as likely as a sociological explanation to explain different usages. Each case should be studied in its own right.

4. Does a change in language mean a change in conceptualisation?

Although feminists have argued that feminisation in language and political parity will help to change our conceptualisation of women, does the discourse attest to a change towards a more positive discursive representation of women in politics? We will examine this question using the topos theory as described in Anscombre & Ducrot (1983).

4.1. Topos and political discourse

A **topos** is a belief agreed upon by the community before the utterance takes place. When studying argumentation in language, and in particular in the mediatic discourse, the topos (or consensus belief) orientates the interpretation of the sentence. This consensus belief allows the passage from one discourse segment to another discourse segment. Indeed, the second discourse segment is only possible because of this common belief; this second segment belongs to a series of conclusions drawn because of the existing topos which makes possible two utterances which are characterised by two different **implications whether this implication is** normative (P <u>therefore</u> Q) or transgressive (P <u>however</u> Q).

The <u>normative</u> topos links French politics to the male as typified by the cliché of men belonging to the public sphere and women to the private sphere. This topos has prevailed since the Renaissance period (E. Kantorowicz 1957) and was the topic of Laure Adler' s book *Femmes politiques* (1993). It still holds true fifteen years later according to M. Coulomb-Gully's study (2007) in which she finds that a model of virility in French politics associates the representative of a country with a male being and the country France with a female (to be taken).[11] Therefore, and because of the topos that politics is male, we can assert that in French politics and French society these two segments are true:

> P (male being) <u>therefore</u> Q (potential political leader)
> P (female being) <u>therefore</u> Q (impossible political leader).

The traditional conclusions which result from this topos are the following:

1. The inability of women to fulfill roles in the public sphere in general (and in politics in particular): A female leader is expected to be incompetent.
2. Women's ability is limited to fulfillment of domestic roles such as homemaking, producing and raising children, etc: A female leader is first a mother, grandmother, daughter, etc..
3. The sexualisation of women, with the focus on their appearance, their body or their attractiveness (or lack of): A female leader is first a sexualized being.

Only the first statement P (<u>female</u> leader) <u>therefore</u> Q (expected incompetence), will be the topic of the present discussion.

As expected, our corpus revealed this normative topos with regard to female politicians, since they are first seen as women and <u>then</u> as politicians. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf does not generate much negative comments, but she has been described in a somewhat disparaging fashion with the colloquial phrase (*nouvelle coqueluche*) generally used to qualify passing infatuations (*Libération* 13.05.06) which implies that her success will not last. Ségolène Royal, three months before the French elections in February 2007, complained that she has had to face numerous accusations of incompetence because she is a woman, although her education, experience and past successes in politics should work in her favor. Moreover, her male competitors do not have to experience such unfounded mistrust (*Libération* 20.02.07). In Germany, opinion polls do not favor the Chancellor Angela Merkel who is scorned for her lack of decision making (*Libération* 22.11.06).

Transgressive discourses however displace the above stereotypes and clichés about women and their expected incompetence in politics. A new emphasis on discordant and then transgressive discourses challenges the old normative topos.

4.2. A transgressive discourse?

Transgressive discourses challenge the topos of incompetent women in the public sphere by emphasising the excellent results of their politics (Bachelet), their diplomacy (Merkel), or their economics (Sirleaf). The two previous linguistic segments (female leader therefore expected incompetence) have to be completed by a radically different conclusion: P (female leader) therefore Q (expected incompetence) **however Q (excellent results).**

With time, and this is the aim of parity in politics, this transgressive topos would become the normative discourse (female leader therefore expected competence). In other words, in the same way as male beings are perceived as authority figures now, eventually women will be part of the norm in political life and will be expected to be as successful as men.

Merkel's economic and diplomacy policies have produced good results (*Le Figaro* 04.01.07). And Bachelet manages a delicate and successful equilibrium between the political left and the political right (*Le Figaro* 27.05.06). Newspapers emphasize Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's degree in economics at Harvard, an education which may guarantee some consistency and success in her economic policies and political decisions in a country used to chaos (*Libération* 28.12.06). Even if she is 'dressed with a golden dress' and even if she symbolizes 'grandmotherhood', she is however a *mamie de fer* 'a grand mother of iron' (*Africatime* 27.01.06).[12] The linguistic segment *of iron* is well-known for having described another powerful, albeit controversial, female political figure, Margaret Thatcher, the 'iron lady'. And while Bachelet may be described as a tall, blond, and smiling woman, almost sexually promiscuous (*Africatime* 27.01.06) with the emphasis on the number of her partners, she is celebrated for her resilience and her courage in all the three French newspapers.

Can we then state that these discursive practices signal the beginning of a change in mentality, attitude and beliefs towards women in politics?

4.3. A successful woman is an extraordinary being

- Unfortunately, the emphasis in the journalistic discourse on the uniqueness of successful women may signal another conclusion: A successful female leader is an exceptional being. This conclusion seems to bring back the previous transgressive discourses (female leader therefore potential success) to a normative view of the sexes: only extra-ordinary women can be successful in politics. The journalistic discourse constructs this topos via emphasizing the uniqueness of female politicians: the emphasis is on the oddity of women to be successful in politics and on the extraordinary aspect of the event. The women themselves seem to belong to an undefined category of beings: the androgynous category. The oddity of a female leader is expressed via the co-occurrence: of apparently antonymic terms such as *grand-mère* (grandmother) and *de fer* (of iron). Sirleaf seems to be transformed into a mythic super-woman grandma.
- of the noun *présidente* (female president) with terms such as *première* (first), *phénomène* (phenomenon), *icône*, *symbole*, or *superstar*. Indeed most female leaders have become iconic figures: Cécile Amar, author of a biography on Ségolène royal, mentions 'the effet Merkel, Bachelet and co'. Royal is described as a

holy figure: *La victoire de leur icône* (the victory of their icon) in *Libération* (28.10.06). Bachelet symbolises Chile for *Le Figaro* or Chile's revenge for *Libération* and has become the 'idol' of women in politics (*Le Figaro* 11.03.06).

Moreover, androgyny (a female body with male characteristics for Royal and Bachelet) or at least ambiguity in the persona (Merkel) is pervasive in the journalistic discourse about female leaders. Bachelet's (soft) appearance and (round) body contrast with her amazing courage, endurance and fortitude, which are virile qualities by definition (*Libération* 16.12.06). Merkel's and Royal's looks and behavior are said to be ambiguous and so are their political decisions and programs (or lack of decisions and programs, more often). Merkel is literally 'deprived of natural authority which Kohl or Schroeder exuded', yet practices 'a macho style' (*Libération* 16.12.06). Royal is described as feminine and virile; her personality is so shaped by her relationship with her father, that she has a double personality: hers and his (*Le Monde* 27.09.05).

Myth, ambiguity, and androgyny transform women politicians into ambivalent beings, improbable figures, and in any case, very distant role models for other potential women leaders. Hence we cannot conclude that feminisation in language enhances different conceptualisation as yet.

5. Conclusion

From a linguistic point of view, as Dister & Moreau's study has shown and as our study has confirmed, the public endorsement by personalities and the media of this linguistic policy has led to its success and to linguistic change. Furthermore, even though this policy was decreed by the French government (even though it started from grassroots groups), it was initiated by the margins of French society (feminist groups), applied first in the periphery (French speaking countries outside France) and against the French Academy's will, i.e., against the self-appointed guardian of the French language which has been guiding linguistic change for centuries. Regarding the intersection of linguistics and politics, the issue of feminisation does not correspond in the mainstream media to social, political and ideological preferences. Therefore we can conclude from our study that indeed, women's access to the realm of politics has forced a linguistic change. As Balibar stated (1997: 43), women's status will improve not only through the re-distribution of power in the division of social activities but also through their new symbolic position in the discourse. Our study does partly confirm this statement. However, it is doubtful that this linguistic change foresees women's improved status in politics at the present time. Indeed the study of the discourse used to describe women in politics may actually indeed cast a shadow on this apparent victory. A favourite topos emerging from women's presence in politics is their mythic figure, which Goffman had already noted (1977: 60): 'Even if women are defined as having a lesser value than men, they are nevertheless idealised, mythologized via values such as the motherhood, innocence, kindness, sexual attractiveness.' All of these values are very much present in today's journalistic discourse in France about female politicians. Combining these myths and the uniqueness of a female-male (he-she) being, we can conclude that male and female parity in the conceptualisation of who can be a leader is still in the making in the French press.

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Notes

[1] The compulsory 50% ratio for any political list had been supported by most feminists since the early 90's. However opponents of the law, including Julia Kristeva, denounce such a law as essentialist. Other opponents see it as a betrayal and a bow to American politics focusing on special interest groups, a practice which goes against universalism, the main principle of French politics. See a summary of the discontented voices in Joan W. Scott's "La Querelle des Femmes' in the Late Twentieth Century", *New Left Review* I/226, November-December 1997 and Eléonore Lépinard's article, "The Contentious Subject of Feminism: Defining *Women* in France from the Second Wave to Parity", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, volume 32 (2007), pp 375–403.

