Communicating Gender in Context

EDITED BY

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Preface

Helga Kotthoff and Ruth Wodak

1.   Gender in context

Although the amount of feminist literature has greatly expanded, as well in the fields of linguistics and discourse analysis (cf. Penfield 1987; Schoenthal 1992; Tannen 1993, 1994, Peyer/Groth 1996, etc.), the European debate about grammar, communication, and gender is hardly known in the English-speaking world.[1]

Gender is much more central, for example, in Germanic, Romance, and Slavic languages, forming an essential part of the lexical, syntactic, and morphological structure. "It is nearly impossible to engage in conversation in Polish without constantly referring to one's own sex and that of the interlocutor by means of special grammatical morphemes. The same holds true when a third party becomes the subject of discussion: information about the person's sex is repeatedly provided by means of grammatical structures," writes Miemitz in this book. Non-sexist language reforms are very complex in such cases. One aim of this book is to direct attention to gender complexities which up to now have seldom been dealt with. The general purpose of all the articles presented here is to contextualize statements about gender and arrangements between the sexes within a cultural, situational, or institutional framework.

The articles in *Communicating Gender in Context* examine sociolinguistic, grammatical and communicative gender patterns. Linguistic processes are analyzed in which gender is used as a relevant category in text and context. All scholars presented here share a view of language which sees it in connection to society. The discourse analysts contributing to this volume describe style differences within the framework of interaction analysis, but explain

the power of ways of speaking within a broader political framework, in the sense of Bourdieu (1979). They demonstrate subtle contextual differences in the speech behavior of men and women which often, but not always, produce situational rankings of the sexes. They show that the category of gender plays an important role in conversation, but do not underestimate the fact that speech behavior is not always the same in every context.

The articles do not assume that certain communicative style or code features consistently characterize one sex or the other; instead they maintain that, in certain contexts, linguistic style features are used to express social relations which also characterize gender relations (see the discussion on the categories of "sex" and "gender" in Dietzen 1992, Eckert 1989, Labov 1992, Chambers 1993).

Today, complex approaches to the communication of gender are advocated, starting from an interrelationship of diverse factors which exert influence on conversation: asymmetrical societal power relationships between the sexes, a gender-oriented division of labor, differential socialization and the subcultural interaction strategies which develop in its course, ideal images of femininity and masculinity transmitted by the mass media, traditional gender ideologies and a self communicatively positioning her/himself in this context, continuously interacting with the environment (Bilden 1991, Kotthoff 1996). Furthermore, assertive, self-confident communicative behavior on the part of women is no guarantee that they will thereby obtain the same opportunities as men. In fact, the production of symmetry/asymmetry occurs on various levels, which do not necessarily always coincide.

There is, for example, an extensive literature showing that boys and girls learn different verbal and nonverbal behavior forms in their mainly same-sex children's and youth groups and at school (summarized among others in Wodak/Schulz 1986, Enders-Dragässer 1989, Goodwin 1990, Günthner/Kotthoff 1991, Swann 1992, Thorne 1993, Kotthoff 1994). It is still hard to say where conversational differences originate. Psychoanalytic, linguistic, and sociological approaches must be combined to produce explanations. Communicative style differences also play a role for adults in many situations (Maltz/Borker 1982, Tannen 1994, 1996). But there is evidence that both sexes generally know a large variety of styles which they can use to create specific contexts and relationships.

Let's have a look at one example of speech activities (directives). Goodwin (1990: 116 ff.) writes:

> Both boys and girls make use of directives to coordinate behavior in task activities. However, they construct these actions in quite different ways. By selecting alternative ways of formatting directive moves and responding to them, and by distributing rights to perform directives differently, the two groups build alternative forms of social organization. Boys' directives are formatted as imperatives from superordinates to subordinates, or as requests, generally upward in rank. . . . Among the girls, however, all participants use the same actions reciprocally with each other. The party issuing the directive includes herself as one of the agents in the action to be performed, and avoids using strategies which would differentiate herself from others. . . . I (therefore) want to emphasize that the girls have full competence with bold or aggravated forms of action and also systematically use them in appropriate circumstances. Indeed, in some circumstances, such as playing house, they create hierarchies similar to those of the boys.

Later at school, different discourse roles are assigned to boys and girls. Boys are allowed to dominate and control the interaction, while girls are expected to be silent, cooperative and help the teacher (see Gunnarsson in this volume). The institution helps to train boys for future leadership roles.

Newer theories on the category of gender tend to see gender as an indirectly developed identity category, integrated into the formation of other identity categories (Cahill 1986, Hirschauer 1993). Many articles in this book attempt to isolate and describe activities which play an important role in the contextual construction of femininity and masculinity and a special arrangement between the sexes which is positioned in a patriarchal society. In general, gender roles in traditions, institutions and the concrete communicative behavior of men and women are not separated from one another. Gender roles are produced, reproduced, and actualized through context-specific gendered activities in communication. Along with their attributes and norms, they have an effect on the institutional level and are also intensified in institutional communication. However, forms of resistance can also be observed (Gal 1989). Women and men do not behave as "cultural dopes" (Garfinkel 1967), but make choices when they speak; they can subvert gender norms. It is as Coates puts it: "Social and cultural change are possible precisely because we do not use the discourses available to us uncritically, but participate actively in the construction of meaning" (in this volume).

In Western societies unequal gender relationships seldom take the form of overt power relationships. But as in the past, male decision-makers in politics, economics and the media can draw support from an implicit system of norms and value conceptions, from highly effective rules which marginalize

women and possible counter-discourses (Huhnke 1995: 47). Male dominance has become naturalized in the institutions of power.

2.   Making gender relevant

In the last few years, we have been confronted with theories about gender which the editors of this book consider to be idealistic and therefore not adequate for analyzing gendered social orders. Therefore, we would like to present a brief outline of currently-debated questions which are posed in some deconstructionist approaches.

2.1. *Reconstruction vs. deconstruction*

Discourse is connected in various ways to the power relations found in our societies. In "The Arrangement between the Sexes," Goffman explained gender as a matter of institutional reflexivity, that is, gender is so institutionalized that it develops exactly the features of masculinity and femininity which allegedly justify this institutionalization. Goffman's general argument claims that the physical differences between the sexes as such have no great effect on our capability to accomplish most of our daily tasks. The question remains, then, why societies use irrelevant differences for socially important concerns, such as the entire division of labor, which is based upon such differences. This institutionalization of the two genders always includes normative acts of assigning societal positions to individuals. Various access possibilities for societal positions are included in this. The institutionalization[2] of gender can easily be connected to the use of clearly determinable features as a basis for the distribution of resources and power, namely biological features. This embedding process is social in all its shades. Although the social expressions of masculinity and femininity have little to do with biology, it helps to demarcate differences between the sexes which can be exploited in creating patriarchal systems. The gender code influences what people regard as their own nature; it is not the product of this nature. In this respect, Goffman's views also correspond to those of deconstruction theories (Butler 1989). The only thing that is universally observable is the fact that people construct their nature; however, they do not do this in the same way everywhere. It is also observable that natural phenomena (body, birth, death) enter into these construc-

tions (Duden 1993). This is exactly what makes them so stable. In contrast to some deconstruction theories, Goffman does not abandon these concepts, nor does he disavow their materiality (Knoblauch 1994). As a result, his approach is incompatible with those theories of deconstruction (Butler 1989, 1993) which see discourse as an omnipotent force to create reality. The latter make the performance of social gender so important that biological sex becomes part of this performance. The problem of the complex interaction of nature and nurture seems to be voluntaristically solved by philosophical deconstruction theorists.[3]

Nor, in Goffman's approach, is biological sex considered the substrate on which the construction of gender can be based. The social constructivist term "institutionalization" refers more strongly than Butler's term "performance", borrowed from speech act theory, to a general embedding process of sexual attributes in the social world. It comes as no surprise that the supporters of an idealistic performance approach, such as Butler and Vinken (1993a, b), consider individual playing with gendered forms of representation, such as silk stockings and dresses on men's bodies, as subversive politics. Their concept of performance lacks the dimension of power and materializing social experience. Gender parodies, such as the ones recommended by the above-mentioned authors, occasionally exploit gender-framed presentation forms, but leave the prevailing power order largely untouched (Hirschauer 1993). This order is located in the institutions of socialization, such as family and school, in religion, politics, media, and the labor market. They are reproduced there with their attributes. It takes more to change them than cross-dressing: political activities and theories, and adequate analyses of gendered behavior.

In the end, Butler (1993) with her overly-broad concept of construction, cannot explain why it is so consistently the case that only those babies who have female sex organs are subjected to female socialization and only those with male sex organs are subjected to male socialization. Hirschauer (1994) points out that many constructivist theories can, indeed, explain the contingency of gender differentiation, but not, however, its historical stability. If we want to change patriarchal hierarchies, we must know why they are so stable.

One should distinguish between an unconditionally possible construction and the assignment of relevance to some given fact (Schütz/Luckmann 1979, Kotthoff 1996). The given is, to be sure, not unaffected by the process of social construction. The anatomical difference, which is a matter of only the

so-called externally visible "reproductive organs," is not constructed in this strict sense after a child's birth, but is rather set as relevant and drawn into a labor of construction which naturally includes corporeality. An anatomical difference which is obvious in the case of 99% of all people first provides the basis for gendered name-giving, a central step in the gender-marking process of classification. This classificatory effort does not succeed in every case. Since the gender typification process is only associated with the body, but is not caused by it, deviations of the most varied sort are to be taken into account.

Tannen (1996) also returns to the early work of Erving Goffman to suggest a new theoretical frame-work for conceptualizing the relationship between language and gender:

> In this framework, ways of speaking are seen as sex-class linked - that is, linked with the class of women or the class of men rather than necessarily with individual members of that class. As Goffman put it in another, related essay, the relationship between language and gender is a matter of 'display' rather than 'identity' (1996: 195).

> In other words, the behavior is not a reflection of the individual's nature (identity) but rather of some performance that the individual is accomplishing (display) (1996: 198).

She shows that understanding the relationship between language and gender is best approached through the concept of framing, by which gendered patterns of behavior are seen as sex-class linked rather than sex-linked.

Incidentally, there are studies on the communicative development of children which show that between two and three years the child begins to understand itself as a boy or a girl and that this is based on the outward appearance of the body (display), for example, hair and clothing, not on the body as such. Associating gender, which arises interactively, with anatomy is for the child itself the last step in the construction of its social gender identity (Cahill 1986). The child develops a sense for her/his sex-class.

2.2. *Positions of the Contributors*

All of the contributions of this volume come from Europe. One objective of this book is to rectify the lack of international awareness of empirical studies made in non-English speaking European countries. Most articles of this book refer to cultural areas which have in the past received little attention in the

international discussion (Austria, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Holland, Spain, and Sweden). Studies of English language and communication are also included.

The methodologies of the discourse analytic contributions are characterized by a qualitative, process-oriented approach to the topics. For linguistic gender studies, they reflect the theoretical and methodological debate on context sensitive categories and qualitative/quantitative approaches, a debate which is currently taking place in the social sciences (cf. Henley/Kramerae 1991, Coates/Cameron 1991, Duranti/Goodwin 1992). During the past few years context has become a central category of research. For some situations even forms of female dominance have been proven (Günthner 1992, Wodak/Andraschko 1994). Various contexts can sustain differing degrees of symmetry or power, which can have an effect on concrete gender politics.[4]

However, there is no direct connection between situational and societal positions. It is not always the case that those persons with the highest societal status automatically take on the dominant position in conversation. The connection between the societal macro- and micro-order is not always direct (Goffman 1967; 1981). Nevertheless, societal status is very influential as an exogenous factor. Exactly these processes of status management in and beyond context should, however, not only be claimed; they should instead be demonstrated in the analysis. A high endogenous status can in principle be negotiated for people with a low exogenous status. Conversational negotiation processes and the use of a high or low exogenous status as a resource must be shown empirically. Women's power is often exercised in domains which do not have much societal prestige (schools, day care centers, offices). It often ends there. Various articles of this book integrate attempts to investigate the connection between societal macro-contexts and textual micro-contexts (e.g. Bierbach, Coates, Felderer, Kotthoff, Wodak).

It has often been claimed that formal contexts tend to more strongly impede women's rights to speak (Swacker 1979). Edelsky (1984) examined faculty meetings at a university and found that only in the informal conversation phases do women speak as much as men, but not in the formal phases of business talk. Coser (1960) analyzed jokes and humor at the staff meetings of a psychiatric hospital. She also noted that the women in these official meetings were very reserved concerning humor and jokes, which was not the case with informal meetings. Gender-related interaction orders are thus of varying relevance, depending on the context. Needless to say, however, in most

formal, institutionalized contexts, elites still consist mainly of white middle class males who are not threatened in their dominance (e.g. Essed, Wodak in this volume). The articles in this volume also tend to show that women in high-status public contexts must fight hard to assert themselves and be recognized.

The contributions in this book deal with the following questions: How is gender symbolized in language? In what situations does gender stylization play an important role? How is it produced linguistically? When do men and women create an equal/unequal status with regard to one another? Does equal situational status have an impact beyond the given situation? How and by what means is gender made important in texts? What gender differences are there in code-switching?

The interaction of control and being controlled (Linell/Luckmann 1991), of agreement and disagreement, of co-operation and competition, formality and informality should all be examined to see how they replace one another and/or how they co-exist, and also which specific gender relations they produce in the concrete situation and beyond.

3.   The articles:

3.1 *Symbols and rules*

From the first days of feminist linguistics on, serious treatment has been given to the critique of the male-centric approach to language, which involves the use of male terms to refer both specifically to males and generically to human beings. It has been claimed that the generic masculine is both ambiguous and discriminatory (Martina 1983; Pusch 1984, Hellinger 1990, Wodak/Feistritzer/Moosmüller/Doleschal 1987). Some linguists have claimed that it is simply a feature of grammar, unrelated to the issue of sex discrimination. We do not agree with this approach, which views language as an independent system.

Friederike Braun (University of Kiel) presents another facet of the male-as-norm phenomenon. In her article the aspect in question is the translation of terms for human beings in genderless languages (such as Turkish). She shows that in gender languages such as German there is a marked tendency to translate sentences with genderless person referentials as masculines. Braun

discusses the problems of translating genderless forms in the frame of Rosch's prototype theory, which proved that exemplars of a given category differ in status. How do the sexes differ in textual status? Are men the cognitively most prominent?

Bärbel Miemitz (University of Saarbrücken) discusses gender norms in the Polish language. She shows that the semantic category of sex forms an integral part of the Polish gender system, with a strong emphasis on the opposition of "male person" vs. "everything that is not a male person." Both sexes can be indicated, but the coordination of feminine and masculine endings in Polish is a painstaking process, because in certain contexts a considerable number of congruent word forms would have to be doubled accordingly. Given that this is so laborious, it could hardly be expected that splitting models (which are succesful in English) would ever find acceptance in Polish.

Suzanne Romaine (Oxford University) also deals with symbolic meaning. The purpose of her article is to reexamine the basis for the traditional distinction between natural and grammatical gender, paying particular attention to so-called 'leakage' between them in languages other than English, where sex has supposedly nothing to do with gender as a noun classification system. She provides a brief historical perspective of gender in grammar which starts from Protagoras. Then she turns to the continuing sexist ideology behind the (English) feminine pronouns referring to ships, cars and other inanimate objects. She argues for different types of reform to be adopted in languages with different gender systems.

3.2 *Conversational features, codes and activities*

The concept of "turn taking" has been considered to provide a foundation in conversation analysis since the influential work by Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson (1974). Various studies (e.g. Eakins/Eakins 1976; West/Zimmerman 1983) attempted to locate the production of asymmetry in conversation strongly in turn taking regularities. Morgenthaler (1990) and Kotthoff (1993b) have pointed out that the categorization of all kinds of interventions (such as interruption and overlap) has been inadequate in linguistic gender studies, and that a critical discussion of the existing work on this topic is necessary.

This is, in fact, provided in the article by *Ulrike Ahrens* (Free University of Berlin). Ahrens pays great attention to the interplay between the formal and

the content organization of simultaneous speech. She presents a classification of several context-sensitive interruption types that provides a more refined set of tools with which to examine the dominance potential of interruptions. The interruption types introduced in her article also serve to modify the current understanding of how consensus and disagreement are constituted in conversation. She generally argues that conversations follow principles that often go beyond the immediate explanations provided by the conversation analytic turn-taking model. Ahrens' data stem from an empirical study of the conversational behavior of older and younger Berlin natives.

Christine Bierbach (Mannheim University) analyzes meetings between working class people in a Spanish-Catalan neighborhood. To understand and situate the present status of Spanish women and the particular events she discusses later, she presents insights into the socio-political developments over the course of the last 50 years. Between 1979 and 1985, Bierbach taped many discussions in a local "Asociación de Vecinos." Some of the observed women's interactional features, such as, e.g., interruptions, amount and length of turns and assertiveness strategies, suggest an "atypical" image of assertive and even competitive communicative styles. Bierbach uses these findings as an occasion to discuss the middle-class bias in most linguistic gender studies and methodological questions relating qualitative and quantitative parameters and degrees of possible generalizations about gender attributes.

Helga Kotthoff (University of Konstanz) analyzes speech activities which play a role in the negotiation of status orders in TV debates. She portrays conversational "lecturing" as an activity that demonstrates asymmetry among the interlocutors. Lecturing is used to establish the role of expert for the speaker. Men are more likely to claim the role of expert than are women. They are asked to offer expert knowledge more often than the women present. Through an exclusive claim to the right to speak and through downgrading the positions of other interlocutors, lecture monologues formalize the context and increase competition. Conversational lectures are full of quotations from authorities; they are directed to the entire group, and define central themes. "Expert" can be conceptualized as a "relative identity," which requires confirmation from the other participants. Men receive this confirmation very often. For women, the status of layperson is more often negotiated than that of expert, even where men and women are invited and introduced as experts for a given topic (physicists, psychologists, teachers, etc.) Women experts are often addressed, even by the TV-moderators, as being 'concerned'

with the topic at hand. Thereby a ranking of experts and concerned laypersons is established which includes a ranking between the sexes.

Susanne Günthner (University of Konstanz) analyzes complaint stories as told in groups of women friends, colleagues, mothers and daughters. She focuses on the communicative construction of emotional alignments in conversations among women. She demonstrates a high degree of cooperation in the creation of these narratives. The signalling of emotional involvement and co-alignment is a characteristic feature of this genre. The analysis focuses on rhetorical strategies of "emotion work" (Hochschild 1979, 1983) and on the establishment of "shared identities." The emotional loadedness of these stories, in which past events and the actions of absent third persons are complained about, not only functions to show the narrators' own affective stance, but also to invite their recipients to co-align with their moral rejection of the present injustices and slights. These stories told among women friends create emotional "togetherness."

Britt-Louise Gunnarsson (Uppsala University) discusses, in her contribution, one aspect of a large project on the construction of gender in an academic setting, namely the status of women at the university. Students and instructors were studied by means of video recordings of postgraduate seminar discussions. In her method she combines traditional sociolinguistics with critical discourse analysis. The purpose of her analysis is to discover patterns relating to interactional dominance and general treatment within the institution. One of her many conclusions is that male students make more critical comments than female students. Critical comments gain more speaking time than supportive comments. They are also more highly valued. Gunnarsson writes that the confusion of power and masculinity in academia still leads to a marginalization of women and to higher evaluations of men's than of women's contributions.

Jenny Cheshire and *Penelope Gardner-Chloros* (University of London) present investigations of gender differences in code-switching. They argue against sweeping generalizations and all-purpose explanations of sex differences in linguistic behavior, be this monolingual or bilingual. They assume that the lack of a consistent pattern of sex differences reflects the fact that code-switching carries different connotations in different communities, as well as the fact that the social roles of women and men differ considerably in different communities. They show that nonstandardness may have different social meanings not only in different communities, but also for different

groups within the same communities. Peer groups seem to play a crucial role in predicting linguistic variation. Motivation for switching is also thought to have its origin in aspects of the conversational context. If a variant has a symbolic meaning, this meaning must be at least partially negotiated in discourse.

3.3 A range of femininities

The title of this section is taken from *Jennifer Coates*' (Roehampton Institute, London) contribution to this book. She illustrates that there is no single unified way of doing femininity, of being a woman. She discusses conversational data which were taped among girls' and women's friends in contemporary Britain. All examples deal with issues connected with femininity and self-presentation. The subjects present themselves as different kinds of women, concerned both about their external appearance and social performance, sometimes more emotional, sometimes more hard-nosed. She shows how different discourses give us access to different femininities. Dominant ideas of femininity are sometimes supported, sometimes subverted. There are also tensions and contradictions in women's conversations. For example, there is an ambivalence about being 'strong'. The women friends whose speech is analyzed are positioned by a patriarchal discourse (as we all are) to see strength as incompatible with femininity. Simultaneously, their exposure to resistant feminist discourses means that they also developed a sense of strength as good, as part of a femininity that is not inferior to masculinity.

Ruth Wodak, Brigitte Felderer, and Philomena Essed break new scientific ground in the discussion of a topic which has long been taboo, "powerful women, authoritarian women, women and power;" and also here, the dichotomization, as it is presented by Helgesen (1989), is overcome. Aside from gender, other identity variables play an important role: personality traits, expectations, values, ideologies, and racism.

By interviewing black women professors, *Philomena Essed* (Amsterdam University) adds the category of ethnicity to the discussion. She discusses the meaning of leadership in challenging racial discrimination in an academic context. Attention is paid to the obstacles black women professors identify in their career development within the academic profession. The marginalization of black women in the societal processes of racial-ethnic conflict, gender friction and class differentiation also resonates in colleges and universities.

Essed shows how women contribute to making education a tool for liberation. She argues that black women's own experiences of exclusion provide a fertile ground on which strategies of empowerment in support of black students can develop.

Ruth Wodak's (University of Vienna) article, also dealing with female leadership styles, stresses the model of mother, the traditionally strong woman, for the construction of a professional identity for female school-directors. She starts by offering some general remarks on the relationships of power and interaction in institutions and then examines them in light of the results obtained in a recent study carried out in three Viennese schools. The study registered the presence and frequency of specific discursive mechanisms in the interaction between participants in committees established by law as part of the Austrian "school partnership." Selected qualitative analyses of discourse data serve to illustrate in detail how certain power relations function in the school environment. Further, it becomes clear that there is more than one feminine leadership style; we must instead also differentiate here.

Brigitte Felderer (University of Vienna) examines the conversational behavior of a young female politician. She analyzes a TV-debate which was broadcast in 1994 during the Austrian national election campaign between the female leader of the Green Party (Petrovic) and the chairman of the conservative Austrian People's Party and chancellor (Busek). Although the male moderator and the male politician Busek attempt to force Petrovic into an inferior role, — she retaliates with a successful defense by reframing the situation: she refuses to be forced into the hierarchical structure set up by Busek. Felderer claims that gender is thereby established in a new and different way. The value of a new feminine style is proven in the political marketplace, which Felderer explains in Bourdieu's framework. Like the articles described above, this contribution deals with the differentiation of feminine styles and not just with a simple contrast between men and women.

Sylvia Moosmüller (University of Vienna) examines the connection of discourse and prosody in the self-presentation of female politicians, thereby deepening our understanding of the impact of intonation patterns on gender attributes (McConnell-Ginet 1978). Distinct voices and pitch movements evoke differing connotations and stereotypes. These subtle phenomena are often overlooked. A detailed prosodic case study of two female politicians, carried out with the help of phonetic measuring equipment, shows how much

suprasegmental phenomena affect the perception of and attitudes towards women.

Thus, the book juxtaposes very different methodological, theoretical and empirical studies which recommend themselves to many audiences, not only to linguists: to social scientists, psychologists, and most certainly, to all interested women and men.

Notes

1.   The most popular book on sexism in the German language is *Das Deutsche als Männersprache* by Pusch 1984; Bierbach 1992, 1990 presents overviews on the language/sex-question in Spanish and French; see also King 1991 for French and the articles in Hellinger 1985 for other European languages.

2.   Goffman holds a concept of institution and institutionalization which corresponds to that of social constructivism. Institutionalization is the habitualization of behavior, which allows decision-independent processes, see Berger & Luckmann 1967 and Knorr-Cetina 1989.

3.   See also Tannen 1994/1996: 12 ff. for a critique of the claim that we are "essentialist" when talking about women and men.

4.   For the context of therapy, see, e.g., Wodak 1981 and 1986; for the context of television see, e.g., Trömel-Plötz 1984, Gräßel 1991, Kotthoff 1992a, and Huhnke 1995; for the context of universities see, e.g., Treichler/Kramarae 1983, Schmidt 1988 and Kuhn 1992.

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I

SYMBOLS AND RULES

Making men out of people

The MAN principle in translating genderless forms[*]

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1.   Introduction

The history of the investigation reported in this paper goes back to the year 1980: I was a student taking part in a course on the Lappish language. In one of the tests we wrote during the term, I made a mistake which I have never forgotten (although it didn't even cost me points at the time). I had translated the sentence *Sån boattá goaðistis* as 'He comes out of his tent'. When I compared my translation with the correct version later I was shocked to find that I had forgotten the other half of humankind: the correct translation ought to have read 'She/he comes out of her/his tent'. I had thought of the third person singular exclusively as 'he', although I knew very well that there is no gender distinction in Lappish and that therefore both *he* and *she* correspond to Lappish *sån*.

This little incident left a lasting impression on my linguistic and my feminist awareness. It made me conscious of a problem which is omnipresent, but which I had hardly ever thought about before: the male-as-norm problem. And that is what this paper is about — the male-as-norm bias as it is reflected (and perpetuated) in translations of genderless forms.

2. Are women human beings?

2.1 *The MAN principle: extra-linguistic evidence*

For people living in Germany, the traffic signs in figure 1 and 2 are a familiar sight.

Figure 1: pedestrians' tunnel

Figure 2: bicycles prohibited

Figure 1 designates the entrance of a pedestrians' tunnel, figure 2 indicates that bicycles are not allowed into the denoted area. Noone usually gives a second thought to these signs. Closer inspection, however, reveals that they contain the same bias that made me translate the neutral Lappish forms as masculine many years ago. In feminist linguistics this *Male-As-Norm* principle is also known as MAN (e.g. Hellinger/Bierbach 1993:9). Figure 1, where the male figure stands for pedestrians in general, is a rather obvious case of MAN, whereas figure 2 is a more covert version: the bicycle depicted is the kind traditionally used by males, not females.

The MAN principle is so much part of our lives and our thinking that mostly we don't realize its existence or its effects. The use of a male figure in traffic signs to represent pedestrians was debated and finally abolished only in those signs where it was combined with the figure of a little girl (to designate a footpath). In this context, it was feared, the use of a male figure might encourage children to let themselves be approached by unknown males who could molest them. This argument shows that the male figure retains its sex aspect even when used to denote humans or adults in general.

Evidence of the MAN principle abounds: The figures in pictograms usually look more like males than like females. Compare, e.g., the representation in figure 3 which is supposed to stand for both sexes with the one in figure 4 which is meant to symbolize a male. The male and the "neutral" figures resemble each other closely, while the female one is markedly different.

Figure 3: emergency exit

Figure 4: toilets

The same principle, MAN, explains why the first attempts at synthetic speech were modelled after male, not female, voices, as I was told by a phonetician. If the typical human is male, the typical human voice is a male one.

MAN is also responsible for the greater number of males represented in children's books and textbooks, in the pictures as well as in the texts. This finding has been confirmed many times: for children's books and primers (cf. Nilsen 1977:162f), for various kinds of textbooks (cf. Gershuny 1977:150ff), for English textbooks used in German schools (Hellinger 1980) and for German textbooks used in German schools (Kees et al. 1991). If this is beginning to change and greater attention is paid to an equal representation of the sexes in recent publications, this is a consequence of the critique formulated by feminist researchers and cannot be taken as counter-evidence.

2.2 *Linguistic evidence of MAN*

One of the most important effects of MAN is a linguistic one: the generic masculine. The generic masculine can be defined as the use of the masculine gender to denote humans in general, persons of unspecified sex or mixed-sex groups, e.g.:

English
(1) *The individual is strongly affected by **his** family's values.*
(2) *Anyone disagreeing with this statement should give **his** reason.*
(examples taken from the UNESCO guidelines)

German
(3) *Jeder **Wähler** erhält einen Stimmzettel und einen Umschlag.*
'Every **voter** [= masc.] is handed a ballot paper and an envelope.'
(4) *Diese Universität hat etwa 10.000 **Studenten**.*
'This university has about 10.000 **students** [= masc]'.

The concept of the generic masculine is frequently extended to cover corresponding phenomena on the lexical level such as Engl. *man* 'male, human', metaphorical expressions like Engl. *brotherhood, fraternize,* Germ. *Väter des Grundgesetzes* 'fathers of the constitution'.[1]

Over the last twenty years, the generic masculine has become the focus of the feminist critique of language. Linguists pointed to the far-reaching consequences of the male/human-ambiguity inherent in masculine generics: women can be excluded from important rights almost at will. Martyna (1980: 490) sums up an investigation of the legal consequences:

> ... Marguerite Ritchie surveyed several hundred years of Canadian law, and discovered that the ambiguity of the generic masculine has allowed judges to include or exclude women, depending on the climate of the times and their own personal biases.

Another striking example is mentioned by Ursa Krattiger in an interview with Senta Trömel-Plötz (Trömel-Plötz 1982:201f). One of the arguments used to deny women the right to vote in Switzerland was that the paragraph on suffrage in the constitution was written in the masculine. It goes without saying, however, that women have to obey other laws whether these are written in the masculine or not.

But it was the ideology behind the generic masculine rather than these practical consequences, that the critics attacked, because the generic masculine expresses, confirms, and also evokes the view that women are the secondary sex, are less important and less representative of "mankind" (cf. Miller/ Swift 1977:118, Frank 1992:135). Bodine (1975) who demonstrates how the generic masculine was proscribed and alternatives suppressed in prescriptive grammar, speaks of MAN as "androcentrism". Silveira (1980: 166f) points out that MAN implies not only a "people=male bias" but also its reverse, a male=people bias, which was empirically confirmed in Hamilton (1991).

This critique is justified and in turn justifies the demand for language change. An avoidance of masculine generics would certainly help to develop a different kind of consciousness, a different conception of what is human. However, it must not be overlooked that the MAN principle makes itself felt even where there is no overt linguistic marking as masculine. In an investigation of clinicians' concepts of mental health Broverman et al. (1972) found that the clinicians' concept of a *healthy adult* corresponded to their concept of a *healthy man,* while the concepts of *healthy adult* and *healthy woman* differed significantly (Broverman et al. 1972:69-71). Similarly, an investiga-

tion by Janicki/Jaworski (1990) showed that racial epithets such as *Chink, Polak,* or *Kraut* evoked male imagery. In these cases, there were no masculine generics, which could be held responsible for the MAN effects documented. Even though the generic masculine is an effect of MAN, perpetuates and supports the MAN principle, it is not its source, or at least, not its only source, for there is evidence of MAN in societies with genderless languages as well (cf. Braun 1996).

Are women human beings? In this overt form, the question sounds bizarre today, but it has been discussed quite seriously in the past. At a council held in Mâcon in 585, e.g., a bishop claimed that women could not be called 'man'. This point was not only put forward as a philological problem pertaining to the extension of the lexeme 'man' (*homo*), but as a theological question pertaining to the human nature and the existence of a soul in women (Demyttenaere 1990:141ff). The "querelle des femmes", a debate about the nature of women and their humanness, lasted from the 15th to the 18th century. In 1595 a text was published which denied the humanness of women. Although it seems to have been written with a satirical intention, it demonstrates the relevance of the question at the time (Gerl 1988:6ff). Quite in keeping with this tradition of thought, the Declaration of *Human* Rights in 1789 proclaimed rights for males only. It was therefore answered by a Declaration of the Rights of Woman by Olympe de Gouges in 1791 (Gouges 1989:36-54). These historical incidents indicate what lies at the roots of the wide variety of MAN phenomena: a persisting uncertainty concerning the humanness of women, while men are regarded as human beings *par excellence*.

3. Investigating the effects of MAN: translations of genderless forms

3.1 *Object of the investigation and hypothesis*

The aim of my investigation was to find out whether the translation of genderless forms into a gender language is affected by the MAN principle described in the preceding section. My own translation of the Lappish sentence made me suspect that this is the case and unsystematic observation following my Lappish experience seemed to confirm this.

The language chosen for the study was modern Finnish. Finnish is a

"genderless language" — what does that mean? Pronouns are not differentiated according to the sex of the referent.[2] There are no articles in Finnish, nouns do not enter into an obligatory classification such as in German or French. Thus, it is not possible to tell from the word alone whether *lukija* refers to a female or a male 'reader', whether *ystävä* is a female or a male 'friend'. The possessive expression *lääkäri-nsä* corresponds to 'her (female) doctor', 'her (male) doctor', 'his (female) doctor', or 'his (male) doctor'. There is a kind of feminine suffix (*-tar/-tär*) in Finnish, which goes back to the Baltic loan *tytär* 'daughter' (Hakulinen 1957:125). But it is not productive and is used only when an explicit differentiation between the sexes is aimed at. For the same purpose, *nais-* 'woman' and *mies-* 'man' can be prefixed, e.g. *naisopettaja* 'woman teacher, female teacher' vs. *miesopettaja* 'man teacher, male teacher'. But there is no equivalent to the fully productive German feminine suffix *-in.*

The texts investigated were linguistic articles on aspects of Finnish. Linguistic articles have the advantage that they usually contain as examples single sentences which are accompanied by a translation. The sentences are presented without a context, there are no "plots" and no characters. The sex of the persons referred to is therefore as a rule uncertain. The question was whether these sentences were translated as masculine, feminine, or both.

According to the language structure, either exclusively feminine & masculine translations or an equal quantity of masculine and feminine translations should be expected. My hypothesis was that, due to the MAN principle, the number of masculine translations would exceed the feminine and feminine & masculine translations significantly, the effects of MAN overriding the effects of the language structure.

3.2 *Method*

Corpus

The corpus of the investigation consists of 50 articles published in linguistic journals and books between 1960 and 1990. The articles describe or analyze aspects of the Finnish language. They are written in either English or German. The texts contain Finnish sentences and expressions for which a translation into English or German is given. Among their examples are such which refer to human beings and demand the conversion of genderless Finnish forms into

gendered ones such as Finn. *hän* → Engl. *she*, *he*; Germ. *sie*, *er*.

Articles were not included when all their examples were drawn from third sources such as literary texts, recordings of spoken language or dictionaries, for in these cases it could not be ascertained whether the original context justified the preference of one gender over the other.

The first 50 articles which met these criteria made up the corpus. They can thus be regarded as a random selection.

Counting

Many authors varied in their translation of genderless forms and did not restrict themselves to one solution, e.g. masculine, only. Therefore, every example had to be counted separately instead of counting how many articles made use of a certain strategy.

The focus of the investigation were sentences and expressions which could refer to women as well as men on the basis of (a) the genderlessness of the Finnish structure and (b) the neutrality of their contents. Consequently, sentences or expressions were excluded when the genderless form under investigation referred to a person whose sex was specified somewhere in the context. Also excluded were sentences where the sex of the referent was expressed by a name or a noun lexeme, e.g.:[3]

> (5) *mies tulee*
>   'the **man** comes'
>   (Timberlake 1975:202)

> (6) *Sain ne Joelta itseltään.*
>   'I got them from **Joki himself**.'
>   (Pierrehumbert 1980:604)

Sentences were also omitted when only a female or a male could have been referred to. In the following sentence, e.g., the genderless *hän* 'she/he' must be interpreted as female because of what is stated in the proposition:

> (7) *Häneltä oli mennyt mies sodassa.*
>   '**She** had lost her husband in the war.'[4]

For most sentences, however, context and contents were neutral. "Neutral" here does not mean that all of the examples were equally typical of female as of male referents, but that they allowed both a female and a male interpretation.

Many of the sentences were quite short and simple, e.g.:

(8) *Onko **hän** sairas*?
     'Is **she/he** ill?'[5]

(9) *Ehkä **hän** tulee tänään.*
     'Maybe **she/he** will come today.'[6]

Single pronouns (presented without any sentence context) such as Finn. *tämä* 'this' were not taken into consideration, for even if they were translated as masculine in German (*dieser*) there was no evidence that they were meant to refer to human beings. Moreover, translations were not counted when the expression in the target language allowed only one gender, such as Germ. *der Gast* (masc.) 'guest', which lacks a feminine counterpart.

The sentences and expressions under investigation were evaluated in the following way: Reference to each particular human being was counted only once regardless of how many times her or his sex was indicated. Thus, the following sentence counted as only one instance, even though the translation contains two occurrences of gender:

(10) ***Häntä** luulee nuoremmaksi kuin **hän** onkaan.*
      'One considers (you consider) **him** younger than **he** actually is.'
      (Karttunen 1977:111)

If, however, a sentence contained reference to more than one person, these were counted separately, as in:

(11) ***Hän** haki sopivaa tilaisuutta saada puhua **opettajansa** kanssa.*
      '**Er** suchte eine gute Gelegenheit, um mit **seinem Lehrer** zu sprechen.'
      '**He** was looking for a good opportunity to talk to **his teacher** [in German = masc.].'
      (Haarmann/Haarmann 1975:66)

The translations of genderless forms were classified as *male*, *female* or *female & male*. *Male* means that the translation is in the masculine form (e.g. *he*, *his*; *er*), thus evoking the picture of a male person. *Female* correspondingly means translation in the feminine (e.g. *she*, *her*; *sie*) resulting in the picture of a female person. *Female & male* indicates the use of both genders, such as *s/he*, *Freund/in* 'friend (masc./fem.)'.

Generic expressions (usually in the plural) were counted separately as *generic masculine* when they were rendered as masculine, e.g.:

(12) *Meitä oli vain **suomalaisia** laivassa.*
       'Wir waren nur **Finnen** an Bord des Schiffes.'
       'We were all **Finns** [in German = masc.] on board the ship.'
       (Danielsen 1974:75)

But as there were only 7 instances of generic masculine, they will be disregarded in the further analyses and interpretation.

Doubtful cases were discussed with two colleagues and two Finnish informants to prevent idiosyncratic and culture-specific interpretations.

Extra-linguistic variables

To check if the translations were influenced by characteristics of the authors and/or the publications, the following extra-linguistic variables were taken into account: sex of author, linguistic background, year of publication, and language of publication.

The sex of the authors was gathered from their first names. This variable could be interpreted in 45 out of the 50 cases (in the remaining instances sex was either not identifiable or not evaluable because the respective article had been written by a female/male pair of authors). Sex of author was investigated as a potential factor because women might be more inclined to give 'female' or 'female & male' translations than men.

The variable "linguistic background" aimed at distinguishing authors with a native competence of Finnish from those who have grown up in a different linguistic environment, in most cases a gender language. The linguistic background of a gender language might make the tendency towards 'male' translation more pronounced because of the more frequently encountered and more salient linguistic MAN phenomena. The authors' linguistic background could not be derived from their names with absolute certainty. Therefore an author's background was tentatively classified as Finnish when both first name and last name contained Finnish elements (like ***Päivi Schot-Saikku***).

The variable "year of publication" was included to check whether the women's movement of the seventies and eighties and especially the development and reception of feminist linguistics influenced the translations. It can be expected that recent publications show a more egalitarian tendency in their translations because of an increased awareness of the problem.

The "language of publication" variable distinguishes between publications in English and in German. This might be relevant because German and English differ with regard to gender. The rudimentary gender differentiation of English appears only in personal pronouns, while gender in German is a pervasive category marked in all kinds of pronouns, in adjectives, and articles. Especially the obligatory gender of nouns in German might lead to a higher proportion of gendered translations in the German articles.

4.   Results

4.1   *Test of the hypothesis*

In all, 617 translations were counted. In 477 cases translation was exclusively male, 70 translations were exclusively female and 70 cases consisted of the female & male variant (cf. table 1, figure 5). It is thus immediately obvious that this constitutes a deviation from the result which would be required by the structure of the Finnish language: exclusive use of female & male or an even distribution of male-only and female-only. The deviation is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, namely a predominance of 'male' translations.

Table 1. Number of 'male', 'female' and 'female & male' translations

Translations	male	female	female & male	total
frequency	477	70	70	617
percentage	77,31%	11,35%	11,35%	100%

The hypothesis predicted that the frequency of 'male' translations exceeds the
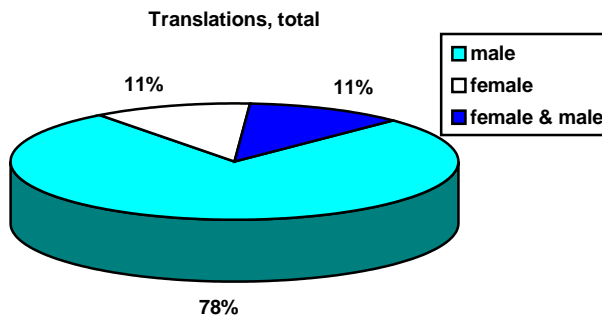
Figure 5. proportion of 'male', 'female' and 'female & male' translations

frequency of the other variants. A χ^2 test, comparing the observed frequencies with a hypothetical equal distribution of all three variants, showed the predominance of the 'male' translations to be highly significant (χ^2= 536,98; df=2; p<.01). The frequency of the 'male' translations remains significantly higher even when the 'male' translations are compared to the 'female' and 'female & male' versions lumped together, in order to contrast cases where women had not been thought of at all with those where the 'female' meaning potential of the genderless forms was recognized one way or other (χ^2= 302,84; df=1; p=<.01). The hypothesis thus receives more than adequate support from the data.

4.2 *Effects of the extra-linguistic variables*

Effects of the extra-linguistic variables were tested by means of regression analyses. Of the four variables only two turned out to predict the variance significantly: year of publication and sex of author. Regression analyses were carried out for the three dependent variables (the three types of translation) separately.

Table 2. stepwise multiple regression - dependent variable 'female & male' translations[8]

predictor	multiple R	% explained	R^2 change	F	p
year of publ.	.40	14%	14%	8.51	.0054
sex of author	.51	22%	8%	7.76	.0013

Table 3. stepwise multiple regression - dependent variable 'male' translations[9]

predictor	multiple R	% explained	R^2 change	F	p
year of publ.	.45	19%	19%	11.70	.0013

Effects of the variable year of publication are in the expected direction: the more recent the publication, the higher the amount of 'female & male' translations and the smaller the amount of 'male' translations. Sex of author, however, affects translation behavior in a way opposed to the expectations. It was male authors who used the translation variant 'female & male' more. For the dependent variable 'female' translation, none of the extra-linguistic variables was significant.

5.   Discussion

5.1   *Effects of MAN and the awareness of the authors*

The data analysis confirmed that genderless expressions are most often interpreted as 'male', a phenomenon which can indeed be regarded as one of the many facets of the MAN principle. None of the articles contained a footnote or an introductory remark saying that the masculine was used to stand for both genders as an "abbreviation". Neither can the gender inaccuracy be explained by the fact that the articles were focussed on linguistic questions other than gender and that this made the gender ambiguity irrelevant, for other ambiguities were resolved in the translations whether they were relevant to the object of the article or not, e.g.:

>   (13)   *hän on petetty*
>   'he **is/has been** deceived'
>   (Campbell 1988:99, an article on syntactic change)

>   (14)   *saattakaa tyttö kotiin*!
>   'you **(pl.)** take the girl home!'
>   (Timberlake 1975:204, an article on the nominative object)

Even if there had been footnotes or if the gender ambiguity had been neglected as a consequence of a different focus, the conspicuous preference for the male meaning would still require explanation. Such an explanation can hardly be given without taking the MAN principle into account.

Because of the little attention MAN receives in everyday life, it seems plausible that the inaccuracy of the translations was due more to the fact that the authors were simply not conscious of the gender problem, rather than to them deliberately omitting the 'female' half of the meanings. That the translation was at least partly governed by the authors' (un-)awareness can also be gathered from the fact that many of the sentences with a female or female & male translation were not guided by a female stereotype, cf. sentences (15), (16) and (17):

>   (15)   *Ymmärsin hänen perustelunsa vain paikoittain.*
>   'I understood **her** arguments only here and there.'
>   (Heinämäki 1984:165)

(16) *Totta hän meidät irti laskee.*
'No doubt **she/he** will let us free.'
(Nevis 1987:257)

(17) *Siellä nähtiin presidentti itse.*
'They/one saw the president **himself/herself** there.'
(Kanerva 1987:509)

It seems that some of the authors, like the ones cited above, were conscious of the gender ambiguity as well as the predominant male bias and therefore decided to avoid or counteract it. Shore (1988), e.g., even inserts the missing feminine forms into translations by other authors which she cites in her article:

(18) *Nähtiin hänet.*
'He **[/she]** was seen.'
(Shore 1988:170)

On the other hand, there are authors who seem to follow the MAN principle without being aware of it (e.g. Schot-Saikku 1986, Seppänen 1983a), mechanically giving 'male' translations. Sometimes sentences are translated as 'male' even if their contents involve a female stereotype:

(19) *Luulen, että hänen täytyy pestä lattia.*
'I think that **he** must wash the floor.'
(Timberlake 1975:225)

(20) *Tullessani kotiin hän itki.*
'When I came home, **he** was crying.'
(Tarvainen 1989:125)

5.2. *The process of producing examples:*
genderless → male or male → genderless → male?

The claim that the predominant 'male' translation of genderless Finnish expressions or sentences is an evidence of MAN might provoke at least one counter-argument: The process in producing the examples need not have been (a) writing a genderless Finnish sentence and (b) translating it, inaccurately, as 'male' only. Rather the process could have started the other way round: (a) thinking of an example or a situation with a male protagonist, (b) "translating"

this as yet non-Finnish example into Finnish with, necessarily, genderless forms, (c) re-translating the Finnish sentence into English or German with masculine forms corresponding to the original idea. This may well be an accurate description, but if so, it still confirms rather than contradicts the main argument. If we suppose that the process ran male→genderless→male, then the question must be asked why the authors thought predominantly of males in the first place. This, for one, is explained by the MAN principle: when people think of humans in general or of unspecified persons they tend to think of males first. Now MAN interferes a second time when the genderlessly formulated sentences are (re-)translated into a gender language. At this stage, MAN makes the authors forget or ignore what they all know — that a word like *hän* means both 'she' and 'he' and that, to reproduce the exact meaning of the Finnish sentence, they should give both translations. I have already pointed out that in the case of other ambiguities such accuracy is not as consistently lacking. So no matter how the process of example production works, it is affected by MAN in one or more of its phases.

5.3 *Feminist linguistics, language critique and their effects*

As regression analysis showed, the male bias in the translations has tended to diminish in recent years. If the manner of translation is governed by the authors' awareness, as stated above, this tendency reflects an increase in awareness. This increase is obviously correlated with the waves of the women's movement in the seventies and eighties, the emergence of feminist linguistics and the discussion of feminist language critique. Since the seventies, linguists have pointed to inequality in the language system and in language use (cf. Lakoff 1973, Miller/Swift 1977), have questioned the norm of the masculine as the general form (cf. Bodine 1975) and have conducted numerous empirical studies on the supposed neutrality of the generic masculine (e.g., Moulton et al. 1978, Harrison/Passero 1975, Wilson 1978, Martyna 1980, Hamilton 1991). Although the feminist language critique was not received with unanimous acceptance and was even subject to ridicule and sometimes aggression (cf. Frank 1985:244ff), at least it was widely debated and also had practical consequences. Guidelines for non-sexist language use were introduced in publishing companies such as McGraw-Hill (reprinted in Hellinger 1990: 140ff), in professional organizations such as the American Psychological Association (Cooper 1984:16) and in government institutions (e.g. Frauenbüro

der Stadt Hannover 1989, Braun 1991 — guidelines published by the Ministry of Women in Schleswig-Holstein). These events have doubtless had the effect of making the MAN principle visible, of questioning it and disturbing its unspoken omnipresence. The increasing amount of 'female & male' translations can be seen as a correlate of this development.

5.4 *The variable sex of author: an unexpected finding*

Contrary to the original assumption, the statistical analysis revealed that it was male authors who used the 'female & male' variant more. It is obvious that not every woman is by nature a feminist and not every female linguist is concerned with the MAN principle in all of her publications, yet it seemed plausible that for women the association 'female' lies closer at hand when human beings are mentioned. This assumption was falsified. It is uncertain whether this is a general trend or restricted to the sample under investigation, as only 15 out of the 45 articles investigated for the sex variable were written by women. A more extensive investigation with a more balanced corpus would be necessary to check the generalizability of this finding. For the time being, however, male authors must be credited with a more egalitarian translation behavior.

5.5 *Does language structure affect translation?*
     Gender languages vs. Finnish, German vs. English

According to the regression analyses linguistic background does not predict the amount of 'male', 'female' or 'female & male' translations. It can thus be assumed that the structure of the native language, especially the presence or absence of the generic masculine as a linguistic reflection of MAN, does not determine the translation behavior of the authors. The male bias also occurs in articles written by supposedly Finnish authors, i.e., persons who have been less exposed to masculine generics.

There is no need to resort to the generic masculine as an explanation for male-biased translations anyway, for MAN works on many levels, giving rise to all kinds of linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena. Thus, native speakers of Finnish experience the MAN principle in a more or less pronounced fashion, even though Finnish lacks a grammatical gender distinction: Some professional titles contain the word *mies* 'man, male', but can be extended to

refer to women as well, e.g. *talomies* 'caretaker', *lakimies* 'lawyer'. This usage today undergoes a similar, though less massive, criticism as the generic masculine in gender languages, and quite rightly so, for a pilot study (Engelberg 1992) showed that these titles trigger predominantly male images even when they are used as generics. In contrast to English *man, mies* 'man, male' does not mean 'human'; 'human being' is *ihminen* in Finnish. Yet, *mies* can occur in the sense of 'people' or 'person' when the number of people in a group is to be referred to, e.g.:

(21)   *kymmenen **miehen** orkesteri*
        'ten person orchestra'

In this context, the use of *ihminen* 'human being' or *henki* 'person' even is unacceptable. Another linguistic trace of MAN is the suffix *-tar/-tär*. Although it occurs rarely, it follows a wide-spread pattern: If a form is marked, it is the feminine or 'female' form, while the 'male' form is basic and unmarked.

The language of publication also showed no effect on translation. The salience of gender and of linguistic MAN phenomena in German vs. English thus did not determine translation behavior. In all, language structure (of both native and publication language) seems to be irrelevant to the observed male bias in the translations, but given the limited data base of the present investigation this conclusion remains preliminary.

5.6 *Translations and linguistic accuracy*

A linguist's aim should be to capture the meaning of the original sentence as accurately as possible, especially when the readers are not fully competent speakers of the language under investigation. The adequate rendering of Finnish forms would thus be the variant female & male, for this is what corresponds to the Finnish forms most closely. An alternation between 'female' and 'male' would also to a certain extent reflect genderlessness of the Finnish forms, while an exclusively male or exclusively female translation is incorrect. (For a sociolinguistic evaluation, however, cf. the Conclusion below.) Translating genderless Finnish forms and sentences as male is thus not only relevant (and harmful) from a feminist perspective, it is also incorrect from a linguistic point of view.

5.7. *The male bias — a semantic problem?*

Leaving aside all social and sociolinguistic aspects, the male bias in the translations raises a semantic question. According to feature semantics, the concept 'woman' implies the feature [+ human] just as the concept 'man' does. A feature approach thus neither explains nor predicts that Finnish expressions with the feature [+ human], in the absence of any sex-related features, should be interpreted as male rather than female. How can the findings of the investigation be reconciled with a semantic analysis?

     If the feature approach is not a promising starting point, the same is true for any traditional semantic theory based on Aristotelian logic. I will therefore turn to those alternative approaches which Lakoff (1982:19) terms "theories of natural classification". Theories of natural classification allow for fuzzy boundaries in linguistic categorization, for different grades of category membership and do not presuppose a two-valued logic.

     One of the most prominent theories of this kind is the prototype theory developed by Eleanor Rosch and others. In her works (e.g. Rosch 1973, 1975a, 1977) Rosch demonstrates that semantic categories have an internal structure so that there are central members ("best examples") and peripheral members. The central members are the prototypes, subjects classify them as most typical of the category. Orange and apple for example are prototypes of the category *fruit*, chair and sofa prototypes of the category *furniture*. The peripheral members have decreasing degrees of typicality, but they are not excluded from the category. Thus watermelon or gooseberry are still fruit, lamp and rug count as furniture, although they are much less typical than the prototypes. Experiments show that certain effects correlate with typicality: prototypes are most rapidly identified as belonging to the category in question, subjects name them most frequently as examples of the category, they are acquired more rapidly as members of the category etc. That all category members are not equal in status is a well-established empirical finding.

     This approach obviously fits well with the results of the present investigation. If adult males are the prototypes of the category *human being*, it is not surprising that neutral expressions for humans evoke male images and hence are translated as masculine. This does not exclude women from the category completely, but makes them less typical, peripheral members. However, when we turn to the question of how prototype theory explains the emergence of the prototype, i.e. the question **why** certain members are more typical

examples of the category than others, we are given an explanation which, for the category of human beings, is less than satisfactory.

In categories without a biological/perceptual basis, Rosch (1975b:192ff) claims, the prototype emerges out of structural aspects such as a high degree of cooccurrence of salient attributes. In sum, the prototype combines maximal similarity with the various members of its own category with maximal difference from contrasting categories (Rosch 1977:35f). For the category of *human beings* this purely structural explanation seems questionable. Do males exhibit more similarity with other category members (children?) than do females? Are males more dissimilar to contrasting categories (such as animals or plants) than are females? Visibly at least, they are not. If such a far-fetched view can be maintained at all, it can only refer to the cultural ascriptions of attributes such as rationality (male) vs. a closer relationship to nature (female). But rather than resorting to such dubious interpretations, a theory is called for which is better suited to integrating cultural factors. No matter which theory this will be, it must be a culture-related approach within the realm of the theories of natural classification.

In the light of the various aspects of MAN it is almost self-evident why the prototype of a human being is male. During the history of civilization men were those who had the dominant position in society and most of its institutions. As Lakoff (1973:74) puts it, "men have been the writers and the doers". Men were in the position to define and it is hardly surprising that they defined *humanness* as something which matched their own picture best.

Considering the theories of natural classification and the cultural background of male dominance, it can be stated that the findings of this investigation fit well with semantic theory, but that the necessary aspects of semantic theory have been surprisingly poorly developed. Years ago Silveira (1980: 167), suspected an unwillingness on the part of researchers to link typicality semantics with the question of MAN:

> While women scholars have played a prominent and disproportionate role in the development of typicality analysis (women know about such things, because we live on the fringes of society's '*human*' category), it is true that the people=male bias is not discussed in the typicality literature. Once again establishment academia avoids the connection between its own concepts and a form of sexism.

Although this evaluation may seem somewhat exaggerated, it is a remarkable fact that the situation today is pretty much the same — we still lack a

description and analysis of MAN within the framework of natural classification semantics.

If men are the prototypes of human beings, however, this does not preclude the existence of subcategories of humans with female prototypes. The prototypes of categories like *secretary*, *nurse* or *nursery-school teacher* certainly are female and evoke female images. Professions and activities which are predominantly ascribed to and executed by women develop a female prototype by the same mechanism that makes a male prototype emerge from the social dominance of males. But an important point is that female prototypes will emerge only in "typically female" domains, while male prototypes can be found in typically male **and neutral** domains, as the investigation indicated.

6. Conclusion

The investigation described in this paper shows that the mistake I made in my Lappish translation did not happen by chance. Authors of articles on Finnish display the same tendency and translate genderless forms predominantly as male. Under the influence of the women's movement and feminist linguistics this is beginning to change and an increased awareness of the problem is making itself felt. The 'male' interpretation of genderless forms, however, still prevails and remains one of the many manifestations of the MAN principle: the treatment of male as the norm. From a semantic or cognitive point of view, males have become the prototypes of the category *human*, they are (in Rosch's terminology) the "best examples" of the category *human being*. This is a process which tends to stabilize and reconfirm itself. Once males form the semantic/cognitive center of the category *human* (on the basis of their social superiority), statements about human beings in general evoke predominantly male imagery and other prototype effects. This in turn leads to further exclusion of women from communal awareness.

MAN with its many facets is a severe obstacle to equality of the sexes. It makes women literally the second sex, the exception from the rule. If, when speaking of humans, males come to mind first, the neglect of women's rights, women's living conditions, women's needs, women's abilities and capacities is a natural consequence. Thus **men's** right to vote was referred to as **the** right to vote, women's history is only now being rediscovered and women

don't feel included in many contexts. When I stated in the "Discussion" that the variant female & male was the most adequate translation of a genderless form, this was a purely linguistic evaluation. Taking into account the MAN principle with its social and historical consequences, the female-only variant seems a legitimate means to counteract these effects and to increase the sensitivity for the problem. The female-only variant, though containing a bias, does less social damage than the male-only solution, which perpetuates the bias established over centuries and reconfirms a hierarchy between the sexes. Linguists should — and have already started to — contribute to a new awareness and a more equal treatment of women and men. One day, hopefully, women will enter into the central, prototypical zone of humanness instead of remaining peripheral and somewhat doubtful members of the category.

Notes

1.   Four women participated in the formulation of the German constitution.

2.   Pronouns do distinguish animate and inanimate, however: *hän* 'she/he' vs. *se* 'it', *he* 'they (animate)' vs. *ne* 'they (inanimate)'.

3.   Examples will be cited in normalised orthography throughout the text (i.e., without morpheme segmentation or other modifications used for the purpose of analysis in the original).

4.   The example is taken from Haarmann/Haarmann (1975:54), where the translation is German.

5.   translated as 'Is **he** ill?' in Hakulinen (1977:86)

6.   translated as 'Maybe **he**'ll come today' in Tarvainen (1989:141)

7.   The diagram displays a slight incorrectness in rounding compared to the percentages given in table 1, which is caused by the graphics program. In view of the overall proportions, however, this incorrectness is negligible.

8.   Percentage of variance explained is based on adjusted R^2. Simultaneous regression was significant.

9.   See note 8.

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"Male person" vs.
"Everything that is not a male person"

Gender and sex in Polish[1]

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0. Introduction

In works within the framework of feminist linguistics it is not rare to find examples of particular feminine and masculine forms from the remotest languages.[2] Whoever speaks Polish as a native language, however, would meet the idea of sex-differentiated modes of expression with a shrug of the shoulders, as the special distinct forms for women and men are omnipresent in the Polish language. It is nearly impossible to engage in conversation in Polish without constantly referring to one's own sex and that of the interlocutor by means of special grammatical morphemes. The same holds true when a third party becomes the subject of discussion: information about the sex is repeatedly provided by means of grammatical structures.

1. Nouns

In order to attain an overview of the means for expressing sex in Polish, it is appropriate to begin with the description of the gender system. This is not a contradiction, because the natural sex is integrated in the grammatical sex in Polish, and that, as will be shown here in fact, in a rather asymmetrical manner.

Polish is an analytically inflected language with extremely redundant gender marking. However, the gender of a given noun cannot, or more exactly, cannot always be unequivocally ascertained by its inflectional forms. In order to clearly determine the gender of a noun, a syntactic context must be analyzed, that is, those dependent word forms that convey gender, for example adjectives or pronouns, must be examined. In other words, gender in Polish is a morpho-syntactic category. As a diagnostic context, the domain which demands the accusative case is chosen, since this case exhibits the maximum differentiation of forms:[3]

Sg.	A1.	Widzę tego nowego /studenta, psa/	(masculine animate)
		I see this new /student, dog/	
	A2.	Widzę ten nowy /stół/	(masculine inanimate)
		I see this new /table/	
	A3.	Widzę to nowe /okno/	(neuter)
		I see this new /window/	
	A4.	Widzę tę nową /żonę, owcę, pracę/	(feminine)
		I see this new /woman, sheep, work/	
Pl.	B1.	Widzᵛ tych nowych /studentów/	(virile, i.e.masculine personal)
		I see these new /students/	
	B2.	Widzę te nowe /psy, stoły, okna, żony, owce, pracy/	(non-virile, i.e. [masculine non-personal] feminine-neuter)
		I see these new /dogs, tables, windows, women, sheep, works/	

There are four possible syntactic domains in the singular and two in the plural. A noun such as *student* 'student', which appears in the contexts of A1 and B1, is classified as personal masculine. A noun in the contexts of A1 and B2, such as *pies* 'dog', is a [non-personal] animate masculine; a noun in the contexts of A2 and B2, such as *stół* 'table', is an inanimate masculine; a noun which appears in the contexts A3 and B2, such as *okno* 'window', is neuter; and finally a noun found in contexts A4 and B2, such as *żona* 'wife', *owca* 'sheep' or *praca* 'work', is feminine. This can be illustrated in the following manner:

Personal	Animate Masculine	Inanimate	Neuter	Feminine
student	*pies*	*stół*	*okno*	*żona/owca/praca*

A1   A2   A3   A4   B1   B2
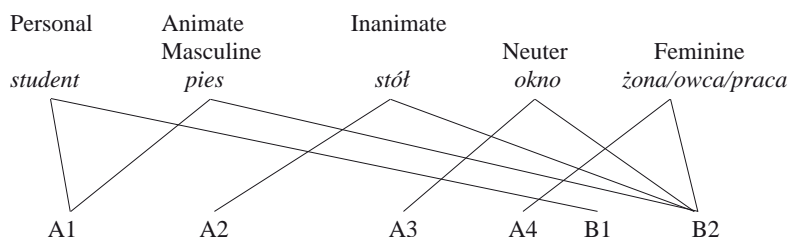
Polish maintains not only three genders, as the case is in German, but five instead. There is an exclusive gender, the personal masculine, available for the designation of men, so that the gender and sex classification proves to be unambiguous. On the other hand, there is no corresponding unambiguous differentiation between gender and sex for the designation of women. Terms used for women share the gender with the other animate entities and those which are classified as inanimate feminine. Additionally, all forms of the feminine in plural demand the same context as the neuter, and both animate and inanimate forms of the non-personal masculine. The older grammar speaks in view of the plural shortened from "feminine-neuter" forms; the newer grammar refers to the same forms as "non-masculine personal", which clearly underlines the accentuated status of their opposing "masculine personal" forms.

The gender of a noun determines its inflection. For example, personal masculines which end in the nominative singular with -*a* are inflected differently than their feminine counterparts. And so, for example, the nominative and genitive plural of the feminine *kobieta* 'woman' would be *kobiety* and *kobiet*; the personal masculine *poeta* 'poet' exhibits, in comparison, *poeci* and *poetów*. Numerous personal masculines which end with a hard consonant in the nominative singular follow a certain declination pattern. The same nouns go through a very complicated alteration when they refer to women: In certain usages (with specific reference) they abandon the inflection and are fixed in the form of the nominative singular masculine; in other usages, however, (i.e. predicative) they are inflected just as the masculine form applied to men.[4] A sentence such as "I am speaking with Mr. Prime Minister" would appear as follows: *Rozmawiam z panem premierem*; the sentence "I am speaking with Ms. Prime Minister", in contrast, would appear as follows: *Rozmawiam z panią premierø*. On the other hand, the term *premier*, which applies to both sexes in the sentence *On/Ona jest premierem* "He/She is the Prime Minister", would result in a single (masculine) inflected form.

There is for the most part no special method of designating groups of mixed sex. At most there is the possibility of using a special kind of collective noun that can be used for referring to married couples. These collective nouns are derived — according to an evidently productive word formation model — from designations for male persons, and occur especially with designations for relatives and occupations, e.g. *syn-ostwo* 'the son and his wife' or *dyrektor-ostwo* 'the director and his wife'. In general, groups of mixed sex are designated by the plural of the personal masculine.[5] But this, on the other hand, also refers to groups of solely men, if a corresponding contrast is intended. Compare the following:

(1)   W grupie jest dwunastu **studentów**, w tym trzech mężczyzn.
       In the group are twelve students, among them three men.

(2)   W grupie jest dziewięć studentek i trzech **studentów**.
       In the group are twelve (female) students and three (male) students.

The use of the personal masculine for groups of mixed sex, of course, does not cancel out the category of sex; instead there is a selection in favor of a concrete gender. The fact that this happens to be the masculine personal can only be explained in terms of societal conditions and not based on the factors of the language system.[6]

It goes without saying that both sexes, also in the plural, can be made apparent (which is occasionally attempted in employment advertisements). Two related problem areas may not be overlooked here: first, the coordination of feminines and masculines in Polish is a painstaking process, because in certain contexts a considerable amount of congruent word forms would have to be doubled accordingly. A sentence such as "Our new (male/female) students were good (male/female) pupils", for example, would have to appear with alternative forms in the following way: *Nasi/nasze nowi/nowe studenci/ studentki byli/były dobrymi uczniami/uczennicami*. In view of the fact that it is so laborious, it could hardly be expected that splitting models, that might be feasible for other languages, would ever find acceptance in Polish.

The other problem is the fact that there is by no means an analogous feminine counterpart for every male designation. Feminine forms are especially common in the naming of traditional women's occupations, e.g. *sekretarka* 'secretary', *sprzątaczka* 'cleaning woman' *ekspedientka* 'saleswoman', *fryzjerka* 'hairdresser', *piel̜egniarka* 'nurse', *szwaczka* 'seamstress',

nauczycielka 'teacher', just to name a few. The masculine equivalents for these respective designations are hardly ever used, such as *sprzątacz* 'cleaning man', or they can exemplify a divergent meaning, as in *sekretarz* 'secretary (e.g. of a state or party)'.

In many cases it appears that the formation of feminine forms by adding a suffix to the masculine form would generally be possible based on the language system, but this is rejected by the prescriptive norm, and/or this phenomenon had previously simply not existed in the standard language. Affected by this are the designations on the one hand for those skilled occupations, which are traditionally done by men, and on the other hand titles and designations — usually loanwords — for prestigious occupations (e.g. *profesor* 'professor', *inżynier* 'engineer', *psycholog* 'psychologist'). For the first group — including e.g. *szklarz* 'glazier', *tokarz* 'turner', *cieśla* 'carpenter' — grammar books and dictionaries provide no indications, and the authorities are at a loss when they should use the masculine forms to classify the women who (would like to) have these professions. In addition to this, the places for possible derivational forms are in part "occupied", e.g. *szklarka* 'glazier handwork (colloquial)', *tokarka* 'lathe'. Concerning the other group, uninflected forms are used in the standard language with certain limitations (see above) to substitute for those derivations that are disapproved of by the norm — which, however, can be heard in colloquial speech (e.g. *ginekolożka* '(female) gynecologist', *promotorka* '(female) doctoral supervisor'). The use of these so-called feminine indeclinables is increasing, although their existence in pair and splitting formulas is questionable, and it can be assumed that such a sentence as *Spotkają się profesor i profesorowie* "The (male and female) professors are meeting", which would be possible if the indeclinables were completely functional, could be misunderstood and considered absurd.

The difficulty in finding appropriate designations for women is especially evident in the treatment of current loanwords. For this purpose, Bogusław Dunaj recently compiled from daily newspapers a long list of opposing expressions considered to be feminine equivalents for the term *biznesmen* 'businessman': *businesswoman* or *bizneswomen*, or *kobieta biznesu*, *kobieta robiąca/prowadząca interesy* and *biznesmenka*.[7] He not only speaks out against the clumsy analytic expressions, but also, due to the shortcomings of their indeclinability, against the most frequently occurring forms *businesswoman* or *bizneswomen* (which, in this case, are independent loanwords, and not derivations of masculine forms). He also argues for the use of *biznesmenka*,

which would be in accordance with a productive Polish word formation type; in addition it would be stylistically neutral unlike the derivations from established male forms for occupation designations.[8]

Also family names which refer to women, as long as they do not belong to one of the adjectival inflection types (for example *Rakowska* for a woman, *Rakowski* for a man), are increasingly becoming indeclinable. The same family names if they refer to men are inflected in the same way as common nouns. "I am speaking with Ms./Mr. Nowak" would be *Rozmawiam z panią Nowakø / z panem Nowakiem*. In older usages in the language such names had suffixes attached which carried the meaning "wife of", and which integrated the female name form into a feminine adjective paradigm, e.g. *Nowakowa* or *Zarˌebina* (to the male name form *Zaręba*). Whereas these "wives' names" are still today quite common in colloquial speech, name forms with the meaning "daughter of", e.g. *Nowakówna* or *Zarębianka*, which had also existed in former times, are today no longer common. Special name forms for sons were the first to disappear from the standard language; they still exist, however, in dialects, e.g. *Wałęsiak* 'son of Wałęsa'. Additionally, this onomastic system, which centered on the male head of the family, was also applied on common nouns, especially for designations of occupations and rank. Wife, daughter, and son of a *wojewoda* (a high ranking official in ancient Poland), were named *wojewodzina*, *wojewodzianka*, and *wojewodzic* respectively. Until today some feminine forms have maintained their ambiguity: 'derived feminine' and 'wife of', e.g. *krawcowa to krawiec* 'tailor' and *dozorczyni* to *dozorca* 'caretaker'. Through this the system of sex-based derivation is weakened further.[9]

Due to its prominent formation, the nominative plural is considered especially noteworthy among nouns.[10] Nouns in the masculine personal gender that have hard consonants in the nominative singular characteristically take the plural ending *-i* (when depalatalized: *-y*), which occurs in no other gender. It causes an abundance of (vowel and especially) consonant changes to take place.[11] Compare, for example:

Singular	Plural	Consonant Shift	Meaning
chłop	chłopi	p ~ pˌ	farmer/s
robotnik	robotnicy	k ~ ts	worker/s
sąsiad	sˌasiedzi	d ~ dʑ	neighbor/s

Quite a number of personal masculine nouns are affected by this phonetic change. Nouns of the other genders, in comparison, maintain their nominative plural endings which leave the word stem unchanged.[12]

Another prominent nominative plural ending that is likewise limited to the personal masculine is *-owie* (for nouns with a hard and soft consonantal terminal sound). This ending appears to be reserved for male persons who have been ascribed a certain honor, occurring, among others, in titles, and designations for relatives and nationalities. Compare the following:

Singular	Plural	Meaning
król	królowie	king/s
admirał	admirałowie	admiral/s
syn	synowie	son/s

Parallel formations are partially possible, i.e. *inżynier*, Pl. *inżynierzy* (y < i) and *inżynierowie* 'engineer/s' or *profesor*, Pl. *profesorzy* (y < i) and *profesorowie* 'professor/s'.[13] In such cases the form with *-owie* expresses greater esteem.

A historic view of the Polish language reveals a transformation of the declination system: from a system based on stem classes to the system of the present gender classes, not least through the extension to other stems of the old u-stemmed ending *-owie* and the old o-stemmed ending *-i*, but also through their simultaneous functional restriction to the semantic group of male designations for persons.[14]

It must therefore be emphasized that not only is there a special gender reserved for the reference to male persons, but also the nouns that belong to this gender have available to them considerable special types of formation in the important subject case of the nominative plural,[15] which distinctly distinguishes them from all other nouns. The formation increases the inherent tendency in the system of genders by which men, as referents, distinguish themselves from all other types of referents, including women.

Some of the masculines which refer to people take on the conspicuous ending *-y*, based on the feminine-neuter model (or a non-palatalizing *-i* after velars).[16] They usually express a negative attitude, but they can occasionally also be used in a joking and affectionate way, e.g.:

Singular	Plural	Meaning
cham	chamy	roughneck/s
łotr	łotry	rogue/s
chwat	chwaty	efficient fellow/s

Such nouns not only take the feminine-neuter endings themselves, but they also carry these over to congruent word forms, and they therefore actually exhibit the feminine-neuter gender[17] in the nominative plural (not in the likewise gender-distinct forms of the genitive and accusative), for example:

(3)   **Te** cham**y** znowu przysz**ły**.
       These roughnecks have already come again.

as opposed to

(4)   **Ci** studenci znowu przysz**li**.
       These students have already come again.

Almost all of the other Polish nouns that designate male persons can also be used pejoratively (as long as the declination type allows it)[18] in the nominative plural (not in other cases), in which case they assume the endings of the feminine-neuter, e.g.:

Nominative Singular	Nominative Plural neutral	Nominative Plural pejorative	Meaning
inżynier	inżynierowie	inżyniery	engineer/s
dyrektor	dyrektorzy	dyrektory	director/s
chłop	chłopi	chłopy	farmer/s

The congruent forms also appear in the feminine-neuter form, which means that again a real gender shift takes place.

Nouns which can assume either sex are also interesting in this context. They are inflected in the singular[19] just as "ordinary" feminines; both forms are congruent: when referring to women the congruent forms assume the feminine (*ta sierota* 'the female orphan'), the congruent forms assume the masculine when referring to men (*ten sierota* 'the male orphan'). Most of the nouns which belong to this group are in turn pejoratives. Interestingly enough, a negative evaluation is considered even harsher when the corresponding items used to refer to male referents are treated as feminine nouns; that is, they are provided with congruent forms in the feminine, for example:

(5)   Janek jest straszn**ym** niezdar**ą**.
(5')   Janek jest straszn**a** niezdar**a**.
       Janek is a terribly clumsy person.

Men can thus be defamed when certain inflectional endings, those that are reserved for men, are deliberately withheld. It should be noted in this context that this can also work in the other direction, with the possibility of revealing appreciation. Whoever wants to speak in a positive manner about women would use the masculine form, even when a derivational feminine form exists. Women in such cases are referred to as *kierownik kuchni*, *sklepu*, *zakładu fryzjerskiego* 'the manager of a kitchen, a business, a hairdressing shop' and not the expected *kierowniczka kuchni*, *sklepu*, *zakładu fryzjerskiego* 'the (female) manager of a kitchen, a business, a hairdressing shop'.[20] There is a general tendency to associate positive connotations to the modes of expressing the male sex; those modes which express the female sex invoke negative connotations.

2.   Other Inflectional Parts of Speech

The inflection of adjectives and participles also distinguish between the above six established formations for the classification of nouns.[21] Also the predicative usage of adjectives in Polish requires the assimilation to its antecedent, allowing, among others, its gender — and at the same time the sex, when referring to people — to be recognized.

(6)   Anna jest weso**ła**.
       Anna is happy (exactly: a happy one [female])

(7)   Jan jest weso**ły**.
       Jan is happy (exactly: a happy one [male])

(8)   Studentki są wes**ołe**.
       The (female) students are happy (exactly: happy ones [female])

(9)   Studenci są wes**eli**.
       The (male) students are happy (exactly: happy ones [male])

Both sexes are expressed here in a regular symmetric manner, with the customary restriction that the masculine personal plural forms are ambiguous.

The nominative plural forms of the masculine personal inflection take on the ending *-i* (secondary *-y*) for adjectives, which causes the same vowel and consonant shifts as in the inflection of nouns. In addition, the nominative plural of the masculine personal is correspondingly emphasized when it occurs in all synthetic comparative and superlative forms and also in connection with a few participles.[22] No phonetic changes occur before the feminine-neuter nominative plural ending *-e*. Compare the following:

	Nominative Plural		
feminine-neuter	masculine personal	Consonant Shift	Meaning
bogate	bogaci	t ~ tɕ	rich
starsze	starsi	ʃ ~ ɕ	older
pominięte	pominięci	t ~ tɕ	passed over

It should also be mentioned that, as a rule, dictionaries provide the entry words for adjectives in the nominative singular masculine. Occasional deviations provide evidence that it is not a question here of a grammatical basic form; instead, the basic form is apparently based upon a particular conception of the world: the German-Polish dictionary from Jan Piprek and Juliusz Ippoldt indicates the translations of *pregnant* in the feminine forms: *będąca w ciąży, w odmiennym stanie, brzemienna, ciężarna*; the entry word *zamężna* 'married (for a women)' always appears in the dictionaries in the feminine.

Personal pronouns occur with a nominal usage in Polish only under certain conditions (accentuation, contrast, reversion to a rheme); gender and number are mainly expressed by means of finite verb forms (see below). The personal pronouns in the first and second person are unmarked concerning sex. In comparison, personal pronouns and other pronouns in the third person exhibit the genders familiar to the other parts of speech.

They also have phonetically prominent plural forms in the masculine personal ending in *-i(-y)*.

In many cases, the nominative singular masculine also exhibits a phonetically conspicuous form; this, however, not only affects personal referents, but also all words that are marked with the masculine as well. Consider the following:

| Feminine | | Masculine (personal) | | Meaning |
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	(only singular)
ona	one	on	oni	she, he
moja	moje	**mój** [muj]	moi	mine
ta	te	**ten**	**ci**	this
taki	takie	taki	**tacy**	such
która	które	który	**którzy**	which
wszystka	wszystkie	**wszystek**	**wszyscy**	whole; all

The interrogative *kto*? 'who?' is combined only with the masculine forms. And so the question "Who has come?" would be in Polish *Kto przyszedł*?, and the corresponding answer can either be 1) *Brat przyszedł* "The brother has come" or 2) *Siostra przyszła* "The sister has come". The possibility that women could be referred to by *kto*? therefore also reveals how they are disregarded, much like in the case of the sex-neutral plural of personal masculine. The following act in the same manner, i.e. *ktokolwiek* 'whoever', *żaden* 'nobody, none' or *każdy, kto* 'everyone who; who'.[23]

The numeral "1" is usually inflected as an adjective, and is in concord with its antecedent (*jedna* 'one (feminine)', *jedno* 'one (neuter)', *jeden* 'one (masculine), *jedne* 'ones (feminine-neuter)', and *jedni* 'ones (masculine personal, and groups of mixed sex if need be)'). However, it becomes indeclinable in the form of the nominative singular masculine when it appears as the final component of a compound numeral.[24] These indeclinables resemble the titles and occupation designations for women that are used in the masculine form (see above), which leads to the assumption that *jeden* was first used with personal referents. The sentence construction with numerals that are combined with *jeden* is impersonal, that is, the verb appears in the form of the neuter singular and the "counted" expression takes (with a nominative function) the genitive, e.g.:

(10) Przysz**ło** dwadzie**ścia jeden** kobiet.
       Twenty-one women came.

(11) Przysz**ło** dwudzie**stu jeden** żołnierz**y**.
       Twenty-one soldiers came.

It is interesting to note that when "1" refers to persons, the sex-indifferent neuter form *jedno* occurs as well. It appears, however, that it can only be applied to adults when one of two persons is meant, whereas children can also

be referred to with *jedno* in order to single one of them out of a group (possibly due to the congruence to the neuter *dziecko* 'child').[25] Such a usage of the neuter would be somewhat rare. Zdzisław Kempf, who refers to an "alternate gender" here, has in fact compiled examples from the 17th century to the present.[26] According to Kempf's findings, the indefinite pronouns and numerals which have a pronominal usage are affected: *jedno - drugie* 'the one - the other, the second', *każde* 'every', *któreś* 'any', *żadne* 'none'.

The other cardinal numbers usually have different forms for the masculine personal and the feminine-neuter available to them in the nominative and accusative. Concerning sex, the numerals "2", "3" and "4" still exhibit an interesting syntactic behavior:[27] whereas the reference to women only allows the personal construction with a congruent feminine-neuter verb form, as in:

(12)   Dwie/trzy/cztery uczennice przysz**ły**.
        Two/three/four (female) pupils came.

There is a choice here for male referents between 1) the analogous personal construction with the masculine personal verb form and 2) an impersonal construction in which the subject appears in the genitive, and the verb takes on the neuter singular form, such as:

(13)   Dwaj/trzej/czterej uczni**owie** przysz**li**.
(13') Dwóch/trzech/czterech uczni**ów** przysz**ło**.
        Two/three/four (male) pupils came.

For the numerals "5" and above only the impersonal construction is possible.

Another interesting phenomenon in Polish deals with collective numerals (besides *kilkoro* 'some, that is, up to ten').[28] They seem to be dying out, however, and occur only occasionally up to "10". The collective numerals are used, among other things, to refer to groups containing both sexes. There is a contrast in the usage, for example, of "5", in which *pięciu* refers to men, *pięć* is used for women, and *pięcioro* is the form for men and women in mixed context. As far as the language system is concerned, this would be the ideal case of a sex-impartial mode of expression. This symmetry is realized in expressions such as *dwoje z nas* 'two of us' as opposed to *dwie z nas* 'two of us women' and *dwaj z nas* 'two of us men'. However, the practice does not always reveal a symmetry that is completely satisfactory, since it is only possible to combine collective numerals with a masculine, and not with a feminine.

Finally the next characteristic that will be observed here are the verbs that play an especially prominent role in the marking of gender/sex in Polish. Certain finite forms are capable of expressing the gender in both numbers in all three persons, and therefore also the sex in reference to people. In comparison with other languages, in which sex is solely indicated in the third person singular by means of the personal pronouns, it is worth noting that gender and sex marking also occurs for the roles of speaker and hearer. Most affected by this are those forms which contain the so-called l-participle — historically an original component of compound verb forms, e.g. perfect tense. The first to be mentioned here is the preterite (*pisała* 'she wrote' vs. *pisał* 'he wrote'); in addition there are subjunctive/conditional forms (*pisałabyś* 'you (female) wrote/would write/had written/would have written' vs. *pisałbyś* 'you (male) wrote/would write/had written/would have written'), as well as a special kind of future formation (*będę pisała* 'I (female) will write' vs. *będę pisał* 'I (male) will write').[29]

Again, the plural forms of the personal masculine (*-liśmy*, *-liście*, *-li*) are not simply applied to groups comprised of only men, but also to groups of mixed sex — as is the case with the other parts of speech — whereas the feminine forms (*-łyśmy*, *-łyście*, *-ły*) remain reserved for groups with only women. The masculine personal plural forms are, however, even more extensive: they are selected for use when several nouns with different genders coincide, even when there is not even one man, or one personal masculine entity present, for example:[30]

(14) Matka i dziecko nie mog**li** się sob̜a nacieszyć.
      Mother and child could not enjoy each other more.

(15) Dziewczyna i kajak zbliża**li** się do siebie.
      The girl and the kayak came closer 'one to the other'.

This case might be considered a means of showing appreciation. When men are absent, women are elevated in the personal category, which normally has validity only within the masculine gender.[31]

Apart from the special problems in plural, it must be maintained that the verb forms of the l-participle produce a clear marking of sex, because, for one thing, the verb occurs in the structural center of almost every sentence, and for another, the l-participle forms may be represented in most texts at any given location. These forms certainly occur more often than the present and the future perfect, tenses which do not exhibit any markings for gender, although

their gender-indifference can again be compensated by gender-distinct adjectival and participle forms in the predicative function.

3. Return to the Introduction

As has been shown, the semantic category of sex is integrated in the gender system of Polish, with a strong emphasis on the opposition of "male person" vs. "everything that is not a male person". Considering the modes of expressing gender, the opposition 'woman vs. man' is conveyed by means of regular linguistic expressions, although only the designations (and names) for men have a special gender available to them, whereas designations (and names) for women are set within a semantically non-differentiated feminine form. Additionally, the masculine personal gender is accentuated by means of conspicuous formation. These categorical and formal asymmetries are associated with asymmetries in norms and customs. Certain pronouns can only be connected with the masculine; in the plural, women in groups of mixed sex are subsumed under the personal masculine in its so-called sex-neutral meaning. Numerous individual phenomena verify that the formal means of expression of the personal masculine are rated as positive, whereas those of the (personal) feminine are rated as negative. By exchanging the forms (feminine means of expression for the reference to men, and masculine personal means of expression for the reference to women), either disparagement or appreciation can be expressed. Based upon these given factors of Polish — an Indo-European language of Central Europe which has moved more to the west, spoken by approximately 36 million people as a native language[32] — it can be argued that Polish should be considered for general, comprehensive linguistic questions regarding the relation of language and sex.

If we focus on the described asymmetries in the expression of gender in Polish, the question naturally arises of whether a development toward gender symmetry is possible and how it would concretely manifest itself. Recent observations show not only that change has begun in the Polish language, but also what sort of changes we can expect in the future. What is striking is, first, the increasing employment of derived feminine forms. Thus we find in the press recently — besides the common masculines[33] used to in reference to women — designations such as *reżyserka* (*filmowa*) '(Film-) director', *prezenterka* (*wiadomości tv*) '(TV news-) reader', *prawniczka* 'jurist' and

even *posłanka* (*do Sejmu*) 'representative (of the Sejm)'. The most remarkable aspect of this is that the derived forms refer to high status professions, that they no longer have any idiomatic or even negative undertones and, last but not least, that they even appear in the written language. That this is now possible must be seen in connection with the general thrust of development which above all the Polish vocabulary is currently experiencing and which naturally is conditioned by the enormous transformations occuring in all walks of life. It is thereby of crucial significance that it is not only a matter of a quantitative expansion through loans and new-contructions, but also of qualitative changes in which existing lexemes are receiving new connotations. The language is consequently currently open not only to new constructions, but also to revaluations, and before this background the derived forms have a good chance of becoming firmly established as neutral forms for the designation of women.[34] Another related aspect is that some of them, as the above-mentioned *biznesmenka* 'businesswomen', but also *diskdżokejka* 'disc jockej' or *skinheadka*, anyway belong to the new lexics, i.e., terms not touched by the former (prescriptive and idiomatic) norm. In the end the increasing use of derived feminine forms need not surprise us, for in my view, the prescriptive norm in this domain has arisen in contradiction to the system givens, one almost wants to say: to the spirit of the Polish language. This is because the regular morphological expression of sex/gender is inherent in it, so that derived feminines occur spontaneously when externally set norms become destabilized.

