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THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND MEN IN
COLLINS COBUILD ENGLISH LANGUAGE DICTIONARY

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

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Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää kuinka sanakirja kuvailee naisia ja miehiä. Koska sanakirjat ovat saaneet kielen auktoriteetin aseman, niitä pidetään objektiivisina ja niitä harvemmin kyseenalaistetaan. Tästä syystä sanakirjojen tieto välittyy ihmisille tiedostamatta, ja tiedon mukana sanakirjojen sisältämät arvot ja ideologiat vahvistuvat ja uusintuvat. Sanakirjojen välittämä arvomaailma on tämän tutkimuksen kohteena ja erityisesti se, minkälaisia arvoja ja ideologioita naisista ja miehistä välitetään sanakirjan esimerkkilauseissa: kuvataanko naiset ja miehet tasa-arvoisesti, vai ovatko representaatiot epäsymmetrisiä tai stereotyyppisiä.

Aineisto koostuu esimerkkilauseista, jotka kerättiin korpuspohjaisesta *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*'sta. Kerätyt 391 lausetta jaoteltiin kolmeen lausetyyppiin: lauseisiin, jotka viittaavat naisiin, lauseisiin, jotka viittaavat miehiin ja lauseisiin, jotka viittaavat molempiin sukupuoliin. Tämän jälkeen lauseiden kontekstit määriteltiin ja nimettiin sekä prosessityypit analysoitiin. Kontekstien sisällä lauseet analysoitiin transitiivisuusmallin mukaan, ja tarkasteltiin minkälaista kuvaa eri prosessityypit välittävät naisista ja miehistä. Naisten ja miesten välisen vuorovaikutuksen luonnetta tarkasteltiin lauseissa, jotka viittaavat sekä naisiin että miehiin.

Transitiivisuusmallia käytetään erityisesti kriittisessä diskurssianalyysissa ja sen avulla pystytään tutkimaan, kuinka naisia ja miehiä representoidaan kielessä, ja paljastamaan kielen rakenteisiin piilotetut erilaiset arvot ja ideologiat. Tutkimus on pääosin laadullinen, mutta määrällisen analyysin avulla vertaillaan mm. nais- ja mieslauseiden jakautumista eri kontekstiryhmiin ja prosessi-tyyppeihin.

Analyysi osoitti, että naisia ja miehiä kuvataan hyvin eri tavoin eri konteksteissa. Kaikki kontekstiryhmät sisälsivät representaatioita, jotka antoivat neutraalin tai realistisen kuvan molemmista sukupuolista. Melkein kaikki kontekstit sisälsivät kuitenkin myös representaatioita, jotka kuvasivat naisia ja miehiä joko epäsymmetrisesti tai stereotyyppisissä sukupuolirooleissa. Miesten ja naisten välisiä vuorovaikutuksia kuvattiin tasa-arvoisesti eri konteksteissa. Ainoastaan *Väkivalta*-kontekstissa ilmeni valtasuhteita, jolloin miehet kuvattiin tekijän roolissa ja naiset kohteena.

Tutkimus osoitti omalta osaltaan sen, että sanakirjojen seksistiset ja ste-reotyyppiset kuvaukset ovat vähentyneet viimeisen 30 vuoden aikana. Naisten ja miesten kuvauksissa ovat lisääntyneet sekä mahdollisuuksien kirjo että tasa-arvo.

Asiasanat: critical discourse analysis. ideology. transitivity. dictionary. example sentences. representation of men/women. sexism

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The representation of women and men has been a central interest of feminist studies for decades. Studies on language and gender have revealed numerous ways in which language conveys sexist attitudes and represents and treats women and men unequally. Especially women are trivialised and mistreated by such linguistic practices as the use of masculine nouns and pronouns generically; titles which are used to distinguish women on the basis of their marital status; feminine suffixes which are used to distinguish, for example between male and female occupational terms; words referring to females that have pejorated when compared to male counterparts; etc. Further, through language women and men are assigned sex-role stereotypes which are based on often biased assumptions on how women and men should behave and what is appropriate for them. All these phenomena are found to contribute to the social construction of gender and to the inequality of women and men.

In the 1960s and 1970s there was a boom of studies on sexism in educational and reference materials. These materials were considered important: because of their authoritative status their embedded sexist values and ideologies can be very influential. In other words, because textbooks and dictionaries are considered as authorities, they are attached with credibility and objectivity and are less likely to be questioned and adopted critically than for example mass media. This power position makes educational and reference materials important sites for analysis, because they can be regarded, according to Gershuny's (1975:938) definition of dictionaries, as "potentially one of the most dangerous carriers of cultural bias and prejudice" which have the power to naturalise their values and views and therefore help to reproduce them.

Through feminist studies and consciousness-raising about sexist practices as well as with the help of nonsexist guidelines promoted by feminists (see for example Frank and Treichler 1989), some explicit forms of sexist language have been eradicated and sexist practices have been diminished. However, at the same time the nature of sexism has taken more subtle and implicit forms. Therefore, a more

complex form of analysis is now needed to reveal sexist attitudes and ideologies in a text in order to prevent biased ideologies from producing and reproducing themselves. As Mills (1998:248) points out, this kind of analysis needs to concentrate on the complexities of texts and interpretative sources instead of concentrating solely on words and phrases out of context.

After about thirty years of the rise of studies on language and gender in reference materials, it is now of interest to study a contemporary dictionary. The purpose of the present study is, in fact, to explore what kinds of ideologies and values a modern corpus-based dictionary conveys about gender. More specifically, in the present study I will study how women and men are represented in the example sentences of *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987) and try to explore whether the genders are pictured in egalitarian manner or whether biased and unequal representations are given. In order to reveal the possible implicit ideologies, I will not only concentrate on words and phrases but I will adopt a more complex analytical tool, the transitivity model, which helps me to explore how the genders are represented in language and to reveal how different ideologies are encoded in language structures. This model is widely used especially among critical discourse analysts who adopt a critical view towards society and its practices in order to make people aware of the discriminatory acts and change them which is also the purpose of the present study.

As dictionaries are one form of social practice, it can be expected that the prevailing attitudes and values are reproduced in them. This is especially the case when the dictionary is corpus-based and adopts its information from present day language usage. Therefore by exploring a corpus-based dictionary, the present study expects also to reveal reflections of ideologies and values that prevail in contemporary Western society about the genders.

I will begin my thesis by reviewing some textbook studies on sexism in chapter 2. Textbooks studies were one of the first areas of study which were concerned of

the cultural bias and unequal treatment of women and men within language institutions and authorities. Chapter 2 will thus help to orientate the reader to the subject area of studies on sexism in educational and reference materials. Some of the common sexist practices found in these materials will also be introduced. In chapter 3 there will be a detailed discussion about dictionaries; the process of dictionary making will be reviewed in order to give an idea how dictionaries have gained their position of power and authority especially in the era when most of the decision makers were male. Further, I will discuss what sexist practices have been found in dictionaries, and what the feminist counter-attack to conventional dictionaries is like.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), which provides the theoretical and analytical framework of the present study, will be reviewed in chapter 4. I will summarise some of the main principles of CDA (chapter 4.1). In addition, the concept of ideology (4.2) will be reviewed for its relevance to the present study. In chapter 4.3 the analytical tool of the present study, the transitivity model, will be explained and some studies on representations of women analysed by the transitivity model will be presented. I will explain how the data for the present study was collected as well as introduce the method of analysis in more detail in chapter 5, after which the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data will be presented in chapter 6. Finally, I will discuss my findings in chapter 7.

As a language student I am concerned about the ideologies dictionaries convey without people being aware of them. Because of its naturalised status of authority, the information provided by this powerful media is considered objective and left unquestioned. Therefore this thesis can serve as an example on how to adopt a more critical view towards the information conveyed by dictionaries. By raising consciousness the reproduction of biased ideologies can be prevented and the equal treatment of genders can be promoted.

2 SEXISM IN TEXTBOOKS

There are a number of feminist studies that directed their attention to sexism in educational materials. In this chapter I will give an overview how studies on sexism in textbooks started to appear in 1960s. I will pay special attention to studies conducted on foreign language textbooks ranging from year 1970 to present day and to some of the major results of these studies. The review of textbook studies will be introduced here, because I think it is relevant to familiarise the reader with the development of studies on sexism. Therefore this chapter serves as general introduction to the development of textbooks studies on sexism, what kind of sexism textbooks embody and what are the effects of sexism in them. The kinds of sexism found in textbooks as well as their effects are also applicable to dictionaries which will be reviewed in chapter 3.

The area of textbook study is a vast one. When in the late 1960s and early 1970s the feminist second-wave movement directed its attention to the linguistic treatment and representation of women, they also focused on sexism found in textbooks. This area of study also attracted the attention of different authorities and organizations which were concerned of the unequal treatment of women and men. This led to numerous textbook studies in which material ranged from first readers to general knowledge textbooks, as well as from mother tongue to foreign language textbooks.

The golden time for textbook studies was the years between 1975 and 1985 which is known as the United Nations Decade of Women. Within United Nations, Unesco was one of the organizations that launched an extensive study programme which stretched over every continent. The objective was to obtain an overall view of the sexism found in school textbooks and children's literature. And then, with the help of a clearer picture of the problem, action could be initiated in order to eliminate stereotypes based on sex from educational material. As a result of the study, a book was published including overview of the results of the study as well

as guidelines how to eliminate sexism from textbooks. (see Michel 1986.)

One major reason for textbook studies was the realisation that the sexism in educational materials as well as children's literature have an impact on children's socialisation and how they construct gender identities (eg. Sunderland 1994). Educational material and literature offer children role models and examples of behaviour through the portrayal of men and women. If the portrayals are unequal and stereotypical, children are exposed to sexist attitudes. Also, when confronted only with stereotypical roles, children fail to understand "the true variety of human characteristics, which do not depend on sex but on individual inclinations" (Hartman and Judd 1978:385). Therefore, there is a danger that children, and particularly girls, do not realise their full potential. In order to prevent this from happening, textbook studies were seen as one of the necessary steps towards nonsexist language use as well as equal treatment of men and women.

Eliminating sexism from foreign language (FL) textbooks has received special attention. The reason being that FL textbooks represent not only the language of the target country, but also its culture, therefore being the first cultural encounters with the language in question. Textbooks provide samples of language use embedded in cultural information. Because of the involuntary nature of language and its symbiosis with culture it is difficult to be objective about it. Thus, textbooks convey culture and attitudes somewhat unconsciously, and when textbooks represent sexist reality then also sexism is conveyed unconsciously. (eg. Porreca 1984.)

Sometimes the transmission of sexist attitudes can even be seen as "a subtle form of brain washing" as Stein (1978:123) puts it. She points out (1978:123) that with grammar drills there is a danger that "when the emphasis is on grammar and not on content, it is not surprising that the information becomes *subconscious*" (italics original). Therefore, it is important to eliminate stereotypes from textbooks because by revealing the sexist patterns in FL textbooks it is possible to prevent

the spread of sexist attitudes to new users of that language (Pauwels 1998:16-20).

As the aim of the International Women's Year of the United Nations in 1975 was to direct attention to women's role in all levels of modern society a project was organised by Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FILPLV) from the foreign language teaching point of view. FILPLV launched an essay competition for teachers all over the world in order to find out whether the claim that real life is reflected in teaching materials is true. The concept of the project was that teachers would study how women were portrayed in language textbooks and what kind of attitudes the textbooks convey. (Freudenstein 1978:5-6.)

The collection of essays compiled from this essay competition is, to date, the most comprehensive treatment about the role of women in foreign language textbooks. The editor of the book states (Freudenstein 1978:6) that the most surprising result of the project was that the misrepresentation of women in foreign language textbooks is not prevalent only in certain conditions but seems to be a world-wide phenomenon. Another general result was that women were represented almost similarly both in materials for children and for adults.

Foreign language textbook studies suffer from a lack of standardised mode of evaluation (Graci 1989:477), that is, there exists no congruent method by which to assess gender portrayal in FL textbooks. However, many FL textbook studies have concentrated on similar features and have gained similar results concerning the portrayal of women. Jane Sunderland (1994:55-56) categorises these different sexist features in five categories. First of all, the invisibility of females in FL textbooks is the most recognisable feature. Females are often outnumbered by males when sex-linked nouns, proper nouns and titles are counted, as well as stories about male achievements outnumber those about female achievements. The fact that women do not appear as often as men is considered as an example of undervaluation of women, as if women or their achievements would not be

important enough (Porecca 1984:706).

Secondly, FL textbooks contain occupational stereotyping which means that males are seen in a wide variety of occupations while females are represented in fewer occupations, as well as in jobs which have poorer status in the job market. Further, often the occupational division is the traditional one, men having a job outside home while women take care of the household and children (see for example Hartman and Judd 1978, Porecca 1984).

Further, relationship stereotyping, which means that women are seen more often in relation to men than vice versa, is also a feature of sexism found in FL textbooks. This is the case when, for example, women appear only in relation to their husbands and fathers, while men are portrayed on their own. Additionally, stereotyping occurs in personal characters. Females are often represented as weak and passive while males appear strong and active. For example, according to a study by Hartman and Judd (1978), women appear overemotional and superficial, while men are represented as helpful and patronising. The traditional gender stereotyping can also be seen even in ways they exercise and read newspapers. Men exercise to build muscles by weightlifting and read sports pages from the newspapers, while women move rhythmically, dance and develop arches. From newspapers they read fashions, homemaking sections and advertisements. Lastly, Sunderland (1994) mentions blatant sexism which is a form of explicit sexism, that is, statements and generalisations which degrade women. For example, jokes are usually explicitly sexist and degrading.

Other related features have also been found in studies about sexism in FL textbooks. One such feature is the order of firstness which is a relatively minor point but, as Hartman and Judd (1978:390) point out, "such automatic ordering reinforces the second-place status of women and could, with only a little effort, be avoided by mixing the order", for example, when addressing people women could be mentioned first using phrase *women and men* instead of the usual *men*

and women. Furthermore, one major feature of English can be considered as a form of sexism, that is, the use of the masculine as generic. A number of studies have been conducted on how people relate to masculine generics with the result that females are rarely conceptualised with such generics (see for example Hamilton 1991 and Martyna 1978 for studies on the use of generic masculine, and for example Bodine 1975, Stanley 1978 and Sunderland 1991 for general discussion about generic masculine).

There has been a lot of discussion about the world of textbooks and the kind of picture they should represent about reality. The majority of the FL textbook studies came to the conclusion that the books studied do not represent present-day reality but have an androcentric orientation, males being the dominant ones while females being the invisible and suppressed ones. Many of the textbooks were discovered to be even more sexist than the reality. Hartman and Judd (1978:384) note that one reason for this is that these books are written for long periods and social conditions will change during that time. Therefore, textbooks reflect the attitudes of the earlier writers and their societies, and these attitudes are not necessarily valid in present-day reality. For this reason, these books should be written to point to the future rather than to the past, and to the social implications conveyed by the FL textbooks should be paid special attention (Ittzés 1978:9).

3 DICTIONARIES AS INSTITUTIONS

Dictionaries are kind of language institutions which are believed to describe language objectively. They have gained the status of authority, whose objectivity is seldom questioned. This authoritative status of dictionaries has led feminists to study dictionaries' alleged objectivity and what kind of values and attitudes they actually convey. As Treichler and Frank (1989:15) have argued, social institutions and value systems are never neutral because not all people participate

in their formulation and maintenance equally. This is also true about dictionaries, only a small group of people is responsible for their formulation and therefore dictionaries are bound to reflect those people's views and values. Therefore dictionaries reflect the values, beliefs and practices of their makers as well as their surrounding society, and because dictionaries do not only reflect, but also construct values and attitudes, they can be regarded as instruments of social control. Feminists, then, are concerned about what kind of world view dictionaries embody, and how this view is reflected and perpetuated with the help of the authoritative status, as well as what the effects of all this are.

Not only the world view reflected in dictionaries, but also the practices of dictionary making have been under feminist criticism. In this chapter I will concentrate on the compiling of dictionaries and how the status of authority is created in this process. I will also discuss whose authority and ideology dictionaries seem to convey. Further, I will review the different phenomena which show that dictionaries can be considered biased and valuing male-centred views as well as what kind of studies have been conducted on sexism in dictionaries. Finally, I will present what feminists have done in order to alter the misogynist make-up of dictionaries.

3.1 The authoritative status of dictionaries

Dictionaries are considered as the records of language usage which are consulted whenever word meanings and usage as well as spellings, synonyms, pronunciations need clarification or are questioned. The fact that dictionaries are the second most popular book in the English language indicates the common belief that dictionaries are the Bible of Language. This belief gives them the status of authority and objectivity which are not questioned. (Kramarae 1992:135-137.)

The status of authority is created, firstly, by the publishers of dictionaries. In advertising their dictionaries they use phrases such as "the foundation book of education", "all the latest terms in our language", "enlarged to cover fully the vast number of new words and new facts", "tells you *everything* you want to know" etc. (Kramarae 1992:139). By such phrases the publishers try to build the authority of their book, and usually with success. People remember the message although not necessarily the particular dictionary, and therefore the generic form of dictionaries has become to represent authority. And when meanings and usage are questioned, the common response is to go look it up in a dictionary as if a dictionary was the source of objective information. Kramarae (1992:137) is concerned about such a misbelief and stresses that relying on dictionaries as the records of language usage damages people's linguistic creativity and understanding of language and creates linguistic insecurity.

Many lexicographers try to prove the fact that their dictionaries are the records of language by stressing the completeness of their dictionaries. They claim to report on the usage of the linguistic authorities as well as of all people. (Kramarae 1992:140.) Therefore dictionaries claim to be primarily descriptive, that is, describing how words are used and how they have been used in the past. However, because of the status of dictionaries these descriptions are often considered as prescriptions of how words should be used and what they should mean (Mills 1995:123).

Dictionaries, then, act as a language guide which include language standardised by lexicographers and editors. This small group of people have gained the position of gatekeepers of language by procedures as mentioned above. They have the status of language experts who have the authority to decide what words and meanings can be included in dictionaries, that is, what words and meanings can be regarded as standard language. Because of the power to standardise language these lexicographers and editors can be regarded as the gatekeepers of language. These acts of gatekeeping can be seen in the procedures of dictionary making. (for

example Cameron 1985.)

3.2 The making of dictionaries

As mentioned above, a small group of lexicographers and editors are responsible for the kind of language dictionaries contain. Their decisions and choices are bound to influence the making of dictionaries, and because choices are never neutral it is important to know who these gatekeepers are, what kind of values they hold and how their actions influence the process of dictionary making. In this chapter the procedures of dictionary making will be discussed and how through these procedures conventional dictionaries obtain certain kind of values because of the choices and decisions made by the group of gatekeepers.

When compiling dictionaries lexicographers and editors use a variety of sources for collecting words and meanings. Emphasis is on sources which are in the written form and especially in print and published. This means that the major source is mainstream literature, while, for example, pamphlets, graffiti and other "minority" publications are not included. The fact that dictionaries are based on mainstream literature, then again, means that they consist mostly of words, meanings and experiences of male authors, because majority of mainstream literature is written by men (feminists use the phrase *male-stream literature* in order to emphasise the notion of male dominance in mainstream literature). This emphasis on written sources is one form of gatekeeping, spoken sources are not valued and considered standard language and therefore excluded. (see for example Cameron 1985, Kramarae 1992.)

Another kind of gatekeeping method is the selection of new words and meanings in dictionaries. The words and meanings are selected according to how many times they appear in print. Because of the emphasis on mainstream literature words and meanings used by men are more likely to be included, while words

used by women and other minority groups are ignored. Before editors include new words and meanings in dictionaries they have to be used extensively by many people, that is, those words and meanings have to prove that they are stable enough. However, it is the editor who has the power to decide whether a word or a meaning is stable enough or whether it is used by large enough group of people to be included in a dictionary. But because of the limited capacity of editors to acquire the language of all the communities editors have the power to decide what kind of language is included. For example, as Treichler points out (1989:55), few editors have regular access to such media where women's words and nonstandardised meanings would dominate such as women's and feminist periodicals, and therefore they do not become acknowledged.

Nowadays large corpora are used in dictionary making. This ensures the fact that words and meanings selected to a dictionary come from a variety of sources. However, this does not ensure the fact that, for example predominance of written texts over spoken, published texts over unpublished texts or male writers over female writers would not exist (Hoey 1996:163-164). Further, the language usage of minority groups may be excluded from a dictionary, because the selection is based on the frequency of the word. In addition, lexicographers still make the final decision about what words are included.

Lexicographers and editors not only determine what is included in dictionaries, they can also determine what is the most frequent or educated meaning. As was mentioned earlier, written forms are emphasised and considered as standard language, while spoken forms are regarded as uneducated. When spoken forms are included in dictionaries they are usually marked as slang although they are spoken by many people. Therefore dictionaries value written words, while conversations and oral traditions are degraded. (Kramarae 1992:146.)

The bias of the dictionary makers, then, is also visible in the way words and meanings are valued, that is, whether they are described as marked or unmarked.

The unmarked form is usually the form that is considered standard language. These unmarked forms are used by middle class and scholarly people (which the dictionary makers are), while the marked forms are used by uneducated and minorities. The marked forms are, then, regarded as unconventional and unacceptable by dictionary makers. Another kind of value judgement is when words, especially those referring to low status and minorities, are not marked as offensive or insulting when they should be (see section 3.3 below for an example of this). (Mills 1995:124-125.)

Kramarae (1992:142-143) gives an example how word *gay* is misrepresented in *American Heritage Dictionary*. One of the definitions by the editorial staff of *gay* is hostile and inaccurate because it is marked as slang as if it should not be used in formal speech and writing. Therefore the definition does not account for what gays themselves regard as appropriate. The editorial staff's definition includes a value judgement against gays who are a large social group and whose voice should also be included in the dictionary. This is, however, denied by the editors, that is, the gatekeepers.

Kramarae (1992:141) points out that the words and meanings of every day usage are, in fact, the usage of only a small group of people, or more accurately of men. Dorothy Smith (in Kramarae 1992:141) has called this "The Circle of prestigious educators" who determine what expressions are acceptable. When making dictionaries the process is a never-ending circle where editors quote each other using each other as consultants and listen to the radio and television announcers who again have consulted the dictionaries. Therefore dictionaries seem to be emphasising only certain kind of discourse and certain kinds of values, in other words they seem to be the playfield of educated males. As Kramarae (1992:146) puts it "editors help to maintain the class structure and the supremacy of the male educated class." Therefore, feminists have started to study the male-centred values of dictionaries.

3.3 Sexism in dictionaries

The fact that women are not always included in the making of dictionaries is one kind of sexism, as well as the fact that women's words and meanings are not included. As has been shown, dictionaries are made mostly by men which gives them the position of deciding what kind of words and meanings are included in dictionaries. Further, the materials from which the words and meanings are selected discriminate women, because only mainstream literature is used (see above). On the basis of this misogynist make-up of dictionaries, feminists have examined what kind of sexism is found in dictionaries.