[2] Statistics show one female president or leader in 2005 per continent. Nordic countries stand out with Tarja Halonen, president of Finland since the year 2000, and Vidgis Finnbogadottir president of Iceland for 16 years.

[3] Feminisation implies that words describing women exercising a function should be morphologically changed so that women are made visible in language.

[4] The staunch opposition endorsed by the Académie française against the feminisation law aligns this institution with Jean-Marie Le Pen's party line. The initials are read as follows: PRG (Planète radicale de gauche), PS (Parti socialiste), UDF (Union pour la démocratie française), LO-LCR (Lutte ouvrière-Ligue communiste révolutionnaire), Les Verts, PCF (Parti communiste français), MPF (Mouvement pour la France), RPF (Rassemblement pour la France), CPNT (Chasse-pêche-nature-tradition), MNR (Mouvement national républicain). The underlined titles are left-wing parties.

[5] Cited from the article referring to the French newspaper at http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/languagelog/archives/002502.html.

[6] See Maurice Druon´s article against feminisation at http://webdroit.unige.ch/bibliographie/druon_feminisation.htm.

[7] The media's role in linguistic policy may be perhaps even decisive in the success of a linguistic policy. Interestingly, blogs, chats and forums show that French speaking participants are less likely to use the feminine forms: for instance *le soldat* to refer to Jessica Lynch was found in this kind of communication, but not in our corpus. They seem slower to catch up with a new linguistic policy or unaware of this policy or unwilling to follow it.

[8] Belgium recommends also leaving the noun *chef* since this country follows French norms in matters of feminisation (Lenoble 2005).

[9] To avoid the ambiguity of the two expressions, journalists use *la première ministre femme* or *la première femme ministre* when they refer to a first female minister: C'est la première femme ministre de la Défense de l'histoire chilienne (*Le Figaro* 13.01.06) (She is the first woman to be a minister in Chilean history).

[10] At www.atilf.fr.

[11] Male discourse is analyzed in Laura Adler's *Les femmes politiques* (Seuil, 1993) in which she reveals the deeply entrenched paternalist and sexualized frames of reference within which political women are often still situated by their male colleagues. The media is also guilty of trivializing or gender-typing women.

12At www.africatime.com/afrique/

Perpetuating and reinforcing stereotypes: The printed media and Japanese women's language

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Abstract

Current studies show that Japanese women's everyday speech is different from the 'women's language' promoted since the early 19th century (Abe 2000; Endo 1997a, 1997b; Matsumoto 2004; Ozaki 1997; Sunaoshi 1994, 2004). However, the general perception of how women speak is still very traditional. This perception is reinforced and perpetuated through representations of women and their language by the media.
Gender stereotypes are created through various linguistic strategies representing the speech, behaviour and attributes of men and women. Three main arguments are used to promote the use of women's language. Direct associations are made between 'polite' language and beauty, intelligence and success in overt and hidden forms. Similarly, there is an emphasis that adult women are expected to conform to society's expectations in regards to the use of 'proper' or 'correct' language. Allusions to the uniqueness and beauty of the Japanese language are also used to make up the third argument. This paper critically analyses various texts to find out how language is used to reproduce gender stereotypes. Public perception of proper women's speech is also looked at through readers' letters to a newspaper.
Key words: *Japanese ~ Printed media ~ Gender stereotypes*

1. Introduction

Some ethnographers and sociologist have argued in the last ten years that *onna no kotoba* or 'women's language' is an ideological construct that represents the government's ideology of the early period of Japan's

International Perspectives on Gender and Language (2007)
© José Santaemilia, Patricia Bou, Sergio Maruenda & Gora Zaragoza (eds.)
Valencia: Universitat de València. 794-815.

modernization (Inoue 2004, 2006; Sunaoshi 1994, 2004; Washi 2004). On the other hand, linguistic studies show that not all women use *onna no kotoba* and that regional, social and age differences as well as situational factors affect the diverse styles of female speech (Abe 2000; Matsumoto 2004; Miyazaki 2004; Sunaoshi 1994, 2004; Tanaka 2004). Despite this evidence, there is still an ingrained belief that women speak differently to men. Most importantly, the social expectations that women *should* speak *onna no kotoba* is very much alive in present Japanese society.

Japanese have an obsession with their own language as attested by the number of books and magazines published every year. In particular, there is an enormous interest in women's language and in keeping the language 'correct, clean or beautiful'. What is more remarkable is that despite the fact that, or perhaps because, women have gained more status in society, self-help books targeted at adult women on language are still being published. One cannot but wonder what the reasons behind such an interest are. Is it because women's language changes are a reflection of women's emancipation in society and therefore maintaining traditional boundaries is more pressing? What are the 'teachings' and 'advice' written in those books? What arguments are used to reinforce the use of *kireina nihongo* 'beautiful Japanese'?

With notable exceptions, only a few studies that analyse magazines and similar texts in relation to gender have been published in English (Inoue 2004, 2006; Hayashi 1997; M. Maynard 1995; Okamoto 1996). Given that the mass media have an enormous impact and influence in today's society, it is important to critically analyse texts intended for a general audience on topics such as gender and, most importantly, to understand how expectations and stereotypes are created, recreated and reinforced.

The objective of this paper is to critically analyse recently published texts for women on Japanese language. The paper takes as its theoretical framework the viewpoint of critical discourse analysis, which views the use of language as a primary medium of social control and power. This study shows how these texts perpetuate and reinforce the existence of *a* 'women's language' or *onna no kotoba* by linking the concept of beauty to 'women's language'. In addition, a new message is being put out that persuades women to speak 'women's language' because it will help them to attain success on a professional and personal level. The new message is different to the concept of *ryoosai kenbo* 'good wife and wise mother' used in the early 20th century, which stipulated that women should work hard and save (Bernstein 1991). The new texts also promote the image of women as intelligent professional women and good communicators in their personal life. The association of women's language with high social class of the 1980s (Inoue 2006) appears to have shifted towards more abstract concepts such as adulthood and happiness.

This paper comprises a brief description of the characteristics of the Japanese language in relation to gender, followed by a review of the literature, the analysis and the discussion.

2. Language and women in Japan

The Japanese language is known to possess 'genderlects'; based on their gender speakers can choose from a set of lexical and pragmatic items (Kindaichi 1990; Kuno, 1973). For instance, *watakushi, watashi, boku* and *ore* are all first person pronouns. The first two are formal and can be used by both men and women; however, the last two are considered masculine and used mainly by men. Women's speech is exemplified in examples 1 and 3. Observe the difference in the forms of personal pronouns, sentence final particles and the verbs in imperative form. Examples 1 and 2 are semantically identical, so are 3 and 4.

1♀	*watashi*		*ga*	*katta*	*no*	*yo*
	I	S	bought	FP	FP	
2♂	*boku*	*ga*	*katta*	*n*	*da*	*zo*
	I	S	bought	COM	COP	FP
	'I bought it.'					
3♀	*anata*	*koko*	*e*	*kite*		
	you	here	to	come		

4♂	*kimi*	*koko*	*e*	*koi*
	you	here	to	come
	'(You), come here.'			

Japanese women are said to speak more politely than men because of their high use of honorifics (Ide, Hori, Kawasaki, Ikuta & Haga 1986; Ide 1997a, 1997b; Takano 2005) and because of their use of a distinct set of lexical items considered elegant and feminine. Politeness is directly related to formal and informal speech styles. Honorifics particularly are governed by the relationship between the interlocutors and the situation. The question 'Have you/has she/he already eaten' can be said in these different ways. Not only the verb endings are different but also the use of honorifics indicates the relationship between interlocutor and referent.

5	*moo*	*tabeta/*		
	already	eat-PAST-PLAIN		
6	*moo*	*tabemashita*	*ka?*	
	already	eat-PAST-POLITE	Q	
7	*moo*	*meshiagarimashita*	*ka?*	
	already	eat-PAST-HONORIFIC		Q
8	*moo*	*meshiaggatta?*		
	already	eat-PAST-HONORIFIC		

'Have you/has she/he already eaten?'

While the semantic content in 5–8 is identical, the different verb forms indicate the relationship between the interlocutors. In 5 the ending of the verb indicates informality. Example 6 shows that the situation is formal. The interlocutors may know each other but they are not intimate friends. In 7, the level of formality is at its highest because of the honorific form. In 8 the honorific verb form is the same but the ending is in the plain form which implies that the interlocutor is close to the listener but the referent is considered to be an outsider.