The path to an equalitarian expression of the sexes may be more complex and longer where mixed groups are concerned. Only rarely do pair- and splitting forms occur, and this is predominantly in the nominative and where no congruent word forms appear, for example in job ads (*kelner/ka* 'waiter/waitress'), in forms (*obywatel/ka* 'citizen') or in the address (*panie i panowie* 'ladies and gentlemen'). But this remains the exception. In general women are supposed to continue to feel themselves included in masculine forms, whereby the causes are less problems with the derivation of female person designations themselves than more the enormous expenditure in the transfer of the feminine or respectively masculine-personal suffixes to all syntactically dependent, congruent forms. More probable than an increase in pair- and splitting forms is therefore in my opinion a shift within the gender system. Concretely one could expect that the today masculine or respectively masculine-personal inflectional forms will someday stand for "human" forms. In my

view such a development, which in its details would require many complex changes in inflection and syntax, would not be in contradiction to the previous developmental course of the Polish language. It would merely mean that a gender system which may have fairly accurately portrayed the relationships of the sexes in society at a specific period, will begin to approximate the contemporary reality by abandoning a long obsolete emphasis on one sex. Naturally such a development is opposed by mechanisms and institutions which generally tend to retard the transformation of a standard language. That a corresponding change in the gender system is nevertheless possible is confirmed by an observation which was brought to my attention for the first time by female students at Humboldt University in Berlin during the winter semester of 1993/94: For these native speakers of Polish it was quite usual for women to refer to themselves, other women and groups of women with masculin or respectively masculine-personal inflectional forms, a "language error" which can be plausibly explained in that masculine or respectively masculine-personal forms referring to people occur much more often than feminine or respectively feminine-neuter. At any rate it is interesting to continue to observe Polish and its gender expressions. But in any case a feminist linguistics which takes its subject matter seriously should not overlook the Polish language.

Notes

1.   This article provides a short overview of my earlier works on this topic in German and Polish (cf. Miemietz 1993, 1993a, 1996).

2.   This is the case, for example, in Hellinger (1990, pp. 13-15), in which the Indian languages Yana, Koasati and Gros Ventre are characterized.

3.   Cf., also for the example sentences, Gramatyka (1984, p. 156).

4.   Cf. Miemietz 1993 for a more detailed description.

5.   Cf., also for the following examples, Gramatyka (1984, p. 154).

6.   As far as I know, the only study of Polish that has examined the sex-specific/sex-neutral interpretation of masculine forms was carried out by Jaworski (1989).

7.   Cf. Dunaj (1993), and Obrębska (1951).

8.   Cf. Dunaj (1993, pp. 171 f.).

9.   Further hindrances to sex-based derivation in Polish are also caused by the fact that 1) there are several competing suffixes, some of which have a negative connotation, and 2)

exactly the very suffix which is the most common, *-ka*, often occurs as a diminutive suffix.

10. Noun endings for all of the other cases (dative, instrumental, locative) coincide in the plural of all genders.

11. The following are all of the possible consonant alternations which can occur: b ~ b*,* p ~ p*,* v ~ v*,* f ~ f*,* m ~ m*,* t ~ tɕ, d ~ dʑ, s ~ ɕ, z ~ ʑ, n ~ n*,* w ~ l, r ~ ʒ, g ~ dz, k ~ ts, x ~ ç.

12. The non-personal masculine words exhibit the ending *-y*, for inanimates also *-e*, and *-a* for words with a hard terminal sound: *płot-y* 'fence/s', *baran-y* 'ram/s', *niuans-e* 'nuance/s', *koszt-a* 'cost/s'; *-y(-i)* for velar terminal sounds: *brzuch-y* 'stomach/s', *wałach-y* 'gelding/s', *mak-i* 'poppy/poppies', *rak-i* 'crab/s'; *-e* for soft and historically soft terminal sounds: *budyn - budynie* 'pudding/s', *słoń - słonie* 'elephant/s', *koc-e* 'blanket/s', *jeż-e* 'hedgehog/s'. The feminine forms with the *a*-declination have in the nominative plural the ending *-y(-i)*: *ryba-ryby* 'fish/es', *łąka-łąki* 'meadow/s', those with the *ja*-declination have *-e*: *praca-prace* 'work/s', *łania-łanie* 'hind/s'. The neuter nouns in the nominative plural usually take the ending *-a*. The same consonant changes as in nominative singular of the personal masculines occur elsewhere in the nominal inflection (cf. Gramatyka 1984, pp. 68-70). The corresponding forms, i.e. the dative/locative singular of stems ending in -a not only occur presumably with considerably less frequency than the nominative plural, but most importantly they are usually not supported by congruent word forms (see below).

13. Cf. Gramatyka (1984, p. 242).

14. The expansion of the genitive accusative for animate, or rather personal masculines constitutes a further phenomenon in this modification.

15. Only personal masculine nouns that have a soft — or a historically soft — consonant terminal sound (unless *-owie* appears) are able to take the *-e* ending in the nominative plural, which is otherwise one of the typical feminine/neuter endings, for example: *gość-goście* 'guest/s', *spawacz-e* 'welder/s', *złodziej-e* 'thief/thieves'.

16. Cf., for the following, Krzyżanowski (1992), and Gramatyka (1984, p. 242).

17. Corbett (1983, esp. p. 87), proposed a special gender for nouns of this type: "masculine devirilized".

18. This is ordinarily not the case when the stem has a (historically) soft consonant terminal ending. However, the male designations for nationalities and marks of origin ending in *-anin* also take on the pejorative ending *-y*: *Amerykanin* 'American' Pl. *Amerykanie* (neutral) and *Amerykany* (pejorative).

19. Since no comprehensive research has been done on epicenes, the examples are limited to indisputable usages. Cf. Gramatyka (1984, p. 159); Laskowski (1974, p. 118); Krzyżanowski (1992, pp. 281 f.).

20. Cf. Waszakowa (1992, pp. 273 f.).

21. This is not the case for a few loanwords that are indeclinable adjectives, e.g. *fair, okay, sexy*.

22. The formation suffixes for the comparative and superlative *(naj)-szy*, *(naj)-wszy* reveal in general the shift [ʃ] ~ [ɕ]. With passive participles there is either a consonant shift [t] ~[ʨ], or a vowel and consonant shift [on] ~ [enˌ].

23. Cf. de Courtenay (1984, pp. 220 f.).

24. Cf. Gramatyka (1984, p. 287).

25. Cf. the example in Doroszewski (1948, p. 18).

26. Cf. Kempf (1988).

27. Cf. Gramatyka (1984, p. 285), Laskowski (1979, p.107).

28. Cf. Gramatyka (1984, pp. 290-292), Laskowski (1979, pp.108 f.), Doroszewski (1948, p. 18).

29. There is also a form of the future with the infinitive which allows the sex to remain unexpressed (*będ_e pisać = ich werde schreiben* 'I will write').

30. Cf. Gramatyka (1984, p. 162) for examples; cf. also Buttler, Kurkowska, Satkiewicz (1971, p. 332).

31. Another case — however no longer used in the standard language — of the extension of personal categories is constituted by the royal plural, which could only employ the masculine personal form, even when the person who was addressed — respectfully, in such a manner, or "democratically" (party jargon from the People's Republic of Poland) — was a woman. Not only were verb forms affected (*Czyście widzieli* 'Have you seen'), but also e.g. pronouns and adjectives (*Moi Drodzy* 'My life'). Cf. de Courtenay (1984, p. 222); cf. also Buttler, Kurkowska, Satkiewicz (1971, p. 336).

32. Approximately 34 million speak Polish as a native language in Poland and at least 2 million Poles living abroad have Polish as a native language; cf. Panzer (1991, p. 59).

33. In the same newspaper edition ("Sukces" No. 3/96), from which the following feminina are taken, we find, among others, with feminine referents *szef* (*Kancelarii Prezydenta RP*) 'Director (of the Bureau of the President of the Republic of Poland)'. *prezez* (*BNP*) 'Chairman (of the Polish National Bank)' and *editor* (*naczela*) '(chief) editor'.

34. In this context it should also be mentioned that in the Bertelsmann Lexikon Publishing House at present a German-Polish/Polish-German dictionary is being produced which consistently includes derived feminine forms and, where these are — still — unacceptable, uses sentence contexts to illustrate how the masculine is used to refer to women.

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Gender, grammar,
and the space in between

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Gretchen: Wilhelm, where is the turnip? [German *die Rübe*]
Wilhelm: She has gone to the kitchen.
Gretchen: Where is the accomplished and beautiful English maiden? [German *das Mädchen*]
Wilhelm: It has gone to the opera.
[Mark Twain "The awful German language" *A Tramp Abroad*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, pp. 1147-8]

A cartoon in *Ladies Home Journal* magazine by Henry Martin depicted a woman pulling up at a service station and saying to the attendant, "Fill him up!"

1. Introduction

The connection between gender and grammar is humorously illustrated in the two epigrams to this chapter, both of which derive their effect at least partly from a deliberate confusion of the distinction between what linguists have traditionally called 'natural' and 'grammatical' gender. In his essay Mark Twain goes on to say that in German "a young lady has no sex, while a turnip has" because the word for 'young woman' is *das Mädchen*, or neuter in gender, and the word for 'turnip', *die Rübe*, is feminine. Hence the pronouns which refer to them must be either neuter (*it*) or feminine (*she*), respectively. The literal translation sounds comical to English speakers because only persons or other living things with biological sex are usually referred to as *she*.[1] Things such as turnips do not come in male and female varieties and therefore have to be referred to as *it*. Conversely, if the *Ladies Home Journal*

cartoon were translated literally into German, it would not be funny at all. Since the word for 'car' in German (*der Wagen*) is masculine, a masculine pronoun would have to be used in referring to it.[2] Such examples are generally offered to students of linguistics as an illustration of the basic arbitrariness underlying the category of gender in languages like German, where the fact that a noun is feminine, for instance, is no guarantee that the thing it refers to is feminine. In addition, a noun that is classified as feminine in one language might be masculine in another.

However, there is more behind these examples than appears at first glance. The purpose of this chapter is to reexamine the basis for the traditional distinction between natural and grammatical gender, paying particular attention to what I will call 'leakage' between them in languages with grammatical gender, where sex supposedly has nothing to do with gender as a noun classification system. Then I turn to the continuing sexist usage in English of feminine pronouns to refer to ships, cars and other inanimate objects. These leakages are what I refer to as the 'space-in between' in my title. They provide evidence for the existence of ideological factors in the form of cultural beliefs about women which enter into gender assignment in systems that are supposedly purely formal and arbitrary as well in systems where gender is supposedly determined by sex reference. It is no accident that women, fire, and dangerous things are classified as feminine in languages like Dyirbal with grammatical gender systems or that hurricanes, boats, cars and countries are still referred to as feminine in languages like English with natural grammatical gender. The 'space in-between' is a site for the ideological construction of what is female as other. This will, I hope, persuade readers who still need convincing that grammatical gender is a feminist issue.

Finally, I will raise the matter of linguistic reform and discuss some of the reasons why different types of reform are required or have been proposed and adopted in languages with different kinds of gender systems. It is not a coincidence that French feminist theory has been centrally constructed around issues of language in a way that Anglo-American theory has not. This is again partly due to the fact that the attention of French women has been drawn in a somewhat different way to issues of gender as they have been incorporated in the noun classification system of French. Here too ideology, though in this case motivated by feminist theories, has pushed reform along different paths. First, however, I will provide a brief historical perspective in order to examine how the notion of gender has become part of linguistic analyses of noun classification systems.

2. A brief herstory of gender in grammar[3]

The use of the terms *masculine*, *feminine* and *neuter* to refer to noun classes has a long history. In the fifth century Protagoras divided the noun classes of Greek into groups he called masculine and feminine. The grammatical term *gender* is derived from Latin *genus* which meant 'race' or 'kind' and had nothing to do with sex. Yet Protagoras was so convinced that sex was inherent in the classification of things he argued that Greek *peleks* 'helmet' should not belong to the feminine gender, but should be changed to masculine.

Later, in the 19th century German grammarian Jakob Grimm was to see gender classification as the metaphorical extension of sex to the rest of the world. He spoke of the concept of grammatical gender as an extension of a "natural" order onto each and every object. Things named by masculine nouns were, in Grimm's opinion, earlier, larger, firmer, quicker, more inflexible, active, moveable, creative;those which were feminine were later, smaller, softer, quieter, suffering/passive, receptive. His contemporary, Karl Lepsius (1863), believed that only the most highly civilized "races" and "leading nations in the history of mankind" distinguished the genders. This proved, as far as Lepsius was concerned, that speakers of such languages had a higher consciousness of the two sexes. All other languages without gender were "in decline". This fit well with prevailing ideas about the superiority of European cultures and languages, as Judith Irvine (1995) has shown in her discussion of how linguists treated the classification of African languages.

Similarly, it is quite obvious that Grimm's analysis reflects an underlying belief in male superiority. Other male grammarians evidenced a similar faulty logic in claims to the effect that women's place was in the home because in German and French the word for 'family' is feminine in gender (compare French *la famille* and German *die Familie*). Conversely, men's place was in the affairs of state since the word for 'state' was masculine: Compare German *Staat*, French *état*, Spanish *estado*, etc. While modern linguists have been quick to counter these post hoc rationalizations by pointing to the basic arbitrariness underlying grammatical gender, it is all too easy to throw the baby out with the bath water by going to the other extreme and claim that grammatical gender has no semantic motivation. In 4. I will show that there is more to say about this example.

Modern linguists generally acknowledge that in some languages gender is a central grammatical category, while in others it is completely absent.

Anyone who has studied a European language other than English has had to deal with gender as a grammatical category. Languages such as French, German, Spanish and many others have two or three so-called 'genders', masculine, feminine and neuter. These can be understood simply as noun classes. All nouns, however, not just those referring to males and females, must be either masculine or feminine. Gender extends beyond those nouns too so that articles, adjectives or other modifiers that go with them must be marked accordingly. This includes pronouns, as we have seen in Mark Twain's story. Modern linguists such as Corbett (1991) generally take these modifications in associated words as the defining hallmark of languages with gender as a grammatical category. Thus, in French we have agreement patterns in a sentence such as *la vielle femme est assise*, ('The old woman is sitting down'), where the noun *femme* ('woman') is semantically and morphologically feminine, so the adjective *vielle* (m. *vieux*) 'old' has to be feminine as does the past participle *assise*.

According to Fodor (1959), the modern European languages have inherited this system from a pattern of noun classification arising in Proto-Indo-European which originally grouped nouns according to phonological principles. It then developed into a grammatical system of syntactic concord or agreement. Despite popular opinion to the contrary, its main purpose is not to classify things according to their sex, but to provide a grammatical system linking nouns with the words which modified them. Over time, however, these noun classes acquired a certain amount of semantic motivation by association with certain prominent nouns belonging to them. Thus, classes with a large number of nouns referring to female animates became associated with the female sex, while those containing a large number of nouns referring to male animates were associated with the male sex.

In the example from modern French, however, we can see why French feminists have argued that the French grammatical gender system treats women as others. The feminine agreement forms are marked with *-e*, while the male forms are unmarked. Thus, feminists claim that the modern European languages with grammatical gender systems reinforce a view of the world as inherently gendered.

3.   Grammatical gender

To situate this example in a larger perspective, we need to look briefly at other languages with gender or noun classification systems which do not rely on biological sex. In principle, many criteria could be used as the basis for noun classification. In practice, however, the most common factors are biological sex (male v. female), animacy (living v. non-living), humanness (human v. non-human). One language relying on animacy is Ojibwa, a native language of North America. Along with many other languages it divides nouns into two basic categories of animate and inanimate. However, what is animate to Ojibwa speakers may not seem so to others who do not share their culture and world view. For instance, snow, snowshoes and cooking pots are animate. Generally speaking, things which have power are grammatically animate. One cannot always know in advance which things are powerful. Establishing whether some things possess power can mean waiting for a demonstration.

If noun classes in the Ojibwan sense have nothing to do with sex, then where does gender come into the picture? We could just as easily call these noun classes by other names such as 'Class I, II, III', etc. Indeed, some linguists do that, particularly in cases where the language in question has more than three groups, and the basis for classification relies on some principle other than a biological one. In the Tamil language spoken in South India, the two major classes were traditionally called 'high caste' (masculine and feminine) and 'low-caste' (neuter). We could just as easily call Tamil a language with two genders or two noun classes.

In such cases where a language has more than three noun classes, the connection between gender, as it is commonly rather than technically understood, and grammar becomes even more obscure and problematic. An example of a language with four is Dyirbal spoken by Aboriginal Australians in North Queensland (see Dixon 1972). Each noun must be preceded by a classifier telling what category it belongs to. The so-called *bayi* ('man') class includes men, kangaroos, possums, bats, most snakes, the moon, etc. The *balan* ('woman') class includes women, bandicoots, dogs, and anything connected with fire or water, sun, stars, etc. The *balam* class includes all edible fruits and the plants that bear them, ferns, honey, cigarettes, etc. The *bala* class includes body parts, meat, bees, most trees, mud, stones, etc.

Most of the languages of Africa have even more complex noun classification systems which could also be referred to as gender systems. In a Bantu

language like Swahili, the adjective, numeral and verb all carry an agreement marker which is determined by the class of the noun. Thus, all the words in this sentence carry the prefix *ki-*, which belongs to so-called class 7 nouns:

> *kikapu   kikubwa   kimoja   kilianguka*
> [basket   large   one   fell]
> 'One large basket fell'.

Other noun classes have different prefixes. The Bantu languages generally have between ten and twenty such noun classes.

One interesting question posed by languages with such noun classification systems is how children learn them. How do speakers of Russian know, for instance, that the word for 'water' (*voda*) is feminine, while the word for 'house' (*dom*) is masculine and the word for 'wine' (*vino*) is neuter? Although very young children sometimes make mistakes in gender classification while they are learning their first language, mature native speakers typically make very few errors. In some languages the meaning of words provides the primary clue about the class to which it belongs, while in others, it is the form or structure of the word which determines what class it will be assigned to. In practice, speakers rely on both meaning and form. For example, in Spanish nouns ending in *-a* are, for the most part, assigned to the feminine class (an important exception being the word for 'hand', *la mano*, which is feminine despite ending in *-o*). In German all words ending in *-keit*, or *-schaft* are feminine (e.g. *die Gesellschaft* 'society'), while those ending in the diminutive *-chen*, like *Mädchen*, are neuter. Borrowed words sometimes cause problems since they have to be assigned a gender class, but usually they are adapted to the rules of the borrowing language. When French Canadians borrowed the English word *lubrication*, for instance, it got assigned to the feminine gender because native French words ending in *-tion* are feminine.

The problem of acquisition is much more clear cut in languages like the Omotic language Dizi spoken by about 7,000 people in the southwest of Ethiopia, where there are two noun classes. One includes all nouns which are female, e.g. 'girl', 'woman', 'cow', etc., as well as all things which are diminutive, e.g. 'small pot', 'small broom'. Otherwise, everything else belongs to a category of masculine, which includes men and things not singled out for their small size. Thus, most nouns are masculine. Feminine nouns can also be distinguished by the fact that they end in *-e* (*kieme* 'small pot' v. *kiemu* 'pot') or *-in* (*orce* 'small broom' v. *orca* 'broom'). Other languages with

two classes divide up nouns in a similar way so that the large, more general group, includes men, and the other gender class including females is smaller and marked as distinctive in some way. This is very similar to the English use of the so-called generic 'he' (e.g. *everyone should get his coat*), which has become a target of language reform. Everyone is assumed to be masculine by default unless otherwise stated. We can see this as another manifestation of the ideology which regards the female as Other.

However, there are other languages such as Kala Lagaw Ya spoken in the western Torres Strait of Australia, in which nouns denoting males are singled out as masculine and all others are feminine (with the exception of the word for 'moon', which is masculine). In such languages we can say that gender is fairly straightforward and is governed partly by semantic principles which select a smaller group of nouns as feminine or masculine and assign the rest to a kind of ragbag category. This residue class includes everything else not in the smaller category.

The Dyirbal system, however, despite having only four classes, is much more complicated than the Bantu system with many more noun groups. To understand how it is organized, it is not sufficient to look at linguistic structure and formal principles. We must understand something of Dyirbal culture. The first class obviously includes human males and animals, while the second contains human females, birds, water and fire. The third has non-flesh food and the last, everything not in the other classes. There is also a general rule at work that puts everything associated with the entities in a category in that particular class. Fish are in the *bayi* class with men because they are seen as animals, and so are fishing lines, spears, etc. because they are associated with fish. This shows that sharing similarities is not the only basis for categorization. Cultural beliefs too affect classification. In order to understand why birds are not in the first category one has to understand that to the Dyirbal birds are the spirits of dead human females. Therefore, they belong in the second class with other female beings. Similarly, according to Dyirbal myth, the moon and sun are husband and wife, so the moon goes in the class with men and husbands, while the sun belongs with females and wives.

There is one further principle at work. If some members of a set differ in some important way from the others, usually in terms of their danger or harmfulness, they are put into another group. Thus, while fish are in class I with other animate beings, the stonefish and garfish, which are harmful and therefore potentially dangerous, are in class II. There is nothing in objective

reality corresponding to the Dyirbal noun categories in the sense that the classes do not correspond to groups of entities which share similar properties, but the rationale for the categorization tells us something about how Dyirbal people conceive of their social world and interact with it (see Lakoff 1987 for discussion).

While to English speakers the system might seem quite arbitrary and therefore unlearnable except by memorization of which nouns belong in which class, to children being socialized into Dyirbal culture, it will seem quite natural. Dyirbal is, however, dying out and the traditional way of life associated with speaking Dyirbal is fast being eroded by English-speaking culture. Children are no longer acquiring Dyirbal as their native language. The remaining speakers speak a much altered form of Dyirbal in which the noun classification system is being restructured. Now only females are assigned to the second class (*balan*). The other members such as water and fire are being reassigned to the residue class IV (*bala*). The mythical associations are now lost, so that birds which are the spirits of dead human females are now being transferred from class II to class I. Similarly, the 'dangerous items' such as the garfish and stonefish, which formerly belonged to class II by association, are now in class I since they are animates. What has happened is that a system which could be understood only with reference to the world view of its speakers has now become more strictly based on meaning.

Although the Dyirbal system seems exotic to most English speakers, Julia Penelope (1990) has in fact commented on the parallelism between it and the English system of classification with respect to their grouping of dangerous things in the same category as feminine entities. The use of 'she' in English in connection with hurricanes, etc. reflects the male point of view. Hurricanes are destructive and irrational forces which 'man' needs to subdue. Similarly, cars, boats and planes, like women, are generally owned and controlled by men. The use of feminine pronouns in reference to them is not unlike the Dyirbal inclusion of women, fire and dangerous things in the same noun class. I will show next that there are deeper metaphors at work here which are motivated in both systems by cultural beliefs about women.

4.   Natural gender

By comparison with some of the languages I have just discussed, where gender can be described as a linguistic category with syntactic consequences

throughout the grammar, English is said to have 'natural gender'. This means that nouns which English speakers refer to as 'she' are in fact (with a few interesting and significant exceptions that I've already noted) biologically feminine in the real world. They include, for example, women, girls, female animals, but not objects such as houses, knives, etc. English then relies more or less straightforwardly on the criteria of humanness and biological sex.

Yet the congruence between sex and gender is not absolute. As I just noted, ships, boats, cars, airplanes, nations (and until recently, hurricanes), are sometimes referred to as 'she'. Despite several decades of linguistic reform, it is not hard to find examples of this in contemporary usage. A 1994 travel brochure from Sven Olaf Lindblad's Special Expeditions advertizing a cruise to Alaska described the ship *M.V. Sea Bird* as follows:

> The Sea Bird, built in the U.S. in 1981, is a one-class ship accommodating 70 passengers in 36 outside cabins. She is 99.7 gross tons, 152 feet long and attains a cruising speed of 12 knots. Her shallow draft of eight feet and bow thrusters provide maximum maneuverability and access to otherwise unreachable waterways and anchorages. She carries a fleet of Zodiac rubber landing craft, extending her reach to almost anywhere.

United Airlines magazine carried an article entitled "Boeing Beauty" written by pilot John Pinter in which a Boeing 727 is referred to as *she*, "the grand lady of the skies". Indeed, Pinter carries the feminine personification to such an extreme that he calls the airplane "the other woman" on first mention so that it is not immediately evident that the subject of the article is an airplane. This presumably is done at least partly to catch the reader's attention by suggesting the intrigue of an illicit romantic affair. Here are the opening paragraphs (1995:17):[4]

> My wife, JoAnn, met her competition today. She has known about the "other woman" for most of our 31 years of marriage. In fact, JoAnn knowingly drove me into her arms. I planned to introduce the two at the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago.
> It was difficult to miss such a beauty. She hadn't changed at all, and in fact, she was wearing the same colors she had worn 28 years ago when I fell in love with her.
> Of course, I'm talking about an airplane... but what an airplane it is.

When hurricanes had female names, the associated imagery used in weather reports was stereotypically feminine and often negative. Hurricanes "flirted with the Florida coast" and were "bad-tempered", etc. When male names were introduced for storms, there were a few "him-icane" jokes at

first, but the pronouns used to refer to these storms were primarily neuter, not masculine.

The idea that nature more generally is female is encoded in expressions such as 'Mother Nature', as in this advertisement for villas on the Hawaiian island of Lanaʻi, describing the island as "one of Mother Nature's most beautiful creations... with her pristine beaches, tropical forests and romantic upcountry" (Aloha Airlines magazine April 1996:21-2). Female conceptions of nature are also prominent in scientific discourse on the environment (see further in Romaine 1997a). James Lovelock (1985), for instance, has popularized the idea of a biosphere he calls Gaia (Greek: 'earth' both as matter and goddess), who is personified as a powerful female goddess. He tells us we need to learn "how to work with Gaia rather than undermining her." Other popular authors such as Norman Myers (1990) have followed up on this theme of Gaia as female, telling us that "the lady becomes ever more acceptable". The female personification of Gaia suggests some competing images, e.g. fragility, fickleness, irrationality, but at the same time capability for great destructive force if not properly controlled and subdued (the implication is of course by men, the male scientists who write in this way).

A science film shown to high school students in the US in the 1970s was entitled "Nature, a harsh mistress" and opened with the line: "For centuries man has tried to predict when nature will wreak her havoc". A US television commercial for a rust-proofing compound showed a picture of a threatening woman with long red fingernails ready to scratch the finish on a car. The ad said: "Don't let Mother Nature rip you off. She's out to kill your car's new finish". Men have treated nature as they treat women, as something to be subdued, exploited on the one hand, and as something to be admired for its beauty on the other.

Svartengren (1927) used the terms 'upgrading' and 'downgrading' to refer to cases, where a natural gender system is overridden by other factors. Humans may be 'downgraded', so to speak, by referring to them as *it*, rather than *he* or *she*. A classic case of this occurs with a small child, e.g. *The child lost its coat*, *The baby dropped its rattle*, etc. This usage is more frequent in British than American English. Conversely, upgrading, where an inanimate object such as a boat is referred to as *he* or *she*, is more common. The choice of terms to refer to these processes is, however, questionable in my view. Normally, we have positive associations with 'up' and related compounds, e.g. *upbeat*, *uplifting* (see, for example, the discussion of the basic metaphor

up is good in Lakoff and Johnson 1980). While the downgrading of children with respect to adults can be understood in relation to their age, I do not think women feel 'upgraded' when they hear a male teenage surfer yell out in reference to a big wave "Catch her at her height", or a man say about his motorcycle engine, "I had her really revved up." Nor did I feel 'upgraded' when I opened a recent issue of United airlines magazine and saw an ad for a Toshiba laptop computer telling me to "Open 'er up." On the contrary, such references are downgrading and degrading to women, however upgrading they might seem from the perspective of the items undergoing the process or the male linguists who write about it! It is no accident that children and women, both subordinate groups, are singled out for special treatment.

Moreover, many more things appear to be personified as female than male in English. Even abstract concepts such as liberty, the soul, and justice are often represented as female along with the moon. Sometimes powerful forces such as time and death are male, and occasionally the sun and moon are male too. The Loch Ness monster has been assumed to be female. Towns, cities, countries and continents are also often referred to as if they were female. Robert Louis Stevenson, for instance, wrote of the Scottish capital that "Edinburgh pays cruelly for her high seat in one of the vilest climates under heaven. She is liable to be beaten upon by all the winds that blow..." He also refers to Venice as *she*. A more extended metaphorical identification of a country as feminine can be seen in this passage about Greenland (Copenhagen Airport Shopping Center News 1995:10):

> Greenland's pride is not only in her links to Santa Claus but also in the spectacular beauty of her country and the nature of her people. Greenland — a land of immense, floating icecaps — is one of the most unspoilt places on the planet — she has neither witnessed a war, either between her people or between the inhabitants and the environment in which they live.

In her exploration of some of the metaphorical associations between women and topography, Weigel (1990) has commented on the tendency for both wilderness as well as the town/city to be conceived of as feminine.[5] While Weigel is concerned with the ramifications of this within the symbolic system underlying western history, literature and art, she does not comment on how this metaphor has been played out in linguistic systems, both in languages like English with no grammatical gender, as well as in languages like German with grammatical gender. Not only are both concepts grammatically feminine in German, *Wildnis* 'wilderness' and *Stadt* 'town/city', as is

nature *die Natur*, but parallels extend to other European languages (cf. Italian *la città*, French *la ville*, Spanish *la ciudad* 'city/town').

Women is nature embodied, the other. The underlying conception of woman within this metaphor is that she incorporates a dual nature. She harbors an essentially wild inner nature, though she appears outwardly civilized. Woman is symbolic of the conflict between nature and civilization tempting men with her beauty, attracting him with her charms, but dangerous and therefore in need of conquest. The idea of woman as wild, in need of taming and domestication of course provides the theme for Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. Woman is also symbolic of strange, foreign and wild territory to be colonized and subject to male conquest, as can be seen in English expressions such as 'virgin territory'. Weigel (1990:173) cites references to discourse between military commanders in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) in which conquered cities are referred to as conquered virgins.

Cities are conceived of as feminine since they behave as feminine territory, fortresses to be overcome, harboring within them sensual pleasures as well as the dangers of seduction. The expression *girl of the town* (since given way to *woman of the street*) meant a prostitute. The wrath of God descended on the ancient cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, words that today are synonymous with sexual licentiousness, as punishment for the evil doings of its inhabitants. Weigel notes how in travelogues longing for a distant city is expressed as sexual longing for a woman. The city, however, is at the same time the site of civilization, the place where wild nature has been brought under control and domesticated. Men make their mark on the landscape by erecting cities which provide refuge from the harsh wilderness. The idea of female space existing outside or apart from a male dominated society is played out in some feminist speculative fiction, such as Sally Miller Gearheart's *The Wanderground: Stories of the Hill Women* (1978), where women live in a wilderness, while men control the city. Naomi Jacobs (1994) has drawn attention to the competing landscapes in women's utopian and science fiction. Despite our stereotypical image of utopias as places of warmth, abundance, etc., there is also a recurrent setting of frozen landscape found from the earliest such work in English written by Margaret Cavendish to the works of more recent authors such as Ursula Le Guin. Cavendish's *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing-World* (1688) explored a new world located at the north pole, while Le Guin's *The Left Hand of Darkness* (1969) takes place on a planet called Gethen/Winter, which has a glacial climate. The female space is what Elaine Showalter (1985:262)

has called 'the wild zone', a place where women's values and lifestyle exist outside the dominant male culture.

Warner (1985:292) concludes that it is because women continue to occupy the space of other that they lend themselves to allegorical use so well. She sees as a principal reason for female allegory the fact that the abstract nouns representing these concepts belong to the feminine gender in the Indo-European languages. The Muses, for instance, were the nine daughters of Zeus, each presiding over a different art or science. Liberty along with the three monastic virtues of Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, the seven gifts of the holy spirit, the heavenly beatitudes, the five senses, the seven liberal arts as well as continents, seasons and months were all feminine in grammatical gender in both Greek and Latin. The allegorical tradition in its Christian form from the Middle Ages into the High Renaissance personified all these concepts in the female form. In influential texts a variety of allegorical figures from Dame Nature to Lady Philology enlivened the lessons. These metaphors have been encoded into English as well as other European languages, where the distinction has been grammaticalized, or made obligatory in the grammatical category of gender. Historically, English too had grammatical gender, and nouns such as *wilderness* (and a whole range of related abstract nouns ending in *-ness*) were feminine. Similarly, in the Romance languages the cognate suffixes (e.g. French *-(i)té*, Spanish *-(i)dad*, etc.) are also grammatically feminine and are used to form a class of nouns referring to abstractions such as liberty, charity, etc.

Another equally fertile and important source of imagery was classical Greek myth itself and the spheres of influence it allotted to its goddesses, especially Athena, who above all influenced the representation of the virtues and all other desired qualities personified in the post classical world. The study of Greek and Latin spread through the grammar and public schools in Britain as well as in western Europe ensured that classical myths, texts and images would gain a greater popularity than they had ever enjoyed before when classical learning had been the privilege of a small group.

We can now return to the claim made by male grammarians that men's place was in the affairs of state because the word for 'state' is masculine in languages such as French and German. While the argument is clearly grounded in a belief of male superiority, I believe there is a discernible patterning in gender assignment in nouns lexicalizing the topographic domain. To illuminate it, we need to distinguish between territory as soil, earth or ground as opposed

to territory as country, state and nation. Where territory is conceived of in its 'natural state', i.e. as dirt, soil, earth, etc. from which its fertility arises, by and large the gender assignment is feminine. Compare French *la terre*, Italian *la terra*, Spanish *la tierra*, German *die Erde*, etc. It is not surprising to find similar patterns in non-Western languages too, given the land's association with fertility. Within Maori cosmology, for instance, the primal parents were Rangi awatea, the Sky father above and Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother below. Here we see quite clearly the metaphorization of nature as the body of a woman.

Also within this semantic field are terms referring to land in its natural state as landscape and countryside or cultivated as farm land, e.g. French *la campagne*, Italian *la campagna*, German *die Landschaft* (Note, however, Spanish *el campo*). Where land is conceptualized as a politicized entity under the jurisdiction of a nation-state, the nouns referring to it are generally masculine, e.g. German *Staat*, French *état*, etc. Here land has been colonized and brought under male control. Yet, the symbolic associations of these male-governed nations and countries as abstractions (i.e. as 'imagined communities' in Anderson's 1981 sense) are still feminine as one can see in the use of female figures to represent them, e.g. The Statue of Liberty, Britannia, her daughter Zealandia, and Marianne, the symbol of the French Republic, to name just a few. These abstractions serve as symbolic rallying points of affection and patriotism. While countries usually have founding fathers rather than mothers, the country itself as one's native land in which one is born, is linked with motherhood and the fertility of the land itself, and is therefore often grammatically feminine, such as French *la patrie*, Spanish *patria* (but *le pays*, *el país*) and French *la nation*, German *die Nation*, Spanish *la nación*, as are the names of the countries themselves, e.g. France, Italy, Spain, Ireland. Names of continents such as America, Europa and Asia are feminine. Notable exceptions include German *Deutschland* and *Vaterland* 'fatherland', which are grammatically neuter because a compound noun takes the gender of the final element), and the names for Portugal, which are masculine in Portuguese as well as in French, Italian, Spanish, but neuter in German, etc.

There are naturally some other exceptions, due in some cases to historical irregularities, the names of some cities and countries being a case in point which deserves further examination. Apparently before the Revolution the Russian names of towns on the left bank of the Volga were feminine, and those of the towns on the right, masculine (see Corbett 1991). Nevertheless, the patterns are still strong enough, I believe, to support my thesis and to lend weight to Weigel's and Warner's general arguments.

The fact that we can also find personification in languages with grammatical gender suggests that such classification systems are not as arbitrary as modern linguists generally claim. In Russian, for instance, there is a superstition predicting the appearance of a male guest if a knife is dropped, or a female guest if a fork is dropped. The word for 'fork' is feminine and the word for 'knife', masculine. While the superstition seems arbitrary to an English speaker, for Russian speakers it is motivated by grammatical gender (see Corbett 1991). Similarly, French people who watched Ingmar Bergman's film *The Seventh Seal* were struck by the fact that the character who symbolized death was male. In French (as well as Russian) the word for 'death' is feminine, while in Swedish it is masculine. Insulting terms in German for males are often grammatically feminine, e.g. *die Memme* 'male coward', *die Tunte* 'gay male' (but *der Zahn* 'sexually desirable young girl'). French grammarians have also noted associations between size of objects and gender in sets of related terms such as *la chaise* ('chair')/*le fauteuil* ('armchair'), *la maison* ('house')/*le masure* ('mansion'), *la route* ('road')/*l'autoroute* ('highway'), where the feminine member is smaller than the male one (see Yaguello 1978 for discussion).

5. Leakage between grammatical and natural gender: some consequences of the space in-between

Accepting my arguments about semantic motivation for what I have called the 'space in-between' does not mean rejecting out of hand a significant degree of arbitrariness in noun classification systems of the grammatical gender type. German speakers do not, of course, conceive of trees as male, their leaves as sexless and their buds as female simply because the corresponding words belong to the masculine, neuter and feminine gender categories respectively (Compare *der Baum* 'the tree', *das Blatt* 'the leaf', *die Blume* 'the flower'). Nevertheless, various experiments have shown regular associations between grammatical gender and connotations of meaning derived from our attitudes towards men and women.

In one such experiment Ervin (1962) concocted nonsense Italian words ending either in *-o* or *-a*. The former are usually masculine and the latter, feminine. Speakers had to rate the nouns according to whether the imaginary items they denoted were good, bad, pretty, strong and large. Then the same

people were asked to rate men and women in terms of the same criteria. The nonsense words which were feminine in gender were, like women, rated as prettier, smaller, weaker and better. Similar results have been obtained in related experiments with speakers of Arabic and Hebrew. In Arabic nouns like 'necklace' and 'perfume' are rated higher on a scale of masculinity, which is in line with the fact that these nouns are masculine in gender in Arabic. When given the same nouns to evaluate on a scale of masculinity, English speakers perceived them as less masculine than did the Arabic speakers (see Clarke et al. 1981).

In another kind of experiment Zubin and Köpcke (1981) investigated German words ending in *-mut*, which generally refer to mood and personality characteristics. Historically, words ending in *-mut* should be masculine, but when the suffix ceased to be productive, some nouns switched to the feminine class and German speakers today show a great deal of variation in gender assignment. When asked to rate words ending in *-mut* as being active or passive, loud or soft, etc., which were taken to be facets of a more general scale of introversion v. extroversion, the nouns assigned to feminine gender such as *Anmut* 'gracefulness', *Zagemut* 'timidity', and *Wehmut* 'sadness' all showed introversion. They were rated as passive, soft, etc. Nouns such as *Hochmut* 'arrogance', *Übermut* 'bravado', which rated high in terms of extroversion, were assigned masculine gender. Nouns in the same general semantic area, but with different structure, showed similar effects. Thus, nouns referring to emotional states which received introverted ratings were given feminine gender, e.g. *Besorgnis* 'fear'. The word *Wagnis* 'risky undertaking', however, was given neuter gender.

Yet other studies suggest that children may experience their own gender identity earlier if they are born into a community speaking a language with gender as a grammatical category (see Guiora et al. 1982). We must be careful, however, not to make simplistic equations between categories of the mind and categories of grammar. I showed how the Dyirbal classification drew on perceived as well as culturally derived similarities and associations which resulted in a grouping of women, fire and dangerous things into one category. But can we conclude that Dyirbal speakers are induced by this linguistic schema to see a motivation behind these associations? Actually, there is some evidence to support this because one male speaker consciously linked fire and danger to women in saying, "buni [fire] is a lady. ban buni [class II fire]. You never say bayi buni [class I fire]. It's a lady. Woman is a

destroyer. 'e destroys anything. A woman is a fire." Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to probe the extent of influence the traditional Dyirbal system of noun classification might have had on the thought processes of its speakers.

Even in a language like English with no grammatical gender, there is some evidence of influence on thought processes from gender connotations. Sandra Bem (1993) conducted a study in which men and women were shown a list of 61 words including animals, verbs, articles of clothing and people's first names and asked to recall as many of them as they could in whatever order. Half the people's names were female, and the other half, male. Within the other category of words, one third had masculine connotations (e.g. *trousers*, *hurling*, etc.), one third had female connotations (e.g. *bikini*, *blushing*, etc.), and the other third had no gender connotations. People who were conventionally gendered, i.e. independently showed highly polarized traits, recalled words by clustering them together according to their gender associations rather than by other categories such as names, animal names, verbs, etc. Thus, both natural and grammatical gender systems can have consequences for the way we organize our thought processes.

6. Problems and prospects for reform in languages with grammatical gender

The evidence I have presented also leads me to disagree with Miller and Swift's (1988) claim that the impact of gender is much less blatant for speakers of languages with grammatical gender than it is for speakers of languages like English. I think it is no accident that French feminists have been so concerned with language, and that their arguments about the centrality of language and language reform within feminist theory have taken a rather different turn from those of their Anglo-American counterparts. In languages with grammatical gender like French and Italian speakers' attention is constantly drawn to the issue of gender in a way that it is not in a language like English. For example, *Elle* magazine carried an article about Charlotte Perkins Gilman describing her as a precursor of Betty Friedan. The word *precursor* is masculine in French and therefore sounds odd when applied to a woman, especially in the context of a discussion of the women's movement. The neutral English term does not stand out in the same way.

French also has two words meaning 'language', one masculine (*le langage*) and the other feminine (*la langue*). Writers such as Chantal Chawaf

(1987) have capitalized on this distinction. In her novel *L'Interieur des heures* a woman and her daughter are surrounded by a restrictive masculine space demarcated by language (*le langage*). They dream of another language, which Chawaf calls *la langue*. Similarly, French feminists have appropriated *parole* ('speaking/speech/word'), which is feminine as opposed to the masculine *mot* meaning 'word'.

In French the word for *subject* is also masculine (*le sujet*). Although theoretically (like the English generic pronoun *he*) it supposedly encompasses both males and females, one of the tenets of French feminist theory is the argument that patriarchy constructs the subject as masculine and effectively excludes women. Paradoxically, its apparent grammatical inclusion of women guarantees their social exclusion. For this reason Hélène Cixous (1975) prefers to stress what is feminine by using the word meaning 'person', which in French is feminine in gender (*la personne*). *Person* has of course also been recruited by Anglo-American feminists in formations such as *chairperson*, *cleaning person*, *sales person*, etc., but in English these are gender neutral terms. The political significance of the use of *personne* by French women is lost when translated into English, as is the fact that the French word for 'writing' (*écriture*) is feminine in gender, although the words for writer (*écrivain*) and author (*auteur*) are both masculine. The goal of linguistic reform in French feminist theory has been to transform the subject in its relation to language. Textual politics are in effect sexual politics.

That is not to say that Anglo-American feminism has conceptualized feminist theory in totally different ways or ignored these issues because it has been constructed in a language without grammatical gender. English-speaking feminists, however, have to rely on other textual strategies to draw conscious attention to language, such as the use of respellings like *herstory*, *wombyn*/ *wimmin*, etc.

The problems for reform posed by a language with grammatical gender will also be somewhat different from those of a language with natural gender. The difference is immediately obvious when we consider occupational titles such as *professeur* 'professor' and *policier* 'policeman', both of which are masculine in gender. As Lyons (1968) pointed out in discussing the problem of how one refers to a woman who is a professor, neither the masculine form of the adjective (e.g. *beau* 'beautiful/handsome') nor its feminine form (*belle*) can be used appropriately without resolving the conflict between grammatical and natural gender. Neither *le nouveau professeur est beau* ('the new profes-

sor is beautiful', which necessarily refers to a man) nor *le nouveau professeur est belle* (which is ungrammatical) is possible according to traditional French grammars.

While such a clash is not grammatically possible in English, it is something akin to what I felt when I was told by a colleague that in writing to Tessa Blackstone I had to address her as 'Dear Master' because she was Master of Birkbeck College. The title of Master has not changed since the days when it was assumed that the head of the college would be male. Although the title Mistress exists, it has become conventionalized in connection with women's colleges at Cambridge, Oxford and elsewhere, especially in the case of schools, where a woman in charge is referred to as the headmistress and a male, the headmaster. It is this conventionalization of the terms *mistress* and *master* as titles in the British educational system which made Geoffrey Warnock's (former Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University) remark so witty (at least by male standards) when his wife, a philosopher who held the title Dame of the British Empire, became head of Girton College, Cambridge: "Once I was married to a Dame; now I have a Mistress."

Sometimes grammarians argue that reform flies in the face of grammar. This has particularly been the case in languages with grammatical gender. However, as Sabatini (1985) points out with respect to Italian, the present system is not as consistent as grammarians sometimes make it out to be. Citing this headline from the Roman newspaper *Il Messagero* (April 9, 1983) about the woman who had just been elected mayor, she notes the ungrammatical jumble: "Elda Pucci, medico, 51 anni, fanfaniana, la candidata DC a sindaco." ['Elda Pucci, physician, 51 years old, affiliated with Fanfani's politics, is the Christian Democratic candidate running for and elected mayor']. The terms for 'physician' (*medico*) and 'mayor' (*sindaco*) are masculine, while the term for 'candidate' (*candidata*) and the adjective describing Pucci's political affiliations (*fanfaniana*) are feminine. There is resistance to accepting *sindaca* as the feminine form of mayor, so a woman has a choice between adopting the male title or referring to herself as *la donna sindaco* 'woman mayor'.

Traditional French grammarians have been reluctant to accept the use of the feminine form of the definite article before masculine nouns, e.g. *la professeur*. When in 1984 a woman rode to victory for the first time in a major horse race, the French press did not know whether to call her *le* or *la jockey*. Or should she have been *une jockeyte* or even *une femme-jockey*?

Several weeks later when a London policewoman was shot outside the Libyan Embassy, the press did not know whether to refer to her as *policier femme* 'woman policeman' or to coin a new feminine form *policière*. One way of avoiding the dilemma is to place *madame* before certain titles, e.g. *madame le juge* 'Madame Judge', but to preserve the masculine definite article. Another possibility would be to place the word *femme* before an occupational title as in English terms such as *lady/woman doctor*. Compare the French possibilities: *la docteur*, *la docteure*, *la doctoresse*, *la médecin*, *la femme-médecin*). Not surprisingly, feminine equivalents are scarce only for words referring to prestigious white collar professions, although there are several instances of high titles being feminine in gender while the persons occupying them were male, e.g. *sa Saintété* 'His Holiness' and *sa Majesté* 'his Majesty'. However, there has never been a shortage of feminine names for manual jobs.

When women in France and Italy first began to occupy positions formerly reserved for males only, they often adopted the male terms for these positions. Normally, an Italian woman would be called by the feminine form *la segretaria*, but when she becomes the secretary of a political party or a vice-minister, she gets called by the masculine form *il segretario*. In English a similar bias in the distribution of male and female secretaries exists, so that female secretaries tend to occupy low paying clerical positions, while male secretaries are secretaries of state. In English, however, the social dimensions are not as readily apparent since they are obscured by the gender neutral term. Nevertheless, at least one English dictionary reveals in its definition of secretary as "one who assists another with the routine organization of his business" that we still think of secretaries as female assistants to male bosses.

It comes as no surprise that many women in France are unhappy with coinages such as *policière* or *professeuresse* 'professoress' since they regard them as demeaning and belittling due to the connotations of feminine suffixes such as *-esse* (see Connors 1971). The Italian suffix *-essa* (related to French/English *-ette/-ess*) has similar negative, comic and belittling connotations, as can be seen in words such as *filosofessa* 'pedantic and conceited woman'. Many Italian women dislike the title *professoressa*, which traditionally referred to a secondary school teacher, and abandon the title altogether in favor of *signora* or *signorina*. One reason why women dislike *professoressa* is that other words ending in this suffix are already in use with other meanings, e.g. *presidentessa* derived from *presidente* 'president' refers to the president's wife instead of a woman who is president. English-speaking women have

had similar views with respect to the use of English suffixes such as *-ette* both in women's names and occupational titles due to their association with small things (e.g. *diskette*), or with cheap imitations, e.g. *leatherette*. These reactions are predictable from the psycholinguistic studies I discussed above which showed that gender-specific endings have negative connotations. Thus they have clear implications for the likely success or failure of reform in languages with both and natural grammatical gender. This is particularly the case where reformers have proposed the creation of new job titles for women occupying positions classified as masculine in gender and formerly held by men.

Edith Cresson used the title *Madame le premier ministre* during her brief period as French Prime Minister, while Yvette Roudy wanted to be called *Madame la ministre* when she became Minister for Women's Rights in France following a 1983 law making sexual discrimination illegal. When Roudy's commission for the feminization of job titles published the results of its work in 1986, it proposed two strategies for feminizing job titles both of which increased the visibility of women: one was the use of the feminine definite article with a masculine or neutral noun, *la professeur*, and the other was to add an *-e* to masculine forms, *la chirugienne* 'surgeon'. It rejected, however, the suffix *-esse*. The recommendations were met with indifference and ridicule. The French language academy, an institution noted for its conservatism and purism, condemned the new words. The Academy said that the commission had misunderstood that grammatical gender was arbitrary and largely independent of natural gender.

Apart from the contrastive work on German and English done by Hellinger (1990), little attention has been paid to the issue of reform from a cross-linguistic perspective. These few examples indicate that both the extent and type of reform necessary to rid a language of sexist distinctions will vary depending on the type of language concerned. Feminist ideology also motivates reform in different directions. English and Norwegian reformers have pushed for gender neutralization (degendering), while German and French reformers have campaigned for visibility (engendering or regendering). English speakers are sometimes struck by the insistence of German women on being addressed as *Frau* (literally the equivalent of *Mrs*.), while English-speaking women have generally waged a campaign for the insistence of the new title *Ms*, a designation which does not indicate marital status. To appreciate the different directions reform has taken, one must take a larger view of the

semantic and grammatical systems into which existing words fit and how new words relate to them.

In other respects the title *Frau* is not the equivalent of English 'Mrs.', since it is also the word for both 'woman' and 'wife'. In its meaning of 'woman' and 'wife' it forms a pair with *Mann* in its meanings of 'man' and 'husband', respectively. As a title, however, it is opposed to *Fräulein*, the equivalent of English *Miss*, where the ending *-lein* explicitly marks the form as diminutive and makes it grammatically neuter, as the addition of *-chen* makes *Mädchen* neuter. There is, however, not surprisingly, no corresponding male term of address, *Herrlein*, for young unmarried men.

The experience of English-speaking women with supposed gender neutral forms has underlined Cameron's point that (1985b:90) "in the mouths of sexists, language can always be sexist." When gender neutral terms or positive feminine terms are introduced into a society still dominated by men, their intended neutrality is thwarted in actual usage or they are de- or re-politicized by sexist language practices of the dominant group. It is women who become *chairpersons*, while men remain *chairmen*. Thus, these supposedly sex neutral terms are used in such a way so as to perpetuate the inequalities expressed by the old gender marked terms they are supposed to replace. Androgyny is not yet recognized as a semantic category- it occupies a nebulous space in-between the traditional categories of male and female.

The reinterpretation of the feminist term *Ms*. is yet another example of how women's meanings can be appropriated and depoliticized within a sexist system. What has happened to *Ms.* is another instance of how women's meanings can be subverted in male discourse. It has not entirely replaced the marked terms *Mrs/Miss*, as was intended. Instead, it has been added as a new term of address, or is seen as a replacement for *Miss* and thus is used more often than not in connection with unmarried women. A study done in Canada by Ehrlich and King (1994) indicated that many people used *Mrs*. for married women, *Miss* for women who have never been married, and *Ms*. for divorced women. For some people *Ms* also carries the connotation that a woman who uses the title is trying to hide the fact that she is single. These examples make clear that the underlying semantic distinction between married and unmarried has not been altered by the introduction of the new term *Ms*. Only the title used to mark the unmarried distinction has changed.

Thus, strategies of reform based on degendering and engendering have met with resistance from opponents who claim that the new terms are unnatural

or violate existing grammatical norms. As Cameron (1985a:23) points out, however, if gender is supposedly 'natural' in a language like English, people would not object to feminist reform which insists on replacing the so-called generic pronoun *he*. Reformers are only trying to establish what grammarians have maintained is already the case; namely, that there is 100% congruence between gender and sex. I have argued here, however, that natural gender is not entirely in a one-to-one relationship with sex; nor is grammatical gender entirely formal and arbitrary. The 'real' story lies somewhere in the middle in what I have called the 'space-in-between'.

Notes

1. I distinguish here between sex as a biological distinction and gender as a socio-cultural one. Although the distinction is not uncontroversial, I believe it is a useful one (see, for example, Oakley 1972).

2. This ignores the fact, however, that the conventional way of telling someone to fill a car up in German would use simply the imperative verb form *vollmachen* ('make full') or *volltanken* ('fill (the) tank'), omitting a pronoun entirely. It is interesting to compare the equivalent French: *Faites le plein d'essence* 'Fill it with gas', where a masculine pronoun is used, despite the fact both *voiture* and *auto* 'car' are feminine.

3. Corbett (1991) provides a good overview of the linguistic issues concerning gender as a grammatical category (see also Baron 1986 for relevant historical discussion).

4. A letter I wrote to the editor pointing out this and other sexist usages in the magazine's advertising went unacknowledged.

5. I am grateful to Helga Kotthoff for drawing my attention to Weigel's work on topographical metaphor.

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II

CONVERSATIONAL FEATURES,

CODES AND ACTIVITIES

The interplay between interruptions and preference organization in conversation

New perspectives on a classic topic of gender research[1]

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1.   Introduction

Interruptions are a common phenomenon in verbal communication. The fact that the linguist's term for this phenomenon is taken from everyday language would lead one to suppose that there is general agreement about what an interruption is and that this object of research can be easily described. In reality, however, the category of interruption is anything but unproblematic in conversational research and there is considerable disparity in opinion when it comes to describing what constitutes an interruption and which interactive functions it serves.

Particularly in the area of language and gender, the discussion about the form and function of interruptions has been a central issue. This is doubtless primarily due to the fact that interruption research deals with the operationalization of dominance in conversation, among other things. Thus it touches on a major topic of feminist research, that is, the analysis and change of power imbalances between women and men. The discussion was actually triggered by West and Zimmerman's (1975; 1983) studies of interruptions in mixed- and same-gender conversations. The authors demonstrated that interruptions are potential conversational control devices which can lead to a power difference between speakers in cases of asymmetric distribution. In West and Zimmerman's analyses, men employed interruptions in mixed-gender conversation with considerably greater frequency than women did. The authors

concluded that, in conversations between women and men, interruption is one form in which men exert dominance over their conversation partners.

Rather than look at interruptions in isolation, West and Zimmerman interpreted them in terms of the explanatory framework of ethnomethodological conversation analysis. They defined interruptions as next speaker turns that begin within the current speaker's turn, that is, at least two syllables after the beginning or before the end of the current turn unit. Interruptions are to be distinguished from interventions which facilitate a current turn. West and Zimmerman's operationalization in terms of placement criteria is based on Sacks et al. (1974), who described a system of speaker turn-taking in which speakers generally orient themselves to the completion points of primarily syntactically defined turn units, and thereby express their preference for non-simultaneous speech.

While numerous quantitative studies confirmed the findings of West and Zimmerman's initial research, there were also many others that arrived at different results.[2] Later, qualitative studies[3] documented the fact that the class of interventions that cannot be described as dominance-exerting procedures is larger and more diverse than West and Zimmerman (1983) originally assumed. West and Zimmerman's focus on the formal aspects of conversational organization and their therefore overly inclusive class of interruptions have been shown to be problematic.[4] The most well-known counter-argument is the one brought forward by Tannen (1990), Coates (1989) and others, which states that the use of an interruption or more generally, simultaneous speech, can also be a way for speakers to show involvement and closeness in a conversation. In these studies, criticism of the dominance hypothesis is frequently combined with criticism of the "one at a time" principle said to structure conversation in the turn-taking model.

In view of the contradictory nature of research on the form and function of interruptions, gender researchers might well ask what they can expect from further studies on interruption. Previous analyses illustrate how difficult the conceptual and technical definition of interruptions can be, and yet how essential it is before any further correlation of utterance formats and conversational strategies can be undertaken or any meaningful results concerning the distribution patterns of interventions in conversation can be obtained. In my opinion, the problem of definition is still far from being resolved. In this paper I would therefore like to concentrate on category development. I will introduce a new approach to the matter and combine this with a re-evaluation of the turn-taking model.

From the perspective of interactional logic, the inherent limitations of conversants' ability to hear and understand would necessarily entail that conversations are generally organized as a succession of speaker contributions. For this reason, I retain West and Zimmerman's (1983) use of placement as a criterion for the classification of interruptions at the most basic level of analysis. Beyond that, I will pay greater attention to the interplay between the formal and the content organization of simultaneous speech. Studies by other researchers working in this area have provided linguists with a more detailed differentiation of talk-facilitating and collective speech forms, distinguishing them from interruptions.[5] The further differentiation of interruptions has unfortunately remained more or less untouched.[6] The classification of several interruption types, which I will present here, is intended to document the systematic character of the construction and placement of interruptions. I will also argue that conversations occasionally follow principles that go beyond the immediate explanations provided by the turn-taking model. At the same time, classification will produce a more refined set of tools with which we can examine the dominance potential of interruptions. In characterizing this potential, I mean only the claim to dominance which speakers can assert by using interruptions. Statements concerning actual dominance relations between conversants can only be meaningful after considering the entire course of the conversation and with reference to additional parameters.

The conversational excerpts analyzed in the following as examples were taken from audio recordings of mixed- and same-gender conversational dyads of elderly and young Berliners, which were carried out in the course of the project "The 'Trümmerfrau' and her Granddaughter."[7] In analyzing these recorded conversations I discovered that passages showing impending or established disagreement are contexts where interruptions systematically occur. Two varieties can be distinguished here, namely, the interruption of a potential rejection and interruption as a display of disagreement. For the analysis of these interruptions, I draw frequently on the explanatory concept of preference organization developed in conversation analysis.

2. The interruption of a potential rejection

When speakers formulate an opinion on a topic, their recipients can either accept or reject that opinion. The possibilities from which their co-participants

choose, however, are not equivalent alternatives. Rather, they are related to one another through a system of conversational preferences: one action is preferable to another.[8]

In conversation analysis, the concept of preference is understood structurally rather than psychologically, and refers to the construction format of utterances: preferred actions are routinely realized at the beginning of a turn, and the preferred next turn is placed immediately following the sequence-initiating turn. In contrast, dispreferred actions are delayed; they are frequently preceded by a pause and introduced by various forms of turn prefaces which postpone the dispreferred action.

Pomerantz (1984a) has shown that in contexts where agreement is expected, conversants construct agreement as the preferred format and rejection as the dispreferred format. The interruption I examine in the following excerpts appears in conversational phases in which the speaker's assessment is followed by the co-participant's initiation of a potential rejection instead of the preferred agreement. Shortly after the potential rejection is begun, it is interrupted by the speaker to whom it is directed. For example:

```
Vero:      and sometimes the husband wants to come along shopping too and
           und der Mann geht dann ma gerne mit einkaufen^ und
           then mom and dad actually go together and
           Vater und Mutter gehen dann praktisch zusammen und
           can schlepp quite a bit^
           können schön schleppen^

           ((high))
Karl:      mh[m^]
           mh[m^]
Vero:      [.h ] I can easily imagine that˅ you know?
           [.h ] könnt ich mir sehr wohl vorstelln˅ nich?

Karl:      well you could    [also-          ]
           naja man könnte [ja auch-         ]
>Vero:                      [doesn't have ] to be the evening^
                            [muß ja nich   ] der Abend sein^

Vero:      it can- can also be a long Sa:    [tur  ] day^9
           's kann- kann- 'n: längerer Sonna: [md  ] sein^
Karl:                                         [yeah ] hm˅
                                              [ja:˅  ] hm˅
```

(Conversation No. 23, 48)

In this excerpt, Vero cites the possibility that couples could go shopping together as an argument for keeping shops open longer in the evenings. At that point Karl comes in, beginning his turn with the particle "well" (*naja*), which projects an impending rejection. The potential rejection is weakened by the use of the subjunctive ("you could" man *könnte*). After this rejection-implicative turn preface, Karl is interrupted by Vero(>).

In the conversations we recorded, interruptions most often occur after turn prefaces such as "well" (*naja*), "well then" (*naja also*), "well but" (*naja aber*), "ok but" (*schon aber*), "yes but" (*ja aber*), "but" (*aber*), "well yes only" (*tja bloss*), "yeah so" (*ja also*), "yeah no" (*ja nee*), or "ts" (*och*). The interruption ordinarily begins after such a signal of dissent, but before the rejection has been expressed at all.

I have called this type "interruption of a *potential* rejection," because the beginning of the interrupted turn implies an objection, but a rejection does not always appear in the course of the turn. What is definitive for this type is that the turn preface projects the possibility of an impending rejection, and the next speakers orient themselves to that possibility. The following excerpt depicts the interruption of a turn that begins with a rejection-implicative preface but ends in an agreement.

| Dagmar: | and then all these street actions are |
| | *und auch gerade diese ganzen Straßenaktionen sind* |

Dagmar:	really [done by] the foreig [ners]
	ja [*von den*] *Auslän* [*dern*]
Edgar:	[(eh-)] [(but)] you know^
	[*(e-)*] [*(aber)*] *wissen Sie*^

Edgar:	I [think^-] [think] also that
	ich [*glaube*^-] [*glaube*] *ja auch*
>Dagmar:	's [something we] didn't have at [all^]
	ds [*ham wir ja gar*] *nich* *geha* [*bt*^]

Edgar:	that <u>especially</u> the Berliners are a bit <u>stupid</u> in this
	<u>*grade*</u> *daß die: Berliner da auf einer Backe bißgen*
	area^ aren't they?
	<u>*doof sind*</u>^ *ja?*

(Conversation No. 22, 38)

In this sequence, Dagmar expresses her criticism of general xenophobia. She portrays the presence of foreigners as a cultural boon for Berlin: "and then all these street actions are really done by the foreigners" (*und auch gerade diese*

ganzen Straßenaktionen sind ja von den Ausländern). At that point Edgar starts
out with a turn unit that projects the possibility of an upcoming rejection. After
the "but" (*aber*) indicating disagreement, the turn preface is expanded by "you
know" (*wissen Sie*) and the potential rejection is thereby delayed. It is further
weakened by a subjectifying device ("I think" (*ich glaube*)). Dagmar interrupts
Edgar's turn unit right after the rejection-implicative turn preface, and thus im-
mediately prevents the potential objection from being expressed: Edgar breaks
off his turn unit shortly after Dagmar's intervention. Indeed, as this example
shows, interrupted speakers can also continue their turn unit once the interrup-
tion turn is completed. That the interrupted turn in this excerpt, in contrast to
the interrupted turn in the first excerpt, is continued may also be due to the fact
that what is anticipated by the interrupting speaker (Dagmar) differs from what
the interrupted speaker wants to say: Edgar reveals that Dagmar's interpretation
of his turn preface as an initiation of an objection is a misunderstanding.

2.1   *Mitigating and reinforcing subsequent versions*

In the above examples, next speakers apparently interpret the turn prefaces
of their co-conversants as an indication that their previously expressed turn
is problematic and cannot be agreed to. The potential disagreement is not
simply accepted by next speakers. Instead, they initiate efforts to obtain
agreement and try to "repair" their prior turn with a subsequent version. Da-
vidson (1984) notes in her analysis that subsequent versions can be realized
in very different ways,

> ... such as adding more components, providing inducements, or giving rea-
> sons for acceptance.... (Davidson 1984:107)

With such subsequent versions, next speakers display an attempt to deal with
a potential problem in their original utterance that is preventing agreement by
their conversation partner. In addition, subsequent versions create a next place
for the acceptance of the now modified turn.

   Two main groups of subsequent versions can be distinguished in our
data: those in which the speaker's own position is mitigated and/or the po-
tential objection of the conversation partner is preempted, and those in which
the speaker's own position is repeated or reinforced. Excerpt No. 23,48 is an
example of a subsequent version with which the original position of the inter-
rupting speaker is mitigated:

```
Vero:      and sometimes the husband wants to come along shopping too and
           und der Mann geht dann ma gerne mit einkaufen^ und
           then mom and dad actually go together and
           Vater und Mutter gehen dann praktisch zusammen und
           can schlepp quite a bit^
           können schön schleppen^

           ((high))
Karl:      mh [m^]
           mh [m^]
Vero:         [.h ] I can easily imagine that^ you know?
              [.h ] könnt ich mir sehr wohl vorstelln^ nich?

Karl:      well you could    [also-          ]
           naja man könnte [ja auch-          ]
>Vero:                       [doesn't have ] to be the evening^
                             [muß ja nich   ] der Abend sein^

Vero:      it can- can    also be a long    Sa: [tur    ] day^
           's kann- kann- 'n: längerer Sonna: [md   ] sein^
                                                ((high))
Karl:                                          [yeah ] hm^
                                               [ja:^  ] hm^
```

(Conversation No. 23, 48)

Before Karl can formulate his objection, Vero produces an utterance by which she relativizes the general validity of her previous position and preempts a possible objection by her conversation partner. One possible procedure for getting agreement from co-conversants, even after a rejection-implicative turn preface, is to change the scope of the previous statement. In this excerpt, only a partial aspect of the original position is topicalized in the end, so the scope of the utterance is reduced. While Vero argues at first for longer shop hours in general, after Karl's rejection-implicative turn preface she suggests that only Saturday hours be extended.

By employing a mitigating subsequent version, next speakers show that they prefer to modify their position rather than risk rejection. An attempt is made to avoid an imminent disagreement by moving closer to the putative position of the co-conversant. From this perspective, this type of interruption seems at first to be a non-dominance-related action. The potential objection is expressed — not by the speaker who initiated it, but by the one at whom it is directed. By preempting the anticipated objection and presenting it as their own assessment, speakers avoid giving the impression that they have sub-ordinated themselves to their co-conversants with a concession and thereby

protect their image. At the same time they demonstrate that they had already
thought of the potential objection themselves, and that a partial aspect of their
position is modified by the objection but that it is not questioned as a whole.
For this reason, a mitigating subsequent version can also be used to assert
one's own position. In a rather indirect way, it can be used to assert a claim to
dominance.

Speakers who are the target of a potential rejection can also react to it by
repeating, explaining, justifying, summarily evaluating their initial position, or
by supporting it with further arguments. Here are two examples:

Sonja:	then if it's new it gets said somehow in the news
	wird ja dann wenn's neu is irgendwie in Nachrichten
	in any case^v right?
	auf alle Fälle jesacht^v wa?
Sarah:	yeah actually it <u>does</u> but I didn't notice
	ja eigentlich <u>schon</u> aber ich hab's überhaupt
Sarah:	[at all-]
	[nich mit-]
>Sonja:	[in the pap]er for <u>sure</u>[^] ((swallows))
	[*in der Zeit*]*ung steht's <u>ee</u>*[^] ((swallows))
Sarah:	hm^v
	hm^v

(Conversation No. 3, 30)

Suse:	yes but I wa- was pretty .h worried that if it
	ja aber ich ha- hab schon .h befürchtet wenn es 'n
	had been a <u>political</u> topic I would have had even <u>less</u>
	politisches Thema gewesen wäre hätt ich <u>noch</u> weniger
	to say about it^v
	dazu sagen können^v
Lily:	ts you don't [<u>know</u> that^v you get]
	och das <u>weiß</u> [*man nich^v da kommt-*]
>Suse:	[if it had been about the <u>part</u>]ies
	[*wenn's jetz über die <u>Partei</u>*]*en*
Suse:	o- one [of the questions^v] [((laughs >
	n- 'ne [*Frage gewesen wäre^v*] [((laughs >
Lily:	[you don't <u>know</u> that^v] [then you get
	[*das <u>weiß</u> man nich^v*] [*da kommt ja*

```
Lily:      then: eh (.) you get      ] yeah then:  [.hh ((groans))]
           denn: eh (.) da kommt  ] ja dann:     [.hh ((groans))]
Suse:      > laughs        >    ))]              [yesˇ yes but I ]
           > laughs        >    ))]              [jaˇ ja aber ich]
```
(Conversation No. 14, 18)

In contrast to mitigating subsequent versions, the speaker's original position is not revised in reinforcing subsequent versions in spite of the rejection-implicative turn prefaces. Instead, it is duplicated: the speakers paraphrase, recapitulate, or elaborate their position, and thus reiterate its importance. So if the expected agreement by the co-conversant is weak or completely absent, the speakers undertake to support their positions themselves in the subsequent version in order to get their conversation partners to eventually express agreement. The endeavor to repress potential criticism from conversation partners and to assert one's own position despite the implication of disagreement reveals the dominance-claiming character of this type of interruption.

A comparison of the reinforcing subsequent version and non-contradicting forms of talk-facilitating speech is useful at this point. In talk-facilitating speech, coparticipants support current speakers through repetition, paraphrasing or expansion of the position being expressed[10]; in reinforcing subsequent versions, next speakers employ the same procedures, but refer to their own positions. The fact that the verbal activity of support is performed by the speakers themselves is, in my opinion, a further indication that the co-conversant's contribution is interpreted by the interrupting speaker as rejection-implicative.

Mitigating and reinforcing subsequent versions often have a structure which is comparable to the one that Sacks (1993) described in another context as "skip-connecting." The subsequent versions do not fit into the syntactic format of the co-conversant's current turn; instead they syntactically and/or thematically latch onto the initial utterance of the interrupting speaker. Among other things, "skip-connecting" is done by the use of conjunctions that connect both of the interrupting speaker's turns, as in the following examples:

```
Vero:      [who   ]worked for these millions thenˇ?
           [wer   ] hat denn diese Millionen erarbeitetˇ?
Karl:      [yeahˇ ]
           [jaˇ    ]
```

Vero: it was little <u>guy</u> finally[∨]   =
    doch der kleine <u>Mann</u> letztendlich[∨] =
Karl: .hh   =yeah[∨] h
    .hh   =*ja*[∨] *h*

Karl: <u>okay</u> but [my: [^]]
    <u>schon</u> aber [*meine:*[^]]
>Vero: [though with] the brains from above[^] so that
       [*zwar mit*] *dem Gehirn von oben*[^] *daß es*

Vero: it's run [right][^] in eh- the right [measure[^]]
    richtig ge[*leitet*] *is-*[^] *im e- richtigen* [*Maßstab*[^]]
Karl: [yeah:]   [well[∨]]
      [ja: [∨]]   [*naja*[∨]]
(Conversation No. 23,14)

Vero: then as now I'm sceptical[∨]
    nach wie vor bin ich skeptisch[∨]
    (.)
Karl: well it- it goes [like-]
    naja es- es geht [*denn-*]
>Vero: .hh   [cause-] .h you know we have
    .hh   [*weil-*] *.h wissen Sie wir ham Sie*
          ((extended))
Vero: you mustn't forget we have a sense of entitlement
    dürfen nicht vergessen wir ham ein Anspruchsdenken
       ((extended))
Vero: which i[s so]: colossal[∨] .h   like it's <u>never</u> been before
    das i[*st so*]: *kollossal*[∨] *.h*   *wie es noch <u>nie</u> gewesen is*
Karl: [mhm[^]]   yeah[^]
     [*mhm*[^]]   *ja*[^]
(Conversation No. 23, 76-77)

Here the conjunctions "though" (*zwar*) (No. 23, 14) and "because" (*weil*) (No. 23, 76-77) connect back to the interrupting speaker's previous turns. The subsequent versions "skip over" the co-conversant's current turns.

2.2 *Interruptions in the context of repairs*

Interruptions of potential rejections routinely appear following a rejection-implicative turn preface in the first speaker's turn. Sometimes such interruptions are placed later, however, such as after a combination of a rejection particle and the repetition of a term from the preceding turn. The next

transcript excerpts show subsequent versions that are placed either simultaneously to or immediately after the repeated component:

Inge: but it's [poss]ible for every self-employed entrepreneur
          es   [kann] doch jeder selbständige Unternehmer auch
Julia: [yeah˅]
                   [*ja*˅   ]

Inge: to work when he wants˅ .h- so the
          arbeiten wann er will˅ .h- so müßte der
          businessman should be able to too˅
          Geschäftsmann das auch können˅
          (.)
Julia: well:^ the self- [employed^   ]
          naja:^ der selb [ständje^   ]
>Inge: [I mean now   ] the self-employed
                           [*ich meine jetz*] *die selbständigen*
          businesses˅ these little ones˅ right?
          Geschäfte˅ diese kleinen˅ nich?
Julia: yes: ˅
          ja: ˅
(Conversation No. 20, 10)

Dagmar: well^ but that means that^- .h but there are-^ Berlin
          naja^ aber das heeß doch-^ .h es gibt doch-^ Berlin
          does have a native˅
          hat doch 'n Ureinwohner˅

Edgar: well eh- but a native   [in that sense isn't what I am]
          naja e- also Ureinwohner [*bin ick in dem Sinn auch*   ]
                                      ((high   ))
>Dagmar: [I was born here˅   ]
                                      [*ich bin hier geboren*˅   ]

Edgar: anymore˅ >> yeah I was born here too but I
          nich mehr˅ >>ja ich bin auch hier jeborn a:er ich
          am<< .h don't consider myself a nati- my- .h
          bin<< .h halt mich nich für'n Ureinwe- meine- .h
          my father was from Leipzig and my mother from
          mein Vater war aus Leipzig un meine Mutter aus

Edgar: East Pomerania˅   [you know? so: .hh   ]
          Hinterpommern˅   [*ja? also: .hh*   ]
Dagmar: [well^ that belongs to] that's
                               [*naja^ des gehört doch*] *des: doch*

Dagmar: just a suburb of- of Berlin ((laughs))
           Vorort von- von Berlin ((laughs))
(Conversation No. 22,39-40)

The format of these examples is similar to the organization of repairs described by Schegloff et al. (1977): through the repetition of part of the co-participants' preceding turn, speakers indicate to co-participants what is problematic and initiate a repair.[11] Schegloff et al. (1977) establish that other-initiations usually only occur as a next turn. This placement shows that self-initiated repairs are clearly preferred: next speakers hold back repair initiations and give speakers of problematic turns the opportunity to introduce the repairs themselves first.

Like initiation, the execution of a repair is also marked by preference organization: self-repair is preferred to other-repair. This is apparent in cases of other-initiation by next speakers, where the actual repair itself is left to the first speaker (c.f. Schegloff et al. (1977)).

The examples above can be described in terms of the explanatory framework of repair organization. The rejection-implicative turn does not overlap with the prior turn in either example and, in excerpt No. 20,10, appears only after a short pause, and is therefore comparable to the placement of other-initiation. It is dealt with by the speaker of the problematized turn as if it were an other-initiation: the speaker intervenes simultaneously to or immediately after the turn component indicated by repetition to be in need of repair. In the first example (No. 20,10), the initial version is "repaired" in that the speaker explains her use of the problematic term, thereby treating the potential disagreement sequence as if it were a verbal misunderstanding: "I mean now the self-employed businesses the little ones right?" (*ich meine jetz die selbständigen Geschäfte diese kleinen nich*). Pomerantz (1984b) shows that this type of solution occurs rather frequently: once a problem in the preceding turn has been identified by a conversation partner, it is often initially treated as a misunderstanding by the speaker to whom the job of repair falls, since this is easier to deal with and less face-threatening than a difference of opinion. In the second example (No. 22, 39-40), the appropriateness of the problematized term is demonstrated. In both cases, the speakers insist on the terms they have used, in spite of impending criticism from their co-conversants.

Through the early intervention by the speaker of the problematic turn the preference organization of repairs is brought to bear. The co-conversant's rejection-implicative turn preface lies between other-initiation and other-

repair. It resembles other-initiation in that a component of the preceding turn is repeated with a focussing placement. While an other-initiation is routinely produced with a question particle and/or in the syntactic and intonational format of a question, this type of turn preface displays a particle announcing disagreement and the syntactic and intonational features of a declarative sentence; it would indicate a position statement rather than a question and would thereby project that an other-repair is imminent. With respect to the ambivalent character of this turn beginning, it is significant that the speakers of the problematic turn proceed as they do with other-initiation, in that they produce their subsequent version either simultaneously to or immediately after the repeated utterance component. Through the placement and form of their turn, they preempt a potential other-repair. The turn-taking principle of "one at a time" is here overruled by the preference organization of repair, i.e. the attempt to avoid the dispreferred sequence type supersedes the usual preference for non-simultaneous speech.

In spite of a general dispreference for other-repairs, they are occasionally formulated. In the conversations we recorded, speakers frequently intervene before the completion of their co-conversants' other-repair. Some examples follow:

Rita: and I'd <u>rather</u>^ go pay a bit <u>more</u> and go
              und ich geh <u>lieber</u>^ bezahl 'n bißchen <u>mehr</u> und geh
Rita: into a smaller   [store˅   ]
              in 'n kleineres Ge [*schäft*˅]
Gerli: [but there] are hardly any <u>left</u>
                    [*aber es*] *<u>gibt</u> ja kaum mehr welche*

Rita: .h well now I see it like this: eh when you're in
              .h na ich denke jetz so: eh wenn man inner

Rita: Wilmersdorf street there're [still a few smaller ones˅] right?
              Wilmersdorfer gibt's ja   [*noch 'n paar kleinere*˅] *ja*?
>Gerli: [well: there: yeah˅   ]
                    [*naja: da ja*˅   ]
Gerli: hm˅
              hm˅
(Conversation No. 21, 48)

Rita: now it's really extremely expensive on Kurfürsten[damm˅]
              es is ja nun .h <u>extrem</u> <u>teuer</u> auf'm   *Kurfürsten*[*damm*˅]
Gerli: [m˅   ]
                                    [*m*˅   ]

```
>Rita:     r[ ight? ]                              [general    ]
           j[a?     ]                              [allgemein ]
Gerli:      [.h we ]ll that's really about    gener[al store    ]=
            [.h na ]ja^ das geht ja wohl um allgem[eine Laden]=

Gerli:     =closing time [laws     ]
           = schlußgeset[ze       ]
Rita:                    [exactly˅] yeah˅
                         [eben˅    ] ja˅
```
(Conversation No. 21, 1)

```
Rita:      after all the changes with the new government, a lot of
           nach dem Umbruch mit der neuen Regierung da sagen:
           people are saying anyway who knows how it's going to
           sowieso viele wer weiß wie das jetzt so

Rita:      turn out  [now˅ right?   ]
           weiter    [geht˅ nich?   ]
Gerli:               [well˅ but it  ] has already been years that
                     [naja˅ aber das] is nu schon Jahre mit den

Gerli:     [f-for-       ] KaDeWe12 for example, that   [they only
           [z-zum-       ] KaDeWe zum Beispiel daß  d  [ie nur
>Rita:     [eh- myeah˅]                                 [well˅
           [eh- mja˅   ]                                 [naja˅

Gerli:     make temporary! contracts and so on˅ ]    y[eah?!]
           Zeit!verträge machen und so˅          ]    j[a?!  ]
Rita:      right˅ KaDeWe is really-              ]    [yeah˅] yeah˅
           richtig˅ KaDeWe is ja eigentlich-     ]    [ja˅  ] ja˅
```
(Conversation No. 21, 26-27)

In all three excerpts, the other-repair is accepted by the speaker of the problematic turn (>). In addition to the use of emphatic minimal utterances, agreement is expressed by repeating components of the other-repair in an affirming manner("general exactly yeah" (*allgemein eben ja*) (No. 21,1), "well right KaDeWe is really- yeah yeah" (*naja richtig KaDeWe is ja eigentlich- ja ja*) (No. 21, 26-27). These examples are on the borderline between talk-accompanying contributions and interruptions. The strongly elliptical character of the interventions, as well as the explicit reference to the co-conversant's utterances by means of repetition or referential expressions, support classification as talk-accompanying contributions.

Unlike the interrupting speakers in earlier examples, here the speakers of the problematic turn produce a concession and start up at a significantly

later point, namely, after part of their co-conversant's objection has already been formulated. Nevertheless, the preference system is brought to bear in the placement of these interventions too: placement of the concession before completion of the other-repair indicates the dispreferred status of other-repair. Like "recognitional onsets" (Jefferson 1973), these interventions show that the speakers understand and accept their co-conversants' utterances. With their simultaneously produced contributions, the speakers preempt the continuation of the other-repair and signal that agreement has already been reached, thus eliminating the need for any elaboration on the part of the co-conversant. In the above examples, other-repair is completed at the same time as or soon after the formulation of the concession. A central interactive function of these contributions thus lies in keeping the sequence of other-repair short and thereby protecting the image of the speaker at whom the repair is directed.

2.3 *Interruptions during word searches*

Rejection-implicative turn prefaces can also appear in combination with searches for words. In these cases, the discontinuity in the turn progression is not used by the next speaker to produce a word help, but rather to preempt a potential counter-argument of the co-conversant. The following excerpt illustrates such an interruption.

```
Uta:        well at Christmas^ I'm not in church anyway
            naja W:eihnachten^ ick bin sowieso nich inner Kirche
            for me .h such a holiday doesn't really exist .h (.)
            für mich .h existiern so'ne Feste eigentlich .h (.)
Uta:        anyway˅        i[t's such^      ]
            sowieso nich˅ d[et is so'n^     ]
Wini:                       [well I mean    ] it is- is r- such a
                            [naja ick meine ]: es is- is j- so'ne
                                       ((extended        ))
Wini:       such  [a fam-   ]      [family affair˅      ]
            so'   [ne Fam- ]       [Familiensache˅    ]
>Uta:             [for child]ren though   [it's something ni ]ce
                  [für Kin  ]der is       [det schon wat Net]tet

Wini:       [yeah:: ˅ isn't ] it?
            [ja:: ˅      ne]ch?
Uta:        [yeah: ˅ it is˅ ]
            [ja: ˅  doch˅ ]
```
(Conversation No. 16, 54)

Wini introduces his potential objection with a disagreement-indicating particle
("well" (*naja*)) and a subjectifying device ("I mean" (*ich meine*)). Thereafter,
several self-interruptions and new attempts follow ("it is- is r- such a such a
fam- family affair" (*es is-is j- so'ne so'ne Fam- Familiensache*)). The inter-
ruption by the next speaker which begins during the word search does not fit
into the syntactic format of the current turn unit of the conversation partner but
rather connects back to the interrupting speaker's prior turn in a contrast format
pattern (for me it's not, for children though (*für mich nicht, für Kinder schon*)).
This interruption is placed quite late in the structure of the current turn, but it
also occurs at a point where a potential rejection is being projected but hasn't
been stated yet. Uta preempts a possible objection from her co-conversant,
relativizes her previous statement and thus lessens the disparity between their
positions. The agreement is made explicit by the added agreement particle
("yeah" (*ja*)). The synchronization of utterance production further reinforces
the agreement between the speakers.

The interruptions presented so far routinely appear together with miti-
gated rejections: the interrupted turn displays characteristics of a dispre-
ferred turn type, such as a delay of the rejection through pauses and turn
prefaces ("but you know" (*aber wissen Sie*)), as well as different forms of
mitigation such as weak agreement turn components ("yes actually it is" (*ja
eigentlich schon*)), modal adverbs ("really" (*wohl*)), subjectifying devices
("I believe" (*ich glaube*) "I think" (*ich denke*) "I mean" (*ich meine*)), or the
use of the subjunctive ("you could" (*man könnte*), "I wouldn't know" (*ich
wüßte nicht*)). While speakers can use interruptions to preempt the (often
mitigated) rejections of their co-conversants, they can also interrupt to ex-
press their rejection of their co-conversants' position. For such interruptions,
which I will describe in the next section, it is typical that the rejection they
indicate is neither delayed nor mitigated. Again I would like to make use of
the explanatory framework of preference organization for the interpretation
of these findings.

3.   Interruptions as a display of disagreement

Pomerantz (1984a) shows that the preference relation of agreement and re-
jection changes when speakers express self-deprecation in their turn. Rejec-
tion by the next speaker is preferred as a response to such an utterance and

agreement is dispreferred. In this way, the context sensitivity of preference organization becomes apparent.

Kotthoff (1993) found disagreement sequences in her data in which rejection is not or is only slightly mitigated, and unlike Pomerantz's examples, these rejections do not follow self-deprecation. She demonstrates that preference organization is influenced by institutional and cultural factors, among other things.[13] According to Kotthoff, another form of context sensitivity is "genre-specific:" the context for preference organization changes in an argumentative sequence. Underlying such a conversation phase is a contested point that must be dealt with by the opposed conversants. Kotthoff's study (1993) shows that preference organization, as Pomerantz (1984a) describes it for consensus-oriented conversations, is reversed in phases of controversy: speakers then mitigate and delay agreement, while they construct rejection as the preferred turn format.