References to women

The most criticised and most obvious kind of sexism in dictionaries is the negative and stereotypical and trivialising references to women (Treichler 1989:52). First of all, words used about women are more frequent and more negative than words about men. For example, Schulz (1975) studied matched word pairs referring to men and women and found out that the words designating women have negative connotations when compared to words about men, for example words like *spinster - bachelor* or *witch - warlock*. Further, words referring to an old man such as *geezer* and *codger* have multiple female counterparts which are even more degrading: *trot, hen, heifer, warhorse, crone, hag, beldam* and *frump*. Furthermore, the female counterparts have often negative sexual connotations as can be seen from words like *master - mistress*. The degraded words are often one kind of euphemisms as is the case with *mistress* which refers to a woman who has a sexual relationship with a married man. These kinds of sexual references are not associated with the word *master*. This is known as a phenomenon where words for women obtain semantic characteristics which are related to social stereotypes and women as a group (Smith 1985:48). Schulz (1975) calls this phenomenon, "the semantic derogation of women" and notes that these kind of derogatory activities reflect and perpetuate the negative attitudes towards women.

Word definitions

Word definitions are found to be sexist, especially those which relate to women and men. For example, in *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* (1987) one definition for *girl* reads

> You can refer to a woman of any age as a girl, especially when you are talking about a woman who is younger than you or even when you are in a position of authority over her; an informal use.

Girl is used in this way by many people, but what this dictionary fails to inform is that many people also regard this kind of usage as offensive and patronising. Hennessy (1994:107) points out that especially learners' dictionaries, which *CCED* is, should be responsible enough to object to this kind of usage and give a full account of the meanings. For example, the definition of *a girl* gives only partial description and while doing so it imposes sexist ideology.

Moreover, female sexuality is often described from an androcentric point of view, that is, through male experience, for example, *clitoris* can be defined as "a failed or vestigial penis" (Treichler 1989:52) or as "homologous with the penis" (Mills 1995:105). Mills (1995:105) points out that this kind of definition suggests that the clitoris and the penis are related, although there is no dependence and they do not even function in an analogical way. These kinds of definitions deny the women's own experiences and women become defined through male perspectives.

Meaghan Morris (1982 in Kramarae et al. 1985:2) notes that a dictionary can also make women invisible by eradicating women's linguistic and political achievements through constructing obscure and limited definitions of words. Morris gives an example how the Australian *Macquarie Dictionary* defines *sexism* as "the upholding or propagation of sexist attitudes" and *feminism* as an "advocacy of equal rights and opportunities for women". She (1982 in Kramarae et al. 1985:2) argues that although these usages are "standard liberal currency today, the point is that the concept developed by feminists are not even marginalised into second place, but rather omitted entirely", because *sexism* was originally used by women to construct a theory of patriarchy and the definition of

feminism ignores the distinctions among different feminist positions.

The selection processes

The selection processes of words and meanings also introduce a male bias into the dictionaries. Because the basis of dictionaries is on mainstream literature, the emphasis may be on the public sphere over the private sphere. Therefore dictionaries consist largely of words that are of male interest; politics, policy, work and commerce are valued over private activities, which are traditionally women's interest, such as housekeeping and child care. (Treichler 1989:53.) (See chapter 3.2 for the full account of the selection processes.)

Example sentences

Sexism can be also found in exemplary sentences which illustrate the use of of the words in context. Gershuny (1975) was concerned about the dictionaries' ability to carry cultural bias, and studied *Random House Dictionary of the English Language 1966* (RHD) in order to find out whether it preserved sex-role stereotypes in illustrative sentences. She found out that the dictionary reinforced sex-role stereotypes and sexism when illustrating neutral entry words, that is, feminine and masculine gender words appeared in numerous stereotyped contexts. Women were typically portrayed as inferior to men and having undesirable traits such as passivity, emotionality and domesticity, while men were represented with traits such as assertiveness, competence and strength, for example, *She **dabbed** her eyes with the handkerchief - He **got** ahead by sheer determination* (the entry word is in bold).

Gershuny (1975:939) points out that while in American culture women are defined as subordinate to men, and the least desirable and the most inferior traits are considered the key elements of the feminine stereotype, RHD seemed to go even further in its image construction. RHD represented women in already stereotyped contexts with negative images, that is, the women seemed to be incompetent and annoying even in stereotyped feminine contexts, for example,

*She gave us **overdone** steak, She never has the sense to hold her **tongue** at the right time, She burst into tears upon hearing of his death but it was only a **grandstand** play.* When men were pictured in stereotypically feminine roles, their portrayals were not any better, for example, *He soon lost **track** of how much money he had spent* or *He had no opinion of his own, but simply followed the **herd**.* Gershuny (1975:939) points out that feminine contexts seemed even more undesirable with masculine words, because we are not used to thinking of men as inferior.

When women and men were represented in the same sentence, the roles involved marriage, family or unspecified social settings. Gershuny (1975:940) found it interesting that it was possible for men to appear in feminine contexts of home and family with women, but women were not represented in stereotypically masculine contexts, that is, women were not seen as partners in the business world. This "lack of interchangeability of roles" is again an example of fixed stereotyped roles and of static concept of fixed behavioural possibilities and potentials.

In social relationships females were again pictured as negative, this time the negative image was constructed by dominant, aggressive and independent behaviour towards men, for example, *She made his life a **hell** on earth; She **tore** into him for being late; If she starts **nagging** at her husband, I'm going home* etc. Gershuny (1975:940) notes that in these sentences females are represented with stereotypically masculine traits, but when referring to women these formerly positive traits are made negative. It should be noticed that the use of *he* would have not made the behaviour any more positive, but as Gershuny (1975:940) wants to emphasise, *she* was chosen for these negative contexts, and in this way, the female dominance gets associated with negativity. However, males with stereotypically feminine traits were considered even more negative than females with stereotypically masculine traits, because the former represent a loss of status and the latter a gain (Gershuny 1975:941). In interrelationships implicit hostility

between sexes as well as male-female rivalry were also found, for example, *He chafed at her constant interruptions, She loves to bait him about his male vanity, She told him point-blank that he was not welcome* etc.

In RHD females were stereotyped in 75 % of the illustrative sentences sampled. Moreover, females were also linguistically invisible in relation to males, that is, masculine gender sentences appeared almost three times as often as feminine gender sentences. Also, masculine words outnumbered feminine words by about 2:1. (Gershuny 1975:941.) Gershuny (1975:941) points out that the editorial staff would have been able to create illustrative sentences to neutral entry words which would not have stereotyped or denigrated either sex. Now they revealed their own bias and prejudice as well as the society's in addition to the word meaning and usage. Instead of using gender words in illustrative sentences, they should have used plural and neuter pronouns, which would have prevented them from defining gender.

Patricia Kaye (1989) has studied *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (hereafter referred as CCELD) for its portrayals of women and men. Her study was inspired by Gershuny's study, although Kaye emphasised that the aim of her study was mainly to entertain the reader and that the selection of examples may be unfair to CCELD, as Kaye has not systematically compared the treatment of the sexes in the way Gershuny has. The main interest for Kaye (1989:192) is how the choice of examples can construct a poor picture of women although sexism would be avoided deliberately, and "whether the lexicographer can select more neutral illustrations without being untrue to his or her art."

Kaye (1989:192-193) notes that CCELD has adopted a pleasing policy about pronouns; *they, them* and *their* are used as referents for indefinite pronouns such as *someone*. Further, CCELD has deliberately tried to avoid the stereotypical picture of woman as a passive emotional creature who is dependent on men. Kaye (1989:193) is pleased when finding that typically feminine verbs such as *scream*

and *nag* are used with masculine subjects. Both of the sexes are also represented with many of the most "sensitive" words. They are seen as emotional, jealous, desperate, both have broken hearts and support families etc.

However, Kaye (1989:193-194) finds out that everything is not so balanced as it seems. Women are still pictured as romantic, for example, *There she goes* **romancing** *about the past again, Harold fell short of her idea of* **romance**. An interesting pair of sentences is also found under the word *abandon; He* **abandoned** *her and went off to Nigeria - She* **abandoned** *herself to grief.* Both genders are pictured as suppressing their feelings. However, the examples represent a somewhat different picture by describing the woman in an emotional state, while men are denied most of their emotions; *She lay with her face in the* **pillow** *muffling her sobs - Men are required by society to* **suppress** *a large proportion of their feelings.*

Kaye (1989:194) reports how women are also pictured as alcoholics and drug addicts. Most of these portrayals seem unintentional because the references are found from the entry words that do not refer to alcohol or drugs. Further, these references are often represented as extra information, that is, in such a form that they could have been easily omitted. Kaye (1989:192-195) draws attention to how the editors of CCELD have emphasised the fact that examples are chosen carefully from the dozens of examples and how the examples are of every day usage. She points out the ethical issues of dictionary making, that is, the fact that even if the corpus introduces numerous examples which portray women in a poor light, it would be justified to ask the lexicographers to choose from the minority of neutral sentences or to substitute some neutral pronoun, such as *I* or *they*.

What kind of reality dictionaries should portray has been a subject for discussion. In Kaye's (1989) opinion, women's poor picture in CCELD could be improved by selecting the examples more critically from the corpus in order to get more equal picture of both genders. The same method would also be advisable to all the

other dictionaries. Furthermore, Sunderland (1994:64) suggests that dictionaries, unlike textbooks, should not represent even satirical representations of gender stereotypes, because they scarcely have space in which to contextualise examples. Thus dictionaries should give equal visibility to male and female characters in their illustrative sentences with a variety of occupational roles and personal characteristics etc. This is important because of the impact dictionaries have in constructing reality.

As can be seen from Kaye's study, some improvement can be detected in the representation of men and women in dictionaries, for example, illustrative sentences do not seem to represent blatant sexism and generic *he* is not used anymore. But because of the lack of systematic method of Kaye's study, a more thorough analysis of the representation of the genders is needed, and that is what the present study aims at.

3.4 Feminist dictionaries

As a counter-attack against the conventional dictionaries feminists have compiled their own dictionaries. The aim of these dictionaries is to question the world view of the conventional dictionaries and their misogynist make-up. Unlike conventional dictionaries, feminist dictionaries do not claim to be objective or represent an objective view of the language. On the contrary, feminist dictionaries want to represent the female side of the story, in other words women's experiences, words and definitions are of main concern.

For example, Kramarae and Treichler (1985:1-3) make several points in order to clarify how their *Feminist Dictionary* differs from other dictionaries. Firstly, they emphasise that in their dictionary women are recognised as linguistically creative speakers. As has already has been noted (see chapter 3.1), conventional dictionaries claim to report the language of all people, but in fact fail to do so by

excluding words and definitions created by women. Therefore Kramarae's and Treichler's dictionary challenges the conventional dictionaries by excluding men's words and speech and concentrates on women's speech. In the *Feminist Dictionary* women's linguistic contributions are recorded and women's significance as speaking subjects is emphasised. Furthermore, women are defined according to their own rights as autonomous individuals, not as dependent on men and their beliefs and needs.

Secondly, Kramarae and Treichler (1985:3-4) acknowledge the sociopolitical aspects of dictionary-making. They wanted to compile a feminist dictionary in order to balance the weight of conventional dictionaries which favour men's words. By representing a dictionary with women's words, they do not believe to be able "to reverse the profound structural inequalities of history and culture" (Kramarae and Treichler 1985:3-4), but want to pay attention and criticise the current and past selection and compiling practices in which some forms of language are privileged over others. Especially in conventional dictionaries, men's words are institutionalised by such practices (see chapter 3.2 above).

Kramarae and Treichler (1985:4) emphasise that because their dictionary focuses on women's words the sources of the words are feminist publications which are not necessarily accessible to the general reader. This dictionary does not offer any fixed definitions but the core is in the women's verbatim citations. These citations not only illustrate the usage of the word but also illustrate a particular perspective as well as encourage the reader to read the original source in its entirety. When using primarily feminist sources Kramarae and Treichler do not intend to set forth a linguistic norm for a given community of speakers. For this reason entries are seldom specified as "parts of speech" or marked for their social and linguistic status such as coined, standard, old fashioned etc. These kinds of labels have meaning only when referring to "authorised" words, and there are many reasons why women should doubt the authorisation process (see 3.1 above).

As has become evident from the discussion above, dictionaries do not contain such stereotypical presentations of women and men as they used to, at least it seems so from the surface. In order to find out whether the representations of women and men have actually changed and become more egalitarian, or whether the nature of sexism has changed to more a subtle form, we need a framework that can help to reveal the hidden ideologies of discourse, therefore Critical Discourse Analysis will be introduced in the following chapter.

4 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the branches of discourse analysis. The common aim of the different approaches of discourse analysis is to study language use in instances of social interaction. What makes CDA distinctive from the other forms of discourse analysis is its view of the relationship between language and society and the fact that CDA adopts a critical attitude towards society and its practices. Further, CDA is interested in the ideological workings of language and the reproduction of sexism which are also the interests of the present study. In this chapter I will review some of the main principles of CDA as well as what are its fields of study, why it is considered a critical approach and how it explains the relationship between language and society. Then I will move on to discussion about ideology and how it is manifested in a society and language. After this I will give a brief review of CDA's analytical framework and concentrate more closely on transitivity model. Lastly, I will review some of the transitivity studies which have concentrated on the representation of women.

4.1 CDA as a theoretical framework/ principles of CDA

CDA's domain of study is a vast one and the following list gives an idea of its scope of study: the reproduction of sexism and racism through discourse; the legitimation of power; the manufacture of consent; the role of politics, education and the media; the discursive reproduction of dominance relations between groups; the imbalances in international communication and information etc. The practioners of CDA insist that these phenomena can be found in a variety of texts ranging from advertisements, shopping lists, newspapers to interviews, official documents, regulations and academic texts, in other words, the scope is from ordinary, everyday texts to texts which claim to hold same kind of special status. (eg. Kress 1990:84.)

One of the fundamental principles of CDA is that discourse, that is language use in writing and in speech, is a form of social practice (eg. Hodge and Kress 1993, Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, van Dijk 1993). To describe discourse as a social practice has various implications (Fairclough 1992). Firstly, it implies that discourse is a mode of representation, as well as a mode of action which people use to act upon the world and upon each other. Secondly, it implies that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure which frames it. The dialectical relationship means a two-way relationship in which a discursive event is shaped by the social as well as shapes the social. On the one hand, discourse is shaped and constrained by the social structures, for example, norms and conventions constrain the way people are supposed to talk in social situations or class relations shape people's discursive abilities. On the other hand, discourse is socially constitutive: it contributes to the construction and transforming of the social structures, situations and institutions which shape and frame it, and at the same time it helps to sustain and reproduce them. To put it briefly, discourse not only represents the social but also constitutes, reflects and reproduces it and vice versa. (eg. Fairclough 1992, 1995.)

Kress (1989:7) gives an example of the dialectal relationship by explaining how one kind of discourse, that is, the discourse of sexism can determine the way genders are considered: the discourse of sexism specifies what women and men may be, how they are to think of the others and of themselves and how they are to interrelate with the other gender. Sexist discourse reaches into all major areas of social life, specifying, for example what work is suitable, or even possible, for women and men; what artistic possibilities there are for either gender, how to be a proper mother or father etc. Fairclough (1995:73) summarises this by saying that "ideological and discoursal shaping of the real is always caught up in the networks of the real".

Because of the social influence of discourse, issues of power are bound to come up. Discursive practices are invested in ideology, and they have major ideological effects, because they can help to produce and reproduce unequal power relationships, for example, between women and men through particular ways of representation. Therefore discourse may try to convey (often false) assumptions about any aspect of social life as common sensical. This is the case, for example, with sexist discourse which conveys false assumptions (as was also seen from the example above) by representing for example women less emotionally stable than men, or by assigning both sexes conventionalized and stereotyped sex-roles that have certain language usage associated with them. (Kress 1985:39.) People are usually unaware of the ideological weight of particular language uses and the power relations behind them. Thus, one aim of CDA is to make apparent these opaque aspects of discourse. (see for example Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Kress 1990, Hammersley 1997.)

Analysts want not only to make visible the complex and overlapping relationship of discursive practices and the wider social structures of power and domination, but their aim is also to bring about change. Thus, CDA does not claim to be an objective social science, but engaged and committed. It aims to intervene in social practices and social relationships by being politically active for example, against

racism or as feminists against sexism. This is not exceptional, because no social science is totally objective, however, the subjectivity is usually less explicit. Therefore, the distinctiveness of CDA is both that "it intervenes on the side of the dominated and oppressed groups and against domination groups, and that it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it". (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:259.) van Dijk (1985:7) also emphasises the importance of taking the side of the oppressed and dominated. Criticism should be directed towards the authorities or institutions who are responsible for the inequalities, because that is the way to fight and change the inequalities: the authority and power should be challenged. In the case of the present study the authority challenged is the dictionary.

The next five points summarise the main principles and aims of CDA. They are also applicable to other critical approaches as well as to the present study: By adopting a critical approach, a form of research 1) assumes that society can be understood only as a totality which means that practices and phenomena must be analysed in their wider social context; 2) tries to reveal what is obscured by ideology and aims to demystify and denaturalize the workings of false assumptions and ideology as well as power relations behind them 3) presumes that critical research produces knowledge which not only helps to understand how society *is* and *works* but also how society *can* and *ought to be*; 4) believes that by adopting critical approach the world can be changed for the better; and 5) thinks that the change produced will be fundamental, for example oppression is to be abolished and all the people are emancipated (Hammersley 1997:238, Fairclough 1992).

The present study acknowledges CDA's view of the dialectal relationship between discourse and society, and the power issues attached to it. The dialectal relationship can been seen in the present study in the ways, for example a dictionary as an institution is a social structure which constrains discourse and shapes it, and at the same time is shaped by the discourse. Especially corpus-based

dictionaries include discourse that is taken from contemporary language sources, therefore the values and ideologies reflected in those sources are also reflected in the dictionary. Dictionary then reproduces these values through discourse and contributes to the shaping and transforming of other social structures. Dictionaries are thus most likely to embody the ideologies that prevail in the society and help to produce and reproduce them. For example, by representing the genders in stereotypical roles the dictionary both reflects the mistreatment of genders as well as contributes to it.

4.2 Ideology

CDA is concerned about the exercise of power and how it is achieved through ideology, and more precisely through the ideological workings of language (Fairclough 1989:2). Ideologies can be defined as shared constructions of reality, as ways of seeing things, which are based on people's assumptions, beliefs and values. The social function of ideologies is to contribute to the legitimation and reproduction of domination. And because language is the material form of ideology, the reproduction and legitimation of relations of power and domination is mediated through language and is built in various forms of discursive practices. (eg. Fairclough 1992, 1995.)

Ideologies are most effective when their ideological nature is disguised. As Fairclough (1995:35) explains, this is achieved by the process of naturalisation. Ideologies and ideological practices become naturalised when they become more or less dissociated from the particular social base or particular interests. This means that they become regarded as commonsensical and seen as natural order of things or people, while they actually are the interests of classes or other groupings. As a result, these naturalised ideologies become a part of the 'knowledge base' which functions when engaged in interaction and social practices. This leads to the fact that the ideologies become reproduced through discourse as well as

discourse functions in this way to sustain unequal power relations, in other words, actions reproduce structures and vice versa. (Fairclough 1989:33, 1995:35.) As Halliday (1978:2) has pointed out: "By their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and of knowledge".

People are often unaware of the naturalisation process and of the ideological dimensions of their discursive practices, therefore they may occupy ideologies that are not in harmony with their overt political and social views, values and beliefs. This emphasises the fact that ideologies are acquired by discourse and that they reflect and reproduce the prevailing structures and institutions. (Fairclough 1995:42.) The aim of CDA is to denaturalise the naturalised ideologies. The denaturalisation involves showing the relationship between social structures and discourse, that is, revealing the mechanism how properties of discourse determine social structures as well as how social structures determine discourse and interaction. (Fairclough 1995:27.)

Because the naturalised ideologies in discourse help to produce and reproduce power relations, for example, between social classes or women and men, it is important to make those ideologies visible. This is also the aim of the present study; to denaturalise and make visible views and ideologies that prevail by concentrating especially on the representation of females and males.

As can be seen, the concept of ideology is a complex one, because of the dialectical relationship. The concept may be best illuminated with the help of examples: ideology works on various levels. On a macro level, institutions (for example dictionaries) have certain values and norms that form their shared ideologies. These ideologies are imposed on other social structures and institutions by discourse. For example, in androcentric society the ideology that males are superior to females prevails. This ideology is naturalised through discourse with statements like *Men are more intelligent than women* which

become regarded as commonsensical. This same ideology can also be disguised in linguistic structures, meaning that certain language usages and structures impose the ideology of males being the superior, for example, the firstness of males in phrases like *Mr and Mrs Hudson* or in transitivity structures where the male is always the actor and the female the acted upon. This way ideology works also on a micro level, that is, in language structures.

Because ideology is invested and present in language, the most obvious and powerful way of examining ideological structures is through the examination of language. Various levels and features of language can be ideologically invested, such as lexical, grammatical-syntactical, pronunciation etc. (eg. Fairclough 1995, Kress 1990). The common claim is that it is meanings that are ideological, 'meanings' referring to the 'content'. Fairclough (1995:74) points out that although lexical meanings are important, other aspects of meaning should not be forgotten, aspects such as presuppositions, implicatures, metaphors and coherence.

'Content' is often opposed to 'form', but Fairclough (1995:74) notes that this opposition is itself misleading. Although forms can be studied as if they had no connection to content, content, however, needs some kind of "formal clothing", a text or other material form in which to appear. It is also known that formal features of texts may at various levels be ideologically invested. Several studies have been conducted on how different transitive and intransitive sentence structures contribute to the representation of things and how different agent choices change the ideological picture of a sentence (see for example Fowler et al. 1979). The present study also sets out to explore how different formal features of a sentence contribute to the representation of genders.

Although forms and content of texts include traces of ideological processes and structures, ideologies cannot be 'read off' from texts. Meanings are produced through interpretations and texts are open to numerous interpretations. First of all, the social context of the discourse has to be taken into consideration, because

discourses are social events which need people in order to become understandable. Further, the intertextual context of a text has to be considered, because linguistic forms have different ideologies and significances in different contexts. Fowler (1985:75) remarks that it cannot be argued that certain text has certain social meanings, but that the text and its context can only be described and interrelations be suggested. Also people's emotions, attitudes and knowledge (ie. members' resources) have an effect on the interpretation their make of a text. In other words, people are productive consumers in the sense that they are not just passive recipients of fixed meanings, but reconstruct the text within their previous experience, that is, relevant experiences of discourse and context. The interpretation is an unconscious process, people are not aware of the workings of their knowledge base and the ideological dimensions of their practices. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997:278-279.)