3. Background

Research on women's language in Japan has had a long history and was shaped by the methodological influences of the time. The earliest systematic study was published in the late 1920's (see Terada 1993) and interest in women's language has not diminished since, although the focus has greatly changed. In the early stages, specific sentence final particles that could be traced back many centuries were analysed. In the 1950s and 1960s many studies looked at honorifics, address terms and male/female differences found in literary texts. In the 1970s and 1980s, the research focus shifted towards spoken Japanese based on questionnaires and interviews. Since the 1990s the use of real speech and authentic conversations has taken centre stage.

The greater part of research on women and language was based on linguistic interest. Studies that took the gender perspective started to appear much later. Undoubtedly, the most influential researcher on women's language and feminism is Akiko Jugaku (1979), the first Japanese to write about the relationship between gender inequalities and language. Unfortunately, most scholars in the linguistic area have not followed her line of research and it is only now that researchers are looking at women's language from a wider perspective.

Research on printed media and gender has mainly been conducted in the fields of popular culture (Kinsella 1995; Moeran 1995; Rosenberger 1995) and anthropology (Endo 1997a, 2004; Inoue 2004, 2006; Nakamura 2004). Linguistic works published in English on written texts are very few, with some exceptions (Hayashi 1995, 1997; Okamoto 1996; Shibamoto-Smith 2004), and more research needs to be conducted.

Hayashi (1997) looked at how language is used to construct stereotypical social images of women in women's magazines. Through a detailed analysis, Hayashi showed the hierarchical relationship between writers and readers and how this interdependence helps to index Japanese women within the stereotyped image. On the other hand, Okamoto (1996) studied comics and TV drama dialogue. Her results showed that women's speech styles are diverse and directly related to their identities. However, Shibamoto-Smith (2004) found a very different pattern in romance novel dialogue. Her study focused on personal pronouns, terms of address and sentence final particles; her data showed that the speech of heroines and heroes followed the prescribed gendered styles. Perhaps one reason for this discrepancy is that the novels in Shibamoto's study were originally written in English and in processes such as translation stereotypes are unconsciously chosen in interpreting and representing the speech of men and women. The dialogues' in Okamoto's data were written in Japanese and they may reflect more accurately how people speak in real life.

Inoue (2006) examined self-help books from the early 1900s and the 1980s. In her comprehensive work, she explained in detail the ideologies that enforced the dissemination of *onna no kotoba* from the early 1900s. She wrote that what was dismissed and criticized as 'school girl speech' in reference to the particular speech style of schoolgirls in the late 19th century came to represent the voice of the modern Japanese woman. In contrast to the rhetoric used in the early 1900s when women's language was considered vulgar and strange, the same school girl speech style came to be associated with upward mobility in the late 20th century. This change in the perception of women's language has to be seen in the context of the 1980s and early 1990s when the Japanese economy was at its height and a wide spread optimism was shared by everyone. Material goods could be acquired by almost anyone and social mobility was possible provided one spoke the *correct Japanese* (Inoue 2006: 200). Inoue's viewpoint is certainly an important one because it provides a new interpretation of *onna no kotoba*; however, one cannot dismiss the fact that linguistic variation in any society is a natural phenomenon. More importantly, one should not ignore the fact there are social expectations towards the use of language; adult women are expected to speak formal Japanese when the situation dictates.

4. The data

4.1. Self-help books and magazines

In this study an information magazine titled *Kurowassan* (10th June, 2006) and two self-help books on women's speech all published in 2005 were analysed. The magazine is targeted at adult women and published bi-monthly. It has a circulation of 303,509–700,000[1] and each issue features themes such as dieting, saving money, fashion tips, keeping healthy and so on. The theme of this particular issue is *kireina nihongo* 'beautiful Japanese'. Most articles are based on opinions formulated by famous people on the Japanese language. Others are based on a loosely structured dialogue. The third format comprises explanations, rules, examples and a quiz of the 'correct' use of the Japanese language authored by two linguists.

The two self-help books are:

- *Atama no ii onna warui onna no hanashikata (AIO)*

'The speaking of intelligent and foolish women'

Kondo Tamami & Shimada Noriko 2005. Takarajima. (1st publication: 2003)

- *Zettai shiawase ni nareru hanashikata no himitsu* (*ZS)*

'The secret of speaking that assures happiness'

Sato Tomio 2005. 3anet. (8th edition)

Several other books on the same topic were published the same year, but *AIO* and ZS were selected because of their high circulation. *AIO* was first published in 2003, but revised and reprinted under a different title; *ZS* had already reached its eighth edition.

AIO contains explanations of how, when, where and to whom to use different phrases and words. Five chapters are divided by degree of difficulty and the last one is devoted to the application of the rules taught in the book. *ZS* has a different format comprising six chapters that start with explanations about language use and evolve into how to love and be loved. Although it gives readers advice on how to improve their language, it is done in a more subtle manner than *AIO*.

4.2.Research questions: Analysis of linguistic strategies used in texts
As one of the goals of the critical discourse approach is to look at the opacity of language (Fairclough 1989; Fairclough & Wodak 1997), the focus of this study is on the linguistic devices that refer to women and to the concept of a 'woman's language. In order to find if gender stereotyping is present in these texts the following questions were formulated:

1. How are men/women referred to linguistically?
2. What traits, characteristics are given to men/women?
3. What are the arguments used to justify the use of 'women's language'?

In addition, readers' letters sent to an internet newspaper were added to the study in order to explore ordinary people's perception of women's language in contemporary Japan and to look at intertextuality.

4.3. How are women and men referred to linguistically?
In written Japanese it is possible to know the gender of a person without explicit reference to names because of particular linguistic elements determined by the speaker's sex. In all the texts in this study, gender differences are portrayed in dialogues. Male and female lexical and pragmatic elements such as personal pronouns and sentence final particles are used in various forms with varying degrees of explicitness; particularly in *ZS* and *AIO* the examples contain gendered linguistic features (in bold).

1)♀ 'Watashiwa kekkoo kirei**dawa**. Sono ue, shigoto mo dekiru**noyo**'
I am quite pretty ***dawa***. And on top of that, I am good at work ***noyo***.

According to the writer of *ZS* being 'beautiful' is the most basic female aspiration and example 1 represents what most women think. Note the use of the first person pronoun *watashi*, which is the formal form and is also used by women. Most interestingly, the final sentence particles *dawa* and *noyo*, prototypical feminine elements in Japanese, stress the femininity of the speaker. The gendered differentiation in speech is seen also in example 2, which is described by the author as a phrase a man would use when arguing with his girlfriend. Observe the second personal pronoun *omae* and the short-ending of the utterance, which have traditionally been considered male linguistic elements. It is also noteworthy that the images of men and women appear in the representation of stereotypical roles: females are irrational and men are always cool-headed.

2) ♂ doushite **omae** wa sunao ni ayamarenain **da**.
Why can't **you** ask for forgiveness frankly **da**?

Similarly, in *AIO* the speech of males and females are given the traditional characteristics. The next phrase is used when meeting someone after a long time. Not only does the phrase end with the particle *wa* but also other lexical compounds are accompanied by the honorific prefix *o*, all associated with female speech.

3) ♀ **o**hisasiburi desu. **o**genkisoude naniyori desu**wa**.
It is a long time since I met you last. It is good that you are looking fine ***wa.***

Even in the magazine's articles, conversational elements that denote gender are present in various forms. The example below is from an article that features a television anchorwoman who comments on how to persuade one's husband to drink less. In this sentence, all the conversational particles associated with female speech are used. It is unclear if the article is an exact reproduction of the anchorwoman's speech or it was solely the writer's work.

4) ♀ soreja osake o hikaetekuretari shinai **wa yo ne.**
Then (he) will not abstain from drinking ***wa yo ne.***

5) ♀ daijinano wa, 'otto o aishiteru tsuma' toshite hanasu koto janai **kashira.**
What is important is to speak to one's husband as a 'loving wife' ***kashira***.

4.4. What traits and characteristics are given to women and men?
Stereotypes are created by repeating and emphasizing particular characteristics related to appearance, behaviour and other features. The fact that the same attributes referring to men and women are found across the various texts shows how the media reinforce this stereotyping. Two main characteristics given to men and women were identified: attributes of personality and behaviour and particular professions or job positions.

4.5. Attributes and behaviour
The semantic encoding of key words can be grouped in two opposing words that describe the Japanese language and women. One is the word *ranboo* 'rough/uncultured', used to describe language considered not feminine. In contrast, the words *utsukushii* 'beautiful', *kirei* 'beautiful/clean', *hinga aru* 'cultured/sophisticated', *joohin* 'cultured' and *kyooyoo ga aru* 'educated' are associated with women's language and how a woman should talk. Most importantly, the words *kirei* 'pretty/clean, *utsukushii* 'beautiful' and *hin ga aru* 'refined/elegant' have been used since the early 20th century (Endo 1997a, 1997b; Inoue 2006; Nakamura 2001).