In the conversations I have analyzed, interruption turns can take the form of unmitigated rejections. These interruptions frequently begin with disagreement signals like "well," (*naja*) "but," (*aber*) or "yeah only" (*ja bloß*). Here, for example:

Sarah: that they think:^ the shoppers are going to be the
          daß se denn denken:^ die Einkäufer bleiben ja die
          same ones^ and then: (m) I mean the amount of
          gleichen^ und denn: (m) also die Menge an
          shoppers and then: .h it's going to then be
          Einkäufern und denn: .h wird des denn

Sonja: .h
                                                   .h

Sarah: [levelled <u>out</u>^]
          [*ent<u>schärft</u>*^   ]

>Sonja: [yeah only it] won't work out <u>anyway</u> that- that-
          [*ja bloß des   *] *geht ja <u>trotzdem</u> nich daß- daß- denn*

Sonja: people will <u>have</u> to start later then ^
          <u>*m:üssen*</u> *Leute später anfangen*^

(Conversation No. 3, 17-18)

The above excerpt is taken from a controversy sequence, in which Sarah takes the position that more jobs cannot be created by changing store hours, since the number of shoppers would not increase but would merely be spread out over the course of the day. Sonja counters by saying that more people

must be hired as a result of longer working hours. In the course of this contro-
versy, a further interruption occurs in the form of a non-mitigated rejection:

Sarah: but the fact that they're going to be spread out then$^\vee$ that in the
                 aber daß die denn: uffjeteilt werden$^\vee$ daß se morgens
                 mornings then: let's say now- ok exaggerating (now)
                 denn: meinetwegen jetz- also übertrieben (jetz) nur

Sarah: there's only <u>one</u> there$^\vee$ and then
                 noch <u>einer</u> da is$^\vee$ un dann

Sonja: .hh
                                  .hh

Sarah: in the after[<u>noons</u> there's only one there$^\vee$]
                 <u>nachm</u>[ittags nur noch einer da is$^\vee$]

>Sonja: [well but just no huh you   ] just can't
                       [na bloß nee na des kann   ] man ja nich
                 <u>do</u> that$^\vee$
                 <u>machen</u>$^\vee$

Sarah: well$^\wedge$ I   [just think that   ]
                 naja$^\wedge$ ich [mein ja nur$^\vee$]

Sonja: [I think if you   ] <u>need</u> three people$^\wedge$
                     [ich mein wenn man] drei Leute <u>braucht</u>$^\wedge$

       (Conversation No. 3, 19)

In these rejection turns (>), disagreement-indicating particles are followed
by explicit contradictions: "it won't work out anyway" (*des geht ja trotzdem
nich*) (No. 3, 17-18);"you just can't do that" (*des kann man ja nich machen*)
(No. 3, 19). Dissent is openly displayed here through the use of negation
particles ("not" (*nich*)), and it is further emphasized through reinforcing
particles: "not anyway" (*ja trotzdem nich*). The emphasis is prosodically
strengthened in No. 3, 17-18, in that the adverb is uttered with marked into-
national shift.

     In both examples, the next speaker starts up before the end of the cur-
rent speaker's turn unit. By formulating a non-mitigated rejection and at
the same time interrupting the turn of her conversation partner, the speaker
contextualizes her disagreement on the level of conversation organization as
well.

     Here are some more examples to illustrate this finding:

Veit: but- as for as <u>food</u> is concerned it would certainly
            aber- für den Bereich <u>Lebens</u>mittel wär det doch mit
            be a good thing for you
            Sicherheit für dich ne anjenehme Sache

Veit: be [cause:]
            wei [*l:*   ]
>Paula: [>>well] but<< as far as food is concerned I
                [>>*naja*] *aber*<< *für den Bereich Lebensmittel geh*

Paula: go shopping in my <u>neighborhood</u>^ᵛ
            ick in meiner <u>Umgebung</u> einkaufen^ᵛ
(Conversation No. 6, 21)

Julia: .h they could be fed^ᵛ=
            .h sie wären satt zu kriegen^ᵛ=

Inge: =no^ᵛ but not when people without any restrictions: b-
            =*nee*^ᵛ *aber nich wenn die Leute ganz unbehindert: g-*

Inge: had as many kids   [as they wanted^ᵛ]
            soviel Kinder krichten [*wie se wollten*^ᵛ]
Julia: .h   [if they-   ] .h-
            .h   [*wenn die-*   ] *.h- unter*

Julia: would live in better   [conditions^ then they <u>would</u>
            bessren Verhältnissen leben [*würden*^ *dann <u>würden</u> se*
>Inge: [but you can't
                                       [*man kann aber auf*

Julia: not do that at all^ᵛ]
            das gar nich^ᵛ   ]
Inge: create conditions] in this world .h which
            diesem Globus kei]*ne Verhältnisse schaffen .h die*

Inge: would fe- .h feed more than fifteen billion people
            mehr als fünfzehn Milliarden Menschen ern- .h
            ernähren
Julia: .h well [but that's the <u>que:stion</u>] isn't it^ᵛ
            .h naja [*aber das <u>fra:cht</u>   ] *sich ja*^ᵛ
Inge: y[ou- can't <u>do</u> that^ᵛ   ]
                 d[*as- <u>kann</u> man nich*^ᵛ]
(Conversation No. 20, 55)

In excerpt No. 20, 55, several non-mitigated rejections and mutual in-
terruptions are strung together. The disagreement between the speakers is
emphasized through various verbal and paraverbal devices: the speakers'

affirmative propositions are explicitly negated and negating propositions are questioned by their co-conversants The contradictions are strengthened through an accumulation of negation and contradiction particles, and parts of the rejection statements are spoken with marked prosody. Disagreement is emphatically expressed by repeating the syntactic format or parts of the prior speaker's utterance, while rejecting the validity of the proposition it contains.[14]

The non-mitigated rejections in this sequence (No. 20, 55) show that the conversational frame is oriented to disagreement. Both speakers maintain their positions and reject the respective positions of their recipients. The disagreement orientation is also displayed through the turn placement: most of the rejections are produced early. For example, Inge places her first objection in latch position to Julia's turn, that is, without the usual micro-pause between turns found in smooth turn-taking. Then Julia's counter-argument intervenes in Inge's current turn and directly follows the turn component to which Julia's counter-argument refers. The if-then format projected by Julia's turn beginning ("if they- .h- would live in better conditions then they would not do that at all" (*wenn die- .h- unter bessren Verhältnissen leben würden dann würden se das gar nich*)) is then interrupted by Inge shortly before the end of the if-component targeted by Inge's next objection ("but you can't create conditions in this world .h which would fe .h feed more than fifteen billion people" (*man kann aber auf diesem Globus keine Verhältnisse schaffen .h die mehr als fünfzehn Milliarden Menschen ern- .h ernähren*)).

At the end of the sequence, Inge comes in directly after Julia's contradiction-indicative turn beginning with a reinforcing subsequent version ("you can't do that" (*das kann man nich*)). This last interruption makes the distinction between a subsequent version supporting one's own position and an interruption as a display of disagreement clear: while the reinforcing subsequent version connects back to the previous turn of the interrupting speaker in "skip-connecting" format, the interruption as a display of disagreement refers to the current turn of the conversation partner and formulates an argument directly opposed to it.

The examples illustrate that preference organization changes in argumentative conversational phases: here, rejection is shown to be the preferred turn format. This means that rejection utterances are not mitigated; rather, they are likely to be upgraded. In addition, rejection turns are not delayed but

placed early, i.e. near the contradiction-triggering part of the co-conversant's turn. This can result in latches or in interruptions. In contrast to the interruption of a potential rejection, disagreement between conversants is not avoided with this type of interruption, but made explicit. The open rejection of the coparticipant's position and the assertion of one's own is foregrounded. The co-participant's image is not spared, since the rejection is not mitigated. This type of interruption openly asserts a claim to dominance.

4.   Conclusions

With respect to the connection between interruptions and interactive dominance, it must be remembered that the dominance potential of interruptions cannot be determined on the level of conversational organization alone; content criteria must be analyzed as well. In evaluating interruptions in the context of disagreement, this means that openly overriding the rules of turn-taking is not in itself a sufficient indicator of dominance. In combination with other factors, however, interruptions can be an aspect of dominance. West and Zimmerman's (1983) interpretation of interruptions as potentially dominance-claiming devices is largely confirmed as far as interruptions in the context of disagreement are concerned. In comparison to their relative over-generalization of interruptions, however, further differentiation of interruption types lends greater clarity to the respective classifications.

The analysis of interruptions in the context of disagreement also shows that the realization of a preferred sequence type can take priority over the rule of turn-taking at the end of turn units. Thus interruptions of potential rejections are used to convert a sequence of impending disagreement into one of agreement. With this type, speakers display their preference for consensus. Such an interruption additionally acts to protect the speaker's self-image: a potentially face-threatening action of their co-conversant is to be avoided. In this sense, the interruption of a potential rejection functions as a conversational "emergency brake."[15] Interruptions as a display of disagreement, on the other hand, clearly show that the conversational frame is designed for dissent. The turn-taking system is in this case superseded by the preference for disagreement.

Furthermore the thoroughly negative connotations which are generally attributed to interruptions are relativized in this study. Interruptions are not only

to be understood as conversation-destabilizing phenomena, but also as a systematic component of a basic organizational structure, that is, the organization of consensus and dissent in conversation. The stigmatization of interruptions, however, prevents a more differentiated view of their potential meaning and their role in everyday communication.

The interruption types introduced here serve to modify the current understanding of how consensus and disagreement are constituted in conversation. Consensus orientation is usually associated with collaborative and supportive verbal activities, while disagreement orientation is associated with non-collaborative procedures. Interruptions of a potential rejection illustrate, however, that non-collaborative procedures can also help to produce consensus.

Yet a ratifying and affirmative utterance following the interruption of a potential rejection is not always an indication that consensus has truly been reached; it can simply mean that the interrupted conversant does not choose to continue the disagreement at the moment. Thus differences of opinion are not always resolved by speakers; they can alternatively just be postponed or discontinued. Indeed, interruptions can have consequences not only for the interactive relationship between conversants, but also for the way speakers understand one another: if conversants are prevented by interruptions from stating their positions, understanding can be impaired, leading to the mere illusion of successful communication.

The ways in which the interruptions described in this paper function can only be adequately conceptualized if we do not try to explain them solely in terms of the turn-taking model. We need to also consider the possibility that different conversational organization systems can overlap and occasionally conflict with one another. The system described by Sacks et al. (1974) should be understood as a model for general orientation that can be flexibly applied. Thus, the concept of a preferred form of turn-taking at the end of a turn unit is not undermined by this analysis, rather the general understanding of the rules for turn-taking is extended.

All in all, current discussion of asymmetry and gender cannot ignore research on interruption. It will be an indispensable element of any future work on a linguistic concept of dominance. Further, interruption studies help to clarify basic organizational structures in conversation, such as the organization of consensus and dissent. The analysis of the apparent rule breaking exemplified by interruptions also illustrates the effectiveness and limitations of current explanatory models of conversational organization. This is especially

relevant for discussions about the premise that women and men have distinct conversational cultures which require separate explanatory models. Finally, interruption studies touch on topics like conversational cooperativeness and competitiveness, assertiveness strategies, conflict behavior, the pursuit of harmony — topics that have always belonged to the "canon" of research on language and gender. In view of the many ways in which interruption research overlaps with other areas, thereby specifying or extending the dominance hypothesis, I think gender researchers can indeed expect some interesting contributions from further research in this area.

Notes

1. I conducted this study using the empirical data which had been collected for the linguistic research project: "The 'Trümmerfrau' and her Granddaughter." Under the supervision of Professor Klann-Delius and Professor Richter, the project had been designed and carried out by Harriet Hoffmann and myself. I would like to thank Prof. Klann-Delius and Prof. Richter as well as my colleague and friend Harriet Hoffmann for all their support and co-operation throughout the project and beyond. My thanks also go to Prof. West whose broad knowledge, constructive criticism and humor in numerous discussions enriched this study and made the work a pleasure. Prof. Lerner also offered many valuable insights. Finally I'm grateful to A. Shethar for her precise and attentive translating.

2. See James and Clarke's (1991) review of the research.

3. Cf. Coates (1989), Edelsky (1981), Lerner (1987, 1991), Murray (1985), Schwitalla (1993), Tannen (1990).

4. See also Kotthoff (1993b) for an extensive critique.

5. For a description of supportive talk-accompanying contributions, see, for example, Coates (1989), Schwitalla (1993). In particular, Lerner's (1987) work on utterance formats, placements, and the interactive functions of preemptive completions provided me with particularly important insights for my analysis of interruptions.

6. Recent studies by Kotthoff (1993b) and Thimm (1990) move in this direction.

7. "The 'Trümmerfrau' and her Granddaughter" was conceived as a comparative empirical study of the conversational behavior of older and younger Berlin natives, and was sponsored by Berlinforschung. The corpus consists of 24 half-hour dyadic conversations. The 48 subjects represent two different generations; in each age group, there is an equal number of members from the so-called middle class and from the so-called lower class. In each conversation, both speakers are representatives of the same age and class group. In order to ensure the comparability of the recorded conversations, the topic, the setting, and the duration of the conversations were determined in advance. For an extensive description of the project design and the preliminary qualitative and quantitative results, see Ahrens and Hoffmann (1992) and Hoffmann and Ahrens (1991).

8.   See Heritage (1984), Levinson (1983), Pomerantz (1984a).

9.   According to German store hour regulations, shops may stay open up to 5 hours longer on the first Saturday of every month- "long Saturday".

10.   See Schwitalla (1993).

11.   For further forms of the other-initiation of repairs, see Schegloff et al. (1977:367-369).

12.   Kaufhaus des Westens, a large exclusive department store.

13.   As far as the influence of institutional factors is concerned, Kotthoff suggests that speakers in the friendly everyday communication which Pomerantz (1984a) studied direct their contributions toward agreement. In a courtroom hearing, on the other hand, it is expected that the accusation of the opposing party will be contradicted. In a therapeutical situation the self-deprecation of the client is not normally rejected by the therapist, but accepted and further developed. For the cultural specification of preference organization, see Kotthoff (1993a:195) where she provides examples of Georgian conversations.

14.   Kotthoff (1993a) calls a turn structure where parts of the co-conversant's turn are repeated and made into a counter-argument an opposition format.

15.   This term is also used by Thimm (1990).

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Transcription conventions

In transcribing the conversations I have tried to mark the details which are important for my analysis in such a way that the transcripts remain accessible for readers. I have primarily used the transcription conventions currently being used in conversation analysis which were developed by Jefferson (1978) in her work with Sacks. In some cases, however, symbols have been substituted or added for the sake of readability or the goals of this particular study. Special care has been taken with the visual representation of speaker changes, interruptions and simultaneity.

Parallel transcription has been selected to show simultaneous utterances: Square brackets vertically matched on the page indicate that the two bracketed utterances were spoken at the same time.

ma:dness	A colon indicates an extension of the sound it follows. Longer extensions are shown by more colons.
yeah alth-	A dash stands for an abrupt cutoff.
well <u>there</u> yeah	Emphasized syllables, words or phrases are underlined.
(pleasant)	When words are in single parentheses, it means that the speech was very difficult to understand and could not be transcribed with complete certainty.

( )	Empty parentheses mean that something was heard that could not be understood.
((clears throat))	Double parentheses contain descriptions of non- and para-linguistic utterances by the speakers and noises, such as telephone rings or the clink of glasses.
((laughing)) Frank: I think so too	Comments which characterize the talk are contained in double parentheses above the speech they concern. The left double parentheses shows the beginning and the right the end of the section they describe. When descriptions pertain to several lines of the transcript, the comment is repeated and/or the continuation of the description is indicated by arrows (>>).
(.)	A period in parentheses shows a short, unmeasured pause. For longer pauses, two or three periods are used.
(5)	Measured pauses are given in seconds.
.h / .hhh	A period followed by an h means audible inhalation. Longer stretches are indicated by .hhh.
h/hhh	'h' without a period stands for audible exhalations.
so I think^	Arrows pointing upward stand for rising intonation.
yes exactly˅	Arrows pointing downward stand for falling intonation.
not !on my time! you don't	Loud utterance sections are bracketed with exclamation marks.
>>yeah me too<<	Quickly spoken passages are in double arrows.
Ed: it would be doable˅= Bri: =no˅ not like that˅	Two equal signs between the utterances of different speakers indicate that the second utterance is latched to the first and that there is no micro-pause to be heard.
>Ed: well in Berlin	An arrow before a name marks the utterance as an object of analysis.
Carl: I [mea:n^] Vero: [though with] the brains from above	Simultaneous speech is indicated by square brackets. The left brackets mark the onset and the right brackets mark the end of the simultaneous phase.
Carl: well it's [really] Vero: .h [since] you know we	An isolated inhalation or aspiration is set directly under the part of the current turn where it is audible. For the sake of clarity, brackets are not used in this case.

(Conversation No. 23,4-5)   Under every excerpt the number of the conversation and the transcription page numbers are given in brackets. References in the text are made to these numbers and to speakers by name. The original names of the speakers have been changed.

Is Spain different?

Observations on male-female communicative styles in a Spanish group discussion

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Research on communicative behaviour and speech styles, with regards to gender, has, up to now, mainly focussed on Anglo-American and Germanic speakers and languages, that is on "Northern" (post-)industrial societies and their typical communication settings. Very little, however, is known — or at least has been published — about the Mediterranean world, as for instance Italy and Spain, which have, as we may assume, markedly different speech styles. Hence, some of the hitherto described and sometimes controversially discussed linguistic and interactional features, like interruption, overlap, pauses, tags, hedges and other supposedly attenuating forms and strategies, as well as prosodic aspects like tempo and pitch, with their ascribed social meaning and their gender specific distribution (viz. gender stereotyped perception), might just correspond to these societies' gender norms and types of arrangement, without being necessarily generalizable or "universal".

Another shortcoming results from a predominant bias towards middle class speakers in most of the studies I know. Descriptions of "lower class" interactants are, as far as I know, rather rare and still leave some "blank spots" on the map of conversational analysis.[1] The best analyzed social groups today are, I suppose, students, teachers, medical staff and other professional groups in their typical institutional or private settings, or else in TV discussions.[2]

This is why I would like to present some, even though rather limited, material from that *terra incognita* which is natural interaction between working class people in a Mediterranean environment, i.e. a Spanish-Catalan

neighbourhood association, and try to locate it in the framework of other findings on women and gender relations in modern Spain. Before I introduce the concrete event(s) I want to analyze, allow me some general considerations about Spain, Spanish tradition and national characteristics, together with some of the (traditional) views we have about them.

1.   Spain - myths and realities

Spain is known to be the homeland of *machismo*, a Spanish (-Mexican) word that became a feminist concept outside of the Hispanic world first (cf. Bierbach 1991). But even before this term became popular, "we" (i.e. Northern European or Anglo-American, in particular female observers) used to represent Spain as the *macho*'s own country. Our image of Spain is dominated by cultural clichés which include the vision of extremely polarized gender relations, their prototypical representatives being Don Juan and Carmen. The medieval myth of Don Juan seems to incorporate the Spanish male *par excellence*, compulsive seducer, to whom 19th century literature added a female counterpart, Carmen, *femme fatale* who — although originally a gypsy (and thus a socially rather marginal figure) — resumes, in popular perception, all the erotic potential and "danger" of "the" Spanish woman. Interestingly enough, both represent active seducers, personified eros, both are irresistible and, at the same time, a threat to the other sex. Since "seduction" also involves a communicative act, these two mythical personalities may also stand for a certain idealized vision of communication between the sexes, and of gender relations in general, functioning dialectically in a twofold way: as "archetypes" they express age-old traditional concepts of basic relations between men and women and, having evolved into national myths and models of identification, they still influence present day concepts of gender relation and communication, viz. mis-communication.[3] Both Carmen and Don Juan constitute, despite their different historical and literary origins, amazingly lasting and influential mythologies which participate in the making of the external vision of Spain as well as being, within Spain, part of members' categorizations of gender relations. Modern media do their best to keep alive those (obsolete?) emblemata of „doing gender".[4]

   Of course, I do not mean to reduce actual Spanish gender relations, or inter-sexual communication, to a Don Juan and Carmen model. But it does

not seem trivial to elaborate on it for a while. An interesting aspect of these mythologies is that they seem to confirm the image of the Spanish macho, on the one hand, but question (or relativise) it, on the other, by giving him a strong female counterpart. Their common — and (for many) appealing — feature is that they represent male-female relationships as being based on continual erotic tension, obliging both sexes to be perpetual seducers of the other, while proving, at the same time, their essential incompatibility, emphasizing difference, contrast, even antagonism. There is some evidence that these (mostly unconscious) ideas still have social relevance, e.g. when you observe young (and even older) Spanish males and females in public: flirting and seductive rituals seem to be almost compulsory in mixed-gender encounters, on any occasion, during business or at leisure, at the traditional *paseo* as well as on a modern TV-show; the *piropo* as oral genre of Don-Juan-like courting, as well as male verbal showing off in presence of (young) women can frequently be witnessed, as can be shown, for instance by the following transcript of the opening sequence of a radio-talk (La Tertulia de Palacio, COPE, June 1993):[5]

La Tertulia de Palacio

(Participants: Ca = Carlos, moderator, Co = Consuelo and Pi = Pilar, female guests, Is = Ismael, male guest; all of them are journalists)

Ca: Consuelo A. de Toledo left for vacation just a week ago
   Consuelo Alvarez de Toledo hace exactamente un semana marchó
   and she came back refreshed, eh even with a new look eh
   de vacaciones y ha vuelto nueva eh incluso con nuevo look eh
   with a new hairdo and a golden tan on her face ehm caressed
   nuevo peinado y nuevo dorado en el rostro eh hm acariciado
   by the sun of Ibiza as I heard, good morning Consuelo.
   por el sol de Ibiza tengo entendido, buenos días Consuelo.

Co: Good morning Carlos. Yes indeed, the sunshine was wonderful
   Buenos días Carlos. Sí, pues la verdad es que hubo un sol
   and the Mediterranean light is so delightful
   maravilloso y la luz del Mediterráneo es tan tan precioso
   and so lovely and.. also Ibiza right now, since there is
   y tan bonita y:: y además Ibiza ahora que tiene poco
   not much tourism is so.. is very nice.
   turismo es tan, está muy bien.

Ca: Pilar Ferrer has come, as usual, just splendid/
   Pilar Ferrer ha venido como siempre espléndida/

Pi: /Thank you very much Carlos.
       /*Muchas gracias, Carlos.*
Ca: =today she had time to curl her hair just at her
       =*hoy le ha dado tiempo para rizarse los parietales nada*
       temples/   and to show up as always
       más/   eh y a venir como siempre eh
Pi: /a little bit/
                     /*un poquito/*
Ca: =dressed in the very best and the latest fashions,
       =*envuelta en el mejor y el más disenado de los primores,*
       eh, 'H and Ismael/
       eh, 'H y Ismael/
Pi: /HHH let's see what you'll say to HIM now/
                         /*HHH a ver que le dices ahora HHH/*
Co: / HHHHH!
Is: Come on!
       Venga venga!
Ca: HHH and Ismael, well, he's come with a summer sweater, young
       HHH y Ismael pues ha venido con un jersey veraniego, jóven
       just like himself.
       tal que es él.

A conversational opening of a radio chat on political issues, that starts by commenting with much detail and in a flirty manner on the looks of the two involved women — both well known professional journalists — is hardly imaginable on a German or English station. In this Spanish radio conversation, it should be noted that the women do not react in quite the classical way: Consuelo does not respond directly to the compliment, but "diverts" to the alluded cause of her good looks, the sun of Ibiza, and Pilar first responds with a polite "thank you", then confirms a detail of the compliment series with feminine modesty, just "comme il faut", but ends up making a teasing (metalinguistic) comment, challenging the moderator to also compliment the male participant ("let's see what you'll say to HIM now"), thus uncovering the ritual male-female behaviour in a humorous way. Despite this playful diversion however, the classical frame of "courteous" male-female interaction remains present.[6]

At the other hand, and complementary to this, there is still a rather strong tendency towards sex segregation, in private and in public (like the dominantly male *bar* vs. the female or mixed *granja* for soft drinks or refreshments, male clubs, *tertulias*[7], sport activities[8] etc.).

A recent linguistic study by two male Spanish authors, López García/ Morant (1991), with the misleading title *Gramática Femenina*, is dedicated to a large extent to erotic issues[9], whereas for instance dominance patterns in conversation, as an aspect of gender relations, is not even mentioned — a symptom that in Spain male-female communication may still be viewed as essentially a matter of sexual-erotic-affective rapport.[10]

2.   Social and political background to the situation of Spanish women today

While the aspects of male-female relationship discussed so far seem to confirm a rather traditionalist image of Spanish society and ideology, this is, of course, only part of today's reality. In order to understand the present situation of Spanish women, and the particular events to be discussed later, it is necessary to give at least a few elements of social and political evolution in the last 50 years. These — from the Second Republic, Civil War, and Franco's regime to the subsequent democracy — have indeed brought about some dramatic changes into the Spanish civil society, and especially for the women.[11]

After the important political and social achievements in women's rights and equality (such as active and passive vote, participation on the labour market, divorce laws), which were introduced — though with much controversy and difficulty — during the Second Republic (1932-39), Franco's dictatorship following the Civil War reimposed "stone age" conditions on women, comparable in some aspects to those of nazi-Germany. Women were eliminated from public life and functions (in which they had already played an important role, especially during the war) and were called back to their "natural vocation" as mother and spouse. Civil law (*Código Civil*) made them entirely dependent on their husband, or other male "guardian", who (as *jefe de familia*) decided on children's education, the wife's occupation and the family's property (including personal heritage). Until 1966, any labour contract with or professional activity of a married woman had to be approved and endorsed by the husband. It is not hard to imagine the ideological and psychological consequences of such legal practices, even after their formal abolition, inasmuch as they defined any public or professional actvity of women as an "exception" that needed to be authorized by a male family member.[12]

According to women's legal status and overall family orientation, school instruction and higher education did not prepare girls for eventual professional careers, but gave preference to "female virtues and domestic skills" — "ciéncia doméstica" became compulsory, in 1941, for any school diploma. Besides the Falange, on the political level, and specially its "Sección Femenina", the Catholic Church had a dominant influence on school and education, particularly through the imposition of gender segregated educational programs and the prohibition of co-education, which was abolished only in 1970. Fundamentalist religious positions also molded family politics, penalizing extra-marital relations as well as birth control and excluding — needless to say — divorce and abortion, promoting indirectly prostitution as a typical social consequence of "female failure".

The first wave of modernization, towards the end of the sixties, brought some incipient moves toward more liberal standards, coinciding with an economic "boom" and increased outside contacts through tourism to Spain and Spanish emigration to Northern industrial countries. But real improvement for women's legal and civic status was achieved only after Franco's death with the democratic constitution of 1978 and a series of innovated laws, like equal legal status of husband and wife in 1978, divorce in 1981, legal abortion in 1984, among others. In 1983, the Socialist Party (PSOE), taking up government, inaugurated the Instituto de la Mujer (IM) within the Ministry of Education (later at the Ministry of Social Affairs) to provide an instrument for the promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women. This institution has been very active also in initiating and promoting research on women's issues, including social and linguistic gender studies. At the same time, feminist groups and individuals have done a lot to foster awareness for and to remove sexist structures, on the institutional as well as on the ideological and symbolic level, including language.[13]

Another domain where Spain is different today from what we may have thought is education. Whereas at the turn of the century, 70% of Spanish analphabets were women, and the Franco era produced the backlash already mentioned, very considerable progress has been made in the last 25 years. In 1969/70 a General Law of Education gave women access to all educational careers and institutions, basic education (EGB) becoming obligatory for all children between 6 and 14. Meanwhile more women than men graduate from High School (BUP), and between 1975 and 1984, Spanish universities registered an enormous increase in female students: from 22% in 1967 to 40% in

1977, reaching 47% in 1984 (Kreis 1991:325). In 1993 women represented 51% of the Spanish university students and an even higher rate (56%) of those who took their degree that year, — scores that leave behind countries like Germany and France.[14] Within the same period (1967 to 1985), the number of women holding a job doubled and women started to „assault" highly quali-fied positions.[15] Parallel to this, birth rates in Spain decreased from being the highest in the European community, in 1975, to the lowest in 1985 (*El País Semanal* 121, 1993: 20).

A last point to be mentioned, as relevant to the linguistic data I shall present, is political participation. As Kreis (1991) points out, women have been active within the clandestine organizations under Franco, even though rarely in leading positions. After the legalization of political parties and the first elections in 1977, they acquired membership, mostly in the Commu-nist Party, PCE/PSUC (women representing 30% of the members between 1977 and 1979), but also in the conservative UCD (25%) as well as in extraparlamentarian organizations such as labour unions and civic associa-tions (see below), which presented scores between 25% and 45% of female membership. On the other hand, their presence in Parliament (Central and Autonomous Regions) never exceeded 6% until 1986 (Kreis 1991:337); note, however, that this rate does not place Spain behind other European democratic countries, but still ahead of England (5,3%) and France (4,7%)! Meanwhile, Spanish women's parliamentary membership has left these countries far be-hind, having reached 16% in 1993, as against France (6%), Italy (8%), Great Britain (9%) and even the United States (11%).[16]

All these statistical data prove that the end of the Franco era (1975) actu-ally marked a turning point, that Spain really "became different" from before. And they also show that this difference regarded women more then men.[17] Although equality on the labour market as well as in other social areas, is far from fully achieved, these overall positive tendencies should be kept in mind when looking at the language data.

3.   Spanish women and men speaking: some data from a Barcelona neighbourhood association[18]

Having drawn a rough picture of the macrosociological situation, neglecting differences on the regional, rural vs. urban, social class and generational

level, let us now have a look at communication and mixed-gender interaction. The following data proceed from a field study, carried out between 1979 and 1985, i.e. the transition period and first years of democracy, in a working class neighbourhood at the near periphery of Barcelona.[19] The study was not originally aimed at gender relations, but carried on language use and attitudes, together with inter-ethnic relations among the two re-emerging speech communities, the Catalan and the Spanish. However, the gender aspects of communication could not fail to strike me, as far as my own interactions, in interviews, group discussions and informal everyday encounters are concerned as well as in interactions between natives of different sex, generation, local origin and social identity.

Can Porta was chosen because of some personal contacts which made me see that this was a particularly interesting and in some way exemplary neighbourhood at that moment: The citizens, organized in civic or political groups or just sporadically participating individuals, were actively engaged in the social transformation processes, which, for that area, not only meant the overall political transformation of the *transición*, but also the local transformation from a half-rural, more or less spontaneously grown urban edge, with enormous infrastructural deficits, into an urbanized *barrio*. The local *Asociación de Vecinos* (further on: AV) together with young teachers, parents and students who had succeeded (by means of some quite spectacular actions) to obtain a badly needed Elementary school for the neighbourhood, played a central part in the activities, building up something like a community spirit.[20] This is why I centered my studies around the AV and the school, assisting at the weekly AV-meetings and interviewing their members individually, as well as those who were in some way related to the school.

The specific communicative event I want to discuss struck me as particularly interesting with regards to gender studies — and opposed to gender stereotypes — inasmuch as it seemed to demonstrate that women can be quite dominant discussing socio-political issues in an institutional setting, i.e. an AV meeting. Actually, some of the observed women's speech and interactional features in this context appear to be quite "untypical", compared to hitherto research results on gender styles, and suggest a scenario of "strong", assertive and competitive women.

This impression is based on the following parameters indicative of interactive status and communicative style:

(1) Participation, i.e. amount and length of turns ("verbal capital", following Charaudeau 1991 or Charaudeau et al 1993);

(2) interruptions and ways to deal with them;

(3) assertive speech behaviour, regarding procedures or strategies to take and defend the floor and linguistic and interactive means to construct long turns.

These aspects have been analyzed on the basis of a stretch of 50 minutes uninterrupted discussion, taken from a routine AV session and forming one single topic within the meetings agenda. It deals with the problem of delinquency and "civic security" (as the topic was officially named by the participants) in the neighbourhood, implying strong involvement of the participants together with the need for cooperative problem solving strategies.[21] The first point — participation — was analyzed in quantitative terms, the second — behaviour related to interruptions — was also quantified, as far as possible, but will be discussed rather with regards to qualitative aspects or implications, as well as the third point, examining local procedures more in detail, which will be illustrated by a few selected examples.[22]

3.1 Participation patterns

Before presenting the results of the quantitative distribution of turns (length), i.e. speaking time used by each participant (capacity for "holding the floor"), a few words should be said about the speakers/participants. With few exceptions, all the speakers involved in this part of the meeting are AV members exercising a specific function ("vocales"); the following table indicates this function, together with some relevant social data (profession, age) and the name (abbreviation) used in the transcript:

Table 1. PARTICIPANTS

a) AV - Members

Al	-	Alicia, women and health; textile worker, 50
Pe	-	Pepita, president, housewife, about 50
Pi	-	Pilar, parents's association, housewife, about 40
Me	-	"Menor" (José), secretary of AV, textile worker, 45
Jo	-	José-María, youth, industrial worker, 25
Fe	-	Federico, youth, employee, 27
Ra	-	Ramón, sport and culture, president of the local soccer club, retired, 60

b) Guests

Ju	-	Juan, "witness" invited for this topic (victim of agression)
Ab	-	Gino, a lawyer from Chile, living in the neighbourhood, invited to discuss offer of legal assessment for the AV
C	-	Christine Bierbach, observer, regular guest

Looking at the distribution of participation, the first striking result is that it is the three women members who do most of the talking. In fact, listening to the tape recording of that session, myself and all those who listened to it had the impression that the women were speaking "all the time". This first impression had to be slightly revised , but it still remains that the three women occupy more speaking time than the 5 participating men.[23] Table 2 shows the amount of speaking time, number of turns and average speaking time as distributed between women and men:

Table 2. Distribution of speaking time and turns[24]

	time sec	number turns	longest turn	shortest turn	ø time/ speaker
3 women	1468	92	277	0,46	490
5 men	1355	71	187	0,30	271

If we take into account that one of the men (Jo) assumed moderating functions and thus did not participate as fully as the others in the debate (although this was by no means obligatory: he could have even taken advantage of this function to get more turns, or intervene without being called upon), we still have to admit that the fewer number of women take more speaking time than the larger number of men, i.e. more "verbal capital" (see also Table 2a). And, maybe even more remarkable: a woman gets the longest turn — in fact, a turn length that exceeds by far the average turn length of that session, and any reasonable turn length in general, attaining almost 5 minutes. It will be interesting to take a closer look at that turn, as well as on some other lengthy contributions (see below).

Another interesting aspect of participation patterns, that can be dealt with on quantitative terms, is turn-taking organization, comparing self-selected with hetero-selected or "authorized" turn taking. In fact, a formal discussion like the one we are dealing with here is based on the principle of speaker's selection by the moderator upon previous (mostly non-verbal) quest — a

Table 2a. Distribution of speaking time (percentage)

Female speakers:		Male speakers	
Pilar	20%	Menor	18%
Alicia	18%	José-Ma.	11%
Pepita	14%	Federico	9%
		Juan	4%
		Ramón	3%
Total	52%		45%

(Rest: marginal of unrecognizable interventions)

procedure called "authorized speaking" by Charaudeau et al (1993), in the context of TV discussions, a term which I consider quite appropriate also in this formal context of an institutional meeting. Actually, a moderator had been appointed at the beginning of the session, and he is exercising his function, yet quite often the discussants do not wait to be called upon, but start speaking by themselves, with or without justifying their taking the floor. Interestingly enough, the women participants use this strategy to get the turn much more than the men, as shows Table 3:

Table 3. Turn taking: self selection vs. hetero selection

	number turns	self-selected	hetero-selected	by mod.	by current fem.	male sp.
women	79 (ø 26)	65 (ø 22)	14 (ø 3)	6 (ø 2)	3	5
men	65 (ø 13)	39 (ø 8)	26 (ø 5)	14 (ø 3)	7	5
total	144	104	40	20	10	10

(Kranefuß 1994:85)
(The number of turns differs from table 2, because interrupting turns were not counted, see below chap. 3.2.)

The fact that the women take the floor about twice as much as the men by self-selection — which makes them appear or more active and involved or else less disciplined — is complemented by their being less often called upon by the moderator. This means that the men demanded to be put on the speakers list more often and that they stuck closer to the formal rules than the women did. This again can be interpreted as indicative of the men being more used to

this type of formal rules, so that they rely on them, whereas the women prefer to intervene spontaneously, just at the moment they feel they have something to contribute, and are more reluctant with regards to lists, which imply a "planning ahead" strategy (put yourself on the list even if there are a few speakers ahead of you and retain your point until it's your turn, at the risk of having to return to a point already passed over by the ongoing discussion). In fact, it appears from Table 3 that the overwhelming majority of women's interventions are due to self-selection; they are less often solicited by the moderator as well as by current speakers (female or male), whereas they themselves do solicit other — preferedly male — speakers.

It is not evident if these patterns should be interpreted in terms of dominance or simply involvement or even cooperation: if you look at the corresponding turns more closely, it appears that the long, thematically relevant contributions of the women are, as well as the men's, framed by the moderator's authorization (calling the next speaker by her or his name) and final ratification (the typical form being "vale"/ "o.k." + next speaker's name, or sometimes a transition securing formula like "have you finished?"). Most of the self-selected turns are just small comments or questions, confirmation or sometimes rectifications related to current speakers' turns, or they have to do with conversational organization, i.e. at the beginning, to get the topic (respectively the discussion) started and further on, taking the initiative to close the debate on that topic. By doing this, the women take over organizational tasks that actually would correspond to the moderator, i.e. they act in a directive and even sometimes rather "authoritarian" way.

> *Example 1: Initiating a closing*
> Al: o.k., let's get to the next point.
>   *bueno, pasamos al otro punto.*
> Me: allright. yes.
>   *vale. sí.*
> Al: come on.
>   *venga.*
> Jo: here we decide to write the letter...
>   *aquí se determina hacer la carta...*
> (Transcript, p.30 — after almost 50 minutes discussion)[25]

3.2 *Interruptions*

Here again the "Spain is different" hypothesis seems to hold true: the women in this discussion interrupt more often than the men — and they mostly interrupt men speaking, whereas the men interrupt women rarely and seem to interrupt other men more readily, as is illustrated by Table 4:

Table 4. Interruptions

interruptions effected	towards women	towards men	total
by women	5 (ø 2)	10 (ø 3)	15 (ø 5)
by men	3 (ø 1)	7 (ø 1)	10 (ø 2)

(Kranefuß 1994:90)

This table actually only accounts for successful interruptions, i.e. the interrupting person getting the turn her-/himself. Taking into account also intended — non-successful — interruptions, the first result has to be modified in the sense that the men — in accordance with former research — more often *intended* to interrupt a speaker than the women, but were less successfull than these (in total, they tried 27 times to interrupt a woman speaker, succeeding only 3 times; the women succeeded in 10 out of 13 tries to take the floor from a man).

This however does not change the result that the women very actively defended their territory, on the contrary, it renders visible another evidence of "dominant" behaviour, contradicting tendencies hitherto reported (i.e. that women are more easily interrupted, do not countercarry interruptions to maintain the turn; cf. West/Zimmerman 1975, 1983, Trömel-Plötz 1984 etc.).

Are Spanish men just politer? The "caballero" syndrome? A few incidences in our data seem to support this idea:

Ex. 2 — "*Ladies first*"

(1)   Jo: that is: real swell. Fede/rico.
            o sea cojonudo. Fede/rico.
(2)   Pi: /that is distributing (drugs) at school
            /o sea regalando en el instituto (etc.)
                                                          /.../
            ((several persons talking simultaneously))
(3)   Pe: well I think
            bueno yo creo

(4)   Jo: Federico Federico
(5)   Fe: no it's — well I... ((stops))
            no que — bueno yo ...
(6)   Jo: it's your turn.
            tienes la palabra. .
(7)   Fe: well, as for me I believe...
            bueno yo personalmente creo (etc.)

(p.20)

Federico is called 3 times by the moderator before he actually takes his turn: On the first call (1), there is an overlap with a woman, Pilar, taking up a preceding turn that had been ratified as "ended" by several back chanel signals (hmm) and evaluating comments ("vale" — "o sea cojonudo"). She re-starts using the typical reformulation device "o sea" ("that is.."), already used by the moderator before (2), to introduce a longer commentary. She is interrupted by others (not identified), Pepita tries to get the floor (3), is interrupted by the moderator calling again the appointed speaker (4), who however hesitates to take his turn (5) and needs to be explicitly summoned by the moderator (6 - "it's your turn") to start speaking. This sequence gives the impression that Fe, a young man, hesitates to impose his right to speak (now) on the (elder) women who do not seem to have quite finished their point. About a minute later, however, this same speaker does not cede the floor to another male speaker (Me), who tries 5 times consecutively to interrupt him and rectify an argument he is presenting without getting any reaction: Fe just goes on speaking.[26]

On the other hand, there are several sequences where the women defend their actual turn (even when officially "it's not their turn"), against other women as well as against men. For example, an attempt to close the debate, initiated by the moderator (p. 26, 23: "se tendría que acabar el punto/" — "this top should be closed now"), fails because a woman having claimed that she was on the list still gets through making her point with several lengthier turns (p.27-29), although others had already started to formulate the conclusions (p.26, 28ss). Looking at the transcript, there are quite a few instances where the women speaking do not cede to interruptions, or find devices to re-activate a turn that, by its length, its thematic closure and/or prosodic indications, had marked a transition relevance point and could be considered as ended.

Looking at the sequences with a lot of interrupting activities, one realizes, however, that most of them do not aim at taking over the floor: most of

them are just short quests for clarifications, rectifications/precisions or complementary informations, or else, quite often, evaluative comments. In most cases, the speakers (male or female) maintain the floor by retrieval after a short pause and sometimes integrating the "interrupting" commentary into their speech.

So in many cases, it is rather doubtful whether these should be classified as interruptions at all, or rather as back channel behaviour. This is a general problem in conversational analysis, as is well known, and a formal definition of interruption — like the intervening point, its distance from a recognisable TRP (West/Zimmerman 1983) does not seem to be very helpful here.

It is even more difficult to interpret interruptions in terms of "competitive" or "cooperative" or just "involved" behaviour, a problem discussed by several authors in relation to gender aspects (Tannen 1991:206-237, Kotthoff 1993, West/Zimmerman 1983, Gräßel 1991:38-49). Practically all the interruptions observed here, refer to actual speaker's themes, complement, expand or nuance, but do not "cut" them. Sequences which are particularly affected by interruptions and overlaps are at the beginning and towards the end of the debate, that is when there are organizing tasks and negotiations, like making up the discussion's agenda in the beginning, or coming to a close and formulating conclusions at the end. This represents an interactive and cooperative way to handle these tasks, involving not only the moderator, the secretary and the (female) president but also other active members — incidentally those who also have the highest participation scores, thus including the three women (s. above, Table 2a).

As to the "thematic", i.e. debating part itself, it is true, certainly, that the interruptions do create "incisions" and often lead to quite "disorderly" sequences. It is also true that the participants who interrupt most (in these data) are those who "capitalize" the longest total speaking time (Pi, Al, Me) and are themselves very strong in maintaining their (sometimes remarkably long) turns. But finally, it can be observed that it is mostly the women participants who achieve a "return to order" after disorderly sequences.

So, despite quite a lot of overlapping and simultaneous speech, incisions (which by the way also make it difficult to count turns), and moments of "interactive disorder" at emotionally loaded points, the overall impression is of quite a cooperative scene, where participants (female or male) listen and refer to each other, but are also very eager to express themselves. This disorderly style of interaction seems not to be felt as a problem; nobody ever

complains of being interrupted or uses explicit floor defending formulae (like "could I finish please") as it is often heard in German discussions. Only after about 45 minutes of debate (including several "story rounds") are there some appeals to get to an end (since there are more topics to be dealt with that evening), and even after this, there is still room for joking and displaying some political rhetorics.[27] Maybe that's just what makes the "mediterranean character" of these data: there is more tolerance of interruptions and talking all at once, displaying involvement, as well as for lengthy monologues — as long as they are presented with "aplomb".

3.3 *Qualitative aspects: strategies to maintain and expand turns*

Maybe the most striking aspect of these data is the length — and qualitity — of some of the interventions, and the fact that the 3 women involved present this type of long, elaborate, expanded turns. By "elaborate", I do not mean a formal, complicated speech style, as this term was used in former sociolinguistic studies (by Basil Bernstein and others), all participants, on the contrary, use mostly a colloquial style, mixed with more formal or technical terminology (*seguridad ciudadana*, *semi-democracia*, *clase obrera* etc.) and sometimes with more complex syntactic constructions (hypotactical, embedded phrases, gerundials etc.), but these being mostly rather formulaic elements inserted into basically colloquial speech. These style mixtures or shiftings correspond to the fact that the participants, on the one hand, know each other well, feel socially close (as neighbours, AV members, "clase obrera") and meet frequently — elements that call for a "proximity" style (Koch/Oesterreicher 1990) — but, on the other hand, are aware that they are speaking within an institutional setting — a semi-public meeting of a civic association — with certain rules and linguistic standards.[28]

Let us now take a look at a particular long intervention to illustrate these aspects: Pilar's turn (appendix). What is particularly remarkable about this sequence of speech? First of all, it amounts to a duration of 4:40 min., thus represents the longest intervention of the whole debate — and it comes from a woman (Pilar, representing the parents association within the AV). In fact, the noticeable presence of the women at this debate is due to 2 types of participation: (1) the placement of a lot of short, spontaneous (self-selected) turns, as already mentioned, including interruptions, "incisions" and expanded hearer's comments, and (2) several lengthy interventions by each of them,

and especially by Pilar, who thus cumulates the highest amount of speaking time among the participants. It should be interesting then to analyze what the linguistic means and interactive strategies are that allow her to hold the floor so efficiently.

This turn starts, "according to the rules", after the moderator's summons ("Pilar") and comes to a (provisional) end by another participant's quest for authorization to speak. Amazingly enough, this quest seems to be addressed to Pilar, as current speaker (having just indicated a TRP), and it is she who authorizes him to speak:

Ex. 3: Authorizing next speaker

(1) Pi: because we are getting to a point where really you just cannot go on like this, you can't.
(...) porque estamos llegando a unos extremos que que de verdad es que que no que no se puede que no. (0.5)

(2) Ab: listen, may I speak?
oye puedo hablar?

(3) Pi: yes. ((kind of condescendant))
sí sí.

(4) Ab: concerning this ((i.e. what you were talking about))
a propósito de esto.. (etc.) (p.4, 4-7)[29]

So this procedure brings about the type of turn-taking least common in a (moderated) debate: next speaker is authorized by previous, or rather *current* speaker — indicating that, locally, a high interactional status is attributed to Pilar, i.e. considering her as actually having the right to dispose on the floor. In fact, Pi behaves correspondingly and, after Ab's rather short contribution, takes the turn again (p.4, 20-29), despite some competing starts and interruptions, until the moderator finally calls for the next speaker (p.4, 30).[30] Before, there had been short commenting and evaluating interventions, which however were not treated as turn-claiming by either the corresponding participants or by the speaker: she just goes on speaking, eventually integrating some of the information added by the comments. Her "speech" can thus be described as a sequence of 6 parts, or "paragraphs", structured interactively by the intervening back channel comments and textually by introducing new sub-themes and exemplification in every part. The use of "examples" or "case stories" as a means of discourse construction is very typical for this debate — and maybe for a "popular" discussion style in general (cf. Bierbach 1995),

and is very efficiently used by this speaker: it not only serves to support her arguments, but also makes her speech vivid, captures the listeners and appeals for identification (noticeable in the hearers' comments), allowing her, last but not least, to expand her turn and thus maintain the floor. The integrative function of these narrative parts is supported by reference to shared knowledge or experience (expressions like "we all know that place", "we all know what is happening in that house" etc.) and use of inclusive first person plural ("nos aconsejan", "estamos totalmente impotentes", "que nos organicemos" etc.). Very remarkable, also, is the very empathic use of a serious of rhetoric questions, which lead to a stylistic climax and introduce the main point of her argument: the need for collective self-defence.

Ex. 4 — Female rhetorics

Pi: what can we do?
　　　qué nos queda?
　　　get armed like them?
　　　armarnos como ellos?
　　　and go out by night after them, hooded like the Ku-Klux-Klan, to get hold of them?
　　　y salir por la noche tambien encapuchados como el Ku-Klux-Klan detrás de ellos para　buscarlos?-
　　　for me there is no other way...
　　　para mí no hay otro sistema... (etc.)
　　　(p.3, 11-14)

Note the dramatic effect created by the parallel, each time expanded construction of the questions, starting with an open (complement) interrogative followed by complementing, progressively more detailed decision questions and forwarding a decision-type concluding answer, formulated in a very exclusive way. Which again calls for justification, thus expansion.

On the whole, this turn starts in a rather hesitating mode, with hedges and insecurity markers (s. appendix, line 2-3), but soon "warms up" (about l. 25-26, drawing from a rich repertoire of rhetoric and stylistic devices (stories, arguments, appeals, proposals; personal experience as well as collective knowledge and shared judgements), combining monologue and short, mutually confirming exchanges with the audience.

It cannot be said that this style of a "dramatic tirade" is particularly feminine; although it is personalized (by the examples) and emphasizes personal points of view (as often attributed to female speech style), it also

appeals to collective experience and values (even criticising "individualist solutions"), draws on "facts", pleads and accuses. Some elements of hesitation and redundancy which can be noted, too, do not minimize the interactive success of this sequence, and of this speaker in general.[31] The same can be said about the other women participants, who all have some lengthy turns (although not quite as impressing as this one) and succeed very well in constructing and maintaining them. There are stylistic differences between them, of course: Alicia — ranking third in the participation hierarchy (Table 2a) — for instance uses more political arguments, sometimes directive and even authoritarian speech elements, "four letter words" like *joder* and *coño*, and non-verbal "power devices", like shouting, banging her fist on the table etc. Only one of the male participants gets similar participation scores as the "leading speaker" Pilar: this is Menor, the Andalusian secretary of the association, and he uses very similar means as Pilar and the other women, i.e. a lot of "unauthorized", spontaneous speaking (short interventions) and much story telling, exemplifying, popular phraseology and political rhetoric in his longer turns (cf. Bierbach 1995).

4. Conclusions

Certainly, this is just one case study and is not meant to be representative of Spanish male-female communication and power hierarchies in general. Yet I have witnessed discussions like this, with active and dominant women quite often in the working class neighbourhood I was studying. (Much less in the academic milieus!) The interesting point would be to find out what the conditions and contexts are where women are able to act like that. For this, it is necessary to take a short look at other findings on cross-sex communication in Spain — which are, unfortunately, very spare. Gisela Kähler, for instance, studying interaction in Spanish TV-debates, with different settings (sex of moderator, participants, type of show..) presents about the same results as everywhere: Male participants were highly dominant in all cross-sex discussions (and especially with male moderators), on quantitative terms, were more often called by moderators and other participants, had much longer turns, were more often treated as experts, and used some specific communicative devices which seemed to contribute to their interactive success and which women used less (cf. Kähler 1991, 77-84). A few unsystematic samples of TV discussions which I was able to observe confirm this impression (although

with some evidence that women moderators have meanwhile taken a more active part and do contribute also in protecting women's interventions and providing for better opportunities on the floor).[32]

So evidently, the media — as well as high status institutional contexts — are not favourable to women's communicative abilities, in Spain as everywhere.[33] On the other hand — returning to the setting presented here — some features obviously do favour women's participation in a neighbourhood association meeting as we have described:

– it is a routine activity for all the participants involved;
– the participants know each other;
– they are dealing with a problem concerning their own life and close environment; all of them are also emotionally involved and have about equal access to facts and knowledge about the topics discussed (no division between "experts" and "lay people");
– the active speakers do also have some function within the organization, which gives them a certain authority; it is noteworthy however that there is no noticeably hierarchy as for example between the (woman) president and other board members;
– most active members of neighbourhood associations (AV) have had previous (and often parallel) experience with other political or civic organizations; this however is true for the men as well as for the women, especially the older ones.

Finally, in this particular context, factors of age, sex and social class interact in an interesting way:

The 3 women participating in the debate are older than most of the men[34]; the eldest male participant — Ramón, 60 years —, who is treated with much deference, does not participate during the whole discussion; the moderator, in particular, is much younger than the women, as is also another male participant with relative little "verbal capital" (Federico).

Age and sex together may account for a more deferential behaviour by the younger men, as has, for instance, been observed concerning the interruptions (politeness rules towards women that do not apply among men).

It can be observed that middle-aged women, especially in lower (working) class milieus in Spain, behave quite dominantly and self-assured, speaking in a loud voice, joking, commanding, swearing etc. at least, in a context that is familiar to them, like home, everyday public places, markets — and

local meetings. Their linguistic behaviour clearly contradicts widespread stereotypes about women's — and particularly Spanish women's — speech.

The data studied here demonstrate that women, in appropriate contexts, are able to interact in an efficient and successful way — even in Spain, a country that is (was?) known to be particularly oppressive against women — and had very little experience with democratic forms of communication. Considering this, together with some of the reflections made in the beginning of this paper, this record of an AV meetings seems to be quite a remarkable document, apt to demonstrate that, actually, "Spain is different".

Notes

1. With a few exceptions, of course, such as, for Germany, the Mannheim ethnographies (cf. Kallmeyer 1994, especially the contributions by Bausch, Kallmeyer and Keim; also Streeck 1987 and 1994).

2. See, for instance, Trömel-Plötz 1984, Kotthoff 1992, Schmidt 1988, regarding German(y); for an overview Grässel 1991, Frank 1992 and Günthner/Kotthoff 1992.

3. Both Don Juan and Carmen draw an exciting, but nonetheless extremely negative image of gender relations: every relationship they initiate is condemned to failure, at the end there is mis- or non- communication, non-convergence of desire and aims, and finally, death (as is illustrated by the fascinating and tragic scenes between e.g. Don Juan and Dona Elvira or Dona Anna, in Mozart's/ Da Ponte's version, or Carmen and Escamillo in Bizet's/ Merimée's, or in the more recent cinema versions of Saura, Godard and others). Contrary to other great literary lovers, there is no affective community, no idealization of the couple, not even in dying together or for each other, like Romeo and Julia, Tristan and Isolde, Pyramus and Thisbe. Carmen and Don Juan, although obsessively "fixed" on the other sex, remain erotic monads, "lonely hunters". It is interesting that a man and a woman may represent analogous, if not identical schemes of behaviour, that Carmen transcends the traditional passive female victim, typical feature of the female characters in most literary scenarios. So also on this level, Spain is — or rather is seen as — different.

4. See for instance the masculinity/femininity-images propagated in Franco's Spain (cf. Kreis 1991), including the "Spain is different" campaigns, which actually had their origins in the Franco-era. Actual advertising for Spanish products or Spain as a tourist attraction draw on the same imagery; the great popularity of the recent Carmen versions, the revival of Flamenco dancing (another spectacular expression of extremely eroticized male-female relationship) etc. make you think that this man-woman model is still good for identification, appealing to covert dreams and desire.

5. I am indebted to Jörg Reimesch, student at the University of Mannheim, for these data and the transcript.

6.   By the way, the male participant quickly reverts the sexually non appropriate scheme (compliment on his outfit and looks) by non-responsiveness and, instead, diverting the topic to football matters. — The fact that, in general, male courting behaviour is perceived by the Spanish (men) themselves as typical of their country — and something to be proud of — can be illustrated by a small anecdote: When I was travelling, some years ago, by train through Castilla and — as usual — getting involved in conversation with co-travellers, a middle-aged man asked me if it wasn't dull for me, as a woman, that in Germany "men did not react/pay attention to women" ("que no te hacen caso") — an observation that really puzzles you after having endured, for days, the ubiquitous and not always subtle piropos.

7.   Kind of informal male conversation groups, meeting regularly at a café or club, not quite comparable to a German "Stammtisch". Also the traditional "Ateneos", devoted to cultural issues and informal instruction, used to have male membership, with only occasional female guests.

8.   Until the seventies, even public swimming pools used to have separate areas — or days — for men and women.

9.   See especially chapters 4, "Los piropos", and 7, "El ligue", i.e. the modern Spanish version of the "affair", defined by López García/Morante (1991:227) as "relación amistosa-sexual pasajera".

10. At least from a certain (male) perspective; studies by other (especially women) linguists tend to focus on sexism in linguistic structure and on gender relations (including sex) in terms of power and dominance, as does for instance García Meseguer 1984.

11. The following overview is based essentially on the detailed description by Karl-Wilhelm Kreis 1990, 313-346, and for the more recent data on *El País Semanal* 121, 13 June 1993.

12. Husbands, and of course fathers, were also authorized by law to punish their wife or daughter, physically or by restricting their activities.

13. The IM has published guidelines for a nonsexist language in 1990 (*Uso no sexista del lenguaje administrativo*) and is also promoting research on gender, language and communication. Another center that is very active in studying discriminating social and symbolic practices is the Institut de Ciències de l'Educació at the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona.

14. Women's scores rose, since 1975, also in traditionally male faculties/departments like Law (1984: 43%), Medicine (47,3%), Political Science and Sociology (51%), but as in other countries it is still highest in traditional "feminine" matters like Art, Education, Psychology (68%) and (Modern) Philology (70%), according to the Statistics cited by Kreis 1991. In 1990, 56% of the graduates in Biology, 51% in Medicine, 50% in Chemistry and in Law and even 49% in Mathematics were women (*El País Semanal* 121, 1993: 24). This issue of the prestigious newspaper, dedicated to Spanish women's "assault on power" (*Mujeres - asalto al poder*), also reports that female students usually have more academic success, being "más tenaces, más disciplinadas, más estudiosas y más *empollonas*" (loc. cit.: 27), predicting a similar evolution in the professional sector, regarding top positions.

15. In 1984, 53% of the married women held a job, a rate that is increasing within the younger generations (*El País Sem*. 121, 1993:20).

16. Source: Globus 1542 in *Hörzu*, 6.2.1994:8.

17. Kreis (1991: 330-335) gives a more pessimistic view of women's situation on the labour market than does *El País*, specially with regards to equal payment and access to highly qualified jobs. As everywhere, it is still much easier to find women active on the lower and intermediate hierarchy levels, doing work "at the base", in the professional as well as in the political area.

18. A former version of the following data analysis has been presented at the Xth Romance Languages Colloquium, Jena, January 1994, to be published (in German) in W. Dahmen et al (eds.), *Sprache und Geschlechter in der Romania* (= Akten des 10. Romanistischen Kolloquiums), Tübingen: Narr (in print).

19. For a detailed ethnographic description of the neighbourhood cf. Bierbach 1988 and 1991.

20. Cf. Bierbach 1988, 128-132.

21. A detailed analysis of the debate in terms of problem solving as well as "self-expressive", image constructing interaction is proposed in Bierbach 1995 (in print).

22. As for the quantitative results, I draw on a master's thesis by Ilka Kranefuß (1994) which I directed; the qualitative analysis, interpretations and conclusions are my own, unless indicated otherwise. Ilka Kranefuß has also prepared substantial parts of the transcript, others were contributed — at least in a first draft — by student participants of my seminars at the universities of Göttingen and Kassel. I wish to thank them, on this occasion, for all these valuable contributions.

23. I.e. the four AV members (Me, Jo, Fe, Ra) and Juan, the invited "witness"; C and Ab were not counted in the quantitative evaluation, since they abstained from participation, except for one brief turn each (see below).

24. Taken from Kranefuß 1994:79, slightly simplified (fractions of seconds are omitted, as well as average time per turn which I consider misleading, because of the strong variation between long (substantial) turns, as "official" interventions, and very short turns, being mostly short commentaries, questions, "out-of-(official)-turn"-remarks ("incisions") sometimes hard to distinguish from hearer's activities (which is a methodological problem in general). A more detailed analysis should distinguish between "main turns" or "interventions" (e.g. as contributions in between moderators calling up and ratifying the end of a turn, or else explicitly announced self-selected turn taking) and "intermittent" turns, which accompany and/or interrupt a current main turn (s. below).

25. A first initiative to open the closing, by the moderator, about 5 minutes earlier, had failed, mainly because the 3 women insisted on commenting on a point one of them had brought up.

26. These are Me interrupting attempts: (Transcript line) 12: "cuidado, yo he dicho.../" ("careful, I said.."), 17: ((clears his throat)), 19: "he dicho/" ("I've said"), 21: "pero"/ ("but"), 23:"perdón he hecho sólo un comentario eh?" ("pardon, I've just made a commentary, right?")((gives up after this)). — There is another sequence where two men, José-María and Juan, interrupt each other constantly, so that no turn gets ended. On an appealing remark by Pepita — "oye, vamos a estar mucho rato con esto" ("listen, we'll be going for a long time like this") -JM (the moderator) renounces and calls up the next speaker (p.25).

27. For instance, Pepita, during the concluding sequence still launches a political "sermon", with passages like "ahora hay una gente concreta que quiere hacer ver que esto es consecuencia de una semi-democracia que tenemos y eso lo que tenemos que tener claro es que no es esto sino que lo fomenta el capitalismo clarísimamente para que la clase obrera pues somos los primeros que nos enfrentemos entre nosotros .. (etc.)"
(",.. now there are certain people who want to make believe that this (i.e. delinquency) is the consequence of this sort of semi-democracy we are having, and that's not what it is, we have to get that straight, but it's promoted by capitalism, that's for sure, so that the working class, we (sic) are the ones that start fighting each other...").

28. See Bierbach 1995 for a more detailed analysis of this tension between institutional frame and participant relations.

29. Ab then presents an example confirming her point. — Actually, Ab, a lawyer from Chile, is not a member of the AV (see above, table 1) and this may explain his cautious manner of asking for the turn. It is still remarkable that he does so, since — as an "expert" and higher status guest — he could have spoken without authorization.

30. This is why this whole sequence — in between 2 callings from the moderator — could be considered one turn; however we counted (measured time) only up to the turn-claiming by Ab, not taking into account though the short intervening remarks or questions, as they were not turn-claiming (see above).

31. By the way, more of the so-called insecurity markers (hesitation phenomena, hedges, attenuating formulae) can be observed in the younger men's speech (José-María and Federico) and seem to me more indicative of age (respectively lack of routine) than of gender. Tag questions — marked by "eh" or "no" — are used by men as abundantly as by women.

32. As for example Mercedes Milà, a very brilliant TV moderator, from whose popular program "Queremos saber" I collected some evidence where she cut overbearing male participants and explicitly encouraged women participants to take their turn and elaborate their arguments. I heard though that she was fired shortly afterwards from that program, for reasons which I could not find out.

33. Unfortunately, recent research on TV communication, by Calsamiglia, Nussbaum, Tuson and others (cf. Calsamiglia et al 1995) in cooperation with the CAD (cf. Charaudeau et al 1993), have not (yet?) investigated gender aspects. But some very interesting research on cross-gender *discourse* in institutional settings (implying Spanish executives) has been published recently by Luisa Martín Rojo and Javier Callejo Gallego (1995).

34. There are other — young — women in the room who do not participate at all, behave as "audience" (they have no functions within the association either). In some of the interviews I had with AV members, it was noticeable that the very young women (between 16 and 24) were much shyer than their male peers.

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Appendix

    [1]
1   Jo: **Pilar**
         Pilar
2   Pi: Well, me, I don't know, facing these situations of of powerlessness
         bueno yo, es que: no sé ante estas situaciones de de impotencia
3   where you don't know what to do, I mean, as for me I don't know what we could
         de que no sabes hacer o sea para mí' no sé que se podría
4   do - the letters - are worthless, not one of them means anything, you know?
         hacer - las cartas '- no tienen ninguna validez '- ni nada tiene ninguna validez. eh?
5   I mean because the police tell you one thing and me another.
         o sea porque la la policia a tí te ha dicho una cosa y a mi me ha dicho otra
6   For example the **school**, we have reported, reported these things to the police
         *por ejemplo la **escuela** hemos denunciao '- denunciado a la policía estas cosas*
7   hundreds of times, and what did the police say? - that they were
         ***cientos** de veces. **qué** nos ha contestado la policía? - ((louder)) que son están*
8   **unable** to resolve this, that the only system that they could recommend was - **that**
         impotentes** a solucionar ésto. que el único sistema que nos aconsejan es '- **que
9   **we organize ourselves in gangs just like the delinquents do and that**
         nos organicemos nosotros en plan banda también como la delincuencia ' y que
10   **we go out to get them.**
         salgamos a buscarlos.
11   These are literally the words of the police.
         = estas son palabras textuales de la policía.
12 Ju: // Yes, yes, yes! //
              // sí sí sí sí sí sí sí sí //
13 Jo: // they just want to provoke us //
                           // es que quieren provocar //
14 Pi: = these are the words of the police =
         = éstas son palabras de la policía =
15 Al: = they want to provoke us, of course!
                     = quieren provocar, claro!
16 Ju: = one of them told me that too/
         uno de ellos me lo dijo también

17 X: ((murmuring, talking all at once))
           // (xxxxx) //

[2]

18 Pi: It seems that, there is a case where a few guys went a short time ago, and the same
           = *resulta que hay un caso que unos chavales que pasaron hace poco ' y la misma*

19   police advised those **pa**rents and those kids that they shouldn't say anything at all.
           *policía aconseja a esos **pa**dres y a esos niños que no digan nada por*

20   Right? for that trouble they had, **I mean**, I don't know what, really,
           *tal tal tal tal. no? por el rollo este ahora ha habido - **o sea** ' no sé que realmente*

21   it's not possible - no, <u>if you want (to write) a letter, o.k., a letter</u>, but actually
           no se puede no <u>si queréis la carta pues la carta</u> pero es que nosotros

22   we've sent **so many** letters and filed **so many** reports, and things are the same
           *hemos mandado **tantas** cartas y hemos hecho **tantas** denuncias y estamos como el*

23   as they were the first day or **worse**. I really don't have anything to propose
           *primer día o **peor** ' - - que realmente tampoco tengo una propuesta que hacer*

24   because I actually don't know what we could do. What I do know very clearly
           porque es que no sé qué es lo que se podría hacer. - yo sí tengo muy claro

25   is what I'd do, you know, on a personal level=
           lo que lo que haría yo, no? a nivel personal =

26 Al: = me too.
           = *yo también.*

[3]

27 Pi: = right now for example I've come with a father I just met
           = *ahora mismo por ejemplo he venido con un padre que me he encontrado*

28   at another meeting. And also (there), at E. (name of school), they entered to steal,
           ahora de otra reunión ' - y también en el Esplai en el instituto entraron a robar,

29   right? and they hit the caretaker etc. etc.. well, the other day, this father,
           no? y pegaron al conserje ' y tal tal tal tal tal. bueno, el otro día el padre este,

30   as we were having a meeting, he commented: **well, listen, I've seen kids from here**
           *como tuvimos una reunión también comentó - **pues oye - yo he visto chicos de aqui***

31   - I mean, like those who attacked the caretaker and who have gone in to rob,
           - o sea de los que atacaron al conserje y que a veces han entrado a robar

32   I've seen them entering a house. <u>So I've come with that</u> father over
           los he visto estar entrar en una casa. - <u>entonces he venido con este</u> padre hasta

33   here, I didn't know that he was coming here, see? - and he asks, are you going to
           aquí porque yo no sabía que él venía por aquí, no? - y me dice tú vas a la

34   the Neighbourhood Association now? - yes. - if there's a person called
           asociación de vecinos ahora? - sí.- si allí hay una persona que se llama

35   miss Somebody? - I say, well, no. He says, it's ..well, **I mean**
           *Fulanita de tal? - digo pues no. dice' es que: - bueno en **o sea** '- ((faster)) - //*

36   <u>let's see, (there's) something I've left out</u>, the kids he had seen entering E. to rob it,
           *<u>a ver una cosa que me he dejado</u>, **chicos** que había visto entrar a robar al Esplai*

37   and to attack the caretaker, that he had seen them entering a house right here,
           por ejemplo a atacar al conserje que los había visto salir de una casa de por aquí.

38   you see?
           - no?

39 Al: a house right here?
una casa de por aquí?

40 Pi: a house right here and that they actually - were coming from that house //
una casa de por aquí que concretamente - salen de esa casa //

41 Al: // yeah I know which house it is, I know //
// ya sé qué casa es yo ya lo sé //

42 // (xxx) **we all know** which house, we all know what is happening in that house -
*// (xxx) // **todos sabemos** que casa todos sabemos que pasa en esa casa -*

43 and the neighbours have filed a hundred - this is what a father told me who
y los vecinos han puesto cien ésto me lo acaba de decir un padre que

44 accompanied me here, up to the entrance, they have filed
me ha acompañado hasta aquí a la puerta ahora mismo ' - acaban han puesto

45 complaints - **a ton of them** - about these gentlemen, but to tell the truth
*denuncias - **a montones** - a esos señores. - pero resulta que*

46 I don't know what kind of protection these gentlemen have, that nobody
no sé qué protección tienen esos señores que nadie

47 ever gets a hold of them, by any means.
tiene forma de echarles mano por nada.

48 You know?
eh?

49 Pe: If you had seen the way they were dressed, I expected it, right?
si vieras como van vestidos ' me me lo veía, eh

[4]

50 Pi: = Another rumour we know about, where
= otro ruido que sabemos que allí

51 there's a lot of trouble, is a pub which which I'm not going to name the street
hay mucho cacao' es un puf que no voy a nombrar la calle

52 at this moment, I mean
// en este momento o sea //

53 Al: // yeah, we all know //

                                          // si todos lo sabemos //

54 Pi: all of us know that the neighbours also filed a series of complaints
= todos lo sabemos ' - que también los vecinos pusieron una serie de denuncias

55 because - all kinds of things happened there, and it turns out that this pub is
porque allí ha pasado - bueno de todo' - y resulta que es intocable aquel pub

56 untouchable because it turns out that the owner is a policeman from
porque resulta que el dueño del pub es un policía de

57 I don't know where.
no sé donde.

58 Al: yes.
sí

59 Jo: which pub is that? ((soft))
cuál pub?

60 Pi: = I mean everything is like this, just rotten.
= o sea es que está todo así - de corrumpido

61   Fe: (The Desnuti)
            (El Desnutí)

[5]

62   Pi: So what happens? I mean, we're totally helpless about that.
            = entonces qué pasa? o sea que estamos totalmente impotentes - a esto.
63   xm   ((very soft voice)) // (xxx) //
64   Al: let's see what //
            a ver a qué //
65   Pi: = what can you do? **get armed like them**? and go out after them at night
            *= qué nos queda? - **armarnos como ellos**? y salir por la noche también*
66   hooded like the Ku-Klux-Klan to get hold of them?
            encapuchados - como el Ku-Klux-Klan detrás de ellos para buscarlos?
67   For me there is no other way but catch a few of them we all know
            - para mí no hay otro sistema o coger a unos que todos conocemos
68   who they are, catch some, and at the highest point of the S. square,
            quienes son' coger a unos - y en el poste más alto de la plaza Soller '
69   tie them up there and form a picket line so that nobody gets too close to that kid
            - atarlo allí y hacer un un piquete allí para que nadie se acerque al chaval?
70   - with a series of posters telling that this is happening for this and that reason,
            - con una serie de carteles diciendo aquí está esto por esto por esto y por esto '
71   and hold him there for a week, tied up, with a picket, or else, in a room /
            y tenerlo allí una semana atado en en un piquete? o sea - en un piso ' -
72   in my opinion, this is the only solution. Because neither the police nor the
            para mí es la única solución. porque ni la policía ' ni ni el
73   City Administration, where we have complained hundreds of times, to the
            ayuntamiento que lo hemos denunciado cientos de veces al
74   City Administration, but nobody is solving nothing and we're getting
            ayuntamiento ni nadie' está solucionando nada y estamos llegando
75   to a point where actually we can't step out of the door, on the street anymore.
            a unos extremos? - que de verdad no podemos salir ni a la puerta de la calle.
76   And we all are, that's what I told you the other day when that happened with
            y todos estamos lo que te decía a tí el otro día cuando pasó lo
77   those boys, we all are solving our problems at an
            *de los chicos éstos ' **todos** andamos solucionando nuestro problema*
78   individual level - and I'm the first - and I'm aware that this is not
            a nivel individual. - y yo soy la primera - y que soy consciente. - de que la forma
79   the right way to settle it, to solve my problem individually. That's what
            de arreglarlo no es esa - en solucionar mi problema a nivel individual. que es lo
80   I told you.
            que te decía yo. -

[6]

81   Now I have two daughters, fifteen years old, for example, and it turns out that
            = tengo ahora dos hijas - con 15 años por ejemplo, y resulta que
82   I have to do what I'd never done in my damn life,
            lo que estoy haciendo lo que no he hecho en mi puñetera vida ' - hacer de
83   babysit my 14 and 15 year old daughters=
            niñera de mis hijas con 14 y 15 años. =

84	Pe:	yes we have to look for other solutions shure!
		si tenemos que buscar otro remedio clar!
85	Fe:	// (xxx) //
86	Pi:	= and I have to make four trips daily, to take them and to pick them up
		= y me tengo que hacer los cuatro viajes a llevarlas y a traerlas
87		something **I haven't done in my life!**
		*lo que **no - he - hecho - en - mi -vida**.*
88	Fe:	Good gracious!
		la divina desgracia
89	Pi:	= and I'm solving my problem individually.
		= y estoy solucionando mi problema a nivel individual.=
90	Al:	yes.
		claro.
91	Pi:	and the mother who the police say should shut up, and she shuts up,
		= y a la madre aquella la policía le dice que se calle y se calla
92		is solving her problem individually. And the other, the neighbour from up there,
		y soluciona su problema a nivel individual. - y el otro el vecino de arriba
93		well, the same, individually. I mean, it's like, I really **don't** know
		*pues igual a nivel individual. - o sea que como **no** sé de verdad es que **no** sé*
94		what to do, but certainly we've got to do **something** - **urgently** -
		*lo que se podría hacer pero desde luego **algo** hay que hacer ' - **con urgencia**' --*
95		because we're getting to a point where you really can't stand it, you can't,
		pero porque estamos llegando a unos extremos que que de verdad es que que no
96		you can't, you can't.
		que no que no se puede que no.
97	Ab:	Listen, may I speak?
		oye puedo hablar?
98	Pi:	yes, yes.
		sí sí
99	Ab:	Concerning this - this is a legal problem,
		a propósito de ésto ' - éste es un problema de carácter legal.
100		people are set free provisionally without any recourse. A short time ago I had
		se concede la libertad provisional así - sin más ni más hace poco tiempo me
101		to attend to, through the lawyers union, a knife man, since it was my turn that
		tocó asistir - por el colegio - un navajero' - como estaba de turno ese'
102		day, who had a record of 25 attacks, what a pile of paperwork the police had,
		día — que tenía veinticinco atracos así un montón de fichas que venía la policía?
103		hm, he attacked someone they sent him before the court, and the next day, he was
		hm hacía un atraco, luego lo pasaban al tribunal?, al día siguiente y estaba
104		free again and went on attacking half of the world. He already had 25 on his
		*en libertad y seguía atracando a medio mundo ' ya llevaba eh veinti**cinco** eh*
105		record, 2**5**!
		*v**einticinco** =*
106	Al:	fuck!
		*= **joder**!*
107	xm:	(xxx)

108 Ab: = 25, that was the pile of paperwork the policeman showed me. hm, and
         = veinticinco si así era el montón de fichas que me mostró el policía ' hm y

109   just for that it's a legal problem, and besides hm, the
         precisamente por eso es un problema de carácter legal ' y además eh ' la

110   police cannot do anything, they get them and they cannot lay a hand on them,
         policía no le puede hacer nada los coge'- no les puede ' eh - poner mano dura

111   not at all, they know more laws, or rather, more about their rights than
         con ellos ' nada nada. saben más le o sea más derecho que

112   anyone here.
         cualquiera de los están aquí presente.

[7]

113 Pi: Yes, yes, and that's why the only thing I see, really, and I insist, is that we get
         sí sí y por eso es lo único que veo de verdad, e insisto, es coger

114   one of these guys we all know, or who many of us know,
         a un chaval de esos que todos conocemos o muchos de lo a muchos conocemos

115   // actually //
         // de verdad //.

116 Pe: // basically these are some miserable ones//
         // en el fondo son unos desgraciaos//

117 Pi: // = (xxx) = //

118 Ab: // (xxx) //

119 Pi: = or they go crawling after them and say,
         = ((loud)) **o van de la rampa** *(darrera?)'- o van de la rampa (nadería?) y dice*
         listen, and tomorrow we go for another one, and catch him, tie him up there,
         oye y mañana vamos a por **otro**? *- o cogerlo atarlo allí '*
         make a barricade among all (of us) so that nobody can approach,
         hacer un piquete entre todos allí para que ((schneller)) no dejar que se acerque
         hold him there for eight days tied up, I mean do it in a brutal way.
         nadie tenerlo allí ocho días atao. - o sea para hacerlo a los bestial tipo: '

123 Jo: **Alicia**

Transcription Symbols

// sí sí sí // // es que etc. //	simultaneous; overlap
(xxxxxx)	incomprehensible or inaudible
= resulta que etc.	(fast) continuation
-	short pause or hesitation
——	longer pause or hesitation
'	(slightly) rising intonation ↑, suspension
?	questioning intonation
.	ending intonation ↓ (Transition Relevance Place)
que:	lengthened vowel (hesitation)
bold	loud, marked
<u>underlined</u>	very fast

The interactional achievement of expert status

Creating asymmetries by "Teaching conversational lectures" in TV discussions[1]

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Abstract

The subject of this article is the negotiation of expert status in television debates. In these competitive media situations men more often than women negotiate a high expert status for themselves, even if both are invited to participate because of expert knowledge of a certain topic. A central conversational activity hereby is "lecturing." The features of lecturing will be outlined. It is also shown how conversational lecturing influences group dynamics, i.e., how it increases competitiveness. Most women discussion members communicate knowledge in less authoritative formats. In the case of TV debates, the communicative ranking order is a component of the arrangement between the sexes (Goffman 1977) which goes beyond local conversational practice. "Doing gender" is analyzed as situated practice with variations. There are also symmetrical gender arrangements in some TV debates. The article favors a social-constructivist view on gender.

1.   Introduction

In interactional gender studies, the focus of analysis lies on reconstructing the relevance of social difference in context. The concept of gender, asserted, for example, by Goffman (1977), Connell (1987), West/Zimmerman (1987),

Günthner (1992a, b) and Kotthoff (1993a, 1994), takes gender as a relevant category of accomplishing an interaction order. Gender is primarily seen as a category of the social order, not of the person.

All cultures produce, in one way or another, a gender difference that more or less actualizes itself in everyday activities. Not all cultures, however, do this in the same way.[2] In most cultures, a rank order is integrated into the gender difference, but this rank order is not equally important everywhere. Male behavior and activities are more highly valued. This assessment manifests itself in our culture implicitly, but perceptibly. For example, in public contexts, more powerful situational identities are often negotiated for men. "TV host and assistant hostess" is such a typical asymmetric gender arrangement that mostly appears in this constellation on Austrian, German, and Swiss television.

In a television discussion, for example, experts are only then recognized as experts if they present themselves as such, and if this situational identity is conversationally confirmed by their interaction partners. If it is the case that in certain contexts expert roles are more often created for men, and roles of the "affected" or "concerned" for women, then a solidly asymmetrical relationship between the sexes is established. Experts are normally given more talking time; they define the problems; they transmit their knowledge in lengthy turns; other participants frequently address questions to them, and they instruct their discussion partners on the "right" way to act. Thereby they gain conversational dominance. In contrast, women often communicate their expert knowledge in more explorative ways (Holmes 1991) which do not lead to dominance. Since gender is not the only social identity category which plays a role in interaction, the above-outlined pattern is far from being the only one found.

This analysis of Austrian/German/Swiss television discussions indeed indicates that many men, even if invited by the producers because they are "concerned" about a certain problem (e.g., suffering from a certain illness), attempt to present themselves, at the very least, in terms of a minor expert status (e.g., being an expert for that illness). For many women experts (not for all!), on the other hand, it is more difficult to negotiate this situational identity for themselves. They seldom try to act as authorities on the topic at hand from the beginning of the debate. The men who gain dominance in the course of discussion are ones who behave as experts and compete for this status from the start. Presumably, the role of an "affected" person is considered by many men to be a role with little social prestige.

The focus will be on the negotiation of expert status in TV group discussions. A distinction is made here between TV discussions and talk shows. TV discussions are strongly centered around topics and do not contain personal interviews, as do talk shows.

The main interest remains centered on how a status order is established conversationally in the context of openly structured media debates on social, cultural, and political topics, and how this process is related to gender. Conversational "lecture" formats which many men employ and also sequences in which women successfully or unsuccessfully communicate expert knowledge will be analyzed in detail. I shall also pay attention to the contextualization properties (Cook-Gumperz/Gumperz 1976) of "lecturing" and of explorative ways of transmitting knowledge.

This qualitative conversation-analytic study of group debates concurs with Leet-Pellegrini's (1980) quantitative variable analysis of dyadic interactions. She had 70 same-sex and mixed-sex pairs debate the dangers of television for children; fifty percent of the men and women participants had been made "experts" by being given special background information. Generally, the uninformed persons asked the informed ones more questions and gave them more positive minimal responses. This was seen as a confirmation of the knowledge asymmetry and an acceptance of the partner's expert role. The experts spoke more often, had lengthier turns, and interrupted their partners more often. The general structure of expert-layperson discourse did not appear in one constellation: Uninformed men in conversation with female experts were the exception. A comparison of the male/male, female/female and male (expert)/female (lay) discourses with the female (expert)/male (lay) discourse shows that the female experts supported their uninformed male partners to the extent that they compensated for their differences in knowledge. In this constellation of female expert and male layperson, the women and men developed conversational activities in order to balance the knowledge asymmetry. This study shows that men tend to assert themselves as experts, and that they are confirmed in this role by both women and men. However, men seem to have problems accepting women experts and women seem to have problems communicating their expert status to men.

Unfortunately, her study does not discuss subtle differences in the general enactment of knowledge asymmetries. It can very well be the case, however, that there are further differences between male/male and female/female conversations, for example, in the degree of the negotiated asymmetry

or the speech activities which lead to it. As is typical for quantitative studies, the analytical categories remain quite broad and general. In interactional sociolinguistics, scholars are quite sceptical concerning the value of context-free quantification of discourse phenomena. For example, Tannen (1993b) discusses several linguistic strategies (indirectness, interruption, silence versus volubility, topic raising, and adversativeness) which have widely divergent potential meanings. All of the strategies used to mark both power and solidarity in face-to-face interaction are strongly dependent upon context.

2.   The type of television discussion

Ten television discussions were analyzed from the Austrian TV discussion "Club II," which are quite openly structured. They are always broadcast live and are open-ended late into the night. These discussions on social, psychological, cultural, scientific, and political themes are very popular in Austria, Switzerland and southern Germany. The discussions normally last about three hours. One factor that makes them so attractive is that both celebrities and 'ordinary' people are invited to appear together, so that there is always a high degree of spontaneity.[3] It quite often happens that late at night politicians say things they never intended to say or actors reveal dimensions of their personality which they had hidden from the public. The atmosphere is usually quite relaxed. The discussions are moderated, but the moderators sometimes do not participate very much. These are some of the reasons why the debate shows are so popular.[4] The first hour of each discussion was transcribed and the focus will remain on this first hour.

The discussions represent a microcosm in which the negotiation concerning points of view, conversational styles, status orders, interactional frames,[5] and the face work of participants strongly depend on their own conversational activities. Negotiations of conversational dominance can therefore be pursued as processes in the group.

In media discussions participants present an image of themselves which they consider to be positive. If they exercise power, they do it in a way which does not threaten their public reputation (see also Felderer in this volume). People display more socially acceptable behavior in front of TV cameras than in private situations. By analyzing TV debates we also witness public forms of gendered behavior which are seen as displaying 'normality'.

3.   Dominance and asymmetries: some conceptual remarks

The discussions, which were broadcast in the late eighties and early nineties, are analyzed in a discourse and conversation-analytic way focusing on the negotiation of dominance and subordination. Generally, there is variation in societal dominance structures. A particular dominance relation can be due to superior knowledge, institutional status hierarchies, symbolic capital, physical power, conversational styles, personal relationships, and/or all of these factors together. Many factors are, of course, involved in creating a certain social order for an event. Those who gain a high intrinsic status often talk a lot (and are tolerated or even supported by others); they are asked questions by others (and contribute extensive information); they define and steer subtopics (in which others collaborate); they establish their opinions as the most important, and they joke about others' opinions (and are rewarded with laughter), to mention just some features which are often discussed in the literature (Bales 1950, Coser 1960, Fishman 1983, Trömel-Plötz 1984, Thimm 1990, Tannen 1990, 1995, Linell/Luckmann 1991, James/Drakich 1993).[6] Intrinsic situational status is, however, not linked to extrinsic in a straightforward way.