By adopting a critical framework, the present study as well as other critical discourse analyses make use of systematic methodology and thorough investigation of the context when making interpretations. This is what is different in critical reading compared to uncritical reading, and means that critical discourse analysts take a systematic standing point to inherent meanings, rely on scientific procedures and use self-reflection, that is, analysts are self-conscious about the ways their background knowledge, emotions and attitudes influence the interpretation. It could be said that analysts not only interpret the texts but their analyses are also explanatory. Critical discourse analysts, however, do not consider their interpretations and explanations final and authoritative, but point out that they are dynamic and open to new contexts and new information. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997:279.)

By adopting the methodology provided by CDA then, I am able to analyse my data the ideologies embedded in the sentences systematically and critically. By being aware of the fact that my members' resources, that is, my background knowledge, emotions and attitudes influence my interpretation of the ideologies in the

sentences I do not attempt to give any final interpretation but acknowledge the fact that other readers and analysts may interpret the sentences differently and may find different kind of explanations.

4.3 CDA as analytical framework

One of the problems of CDA is it has no analytical framework. Therefore it needs a theory of language which views language as social practice and sees it dialectically functioning with social structures, and which turns its linguistic information into usable analytic form. Fairclough (1995) has found Halliday's theory of systemic-functional linguistics helpful because it has a number of advantages from the point of view of CDA. Firstly, systemic-functional linguistics studies grammar and other aspects of language form from the functional point of view, that is, it proposes that structures of language have developed in response to the communicative needs that language is to serve. To put it briefly, functionalists see a connection between a form and a function. Secondly, systemic-functional linguistics systematically studies the relationship between the texture of text and their social contexts, that is, it sees language as a social semiotic. Further, it emphasises the multifunctionality of language use, in other words, it stresses that any text simultaneously constitutes representations, relations and identities. In Hallidayan terms this means that even simple sentences of a text simultaneously function 'ideationally' (represent reality), 'interpersonally' (construct social relations and identities) as well as 'textually' (make the parts of a text into a coherent whole) (Halliday 1978).

Because the present study is interested in how the representations of women and men are created through the example sentences in a dictionary, it is useful to concentrate on the ideational function of language. Halliday's transitivity model is one of CDA's analytical tools which helps to explore the fact how reality is represented in language and how different world views and ideologies are encoded

in language structures. Because data of the present study consists of exemplary sentences of a dictionary, it is justified to use the transitivity model, because it is concerned with language at the level of clauses. With the help of transitivity model the present study can give a detailed analysis of the example sentences and what kind of structures are used to create representations of men and women. Therefore the transitivity model is introduced in the following chapter.

4.3.1 Transitivity

The model of transitivity is one aspect of Halliday's functional grammar (1985), which he started developing in the 1960s. Transitivity is an analysis kit which is widely used in critical discourse analysis and feminist stylistics, because with the transitivity model the ideational aspect of language, that is, how language represents reality can be revealed. People use language when trying to understand their outer experiences as well as inner experiences, that is, language helps them to create their mental picture of reality. According to Halliday (1994:106), our reality consists of "goings-on":

> "Our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of 'goings-on' -- happening, doing, sensing, meaning, and being and becoming. All these goings-on are sorted out in the grammar of the clause."

Therefore, the clause is the most basic unit in transitivity analysis. The clause represents the reality through different types of processes that are the basis for the analysis. The processes consist of three elements: 1) the **process** itself, which will be realised with the verb phrase in the clause; 2) **participants** in the process, which will be expressed with noun phrases; and 3) **circumstances** associated with the process, which will be expressed with adverbial and prepositional phrases. (Halliday 1994:106-109.) These concepts are general in nature, thus a more precise description of the process types is given below. Processes that are relevant to the present study are included, these processes are material, mental, relational and verbal.

When analysing texts/sentences, usually the emphasis is on the meanings of the words. Transitivity analysis is introduced here, because with transitivity analysis the focus is on the grammatical structure. It helps to concentrate on what kind of syntactic choices there are in the text and how these choices represent one kind of picture of happenings and of those involved in the sentence. Transitivity reveals how actions are represented in a text. It shows what kind of processes there are, who does those processes and to whom those processes are done. To put it briefly, through the transitivity model the hidden ideologies encoded in the language structures can be revealed.

In the present study the sentences will be analysed with the help of the transitivity model in order to discover in what kinds of processes women and men are involved and what kind of picture of men and women the choice of processes construct.

4.3.1.1 Material processes

Material processes are processes that describe the external world. These processes represent concrete actions, that is, these are processes of doing. Because these processes involve doing, the doer of the process must be involved. This doer is called an **actor** (in more traditional terminology known as the *logical Subject*), and it is obligatory in the clause. The kind of clause which consists of the actor and the process is called a one-participant clause. There are also clauses called two-participant clauses. For instance, some processes need also a second participant, and this participant is called a **goal**. This term refers to the "one to which to process is extended" and in more traditional terms it is known as the *Object*. (Halliday 1994:109-110.)

Material processes can be divided into two process types: action processes and event processes. **Action** processes can be further divided into intention and

supervention processes. In **intention** processes the actor performs the act voluntarily, while in the **supervention** processes the action just happens. Examples of these kind of processes are *Michel hit the ball* and *Mary slipped* respectively. **Event** processes are those processes that have an inanimate actor. An example of event process could be *The lake shimmered.* (Simpson 1993:89-90.) Further, material processes can represent abstract doings and happenings.

Feminist stylistics uses the transitivity model in order to find out how women are represented in texts (Mills 1995:143). The study of material processes shows whether the character is in control of their environment. This is the case when, for example, the text includes a number of material-action-intention processes and the character is the actor. Material-action-intention processes indicate that the character does the actions voluntarily, therefore, is in charge of their own actions, for example, *Macy opened the door*. Material-action-intention processes can also show the passivity of the character. In this case the character is in the role of the goal. The actions are directed at them without them being able to be in control of those actions, for instance, *John kissed* Macy. This kind of effect is also achieved with the material-supervention processes, in which the action just happens without the actor's help, for example *Mark broke his arm*. (Mills 1995:143-145.)

In the present study these kind of material processes will be also taken into account. The interest is to find out in what kind of material processes women and men are represented and whether there are any differences between men's and women's actions. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to find out whether they are in control of their own actions or do they appear to be controlled by the situation. In the sentences where both genders are represented, the focus will be on how the genders interact in order to reveal the possible power relations between them, that is, which gender seems to appear in the position of actor and who seems to be the goal.

4.3.1.2 Mental processes

Mental processes express processes of consciousness. They represent the inner experience, the sensing. These processes can be divided into three different sensing types: **perception**, e.g. seeing, hearing; **affection**, e.g. liking, fearing; and **cognition**, e.g. thinking, knowing. The participants in mental processes are the **senser**, who is the conscious being that is perceiving, feeling or thinking, and the **phenomenon** which is the sensed one. Both the senser and the phenomenon are involved in all the mental processes; however, they do not always have to be present in the clause. (Halliday 1994:107, Simpson 1993:91.)

Mental and material processes are not only different in meaning but they also have different grammatical manifestations. According to Halliday (1994), there are some major differences. Firstly, in mental process clauses one participant is always human, because only humans can be considered to be sensing. Therefore, the participant in mental processes is referred pronominally as *he* or *she*, for instance *He likes coffee.* However, in material processes the participant can be either conscious or non-conscious, that is, the difference is irrelevant, for example, *Coffee spilled over the table.* (Halliday 1994:112-114.)

Another difference between mental and material process clauses is that in a mental process clauses the thing that is sensed does not necessarily have to be a "thing", that is, it can also be a "fact". In other words, material processes include always a "thing" that can be experienced, for example a person, an object, an action or an event. All these "things" can also be experienced consciously in mental processes. For example, *Jill made a sweater* (material process) compared to *Jill liked the sweater* (mental process). But in the following example what is being sensed cannot be said to be a thing but a fact, *Jill was pleased that she had made the sweater.* Here the whole *that* clause is sensed and *that* clause is typically the form in which the sensed "fact" occurs. The technical term for this "fact" is **metaphenomenon** and it is constructed by the projection of the participant,

therefore it is represented in the form of indirect or reported discourse manifested by *that* clause. In material processes facts, in this sense, cannot be participants, because facts cannot do anything, nor can anything have done to them. (Halliday 1994:115.)

A third distinction is that of tense. Simple present is the unmarked present tense in mental processes, while the unmarked present tense in material processes is present in present (Halliday uses the term *present in present* when referring to what usually known as *present continuous*). Mental processes are not usually restricted to any certain time. Therefore, the less focused tense, the simple tense is used. While the material processes are more clearly bound in time, actions have beginnings and endings and thus the present in present, which is more focused in time, is used. However, both tenses are possible with both process types, although when using the marked tense it conveys a special meaning, for example, in material processes the simple present means that the action is general or habitual. (Halliday 1994:115-116.)

A character who is represented through mental processes can be seen as introspective (Mills 1995:145). These kinds of characters experience the reality through their inner world, for example, *He thought about the situation.* Thus, the senser in mental processes seems passive. He or she is not acting concretely but is presented as a passive by-stander who perceives and feels happenings in their mind.

4.3.1.3 Relational processes

Relational processes are processes of being, they express the relationship between two separate participants by identifying and classifying, that is, the two participants do not necessarily affect each other in any way. There are three types of relational processes. These are intensive, circumstantial and possessive.

Intensive processes are in the form of *x is a*, for example, *Susan is tall*. **Circumstantial** processes express an *x is at a* relationship, for example, *Simon was at home*. The *at* in structure *is at* represents any kind of preposition, for example *in, on, for, with*, etc. **Possessive** processes express simply that *x has a*, for example, *Sara has a cat*. Furthermore, each of these processes have two distinct forms: attributive (*a is an attribute of x*) and identifying (*a is the identity of x*). For example, intensive attributive process would be *Susan is tall*, while intensive identifying process would be *Susan is the clever one*. In the identifying processes the *a* and the *x* can be turned around, while the attributive ones are irreversible, that is, it is possible to say *The clever one is Susan*, while *Tall is Susan* is not a possible form. (Halliday 1994:119-120.)

Relational processes are descriptive processes, that is, relational processes are used in describing something about the character. With relational processes the character is introduced not through his or her actions but, for example in the case of intensive relational processes, through qualities possessed, for example, *She is clever*. In other words, relational processes give more information about the characters by describing their qualities, possessions and circumstances. Therefore, relational processes are an essential part of the present study, because in the data there are relational processes which help to build up the picture of men and women.

4.3.1.4 Verbal processes

Verbal processes are processes of saying, for instance *Mark told her the whole story*. The participant who is speaking is called **sayer**, in the case of the example it is *Mark*. The other participant role is called **target** and it refers to the one to whom the saying is directed, in this case *her*. Then there is one more role and that it the role of **verbiage**. Verbiage refers to the content of what is said, that is, *the whole story* in the example. In addition, verbiage can also refer to the name of the

saying, for example *He asked me a question* in which *a question* is verbiage. Although verbiage refers to what is said, direct or indirect speech is not considered verbiage. Therefore, in sentence like *Jim said he felt tired* the reported part *he felt tired* is not a verbiage but should be analysed as a separate process. Then in *Jim said, Jim* is sayer, *said* is verbal process and in *he felt tired, he* is senser and *felt tired* is mental process. (Halliday 1994:140-141.)

4.3.2 Transitivity studies on the representation of females

With the help of transitivity analysis the ideational function of language can be revealed. For example, feminist linguists have used transitivity analysis for the purpose of revealing aspects of dominant ideology in texts, such as the construction of females in texts. In this chapter I will review some of the transitivity studies conducted on representation of females within novels and newspapers for the purpose of showing how through the exploration of transitivity choices hidden ideologies and views can be revealed. These studies are relevant for the present study, because the aim is to explore with the help of transitivity model how women and men are represented in a dictionary and these earlier studies can provide insights about the representation and construction of gender images.

Deirdre Burton (1982) is one of the first from the feminist point of view who used the transitivity model to investigate how realities are constructed through language, that is, to understand the male-dominated power relations and the oppressed status of women that prevail in society. Burton (1982:201) chose Sylvia Plath's texts as materials for her study, because they seem to support women's oppressed experiences with "disenabling metaphors, disenabling lexis, and...disenabling syntactic structures". She examined the transitivity structures in a passage from the novel *The Bell Jar* in which the narrator is in a hospital being prepared for electric shock treatment. The analysis supported the view that the

narrator is in a position of a passive "victim" and the hospital staff has the control over their environment as well as the narrator's, while the narrator has no control of the happenings. In transitivity terms this means that the narrator's behaviour is written in terms of supervention processes, while the staff is represented with material-action-intention processes.

Mills (1994) and Wareing (1994) have studied the representation of females when romantic love and emotions are involved. The myths and ideologies around romantic love and emotions is one area where ideology affects the lives of women, while it has not such a strong influence on men's lives. In popular fiction and especially in Mills & Boon romances, romance is seen as an element which is the most important element of a woman's life. Also, women seem to get carried away by passionate feelings. Further, in romantic love there seems to be an ideological gender difference, according to which women are represented as passive recipients of love, while men are represented as agents, that is, the notion of who is in control is central. This ideology of romantic love is naturalised and not questioned within the prevailing culture. (Mills 1994:145.) In the present study it is of interest to find out whether the romantic interactions between genders represented seem to reinforce this ideology of romantic love representing women as passive goals and men as active actors. Further, the female passivity and male activity can be explored in other contexts as well.

Wareing (1994:121) points out that one way to explore transitivity is to show how a character who on the first reading appears a passive victim, not actively in control of their own environment, is actually presented so by the linguistic choices in the text. After that the character can be compared with those characters who appear more active and in control of their environment. The difference may then be realised, for example, in the active character's higher proportion of material action intention processes. This is exactly what Burton (1982) realised in her study of *The Bell Jar*. By analysing the process types of the sentences, then, the present study tries to explore whether supervention processes create images of characters

who seem not to be in charge of the happenings, and whether either gender is represented with such "disenabling" syntactic structures more than the other. These kinds of findings would then imply of unequal representation of genders.

Another way of using this method of analysis is to question the construction of a female character who appears assertive and in control of her life. With the help of the analysis it can be checked "firstly whether the content of a text is supported or undermined by its syntactic choices, and secondly whether the character's behaviour reflects the characteristics which are generally typical of her in every aspect of her life". (Wareing 1994:122.) This is what Wareing (1994) did in her analysis of romance scenes, for which transitivity analysis is fruitful.

In her analysis Wareing (1994) explored the heterosexual romantic encounters and sex scenes in some works of modern fiction, and examined how female characters who are portrayed as assertive and independent in their daily lives, are presented in romantic encounters in the roles of passive romantic heroines. Generally in popular fiction it appears that although gender roles would be disrupted in a novel, in romantic encounters the stereotyping is still strong.

Wareing (1994) studied an extract from Barbara Taylor Bradford's *A Woman of Substance* in order to find out what kind of transitivity choices might be used in the description of a heterosexual romantic encounter. The main character in this book is a woman who is intelligent, independent and determined as well as financially successful. Wareing (1994:122) states that although she differed radically from the stereotypical heroine of the popular romance genre, this difference did not extend to the way she was represented in the bedroom. This became evident from the choice of processes, which showed striking differences between the male and the female character, for example, there were five processes in which the female character or her body parts appeared as an actor, in comparison with fourteen processes in which the male was seen as an actor. Further, the quality of the processes was different, for instance, the male was the

agent in eight material action intention processes, while the female was an agent in none.

Wareing (1994:124-125) concludes that in the extract the transitivity choices were in correlation with the representation of the female as the passive recipient of the male's actions, that is, she was not sexually active on her own right. The male's experience was represented through the actions he did to her body, while the female's experience was represented through her feelings and thoughts, and through her body's uncontrollable responses to the male's sexual actions and expertise.

Wareing (1994) studied also another extract, that of Helen McInnes' spy novel *Hidden target*. In this study she concentrated on comparing the representations of female and male characters in terms of 'who does what to whom'. Although there was almost no difference in the amount of different processes and in the agent structures, there appeared to be an imbalance in the affected entities of the material processes. In the processes where the male or his body part was the agent, all processes were done to the female body part's, for example, *her hand, her mouth* or to the female as a whole (*His arms went around her*). Then again, when the female character or her body part was the agent, the affected entity was the male on only one occasion, while in others the affected entity was a part of her own body.

As Wareing's study shows it is fruitful to explore the different process types with which the genders are represented. This is what the present study also investigates; whether the distribution of different process types is equivalent for both genders or whether either gender is represented only through certain processes, for example whether men are mainly represented with material-action processes as was the case in Wareing's study. Further, the present study explores the representations from the point of view 'who does what to whom' in order to find out whether these kinds of gender roles are embedded in the sentences with

transitivity choices. The present study explores these kinds of actor and target roles in connection to all the contexts and not only in romantic contexts. This way an overall picture of the genders' roles is obtained. Further, from sentences which refer to both genders, the interactions between genders can be explored and possible power differences can be revealed.

Mills (1994) studied the pop song *Hit* by Sugar Cubes with the help of the transitivity model in order to find out what kind of ideological positions it represents. She (194:153) found out that by counting up the number of choices within certain transitivity categories there was a strong correlation between "the choice of the passive/affected role, the use of intransitive verbs, the concentration on mental processes and a more general position of lack of control and agency" and the representation of the female character as a powerless and passive character represented through male actions. Mills (1994:155-156), however, calls for a more complex analysis which would show more than just the correlations between transitivity choices and representations of female passivity. She suggests that transitivity choices as well as other linguistic choices have a variety of meanings which are dependent on the context in which they occur, and on the reader's presuppositions on the interpretative process. By taking these features into consideration a fuller account of the complexity of the processes by which people make sense of ideological representations can be reached. The present study aims to take these points into consideration by including the context categories (see 6.1 for further details) as well as by being aware of the workings of members' resources in the process of interpretation (see for example Fairclough 1989, or 4.2 above for discussion about critical approach or chapter 6.1).

The transitivity model has also been used for analysing nonfiction. One of these studies is Clark's (1992) study of newspaper reports of male violence towards women. She explored *The Sun*'s reports on male violence and was interested in finding out who is blamed for an attack and how language is used to convey that blame. She (1992:208) states that it is common in British society to report sexual

violence as if the attacker is not held responsible for the attacks but the victim or some other person may be blamed, therefore it is of interest to find out how language is used to manipulate the blame.

If the attacker were held responsible and seen as acting intentionally upon the victim, the attacker would be reported in transitivity terms as an Agent/Actor who acts in material process on the victim who is the Goal. But according to Clark (1992:212), *The Sun* used several linguistic strategies to ensure that the attacker was not seen as Agent/Actor and to transfer the blame to someone else. One of these strategies was to make the attacker invisible in order to reduce the awareness of a man's guilt, and sometimes the non-blaming was masked by blaming someone else. The invisibility was constructed by agentless and passive clauses, for example, *"Two of Steed's rape victims – aged 20 and 29 – had a screwdriver held at their throats as they were forced to submit"* (*The Sun* 11/11/86). In both of these clauses the actual doer has been removed from the process. In the next sentence the first clause describing the murder is agentless, while the second clause describes what the victim's mother was doing at the time of the murder: *"Little Nicola Spencer was strangled in her bedsit home – while her Mum was out drinking and playing pool in local pubs"* (*The Sun* 20/12/86). Clark (1992: 213) points out that this kind of structure in which a 'drinking mother' clause is linked to 'murder-less murder' clause is insistently repeated, forms a causal relationship between the child's death and the mother's absence. For this reason, the mother seems to be blamed for the murder.

Clark (1992) found many other reports of violent acts that used transitivity structures where the attacker, that is, the man, was represented in the position of the Goal or was not mentioned at all. On many of the occasions the victims seemed to be held responsible, at least in some degree – an impression created through transitivity and other linguistic choices. Clark (1992:223,224) sees *The Sun*'s bias arising from a patriarchal point of view, and suggests that by obscuring these violent crimes questions like why so many men commit acts of violence

against women and girls at all become impossible to be asked.

As Clark's study shows, transitivity choices in nonfiction can be explored in order to reveal the hidden ideologies, therefore the model is also useful for the present study. Further, the data of the present study includes also representations of violence, therefore it is interesting to find out whether the actor of violence is blamed or whether someone else is blamed for the act in them. The linguistic strategies, such as agentless and passive clauses which make the actual actor invisible can be explored also in connection to other contexts and thereby used to reveal structures of participant roles.

In the next chapter the data and the method of analysis of the present study will be introduced, after which the analysis of the data will be conducted with the help of transitivity model in order to explore how a dictionary represents women and men.

5 DATA AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The data of the present study consists of exemplary sentences collected from *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (hereafter referred as CCELD). CCELD is a learner dictionary which uses example sentences to illustrate the contemporary usage of language. It claims to be an unconventional dictionary in the sense that its basis is in the corpus which consists of words and texts taken from books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, conversations, radio and television broadcasts. According to the editor in chief (1987:XV), the use of corpus has helped the team of lexicographers in deciding what to omit and what kind of word-forms to exclude. Moreover, the corpus ensures that no major uses are missed and the organization of entries is influenced by the number of times a use occurs in the corpus. The use of the corpus has made it possible that example

sentences are not invented but taken from actual texts, with only some slight adaptations, for example, in order to keep the examples understandable when out of context. Thus the language used in CCELD should represent typical usage (ed-in-chief 1987:XV).

The main reason for choosing CCELD as data was the fact that it is a corpus-based learner's dictionary. Because corpus-based dictionaries adopt their language from several contemporary sources it is assumed that the language in them represents the contemporary use of language. Therefore, it is of interest to find out what kind of language the dictionary contains and what kind of attitudes and world views it offers through language for the learners of English as well as for the other readers of the dictionary.

The data for the present study was collected randomly. Example sentences were taken from every 50th page, and the first criterion for the selection was that the sentence included references to females and/or males in a form of pronoun (eg. *she, herself, him, his*), noun (eg. *woman, daughter, father, boy)* or proper noun (eg. *Sally, Ralph*). Another criterion for the example sentence to be included in the data was that the entry word should include example sentences referring to both genders either in separate sentences or in a same sentence. In other words, if example sentences referring to a certain entry word had references only to males those sentences were not chosen. This criterion was included after the pilot study in which 149 sentences were collected, out of which 93 represented males, 37 females and 19 both males and females. The fact that the amount of sentences referring to males was over two times as big as the amount of sentences referring to females affirmed the importance of the second criterion, because without it the distribution of male and female sentences would grow relatively uneven and the representation of females would be scarce. With the present method a more even number of sentences were collected, although the number of male and female sentences (hereafter referred to as M- and F-sentences, respectively) still remained uneven. (See Table 1 for the number of sentences in the data.)