These associations of beauty, elegance and politeness with women's language and behaviour reproduce and reinforce traditional stereotypes. In all the texts the implicit understanding is that all women are or want to be *kirei*. This desire, the authors write, is shared by every woman; however, beauty must come from within. They state that inner beauty will be manifested in one's speech and stress the importance of being beautiful 'inside'. The inference here is that beautiful people use '*kireina nihongo*' or beautiful Japanese. Consider the following excerpt where the author writes that women should try to improve their inner-self, which will gradually make them look beautiful.

> 'onna wa kirei ni naritai, utsukushikunaritai…gaiken yori naimen o, hanashikata o kaereba naimen mo henka shiteiku.'
> Women want to become pretty, they want to become beautiful…instead of (worrying about) the facade, if

> (they) change their speech their inner-selves will also change. (Sato 2005: 20)

There is a shift of perspective in the concept of intelligence compared to the desirable attributes for a woman implemented in the early 20th century, when the government used the slogan *ryoosaikenbo* 'good wife and wise mother'. The new concept emphasizes the woman as an independent person and not in the role of a mother. Moreover, contrary to previous associations of 'women's language' with high social status (Inoue 2006), the new viewpoint is that intelligence is an asset. This new twist is reinforced by inferring that every woman is working, observed in settings of imaginary conversations in the workplace. In *Kurowassan* all featured persons are successful career women who give their opinion about communicating. The semiotics of the magazine, in particular, emphasizes the image of the successful working woman dressed in smart suits.

The authors write that in order to become more 'intelligent' or more 'beautiful' one should talk in an indirect manner. Advice is given on things such as how to respond to unkind comments in an elegant way. This subtle way of reinforcing stereotypical behaviour (polite and soft way of speaking) is accomplished through advice given to the (female) readers to soften their comments using language politely while delivering their intended message.

In addition, women's behaviour patterns in both self-help books depict common stereotypes such as women gossiping and so on. Moreover, distinctions between female and male behaviour and their logical processes are explained by one of the authors as a fact due to biological differences in the brain. Examples of stereotypes such as why men are better at three-dimensional observation and why women are good at details are also given to support this claim.

> 'Shikkari shita otokoko hodo guchi o iwanai'
> The stronger a man the less he speaks.

```
‘Kanjoo o sutoreeto ni hyoogen dekirunowa josei naradewa
subarashii choosho desu. …. Josei rasii josei dearu
kotoni motto sekkyokutki de atte hoshi.’
Only women have the attribute of being able to
demonstrate their feelings openly….Women should actively
try to be more womanly.
```

On the other hand, the few references about men portray them as power and knowledge hungry and as placing importance on competence rather than outward appearance. Interestingly, men are not overtly portrayed but referred to through dialogues.

4.6. Professions and job positions

Most dialogues are set at work and show females in lower positions and men in senior ones. This is not overtly stated but hidden in gendered linguistic items in conversations. The following example shows how gender differences are presented in a subtle way. The conversation is based on an imaginary situation when ‘I’ or the (female) reader meets the section manager. Gender and status differences are indicated in the endings of the speakers’ utterances, the use of plain forms and polite forms, and the lexical items. As explained previously, the plain and polite endings are present in any conversation between unequals; the senior in age or status uses plain forms and the junior uses polite forms and it is not reciprocated. It is noteworthy that the senior in all dialogues is always a male.

(Kondo, 05:108)
1 S: ♂ yaa **ohayoo**
‘Hullo, morning’.
2 I: ♀ Tanakakachoo. Ohayoo**gozaimasu.** Kyoo wa sawayakana otenkidesune.
‘Chief Tanaka. Good morning. It is a very nice day today’.
3 S: ♂ **kimi** no busho ni haittekita shinin no **ko** ga chanto shigoto **yatterukai.**?
‘Is the new girl in your section working well?’
4 S: ♀ warito hikaemena kata **desuyone**. nanigoto nimo yukkuri mai peesu ni ganbatte**masu**yo.

'She is a little timid, isn't she? She is a bit slow, but she is working fine'.
5 S: ♂ **sooka**. torihikisaki no kobayashi buchoo, **kimi** wa atta koto **aruka**?
'Good. Have you met one of our customers, Mr Kobayashi?'
6 I: ♀ ano kanroku ga ate doudou to **shiterassharu** kata desu ne?
'That dignified and stately person?'
7 S: ♂ **soosoo**. itsumo mezurashii nekutai shiterun **dayonaa** (@@@).
'Uh-huh. He always wears interesting ties'.

In lines 1 and 2, the greetings are quite different. While the male senior uses the short form, 'I' uses the polite form. Next, in line 3, three items denote not only his seniority but his gender. The first is the second person pronoun *kimi* addressed to 'you'. This pronoun is used towards one's juniors and is for the exclusive use of males, although nowadays young people seem to use it regardless of gender. The second characteristic is the ending of the question with the particle *kai*, which is a question particle accompanied with a final *i*. This ending is generally associated with the speech of old people or of older men towards someone junior. Another referent *kata* and *ko* is used towards the same person, the new young employee. The male manager refers to her as *ko* or child, whereas 'I' uses the noun *kata,* which is the formal term referring to a person. Other elements are the SFP *yone* and the formal endings. More gender characteristics can be seen in line 5, with the use of *kimi* and the abrupt ending of the question form *aruka*, a form considered masculine and as denoting the gender of the speaker. Line 6 follows with the use of the honorific form *shiterassharu* and *kata*, but in line 7 the same person is referred to with the plain form *shiteru* and the ending *dayona*. *Na* is considered to be a masculine particle and from the context one can assume that there is no forceful meaning.

Because this dialogue is an imaginary one, it shows that those are the images of women's and men's speech the authors have or want to portray. Interestingly, neither the books nor the magazine contained an example of a female in a senior position; all examples show women in subservient roles.

4.7. Arguments used to justify the use of 'women's language'

Three main arguments are used to justify the use of 'women's language'; these revolve around the concepts of 'beauty', 'intelligence', being an 'adult' and the uniqueness of the Japanese language. In *AIO*, the authors write that an *adult* woman has to learn to speak well and emphasize that according to the way she speaks, a woman can be considered elegant and cultured. The author of *ZS* writes that if the reader speaks beautifully and uses beautiful words, it will not only make the interlocutor feel good but it will also make the speaker herself feel good.

Similarly, there is an emphasis on women's performance at work. The rhetoric is that if one is good at communication, relationships with one's colleagues and seniors will improve. In order to be a good communicator a woman needs to be polite. Advice on how to be polite includes things such as not interrupting, always smiling, not talking loudly and so on. These are reproductions of etiquette books published in earlier times.

The use of honorifics is unquestionably an important aspect of what is considered 'beautiful language'; every author in the three texts writes about the proper use of verbs and lexical items. In *Kurowassan* two whole sections are on the correct use of honorifics. The honorific forms must be consciously learned and most people who enter the work force in particular are expected to have full command of this complex system.

Although they do not put this overtly, the writers use an ideological argument to promote the use of *kireina nihongo*. There are allusions to the uniqueness of the Japanese language in various forms and to the 'spirit' or *kotodama*, the mythical and magical force of the language that will bring happiness to its speakers. Due to space restrictions, this argument will not be developed further as its complexity is worth a full paper.

4.8. Perception of women's language by ordinary people

This section draws on letters sent by readers to the *Yomiuri Shinbun* (web edition) to look at ordinary people's perception of women and language in Japan. This newspaper has a circulation of 14 million a day and although readership of the web edition is not available it might be similarly high. In the section *Ootekomachi*, readers are invited to comment about a particular social issue. Other readers contribute to this 'debate' by sending their opinions.

The letters sent to newspapers are a reflection of what ordinary people think. Although it is impossible to verify the identities of the readers, both the author of the letter and the readers' interpretations provide a rich source of data. The letters analysed in this study were sent in response to a reader commenting that the language of young people is becoming 'rough'.

> I am a housewife and I am in my 40s. I find it rather annoying to listen to young women's Japanese nowadays. They use words like *dekai, kuu, ketu, kane kome, heso*[2]. These are words that emerge in daily conversation and apparently not used with a particular purpose.
> I also have children who are in their 20s, and I sometimes use expressions such as *choo mukatsukundayone*[3] or *yabakunai*[4] when I go out with my colleagues to have a drink. However, I wonder if other middle-aged women talk in a similar manner when no humour or sarcasm is involved and I find it difficult to accept the way middle-aged women now speak.

The reader in this letter identifies herself as a housewife and comments that she goes out with her colleagues, so we can infer that she works in some capacity. She criticises young women for using words traditionally associated with male language. However, she also admits that she herself uses *rough* words when she is with colleagues in informal situations. In a way, she has double standards as she finds others' language annoying when she herself uses similar vocabulary when humour or sarcasm is involved. It should be noted that style shifts can be used strategically. Extremely polite and feminine language can be used to convey humour and should be considered as 'play' (Inoue 2006: 264) or as a communicative strategy (S. Maynard 1991).