Most of the Club II TV discussions are debates on pro and con issues. In controversies, it can be the case that the person with the most hotly debated position gains the greatest amount of speaking time. The most controversial person can very well be the most dominant. A dominant person is not always a person with high social acceptance by the group. For example, there are two TV discussions in the current data with the reactionary Catholic Bishop Kurt Krenn. Krenn has caused many problems for the Austrian Catholic Church by fighting democratic tendencies in the basically undemocratic institution of that church. He wants women to play no official role in the church; for example, he prohibited girls as ministrants and he is absolutely against allowing women to become priests. The interactional style of Bishop Krenn is very authoritarian. Although his position is not accepted by the majority of the discussion participants, he is often addressed. But since nearly all the contributions addressed to him are critical, the high status which he gains in the discussion is a special case. Although Krenn is verbally attacked most of the time, having a large amount of speaking time nevertheless means, in this context, that he has the most opportunity to influence the TV audience in favor of his way of thinking. The power of the Catholic Church is thereby acted out.

There is considerable disagreement in discourse analysis as to what extent analysts should bring contextual, extrinsic information to bear on the process of identification and interpretation of intrinsic discourse patterns. Some researchers (e.g., Schegloff 1987) opt for an approach based more or less exclusively on intrinsic textual data, while others (e.g., Cicourel 1992, Philips 1992) argue for the use of complementary sources of information, such as ethnographies, data about actors, and self-interpretations of particular encounters.

Gender is such an extrinsic category, as Schegloff (1987) contends, that its relevance should only be shown in the data. It will also be maintained here that conversational processes should form the center of the analysis, but in order to meet the research needs of gender studies it is necessary to go beyond the analysis of local productions of asymmetries. Conversation analysis mostly sticks to local asymmetries and should therefore be extended by other methods, as is the case in interactional sociolinguistics. We need at least ethnographic information about the interlocutors.[7] Otherwise we tend to think that a person's dominance depends only on her/his conversational style without taking into consideration that a style has to be legitimate. The conditions of felicity of conversational styles are primarily social conditions, imbued with power and authority.[8]

The focus here will be on one speech activity, "conversational lectures," which often create a high rank for those who carry them out. But "conversational lectures" (they will be analyzed and defined later) do not play an important role in every discourse type. If the talk is more about likes and dislikes (as is the case in one TV discussion in my data on the topic of 'motorbikes'), "teaching sequences" are not very common. The same holds true for pure exchanges of personal experiences. The topical context of the speech activity of "lecturing" is very relevant for its evaluation. But in debates, where knowledge plays an important role, we can see in the conversational data that "lectures," suspending turn-taking procedures, often lead to a dominant position. In comparing several TV discussions it was recognized that it is mainly female participants who are discouraged by the group from carrying out these status enhancing activities of "lecturing." Oftentimes, they are just at the point of starting a "lecture" only to be interrupted by a man who is already competing to gain a high expert status for himself. This man then completes the "lecture" his way (see also Tannen 1990: 123-148).

The gendered power structure observed in the data goes beyond the local textual level. It started already at the conferences where the producers of Club II decided whom to invite for a certain topic. For scientific and political subjects, women always form only a small minority (typically just one woman is invited in a round of six or seven men). Thereby, these topics are habitually redefined as belonging to the male world. It does not make sense to separate conversations from their institutional surroundings. Power relations have a history which is habitualized in institutional as well as conversational politics (Bourdieu 1990, 1991). Generally, the contextually enacted roles of the sexes in institutions (here: television discussions) and their styles of communication should not be separated from each other. In interactions, the social identities of the sexes are produced, reproduced and actualized through gender differentiated activities; these are reflected on the institutional level and work their way back and forth between institutional levels and those of concrete interactions.

It appears that intrinsic status interacts with extrinsic status in a complex way. For men, having a high extrinsic status means that they use this resource to make it interactionally relevant. For women, the relation between extrinsic and intrinsic status is less linear. There are women with a high extrinsic rank for whom this is made relevant interactionally, but there are also those for whom this is not the case.

4. Topics, participant structures, and short characterizations of the discussions

It is impossible in an article to analyze the power structure of 10 discussions in detail. Since it appears that in only two discussions was a symmetrical status order negotiated for the participating women, some information will be provided about the latter and about those persons who played the dominant roles in the discussions.

The first discussion (I) of the present corpus dealt with the topic "Mama's Boys." Five men and two women participated, and the discussion was also chaired by a woman. The women were the psychoanalyst Dr. Gisela Rieß (R) and Maria Schell von Noe (S), mother of five famous actors and herself an actress. The discussion was extremely asymmetrical, with the author Volker Elis Pilgrim (P) remaining in the center throughout most of the talk. His major

opponent was the psychoanalyst Prof. Dr. Harald Leupold-Löwenthal (L). In this discussion a clear participation hierarchy was established. The author, P, whose book provided the title for the discussion, talked much more than anybody else (273 transcript lines during the first hour). The other author, the psychoanalyst L, made the second most contributions (111 transcript lines); another man, professor of fine arts Enzensberger, the third most (99). All the others talked much less.

The topic for the second discussion (II) was "Fathers as Sexual Abusers." Four women, two men (after 50 minutes three), and a female chairperson participated. During the first hour, the women spoke a lot about their experiences; speaking times were quite balanced. Two of the women (Liane Dirks and Christl Dorpat) are authors of books on child abuse; both were personally affected, one as the wife of a sexual abuser and the other as a child. The third woman, a shop assistant, was also a victim as a child. The fourth woman was a social worker and founder of an initiative to help the sexually abused. During the rest of the discussion, the three men (a psychologist, an actor, and a man who was sexually abused as a child) debated general theses about sexuality.[9] The two female authors played only minor roles in the debate. The male psychologist turned out to be the participant recognized as the best authority on child abuse.

The conversational gender politics of discussions I and II are examined in detail in Kotthoff (1992). From an outsider's point of view, participants in both discussions have different levels of competence concerning the topic at hand. For the women, this factor of knowledge is not made relevant; for the men it is. In each of the TV talks there are participants who have a higher potential status than the others because as authors they are experts.[10] But only with the male experts is this role really conversationally enacted. As Leet-Pellegrini has already shown, the expertise of men and that of women are not the same.

Discussion (III) dealt with the importance of "Ötzi," the 'ice-man', whose 5,000-year-old remains were discovered in the Austrian Alps. In this discussion, six men, one woman, and a male moderator took part. As a professor of archaeology, the woman had the highest extrinsic status. However, she did not gain a high intrinsic rank. Judging by speaking times, in fact, she was not even among the top two.

Discussion (IV) was about the August 1991 attempted coup in the Soviet Union. In this discussion there were seven men, one woman, and a male

moderator. All of them were experts on the former Soviet Union. The female author, Lois Fisher-Ruge, spoke least. The male author, Wolfgang Leonhard, was asked the most questions, spoke most of the time, and gave the most lengthy political assessments. He won the status of the central authority on Russian politics in the group.

Discussion (V) was about higher taxes for motorcyclists. Four men, a male moderator, and three women participated. Knowledge transfer and the negotiation of expert status were not relevant here. Story-telling was much more important. The men who argued for motorcycling merely told stories about the joys of conquering the world on a motor bike. Those who held contra positions told stories about accidents and the dangers of motorcycling. Gender politics in this case is demonstrated by the fact that not one active female motorcyclist was invited, only three men who abandoned themselves to enthusiastically raving about motorcycling.

Discussion (VI) dealt with celibacy in the Catholic Church. The conservative Bishop Kurt Krenn took part. His opponents were professor of theology Uta Ranke-Heinemann; Gisela Forster, mother of three children fathered by a Catholic priest; Martin Krexner, a former priest who decided to marry and had to give up his ecclesiastical office; Leopold Ledl, an author critical of life in the Vatican; another Catholic priest, and a female moderator. The intrinsic power structure was extremely hierarchical, with Bishop Krenn talking most of the time, being attacked by most of the others, taking much time to defend himself and counter-attack Ranke-Heinemann, Forster, Krexner, and Ledl. Krenn denied that the female professor, Ranke-Heinemann, had theological expertise.

Discussion (VII) had the title "fundamentalism in the Catholic Church" and again Bishop Krenn was a guest. The discussion had a male moderator. The other guests were: the feminist theologian Veronika Prüller, the liberal professor Erwin Ringl, the right-wing religious publicist Herbert Lindner, the moderate-conservative religious publicist Pia Maria Plechl, the Jesuit and professor Jozef Niewiadomski, and the liberal journalist and expert on the Vatican Hans-Jacob Strehle. Again, Bishop Krenn occupied the center of the debate throughout the discussion. His major opponent was Professor Ringl. The authors Veronika Prüller and Pia Maria Plechl played only minor roles and made very few contributions. Krenn especially denied Prüller's theological expertise.

Discussion (VIII) was about the artist Otto Mühl, who was a hotly debated figure in the German-speaking countries in 1991. He was imprisoned

that year for sexual experiments with children. Otto Mühl was the founder of the anti-bourgeois commune 'Friedrichshof' in Vienna. Among the invited "Club" guests there were two friends of Otto Mühl, fine arts professor Oswald Oberhuber and the art critic Regina Wyrwoll, who defended Mühl's 'progressive' ideas; the other participants strongly criticized them as inhumane. Three former members of the commune, Nikolaus Helbich, Wencke Mühleisen, and Nadja Reyne, were among the critics, along with ethics professor Robert Prantner. Among the former commune members, Helbich presented himself very much as an expert. So did Oberhuber, who did not primarily act as a friend of Mühl but only as an expert on Mühl's art.

Discussion IX was about the politics of the Austrian FPÖ, a formerly liberal party with strong nationalistic tendencies. Only one woman participated among six men: the famous German politician Hildegard Hamm-Brücher. She gained a high situational status, which was interactively created by the whole group. Hamm-Brücher was, for example, asked many questions and was granted a large amount of speaking time. The status of a leading authority was thus negotiated for her.

Discussion X dealt with problems of the Austrian and German health care systems. A female professor of linguistics and a female medical journalist participated as guests, along with five men; a female physician moderated the discussion. The two women acted only as experts and were not put at a disadvantage. In conversation X, a more symmetrical rank ordering came into being than in the majority of the TV conversations. Gender stereotyping was not evidenced in discussions IX and X, for which there were different reasons.

In comparing the discussions, we can detect differing degrees of everyday gender politics. Gender politics are already manifest in the invitation politics of the broadcasters. Women are only allowed to form the majority in television conversations when the topics deal with "women's issues." In political discussions on German-speaking television there is usually only one woman as a discussion participant.

Prototypical episodes from different debates will be examined more closely later in this text. The following analysis of gender asymmetry generally applies to seven discussions. The discussion about motorcycling was an exception because speech activities of transmitting knowledge and presenting oneself as an expert were not important for that topic.

5.   The exceptions: Gender symmetries

We come across cultural conceptions of gender not as "pure" categories, but rather as elements of stereotyped and habitualized activities and identities. However, it is not always the case that people act out stereotypical gender identities. Other identity categories may prevail (Kotthoff, 1993a, Hirschauer 1994). On the concrete level of conversation, gender stereotyping can very well be challenged and changed. Furthermore, cultural notions of gender allow a certain scope for behavioral differences. On the one hand, normative gender expectations are not acted out in every context to the same degree; and on the other hand, not every person conforms to them to the same extent. The differences in the production of gender asymmetries must be considered important for future research. Although one should be conscious of the limited possibilities for "undoing gender" (Hirschauer 1994), it is still necessary to pay attention to it.

Two of the 10 discussions are exceptions regarding culturally ongoing gender politics. In these political discussions (IX and X), all participants were conceded expert status.

In the present corpus, these are the only cases that did not follow stereotypical gendered power politics. Although I shall not discuss in detail the conversational strategies of the women and men who negotiated a symmetrical situational gender arrangement, I mention them in order to avoid suggesting a simplistic black-and-white picture.

Concerning her extrinsic status, the liberal German politician Hamm-Brücher (a former cabinet minister) is the highest in the round. She represents the International Forum of Liberals and was once the liberal (FDP) candidate for president of Germany. During the discussion, she explained what political liberalism is; she formulated fundamental points of criticism concerning the politics of the ultra-nationalist Austrian FPÖ. Three male participants formed a coalition with her against three men from the FPÖ. These three allies referred to her comments quite often ("as Frau Hamm-Brücher already pointed out..."), and the moderator asked her topically important questions, which she answered quite exhaustively. She also taught her opponents a lesson. She received a large amount of speaking time. All these features point to the fact that a high intrinsic status was negotiated for her.

All participants in discussion X had high professional status, the male Austrian Minister of Health enjoying the highest. The majority of the

participants were interested in reforming the health system for several reasons. One male physician defended the status quo and was quite often attacked by other participants. Besides this, many points of controversy concerned minor questions. No one was constantly at the center of attention. Debates between two persons often shifted among participants in the group. Everybody presented knowledge and acted as an expert on the topic. Speaking times were quite balanced. The two women presented their opinions in expository ways (the notion will be explained below).

6. Experts and "concerned"

In the following the activities that play an important part in creating the asymmetrical arrangements between the sexes in media discussions are isolated and described in greater detail. Some people are invited as experts and some as "concerned" laypersons. These situational identities are important in many TV discussions and also constitute a guideline for selecting invitees. Gender politics thereby already begin before the talk and define a frame for it that need not, however, be actualized as such. Normally predominantly male experts and female laypersons are invited by the producers. With social themes, both categories intertwine with each other, because people can become experts — even writers of books — on problems they have themselves. However, the way in which a certain situational identity is realized is an interactional event.

Let us again look at the distribution of invited experts:
In discussion I (mama's boys) Herr Pilgrim, Frau Rieß and Herr Leupold-Löwenthal were introduced as professionals working in the chosen problem area to be debated. Herr Pilgrim has written a book on "mama's boys" and Dr. Rieß and Dr. Leupold-Löwenthal are psychoanalysts. The role of expert for psychoanalysis and psychology, however, was actualized for and with the man, Leupold-Löwenthal (L). Dr. Rieß (R), the female psychologist, later addressed psychological questions to the author Pilgrim. The asymmetry which was confirmed by this is evident. The female moderator spoke with both female guests in a way that gave the impression they were not experts but rather concerned laypersons; the men were treated more as experts on the problem. The first woman (the actress), who was directly addressed by the moderator, was asked to personally respond to "How was it with your sons?"

In discussion II (fathers as sexual abusers) the majority of the participants had somehow been personally affected by the problem. Two persons are introduced as 'unaffected' experts, the psychologist Herr Picker (P) and the social worker Frau Zöchling (Z). Two other persons are introduced as 'affected' experts, the women authors L. Dirks (L) and C. Dorpat (D). Herr Picker came out as the first expert. In this debate it is very interesting to compare those participants who were introduced as personally 'affected' by the problem at hand. Three women and one man (who joined the group 50 minutes after the start) had had horrifying experiences of physical abuse by a male relative in their childhoods. By telling the audience about their experiences in a moving style, the three women provided deep insights into how a child is shocked and hurt by such experiences. The man, however, downplayed his childhood years of torture and expressed very general and abstract theses about sexuality as such. His conversational behavior and that of the artist Contra (C) helped to restructure the whole conversation from an exchange of experiences to a debate on abstract theses about sexuality and society.

In the debate III about "Ötzi," one can differentiate between the concerned politicians[11] and the academic experts. An artist, named Tilly, behaved eccentrically and with regard to his situative identity was hard to define. The only woman present is a professor for archaeology. In this debate the men present compete very heavily in the display of knowledge. Prof. Osterwalder does not take part in this competition for the first 40 minutes. Later, Dr. Osterwalder is presented as an expert, because she is asked frequently by the host, Nagiller, to make expert statements. The moderator succeeds against tendencies in the group and also against her own self-presentation in anchoring the situative identity of expert authority for Prof. Osterwalder.

In the discussion about the Soviet Union (IV), everyone had been invited as an expert, but there were, as will be seen, high and low levels of expertise. Lois Fisher-Ruge, who talked only about everyday problems in Moscow, received a lower rank than those who analyzed political issues and made prognoses. Fisher-Ruge, author of several books on the former Soviet Union, was not given the opportunity to go beyond telling about everyday life in Russia; however, the political assessments were produced by the men. They never addressed their elaborate political comments to her. Questions were directed to her only when personal experiences became relevant. Most questions concerning political evaluations were addressed to Wolfgang Leonhard.

Discussions VI and VII were special cases because the other participants had no real chance to stand their ground against Bishop Krenn. Krenn interrupted most speakers, devalued their experience and competence, and consistently claimed the right to define today's situation in the Catholic Church himself. Regarding the experts with high extrinsic status, Uta Ranke-Heinmann, a professor of theology, was attacked by him in the sharpest manner. Krenn even expressed doubt about her being a professor.[12]

In discussion VIII we can compare Oswald Obermüller and Regina Wyrwoll as outside experts on Otto Mühl's art and life, and Nikolaus Helbig, Wencke Mühleisen and Nadja Reyne as inside experts on Otto Mühl's art and life and as personally affected by his behavior. The status of the most competent experts was negotiated for Oswald Oberhuber and Nikolaus Helbig.

Let us have a look at some first turns of women experts:

7. The disadvantaged female expert

What can happen if a woman is addressed as an expert can be seen in discussion III on "Ötzi."

In all conversations in which only marginal roles were negotiated for the women, they hardly spoke at all during the first half hour. It looks as if the social micro-order of the group is settled within the first minutes of the discussion. The men had already debated 40 minutes before the following sequence took place. During the first 40 minutes, the Swiss professor Christin Osterwalder participated with only one short question, which was hardly reacted to. The men debated the background of the "Frozen Fritz" among themselves. Then the moderator addresses her with her own question about the reconstruction of the man's past (1-3).

Data 1

(N = moderator Nagiller, O = archaeology professor Osterwalder, S = doctor of forensic medicine Szillvassy)

1	N:	I would like to turn again to Frau Osterwalder,
		ich möcht jetzt nochmal zur Frau Osterwalder,
2		you asked a question before,
		Sie ham vorhin eine Frage gestellt,
3		(- -) which cannot be answered.
		(- -) *auf die es keine Antwort gibt.*

4   (0.5)
5   O: well I mean (-) the man was passing through up there.
        ja ich mein (-) der Mann war unterwegs da oben.
6   he couldn't live there.
        der konnte nicht dort leben.
7   N: yes
        ja
8   O: and for us of course the question is very important,
        u:nd für uns ist natürlich die Frage sehr wichtig,
9   [where he came from.
        [*woher kam er.*
10 N: [for us? what does it mean for us?
        [*für uns? was heißt für uns?*
11 O: for archaeology, let's put it like that.
        für die Archäologie, sagen wirs mal so.
12   I suppose other people could also be
        ich nehme an, andere Leute könnte es auch
13   interested in that,
        interessieren,
14   but for archaeologists it would at any rate
        aber die Archäologen würde es jedenfalls schon im
15   be very much interesting, in connection with his possessions
        Zusammenhang mit seiner Ausrüstung enorm interessieren,
16   to know where he came from. because the Alps region is
        wo er herkam. denn das Alpengebiet ist ja
17   (- -) mm how can I put it,
        (- -) mm wie sagt man dem,
18   in a paleoethnological perspective
        paläoethnologisch gesehen
19   immensely exciting.
        ungemein spannend.
20   so much is confused, especially in the Bronze Age,
        da mischt sich soviel durcheinander, und gerade in der Bronzezeit,
21   thus roughly two thousand years before Christ,
        also grob im zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus,
22   so much was happening in this region
        hat sich in diesem Raum so viel getan
23   in terms of mass migrations,
        an Bevölkerungsverschiebungen,
24   cultural developments, and so on,
        an kulturellen Entwicklungen, und so weiter,
25   that one would naturally very much like to know, (-)
        daß man also natürlich furchtbar gern wissen möchte, (-)

26   where this man lived with his possessions.
            wo der Mann mit seiner Ausrüstung zu Hause war.
27 N: co could you tell us a bit
            kö können Sie uns a bissel
28   this is your special field,   [what was
            des is ja Ihr Spezialgebiet,   [was da
29 O: [bit more concrete
                                                 [*bissel konkreter*
30 N: tell us a bit about this epoch in general.
            a bissel was erzählen über diese Zeit im Allgemeinen.
31   in the Alps. thus the Bronze Age. the early Bronze Age.
            im Alpenraum. die Bronzezeit also. die frühe Bronzezeit.
32 O: well (-) you must take into consideration one thing,
            also (-) eines muß man sich vergegenwärtigen,
33   if you think about the Bronze Age,   (-)
            wenn man an die Bronzezeit denkt,   (-)
34   the climate was a bit better than today.
            das Klima war ein bißchen besser als heute.
35   well   [it was
            also   [es war
36 N: [does that mean warmer.
                [*heißt das wärmer.*
37 O: warmer and drier. I cannot tell you exactly,
            wärmer und trockener. ich kann Ihnen nicht genau sagen,
38   how many average degrees per year,
            wieviel Durchschnittsgrade im Jahr,
39   but archaeologically it is recognizable from the fact,
            aber wir merken das archäologisch daran,
40   that obviously the Alps were treated,
            daß offensichtlich Alpen bestoßen wurden,
41   and acres, wheat was cultivated in higher regions,
            und Äcker, Weizen gezüchtet wurde in Hohenlagen,
42   where today that is no longer possible.
            wo das heute nicht mehr möglich ist.
43   thus they had more opportunities
            also man hatte mehr Möglichkeiten
44   to really use the Alps economically,
            die Alpen wirklich wirtschaftlich zu nutzen,
45   and uh to treat them   [than later.
            und eh zu durchdringen   [als später.
46 N: [may I give a short translation.
                                          [*darf ich a kleine Übersetzung sagen.*

47		we in Austria say alms. so that people understand
		wir in Österreich sagen Almen. daß die Leute
48		correctly,=
		richtig,=
49	O:	alms.
		Almen.
50	N:	=to treat the Alps means to develop alm economy.
		= Alpen bestoßen heißt Almwirtschaft betreiben.
51	O:	exactly.
		genau.
52	N:	yes.
		ja
53	O:	yes HEHEHEHEHE
		ja HEHEHEHEHE
54	N:	Alps are only the mountains.
		Alpen sind bloß die Berge.
55	O:	problem of different languages. exactly.
		Problem der Fremdsprachen. genau.
56	S:	if I may add something to this.
		wenn ich dazu etwas bemerken darf.
57		the question where this man came from,
		die Frage woher dieser Mann kam,
58		can possibly be answered
		die kann vielleicht vom
59		from a scientific standpoint,
		wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus,
60		from an anthropological standpoint.
		vom anthropologischen Standpunkt aus beurteilt werden.
61		in the Bronze Age three groups of people lived there
		in der Bronzezeit lebten drei Gruppen von Menschen,
62		three population types.
		drei Populationstypen.
63		on the one hand there were highfaced uh human beings,
		einmal waren es hochgesichtige eh Menschen,
64		with a slim, long skull, like this Similaun man,
		mit einem schmalen, langen Schädel, wie dieser Similaunmann,
65		and those of medium body size, and they are
		und die von mittlerer Körpergröße waren, und diese
66		often called band ceramics.
		Menschen werden oft Bandkeramiker bezeichnet.
67		besides there were also (-) more broadfaced,
		daneben gibt es aber dann auch noch die (-) breitgesichtigeren,

68   more coarsely modelled uh human beings
            derber modellierten eh Menschen,
69   who are viewed as cromanides from an
            die eh als eh als Chromanide vom
70   anthropological standpoint...
            anthropologischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet werden...

Osterwalder begins formulating points of archaeological interest (8-9); she formulates archaeological questions in a way that allows everybody to understand them (11-19). In line 20 she starts to give an overview, which again leads up to a central question (where the man lived). Formulating questions is an element of an explorative way of presenting knowledge. It involves the listeners in scientific discourse. The moderator supports her exposition (27, 28, 30, 31). From line 32 onward she begins to describe the climate and the economy, names uncertainties (37-38) concerning the exact temperature and explains how the signs of cultivation are interpreted in archaeology. After an explication sequence with the host Nagiller concerning Austrian and Swiss expressions for the special form of economy in high regions of the Alps (starting in line 46), Herr Szillvasy (S) enters the discussion unexpectedly in line 56 and continues the explanation. Since Osterwalder had not finished her contribution, and all of the others had had a considerable chance to speak, S strongly interfered in her right to speak.[13] Szillvasy uses the rhetorical strategy "to add something." Then he gives an introduction to a conversational lecture up to line 60. In line 61, the kernel phase of "teaching" the group about the three population types in the Bronze Age starts. Szillvasy will later be interrupted by Osterwalder, but for the time being, she does not react and lets Szillvasy "teach" an anthropological "lesson." In the current data such an example, where a participant has already started to explain a complex phenomenon and another participant takes over uninvitedly and continues this activity on his own, can only be found in the constellation man to woman. This strong type of intervention is not observed in the course of an explanation in a man-to-man constellation, nor in one with a woman speaking to a man or another woman.

When Frau Osterwalder and Herr Szillvasy are compared in detail, it is clear that Osterwalder uses phrases that downplay her expert status, e.g., "how can I put it" in line 17. With this search for words, she balances a potential expert-layman asymmetry. Szillvasy, on the other hand, exaggerates his expert status through repeating "from an anthropological standpoint" and "from a

scientific standpoint." Since these scientific or anthropological standpoints are not uncontroversial, one could speak of a "bluff-strategy."

Frau Osterwalder presents her information as modestly and unspectacularly as possible. She names the questions which are asked in her field. Her style is first exploratory, later expository. Szilvassy, by contrast, upgrades his knowledge and starts to "teach a lesson." His style is expository. Holmes writes that expository talk is an exposition of facts, knowledge, and/ or opinions (1992: 134). From a social point of view it is potentially status-enhancing ‚valued' talk. Exploratory talk is defined as talk that allows people to explore and develop their ideas through the joint negotiation of meaning. Holmes labels exploratory talk as valuable talk.

> It is cognitively valuable as a means of coming to grips with new concepts and integrating them with existing knowledge. It is also cognitively valuable as a means of thinking through the implications of proposals on which decisions for future action can be based. (Holmes 1992: 135)

I would prefer to see the two notions as conversational styles instead of types of talk.[14] It is typical for an exploratory style to first outline the questions to be asked instead of merely providing answers. Information and opinions are presented carefully and consideredly. We discuss hypotheses in an exploratory style and theses in an expository style. Styles and speech activities can intertwine. Teaching cannot be done in an exploratory style.

The main difference between explaining and teaching (or instructing) is illustrated by the element of local knowledge competition. An explanation does not seek to correct others' knowledge; it just informs. In teaching, the knowledge of the interlocutors is presupposed to be inferior and deficient. Osterwalder started to explain the circumstances of that period in the Alps. Explaining is a noncontroversial activity. Szillvasy by contrast interrupts to teach her and the other listeners a lesson. He devalues her knowledge.

The conversational lecture or lesson is a special monologic form of informal teaching. It normally shows the structure that can also be detected in Szillvasy's turn in data 1. There is an introduction up to line 60; the actual lecture begins after that. Here the kernel lecturing consists in the definition of population types.

In discussion IV we witness a comparable scene. The discussion reveals how a topical hierarchy between 'everyday life' and 'politics' is constructed. Lois Fisher-Ruge is only given her turn when the situation of ordinary people in Russia is brought up. The men debate high politics among themselves in

exhaustive assessments. During the first hour of this debate, Fisher-Ruge was
conceded only three very short turns. Her longest turn does not even make up a
third of the average length of the men's. Data 2 contains Fisher-Ruge's longest
turn, occurring after 55 minutes of debate, at which point Boris Groys had just
finished a long assessment of the Soviet army.

Data 2

(S = professor of political science Seiffert, R = author Lois Fisher-Ruge, L = author Wolf-
gang Leonhard, M = moderator Paul Lendvai)

1	S:	well the situation is possibly not as academic
		also die Situation ist vielleicht nicht so akademisch
2		as we make it. [instead
		wie wir diskutieren. [*sondern*
3	?:	[mhm
4	?:	[exactly
		[*genau*
5	M:	[exactly. uh Frau uh Frau uh
		[*genau. eh Frau eh Frau eh*
6		how how do you see, Frau Ruge. the [the (? ?)
		wie wie sehen Sie, Frau Ruge. die [*die (? ?)*
7	R:	[(? ?)
8	M:	regarding the people. [not regarding
		von den Menschen her. [*nicht von der*
9	R:	[I can only admire your
		[*ich kann nur bewundern Ihr*
10		knowledge, and I talk about life,
		Wissen, und ich spreche vom Leben,
11	M:	yes
		ja
12	R:	everyday life, and that is a bit more banal,
		im Alltag, und das ist ein bißchen banaler,
13		but it is a fact.
		aber das ist eine Tatsache.
14	?:	exactly.
		richtig.
15	R:	and we shall unfortunately begin with the stomach.
		und wir werden anfangen leider mit dem Magen.
16	M:	yes.
		ja.
17	L:	yes.
		ja.

18	R:	and with the stomach, not with words, words have
		und mit dem Magen, nicht mit Wörtern, Wörter haben
19		no calories. I do not talk about what I think,
		keine Kalorien. ich spreche nicht wie ich denke,
20		I talk only about experiences in the countryside. (H)
		ich spreche nur von Erfahrungen im Lande. (H)
21		and the population is very discontented,
		und die Bevölkerung ist sehr unzufrieden,
22		because of the worsening living conditions,
		wegen dieser Verschlechterung der Lebensbedingungen,
23		the empty shops, we had that already,
		die leere Läden, wir hatten das schon,
24		empty shops, no shoes and so on.
		leere Läden, keine Schuhe undsoweiter.
25		because of this there was a support action.
		deswegen gab es eine Hilfsaktion.
26		and what I fear, (-) Wolfgang, is,
		und was ich befürchte, (-) Wolfgang, ist,
27		if this putsch group, I can only say,
		wenn diese Putschgruppe, kann ich nur sagen,
28		is able to offer something else,
		etwas anderes anbieten könnte,
29	L:	food
		Ernährung
30	R:	for example full shops, shoes and clothing.
		zum Beispiel volle Läden, Schuhe und Kleidung.
31		they'll publicize this choice,
		sie werben für diese Entscheidung,
32		because it means law, order, guarantees, peace.
		weil das bedeutet Gesetz, Ordnung, Garantien, Ruhe.
33		I do not speak about our group of intellectuals,
		ich spreche nicht von unserer Gruppe von Intellektuellen,
34		about our closest friends. I speak only about the population,
		von unseren engsten Freunden. ich spreche nur von der Bevölkerung,
35		and because I was in the countryside,
		und weil ich auf dem Land war,
36		how much they have, how much they can decide,
		wieviel sie haben, wieviel sie entscheiden können,
37		but based on what I feel. the question is just,
		aber vom Gefühl her. die Frage ist nur,
38		will will the decision be made in the big cities
		werden werd die Entscheidung gemacht sein in großen Städten

39	such as Sverdlovsk, Leningrad Saint Petersburg or
	wie Sverdlovsk, Leningrad Sankt Petersburg oder
40	Moscow or from outside. or only with workers,
	Moskau oder außerhalb. oder nur mit Arbeiter,
41	miners, and other workers. we don't know that yet.
	Bergarbeiter, und andere Arbeiter. das wissen wir noch nicht.
42	but [the question
	aber [die Frage
43 L:	[no doubt. I am exactly of your opinion.
	[*zweifellos. ich bin genau Deiner Ansicht.*
44	thank God, for us it is clear that the eight gentlemen
	Gott sei Dank, für uns ist es klar, daß die acht Herren
45	from the committee will NOT solve this problem. ...
	vom Kommittee dieses Problem NICHT lösen werden. ...

Frau Fisher-Ruge is asked to de-academicize the conversation. Her start in line 9 contains subtle ironic aspects. She contrasts (general) knowledge and everyday life. She claims to talk about banal facts (but they are in fact the contrary of banal). In lines 19 and 20 she focuses on a contrast between her topic (experiences) and the topics so far (thoughts). She thereby tries to create prestige for her own statements. From line 21 to 25 she characterizes the situation in the countryside. From this report she develops her assessment of the possibilities of the putsch group. She uses a rhetorical strategy similar to that used by Osterwalder in data 1. She first formulates the relevant questions, which is typical for an exploratory argumentative style. She cannot, however, develop her line of thinking about the situation in the Soviet Union, because Wolfgang Leonhard interrupts her at this point to answer the questions in a very definite manner. The same happened to Dr. Osterwalder. Some men seem to exploit the women's explorative, rhetorical questions as hitching posts for their own expositions. In the speaking style of the two women these questions contextualize an orientation to the topic which the speaker is going to explore herself. They are not meant to be answered by another participant, but can be reinterpreted in such a way. We are possibly dealing with a case of female/male miscommunication here, but surely also with a case of male power politics.

It is a strategic mistake to address Wolfgang Leonhard so exclusively as she does in line 26. Thereby she facilitates his taking over the turn. In line 29 Leonhard already gets a word in edgewise. Fisher-Ruge goes on for some time explaining the situation outside Moscow. Leonhard interrupts her very

enthusiastically. He strongly agrees with her. Nevertheless, he develops the political assessment of the putsch group himself, which she was also about to outline. By strongly agreeing he frames his interruption in a polite way.

For an explorative style it seems typical first to outline the questions of relevance for the topic at hand. This style can only be successful in a cooperative atmosphere where assessments are presented carefully and many facets of the topic can be presented. In the context of a competitive debate the style fails to develop its potential. It makes it easier for others to intervene.

In discussion VIII it was also the case that Professor Oberhuber (O) was the first person asked to give a general assessment of the artist Otto Mühl.[15] Then the moderator asked Wencke Mühleisen (M) how she felt about Mühl's artistic activities. Oberhuber is addressed as the expert on Otto Mühl, and Mühleisen, as one affected by Otto Mühl's activities.

Data 3

Wencke Mühleisen (M), moderator (G)

1	G:	... You, Frau Mühleisen, you were first attracted by
		Sie, Frau Mühleisen, sind durch die künstlerischen
2		the artistic activities.
		Aktivitäten zunächst einmal angezogen worden.
3		by the theater and the self-performances,
		durch das Theater und die Selbstdarstellung,
4		how did you feel [about that.
		wie ham Sie [das empfunden.
5	M:	[yes my my interest was the theater.
		[*ja mein mein Interesse war das Theater.*
6		and uhm I have to say
		und ehm ich muß auch sagen,
7		that as long as the self-performance uh (-) at Friedrichshof
		daß eh solange die Selbstdarstellung eh - am Friedrichshof
8		was still so to speak free, uh should, I find,
		noch sozusagen frei war, eh muß finde ich,
9		that one cannot refuse to acknowledge that Friedrichshof,
		daß man dem Friedrichshof nicht aberkennen kann,
10		was an an artistic experiment.
		eine ein künstlerisches Experiment gewesen zu sein.
11		the self-presentation, that was a a a very exciting thing,
		die Selbstdarstellung, das war eine ein eine sehr spannende Sache,
12		a mixture of psycho-drama, therapy, psychoanalysis, free role play,
		von Psychodrama, Therapie, Psychoanalyse, freies Rollenspiel,

13   uh actionist elements, u::h that was for me very fascinating.
       eh aktionistische Elemente, e::h was eh für mich sehr faszinierend war.
14   and I also think that one must say
       und ich glaube auch, daß man sagen muß,
15   that there was a great potential for personal development there.
       daß da lag ein großes Potential an persönlicher Entwicklung.
16   communication. ('H) many of us were people,
       Kommunikation. ('H) viele von uns waren Leute,
17   who came from the sixties and seventies,
       die kamen von den sechziger, siebziger Jahren,
18   and were looking for an alternative.
       und haben eine Alternative gesucht.
19   we were people who were very critical of authoritarian systems.
       wir waren Leute, die sehr kritisch waren,   autoritären Systemen gegenüber.
20   we very well already at the beginning saw a seed (-) in Otto's role.
       wohl sahen wir schon am Anfang einen Keim (-) in Ottos Rolle.
21   but we chose to overlook this.
       wir wählten aber das zu übersehen.
22   because of our idealism so to speak.
       unseres Idealismuses wegen sozusagen.
23   and besides one must also be able to acknowledge,
       und außerdem muß man ja auch anerkennen können,
24   that this dominant role of Otto's
       daß diese dominante Rolle Ottos
25   uh uh was important at the beginning.
       eh eh wichtig war am Anfang.
26   in order to put the whole thing on stage. uh
       um das Ganze zu inszenieren. eh
27   I would like to say, however, that uh, at the end
       eh ich möchte aber sagen, daß eh am Ende
28   I would claim, that Friedrichshof developed
       würde ich behaupten, daß der Friedrichshof zu
29   into a very ordinary sect.
       einer sehr gewöhnlichen Sekte geworden ist.
30   'H and in a sense one can almost say as well
       'H und eigentlich kann man das fast also auch sagen,
31   that whe:re the presentation of self stopped being FREE,
       daß wo: die Selbstdarstellung aufhörte FREI zu sein,
32   where you were also free to criticize Otto as much,
       wo man also auch Kritik anbringen konnte genauso an den Otto,
33   as his parents, or whatever the subject of self-performance was.
       wie auch an seine Eltern, oder was das Thema der Selbstdarstellung war.

34	then the presentation of self became a ritual,
	dann wurde die Selbstdarstellung ein Ritual,
35	a group-dynamic ritual for members who were rebellious
	ein gruppendynamisches Ritual für Gruppenmitglieder, die aufsässig waren
36	or were to be disciplined.
	oder die zu disziplinieren waren.
37	so it became a a ritual as is typical in sects actually, actually.
	also ein ei:n: Ritual was: ja üblich ist in Sekten eigentlich eigentlich.

Mühleisen gives a complex and differentiated account of Friedrichshof. The moderator asks her about her feelings (4), but instead she informs the round of what was happening there during the early years and what this meant to her. She characterizes her group and its point of view. From line 26 onwards she presents a critical assessment of the later years of Otto Mühl's commune. She belonged to this commune for many years and was an artist herself who took part in the art that was developed in the commune. Mühleisen uses many markers of subjectivity, such as "I have to say" (6), "I find" (8), "for me" (13), "I also think" (14), "one must also be able to" (23), "I would like to say" (27), "I would claim" (28). This is functional, on the one hand, because she talks about her own impressions. However, on the other hand, her concrete experiences are assigned a narrower scope than Prof. Oberhuber's abstract assessments.

Before Mühleisen received her turn from the moderator, he had already asked Prof. Oberhuber to assess Mühl as an artist. For comparison, I shall present the first turn of his contribution, which is immediately followed by a second:

Data 4:

Oswald Oberhuber (O), moderator (G)

1	G:	...and to introduce us to this topic,
		...und uns in dies Thema einzuführen,
2		how do you assess Mühl as an artist and his further
		wie Sie Otto Mühl als Künstler einschätzen und seine weitere
3		artistic development. is the whole of it a
		künstlerische Entwicklung. ist das Ganze ein
4		synthesis of the arts and should it be seen as such.
		Gesamtkunstwerk und als solches zu betrachten.
5	O:	yes. Mühl is indeed a multidimensional man.
		ja. Mühl ist eben ein vielseitiger Mensch.

6 that is firstly (-) the starting point for Otto Mühl,
  das ist schon mal (-) die Ausgangsbasis für Otto Mühl,

7 I mean, (-) he has a knack for painting as well
  das heißt, (-) es liegt ihm die Malerei genauso,

8 (-) as for experimenting with human beings. (-)
  (-) wie das Experiment am Menschen. (-)

9 I say that with a question mark, okay? and thereby he had
  mit Fragezeichen sag ich jetzt mal, nicht? und dadurch hatte

10 a quite different path than many uh artists,
  er ja auch einen ganz anderen Weg als wie viele eh Künstler,

11 whom we otherwise experience so directly, as one-dimensional persons,
  die wir sonst so unmittelbar erleben, als geradelinige Personen,

12 who are interested in only one specific thing.
  die sich nur für eine bestimmte Sache interessieren.

13 well, your average just-sculptors. God knows. (-) how
  I got acquainted with Mühl,
  also normalen Nur-Bildhauern. weiß Gott. (-) wie ich Mühl
  kennengelernt habe,

14 he was very intensely active in art pedagogy,
  war er ja sehr stark: in der Kunsterziehung tätig,

15 hence a man who already had gained influence here,
  also ein Mensch der hier schon Einfluß genommen hat,

16 concerning people. hence he put art in reference to people,
  in Bezug auf Menschen. also die Kunst in Bezug gestellt zu Menschen,

17 but in a different form. that means hence
  aber in einer anderen Form. das heißt also

18 he employs uh art, in a media:::tion (-)
  er verwendet eh die Kunst, in eine Vermittlu::ng hinein (-)

19 in the, I don't know, states, mental states I would say or
  in die, weiß ich, Zustä:nde: seelische Zustände würd ich sagen oder

20 other or psych (H'H) psychic states, and in this sense
  andere oder psych (H'H) psychische Zustände, und in diesem Sinn

21 his path was already outlined, I should like to say
  war sein Weg schon gezeichnet, i möcht sagen

22 that is also a certain Austrian path.
  das ist auch ein gewisser österreichischer Weg.

23 because we know uh Schiele or Kokoschka or already Klimt, okay?
  weil wir kennen eh Schiele oder Kokoschka oder auch schon Klimt, nicht?

24 uh thinking apart from this psychological viewpoint, what he,
  eh von dieser psychologischen Seite wegdenken, was er

25 he actually takes the Austrian path,
  er geht eigentlich den österreichischen Weg,

26 which absolutely leads in a certain direction.
  der ganz absolut in eine bestimmte Richtung führt.

Oberhuber starts by defining a unique and exclusive perspective for assessing Otto Mühl and then interprets what that means. The modal particle "indeed" in line 5 presupposes that this claim cannot be questioned. Oberhuber then defines the "starting point" for the whole evaluation of Mühl. He presents a very subjective opinion (that Mühl has a knack for painting as well as experimenting with human beings) without any marker of subjectivity. Thus, highly debatable claims are explicitly presented in the most straightforward manner (without question intonation); The phrase, "I say that with a question mark," does not weaken the force of the statement. Before saying anything concrete and comprehensible (or even personal) about Mühl he develops the thesis that there is an Austrian way of art and that Mühl belongs to the famous tradition of the painters Klimt, Schiele, and Kokoschka. This statement has aspects of a lecture because it identifies one impersonal perspective as correct to the exclusion of possible others. The assessments are highly generalized. Oberhuber outlines the right way to see Mühl as opposed to possible others.

Both Oswald Oberhuber and Regina Wyrwoll are art experts. Both hold a positive perspective on Otto Mühl. The other participants are very critical. In contrast to Oberhuber, Wyrwoll outlines her point of view on Otto Mühl as being very subjective and talks about her own positive experiences with him. Nadja Reyne talks about her very negative experiences with him. Wencke Mühleisen presents the most sophisticated analysis of the whole phenomenon of Otto Mühl, the communes, and the happenings. She is, however, only addressed as a former member of Friedrichshof, never as an expert on the phenomenon. It is mostly Oberhuber who acts out his extrinsic expert status and thereby also gains a high intrinsic one.

8.   Conversational lectures

One central speech activity of communicating expert knowledge can be called "a conversational lecture." The 'keying' (interaction modality) usually remains serious. Lecture monologues help to negotiate the situative status of an expert for the debated question. At times these expert roles remain stable throughout the entire duration of conversation; at other times they are only temporary.

A conversational lecture is a special form of "conversational teaching," an activity about which Keppler and Luckmann (1991: 145) write:

> Whenever a teaching sequence is in progress, the 'egalitarian' style which characterizes informal dialogue is temporarily replaced by a 'hierarchical' one . . . conversational teaching remains an enclave within conversation.

For the duration of the teaching sequence the normal turn-taking procedure is modified (Keppler 1989). If the speaker pauses, recipients "normally" just give positive or negative feedback tokens. "Lectures" are "big packages" in Sacks' terms (1974). We have already shown that this "normality" is gender based; it is often a man anxious to increase his own status who interrupts a female "teacher."

Keppler and Luckmann write that any knowledge asymmetry can lead to conversational teaching. They do not, however, differentiate between teaching and explaining, as is done here. Teaching, especially in a conversational lecture format, devalues the knowledge of others (which is already manifest) and demands an authoritative status for one's own knowledge. Explaining lacks the competitive and corrective aspect. We explain things about which we think others do not know, but we teach them things about which we think they hold wrong or deficient opinions.

Lectures frame the TV conversations as debates about theses. If a conversation is framed as a debate on theses, a competence hierarchy is likely to arise. Theses are uttered with an inherent claim of objectivity, knowledge and generalizability. Theses often form the center of little lessons which the protagonists exchange.

Let us have a look at another debate. Discussion I is mostly framed as a debate over Pilgrim's theses about male violence — as published in his book. Although the topic "mama's boys" stems from everyday social life, the exchange of personal experiences does not gain any importance.[16] Only the two women and the two young men participating describe personal experiences in their few contributions — the two most important men do not. They take their examples from history, psychoanalysis and theories about child development. Their utterances are framed as general instructional statements. Their turns are long monologues with a clear structure consisting of introduction, main part, and ending.

In data 5 we see a prototypical turn format of a non-institutional "teaching" or "instructing"-activity.

Data 5

Leupold-Löwenthal (L)

1	L:	[no they cannot give information, because the material you use
		[*na: sie können ja nicht Auskunft geben, denn das*
		Material, das Sie verwenden
2		is inadequate. I MUST reject using material
		ist ein unbrauchbares. ich MUß es ablehnen, mit einem Material,
3		that tells us nothing at all
		das uns überhaupt nix sagt,
4		about the MOST important developmental period of a human being
		über die WICHtigste Entwicklungszeit eines Menschen
5		to draw such broad conclusions.
		so weitreichende Schlüsse zu ziehen.

The introduction consists of an attack on what the previous speaker said, here author Pilgrim. P is criticized and his position is claimed to be deficient. From line 6 to line 22, Leupold-Löwenthal instructs the audience about the mother-child relationship in general. This is the kernel of the conversational lecture.

6		(-) the most important basis for the relationship
		(-) die entscheidende Grundlage der Beziehung
7		with the mother is formed during the first year of life. (-)
		zur Mutter entsteht nämlich im ersten Lebensjahr. (-)
8		in the first year it is decided WHAT KIND OF mother a child has.
		im ersten Lebensjahr entscheidet sich, WELCHE Mutter ein Kind hat.
9		a good relationship cannot, however, be based on
		es kann nämlich nicht nur eine gute Beziehung darauf beruhen,
10		satisfying all the child's wishes,
		daß alle Wünsche des Kindes befriedigt werden,
11		that's as destructive as when no wish is satisfied, (-)
		das ist genauso verheerend wie wenn kein Wunsch befriedigt wird, (-)
12		Winnicott, one of the great English psychoanalysts has said
		Winnicott, einer der großen englischen Psychoanalytiker hat gemeint
13		what children need is an average good mother,
		was Kinder brauchen, ist eine average good mother,
14		a good enough mother. a good enough mother.
		eine gut genuge Mutter. eine good enough mother.
15	P:	yeah mhm
		ja mhm
16	L:	and the good enough mother (-) does not spoil her child,
		und die gut genuge Mutter (-) verzärtelt das Kind nicht,

17   which is also a form of aggression,
            was auch eine Form der Aggression ist,
18   P: yeah
            ja
19   L: she does not satisfy all its wishes, she also frustrates
            sie erfüllt nicht alle seine Wünsche, sie frustriert auch,
20   she also lives her own life,
            sie lebt auch ihr eigenes Leben,
21   and at the same time is nurturing, supportive, warm,
            und ist gleichzeitig fürsorgend, haltend, warm,
22   in order to attentively help her child.
            um dem Kind aufmerksam zu helfen.

At the end, from lines 23-27, he formulates the conclusion.

23   if this function fails, and that's not so uncommon,
            wenn diese Funktion schiefgeht, und das ist ja nicht so selten,
24   it is a very difficult function, THEN disturbances arise,
            das ist eine sehr schwierige Funktion, DANN entstehen Störungen,
25   but they need not all lead to brutality or sadism,
            aber die müssen nicht alle in die Brutalität und in den Sadismus gehen,
26   they also lead to turning aggression against one's own person
            die gehen auch in die Wendung der Aggression gegen die eigene Person
27   and that then populates our   [insane asylums.
            und das bevölkert dann unsere [*Irrenanstalten.*

Leupold-Löwenthal did not express just one of many possible views on the question about mother-child relationships, but rather what he saw as the only possible view. In spontaneously teaching the group, he presupposed a knowledge hierarchy and enacted it communicatively. An asymmetry is created between the "teacher" and the "taught." Instructions can of course be asked for — "other-initiated" in the terminology of conversation analysis. In the debates at hand these instructions are self-initiated. The prologue of the instruction claims the knowledge of the partner to be deficient, here author P's; in the kernel phase L teaches him better knowledge and at the end formulates conclusions. In instructing someone, knowledge and greater competence are displayed. Listeners can accept the presented instruction, but here only some do, while others do not. The main addressee of the "lesson" does not. He not only rejects, but later counters by teaching an alternative lesson. The woman psychologist, Rieß, accepted the lesson, thereby allying herself with L against P and constituting for herself the role of L's best student.

The lecture format is a special type of teaching. It consists of a clear order of introduction, main part and closing. Lecturers correct statements of other speakers. They often cite authorities to support their points ("Winnicott"). They adopt a superior point of view and communicate content in the interaction modality of factuality.

The first 50 minutes of discussion II about "fathers as sexual abusers" are an example of a quite unusual type of problem talk on TV. Four women converse in a sensitive manner about their childhood and their family life. The conversational style is very exploratory. They tell each other stories, ask many questions, formulate hypotheses about children's feelings and power structures in patriarchal families and societies. They also develop strategies for coping with the drama of sexual violence. The artist Peter Contra (C) tries several times to reframe the personal conversation into a debate on general theses about sexuality as such. After 50 minutes he succeeds in presenting a lengthy lecture about sexuality in Central Europe in comparison to Indonesia.

Data 6

1	C:	shouldn't one in this connection pose the question,
		muß man nicht in diesem Zusammenhang die Frage stellen,
2		(-) of whether the real issue is not
		(-) ob es nicht viel eher daran liegt,
3		that here in Central Europe we all have a disordered relationship
		daß wir alle hier in Mitteleuropa ein gestörtes Verhältnis
4		in our education to our own corporeality.
		in unserer Erziehung zur eigenen Körperlichkeit haben.
5		(-) that we live with an image of sexuality
		(-) daß wir in einem Bild über Sexualität leben,
6		that was given to us in early childhood by our parents,
		daß uns von früher Kindheit an auch von unseren Eltern vermittelt wird,
7		(-) which doesn't correspond to reality at all.
		(-) das mit der Wirklichkeit überhaupt nicht übereinstimmt.
8		(- -) and that through this adaptive situation,
		(- -) und daß durch diese Anpassungssituation
9		on the one side, the nature of man defends itself,
		auf der einen Seite, die Natur des Menschen sich wehrt,
10		searches for channels, then realizes these channels,
		sich Kanäle sucht, diese Kanäle dann realisiert,
11		(-) and, on the other side, the patriarchal system
		(-) und, auf der anderen Seite, das patriachale System
12		of society today strikes back and presents itself
		der Gesellschaft heut zurückschlägt und sich jetzt hier

13   in a peculiar sort of ordered situation.
        in einer eigenartigen Art von Ordnungssituation anbietet.
14   in reality, though, the problems lie in an entirely different location.
        in Wirklichkeit aber liegen die Probleme ganz woanders.
15   one would have to, please, get down to business,
        man müßte ja doch bitte hergehen,
16   if one raises these these questions,
        wenn man diese diese Fragen aufwirft,
17   and if one thus speaks of morality and immorality,
        und wenn man also von Moral und Unmoral spricht,
18   of valuableness and non-valuableness, our so-called society
        von Wertigkeit und Unwertigkeit, unsere sogenannte Gesellschaft
19   which we as, or which quite often also by those people,
        die wir als oder die des öfteren auch von jenen Leuten,
20   of whom you previously spoke,
        von denen sie vorhin gesprochen haben,
21   who act like they are status-conforming and more of that sort,
        die sich als so standeskonform und dergleichen mehr geben,
22   who portray themselves as the supreme judges and guardians
        die sich als die obersten Richter und Hüter
23   of some kind of morality and speak of our
        irgendeiner Moral ausgeben und sprechen von unserer
24   society as of a natural one,
        Gesellschaft als einer natürlichen,
25   one should indeed, for one thing,
        man müßte doch einmal diese Gesellschaft
26   compare this society with other societies
        vergleichen mit anderen Gesellschaften
27   (-) in Indonesia. or with cultures,
        (-) *in Indonesien. oder mit Kulturen,*
28   which have not taken this civilizing path
        die nicht diesen zivilisatorischen Weg gegangen sind
29   and see, how man and woman there treat,
        und sehen, wie gehen dort Mann und Frau,
30   or how people there treat, or how children there treat
        oder wie gehen dort Menschen, oder wie gehen dort Kinder,
31   or how the totality there (-) of the people treat
        oder wie geht dort die Gesamtheit (-) der der Menschen
32   one another in their new generational situation.
        in ihrer Nachwuchssituation miteinander um.
33   (-) in order to determine where we are.
        (-) *um eine Ortsbestimmung vorzunehmen.*
34   naturally we can also now carry on this discussion
        natürlich können wir auch jetzt diese Diskussion

35   here so that each (-) oh, I don't know,
        hier so führen, daß jeder (-) eh was weiß ich,
36   from his position provides descriptions of this relationship,
        aus seiner Position Beschreibungen zu diesem Zusammenhang abgibt,
37   then it will probably become a war of positions,
        dann wirds wahrscheinlich ein Stellungskrieg,
38   where each shoots at the other from his hole,
        wo jeder aus seiner Grube heraus auf den anderen schießt,
39   I thus believe that in this context it would
        i glaub es wär also gscheiter in diesem Zusammenhang
40   probably be wiser for once to look at the
        vielleicht amal auf die grundsätzlichen
41   underlying causes.
        Ursachen zu gehen.
42   M: I don't see any hole.
        ich seh keine Grube.
43   D: [HAHAHAHAHAHAHA

Contra would like to leave the personal level and analyze the relationship to corporeality on a general societal level. From line 1-4 his contribution is posed in a question format, but the question syntax is so expanded that it imperceptibly changes into a statement of position. A new topic is introduced with the question. He begins to lecture. Typical of such lecturing are sentences which define the topic as "in reality, though, the problems lie in an entirely different location" (14) or "one would have to, please, get down to business" (15). Hitherto the speakers each touched on different aspects of the topic and talked about them from the viewpoint of personal experiences. No one previously undertook a global definition of the topic. In the literature it has occasionally been argued (e.g., Tannen 1990a, Schmidt 1992) that topics are dialogically negotiated by girls and women. Alone the subjectivations which women often use offer very different possibilities for cooperatively developing a topic.

    If one does not want to ratify monological problem definitions such as the one C is introducing, one must respond to them confrontationally. Frau Z, a coworker in a study of child sexual abuse, does this after C spoke (not included in the transcript). With a high level of directness, she says that she does not wish to discuss the topic of "societal roots" defined in the sense Contra suggests. Positional statements containing explicit topic definitions and lecturing impose a more oppositional format of disagreement than do subjectified statements. From line 5 on C makes a transition to direct lecturing,

which is afterward countered by Frau M and Frau Z. Also typical of lecturing are "one would have to" or "one should indeed" or "it would probably be wiser" formulations (15, 25, 40), thus suggestions which strongly steer the discussion of a topic. Although the content of Contra's lecture is quite confusing it is clear that he, the artist, presents himself as an expert on sexuality and society. He devalues the subjective statements made previously by the women. He also tries to reframe the debate from one of experiences to one of abstract theses.

The moderator (M) reacts ironically to Contra's speech and his bizarre examples, which is responded to by one of the women. However, they do not succeed in keeping the frame of a personal exchange of experiences.

There are gendered trends in these TV debates. Men are more active than women in negotiating an expert status. Men of high extrinsic rank always also gain a high intrinsic one. Male laymen with a low extrinsic rank sometimes gain a high intrinsic situative status. Women with a high extrinsic expert position sometimes also realize this position in the TV round. Women with the low status of 'affected' consistently act out this identity in the debates, and they are only addressed by the others as 'concerned' about the question at hand.

In seven of the TV discussions, some men clearly hold conversational lectures more frequently than women. All these men gain a high intrinsic status. The status orders that arise in the discussions are interactional achievements. But these achievements do not come about arbitrarily; there are resources, such as professional competence and gender, which influence the ways conversations progress. Moreover, identity categories such as these are linked. The category of gender seldom plays its role independently. It merges with other categories and shapes them. Men are not only more often addressed as experts than women and more often conversationally confirmed in this role, but people think of political or scientific experts as men. When the production staff of "Club II," for instance, started planning a debate about Russian politics, the many women experts on Russia[17] were not (or seldom) considered.

9.   Concluding Remarks

In most of the conversations, expert status is made more relevant for the men, as well in the roles of authors or psychologists, health experts, political

experts, or anthropologists. However, this special status is not only enacted by the person him- or herself, but also by the other men and women participating. This asymmetrical arrangement between the sexes has a history which influences our perceptions of women and men in many respects. The mental gender pattern is reflected in the invitation policies of the producers.

A social-constructivist approach to the analysis of communication has the advantage of doing without any kind of essentializing gender. In this research tradition, in which this article also stands, regarding gender differences we do not deal with constant differences of "being," but rather with differences in "doing"; the focus is on processes of social typification and their relevance structures (Berger/Luckmann 1967; Schütz 1982).

Feminist research on communication has never taken a fixed female or male nature as a starting point from which it would have to distance itself today.[18] Gender research in the form proposed here always attempts to uncover construction processes of gender typification, as well as of other processes of typification, such as age, race or social status.

A central interest of this approach is to bind the theory to empirical research. Communication processes are thus analyzed with respect to the real order of events, since one starts from the fact that historically developed social relations are communicatively constructed, reconstructed and changed.

10. Transcription conventions

(-)	a single hyphen indicates a short pause
(- -)	two hyphens indicate a longer pause (less than half a second)
(0.5)	pause of half a second; long pauses are counted in half seconds
(?war das so?)	indicates uncertain transcription
(? ?)	points to an incomprehensible utterance
..[.....	
..[.....	shows overlap; two simultaneous voices
=	latching of an utterance by one speaker; no interruption
HAHAHA	laughter
HEHEHE	weak laughter
(H)	audible outbreathing
('H)	audible inbreathing
'	slightly rising intonation and high onset
?	high rising intonation
.	falling intonation

,	ongoing intonation ("more to come")
:	indicates that preceding vowel sound is elongated
°blabla°	lower amplitude and pitch
COME ON	emphatic stress
((sits down))	non-verbal actions or comments

Notes

1. I wish to thank Barbara Röckl for comments on an earlier version of this article and the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Science for financing a research project on gender asymmetries in communication. Thanks to James Brice for help with the English.

2. The articles in Günthner/Kotthoff 1991 center around cultural differences in the communicative display of femininity and masculinity.

3. In Kotthoff 1993 I discussed the policies of the production staff of Club II, how and why they invite certain people for certain topics.

4. Several linguists have already used discussions of this broadcast for discourse analytic studies of group processes, e.g., Gruber, Linke, Trömel-Plötz, Wodak.

5. See Tannen 1993a on the topic of framing in discourse.

6. All of these authors cite an abundance of further literature on the subject of power and asymmetry in discourse.

7. Günthner/Kotthoff 1991 and Kotthoff 1993c discussed methodological problems of a conversation analytic approach within gender studies.

8. Bourdieu 1991 discusses the social conditions for the effectiveness of discourse.

9. In Kotthoff 1992 I discussed in detail how it could happen that the whole interactional frame of this discussion changed from an exchange of concrete experiences to a debate about abstract theses. The women were very actively exchanging their own experiences, but after 50 minutes two men succeeded in restructuring the conversation to expert discourse. These men shifted the topic from "what happened to us and how did we survive" to "society and sexuality in general."

10. A differentiation of expertise by education and expertise by experience does not rule out gender categories, since men are allowed to make both sorts of expertise more relevant to gain a high situational status.

11. "Ötzi" was found directly on the border between Italy and Austria, and both countries claimed ownership of the famous and scientifically important find.

12. Krenn's dominance in these discussions reflects the role of the Catholic Church in Austria and Germany. The broadcasters want him to participate in TV debates because he is such a controversial and prominent church official. Less well-known persons with a similar authoritarian conversational style would not be invited a second time to a TV debate (see Kotthoff 1993b for the politics of the broadcasters).

13. There is no technical interruption at this point with a noticeable overlap as usually discussed in the literature (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974). In Kotthoff 1993c I argued that it is necessary to go beyond technical ways of describing turn-taking if forms of turn-taking are to be integrated in an analysis of the negotiation of conversational asymmetries. I developed a context-sensitive approach to distinctive categories of intervention. See also Edelsky 1993 and James and Clarke 1993 on gender and turn-taking.

14. Otto Mühl is the founder of artists' communes in many parts of Europe. One commune was the Friedrichshof in Vienna. It lasted for more than ten years and was known for its unusual lifestyle and experimental art. Many women, men, and children lived there. The year the TV discussion took place Otto Mühl was sentenced to jail for sexually abusing young girls.

15. But the moderator says at the beginning that the TV discussion is not meant to be about Pilgrim's book. It is meant to deal with the topic of everyday life.

16. There are many high-ranking female German journalists in countries of the former Soviet Union. There is no "objective" reason for inviting a majority of men to debate the putsch attempt in 1991.

17. As is often done in poststructuralist literary criticism, Cameron (1993) criticizes linguistic gender studies (e.g., Tannen) for essentializing gender identities and for claiming that a gender identity is first given and then produces a certain speech style. I consider this line of criticism incorrect. I do not know of any researcher in linguistic gender studies (especially not Tannen) who ever had such a non-interactionist way of thinking as Cameron claims. For a valuable criticism of early linguistic gender studies see Gal 1989.

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Complaint stories

Constructing emotional reciprocity among women[1]

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1. Introduction

Starting in the 16th century and continuing well into the 20th, collectors and theoreticians of narrative have differentiated — as Schenda (1993: 48ff.) points out — between "artistically outstanding, meaningful narrative" and "the spontaneous, everyday narrative" which was considered "meaningless and unconnected." The latter form of narrative, "lacking in profundity" — the so-called "everyday gossip, chatter, quarrel" — was attributed primarily to women.

In the last twenty years, however, linguistic, anthropological, and socio-logical analyses have demonstrated very nicely that one cannot in fact maintain a strict dichotomy between artistic and everyday narrative. Even every-day stories contain certain artistic elements, aestheticizations and, above all, powerful performance-elements (Bauman 1986).

Whether certain narrative genres (such as gossip and defamation tales) are indeed gender-specific (i.e., in this case specific to the female gender) is an empirical question. Traditionally, gossip and defamation stories are associated with women[2] — a fact which could have to do with the classi-cal attribution of the private sphere to women (and thus also the discussion of individuals and their private affairs). Another reason is the negative view of these genres and of conversations among women (see below). But as Bergmann (1987) shows, one cannot maintain the hypothesis that gossip, chatter and defamation tales are viewed as typically female genres in all cultures once one looks at various anthropological, linguistic and sociological

studies; rather, it seems as though these publicly condemned forms of communication are "attributed" to women as "a category-bound activity" only in Western culture (Bergmann 1987: 83). But even if, in our culture, men also gossip, chatter and defame, that still does not mean there are not gender-specific differences in frequency, style, and realization as well as in situational occurrence of these narrative genres. At any rate, recent linguistic and anthropological studies of female communicative behavior show, time and again, that women (in Europe and the USA) prefer other narrative genres and styles than men do. Johnstone's (1993) analysis of conversational storytelling among Midwestern men and women reveals that women storytellers often present themselves as powerless: "things happen to them, and when they act in concert with others they overcome the challenges they tell stories about." (Johnstone 1993: 76). Men, on the other hand, tend to create worlds of contest in which "power comes from the individual action in opposition to others." (Johnstone 1993: 75). Accordingly, women provide more details about people and their speech, men about places, times and objects. Goodwin (1993) also argues that among black children in Philadelphia boys and girls tend to use stories differently. Whereas boys tell stories to further an ongoing argument and to challenge a present participant, girls, in contrast, tell stories behind someone's back as part of an "instigating" activity and thereby restructure alignments of participants.[3]

My data, too, which consists of (27 hours of) informal conversations (on the telephone, during coffee breaks, at mealtimes) between girlfriends, mothers and daughters, and women colleagues, show that certain narratives are used primarily by women, although not exclusively. It is the exception rather than the rule when men tell similar stories and, interestingly enough, they then tell them to women. Among the data I collected, there is not a single complaint story told by one man to another, whereas that kind of story occurs very frequently in exclusively female conversations.

In these narratives, which I shall call **complaint stories**, the speakers complain about the behavior of one or several absent third persons. In contrast to gossip (Bergmann 1987; Keppler 1994), the speaker herself turns up as a persona in the narrated world and is directly affected by the behavior of the anti-hero/ine. These stories, some of them intricately arranged and with the stage set in a highly artistic manner, are not only told primarily by women in the collected data, but also have — and this is the tenor of my thesis — important functions for the social relationships among women.

2.   Everyday narratives in female contexts

As Holenstein/Schindler (1992) emphasize in their cultural history of every-day conversation, "chatter" or the discussion of third persons has been con-sidered as belonging to the "woman's domain" since early modern times. This topos of "women's chatter" has maintained its continuity deep into the 20th century. The gossip-reproach towards women spread most vociferously in the 16th century — just at a time when the uxorial lifestyle was being touted as the one and only path to happiness. Each and every possibility of avoiding it (from institutionalized celibacy to prostitution) was being combated, causing a serious devaluation of the central "chatter-spaces of women" and thereby of that part of the public domain accessible to women. Even if, as Holenstein/Schindler (1992: 42) argue, the bourgeois elitist culture dismissed chatter and talking about third persons as "undisciplined and uncontrolled, discriminatory and socially harmful, malicious and mendacious," the "chatter" still held an important social function: It was seen as the "trademark of belonging to face-to-face communities, as passport to a specific social familiarity into which there is hardly any entry from the outside, indeed as substratum of oral com-munication purely and simply..." The term "women's chatter" and with it the devaluation of topics of women's conversations, had much to do "with the traditional distribution of roles and with the simultaneous discrimination of the lifeworld attributed to the female sex" (Holenstein/Schindler 1992: 56). As texts about the "chattery sitting-room" ('*geschwetzige Rockenstube*') and the *'Kunkelevangelien'*[4] report, "women's chatter" is marked by such topics as diagnosis and healing of illnesses, pregnancy, birth and delivery, relatives and family, spouses' behavior, but also the day's prices at the market and other — as seen from the male point of view — "trifles" (Holenstein/Schindler 1992: 56). The ostracism of women's chatter was also greatly reinforced in connec-tion with the bourgeois "house-and-hearth" ideology, and at the same time emphasized as a cultural differentiation of class: Chattering was considered to show a lack of discipline and morals on the part of the lower classes, as "a bad habit of lower-class women who sit on the stoop and knit." (Holenstein/Schindler 1992: 108). The following "words of admonition by spiritual advis-ers" addressed to young women with the aim of keeping them from "gossiping with women friends" are fairly typical, for

> Associating with gossip-hungry women unnecessarily enmeshes you in
> much argument and awakens in you evil passions of which you would

> otherwise remain ignorant. When you hear how others may speak of you
> and criticize you, it will only encourage hate and vengefulness in you,
> rendering all pleasure bitter. If you listen to how much easier and better
> life is for other women, then envy will be called forth in you and foolish
> discontent with your life. If you hear your husband censured and criticized
> by hypocritical gossiping tongues, then renounce all hope of happiness, if
> you cannot bring yourself to utterly and completely avoid associating with
> such women. Drop by drop, the evil tongues bring you the poison of dislike
> and mistrust towards your husband and after that, the fatal poison of wicked
> suspicion. You will be spared all this unhappiness if you keep to yourself as
> quietly as possible and never worry about others who do not concern you.
> Let your house and all within be as a shrine to you that is there for you alone
> and your loved ones; may you forever deny all strange, curious and prying
> women entry or even a glance into it. (This spiritual advice is taken from
> a text of basic household instruction for workers' wives, issued in 1881 by
> the management of a female workers' hospice. Holenstein/Schindler (1992:
> 107-108; own translation).

The fact that the "chattiness" of women has by no means diminished and that
the admonitions of the spiritual advisers have been to no avail is evident from
the data I have collected.

Circles of women friends are constituted primarily via communication,
exchange of information, discussion of everyday experiences, shared indig-
nation at "impertinent behavior" on the part of absent persons etc. The women
in my data meet regularly for coffee or a glass of wine, regularly talk on the
telephone, and invite each other over for dinner or breakfast on a regular basis.
On these occasions, they report and recount to one another what has happened
in recent days or weeks, how certain conflicts have developed, experiences
they have had, who has annoyed them yet again, how they are doing at work
etc. Many of these conversations begin with the reconstruction of events from
the most recent past, wrapped in narrative form. A specific narrative genre[5]
which we shall call "complaint stories," stories which are often told on these
social occasions, are to be analyzed in this paper.

3.   Complaint stories

Complaint stories belong to the "family" of "reconstructive communicative
genres" which reproduce and re-present parts of social reality, past individu-
al experiences and actions (Bergmann/Luckmann 1995). The reconstructive
techniques used by the narrators must solve the problem of the transitory

character of social events and are required to bring past experience into the social-communicative present time. Narrative genres include various subtypes with significant variation: the narrator can be the protagonist of the narrative, s/he can just be a minor character or even narrate an event from hearsay. The story can be fictional or real, the interaction modality may be serious or jocular. The narrative can be a moral story, an indignation story, the revelation of a secret or a humorous story. The story can have various functions within the narrating context: it may be told mainly to entertain the recipients, to illustrate a certain point, to persuade the recipients the recipient of one's perspective, to support and argument or even to confess something to the recipient.

The following features are characteristic of complaint stories: They are "big packages" in Sacks' (1971) terminology; i.e., relatively long sequences of talk. Concerning their "participation framework" they show the following constellations:

a) The *narrator* and *complainant* appears as the protagonist in the narrative. This protagonist is the victim of some wrongdoing in the storyworld.

b) The *recipients* of the complaint story are not part of the storyworld and thus were not witnesses of the reconstructed events.

c) The *antagonist* and *wrongdoer* who harmed, inadequately attacked, or wronged the protagonist is not present in the narrating situation.

The antagonist's behavior towards the protagonist which is presented as morally inadequate, forms the focus of the narrative.[6]

In this paper I shall present detailed analyses of three exemplary complaint stories, thereby referring to typical features constitutive of this communicative genre as well as pointing out possible variations. The analysis is based on methods of interpretative sociolinguistics and conversation analysis.

The following episode stems from a telephone conversation between the two friends Anna and Bea. Anna applied for a scholarship to study in Paris and had just come back from the interview, when Bea called her up to "find out" how the interview had gone.

I. STIPENDIUM (SCHOLARSHIP)

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20   Anna:   I'm really totally drained
               ich bin E:CHT. TO.TAL. AUS.(.)GE.LAUGT=
21   Bea:    I believe you. how was it
               =kann=ich=mir=vorstelln. [wie wars denn]
22   Anna:                             really, well hhhh'
                                       [ECHT. a-] also hhhh'
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23   Anna: it was horrible really
            es war ↑ENT.SETZLICH↓. [ECHT.]
24   Bea: [(.....)]
25   Bea: be more exact (-) what was wrong
            ja sag mal GENAUER. (-) was [war denn]
26   Anna: okay I felt really awful
            during it
                                        [also ich] also mir gings
            dabei ↑ECHT. ↑MIE:S.
27   Anna: I was actually in a really good mood before
            ich=war=ja=eigentlich=davor=ganz=gut=drauf=und=so.
28   even up to when I crossed the threshold
            auch=noch=als=ich=do-da=zur=Tür=reinging.
29   Bea: mhm.=
            mhm.=
30   Anna: but then when I saw these stiff -looking gentlemen
            doch wie ich DANN die- diese ZUGEKNÖPFTEN ↑HERREN sah,
31   that was it (.) I got a lump in my throat
            da- da wars dann (.) da GING mirs ZÄPFCHEN schon ECHT ↑RUNter.
32   Bea: heeheehee really eh? (-) were there only men there
            hihihi. ja=eh? (-) warns NUR T- (-) ↑MÄ[NNER↓.]
33   Anna: no there were not only men. there was one woman there
            ne: nich NUR.[war auch ne FRAU dabei.]
34   Bea: are (oh.........................)
                          [sind (och......................)]
35   Anna: she wasn't any better though (-) really she wasn't
            DIE war aber ↑KEINEN DEUT BESSER. (-)   ↑ECHT [NICH↓].
36   Bea: yeah and then
            what happened
                                        [ja=und]
            wie liefs'n dann?
37   Anna: yeah well they- well they all sat across from me (.)
            ja. also. die- also DIE ALLE saßen mir (.) so gegenÜBER.
38   ((aspirated)) <a bunch of terribly important faces>
            ((behaucht)) <lauter f-FU:RCHTbar wichtige Gesichter>
39   Bea: heeheeheeheehh
            hihihihihhh[hh]
40   Anna: and they bombarded me with (-) totally stupid questions
                   [un] ↑BOMbarDIE:rten mich mit (-) ECHT.
                   ↑SAU.BLÖDN Fragen.
41   Bea: (.....)
42   Anna: the one asked about <yeah Bernard is really an epigone>
            der eine kam mit ((maniriert))↑<↑TJA. BERNARD. is doch
            eine EPI↑GO::NE.>

43	Bea:	hhh' oh hhh' wild
		HHH' O::H. hhh' [↑IRRE↓.]
44	Anna:	the next wanted me to explain to him
		[der nächste] meinte ich sollte ihm mal erKlÄRN
45		what deconstruction is
		was man unter ↑DEKONSTRUKTION ver [steht.]
46	Bea:	heeheehee
		[hihihihi]
47	Anna:	that was nothing more than a silly fashion and nothing more
		das- das wär doch 'en ↓↑MO::↓DE(.)↑GAG. un=weiter=↑NICHTS.
48	Bea:	yeah well are they totally stupid or what
		↑JA. sind DIE eigntlich be↑SCHEUERT. ne::h.=
49	Anna:	hm you'd think so
		=ja.=man=könnts=echt=mein'n.
50		(0.5)
51	Anna:	oh well eh hh' well and one- one of them he was really bad
		naja. eh: hh' ja:hh. und EIN- EINER. der war echt Ü:BEL DRAUF.
52	Bea:	(hm)
		(heh?)
53	Anna:	(...) he started talking to me in French
		(...) HAT MICH auf FRANZÖSISCH angesprochen.
54	Bea:	mhm he wanted to test you
		[mhm. wollt dich testn.]
55	Anna:	(.....like an exam situation)
		[(.....prüfungsmässig)]
56		yeah yeah he was the school inspector type
		ja=ja. war=so=n=↑OBERSCHULLEHRER.(.)TYP.=
57	Bea:	I can really imagine that
		kanns mir LEIBHAFTig VO:R [stelln.]
58	Anna:	oh well (-) in any case he also got on my back
		[naja] (-) jedenfalls machte er mich auch
		↑BLÖD an
59		went like ((in French)) <why does it have to be Paris?>
		von=wegen ↑<POUR↑QUOI ÇA DOIT ETRE A PAR↑IS. >
60	Bea:	no. (did you............)
		↑NE::HH↓. (hast du.........)
61	Anna:	naturally I based it on my subject
		na↑TÜRlich hab ichs mit meinem THEMA begründet.
62		it was in my application
		stand=ja=auch=innen=UNterlagen=
63	Bea:	mhm. they probably hadn't read them (.) they are such idiots
		=mhm. ham sie wohl nich recht gelesn.(.) sind das SOLCHE (.) IDI↑OTEN↓.
64	Anna:	hhh' what would I do in Grenoble or Lille
		hhh'. WAS s-soll ich denn da in- in eh eh GREN↑OBLE o- oder LI::LLE.

65		or somewhere out in the country hh' (.) can you tell me
		oder irgendwo aufm LAND. hh'. (.) ja ↑SAG mir DAS mal.
66	Bea:	incredible
		↓↑U::N↓GLAUBLICH.
67	Anna:	idiots (-) all of them were idiots hhh' (-)
		↓↑I::↓DIOTEN. warns. (-) ALLESAMT. hhh' (-)
68	Anna:	hh' (-) oh well. anyway I don't think (-) that I will get it
		hh' (-) naja. jedenfalls denk ich NICH. (-) dass ichs ↑KRIEG.
69	Anna:	((sighing)) <hhhhhhhhh>
		((seufzend)) <hhhhhhhhh>.
70	Bea:	who knows (-) one never can know
		du wer WEIß. (-) man [WEIß NIE:]
71	Anna:	no no I blew it
		[ne. ne] ich habs ver↑GEIGT.
72	Anna:	heehee with them
		hihihi bei die- bei ↑DENEN.
73	Bea:	(........there is also.........)
		(........gibt auch.........)
74	Anna:	hhh' ((aspirated)) < yeah right>
		hhh' ((behaucht)) < ja:hh. genau.>
75	Bea:	oh well you didn't do it for nothing (or) eh
		naja. ganz UMSONST wars ja nich. (oder?) eh?
76		now you can send in your application to CBS
		du kannst den Antrag jetzt halt bei- beim CBS einreichen.
77		(-)
78	Bea:	w- who knows what it's good for
		W-WER ↑WEISS. woFÜRs GUT is.
79	Anna:	hm.
80		(1.0)
81	Anna:	tell me have you heard anything from Karla
		sag mal, hast du eigentlich was von Karla gehört

Complaint stories can either be initiated by the recipient who knows about a possible troublesome event and thus inquires about its status or by the narrator ("troubles-teller") herself who often bursts out with a story about her troubles. In the case at hand, Bea knew about the interview when she phoned Anna and thus inquired "how it went." The conversation is affectively loaded right from the very beginning: The description of Anna's disposition as *"ich bin E:CHT. TO.TAL. AUS.(.)GE.LAUGT"* ('I'm totally drained') is produced with "marked prosody"[7]: with an increase of volume, lengthening of syllables and a specific rhythmic pattern. Müller (1991) treats this kind of rhythmic marked-ness, where each stressable syllable is stressed and all the stressed syllables

constitute a clearly discernible rhythmic pattern as "rhythmic scansions." Rhythmic scansions are often used to contextualize formulations as "extreme case formulations" (Pomerantz 1986). In *"ich bin E:CHT. TO.TAL. AUS(.) GELAUGT"* ('I'm totally drained') Anna combines prosodic "extreme case"-marking with lexical "extreme case formulations," such as *"E:CHT."* ('really') and *"TO.TAL."* ('totally'), asserting the "strongest cases." This kind of **hyperbolic use of adverbs and quantifiers** is a rhetoric device to communicate emotional stances. Bea answers by communicating her empathy 'I believe you' (21) and asking for details concerning the event. Anna's negative evaluation 'it was horrible really' (23) which functions as "preface" to the following story and thus not only triggers Bea's further request to proceed with the story 'be more exact (-) what was wrong', but also provides information about the sort of story that will be told (one in which a horrible event is going to be reconstructed) and at the same time indicates what sort of reaction the narrator expects from the recipient (something like: "Oh how awful," Sacks 1971: 311). The prosodic affect marking combined with lexico-semantic elements (such as hyperbole expressions, negatively loaded adjectives) function as "affect keys" (Ochs/Schieffelin) framing the story to follow. After Bea's explicit request, and Anna's summary of her disposition as *"↑ECHT. ↑MIE:S."* ('really awful'), Anna finally starts with the "orientation" of the story (Labov/Waletzky 1968), providing location, circumstances and the figurae of the storyworld. By describing her disposition as 'I was actually in a really good mood before even up to when I crossed the threshold" (27-28), she builds up a contrast between the situation before (the time, when she was still 'in a really good mood') and during the interview (when she felt 'really awful'). She arrived at the turning point when she 'crossed the threshold'. This contrasting technique builds up narrative tension; the question now is: what happend after she had crossed the threshold; i.e., what happened during the interview. Narrators often employ **narrative tension** as a central strategy in complaint stories to construct emotional alignment and involvement of the recipients (Goffman 1974: 508).

By referring to the interviewers as *"Herren"* ('gentlemen') instead of using the neutral noun *"Männer"* ('men') or the vernacular and slightly negatively connotaded *"Typen"* ('guys') the narrator not only builds up a certain distance towards them but she is also being ironic. The metaphorical expression to describe her affective and physical reaction *"da GING mirs ZÄPFCHEN schon ECHT ↑RUNter."* ('I got a lump in my throat') works as an intensifier to communicate her affective stance and to indicate that the

situation has already turned against her: Negative affects tend to be conceptualized metaphorically as physical harm or bodily disturbances (Fiehler 1990: 123). The idiom functions to strengthen the narrator's case "by portraying the egregious character of the complainable circumstances." (Drew/Holt 1988: 405). After claiming that the only woman present in the interview situation was 'not any better than the male interviewers' (35) and thus putting her in the same category, Anna goes on depicting the details of the interview and further emphasizes the contrast between the antagonist and herself: 'they-well they sat across from me' (37). **Narrative detailing** such as describing the seating plan, depicting the way the antagonists looked etc. are not only important rhetorical devices claiming authenticity, but also function to stage the scene of the story. By the use of these "zooming"[8] devices, which scenically reconstruct the situation and thereby minimize the distance between the recipient and the event, the narrator is creating involvement.[9]

The description of the antagonists as 'a bunch of terribly important faces' (35) invites Bea to laugh — despite the troubles-talk context. Thus, the seriousness of the troubles-talk context is getting interrupted by jocular expressions, irony, and humorous metaphors. These performance devices function similar to what Jefferson (1984) observed about laughter in troubles-talk: They communicate a certain "troubles-resistance." The narrator communicates that despite the trouble, she is in a position to take it "lightly." In analyzing complaint conversations among patients in hospitals Coser (1959) made a similar observation: The complaints show a "jocular gripe," which allows the recipients "to join in liberating laughter" (Coser 1959: 177). The patients are admitting their vulnerability in the complaints; with the jocular gripe they overcome this vulnerability "and allow their listeners to participate in their triumph over weakness." In line 40 Anna starts to reconstruct the interview: By metaphorically calling the communicative actions of the interviewers 'bombarding', she evokes the image of a war setting, where she is being attacked by her opponents sitting "across from her." Due to their ability to evoke scenes, images in narratives are important strategies to create involvement (Tannen 1989: 134 ff.). Here the reconstruction of the interview situation is intertwined with the communicating of the narrator's affective stance of this event. Anna explicitly evaluates the interviewer's questions as being 'totally stupid questions' (40) and in order to illustrate this evaluation she continues by reconstructing them in reported speech. Although direct speech may claim authenticity, it can never be a verbatim, mimetic reproduction of

the original utterance: by "decontextualizing"[10] the utterance from its original context and "recontextualizing" it in a new interactive episode, the reconstructed dialogue can never be "identical" to its original, but always undergoes the process of transformation, of selecting certain elements, stylizing certain features, focusing certain aspects (Günthner 1996a,b). As Tannen (1986: 312) points out, constructed dialogue is a rhetoric means "by which experience surpasses story to become drama."

The staging of the story is an important device for the production of a lively interaction and for the creation of "presence" (Perelman 1980); the speaker reduces the distance between storyworld and recipient and creates a common context to evaluate the presented events. This kind of presentation acts directly upon our sensitivity and affects (Perelman 1980: 35).

The interviewer's commentary *"↑TJA. BERNARD. is doch eine EPI↑GO::NE."* ('yeah Bernard is really an epigone') (42) is reproduced in such a way that it receives an arrogant overtone: The mannered *"↑TJA"* contextualizes the arrogance of the quoted figure and *"EPI↑GO::NE."* ('epigone') is prosodically distorted in such a way that we can detect a **"layering of voices"** (Bachtin 1979; Günthner 1996a,b): On the one hand, we "hear" the arrogant voice of the interviewer; on the other hand we "hear" Anna's commentary on this utterance as totally exaggerated and inappropriate. Thus, we can see how several voices can be superimposed on one utterance: The reported speech of the character melts with the narrator's evaluation. Bakhtin accounts for such phenomena of reported speech within his theory of "polyphony." Here "the speaker's expressivity penetrates through the boundaries" (Bachtin 1979) of the speaking subjects and spreads to the other's speech, by transmitting it in a caricatured way. Thus, intertextual relationships between the present performance and the prior dialogue play a crucial role in permitting speakers to create multiple modes of inserting their own evaluations into the discourse, and to build up different perspectives on what is taking place (Bachtin 1979, Günthner 1996a).