Table 1. The number of sentences

Sentence type	n	%
M-sentences	181	48.8
F-sentences	144	38.8
M&F-sentences	46	12.4
	371	~100

Table 1 shows the total number of sentences collected for the data as well as how the sentences are distributed into M-, F- and M&F-sentences. The total number of sentences is 371, out of which M-sentences present almost the half with 48.8 percent. F-sentences are the second largest group of sentences with 38.8 percent, while sentences representing both the males and females account for 12.4 percent of the sentences.

After the gathering of the data and grouping the sentences into M-, F- and M&F-sentences, I will analyse the sentences as follows: Firstly, I will define the contexts of the sentences according to the elements found in the sentences and will categorise the sentences according to their contexts (I will explain the definition of the sentences into contexts in more detail in section 6.1) Secondly, within their contexts I will analyse the sentences further according to Halliday's transitivity theory and divide them into different process types (see chapter 4.3.1 for more details about transitivity).

After these preliminary preparations I will conduct the actual descriptive analysis. The M-, F- and M&F-sentences will be analysed within their different contexts. The concentration will be on the different process types and I will try to explore what kind of images and representations the different process types create of males and females; whether they are represented equally, whether they appear in positive or negative light, whether they are represented as main characters or as goals and so on. I will try to explain the possible differences that may occur in the representations and what elements in the sentences might have caused them.

When analysing M&F- sentences, I will try to explore how the relations between males and females are represented. Although the main emphasis will be on the qualitative analysis, the data will be also analysed quantitatively to some extent.

6 ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter the analysis of the data will be presented. Firstly, in chapter 6.1 I will present the categorisation of the sentences into contexts: I will explain how the contexts of the sentences were defined, and will present the quantitative analysis of the contexts. Secondly, in chapter 6.2 I will discuss how the sentences were determined according to their process types and will present the quantitative analysis of the process types. In chapters 6.3 and 6.4 I will present the actual descriptive analysis of the data: in chapter 6.3 M-and F-sentences are under analysis and in chapter 6.4 M&F-sentences. In descriptive analysis I will concentrate on the images and representations that different process types may create of women and men within contexts.

6.1 Analysis of the contexts

The division of the sentences into contexts is based on the elements in the sentences. If a sentence includes references, for example to personal characteristics or work, then the context assigned is *Character* or *Work*, respectively:

(1) She was very proper. (proper)
(2) He stopped trading in hardware. (trade)

The contexts of the above sentences are straightforward to define in the sense that they include direct references to characteristics and working. All the sentences did not include such direct references, and the contexts of these sentences were defined according to the images that arose from the sentences when reading them. In other words, the elements in the sentences help the reader to construct an image

of the context as is the case in the next sentences:

(3) He idly plucked the strings of the lute. (pluck)
(4) She plugged the lamp into a wall-socket. (plug in/into)

In these sentences the contexts are not "read off" from the sentences but these sentences create certain kinds of images in the mind of the reader: the reference to a lute in sentence (3) is most likely to build up an image of leisure time activities and therefore it was categorised as belonging to the context of *Hobby*. The action referred to in sentence (4), that is, plugging a lamp into a wall-socket, in turn, is most likely to build up an image of a home environment, and therefore this sentence was categorised into context of *Private sphere*.

This construction of context categorisations is based on schemata, that is, knowledge structures that people use when interpreting discourses with the help of their past experiences. According to Brown and Yule (1983: 248), schemata can be considered as "the organised background knowledge which leads us to *expect* or predict aspects in our interpretation of discourse" (italics original), that is, schemata (compare with Fairclough's (1989, 1992) concept of 'members' resources') are stereotypical models for the processing of thought. Therefore it should be kept in mind that the contexts categorised are subjective interpretations which are influenced by the interpreter's background knowledge.

The categorisation into contexts was needed in order to make the analysis more coherent and uniform. With the help of the context categorisation the M- and F-sentences form coherent representations within a context, for example, in the context of *Work* images of men's and women's different jobs, how they manage their work or what kind of work tasks they perform will construct in the mind of the reader. Or within the context of *Public sphere* the sentences create a picture of women and men and their activities outside home, that is, how they spend their time outside, to what kind of public places their go and so on. It could be said that the sentences within a context form a kind of coherent story and mental picture of males and females. Further, the inclusion of context categorisation made the

comparison of M- and F-sentences more straightforward.

The contexts determined and formed are as follows: *Appearance*; *Character*; *Work*; *Illegal action*; *Private sphere*; *Hobbies*; *Public sphere*; *Language, communication and interaction*; *Emotions*; *Eating, drinking and smoking*; *School*; *Success and wealth*; *Family* and *Unspecified contexts*, which includes sentences that have no cues of which to build interferences. All in all 14 contexts were identified. Some of the sentences were categorised into more than one context, because they have elements of different contexts, for example, *My sister was very clever and passed all her exams at school*, was categorised into three contexts, those of *Character*, *School* and *Family*. Because of the overlap of contexts the number of M-sentences rose to 188, that is, seven sentences have two contexts and in F-sentences eight sentences have two contexts and two sentences have three context, therefore the number of F-sentences amounted to 156. In M&F-sentences one sentence has two contexts, therefore the number of M&F-sentences rose to 47. See Table 2 for the distribution of sentences to contexts.

Table 2. The division of sentences into contexts.

Context	N	%
Language	62	15.9
Character	47	12
Work	42	10.8
Emotions	40	10.2
Appearance	34	8.7
Illegal action	30	7.7
Private sphere	26	6.6
Public sphere	21	5.4
Hobby	20	5.1

(Table continues...)

(Table 2 continues...)

Family	20	5.1
Eating	16	4.1
School	10	2.6
Success	9	2.3
Unspecified	14	3.6
	391	~100

Table 2 indicates how the sentences can be divided into different contexts. Here the total number of sentences is 391 which is different from the number in Table 1 due to the fact that some sentences have more than one context, as was mentioned above. This number of sentences is the final number according to which all the calculations and the analysis are made hereafter. From Table 2 can be seen that the context of *Language, communication and interaction* (in Tables 1, 2 and 3 the names of the contexts are suggestive, the names in their entirety were mentioned above) has the largest group of sentences, while the context of *Success and wealth* has the least sentences. How the different sentence types can be divided between the contexts can be seen from Table 3 below.

Table 3. The division of M-, F- and M&F-sentences into different contexts.

Context	M n	M %	F n	F %	M&F n	M&F %
Language	21	11.2	18	11.5	23	48.9
Character	21	11.2	21	13.5	5	10.6
Work	25	13.3	17	10.9	-	-
Emotions	17	9.0	23	14.8	-	-
Appearance	14	7.4	20	12.8	-	-
Illegal	17	9.0	7	4.5	6	12.8
Private	12	6.4	14	8.9	-	-

(Table continues...)

(Table 3 continues...)

Public	12	6.4	2	1.3	7	14.9
Hobby	15	8.0	5	3.2	-	-
Family	5	2.7	9	5.8	6	12.8
Eating	10	5.3	6	3.9	-	-
School	4	2.1	6	3.9	-	-
Success	5	2.7	4	2.6	-	-
Unspecified	10	5.3	4	2.6	-	-
	188	~100	156	~100	47	~100

Table 3 shows how M-, F- and M&F-sentences can be divided into different contexts. It can be seen that M-sentences are presented the most in the context of *Work* with 25 sentences, which is 13.3 percent of the M-sentences, while F-sentences have *Emotions* as their largest context with 23 sentences, which is 14.8 percent of the F-sentences. Therefore the largest contexts are rather similar in size for M- and F-sentences. However, the distribution of M- and F-sentences into contexts is somewhat different. F-sentences have five contexts which present over 10 percent of the F-sentences, while M-sentences have three contexts which include over 10 percent of the M-sentences. F-sentences then have the biggest contexts as well as the smallest context, that of *Public sphere* with 1.2 percent.

M-sentences outnumber the F-sentences in 6 contexts which are *Work*, *Illegal action*, *Public sphere*, *Hobby*, *Eating, drinking and smoking* and *Success and wealth*. Out of these in 3 contexts the discrepancy between M-and F-sentences is noticeable; in *Illegal action* -context there are twice as much M-sentences (9.0 %) than there are F-sentences (4.5 %), further in the context of *Public sphere* there are almost 5 times more M-sentences (6.4 %) compared to F-sentences (1.3 %), and in the context of *Hobby* there are almost 3 times more M-sentences (8.0 %) than F-sentences (3.2 %). All these three contexts are ones which are more or less public in the sense that the activities within these contexts are usually performed

outside home.

Table 3 also indicates the contexts in which F-sentences outnumber M-sentences, those contexts are: *Language, communication and interaction; Character; Emotions; Appearance; Private sphere; Family* and *School.* Out of these seven contexts the contexts of *Family* and *School* there are twice as much F-sentences (5.8 % and 3.9 %, respectively) than there are M-sentences (2.7 % and 2.1 %), while in context of *Appearance* F-sentences are presented almost twice as often as M-sentences.

M&F-sentences have only five contexts, out of which the context of *Language, communication and interaction* is the largest with almost half of the M&F-sentences. Also other context are presented with over ten percent of the M&F-sentences, but because of the low number of total M&F-sentences these context give rather small representations of males and females.

To sum up, the categorisation of the sentences was needed in order to make the analysis of the sentences more uniform. Within the context categories the single sentences become a part of a wider context and they form coherences and kind of coherent stories of men and women. Through the categorisation the M- and F-sentences become more comparable and compatible, and the analysis is more straightforward to conduct because of the coherence. All in all 14 contexts were categorised out of which *Language, communication and interaction* is the largest, while *Success and wealth* is the smallest context. The largest context for M-sentences is *Work*, while *Emotions* is the largest context for F-sentences. M&F-sentences have *Language, communication and interaction* as their largest context. In six contexts the distribution of M- and F-sentences is rather even while in some contexts the discrepancy grows relatively uneven: in contexts of *Illegal action, Public sphere* and *Hobby* the number of M-sentences may be even five times bigger than the number of F-sentences. In contexts *School* and *Family* the number of F-sentences is little less and little over twice the number of M-sentences.

6.2 Analysis of the process types

Within the contexts the sentences are analysed according to Halliday's transitivity theory into different processes types (see section 4.3.1 above for more details about transitivity). The determination of the process type of the sentence varies according to different sentence types: In cases when the example sentence is formed of compound and complex sentences the process type is determined according to the clause which has such elements or references that help to determine the context, for example:

> He's going to help me go over my books. <u>He has a better head for figures than I have.</u> (book)
> <u>She is very discreet.</u> She has never told me anything about it. (discreet).

Both the above sentences belong to *Character* context. The underlined clauses reinforce the sense of character and are then also the ones which determine the process type of the whole example. In this case the process type for both of the sentences is relational.

In cases where the sentence includes a reporting clause or a main clause from the point of view of the addresser, the sentence is labelled according to the process which involves the gendered subject, eg:

> I think <u>he had one of his elderly relatives knocked off so that he could inherit the fortune.</u> (knock off)
> I could see <u>our manager tearing his hair out at the side of the field.</u> (hair)

The above sentences are analysed on the basis of the underlined clauses, that is, both these sentences have material processes.

In general, it can be said that the process is determined according to that verb which gives the most information about the gender in question. In most cases determining the process is straightforward, as can be seen from these examples:

> He took his woollen scarf from nail and his cap from another. (another)
> She opened the book and put the envelope between the pages. (book)
> He looked at me with an oddly speculative glint in his eyes. (speculative)
> She felt conspicuous. (conspicuous)

He was hopeless at games. (hopeless)
She was very proper. (proper)

The first two sentences have material processes, the second two have mental processes and the last two have relational processes.

In order to keep the analysis simple the primary focus is on four main process types, material, mental, relational, and verbal processes. The rest of the process types, that is, existential and behavioural, are integrated into relational and mental process types, respectively.

Table 4. The distribution of sentences to process types.

Process type	N	%
Material	193	49.4
Mental	50	12.8
Relational	115	29.4
Verbal	33	8.4
	391	~100

Table 4 shows how the whole data can be divided into the four process types. The total number of sentences is 391. Material processes are the most frequent process type with 49.4 percent which is little less than half of the sentences. The second largest process type is relational processes with 29.4 percent. The distribution of mental and verbal processes, in turn, is relatively similar, that is, 12.8 percent of the sentences are mental and 8.4 percent are verbal. These percentages imply that the sentences include most often representations of concrete actions, while mental experiences and verbalisations are least represented. Then again sentences with relational processes represent identifying and classifying descriptions of the character.

Table 5. The distribution of M-, F- and M&F-sentences according to process types.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %	M&F n	M&F %
Material	104	55.3	67	42.9	22	46.8
Mental	17	9.0	26	16.7	7	14.9
Relat.	55	29.3	51	32.7	9	19.1
Verbal	12	6.4	12	7.7	9	19.1
	188	~100	156	~100	47	~100

Table 5 demonstrates the total number of M-, F- and M&F-sentences and how these sentences can be divided into different process types. In all the sentence types, that is, in M-, F- and M&F-sentences, the most frequent process type is the material process. In M-sentences material processes present over half of the M-sentences (55.3 %), while in F- and M&F-sentences material processes are presented in less than half of the sentences. Relational and verbal processes are presented rather evenly in M- and F-sentences: M- and F-sentences consist about 30 percent of relational processes and about 7 percent of verbal processes. M&F-sentences have relational and verbal evenly, that is 19.1 percent of both, while mental processes is the least presented group.

The biggest discrepancy between M- and F-sentences seems to be in material and mental processes: M-sentences have 55.3 percent material processes, which is over 10 percent more than F-sentences have material processes, which is 42.9 percent. Then again mental processes present 16.7 percent of the F-sentences, while M-sentences have only 9.0 percent mental processes. This suggests that women are presented as not performing as many as actions as men, and that men are represented in fewer mental experiences.

To sum up, material processes are the largest process type in the data, that is, almost half of the sentences have material process (49.4 %). M-sentences have the material processes the most, that is, 55.2 percent of the M-sentences, while F-

sentences have 42.9 percent material processes. With mental processes the division is another way around. F-sentences have 16.7 percent of mental processes, while M-sentences have only 9 percent. Relational and verbal processes are presented rather equally in M- and F-sentences. The biggest process type in M&F-sentences is also material with 46.8 percent of the M&F-sentences. Contrary to M- and F-sentences, M&F-sentences have mental processes as the least presented group, while relational and verbal processes are the second largest groups with 19.1 percent each.

6.3 Analysis of M- and F-sentences

In this chapter I will present the descriptive analysis of M- and F-sentences, as well as some quantitative results on how M- and F-sentences are divided into different process types. I will analyse the M- and F-sentences within their different contexts. Within every context I will present some general information of the context, after which I will concentrate on the different process types and will try to explore what kind of images and representations the different process types create of males and females, for example, whether the genders appear as active or passive, whether they seem to be in control of the happenings or not, whether they are presented as main characters or as goals and so on. I will also try to explain the possible differences that may occur in the representations of males and females and what elements in the sentences might have caused them. In the end of each chapter I will summarise the picture created of males and females in the context in question.

I will present quantitative tables in each context. These tables will indicate the number of different process types within each context, that is, how many material, mental, relational and verbal processes the M- and F-sentences have in the context in question and the percentages those processes present of the context. The tables are included in order to help to perceive the division of the process types between

M- and F-sentences more clearly, but as already mentioned the main emphasis will be on the descriptive analysis and therefore the tables will not be commented on to a great extent.

At this point it should be pointed out that the analysis of the data is based on my subjective interpretation. Interpretations are a combination of people's members' resources - defined by Fairclough (1989:24) as knowledge of language, values, beliefs, assumptions etc. which all have social origins - and what the text includes. Therefore the interpretation is influenced by the cues in the text which activate elements of members' resources. This means that the same text can have different meanings for different people. Because, as a critical analyst, I am aware of the workings of members' resources, I have consciously tried to avoid the commonsensical and biased assumptions of my members' resources.

6.3.1 Character

The category of *Character* consists of sentences that describe human traits and skills. The data have 42 sentences representing characteristics, out of which twenty-one (50 %) describe males and twenty-one (50 %) females. See Table 6 for the division of the sentences to process types.

Table 6. The distribution of M- and F-sentences to process types; category of character.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	3	7.1	0	0
Mental	2	4.8	3	7.1
Relational	14	33.3	16	38.1
Verbal	2	4.8	2	4.8
	21	50.0	21	50.0

Material processes

Material processes are the least represented group of sentences, only three M-sentences are found:

> (1) He let the match burn down to his thumb and forefinger without flinching. (flinch)
> (2) He could tie himself in knots over the simplest thing. (knot)
> (3) He cut out all the references to the baron being a fool. (cut out)

Sentence (1) pictures a man who lets the match burn down to his fingers. This creates an impression of a man who is calm and rather daring. Sentence (2), in turn, portrays a man with feelings, that is, the man seems to get confused about small matters, and sentence (3) represents a man who is discreet and omits the references that the baron would be a fool. Therefore all these sentences create rather diverse images, sentence (1) represents a masculine, courageous man, while sentence (2) represents a feminine, emotional man. This group of sentences is a good example of the fact that wide scale of human characteristics describe both genders.

Mental processes

Mental processes are also scarcely represented. Only two M-sentences and three F-sentences are found. Both the M-sentences are cognition type of processes, while in F-sentences there is one cognition, one perception and one affection type of process. Consider the mental processes:

> (4) He doesn't know the meaning of the word 'fear'. (meaning)
> (5) He showed a total lack of discrimination in the way he decorated his room. (discrimination)
> (6) She found it difficult to acquire the speech sounds of Portuguese. (speech)
> (7) I detected a slight Brooklyn accent in her speech. (speech)
> (8) She loved the sense of structure, organization and enthusiasm. (structure)

The men in the above sentences are described with traits that can be considered rather conventional for a man, that is, the man in sentence (4) is represented as fearless, and the man in sentence (5) does not seem to know how to decorate his

room tastefully. Sentences (6), (7) and (8) then again, represent the women rather neutrally with different characteristics. In sentence (6) the woman is having difficulties when trying to learn Portuguese, in sentence (7) the woman's speech is characterised, and sentence (8) represents a woman who loves things to be well-organised.

Relational processes

Relational processes are the most represented group of sentences in this category. This is somewhat expected because relational processes are used when ascribing attributes or possessions to the carrier and, thus, being the most straightforward choice of processes when pure characteristics are in question.

Men are represented in fourteen sentences, while women are represented in sixteen sentences. Relational-intensive-attributive is the most common type of process with eleven M-sentences and nine F-sentences. Possessive-attributives are found in two M- and in four F-sentences, while intensive-identifying type of processes are found in one M-sentence and two F-sentences. The following are examples of intensive-attributive processes:

> (9) He's nearly ninety and still going strong. (strong)
> (10) He was too clear-headed to deceive himself. (clear-headed)
> (11) She was very proper. (proper)
> (12) She's actually very nice but at first sight seems terribly bossy. (sight)

All these sentences represent females and males with positive attributes. All in all, six M-sentences portray men with positive traits, while women are seen in positive light only in the above two sentences. Men are described, for example, as vital, idealistic, cute and sensible, while women are seen as proper. Sentence (12) describes a woman also as nice in deep down, although the first impression appears bossy.

The following sentences portray males and females with negative attributes:

> (13) He's a barefaced liar. (barefaced)
> (14) He sometimes gets a little carried away. (little)

(15) Mother was extravagant and romantic. (extravagant)
(16) She was hopelessly impulsive. (hopeless)
(17) She was a proper miser. (proper)

Sentence (13) represents a man as a liar, while sentence (14) describes a man who is sometimes too eager in his actions. F-sentences also represent negative features. In the above sentences women are seen as impulsive and skinflint. Sentence (15) portrays a woman who is seen as extravagant and romantic. The fact that this woman is identified as a mother creates perhaps even a more negative picture, because commonly it is expected that mothers behave realistically and responsibly.

The following sentences are examples of relational-intensive-attributive processes which are represented from the point of view of the speaker:

(18) Why must she be so nasty to me? (must)
(19) My aunt's gone a bit funny, if you get my meaning. (meaning)
(20) She is very discreet. She has never told me anything about it. (discreet)
(21) I can guarantee that Perry would be discreet. (discreet)
(22) Don't be mean with the tip, he's such a nice young man. (mean)

Sentences (18) and (19) represent women in a negative light. The speaker in sentence (18) feels that the woman in question is mean towards him/her, that is, the speaker is affected by the woman's actions, whereas, in sentence (19), the speaker is only explaining that his/her aunt is not mentally well, but this fact does not necessarily affect him/her personally. Both of these sentences, however, picture the women in a negative light, that is, as mean and silly, respectively. Sentence (20), then again, pictures the woman as a person who is tactful and reliable. The same can be also said about the man in sentence (21). The man in sentence (22) is also seen in a positive light from the point of view of the speaker.

Possessive-attributive processes represent males and females with negative as well as with positive traits. Consider the following sentences:

(23) He's going to help me go over my books. He has a better head for figures than I have. (book)
(24) Mr Baily has a speech impediment, which makes him difficult to

understand. (speech)
(25) How she had the barefaced gall to do it, I don't know! (barefaced)
(26) Bessie has good taste, and she has the means to gratify it. (mean)

Women are represented in five possessive-attributive sentences, while men are represented in two. The division between positive and negative traits is equal. Men are seen as good in mathematics, as well as having problems with linguistically. Women are portrayed as shameless and having a bad temper, as well as having beauty, intelligence, taste and money.

Relational-intensive-identifying sentences also represent an equal picture of both men and women with one M-sentence and two F-sentences.

Verbal processes

Two F-sentences and two M-sentences are found that can be included in this category:

(27) She described herself as 'completely hopeless with my hands.' (hopeless)
(28) 'I'm a Capricorn,' said Melissa, 'what's your sign?' (sign)
(29) He spoke a little French. (little)
(30) He can mimic Cockney speech quite well. (speech)

These sentences do not describe characteristics but skills these persons have. In sentence (27) the woman describes her own skills in handiwork as poor, while in sentence (28) the woman announces her sign. In both of these sentences the women themselves describe their qualities and traits, while the M-sentences are neutral statements about the men. In them the men are described through their language skills.

To sum up, in the category of *Character* females and males are represented relatively equally, both genders are portrayed as having positive features as well as negative. The traits vary from dishonesty and bad temper to intelligence and enthusiasm, therefore the scale of characteristics is represented as widely as the case is in reality, there are as many traits as there are people. The most common process used in describing human characteristics is relational process with its

different sub-types. Then again, material and mental processes are scarce, while verbal processes represent more skills rather than traits.

6.3.2 Work

This category includes sentences in which the context is somehow related to work. Some sentences imply directly some profession, while others may describe some qualities attached to work or career. To help the analysis these sentences are divided into different subcategories according to their context. All in all, there are 25 sentences involving men (presenting 59.6 % of the category) and 17 involving women (40.4 %) in this category, that is, 42 sentences altogether. See Table 7 below how M- and F-sentences can be divided into different process types.