There seems to be a division between readers: those who are very honest and candid about their speech and others who take a critical view of those people who they think use '*dirty*' language. Most importantly, these letters suggest a division between rural and metropolitan areas and, although not openly stated, a class division. Here are some examples.

> I use *meshi kuini ikou* [5]. But that is between very close friends.
>
> I use both forms (the rough and polite forms). So do my husband and my parents. Depending on the region, the honorific prefix *o* is not used at all. I do not feel any reservations using the words you mention, but I do have problems with *choo mukatsukundayone* or *yabakunai*.
>
> Luckily or unluckily I was brought up to speak good Japanese and I often feel uncomfortable. And of course, I feel very uncomfortable if a middle-aged woman like you uses expressions such as *choo mukatsukundayone* or *yabakunai?*
>
> I am a housewife in my 40s. Recently, I feel that the language of young girls has become really rough. I would not like women to use the word *umai* [6].

We can say that these letters reflect the reality of today's Japan and infer that either language change is occurring, becoming less 'polite', or that diversity existed all along but was ignored.

These letters suggest that there are women who are convinced that they use what they call 'good' language. Although it is not clear whether they refer to 'women's language' or polite language, what can be inferred is that they expect women to speak 'polite' language. On the other hand, others admit that they occasionally use what are considered 'rough' words. However, they are quite aware of the situation and to whom they address the words. Most importantly, the geographical division between urban and country differences is clearly mentioned by half of the readers.

5. Discussion

This paper examined two self-help books and a magazine to explore how language is used to reproduce stereotypes of women and language in the printed media. As we could see, gendered stereotypes are perpetuated and reinforced in overt and covert linguistic forms. Firstly, the existence of *onna no kotoba* or women's language is taken for granted. It is promoted vigorously by stating that women who can use *kireina nihongo* are beautiful, refined, and can become successful. Women's language is never associated with gender inequalities or negative issues but always with success and happiness. Secondly, the existence of 'women's language' is reinforced through dialogues that include all the stereotypical pronouns and lexical and pragmatic elements associated with female (and male) speech. By showing the differences of male and female speech in dialogues, gender differences are stressed.

Gender stereotypes of traits and behaviour are perpetuated through semantic encoding of key words *utsukushii* 'beautiful', *kirei* 'beautiful/clean', *hinga aru* 'cultured/sophisticated', *joohin* 'cultured' and *kyooyoo ga aru* 'educated'. Women and their language is associated with these key words which are directly associated with *onna no kotoba*. Advice is given to be polite and use 'beautiful' language, indirectly suggesting that women should not use male language. Similarly, in the dialogue examples, women are always portrayed in subordinate positions and males in senior jobs.

Arguments given to justify the merits of using 'women's language' are based on the desire by every woman, the writers imply, to become more beautiful, happier and more successful. In addition, an ideological argument is used that promotes the uniqueness and beauty of the Japanese language.

Although the arguments used in these texts are reproductions of the ones used in former times, some adjustments are observable. A new message promotes the use of 'women's language' that encompasses social status, occupation, urban living and intelligence. Contrary to the ideology of a 'good wife and a wise mother' used in the early 20th century, or the assurance or upward social mobility in the late 1990s, the new message stresses success and happiness. This shift creates an image of the modern woman who has a successful profession, possesses beauty, and can build good human relationships.

By including readers' letters, the analysis provided a glimpse of various views of women's language in Japan. These letters suggest that some women are aware of informal and formal situations and regional differences. Others are convinced that they use 'women's language' and take a critical view of women who speak 'rough' language. These women might belong to upper social classes or are class conscious. It might be the case that, for them, *onna no kotoba* is a sign of social status. The relationship between the prescribed 'women's language' and social class in Japan was explored by Inoue (2006), who pointed out that the self-help books of the 1980s clearly conveyed the idea of upward mobility; if one not only bought designer goods, went to exclusive restaurants, but also could speak *ojoosama* 'ladies' language, one's status would certainly move upwards. The belief that all Japanese belong to a middle class has been common since the post-war abolition of class divisions and the nobility. However, because the language spoken in the rich neighbourhoods of Tokyo was chosen as 'standard' Japanese, there is still the association of refinement and women's language.

A crucial issue which is mentioned only in passing is that of formality. The many examples of imaginary conversations include formal and intimate settings but there is no attempt to define what formal or informal situations are. It seems that there is some confusion between informal language, *onna no kotoba* and formal language. It is unclear, therefore, if those promoting the use of *onna no kotoba* include all situations or they refer only to public encounters.

Another indication of the relationship between Japanese and social expectations is that of adulthood. Adulthood is mentioned as a central argument in discussing language use. It seems that most people are preoccupied by the fact that women must learn how to use polite forms once they become adults. One of the interviewees in the magazine mentioned that she uses masculine first person pronouns, but only at home. However, she stresses that if a woman used male language at work she would lose trust and not be considered seriously. This comment suggests the expectation that Japanese society has of adults. However, it should be pointed out that no similar books are printed for men. This fact in itself is an indication that women face stricter and unequal treatment in society.

Japanese women's status in society has certainly improved dramatically since the 1980s. Compared to other western countries, women in Japan are still under-represented as professionals, administrators or politicians. However, presently, many hold positions of authority in government, education, international politics and industry. Statistics indicate an increase of thirty per cent in female representation in administrative positions [7]. Similarly, the number of women in the judiciary, in politics and in the professional arena is increasing steadily, although the rise is less dramatic[7]. Some examples of high achieving women are Sadako Ogata, former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Head of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency, the former and present leaders of the Social Democratic Party, and two ministers in the cabinet of Prime Minister Abe.

As Freed (2003) and Cameron (1995) suggest, it is perhaps when traditional boundaries become less distinct that people feel uncomfortable and see the need to implement and reinforce stereotypes to maintain gender distinctions. In present Japan, women's increased visibility in important positions might bring a sense of danger to many people. Women's advancement in society might be felt as a threat to the traditional gender roles. Therefore, stressing the need for a woman to be 'womanly', to speak *onna no kotoba* and to behave in the prescribed gender role might be an indication of that feeling of 'gender instability' (Freed 2003: 714).

What the future will bring is difficult to predict; however, we may see more advancement of women in Japanese society, and more people may come to acknowledge diversity. Once these changes become accepted we may see less encouragement to promote the use of *onna no kotoba*.

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Notes

[1] Retrieved September, 2006
http://www.j-magazine.or.jp/index.html (*Shadan Hoojin Nihon Zasshi Kyokai*) *.

[2] Dekkai, kuu ketsu are the rough form of ookii ‘big’, taberu ‘to eat’, oshiri ‘bottom’ respectively. The other words kane, kome and heso when used without the honorific prefix are considered vulgar and rough.

[3] Choo mukatsuku is an expression used by younger Japanese. The expression is composed of the prefix choo ‘extreme’, originally only used with nouns. Mukatsuku means ‘to feel nauseated, feel unhappy, become angry’. The degree of informality is stressed by the direct form da and the final particles yo and ne.