The dramatic staging of the interview situation invites Bea to communicate her indignation about the behavior of the opposing party. Her affectively marked sign of disapproval *"HHH' O::H. hhh' [↑IRRE↓.]"* ('hhh' oh hhh' wild') displays her co-alignment. The lengthening of the vowel ("O::H"), the marked rise-fall intonation contour and the adjective *"IRRE"* ('wild') function as **indignation markers**, i.e., ritualized expressions which the recipients employ at strategically important locations in order to signal affective co-orientation and co-indignation.

In re-animating the second antagonist, Anna uses indirect speech. However, we are also able to recognize the phenomena of **layering of voices** within this indirect mode: *"↓MO::DE(.)↑GAG."* ('silly fashion') (47) starts out with a low voice and is thus marked off from the preceding utterances. The lengthening of the vowel *"O::"* communicates a certain condescension. By means of the high onsets on *"↑GAG"* and on *"↑NICHTS."* ('and nothing more') the reported speech is stylized in such a way that it comes close to what Bachtin (1979) calls "parodistic stylization."[11] The narrator, thus, not only uses speech to reconstruct past dialogues but also to evaluate these reconstructed utterances. Silverstein (1993), who draws on Jakobson's insights on the metalinguistic function of language ("messages about messages"), treats reported speech as "metapragmatic activity" par excellence: By quoting past utterances, speakers explicitly represent and comment on the "use of language." In doing so they express their "ideology" (Silverstein 1993); i.e., their position about rules linking communicative behavior with particular communicative situations is reflected in the quoting activity. In the episode at hand, the narrator also indicates — by means of indirectly commenting on the reproduced utterance — her norms of communication: the utterances of the antagonists are portrayed as being arrogant and inadequate. This dramatic staging invites Bea to communicate her indignative co-alignment with the narrator's perspective. Her rhetoric question 'are they totally stupid or what' (48) which Anna reaffirms 'you'd think so' (49) is a characteristic example of a **"dialogue of indignation."** The speaker's affect display and contextualization of high affective involvement is consequential for the recipient's action:

48   Bea: yeah well are they totally stupid or what
              ↑JA. sind DIE eigntlich be↑SCHEUERT. ne::h.=
49   Anna: hm you'd think so
              =ja.=man=könnts=echt=mein'n.

Dialogues of indignation often have features of a faked question-answer-sequences. As complaint stories present an "outrageous behavior" which — although presented as an authentic event — seems hardly believable, recipients often react by demonstrating a "fictitious" doubt. By constructing dialogues of indignation the participants reveal their reciprocity of perspectives, and the recipient shows her affiliation with the narrator's perspective.

The third interviewer is introduced as 'he was really bad' (51). The fact that he spoke French is interpreted by Bea (line 54) as well as Anna (line

55) as being "an exam situation." Anna adds the membership category *"↑OBERSCHULLEHR(.)ER.TYP"* ('the school inspector type') using "emphatic prosody"[12] (by means of a higher density of accentuated syllables than in surrounding turns, in co-occurrence with higher pitch peaks and greater loudness). *"OBER"* functions as an intensifier of the social categorization "*schullehrerhaft*." In re-animating the interviewer, Anna switches to French (59). Hereby, she not only claims authenticity but also presents the typified figure with the corresponding membership activity. Bea reacts with the indignated interjection *"↓↑NE::HH↓"* ('no'). Anna continues with speech that is also colored by her indignation: the rhetorical question 'what am I going to do in Grenoble or Lille or somewhere out in the country hh' (.) can you tell me' (64-65) functions to emphasize the "absurdity" of the antagonists' behavior. We shall now have a closer look at the prosodic features of Bea's indignation cry *"↓↑U::N↓GLAUBLICH."* ('incredible') (66): It starts with a low onset on *"↓↑U::"*, then the intonation rises and the syllable is extremely lengthened. After the lengthening *"↓GLAUB"* starts off again with a low onset:

$$_U{}^{::N}{}_{GLAUBLICH.} \text{ ('incredible')}$$

Anna copies these prosodic features in her following utterance:

$$_I{}^{::D}{}_{IOTEN.} \text{ ('idiots')}$$

The prosodic realization of the two "indignation cries" iconically represent the alignment of the two friends concerning their evaluation of the presented behavior.

In complaint stories we recurrently find recipients' display of emotional affiliation by means of response cries, indignation formulas and dialogues of indignation. These affiliation signs are often responded to by the narrator, who joins this display of indignation. In this way the interactants build up a sequence of **emotional reciprocity**. Jefferson (1988: 428) describes a similar phenomena in troubles-talk: the participants shift "from an engagement with the proper procedures of ordinary conversation to a focusing on the trouble in its own right." This shift to common display of emotional reciprocity constitutes what Jefferson (1988: 428) calls "the topical and relational heart of troubles-talk, an intense focusing upon the trouble and upon each other."

The narrator up to now employs various means to portray the antagonists and their behavior as socially inappropriate:

a) **negatively-loaded lexico-semantic descriptions** to refer to the antagonists, such as *"diese ZUGEKNÖPFTEN* ↑*HERREN"* ('these stiff-looking gentlemen'), *"lauter f-FU:RCHTbar wichtige Gesichter"* ('a bunch of terribly important faces')*, "der war echt Ü:BEL DRAUF"* ('he was really bad'), *"so=n=*↑*OBERSCHULLEHR(.)ER.TYP."* ('the school inspector type');

b) the use of **negatively evaluated membership activities**, such as *"*↑*BOMbarDIE:rten mich mit (-) ECHT.* ↑*SAU.BLÖDN Fragen"* ('they bombarded me with (-) totally stupid questions'), *"prüfungsmässig (testen)"* ('like an exam situation'), *"*↑*BLÖD anmachen"* ('he got on my back');

c) **reconstructed dialogue**: the narrator uses what Bakhtin calls "parodistic stylization" in order to communicate her evaluation of the reported utterances.

Furthermore, the presentation of the antagonists carries a highly moralizing trait: They are presented as offending against norms of behavior such as politeness rules, against the expectation that this kind of interview situation is not a knowledge test and against the expectation that interviewers in this kind of a situation would be familiar with the interviewees' application form and thus be able to ask relevant questions. These interaction norms concerning the interview situation are not explicitly uttered but treated as shared between the narrator and her recipient.

In line 68 Anna's starts closing the complaint story by changing the interaction modality. Her resigned impression 'anyway I don't think (-) that I will get it' (68) followed by a sigh invites Bea to present some soothing words. Anna, however, disagrees. The colloquial expression *"ich habs ver*↑*GEIGT"* ('I blew it') (71) combined with the giggling communicates Anna's distance towards the event. Idiomatic expressions, such as *"ich habs ver*↑*GEIGT"* ('I blew it') often work to summarize the event and to initiate a closing sequence (Drew/Holt 1988). Bea remains in the position to formulate something positive and to comfort her friend. A characteristic of many complaint stories is the transgression of the story into advice-giving of the recipient (such as Bea's proposal: 'now you can send in your application to CBS' (line 76)).

The antagonist's wrongdoing, however, not only constitutes reciprocity among the participants concerning inappropriate behavior in a particular context, but at the same time transmits — by techniques of negation — ideas of adequate, appropriate behavior. That is, the appropriate way of interacting in

the particular situation is not explicitly demonstrated, but offered to the recipient "as possible; necessary discovery" through the **negative foil** of inadequate behavior. Thus, the negatively evaluated seating order ('they all sat across from me';), their style of interviewing ('bombarding with questions'), the type of questions ('totally stupid questions'), the exam-like testing and the arrogant, condescending tone of voice of the interviewers indicate — via the **negative foil of inadequate behaviour** — the implicit norms and expectations of correct behavior in the portrayed situation.

Anna's story and this type of complaint stories in general reveal similarities to what Stimson/Webb (1975) and Dingwall (1977) described and analyzed as **"atrocity stories."** In their analysis of stories told by female patients about the inadequate behaviour of doctors, Stimson/Webb (1975) argue that atrocity stories can be seen as devices whereby patients retrospectively interpret their encounters with the medical profession, negotiate norms for the behaviour of patients and doctors, and redress the imbalance in the relationship between doctors and patients by voicing complaints, albeit at a safe distance. These stories are dramatic events staged between groups of friends and acquaintances that draw on shared understandings about the way of the world. The teller is cast as the hero, who is in the right, whereas the doctor was wrong and maintaining his reason despite the incompetence and dereliction of others. Stimson/Webb (1975) as well as Dingwall (1977) point out the fact that story-telling often serves as a vehicle for complaints:

> An incident may not be substance for a formal complaint, yet it is not so limited in terms of its potential as a story of criticism. Story-telling is significant in terms of social-control. It is both an appeal for action but at the same time an appeal to inaction. It is an appeal to action in that a latent function of the stories is in coaching people about how to behave in front of doctors, giving them recipes for action, warning them what to expect. But at the same time they appeal to inaction over those things that go wrong. Conflict is expressed not to the other actor in the situation, but to others who have no, limited, or very little power to do anything. (Stimson/Webb 1975: 111).

In our stories we also have friends complaining to each other about representatives of institutions, about common acquaintances or colleagues. Thus, complaint stories allow the narrator to verbalize the complaint and involved anger without directly having to address the "guilty party." These stories are especially "helpful" in situations, in which the narrator has no chance of making an official complaint. They function to build up and stabilize solidarity

among group members and to assert the reasonable character of the narrator who is portrayed as being rational whereas her opponents are characterized by their mental irrationality and deviant behavior.[13] In these stories the narrator not only constructs a normative standard of adequate behavior by portraying the antagonists' deviant behavior, but she also shows her negative evaluation of the wrongdoers and invites the recipient to join in on the construction of common moral values.

The following complaint story also presents the behavior of the antagonist as "deviant" and the interactants confirm their common moral indignation about the non-present party. However, in contrast to the previous story, the interactive modality keeps on tilting over into a jocular mood: The narrator and recipient do not only show their indignation about the antagonist's actions but they also make fun of him.

The transcript stems from a telephone interaction between Sara and her mother Ulla. Sara tells how she came back to her apartment in the morning and had a call on her answering machine.

II. LICHT (LIGHT)

23	Sara:	and then I had a call on my ans((hi))wering
		((hi))maschine heehee
		und dann war auf meim hi
		An((hi))RUFBEANT((hi))WORTER hihi
24		a call from this guy he says
		ne Nachricht, von nem Typ, der sagt,
25		hh' I am your neighbor
		hh' ICH BIN (-) DER ↑ NACH↓BAR.
26		and it cannot go on like this any more
		UN SO GEHTS ↑ NICHT↓ WEITER.
27		you leave your light on every night
		SIE LASSEN NACHTS IMMER EIN ↑ LICHT↓ AN.
28		and we cannot sleep
		und da können wir nicht SCHL↑A:FEN.
29		why do you always put your light so
		↑ <WARUM STELLEN SIE IHR LICHT. IMMER SO. HIN.>
30		that it shines directly in our bedroom
		↑ <DAß. ES. in unSER. SCHLAF.zimmer REIN.LEUCHTET.>
31	Ulla:	at your place or at theirs?
		bei dir oder bei dene?
32	Sara:	at mine
		bei ↑MI::R↓.

33	Ulla:	come on now
		ha sag ↑[a' MO:::L↓.]
34	Sara:	such an idiot
		[↓ so en] ↑DEPP.
35	Sara:	and he didn't leave his name
		ond hat kein Name GSAGT,
36		then I went over to the house in front (-)
		und dann bin i ins Vorderhaus, (-)
37		and rang every doorbell
		ond hab einfach da DURCHklingelt,
38		and then I =als- =he-
		und dann hab i=ihn=au= na-
39		I =knew=about =on=which=floor=it=had=to=be=
		i=WUßT=ja=ungefähr=in=welchem=↑STOCKwerk.=
40	Ulla:	yeah
		=haja.
41	Sara:	and then I w- went up to him
		und dann, b- bin i hin,
42		and he was really (-)
		*na hat er *ganz* (-)*
43		((tense voice)) <yeah that is the way it is and he
		could not sleep at night>
		((gepreßt, gebunden)) <ja:hh des sei halt so.
		da könnt er nachts nicht SCHLAFEN.>
44		then I said which light
		na hab i gsagt ja ↑WE::LCHES LICHT?
45		well my ((rhymtmically)) desk (-) lamp
		ja mein ((rhythmisch)) ↑SCHREI:::B. (-) DI:::SCH(.)
		LI::CHT↓.
46		can (.) you (.) believe (.) it (.)
		STELL. (.) DIR. (.) V[OR.] (.)
47	Ulla:	oh he should close his eyes
		[↑O::]::HHH↓. er soll d' Auge
		zumache.
48		then he can't see it
		no sieht ers net.
49	Sara:	hhh' heehee hhh
		hhh' hihi[hhh]
50	Ulla:	is he an old fart
		[isch] des en alter Knacker?
51	Sara:	yeah yeah
		h' ja=ja.

52 Ulla: incredible. or he should have his shades closed
            ha ↑SA:::G A: MO:L↓. ha oder sein ↑ROLLADE zu,
53   or his windo- or his curtains
            oder sei Fensch- oder Vorhang.
54 Sara: no. he had to sleep with his windows open and
            everything
            noi. er müßt mit offenem Fenschter schlafe,
            und=alles.
55 Ulla: (well one) can find ((hee)) such hee terrible
            heehee people everywhere heehee
            (hots doch) überall ((hi)) so hi furchtbare hihi
            [Leut hihi]
56 Sara: just
            [↑ sa:g]
57 Sara: ((aspirated))<imagine somehow something is not
            quite right with them>(-)
            ((behaucht)) < ma:l. irgendwie sind die net ganz
            DICHT.> (-)
58   and then he d- didn't like
            ↑und dann w- würd ihm nicht passen,
59   the way that my curtain was hanging totally crooked
            mein VO:Rhang würd so SCHIEF hängen,
60 Ulla: ho: ho: hohohohoho hohohohhohohohohoho
            heeheeheehee
            ho: ho: hohohohoho[hohohohhohohohohoho
            hihihihihihihi]
61 Sara: it didn't ((hee)) look ((hee)) nice
            [des würd NICHT ((hi))
            SCHÖ((HI))N] aus((HI))SEHN
62 Ulla: ohhh Jesus Christ. there are such narrow minded
            people
            ohhh' ↑JE:::SSES↓. gibts do: ↑SPIE:ßER.
63   you see. the aren't only living in Sonnenberg
            siehsch. net bloß in Sonnenberg.
64 Sara: hahaha[hahahaha]
65 Ulla: hahahaha boy these people -
            *   [hahahaha] GOTT. händ die Leut-*
66   these people have troubles isn't it?
            die ↑LEUT HÄN SORGE. heh?
67 Sara: really and (.) why do I have to heehee have heehee
            du=↑wirklich. und (.) wa↑rum I denn hihi NACHTS
            hihi
68   my light on at twel((hi))ve, one in the morning

		um hihi ZW((hi))ÖLFE, EINS, dann no so en Licht
		BRÄUCHT,
69		then I said
		no han i gsagt,
70		you see I'm working at my desk at night
		↑wisset sie. I ↑SCHAFF NACHTS. am SCHREIB.↑TISCH.
71	Ulla:	oh (-) oh Jesus hahahahaha this is
		↑O:::::hh↓. (—) O::::HH JES[SES. hahahahaha des
		isch]
72	Sara:	hahahahahahahahahahaha
		[hahahahahahaha hahaha]
73	Ulla:	a ((hee))catastrophy huh
		a ((hi)) KATASTROPH. heh?
74	Sara:	terrible
		↑GRAU:.EN. (.) HAFT↓.
75	Ulla:	Jesus Christ. no really no
		↑JE::SSES NOI↓. also ↑NOI↓.
76	Sara:	hahahaha
		hahahaha
77	Ulla:	(I can't believe it) huh (.) and then what did you
		tell him
		(kann mer net glaube) heh? (.) on no: was hosch no:
		zu ihm gsa:
78		what you're doing
		was d'machsch?
79	Sara:	then I said okay
		no han i gsagt, naja GUT.
80		I'm going to turn my light on again tonight
		heut abend würd i s'Licht mal wieder an↑lassen,
81		but I'm going to turn it a bit
		und d- dann (.) würd i's mal a bißle anders
		hinschdelle,
82		and =then =he=should=call=if =it=still=bothers=him
		=
		↓<und=dann=soll=er=mi=nomal=anrufe=obs=ihn=dann=imm
		er=no=stört.>=
83	Ulla:	=hahaha he's hihi he- he hi
		=hahaha. a:lso hihi ha der- der hi
84		apparently looks out ((hee)) of his win((hee))dow
		wird zum FENSCHDER ((hi)) naus ((hi)) GUCKE,
85		(-) hh' hh or else he has-
		(-) hh' [hh] sonst hät doch der-
86	Sara:	oh
		[ach.]

87 Ulla: in bed you don't notice it
            im Bett ↑MERKSCH doch. des. net.
88 Sara: oh
            ach.
89 Ulla: I can't believe it
            des ↑GIBTS. doch. net.
90 Sara: hi you know ((hee)) and then to say heehee
            hi weisch ((hi)) ond au zu sagen, hihi
91   why ((hee)) do I put it so
            ↑WARUM ((hi)) i des hi SO einstell
92   that it shines directly into his bedroom heehee
            daß es VOLL in. sein. Schlafzimmer. rein hihihi
93   as if I didn't have anything better to do
            als hät I̲ NIX. ANDERS. ZU. DUN.
94   then hihi to shine hihi on his hihi bed((hi))room
            als hihi dem ((hi)) sein hihi [SCHLAF](hi))zimmer
            zu beLEUCHTE.
95 Ulla: ah
                              [a:hh]
96 Ulla: no really. about=how=old=is=he
            ↑A::LSO. NOI:::↓ ha=wie=alt=isch=en=DER etwa?
97 Sara: well retired seventy or I don't really know
            ach. ↑Rentner↓. [siebzig] oder was=weiß=i
98 Ulla: [mhm]
99   (0.5)
100 Sara: oh well
            naja.
101 Ulla: terrible (-) ((moaning)) <oh Jesus Christ. yes>
            ↑furchtbar↓. (-) ((stöhnend)) <o::h. ↑jesses↓. ja.>
102   yeah and now he butchered Angelika's rabbit
            jo::hh und jetzt hat er de' Angelika ihre Hase
            gschlachtet.

Contrary to Jefferson's (1988) findings in "trouble telling," the narrators of
complaint stories often initiate the storytelling themselves, and instead of
sending out some "ambiguously premonitory utterances" to find out if the
recipient is willing to attend to the trouble telling, the speakers (and thus
trouble tellers) in complaint stories proceed rather directly to the storytel-
ling — often without leaving the recipient a chance to indirectly back out.
The laughter particles intertwined with the description of the particular cir-
cumstances ('and then I had a call on my ans((hee))wering ((hee))machine
heehee'; 23) frame the affective stance of the narrator towards the story to

follow: Something funny or ridiculous is being announced. The voice on the answering machine is negatively categorized as belonging to this *"Typ"* ('guy'). His complaint, which is framed by the neutral verbum dicendi *"der sagt"* ('he says'*)*, is reproduced in direct reported speech (25 ff.) and reconstructed in Standard German: *"ICH BIN (-) DER ↑ NACH↓BAR. UN SO GEHTS ↑ NICHT↓ WEITER. SIE LASSEN NACHTS IMMER EIN ↑ LICHT↓ AN. und da können wir nicht SCHL↑A:FEN. ↑<WARUM STELLEN SIE IHR LICHT. IMMER SO. HIN.> ↑<DAß. ES. in unSER. SCHLAF.zimmer REIN. LEUCHTET."* (25-30). It sharply contrasts with the Swabian dialect Sara and Ulla are speaking and stylizes the antagonist as an 'outsider'. Furthermore, his introduction of himself as well as the following complaint are reconstructed in a rather distorted way: nearly every syllable is accentuated,[14] the utterance carries a rising-falling intonation contour, an increase of loudness and a global high pitch. These prosodic features in combination with the marked Standard German give his speech a very mannered coloring.

The reported utterance shows two kinds of perspectives at the same time: the reproachful voice of the neighbor and the condemnation of this complaint by the narrator. Thus, the narrator not only animates the neighbor as a character in her story but at the same time communicates her evaluation towards the presented complaint as totally exaggerated and ridiculous. We can observe how several voices are superimposed on one utterance: The reported speech of the character melts with the narrator's evaluation (**"layering of voices"**). Sara uses lexico-semantic and rhetorical features (such as extreme case formulations) as well as prosodic devices to indicate the neighbor's irritation and at the same time penetrates the utterance with an ironic subtone. The high pitched voice, the Standard German variety and the distinct pronunciation of each syllable indicate "monitored speech" (Mitchell-Kernan 1972: 177) and function to socially categorize the character as an 'oversensitive pedant'. This segment reveals how prosodic marking can be used to contextualize specific affective meanings and interpretative frames; prosodic means, however, differ from explicitly lexicalized affect communication, as they are "indirect encodings" superimposed on referential meanings. Traditionally, it is assumed that in using **direct speech** (in opposition to **indirect speech**) "the reporter-speaker does not have the option of communicating a comment on the content of the reported speech as s/he utters the direct quote, because (...) not only the form and the content of the reported speech, but also the non-verbal messages accompanying it, originate from the reported speaker." (Li 1986: 39). However,

this passage clearly demonstrates that even in direct speech, the reporter is able to incorporate and contextualize her interpretation, evaluation and affective stance towards the reported dialogue. Thus, simple dichotomies of direct versus indirect speech unduly reduce the complexities of re-staging past dialogues (Günthner 1996b). Although direct reported speech claims authenticity for the reproduced utterance, it is always at the same time a stylization of the "original" utterance and a rhetorical device to animate the figures of the "drama" presented (Goffman 1986; Kotthoff 1996). The reported speech here clearly reveals these seemingly contradictory functions[16]: On the one hand the speaker pretends to "report" the quoted person's words and thus to preserve not only the "original" utterance but also how it was constructed. The quoted speech is presented as having an independent identity, lying outside the given context. These aspects contribute to its claim of "authenticity." On the other hand, direct quoting is always a stylized, theatrical device used for dramatization: it creates involvement and invites the recipient to display co-alignment and indignation.[17] Whenever a narrator reproduces past utterances, s/he "de-contextualizes" (Bauman/Briggs 1990) the "words" of the original speaker from their embedding context and "re-contextualizes" them in the new context at hand. In this process of "transmission," the reporter remodels the past text according to the situative communicative intention and imprints her/his perspective into the re-constructed event. Classical rhetoric acknowledged this double function of the *sermocinatio* — the staging of dialogues. The scenic construction "of conversations among real persons" (Lausberg 1960: 408) was not only regarded as a technique to provide *evidentia* but at the same time as an important persuasive technique, a "vivid re-presentation" in order to arouse the emotions of the listeners, who are placed in the role of eye-witnesses.[18] The *sermocinatio* was classified among to the "affective figures." Thus, reported speech is to be treated not as verbatim reproduction of the original utterance but — as Clark/Gerrig (1990: 765) suggest — as "demonstrations"; i.e., as a technique to enable the recipients "to experience what it is like to perceive the things depicted."[19]

This scenic presentation of the neighbor's complaint invites Ulla to show her co-alignment: the indignation formula *"ha sag ↑a' MO:::L↓."* ('come on now'*;* line 33) and her indignated tone of voice (rise-fall intonation with a slow fall on the lengthened syllable) communicate her affective co-alignment with Sara's evaluation. Once the recipient has offered her explicit co-alignment, Sara utters an explicit evaluation of the antagonist: 'such an idiot'.

Starting from line 35 the narrator reconstructs how she proceeded; i.e., the way she finally met the neighbor. This meeting is staged again by means of reported speech. We shall have a closer look at this sequence:

42   and he was really (-)
    na hat er *ganz* (-)
43   ((tense voice)) <yeah that is the way it is and he
    could not sleep at night>
    ((gepreßt, gebunden)) <ja:hh des sei halt so.
    da könnt er nachts nicht SCHLAFEN.>
44   then I said which light
    na hab i gsagt ja ↑WE::LCHES LICHT?
45   well my ((rhymtmically)) desk (-) lamp
    ja mein ((rhythmisch)) ↑SCHREI:::B. (-) DI:::SCH(.)
    LI::CHT↓.
46   can (.) you (.) believe (.) it (.)
    STELL. (.) DIR. (.) V[OR.] (.)

The tense voice in line 43 clearly indicates the animation of the neighbor. It sharply contrasts with the quoted response of the protagonist (44), whose voice signals surprise. The following two lines *("↑SCHREI:::B. (-) DI:::SCH(.) LI::CHT↓." and "STELL. (.) DIR. (.) VOR.")* are highly prosodically marked (by increase of loudness and lengthening) and rhythmically foregrounded by means of rhythmic scansions (Müller 1991): each stressable syllable is stressed. The high frequency of beats recurring in brief syllable-timed intervals contextualizes the "poignancy" of the utterances as well as commitment and insistence (Müller 1991: 15). This **prosodic hyperbolism** functions to intensify and upgrade the speaker's point and thus to foreground Sara's indignation about the neighbor's behavior. Such "staging" of prosodic markedness calls for the recipient's display of her own alignment to the matter at hand; it is a technique to locally organize the display of common understanding and **emotional reciprocity** in interaction, as Ulla's indignated *"↑O::::HHH↓"* and her jocular commentary ('he should close his eyes then he can't see it.') reveal. After her question whether 'he is an old fart' and her indignated *"ha ↑SA:::G A: MO:L↓."* ('incredible') (52), Ulla comes up with further rhetorical advice, such as he should 'close the shades or the curtains'. After a further sequence of exchange of indignated co-alignment and the categorization of the neighbor as belonging to the category of 'terrible people' (55) and to those people with whom 'something is not quite right' (57), Sara continues by reconstructing a further complaint stemming from the antagonist 'and then

he d- didn't like the way that my curtain was hanging totally crooked.' (58-59). Confronted with this quoted complaint Ulla bursts into an indignated laughter, and Sara's further reporting of complaints is mixed with laugh particles. This infiltration of the reconstructed complaint with laughter communicates the narrator's own stance towards the reproduced utterance. In connection with the complaint about the 'crookedly hanging curtain', Ulla introduces the category *"SPIE:βER"* ('narrow minded people'*)*. The mixture of reported speech and indignation continues (67-70): Sara and Ulla co-align not only in their common evaluation of the neighbor's misbehavior but also in their amusement about the story. Let us have a closer look at the interactants' **dialogue of indignation**:

71	Ulla:	oh (-) oh Jesus hahahahaha this is
		↑*O:::::hh↓. (—) O::::HH JES[SES. hahahahaha des*
		isch]
72	Sara:	[hahahahahahaha hahaha]
73	Ulla:	a ((hee))catastrophy huh
		a ((hee)) KATASTROPH. heh?
74	Sara:	terrible
		↑*GRAU:.EN. (.) HAFT.↓.*
75	Ulla:	Jesus Christ. no really no
		↑*JE::SSES NOI↓. also ↑NOI↓.*

Ulla's indignation cry (71) is interspersed with laugh particles: She not only communicates her negative evaluation of the event but at the same time her amusement about it. The indignated question 'this is a ((hi))catastrophy' followed by the particle "heh?" invites Sara to utter her co-alignment. Sara responds with a similar two-folded reaction: She joins the jocular modality by her laughing along, and — at the same time — on the referential level she confirms Ulla's evaluation: *"↑GRAU:EN.HAFT↓."* ('terrible').

   This episode nicely reveals the common negotiation of "membership categorization" and typification of the antagonist: In line 24 he already is negatively evaluated as *"Typ"* ('guy') (24). After Sara's reconstruction of his complaint, he becomes a *"Depp"* ('idiot') (34). With the mentioning of his sleeping problems, he turns into an *"alten Knacker"* ('old fart'*)* (50), and afterwards he is attributed to the category of *"furchtbaren Leute"* ('terrible people') (55) and to those, who are *"nicht ganz DICHT"* ('something is not quite right with them') (57). Finally, after complaining about the curtain that was hanging crooked, he belongs to the category of "*Spießer*" ('narrow minded people') (62). Thus, the categories he is associated with are closely connected with the locally presented activities he is involved in.

Complaint stories, thus, can be regarded as a communicative genre of (as)sociation: they are interactive means to achieve common judgements and affective evaluations about the deviant misbehavior of non-present persons.

The third episode, stemming from a breakfast chat among Anni, Geli and Uli, varies from the other already presented stories because the narrator tells the first complaint story which does not receive the expected reactions, and then tells a second story. This second story finally leads to a whole series of further complaint stories.

III. VERSCHLAMPT-VERKRÜMELT-VERSANDET (LOST)

1	Uli:	and=then=I=did=go=along=to=Sabines= *und=dann=bin=ich=noch=mit=zur=Sabine=*
2		I=got=to=bed=at=half=past=three (-) *ich=bin=erscht=um=halbvier=ins=Bett, (-)*
3		and then the neighbors started working on the stairs at seven thirty *und DANN ham die Nachbarn um halb acht im Treppenhaus angefangen,*
4		and at ten past nine a friend from Hamburg called= *und um zehn nach neun hat ne Freundin aus Hamburg angerufn=*
5		=I thought I'd go crazy= *=dacht mich trifft der SCHLA:G.=*
6	Geli:	=oh' hh= *=oh' hh=*
7	Uli:	=ten past nine on a Sunday *=zehn nach NEU:N am Sonntag.*
8		isn't that a bit very early *is des nich en bißchen arg FRÜH?*
9		even if you hadn't gone to bed so late *selbst wenn man nich so spät ins Bett is?*
10	Anni:	yeah ten past nine thats pushing it *ja. zehn nach neun is: HART an der Grenze.*
11	Uli:	yeah I think so too on the weekend anyway (-) *ja. also find i auch fürs Wochenende, (-)*
12		well anyway (-) and eh then I realized yesterday *naja. (-) und eh? dann hab i no festgstellt gestern*
13		and this really gets to me (-) ehm (-) *des ärgert mich be↑SONDERS (-) ehm: (-)*
14		eh I was sent again from the XYZ three of these *ma- eh ich hab jetzt ja nochmals von der XYZ*

15   now its three times (—) three times they've sent
            me four forms
            dreimal so: (- -) also dreimal vier Blätter
            zugeschickt bekommen,
16   that I have to fill out again=
            die ich NOCHmal ausFÜLLEN muß=
17 Anni: =mhm=
18 Uli: = this time they are red but they're the same you
            know
            = diesmal sind se ROT. aber die gleichen weißt du.
19   which other activities
            welche zusätzlichen Aktivitäten,
20   which interests etcetera=
            welche Intressen ezeterA: =
21 Geli: =yeah
            =ja.
22 Uli: hh' and I of course had copied
            hh' und ich hab näml'ch mein ALTEN Antrag
23   my old form which was exactly
            wo genau's gleiche Formular war,
24   the same form
            den hab i natürlich koPIERT.
25   and eh: (-) had given it to Müller
            und eh: (-) ehm MÜLLER in die Hand gegeben,
26   because he wanted to know what I wrote=
            weil der WOLLte wissen was ich geschrieben hab=
27 Geli: =mhm=
28 Uli: because he also wants to apply for the scholarship
            denn er will sich ja auch fürs Stipendium bewerben.
29   hh' this man can't find it any more
            hh' der MANN. FINDET. DES. NICH. [mehr].
30 Anni: no
                                       [↑NEI::N↓]
31 Uli: it's in a green envelope. I have to tear his flat
            apart
            es isch en grüner UMSCHLAG. ich muß jetzt seine
            Wohnung aufn Kopf
32   on Monday. I really don't want
            stellen am [Montag.] also ich hab KEINE Lust
33 Anni: shit
                      [↑SCHEI::ßE↓]
34 Uli: to fill everything out once more
            des [nochmal des alles auszu]füllen.

35	Geli:	bloody hell
		[(is ja) TOTAL BLÖD.]
36	Uli:	and it's probably not too good
		und des is ja wahrscheinlich ungeschickt
37		if you write one thing once and the next time
		something else=
		wenn du einmal HÜ [schreibst] und dann was anders
		schreibsch=
38	Anni:	yeah
		[ja:hh]
39	Anni:	=yeah
		=ja.
40	Geli:	although you never know with the XYZ ((hi)) if
		they've ((hi))
		wobei man bei der XYZ weiß man NIE ((hi)) ob die
		((hi)) das EINE
41		ever read ((hi)) the first one=
		überhaupt gelesen ((hi)) haben=
42	Anni:	=yeah or of they've lost the other one
		=ja [oder s'andere verschlampt ham]
43	Geli:	it could possibly be what happened this time
		[aber s'kann ZUfällig] grade mal der Fall
		gewesen sein,
44		ehm I am totally I am concerning the XYZ totally eh s-
		ehm: al[so ich hab- ich bin bei der] XYZ wieder
		grade TOTAL eh: s-
45	Uli:	are they so idiotic
		[sind die BESCHEUERT?]
46	Geli:	sceptical. I just- eh: they really lose everything
		SKEPTISCH. ich hab denen- eh: die verKRÜ::MELN
		glaub ich ↑ALL:ES.↓
47		I got a long letter from Maier yesterday
		[gestern hab ich en langen Brief gekriecht] von (-) MAIER.
48	Anni:	they are a bunch of losers
		[(des is en Schlamperverein au:ch)]
49	Geli:	ehm when below eh:hh' he doesn't even mention
		eh:m wo unten eh: hh' wo' mit KEI:NEM WORT drauf
		eingegangen wird
50		that I've sent him six reports
		daß ich ihm mein ganz' daß ich ihm sechs Berichte
		geschickt hab,
51		as evidence of what I've accomplished this year
		als Beleg was [ich] in diesem Jahr geMACHT hab,

52   Anni: [mhm]
53   Geli: I've- on the bottom on the bottom of the letter
              they've written eh eh
              hab- untendrunter unter dem Brief steht aber noch
              eh? eh?
54   dear Geli I have just started ro read the BLATT
              liebe GE:LI, ich HA:BE jetzt ehm angefangen das
              BLATT zu lesen,
55   this shoddy piece of a journal
              dieses GRÄSSliche Machwerk.
56   ehm and we'll=stay=in=touch
              ehm und wir=bleiben=in=KonTAKT.
57   Friedrich. hahaha or something like that but that I
              Friedrich. hahaha oder so aber' [daß] ich dem meine
58   Uli: [(...)]
59   Geli: sent him my report
              daß ich dem diese ↑Berichte geschickt hab
60   he=hadn't=realized
              hat=der=gar=nich=↑mitgeKRIECHT↓.
61   it must have disappeared somewhere hh'
              des muß irgendwo verSAN:DET sein. hh'
62   Anni: some secretary filed it away
              irgendeine SACHbearbeiterin heftet des ab,
63   and it's taken care of
              [und damit is des erledigt]
64   Geli: mhm I really don't give a damn lately but (-)
              [mhm. is mir auch scheißegal] inzwischen. nur (-)
65   I put a good hour of work into that
              ich hab mir da n' ne gute Stu:nde [A'Arbeit
              mitge]macht
66   Uli: [mhm. mhm.]
67   Geli: to get everything together and then I
              des zusammenzustellen undso, und zusammen hab ich des'
68   and then I got it bound
              und dann hab ich des noch HEFTen lassen,
69   (1.0)
70   Anni: h' well h'
              h' also h'
71   Geli: well
              na ja.
72   Anni: yeah but look at what happened to Lilo
              aber kuck dir des' den Fall mit der ↑LILO↓ an.
73   it's just incredible
              des is einfach ↑IRRE↓.

The three friends who have gotten together for breakfast are telling each other what has been happening in their lives during the last few days. Uli starts by complaining that she did not get enough sleep over the weekend: The neighbors, who started making noise at half past seven on Sunday morning disturbed her sleep. This disturbance is then intensified by the phone call from a friend. Uli employs the metaphorical indignation formula *"dacht mich trifft der SCHLA:G"* ('I thought I'd go crazy') to illustrate her highly affective disposition. After having received only a reserved, downgrading "oh'hh" (6), Uli rephrases her complaint by adding "Sunday" in order to substantiate her complaint: 'ten past nine on a Sunday'. When still no solidarizing response appears, she explicates her point by means of a question that should trigger a response: 'isn't that a bit very early?...' (8-9). However, Anni reacts by downgrading the affective assessment: 'yeah ten past nine that's pushing it' (10). After emphasizing once more the fact that it happened on a weekend, Uli starts to "cool down" ('well anyway'; line 12). When the first complaint does not receive the expected reactions, Uli continues the complaining activities by making a second, intensified attempt. With the preface, which is used to introduce the complaint story ('and then I realized yesterday and this really gets to me'.), Uli indicates what kind of event is to be reconstructed (an annoyance) and what kind of reaction she expects from her recipients. She then provides the necessary background information and supplies some **details** (such as the red color of the application form). In line 25 she introduces a further character "Müller," who also applied for a scholarship with the same party (XYZ). Uli found out that Müller had lost her application forms. The reconstruction of the events culminates in line 29: *"der MANN FINDET DES NICH mehr"* ('this man can't find it any more'*)*. The narrator employs several cues to contextualize this utterance as **narrative 'climax'**[20]:

– the increase of loudness and the indignated voice contrast with the preceding turns and thus signal marked prosody and emphasis;
– the background information is organized in such a way that they lead to the consequence;
– the name of the character ("Müller"), who has been already introduced, is substituted for the generic category "*MANN*"; this strategy of utilizing a general noun, i.e., a superordinate of vague semantic value in an anaphorical way negatively loads the otherwise neutral category "*der MANN*" and thus communicates the narrator's negative stance towards this character.

Uli uses a cluster of cues to contextualize heightened emotional involve-
ment and the respective interpretative frame. The presentation of a narrative
climax is successful if the recipients recognize and reconfirm this sequence as
a climax. In general such sequences of staging narrative climaxes are treated
by the interactants as marked activities, which

> call for the recipient's display of her/his own alignment to the matter at hand.
> The signaling of emphasis is deployable as a technique to locally organize the
> demonstration of shared understandings and participant reciprocity relations
> in interaction. (Selting 1992: 2)

Anni's indignation cry *"↑NEIN::↓"* (30) indicates her orientation towards the
expectations of the narrator: She confirms her evaluation of Müller's behavior
as outrageous. The negation particle *"↑NEIN::↓"* (with rising-falling intona-
tion contour, lengthening and aspirated articulation) does not communicate
disagreement with Uli's presentation but indicates this aspect of potential
implausibility and thereby emphasizes her evaluation of the event as out-
rageous (Günthner 1995). The utterance of expectable signs of co-alignment
and thus the demonstration of congruent evaluation towards the presented
event serve as a means to close the narrative. However, Uli chooses to provide
further consequences of Müller's misbehavior: 'I have to tear his flat apart'.
Again she uses **hyperbolic devices** to communicate her affective stance: the
expression 'tearing the flat apart' works as an intensifier. This exaggeration
is treated by the recipients as a hyperbolic expression: they do not question
its semantic truth. Anni responses again by demonstrating her co-alignment:
"↑SCHEI::ßE↓" ('shit') and in line 35 Geli also joins in with the expression
"(is ja) TOTAL BLÖD" ('bloody hell'). After the common indignation has
been close, Geli and Anni start to comfort Uli's fears by presenting their eval-
uation of the XYZ-party:

40 Geli: although you never know with the XYZ ((hi)) if
            they've ((hi))
            wobei man bei der XYZ weiß man NIE ((hi)) ob die
            ((hi)) das EINE
41   ever read ((hi)) the first one=
            überhaupt gelesen ((hi)) haben=
42 Anni: =yeah or of they've lost the other one
            =ja [oder s'andere verschlampt ham]

By means of conversational dueting (Falk 1979) the participants not only
communicate their knowledge concerning XYZ (both of them already had had

scholarships from the XYZ) but also communicate their congruent evaluation of the party. In order to support her evaluation 'you never know with the XYZ' (43), Geli starts in line 47 with an "exemplary story" (Günthner 1995) and thus illustrates the emphatic evaluation, that the party *"alles verKRÜ::MELT"* ('lost everything') and *"verschlampt"* ('lost'). Here again, a hyperbolic expression with the quantifier "all" is used to communicate heightened affective loading; again the recipients interpret the quantifier as a rhetoric device and do not question its truth value. The following exemplary story is used as a narrative device to substantiate the assessment, by portraying the apparently "typical behavior" of the judged party in a concrete situation.[21] In the story at hand, the general assessment that the 'XYZ loses everything' is illustrated by means of concretizing it in a particular everyday event. Geli reconstructs that she had sent 'six reports' to the XYZ, however, "Maier" — a representative of the XYZ — in his 'long letter (...) doesn't even mention' it (46-51). So far, we could observe parts of dialogues being reconstructed, now, however, the narrator reconstructs parts of a letter in direct speech: 'dear Geli I have just started to read the BLATT this shoddy piece of a journal ehm and we'll=stay=in=touch. Friedrich' (54-57). In "translating" a text from one media (written text) to another (oral text), the narrator "fictionalizes" a certain prosody and voice quality: Here the narrator stages a friendly, casual voice. The long letter is reproduced in a very condensed manner: the beginning of the letter, a short mentioning of what the writer had just read and the closing sequence. Geli's very indignated voice formulates the climax of her story: 'but that I sent him my report he=hadn't=realized' and in a sort of epilogue she formulates her hypothesis: 'it must have disappeared somewhere' (61). With this epilogue she return to the characteristic behavior of the XYZ: *"verkrümmeln, verschlampen, versanden"* (all three verbs used are synonyms for "loosing or misplacing something"). Anni joins the story by detailing the process of loosing reports: 'a secretary filed it away and it's taken care of' (62-63). By Geli's evaluation 'I really don't give a damn lately', which sharply contrasts with her staged indignation, she explicitly distances herself from the emotional loadedness and thus marks that she is calming down. However, she adds a further epilogue: By listing that it took her 'a good hour of work' (65) and that she even 'got it bound' (68), she once more focuses the behavior of the XYZ as inadequate: She had invested a high amount of work, and the XYZ lost the report. In line 72 Anni then continues the series of stories by adding a further exemplary story concerning the XYZ.

Thus, this series of stories had started with a participant's complaint about an event, of which she was a victim (too much noise on Sunday morning prevented her from getting enough sleep). Because this complaint episode did not achieve the expected co-alignment, she continues her complaining activities by changing the complaint-object as well as the topic: the misbehavior of a common acquaintance (Herrn Müller), who had lost her application. Now the three participants demonstrate their co-alignment in evaluating his behavior. Several components of the story, the XYZ party, the particular misbehavior of losing other person's papers, as well as the modality (indignation) then form the trigger to tell further complaint stories. As Sacks (1971/1992: 249) mentions, a story provides various aspects a second story can tie onto (similar topics, the same persons, the same places etc.). This kind of narrative series are not uncommon among the complaint stories: one story often provides the trigger for another participant to add a story from her/his experience.

4.   Characteristics of Complaint Stories

Complaint stories are communicative genres which re-construct and re-present parts of social reality, past individual experiences and actions (Bergmann/ Luckmann 1993). The narrative form which shapes the past experience is always a modification of the original experience: Moments of past experience are dissolved from their original synchronic and diachronic interconnections (Stierle 1979) and are placed into a new system of connections. The narrator remodels knowledge of the past according to the situative communicative intention and s/he imprints the process of narration into the reconstructed event: "Traces of the narrator stick to every narrative as traces of the potter's hand sticks to his pottery-bowl." (Benjamin 1955: 230; own translation). Thus, narratives are not independent of the situations in which they are told: The content, the sequencing and organization of the complaint story are linked to the particular circumstances of the telling.

In order to portray the misbehavior of third persons, the narrative form turns out to be very useful, as the lively staging of the past event is an ideal device to persuade the co-participants of the adequacy of one's own evaluation of the portrayed misbehavior and to evoke their emotional co-alignment. This function of narratives has already been described in classical rhetorics.

Quintilian emphasizes the persuasive function of narratives: "Stories are not invented for the judges to get familiar with the particular event but to get them to agree with one's perspective" (1972: 445; own translation). In order to achieve the agreement of the co-participant, Quintilian recommends using a maximum amount of vividness when narrating a past event: The speaker should portray the past events in such a vivid way that the hearer gets the impression of perceiving them with his own eyes:

> It is a great achievement to portray the events we talk about in such a clear and distinct way, as if one would see them clearly in front of oneself. A speech whose force only reaches as far as the ears is not successful enough and does not attain the necessary effects. As long as the speaker only has the impression that what he speaks about is something he is saying and not something he is modelling and presenting in front of his mental eye, his speech cannot be a success." (Quintilian VIII,3,62; own translation)

Complaint stories are built in such a way that the narration focuses on the misbehavior of the antagonist and co-alignment in the moral rejection of the presented misbehavior is achieved. In order to persuade the recipients of the narrator's perspective she employs a variety of narrative devices and rhetorical strategies:

– The **scenic staging of the events**: the narrator does not merely report information, but rather "presents a sort of drama to the audience" (Goffman 1974: 508). **Narrative detailing** is not only important rhetorical device claiming authenticity, but it also functions to stage the scene of the story. By detailing strategies, which scenically reconstruct the past situation and thereby minimize the distance between the recipient and the event, the narrator creates involvement. A further important device for scenic staging is **the reconstruction of past dialogues**. In using reported speech and animating the characters, the narrator not only claims authenticity, but at the same time gives the recipient the chance to "experience" this past interaction: being confronted with dialogue fragments of the characters, she is placed in the role of an eye-witness. Even though parts of the reported dialogues are staged in direct speech, the narrator — by using prosodic means of stylization — melts the reported utterances with her own evaluation of it and thus metapragmatically comments on the quotation (**"layering of voices"**).

– The antagonists are often **stylized** and **typified**. Besides the prosodic stylization in reporting their utterances, the narrators also employ explicit categories with the corresponding **category bound activities**: The

"Oberschullehrer" ('school inspector type'), who tests the candidate; the *"zugeknöpften Herren"* ('stiff gentlemen') with their *"furchtbar wichtigen Gesichtern"* ('terribly important faces'), who 'bombard' the protagonist with *"saublöden Fragen"* ('totally stupid questions'); the "*Spießer*" ('narrow minded guy'), who complains about the *"schiefhängenden Vorhang"* ('the curtain that was hanging totally crooked'); and the XYZ, this "*Schlamper-verein*" ('bunch of losers') who "*verkrümelt*" ('lose'*)* reports and letters.

– **The display of emotions**: The stories are loaded with various devices to communicate the narrator's emotional stance towards the presented events: (i) extreme case formulations and hyperbolic expressions; (ii) metaphorical expressions; (iii) building up contrasts; (iv) prosodic features of emphatic speech style; prosodic hyperbole; (v) the stylized use of reported speech. These devices are employed to communicate the narrator's emotional stance and at the same time to invite the recipient to show her co-alignment. The demonstration of **emotional reciprocity** often climaxes in **indignation dialogues**.

5.   Conclusions

The circles of friends, in which complaint stories are told, resemble in many ways what Simmel called "form of (as)sociation." The reconstructions of past events, in which a third party unjustifiably attacked the "I"-protagonist not only inform the recipients about past events in the narrator's everyday life, but are organized in such a way to invite co-alignment. The participants hereby confirm the adequacy of their own behavior and the inadequacy of the antagonists' behavior. Thus, complaint stories are interactive means of association. In his sociological studies about complaints Hanna (1981) uses the term "complaint relationships." Complaining about non-present persons increases solidarity among the complaining parties, as it highlights the common interests and values of the participants. It "serves as a *mechanism for socialization* since the interactions of complainers transmit information, espouse values, and make norms for behavior salient" (Hanna 1981: 308). Complaint stories and complaint relationships are on the one hand very integrative for the participants, as they contribute to the information and maintenance of relatively cohesive social relations (Simmel 1958); on the other hand, they are disintegrative for those who are the objects of complaints. Thus, by dissociating

themselves from the persons being complained about, the narrators and their recipients at the same time increase their own solidarity and association. Complaint stories form ideal interactive genres to re-establish and re-confirm in- and out-groups.

In general, the narrators are certain to meet solidarity and empathy from the co-participants. In nearly all cases of complaint stories among women in my data, recipients react by signalling their co-alignment.[22] Complaint stories not only have their origins in social closeness among the participants and thus are produced in contexts of social intimacy, but — as the narrative devices demonstrate — by telling these stories the participants actively constitute social closeness and bonding, common rejection of the portrayed behavior and the constitution of common identity. The participants of the complaint stories reveal their reciprocity of emotions and their alignment in evaluation the portrayed behavior of the "wrong-doer."

The question that arises now is why are complaint stories (at least in my data) mainly told by women (and in the few cases where men tell complaint stories they tell them to women)? I can only present a very speculative answer: As the analysis reveals, these stories are dealing with troubles the protagonists met and are portraying the protagonist as someone who is unjustifiably criticized, bullied or told off. In presenting the protagonists as "victims" who do not have the necessary social control of the situations at hand, the narrators admit their own vulnerability. This interactive role of the vulnerable hero is not compatible with the ideal of "male identity" and may be a dispreferred role, which male narrators avoid (especially in interactions with other men). At the same time, by telling complaint stories, women narrators affirm the organization of their social group through evaluating their own behavior as correct and that of the absent wrongdoer as inadequate.[23]

Transcription System Key

[ja das] finde ich [du ab]	conversational overlap
(1.0)	pauses of indicated length (in seconds)
(-)	pauses shorter than 0.5 seconds
(???)	unintelligible text
(gestern)	a guess at an unclear word
=	continuous utterances

?	high rise tone
	low rise tone
.	low fall tone
,	slight rise
a:	lengthened segments
↑	high onset
↓	low onset
↑SURD↓	rise-fall pitch movement
leise	low volume
NEIN	additional loudness
schneller=ge=sprochen	accelerated tempo
nein	strongly accentuated
mo((hee))mentan	laugh particles within the utterance
HAHAHA	loud laughter
heehee	giggling
((hustet))	nonlexical phenomena (e.g., coughing).

Notes

1.   I would like to thank Mara Luckmann and Allison Wetterlin for their help with the English translation and James Brice for help with text formatting.

2.   Cf. also Bergmann (1987).

3.   Cf. also Tannen (1990: 176-178).

4.   This refers to talk among women in traditional "spinning-rooms."

5.   For communicative genres cf. Luckmann (1986); Bergmann (1987); Günthner/Knoblauch (1995)

6.   Cf. similarities to Goodwin's (1990) "instigating stories"; however in complaint stories the wrongdoings are directed towards the "I"-protagonist (i.e., the narrator of the story); whereas in instigating stories they are mainly directed towards the recipients of the stories.

7.   I shall use the term "marked prosody" in accordance with Selting (1994) as the use of prosodic parameters which are more noticeable and salient than those in surrounding turns and which are used to signal some sort of "special" meaning.

8.   For "zooming"-techniques cf. Tannen (1989); Günthner (1992).

9.   Cf. Tannen (1989); Günthner (1995); Kotthoff (1996).

10.   Cf. Bauman/Briggs (1990).

11.   Cf. also Günthner (1996a) on prosodic stylization in reported speech.

12.   For "emphatic prosody" cf. Selting (1994).

13. As Dingwall (1977: 393) points out, the dramatic term "atrocity" is chosen as it "reflects the dramatic character of the account by which a straightforward complaint or slight is transformed into a moral tale inviting all right-thinking persons (the audience) to testify to the worth of the teller as against the failings of the other characters in the story." (Dingwall 1977: 393).

14. For changes on interactive modalities in narratives cf. Günthner (1996b).

15. Cf. also Selting (1994).

16. Cf. Bergmann (1994) on the double function of direct reported speech: authenticity and fictionality; and Günthner (1996a; b).

17. Cf. Tannen (1989) who points out that reported speech is "constructed dialogue" and in narratives the major function of reconstructing dialogue is to maintain the recipients' involvement and not to be "faithful" to the original utterance. Cf. also Brünner (1991).

18. Cf. Lausberg (1960: 407 ff.).

19. On reported speech in everyday interactions cf. Günthner (1996a,b).

20. See Kotthoff (1996) for constructing a narrative climax in humorous stories.

21. Cf. Keppler (1994) and Günthner (1995).

22. In the transcript VERSCHLAMPT-VERKRÜMELT-VERSANDET the recipients are at first rather reluctant in providing co-aligning signs of indignation; however when the speaker continues with a further complaint story, they provide the expected co-indignation.

23. Cf. also Goodwin's (1990) analysis of gender specific differences in story telling. Also in Goodwin's data girls often tell stories about offenses of absent parties.

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Women and men in the academic discourse community

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1. Introduction

The academic community has been a male-dominated culture. Men have held the structural power within academe. They have controlled its organization, that is, the granting of money, the recruitment of staff to key academic positions, and what is perhaps more important, they have had control of knowledge. Academic man has determined what knowledge is to be regarded as mainstream and what as marginal.

Though more and more women are attending university and gaining academic degrees, women are still newcomers and outsiders. Men have shaped the hierarchical traditions, and women are still not found in positions of power. Men have shaped the idea of what constitutes academic knowledge, and the mainstream fields of knowledge are still dominated by men. Men have also shaped academic discourse patterns, oral as well as written.

As we know there are women — and also some men — who are trying hard to break these traditional dominance and knowledge patterns. It is not known, however, to what extent these attempts are proving successful.

There are also those who claim that the present academic structure is the result of an obsolete academic situation, and that it will change automatically when the new generation comes into power. The people who now rule the university, they argue, were socialized into an earlier academic community. When those being socialized into academe in the 1990s come into positions of power, they will create a different, more equal structure. If this were true, we could indeed sit back and wait for the new university simply to rise out of the

past. If, however, there are no signs of radical change, it is important for us to realize this now, before it is too late.

In this article I wish to present a few results from a study of the discourse of postgraduate seminars. Though my analysis is based on a traditional sociolinguistic methodology, my interpretative frame is that of critical discourse analysis. The purpose of the analysis is to reveal, by means of a quantitative methodology, the present gendered power structure within a university, ultimately in order to establish a background for discussing possible action to achieve a more equal academic community. The questions that will be dealt with focus on the seminar discourse as a possible mirror of the existing power structure within the university studied: Do men and women act differently, and can these differences be related to dominance versus subordination patterns? Are women and men treated in an equal way, or are they assigned different roles? Does the behaviour of men and women reveal differences as regards their feeling of belonging to the academic culture?

2.   Background

There is quite an extensive body of literature on the socialization of children into traditional boys and girls. Studies of play and work in schools have revealed clear differences in interaction between boys' and girls' groups. Many studies have also uncovered dramatic differences in the way parents and teachers treat boys and girls throughout their childhood and adolescence. Adults and peer groups assign different interactive roles to boys and girls. In a study of the Swedish classroom, Einarsson and Hultman (1984) identified remarkable differences between boys and girls throughout secondary school. In the classroom, they found a considerable gender difference in terms of amount of speech, interruptions, initiatives, and types of comments. What was also striking was how both male and female teachers assigned different discourse roles to boys and girls. Boys were allowed to dominate and control the interaction, while girls were expected to be silent, cooperative and help the teacher. Classroom interaction seemed to train boys for future leadership in the public sphere and girls for the traditional subordinate female role.

Colleges and universities are to a certain degree merely a continuation of school education. We could therefore expect that the gender patterns learnt at secondary school would be transferred from the lower- to the higher-level

classroom and that teacher behaviour would show similar patterns. Academe, however, is also a new world, with a different relationship to knowledge. The goal of university activities is not only to teach students more facts and give them a better understanding of the world, but also to produce new knowledge. The relationship between professors and students is a more complex one than that between teacher and pupil in an ordinary school. It is a relationship both of learned and learner and of peers.

The academic system should in theory be a flexible one promoting creativity and new knowledge in the search for truth. In reality, however, a network of forces based on a long tradition counteracts this idea. Organizationally, the academic community is designed in such a way as to conserve existing power structures and knowledge patterns and to prevent change. Its power and knowledge hierarchies are intertwined, having effects both on the assignment of roles within the organization and on the evaluation of knowledge. Only knowledge which conforms with the traditional power structure is accepted. Only individuals who have a profile in accordance with patriotic traditions are given key positions within the hierarchy.

Like many other old institutions, the traditional university can be described as a male-gendered organization (Acker 1990, Caplan 1994). Whether or not this description is still relevant, the academic discourse is most certainly an important vehicle for the production and reproduction of the existing power structure. According to Mumby and Stohl (1991), power can be conceived neither as located purely in individual actions (as in 'power to' or 'power over') nor as a deterministic feature of organizational structure, but rather it must be viewed as constructed through and instantiated in the discursive practices which structure organizational life. The structure is upheld not only by the dominant group, but also by subordinate groups who unconsciously and spontaneously consent to the world-view of the ruling group (Gramsci 1971). This system is not static, however, as power also embodies a 'dialectic of control' in the sense that the acting human, however subordinate, always has the capacity to transform the power relationship (Foucault 1979, Giddens 1979, 1984).

These theoretical ideas relating to power, discourse and organizational structure are relevant as interpretative frames for a study of academic discourse. Gender issues are strongly intermingled with power and structural issues within academe. It is more or less impossible to distinguish power features from male features in the academic context, as there are so few

women in real positions of power. Our concept of power becomes male-featured, which may be expected to cause difficulties for women trying to break free from the traditional role expectations of subordination. The confusion of power and masculinity can indeed also be assumed to lead to a marginalizing of women and to a higher evaluation of men's than of women's contributions. Not only can the existing power structure be expected to reveal itself in the academic discourse in the form of a dominance of certain groups and marginalization of others. Academic discourse can also be expected to reveal attempts to change existing power patterns. Though the subordinate group often adapt to the rules laid down by the dominant group, they also have the capacity to transform existing power relationships.

3.   The seminar as an academic setting

The seminar study which will be discussed here is being conducted by the Research Group on Discourse in the Professions at Uppsala University. It is part of a larger multidisciplinary research project entitled "Women and Men in Research Settings. Careers, Cultures and Interaction", involving researchers within psychology and education as well as linguistics (Eliasson, Gunnarsson and Lindblad 1991). From different angles — psychology, educational theory and linguistics — our research project focuses on socialization into the academic community and its gender structure.

In the linguistic part of the study, which I am heading, fifteen postgraduate seminars at three departments of a Swedish university have been videorecorded and analysed. The three departments represent different academic traditions: those of the humanities, the social sciences and the natural sciences.

The postgraduate seminar serves an important function within the Swedish university culture. Though the three seminar series focused on in this study are different in certain respects, they all play a similar role. They are part of the higher level of university education. In many departments, the full professors have their own seminar series in which their students participate, and which they themselves usually chair. In others, the seminar is not attached to a single professor, but nevertheless it is a forum in which established scholars meet students. It thus forms an important element in the socialization of students into the academic culture, and indeed in the shaping and maintenance of this culture.

Successful socialization into the culture of an academic discipline means knowing: what knowledge is accepted, what norms are acceptable in presenting this knowledge, and what are the right attitudes to adopt towards ideas and facts within a particular domain and other related domains. Successful socialization also concerns interaction. It is related to the accepted role structure: a socialized person knows his or her own place and that of others within the hierarchy. It is also related to norms and attitudes regarding academic interaction and discourse: a socialized person knows when and how to speak and what discoursal strategies he or she should use. There is of course also a gender aspect to this socialization: female and male academic roles are constructed in the discourse and students are taught their gendered place in the hierarchy.

The postgraduate seminar also plays a part in the production of new knowledge. It is here that students get to discuss the work they are doing on their thesis, at its various stages. These seminars are therefore also part of the knowledge power play, as certain ideas are classified as central and important, while others are classified as peripheral and unimportant. To a certain extent this knowledge play also has a gender aspect.

All fifteen seminars covered by this study deal with postgraduate work. All of them involve Ph.D. students presenting outlines or chapters of their doctoral theses. The audience has been provided with a paper to read before the seminar and the discussion relates to this. Differences exist as regards the more formal organization of the seminars. Those held at the humanities and social science departments have a formal meeting structure. They are led by a chair, who first gives a short general introduction. Then he gives the floor to the postgraduate student whose work is going to be discussed, for a short presentation. After that there follows a more or less directed discussion. In the social science department, the chair proposes topics for discussion, while the discussion is freer in the humanities department. The chair ends the seminar, at the humanities department with a brief summing up and at the social science department with a more formal conclusion. The seminars at the natural science department have an informal character. There is no chair. The postgraduate student, who is presenting his or her work leads the seminar, and the discussion is quite free. Teaching staff — full, associate and assistant professors — participate, but they do not control the interaction in any formal way, as they do at the other two departments.

4. Data

The linguistic study presented here covers fifteen postgraduate seminars held at a Swedish university, five at a humanities department, five at a social science department, and five at a natural science department.

The humanities and social science seminars last from 1 hour and 30 minutes to 1 hour and 55 minutes, while those held at the natural science department are somewhat shorter, lasting about 1 hour. Altogether, 21 hours and 48 minutes were recorded and transcribed.

The three departments selected for our study, though representing different academic traditions, all have roughly equal representation of males and females among their postgraduate students (at least 40% of each sex). This equal representation also applies to the seminars recorded. In hierachical terms, however, all three departments are headed by men. As a consequence of this, none of the seminars was chaired by a woman, and there were also more male than female teachers present. See Table 1.

Seminar participants were coded in relation to *gender*, *academic status*, *seminar role*, *age* and *time* at the department. In this article, however, I will concentrate on the following variables: Gender: *Male*, *Female*; Academic status: *Student*, *Teacher* (professor, associate professor, assistant professor, doctor), *Other participant* (undergraduate student, visitor, teacher without a degree, etc.)[1]; Seminar role: *Chair*, *Presenter*[2], *Ordinary Participant*.

The following abbreviations will be used for the different groups of participants and for the different departments:

Chair	(All chairs are males)
Pres	Presenter
Mpr	Male presenter
Fpr	Female presenter
MS	Male student
FS	Female student
MT	Male teacher
FT	Female teacher
HU	Humanities department
SO	Social science department
NA	Natural science department

Table 1 shows the gender and status of the participants in the fifteen recorded seminars at the three departments. The number of different informants is of

course smaller, as the same person often attended several seminars. We can note that the number of male and female students is fairly equal when the three departments are taken together (total). At the social science department, however, more male students participate, and at the natural science department more female students. At the humanities department few teachers attended the seminars. At the other two departments, however, teachers participated to a fairly large extent. We can also note that the number of male teachers is much larger than the number of female teachers in all three seminar series.

Table 1. Gender and status of participants in the seminars recorded at the three departments.
Number of participants in the five recorded seminars at each department, and overall.

	MS	FS	MT	FT
HU	23	20	8	4
SO	26	19	17	11
NA	23	36	16	3
Total	72	75	41	18

5. Analysis

The purpose of our analysis of the seminars is to discover patterns relating to *interactional dominance*, *centrality* and *treatment* from a gender point of view. The analysis comprises two phases. The first phase aims to establish a rough overall picture of the seminars. Based on a quantitative sociolinguistic methodology, *amount of speech*, *interruptions* and *comments* have been analysed.[3] The second phase is an in-depth analysis of the interaction, and the methodology used is a variant of conversational analysis (CA).

In this article, I will first present some of the results of our quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of amount of speech, interruptions and comments. I will then offer a more qualitative analysis of the role and treatment of the presenters.

5.1 *Sociolinguistic methodology*

The sociolinguistic methodology which will be applied to the discourse of the seminars studied, comprising an analysis of amount of speech, interruptions and comments, has revealed interesting gender differences in earlier studies.

Studies of conferences, seminars, formal meetings, television discussions etc. have demonstrated that, in general, men take more frequent and longer turns than women in such formal contexts. Classroom research, too, has shown how males dominate talking time. This seems to hold true for all levels and in particular for full-class sessions and group discussions with the teacher (see Holmes 1992).

Of particular interest here, of course, are studies revealing gender differences within academia. Swacker (1979), for instance, measuring the length of questions posed after a conference paper, found that the questions asked by men were twice as long as those posed by women. Men started off with a "prequestion", giving a background and contextual description relating to the question they were going to ask. Interruptions have been studied in various situations. The now classic study by Zimmerman and West (1975), which looked at informal campus conversations, identified a clear gender difference as regards interruptions. Males interrupted much more than females. The same tendency was found in a study of a more formal academic setting, namely faculty meetings (Eakins and Eakins 1979).

The level of formality is a variable of importance in the academic world, as it is elsewhere. Studying academic meetings, Edelsky (1981) found that women talked more in informal situations than in formal. A study of seminar discussions by Holmes (1992) points to the same tendency. Women seemed to be sensitive to the formality of the setting, being more active, the more informal the setting was. The role of the setting was also studied by Brooks (1982). The sex of the professor was found to have an impact on academic seminar room discourse. When the professor was a woman, male students interrupted much more than when the professor was a man.

It is of course of interest to see how these findings relate to our own study of a Swedish university. Is there for instance any difference between the three departments in the way the discourse is gendered?

It is important, however, to bear in mind that there is no simple answer to the question of what importance measures of the amount of speech and interruptions have as a sign of interactional dominance. Tannen (1994), for

instance, argues that amount of speech and interruptions should be seen as a sign of "high involvement" rather than dominance. Her perspective is that of intent, that is, she argues that the speaker is not trying to dominate the conversation as much as he or she is involved in what is going on.

With a rough categorization like the one used in this study, it is not possible to distinguish different types of intent, rather than the actual effect on the discourse. As far as interruptions are concerned, for example, some interruptions are most certainly signs of dominance and a wish to control the interaction, while others are merely indicative of involvement and interest. Many interruptions are not at all intended to silence the speaker, but rather to show an interest in the topic. In seminar discourse, interruptions often seem to mark centrality. To a large extent interruption patterns thus follow those of amount of speech, that is, the people who talk most are also the ones who are most often interrupted and also those who interrupt most.

The focus of this study, however, is not on intent, but on seminar interaction as a collective process. I will thus discuss here who plays a foregrounded role in the seminar by speaking a lot, interrupting and commenting, and who plays a backgrounded role by remaining silent or speaking very little. As agents in the seminar discourse, we find an *active* group, that is the individuals who talk, interrupt and comment, and a *passive* group, those who do not actively participate in the discussion.

5.2 *Amount of speech*

The amount of speech was measured for each individual speaker. Pauses longer than 3 seconds were left unattributed, that is they were not considered to belong to any speaker.

For all the seminars, the *presenter* and the *chair* belong to the group speaking most. In most cases, the presenter is the person who talks most (HU: 2 out of 5 seminars, SO: 4 out of 5 seminars, and NA: 5 out of 5 seminars), and here there is no gender difference. The chair, at the humanities and social science seminars, is number two among the speakers. At 2 of the humanities seminars and 1 of the social science seminars the chair is the person who speaks most, and at the other seminars he ranks as number two or three among the most talkative participants.

What is more interesting is to see who the other frequent speakers at the seminars are. The following two tables present results relating to the amount

of speech of *ordinary participants* (other than the chair and presenter) at the three departments.

Table 2a shows the proportions of *active* (speaking) and *passive* (silent) *agents* in the different participant groups. The percentages given in this table are in relation to the total average number of participants per seminar in the department concerned.[4] Table 2b shows the percentages of active and passive agents within each participant group, e.g. the percentages of active agents and passive agents among male students (MS) at the humanities department (HU).

Table 2a. Active and passive agents at the three departments.
Percentages of total average number of participants per seminar

	MS		FS		MT		FT	
	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
HU	33	6	20	20	8	0	6	0
SO	21	10	12	11	14	3	14	1
NA	23	5	20	20	11	11	2	2

Table 2b. Average percentage of active and passive agents within each participant category at the three departments.

	MS		FS		MT		FT	
	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
HU	84	16	50	50	100	0	100	0
SO	68	32	53	47	83	17	91	9
NA	83	17	50	50	50	50	50	50

As the tables show, male and female postgraduates as groups, play different roles in the seminars. Only about 50 % of the female students play an active role, while as many as 84 % (HU), 68% (SO) and 83% (NA) of the male students belong to those who join in the discussion (table 2b).

As regards the teacher group, we find considerable differences in the roles played by them between the different departments. At the social science seminars, they participate to a much larger extent (see also table 1), and they also play an active role. At that department, women are just as active as men. At the humanities seminars, teachers participate much less, but when they do go to a seminar, they are all active, male as well as female.

In this context it is also relevant to distinguish different degrees of activity. For each seminar I have therefore distinguished a *most active group*, that is, a group made up of those who talk most at each seminar. Out of a rank ordering of the participants at each seminar, based on their individual amounts of speech, I have here studied to what category the five most-talking 'ordinary' participants (other than the chair and presenter) belong. Table 3 shows the proportions of each participant category among the most active group.[4] The table also shows the relative representation of each group, that is, the percentage belonging to the most active group divided by the percentage present at the seminars (active plus passive participants, see Table 2a). This relative quotient, RQ, reveals whether the group is overrepresented (quotient larger than 1) or underrepresented (quotient smaller than 1) in the most active group in relation to the group's presence at the seminars.

Table 3.   *The most active group.*
Proportions of different categories belonging to the five most-talking 'ordinary' participants, average percentages and quotients relative to presence at seminars. RQ = relative quotient

		MS	FS	MT	FT
HU	%	40	20	16	12
	RQ	1.0	0.5	2.0	2.0
SO	%	20	4	36	36
	RQ	0.6	0.2	2.1	2.4
NA	%	33	33	33	0
	RQ	1.2	0.8	1.5	0

As these figures show, there are five times as many male students as female students in the most active group at the social science department (20% as compared to 4%), and twice as many (40% as compared to 20%) at the humanities department. At the natural science seminars, however, there are just as many female as male students among the five ordinary participants doing most talking. This difference could of course be related to the more informal character of these seminars, which could be a factor working in favour of women. Notice, however, that there are more silent females than males at this department too, 50% as compared to 17% (Table 2b).

If we look at the teacher group, we find that 28 % (16% + 12%) of the most active group are teachers at the humanities department, 72% (36% + 36%) at the social science department, and 33 % at the natural science department.

If we now look at the relationship of these percentages to the presence of each participant group at the seminars, RQ in table 3, we find that teachers are overrepresented (RQ>1) among the most active speakers. For male teachers this holds true for all three departments, HU 2.0, SO 2.1 and NA 1.5, and for female teachers for the humanities and social science departments, HU 2.0 and SO 2.4. At the natural science seminars, the active teachers are male. There is only one tenured female teacher at this department, and as the analysis reveals, she does not play a very active role in the recorded seminars.

For the student group, we find that female students are underrepresented (RQ<1) in all three departments, HU 0.5, SO 0.2 and NA 0.8. Among the male students, the situation varies from department to department. At the humanities department, male students belong to the most active group in proportion to their presence, at the social science department they are underrepresented (0.6) and at the natural science department overrepresented (1.2). The interesting gender difference thus relates to the female students, who are clearly underrepresented in the most active group.

5.3 Interruptions

As interruptions we counted all those which led to a change of speaker, that is, all successful interruptions of the first speaker. Our categorization distinguished between, *simple interruptions*, those involving simultaneous talking, and *silent interruptions*, those not involving simultaneous speech. In the following, however, I will ignore this distinction. Each interruption has been coded as to *agent*, that is the interrupter, and *patient*, that is the speaker interrupted.

Table 4 shows the interruption patterns for the three departments.

Table 4. *Interruption patterns at the three departments.*
Percentages of average number of interruptions per seminar. P = Patient (interrupted speaker), A = Agent (interrupter)

	HU		SO		NA		All	
	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A
Chair	15	20	18	23	-	-	16	20
MPr	38	22	29	31	35	22	32	23
FPr	23	30	27	7	3	36	24	24
MS	7	7	5	3	3	10	5	6
FS	4	3	1	3	5	5	3	4
MT	7	12	4	8	28	23	13	14
FT	4	1	17	25	2	4	7	9

The results presented in table 4 can be summarized as follows:

1. Chairs interrupt (all seminars 20%) and are also interrupted (16%). Of course it is the privilege and duty of the chair to control interaction during the seminar, which sometimes means interrupting the presenter and other participants. At the humanities department we recorded seminars led by two different chairs. One of these controls the interaction very tightly, and often interrupts, 3 times as often as he is interrupted. In Gunnarsson 1995, I give a more detailed analysis of a seminar led by this chair, and this analysis reveals control not only of the interaction itself, but also of the content of the seminars. Interruption is one means of controlling the content, of steering the discussion in the desired direction.

2. Male presenters are interrupted (patients) more frequently than they are the interrupters (agents) at the humanities and natural science departments (difference: HU 16%, NA 13%). Female presenters, on the other hand, are agents to a much larger extent than patients at these departments, that is, they interrupt more than they are interrupted (HU 7%, NA 30%), while the converse applies at the social science department (SO 20%).

3. As for ordinary student participants, there are no remarkable differences between male and female. It could maybe be noted that male students are more often agents than patients at the natural science department (difference 7%). Among the teacher group, too, there are no remarkable gender differences. Interestingly, though, female teachers are more frequently agents than patients (difference 8%) at the social science department.

It is thus not possible to discern any simple gender differences in interruption patterns. A closer look, however, reveals variation among both individuals and seminars. At certain seminars, certain individuals are interrupted continuously, while at other seminars the same individuals are interrupted far less. This can of course be seen as a matter of centrality. On any particular occasion, some individuals come to play a more central role in the seminar discussion than others.

From a gender point of view, it is also of interest to see who interrupts whom. Table 5 summarizes the results of this analysis. I distinguish here between male presenters (Mpr) and female presenters (Fpr) and between male (M) and female (F) 'ordinary' participants.

Table 5. Who interrupts whom at seminars?
Percentages of average number of interruptions per seminar.

	Male interrupts				Mpr i's		Female interrupts				Fpr i's	
	Mpr	Fpr	M	F	M	F	Mpr	Fpr	M	F	M	F
HU	27	13	4	3	12	8	2	4	3	0	21	3
SO	11	16	4	11	15	7	12	7	10	1	5	0
NA	27	15	8	2	7	3	3	9	12	1	9	3

The results presented in this table can be summarized as follows:

1. Male participants interrupt much more than female participants at all three departments. If the percentages for interruptions by males are added together and compared with those for females, we find the following clear gender differences:

HU: males 47% (27+13+4+3), females 9% (2+4+3+0), diff. 38%
SO: males 42%, females 30%, diff. 12%
NA: males 52%, females 25%, diff. 27%.

2. Males interrupt male presenters more than female presenters at the humanities and natural science departments (HU: diff. 14%, NA: diff. 12%). At the social science department, however, female presenters are interrupted slightly more (5%).

3. Males interrupt males somewhat more than females at the natural science department (diff. 6%), while the opposite holds true for the social science department, that is, males interrupt females more (diff. 7%).

4. Male presenters interrupt males slightly more than females at all three departments (HU 4%, SO 8%, NA 4%).

5. Female participants interrupt males more than females at all three departments: HU diff. 3%, SO diff. 9%, NA diff. 11%. Female presenters also interrupt males more than females: HU diff. 18%, So 5%, NA 6%.

This analysis of who interrupts whom is interesting both in a gender perspective and as regards departmental culture. The general tendency at all departments is that males interrupt more than females, but also that they are interrupted more, both by males and females. If interruptions are seen as a sign of centrality, we can say that this points to a male-gendered departmental culture, that is, men play the central role in the seminar discourse. The women

participating in the seminar discourse at these departments — though equal in number and at some seminars even in the majority — do not challenge the male-gendered discourse structure.

The social science department has a somewhat different interruption pattern than the other two in relation to points 2 and 3 above. At this department, male participants interrupt female presenters and participants more than they interrupt male presenters and participants (diff. 5% and 7%). On the other hand, female participants interrupt male presenters more than female presenters (diff. 5% and 9%). These differences could be interpreted as indicating a different gender situation at the social science department, compared with the other two. Unlike the other two departments, the social science department has quite a strong group of female researchers. A couple of these women frequently participate in the seminars and they then play an active role, which reveals itself in the amount of talking as well as in interaction patterns. By talking, interrupting and commenting, they try — and manage — to secure a central position in the seminar discourse. We could say that they do not accept the traditional female academic role, but have instead chosen to challenge the male community. They are of course also challenged by their male colleagues and by the male students.

5.4 *Comments*

Comments addressed to the presenter are the third variable that I wish to discuss here. All the comments made by other seminar participants than the chair were classified as to their function and form. Depending on their relationship to the preceding discourse, comments were classified as: *non-loaded*, *supportive*, *critical* and *antagonistic*.

This classification is based on surface features, that is, on the explicit expression of support or criticism. Our classification has similarities with that presented in Holmes 1992, which distinguishes three categories: *supportive*, *critical* and *antagonistic*. We also found it useful, however, to distinguish a fourth category: *non-loaded* comments (Almlöv & Gunnarsson 1993). In the following presentation of the results, I have included antagonistic comments with the critical ones, as so few comments were classified as antagonistic that it seemed unnecessary to count them as a separate group.[5]

The following examples, taken from our data from the NA seminars, can serve to illustrate our classification.

Non-loaded comment
maybe they just haven't found that the sides are slightly different or something I don't know

Supportive comment
well that's good I mean now we have a tool if it works to cut off any kind of gene

Critical comment
I don't understand why hooking of nucleotides with a five prime inch should influence which AUG you use

Table 6 shows the types of comments made by the different participant groups at the three departments. The table shows the percentages of comments made by each group of participants, for each comment type and in total. The table also shows the RQ for each group, that is the quotient between comments (total) and presence (cf. table 3). The total average proportions of comments of each type are given for all presenters and for each of the groups male presenters (Mpr) and female presenters (Fpr) — see the right-hand columns of the table.

Table 6. *Comments made to presenters in the three seminar series.*
Proportions of comments of each type and in total, average percentages of comments in each seminar series, and quotients relative to presence at seminars. Total percentages for all seminars within the series and for seminars with male and female presenters. RQ = relative quotient

	Comment type		MS	FS	MT	FT	Total All	Mpr	Fpr
HU	Non-loaded	%	21	8	3	3	37	23	46
	Supportive	%	6	1	4	4	17	25	7
	Critical	%	24	11	2	5	46	51	48
	All types	%	51	20	9	11	100		
		RQ	1.3	0.5	1.0	1.8			
SO	Non-loaded	%	6	5	16	20	48	60	32
	Supportive	%	1	1	2	8	12	9	15
	Critical	%	9	2	6	24	41	32	53
	All types	%	16	7	24	52	100		
		RQ		0.5	0.3	1.4	3.5		
NA	Non-loaded	%	12	13	45	5	74	67	75
	Supportive	%	2	0	1	1	4	7	3
	Critical	%	7	2	14	0	22	27	22
	All types	%	20	15	59	6	100		
		RQ	0.7	0.4	2.7	1.5			

As is shown in the table, male students make more comments than female students (MS 87%, FS 42%). At the natural science and social science departments, teachers make more comments than students (NA: T 65%, S 35%, SO: T 76%, S 23%), while at the humanities department it is the students who make most comments (T 20%, S 71%).

If we look at the relationship of these percentages to the presence at the seminars of each participant group, RQ in table 6, we find that at all departments female students are underrepresented as regards comments (HU 0.5, SO 0.3 and NA 0.4). At the social science and natural science departments, male students are also underrepresented among those making comments, but to a lesser degree (SO 0.5 and NA 0.7). The teacher group, on the other hand, is overrepresented in terms of comments, and here we can note in particular the female teachers at the social science department (3.5) and the male teachers at the natural science department (2.7).

If we then turn to the different types of comment, the table shows that male students make more critical comments than female students (MS 40%, FS 15%). At the humanities department, male and female teachers are fairly supportive. The female teachers at the social science department are the group who comment most, 52% of the comments, and they make three times as many critical as supportive comments (24% as compared to 8%). The natural science department differs from the two others by having a larger percentage of non-loaded comments and fewer critical and supportive ones. Whether this is due to the character of the field, or to the particular climate in a group in which discussion is more informal, is hard to tell.

If, finally, we look at the types of comment addressed to male and female presenters, the right-hand columns of table 6, we find that at the humanities seminars male presenters are given more support than their female counterparts, 25% as compared to 7% of comments. At the social science department, it is the female presenters who receive more supportive (diff. 6%) and more critical comments (diff. 21%) than the males. At the natural science department, finally, there is no noteworthy difference. There is thus no overall gender difference in this respect.

Let us now look at the comments from the angle of the individual participant. For this purpose I will distinguish four groups of commenters: *supporters*, who make only supportive or supportive plus non-loaded comments at the seminar; *neutrals*, who make only non-loaded comments; *balanced critics* (bal.critics), who make both critical and non-loaded and/or

supportive comments; and *critics*, who make only critical comments at the seminar. Table 7 summarizes the results of this analysis of individual commenters. The table presents percentages based on the total number of commenters of each type at the five seminars within each department.

Table 7. Commenters at the three departments.
      Percentages of commenters of each type in relation to the total number of commenters at the five seminars within each department.

	Commenter	MS %	FS %	MT %	FT %	Total %
HU	Supporters	0	4	0	4	7
	Neutrals	0	0	0	0	0
	Bal.critics	36	21	4	7	75
	Critics	18	0	0	0	18
	Total	54	3	4	11	100
SO	Supporters	3	3	8	3	16
	Neutrals	5	5	11	0	24
	Bal.critics	11	14	8	22	54
	Critics	5	0	0	0	5
	Total	24	22	27	24	100
NA	Supporters	4	0	0	4	7
	Neutrals	11	19	19	0	49
	Bal.critics	15	7	15	0	37
	Critics	4	4	0	0	7
	Total	33	30	33	4	100

As is shown in the table, most commenters are balanced critics at the humanities (75%) and social science departments (54%). At the natural science department, almost half the commenters (49%) are neutral.

   If we look first at the supporters, that is, at those participants who make supportive comments but no critical comments, we find that at the humanities seminars, the supporters are females, female students and teachers. At the social science department, supporters are found in all groups, and at the natural science seminar, they consist of female teachers and male students.

   If we then turn to the critics, that is to those commenters who only offer criticism, we find that at the humanities and social science departments they are all male students. At the natural science seminars, however, both male and female students are found among this group of commenters.

The gender difference is naturally very interesting here. Female students act to a larger extent like the teachers, that is, they balance their criticism or act solely as supporters. Male students, on the other hand, take on the traditional male role of criticizers. We could of course relate this to traditional gender expectations. The females care about relationships, and are eager not only to criticize, while the males focus more on facts and also on competition. These findings can be compared to those discussed earlier relating to the classroom behaviour of boys and girls, where boys were the self-assertive ones and girls the cooperative ones helping the teacher (Einarsson & Hultman 1984).

5.5 *The role and treatment of the presenter*

Moving on from this summary of our quantitative results, I will now present some of the results of a more detailed qualitative analysis of the role and treatment of the presenters.

The postgraduate students presenting parts of their theses are the individuals focused on, and quite naturally they are among the people who speak most at seminars. As was mentioned earlier, the humanities and social science seminars are more formal in character, and after a short general introduction by the chair, the floor is given to the Ph.D. student for a short presentation. If we look at the time devoted to this presentation, that is, the time taken by the student to introduce his or her work, we find a remarkable difference between male and female. Female postgraduate students take between 1.20 and 6.46 minutes, while their male counterparts take between 10.43 and 28.25 minutes.

As an example of how the time taken is also related to the content, I would like to refer to an analysis of the presentations made by a student of mine (Larsson 1995). She found the following content categories relevant to a gender analysis of the presentations:

1. The Ph.D. student makes excuses for delays, problems with the manuscript etc.
2. The student points out errors in the manuscript and makes corrections
3. The student refers explicitly to his or her own research
   3a. Stresses its importance
   3b. Diminishes its importance
4. The student refers to other researchers and their work
5. The student asks for help and support in the form of questions or the like from the seminar group

Table 8 shows the classifications of the presentations made by Larsson in relation to the different content categories. The table is arranged according to seminar length.[6]

Table 8. Length and content of seminar presentations. Humanities and social science seminars

	Time	Category					
		1	2	3a	3b	4	5
Male presenters	10.43	x			x	x	x
	13.03	x	x		x	x	x
	13.16			x		x	
	16.18		x	x		x	x
	28.25			x		x	x
Female presenters	1.20	x	x				
	2.49	x	x		x		x
	6.38	x	x	x		x	x
	6.46	x	x	x			x

As we can see from this table, all the female presenters make excuses, point out faults and make corrections, and 3 out of 4 also ask for support and help from the audience. Only 1 of them refers to work by other researchers.

Of the 5 male presenters, on the other hand, only 2 make excuses, and only 3 corrections. A point to be noted is that all five male presenters refer to other researchers' work, that is, they attempt to place their own work within a larger research framework.

Both the time devoted to the presentations and their content can be interpreted as revealing a different approach to research among the male presenters than among the female presenters. The men do not hesitate to expand on their research and take up the time of the seminar audience. They do not make excuses for themselves to the same extent as their female fellow students. Instead they are eager to place their own work in a research context, to tell the audience where their work fits in with that of others. This could very well be seen as sign that these male students have acquired a researcher identity.