Table 7. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of work.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	17	40.5	14	33.3
Mental	0	0	1	2.3
Relational	6	14.3	2	4.8
Verbal	2	4.8	0	0
	25	59.6	17	40.4

Money

The first subcategory studied is money category, in which the sentences include different kind of references to money transactions and earning. Out of nine sentences, four sentences involve women and five men. All the F-sentences have material-action-intention processes while the M-sentences have three material-action-intention processes and two verbal processes.

Here are examples of the material-action-intention processes:

(1) Liz helped me with the estimates, and managed to knock pounds off the lowest one. (knock off)

(2) She speculated successfully on the stock exchange. (speculate)
(3) He charges 100 dollars an hour. (a, an)
(4) They specialize in the discreet and gentlemanly management of money. (discreet)
(5) I tried to knock him down a few pounds but he wouldn't have it. (knock down)

All these sentences create a positive impression of the characters. The women and men seem to be experts in handling money, for example, the woman in sentence (1) is able to save someone's money and in sentence (2) the woman gains money by stock exchange. The men seem to be also experts when money is concerned. The man in sentence (3) seems to be so competent in his work that he can charge 100 dollars an hour. Sentences (4) and (5) also describe men who handle money transactions "gentlemanly" and persistently.

A point should be made about sentence (3). This sentence seems perfectly neutral, however, if the actor of this sentence will be changed the impression would be in certain contexts completely different. *She charges 100 dollars an hour* would not create an impression, for example, of a competent lawyer when uttered from man to man in a dark alley. On the contrary, it might imply to the oldest profession of the world, that is, prostitution.

The rest two M-sentences consisting of verbal processes continue reinforcing the businesslike image:

(6) He answered that the price would be £5,200 (answer)
(7) He said he'd knock £50 off the price. (knock off)

The rest two material processes involving women represent another image:

(8) She earned money by patching and selling old clothes. (patch)
(9) Sheila plucked up her courage to ask for a pay rise. (pluck)

In these sentences the women have to make some kind of effort in order to earn money. In sentence (8) the picture is somewhat miserable, far from a success story. It could be imagined that she is self-employed, and patching and selling old clothes is her only option to earn scrapes of money. In sentence (9) the woman builds up her courage to ask for a pay rise, that is, she is actively trying to improve

her financial situation. Although sentences (8) and (9) do not describe these women as successful money makers, they are positive in the sense that women are represented as active, and as having taken the control of the actions in their own hands.

Unemployment

In this subcategory there are four M-sentences and one F-sentence. The F-sentence has a material-action-intention process, while the M-sentences have two material and two relational processes.

Here are the material processes:

> (10) She answered an advertisement for a fulltime mother's help. (answer)
> (11) He wrote off letters in answer to advertisements in professional journals. (answer)
> (12) He had lost his struggle to keep his job. (struggle)

Sentences (10) and (11) are almost identical, in both of them the characters are answering job advertisements in order to get a job. These sentences represent an active picture of both genders. Sentence (12), on the other hand, creates a different impression. This sentence is material-action-supervention process, that is, the action just happens without the influence of the character. Sentence (12) gives a helpless picture; the man is on the mercy of the situation and he has not been able to control the happenings but has lost his job. He has obviously tried to do his best to keep the job, after all, there is a reference that he has struggled for it.

Two other M-sentences have relational-possessive-attributive processes:

> (13) He's never had a proper job. (proper)
> (14) My dad has no skilled trade. (trade)

These sentences are more like statements, stating the fact that these men have no competence to work. The man in sentence (13) has perhaps never acquired a training for a job or maybe he does not even have the will to find a job. Further, the term *proper job* may imply that he has never done any "hard" work, for

example, writing and acting are stereotypically considered as improper jobs, especially for men who should prove their masculinity by doing something physical to earn the living. Sentence (14) implies that the man has not trained himself for a job, therefore, the impression is that he is a bit of a loser.

Various occupations

Men and women are represented in various professions. First, there are four M-sentences where the context is related to teaching and education, while F-sentences do not include such a context:

> (15) When he had finished reading, he flung the paper back on to his lectern. (fling)
> (16) Mr Macmillan presented the prizes and made a speech on the importance of education. (speech)
> (17) John Lyons will be taking part in the discussion on 'Language and Communication'. (discussion)
> (18) His classes concentrated on verbal communication through writing and speech. (speech)

In these sentences the men are pictured as teachers or giving lectures and speeches. Sentences (15), (16) and (17) have material-action-intention processes, while sentence (18) has a mental-cognition process. In these sentences the men seem to appear organised and competent because they seem to be in charge of the situation. In sentence (18) the man himself is not mentioned but his classes, however the choice of the actor in the sentence does not make the man seem less competent or passive.

Women are represented four times in the line of arts, whereas there is only one mention of a male writer. Consider these sentences:

> (19) She recited a speech from 'As You Like It.' (speech)
> (20) I remember her making a most effective entrance in a play I saw. (effective)
> (21) Her performance completely knocked me out. (knock out)
> (22) She wanted to be an actress. (a, an)

Sentence (19) has material-action process and it represents the woman in reading a speech from Shakespeare's play. The picture it portrays is relatively neutral which is not the case in sentences (20), (21) and (22). Sentences (20) and (21)

have also material-action processes but the women's actions are not represented directly. In both sentences the representation is made from someone else's point of view. In sentence (20) the woman's action is described through someone's remembrance, that is, now the woman is a passive target, although originally she was active in making her entrance. In sentence (21) the woman is also represented through someone else's eyes and her action is represented in a positive light. Sentence (21) may also imply that the performance was so surprisingly good that it knocked out the addresser who was perhaps expecting a less magnificent performance.

Sentence (22) differs from these sentences because its process is mental-cognition. Therefore, it creates an image of a woman who is only wishing to be an actress but does not seem to do anything to achieve this. Sentence (22) also contains a term which can be considered overtly sexist, that is, the term *actress*. It has the suffix *-ess* which is a female-marked suffix. Nowadays the common trend is to abolish these kinds of marked suffixes in order to make no division between female and male terms (see for example Frank and Treichler 1989 for nonsexist guidelines).

In work category, there are number of single sentences which introduce various occupations. These sentences are either material or relational processes, and they are more or less neutral. Men are represented in four material processes and in these sentences they are portrayed twice as a cowboy, once as a hardware trader and an architect. In four relational processes men are represented as a scientist, a politician, a welder and a dealer in antique furniture. All except one sentence of these portrays a positive or neutral picture of men. Consider these:

(23) He stopped trading in hardware. (trade)
(24) Wow! I've never met a real live cowboy before! (live)
(25) He traded a job in New York City for the life of a cowboy. (trade)

In sentence (23) a man is pictured as quitting his hardware trading. Although the thought of quitting is not a positive one, these sentence however gives an impression of a strong man who makes his own decision to stop the trading. This

impression is constructed by material-action-intention process and the man in actor's role. Sentences (24) and (25) represent men as cowboys. Both are examples of positive and glorified representations.

Women's occupations are not as diverse as men's. Three sentences include direct reference to an occupation. Women are pictured as a politician in a relational as well as in a material process. In a relational process she is also pictured as mother's help. Here are the examples representing women in politics:

> (26) Women are conspicuous by their absence in politics. (conspicuous)
> (27) She scored a surprising number of vote in traditional Nationalist strongholds. (traditional)

Sentence (26) notifies the fact that women are not numerously involved in politics. This, however, is not the present picture, more and more women work in politics nowadays. Sentence (27) represents the woman gaining a surprising number of votes. This could be regarded as somewhat degrading statement in some contexts, because the numerous votes seem to be a surprise as if it would be impossible for a woman to gain numerous votes.

The remaining five F-sentences and four M-sentences representing the genders in work are general descriptions of different situations:

> (28) The telegrams which Cynthia encoded were now more mutilated than ever. (mutilate)
> (29) She analysed the structure of its skull in great detail. (structure)
> (30) She flung herself into her work. (fling)
> (31) He took the folded sheet of flimsy. (flimsy)

All the sentences have material-action-intention processes. In sentence (28) the woman is pictured as somewhat incompetent, because she manages to mutilate the telegrams more, while sentences (29) represents the woman in a task where she is thorough and therefore appears to be competent. Sentence (30), in turn, portrays a woman who is enthusiastic about her work. Sentence (31) represents the man neutrally and implies to some kind of writing task.

To sum up, the work category gives a relatively equal picture of the females and males. Material processes give a confident and active picture of both genders. When involved with money, men and women are pictured as competent and in control of the situations. When unemployed they are seen actively seeking a job. Further, both of the genders are pictured in various occupations, although they seem to be somewhat more varied for men. What is also notable is that both genders are represented in their work environments almost solely on their own and there seems to be no teamwork.

6.3.3 Language, communication and interaction

The category of *Language, communication and interaction* includes a wide variety of sentences. A common feature to all these sentences is that they represent communication situations. This means that most of the sentences include not only a male or female character but also other participants. The other participants may be invisible in a sense that the sentence consists of direct speech which is addressed to someone, but the addressee is not mentioned. Some sentences represent males or females simply communicating without directing their message to anyone visible, but because verbal acts usually have an audience these sentences are included in this category. Furthermore, some sentences represent non-verbal situations where nothing is said but where two or more people are involved in some kind of interaction. It should also be noticed that particularly in this category sentences are analysed from that part where males/females are involved, for example, reporting clauses are not analysed unless they include male or female references. However, the whole impression of the sentence is of primary focus although all clauses would not be analysed. In the data 21 M-sentences and 18 F-sentences of this kind are found, therefore in this category M-sentences present 53.9 percent of the sentences, while F-sentences present 46.1 percent. See Table 8 for the full account of how different process types are presented in M- and F-sentences.

Table 8. The division of M- and F-sentences to process types; category of language, communication and interaction.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	6	15.4	2	5.1
Mental	3	7.7	6	15.4
Relational	4	10.3	2	5.1
Verbal	8	20.5	8	20.5
	21	53.9	18	46.1

Material processes

The distribution of material processes is relatively uneven between M- and F-sentences, that is, there are six M-sentences and two F-sentences representing communication situations in the data. Consider the following M-sentences which are material-action-intention processes:

(1) I believe Louis rang you earlier about the tickets, didn't he? (ring)
(2) If you must know, I'm going to help him look for an apartment. (must)
(3) I wonder whether he's been writing recently. (recently)
(4) They formed a ring round him. (ring)
(5) I left the letter with him and went out discreetly. (discreet)
(6) The man met his gaze and smiled patiently. (gaze)

Sentences (1), (2) and (3) represent men as a subject of discussion; in all these sentences the men are talked about or thought about. In sentence (1), the man's action, that is, his phone call is under discussion. In sentence (2) the man is the goal of the action in the discussion, but in actual event he will be involved in the action, that is, when the man and the speaker will be looking for an apartment. In sentence (3) the man's action, that is, writing is under discussion. In all these sentences the men are involved with other participants, that is, they are the target of discussion. Also, in sentence (1) and (3) the men are the actors and in sentence (2) the man is a participant in an action with somebody else.

Sentences (4), (5) and (6) are examples of non-verbal communication in the sense that they represent interaction between people without words. In all these

sentences the men are the targets of the action. In sentence (4) people are forming a ring round the man, in sentence (5) the man is left alone by somebody and in sentence (6) two men are represented, one being the actor and the other one being the target.

The two F-sentences found are supervention processes:

> (7) Her voice will live with me until I die. (live)
> (8) Her answers allowed an opportunity for discussion. (discussion)

Both of these sentences portray the women only partially. The women's voice and answers are represented as the actors to whom the action just happens, therefore the impression is rather transparent and passive.

Mental processes

In mental processes three M-sentences and six F-sentences are found. As in the case of material processes in mental processes men are also represented in non-verbal situations. All three sentences represent men interacting non-verbally with other people. Consider the sentences.

> (9) Ralph looked for confirmation round the ring of faces. (ring)
> (10) He laughed briefly and plucked the paper from my hand. (pluck)
> (11) Even as he watched it, it gave the faintest flicker to its tail. (flicker)

In sentences (9) and (10) the men are in presence of other people and somehow interacting with them, in sentence (9) by looking at the other people's expressions and in sentence (10) by interacting with the addresser. The process in sentence (9) is near material process, because *to look for* is phrasal verb meaning *to search*, however, in this sentence it can also be understood concretely in a sense that the man is actually looking at the people's faces. Therefore, the sentence is included in mental processes although the character appears to be an actor in this sentence as if it was a material process. In sentence (10) the process of the first clause is behavioural (*laugh*) and the other one is material process, therefore, the man seems to be an actor also in this sentence. In sentence (11), in turn, the man is the senser and is represented as interacting with an animal.

In three F-sentences the women are the sensers and in other three the women are in the position of the phenomenon. Consider the following examples:

(12) Helen invented a flimsy excuse to take her out of the house. (flimsy)
(13) She found one excuse after another to postpone it. (another)
(14) This was a question to which she did not know the answer. (answer)
(15) I didn't know how to answer her. (answer)
(16) I haven't heard from her recently. (recently)
(17) You don't know a Mrs Burton-Cox, do you? (a, an)

In sentences (12), (13) and (14) the women are in the position of the senser and all these sentences are cognition types. In sentences (12) and (13) the women seem rather active, that is, they are actively making up excuses. However, the fact that they are making up excuses makes them appear reluctant. In sentence (14) the woman is a senser who does not know an answer to some question. In sentences (15), (16) and (17) the women are the phenomena, that is, the ones who are thought about and perceived about.

Relational processes

Four M-sentences and two F-sentences are found which represent the genders in communication situations. In M-sentences males are represented with other people in situations where the men appear as honest, hostile or reluctant. Females, on the other hand, are represented in situations where other people are not visible; one woman is portrayed as dishonest when describing her experiences, while the other woman is represented as ignorant of the happenings around her.

Verbal processes

Both M-sentences as well as F-sentences include eight verbal processes. Two of the M-sentences and three of the F-sentences have a direct quotation. Consider the examples:

(18) Knock it off, Billy,' said the boy. (knock off)
(19) 'Look', he said, 'let's cut out all this encounter-group rubbish. (cut out)
(20) He told them that they must keep plugging away. (plug away)
(21) She hissed through clenched teeth, 'You get out of here.' (clench)
(22) She laughed and said, 'You're cute. What's your name?' (cute)
(23) Maybe', she said, with a flicker of a smile. (flicker)

All these sentences include a reporting clause [except sentence (20)], in which the verbal process occurs, however, the major focus is on the direct quotations which create the picture of the events. Sentences (18) and (19) represent the men as somewhat hostile: the boy in sentence (18) wants Billy to stop whatever he is doing and in sentence (19) the man shows his annoyance towards encounter-groups by calling it rubbish. Sentence (20) represents a similar kind of attitude, that is, unfriendliness, although here the impression is created with indirect reporting. The impression in sentence (21) is somewhat similar to those of M-sentences, because of its atmosphere of hostility. Then again, sentences (22) and (23) are completely different. In them the women are represented as cheerful and flirtatious and the impression created is more positive and open-minded.

In the rest of the F-sentences women are pictured in different kinds of communication situations as the following examples show.

(24) Jane has systematically knocked down every one of her friend's suggestions. (knock down)

(25) She made a number of remarks that did not need an answer. (answer)

(26) Almost every woman, bar the very young can produce tales of this sort. (bar)

(27) She asked many questions and I tried my best to answer them. (answer)

(28) Through signs she communicated that she wanted the women to bring their children to the hospital. (sign)

The above sentences represent the women in different verbal situations. In sentences (24), (25) and (26) the verbal acts are constructed of processes that at first sight do not appear as verbal but material. These sentences represent the women as demolishing friend's suggestions, commenting and making up stories, respectively. Therefore the impression created is somewhat reluctant and hostile, and sentence (26) seems to imply that women have a habit of telling tales that are somewhat questionable.

Sentences (27) and (28) create more neutral impression, in these sentence the women are communicating with other people. In sentence (27) the woman is

asking questions and in sentence (28) the woman is using sign language in order to get what she wants.

The rest of the M-sentences represent the men in similar kind of communication situations as the above neutral F-sentences, and in them the men are represented with one other person. However, two M-sentences represent men also in different speech situations:

> (29) The books he mentioned had a familiar ring about them. (ring)
> (30) He spoke out against racial discrimination. (discrimination)

In the above sentences the men are not represented with other people although these men obviously have audiences to whom they are talking to. These sentences represent rather neutral communication situations, the men are simply giving information for someone, although the situations seems rather public. The women in F-sentences are not pictured in situations where the impression would be that they are talking to larger audiences, but are portrayed solely in private communication situations, that is, with one other participant or for example with friends.

To sum up, women and men appear rather different in their communication situations. First of all, the most noticeable difference seems to be that men are often portrayed in non-verbal situations, interacting with other people without addressing them, while women do not appear in such situations. Further, men are represented in situations where they are giving a lecture of some sort, that is, they have a larger audience, while again women are not portrayed in such situation. However, both men and women are pictured interacting more intimately, that is, with friends or with some other person.

In their communication situations women are portrayed as somewhat negatively, the overall impression seems to be that most of the time women are making up excuses. However, women are also portrayed in flirtatious situations as well as in neutral situations. Men, then again, appear in their communication situations

rather neutral. Also, the fact that men are represented in number of non-verbal situation creates an impression of a passive man, that is, they do not appear communicative.

6.3.4 Emotions

The category of *Emotions* includes sentences that represent the feelings of characters. The data have 40 sentences that can be included in this category. Out of the 40 sentences, 23 represent women's feelings (57.5 %) and 17 men's (42.5 %). Because mental processes represent the inner experiences of the senser, that is, how the senser feels and perceives things, it could be expected that sentences in this category would mostly consist of mental processes. Still, it is noticed that this is not the case, because mental processes are the least presented group of processes with ten sentences. The number of relational processes, however, does not differ from mental processes to a great extent (twelve clauses). Table 9 summarises the division of M- and F-sentences into different process types.

Table 9. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of emotions.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	6	35.3	9	39.1
Mental	4	23.5	6	26.1
Relational	7	41.2	6	26.1
Verbal	0	0	2	8.7
	17	42.5	23	57.5

Material processes

Nine material process sentences are found that represent women's emotional states, while men are represented in six material processes. The material process sentences include the three different kinds of material processes: action-intention,

action-supervention and event processes. F-sentences consist of seven action-intention processes, two action-supervention processes and one event process, while men were represented in seven action-intention processes and in one event process. Consider the event processes:

(1) Disapproval flickers across her face. (flicker)
(2) Everything had conspired to make him happy. (conspire)

These event processes are the only ones where the doer of the process is not the woman herself or the man himself. This is obvious because event processes are performed by inanimate actors. In sentence (1), the actor is the emotion, an abstract entity. The woman in this clause is represented only partially, because only one part of her body is described, that is, her face. This creates the impression that the emotion is something that only flickers on the surface but which does not necessarily affect the woman as a whole. While only part of the woman is referred to, in sentence (2) the man is represented as a whole. He is influenced by outside factors and the outcome is that he becomes happy. In this case, the happiness seems to be an overall emotion, making the whole man happy, while the woman's disapproval is something that seems to be only on the surface, on the face. Besides the difference in the "amount" of the emotion, there is a difference in the quality of the emotion, that is, the man is represented with positive emotion, while the woman is represented with negative emotion.

The data consist of two different kinds of action-intention processes, those where the goal is the actor's own body part and those where the goal is the actor's emotion. Here are examples of the firstly mentioned:

(3) Fanny clasped her hands in mute protest. (mute)
(4) She shook her head hopelessly. (hopeless)
(5) He raised his eyebrows in extravagant surprise. (extravagant)
(6) I could see our manager tearing his hair out at the side of the field. (hair)

In these sentences the emotion is represented through an action-intention process, that is, the actor is intentionally doing something. In these cases the actor's actions affect their own body parts, that is, hands, head, eyebrows and hair. The fact that

the actors are acting towards themselves gives the impression that they are in control of their own actions at least as far as their bodies are concerned. However, with the sentences where the goal is the actor's emotion, the impression is different. Consider the examples:

> (7) She lost her will to live. (live)
> (8) She was so shocked that <u>she lost her powers of speech</u>.[1] (speech)
> (9) With a mute bow he indicated to them his gratitude. (mute)
> (10) The Englishman showed no signs of his annoyance. (sign)

In sentences (7) and (8) the actor is a woman and the process is action-supervention, while in sentences (9) and (10) the actor is a man and the process is action-intention. In all of these sentences the goal, however, is the actor's emotion or some other mental entity, for example, will and gratitude. Although these sentences differ only in the sense that they include different process types, they convey different impressions. Sentences (9) and (10) are rather straightforward. The man in sentence (9) shows his emotion (gratitude) by simply bowing, that is, by action-intention process, and in sentence (10) the man does not, in fact, show any signs of his emotion, although action-intention process is used. Therefore, these men seem to be in control of their feelings: they either show them or not. This is not the case with the women. In sentences (7) and (8) the woman is represented as an actor, but because of the action-supervention processes, she is seen as rather helpless, after all, she is not able to control what happens to her emotions. In supervention processes the action just happens and the actor cannot influence the happenings. Therefore, the impression is that some outside influence seems to make the woman lose her will and power, and that is why she seems helpless.

There is only one F- and M-sentence representing both the man and the woman as actors and somebody else as a goal:

> (11) She treated me with extravagant contempt. (extravagant)
> (12) With a mute bow he indicated to them his gratitude. (mute)

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[1] only the underlined clause is under analysis

In sentence (11) the speaker is confronted with the woman's dislike. This is the only material sentence where the woman is actually seen as directing her emotions towards someone else. All the other material processes have represented the woman as wrapped around herself because she herself has been the affected participant in these sentences. Sentence (12) represents the man directing his emotions to someone by showing his gratitude. It seems that the man has manners, while the woman just treats someone with dislike. Therefore, the connotations are positive towards the man and negative towards the woman.

The next sentence is a good example of the kind of impression the reader gets of a woman:

> (13) She was sitting on the floor, a hopeless figure if ever I saw one. (hopeless)

Here the woman is described through someone's eyes. The watcher sees the woman as a hopeless figure just sitting on the floor. This sentence summarises the picture built up from the material process sentences. The woman is seen as the actor who, however, is not very active. On the contrary, her actions are not something that would affect other people but herself. This gives the impression that she is introverted, not letting anyone get in touch of her inner world. Others see her as miserable, but they do not seem to be able to help her. In contrast, the picture of the man is more positive. His emotions are much more positive and varied than those of the woman's.