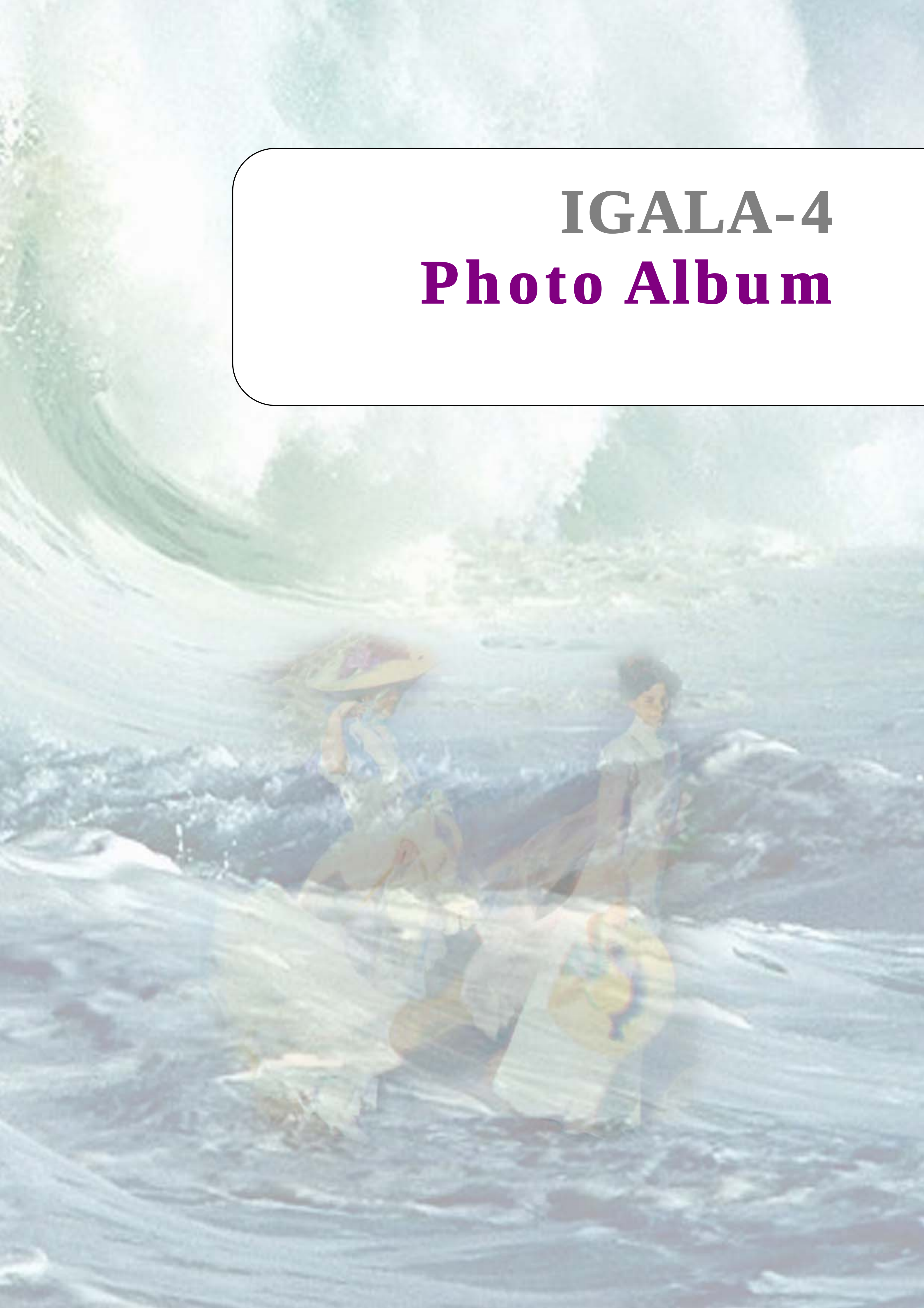
[4] Yabakunai is the negative question form of the adjective yabai ‘dangerous’ and was originally jargon used by criminals; it is used by younger people nowadays.

[5] Meshi kuini ikoo is the rough form of gohan tabeni ikoo ‘let’s go and eat’.

[6] Umai is the adjective used by men for oishii ‘delicious’.

[7] Retrieved January, 2007:
//localhost/F:/Women%20in%20Japan/Women%20in%20Japan%20Today%202003.htm

IGALA-4
Photo Album



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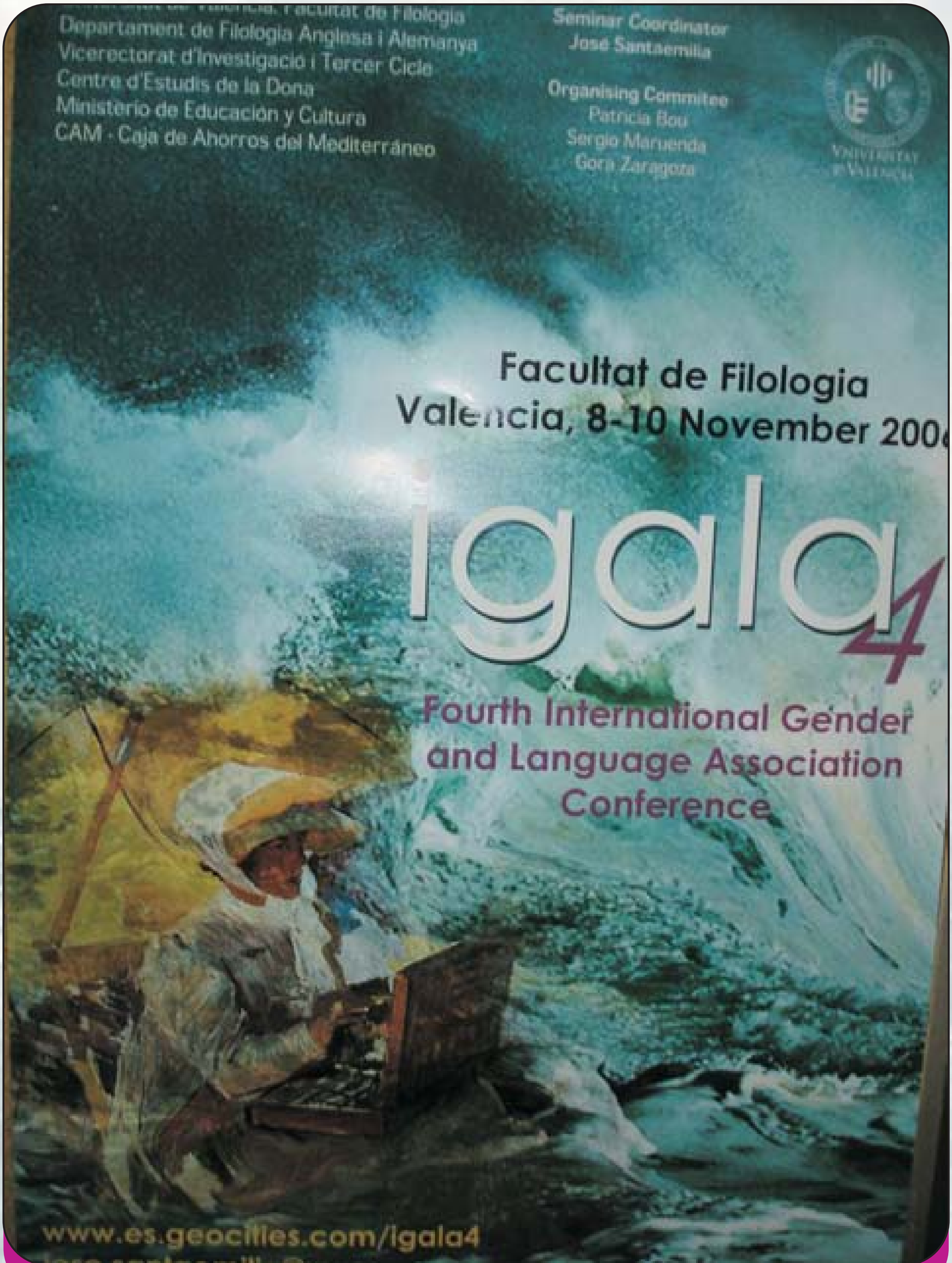
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Poster