It is also interesting to analyse how presenters of different sexes are treated by the chair and by the other participants. If we look first at the chair, a subtle but clear difference can be found in the way he gives the floor to the students. When there is a male presenter, he uses wordings indicating his expectations of a presentation, as the following three extracts show:

SO5   I suggest that we give the floor to Sven first then because we haven't got a formal er opponent

HU2   and I know that you Anders want to start by saying something about er where these sections come in in relation to the thesis as a whole and how you're analysed the data and so on

SO3   Well I think we'll let Martin give us a brief introduction and then it would be a good idea if the rest of you could ask questions / as we go along

When there is a female presenter, the chair seems less sure that she wants to say something. Instead of just giving the floor to her, he asks her if she has something to say, thus indicating different or at least less clear expectations.

HU3   I don't know whether you want to say anything to begin with Helen / we do have an outline of your thesis among the annexes here of course

SO1   well let's get straight on with this / Britt would you like to take the floor first and perhaps tell us what this he well the idea of the thesis the whole thing

In another case the chair throws the discussion open, before apparently re-membering that the female presenter had told him she had some corrections to make. We can also note that he does not invite her to give an introduction, but to "make a few corrections".

HU4   and with that I'd like to throw the discussion open / Carina has er want- s- wanted to make a few corrections

It is also interesting to see how the ordinary participants treat male and fe-male presenters. As was discusssed earlier, there is no clear difference in the types of comment, non-loaded, supportive and critical, addressed to male and female presenters. Here, however, I will present results relating to the num-ber of comments (comment turns) addressed to males and females. Table 9 shows the average number of comments made to male and female presenters at the three departments and overall. The right-hand column shows the ratio between the numbers of comments made to males and females, reduced to percentage terms.

Table 9. Average number of comments made to male and female presenters

	Mpr No	Fpr No	Ratio
HU	50	61	45/55
SO	24	60	29/71
NA	15	27	36/64
Total	30	49	38/62

As we can see from Table 9, more comments are addressed to female than male presenters in all departments. The difference is especially marked at the social science department, where females receive more than twice as many comments as their male fellow students.

As discussed above, male students give longer presentations than female students, but this can only explain part of this difference. A closer look at the time spent on discussion shows that this does not vary much between male and female presenters, as seminars with male presenters tend to be longer. We should also note that the difference in the number of comments is also found for the natural science seminars, where there is no formal introductory presentation.

At least part of the explanation must lie in the fact that female presenters give shorter answers to the comments they receive, thus allowing more time for further comments. Just as they do not expand as much on their research in their introduction, so they refrain from giving elaborate answers. Though female presenters talk as much as male presenters overall, their seminars are steered more by the others, that is, by comments from the other participants.

The chair also takes up more time when the presenter is female. A comparison of the amount of speech by the chair when there is a female and a male presenter reveals a certain difference. At the humanities seminars, the average amount of speech by the chair is fairly similar for male and female presenters. At the social science seminars, however, the chair talks on average for 28.33 minutes when the presenter is a female student, and 16.30 minutes when the presenter is a male student.

How can these results be interpreted? We can of course see them as indicating that female and male presenters use different discoursal strategies. Female presenters want to get a lot out of their audience, they want to obtain plenty of help and comments and are not afraid of criticism. Therefore they do not want to take up time with a long presentation or with long, elaborate

answers. Male presenters want to make an impact on the audience and present their own ideas. They are afraid of criticism and want to fight for their own ideas. They prefer to take up a lot of time talking, so there will not be as much time for criticism and questions.

The results can also be interpreted as symptomatic of different relationships to the academic community. Male presenters see themselves as, or want to become, established researchers. They are eager to be considered as belonging to the central group and to be seen and heard. And in this struggle they are helped by the chair and by the other participants.

Female presenters, on the other hand, feel more unsure of their role within the community. They do not want to place themselves in the centre of the discussion. The chairs' expectations that they will not speak for too long are in line with their own view of the role they are to play.

6.   Discussion

The construction of gender is indeed a very complex question, and much criticism has been levelled at stereotyped interpretations of sociolinguistic variation. In the part of the investigation presented here, however, the aim has been to draw a rough overall picture of the gender structure, rather than to make an in-depth analysis of the construction of gender at a particular seminar, and a quantitative sociolinguistic methodology has been found relevant to this purpose. My approach to academic discourse, however, is eclectic, which means that I will interpret the results from the viewpoint of critical discourse analysis.

Let us now return to the three questions posed in the introduction and see what our seminar study has revealed about academic discourse. I will look at them one by one.

1.   Do men and women act differently, and can these differences be related to dominance versus subordination patterns?

This study has revealed quite clear differences between the interactive behaviour of male and female postgraduate students. Male students are more active than female students. As many as 50 % of the female postgraduates present at seminars do not say anything, while only 22% of the male students are silent. Five times as many male students as female students at the social science

department, and twice as many at the humanities department belong to the most active group of speakers. Male postgraduates make many more comments and many more critical comments than their female fellow students. Female students are more supportive and neutral in their comments than male students, and if they express criticism they also make supportive and non-loaded comments. Male students, on the other hand, can also be exclusively critical in the comments they make at a seminar. The study of the presenters also showed differences in behaviour between male and female presenters. Female postgraduates gave shorter presentations and shorter answers to comments.

The gender pattern among teaching staff varies somewhat from one department to another. At the natural science department, male teachers are the dominant teacher group. The one female tenured teacher does not participate very often, and when she does she plays quite a marginal role.

At the humanities department, both male and female teachers play quite marginal roles. They seldom attend seminars. These seminars thus become a forum in which the male professors meet their Ph.D. students. In view of this, they are most certainly male-gendered at the teacher level.

At the social science department, finally, both male and female teachers are active at the seminars, and there is no appreciable difference in the way they interact. The female teachers talk, interrupt and comment in the same way as their male colleagues. These seminars, too, are chaired by men, but nonetheless they must be said to be more evenly gendered on the teacher side.

These gender differences can be regarded as revealing a clear male dominance at the humanities and natural science departments. At the social science department, the behaviour of students — both presenters and ordinary participants — clearly follows a male-dominated pattern, while the teacher group can be seen as challenging this pattern to a greater extent.

The seminar behaviour of females can be considered to reveal traditional signs of subordination. They are silent at seminars, give shorter presentations, make excuses and point out faults, make fewer comments on others' presentations and are more supportive than critical. We can see this as symptomatic of a group in a subordinate position, with lower self-esteem and a greater need to please.

2.   Are women and men treated in an equal way, or are they assigned different roles?

This study has focused less on the treatment of individuals than on their behaviour. In the case of presenters, however, we found some overall differences relating to gender. Chairs, for instance, seemed to expect less of an introduction presented by a woman than of one presented by a man. They quite clearly assigned a different role to female presenters than to male counterparts.

Our analysis of interruption patterns has also identified a gender difference. Males are interrupted much more than females by all groups. This could of course be taken to mean that seminar participants try to silence men but not women. It could also be interpreted as a sign of men's more central position within the academic discourse community. Men's speaking stimulates the other seminar participants who want to intervene and elaborate on what has been said. I would suggest that interruptions can very well be seen as elaborations. The fact that men are interrupted more would then reflect their centrality, that is, the ideas they put before a seminar are elaborated on to a much larger extent than those advanced by women.

Such an interpretation can be compared with the results of an earlier study. In Gunnarsson 1995, I present a qualitative study of interaction at one seminar in the humanities department. It was quite clear in that case how the two women present, one female student and one female teacher, were being marginalized by the chair. They were quite active, each intervening on several occasions to make comments. In every case, however, the chair did not let the seminar elaborate on their ideas. Instead he introduced a new topic.

Further analysis of these seminars will reveal if this marginalizing behaviour is common or merely a one-off occurrence at this particular seminar. If it is common, part of the reason why female teachers participate less in seminars and why female students are often quiet could be a reaction to this sort of treatment.

3.   Does the behaviour of men and women reveal differences as regards their feeling of belonging to the academic culture?

A study like this cannot of course say anything with any certainty about the feelings of seminar participants. The difference between the presentations given by male and female students, however, was tentatively interpreted as a symptom of a difference in their sense of belonging to the academic culture. The long, more elaborated and research-oriented presentations of the male postgraduate students could indeed be interpreted as signalling their identification with

the academic community, their feeling of being insiders, while their female counterparts' short, more apologetic presentations could be taken to indicate alienation, a feeling of being outsiders.

The large silent female student group could also be interpreted as a sign of these women's lack of identification with the ingroup, and their view of themselves as outsiders in the academic discourse community. The marginal role played by female teachers in the discourse at the humanities and natural science seminars could also be construed along the same lines.

The same behaviour — not attending seminars, being quiet, not taking up the time with too much of one's own talking — could of course also be interpreted as a sign of protest against the traditional seminar culture. Women do not want to take part in the competition for the seminar floor. They prefer staying outside to getting involved in the seminar discourse. They want to remain outsiders.

It is an interesting fact that at both the humanities and the social science departments covered by our study, some women have formed women's groups within the departments and are conducting seminar series on women's studies. This could be seen as indicating that these women are trying to transform the power structure of their department by forming their own group. At the social science department, as was noted above, there are a couple of women who participate in the regular seminars and who then compete with their male colleagues on the same ground and with the same strategies. At the same department, there is also a group of female researchers, some of them quite famous within the Swedish academic community, who have formed their own group. These women very seldom attend the regular seminars, and when they do they are not very active. They have thus chosen a different strategy than their colleagues, creating an arena of their own for their academic discourse.

It is of course very interesting to compare the seminars held by these women's groups with the regular ones covered by the main part of our study, and we have just started videorecording such seminars. At the humanities department, we have recorded a few seminars in the women's studies series. These seminars are chaired by a woman, and the participants are almost all women. The interactive pattern at these seminars is very different from the regular ones. All the participants are active, there are very few interruptions, and a large number of supportive comments. Naturally it is too early to say anything definite about these seminars. It would seem, however, as if they

are creating a discourse pattern differing from the traditional male-gendered academic discourse. Perhaps these women's seminar series are a step towards changing the existing academic discourse community.

Notes

1. Our coding of the participants thus also included the group *Other participant*s. As this group is for one thing very small, on average 1 participant per seminar, and mostly passive, and for the other very heterogeneous, I have chosen not to present results relating to it here. My calculations of percentages in tables 2-7, however, are based on figures for all participants, that is including other participants. This explains why the sum of the percentages is sometimes less than 100.

2. One of the humanities seminars was organized as a thesis defence with an opponent. The presenter was then given the role of respondent.

3. Transcriptions and sociolinguistic coding of the recorded data were carried out by Cecilia Almlöv, Per Ohlsson and Barbara Rosborg.

4. This and the following tables do not present results for the group *other participants*, see note 1. As a consequence of this, the sum of the percentages is sometimes less than 100.

5. In the discussion of the results below, I have excluded one of the humanities seminars, which had an appointed opponent whose role was to comment on the work of the Ph.D. student. As regards comment patterns, this seminar thus stood out from the others. The results presented below are consequently based on fourteen seminars (4 HU, 5 SO and 5 NA).

6. Not all humanities and social science seminars included a formal presentation, which explains why the number of presentations studied is nine rather than ten. As was mentioned earlier, the natural science seminars have a more informal character and these seminars have therefore also been excluded from this study of the actual presentation.

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Communicating gender in two languages

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1.   Introduction

Bilingual code-switching and monolingual style-shifting represent two faces of what is essentially the same phenomenon: in other words, when bilinguals combine their two languages in various ways they are deploying their linguistic resources to fulfil the same functions as monolingual speakers who alternate their use of individual phonological, lexical, or syntactic variants (see, for discussion, Bell 1985, Coupland 1985). Researchers in these fields, however, have tended to focus on different issues. In both cases there has been research into the relationship between linguistic variation and linguistic change, but in recent years the question of the effect of gender on language variation and change has loomed large in work on monolingual variation, although the research findings have yet to be satisfactorily explained (see, for some recent discussion, Eckert 1989, Labov 1990, Milroy and Milroy 1993) whereas the role of gender has only rarely been taken into account in work on bilingual variation (two notable exceptions, however, are Gal 1979 and Holmes 1993). This represents an important gap in code-switching studies; but equally it represents a missed opportunity to advance our understanding of the role of gender in monolingual variation and change, for if bilingual and monolingual speakers do indeed deploy their linguistic resources in essentially the same way it should be possible for research on code-switching and gender to throw some light on some of the unresolved issues arising from research on monolingual variation and gender.

This paper therefore has two aims. Firstly, we make a preliminary attempt at filling a gap in code-switching studies by focussing on the code-switching

behaviour of women and men in bilingual communities. Secondly, we draw some comparisons between our own research findings and those that have been attested by research on the style-shifting behaviour of women and men in monolingual communities. Our comparison allows us to make what we intend to be constructive criticisms of variationist interpretations of gender differences in monolingual behaviour, and to outline some issues and parameters to which future studies could usefully attend.

2. The sociolinguistic gender pattern

We begin by discussing the unresolved issues arising from research into gender differences in monolingual variation. One of the most perplexing results of the vast amount of linguistic research that has been carried out on monolingual variation during the second half of the twentieth century is the consistent finding that female speakers tend to use a higher proportion of 'correct' variants than male speakers of the same socio-economic class, when they are speaking within the same speech style. To give just one illustrative example, a large-scale sociolinguistic survey carried out in Detroit by Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967) found that multiple negation (as in *I don't want nothing*) was used less often by women than by men, for all four of the social classes into which the participants were grouped. This can be seen in Table 1, which gives the percentage scores for multiple negation for men and women in the Detroit study.

Table 1. *Percentage use of multiple negation by men and women in Detroit (from Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967).*

	U.M.C.	L.M.C.	U.W.C.	L.W.C.
	female 0.0	female 1.4	female 35.6	female 58.9
	male 6.3	male 32.4	male 40.0	male 90.1

U.M.C. = Upper Middle Class
L.M.C. = Lower Middle Class
U.W.C. = Upper Working Class
L.W.C. = Lower Working Class

Some exceptions to this pattern of sex differentiation have been recorded, mainly in Muslim societies, where men were found to use more of the

standard variants than women of the same social class (see, for example, Bakir 1986, Khan 1991). Overall, however, the pattern is so consistent that there is a tendency in modern sociolinguistics to consider it as a fundamental tenet of the discipline. The tenet is named in Fasold's (1990) textbook as 'the sociolinguistic gender pattern' (op. cit.: 92); Labov (1990) gives it as 'the first principle of sexual differentiation'; and Chambers (1994, 1995) refers to it as 'a sociolinguistic verity'.

Not surprisingly, a great deal of attention has been given to interpreting and explaining this consistently repeated research finding. We will go on to briefly review the main factors to which analysts have appealed, but we should state at the outset that in our view none of these factors can provide a proper explanation. Not only that, but recent work such as Chambers (1992) which claims to challenge earlier, unquestioning explanations based on sex-demarcated differences, seems to us to beg further questions. Explanations for what, with Fasold, we will call the sociolinguistic gender pattern, have taken a number of different forms. Many of them refer either explicitly or implicitly to the notion of prestige, although it is now recognised that the notion itself requires further explication (see, for example, Milroy 1989). The main trends within the explanations that have been proposed can be briefly summarised as follows:

1. The early impetus for the generalisation that has come to be known as the sociolinguistic gender pattern came from the results of large-scale sociolinguistic surveys such as those carried out by Labov (1966) in New York City, the study already mentioned by Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967) in Detroit, and Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, England. These surveys categorised men and women into different socio-economic classes using an implicit functionalist model of social class (for discussion see Milroy 1987a), within which women were frequently categorised, in part at least, on the basis of the social class of their husband or father. This procedure has been rightly criticised by Cameron and Coates (1988) although, as Chambers (1992: 197) points out, it has never been suggested that the criticisms invalidate the results of the research. We think it important to stress, therefore, that the categorisation procedure does in fact call into question the validity of the findings, although it is by no means the only reason for questioning them, as we will see.

The main research focus of these early studies was the relationship between socio-economic status, speech style and linguistic variation; the investigation of sex differences came about as a side issue, mainly because

it was conventional in social surveys to include roughly equal numbers of women and men (see Milroy 1987a, for discussion). Early interpretations of the sociolinguistic gender pattern, therefore, did not look beyond the functionalist model within which the research was conceived, linking sex differences to the concept of socio-economic status. Thus early explanations appealed to the concepts of status and prestige, with women seen as socially insecure and acquiring their social status vicariously, through the use of linguistic forms carrying prestige. The higher proportion of nonstandard variants that occurred in the speech of men of the same social class was then explained as a male orientation not to the overt prestige norms of the community but instead to the covert prestige that they attached to working-class speech forms. These speech forms were assumed to symbolise the roughness and toughness that is associated with both working-class life and masculinity (see Trudgill 1972).

2. More recently, this type of argument has been turned around, with the suggestion that it is *because* women use certain variants that these variants subsequently acquire prestige (Milroy and Milroy 1993: 65). This idea comes from considering the role of women in the implementation of language change. In some monolingual communities — and indeed in some bilingual communities also — women lead in the spread of a change: this appears to be the case, for example, for the glottal stop variant of English intervocalic and word final /t/, which seems to be becoming a supra-local norm in many of the urban communities of Britain. Milroy and Milroy suggest that if women favour certain forms, such as the glottal stop variant, these forms then become the prestige variants in the community. The important question is then, of course, why it is women who lead in the development of a supra-local norm (Milroy 1991: 84).

The attention that linguists are currently paying to the role of women in language change stems from the belated realisation that although the original focus of variationist research was the relationship between linguistic variation and social class, in fact it is sex differences in the use of linguistic variants that account for more of the observed variation than social class (Coates 1993, Horvath 1985, Milroy and Milroy 1993). Sex differences in the use of linguistic variables seems to be an extraordinarily pervasive aspect of linguistic behaviour, therefore, and it is all the more necessary to attempt to explain the reason for this.

3. A different approach to the question is given by Deuchar (1988), who considers the relationship between language, power and the face needs of speakers and addressees. Women, as relatively powerless members of society, are seen as using a higher proportion of the forms that are considered prestigious in order to protect their own face without attacking that of their addressees, or in order to pay attention to the face of their addressee at the same time as protecting their own (op. cit.: 33). The emphasis here, then, is on a more pragmatic interpretation of the sociolinguistic gender pattern, in terms of the way in which women may use language during interaction. Eckert (1989) also argues that power is the most appropriate underlying sociological concept for analysing gender-based variation.

4. Fasold (1990) develops a different line of argument, claiming that women's increased use of standard variants results in their sounding less 'local', thereby allowing them to voice a protest against the traditional norms of a community which places them in a subservient social order to men. Men's high use of nonstandard variants then represents their subtle, and presumably unconscious, endorsement of the traditional values that allow them to be in firmer control of social life than women. A parallel can be drawn here with the findings of Gal (1979), working in a bilingual context in a Hungarian-speaking village in eastern Austria. In this village women lead in the shift from Hungarian to German, because for them German is associated with the more modern urban life style which they hope to be able to adopt by marrying a German-speaking man rather than a Hungarian-speaking peasant. The work of Siachitema (1991) on the choice between English or the mother tongue in Lusaka similarly suggests that bilingual speakers may associate different life styles with different ways of speaking, with English, in this case, symbolising modernity whilst the mother tongue symbolises a more traditional way of life: these associations regulate the choice of language in a wide range of different situations, including scolding children and arguing with partners. The arguments developed by Gordon (1994) are also related to the associations that different linguistic variants may have for speakers within a community: she found that the combination of a local accent and the use of nonstandard syntax by women was associated with sexual promiscuity, and argues that middle class women avoid using nonstandard forms in order to avoid being associated with this sexual stereotype.

5. Interpretations of the sociolinguistic gender pattern have also been proposed in terms of group solidarity. Women, it is claimed, typically have looser social networks than men, and vernacular norms are therefore less focused for them than they are for men. Where economic circumstances allow women to form dense, multiplex networks, as in the case of the young Clonard women studied by Milroy (1987b), they too use a high proportion of certain nonstandard variants; more usually, however, it is men whose social networks allow vernacular norms to be more focused. Milroy and Milroy (1993) develop this line of explanation further, investigating the relationship between social network, social class and gender and arguing that these factors are all implicated in a complex way in mechanisms of language change.

6. A further set of explanations assume that women's high use of standard variants reflects their greater linguistic sensitivity. Women's use of the prestige variants increases more sharply in formal styles relative to their more informal speech styles than does that of male speakers from the same social class, so that women can be said to command a wider range of style shifting than men of the same social class. One reason for this may be that the majority of the urban sociolinguistic surveys that we mentioned earlier rely on data collected during interviews, where the interviewer tended to be white, male and middle class. Women may, quite simply, accommodate more to the middle class standard speech of the interviewer than do male speakers. Some, but by no means all, of the experimental research on speech accommodation appears to confirm that women may accommodate more to their interlocutor than do men: for example, Mulac et al (1987) found that women, but not men, converged towards their partner's gaze in mixed-sex settings. A later study, however, by Mulac et al (1988), found that both male and female speakers adopted a linguistic 'style' more like that of their 'out-group partner' than they would have maintained with an 'in-group partner', so that in this case male speakers were accommodating as much as female speakers.

The factors involved in speech accommodation are complex and have not yet been fully explored. Furthermore, the explanations that research in this paradigm can offer for linguistic behaviour are often limited by the crudity of the linguistic categories that are used: to give one example, again from an experimental setting, Snyder (1981) found that if male speakers believed they were interacting with an attractive (rather than unattractive) female speaker over an intercom link, the females would 'sound lively and outgoing' — the known social stereotype, Snyder believes, of physically attractive women. For

sociolinguists this type of research is relevant since it indicates that in mixed-sex situations male speakers may facilitate or even construct women's 'styles' (including the use of variants associated with female speech) by themselves converging to a stereotype (Giles and Coupland 1991: 69). The same is presumably true for female speakers, who may help to construct male styles of speaking in a similar way.

7. Chambers (1992), in an attempt to go beyond simple sex-demarcated differences, relates the social network approach to the observation that women command a wider range of style shifting. His 'gender-based variability hypothesis' links the ability to command a broad range of linguistic variation to occupational and geographical mobility: 'in communities where gender roles are sharply differentiated such that one gender has wider social contacts and greater geographical range, the speech of the less circumscribed gender will include more variants of the contiguous social group' (op. cit: 192). So far, as Chambers points out, it is women who have turned out to have the less circumscribed social contacts, and so to have a wider range of speech styles. Clearly, however, as Chambers recognises, this configuration is far from universal, as is shown by many bilingual communities such as the Punjabis discussed later in this paper. Here women's circumscribed speech styles reflect their circumscribed social roles. Chambers, however, dismisses communities such as these as 'obviously transitory' (op. cit: 213).

Chambers further claims that even if a (presumably non-transitory) society existed where it was men who had the wider range of geographical and social contacts, women would still use a wider range of variants than men, because of his second, related, hypothesis, the 'sex-based variability hypothesis'. Reviewing a large number of psychological and biological studies, Chambers claims that 'the neurological verbal advantage of females results in sociolinguistic discrepancies such that women use a larger repertoire of variants and command a wider range of styles than men of the same social groups' (op. cit: 204). This is surprising, not only in the light of the above, but also in the light of the very limited effect that Chambers is at pains to stress of biological differences on verbal abilities: 'Individual differences are almost as extensive as sex differences.....the populations of males and females overlap completely except for one-quarter of one per cent. In other words, for any array of verbal abilities found in one individual woman, there will almost certainly be a man with exactly the same array' (op. cit: 203).

Chambers' explanations, then, are attempts at producing all-embracing statements that will account for all the research findings to date on variation in the speech of monolingual women and men. He argues (op. cit.: 204-12) that his two hypotheses can also account for the apparent exceptions to the socio-linguistic gender pattern such as those mentioned earlier.

It is essential, of course, if a discipline is to move forward, for gener-alisations to be made and for testable hypotheses to be formulated. We have seen, however, that the concept of the so-called sociolinguistic gender pat-tern stems from research that did not specifically set out to investigate the linguistic behaviour of women and men and that takes account, therefore, of only partial aspects of their lives. Even later research studies, which did set out to investigate sex differences — alongside, in the majority of cases, other aspects of sociolinguistic variation — do not take account of many of the potentially relevant aspects of the lives of the men and women who took part in the research projects. In spite of this, some of these later, smaller-scale studies have shown that simply analysing the variable forms used by women and men presents us with a very partial picture of the factors that affect lin-guistic variation. For example, in Cheshire's (1982) study of working-class adolescents a simple totalling of the use of nonstandard variants by female and male speakers gave the expected pattern, with female speakers using more of the standard variants than male speakers; when covariation with adherence to the peer group 'vernacular culture' was taken into account, however, it emerged that although some nonstandard linguistic variants were associated with adherence to the vernacular culture for both male and female speakers, there were other variants that were associated with this culture only by male speakers (e.g. the nonstandard relativizer *what* in utterances such as *are you the little bastards what hit my son over the head*?) and other variants that functioned in this way only for female speakers (e.g. nonstandard *come* in examples such as *I come down here yesterday*). Furthermore, the factors that constituted the vernacular culture differed for male speakers and female speakers. Different linguistic features, then, were used in different ways by male and female speakers.

Milroy's (1987b) Belfast study similarly found that although the overall pattern was for close-knit networks to be associated with the use of local ver-nacular pronunciations, and for close-knit networks in turn to be more typical of male speakers (as we saw above), there were certain sociolinguistic vari-ables that functioned as indicators of integration into the local community for

both women and men, and other sociolinguistic variables that functioned in this way only for men.

Clearly, then, the sex of a speaker is intricately embroiled with other factors that are important in their lives, and the sociolinguistic gender pattern could be hiding a variety of such factors, which may interact in complex ways. This has also been pointed out by Eckert, though from a somewhat different perspective (1989: 253); it has been pointed out by James (1996), too, in her critical review of the literature on this topic. It is impossible to know what these complex social factors might be unless our research is properly situated within the context of the community within which the participants in the study live. Thus both Chamber's deterministic new biology and his hypothesis concerning the greater social and geographical mobility of women are too limited to constitute an explanation of the sociolinguistic gender pattern — which, in any case, is itself a premature generalisation, as we have argued above.

In an attempt to find a way out of this impasse we turn to a comparison of monolingual variation and bilingual variation, with special emphasis on codes-switching for reasons that we explain in the following section. A particular advantage in doing this, for our purposes, is that although we do not believe that bilinguals necessarily have two discrete 'languages' at their disposal (see, for discussion, Gardner-Chloros, 1996), the linguistic variation that is involved when speakers are bilingual is often easier for the analyst to identify and, as Bell (1984:176) points out, the relevant motivating factors may therefore be thrown into sharper focus.

3.   Switching as 'non-standard' behaviour

For a number of reasons code-switching in bilingual communities is comparable with the use of non-standard forms of speech in monolingual contexts. This is not to say that all types of code-switching are equally non-standard. Just as in monolingual speech some varieties are more stigmatized than others, and there are different frequencies of occurrence of non-standard variants, so in code-switching certain types of switching are more or less acceptable in different contexts.

Attitudes to code-switching in fact vary both within and between bilingual communities. Even in communities where code-switching is commonplace —

indeed where it represents the *only* discourse option at least for some members of the community — it can be negatively viewed (Romaine 1989). Other communities, when they are led to reflect on it, make subtle distinctions between different types of code-switching and their different underlying motivations, and tend to judge code-switching due to incompetence in one of the varieties more harshly than that which reflects social and cultural motivations (Gardner-Chloros1991a: 105-6). Overall, however, expressed views on code-switching tend to emphasize its non-standard nature — we can recall Weinreich's 'ideal bilingual' who 'switches... according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc), but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence' (1953: 73-74).

 A further parallel between code-switching and the use of non-standard variants by monolingual speakers has to do with its domains of use. For example, switching is on the whole poorly represented in the written language (mainly in personal letters and feature journalism, but as yet rather rarely in literature or official writings). In the school context, it is generally condemned by teachers as representing a form of impurity or interference with monolingual norms (Gardner-Chloros 1991a: 105). Studies of code-switching have also shown that it generally occurs less in constrained, outgroup interaction than relaxed, in-group conversation. For example in a survey carried out in a Strasbourg insurance office, switching occurred in 14% of conversations between employees and clients, but in 40% of conversations between two or more employees (although both clients and employees were of an equally bilingual background). On the telephone the figures fell to 32% of switched conversations between employees, but only 6% in conversations with clients. Similarly, in a large-scale survey of the use of Alsatian (Low), French (High) and switching in department stores of varying social status in Strasbourg, both the use of Alsatian and of code-switching were significantly more prevalent within groups of customers and groups of salespersons, i.e. between people who knew each other and were not therefore constrained by the overt norms governing conversations in a public place between sales staff and customers (Gardner-Chloros 1991: 79).

      There are many reasons, then, to suggest that it is worth exploring the sociolinguistic gender pattern in relation to code-switching. In future the study of the use of code-switching by women and men should be accompanied by a parallel investigation of their use of nonstandard forms within the two

monolingual varieties: here, however, we simply investigated whether, other factors being equal, the general pattern appeared to hold, with women code-switching less than men in order to conform with a more purist or socially acceptable speech style. Similarly, if the traditional wisdom on gender differences holds, one might expect women to code-switch less in order to pass on a more prestigious monolingual variety to their children.

4. Studies of code-switching and gender

Before presenting our own study of code-switching differences between women and men, we will first review some of the very few studies there have been of sex-related differences in code-switching since Gal (1979) showed the way through her study of the shift from Hungarian to German in a Hungarian-speaking village in Austria. As we mentioned in section 2, her study revealed that, in that particular context, Hungarian was associated with a set of peasant values from which women, in particular, were anxious to dissociate themselves. They were therefore prime movers of language shift towards German.

The largest study in terms of the number of switches observed in which the sex factor is discussed was Poplack's (1980) study of the New York Puerto-Rican community. Over 1800 switches, collected from 20 speakers, were broken down according to their grammatical type and correlated with a number of extra-linguistic factors, and overall, code-switching was found to be 'an integral part of community speech norms' in the group studied. The principal finding was that the type of switch favoured by speakers correlated very strongly with their self-reported bilingual ability: speakers who claimed to be fully at ease in both Spanish and English tended to code-switch intra-sententially, whereas those who were more at ease in Spanish, having learnt English at a later stage in their lives, used more tag-switches, i.e. switches which do not involve complex grammatical gear-changes within the sentence. Poplack does not state whether overall, women were more fluent bilinguals than the men, but she does report that women code-switched intra-sententially significantly more than men; over half their switches were intra-sentential whereas only a third of the men's fell into this category. This is obviously contrary to the expectation that women use fewer non-standard forms than men, though it could be seen as supporting Chambers' (1992) claim that

women are more linguistically proficient; but there is no further discussion of this finding in the paper.

In a different community, Ottawa-Hull, Poplack (1988) found that women used fewer loans than men except for very widespread loans — arguably the reverse of the New York pattern, since Poplack's 'loan' category includes phenomena which would be classed as code-switches by most other researchers.

Puzzled by these contradictory findings and wishing to test the gender effect in another context, Treffers-Daller (1992) submitted her data on French-Dutch switching in Brussels (34 informants, 31 hours of recordings) to a comparative analysis. Contrary to Poplack's New York findings, Treffers-Daller found no significant differences between men and women on intra-sentential switching. She did find confirmation, however, of the Ottawa-Hull finding that women used fewer 'non-attested' (i.e. newer) loans than men, though they did use the more widespread loan-words which were well-established in the community. The comparison must be made with caution, however, as Treffers-Daller herself points out that her definition of the different types of loan does not coincide with Poplack's. Overall, intra-sentential switching was rare in Brussels and it is not therefore surprising that no significant result was obtained. Treffers-Daller points to the markedly different significance of code-switching in the two communities which produced the contradictory results : whereas code-switching between Spanish and English in New York is a mark of ethnic identity, it carries no such significance in Brussels. We return to this important point later.

The question of what function the code-switching is fulfilling is obviously primary, and the same linguistic phenomenon, be it code-switching or a form of monolingual non-standardness, can carry a different significance not only in different sociolinguistic contexts but also within different configurations of events within the same overall setting. An example of this phenomenon from monolingual variation can be given from Eisikovits' Sydney study of the use of nonstandard English *don't* (that is, present tense negative do with third person singular subjects). Eisikovits found that this nonstandard form was used by both male and female adolescents, but that boys used it significantly more often when asserting an opinion, a discourse context in which it was never used by the girls (Eisikovits 1991: 240-1).

Partly our difficulty in recognizing this as far as code-switching is concerned is due to inadequate definitions and distinctions *within* the phe-

nomena which are being observed. The term code-switching, for example, as we have seen above in relation to borrowing, encompasses a range of different phenomena whose definitions are neither discrete nor agreed within the discipline. Valdès-Fallis (1977), having provided a list of types of code-switching with their various conversational functions, picks just one of these, which she terms 'sequential' switching, for an analysis of male-female differences in mixed-sex conversations among bilingual Mexican-American subjects. Sequential switches are defined as switches which involve using the last language used by the preceding speaker, and as such provide an index of co-operativeness in conversation. In the group she studied women used more of this type of switching than men. Valdès-Fallis' study provided a valuable new tool for studying male-female differences in a bilingual context, though as far as we know it was not followed up by further studies, which, one would hope, would include comparisons between mixed-sex and single-sex conversations: one would like to know whether these women's apparently greater co-operativeness in conversation was a function of having male interlocutors or whether the same sex difference was evident when one compared the women among themselves and the men among themselves. Researchers working on monolingual variation have not, on the whole, focused on accommodative variation of this kind; Coupland (1984) is an exception, but he does not investigate the variable of sex. Eisikovits, whose Sydney study we referred to earlier, also provides some information that is relevant to this aspect of variation: when answering a question from the adult, female middle-class interviewer the adolescent boys used a higher proportion of the nonstandard variant than when responding to a comment from one of their peers. Eisikovits suggests that they use nonstandard *don't* in this context to express solidarity with their own group and opposition to an outsider (Eisikovits 1991: 241).

The last piece of work which we will discuss here is one in which code-switching is not considered so much for its internal constitution as for its place in a community's repertoire of codes. In Swigart's (1992) description of language use in Dakar, women's speech displays both conservative and innovative tendencies. Wolof, the traditional language, is held to be transmitted and preserved by women; there is even an expression which corresponds to 'having a native language' which can be translated as 'to be nursed on a language'. In contradistinction to women who see themselves in this role, there is a 'small but very visible' group of young women known as

les disquettes or 'disco girls', who dress in Western-style clothing and who distinguish themselves by speaking French exclusively, and refusing to speak any Wolof under any circumstances. Swigart compares them to the young women who preferred German to Hungarian in Gal's Austrian study, thereby making a statement about wanting to lead a different kind of life to other women, more Westernized or more economically secure. The third generally used code is Urban Wolof, which is a code-switched variety primarily used by young men and carrying strong connotations of masculinity. But as Swigart found when closely observing the linguistic habits of young women and in particular young mothers, Urban Wolof has in fact introduced itself into their speech although they appear unaware that they are using it. This is particularly notable in their interactions with their children, and suggests that the next generation will take a further step away from the 'pure' unmixed variety of Wolof.

What Swigart's study shows is, firstly, that within a given society women do not behave as a monolithic group. Their behaviour varies both depending on age and on social position and aspirations. We can draw a parallel here with Douglas-Cowie's research on monolingual variation in Articlave, Northern Ireland, where a correlation was observed between the use of standard phonological variants and the social aspirations of different groups of both female and male speakers (Douglas-Cowie 1978).

Secondly it shows that the group which is breaking away from tradition most consciously -the disco girls- is not doing so through the use of code-switching but through studied monolingualism. Processes of differentiation and the marking of different group identities within a given society are thereby shown to be more fundamental than the association that sociolinguists might initially wish to make between a set of linguistic items and their assumed general social significance — for French started off as the colonial language with conservative connotations, and indeed still carries these connotations when used by old men. This finding is very significant for our argument here, as it shows up the dangers of adopting a methodological approach within sociolinguistics which relies on a uni-dimensional set of correlations between social and linguistic facts. The different linguistic variants that are available within a society's linguistic repertoire may have different social meanings for different groups within that society.

Thirdly Swigart's paper makes the point that linguistic innovation can be a largely unconscious, or certainly a non-deliberate, process — thus the

young mothers, who overtly shun the masculine connotations of Urban Wolof, are 'allowing language change through the back door'. We cannot assume, therefore, that women's speech, any more than men's, clearly reflects the differentiation which, at a certain conscious level, they may seek. In the area of code-switching, just as in monolingual behaviour, there can be a mismatch between perceptions or aspirations regarding the variety used and actual practices. It is not immediately clear to us which of these tells us more about fundamental identifications.

5. Code-switching in the London Greek Cypriot Community

As we have reported elsewhere (Gardner-Chloros 1992), code-switching is a highly prevalent speech-mode in the 150 000-strong London Greek-Cypriot community, although its composition varies markedly depending on age of speaker and time elapsed since their arrival in the U.K. As reported in Poplack's study, the most balanced bilinguals, who are to be found in the middle generations, are the most intense code-switchers, with the older generation speaking mainly Greek-Cypriot dialect with some well-established English loan-words, and children and adolescents being mainly English-speakers, who can accommodate to a greater or lesser extent to the demands of more Greek-speaking situations.

We conducted a series of interviews in this community, using an interview schedule involving questions about background, feelings about being Cypriot, about England and the English, etc. A number of questions were designed to make the interviewee forget about the constraints of the interview situation by evoking emotions, e.g."Have you ever been discriminated against?", "Have you ever been ashamed of not speaking perfect English/of your parents not speaking perfect English?", "Do you think the English are superior to the Cypriots?", "Would you marry/want your child to marry an English person/a Cypriot from Cyprus/a London Cypriot?".The interviews, involving ten men and twelve women matched for socio-economic background and age (average age for men was 31 and for women 33) were conducted by a Greek-Cypriot interviewer. As well as allowing subjects to answer at length and to digress if they wished, the interviewer asked the questions initially in the dialect, but switched to English if her interlocutors seemed to want to, and generally switched fairly freely herself so as not to imply that any particular variety was required or preferred.

5.1 *Overall switching*

On the basis of some thirty-five hours of recordings which these interviews yielded, a comparison was made between the number of switches made by women and men. As can be seen from Fig.1 below, when the number of switches was divided by the total number of utterances (by which we mean the total number of times that each person spoke), the average was between 0.7 and 0.8 switches per utterance for men and 0.8 and 0.9 for women. A t-test performed on this data showed that the difference was not significant.
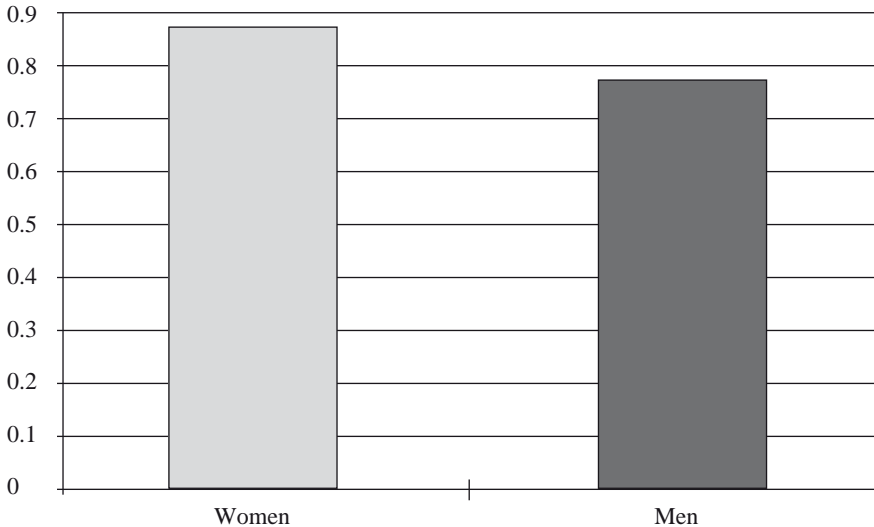
Figure 1. Ratio of total number of switches to total number of utterances for women vs. men (Greek Cypriot)

5.2 *Types of switching*

Switches of four different types were taken into account in the calculation and each of these four was therefore also separately examined in order to determine whether, although men and women did not differ significantly in their overall rate of switching, certain *types* of switching were significantly more likely to be found among one or other sex.

There are a large number of possible ways to classify code-switches and no standard method for doing so. As the way in which switches are identified and counted on the basis of transcribed data is crucial to an understanding of the findings, we will first briefly explain how the four types of switching were defined for the purposes of this study:

5.2.1 *Turn-switching*

As mentioned above, the first type of switching which we identified and counted was 'turn-switching', that is *changes of language as compared with the language just used by the previous speaker*. This does not correspond with Valdès-Fallis's category of 'sequential' switching, which, on the contrary, involves a language change *viewed from the point of view of the individual speaker*, to conform with the interlocutor's choice. This can be schematized as follows:

Sequential switches (Valdès-Fallis):
Speaker 1: xxxxxxxxxxx (Language A)
Speaker 2: yyyyyyyyyy (Language B)
Speaker 1: yyyyyyyyyy (Language A)
Speaker 1 has 'switched sequentially', in Valdès-Fallis' terms, in her second utterance, thus conforming with the language choice of Speaker 2.

vs.

Turn-switching (Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros):
Speaker 1: xxxxxxxxxxx (Language A)
Speaker 2: yyyyyyyyyy (Language B)

Just as a *high* rate of Sequential switching, for Valdès-Fallis, can be used as an indicator of the degree of co-operativeness or accommodation between interlocutors, in the same way a *low* rate of turn-switching can be used, in our data, for the same purpose.

5.2.2 *Single-word switching*

In many, though not all, communities (see below), single-word switching is the most common type, as it is in these data. It is for this reason that it has sometimes been considered at great length on its own (cf.Poplack, as above) in particular in relation to the process of borrowing, with which it can be considered to be more or less related. We consider code-switching and

borrowing to be part of a single continuum, with certain code-switches becoming generalized in due course so as to become loans. We have not sub-divided loans into those which are well-established and those which are more innovatory, as in the studies by Poplack and Treffers-Daller which were discussed above. We have only counted as loans (and therefore excluded from the code-switch counts) single words which were widely used by *all* members of the community in preference to a term more 'native' to the surrounding language. Generally speaking, of course, in a community of migrant origin like this one, these are nouns from the host-country language, here English, representing cultural concepts associated with life in the host country. Classic examples among London Greek-Cypriots of all genera-tions are *paso* for 'bus' (vs.Greek *leoforio*), *marketa* for 'market' (vs. Greek *agora*),etc. The reverse also occurs and certain words from the Greek-Cypri-ot dialect are found when speakers are using English, although there tend to be fewer examples of this. Single-word switches *included* in our reckoning can therefore be from any grammatical class, and morphogically / phoneti-cally adapted or unadapted to the surrounding language -since this too has been found not to constitute an absolute criterion of loan-word status.

Single-word switching, perhaps *because* of its akinness to borrowing, which is a universal process even within non-code-switched varieties, is, along with inter-sentential switching, generally one of the least stigmatized varieties.

5.2.3 *Inter-sentential switching*

As is now amply documented, the logic and patterning of casual spoken lan-guage is radically different from that of the written language, and the notion of sentence in particular is largely inappropriate to understand its structure (Mil-roy and Milroy 1985). Though widely used in the analysis of code-switching, the distinction between oral code-switches which are inter-sentential and those that are intra-sentential can often be untenable. In making this distinction, the analyst has to make decisions which are often ultimately arbitrary as to wheth-er particular switches, that occur in sequences which are interrupted either by the speaker herself or by another speaker, fall into one or the other category. The distinction between inter and intra-sentential switching can therefore only be considered to be useful as a *rough gauge* of the grammatical complexity of the switching.

5.2.4 *Intra-sentential switching*

The same reservations apply as to the category above regarding the validity and reliability of this classification. What one can say with more confidence is that this category *includes* instances of dense grammatical switching, such as switching between a noun and its verb or a verb and its complementizer. In order not to inflate this category, we have not in this instance included intra-word switches — although these are arguably the densest grammatical switches of all. Such switches therefore come under single-word switches, the single word being at times morphologically adapted to the surrounding language and at times not. Since morphological marking is not always necessary, the alternative would be to run the risk of misclassifying various single-word switches as non-morphologically marked, whereas they might in fact have a zero-marking.

As perhaps the most stigmatized of switch-types, the relative frequency of intra-sentential switching in women's and men's speech is of particular interest in relation to their use of code-switching as a form of non-standard behaviour.

5.3 *Results for different switch-types*

For each of the four categories of switching, a percentage was calculated of the particular type of switch as a function of the total number of switches. This was done separately for the women and the men in our sample, and a t-test was then performed on the scores obtained. As no significant differences were found between men and women on any of the switch categories detailed above, all four sets of results are presented together in Figure 2 in the form of four histograms. As can be observed, the only slight tendency for a difference to emerge is on Intra-sentential switching, which contributes almost 20% to the total number of switches for women but under 10% to the total number of switches for men. In the light of the sample-size, this result was not thought to be worth pursuing further.

An alternative means of calculation, presented in Figure 3, was also used in order to check that there were really no significant differences between the men's and the women's switching. Instead of working out their respective percentages of particular switch-types *as a function of the total number of switches* each sex produced, the mean number of each switch type *per utterance* was calculated. Once again, no significant difference emerged between men and women from the t-tests performed on these scores, although the slight tendency for women to code-switch intra-sententially more than men was again manifested.
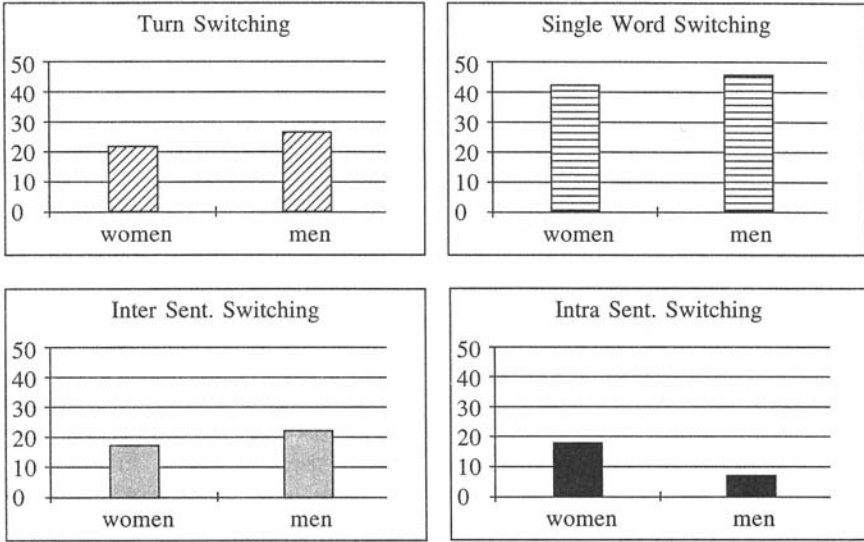
Figure 2. Percentage of types of switch as a function of total number of switches
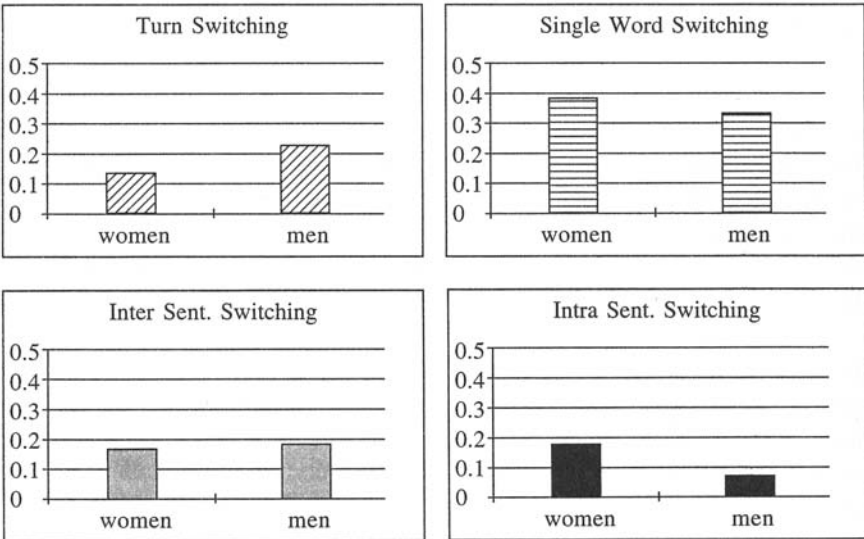

Figure 3. Mean number of each type of switch per utterance

The results shown in Figure 3 should be read bearing in mind that the different types of switch were themselves far from evenly distributed. An analysis of variance performed on the switch-type data was significant (p<.01). The variance is presented in pie-chart form in Figure 4.

Turn
Single Word
Inter Sent.
Intra Sent.
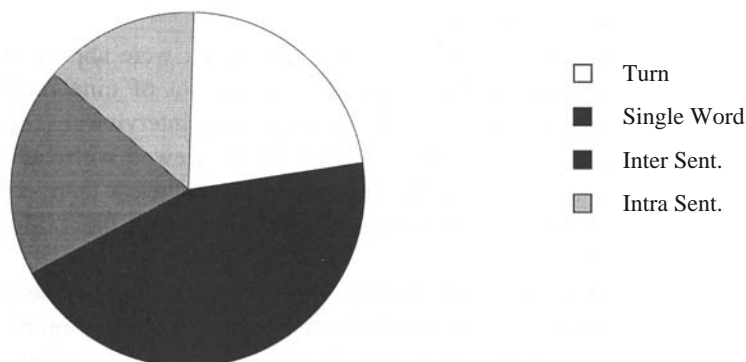
Effect of switch is significant: F = 5.252 Prob. = 0.003

Figure 4. Overall mean for each type of switch per utterance

6. Comparison with another community

The lack of significant differences between men's and women's switching in our sample does not imply that no such differences could be found if other members of the community had been interviewed. The men and women in our sample were carefully matched for age and socio-economic background, concentrating on the lower middle-class shop-keeper/restaurant owner/clothes factory supervisortype professions which are particularly typical of the community. Although sex-role differentiation clearly exists in this class, it may be starker in the working class or higher up the social scale where women are less likely to work and so have different networks and activities. Above all one finds much greater role differentiation in the older age groups, which is likely to be reflected in speech differences.

A fortiori, in other communities where men's and women's social circles coincide much less, for example in more traditional native or immigrant bilingual societies where women are mainly in contact with other women and spend most of the day in the home, one would expect to find marked differ-

ences between their use of languages and code-switching and that of men. For example, Romaine's study of Punjabis in Birmingham led her to conclude that for many women there was no reason to ever use anything *but* a code-switched mode (1994), whereas men from the same community, owing to their contacts with the outside world, might be led to use either Punjabi or English separately in specific contexts.

As a first step towards testing this hypothesis, we were able to make a comparison between the Cypriot interviews and a set of nine interviews carried out in that community by a Punjabi-speaking interviewer (Chana & Romaine1984; Romaine1989). The results must be viewed with caution as these interviews were not part of the same study. Nevertheless there are clear analogies between the type and number of subjects and the setting and purpose of the interviews.

Switches, switch-types and utterances were counted in the same way as for the Cypriots, leaving out turn-switches because of a slightly more structured question and answer format in the Punjabi case, which we felt would invalidate the comparison. On every count which we were able to compare, the Punjabis switched massively more than the Cypriots and *more intra-sententially* than through any other form of switch. Fig.5 shows the average number of each type of switch per ten utterances for the Greek-Cypriots vs. the Punjabis. It can be seen, for example, that whereas there were under five intra-sentential switches per ten utterances for the Cypriots, there were over sixty for the Punjabis. All the comparisons carried out by means of an analysis of variance were significant ($p < .01$).
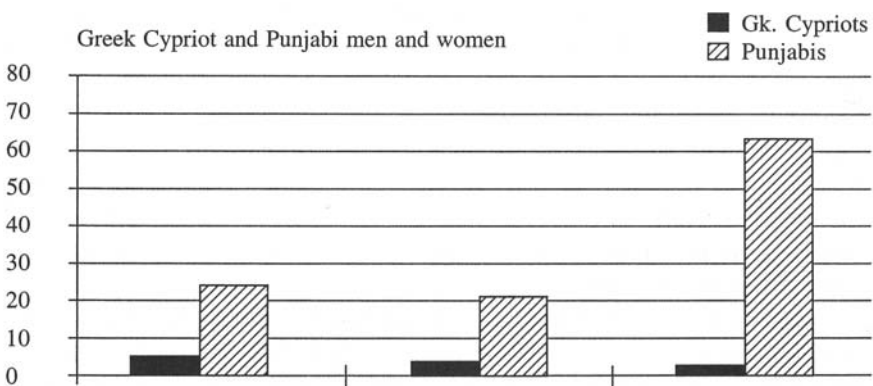

Figure 5. Number of types of switch per ten utterances: both sexes together

We were not able to make gender comparisons between the two ethnic groups as only two women were interviewed in the Punjabi sample. A comparison between the men of the two ethnic groups, however, yielded even starker differences than the general comparison.
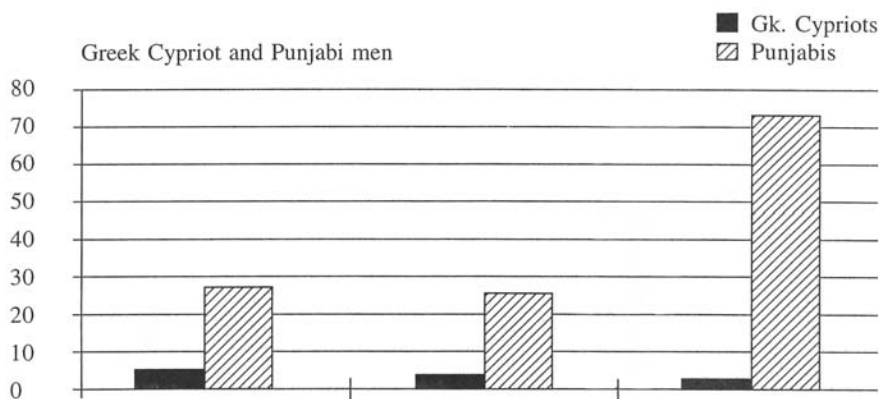
Figure 6. Number of types of switch per ten utterances: Greek Cypriot and Punjabi men

There are clearly huge differences in code-switching patterns to be found between communities in similar speech situations, deserving more careful investigation.

6.1 Inter-individual variation

Both inter- and intra-individual variation in code-switching need to be much more carefully tracked than they have been in the existing studies. Although we know that code-switching characterizes particular speech styles and domains, we have no large-scale studies of the same individuals compared across different circumstances and different individuals compared within the same circumstances. As a small step in the direction of the second issue, we have represented the individual switching profiles of the 12 women and 10 men in our Greek Cypriot sample on a histogram. Each subject has four bars showing how many of each of the four types of switch they produced. As can be seen from Fig.7, female subjects 4,10 and, to a lesser extent, 12 skew the data completely, though they do not all prefer the same kinds of switch. Among the men, subjects 2 and 10 produced noticeably more single-word switches than the others.

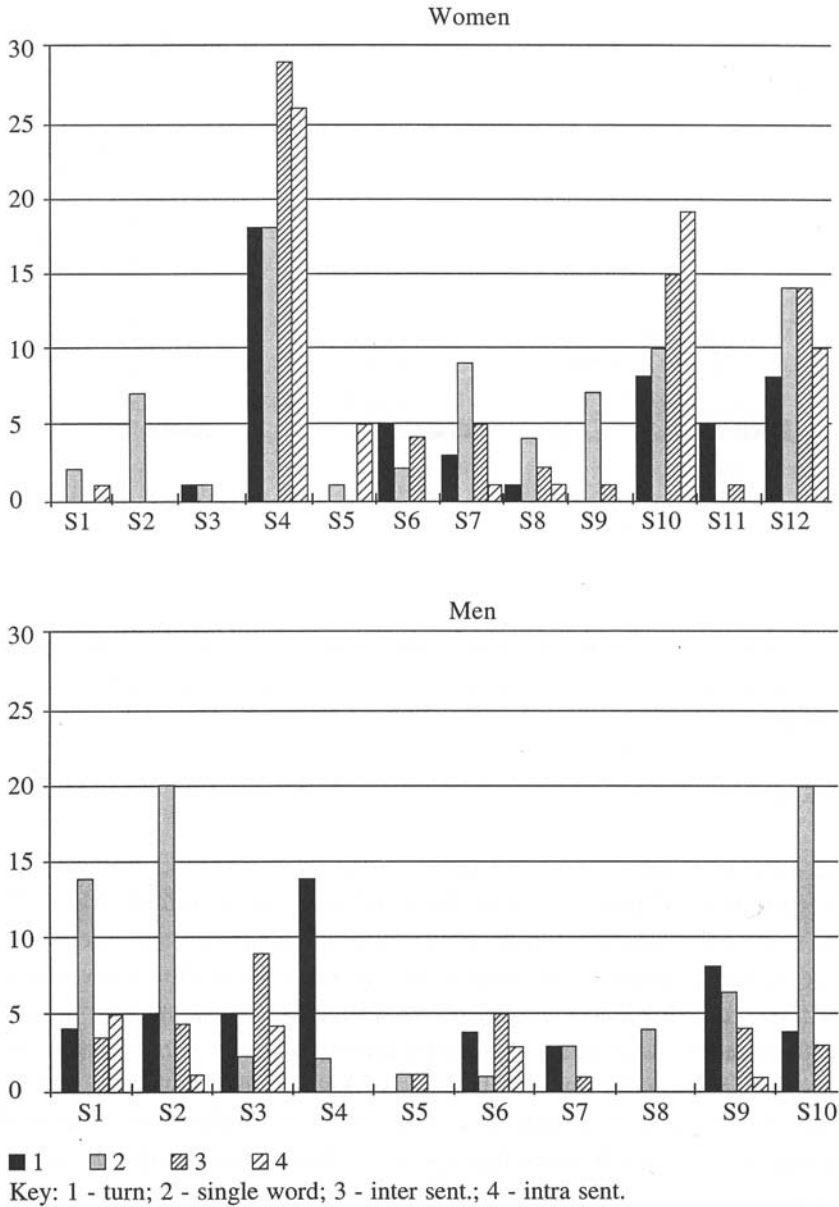Key: 1 - turn; 2 - single word; 3 - inter sent.; 4 - intra sent.

Figure 7. Women and men's individual switching profiles

This appears to confirm the hunch which several investigators of code-switching apart from ourselves have reported in personal communications, to the effect that there is a strong individual personality factor involved in intensive code-switching (Gardner-Chloros1991: 161). There is something quite literally like 'breaking the rules' involved in code-switching, which appeals to certain extrovert personalities more than others, irrespective of the ambient linguistic conventions.

7.   Conclusions

Our investigation of gender differences in code-switching has confirmed our view that the relationship between gender and bilingual behaviour deserves more detailed and systematic investigation. It has also confirmed our view that if we insist on formulating sweeping generalisations and all-purpose explanations for sex differences in linguistic behaviour, be this monolingual or bilingual behaviour, we risk failing to understand the linguistic, social and interactional complexities that are responsible for the existence of these differences.

There are four points, in particular, that arise from our investigation of gender differences and code-switching, that make the need to avoid all-purpose explanations very clear.

1. The first point is that although a consistent pattern of sex differentiation is assumed to exist in monolingual communities, there is no evidence of any consistent patterning of this kind in bilingual communities. There are some communities, such as the Puerto-Rican New York community investigated by Poplack (1980), where sex differences do appear to exist, but there are others, such as the London Greek-Cypriot community whose behaviour we have reported in this paper, where no such differences were found. We assume that the lack of a consistent pattern of sex differences reflects the fact that code-switching carries different connotations in different communities, as well as the fact that the social roles of women and men differ considerably in different communities. For example, Punjabi women in Birmingham who never have occasion to speak monolingually do not have monolingual discourse as part of their linguistic repertoire. For them, therefore, code-switching may have little or no special significance. This should surely alert us to the dangers of proposing general principles and patterns that hold across all

communities: such a general pattern may make for an elegant theory but it obscures the fact that 'nonstandardness', like code-switching, is likely to carry different social meanings in different communities.

2. The second point is a related one: nonstandardness, whether on a mono-lingual or a bilingual level, may have different social meanings not only in different communities but also for different groups within what we might think of as the 'same' community. We saw that in Dakar code-switching may have negative prestige, but that the most monolingual speakers were nevertheless not the most linguistically 'correct': the disco girls are obsti-nately monolingual, yet their monolingual behaviour goes against the overt norms of their society. In order to gain an accurate picture of the social significance of language use in Dakar, it is necessary to identify the groups with which speakers themselves identify and which are defined by a distinc-tive form of linguistic behaviour. These groups may not conform to the gross demographic variables with which sociolinguists have tended to operate (particularly in the large-scale sociolinguistic surveys from which the so-called sociolinguistic gender pattern originally derived). This is beginning to be recognised by linguists working on monolingual variation: for example, Eckert's research on phonological variation in the Detroit area found that the social categories that best predicted linguistic variation were the peer groups that the adolescent participants themselves perceived as relevant, rather than the categories into which they might otherwise have been grouped by the researcher (Eckert 1988).

3. Our third point is that not only may code-switching and other forms of nonstandard language have different meanings within different communities, it may also have different meaning within the lives of individual speakers. There are certainly vast differences between the switching profiles of indi-vidual speakers in the London Greek Cypriot community and the Birming-ham Punjabi community, as we have shown. We have suggested that one factor responsible for individual differences may be personality, but there is likely to be a wide range of other relevant factors. For this reason it is impor-tant to analyse variation between speakers of the same sex (in other words, intra-group variation) as well as variation between the linguistic behaviour of women and men. In fact, given our present state of knowledge it may be even more revealing to analyse intra-group variation than inter-group variation, since this will allow us to probe into some of the many factors that affect the

gender roles and identities of women and men in different societies and in different sub-groups within a single society.

4. Fourthly, it is important to focus on the discourse itself rather than to simply measure the *amount* of nonstandardness in speech, whether this involves counting variants in monolingual speech or counting different types of code-switched items in bilingual speech.

Researchers working on code-switching recognise that the motivation for switching may lie, in part at least, in the discourse context: the established term 'metaphorical switching' refers to this aspect of switching (from Gumperz 1982), and recently Wei, Milroy and Ching (1992) have demonstrated that the motivation for switching may also lie in aspects of the conversational context, such as preference-marking or repair mechanisms. If a variant has a symbolic meaning, this meaning must be at least partially negotiated in discourse.

This aspect of variation has been rather neglected in studies of monolingual behaviour, but there are some indications that it is as important here as it is for bilinguals. Eisikovits (1991: 240), in the study referred to earlier, suggested that older adolescent boys used nonstandard *don't* to affirm their toughness and anti-establishment values. One boy, for example, describing his attempt to assert himself in his relationship with his older sister, says: *me sister don't boss me around*. Later, he indicates that his assertiveness is tempered by some dependence, and his use of the standard variant *doesn't* appears to relate to the attitude that he expresses towards his father: *me brother, I don't worry about him much, but me father is real strict. Doesn't like any bad manners or talking at the table*. Coupland (1966) describes how a single speaker uses different phonological variants to communicate different aspects of his personal identities. Eckert (1996) shows how vocalic variables are used expressively by adolescent boys and girls, with innovative variants occurring with emphatic stress in words and phrases corresponding to particularly dramatic moments in a narrative. She thinks it premature to talk about the reflection of clear symbolic values in the use of phonological variables, but it is nevertheless significant, in our view, that there are sex differences in the particular variants that appear to be used in this way, with boys in one of the peer groups appearing to use (ay), (e) and (uh) for expressive effect, but not (ae) and (a), while girls in another of the peer groups make use of all of these, with the exception of (ay).

These four points reflect the different levels at which variation must be analysed if we are to obtain a better understanding of the relationship between sex differences and linguistic behaviour: the community (whether bilingual or monolingual), the groups that are salient for individuals within that community, the individual, and the discourse that individuals produce in interaction with each other. At all four levels a more sensitive approach is needed which does not assume that behaviour is monolithic.

This has important methodological implications. We have already mentioned the particular problems involved in the categorisation of women in the urban sociolinguistic surveys and, indeed, in other studies of monolingual variation (see section 2, and Cameron and Coates 1988). We would advocate a 'new quantitativeness' — contrasting both with the sterile counting of monolingual variants in relation to predetermined social categories, and with the present reaction to this in sociolinguistics, where the qualitative analysis sometimes of single, one-off interactions is considered an adequate theme for a conference paper or a journal article, and where the fundamental notions of chance and statistical significance do not enter into play. The explosion of qualitative studies has provided a much-needed change in focus from the variationist paradigm but, as we stated earlier, the formulation of testable hypotheses remains an essential part of sociolinguistics. This calls for sensitively constructed comparative group studies between different monolingual, bilingual and multilingual communities, or sub-groups within communities, rather than the grouping of individuals into predefined categories in the interests of statistically impressive research designs. Eckert's work, which was preceded by three years of participant-observation in high schools in the suburbs of Detroit, is a paradigm example of research on monolingual variation that is likely to yield results with greater validity than the studies from which the 'sociolinguistic gender pattern' is derived. Gal's research in the bilingual community in Oberwart is a similar example of the insights that can be achieved from adopting an ethnographic approach.

All these issues need to be attended to in future studies of linguistic variation, whether monolingual or bilingual, if we are really to move beyond a focus on the biological variable of sex. Only when all these factors — and perhaps more — have been properly investigated would we be in a position to return to the sociolinguistic gender pattern and see if it can be explained.

We predict, however, that by that stage we would have uncovered so many more relevant aspects of the relationship between linguistic variation,

sex and gender that the pattern would no longer be seen as worthy of our attention. In view of the attention that sociolinguists have given to this pattern, and to the danger of its passing unchallenged into our accepted sociolinguistic wisdom, we think it necessary to close this paper by repeating that nonstandardness in language, whether code-switching or the use of a specific variant, is a complex phenomenon that can have different social meanings for different social groups (and perhaps for individuals also) in different communities. The way that nonstandardness has so far been conceived in sociolinguistic research is too limited a way of approaching the complexity of sex differentiation in language use, for it cannot be understood for a given community without understanding the full range of options that are available for different individuals within that community, and their social significance. The same is true for our ideas about the relations between sex differences and the gender roles of both women and men, which are too diverse and complex to be accounted for by research that investigates only one or two of the potentially relevant factors. There is agreement amongst sociolinguists now that gender differences in language use have an important explanatory potential. However, premature generalisations based on simplistic research designs will not allow us to properly understand these complex phenomena.

Notes

1.   This is a reworked version of a paper presented at the the 10th Sociolinguistics Symposium in Lancaster, UK, in 1994, a further version of which is to appear in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* in 1998. We would like to thank Suzanne Romaine for making available to us her data on Punjabi-English switching, and Itesh Sachdev for advice on the statistical analysis of the data.

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III

A RANGE OF FEMININITIES

Competing discourses of femininity[1]

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1. Introductory

Most of us spend very little, if any, time thinking about gender, and we are rarely aware of "doing" (or "performing") gender. (By "doing"/"performing" gender, I mean presenting ourselves to others as a gendered being.) We just take for granted that we are women. But we assume that 'being a woman' is a unitary and unified experience — in other words we think of ourselves as "I"/"me", that is, as singular. However, the woman we perform is not the same woman in all circumstances: we have all had the experience of feeling like a different person when we are in a different situation. For example, the "me" that changes a baby's nappy or mashes a banana for a toddler is a different "me" from the one who participates in a committee meeting or who poses as a life model at the local art school. Even in the same context we can change if something alters in that context. The following anecdote told by Liz about her friend changing when her husband joined them for a drink is a good illustration of this:

LIZ: when I was at the Health Club the other night/ and this girl I went
          with her husband turned up to have a drink with us in the bar/ . and
          like the whole atmosphere changed when he arrived/ <LAUGHS> [...] and
          she changed/ she changed/ she- she- she suddenly went tense/ you
          know/

We change because different audiences require different performances — and also because we sometimes feel like playing a different role. All kinds of different "self" are possible, because our culture offers us a wide range of ways of being — but all these ways of being are **gendered**. These possible selves are not different kinds of person, but different kinds of **woman.**

Moreover, the alternative versions of femininity available to the women I've recorded are specific to Britain at the end of the twentieth century.

2. A range of femininities

In this section I shall look at a few examples from the conversations I've recorded to show what I mean by "doing" or "performing" femininity, and to give a sense of the range of femininities available to girls and women in Britain today. The first example comes from a conversation where three sixteen-year-old girls are commenting on the appearance of the fourth, Sarah, who is trying on Gwen's make-up. (Transcription conventions are given in an Appendix at the end.)

[Sarah tries on some of Gwen's make-up]

```
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
GWEN:    doesn't she look really nice/
KATE:                                    yes/
EMILY:                                       she DOES look nice/
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
GWEN:                         ⌈I think with the lipstick
KATE:       you should wear make-up⌊more often . Sarah/
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
GWEN:    it looks good/          ⌈Sarah your lips . s- suit lipstick/
KATE:                           |
EMILY:            yeah looks  ⌊nice/
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
GWEN:    ((I'm saying)) what you said- big lips suit ⌈lipstick/
KATE:              oohh yes/                                        ⌈share it/
EMILY:                                        ⌊you should be  ⌊a model/
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
GWEN:                  yeah/ looks good to me/ Sarah you look really nice/
KATE:                 yeah/
EMILY:    models have  big lips/
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

In this talk, the girls are overtly complimenting Sarah. This is part of the routine support work that girls and women do with each other as friends. At the same time they are co-constructing a world in which the putting on and wearing of make-up is a normal part of doing femininity, and looking 'nice' or 'good' is an important goal. In this world, the size of your features — your eyes, your lips — is highly salient, and the fashion model is a significant figure, with high status.

    The next example also comes from the talk of younger speakers, girls of

fifteen. But they are doing a different sort of femininity. Jessica, Becky, and Hannah are talking about a crisis which occurred on the school trip (a trip which Ruth and Claire didn't go on).

[talking about disastrous time on school trip]

JESS: I can't believe that night/ I mean I can't believe ((xx))-

BECKY: I can't- no I can't believe it either/ <u>we were all crying</u>/ <AMAZED>

BECKY: I couldn't be ⌈lieve it/ everybody ⌈was/
RUTH: ⌊who was crying? |
HANNAH: |everybody/
JESS: apart from me/

BECKY: yeah/ <LAUGHING>
JESS: I was in bed/ <LAUGHTER>
RUTH: ((no but)) what were you crying about?

BECKY: because- ((well)) I was crying because Hannah was crying/ Hannah
HANNAH: <GIGGLES>

BECKY: was crying because Ben was um a <u>sexist bastard</u>/ <LAUGHS>

BECKY: and Vicky was crying because Susan was going to be sent home/
HANNAH: %oh he was REALLy horrible to me/%

BECKY: and I was crying because ⌈she never cries/
CLAIRE: ⌊did she get sent home?

BECKY: no/
HANNAH: and I was crying because Vicky ⌈was crying/   no/
CLAIRE: ⌊did she get sent home?

The three friends who are describing what happened agree on the significance of crying. The phrase *was/were crying* occurs ten times in all (twelve times if we include those utterances with an ellipted verb, such as *everybody was*). The repetition of this phrase functions to emphasize that crying was the key feature of this particular night, and to underline the fact that everyone was involved. Both Becky and Hannah say that they were crying, and they both claim that Vicky was crying. (Jessica, the only one who was not crying, explains *I was in bed*).Their reasons for their crying focus on friendship: Becky cried because Hannah was upset; Vicky cried because she thought her friend was being sent home. The only boy mentioned — Ben — was *not* crying: he is one of the reasons that Hannah was crying. Crying is constructed here as a gendered behaviour, something girls do at times of emotional crisis.

Crying is a stereotypical way of performing femininity. This version of femininity continues into adulthood, though as the next example shows adult women have some reservations about expressing their feelings in this way.

[Anna arrives from work late and explains why she is upset]

ANNA:	I just had such a bad week/ and then my boss just stood in the office
ANNA:	tonight and told me and his deputy that we're both crap managers
ANNA:	basically/
SUE:	oh/
LIZ:	oh god/
[...]	
ANNA:	I get so angry at myself for crying/ but . I wish I could just . ooh!
ANNA:	punch him on the nose or something/
SUE:	you shouldn't let it get to you/
ANNA:	⌈I know/ but-
LIZ:	⌊at least you CAN cry/ because I think you should let it out/
ANNA:	but it's bad/ because it makes ⌈them think
SUE:	⌊ I know/ <GROANS>
LIZ:	it's when you don't ⌊cry/
ANNA:	you're a wimp/
SUE:	yeah/
LIZ:	yeah/

Anna, like Becky and Hannah, talks about an episode that is characterized by strong emotion, which she responded to by crying. The three friends are revealed as sharing the assumption that if someone significant, such as your boss, is displeased with you, then crying is a 'normal' reaction. But they talk about this reaction with more ambivalence than Becky and her friends. Anna wonders if crying was the appropriate response to her boss's statement that she is a 'crap manager'. She wonders if she should have punched him on the nose (thus revealing an awareness that anger rather than sadness might have been her chief emotion). Liz supports her in her account of herself, taking the position that it's better to 'let it out', but Sue's advice is to stay calm ('Don't let it get to you'). Liz implicitly alludes to the gendered nature of crying when she says *at least you CAN cry*, implying that there are those who can't — men. Anna herself worries that crying is a weak move: it may perform femininity but it also performs powerlessness, which is not the impression Anna wants to give to her male boss.

In the next example these same three friends talk about assertiveness training.

[topic = assertiveness courses]

ANNA:	Linda's going on an assertiveness training course at work/

ANNA:	⌈ I ought to go with her/
SUE:	⌊ J o h n' s M u m went on one/
SUE:	I'd love to go on one/

ANNA:	assertiveness?=
SUE:	=assertiveness/ and she said "I only- I'm only doing it
LIZ:	I really would/

SUE:	so that I can be like you Susan"/ I said "But I'm not assertive"/

SUE:	I mean she's more assertive than anyone I know/

There seems to be an underlying assumption here that assertiveness training is for women: both the people mentioned in association with it are female — Linda from Anna's office and John's mum (Sue's mother-in-law). (However, Sue's claim that her mother-in-law is *more assertive than anyone I know* is ambiguous: does *anyone* refer to all Sue's acquaintances, or just to women she knows?) Both Anna and Liz express positive attitudes to the idea of assertiveness training: they both say they would like to go on a course. Sue is more sceptical. Her statement *John's Mum went on one* communicates 'everyone's doing it these days', and her brief story about what John's mother said to her reveals a profound gap between John's mother's reading of Sue as assertive and her own sense of herself as unassertive, with a parallel discrepancy in her sense of her mother-in-law as very assertive and not in need of any training. As women move into more prominent positions in the workplace, we have to juggle with our self-presentation to find ways to perform ourselves as both competent and at the same time feminine. Whether assertiveness is the answer is unclear; certainly the rhetoric that women need some kind of training perpetuates the idea that it is women who don't fit in the public sphere and therefore women who have to change.

The final example is an instance of a woman sharing her sense of achievement with her friends. Janet has been for interview; the following extract shows her responding to her friend's request to 'tell us about it'.

[Janet's job interview]

MEG: did you get your job?
MARY: oh did you go for a job? <HIGH, SURPRISED>

MEG: ((xxxx))
JANET: ((xxxx))
JEN: what job?
MARY: tell us about it/

JANET: I was- four people got interviewed the same day as I did/
MARY: ((four

ANN: hello Bea/
JANET: and they rang me up- that was on the . Tuesday/
MARY: other people/))

[general noise involving Bea's arrival]

JANET: they've still got one more person to interview/ ⌈somebody got mugged
MARY: ⌊what job is it?

JANET: on the day of the inter⌈view/ and so they said they were
HELEN: ⌊oh hell/

JANET: interviewing her at the end of last week/ cos they couldn't not

----

JANET: interview her just 'cos she'd got mugged=
MEG: ⌈so anyway
BEA: =no that would be ⌊((very

JANET: =they told me that there was only
MEG: they told you that apart from that=
BEA: unfair/))

JANET: me and her=   =it's external affairs officer for the
MARY: =what job is it?=

JANET: Regional Health Authority=
MARY: =oh I remember/ I remember you were- yes/

JANET: it's quite a good job=   =I was really good in this interview
MARY: =yes/
HELEN: yes=

JANET: because I was so unbothered about whether I got the job/ I think

----

JANET: that's the actual ⌈crunch of ⌈ the thing=   =it takes the pressure
HELEN: ⌊mhm/ �| =mhm=   mhm/
JEN: ⌊Meg's told me that/

JANET: off you enTIREly if you-   if you know it's not all or nothing/
HELEN: yes/

Although the five other women present all contribute in various ways to this stretch of talk, Janet's story is the focus of attention. It's important to note that women friends allow each other space not just to complain or talk about problems, but also to talk about successes and feelings of achievement. In this example, Janet asserts that the job is *quite a good job* and that she was *really good* in the interview. This is a much more forceful version of femininity, and the interest that Janet's friends display in the details of her story shows that this story has resonance for them all as potential job-seekers, women who want to succeed in the public world outside the home. At the same time, Janet explains her good self-presentation in terms of not caring about the outcome (because she already has a job). The modesty of this claim balances her description of herself as 'really good'. (Compare this with Sue's denial of herself as being assertive.) This balancing act shows that even with close friends, presenting oneself as competent rather than weak or vulnerable has to be done with care; women have to avoid the accusation of 'showing off'.

All these examples, as well as showing female speakers talking *about* issues connected with femininity and self-presentation, also show girls and women *doing* femininity. They present themselves as different kinds of woman, concerned both about their external appearance and about social performance, sometimes more emotional, sometimes more hard-nosed. The talk we do in our daily lives gives us access to these different modes of being, these different versions of femininity. This is because language plays a crucial part in structuring our experience.

3. Language and the construction of different 'selves'

It would be more accurate to say that **discourse**[2], rather than language, plays a crucial part in structuring our experience. The whole idea of 'language' is something of a fiction: what we normally refer to as 'language' can more realistically be seen as a heterogeneous collection of discourses (see Gavey 1989; Lee 1992). Each of us has access to a range of discourses, and it is these different discourses which give us access to, or enable us to perform, different 'selves'. A discourse can be conceptualised as a 'system of statements which cohere around common meanings and values' (Hollway 1983: 131). So for example in contemporary Britain there are discourses which can be labelled 'conservative' — that is, discourses which emphasize values and

meanings where the status quo is cherished, and there are discourses which could be labelled 'patriarchal' — that is, discourses which emphasize meanings and values which assume the superiority of males. Dominant discourses such as these appear 'natural': they are powerful precisely because they are able to make invisible the fact that they are just one among many different discourses.

Theorizing language in this way is still new in linguistics (to the extent that many linguists would not regard analysis in terms of discourses as being part of linguistics).[3] One of the advantages of talking about 'discourses' rather than about 'language' is that the concept 'discourse' acknowledges the value-laden nature of language. There is no neutral discourse: whenever we speak we have to choose between different systems of meaning, different sets of values. This approach allows us to show how language is implicated in our construction of different 'selves': different discourses position us in different ways in relation to the world.

Using the phrase 'discourses position us' gives the impression that speakers are passive, are at the mercy of different discourses. But language use is *dynamic*: we make choices when we speak; we can resist and subvert. Social and cultural change are possible precisely because we do not use the discourses available to us uncritically, but participate actively in the construction of meaning. Talk is particularly significant in our construction and re-construction of ourselves as women, as gendered subjects. As Simone de Beauvoir said, 'One is not born a woman, one becomes one' (de Beauvoir 1988), and we go on 'becoming' all through life. This is done in many different ways, through all aspects of behaviour, through the way we dress, the way we move, but particularly through the way we talk.. Each time we speak, we are saying, "This is (a version of) me", and, as I've argued, we are also saying, "I am a woman", because the "I"/"me" is always gendered. How this is done has been illustrated briefly in the opening section of the paper. In the rest of the paper I propose to examine the conversations of these women friends to explore some of the tensions arising from **competing** versions of what it is to be a woman, and to pinpoint the resistant discourses available to women today.

4.   Competing discourses

To clarify what I mean by discourse, and to demonstrate how discourses can position us differently in relation to the world, I'll begin by looking at a few brief examples. The first two both come from conversations about mothers. In the first, Meg is talking about the function of funerals:

MEG: I would see it as honouring her memory in some way/

The second comes at a point in conversation when Sue has stated that she phones her mother but her mother never phones her.

SUE: ⎡((xx)) I'm not very close to my mother really/
LIZ: ⎣cos most mothers are a pain in the bum/

In the first example, Meg is positioned as a loving and dutiful daughter. She and her friends discuss whether it would be taboo to miss your mother's funeral. They draw on a dominant discourse where the family is revered and parents are to be honoured, a discourse which upholds the taboo against missing your mother's funeral. The second example represents mothers in a very different way. Here Sue and Liz resist dominant discourses of the family and express feelings which reveal a different picture of mother-daughter relations. This discourse challenges the hegemonic idea that all families are happy and all parents benevolent. We have all probably experienced both positions, and may even hold both views simultaneously. This is possible because of the existence of alternative discourses, alternative world views.

The next two examples also draw on discourses relating to the family; they both come from conversations about children. In the first, Pat tells Karen about the end of term plays at her children's primary school.

[topic = end of term school plays]

KAREN: did Peter do his song?   was he good?
PAT: yes/   he was marvellous/

KAREN: oh the-
PAT: he was marvellous/ every kid in it was marvellous/

KAREN: I think they always are/
PAT:

The second example comes at a moment in a conversation between Anna, Liz and Sue where they have been talking about a family they all know with difficult children. Their expression of negative feelings about these particular children leads them to consider their attitude to children in general.

```
ANNA:
SUE:
LIZ:        I think it's a- . a fallacy as well that you like every child/
```

```
ANNA:                       no/ . that's right/
SUE:        mhm/                              I still quite often don't like
LIZ:        cos you don't/
```

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ANNA:                  <LAUGHS>
SUE:        children/  <LAUGHS>
LIZ:                            actually I think you particularly dislike your own/
```

Again, we can see the clash between the dominant discourse, the dominant world view, which says that children are "marvellous", and where all mothers take pride in their child's achievements, and an alternative discourse which asserts that not all children are likeable and that it is not compulsory for adults to like all children. For women speakers, particularly women who are themselves mothers (Sue and Liz), this is a very subversive discourse. Dominant ideas of femininity do not allow for the expression of negative feelings about children. Anna, Sue and Liz support each other in sustaining a radically different view, one which starts with the proposition 'you don't like every child' (Liz, supported by Anna), which moves on to 'I quite often don't like children' (Sue)[4], and then to 'I think you particularly dislike your own' (Liz), a very strong position which directly challenges the idea of women as loving, caring, nurturing beings for whom having children is the ultimate experience of their lives.

Finally, here are two examples drawn from talk about the body and appearance. The first arises in a conversation where Pat shows Karen her new sundress and they discuss the new style and whether it makes you look fat.

[topic = new sundress]

```
KAREN:    you'll look at yourself in the mirror and you'll think
```

```
KAREN:    "God I look fat"/
```

The second example comes in a conversation where Hannah has called Jessica's thighs fat, Jessica has protested at this and Becky (in the role of peacemaker) has insisted that hers are unpleasantly thin (*mine are skinny as a pencil — ugh!*). Hannah then suggests that they would both be happier if Jessica gave some of her fat to Becky.

[topic = size of Jessica and Becky's thighs]
HANNAH: well if you think your thighs are fat and you think your thighs are
HANNAH: thin/ you just scrape off a bit of fat and plaster it on/

Both these examples draw on a world view which insists that women should maintain their bodies at a size which accords with current fashion (these days, this means slim). Hannah takes up a resistant position in relation to that view, by making fun of Jessica and Becky. Karen and Pat by contrast adopt a discourse which positions them as accepting the dominant world view. Their conversation is full of references to size and appearance — Karen says later in the same conversation (with reference to some dresses she's seen in the market) *the thing is with them you've got to be ever so skinny I think to wear them*. Moreover, where the ideology imposed by this dominant discourse clashes with reality, in other words, when the perfect body constructed by the dominant discourse doesn't match our actual bodies, we tend to assume that it is we who are at fault. Note how Pat and Karen use laughter to help them deal with the tension produced by the clash between the ideal and the real:

KAREN: I've only got about four inches between my bust and my waist/	
PAT: yeah/	
KAREN: <LAUGHS>	
PAT: <LAUGHS> you sound quite deformed <LAUGHS>	

These examples give some idea of the conflicts surrounding contemporary ideas of femininity. The dominant discourse constitutes women as loving, dutiful (in relation to parents), uncritical (in relation to children), and caring about our appearance, in particular by trying to stay slim. But as some of the examples illustrate, women are not passive in the face of this dominant ideology: we can resist by drawing on alternative discourses where we assert the right to say that sometimes we can't stand our mothers or sometimes our kids drive us mad, or where we mock the dominant view of ideal thigh size.