Mental processes

Seven mental processes are found which represent women in emotional states, while men are represented in four mental processes. The most noticeable difference between M- and F-sentences is that all the male mental processes are perception type, while females are represented through affection processes, and there is only one perception process. Here are examples of the perception processes:

> (14) He smiled hopefully in their direction. (hopefully)
> (15) He looked at me with an oddly speculative glint in his eyes. (speculative)

(16) Sally Jones was staring mute and awestruck before Mrs Geards's preparations for her party. (mute)

Actually all the above sentences belong to the process type called behavioural processes. Behavioural processes are partly mental and partly material, but they fall into the category of mental processes because they manifest states of consciousness. Within mental processes the above processes are more likely to fit perception types, because this process type describes them more accurately if compared with affection and cognition types. Here, behavioural processes are included in mental processes in order to keep the analysis of the data relatively simple by including only the four major process types, that is, material, mental, relational and verbal. Sentences (14), (15) and (16) all represent rather neutral images of the genders.

The following are examples of the affection processes:

(17) She worried about splinters in her bare feet. (bare)
(18) She feels that she will have to give up the struggle. (struggle)

As it is the case with material processes, even here the impression is that the woman is relatively introspective. She is represented through her inner feelings and there are no other participants in the affection sentences. Again the woman is represented in negative contexts and the picture created is a sad and depressive one.

Relational processes

F-sentences include six relational processes, while M-sentences include seven. All the F-sentences are intensive-attributive type, while the M-sentences are a little more varied. Five sentences are intensive-attributive type, one is circumstantial-attributive and one is existential. The following are examples of intensive-attributive processes:

(19) She was so shocked that she lost her powers of speech. (speech)
(20) She was speechless with astonishment. (speechless)
(21) If he's sure, then it must be true. (must)

All these sentences include the carrier, intensive process and attribute. The

attribute is some quality ascribed to the carrier. In these sentences the attributes are *shocked, speechless with astonishment* and *sure*, respectively. Because of the choice of the attributes the woman seems to be so disturbed that she even has lost her ability to speak. The woman seems to be in a strong emotional state. In contrast, the man in the sentence (21) appears stable. He is represented with straightforward attribute *sure*. The rest of the sentence also emphasises the impression that he is stable and solid, because if he can be relied on then everything seems to be in order. Again the woman and the man are contrasted with different qualities, she appears unstable while the man is someone who can be relied on. The fact that the woman is speechless makes her state appear even more tragic, after all, stereotypically it is thought that it is not easy for women to be silent. Therefore the context for women is much more negative than for men.

In the other four F-sentences and in two M-sentences also other people are included. Consider these:

> (22) She's still terribly cut up about her sister's death. (cut up)
> (23) I could see he was really tied up in knots inside. (knot)
> (24) I thought he was a little bit afraid. (little)

Sentence (22) is somewhat different from sentences (23) and (24). In sentences (23) and (24) the man is represented through someone else's eyes, while in sentence (22) the other participant somehow affects the carrier. The woman is represented as being depressed about her sister's death, that is, the reason for her depression is known, while in sentences (23) and (24) the reasons for the men's confusion and fear is not known. Their emotions are described by an outside observer, which creates an impression that the men are alone with their feelings. The observer does not seem to know the reasons for the carrier's state, and therefore can only report what he or she sees and thinks without being able to affect or help the person in question.

Both the woman and the man are represented with negative emotions, but there is a slight difference in point of view. The woman's feeling is represented with a pure statement as if her emotion would be a fact, while the man's feelings are

represented through someone else's report, which undermines the truth factor of these feelings, that is, the man's feelings are not represented as a fact but as someone's speculations. But the fact that the man is represented through someone else makes the man appear somewhat passive and static. He appears to be an object of observation.

In the next sentences the carrier is not a whole person but a body part or emotion:

> (25) It seemed that an end to his agony was in sight. (sight)
> (26) It wasn't proper for a man to show his emotions. (proper)
> (27) There was a flicker of fear in the man's eyes. (flicker)

Sentence (25) has a structure of impersonal projection *it seemed* followed by relational-circumstantial-attributive process and the carrier is not a whole person but the carrier's emotion. This sentence gives hope for the man that his negative emotional state is coming to an end, however because of the impersonal projection the impression is that the man himself is not aware of it. Further there is no certainty that the misery is coming to an end, it only seems so.

Sentence (26) also includes a structure resembling that of sentence (25). Here the use of *it wasn't* structure creates an impression that this sentence expresses a fact. The pronoun *it* seems to refer to a common fact which in this case is that man should not show his emotions. Moreover, the exclusion of uncertainty elements, for example tentative verbs, emphasises the impression. However, the use of the past tense gives an impression that this is a fact belonging to the past. All in all, sentence (26) can be regarded as an illustration of stereotypical discourse, because it conveys a false assumption that men are not allowed to show their feelings.

Sentence (27) is an existential processes, that is, it represents that something exists. The use of this process type creates the impression that the man's feeling is a fact. Of all the emotion sentences this sentence is the only one which represents the man with a unpleasant feeling, in this case fear, as a fact. However, even this sentence does not represent the whole man as fearful but the fear is only seen in his eyes, it is not necessarily affecting him as a whole. A flicker of fear

also implies that the fear is only occasional, not something permanent.

Verbal processes

Emotion category includes two verbal processes concerned with women:

> (28) 'Hello', she said. 'I was hoping you might ring.' (ring)
> (29) 'Can we come in?' she asked hopefully. (hopefully)

Both of these sentences represent positive feelings. In sentence (28) the woman has been wishful that she would receive a phone call, and in sentence (29) she is hopeful. Other people are also involved in these sentences. However, it could be said that the woman seems passive, because in sentence (28) she has just passively been waiting for a phone call without actually doing anything herself but hoping. Also, in sentence (29) the woman is asking someone's permission before she can go in, and therefore she does not seem to be in control. Although the women are not necessarily seen as in control of happenings in these sentences, they appear positive and in a good mood, which seems to be rare for women according to the other processes.

To sum up, in material processes the division of emotional states between men and women is quite clear. Men are represented mostly in positive contexts and with positive feelings, surprise and frustration being the only negative feelings. Men also seem to be in control of themselves when emotions are involved. Women, on the contrary, are represented in negative contexts and with negative feelings. They are even seen as not being able to control their own emotions, and therefore seem rather helpless. In mental processes the women are represented only in negative states and contexts. Even here the impression is that women are introspective and wrapped around themselves, while men are represented quite neutrally with varied emotions.

In the relational processes the picture of men is somewhat different. Only in these processes men are represented with negative emotions: they are seen fearful and depressed. Men also appear as somewhat passive and object of observation. But

these can be considered as rare glimpses of men's inner feelings, because it is also stated that men should not show their feelings. Relational processes do not create any new impressions of women but verbal processes do. In these processes women are seen as positive. They are hopeful and try to make contact with other people by addressing them. This is a positive thing compared to the picture build up by material, mental and relational processes.

6.3.5 Appearance

The context of *Appearance* includes sentences which describe the appearance of the women and men. This context consists of 20 F-sentences and 14 M-sentences, that is, 58.8 percent of the sentences are F-sentences and 42.5 percent are M-sentences. Table 10 below show how M- and F-sentences can be divided into different process types.

Table 10. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of appearance.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	7	20.6	7	20.6
Mental	0	0	2	5.9
Relational	7	20.6	11	32.4
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	14	41.2	20	58.8

Material processes

Seven F-sentences and seven M-sentences include material processes. Six of the F-sentences and three of the M-sentences have material-action-intention processes, while one F-sentence and four M-sentences have material-action-supervention processes. Consider the following material-action-intention processes:

(1) He bared his left arm. (bare)
(2) Ralph clenched his fist and went very red. (clench)
(3) She flung back her head. (fling)
(4) She did her hair up in a knot on top of her head. (knot)
(5) He took his woollen scarf from one nail and his cap from another. (another)
(6) She took off her hat, flinging it on the grass. (fling)
(7) She wore many rings on her left hand. (ring)
(8) She dressed youthfully. (youthful)

Sentences (1), (2), (3) and (4) are similar in the sense that the genders are represented with different body parts, that is, the actor is directing his/her action towards his/her own body. In rest of the sentences the impression of the appearance is represented differently. Sentences (5) and (6) do not describe directly what the man and the woman are wearing, but imply it through their action and by presenting items of clothing, that is, in sentence (5) it seems that the man is going to put on his scarf and cap, while in sentence (6) the woman is taking off her hat. In both of these sentences, the targets of the actions are the genders' items of clothing. In sentences (7) and (8) the appearances of these women are portrayed through what they are wearing. In these sentences the material processes are more static than in the previous sentences, that is, the women are more passive, just wearing rings and youthful clothes, respectively.

The rest of the material processes are supervention types, as follows:

(9) His sores had begun to show signs of healing. (sign)
(10) His eyes were shining in the candlelight. (candlelight)
(11) His chin was conspicuously covered in thick bristle. (conspicuous)
(12) His eyes were ringed with fatigue. (ring)
(13) The knot of her headscarf hung beneath her chin. (knot)

In these sentences the action just happens, that is, the actor cannot influence on the course of the happenings and therefore all the actors appear passive. Another thing common to the above supervention processes is that all the actors are portrayed only partially, the actor is not the whole man or woman, but a part of their bodies, and in the F-sentence a part of the woman's clothing. The fact that these representations are only partial reinforces the impression of passivity, because body parts are not able to act on their own without the consciousness of the whole

person, and in these representations the persons seems passive, while their body parts act.

Mental processes

Only two F-sentences have mental processes. Consider these cognition processes:

(14) She worried about splinters in her bare feet. (bare)
(15) She felt conspicuous. (conspicuous)

Both of these sentences represent the women feeling uneasy about their appearance. Sentence (14) pictures the woman worrying about the splinters in her feet and in sentence (15) the woman seems to be feeling uncomfortable about herself.

Relational processes

Eleven F-sentences and seven M-sentences have relational processes. Four of the F-sentences have possessive-attributive processes, the rest being intensive-attributive processes. Out of the M-sentences two have possessive-attributive processes, two existential processes and the rest three sentences have intensive-attributive processes. Consider the possessive-attributive processes:

(16) The girls had short, neat haircuts. (haircut)
(17) Her face has a fine bone structure. (structure)
(18) She had everything, beauty, intelligence, youth and, above all, money. (youth)
(19) Despite her age she still had a youthful body. (youthful)
(20) He had fat hairy arms, and a bald patch on his head. (patch)
(21) He has a hearing device plugged into his ear. (plug in/into)

In all the above F-sentences the women appear in a positive light. The women's appearances are pictured through their haircuts, bone structures and bodies which all seem to be just perfect. There is no question about it that these women appear beautiful and attractive. The picture of the men is quite the opposite. The men are represented as having fat hairy arms and bald patches as well as wearing a hearing device. These attributes are not usually considered as attractive.

The rest of the relational processes continue to create a similar kind of impression of the genders:

> (22) The bride is dressed in traditional costume. (traditional)
> (23) Gretchen was a neat, proper, beautiful girl. (proper)
> (24) As she got older she got haggard. (haggard)
> (25) He needed a haircut. (haircut)
> (26) His clothes looked a sight. (sight)
> (27) There were dark rings of fatigue beneath his eyes. (ring)
> (28) There was a drawn and haggard look about his eyes. (haggard)

Sentences (22) and (23) again represent the women as beautiful, although sentence (22) does not imply that directly but usually all brides are looking good on their wedding day. Sentence (24) is the one exception among the relational-intensive-attributive sentences that represents the woman looking unattractive, whereas in the M-sentences the unattractiveness of a male is a common feature. In the above M-sentences the men are represented as looking unkept, tired and haggard as well as untidily dressed. What is also noticeable is that only one M-sentence describes the man as a whole, all the other sentence concentrate on the man's eyes or clothing.

In brief, the most significant difference in this category is that men are more often than women represented negatively, that is, men appear unattractive or not well. Men are also represented in a number of sentences only partially, usually men's eyes or face is the body part that is mentioned. Although women are usually represented neutrally or appearing attractive, they are also portrayed as worrying about their appearance. This is apparent in mental processes in which the women are seen as uncomfortable about themselves. Women are also the only ones who are mentioned in connection to ageing.

6.3.6 Private sphere

This category includes a wide variety of sentences. The majority of the sentences refer to activities performed indoors, while some refer to activities performed in

the immediate presence of home. Generally these sentences represent activities of general kind, that is, activities belonging to everyday life. Males are represented in twelve sentences (46.2 % of the sentences), while females are represented in fourteen (53.8 %). In this category, M-sentences were all material-action intention processes, while F-sentences had two relational processes, the rest being material-action-intention. See Table 11 for the full account of the division of M- and F-sentences to process types.

Table 11. The distribution of M- and F-sentences into different process types; category of private sphere.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	12	46.2	12	46.2
Mental	0	0	0	0
Relational	0	0	2	7.7
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	12	46.2	14	53.8

Material processes

Both sexes are represented in various activities. Some of the activities represented are alike, for example, females and males are seen on the phone, as well as answering the door. They are also represented moving about in a house. Consider the examples:

(1) He replaced the receiver. (receiver)
(2) She picked up the receiver and dialled the number. (receiver)
(3) He walked noisily across the bare floor. (bare)
(4) She led the way down a short flight of steps. (flight)
(5) James unlocked the door from a key on his ring. (ring)

Three F-sentences and two M-sentences represent the genders in situations similar to sentences (1) and (2), that is, in connection with telephones. Two F-sentences and four M-sentences where the genders are described in action without a direct goal as in examples (3) and (4) are found. And three M-sentences describe men in situations where answering and opening the door is concerned. All these sentences are neutral representations of women and men in their everyday actions.

The rest of the sentences represent actions which are more specific in a sense that more goal oriented actions are performed in them. However, M-sentences have less goal orientation while F-sentences contain specific descriptions of the action and the goal.

(6) He took a pair of wire cutters from his pocket. (cutter)
(7) He used two sticks as props for the rope. (prop)
(8) He had tied a crude knot. (knot)
(9) She plugged the lamp into a wall-socket. (plug in/into)
(10) She carefully unscrewed the bottom plate. (unscrew)
(11) Mrs Hockstadt brewed tea on a little electric ring. (ring)
(12) She packed the barest minimum of clothing. (bare)

All the above M-sentences represent the men in doing some kind of chores which are not necessarily related to home. These sentences, however, were included to the *Private sphere* -category because they have no reference to any specific place, for example to outdoors. M-sentences are relatively unspecific and leave details out, while the F-sentences are more specific, therefore the reader gets a fuller picture of the context and the happening. The women are represented in various activities, doing all kinds of different household chores. The fact that three M-sentences and seven F-sentences represented the genders in doing chores, gives an impression that it is usually women who do various chores around the house, while men's job is to do repairing etc.

Relational processes

The two relational F-sentences are as follows:

(13) She was busy picking up some last-minute necessities and flinging them into her handbag. (fling)
(14) Her room is in a hopeless muddle. (hopeless)

Sentence (13) has relational-intensive-attributive process, while sentence (14) is of relational-circumstantial-attributive type. Sentence (13) represents the woman again in one of her chores, while sentence (14) describes the state of her room.

In this category the number of F- and M-sentences is relatively equal. Both genders are represented in everyday chores, such as talking on the phone and

answering the door. Somewhat different is the distribution in household duties, women seem to be doing frequently variety of little duties, while men seem to be making different kinds of repairs. The picture of women is somehow more intense and more active while men are pictured as more passive, at least in the sense that they are represented only in one kind of household duties, that it, repairing, while women have more variety in their activities.

6.3.7 Illegal action

The category of *Illegal action* includes sentences that describe violent acts, criminal action, dangerous situations or other representations of illegitimate activities. Of all the data this category has the most asymmetrical distribution between females and males. Males are referred to in 17 sentences (70.8 percent of the sentences in this category), whereas females are represented only in 7 sentences (29.2 % of the sentences). The fact that the distribution is relatively uneven is a sign of a stereotype. Males are usually the ones who are considered aggressive and prone to illegal conduct, and this division of sentences enforces this assumption. However, it should be kept in mind that this is also the case in reality, males are more prone to illegitimate activities. Table 12 below indicates how M- and F-sentences are distributed to process types.

Table 12. The division of M- and F-sentences to process types; category of illegal action.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	13	54.2	5	20.8
Mental	1	4.2	2	8.3
Relational	3	12.5	0	0
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	17	70.8	7	29.2

Material processes

Material processes are the most represented group of sentences of this category with thirteen M-sentences and five F-sentences. In this case this implies that illegal actions are action-based, that is, characters are represented actually in the act itself rather than, for example, planning or witnessing them. Males as active doers are seen in nine sentences, while females are represented in two sentences. Consider these material-action-intention processes.

> (1) He killed those two men with his bare hands. (bare)
> (2) The old man hit him so hard that he knocked him out. (knock out)
> (3) I think he had one of his elderly relatives knocked off so that he could inherit the fortune. (knock off)
> (4) She tried bribing a cutter for patterns of a rival's new spring models. (cutter)
> (5) She made a valiant attempt to rescue the struggling victim. (struggle)

In all these sentences males and females are active doers and their actions have targets. However, the impressions of these sentences are relatively different. In sentences (1) and (2) the males are represented quite stereotypically, and are seen as the stereotypical male who kills and hits without considering the consequences. In the first sentence, the male uses nothing but his bare hands to get the life out of the two men. The image created is that of a man who is powerful and above all brutal, a sophisticated gentleman is far from this image. Again in sentence (2) the man is described in a violent act with powerful results.

Sentence (3) is somewhat different from sentences (1) and (2). In this sentence the man is not actually committing the crime himself but arranges for somebody else to do it. This time the man has a motive for the killing which, however, does not improve his picture but creates a portrait of a greedy and unsympathetic man who betrays even his own relatives. That the action is described from somebody else's point of view is a softening factor, because the event described may be only the observer's own invention.

The two F-sentences are the only ones with females in an active role, and the impression created in these sentences is relatively different from those of M-

sentences. In sentence (4) the woman is described as a dishonest person trying to bribe a cutter. This kind of bribing would either benefit herself or the firm she is working for, and therefore the picture created is close to the image created in sentence (3), although the woman does not go to such lengths in her pursuit as the man did.

Sentence (5) is completely different from the previous ones. The woman is portrayed in a positive light and she is pictured as courageous heroine helping somebody else who is a target of a crime, a victim. This representation of a woman is untraditional, because men are more commonly portrayed as heroes and women as victims therefore, it could be argued that this sentence is positive improvement pointing towards more egalitarian representation of women and men.

Although men were seen in the previous sentences as violent and dishonest, in four other sentences males are described as the targets of similar behaviour.

> (6) I hit him with all the force I could muster. (muster)
> (7) The guard was standing hitting him whenever he struggled. (struggle)
> (8) It'll serve him right if they throw the book at him. (book)
> (9) He was prevented from entering the building by a ring of campus policemen. (ring)
> (10) Later police arrested her on a charge of conspiracy to murder. (conspiracy)
> (11) The divorce laws discriminated against women and working people. (discriminate)

In sentences (6) and (7) the men are portrayed as victims of aggressive behaviour, while sentence (8) implies that it is justified to direct the violent behaviour to the man. In sentences (10) and (11) women are represented as targets of action. Although in the former sentence the woman is the target of the action in a sense that she is arrested, that is, being the acted upon, she is not necessarily seen as a helpless victim, after all, she has been involved in conspiracy. The latter sentence reports a discriminatory act of divorce laws treating people unequally. However, it can be considered that this sentence notifies of a earlier practice because of the past tense used, and therefore can be regarded as consciousness-raising. In

sentence (9), on the other hand, there could be an example of blatant sexism. The word *policemen* is considered nowadays politically incorrect when used in reference to group of police officers because it excludes women (see for example Sunderland 1991 or Hamilton 1991 for the discussion about generic masculine). In this case it is unclear whether the police are in fact all males or whether it is used as a generic. If used as generic, the more appropriate form would be *police officers* or plain *police*.

Mental processes

Mental processes are scarce. In 17 M-sentences there is only one mental process, while two out of seven F-sentences are mental. Although only two F-sentences are mental, their number is relatively high compared to the M-sentences. Consider the following perception and cognition processes, respectively:

> (12) They heard appalling stories of discrimination against women. (discrimination)
> (13) The missing woman has been sighted in the Birmingham area. (sight)
> (14) He was planning to knock off a few videos. (knock off)

Apart from the fact these sentences are mental which is a less action-oriented process, the women have also the role of the target. In sentence (12) women are a subject of stories, and sentence (13) is in the passive and the woman is the goal. The impression from these sentences is that of a passive participant who is the target of other people's stories and action, being the poor vulnerable one. In sentence (14) the man is much more in control of things. Although he is only acting mentally, his mental process is much more active, because he is the subject of this sentence and he is also planning an action.

Relational processes

Relational processes are also scarcely represented. Only three relational processes are found and they are all M-sentences, two of which are relational-intensive-attributive and one is existential process. These sentences are neutral descriptions of armed men, flimsy evidence and a policeman.

In this context the most significant point is that males are more often than females related to violent and illegal actions. This is evident from the unequal treatment of men and women in these sentences. Material processes represent men in violent and aggressive acts, usually hitting and killing each other, while only one material process mentions a woman being charged of conspiracy to murder. Therefore, these sentences seem to convey the image that men behave more aggressively than women. Men also seem to be victims of violent behaviour, whereas women are victims of discrimination and mistreatment. All in all, the general impression is that men are participants in violence and stealing, that is, in more direct physical actions, while women are usually passive recipients of discrimination or behaving more in according to their mental skills, that is, trying to bribe and conspire.

6.3.8 Hobbies

The category of *Hobbies* consists of sentences that refer to leisure activities and hobbies. The variety of hobbies is scarce; music and sports being the most referred contexts. Moreover, men seem to engage more in leisure activities, because men are referred to in fifteen sentences (75.0 % of the sentences), while women are seen only in five sentences (25.0 %). See Table 13 for division of sentences to process types.

Table 13. The division of M- and F-sentences to process types; category of hobbies.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	9	45.0	3	15.0
Mental	2	10.0	2	10.0
Relational	4	20.0	0	0
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	15	75.0	5	25.0

Material processes

Material processes are the most represented group of sentences in this category with nine M-sentences and three F-sentences. The fact that material processes outnumber mental processes is natural because leisure activities are usually action-oriented, that is, people engage in different activities in order to keep fit or just for pure pleasure. Consider the examples which are all action-intention processes:

(1) He flung a football at me. (fling)
(2) Patrick's dancing the tango? This I must see! (must)
(3) Charlotte flung herself forward into the water with a great splash. (fling)
(4) He idly plucked the strings of the lute. (pluck)
(5) She was plucking at a lyre with only one string. (pluck)
(6) He sat without shifting his gaze from the television. (gaze)
(7) She was reading a book by candlelight. (candlelight)
(8) A cyclist has to pay when he goes over the ferry. (a, an)

Sentences (1), (2) and (3) represent the men and the woman engaged in different sport activities, that is, playing football, dancing and swimming. Sentences (1) and (2) can be considered neutral representations, while sentence (3) somewhat ridicules the fact that the man is dancing the tango. This impression is created with the outsider's comment that this event is something worth seeing. The case seems to be that it is unusual to see this man dancing and therefore this event is something to be surprised about. It should be noticed that sentences (1) and (2) are the only sentences in this category which are represented from someone else's point of view, that is, they also involve other participants, while the other sentences are neutral reports.