Opening ceremony

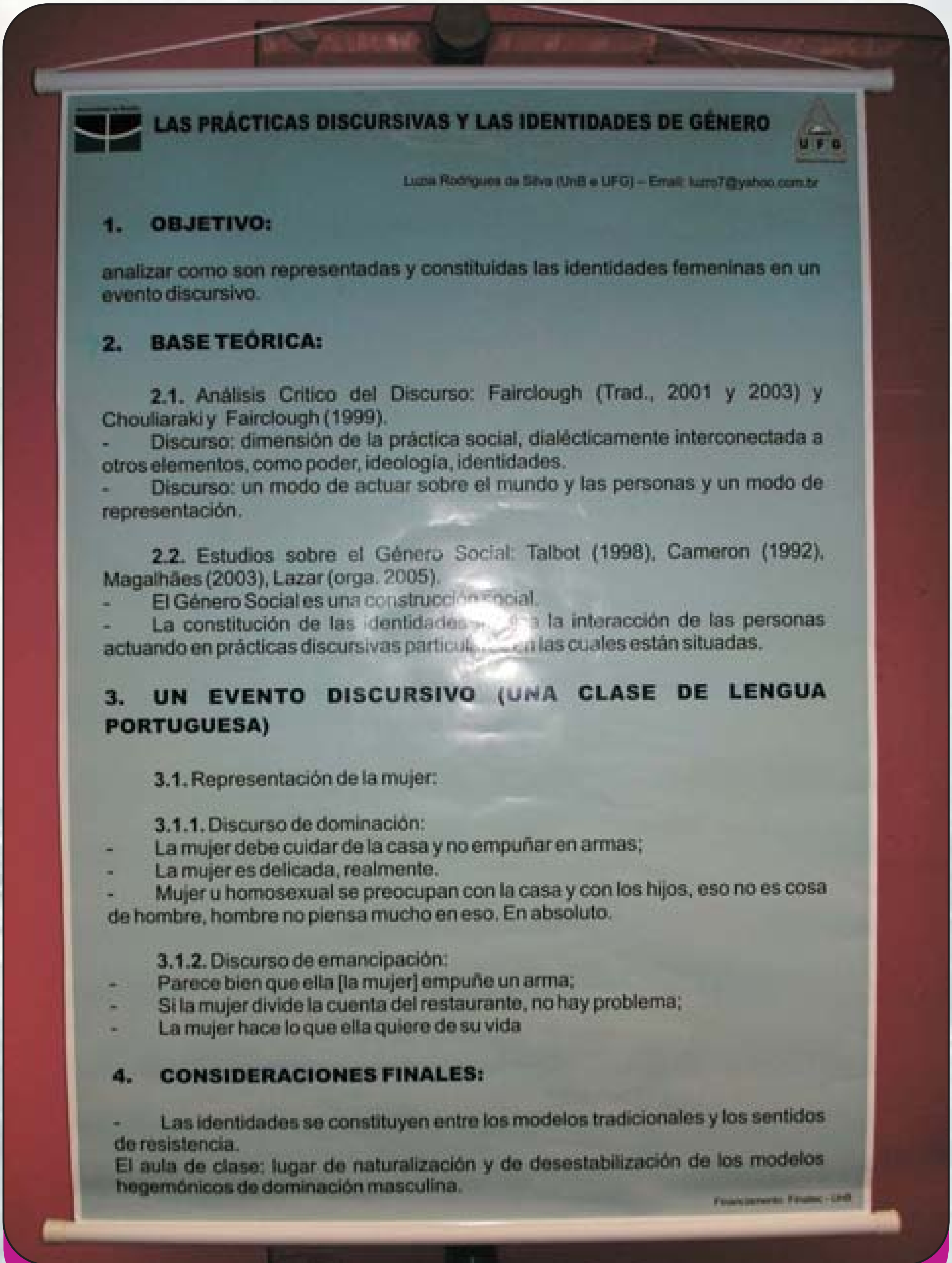
Opening ceremony

Jane Sunderland & José Santaemilia

Janet Holmes

Coffee break

Poster session



Poster session

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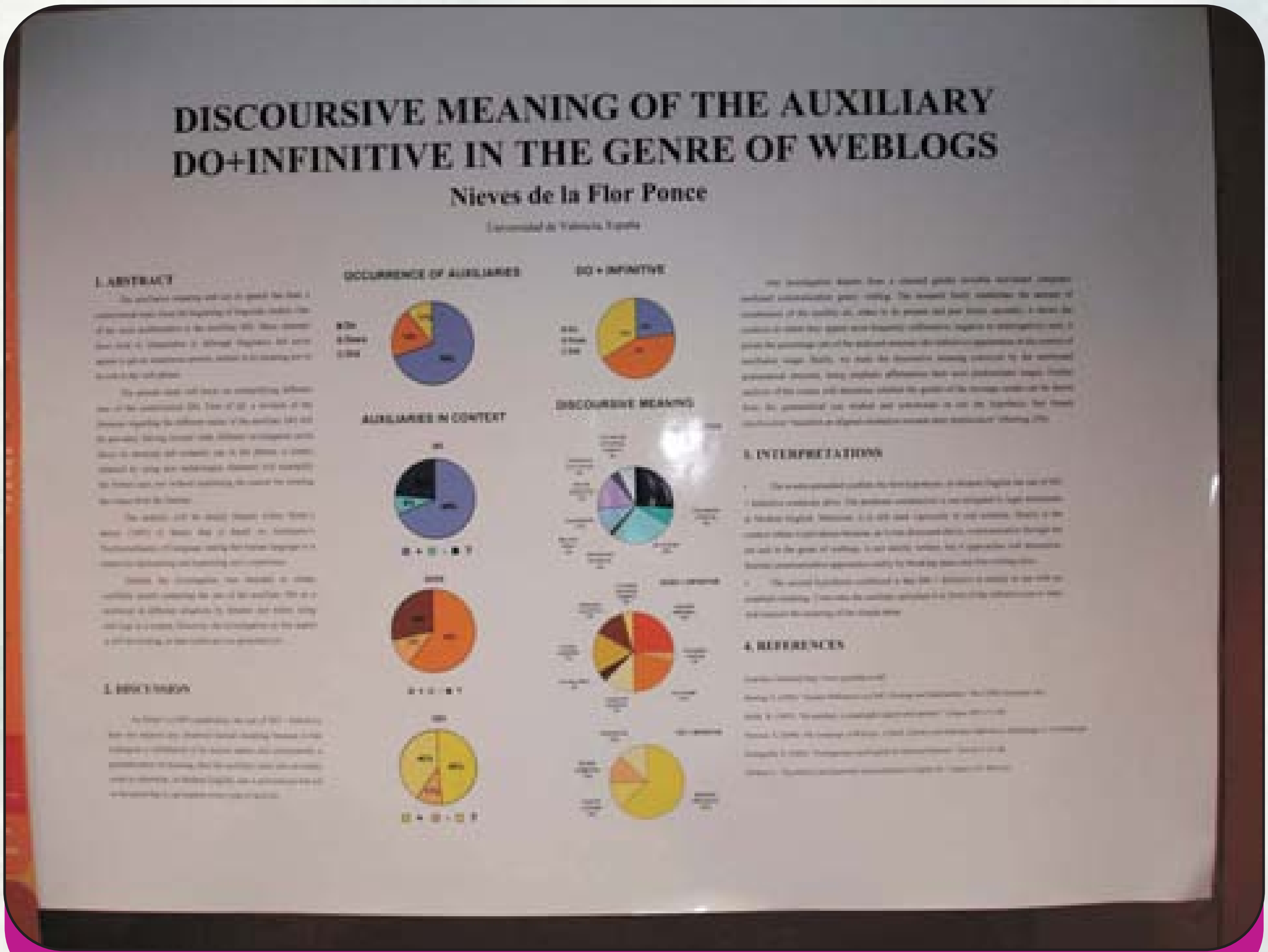

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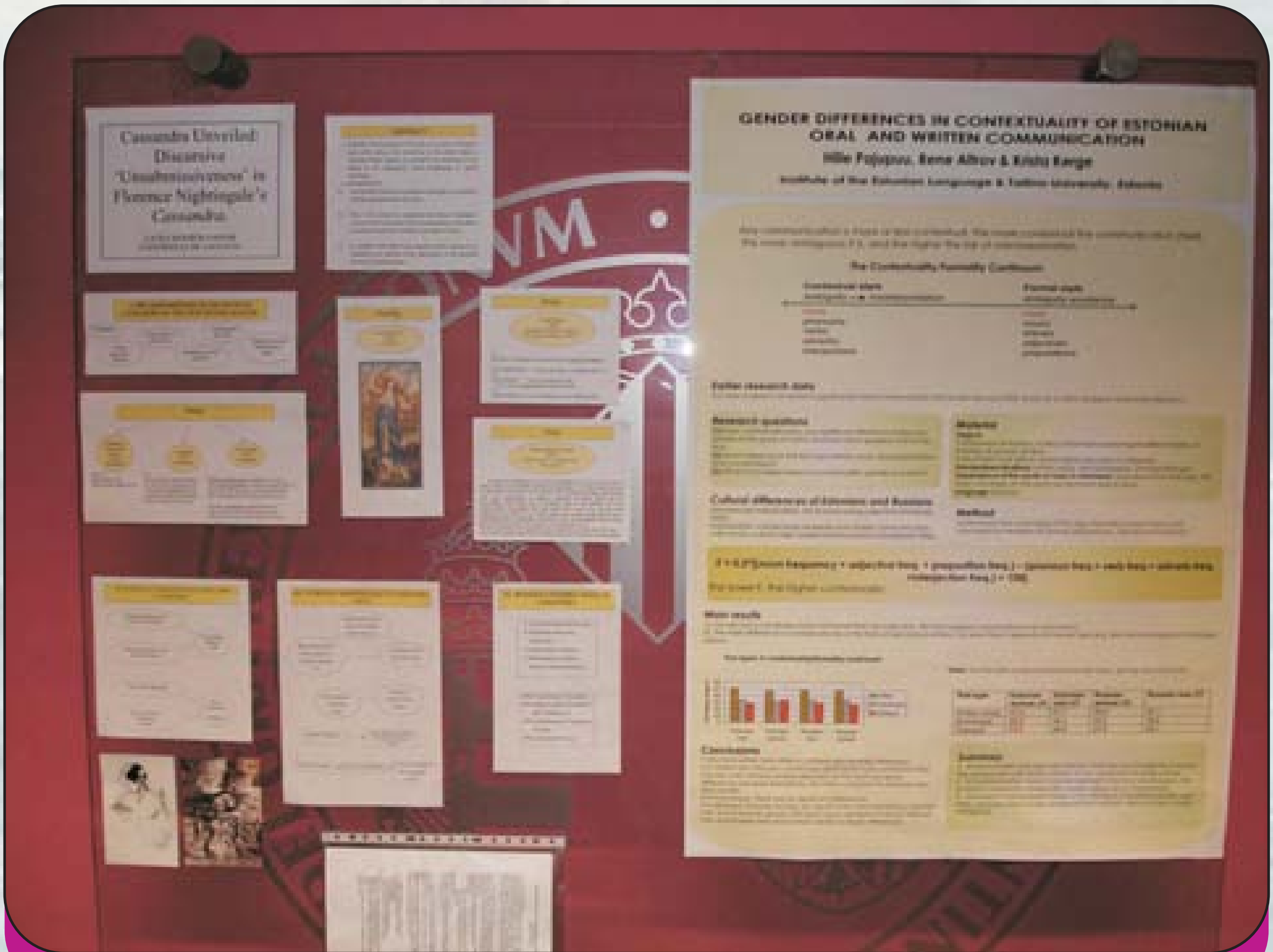