5.   Competing views of men

The dominant discourses in our society teach us to see ourselves in relation to
men. Inasfar as dominant discourses place men at the centre of the universe,
then women are always marginal and only have meaning when fulfilling roles
that are significant for men, as mother, as partner, as daughter. In this section
I shall look at some of the ways in which women (and girls) talk about men.
Our talk about men does powerful work in our construction of ourselves as
(certain kinds of) feminine subject.[5] It is certainly noticeable that girls in their
early teens start talking compulsively about boys, as part of the negotiation
of identity involved in the transition from girlhood to womanhood. I'll begin
with two examples from girls in my sample (Emily is sixteen years old, Becky
fourteen):

[talking about poster of pop star]
EMILY: what a hunk!

[talking about boy at school]
- -
BECKY: did you really know?   that I still fancied Damien?
CLAIRE: what?
JESS: yeah/
- -
BECKY: I was too embarrassed to admit it though/
- -

Adolescent girls relate both to male fantasy figures such as singers and film
stars, and to real boys (boys such as Damien who they go to school with).
Emily, in the first of these examples, is more outspoken in her admiration for
the man pictured in the poster on Gwen's wall than Becky is about Damien in
the second. Where the male in question is known, then there is embarrassment
as well as more positive feelings. But both examples draw on vocabulary
— *hunk, fancy* — that was not present in the girls' talk a few years earlier,[6]
vocabulary which constitutes them as heterosexual feminine subjects.

When the adult women in my sample talk about men in their lives, we find
the whole gamut of emotions from love through amused tolerance to anger and
contempt. The first two examples both come from interviews I carried out with
women participating in the research[7]:

[talking about husband]
JILL: in a funny way I suppose Roger's my best friend/

[talking about husband]
MARY: well my partner's my friend you see/ [...] if you like Dave's my best
            friend/ so- so I feel totally relaxed with him/ and [...] I look
            forward to doing more things together/

While Jill and Mary express very positive feelings about their partners, Pat's
story about her partner in the next example is more critical. But despite her
evaluation of his characteristic behaviour as *dreadful*, her feelings are clearly
affectionate rather than hostile.

[talking about husband]

PAT: he gives me these little um . notes when he sends me shopping/ you
            ought to see the notes I get with anything that I don't actually .
            deal with myself/ like framing bits or anything like that/ you get
            this long sort of paragraph/ which more or less starts with "Go out
----
PAT: of the house/ proceed down the road" <LAUGHS> you know/
KAREN: I know/

PAT: sometimes there's a map of where the shop is/ and sometimes there's
            a little drawing of what the thing ought to look like/ and I always
            play to the gallery by going into the shop and showing them the
----
PAT: note/ <LAUGHS>   ⌈and they fall ⌈about/
KAREN: absolutely/ ⌊why not/   ⌊about/ that's right/

PAT: dreadful/

Sue's criticism of her husband in the next example can not be described as af-
fectionate. But her complaints about the noisiness of his music-making (which
is a recurrent feature of her conversations with Anna and Liz) occur against a
background where John is seen by all three women as a good bloke, in com-
parison with men in Anna and Liz's lives.

[Sue's husband's music gets louder]

SUE: I mean how can you live with this/
LIZ: well I know its difficult when

SUE: ⌈oh it drives you insane/
LIZ: you've got a man around ⌊but-

The four examples I've given so far are all from speakers who are married. But among the women I've recorded are several who are divorced or separated The next two examples come from moments in conversation where an estranged or ex-husband is the subject of conversation. (The first of these I'm including deliberately as a warning of the penalties which can be incurred by anyone unwise or unethical enough to record their friends surreptitiously.[8])

[discussing Jen's arrangements to get her ex-husband to help with her move to London]

MEG:	I mean I wouldn't um rely on him for something as vital as
MEG:	that/

[...] [*Jen leaves room to answer phone*]

SALLY:	your faces when <u>Jennifer said that- that Paul was going to do</u>
MEG:	<LAUGHS--

SALLY:	<u>the move/</u> .hh <u>I wish I'd got a camera</u>/<LAUGHING>((it)) was
MEG:	-----> <LAUGHS------

SALLY:	sort of-((xx)) in total disbelief/ I think the most difficult
MEG:	---------> mhm/

SALLY:	is- is that when you've loved someone/ you- you half the time you

SALLY:	forget their faults ⌈ don't you? and still maybe love them/ ....
MEG:	⌊ yeah/

Note the way Meg hedges her critical comments at the beginning of this example, prefacing what she says with *I mean* and then phrasing her utterance in a hypothetical way with *would.* Hedges are necessary as this is a very face-threatening subject. Sally's comments avoid outright criticism of me (Jen) by adopting a world-view where women are seen to make bad decisions or act stupidly because their judgement is clouded by emotion. While this discourse provides women with an excuse for bad decisions of stupid behaviour, it positions us as emotional, as non-rational.

The second of these examples focusses more explicitly on the male: Liz and Sue together describe Liz's husband's behaviour after he left Liz and the two children.

[vindictiveness of estranged husbands]

LIZ:	I was like terrified/ I thought I was

| LIZ: | going to ((be)) on the ⌈streets/ |
| SUE: | ⌊I think he was so horrible as well/ |

| LIZ: | ⌈he was not supportive at all/ |
| SUE: | ⌊I mean he was really nasty/ but he wasn't even not supportive/ |

| LIZ: | ⌈oh he was vindictive/ he really wanted me to suffer/ |
| SUE: | he was . vindic ⌊tive/   yeah/ |

| LIZ: | ⌈he really wanted-   yeah/ |
| SUE: | ⌊and his children/ that was the thing/   his children to go with |

| SUE: | it/ oh . horrible/ |

Here, Sue and Liz explicitly label the man as bad, using words like *horrible, nasty, vindictive*. But at the same time, the man is portrayed as active, the women as more passive: *I was like terrified, he really wanted me to suffer*. And it is only because of Sue's intervention that Liz amends the weaker *not supportive* to the stronger *vindictive*.

The final example comes from a discussion of coupledom which took place between three women. During the course of this talk, Sue, Liz and Anna ponder whether it is better to be in a couple or independent. Anna comes down on the side of independence:

[discussing the relative merits of coupledom and independence]
ANNA: I just sometimes think I probably never will get married again/ or
                never be with anybody again/ 'cos I just love my life on my own/

While the women in these examples are positioned in a variety of ways — as women who love men, as women who are critical of men, as women who prefer to live alone — they all share the dominant world view in which heterosocial relations are seen as the norm. In other words, for all these women (and for the girls in my sample) the construction of themselves as feminine involves simultaneously the construction of themselves as heterosocial. As is typical of dominant discourses, this process is virtually invisible: it is the achievement of a dominant discourse that a certain world view is taken for granted, so that criticism or resistance becomes very difficult. And because my sample contains no women who are lesbian, then a non-heterosocial world-view is not voiced.

6. Resistant discourses

However, resistance to the androcentric norms of the dominant culture does occur. There is evidence in the conversations that the women in my sample have access not only to dominant (androcentric) discourses but also to resistant discourses, particularly feminist discourses, which make alternative world views, and alternative femininities, possible. In the final example above, we heard Anna resisting the normative pressures to live as part of a (heterosexual) couple. Here are four more examples of women using resistant discourses.

The first draws on a psychotherapeutic discourse which challenges the construct 'the happy family'.

[topic = Anna's mother and her sister Diana]
- -
ANNA: but now looking back on it she [A's mother] was really bad to her/
SUE: mhm/
LIZ: why?
- -
ANNA: and ⌈Diana says that-
SUE: ⌊it's funny because your mum holds up the thing
LIZ: I wonder why/
- -
ANNA: yeah/   ⌈that's right/ well that's-
SUE: of the happy family quite a lot doesn't⌊she?
- -
ANNA: you have to don't you? that's the ⌈conspiracy/
SUE: yeah/   ⌊that's it/
- -

Anna resists the normative pressures to speak of her family and of relationships between her mother and her siblings in glowing terms. She self-discloses to her friends about some of the problems in her family and, with Sue's support, challenges the idea of the happy family and names the discourse that promotes it a 'conspiracy'.

The next example shows how women friends help each other to struggle against prevailing discourses. Helen challenges me — and the discourse I adopt — by refusing to accept my description of recent events in my life.

[talking about jobs]
- -
HELEN: you haven't been applying for jobs as well have you?   oh have you?
JEN: yes/
- -

```
-----------------------------------------------------------------
HELEN:                          that's right/   so-
JEN:        there's one at Cambridge/ <LAUGHS>  Cambridge! <LAUGHING>
-----------------------------------------------------------------
HELEN:     so have you applied ⌈for it?        ⌈oh no but that's TERRIBLE
JEN:                           ⌊oh what hubris/ ⌊%honestly%
-----------------------------------------------------------------
HELEN:     though isn't it? <HIGH, APPALLED> I mean ⌈you can't imagine any men
JEN:                                               ⌊oh you mean I'm being ((xx))-
-----------------------------------------------------------------
HELEN:     sitting round/ . saying about their applications that it's hubris/
JEN:
-----------------------------------------------------------------
HELEN:                                you're conditioned to think that/
JEN:        oh all right/ <MOCK GRUMPY>
-----------------------------------------------------------------
```

Helen draws on a liberal feminist discourse which resists the idea that women
and men do things differently. She also draws on the feminist idea that sociali-
sation rather than biology determines our sense of ourselves as inferior, since
we are socialised to internalize such views. In this brief dialogue we see how
friends can challenge each other's world-view at the same time as supporting
each other, since in effect Helen is saying 'You have as good a right as any
man to apply for a job at Cambridge University'. We can accept each other's
challenges — and can therefore adopt more radical positions — because we
feel supported and validated by each other.

The next example comes from a discussion of child abuse. This discussion
again focusses on the family, but this time the emphasis is on the tendency to
blame the mother when families malfunction.

[discussion of child abuse]
MEG: one of the things often said about the incestuous family is that um
           it's really the mother's fault one way or another/ [...] I mean I'm so
           terrified of joining in the blaming of mothers/ [...]
MARY: but I mean so much research is male-dominated/ I mean it's just- it's
           staggering isn't it?

Here we find a group of women discussing a topic which forces them to
consider the nature of patriarchy. They struggle to avoid adopting a more
conventional world-view on the family and on sexuality, and draw on a
feminist discourse to challenge such views, explicitly naming *the blaming
of mothers* as the construction of a more patriarchal discourse, and using the
phrase *male-dominated*, which allies them all with a feminist position which
sees male-female relations in terms of dominance and oppression. (But it's

interesting to note the presence of the phrase *the incestuous family*, a phrase which does the work of concealing *who* in the family abuses other members of that family, and thus a phrase which clearly serves patriarchal, not feminist, interests.[9])

The last example comes in a stretch of conversation where Liz and Anna have been telling anecdotes about men in their lives (brothers, ex-husbands) who have let them down or behaved badly.

[talking about the inadequacy of some men]

```
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
ANNA:      women are just vastly superior/                    ⌈thank god I'm a
LIZ:                                    they ARE/ VASTly ⌊superior/
SUE:                                    <LAUGHS------------------------------
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
ANNA:      woman/ and not like that/
LIZ:                              yeah/
SUE:       ------------------------------------>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Anna's statement draws on a radical feminist discourse which claims that, far from being inferior, women are in fact superior. This is a very powerful discourse, since it positions women as being positive about themselves, it allows us to like ourselves and to say things like *thank god I'm a woman.* But Sue's laughter indicates that these three friends make these remarks fully aware of the discrepancy between what they are saying and dominant ideas about women and men. The laughter signals that they can amuse themselves by expressing this view to each other, but suggests that they may be ambivalent about its relevance to their lives in the outside world.

7.   Tensions and contradictions

Given the range of world-views available to us, it is not surprising that we present ourselves in talk as different kinds of woman, sometimes more forceful and assertive, sometimes more passive and ineffectual, The clash between different world views produces tensions and contradictions in our talk, where competing discourses come into contact with each other. Earlier brief examples have illustrated that we draw on a range of discourses, but in thus section I want to look at a few longer examples to show how different discourses (and different world views) co-exist in a single conversation.

First, here's an extract from a conversation between Hannah, Becky, Claire and Jessica when they are fourteen years old. The topic is periods, and at this point they are talking about mood swings.

HANNAH: everything seemed to be going wrong and everything/

HANNAH: it was horrible/ [...] it was really horrible

HANNAH: ⌈that day/
CLAIRE: ⌈do you get PMT ((xxx))
JESS: ⌊but you know when I ⌊had that really bad . um

HANNAH: <LAUGHS>
BECKY: yeah/   I'm a bitch/ <LAUGHS>   I'm
JESS: pre-menstrual tension/

HANNAH: so I've noticed/ no-   no but ⌈some-
BECKY: REally HORrible/   no but-   ⌊so whenever

HANNAH: ="Right I might be horrible
BECKY: I'm on my period I say to Harriet um=

HANNAH: to you but=
BECKY: = "Don't take any notice"/

This passage is part of a more lengthy chain of mutual self-disclosure on the subject of mood swings. The girls in turn tell anecdotes to illustrate how pre-menstrual tension affects them. Throughout this section of the conversation at least three discourses are simultaneously present: a medical discourse, a repressive discourse, and a more resistant feminist discourse. The friends choose words such as *pre-menstrual tension* in their talk about their periods; these words are part of a medical discourse. A feminist discourse expressing solidarity and sisterhood is realised through overlapping turns, expressions of agreement, and through the joint construction of text (Jenny and Harriet share in constructing the utterance *so whenever I'm on my period I say to Harriet um "Right I might be horrible to you but don't take any notice"*). The sequence of self-disclosing anecdotes (here we have the end of Hannah's and the beginning of Becky's) is another feature of this discourse. The third discourse present is a discourse of repression: the girls jointly represent themselves as beings who are **affected**, at the mercy of larger forces, rather than as **agents**, in control of their lives. This is realised through their choice of stative verbs: *was, had, got,* and through the use of negative words such as *horrible* and *bitch*. Through the use of these discourses the girls are simultaneously positioned as having solidarity with each other and as oppressed.

Contradictions are also apparent if we look at a longer extract from the conversation where Anna says *women are just vastly superior.* The subject of men's inadequacy is part of the larger topic Relationships, and follows on from the discussion of the Obedient Husband and of coupledom. Anna tells a story about the break-up of her last relationship, and complains that men seem to find it hard to understand when a relationship is over. Liz responds with a story about her ex-husband who had come round the previous weekend to help her clear out her loft. She describes wryly how she had 'made a point of it being my loft and my rubbish', so she ends up doing most of the work, and as she leaves for her last trip to the dump she recounts how her ex-husband, now sitting watching football on television, got out a five pound note and asked her to buy him some fish and chips. Her point is that she considers such behaviour appalling (though she does in fact buy his fish and chips). Anna then tells a matching story about her brother (Mark) who leaned against the kitchen door, complaining of depression, while she was 'humping twenty-five kilos of cement across the kitchen'. It is at this point that Anna says that women are superior:

```
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ANNA:    I mean in a way it doesn't upset me things like that any more/
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ANNA:    ⌈cos I just laugh/ cos I think well women are just
LIZ:     ⌊no they don't upset you/ you laugh about it/ yes/
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ANNA:    vastly superior/            ⌈thank god I'm a woman/ and
LIZ:              they ARE/ VASTly   ⌊superior/
SUE:                   <LAUGHS - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ANNA:    not like that/
LIZ:              yeah/
SUE:     - - - - - - - - - - - - >
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
```

This leads into a long discussion between the three friends about men and the reasons for some of them being so inadequate. It is this last section that I want to examine in some detail. The three friends move from a radical discourse which is self-affirming, which asserts the value of women, to an oppressive, woman-blaming discourse:

```
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ANNA:    why though why are boys like that? why are they?
SUE:                            it must be ((about having the
LIZ:                                  boys ARE
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
```

ANNA:	I mean my mother- my mother and my youngest sister both ring Mark up
SUE:	xxx too x apart))
LIZ:	like that/

ANNA:	regularly/ and my- my younger sister Felicity writes to him/ and she

ANNA:	says . um "We- Mummy and I are really worried about you 'cos you're

ANNA:	so depressed/ and you know if there's anything we can do just give us

ANNA:	a ring"/ and I said to her "But it makes him worse"=
LIZ:	=yeah/
SUE:	=yeah/

ANNA:	⌈he's been like it since my father died/ and that's over a year
LIZ:	⌊it feeds it/ yeah/ yeah/

ANNA:	now/ and it all affected us very badly/ but you know life is
LIZ:	yeah/ yeah/

ANNA:	to get on with= =and the more you pander to him being depressed/
LIZ:	=yeah=

ANNA:	and telling him "Oh poor thing never mind"= ⌈he's
LIZ:	=⌈the more he'll ⌊ revel
SUE:	=⌊no he loves it/

ANNA:	going to get worse/ it makes me so cross/
LIZ:	in it/ yes/ that's right/

ANNA:	**and I think in a- in a w- in a way it's women who perpetuate that/**

ANNA:	it's women who . despise weak men and then just produce more of
SUE:	oh yeah/

ANNA:	them/ and say to them you know "Don't worry darling/ it'll all be all

ANNA:	right/ and you don't have to-
SUE:	"I'll look after you"/ <LAUGHS>

Anna, focussing on the particular case of her brother, argues that it is her mother who is to blame, and generalizes from this that women are to blame for producing weak men. Liz and Sue go along with this argument. They add minimal responses as well as more substantive forms of agreement; they also jointly construct utterances with Anna: Anna's *the more you pander to him...* is completed by Liz with *the more he'll revel in it*, and Anna's *it's women who ... say to them ... "Don't worry darling it'll be all right"* is completed by Sue with *"I'll look after you"*. Liz then develops this woman-blaming theme, introducing the notion of the 'strong' woman.

```
LIZ:        it's probably because everybody's- if he's had strong women in the
```

```
ANNA:                        it probably is/                    ⌈it probably-
SUE:              oh god/      yes/                             │that's right/
LIZ:        house/   and    other   people- and other people have made│decisions
```

```
ANNA:                    ⌈yes/       it's awful I know/ I do appreciate that/ I mean I'm
SUE:                     │
LIZ:        FOR him      ⌊you see/
```

```
ANNA:       quite bombastic/ [SUE EXITS TO GO TO LOO]
```

At this point, Anna starts to blame herself rather than her mother for her brother's weakness. She includes herself in the category 'strong women' with her apologetic statement *I'm quite bombastic*. This switch from mothers to themselves is continued by Liz, who starts to talk about her worries about her own son, who is away at boarding school.

```
LIZ:        I worry that I'm too strong/ that's the rea- one of the reasons I
```

```
ANNA:                                                    ⌈yes/
LIZ:        sent Dean away/ [...] because um I'm strong/ and he⌊leans on me
```

```
ANNA:                      Mark does it/ I mean ⌈I-     I pay all the bills/
LIZ:        for decisions/                      ⌊yeah/
```

```
ANNA:       I  ⌈do the mortgage/ I do the insurance/ ⌈I- .hh I ring up the bank
LIZ:           ⌊yeah/                                 ⌊yeah/
```

```
ANNA:       when they won't give us an overdraft/ I negotiate the building
LIZ:
```

```
ANNA:       society when they won't ⌈lend us m-      the amount-
LIZ:                                ⌊well that starts           from being
```

```
ANNA:                   =it does/ it does/ yeah/ but at the same time . I just
LIZ:        very young=
```

```
ANNA:       think if I don't do it/ HE's not going to do it/ and then that's
```

```
ANNA:       ⌈more worry back on me    because     it's not being done/
LIZ:        ⌊but you-                 yeah/    and   you- you-   you'd have to do it
```

```
ANNA:                                               yeah/ it's easier to do it for
LIZ:        for yourself anyway/ so you do it/
```

```
ANNA:       both of you/
```

In the above passage, Anna and Liz collude in a view of themselves as strong and therefore potentially dangerous to males who live with them. They then

collaborate in arguing that they are forced to be active and competent because if they weren't, things wouldn't get done and they would be the ones to suffer. Having worked themselves into a position where they feel they have a good reason for taking responsibility for the bills and the mortgage, Liz initiates a more positive move by asserting that women are normally prevented from realising how easy it is to run your own life — to deal with the *bills and mortgages and everything else*.

LIZ:	but it's a myth you know/ I wish a lot of women would
LIZ:	realize that it's a complete and utter myth/ . this- this being on
LIZ:	your ow- I mean . when I was first- when I was first thrown out
LIZ:	there on my own if you like/ I was bloody terrified/ bills and
ANNA:	⌈yeah/ but how much have you learnt since you
LIZ:	mortgages and⌊everything else/ but- but yeah
ANNA:	first ((xx))
LIZ:	but once you get on with it there's nothing- there's- .
ANNA:	there's nothing ⌈to it really/
LIZ:	⌊there's nothing to it/

This last section of their talk about women's competence and men's incompetence represents a dramatic shift of position. Here, rather than bewailing her competence, Liz is celebrating it. And rather than claiming that women as a group are powerful and dangerous and produce weak and damaged men, she argues that women are prevented from understanding how easy it is to be independent (though she doesn't name *who* prevents this). She feels strongly that women should be given the information they need — and thus, she implies, should have the right to be competent autonomous people in their own right. This bit of talk ends with the triumphant repetition of the phrase *there's nothing to it* by both Liz and Anna. So we see Liz and Anna (with Sue in the earlier part) holding the contradictory positions that (i) men are weak; (ii) women are superior to men; (iii) it's good to be a woman; (iv) women are too strong; (v) women are to blame for men's weakness; (vi) women have to be strong/competent because otherwise nothing would get done; (vii) running a house is easy; (viii) women are misled into thinking it's difficult.

At the heart of these contradictions is ambivalence about being 'strong'. These women friends are positioned by a patriarchal discourse to see strength as incompatibile with femininity and somehow bad, even dangerous. Simulta-

neously, their exposure to resistant feminist discourses means they also have a sense of strength as good, as part of a different type of femininity, a femininity which is distinct from masculinity but not inferior to it. The problem seems to be that they find it hard to sustain the latter, feminist position: their assertions that they are strong trigger anxiety about weakness in men. In other words, they fall back onto a world view that sees all relationships in hierarchical terms, so if one group is strong, the other group must be weak (or less strong), and if men are weak, that is somehow women's responsibility.

Women's anxiety about our strength is closely related to our ambivalence about power. I've chosen the final extract to show a woman using a more powerful discourse. Meg, in the next example, starts to talk about her experience on an interview panel. This follows on from Janet's story about her recent interview for a job. But where Janet is telling a story where she, the protagonist, was an interviewee, Meg chooses to tell a story where she is in the powerful position of being one of the interviewers. There are several discourses present in the extract, but I want to focus on two: a powerful professional discourse, and a sexist patriarchal discourse.

[topic = interviews]

MEG:	we did the interviews for the- {...} you know I'd been shortlisting/ and there were twenty-four/ and um inCREDibly well-qualified/ and the twenty-four that applied for er nine places . all had um good degrees in psychology/ I mean and some of them had . M- M Phils and D Phils and um .hh PhDs/ you know they were very well qualified/ and . all- virtually all of them had done some . proper ongoing research into child abuse or-

MEG:	the M- it's called the M Clin Psychol/
MARY:	what's the course?

MEG:	it's the qualification I did/ ⌈masters in clinical ⌈psychology/
MARY:	⌊yes/ ⌊mhm/

MEG:	um . anyway we interviewed them on two days running/ Thursday and Friday/ and ((something)) really funny thing happened/ . one was an extremely pretty girl that's doing . um er er- what's the diploma? a- a- a Master's in Child Development at Newcastle with Professor Newton/ and she got a SPLENdid

MEG:	reference from Professor Newton/
JEN:	you used to have Professor

MEG:	⌈yeah/	yeah/	but s- and saying things
JEN:	Newton ⌊didn't you?		
HELEN:		did you? mhm/	

MEG: like- can't remember the girl's name/ Rachel I think/ saying um you know she's academically u- u- unimpeachable/ she's absolutely superb/ she's also an extremely nice girl/ and she's . the sort that joins in well at the party/ and is always- has al- always there- er also there for the washing up/

<LAUGHTER>

| MEG: | that was a nice little domestic note/ anyway um- |
| HELEN: | they wouldn't |

MEG:		⌈well there WAS
HELEN:	have said that about a bloke	⌈((xx))/
SALLY:		⌊I was going to ⌊say/

MEG: that/ um . anyway during the interview um . it went okay/ . um she's- she's the sort of- she has a very pleasant manner/ and she answered quite competently/ and at the end/ um David Black said to her um "You've been working with autistic children"/ she's done two special projects with autistic children/ [...] he said to her . um "Do you believe um there's any relationship between dyslexia and autism?"/ and

MEG:	she absolutely panicked/ <AGHAST> and it was TERRible for us
BEA:	heavens/
HELEN:	mhm/

MEG: to watch/

Meg presents herself here as a competent professional. This is done in part through the use of specialized vocabulary such as: *short-listing, clinical psychology, reference, dyslexia, autism* and abbreviated terms: *MPhil, D Phil, M Clin Psychol* which assume in-group knowledge. It's also done prosodically, with the rhythm and stress patterns of phrases like *she got a SPLENdid reference from Professor Newton* carrying powerful signals about social class and educational level which are readily understood by British English speakers. Meg also accomplishes professionalism through her presentation of herself as someone with agency, a doer, not a person who is done to: *I'd been short-listing; it's the qualification I did; we interviewed them...* which is implicitly contrasted with the young woman interviewee who is presented as *an extremely pretty girl* who has a *very pleasant manner* and who *answered quite competently.* The presentation of the young interviewee

is derogatory: Meg's description of her doesn't just accomplish power; it also accomplishes the oppression of women. Not only is the young woman called a 'girl' (thus reducing her to non-adult status), but she is described in terms of her appearance, which is clearly irrelevant to the situation. Later, Meg repeats Professor Newton's reference with approval, though its allusion to the young woman's willingness to wash up after parties is blatantly sexist. Meg initially describes this as *a nice little domestic note*, and it is only when Helen makes the comment *they wouldn't have said that about a bloke* that she concedes there might be a problem with this aspect of the reference.

It seems as though women like Meg — women who were among the first to take on more senior positions in professions like law and medicine and psychology — can only adopt a powerful role if they also take on the patriarchal values that normally accompany such power. So Meg's self-presentation here illustrates the tensions associated with doing femininity and power at the same time: Meg succeeds in doing power, but at the same time she presents herself as colluding in a world view that denigrates and trivializes women. The crux of her story to her friends is that a very talented young woman panicked in her interview — in other words, the younger woman lost all claim to competence by contrast with the calm professionals on the panel. Meg's self-presentation works in part because of the contrast between herself — calm, competent, professional — and the young woman who panics.

On the other hand, there are features of her talk which undermine the discourse of power. She hesitates or says *um* and *er* frequently, as well as stammering and repeating her words. She has brief lapses of memory when she appeals for help to her friends — *what's the diploma?*. She also includes hedges in her account — *you know, I mean, sort of*. In part, these 'lapses' are designed to reduce distance between herself and her addressees: women friends avoid playing the expert where possible. But these features of Meg's talk also accomplish a femininity that is not powerful, that needs help and support. This latter aspect of her talk demonstrates how problematic it is for us as women to claim power for ourselves.

8.   Conclusion

As the examples in this paper have illustrated, there is no single unified way of doing femininity, of being a woman. In contemporary Britain many different

versions of femininity are available to us. Different discourses give us access to different femininities. More mainline discourses position us in more conventional ways, while more radical or subversive discourses offer us alternative ways of being, alternative ways of doing femininity. We are unwittingly involved in the ceaseless struggle to define gender: as Chris Weedon puts it 'The nature of femininity and masculinity is one of the key sites of discursive struggle for the individual' (Weedon 1987: 98).

The meaning of 'woman' has changed through time, and at any given time will vary — between, for example, meanings associated with more madonna-like images of femininity and meanings associated with more whore-like images. There is no such thing as a 'woman'; the meaning of 'woman' will depend on which discourse the word occurs in, which spectacles we put on. 'Discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or "constitute" them; different discourses constitute key entities [such as 'woman'] ... in different ways.' (Fairclough 1992 3-4) What 'being a woman' means at this moment in late twentieth century Britain is a site of struggle, with dominant ideologies being challenged by more feminist ones.

It seems to me that the talk we do with our women friends is particularly important in terms of our sense of ourselves as women, because in our talk we collaborate in constructing a shared view of what constitutes womanhood. We also support each other in resisting particular versions of femininity and in preferring others, and we help each other (consciously or unconsciously) to reconcile conflicting or contradictory femininities. We do this as part of the ongoing work of doing friendship. .

Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions used for the conversational data are as follows:
1.   a slash (/) indicates the end of a tone group or chunk of talk, e.g.:
          she pushes him to the limit/
2.   a question mark indicates the end of a chunk of talk which I am analyzing as a question, e.g.:
          do you know anyone who's pregnant?
3.   a hyphen indicates an incomplete word or utterance, e.g.:
          he's got this twi- he's got this nervous twitch/
          I was- I was- I was stopped by a train/

4. pauses are indicated by a full stop (short pause — less than 0.5 seconds) or a dash (long pause), e.g.:

   he sort of . sat and read the newspaper/

5. a broken line marks the beginning of a stave and indicates that the lines enclosed by the lines are to be read simultaneously (like a musical score), e.g.:

   A : the squidgy stuff that they put on pizzas/
   B :   *Mozarell* ⌈*a/*
   C :   ⌊*Mozarella/*
   ----

6. an extended square bracket indicates the start of overlap between utterances, e.g.:

   A: *and they have newspapers and* ⌈ *stuff/*
   B: ⌊ *yes very good/*

7. an equals sign at the end of one speaker's utterance and at the start of the next utterance indicates the absence of a discernible gap, e.g.:

   A: because they're supposed to be=
   B: =adults/

8. double round parentheses indicate that there is doubt about the accuracy of the transcription:

   what's that ((mean))/ gayist/

9. where material is impossible to make out, it is represented as follows, ((xx)), e.g.:.

   you're ((xx))- you're prejudiced/

10. angled brackets give clarificatory information about underlined material, e.g.:

    why doesn't that creep — <u>*start to go wild/*</u> <LAUGHING>
    <u>*I can't help it*</u> <WHINEY VOICE>

11. capital letters are used for words/syllables uttered with emphasis:

    it's in MExico/

12. the symbol % encloses words or phrases that are spoken very quietly, e.g.:

    %bloody hell%

13. the symbol .hh indicates that the speaker takes a sharp intake of breath:

    .hh <u>*I wish I'd got a camera/*</u> <LAUGHING>

14. the symbol [...] indicates that material has been omitted, e.g.:

    Tom [...] says there's a German word to describe that/

Notes

2. The term 'discourse' is particularly associated with the work of Michel Foucault. For further discussion of Foucault's theories of discourse, see Fairclough 1992 ; Weedon 1987.

3. The analysis of linguistic texts in terms of discourse is associated with the branch of linguistics known as Critical Linguistics and with the work of Norman Fairclough — see in particular Fairclough 1992, Lee 1992.

4 At the time this conversation was recorded, Sue had gone back to college as a mature student to train as a primary school teacher.

5. The term 'subject' as used here pulls together three different strands of thought, one more political (we are not free but *subject* to the power of others), one more philosophical (we are thinking *subjects*, sites of consciousness) and one more grammatical (sentences have *subjects* — they are what the sentence is about). (See O'Sullivan 1983.) The word also gains meaning from its opposition to *object*, even though, ironically, the two words are often very close in meaning. Here, for example, it would be equally true to say 'our talk about men does powerful work in our construction of ourselves as feminine *objects*'. Showing how women are *objectified* in patriarchal discourses has been one of the goals of feminist discourse analysis.

6. I can say this with confidence about Hannah and her friends, since I have recordings of them since they were 12. But although I knew Emily when she was twelve, I only recorded her with her friends when they were sixteen, so I have no definite proof that her language changed.

7. There are few good example of positive talk about significant males in the conversational data. This could be because one of the chief functions of women's friendly talk is to allow us to talk about our anxieties and problems, and about our triumphs in the outside world. Ongoing good relationships do not seem to be a salient topic of conversation.

8. It had not crossed my mind that I might have to leave the room during recording. On this particular occasion I had to go and answer the phone, and my friends started to talk about me after I had left the room. I have only listened to the first few seconds of this talk, as it seems to me that I have absolutely no right to know what they said in my absence.

9. I am grateful to David Lee (personal correspondence) for alerting me to the slipperiness of this phrase.

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Race, gender and academic leadership

Conversations with black women scholars*

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Abstract

This paper discusses the meaning of leadership in challenging racial discrimination in an academic context. The empirical basis consists of interviews with a small number of Black women professors. First, attention is paid to the obstacles Black women professors identify in their career development within the academy. Second, it is shown how the women contribute to making education a tool for liberation. It will be argued that Black women's own experiences of exclusion form a fertile ground from which can be developed strategies of empowerment in support of Black students.

1. Introduction

The academy is a microcosm of society. The marginalization of Black women in the societal processes of racial-ethnic conflict, gender friction and class differentiation resonates also in colleges and universities. Forces within the academy operate to communicate that the images of 'Black women' and 'university professor' are considered mutually exclusive. Thus, when I recently asked a British Black woman colleague about the numerical representation at colleges and universities, she could barely identify a dozen of other Black female teachers or professors in the humanities and the social sciences. Even fewer Black female professors can be found in the Netherlands, the country where I reside, or in Denmark, Belgium, and Germany, our neighboring countries, let alone in Switzerland, Italy, Spain, France, or Portugal. The few of us who are part of the knowledge producing body within the academy

tend to work in isolation, whether in Europe or in the US. A sense of isolation may be felt even stronger by those of us who work from a perspective of critical race and gender theory, because exclusive politics within academia tend to marginalize research produced outside of the mainstream paradigms. A status of marginality is not by definition one of complete disadvantage, however. Black women can also make creative use of what Collins (1986; 1990) has called the outsider-within status. As outsiders-within Black women can provide a distinct view on the contradictions between the dominant group's formal adherence to equality and the reality in which practices of exclusion prevail.

My concern with issues of responsibility and accountability with respect to the work of scholars goes back to one of my early publications. In *Academic Racism* (Essed 1987), I criticized Dutch social scientist for denying the problem of racism and for spreading misinformation, through the mass media, about the nature of racism. Over the years I maintained a keen interest in racial practices at the higher levels of society (Essed, 1990, 1991, 1994a). Gradually, however, the focus of my concern moved from the reproductive side of racism towards the development of alternatives (Essed & Helwig, 1992; Essed, 1994b;1996). Both of these sides of racism are discussed in the present article, which is about Black women scholars who, motivated by their own experiences of exclusion, use their expertise in the area of race and ethnic relations, in attempting to develop alternative frameworks based on inclusion and empowerment.

2.   Gender is a racialized issue

An explosion of publications, during the past two decades, marked the emergence of the interdisciplinary fields of Black Women's Studies and Black Feminist Studies (1). The writings and political actions of Black women contributed to shifting the frameworks of what were once dominant White feminist middle class concepts in feminist theory, such as 'patriarchy', the 'family' 'reproduction' and 'motherhood' (Carby, 1982; Parmar, 1982; Collins, 1994). Moreover, it has been pointed out that 'race' does not only structure the experience of Black women, but of all women. Thus, Black women's writings generated critical self-reflection on the part of White feminist scholars in discovering their 'whiteness' (Caraway, 1991; Chaudhuri &

Strobel, 1992; Cock, 1992; Ware, 1992; Frankenberg, 1993). These and other achievements evidence that Black women in the academy contributed to the development and articulation of new epistemologies and to the empowerment of women. Little attention has been paid, however, to the problematic political positions of Black women in the academy and to the antagonistic conditions under which critical research and teaching is often taking place.

The majority of Black women who seek higher education, whether in Europe or in the US, attend predominantly White colleges and universities. Research shows that in predominantly White colleges Black women graduate students grow increasingly critical of their institutions. Dissatisfaction and negative feelings increase, but they facilitate assertiveness, the ability to cope and to survive, to deal with other people, articulateness, ideological consciousness and a general cultural broadening (Fleming, 1983). The same holds probably true for Black women professors. Black women scholars often work in isolation in White dominated colleges and universities. The numerical representation of Black women among European university professors is close to zero. Most of what has been published about the lives of US Black women scholars has come from autobiographies and other biographical documentation. Some of the literature has documented oral narratives of African American women, who went to college in the period before the second World War (Etter-Lewis, 1993). Furthermore, some attention has been paid to the education and career development of Black women who pursued a Ph.D. (Tobin, 1983). Other authors went on to utilize their own experiences as teachers in the academy, in critical essays about racism and the pedagogy of social change (Williams, 1991; Bannerji, 1991; Carty, 1991; hooks, 1984; 1989; James & Farmer, 1993; Davis, 1994).

Career development has never been an easy road for Black women. Race and racism are incontestable constraints on the lives of Black women professionals (Fullbright, 1986; Nkomo, 1988; Bell et al, 1993; Essed, 1994a). In a study of Black male and female managers' career opportunities and job satisfaction at about the same hierarchical level, and with the same rate of promotions, Nkomo & Cox (1989) found that although women had higher job performance ratings than the males, they received significantly less pay, but were otherwise equally involved in their work. Various other factors, like peripheral positions, lack of sponsorship and of important assignments frustrate Black women's motivation and mobility in organizations (Fernandez, 1981; 1991; Pettigrew & Martin, 1978; Essed, 1991).

There are no fundamental differences between the manifestations of exclusion Black women experience in business management and in university settings. The same mechanisms operate to marginalize and to problematize Black women and to repress opposition against racism (Bannerji, 1991; Carty, 1991; Essed, 1991). First, the lack of 'role models' puts Black students who aspire to become professors in a disadvantaged position compared to White women. Black women are underrepresented in relevant positions, such as the higher levels of the university administration, the editorial boards of mainstream journals and committees awarding scholarships or research grants. Second, Black women are routinely underestimated and, hence, do not get the same promotional advances as White women (Sokoloff, 1992). In a more rigid way than with respect to White women, Black women are confronted with artificial ceilings, which means having to meet higher demands than any other group, and having to be better qualified, more articulate, and more aggressive. As a result, Black women need more stamina to face inevitable setbacks (Carroll, 1982). To conclude, Black women professors have to deal with continuous forces of (gendered) racial exclusivity in the academy.

Black women professors are not merely victims, however. It may be presumed that due to the status, authority and other symbolic resources attached to their profession, college and university professors are in the position to benefit from available institutional opportunities to develop educational and intellectual leadership qualities. Leadership qualities include the courage to challenge situations taken for granted; an awareness of the situation of others; the ability to create, live and to transmit a vision; the charisma to encourage others to use the visionary image in order to empower themselves, the ability to cope with the loneliness attached to leadership roles, and a strong belief in oneself (Handy, 1992; Astin & Leland, 1991; James & Farmer, 1993; The Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, 1994; Hill & Ragland, 1995; Tucker, 1995). Against this background I discuss, in this article, the experiences of a small group of Black women professors at predominantly White universities in the US. They were interviewed for the purpose of a research project the context and theoretical framework of which will be explained shortly. The immediate aim of this article is to provide insight into the lived reality of Black women who, regardless of the difficulties and risks, challenge elitist, racist, and sexist ideologies and structures in higher education.

3. Methodology

The focus on the positioning of Black women in the academy constitutes part of a long-term cross-national project on gender, race-ethnic relations and leadership. The empirical data used for the purpose of this paper consist of accounts gathered in intensive interviews with a small group of Black women professors, six, aged 35–55, each representing a different field in the humanities or the social sciences: arts, history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and educational sciences. Five were interviewed in California, in the period of 1985-1986. The data constituted part of a larger project on everyday racism, for the purpose of which in-depth interviews were conducted with 55 Black women, all of whom were in or had completed higher education, in the US and the Netherlands (Essed, 1991). One additional interview was taken, in 1993, with a Dutch professor of Caribbean background who studied and worked in the US. This selective nature of the sample means that the findings cannot be generalized. Further, the focus of attention concerns not the university per se, but Black women as potential change agents within the university structure.

Experience is a central concept in this project. Epistemological implications of the relevance of 'experience' in race-gender theory are discussed in more detail elsewhere (Collins, 1990; Essed, 1991). Here it suffices to make a few general comments. First, experiences are a suitable source of information about racism, because they include personal experiences as well as vicarious experiences. Applied to the academy this means that, through the concept of experience, we can relate the perspectives of Black women professors on their own felt marginalization to their understanding and possible identification with Black students, who are facing discrimination as well. Second, in everyday life, sociological distinctions between 'institutional' and 'interactional', between 'private' and 'public' spheres of life merge and form a complex of social relations and dimensions. Similarly, everyday experiences in the academy can be placed against the background of the racialized social, economic, political and regional context in which academic life takes shape. Third, focussing on the lived experience allows us to relate the issue of leadership more directly to everyday opposition against racism, a problem which so profoundly structures the lives of Black people. Finally, experiences are made available for academic inquiry through accounts, that is, verbal reconstructions of experiences. Reconstructions of experiences in

such accounts provide a rich basis for the analysis of the simultaneous impact of racism in different sites and in different social relations, and, for the analysis of the sites and forms of leadership development in the academy.

The paper does not aim at providing easy answers, but at illuminating obstacles as well as sources of strength in the academy. First, attention is paid to the marginalization of Black women professors, to the undermining of their authority and to some of the fallacies of multiculturalism in the academy. The second part of the paper addresses how Black women professors challenge injustice and initiate social change. Although the institutions of higher education cannot be viewed separately from the broader societal race and ethnic relations, I had to limit this article to processes within the academy.

4. Marginalization

In an interview with bell hooks on Dutch television (28 March, 1994) she stated, if I recall well, something to this effect: Ask the average person to picture 'an intellectual'. Most likely, it will be a white male. A few 'enlightened' minds may come up with a white woman or a Black man. But, about the least possible image to emerge will be that of a Black woman. The idea that Black women cannot be 'real' intellectuals or college professors is manifest on the three major levels of race and ethnic conflict (Essed, 1991): (a) access and use of resources (structure), (b) norms and values (symbols), and (c) the definition of reality (ideology). Within the academy *ideological* marginalization is often expressed in the rejection of Black and/or female perspectives. *Structural* inequality is maintained through discrimination in the appoint-ment of staff and in payment. At a *symbolical* level indications of status and authority are shaped according to the white male image. First, some illustrations are presented of the ideological and structural marginalization of Black women professors. In a subsequent separate section I elaborate on the question of symbolic marginalization.

During the 1960s Black students at White institutions made specific claims in the interest of the Black community. They demanded more Black faculty; more Blacks in policy-making decisions and more facilities where the Black experience could be put into proper perspective (Swan, 1981; Wallerstein & Starr, 1971). In the 1960-1980 period increased opportunities for Black men and women took shape in the professions and in colleges and

universities. Affirmative action programs were not sufficiently able, however, to deal with the more subtle forms of everyday racism. The negative institutional climate, hostile faculty attitudes, everyday discrimination, and lack of role models continue to impinge to a considerable degree upon Black access to and success in graduate and professional schools (Wilson, 1988; Feagin, 1992). "An underlying edge of racism in what gets accepted as legitimate work in the field" [c34](2) contributes to marginalizing Black women professors, in particular, if their work represents a Black perspective. Furthermore, there is wage discrimination. Black women are earning less than any other group for the same work or for work of comparable worth (Sokoloff, 1992):

> When I got hired as a professor I had the same qualifications as my White counterparts but guess what? When the system looks at you, they will put you at a different level when you come in. Instead of bringing me in as assistant professor, step 5, I might come in at step 3, but my White counter part'll come in at step 5 or maybe even as associate. That's racism. [c27]

Marginalization on a structural, or material level, is also expressed in the budget made available for certain areas of research and teaching. One professor had her coworkers write to all of the agencies that fund 'ethnic research' in order to find out who they had funded for the last ten years and how much money had been made available. The inquiry showed "definitely a drop in the amount of funding that is available for ethnic studies research". [c34]

It seems that ethnic issues do get funded, however, when Whites apply for a grant, rather than Black people themselves, reports the professor of Arts, also independent film maker. "Whites have complete access to do anything on any subject matter on any minority that they want to do (...) and in the process of doing it they create huge careers for themselves as film makers". [c31]

5. Undermining of authority

Black women in positions of authority are more critically observed than others. If they make mistakes, reactions occur more quickly and are probably more severe. At the same time, even when they do not make mistakes, it is easy to unfairly discredit Black women, because the public often readily accepts negative portrayals of a Black woman. The Anita Hill case represents a well published example of this (Morrison, 1992). A recurring problem is,

indeed, the "constant challenge" [c34] people make to the authority of Black women professors. The following, stereotypical, example is almost anecdotal. One professor visits a school, where she is expected to present a training course:

> I walk into the school as a professor from the University of (name) but when the school secretary sees a Black woman, they say things to me like, 'are you somebody's mother? What is your business here at school?' And if I decide to shine them on a while, I'll say 'where's the auditorium?' 'What is your business at the auditorium?' The secretary will say. 'Isn't there a workshop going on there this afternoon?' 'Yes, but that's for teachers'. And I'll say 'but I'm doing the workshop'. 'Uh oh', then they look to see who you are and what you might be doing, but their first assumption is you have no business at that school. [c9]

On various occasions Black women had to face petty harassment from the side of staff, colleagues or students: One professor had a law suit going against her by an employee, a secretary, who "filed grievance" after she got disciplined. "She was asked to come on time". Such "personal challenges", the professor proceeds to explain, "they would not make to a White male". Another professor had a white male colleague "actually attempting" to have her fired "by complaining to other people. He had students that were not in my class to come in to spy and they reported back to him about my teaching"[c31]

A specific form of discrimination has emerged as a side effect of affirmative action. Black (women) professors are often accused of incompetence with the argument that they got their job because of affirmative action. Last but not least, women are confronted with accusations of reverse discrimination, when White students disagree with the grading of their work. Similar discontent is involved when students challenge their professor for discussing race issues in class: "why do you have to talk about this stuff all the time. Why can't you just accept the way things are. Why do you always have to talk about Blackness" [c9]. The other way round, some Black students make unrealistic claims when they assume that, because the professor is Black, they can afford to perform poorly. One professor explains:

> We have this expression of 'cop a plea'. You have not worked during the course and so you come in at the last moment and say 'but sister you know how it is with us, we are all poor, I need this grade to stay', this kind of solidarity thing [c19].

Another variant of disrespectful appeal to solidarity has to do with the hiring of staff. One professor recalls this enormous grant she was getting for a

project. Word got around and she had "this Black male student, who had heard about it yelling across the convey area to me in my office saying 'I heard you got the grant, I want to come talk to you, I think we need to talk about these things so we can talk about staffing'. She resents his impudent behavior commenting that: "he would have approached a White male very differently than saying I'm going to have to talk to you. There's a level of respect that's absent, and there's a refusal to acknowledge authority" [c34].

The invariable attacks to her authority and the need to strategize constantly in order to survive in those hostile surroundings contribute to making the academy an extremely stressful place to be. "It is tremendously debilitating. Emotionally draining" [c31]. Some manifestations of stress are "traceable directly to racism and the environment", one professor explains.

> When I trace back to the first time arthritis was diagnosed in me [I was in the] Black Studies department, working day and night, trying to keep that department, trying to make so it'd grow, tackling racism in the University, racism in the community and plus we were very active in the 60s and had absorbed all that stress and frustration and didn't know how much of it we had absorbed. And then being a Black woman, we absorb a hell of a lot more stress than any other women in society do. 'Cause we just kind of take on everything, you know. And yes, it's becoming a real dangerous mental health problem. [c27].

Even when, as pictured, the academy is experienced as a stressful and hostile place, this does not mean to imply that Black women professors are merely powerless victims. They also seem to be successful in finding formal and informal openings and resources, which can be used in order to bring about change. This theme is addressed in the following, second, part of this paper.

6. Leadership, problem solving and creative thinking

Leadership manifests itself whenever action is needed to bring about change in an institution or the social system (King, 1988; Astin & Leland, 1991). This statement is not unproblematic. It depends on what kind of changes one pursues. In the course of Black political struggle the goal of *access* to existing institutional arrangements predominated. It has been argued that, today, however, the pursuit of access is giving way to goals of *empowerment*, that is, power sharing and community control (Jennings, 1992).

Whether Black struggle serves integrationist, separatist or Black nationalist aims, traditionally, Black activism has essentially represented a response to racism, to the physical and social limitations placed upon Blacks (Crenshaw, 1988; Marable, 1984; Jennings, 1992). Therefore, the role or impact of racism is a critical factor in analyzing politics of Black leadership. Earlier it was pointed out that the marginalization of Black women professors operates on three levels: ideologically, structurally and symbolically. In the rest of this paper I focus on these three levels as sites of struggle where Black women professors develop and utilize leadership qualities in the pursuit of change. Through the analysis of their accounts I was able to identify the following indications of Black women professors' leadership: (1) Awareness of the situation of Black students that gets translated into support with respect to study and career development; (2) Advocacy in case of discrimination; (3) mentorship, coaching and mothering; (4) Reproduction of critical perspectives on the ethnically diverse society. The first three forms of leadership are shaped by the authority attached to the profession of being a university teacher. These I refer to as manifestations of *symbolic* leadership. The fourth point must be placed in the context of *ideological* leadership, as it pertains to the articulation and dissemination of critical perspectives.

7.   Awareness of the situation of Black students

All of the professors I interviewed seem to be concerned about the fact that life on a predominantly White campus can be hard on Black students. Many come from low income families and are the first (generation) in their family to go to college. The environment of White universities is different from their home and previous school experience. These and other factors add to the fact that Black students are often academically and psychologically ill prepared for the fierce competitiveness and the 'survival of the fittest' mentality they often encounter in predominantly White universities (Hall & Allen, 1989). Graduate status in White institutions means operating in an environment which, if not hostile, is cool and chilly (Wilkerson, 1986). Pressures are high and many students develop hardly any other interest than for "what is going to be the exam" or "what do I have to do to pass in this course" [c34]. For reasons of competition some Black students dissociate themselves from campus race politics. According to one professor this holds more true for undergraduates. She contends that graduate students are more accessible than

undergraduates to establishing mutually supportive relations with Black staff members, who contribute, on a structural (material) level, to improving access to Black students by providing "fellowships for graduate students, research support and money to do their dissertation studies". [c34]

Other resources include participation in the relevant committees in order to "get Black students in and keeping Black students in", providing "support" when there are job openings, or organizing exposure for them in conferences and "places where they can network". [c31]

8. Advocacy in case of discrimination

Support to students in case of discrimination represents a good example of symbolic leadership. One professor, who is affiliated to a Center for Black Studies, has seen it happening many times that "students will contact a Black faculty when an incident occurs on campus that has racist overtones. And that person will become kind of an advocate for the student" [c27]. Although there is an ombudsman's route on campus "a lot of the Black students tend not to trust that route at all" [c27]. Evidence of racism is often denied by the majority group, which makes it hard to deal with actual occurrences of discrimination (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1992; Piliawsky, 1982). Fearing that White faculty may trivialize their experiences, students who are discriminated against rather approach one of the Black teachers for obtaining advice and support, for instance when a professor in the department is making "racial jokes" in class [c31] or presenting misinformation about Blacks. One professor says that she tells students who come to her for advice "to confront as long as they have facts to do it". But also warns them that they are "taking a risk by putting themselves in the position of constantly confronting the professor on the content of the lectures". They may get "penalized for that". But even then, some students feel they just cannot "sit there and allow it to happen". [c27]

9. Mothering and teaching

Women who deliberately identify with the struggle to end oppression do not always separate work from struggle or the political from the personal. One professor explicitly indicated that she did not chose to see students "at all times or hours of the day" especially since she had just about only white

students [L3]. Although others did not indicate how often they saw their students outside of the class room, they seemed to be quite accessible. On some occasions the feedback students receive resembles the kind of support one could find in a parent-child relationship. I shall call this form of symbolic leadership *educational mothering*. Mothering in this context can be understood as a "socially constructed set of activities and relationships involved in nurturing and caring for people (..) (at the heart of which is) an ethic of caring-knowing, feeling and acting in the interests of others" (Forcey, 1994: 357).

As a phenomenon educational mothering can be located in the realm of formal education, but it generates from the informal responsibility Black women professors may feel for the well-being and the political 'conscientizing' of their (Black) students. Educational mothering can be defined as a politically motivated responsiveness to student's needs, which exceeds the formal teaching requirements. I selected two illustrative examples. The first case is about an immigrant student in need of a relationship to compensate for her lack of family relations in the US. The professor recalls:

> There's one woman, we don't know how to classify her, the computer has no place to put her. She's from the Dominican Republic and I see her as Black. Last night she came to me and she said I need to go home with you, I'm missing my mother. So she was obviously feeling that she's Black and I'm Black and she wanted to be mothered by me. It's a very close kind of relationship, but our program is very close anyway. [c9]

Educational mothering also pertains to the political socialization of Black students. A beautiful example is the following:

> This one young guy (...) started coming up to my office after about the third week of school and he asked me could he come and take a look at my bookshelf, and that's a real clue, and I said yes. (...) He'll select a book off the shelf and he'll look through it and then he'll start writing down names. Then he begins to talk about some experiences that he had in high school. He's a neat young man. He's about 19. He said he never learned anything about himself in high school, (...) but he knew that there was some things he needed to know and tried to start reading on his own. Which a lot of them do. Not enough of them. (...) He's a very serious person, but he is wrestling with being Black. He's reading all about Malcolm X which he started reading on his own. [c27]

Questions of identity and knowledge of the racial history and politics of society are addressed in the final section of this paper, which focuses on manifestations of ideological leadership.

10. (Re)production of critical knowledge about identity and politics of difference in a multi-ethnic society

One of the most challenging aspects of teaching in a multi-ethnic society has to do with questions of race identity and the transmission of knowledge of racism. Black women professors responded creatively to these problems. Creative thinking is unconventional, normally feeds on high motivation and persistence, and is most intimately linked with problem solving (Kaufmann, 1991). In the previous section creative problem solving could be found in the support offered to student protest against racist comments made in class.

One professor, the most senior among the group I interviewed, reports that after spending years at teaching you are able to read your students, in particular Black students with identity problems. She feels responsible and makes it a point to create openings for them to reflect upon their race identity:

> There are all kinds of indicators. You can spot them. It's all the way from what's verbalized to what you sense from reactions that you get to nonverbal. A student in a session that I did at another campus made a comment in the group that until he got older his Blackness was very important to him. (...) He said there are other things that are more important. So someone asked him well what, and he said Christianity. So I decided this is very sensitive area, we're going to have to be very careful with this and I was only there for a couple hours to do a presentation. I talked to the counselors after, I said I know you're going to get that youngster in some sessions real quick. 'Cause any time a 19, 20 year old Black youngster says that his Blackness isn't important to him, he's in trouble. [c27]

Because they teach predominantly White classes all of the professors also have to deal with the race identity of White students and their political awareness, or their lack of it, for that matter. Formal education usually fails to expose students to critical views on race issues. Shocked to find that, in 1993, White students "don't know who Angela Davis was", that they "had heard about Malcolm X, but did not know who he was, that they hadn't got a clue about stuff we have grown up with", one professor in introducing the students to topics and to literature that had been absent from their previous education, finds that you can "influence class dynamics by choosing particular kind of literature, which forces students to think about issues". [L3]. Another woman, a professor of Education, encourages her (predominantly White) students to develop a "healthy concern" for disadvantaged children:

> I (...) make sure that we send our students (of education) to Black schools. (...) I'm not saying that we need to handcuff students and send them down by force to where they don't want to be, 'cause they do more damage than good if they were forced to be where they don't want to go, but if the philosophy of the program really is that we're set up here to change what's going on, quote 'down there', then we'll do those supportive things so that the students won't feel punished being sent down there. They won't feel like they have some choices, they'll want to go down there. [c9]

The Black women professors who were interviewed seek to share responsibility and commitment in the struggle for racial, ethnic, and gender justice. Some explain how they are using education as a tool for Black liberation (Kershaw, 1992). One professor puts it like this: "All of my work, as diverse as it is, (...) is within one grand project: validating and describing Black culture". [L3]

Finally, we must explore more extensively the transforming potential of Black Feminist Studies and, more generally speaking, of Ethnic Studies. As an interdisciplinary field Ethnic Studies is committed to not only criticize institutional operations, policies and laws and other social practices of domination informed by racial, ethnic, gender and class formations (San Juan, 1992), but also to explore the conditions for alternative models of social formations that bring more justice in society. It seems, therefore, proper to highlight the following quote from the professor who had the most extensive teaching experience in the field of Ethnic studies:

> A lot of the students that I get in my classes are going to be teachers, they're going to be counselors, they're going to have children, they're going into professions where if they didn't take some of our courses, they would have no perspective at all from the multi ethnic point of view. They go into the classroom and they go into a counseling session, setting, or wherever they go without much knowledge about culturally diverse populations and that's a tragedy because they're the ones that are going to be responsible for changing some attitudes and they can't do it because their attitudes are limited. I feel very, very strongly about Ethnic Studies. I think it's probably one of the most critical disciplines that could be offered right now in institutions because of the diverse society that we live in. [c27]

11. Conclusions

Through the analysis of accounts it was shown that the authority of Black women professors is challenged on various levels: *symbolically* (petty harassment by colleagues; White students who complain about reverse discrimination and

Black students who demonstrate a lack of respect); *structurally* (underpayment; funding agencies are spending less on ethnic issues, so that the struggle for recognition remains a constant battle); and *ideologically* (professors who teach from a Black perspective find that their work is not always granted proper academic status). Despite these barriers, professors utilize the resources at hand in order to make education a tool for liberation. Their own experiences of exclusion and marginalization, and their understanding of the situation of Black students form a fertile ground for the development of strategies to support Black students. These fall largely within the *symbolical* domain (advocacy in cases of discrimination, mentorship, career coaching, mothering) and within the *ideological* domain (critical teaching and writing about racism, identity and the ethnically diverse society).

The discussion of Black women's educational leadership presented here was neither exclusive nor exhaustive. The data were largely restricted to the interactional dimensions of teacher-student relations. The strategies discussed concerned the elimination of obstacles in order to increase and maintain *access* to higher education and to future jobs. Virtually no attention could be paid to one crucial element of leadership, namely Black women scholars' involvement and ties to the Black community. This dimension of leadership process is important, because critical race and gender theory are intimately connected to the politics of Black men's and women's lives.

Hopefully, I have been able to show that leadership is the outcome of thoughtful reflection and of deliberate action. The Black women professors I interviewed intentionally choose to develop and use certain leadership qualities in the pursuit of social change. The specific qualities discussed emphasize courage to challenge racial injustice in the academy, listening to and empowering students, articulating critical views on race, and seeking to make our society and its institutions a more just, diverse, and humane place to be.

Acknowledgements

Notes

*   This article is a slightly adapted version of *Black Women Scholars: Racism and Creative Leadership*. R. Kilson (ed). Black Women in the Academy: Defending Our Name, 1894-1994. New York: Carlson (in Press).

1.   Black Women's Studies as an autonomous discipline began to emerge in the late 1970s. The aim of Black Women's Studies is to make Black women visible in the academy, to study and explain the general political situation of Black women and to challenge sexism and racism (Hull et al, 1982). Black feminist Studies emerged as a more radical variant, rooted in the acknowledgement of interrelated oppressions including (but not limited to) racism, ethnicism, sexism, and classism (Collins, 1990; James & Busia, 1993; Kibbelaar; 1993).

2.   Here and further codes used for the different interviewees are a 'c' or an 'L' followed by a number.

4.   The story of this professor is told in more detail in Essed (1990), where she was called Paule E.

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"I know, we won't revolutionize the world with it, but..":

Styles of female leadership in institutions

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1.   Introduction*

In this paper I would first like to offer some general remarks on the structure of institutions and then examine them in light of the results obtained in a recent study carried out in three Viennese schools (see Wodak et al. 1992). The study registered (its quantitative aspect) the presence and frequency of specific discursive mechanisms in the interaction between participants in committees established by law as part of the Austrian "school partnership." At the same time, selected qualitative analyses of discourse data will serve to illustrate in detail what impact power has on social relationships. Since those in charge of all three schools under investigation were female, moreover, it allows us to take a closer look at styles of female leadership. Specifically I am interested in the different discursive strategies women in authority in traditional hierarchical institutions (like schools) use to justify, legitimize and achieve their agenda.

We will also have to include some information about the Austrian context. "School partnership" is a concept contained in a 1985 Austria law adopted to regulate the communication and participation of teachers, parents and pupils in school affairs. The law also established a School Welfare

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Committee (SWC), a Parents' Association (PA), and school and class forums (SF and CF respectively) to embody this partnership. There is, however, a basic tension between the aims the law wishes to achieve and the means it has set up for doing so. We can ask how a "school partnership" which prescribes equal opportunity, participation and democracy for its deliberative bodies can be reconciled with the rigidly hierarchical Austrian school system? In my view, it cannot, and to demonstrate this theoretically as well as empircally I would like to consider briefly the notion of power and examine how power may be exerted, expressed, described, covered up or legitimized in the social and communicative interaction in institutions such as schools in short, how power "works" and how power structures frustrate possiblities of democratic participation.[1]

2. Power, control and institution

2.1 *Institutional discourse*

Before we try to grasp the relationship between discourse and institutions in a more detailed way, we would like to start out with one definition of institution which we consider to be important. Mumby (1988) stresses the notion of "organizational cultures":

> This approach conceptualizes organizations as cultures in order to examine the ways in which organization members engage in the creation of organizational reality. Such research generally takes organizational symbolism — myths, stories, legends, jokes, rites, logos — as the most clearly visible articulation of organizational reality (Mumby 1988, 3).

Mumby argues further, that most cultural approaches to organization start out with the concept of "shared meaning" and "sense-making". He criticizes rightly that the concept of power is neglected, that — as we can also illustrate in our case studies — , meanings are not shared inside the institution, quite in the contrary: the everyday life of institutions is characterized by conflicts, by disorders in discourse, by contradictions which are mystified through myths and other symbols of the institution (see Archibald 1976, Wodak 1996).

Power is therefore regarded as a structural phenomenon, as product of, and as process by which organization members engage in organizing activity. Organizational power ist constituted and reproduced through the structure of

organizational symbolism. Power manifests itself in hierarchies, in the access to certain discourses and information, and most certainly in the establishment of the symbols: which myths are considered to be relevant, which ideologies, norms and values are posited, relates directly to the groups in power and their interests. A good example of the symbolic constitution of organizational hierarchy are meetings,

> meetings are percieved as a necessary and pervasive characteristic of organizational life — they are events that people are required to engage in if decisions are to be made and goals to be accomplished. While this is the ostensible rationale for meetings, they also function as one of the most important and visible sites of organizational power, and of the reification of organizational hierarchy (Mumby 1988, 68).

The concept of institutions viewed as cultures with an emphasis on discourse and power lends itself very well for our analysis (see Wodak 1996). The specific methodology used in our empirical investigation (the inside-perspective) suggests clearly that institutions have their own "life", their own rules, insider jokes and stories which are narrated over and over again and serve to strengthen the status quo (f.ex. the typical story, of how people "make" it). By observing the institutions from the inside, by participating in meetings and other rituals or by following the insiders through their every day life at work, the mixture and interwoveness of all these many discourses became apparent.

2.2 *Power and hierarchy*

Exerting power is not simply a form of action, but a form of social interaction which has to be more or less negotiated each time. In our study of power relations within school-partnership (Wodak et al. 1992), we attempted to take due account of this complexity by using detailed discourse analysis to uncover the dialectics of power and helplessness, of controlling and being controlled, as well as activity and passivity in institutions (see, inter alia Habermas 1981, van Dijk 1989, Wodak 1989). Those factors typical of an institution — rules and regulations, assigned roles and a rigid internal organization such as the hierarchy of positions and the ritualization of procedures — collide ineluctably with structures designed to promote democratic control.

The ultima ratio here is the legitimacy of power. The free and secret election of persons to committees is the principal means for acquiring this legitimacy. The majority of voters is normally what determines legitimacy in

institutions with democratic procedures. But this is only possible if the election is really secret, everyone is entitled to vote and the political climate allows enough information about the electoral candidates to be secured. Moreover, the possibility of opposition views and candidates also has to be available. These latter conditions, however, are frequently lacking in Austrian schools. Moreover, as Schneider (1977) points out, in addition to power based on reward, force or attraction, power can be based on the knowledge of facts, i.e. power based on information and power based on the selection of information; on legitimation through a position in the hierarchy of an institution; or on the control of a given situation, e.g. presidency in a legal sense. Persons in an institution or school in higher hierarchical positions, e.g. headmistresses or headmasters, automatically have direct access to relevant information and are therefore in a position of control based on the selection of information (see Text 2, section 4.2., Text 5, section 5.5.); likewise, they have a legal presidential function in committees such as the SWC or SF and therefore have control of these interactive situations as well.

Even when the available means of participation, criticism and debate in school committees are really used as intended, their efficacy is by no means assured. Methodologically, our investigation was required continually to relate several sets of related questions to various levels of discourse, trying to examine the efficacy of the procedures, i.e., the correspondence (or lack of it) between the stated objectives of the law and the mechanisms devised to institutionalize the supervisory control; the way a consensus about and within the given procedures was obtained; and whether the outcomes of the procedures validated or undermined (in the minds of the participants) either the controlling structures themselves or the democratic premises underlying them.

2.3 *Power, interaction, discourse and conversational styles*

What then — and this is our first question — is the relationship between discourse and social power? How do power and power relationships interact, and how is power exerted in terms of language? Van Dijk (1989), Bourdieu (1984) and Foucault (1977) all interpret social power as ways of discursive control. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) moreover define discourse in the following way:

> **Critical Discourse Analysis sees discourse — language use in speech and writing — as a form of 'social practice'**. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned — it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.

In other words, who has access to the various types of discourse, who can talk to whom, in which situations, about what, and who cannot? The more powerful the people, the larger their verbal possibilities in discourse. In institutional discourse, e.g. doctor-patient interaction, interaction in court and in school (Wodak 1995b, 1996), we have to consider the role devisions and the power play very carefully: In these situations persons entering the institution from outside, i.e. patients, clients, parents, do not act on their own initiative, but react by answering questions, listening and giving the desired information. In the institution, persons who determine the interaction occupy an institutional role (doctor, teacher/head teacher, etc.) and their language behaviour is consequently supported or legitimized by the existing institutional power. These factors beget and stabilize language barriers and miscommunication in institutions (cf. Wodak & Menz & Lalouschek 1989 and the literature cited there).

Persons with power determine the course of the interaction, the issues discussed, the choice of words, they can determine the length of the verbal contributions by allowing, continuing or interrupting these contributions. Such persons also determine the beginning and end of the interaction. In addition, the interaction can be manipulated by passing on information selectively, e.g. withholding information which could undermine those in power. This issue is a central theme in our illustrative qualitative analysis of interaction sequences (see sections 4.2., 5.5).

Here, we would like to pose the second important question — what do the discursive practices look like? — and integrate the concept of "conversational style" (Tannen 1984: 8, Sandig and Selting forthcoming). According to Tannen, style is the particular way in which and how utterances and activities are performed in their contexts of use; in other words, the specific quality of discursive practices. Conversational styles are typical for written and spoken discourses:

> The constitution of style in spoken language in conversational interaction is concieved of as a holistic contextualization device. Style is taken to be constituted by bundles of co-occurring linguistic cues from, e.g. lexico-semantics, syntax, prosody — in particular rhythm and intonation. These make utterances interpretable within their sequential and conversational contexts and constitute particular kinds of participant relations for the common construction of activity types in conversation (Sandig and Selting, 26).

In our analyses of discourses in meetings and specifically in the case studies of the three female principals, we will focus on macrostrategies of conversational styles, in some particular instances, we will also include microphenomena. We believe that the choice of specific macrostrategies already define typical discursive practices of the interactants.

3. The data

3.1 *The origins of the study and the collection of data*

One aim of our study was to measure the actual workings of the statutory committees in the various ty pes of schools against the explicit intentions of the school partnership law which established them. It was necessary to collect comprehensive data in order to be able to describe the setting and meaning of the committees in the individual schools and to illustrate issues which were of a more general interest. Thus, the data included not only committees such as the SWC, the SF and CF but also the meetings of the PA. In addition, we decided to include situations from the everyday life of the school (such as classroom interactions, teachers' meetings and parents' evenings) in order to grasp the structures of the institution as a whole. Data were collected at three different types of schools — a grammar school (GS), a secondary modern school (SMS), and a junior school (JS) — to enable us to compare how the committees of the schools dealt with problems specific to these types of schools. Finally, in our study we employed the methods of participant observation, tape recordings and written reports of every communicative event as well as in-depth interviews (in the concluding phase of the project) with selected people involved. This took much time and was very labour-intensive. The frequent presence of those collecting the data over a long period of time in the schools meant that the subjects of the study became used to their

presence; it was therefore possible to observe undistorted communication since it is more difficult to control one's own behaviour over such long periods of time (cf. Wodak 1986).

The transcription of the cassette recordings was carried out concurrently with the collection of further data in several phases. This approach proved to be particularly reliable when dealing with interactions involving more than two people (cf. Lalouschek/Menz/Wodak 1990). Initially, a rough transcription of all the communicative situations or of selected passages was made by people trained for this task; the observers then corrected or amended the transcription. These intermediary transcripts were suitable for rough analyses. A further, more refined transcription was necessary for microanalyses of discursive data.

3.2 Data Overview

3.2.1 School Statistics

The following statistics obtained from the headmistresses give a sense of the respective schools' demographic profile:

Junior School (JS)
1   Headmistress
1   Psychologist
14   Core teaching staff (13 female, 1 male)
13   Additional teaching staff (religion, foreign languages etc.)
14   classes with 179 girls and 171 boys (total 350), incl. 72 foreign pupils (20,6%)

Secondary Modern School
1   Headmistress
1   Psychologist
28   Core teaching staff (22 female, 6 male)
1   Accompanying teacher
10   classes: 137 boys, 90 girls (total 227), incl 153 foreign pupils (67,4%)

Grammar School (GS)
1   Headmistress
58   Core teaching staff (47 female, 11 male)
40   Additional teaching staff (all on fixed contracts)
23   classes with 226 boys, 279 girls (total 515, no foreign pupils)

3.1.2 T*he Data*
Committees   GS School Welfare Committee (SWC)
              SMS School Forum (SF)
              JS School Forum (SF)
                 Class forum in 2nd form (CF)
                 Class forum in 3rd form (CF)

Parents' Association   GS Parents' Association PAGS
                        SMS Parents' Association Committee 1 PASMS1
                             Parents' Association Committee 2 PASMS2
                        JS Parents' Association PAJS
School Everyday Life Situations
    GS   Classroom teaching
              Teachers' Meeting
              Parents' Open Day
    SMS   Classroom teaching
              Parents' Evening for 2nd form
              Parents' Open Day

3.2 *The complexity of the data and consequences for the analysis*

In contrast to many previous studies on institutional communication (e.g. Lalouschek/Menz/Wodak 1990), these data consist of interactive events which differ from each other in many respects but which are related to each other on many different levels. On the one hand, the school partnership committees we recorded owe their existence to and observe the guidelines elaborated in the school legislation, while on the other hand, the communicative situations such as teachers' meetings, open days for parents, and classroom teaching, derive their forms and procedures from the institutional framework of the school.

Since the collection of data takes place in three different types of school, there were influences specific to the type of school and to the individual school itself. Examples of such influences include the different styles of leadership amongst head teachers (see section 5; Wodak and Andraschko 1992, Wodak 1995a) and the variant possibilities of involving the parents and the pupils in classroom and school activities. Another problem was the high proportion of children or parents in the SMS with no or little knowledge

of German. Two final factors of some significance were the proportion of girls to boys and the respective subjects being taught.

The subsequent qualitative text analyses illustrate how one important phase in the meetings (i.e., voting behaviour, which we used as an indicator of "democratic attitudes") was "managed" in verbal terms. On the basis of these it is possible to estimate the extent to which these patterns were dependent on the type of school, the meeting, or the people, and indicate the consequences which different strategies employed in the course of the meetings had (i.e. which aspects of participation and partnership were realized, which were subverted).

4.   The Qualitative Analysis: Selective Information as a Means of Power

4.1 The structure of meetings and categories of analysis

Every meeting can be divided up into the following model with clearly identifiable stages (macrostrategies):

Step 1:   Salutation
Step 2:   Introduction/reading of the agenda
Step 3:   Presentation of general information
Step 4:   Putting a motion
        4.1. Presentation of the motion
        4.2. Discussion of the motion
        4.3. Vote on the motion
        4.4. Discussion of the vote
        4.5. Acceptance, rejection, deferral of the motion
        (4.1. – 4.5. may be repeated any number of times)
Step 5:   Miscellaneous items and discussion
Step 6:   Concluding remarks
        Thanks

This structure suggests the following categories of verbal realization, which form the basis for analysis of the entire textual material:

Macrostrategy	Linguistic realization
Salutation, concluding remarks	
Presentation of the agenda	all the information
	part of the information
	no information
The motion	
- Presentation	subjects
	explanation
- Discussion	initiates or
	prevents discussion
- Move to vote	neutral
	open
	persuasive, suggestive
- Behaviour when voting	silence, hand signals
	verbal
- Discussion, votes against	assertion
	justification
	relativization
	rejection
General Discussion	
Presentation by the chair	open, encouraging
	closed, preventive
Treatment of the call for discussion	acceptance
	non-acceptance (explicit/in silence)
	demand

An example:

Once the subjects have been presented, the chairperson usually calls on the other participants to ask their questions. The call can be worded in such a way that it can encourage, hinder, or prevent questions.

An encouraging formulation:
School forum - Secondary modern school

Text 1
H - Headmistress

400 H: Have I forgotten anything? - Help me. -
          Hab i no was vergessn? - Helfen Sie mir. -
          Have I forgotten anything? I don't know.
          Hab i was vergessen? Ich weiß es nicht.
          Do you have any - questions - to me or put to
          Haben Sie jetzt - Fragen - an mich oder an
          the class teachers. - Could we close the
          die Klassenvorstände.- Kamma vielleicht die
          door. - Do you have any questions. (xxxxx)
          Tür da zumachn. - Haben Sie irgendwelche Fragn. (xxxxx)
          Is there anything you want to know?
          Möchten Sie irgendetwas wissn?

The headmistress expresses her call for questions in a neutral way "Do you have any questions to put to me", but also in a particularly open form "Is there anything you want to know?". This form of linguistic realization indicates to the participants that there is enough time for questions and that questions are also encouraged. We will see later on that this conversational style is typical for this principal, she is direct in her commands and questions, no indirectness or mitigations are to be found.

Preventive formulation:
Parents association committee — Secondary modern school

Text 2
Ch - Chairwoman
H - Headmistress

(482)
    Ch: O.K. I think that was it, wasn't it? No more
          so. - i glaub des wars. - nein?
    H: Yes.
              ja.