In sentences (4) and (5) both the man and the woman are seen playing an instrument, while in sentences (6) and (7) they are represented in a more passive activity. All these sentences are relatively similar, and represent a neutral image of both genders.

Sentence (8) then again is not a neutral representation. This sentence uses the pronoun *he* when referring to a cyclist although general statement about cyclists

is given. This is an example of overt sexism, that is, *he* is used in a generic manner, referring to both men and women (see for example Bodine 1975, Stanley 1978 and Sunderland 1991 for general discussion about generic masculine). A more appropriate version would be for example, *Cyclists have to pay when they go over the ferry.*

Mental processes

This category includes only four mental processes, two of which are M-sentences and two F-sentence. The low number of mental processes is rather obvious because, as mentioned already earlier, leisure time activities are usually action-oriented.

(9) My brother lives and breathes football. (live)
(10) He'd rather watch TV than pick up a paper and struggle through it.
(11) She noticed a Renoir on the wall and two Matisses. (a, an)
(12) She knew how to change gear in order to achieve the right result. (gear)

Relatively common belief is that men are passionate about sports and especially about football, and sentence (9) seems to reinforce this notion. With mental processes like *live* and *breathe* the impression is created that the only thing the man needs for a living is football. In fact, *breathe* is behavioural process which describes a physiological process, and therefore emphasises the importance of football as a life line. In contrast to sentence (9), sentence (10) creates a picture of a passive man, who feels that even reading a newspaper is too big a struggle and watches television instead. Sentences (9) and (10) represent then both ends of activity level, the passive and active. The women in sentences (11) and (12) are also represented actively and passively. Sentence (11) represents the woman watching arts which is relatively passive activity, while sentence (12) represents the woman through cognitive process as knowing how to change gear and gives the impression that the woman is most likely also to use this skill.

Relational processes

Four relational processes are all M-sentences. One of them is an intensive-identifying, one possessive attributive and the two being intensive-attributive:

(13) He has established himself as the fastest sprinter in the world, bar none. (bar)
(14) He has a flash gun plugged into his camera. (pluck in/into)
(15) His attempt to swim the river was hopeless from the beginning. (hopeless)
(16) He was hopeless at games. (hopeless)

Sentence (13) is an intensive-identifying process, in which the man is identified "as the fastest sprinter in the world, bar none". The impression created is that of a man who has attained the position of the fastest sprinter with his own efforts without anybody else's help. This independent and strong image is contrary to what sentences (15) and (16) represent. In them the men are portrayed as incompetent and thoughtless of one's own actions, therefore creating a somewhat negative image.

To sum up, in this category the most noticeable difference between females and males is that males are more often than females portrayed in leisure activities, and sports is the most typical leisure time activity represented. In over all, the representations are rather neutral, and there are no patterns of strong stereotypes represented. Only a few sentences can be considered as reinforcing stereotypes, for example, the representation of the man being passionate about football. Further, one example of blatant sexism can be found when pronoun *he* is used to refer to both sexes. The use of generic *he* is nowadays disapproved because its discriminating nature towards women, and different practices are used when both sexes are being referred to, for instance, *s/he*, *he or she*, *she* or *they* (see for example Frank and Treichler 1989 for guidelines of nonsexist usage).

6.3.9 Public sphere

This category includes sentences that refer to places outside home, for example, nature or other public places. Also sentences that refer to travelling are included here. Twelve M-sentences are found to be included in this category which is six times more than F-sentences, which there is only two, that is, M-sentences present

85.7 percent of the sentences, while F-sentences present 14.3 percent. Half of the M-sentences as well as F-sentences are concerned about travelling and these sentences are analysed separately from the rest of the public sphere sentences. See Table 14 how M- and F-sentences are divided into different process types.

Table 14. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of public sphere.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	10	71.4	2	14.3
Mental	1	7.1	0	0
Relational	1	7.1	0	0
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	12	85.7	2	14.3

Public places

Material processes

Material processes are the most represented group of processes in this category. Five M-sentences and the one F-sentence have material-action-intention processes. Consider the following examples:

> (1) He patted the tree trunk softly. (pat)
> (2) The boys took up the cry till the mountain rang. (ring)
> (3) He had booked Madison Square Park for another firework display. (book)
> (4) Angelica had made the sign of the cross and was already sitting down in the pew. (sign)

Four of the M-sentences represent the males in similar situations like in sentences (1) and (2). In these sentences the men are portrayed in close connection with nature, in sentence (1) the man is caressing a tree and in sentence (2) the boys are shouting in the mountains. Sentence (3) is the only M-sentence that describes the man in the city, here the man is planning some kind of public event with fireworks. In sentence (4) the woman is pictured in a church which is one kind of public place.

Mental processes and relational processes

Only one mental process is found and in it a man is represented in the nature looking into the water. No mental processes representing females are found. Neither any relational processes are found of either gender.

Travelling

Material processes

Five out of six M-sentences are material-action-intention processes as is the case with the one F-sentence. Here are the examples:

> (5) Last year the boys went for a bare fortnight, including the travelling. (bare)
> (6) Before leaving the airport he booked himself on the next afternoon's flight. (book)
> (7) He had visited Calcutta in his youth. (youth)
> (8) She packed the barest minimum of clothing. (bare)

Sentences (5), (6) and (7) represent males in different travel contexts. Sentence (5) describes how the boys have gone somewhere for a fortnight, in sentence (6) the man has already booked himself a flight and sentence (7) represents a man who has been to Calcutta when he was young. The impression in sentence (8) is somewhat different, here the woman is seen as packing things, possibly for a trip. This sentence appeared already in *Private sphere* -category because its context also seems to be home. This is the difference between the M-sentences and the F-sentence, males are represented in public sphere and females in private sphere when connected with travelling. The impression is as if the woman does not get out of the house even in reference to travelling.

Mental processes and relational processes

No mental processes are found of either gender. One relational M-sentence describes a man's first flight, while relational F-sentences are not found.

To sum up, the most remarkable difference between females and males here is that males are represented six times more often than females in connection to public

places. Men are portrayed enjoying the nature and once in a city, while a woman is represented in a church. Men also seem to travel more than women, again there are six times more male references. Men are represented travelling for example by train and by plane, while the woman is only seen planning her trip, that is, she is described as packing her clothes still at home.

6.3.10 Eating, drinking and smoking

This category includes sentences which represent women and men in connection with either eating, drinking or smoking. Ten M-sentences (62.5 %) and six F-sentences (37.5 %) have representations of this kind. See Table 15 for the division of sentences into different process types.

Table 15. The distribution of M- and F-sentences into different process types; category of eating, drinking and smoking.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	10	62.5	4	25.0
Mental	0	0	1	6.25
Relational	0	0	1	6.25
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	10	62.5	6	37.5

Material processes

All the M-sentences found have material processes, while F-sentences have four out of six. Nine M-sentences have material-action-intention and one M-sentence has material-event process. All the F-sentences are material-action-intention processes. Consider the following material-action-intention processes:

> (1) He made a drink for Meadows, then poured another for himself. (another)
> (2) Old Ronnie certainly mixes a mean cocktail. (mean)
> (3) He ought to cut out the drinking. (cut out)

Seven of the M-sentences portray men as drinking alcohol. Sentence (1) is the only sentence where the man is represented with some other participant, in all the rest of the sentences referring to drinking the men are represented alone. The impression created from these sentences is that the men are heavy drinkers, drinking straight from the bottle or mixing mean cocktails. The opinion expressed in sentence (3) is the overall view which comes to mind when reading these sentences. The rest three M-sentences represent the two men eating and one smoking.

Consider the following F-sentences, which are material-action-intention processes.

> (4) She finished her cigarette, then lit another one immediately. (another)
> (5) She managed to swallow down the last knot of half-chewed bread. (knot)
> (6) She ate little. Food sickened her. (little)
> (7) The tablet had knocked her out for four solid hours. (knock out)

Sentence (4) represents the woman as smoking, and she appears to be a some sort of chain smoker because she lights another cigarette right after the first one. Sentences (5) and (6) represent the women eating, and they appear to have some difficulties with it. The woman in sentence (5) barely managed to swallow her bread and in sentence (6) the woman eats only a little, because food sickens her. Sentence *Food sickened her* is actually a mental process, but because it is in conjunction with the sentence where the entry word appears it is analysed here. Sentence (7), then again, represents the woman as a target of the action. The actor is an inanimate object, a tablet, which affects the woman with such power that she goes to sleep for four hours.

Mental and relational processes

The one female mental process refers also to eating, in it an outsider is trying to persuade the women to eat a little. This sentence also creates an impression of a woman who has problems with eating because persuasion is needed. In one relational process the woman is represented as drinking whiskies after which her speech becomes unclear.

In this category the most noticeable difference between females and males seems to be that females have problems with eating, while males have problems with drinking. The impression with women is that they hardly eat anything, and if they do, they seem to be disgusted by it. When confronted with these kind of sentences, the today's much talked about eating disorders come to mind. Men, then again, are represented nearly as alcoholics, they are represented almost solely in connection with drinking. The fact that how alcohol affects the men however is not represented, while women are pictured as affected by a tablet and glasses of whisky.

6.3.11 Family

The category of *Family* consists of sentences that include references to family members. Five M-sentences and nine F-sentences have references to this context, that is, 35.7 percent of the sentences are M-sentences and 64.3 percent are F-sentences. See Table 16 how M- and F-sentences are divided into process types.

Table 16. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of family.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	3	21.4	2	14.3
Mental	1	7.1	1	7.1
Relational	1	7.1	6	42.9
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	5	35.7	9	64.3

Material processes

Three M-sentences have material processes: one has material-action-intention process and two have supervention processes. Both the two F-sentences have material-action-intention processes. Consider the sentences:

(1) I think he had one of his elderly relatives knocked off so that he could inherit the fortune. (knock off)
(2) His father's words rang in his head. (ring)
(3) He was born at sea during his parents' flight from the revolution. (flight)
(4) Carol clenched her mother's hand. (clench)
(5) My grandmother lived with us for 15 years. (live)

Sentences (2) and (3) have supervention processes, that is, the action just happens to the actor, while the other sentences have action-intention-processes. In all these sentences females and males are portrayed with different family members. Here males are represented with a relative, parents and a father, while females are described with a mother and a grandmother, respectively. All the sentences can be considered neutral representations except sentence (1) which represents the man as having planned to have his relatives killed. What is also noticeable is that the females are described in concrete connection with other people, while the connection between males and other family members is represented more abstractly. The impression of the lack of physical contact with the relatives is created in sentence (1) with the outsider's point of view as well as with the representation that the man is not doing the killing himself but has someone else do the deed for him. Further, in sentence (2) the father's words of the man are ringing in the man's head, that is, there is no physical contact here either, whereas the female in sentence (4) is seen touching her mother's hand and in sentence (5) the grandmother has physically lived with the speakers, that is, both these sentences represent the women as having physical connections with other people.

Mental processes

One M-sentence and one F-sentence have mental processes. They are both neutral, and the family connections mentioned are brother and family.

Relational processes

One M-sentence and six F-sentences have relational processes:

(6) My dad has no skilled trade. (trade)
(7) Her younger sister used to be always in her hair. (hair)
(8) Mother was extravagant and romantic. (extravagant)

(9) My aunt's gone a bit funny, if you get my meaning. (meaning)
(10) My sister was very clever and passed all her exams at school. (clever)
(11) She's still terribly cut up about her sister's death. (cut up)
(12) She was a Robertson before she married. (a, an)

Sentence (6) is a possessive-attributive, while sentence (7) is a circumstantial-attributive, the rest being intensive-attributives. The family members referred to in these sentences are brother, sister, mother and aunt. The descriptions in these sentences are relatively negative; someone's father has no profession, a woman's younger sister is a bit of a nuisance, a mother is described as extravagant and someone's aunt is perhaps mentally ill as well as the woman in sentence (11) has not got over her sister's death. Sentence (10) is the only one in which the reference to a family member is positive, the sister being clever. Sentence (12), in turn, describes a woman as married, which is the only sentence where references directly to marriage are made.

In over all, sentences referring to family members are varied, and in many sentences they are described in connection to some other context, for example, work, hobbies, characteristics and school. What is noticeable is that references to female family members outnumber the references to male family members. This somewhat conveys the traditional image of women's family connectedness and their attachment to private sphere. Furthermore, in almost all of the sentences there are more than one participant, usually the speaker and his or her family member.

6.3.12 School

This category includes sentences that have references to school or education. Ten sentences of this kind are found, out of which six are F-sentences (60.0 %) and four are M-sentences (40.0 %), therefore females are the most represented group. See Table 17 for the division of M- and F-sentences into different process types.

Table 17. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of school.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	2	20.0	4	40.0
Mental	2	20.0	0	0
Relational	0	0	2	20.0
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	4	40.0	6	60.0

Material processes

Four of the F-sentences and two of the M-sentences have material-action-intention processes:

(1) She plugged away at her maths. (plug away)
(2) She runs rings round all the other students. (ring)
(3) She went to a fairly traditional grammar school. (traditional)
(4) Running round the corner, she cannoned into the headmistress. (cannon into)
(5) When he had finished reading, he flung the paper back on to his lectern. (fling)
(6) Mr Macmillan presented the prizes and made a speech on the importance of education. (speech)

In the above F-sentences the women are pictured as students, sentences (1) and (2) represent how the women are succeeding in their studies, while sentences (3) and (4) represent the women more generally in the context of school. The picture created of the men is rather different. In sentences (5) and (6) the men appear to be teachers or lecturers giving speeches.

Mental processes

No mental processes of women are found, while two M-sentences have mental-cognition processes:

(7) His classes concentrated on verbal communication through writing and speech. (speech)
(8) He's been used to a fairly structured situation at school. (structure)

Sentence (7) represents the man again in the position of a teacher as was the case with the material processes. In sentence (8), in turn, the man is either a student or a teacher, both alternatives being possible.

Relational processes

Two F-sentences have relational processes, while no M-sentences are found. Consider the sentences:

> (9) She got three A's this week. (A)
> (10) My sister was very clever and passed all her exams at school. (clever)

In these sentences the women are represented getting good grades, therefore the impression created is that they are successful at their studies.

To sum up, the most noticeable difference between males and females in this category is that men appear as teachers and lectures, while women appear as students. Therefore men seem to progressed in their career, that is, they have graduated and have got a profession, while women seem to be still studying, although successfully.

6.3.13 Success and wealth

This category includes sentences that refer to money or successful events, and four F-sentences and five M-sentences have such references. However, all the F-sentences belong also to some other categories, such as character and work, while all the M-sentences have no other reference than money or success. See Table 18 for the distribution of sentences into process types.

Table 18. The distribution of M- and F-sentences into different process types; category of success and wealth.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	1	11.1	2	22.2
Mental	0	0	0	0
Relational	4	44.4	2	22.2
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	5	55.6	4	44.4

Material processes

Three material-action-intention processes are found, out of which two are F-sentences and one M-sentence. In these sentences the women are represented as successful, while the man is represented as not winning.

Mental and relational processes

No mental processes are found, while two F-sentence and two M-sentences have relational-possessive-attributive and two M-sentence have relational-intensive-attributive processes. In one M-sentence a man is represented as having little money left, but all the other M- and F-sentences represent images that both genders are wealthy and successful.

In brief, this category represents a picture of successful and wealthy women and men. All the F-sentences represent the women as successful and with plenty of money. Picture of the men is rather similar, the men are represented as conspicuously successful as well as owning property, however, there are also occasions when the men are short of money.

6.3.14 Unspecified context

This category includes fourteen sentences, three of which are M-sentences referring to army, while the rest of the sentences have no specific contexts. In these sentences the information is so scarce that it is impossible to define any particular context. The reason why the army sentences are also included in this category is because there are no equivalent F-sentences and therefore the comparison between F- and M-sentences is not possible. See, however, Table 19 for the number and percentages of M- and F-sentences in different process types in this category.

Table 19. The division of M- and F-sentences into process types; category of unspecified context.

Process	M n	M %	F n	F %
Material	5	35.7	1	7.1
Mental	1	7.1	2	14.3
Relational	4	28.6	1	7.1
Verbal	0	0	0	0
	10	71.4	4	28.6

Out of the fourteen sentences ten are M-sentences and four F-sentences. Out of the M-sentences five have material processes, one has a mental process and four have relational processes. F-sentences have one material and one relational process and two mental processes. It is not of interest to analyse these sentences in greater detail because no further comparison or conclusion can be made because of the lack of contexts. Here are examples of these sentences:

(1) It is by no means certain that this is what he did. (mean)
(2) Do not speculate on what he would have done had he lived. (speculate)
(3) There is no sign of her yet. (sign)

Sentences (1) and (2) have material-action-intention processes, while sentence (3) has an existential process. As can be seen, these sentences are somewhat opaque

and do not include any cues on the basis of which their context could be determined. It is evident that these sentences are taken from a wider contexts and within them these sentences would became sensible. But as such they do not create any images of their possible contexts and therefore seem opaque and ambiguous.

This category, however, contains two F-sentences which differ from the other sentences in the sense that they are not so opaque but can be understood as such:

> (4) Two groups were omitted from the survey - the old and women. (omit)
> (5) Women are questioning their traditional role in society, as wives and mothers. (traditional)

Sentence (4), which has a material-action-intention processes, seems to state a sexist and discriminatory act: omission of women and the old from the survey. This can be regarded discriminatory because in order to keep surveys objective all groups should be involved. This sentence seems to state that women and the old are not important enough to be included in the survey. Sentence (5), in turn, has a mental-cognition process and represents the women as concerned about their status in society and their narrow social roles.

All in all, this category includes sentences that seem opaque and out of context, because they do not include any cues according to which to determine their contexts. These sentences as well as the three M-sentences referring to army are not discussed further because they do not contribute to the picture of men and women created by the representations.

6.4 Analysis of the M&F-sentences

The data include total of 46 sentences which represent both genders in the same sentence. Out of these only one sentence has two contexts, therefore the number of analysed sentences is 47. The variety of contexts is not a vast one, only five

different contexts emerged, those of *Communication and interaction, Public sphere, Violence, Family* and *Character*. In this chapter I will present the descriptive analysis of the M&F-sentences. I will concentrate on what kind of picture of men and women the M&f-sentences create, and because these sentence represent both genders in the same sentence, their interrelations will be also explored.

6.4.1 Communication and interaction

This category includes a variety of sentences. Some of the sentences represent communication situations where men and women are pictured talking to each other, while other sentences describe non-verbal communication, that is, women and men are represented interacting with each other without exchanging words. A common feature to all these sentences is that they picture women and men in close connection with each other. The data include twenty-three sentences of this kind. See Table 20 for the distribution of sentences into different process types.

Table 20. The division of M&F-sentences into process types; category of communication and interaction.

Process	M&F n	M&F %
Material	13	56.5
Mental	3	13.0
Relational	1	4.3
Verbal	6	26.1
	23	~100

Material processes

Over half of the sentences, that is, thirteen sentences have material process, therefore this is the largest process type in this category. Twelve of the material processes are material-action-intention type, and one sentence has a material-

supervention process. Eight of the sentences have female as the actor, and the rest
five have male as the actor. Consider the following examples:

> (1) The woman flung her arms around him and kissed him. (fling)
> (2) She propped her chin on her hand and surveyed him. (prop)
> (3) She turned to gaze admiringly at her husband. (gaze)
> (4) She is able to give a structure to his world. (structure)
> (5) She comes on very strong indeed whenever he's in the room. (strong)
> (6) He lowered her carefully to the horizontal. (horizontal)

All the above sentences represent some kind of show of affection between the
genders. In sentence (1) the woman is showing her affection towards the man by
hugging and kissing him, while in sentences (2) and (3) the women are not in
physical contact with the men but show their interest by gazing at the men.
Sentence (4), in turn, suggests that the woman is good for the man. Sentence (5)
is the only one with negative connotations and represents the woman's sexual
behaviour as somewhat aggressive. Sentence (6) is the only sentence which has
a male as an actor.

The rest of the material processes are more varied in their representations.
Consider the following sentences:

> (6) She plucked off his mask. (pluck)
> (7) She did it with an ease that made his hair stand on end. (hair)
> (8) She owed her technique entirely to his teaching. (technique)
> (9) He plucked another tomato and offered it to Hilda. (pluck)
> (10) He put down the receiver, meanly, before she could reply. (mean)
> (11) He then abandoned her and went off to live in Nigeria. (abandon)
> (12) He flinched every time she spoke to him. (flinch)

Sentences (6) and (9) are both relatively neutral in their representations, while
sentences (7) and (12) are relatively similar in their representations. Sentence (12)
has a supervention process, that is, the man is unable to control his reaction, and
thus the man appears to be the goal as is also the case in sentence (7). Both these
sentences give a relatively negative picture of the women: they appear frightening,
at least when the men's reactions are considered. Sentences (10) and (11), then
again, represent the men negatively. In sentence (10) the man behaves rudely, and
in sentence (11) the man is represented as leaving his relationship behind and
going off to Nigeria.

Mental processes

Three mental processes are found, two of which are perception type and one cognition type:

> (13) Fanny gazed at him, totally speechless. (speechless)
> (14) He glanced humorously at her, from above the rim of his spectacles. (rim)
> (15) Mr Peter Walker agreed to buy the house from Mrs Dorothy Boyle. (a, an)

Sentences (13) and (14) represent non-verbal interaction between the genders, in sentence (13) the woman is the senser, while in sentence (14) the senser is the man. Sentence (15) is the cognition process and it also has the man as the senser. All these sentences represent a neutral image of the male-female interaction.

Relational processes

Only one relational process is found and it is possessive-attributive type. The sentence follows.

> (16) She had a brief fling while her husband was away. (fling)

This sentence suggests that the woman has had a romantic encounter outside her marriage and represents the woman with undesirable quality, that is, unfaithfulness.

Verbal processes

This category includes six verbal processes. Half of the sentences have a female as the sayer. The verbal processes are the following:

> (17) He rang for Tracy and asked, 'What's wrong with Davis?' (ring)
> (18) 'I will sell the house anyway,' he flung at her one night. (fling)
> (19) 'What's up?' said Sue. He didn't answer. (answer)
> (20) She flung a sarcastic comment in his direction. (fling)
> (21) He gave a very amusing speech at her wedding. (speech)
> (22) She had apologized for being so mean to Rudolph the day she left. (mean)

In sentences (17), (18) and (19) the communication situation is represented with direct quotation and reporting clause. In sentence (17) the man and woman are speaking on the phone, while in the other two sentences the genders are in face-to-face interaction. Sentences (20), (21) and (22), in turn, represent the

communication situations more indirectly, the actual words exchanged are not represented. The women are represented in one to one situations, while the man in sentence (21) has a bigger audience.