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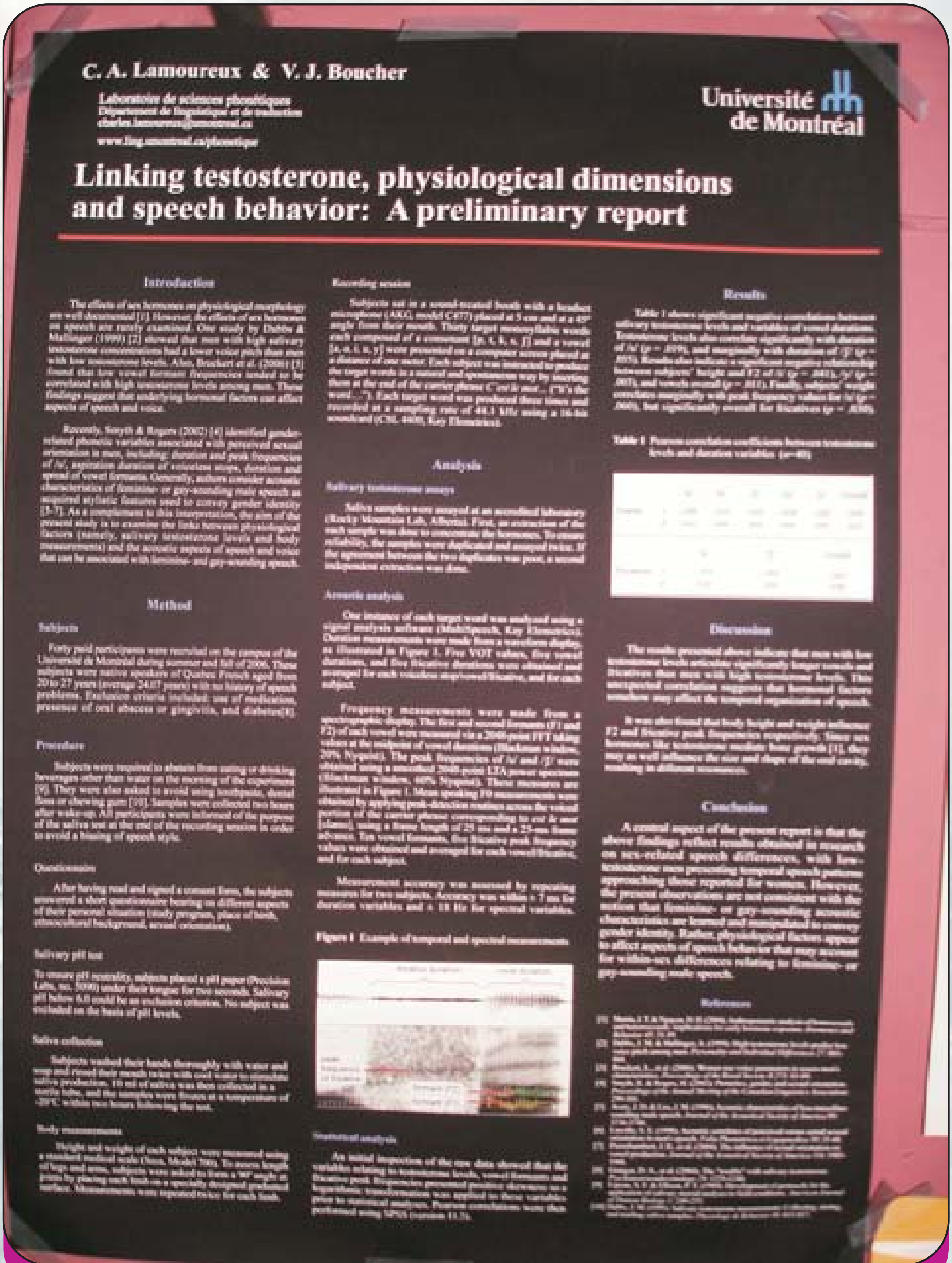

Poster session

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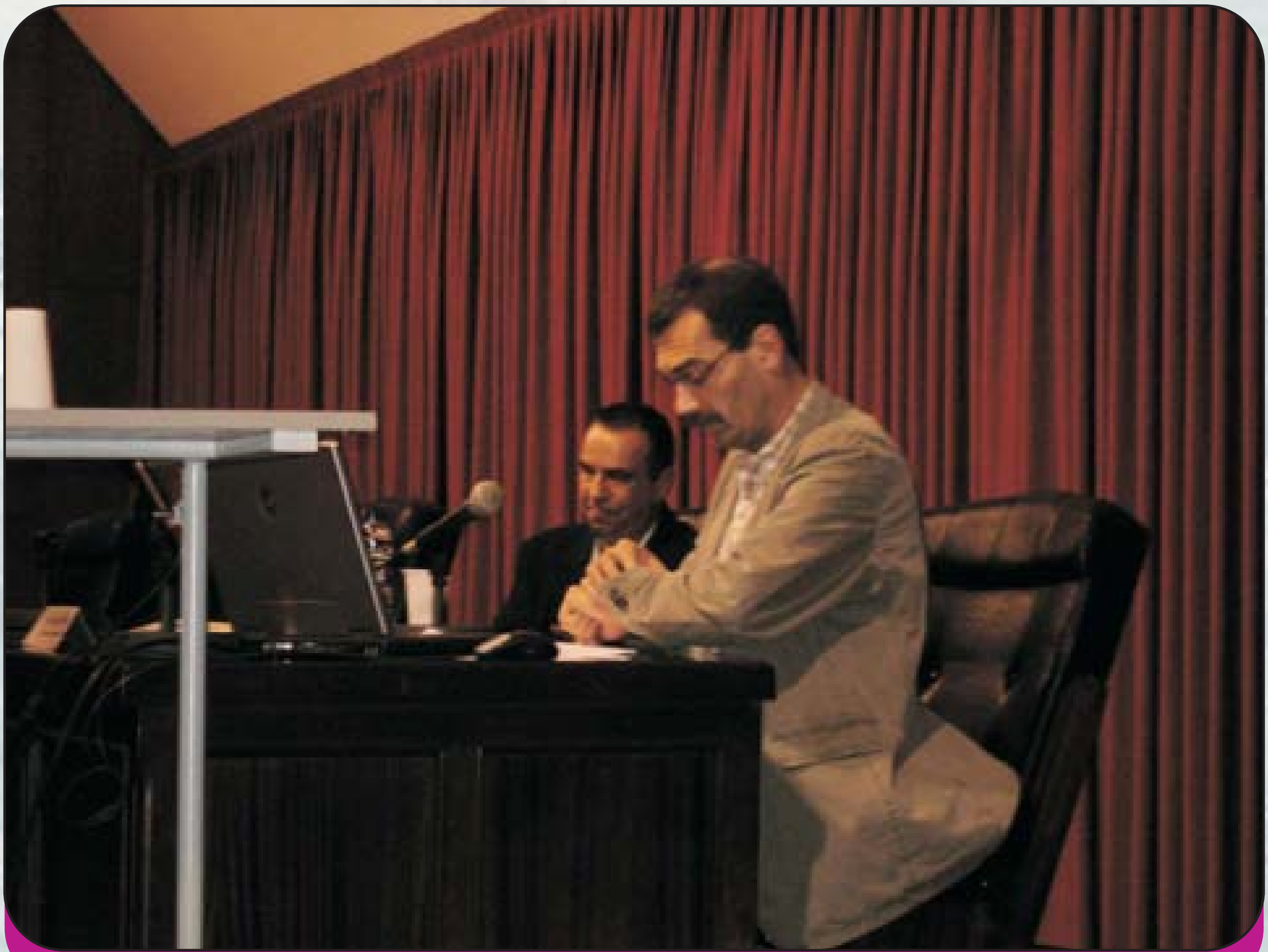
Marlis Hellinger

Organisation team



Uwe Kjaer Nissen

With Sara Mills

Joan Pujolar

Patricia Bou & Lucía Fernández

Audience

Mary Talbot

Mary Talbot

Veronica Koller

Audience

Anindita Chatterjee

With Isabel-Clara Simó

Conference dinner


Conference dinner


Conference dinner

Conference dinner

Conference dinner

Conference dinner

Conference dinner

Conference dinner

Jane Sunderland & José Santaemilia

IGALA-5 & IGALA-4 organisers

Quaderns de Gènere, Sexe i Llenguatge 3

Cuadernos de Género, Sexo y Lenguaje 3