In brief, the most significant difference between women and men in this category is the fact that women are more often than men pictured as actors especially in situations where emotions are involved. What is also noticeable is that women and men are pictured more often than not interacting with each other without words. All in all, both genders are represented relatively equally.

6.4.2 Public sphere

This category includes a variety of sentences, and what is common to all of them is that they all refer to the public sphere. Some of the sentences represent work life, while others are general statements about public life. The data include seven sentences of this kind. See Table 21 how sentences can be divided into process types.

Table 21. The division of M&F-sentences into process types; category of public sphere.

Process	M&F n	M&F %
Material	3	42.9
Mental	1	14.3
Relational	2	28.6
Verbal	1	14.3
	7	~100

Material processes

Three sentences have material-action-intention processes:

> (1) Martin and Liz were gearing themselves up to a full-time job. (gear up)

(2) He presented her with a signed copy of his latest novel. (sign)
(3) The road was occupied by a long line of youths and girls carrying black flags. (youth)

Sentences (1) and (2) seem to refer to work. In sentence (1) the man and the woman are preparing to start a full-time job, while in sentence (2) the man gives the woman a novel he has written. In sentence (1) both the man and the woman are the actors, while in sentence (2) the man is the actor and the woman is the goal. Sentence (3), in turn, describes some kind of demonstration march in which both genders are represented as actors. Generally the term *youth* can be considered somewhat politically incorrect when used in occasions referring to group of young people, because there is a chance of misinterpretation. When used generically it is unclear who are referred to and females usually do not feel included. The use of *youth* is similar to that of *man* which is also used generically referring to both sexes as well as inclusively to men.

Mental and verbal processes

One of each process is found, consider them.

(4) Women seem to live longer than men. (live)
(5) Canon law decreed that adultery was as reprehensible for a husband as for a wife. (canon law)

Sentence (4) has a mental process, and it states a fact that prevails in today's society, namely that women have longer life expectancy than men. Sentence (5), in turn, has a verbal process, and this sentence is also a statement. It states that the law of Christian church declares adultery equally objectionable for both sexes.

Relational processes

Two relational processes are found:

(5) Lynn kept a weather eye on her windows when the boys were playing cricket. (weather)
(6) There is a world conspiracy of men against women. (conspiracy)

In sentence (5) the woman stays alert in order to notice if anything unpleasant happens when the boys play cricket. Sentence (5) has therefore a relational-

intensive-attributive process, while sentence (6) has existential process. Sentence (6) represents somewhat sexist attitude towards men, that is, it states from the female point of view that all the men have some kind of conspiracy towards women, implying perhaps to the unequal treatment of men and women, and to the fact that women often feel discriminated.

In brief, this category includes variety of sentences, and most of them represent the genders neutrally and equally. Only exception is the existential process, which claims that men have a conspiracy towards women and therefore has a sexist attitude towards men.

6.4.3 Violence

This category includes sentences that refer to violence. Six sentences representing violent acts are found. See Table 22 for division of sentences into different process types.

Table 22. The division of M&F-sentences into process types; category of violence.

Process	M&F n	M&F %
Material	4	66.7
Mental	0	0
Relational	2	33.3
Verbal	0	0
	6	~100

Material processes

Four of the sentences have material-action-intention processes:

(1) He flung her to the ground. (fling)
(2) He let her go with abruptness that almost flung her on the grass. (fling)
(3) He picked up her limp hand from where it lay on the unruffled sheet. (unruffled)
(4) She struggled in his embrace. (struggle)

In sentences (1), (2) and (3) the men are represented as the actors and the women are their goals, while in sentence (4) the woman is the actor. Sentences (1) and (2) portray the men as behaving violently towards the women, in sentence (1) the man throws the woman to the ground, while in sentence (2) the man loosens his grip so hastily that the woman almost falls down. Sentence (3) is included in the *Violence*-category because the woman's limp hand might imply that the woman is unconscious or dead. However, in this sentence the man is not necessarily the violator, he only lifts the already limp hand. In sentence (4) the woman is represented as the actor, however the woman is not directing her action towards anyone, but her struggle is represented as happening in the man's embrace. Therefore the impression created of the woman is not similar to those of the men in sentences (1) and (2), because in them the men are active in a sense that they are able to direct their action towards someone, while the woman in sentence (4) is represented with a process which does not enable action towards anyone, that is, she is acting towards herself trying to free herself from the man's embrace. Therefore the man is the violent one in sentence (4).

Mental and relational processes
No mental processes are found, while two relational processes describe violence:

> (5) He was temporarily insane when he attacked and mutilated the women. (mutilate)
> (6) These were men to whom the death and mutilation of wholly innocent men and women was of no consequence. (mutilation)

Sentence (5) has a relational-intensive-attributive process, and it describes a man as insane while mutilating the women. Sentence (6), in turn, has an existential process, and it again portrays men as violent and brutal.

To sum up, in this category men seem to be the violent actors, they push and throw women as well as mutilate them. Even in the one sentence where the woman is represented as an actor she is, in fact, target of the man's violence, that is, the man is embracing the woman against her will and the woman is struggling to get free. The impression created in this category is that in female-male

interactions men are the ones who are dominant and violent, while the woman's role is to be the a victim and suppressed.

6.4.4 Family

This category includes sentences that refer to family members. Six sentences represent males and females in different family connections. Five other sentences include references to husbands and/or wives but because these sentences have also other contexts they are analysed in accordance with them, and therefore this context does not include marital relationships. See Table 23 how M&F-sentences with family connections can be divided into different process types.

Table 23. The distribution of M&F-sentences into process types; category of family.

Process	M&F n	M&F %
Material	2	33.3
Mental	1	16.7
Relational	2	33.3
Verbal	1	16.7
	6	~100

Material processes

Two sentences have material-action-intention processes:

(1) He went to the barber's to please his mother. (barber)
(2) He was not cutting his brothers and sisters out of his will. (cut out)

In these sentences the men are the actors, and mother, brothers and sisters are the goal. In sentence (1) the man gets a haircut in order to make his mother happy. Sentence (2), in turn, represent the man as keeping his brothers and sisters in his will. Both these sentences represent the women and men neutrally.

Mental, relational and verbal processes

This category includes one mental-cognition process, two relational processes, and one verbal process:

> (3) I disliked the feeling of conspiring with her father behind Hilary's back. (conspire)
> (4) Harold was extravagantly affectionate with his daughters. (extravagantly)
> (5) The parson had two daughters who did a bit of ringing. (ring)
> (6) She received the blessing of her parents to wed Oliver. (wed)

Sentence (3) represents the speaker's attitudes to conspiring, the speaker is both the senser as well as the actor with the father, while the woman is in the position of target. The family relations mentioned in this sentence are father and daughter. Sentence (4) has a relational-intensive-attributive and sentence (5) relational-intensive-possessive process. Both these sentences describe father-daughter relationships, sentence (4) representing the father's affection towards his daughters and sentence (5) describing activities of the parson's daughters. Sentence (6), in turn, has a verbal process, and the family relations mentioned in it are parents and daughter.

In brief, this category pictures males and females relatively neutrally. What is noticeable is that males are more often than females the main character in the sentences, that is, they are the ones talked about, while females are usually in the position of target. Only in one sentence the female is the subject. The most common family relations mentioned are father and daughter. Mother-son and sibling relations are also mentioned once in accordance with material processes.

6.4.5 Character

This category includes sentences that have representations of human characteristics. Five sentences can be included in this category and these sentences include no material processes. See Table 24 how the sentences can be divided into process types.

Table 24. The division of M&F-sentences into process types; category of character.

Process	M&F n	M&F %
Material	0	0
Mental	2	40.0
Relational	2	40.0
Verbal	1	20.0
	5	~100

Mental, relational and verbal processes

The data include two mental-cognition processes, two relational-intensive-attributive processes and one verbal process. Consider the processes, respectively:

> (1) She considered him extravagant with electricity. (extravagant)
> (2) He reckoned she was 'a cute dish' and old enough for a bit of fun. (cute)
> (3) Harold was extravagantly affectionate with his daughters. (extravagantly)
> (4) He's a bit of an old woman. (old woman)
> (5) He said his wife was extravagant. (extravagant)

In sentences (1), (2) and (5) there are sensers and a sayer who describe some other person's personality. In sentence (1) the woman thinks that the man has wastes electricity, while in sentence (2) the man is more direct and blunt in his opinion, he considers the woman as sexually attractive and wants to take advantage of the woman's characteristics. Therefore the impression created in these mental processes is somewhat different: the woman in sentence (1) is more discreet in her opinion, while the man in sentence (2) does not bother to hide his true intentions.

Sentences (3) and (4) describe the men's characteristics. In sentence (3) the man shows his affection to his daughters in an exaggerated way. In sentence (4), in turn, the man is described with a phrase that refers to a woman. When a man is described as *old woman* it means that this he has negative qualities that are attached to women, in this case qualities such as fussy or timid. This phrase is sexist because it reinforces stereotypes attached to women. From a male point of

view it is an insult because feminine qualities are used to refer to a man.

Sentence (5) has a verbal process and in it the man is the sayer who describes his wife as wasteful spender.

To sum up, in this category both men and women are portrayed with different characteristics. Almost all qualities described are somewhat negative, because they appear to be exaggerated. One of the sentences (sentence 2) has a sexist comment about women, which women would find offensive, while sentence (4) uses sexist language.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present study was to explore how women and men are pictured in a dictionary. A great deal of credibility and authority is attached to dictionaries because they are considered as the authority of language. People are less likely to be critical of dictionaries than for example of mass media, and therefore dictionaries have a strong impact on people's views; they are able to reinforce and reproduce the values and biases embedded in them. Therefore, it is interesting to explore what kind of world view a corpus-based dictionary presents, and how men and women are portrayed in it.

The data consisted of 391 example sentences taken from *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*. The sentences were first grouped into sentences that referred to males (M-sentences), females (F-sentences) and to both genders (M&F-sentences). In order to be able to compare the representations of women and men systematically, the sentences were first categorised into different context categories based on the elements in the sentences, after which the process types of the sentences were determined. After these preliminary preparations the

representations of men and women within different contexts were analysed with the help of the transitivity model. The transitivity model enabled the analysis of linguistic structures and ideological workings behind those structures. The nature of the analysis was mainly descriptive although quantitative analysis was also conducted to some extent.

First, it should be kept in mind that the numerical representation of males and females is not equal in the data: about 55 percent of the sentences refer to men, while about 45 percent refer to women. The number of M-sentences compared to F-sentences would have grown even relatively larger unless a different method for gathering of the data would not have been adopted after a pilot study. This might imply that women are somewhat less represented in CCELD than to men. This has also been the case in earlier dictionaries, for example Gershuny (1975) found out that masculine gender sentences appeared almost three times as often as feminine gender sentences, which presents female linguistic invisibility in relation to male in dictionaries.

Depending on the context in which they were represented the images of women and men were quite diverse. Almost all the contexts in general included sentences that represented women and men neutrally. In other words, both genders were depicted with qualities and characteristics as well as in situations which could be said without any implications of gender specificity of all human beings. However, almost all the contexts also included representations that were stereotypical for one or the other, or which pictured one gender in a poorer light than the other, therefore when contrasted with each other, the representations of men and women appeared quite unequal and biased.

In the contexts of *Language, communication and interaction; Character* and *Work* men and women were pictured rather equally in general, and also the number of sentences was relatively equal. The situations, events and characteristics were various for the genders and both were portrayed in positive, negative as well as in

neutral light in these contexts. In other words, both genders were represented with a wide range of possibilities and characteristics without assigning the females and males to any stereotypical sex-roles. Especially in the contexts of *Character* and *Work* both genders were pictured with a wide scale of human characteristics and job opportunities. This is an improvement when compared to Gershuny's study (1975), which represented females with stereotypically feminine and undesirable traits, such as emotionality, domesticity and passivity, while males were portrayed with masculine traits such as strength and dominance (see also for example Hartman and Elliot 1978, Porecca 1984 for discussion about stereotyping in FL textbooks). In this respect, then, CCELD seems to represent a more realistic and egalitarian picture of males and females and does not impose stereotypical traits and occupational roles for men and women.

The traditionally feminine contexts of emotions, appearance and private sphere represented the genders quite unequally; although the quantity of representations was more or less equal − females being the more represented − the quality of representations was not egalitarian. In the context of *Appearance* women were pictured almost solely with neutral or positive attributes such as attractiveness and desirability, while men where portrayed with neutral or negative attributes such as untidiness. Typically, for example, in romance fiction men and women are represented with attractive and desirable features (eg. Wareing 1994), while in the present study only women were pictured as appealing. The picture of women and men, then, did not resemble the unrealistic picture created through romance fiction, but it cannot be regarded as realistic either, because the genders were ascribed only with a few features of appearance and not with a wider scale of them.

In the context of *Emotions* the gendered representations were also different. Men were represented neutrally and the range of emotions was wide, while women were pictured almost solely with negative emotions in negative settings. The representation of women seems to reproduce the stereotypical picture of women

as weak and emotional creatures who are not in control of their own emotions. The representation of men, in turn, creates a more realistic picture because they are represented with variety of human emotions.

The unequal representation of males and females was most noticeable in the context of *Public sphere*. In this context males were represented almost five times more often than women for whom this was their smallest context. Already the difference in the number of representations seems to indicate that public sphere is seen as male-dominated. Also the difference between male and female representations seemed to emphasise this fact: while men were pictured outdoors in public places and travelling to faraway places, women were pictured indoors, in a church and at home packing for her trip.

In *Private sphere* the representations were rather equal in the sense that there was only a slight discrepancy between the number of sentences. Both sexes were pictured in numerous neutral indoor activities although some difference was detected in the quality of household chores: women were described in various household chores while men's chores involved only repairing, a typically masculine activity. The fact that both genders were represented neutrally, that is, without negative connotations is an improvement compared to Gershuny's (1975) study, in which both women and men were portrayed as incompetent and with negative images in traditionally feminine contexts, such as the private sphere.

In the context of *Family* women outnumbered men with twice the number of sentences, while in the context of *Hobbies* men outnumbered women by having three times more representations than women. The discrepancy in *Family* might be some kind of implication of the stereotypical family roles and the attachment to private sphere of the females, while the discrepancy in *Hobbies* could be a sign of discrimination, because women are represented with such a scarce amount of hobbies and leisure activities.

In the context of *Illegal action* the discrepancy between representations was noticeable in both quantity and quality. This context was male-dominated with over 70 percent of the total number of sentences which seems to imply that men are seen as more involved in illegal activities and in violent acts. Men were usually pictured as the aggressors, while women were represented as victims of discrimination. The general impression is then that men are involved in violent and aggressive events, that is, in events which require physical action, while women are pictured as victims of mistreatment and discrimination. This aggressive image of males seems to imply the common stereotype of males as the more aggressive gender, which is, however, also a fact that men commit more violent acts as women.

The relationships and interactions between females and males were pictured in various ways. In the context of *Public sphere* the genders were pictured interacting without any power difference, that is, both were in an equal relationship to each other. This was also the case in the context of *Family;* the relationships between family members were represented neutrally and the most common family relation pictured was the father-daughter relationship. Further, in the context of *Communication and interaction* the interactions between males and females were pictured equally in the sense that both were represented as acting neutrally, positively as well as negatively towards each other. What was noticeable was the way women were represented as aggressors in contexts which involved emotions and flirting. By applying these kinds of representations to romance novels that Wareing (1994) studied, the women would appear in romantic encounters as independent and strong as they did in their everyday lives.

In the context of *Character* females and males were portrayed in relation to each other through descriptions of characteristics. This context included characterisations which seemed negative because of their exaggerated nature, and because of instances of blatant sexism. Within the M&F-sentences sexism became evident with pure sexist remarks or through the use of overtly sexist language. In

all these sexist sentences women were the discriminated gender. In M- and F-sentences also some cases of overt sexism were found, but they usually were incorrect uses of the generic masculine pronoun and nouns.

In the context of *Violence* the relations between the genders were similar to those found in M- and F-sentences. The men were the aggressors and women were represented as their victims. This again reinforces the picture of men as the aggressive gender, while women are seen helpless victims.

In sum, women and men, then, were represented rather equally in relation to each other, and no major power differences were found, except in the context of *Violence* which represented males as actors and females as the acted upons. In M- and F-sentences which represented women and men sometimes in relation to genderless characters no power differences were found; males and females were seen in positions of target and actor rather equally.

Thus various images of females and males were represented in CCELD, most of which were neutral for both gender, while some images were negative and somewhat stereotypical for both genders depending on the context. Therefore, it can be argued that CCELD does not give totally equal picture of the genders but some implications of stereotypes and gender bias can be found, while, however, only a few blatantly sexist example sentences were found. The fact that corpus-based dictionaries are said not to be value-free but to reflect the attitudes and ideologies that prevail in society (Hoey 1996:162-163) holds true also for CCELD. Therefore, it could be said that CCELD also reflects the prevailing society; some traces of stereotypical attitudes and inequality between genders can be detected, as is also the case in present Western society.

There has been much discussion about what kind of reality dictionaries should represent and how realistic it should be (see for example Smith 1985, Kaye 1989). Because of their authoritative status, dictionaries should use that position to

reproduce values and ideologies that treat both genders equally. Thus it is rather obvious that the full potential of both genders should be described. Both genders should be represented with a variety of characteristics, emotions and abilities, and they both should be represented as equally competent in a variety of activities and situations. In this way, the stereotypical female - male dichotomies could be avoided, and a more realistic and egalitarian view of the genders could be promoted. Therefore, example sentences should include representations which do not discriminate either gender and which do not reproduce stereotypical sex-roles. This leads to the question, which Kaye (1989) also addressed, that is it justified to ask the lexicographers to choose those examples from the corpus which do not discriminate either gender or to substitute gender-specific pronouns with neutral pronouns such as *I* or *they* without being untrue to her or his profession and distorting the actual language usage?

In the present study men were represented as the violent gender with numerous violations and aggressive behaviour, while women were pictured as their victims. This can be regarded as a stereotypical representation because commonly men are considered as the more violent and aggressive sex, but it is also questionable how much of this image is constructed socially. However, it is also a fact that men commit more murders than women. But in order to represent an equal picture of both genders, should also women be represented as actors of violence, because after all, they are as capable as men of committing murders and acting violently?

Thus problems are bound to evolve in deciding what is stereotypical and what is realistic. And questions arise, for example, whether − for the sake of equality − women should also be represented as actors of violence, or whether it is necessary to include representations of violence in dictionaries at all. Especially in connection with neutral entry words this should be considered carefully. These are all questions which are debatable and which would need more investigation, but in the scope of the present study I would emphasise the importance of non-discriminatory representations because, as Romy Clark (1992:136) has pointed

out, "encouraging students to avoid sexist or racist language is a question of valuing the rights of others and therefore an important ethical issue".

Because the nature of sexist language has become more implicit, I chose the transitivity model as an analytical method for the present study because it is used among critical discourse analysts for revealing the ideational functions of language, especially on the level of the clause. With this method a more in-depth study could be conducted compared to the earlier studies on dictionaries which have concentrated solely on semantics. Feminists have started to call for an analysis which is more context-dependent and which does not just assume correlations between certain transitivity structures and certain meanings. Further, the readers' presuppositions in the interpretative process should be taken into consideration.

In the present study the wider context of the example sentences is the dictionary. Example sentences are considered by the reader as credible and valued presentations of contemporary language usage. Because of the corpus-based nature these sentences at the same time convey values and ideologies of the present society of which readers are not necessarily aware. But because the sentences are taken from various sources they are in this sense out of their own context, and therefore no conclusions about whether a single sentence is sexist or not can be drawn, because no form or a single word is sexist on its own – excluding cases of blatantly sexist language – , but needs a context (for example, reference to a female as a *girl* can be considered sexist depending on the context, therefore, all the cases of *girl* cannot regarded as sexist).

Because the sentences needed contexts in order to be explored of their embedded ideologies, and in order to avoid generalisations on the basis of single sentences, I adopted in the present study the context categorisations. By categorising the sentences into contexts, which arose from the elements in the sentences, the sentences were no longer separate but formed coherent units and a group of

coherent sentences formed a context. However, the context categorisations were themselves problematic, because of their subjective nature. While the elements of the sentences have a major impact on the categorisation, also my personal experiences, background information and interpretative resources have an effect, because I interpret the elements according to my unconscious schemata. However, as any critical analyst, I tried to be aware of the workings of my own biases and presuppositions but this does not ensure the fact that other readers might have placed some sentences into different context categories. They might have had different kind of interferences from the sentences because their unconscious interpretative resources are different. The workings of schemata are also involved in the actual analysis of the sentences and therefore I have to emphasise the subjective nature of the present study. Keeping this in mind, it would be interesting to conduct a study on how other people perceive these sentences, whether the division into contexts would be similar and what kind of impression is mediated to them from the representation of males and females.

By categorising the sentences, for example, according to the process types different patterns might have evolved. However, context categorisation was seen as more useful for the present study, because the sentences were easier to handle in their context categories, and as mentioned above, they formed coherent stories within context categories which enabled conclusions to be drawn. In addition, context categorisations were useful for the present study because they enabled the results to be compared with the earlier dictionary studies. Although the size of the data was relatively large, there were still context categories which included only few sentences, therefore major conclusions about whether they represent the genders equally or realistically cannot be drawn from them. The small size of some context categories may be an implication of the fact that CCELD may not include many sentences which would refer to such context, or that the corpus has not such sources which would have included contexts such as eating, drinking or smoking; success and wealth, or school. If this is the case, then the corpus used by CCELD may not be large enough to cover all areas of linguistic creativity.

The number of M&F-sentences was also relatively low in the data, only about 12 percent of data were sentences that had references to both genders. Because of this it would be interesting to conduct a further study on corpus-dictionaries which would concentrate solely on sentences referring to both genders. With the help of the transitivity model, the representations of the relations of females and males could be explored, and it would be interesting to investigate whether patterns of power relations evolve. The transitivity model would be appropriate for the kind of study, because it concentrates especially on finding out the participant roles in a clause, that is, who is in control and who is the acted upon/target, therefore revealing the intricate power relations embedded in the clause, and reflecting the possible power relations that prevail in the present day society.

In order to change biased practices, special attention should be paid to seemingly neutral institutions and practices. As in the case of dictionaries, they are considered as the value-free authorities of language use, while at the same time they include language that reproduces the inequality between genders. By more in-depth studies the discriminatory values can be reveal and consciousness of the inequalities can be raised which helps the change of attitudes into more egalitarian and emancipatory direction.

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