```
┌─(483)───────────────────────┐
│    Ch:    Comments or suggestions.                        
│           Wünsche oder - Anregungen gibts ja keine mehr   
└                                                           
```

The chairwoman ends the meeting with the words "O.K. I think that was it (482)". There with the negatively worded statement "No more comments or suggestions" (482/483), she indicates that she does not expect any more. This linguistic realization of the call to ask questions makes it difficult to ask them, or even prevents them altogether.

4.2 *The access to information*

As studies on communication in institutions, above all in hospitals, have shown, information issues were an extremely sensitive area for the manifestation or disintegration of existing hierarchical structures. Institutional outsiders can easily be excluded from communication and therefore from participating in the event when information was withheld from them.

PA's are to be seen as the link between the institution of the school and the "outside world" of the parents. For this reason it seems advisable to use the PA's to examine the areas and the issues about which the schools inform the parents, where they do not inform the parents, and how requests for additional information were handled.

The PA was run according to the requirements of the legal framework i.e. reports by the committee, the accountant, approval by the committee, elections as well as a decision about the membership fee. These different voting and election procedures require information about the activity and financial situation of the PA, but also about the organization of the association, the active representatives and the relationship between PA and school committees such as the SWC. In other words, one main function of the PA was to provide all parents of the school with various information.

Power structures can thus be illustrated by looking at the gap between the existing information for parents and the required information (what they should know). I have chosen examples where election procedures were dealt with; it becomes obvious that most of the parents were not informed about the agenda of the ongoing committee nor about the candidates and the voting procedure. Therefore, the democratic means provided by the participation law were not realized and the chairpersons and headmistresses easily manage to push their candidates and wishes.

Text 3

The chairwoman and treasurer deliver their detailed reports on activities and projects such as refurbishings, school events, the purchase of various teaching materials, and those undertakings which were financed by membership fees and donations. This information was given in an active sense and corresponds to the legal requirements. In this context "new parents" i.e. those parents of first form pupils sitting in the hall, were taken into account:

CH: Chairwoman
TR: Treasurer

TR: about the membership fee-
zum Mitgliedsbeitrag -
CH: yes! o.k.
         ja! bitte

TR: I want to mention - for the new people. I would like to but I think there were a couple of new parents here who probably don't know yet. Er for example it remains at 160 schillings and say you've got children at other schools and one here - then of course you only pay half and if you've got several children at this school

kann ich das sagn - für die Neuen. Ich möchte nur ich glaub es sind ein paar neue Eltern da die des wahrscheinlich noch nicht wissen. ä also zum Beispiel es bleibt jetzt bei 160 Schilling und sie hätten Kinder an anderen Schulen und hier eines - dann zahlen sie selbstverständlich nur die Hälfte und wenn sie mehrere Kinder an dieser Schule ham

The situation was different regarding information which concerns organizational issues about the association. Exact information about who will be elected in the first place, how the list of electoral candidates was put forward, how a person can put him/herself up for election, was not forthcoming. Only the names and functions were read out:

L: Mr L. from the election committee

L: Madam counsellor - members of the parents' association and er parents. It was my task again to put forward one of our election proposals to this hall and then I ask you to make your choice as appropriate. - er -I shall perhaps first of all read out the names -

Frau Hofrat — werter Elternverein. und ä liebe Eltern. ich habe wiederum die Aufgabe einen von uns ganz kurz vorgeschlagenen Wahlvorschlag

hier in diesem Auditorium zu unterbreiten und ich bitte dann um eine ent-sprechende Willenskundgebung. - ä - ich lese vielleicht jetzt zuerst einmal die Namen -

This leads to the following situation: the election of the committee takes place after the chairwoman (Mrs.K.) delivers a very detailed report on those projects which have either taken place or were planned by the parents' association:

L: Mr L. from the election committee
H: Headmistress
X: female member of the audience

L: I would like to request the hall, well, I shall read out the chairperson alone, then I shall ask a vote to be taken, as I said, er Mrs - K. has been put forward as she put in more and more hard work for many years now. That she should continue to do this work. Those in favour please hm

Jetzt habe ich an das Auditorium die eine Bitte also den Obmann werde ich allein zur Verlesung bringen und um die Abstimmung dann er-suchen also wie gesagt ä - Frau K. ist vorgeschlagen worden nachdem sie das schon viele Jahre mit einer sich immer mehr steigernden Tüchtigkeit aufgenommen hat. daß sie auch weiter diese Arbeit übernehmen soll. wer einverstanden is bitte hm

H: There! That's her
                          Da! Da is sie.
L: raise your hand /pause/   Well — that's
      um eine Zustimmung durch Handheben   Da bitte — das
X: Who's that? Mrs K.? I don't know her
                          Wer is des? Die Frau K.? Kenn i net.
L: the lady who gave a report — yes. Crosscheck.
      is die Dame die konferiert hat — ja. Gegenprobe

Due to this basic lack of information the person who has been talking for the past 30 minutes has not yet been clearly identified as the chairwoman of the PA. Thus, it was hardly surprising that all the voting procedures for the election of a new committee proceed without votes against.

   A similar situation occurs during the voting on who should represent the PA on the SWC: despite the question at the beginning of the meeting about the abbreviation SWC, this information deficit was not perceived. Although

reference was made to the importance of this decision before the voting, there was no basic information about the function of the SWC as a place which could influence internal school events:

Text 4:

    CH: Chairwoman
    H: Headmistress
    U: Mrs. U/female member of the audience

    CH: Oh, Mr L. - er - I would like er - regarding the that's the SWC. We need
           Ach Herr L. ah - bitte noch ah - bezüglich des SGA - das heißt den Schulgemeinschaftsausschuß würden wir
    H: we certainly need
           sozusagen auf jeden Fall
    CH: yes
                   ja
    H: a president or a deputy. Up to now we've gladly had
           Vorsitzender und auf jeden Fall Stellvertreter. bisher ham ma
    CH: yes, so it's also
                 ja also auch da sind
    H: Ms. A here with us
           noch die Frau A. mit Freude in unserer Mitte gesehen
    CH: necessary to have a parents' representative and it's proved to be
           - - a Elternvertreter notwendig und es hat sich als sehr
    H: yes I er
           ja ich ä
    CH: very practical when the parents on the committee take part in the meetings as well
           praktikabel erwiesen wenn also die Eltern die im Vorstand sind auch bei   diesen Sitzungen
           because they know about the issues. er do you agree?
           teilnehmen weil sie ziemlich mit der Materie befaßt sind. ä sind sie damit   einverstanden?
    /names were read out and vote takes place/
    CH: Thank you for taking part in this very important election. er we now come to the next issue to the /um/ the fixing of the membership fee

> *Ich danke ihnen daß sie sich diese unumgänglich notwendigen*
> *Wahltätigkeiten so sch/ so absolviert haben. ä wir kommen jetzt*
> *zum nächsten Punkt und zwar das is die / da/ die Festsetzung des*
> *Mitgliedsbeitrages.*

U: excuse me, I've got a
> *Tschuldigung i hätt no a*

CH: yes
> *ja*

U: a question. What's the purpose of the SWC?
> *Frage. was macht der Schulgemeinschaftsausschuß?*

After the respective electoral procedures were concluded, it was clear on both accounts that there was not enough information about the issues which were the subject of the voting, a fact which actually leads the voting procedure ad absurdum.

The same approach to a "selective" willingness to give information was found in the PAJS: there was a great willingness to give information to activities directed to outside purposes such as projects and purchases; information concerning the organization of the association was confined to reading out the names of the candidates who have put themselves forward for various positions. There was no information about how and why these decisions took place and how one could participate in them.

Text 6:

CH: So thank you. With this the association's work of the past year has finished - and would like the new candidates for the parents' association election to be introduced. You've all received a slip of paper. Over the last few days. It was given out in school to your child - that - er - the following people were standing for election for a position in the parents' association committee. That's me. I was chairwoman for the previous year - /name/ and I'm standing for election as chairwoman again for the coming year 89/90. The next candidate was Ms. K.

Dann danke ich. Somit ist die Arbeit des letzten Vereinsjahres abge-schlossen - und i möchte dann bitten daß die neuen Kandidaten für die Eltern-vereinsneuwahl vorgestellt werden. Sie haben alle ein Zettelchen erhalten. In den letzten Tagen. In der Schule wurde das ausgeteilt und ihrem Kind mitgegeben . daß - ah - folgende Personen wieder für ein Amt im Vorstand des Elternvereins kandidieren. - Das ist meine Person. Ich bin die Obfrau des

letzten Jahres - /Name/ - und ich kandidiere wieder als Obfrau des Elternvereins für das kommende Vereinsjahr 89/90. - Die nächste Kandidatin ist die Frau K.

/CH reads out the names and explains the voting procedure/

CH: so - you have the BOTTOM - at the bottom of the agenda. Have you all got a slip of paper? Agenda was at the top - then there's a line in the middle and underneath there's the election proposal i.e. the voting slip - underlined on the right-hand side. I would like to ask you to tear off the bottom part or fold it together and: - the people on the slip - which/with which you do not agree - whom you don't want -you can cross them out.

Es ist jetzt so - Sie haben am UNTEREN Teil - am unteren Teil des Tagesordnungszettels. Haben Sie alle so einen Zettel? Oben steht die Tagesordnung - dann is a Strich in da Mitte und drunta steht Wahlvorschlag bzw. Stimmzettel - auf da rechtn Seite unterstrichn. - I möchte Sie bittn jetzt daß Sie den unteren Teil abreißn oda zusammenfaltn und: die Personen auf diesem Zettel - die/ mit denen Sie nicht einverstanden sind - die Sie nicht wollen - die können Sie streichen bitte.

The election result which emerges during the meeting was hardly surprising:

CH: Chairwoman
K: Ms. K., deputy chairwoman
H: Headmistress

CH: - - right I hear that Ms.K's looked at the slips. How many were there
       So jetzt hör ich grad die Frau K. hat die Stimmzetterln angeschaut. Es gibt wieviele?
K: 35 voting slips and none invalid
       35 Stimmzettel und keine Streichung
CH: 35 voting slips and none invalid therefore
       Also 35 Stimmzettel und keine Streichung
H: We'd like to congratulate Ms /name CH/
       Wir gratulieren der Frau
CH: thank you /applause/ thank you very much
       Danke / Applaus/ Ich bedanke mich sehr herzlich
H: and the parents' association
       und dem Elternverein!

The actual power of a group or a system was linked to its unity and lack of transparency, and concerns the inner organization. The relevant decisions

were made in this area to which the parents were refused exact information and the explicit request to participate. Criticism, debate and the open questioning of issues was therefore prevented. Selection and manipulation of information thus provide good examples for the manifestation of hierarchy and power in institutions; democratic rules and means were neglected, often enough without the interactants actually noticing it. Everybody seems to participate eagerly in the quasi-democratic game.

5.   Discursive styles of female leadership - a case study

5.1 *Male versus female leaders?*

Studies on female leaders are rare and deal above all with women in management positions (Tannen 1994, Konek 1994, Peterson and Sorenson 1993). In our three schools, we deal with female headmistresses, they were the most powerful members of the committees and in the hierarchies (As we have seen, also the chairpersons tend to be women in powerful positions with a lot of strategic thinking and actions, often in cooperation and coordination with the female principals). Thus, we were curious, how women use their power and status in institutions like schools.[2]

Sally Helgesen (1989) draws attention to the differences between male and female managers in a dichotomous scheme (19ff): men work at a constant speed, without taking breaks; the working-days were characterized by discontinuity and interruptions; they do not have any time for activities outside their work, they show a preference for short and directed conversations and meetings; they maintain a complex social network only to people outside of the company; they do not have any time to contemplate; they identify totally with their work; they rarely pass on information (monopoly of knowledge).

Women, on the other hand, have a different style of leadership, according to Helgesen: women plan breaks within their working day; they cope better with interruptions; they make time for other activities and have to integrate their family duties into their everyday routine; they have a complex system of relationships within the institution as well; they think about an "ecological" style of leadership (working atmosphere). The women described by Helgesen (1989) were exceptions; they all work in small companies which they partly or totally own, thus they were able to be flexible and use their

creativity and imagination to adapt the companies to their own needs. They cannot afford to devote themselves purely to their work if they have children and a family. We assume that for this reason women can cope with interruptions better since it could well be that they carry over features and strategies of the mother's role into their work.

It also emerges from Helgesen's observations that these women were less hierarchically orientated, preferring to "weave a net in their companies" rather than to "build a pyramid". The freedom to mould the atmosphere at the place of work as in, for example, small companies, was not, however, present in a traditional institution like the school. Nevertheless, in our casestudy, we want to examine the possibility of whether similar patterns of "female styles of leadership" were present in an institution like the school. As a matter of fact, we do however expect a clear contradiction: between the fantasy of a family atmosphere and the institutional reality where power and control were used to realize one's own ideas.

Traditionally, women were assigned a clear role within the institution of the family (Wodak and Schulz 1986, Wodak 1995a). This role consists mainly of looking after the family and its environment. The role of the mother, which does not allow the woman much opportunity to divide up her roles as she would wish, arose out of this old division of work, i.e., the woman's responsibility for reproduction, which forces her to give up many of her own interests and needs. She was open to the pressure of the social expectations of the mother figure. The norms which were set as a result of these expectations reach far beyond the private sphere of the family; motherliness becomes a quality in itself which was also apparent as a strategic method of organising relationships in the many public areas. The exercising of power by women within the mother's role was quite obviously legitimized. The picture of the "public mother" can be seen most clearly in the development of the female teaching profession; e.g., the few sources from the Middle Ages link the role of teaching with the responsibility of a mother since female teachers were allowed to teach girls as well as boys until they were eight years old. The picture of the spinster teacher, i.e., a woman living in celibacy, which existed in Austria well into the post First-World-War era, corresponds perfectly to the ideal of a "spiritual motherhood" (Andraschko/Ecker 1982).

This public motherliness, which can be seen again above all in school, was scarcely different from the genuine maternity in the family. Even law recognizes a dividing-up of work between family and school regarding the

education of children. This no doubt contributes to the fact that a norm was created in school which corresponds to behavioural patterns in the family. Since part of the responsibility for bringing up children was delegated to the school, the institution and its representatives were assigned qualities such as responsibility and care, which trigger off maternal associations for society as well as for the inner world of the institution. These attributes form the basis for the communication within the school: the motherliness of the institution — with its positive and negative connotations — was reflected in the communicative behaviour of those involved; this can be attributed both to the style of leadership of the headmistress as well as to the discourse between teachers and pupils, and the discourse between the institutional and the genuine mothers.

Maternal strategies exist in general in our society for several functions: in the way relationships were organized in the responsibility for physical and spiritual growth, in maintaining closeness and establishing distance. Certain elements such as the acquisition of regulation systems and norms were provided via such managing of relationships.

Structuring (maternal) behaviour was seen as being positive since the organization of the relationship was not only done by the respective mother, but also allows enough freedom for those who were part of the interaction to form the relationship as well. Controlling (motherly) behaviour, however, only functions when those involved were prepared to submit to this control.

In school, control as a behavioural form was fostered by the hierarchical structure of this institution and by the pattern of communication which results from this. The constant change between control and subordination represents the most important behavioural ritual on many a level. The "pyramid" was reality in school: at the top there was the headmistress (being controlled and controlling), in the middle the teachers (likewise being controlled and controlling), and on the bottom level were the pupils who were subjected to a double control at least within this pyramid. There was no real room for parents within the pyramid and they were consulted instead, or if individuals really do make a valuable contribution, they were brought into school life.

All headmistresses have undergone a socialization as teachers; every teacher can apply de facto for the position of head of the school after a certain period of professional experience; he or she does not have to have an additional qualification. This means that they know the everyday life of a teacher and identify very strongly with it. This identification, not only with everyday

life in general, but also with individual colleagues, their style of teaching and way of dealing with pupils etc. prevents them from achieving the necessary distance which would be helpful in this function. As a result, various different relationships with the teachers arise — on the one hand there was cooperation on an apparently equal level, on the other hand cooperation which arises due to function and role. These different relationships bring different strategies respectively, which often serve to disguise the power and authority of the headmistresses; this disguise was strengthened through the fact that many conversations were held on an informal basis.

The headmistresses with whom we dealt in our project were all convinced of the open atmosphere in their school, in which everybody speaks with everybody, that agreement can be reached on every issue and that conflict arises only in exceptional circumstances which were mostly caused by the authorities or by non-caring parents. The impressions which we were able to record result from the accompanying observations during the recordings and from the individual interviews. In this paper, I will concentrate solely on discursive mechanisms of female leadership, we will have to neglect other aspects of power and gender as they arise, f.ex. in classroom interaction etc. (See Corson 1992, Cameron 1985, Gräßel 1991, Wodak forthcoming for extensive reviews on gender specific communication.) Also, it is important here to illustrate the variation and the differences which exist in one gender, and not to contrast women immediately with men (see Wodak/Andraschko 1992).

5.2 *Junior school - The cooperative head*

This woman has been headmistress for 8 years and ascribes her greatest success to the fact that none of the teachers who were at the school before her time as headmistress was there now. She sees the reason for this as being the open communication, which was always her greatest commitment and "is not for everybody".

"I see myself as coordinator — I principally would have much more ideas, I would like to do more. With the support of the chairwoman of the PA and — as mentioned — a few parents. Always without 12 to 15 people. But these also slowly get the feeling that they have to cooperate with us"

Thus, in the interview with her, she stresses the cooperativity and also her big emotional involvement in the school. She would like to integrate

everybody into the school activities. But this cooperativity has it's limits, in some of her statements, her position of power in the hierarchy is clearly visible:

"I do not get anything commanded from above, what I have to do, on the contrary, one says, think about it, whatever you would like to achieve, what is the goal, how do you get there? And do it in your way, as well as you can. But do it seriously, not superficially. Just like that." There is a contradiction: between the recieving of no commands, on the one hand, and clear norms and values on the other hand, very precise procedures which are put forward.

In this school there were a number of experimental school classes. The authorities choose her school for these experiments. This supports the image of flexibility, openness and the willingness to entertain experiments. She appears almost esoteric in the daily running of the school — she gives the impression of being available for everyone and everything, which, however, also leads to her being somewhat above everybody's reach and also non-commital. She reacts to a spontaneous desire for contact above all to the children and an open relationship to the teachers also seems important for her.

"My philosophy of life is to cope with people in a way which is acceptable for me, to be open and authentic..That's how I handle the kids, and also my teachers. There are no conflicts behind the back, if I get to know something, then it is immediately talked about. Then I say, come here, come here, let's talk. What irritates you? Get it out! I handle this as social competence. This is the principle aim which is so important for me."

Thus, she organizes the emotional level of the institution in all; the other part, the organization in itself was left to the head of the Parents' Association who identifies very strongly with the school. One can almost refer to a distribution of the workload between these two women. The one sees her responsibility in the practical everyday things, the other in the world of emotions even when authority was still used in this form as we will see in the committee meetings.

Although there was no authority giving out orders, there were nevertheless norms which have to be fulfilled. "My teachers" were indeed very aware of the norm and of the emphasis on openness; it was clear from interviews above all with female teachers that this demand for harmony was not always seen as supporting. "If I become aware of it", unclear things were being discussed. As headmistress she initiates a talk; she does not "want any disruptions", avoiding disruptions was her top priority.

5.3 *Secondary modern school - The missionary*

At the time of the study, the headmistress of the secondary school was in her first year of this job. Confronted with difficult problems, she was very different compared to the "cooperative headmistress" of the junior school. She was correspondingly concerned with the Here and Now and was involved at every opportunity in the business of persuasion: "how the school should be and what the school should do". Her demands have a strong tendency of creating an image which functions outwardly and which moves away from a reflexive, problem-solving strategy ("I've told my teachers that the school always has to present itself"). Another reason for this can be found in the "real" situation of this school where the proportion of foreign children was particularly high and which has only one accompanying teacher (see above). It was also her first post as headmistress and the conditions with which she was confronted at the very beginning were not particularly easy. She was not able to "look after herself" (in the interview), "if I can allow myself to say this" (which means she had no time for herself). The crisis was for her an opportunity to motivate all the groups involved in the school to the greatest possible actionism:

"I would like in full power of my spiritual maturity and my physical strength to take over this position and do something for the school, the children and the parents".

The "we" which she often uses in her remarks (see below) was characterized by a dominance which the headmistress can of course afford in her position of authority; it does, however, seem questionable whether this strategy, which rules out every differentiation, permits the realization of anything "individual", even when it were simply just control which was an essential feature of her social strategies.

"An open discussion. Yes. Above all no anonymity in any direction." The open doors were also described by her as desirable, nevertheless, openness here means the possibility to control everything.

This school, with regard to its atmosphere and the minor presence of the teachers and others involved in the discourse, can be compared with the already quoted "pyramid". The headmistress utters few contradictions; and hardly any ambivalence was to be seen. She was convinced of her opinions which she spreads in an insistent manner.

5.4 *Grammar school - The fighter*

This woman has been headmistress of this school for 14 years. She was very active in the trade union and maintains the style learned there in her school. In a fighting spirit, she pursues her interests, and was concerned with the school's important achievements, always dissociated from the superior power of the authorities (or with partial or full agreement of all without the powers that be noticing).

"I think, I have learnt in the course of many years to do the possible in the school which can be done, in accordance with all. Or with good or worse accordance with all, without the authorities noticing".

She operates skillfully between maternal care and motherly control. She "operates" her school just like a family, she defends it and does not allow anybody to speak badly of the school, if the authorities should ever dare to intervene.

Despite her function, this headmistress was also active as a teacher; the teaching seems to offer an outlet for her everyday life and also seems to renew her identification with what was for her the essential element of the school — the education of the children. As she tells about how she first started as a headmistress and uses the metaphor of the "open doors" which only the pupils have taken advantage of, this statement does not surprise us. Her opinion that the open doors can be used equally by everyone (regardless of rank, gender or age), that she does not perceive the difference between pupils and teachers in her maternal style, corresponds to her style of leadership.

"When I came, I did not understand anything, but I just reacted the way I thought necessary. I left my door open, everybody could come, and the pupils appreciated this, the teachers did not come. And only later, I heard that the teachers felt disciminated against that I was open for the pupils. They did not understand that I also was open for them."

She "treats" all the various groups of people in the school as pupils; she behaves in the various different school situations like the teacher "I've gotta try to keep everything here up to standard and to be the boss, encouraging one, supporting the other a bit, keeping the other one in check if he always comes too late or whatever. Or the children who of course need much more attention".

In her strong identification with teaching and, as a consequence of this, with all "her" teachers, she manages to conceal her authority as headmistress

very well and provokes the phantasy that everyone could tell her everything. her conversational style is caring and indirect, controlling in a subtle way, but still very powerful, very similar to motherese (see Wodak and Schulz 1986). She also makes provision for "institutionalized conflicts" (the so-called *Grumble Time*), which however does not represent any solution to the conflict between the teachers and her in her function, i.e. no argument with authority, and instead usually end up in the solidarity of "we teachers and those authorities". In a controlling manner, aware of her authority, the solidarity provides her with a type of untouchability but also of animation.

5.5 *Some examples*

Text 7: PAJS, 24.10.1989 - "The clever and indirect packaging of uncomfortable decisions"
PA: chairperson of the PA
HE: the "cooperative head"

PA: Oh, yes - and something else - Mrs. Herzog has asked that SHE be
    allowed to introduce -one or even TWO hours for parent consultations.
    The
    Ja, dann noch etwas - die Frau König hat gebeten, daß SIE - eine
    Sprechstunde einf_ - beziehungsweise ZWEI - einführen will. Der
HE: two   /HE smiles, raises two fingers/
    Zwei
PA: for the following reason — she would like — in the future and sadly she hasn't always succeeded in the past as she would have liked to be more in the classroom. To look after the children and teachers. See how things run. And unfortunately the thing was she's overrun with many administrative things — and since we're a very open house and the parents were able to — come any time and want to talk to the head — it's often the case that she doesn't do anything else from eight in the morning 'til twelve /laughs/ apart from talking about this thing and that thing. Talking. Telephoning was an important point — and then various things don't get done and — therefore she would like you: — she would like to ask the parents to — she will be there for you in future on TUESday from eight to nine o'clock and on WEDNESday from twelve until one. Once at lunchtime and once in the morning. Do you still want to / PA to HE/ add anything

Grund ist folgender — sie möchte — in Zukunft, und leider is es ihr in der Vergangenheit nicht IMMER so gelungen wie sie gern wollte — mehr in den Klassen sein. Sich um Kinder und Lehrer — kümmern. Schaun wie lauft die Sache. — Und es is leider so daß sie mit sehr viel Verwaltungssachen überhäuft is — und nachdem wir ja ein sehr offenes Haus sind und die Eltern jederzeit kommen — können und mit der Frau Direktor reden wollen deswegen is es oft so daß sie von acht in der Früh bis um zwölfe nichts andres /lacht/ zu tun — kommt als ahm irgendwelche Dinge diskutieren, beredn. TELEFONI-ERN is ein wichtiger Punkt — und es bleiben dann verschiedene Dinge liegen und — und deswegen möchte sie Sie: die Eltern bitten daß Sie in Zukunft am DIENstag von acht bis neun Uhr — is sie da und für Sie da — und am MITT-woch von zwölf bis eins. Also einmal zu Mittag und einmal in der Früh. Wolln Sie noch DI:/EV zu DI/ etwas ergänzen?

HE: /laughs/ Yes, I would like to add — I am of course here every day — but I would like to have just a little more peace and quiet and a little more time for important talks. It's often the case — those coming to see me often see it — that the door just keeps opening and shutting the whole time. That whenever someone comes in and that you never actually reach the point of being able to continue and finish a decent conversation. There have been times when I've gone to the cafe with parents or with teachers if I wanted to talk without being interrupted. And I would like to do this a little differently. But I'm quite willing if you — say if you've tried it — say to me that it's NOT possible or that there's another way — even to try something different. That's the first step now. Let's see if we

DI: Ja — ich möcht dazu sagen — ich bin natürlich täglich da — aber ich möcht ein bißchen mehr Ruhe haben und ein bißchen mehr Zeit zu wichti-gen Gesprächen. Es is oft so wer oft zu mir kommt sieht es — daß die Tür pausenlos aufgeht. Daß immer jemand hereinkommt und daß ma eigentlich/ ich bin schon manch-/daß man nicht dazukommt wirklich konsequent ein Gespräch fertig fortzuführen. Es hat schon Zeiten gegeben wo ich mit Leh-rern oder mit Eltern ins Kaffeehaus gegangen bin wenn ich ungestört reden wollte. Und das möcht ich versuchen ein bißchen anders zu handhaben. Ich bin aber gern bereit wenn Sie mir sagen wenn Sie das mal ausprobiert haben — wenn Sie mir sagen das geht NICHT oder anders wärs besser — auch etwas anderes zu probieren. Das is jetzt der erste Schritt. Schaun wir uns das an ob uns

PA: Are there any questions
Gibt es Fragen.
HE: that/if that brings me a bit of relief.
das/ob mir das ein bißchen Erleichterung bringt.

At the decisive point, the head of the PA introduces the wish of the headmistress: she would like to offer parents' consultations and limit her accessibility. This "withdrawal of love" (for mothers always have to be available) has however to be packed in a positive wrapper in order to be acceptable and to be understood. The reason given by the head of the PA works on the factual and on the emotional levels: unfortunately, the headmistress with all her commitments does not always succeed in being approachable. And if she tries to be, then much does not get done. Although the school was and should be "an open house". Here, there was an appeal to reason, for no-one profits from a headmistress who cannot fulfill her commitments. However, she stays there for everyone, but only at two arranged hours instead of all the time. "Open house" and "being there for you" were phrases which were certainly used cleverly as packaging. The headmistress continues: she was always there for everyone, but . . . and her arguments give even more of an insight. She would like to have more peace and time for everyone, she would like to finish conversations. Cooperation and the willingness to talk were therefore emphasized. The contradiction remains open: if so many people want to speak to her then two hours were not enough, i.e., the individuals actually receive even less time. No-one, however, realizes this contradiction. And finally, a strategic offer: she merely wants to try this one, other alternatives could also be contemplated. In this way she defrays any possible criticism: it does not have to be decided once and for all. By emphasising cooperation, the withdrawal of love was therefore disguised. There was no discussion about this, the rationalizations were not contradicted.

Text 8 PAGS, 19.10.89: Information as a limitation of freedom to act
CH: Chairwomen
HE: "the fighter"
Uf: parent
Xf: parent

CH: Yes
HE: The School

Uf : A question. What does the School Welfare Committee do?

Frage: Was macht der Schulgemeinschaftsausschuß?

HE: Welfare committee consists of three parents, that was parent parties, so to speak, of three teachers, male and female, and of three pupils both male and female and they speak about certain issues — for example the pupils participate in the decision -making process as regards the school regulations. I can't tell you about everything because I can't remember every detail about every rule. We'll certainly be talking in the next meeting of the School Welfare Committee about whether we'll be having a smokers' room or not. — because this matter has already been brought to my attention. There were also a few other issues

Der Gemeinschaftsausschuß setzt sich zusammen aus drei Eltern. Also Elternteile sozusagen. Aus drei Lehrern oder Lehrerinnen und aus drei Schülern oder Schülerinnen. Und die haben also über gewisse Punkte — zu sprechen zum Beispiel über die Hausordnung da ham die Schüler ein Mitwirkungsrecht. I kann jetzt net alles aufzählen weil alle Gesetze merk ich mir nicht. Wir reden also dort sicher im nächsten Schulgemeinschaftsausschuß ob wir ein Raucherzimmer haben oder nicht. — weil das is scho an mich herangetragen worden. Es san einige Punkte auch

Xf: Oh God/murmurs/

um Gottes Willn /Gemurmel/

HE: that have also been brought to my attention. It's the things which were important for the pupils, which were important for the teachers, which were important for the parents that they discuss there. and if possible of course with all the information they can gather. the representatives of the pupils have to hold a meeting beforehand so that they know more or less what their fellow pupils want. The teachers also discuss in a meeting what they think was important for them and the parents'll hopefully also do this and think about what they need

herangetragen worden. es is halt das was sozusagen den Schülern am Herzen liegt was den Lehrern am Herzen liegt was den Eltern am Herzen liegt das breiten sie dort mal aus. möglichst bitte ah mit all der Information der sie habhaft werden können. also die Schüler müssen eine Klassensprechersitzung vorher machen damit sie also ungefähr wissen was die Schüler wollen. Die Lehrer besprechen auch in einer Sitzung was ihnen sehr wichtig erscheint. und die Eltern werden das hoffentlich auch tun und sich überlegen was sie brauchen

Xf: Yes
              ja

HE: or what they want. Of course very often we're confronted with
    oder was sie wollen. sehr oft is des ja auch so ä daß wir — konfrontiert werden mit

CH: Yes
        ja

HE: problems and then we sit there and just think and sometimes even suspend the meeting. just because sometimes we don't really know what we should do there and go and look for more information. — after all it's a committee so that all those involved in the school should have a — a certain insight in a certain part in the decision-making as to what everyday school life should be. — I know — you can believe — I know we won't revolutionize the world with it.

    Problemen und dann dort sitzen und halt nachdenken und eventuell auch   eins vertagen. ä weil ma net recht wissen was ma damit tun solln und weitere Informationen einholen. — es ist halt ein Gremium ä das allen an der Schule Beteiligten eine — an gewissen Einblick ein gewisses Mitwirkungsrecht am Gestalten des Schulalltags geben soll. — Waß ich — Sie können sich denken — waß ich die Welt revolutionieren wir nicht damit.

In this passage, the headmistress succeeds in presenting a redefinition of the tasks, possibilities and functions of the SWC. She cannot even tell about everything because she herself cannot remember all the rules. At this point, a contradiction would of course be expected, headmistresses should know these things. Precisely this appeal for the others to trust her in every situation implicitly represents the "mother role", she only wants the best for everyone, one can rely on her. With this, the functionaries accept her norm, it's not even worth trying to come to terms with each individual regulation, a bit of autonomy was therefore given up quite voluntarily. She mentions an example of the needs of the pupils, the smokers' room, and postpones it at the same time until the next meeting: thus, it can be seen that she really does know about the requests. Everything which was important should be discussed. These parallelisms have a persuasive and reinforcing function. Then she mentions the preparation for a SWC — everyone has to discuss beforehand in their groups — and turns in an appealing tone to the parents that they should also make their preparations — an implicit and indirect accusation. This interpretation was immediately confirmed, since one cannot discuss

something which one does not know about beforehand. And then — she threatens indirectly — the meeting has to be suspended.

The committee should give an insight into the school's everyday life. This was a clear limitation of the possibilities of the SWC which actually go far beyond pure reporting. And finally she finishes with the commonplace "we (she means the school here) can't revolutionize the world". The Chairperson of the PA follows weakly with a contradiction — "we can have a bit of influence at any rate." The headmistress succeeds, however, through her apparently objective representation of the committee's function in relativising its authority, scope and possibilities through indirectness. The exercising of power was disguised by naming the needs and by repeated assurances that there should be space for everything but only under particular conditions which were set through the headmistress herself.

Text 9 SF/SS, 9.11.89: "We're great!"
HE: "the missionary"

HE: what wonderful teachers we have here! And I was actually very pleased about it and I passed these on as quickly as possible of course — these reports. That means that people were really very impressed by the classes here — the way in which people get on with each other here — and I have to tell you I know a lot of schools and I am also very impressed. We were all very happy with EVERY class. That there's also something going on — that the children were involved everywhere — that may well cause an odd problem here and there — we're quite aware of that, of course. We've still got A FEW problems, a few worries with the first-year classes — did I say something wrong? They're still very unruly — and still aren't quite used to the way things run at a secondary modern school — what we expect of them. They've still got a few problems with the discipline, but I think we're hoping that soon enough it'll be alright and we'll soon have them just like in the other classes. And that's also something that I would like to point out very positively — you notice here that all the teachers chime in together. They're all in the same boat together — of course, everyone's free to use his or her methods — but they're all in the same boat. I think that has a really good effect on the atmosphere here. I think that I can really say that — and I really do support it. We've had a really good experience — the school trip of class 4C. It was in a wonderful castle — near Radstadt — we've seen a video — which Mr. T made — the class teacher of 4C. He was there with Ms L. and the children really enjoyed

it — had a great time. That was a sporting week — the little angels were everywhere — the weather was excellent — and I haven't heard a single complaint, just enthusiasm from everyone. And I must say that a fourth-year class was able to do this right at the beginning — that it was so successful. We'll be doing more school trips this year — with the first-years and

Was das hier für Pädagogen sind. Und das hat mich also auch eigentlich sehr gefreut und ich hab das natürlich schleunigst weitergetragen — diese Meldungen. Das heißt man war also wirklich sehr beeindruckt von den Klassen hier — von dem Umgangston der hier herrscht und ich muß Ihnen sagen ich kenn viele Schuln und ich bin also auch davon wirklich sehr beeindruckt. Wir sind mit ALLEN Klassen recht zufrieden. Daß überall was vorkommt — daß überall Kinder drin sind — die halt mal die eine oder andre Schwierigkeit machn — das simma uns ganz bewußt bitte. ETWAS Schwierigkeiten etwas Sorgen haben wir noch ein bißchen mit den ersten Klassen — sag i was Falsches? — Sie sind noch etwas sehr unruhig — sind noch nicht sehr gewöhnt an die Art wie's an einer Hauptschule zugeht — an die Leistungs/ah/ anforderungen. Disziplinär ham sie a no glaub i bissi Schwierigkeiten — aber ich glaube wir sind also soweit guter Hoffnung daß das bald sich wieder — ah geben wird und daß wir sie dann soweit habm wie wir auch unsere andern Klassen habm. und das is auch etwas was ich hier sehr positiv bemerken möchte — daß das was hier auffällt ist daß alle Lehrer ins gleiche (xxx) ins gleiche Horn blasen. Sie ziehn alle am selben Strang — Methodenfreiheit klar — aber sie ziehn alle am gleichen Strang. Ich glaube das wirkt sich so positiv hier auf das Schulklima aus. Ich glaub das kann ich wirklich sagen — und dazu steh ich auch. Wir ham ein sehr gutes Ereignis hinter uns gebracht — die Schullandwoche der 4C. Die in einem wunderbaren Schloß — (xxx) bei Radstadt warn — wir haben einen Videofilm gesehen — ah den der Herr Lehrer T. aufgenommen hat — der Klassenvorstand der 4C. Er war mit der Kollegin L. dort und die Kinder ham das dort wirklich genossen — hams wunderschön gehabt. Das war eine Sportwoche — die Engerln warn unterwegs — das Wetter war prima — und ich habe also keinerlei Klage gehört sondern nur wirklich große Begeisterung. Und es hat mich also sehr gefreut daß also eine vierte Klasse so etwas gleich am Anfang zustande gebracht hat daß das so ein Erfolg war. Schullandwochen werden wir heuer noch fahrn — mit den ersten Klassen und zwar

At the beginning of the School Forum the president (the headmistress) gives her report. This report has several functions: on the one hand, it was intended as information, on the other hand, the teachers as well as the pupils should be praised. Thirdly, the importance of this school and the comparison to others should be evaluated. The fourth and most important function was to make demands on all those involved and to produce a strong identification with the institution. Therefore this text has a strong persuasive effect, and the "we" discourse was particularly noticeable. This solidarity possibly has the additional function of disguising one's own power (placing oneself on the same level) and signalizes the insecurity with the role of power, actually standing up for the fact that you have it.

She constantly oscillates between distance and identification: "We're all very happy with the classes" was ambiguous, pluralis majestatis or referring to the level of the authorities, but certainly not to those involved. "We've had a very good experience" on the other hand means the school, the group available. At the same time, those involved were addressed as "them", and she talks in the first person, signalling the hierarchical distance.

The most important issues in her speech were the opinions of the authorities, the comparison to other schools, the good atmosphere in school and the school trip as an example of good performance. Problems were played down ("there were problems everywhere, children were like that, a bit in the first years"), the positive sides follow immediately: the solidarity and the concensus amongst the teachers ("we're all in the same boat"). Slogans and catchwords follow each other. And the criticism itself becomes weaker, strategically, through a rhetorical question: "Am I saying anything wrong?" The text was full of appeals ("but I think we're hoping that soon enough") as well as strong positive norms and attributes (enthusiasm, very well, wonderful, etc.). With this, the emotional level was being addressed and the teachers praised. This headmistress has seen to several issues in a very clever way. Criticism was disguised with praise, solidarity and a feeling of community have been aroused, and at the same time a break with the hierarchy has been achieved: she was informed about everything, she was pleased about the success and was impressed with the achievements. If "everyone was in the same boat", then no criticism will be said aloud, conflicts were indeed impossible. Therefore, there was another function of the meeting — avoiding conflict by creating a general consensus. Associations with the speeches of politicians are close at hand. The persuasive function dominates: convincing oneself

and everybody else of the superb position and achievements of the school and swearing everybody to a collective position and direction. A strategic, institutional thinking was therefore predominant.

5.6 *Closing remarks*

As the examples have shown, dichotomies — be they in regard to language behaviour specific to gender, or regarding female styles of leadership — cannot be maintained. The embedding in specific contexts leads to an essentially more differentiated analysis. We were actually confronted with a system of strategies which was moulded by personality, by subjective claims and the institutional conditions in the specific settings. In contrast to the generally positive evaluation of "female style of leadership" as something cooperative and egalitarian, our examples show that these three women apply controlling and authoritarian strategies to achieve their aims, which they sometimes tend to take from the mother's repertoire of rules. In this way, they assert themselves and achieve at the same time a subjective satisfaction of their interests and claims to power. Since the pattern of maternity was shared by all these involved, that was everyone plays along with it, acceptance of these strategies was achieved and was not seen as an uncomfortable exercising of power. Because of hierarchies and power networks in the institutions, a more cooperative style is not possible, although the conversational styles express a lot of mitigating and indirect elements. But, as the title of the paper says, they "will not revolutionize the world" like that, only small steps towards a less authoritarian style are taken.

Notes

1.   It is impossible to summarize all the legal details. But it seems important to mention the responsibilities of the various committees:
      School Welfare Committee (SWC):
      The SWC consists of elected members from the student body, teachers and parents.
            They make decisions on school projects, political education, career planing programmes, parents evenings.
            They are consulted on problems about the curriculum and education, as well as about the budget.
      Class forum (CF):
      Election of teacher, student and parent representatives of a class.

The CF decides on those class projects which will incur extensive costs; about health care and specific programmes for the class which do not relate to the curriculum.

They are consulted about the curriculum, education, budget, and other programmes in the school.

School forum (SF):

Consists of head teacher, all class representatives and main teachers of the grades. The SF makes decisions on legal issues affecting the school and on its internal rules.

They are consulted about the same issues as the CF.

Parent Association (PA):

They have participation rights. They are informed about everything that concerns the students, and can take part in teachers meetings. They can express opinions on the school budget and school materials.

They also help resolve problems, such as the expulsion of a student.

2.   We are especially interested in a detailed analysis of different discursive practices and their complementary conversational styles, in one gender: women. Much of the literature (see Tannen 1994a for example) still paint a dichotomous picture of the two sexes (sic!). Following Kramerae (1991) and Duranti and Goodwin (1992), we believe that the context of the interaction is decisive for the language behavior adopted, together with ideosyncratic and psychological traits of personalities. Thus, the institution "school" is certainly very important in our context, the impact of hierarchy on the one hand, on the other hand, the three women in power exercise power differently, using different converstional styles, some often related more to "male" styles, some to institutional styles, and some to traditionally "female" styles of behavior. For example, indirectness, often seen as trademark of female discourse, is certainly more an indicator of hierarchy and topic, than only of gender or sex. The texts were transcribed following Ehlich and Switalla (1976).

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Do's and don'ts

Gender representations in a political debate

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1.   Introduction

Imagine a society whose individuals are androgynous, neither women nor men as understood in the biological and social sense of these terms. The inhabitants of this strange world develop one of two possible sexes during regular periods of sexual arousal, depending upon their vis à vis, without knowing beforehand which sex they will be during that period. Will they become men or women? This means that they could be either mothers or fathers of any eventual children. Thus, they neither live nor grow up in family structures, are never at war with anyone and are not organised in aggressive groups. Their society is structured mainly in a courtly and intriguing system which requires highly elaborate forms of polite communication, which is determined by an awareness of a person's image, prestige and status within the society. This results in linguistic forms which are marked by differing levels of indirectness. In such a society there are no typical types of either male or female behaviour, no biological identities to separate the strong from the weak, the protectors from the protected, the active from the passive.

This, of course, is science fiction, a scenario invented by Ursula K. Le Guin in her utopian novel "The Left Hand of Darkness" published in 1969.

Le Guin delineates how a society could look that is based neither on the biological fact of difference of sex nor on the differences between two genders as social derivatives of a biological phenomenon, (which guarantees not only the social arrangements between men and women, but also the institutionalised reproduction of gender behaviour). Here, there is no gender

role-playing. There is not the slightest, most subtle possibility of flattering a woman's femininity, nor of paying any attention to a man's masculinity. The inhabitants of this planet define their position, their status and representation in society by the prestige they achieve or lose depending upon their individual ability to manoeuvre within a complex system of courtesy which is marked predominantly by rituals and strategies of avoidance.

On our planet the image and prestige of any being is always connected to the gender which has been attributed to them since their day of birth. Also, the differences between men and women are relevant not only for phenomena which are connected to sexuality and reproduction, but additionally in contexts which are not connected intrinsically to the either sex or gender — as may be the case somewhere in outer space.

The production of culturally appropriate forms of femininity and masculinity is one of the central functions of social authority. Processes of social determination are constructed as varying models. There are culturally specific ideals of femininity and masculinity, just as there are differing role attributions. Varying role models and assumptions about gender-specific representations result in the construction of stereotypes and in labelling processes. Such stereotypes can vary greatly and are dependent upon social contexts such as class, education and so forth. They are continually reproduced by social institutions such as the family, the work place and mass media and they constitute the significance of gender. Differences of gender are constructed not only physically but also spatially, via verbal and non-verbal communication and ritual, subcultural habitualisations, fashion and so forth.

Apart from determinism, constraints of social norms and symbolic reproductions of the differences between men and women, it should be stated that individuals of either gender do not fully accept gender-specific role attributions or expectations. Both men and women use the tension arising from domination versus the possibility of renegotiating normative assumptions to redefine situations.

This article deals with the linguistic behaviour of a female politician in a public context and shows how the two men appearing with her — a politician from an opposing party and the journalist moderating the discussion — react to her modes of interaction. This example intends to illustrate how women deal with standard ideas about female roles. As long as a pre-structured situation is not impinged upon by the female, gender roles remain implicit and unproblematic. However, as soon as a woman enters a domain formerly ex-

clusively male she is confronted with a double-bind situation: she feels called upon to meet standard expectations about her femininity at the same time as meeting her own standards of professional behaviour. Granted, this gives women a chance to adapt to new social requirements and to redefine the female role. The examples used here to illustrate this will also clarify the linkage and sequencing of large-scale social changes and local activities. Margolis (1985) speaks of "redefinition-negotiation"[1] which will become visible in a detailed discourse analysis. In her analysis of literature about etiquette and good breeding since the 18th century, Mixa (1994) outlines the historical construction of standard ideas about women as seen in terms of character, femininity etc.[2] and shows this to be a process of education and discipline. Today, stereotypical ideas about women are not only documented in the sense of there being explicit norms; they also become internalised via the consumption of mass media, i.e. television, illustrated magazines and advertising, as was pointed out by Goffman in the early Seventies.[3] Goffman also showed that politeness is actually an interactive regulator which establishes and maintains peaceful coexistence between the sexes, where women could elaborate a 'competence of incompetence' (Frigga Haug).

But not only standard ideas about women have hit troubled waters since the late Sixties. Men are being called upon to question habitual responses and to deal with a changed situation. As women can no longer be categorised under labels such as 'mother', 'seductress', 'lady', 'help-mate' or desexualised as 'career woman', 'blue-stocking' etc. — the male equivalents being 'husband', 'father', 'mate', 'gentleman' etc. — men are facing increasing difficulties in upholding a patriarchal order based upon traditional patterns of male roles and identities. By the same token that women are redefining taken-for-granted assumptions about their identity, male roles are also being called into question. The following example of interruptions — a type of behaviour widely cited and discussed, also beyond the borders of language and gender literature, as being a typical male act of linguistic violence that victimises women[4] — illustrates this very well. The following case study shows how male interruptions in a public context within a male/female discussion have become a sacrilege, and how this new conversational rule, coupled with the adoption of the interruption tactic by the female, can make a male politician feel insecure and unsure of how he should present himself.

2. Gender as social practice

Goffman already made very clear that gender is an institutionalised dialogic construct which is of relevance because it is adhered to and socially accepted. Thus gender specificity is the result of an environment, both physical and interactive, that has been especially arranged for that purpose. In his work, Goffman describes how gender becomes institutionalised in order to create differences between male and female. These differences are then perceived as the reason for gender-specific institutions. This institutional reflexivity is abundantly present in all manner of contexts. It is realised by means of architecture, socialisation, economic and psychological credentials, body identification, clothes[5] etc. as well as by conversational rules and strategies such as forms of address, accepted structures of turn-taking within a discussion, length of turn and modes of intonation etc.[6].

Thus the arrangements between the sexes are not kept up by following a finite set of rules with which an individual is confronted and has to adhere to and which are based upon class, income or status, but by a highly complex web of habitualisations which are products of given situations, the space within which a situation takes place, the persons involved, the "congealed experience" as "a product of an individual's history" (Krais 1993:216), as well as the medium which frames any form of communication in a particular way. Bourdieu's concept of habitus tries to show the relation between objective determinism and subjective outputs in the sense that he understands that habitus is a principle which is subject to continual changes and which also influences social practice. Habitus as a matrix for thinking, acting and perceiving produces the ideas, activities and perceptions that are typical for a particular culture. Thus it is possible for a collective identity to be revealed through the actions, style etc. of an individual.

Habitus becomes actualised under established conditions of exchange, struggle or competition and increases, changes or devalues implicit social and cultural capital.

Economic, social and cultural capital can be subsumed as symbolic capital or social energy whose distribution or appropriation is at stake.

Power can be expressed symbolically in which case it is invisible. It becomes a subtle way to exercise power in a hidden manner which however can only function as long as it is not recognised as power. A striking illustration of this can be seen in interruptions and their metadiscourses (see below).

Subjective structures and objective circumstances have to be brought into correlation and habitus incorporates what is proper, the correct way to behave. Habitus functions in an immediate way within existing social structures, i.e. social space and social fields. In order to become realised these social structures need habitus. Thus, social conditions are continually being reproduced, transformed and checked by the practices of individuals who have been generated by habitus. The political interview, or political discussion programmes, can be seen as atoms of condensed social practice.[7]

If we now look at the linguistic practice of individuals within a given context, we can regard them as habitual positions facing social conditions. What are the theoretical advantages of introducing the concept of habitus to discourse analysis? Unlike the concept of role behaviour, the concept of habitus has a much wider analytical radius because it also encompasses actions ruled by unconscious schemata, as well as the fact that such things as daily life attitudes, modes of perception, gestures and mimetics can be traced back to habitus.

Thus a much wider field of human actions, cultural constructs and mental acitivities can be socially decoded. For instance, the identity of a female politician is a product of a particular habitus. Using this concept we can see how and to what degree a politician's identity relates him or her to the group for which he or she stands: the political party, the public as viewers and voters and also the gender.

The concept of habitus makes transparent how on the one hand social realities reflect the matter-of-factness of social order but on the other hand social order takes issue with social reality. If habitus is the product of an individual's history, it should be possible to show how an individual deals with social traditions, norms and values. In our case study I shall outline how a successful young female politician deals with standardisations of female gender as expressed by a male journalist who presents the discussion and by a male politician who is almost one generation older than the female participant. Both politicians, Madeleine Petrovic and Erhard Busek, use forms of communications which are part of the linguistic habitus which is produced in this specifically mediated social encounter. There is a ritual discourse of authority which is marked by references to the group on whose behalf he or she speaks.[8] Although Bourdieu does not go into this, it should here be stated that this form of linguistic ritual used to be an exclusively male domain, which in our case is entered by a female politician who represents a political party

(the Greens) made up 50-50 of male and female representatives. Madeleine Petrovic is neither a 'token woman' nor is she a female politician responsible for portfolios such as health or family affairs, traditionally the province of female politicians in Austria. She is her Party's chief representative and she stands for a programmatic change in their public relations strategy: it was decided that for the duration of the election campaign underway at the time of the televised discussion analysed here, they would depart from their customary tradition of concentrating on political content and run a highly personalised campaign as practiced by the other four political Parties.

The topic of this case study is to examine how a female politician copes with male standardisations of her gender and in what way a male politician reacts to her self-presentation, when it differs from the expected female mode of (political) discourse.

Possibly this could contribute to a discussion about the qualities of such distinctions as related to political success as well as the idea of a new form of female approach to the social magic of a language of authority.

3.   The material used for this case study

As material, extracts from a television discussion programme have been used. The programme was transmitted in autumn 1994 during the Government election campaign. A new Government is elected every four years in Austria. These elections differed from the preceding ones in several respects. For one thing, a brand-new Party was running, making five Parties in all, two of which were headed by women — also something new. Austrian television devised a new type of political programme termed *Round Table*, which will be described in more detail later. Both women were and are in Opposition Parties. Dr. Madeleine Petrovic — whose televised discussion is the subject of our case study — heads the Green Party, a mainly ecologically oriented Party with its roots in citizen's committees. She has recently changed her public image fairly dramatically from being somewhat dowdy to becoming attractive and chic, a successful female manager.

Dr. Heide Schmidt heads the new Liberal Party, a Party she founded after leaving the former FPÖ (Freedom Party) — now known as the F-Movement — when its Chairman initiated a xenophobic referendum on the question of foreigners in Austria. While still a member of the FPÖ, Heide Schmidt held the

position of deputy leader under Jörg Haider. The male candidates during this election campaign were Dr. Jörg Haider (FPÖ), Dr. Franz Vranitzky (SPÖ = Social Democrats) and Dr. Erhard Busek (ÖVP = Austrian People's Party). Vranitzky held and holds the dual positions of Party Chairman and Chancellor. Busek was at the time chairman of his Party, a conservative Party standing for traditional values such as family, the Catholic Church, cultural conservativism and a competitive, free market economic system. During the Eighties, Busek was deputy Mayor of Vienna and during this time he promoted a campaign which pursued ecological aims. Of the five candidates Madeleine Petrovic was both the youngest and the least experienced politically.

The Austrian television programme *Round Table* initiated a new concept in discussion programmes: using the same journalist on all occasions — Elmar Oberhauser, who acted as presenter and referee — two of the five candidates met to discuss and express their views, a permutation which resulted in all five candidates meeting each other in twosomes. The role of the male journalist was to introduce the participants, initiate the discussion by means of a question and to intervene only should the discussion become so heated as to be unintelligible to the viewers, or if a question or subject was being obviously avoided.

We can quickly see that these *Round Table* discussions were intended to be highly controversial and of course it was in the nature of the personal permutations that the candidates of the Opposition Parties had a certain advantage over those of the ruling Parties, who very quickly arrived at a juncture where they were obliged to defend the government's policy. Thus it is important to stress that this context was not only one of interaction between men and women, but also between Government and Opposition. In this particular case the smaller, Opposition Parties had additional decisive strength due to the fact that in recent elections the Parties in power had come near to losing their absolute majorities.

4. Watching television

Television programmes are followed and understood via identification mechanisms and such 'mechanisms' are made available by filmic techniques such as the 'point-of-view' shot. In a point-of-view shot, what is shown is seen as

if through the eyes of an actor or participant or presenter. This connects the viewer to this figure whose perspective and line of sight is being duplicated. As Wilson (1993) points out in his hermeneutic theory on "Watching Television" the identification processes that take place are attached to the role of the actor/participant/presenter rather than with the person themselves: the *role* of 'critical interviewer'; the role of 'a politician fighting against Rightist policies'; the role of 'a self-conscious woman who represents a certain image of courage and who manages to deal with a powerful male opponent'. In the *Round Table* discussions the journalist presents his two guests and frames the situation that will follow. He looks directly into the camera and speaks to the viewer. The politicians sit to the right and left of him and look at each other and address the public in the main only verbally. For Wilson, television transmits the illusion of being interactive and the viewer identifies with both the journalist who is doing the interviewing and the politician who is being interviewed. What we might call 'social actors' on television are thus confronted with various expectations and needs: they must try to constitute credible figures of identification for the viewer — to get themselves elected or just watched; they are governed by dynamics of identification processes whose outcome is unpredictable depending as they do on the social experiences of the viewer and finally they have to deal with their own habits of language and manner which signal that they belong to a certain social class and can easily be decoded. All this while representing an authentic person who is the voice of all potential voters.

In Austria, women are still exceptional in the field of politics and very definitely so as a Party Leader. So in our case we have a situation in which a young woman is in a powerful position;[9] being in the Opposition the structural circumstances of the television programme are to her advantage; she cannot be identified with the habitus of a token woman or even an androgynous public female figure. At first sight she does not constitute a stereotypical female figure such we are accustomed to being presented with either in advertising, soap operas or even panel discussions.

5. Case study

Included in the following examples are the introduction and opening passages of the programme and some typical turn-taking extracts from this 40-minute programme.

P stands for Madeleine Petrovic, B for Erhard Busek and O for Elmar Oberhauser.

#	=	interruption
-	=	short intonation break
er	=	filled break
?	=	questioning intonation
.	=	falling intonation
L	=	breath taking

Example I: Introduction and framing

O: Ich wünsche Ihnen einen schönen Abend hier vom Runden Tisch und begrüße
I wish you a good evening here from the Round Table and I greet
Sie zur zweiten Runde der diesjährigen Wahlkonfrontationen. Und auch
you at the second round of this year's election confrontations and once again
heute heißt es wieder Opposition gegen Regierung. Meine Gäste sind die
today it's the Opposition against the Government. My guests are the
Klubobfrau und Spitzenkandidatin der Grünen Dr. Madeleine Petrovic -
Chairwoman and leading candidate of the Greens Doctor Madeleine Petrovic -

P: Guten Abend
         Good evening

O: Schönen guten Abend. Und der Spitzenkandidat der ÖVP
a very good evening. And the leading candidate of the People's Party
Bundesparteiobmann Vizekanzler Dr. Erhard Busek. - Ich wünsche Ihnen
chairman Vice Chancellor Doctor Erhard Busek. - A very good evening I would like
einen schönen Abend ich
once

B: Grüß Gott
            [greeting-formula]

O: möchte noch einmal festhalten daß dies kein Runder Tisch im üblichen Sinn ist
again to state that this is not a Round Table in the usual sense
sondern daß im Interesse der gewünschten Konfrontation meine Gäste
but rather in the interest of the desired confrontation my guests
miteinander diskutieren und - ihre Argumente austauschen sollen. Frau
should discuss with one another and - exchange their arguments. Doctor
Dr. Petrovic ich - bezieh mich einleitend wie gestern - auf eine
Petrovic I refer - as an introduction in the same way as yesterday - to a
Aussprache die Sie im Sommergespräch auf eine Aussage die Sie dort
discussion that you in the summer discussion to a statement that you made
getan haben Sie haben sich damals gegen jede Koalitionsspekulation aus
there at the time you spoke against every coalition speculation from the
Sicht der Grünen ausgesprochen - Sie haben Interesse an der
point of view of the Greens - you did not you did express interest in
Regierungsverantwortung ab_ angemeldet haben aber aber eingeschränkt
governmental responsibility while also making the restriction not in the

nicht in der kommenden Legislaturperiode - und Sie haben angekündigt
coming legislative period - and you announced making
eine starke Opposition zu machen was heißt das?
a strong Opposition what does that mean?

The journalist introduces the programme somewhat in the manner one might expect to hear used to introduce a boxing match. He opens a "zweite Runde" (*'second round'*) that is now about to begin. An introduction of this kind not only awakens the interest of the viewers, it also raises expectations of a stimulating controversy to follow. A programme of this kind is only entertaining when the themes raised are not discussed in any great detail, but are dealt with by the participants in the form of quick repartee. The journalist makes clear that his function is that of a referee and introduces the two opponents to the viewers. Since both politicians are very well known to the public, this form of introduction with its sporting-event jargon transmits the subtext that we have here a challenger (the young, less experienced female) and a title-holder (the older, very experienced and established male) and that at the end of the programme there will be a winner and a loser and that the whole 'match' will be controlled by the journalist.

After introducing his guests and outlining the form the programme will take, the journalist begins by addressing Madeleine Petrovic, recalls an earlier statement of her's in a previous programme, roughs out her Party's policy vis à vis the Government and ends with the broad question: "Was heißt das?" (*'What does that mean?'*)

A broad question of this type at the beginning of an interview is a common strategy (Schwitalla 1979), allowing the person to whom it is put to declare his or her position. It also may appear to be a question that puts no apparent restraints on the interviewee, giving her the chance to make a summary of her Party's political programme, raise themes she may herself wish to address and generally set up an attractive image for the viewer. In this particular type of discussion programme, it is not necessarily going to be the journalist who follows up her reply with another question — it might be her opponent. But either way, the structure is such that the journalist appears to be on the side of the person to whom the first question has *not* been put. However, a question of this type, on closer examination, is not necessarily the generous invitation it may at first appear to be. Indeed, it could be interpreted as in fact saying: 'what I have quoted you as having said is so unclear that it requires an explanation'. And if Madeleine Petrovic goes ahead and answers

that question: "Was heißt das?" *('What does that mean?')* she runs the risk of appearing like an obedient schoolgirl and will possibly be judged as such by her male opponent. In fact she is more or less being asked to present her credentials!

Example II: Reframing

O: ... machen was heißt das?
    strong Opposition what does that mean?

P: L-äh Ja äh ich darf vielleicht zunächst einmal
                                      L - er yes er perhaps I may first of all
    die Runde noch einmal begrüßen - den Herrn Vizekanzler ich bin froh daß dieses
    greet the round once again - the Vice Chancellor I am glad that this discussion
    Gespräch zustande gekommen ist - es scheint keine Selbstverständlichkeit zu
    is taking place - it appears not to be a matter of course
    sein - weil mit Herrn Dr. Haider und Frau Dr. Schmidt scheint es hier
    - because with Herr Doctor Haider and Frau Doctor Schmidt there appears here
    Schwierigkeiten zu geben daß sich die einer Konfrontation mit mir stellen - also
    to be difficulties in them taking on a confrontation with me - so as far as that
    insofern ein Positivum daß dieses Gespräch zustande kommt und
    goes it's a positive factor that this discussion takes place and
    selbstverständlich die - Rolle der Grünen in der Opposition
    of course the - role of the Greens in the Opposition
    äh unsere
    er our

B: selbstverständlich
    of course

P: Auseinandersetzung mit dem Beitrag der ÖVP - in der - Regierung und - da Herr
    analysis of the contribution of the People's Party - in the - Government and - there
    Vizekanzler schlage ich vor aus meiner Sicht gibt es - drei Punkte die ich gerne -
    Vice Chancellor I suggest in my view there are - three points that I
    thematisieren - möchte nämlich zum einen die - Rolle der ÖVP in der
    would like - to make the subject of discussion namely for one the - role of the
    Regierung ...
    People's Party in the Government ...

So in her first turn at speaking, Madeleine Petrovic does not answer the question immediately. She reframes the situation by starting from the top, as it were. The manner in which she does this, starting by drawing a breath, pausing and saying to begin with "L-äh Ja äh" *('L — er yes er')*, greeting those present, are signals that before she answers the question she has something else to say. Her opening words cannot therefore be categorised as unresponsive. She is merely setting up fresh conditions for answering. By doing

this she has avoided the journalist having control of the situation and has shifted the perspective of the situation away from him on to herself and thus gained, for the time being, control of the situation. She even refers to two other Opposition politicians whom she challenged to face her and her criticisms, thus strengthening her image as an active role model for her viewers. Petrovic does not thank Busek for agreeing to this discussion with her. Instead she refers to a personal emotional state "Ich bin froh" *('I am glad')*. At this point it becomes clear that it was she who initiated the discussion between the two of them and she concedes his democratic attitude in that he was willing to face her. By saying this, she is also making clear that she is going to question, and possibly criticise Busek.

She follows this up by announcing that there are three points she would like to address, but before she can develop the first point she is interrupted by her opponent.

Conclusion

To enhance her public image optimally, Petrovic has to answer and react to this apparently broad question in a complex way. The whole encounter has been framed as something of a sporting debate, a sporting event, so not only must she take the opportunity of presenting her political position; she has to shift the point of view in the sense that she is not seen as the contents of this programme who is merely being presented by someone else. She must be seen to be an active and initiating participator. She must present herself as a politician with very clear positions and she desires to be seen additionally as an attractive young woman with claims to be the right choice in an arena that is tough, political and male-dominated.

The significance of this programme and its analysis can thus be gauged not only from the textual strategies presented, but also according to the social experience of the viewer (cf Wilson 1993:79).

Madeleine Petrovic has to fulfill somewhat contrary expectations and demands (those she sees as being the viewer's; those she sees as being her opponent's and those she makes upon herself). Being a woman she will be automatically connected with stereotypical ideas about dissembling, charm, wit, personal involvement and the necessity of reacting appropriately to male strategies of politeness.[10] She must however also be seen as a competent

politician and the expectations linked with this are based on beliefs about male gender: directness, being cool, knowledgeability etc. The following examples show how Petrovic deals with these contradictory expectations and how she confronts a male form of political discourse with her verbal behaviour.

Example III: Interruption and agreement

P: zum ersten Punkt ich habe den Eindruck bei der - bei der ÖVP
P: *on the first point I have the impression with the - with the People's Party*
B: # Glauben Sie
                                                            # Don't you

nicht daß es nicht ganz interessant wäre die Frage vom Herrn
think that it would not be interesting should the question from Mr.
Oberhauser zu beantworten? Das interessiert nämlich vielleicht die
Oberhauser be answered? That interests namely perhaps female and male
Bürgerinnen und Bürger
citizens

P: Genau das tue ich genau das tu ich Herr -
        That is exactly what I am doing that is exactly what I am doing Mr. -
Herr Vizekanzler es geht um äh die Rolle die Sie in der
Mr. Vice Chancellor it is a matter of er the role that you had in the
Regierung hatten und was wir daran áls Oppositionspartei zu kritisieren
Government and the things about this that we as the Opposition party have to
haben - Sie stellen einige ganz wesentliche Personen - in der Regierung
criticise - you contribute several really significant persons - in the Government
- grad aus grüner Sicht wichtige Personen - etwa die
- precisely from a Green point of view significant persons - for instance the
Familien und Umweltministerin oder den
Madame Minister for the Family and Environment or the Minister for
Landwirtschaftsminister - und andererseits den Wirtschaftsminister. Und da
Agriculture - and on the other hand the Minister for Economic Affairs. And it
scheint es mir kein Zufall - daß wenn wichtige Diskussionen im Gange sind
appears to me no coincidence - that when important discussions are underway
dann - finden auch Sie sich - immer wieder - auf Seite einer
- then you also find yourself - over and over again - on the side of a
ganz traditionellen - letztlich umweltzerstörenden
completely traditional - in the last analysis environmentally destructive
Wirtschaftspolitik und von seiten der Umweltministerin kómmt nicht einmal
economic policy and on the part of the Environment Minister not even any
mehr ein Akzent. Ich erinnere mich an die - lange ...
emphasis any more. I remember the - long ...

Busek now attempts to redefine the situation as it has been set up by Petrovic: as a young female politician who herself wishes to define the subjects she wants to address; who does not intend to wilt before the structural authority of a male journalist and who has presented herself as a politician who requested confrontations with selected opponents and who does not intend to be provoked. Busek's interruption has to be seen as a first attempt to avoid being the participant who is required to *re*act and he formulates his attack in a very interesting way: like Petrovic he attempts to shift the point-of-view in that he reminds Petrovic that she has not answered the journalist's question "Was heißt das?" *('What does that mean?')*. He does not refer to the contents of Petrovic's turn and even attempts to undermine the active and initiating image that she strove to produce for positive role identification in the viewer by delineating what he feels the viewers would *actually* like to hear, i.e. 'the viewer wants to hear the journalist's question being answered and not what you have been saying'. Thus anticipating a possible intervention on the part of the journalist he tries to legitimise his interruption as a defense of the public's interest. He wishes to push her back into the obedient role — someone who answers questions but does not put them.

He attempts to undermine her autonomy by not even referring to any of the contents of what she said, and in fact correcting her behaviour.

This conversational attack has a threefold message: 1. he does not accept the critical content of Petrovic's turn; 2. he neither respects nor approves of her active role and 3. he is lining up with the male journalist, even backing him up. And the fact that he has referred to the watching public is a reinforcement of this attack, albeit that this particular strategy is somewhat sly in that he can be seen as speaking for the viewer. So the interruption is not really a personal interruption, it is, so to speak, an advocacy: through his voice a group of people come to life.[11]

To recap the analysis hitherto: in his turn, Busek tries to 'tame' his opponent. His strategy for doing this is to present her as someone whose argumentation is not going to be serious enough to be worth listening to (she has barely got the words "ÖVP" — the name of his Party — out of her mouth when he cuts her off) and as someone who does not know the basic conversational rules to be observed in a public discussion. He thus manages to make her look impolite and inexperienced, not competent to face the situation (as, of course, he is).

Busek has managed to set up a typical dilemma situation. His representation of a male can only deal with stereotypical female role behaviour: a

woman who is charming and amusing. Not one who is critical. As soon as a female does not conform to these stereotypical expectations, she has to be attacked and shown to be a incompetent and disobedient. However, were she to behave like a 'good girl', he would not respect her as a political opponent.

How does Petrovic deal with this interruption? She attempts to turn Busek's implicit criticism to her advantage by starting off with the words "Genau das tue ich genau das tu ich" *('That is exactly what I am doing that is exactly what I am doing')* — indeed she repeats this phrase, thereby regaining control of the situation. And her criticism now becomes directly personal because she changes from having said "die — Rolle der ÖVP" *('the role of the ÖVP')* to "die Rolle die Sie in der Regierung hatten" *('the role that you had in the Government')*. She has succeeded in Busek's interruption being seen as an attack and does not waste any conversational time or energy by making an interpersonal problem out of it before going on with her criticism. Petrovic dismisses Busek's interruptive turn as irrelevant and goes full steam ahead with her criticism of Busek's policy.

Example IV:

P: ... L-äh und wo die - die Mitte der ÖVP ist es ist eher ein -
        L-er and where the - the centre of the People's Party is there is more or less a -
        ein totaler Verlust der Mitte eingetreten -
        a total loss of the centre has taken place -
O: Bitte
                                        Please
B: L-äh schauen Sie Frau
                                                L-er look Madame
        Abgeordnete ich verstehe das und das ist auch das gute Recht der
        Representative I understand that and that is also the perfect right of the

Petrovic's long turn ends with a harsh criticism of Busek and his Party in general. Busek now has to attempt to ameliorate this loss of face. So he does not answer immediately, but waits for the journalist's invitation "Bitte" *('Please')*. He thus manages to avoid a direct confrontation between himself and his opponent, by hiding, as it were, behind a construct of formality and at the same time using the presence of the journalist to his own advantage: he gains time, although Oberhauser is here being asked to be more active than he intended to be. Busek thus appears to be reacting to the journalist and not directly to Petrovic. A direct confrontation can have the effect of equalising status and power.[12]

B: L-äh schauen Sie Frau
                                            L-er look Madame
Abgeordnete ich verstehe das und das ist auch das gute Recht der Opposition
Representative I understand that and that is also the perfect right of the
von sich aus zu sagen sie kann an der Regierung eigentlich gar nichts Gutes
Opposition to say unprompted that they can find nothing good in the
finden äh das ist völlig legitim ich bin lang genug
government er that is completely legitimate I have been long enough an
Oppositionspolitiker in Wien gewesen - und das ist natürlich zunächst einmal
opposition politician in Vienna - and that is of course naturally first of all the
die Strategie an die man geht - ich sage Ihnen nur aus der Erfahrung meiner
strategy one follows - I just tell you only from the experience of my activity as
Tätigkeit als Oppositionspolitiker - olles schlecht zu finden ist níe - eine gute
an opposition politician - to find everything bad is never - a good strategy -
Strategie - sondern ganz selbstverständlich mácht auch eine Regierung was und
rather quite as a matter of course a government takes action and it is
es ist gar keine Schande - etwas anzuerkennen. Zur ökologischen Frage möchte
definitely no disgrace - to acknowledge something. On the ecological question
ich in meinem ganz persönlichen Namen sagen - Frau Klubobfrau - ich war
I would like in my own personal name to say - Madame Chairman - I was
schon grün - da waren die meisten von den grün-alternativen Abgeordneten
already Green - at a time most of the Green-Alternative members were
noch rót.
still red.
Also -
So -
P: # Aber heute sind Síe nicht grün - und Ihre Partei ist überhaupt nicht
     # But today you are not Green - and your Party is absolutely not
      grün und wir ...
     Green and we

Busek reacts, to begin with, to Petrovic's criticism with a strategy of politeness: "L-äh schauen Sie Frau Abgeordnete" *('L-er Look Madame Representative')*, a phrase which is preceded by taking a breath and two pauses. We can regard this start as an attempt to redistribute the balance of power within this discussion, and that in more than one sense:

First, it offers the possibility of delaying the answer to some discomforting comments. Time is gained, an answer can be planned. Secondly, this phrase is the Austrian variety of the German form of address which usually combines the name with any eventual title. This has the function of delineating the hierarchy starting from the top downwards (Busek is not only his Party's Chairman, he is also Vice-Chancellor, Petrovic is merely head of her

Party with no Government function) and is thus a metacommunicative statement. A statement however that is given an informal character, spoken as it is with a touch of dialect.

By framing his advice to her as something personal, he shifts the whole interaction from the public zone to a more private context = 'just between you and I'. He thereby manages to relativise her criticism — and thus she herself — as neither experienced nor competent enough to say such things. He makes her look a stereotypically naïve woman.

As he has been personally attacked, Busek continues with a personalised statement "Ich verstehe das" *('I understand that')*. However, he does not directly address Petrovic's criticism. Instead, he begins a long metadiscourse on Petrovic's argumentation *strategy*. He thus attempts to undermine her authenticity by describing her words as a conscious "strategy" (twice), as being too unspecific and as such, the typical ill-advised strategy of a beginner. In an almost off-the-record mode, he delivers some advice to his female opponent, a speech-act that here has the function of informalising-personalising the situation. His use of dialect once again underlines this (= "olles" instead of "alles" / *'all'*) and he positions Petrovic as an inexperienced young woman who is now being given valuable tips for life from an older and far more experienced male politician. By splitting the situation into two contexts: political discussion / personal advice, Busek is making a decision about the legitimacy of Petrovic's comments.

Busek enlarges upon his own personal views "Zur ökologischen Frage möchte ich in meinem ganz persönlichen Namen sagen" *('on the ecological question I would like in my own personal name to say')*. This formulation has the function of acting as a massive disparagement of Petrovic's Party programme as well as stressing his own authenticity in these matters.

Petrovic lets Busek go on speaking until the point where he attempts to further undermine his opponent by saying that he himself was a Green at a time when most of the present Green party were still Socialists. (He has attempted to present himself as the de-facto founder of the Green movement in Austria.) But at this accusation she interrupts.

Example V: Insisting

P: # Aber heute sind Síe nicht grün - und Ihre Partei ist überhaupt nicht grün und
      # But today you are not Green - and your Party is absolutely not Green and
      wir reden da auch nicht nicht über die Grünen - sondern über Sie und Ihre Rolle
      we are here not speaking about the Greens - but about you and your role

in der Regierung
in the Government
B: # Frau Klubobfrau - wenn wir uns auf etwas einigen - aus dem
                           # Madame Chairman - if we could agree upon something - from
Lernen von gestrigen Diskussion - schlage ich Ihnen vor daß wir einander
the lesson of yesterday's discussion - I suggest to you that we allow one
aussprechen lassen das ist eine minimale - minimale -
another to finish speaking that is a minimum - minimum
P: # aber wir sollten durchaus ein
                                                     # but we should certainly have a

Streitgespräch führen ich glaub daß das -
debate I believe that that -
B: das kann man. Man kann glaube ich dem Zuseher durchaus zumuten daß
      that one can. I think that one can certainly expect the viewer
      er uns hintereinander hört - also ich hab Sie Ihren Gedanken sagen lassen
      to hear us one after another - so I let let you express your thoughts
      lassen Sie meinen - also jedenfalls war ich schon grün wie die meisten
      you think - so anyway I was Green when most
      von Ihnen noch rot waren und ich weiß um die Bedeutung dessen und ich habe
      of you were still red and I know the significance of that and I did
      eigentlich auch in Vorbereitung auf das heutige Gespräch Ihr
      actually also in the preparation for today's discussion read your
      interessantes Buch gelesen - und hab mich eigentlich darüber gefreut daß Sie
      interesting book - and actually I was pleased that you
      da schreiben es gibt in manchen Bereichen durchaus Erfolge der klassischen
      write there that in some areas there is definitely success in the classic
      Umweltpolitik Luftreinhaltung ...
      environmental clean-air policy ...

Petrovic's interruption is an openly expressed disagreement. And she also cor-
rects the slant that Busek attempted to give the discussion and brings him back
to the issues she raised in her long turn — a fairly severe loss of face for Busek,
who continues by in fact telling Petrovic how she should behave, but making
this more palatable by using strategies of politeness as addressing her again
by her title, reasonable arguments "aus dem Lernen von gestrigen Diskus-
sion" *('from the lesson of yesterday's discussion')* and by using the inclusive
'we'. Such strategies have the function of face-saving (this is what Brown &
Levinson (1987) would say) — he is being courteous. They also however have
the function of sustaining and confirming the female identity as something
based on stereotypical ideas about a woman being fragile, hard to handle and
above all, entirely different from a man and similar to a child.

When Petrovic breaks in again, Busek this time signals his disapproval with silence, continues at the point he was interrupted and appeals to her sense of fairness "Ich habe Sie Ihren Gedanken sagen lassen lassen" *('I let let you express your thoughts')*, but he is clearly somewhat flustered as he repeats a word and doesn't even complete the sentence. To appeal to her sense of fairness is itself rather unfair as he has already interrupted Petrovic. It also reinforces any stereotypical ideas about females being unreasonable. His use of an inclusive 'we' functions here to establish symmetry rather in the manner a doctor will say 'we' to a patient when discussing some rather unpleasant treatment.[13] But in fact this 'we' of Busek's is used to belittle Petrovic — he does not want, and certainly not so early in the proceedings, a controversial and open debate with his female opponent because this would put them both on the same level.

Conclusion

For the viewing public, a discussion containing frequent interruptions and plenty of controversy is far more entertaining and interesting than a *fair* discussion. Interruptions are a means of obtaining controversial power; they are also a sign of the high level of involvement of the participants. They are of course cultural constructs and cannot be said to be typical of either gender. They can cause misunderstandings in intercultural encounters,[14] but what should not be ignored is that they can be both productive and constructive in several ways. In TV discussions they function as identification and structural mechanisms, breaking up a longer turn that threatens to become a monologue. Seen from a discoursive as well as political perspective, they also function as markers, signalling that the topic under discussion is important and/or controversial. They attract the camera, thus shifting the point-of-view shot; they are supportive in constructing the image of an active participant and they are a linguistic means of insisting that topics already introduced be properly addressed.

Specifically, television, in a highly controversial debate or discussion, brings the politicians nearer to the public *emotionally*, because they are then seen in emotional states such as anger or nervousness or impatience and are thus figures with whom the viewer can more easily identify. Seen in this light, an interruption is a typical occurance for such a framework and does not automatically mean a loss of face for the interrupter.

In this specific case, Petrovic does not use her interruption to introduce a new topic; she uses it to redirect Busek back to what she had been saying previously, i.e. his role *now* in the Government, as well as stating categorically that neither Busek nor his Party is in any way Green. Busek deals with this interruption by totally ignoring its content and issuing a reprimand for having been interrupted. He attempts to distance himself from the situation by introducing a metacommunicative qualification "Frau Klubobfrau — wenn wir uns auf etwas einigen" *('Madame Chairman — if we could agree upon something')* and tries to reinforce the idea that he is not on the same level as Petrovic. Petrovic breaks in again and her comment is very interesting: she refers to the framework and structure of the programme itself, it is after all a discussion programme: "aber wir sollten durchaus ein Streitgespräch führen" *('but we should certainly have a debate')*. Busek's reaction to this is a short silence, and to once again make use of the viewer in his criticism of her behaviour by expressing what he feels can be expected of the viewer. He follows this up with a reiteration of his own longtime ecological involvement and repeats his words about the Socialist past of many of the present Green Party. He then uses an interesting double-edged strategy: he refers to a book written by Petrovic that he had been reading that day — this is very flattering — but he then proceeds to quote her as having written positively about ecological achievements of the Government which of course makes Petrovic look as if she holds completely contradictory opinions. He goes on to outline the Government's ecological intents and economic constraints and concludes with remarks that make the Green Party's policy — and therefore Petrovic — look unrealistic, irresponsible and such as would result in unemployment. Twice during this fairly long speech Petrovic attempts to intervene.

Example VI: Insisting

B: ... a bissel muß man scho ins Praktische gehen L-äh man muß immer i mein
a bit we must really go into the practical - L-er one must always I mean
allgemeine Vorschläge sind war Ehrenwertes aber es muaß a funktionieren - in
general suggestions are to be respected but it has also to function - at
dem Zeitpunkt wo wir diese Energieabgabe machen wollten hätte das etwa
that time when we wanted to bring in this fuel tax that would have meant
für die verstaatlichte Industrie bedeutet - daß sie mit 400 Millionen Schilling
something for the nationalized industries - that they would have had 400 million
mehr belastet wird - und wir hätten - diese 400 Millionen Schilling sofort
additional costs - and we would have had to - this 400 million shillings to pay
zurückzahlen müssen
them back

P: Herr Dr. Busek äh an dieser Stelle lassen Sie mich etwas
           Doctor Busek er at this point let me

B: weil wir in Wirklichkeit die Arbeitsplätze gefährdet hätten Sie müssen also
immediately because in reality we would have risked jobs you have to always

P: Herr Dr. Busek
                                     Dr. Busek

B: immer auch wissen wann Sie etwas machen
know when you do something.

P: zum einen
         for one thing

O: Zwischenruf
               interruption

P: Ja. Herr Dr. Busek. Sie greifen -
                     Yes. Doctor Busek. You go -
und äh ich bin Ihnen dankbar daß Sie mein Buch zitieren - Sie greifen auf kleine
and er I am grateful to you that you quote my book - you go back to small
Erfolge - die weit zurückliegen - in den 70er 80er Jahren zurück L-äh und Sie
successes - that lie far back - in the 70s 80s back then L-er and you
haben nicht erkannt - ...
have not ...

Here Petrovic attempts to break up Busek's strategy of a rigid sequencing of turn-takings, which allows Busek to keep control of the situation. At her second attempt, at the point where Busek is turning what he is saying about governmental policy into an attack aimed at making Petrovic appear incompetent once again "Sie müssen also immer auch wissen wann Sie etwas machen" (*'you have to always know when you do something'*), the journalist intervenes and Petrovic is allowed to have her say.

Apart from having attempted to negotiate directly with Petrovic about the structure/turn-taking of the discussion "schlage ich Ihnen vor daß wir einander aussprechen lassen" (*'I suggest to you that we allow one another to finish speaking',* cf. example V), Busek also attempts to establish a rule of order beyond the framework of the actual verbal discussion. His manner of doing this can take the form of: 1. implicitly asking the journalist to intervene by glancing at him rather than looking at his opponent; 2. via body language, inclining his body towards the journalist and 3. via paralinguistic means such as a laugh addressed to the journalist signalling solidarity with him. Alternatively, Busek adopts the role of the journalist in that he attempts to lay down the rules of the way the discussion is supposed to run (see above) and throughout the programme he makes metalinguistic comments on every occasion Petrovic infringes — as he sees it — these rules.

Petrovic, however, is not about to accept a rigid structure laid down by her opponent. She continues her lively and active participation and involvement and does not take on the role of prisoner within a situation being run by her male vis-à-vis. She presents an anti-authoritarian behaviour. And Busek is authoritarian. He resembles a head-master thus revealing his inability to hold a discussion with a self-confident young woman with her own ideas and politicial positions. His authoritarian strategy is also saying: 'while the Vice-Chancellor is willing to hold a discussion with someone from the Opposition, protocol must be observed'. Male interruptions are of course a means of coercion towards women, of achieving conversational dominance. On TV, successful interruptions create a high identity point-of-view in the programme and they meet the norms of infotainment in that they create breaks in the discoursive flow and thus catch the attention of the viewer.

Example VII: Corrections

P: ... und es dominiert eine gánz traditionelle Wirtschaftspolitik die nichts mehr mit
      ... and a completely traditional economic policy dominates that has nothing to
      Ökologie zusammen hat und wenn Sie gesagt haben verstaatlichte Industrie -
      do with ecology and when you said nationalised industry -
      selbstverständlich liegen uns die Arbeitsplätze am Herzen und dás ist in unserm
      of course jobs and employment are important to us and that is contained in our
      Konzept drinnen - wir haben an das gedacht und - da haben Sie es offenbar -
      concept - we thought of that and - evidently you - have not really concerned
      nicht wirklich sich gut damit auseinandergesetzt.
      yourself thoroughly with that.
B: Also - das ist recht nett und - hier
                                      Well - that's very nice and - here you
      entsprechen Sie dem Zentralsekretär Cap von der SPÖ er wenn
      are in line with the Central Secretary Cap from the Socialist Party er when
      Sie da versuchen Streitereien irgendwie - als Argument zu bringen - ich
      you attempt conflicts somehow - to use them as arguments - I will
      verzíchte darauf die Streitereien unter den Grün-Alternativen Ihnen vorzuhalten
      refrain from reproaching you with the conflicts amongst the Green
      weil das in Wirklichkeit nichts weiterbringt und - wahrscheinlich geht es ja
      Alternatives because in reality that will not get us any further and - probably it's
      darum -
      a matter of
P: # Nur ein Wort es geht mir nicht um
        # Just one word it's for me not a
      Streit_ bitte es ist wichtig es geht nicht um
      matter of argu_ please it is important it is not a case of

B: öäh
                                                      er um

P: Streitereien sondern es geht um die Linie der ÖVP
       conflicts rather it's about the People's Party party line.

B: ((Schweigen)) Frau
                                                  ((silence))

       Dr. Petrovic - wir einigen uns - daß Sie ausreden lassen -
       Doctor Petrovic - we agree - that you let finish speaking -
       das ist eine der míndesten Höflichkeiten und das was
       that is one of the minimal courtesies and what I have always
       ich an Ihnen immer geschätzt habe ist daß Sie einen guten Stil haben - also wir
       valued in you is that you have style - so we
       können glaub ich nur debattieren - wenn Sie mich ausreden lassen so wie ich Sie
       can I think only debate - if you let me finish speaking as I have let you
       ausreden hab lassen - Sie haben glaub i jetzt fünf Minuten braucht also gönnen
       finish speaking - you have now I think needed five minutes so allow
       Sie mir das -
       me that -

P: # Das soll schon ein Dialog sein -
                      # It is supposed to be a dialogue -
       Herr Vizekanzler es sollte schon ein Dialog sein
       Vice Chancellor it is supposed to be a dialogue

B: Da würde ich sagen fassen
                                                  Then I would say be
       Sie sich kürzer dann kommen Sie wieder schneller dran - zur Frage der
       briefer then your next turn would come round faster - to the question of the
       Wirtschaft - das ist glaub ich eine gánz wichtige Frage - Sie können immer nur
       economy - that is I think a very important question - you can always only take the
       jene Schritte machen die Sie den Unternehmern zumuten können - es ist nichts
       steps that you can reasonably expect the industrialists to accept - nothing has
       geschehen - es ist eine Menge geschehen im Zellstoffbereich zum Beispiel -
       taken place - a lot has taken place for instance in the area of cellulose - the
       Papierindustrie das ist eine jener Industrien - die früher am stärksten verschmutzt
       paper industry that is one of the industries - that used to produce the most
       hat - und mit Hilfe des Umweltfonds und einer Reihe von Maßnahmen ist hier
       pollution - and with the help of the Environment Fund and a series of measures here
       ungeheuer viel geschehen - das war in einer Aufschwungphase möglich - und
       an enormous amount has taken place - that was possible at a time of upswing - and
       dann ...
       then ...

Petrovic immediately defends herself and her Party against the accusations
that their ecological policy would result in unemployment and even says that

she is under the impression that Busek has not sufficiently informed himself of their policy in this matter. Busek reacts to this with irony if not sarcasm "Also — das ist recht nett" *('Well — that's very nice')*, refers to quite serious divisions within his own party as "Streitereien" *('conflicts')* and uses this as an opportunity to bring up the matter of controversies within the Green Party that flare up fairly regularly. But he does so by stating explicitly that he will not go into this, thereby giving himself a very tactful image, managing thus to make Petrovic appear tactless. (He has accused Petrovic of using internal controversies within his Party as a form of argumentation for herself.)

Petrovic refuses to accept these qualifications — about the contents of her argumentation or that she has been tactless — and she jumps in quickly and corrects Busek. For her it is not a matter of quarrelling, it is the question of his Party's *policy*. Once again, Busek's reaction is to assume an authoritarian stance, side-stepping entirely the core of what Petrovic has said and after a short silence he goes on the direct — and highly personal — attack, criticising her manners and her style.

Busek's tactics are to ignore the content of what Petrovic has been saying and to concentrate on criticising her behaviour here. Although in fact, Petrovic's liveliness and willingness to interrupt conform much more with today's standards of TV discussional behaviour than Busek's much more old-fashioned style of rigid turn-taking, based on conservative rules of non-public communicative behaviour within a political or burocratic hierarchy. While managing to keep up the outward forms of politeness towards his opponent (use of title preceding any critical or authoritarian comments), in fact his own behaviour is an abuse of the polite form as he continually makes Petrovic appear to be in the wrong. He is at pains to make politeness the really significant aspect of this discussion and *not* its political content.

Towards the end of the interchange quoted here, Busek's apparently polite front — and his patience — begin to fray. He informs Petrovic that she has used five minutes of discussion time in her turn — a comment that would in fact be the province of the journalist refereeing the discussion — thus managing to make himself look something of a victim: 'I am having to sit here saying nothing while you talk for five minutes.' When Petrovic remonstrates that they are supposed to be having a dialogue, his self-control finally snaps and he brusquely informs her that if *she* spoke more briefly, her next turn would come round faster, which is in fact illogical, as the length of time that elapses before her turn comes round again, depends upon how long *he* speaks.

It is abundantly clear that Busek regards interruptions as a severe loss of face and every tactic and strategy he uses to deal with interruptions are designed to reinforce his authority, the fact that as the male and older participant it is for him to run the show and that he is by far the more experienced of the two of them. He manages to make her appear unruly, unaware of normal conversational rules, inexperienced and rude into the bargain. His almost exclusive concentration on Petrovic's discussional and verbal behaviour draws attention away from the political content of what she is saying.

6. Final discussion

The previous analysis has shown how a female politician faces and deals with a public political discourse and how her male vis-à-vis reacts to her self-representation.

At the beginning of the programme the journalist framed the discussion as a duel and created a situation in which she was forced to legitimise her Party's goals, to three recipients: the journalist who put the question, Erhard Busek who will comment on or criticise her turn and the viewer, who is going to estimate her credibility. (Example I)

However, Madeleine Petrovic dodged the journalist's expectations. She succeeded in reframing the situation and creating a public image of an active politician who is going to confront a ruling party and she eluded the pressure, the implicit request that she present her credentials. (Example II) She was then interrupted by Busek, who reprimands her and designates her activity as one that did not meet the demands and expectations of the viewers. (Example III)

Petrovic answers by emphasising that that is exactly what she *is* doing and continues her confrontational course. (Examples III and IV)

Busek reacts to her forceful initiative with a long piece of advice "L — äh Schauen Sie" *('L — er Look')*, presenting himself as an expert in these matters (Example IV, part 2), but Petrovic openly disagrees and insists on the topics she has already raised (Example V). Busek interrupts her and draws attention to her conversational manners (Example V). Madeleine Petrovic interrupts by drawing attention to the actual content structure of the programme. Busek interrupts her again, reprimands her again and repeats in part

his previous turn, also introducing a new topic in that he criticises Green politics. (Examples V and VI) Petrovic is obviously unwilling to accept this criticism and tries several times to interrupt her opponent, finally with success with the help of the journalist moderating the discussion. (Example VI) The last example shows how Busek answers her attack by criticising her style. Petrovic goes on the attack once again, redefining what Busek has said, makes a short corrective comment and Busek reacts as if a grievous breach of courtesy has taken place. (Example VII)

Although both men attempt to force Madeleine Petrovic into a situation where she must present her political credentials — in Busek's case by interruptions and the attempt to force her into an inferior role — she retaliates with a successful defence by reframing the situation: she refuses to be forced into the heirarchic structure set up by Erhard Busek. Her interruptions are directly connected to content and have the function of reminding Busek of the questions put. These interruptions are therefore contextually legitimate, as she more than once — correctly — designates their discussion as a debate/dialogue, a framework where heirarchies are not the determining factor. Additionally, in a controversial discussion, an assertive, even aggressive, conversational manner enhances the presentation of herself as a young, active and courageous political figure.

In a political debate, strategies of politeness are a means of creating a climate of indirectness and of depersonalising the interaction. The habitus of indirectness and politeness produces vertical distinctions and forms of distance. In a mixed gender confrontation, polite forms made use of by the male participant also function to underline the traditional female image of women being in need of guidance and help: similar, in other words, to inexperienced children. But Madeleine Petrovic does not conform to this stereotypical image and she refuses to accept Busek's authoritarian advice and manner which are given to her as if from an expert to a beginner.

In the political debate we have analysed here, politeness as a form of habitual distinction has revealed itself as symbolic power and is thus ineffectual.

Inasmuch as Busek continually refers to the rules of conversation and communication, continually corrects her in this regard, he is trying to undermine her autonomy as the Leader of a political party. But this male, suppressive conversational behaviour, this explicit laying down of conversational rules, relativises his own self-presentation, his image of political autonomy,

which is thus only stable if it is not impinged upon by exterior influences. The frequent referrals to these rules makes very clear that this female politician does not fit the traditional stereotype and that Busek, in a highly authoritarian manner, wishes to re-establish the status quo and get the situation under — his — control again. Evidently he has no other forms than these at his disposal to participate in a discussion where both genders are equal. This type of male discourse can only be carried out as long as the symbolic power remains invisible.

The fact that Erhard Busek has clung to an old-fashioned idea of gender roles in his behaviour, means that he has actually contributed to Madeleine Petrovic presenting herself successfully. Without losing her confidence, she shows Busek to be an out-of-date representative of traditional ideas of the roles of men and women, whose habitual way of behaving — at least in a public political discussion — becomes unpleasantly obvious[15] and who is no longer in tune with current trends of how politicians should present themselves.

Notes

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1. "By 'redefinition-negotiation' I mean any interruption in the flow of an interaction that questions taken-for-granted meanings." Margolis, cited in Dietzen (1993:34).

2. This specific type of literature reflects of course not only conservative and idealized concepts of femininity but can be also regarded as an attempt to prescribe certain roles and representations in a period where traditional standardizations underwent social changes.

3. See Goffman (1987).

4. The case of interruption in regard to gender is a highly complex field in conversation analysis, and linguistic studies since 1985 simply do not support this conclusion cf. James/Clark (1993).

5. cf. Bourdieu (1979), Elias (1992), Swaan (1991).

6. Günthner/Kotthoff (1992) give a survey of this area of research.

7. Heritage (1985) shows, using as an example ITV in Great Britain, the interdependence between the economic conditions of TV and the discourse strategies that have developed within such programmes as the political interview.

8. cf. Bourdieu (1989).

9.   A label like 'career woman' implies the connotation of an exceptional status in a male
      dominated context, with the consequence that women are judged as being an exception
      and not on functional criteria such as status, competence or efficiency cf. Pringle (1989).
      Stereotypes are attributed and as soon as they become activated as gender stereotypes, the
      perceptions and expectations are also stereotyped. For a so-called career woman this can
      mean either that her female identity becomes neutralized/depreciated, or that her role as an
      expert in her defined field is not taken seriously. This second form of gender construction
      has been described by Kotthoff (1992) who shows in an analysis of a discussion on TV
      how contributions of female experts get framed as personal and biographical statements.

10.   See Goffman (1994) on the significance of politeness for the relations and communication
      between the genders as an interplay between activity and passivity used as male power
      strategy. What Goffman does not deal with are forms of female defense, their refraining
      from remaining in traditional gender identities.

11.   cf. Bourdieu (1989:40).

12.   cf. Brown/Levinson (1987).

13.   cf. West (1992:162f.).

14.   For a survey of the linguistic findings in the field of interruptions see James/Clarke
      (1993).

15.   Several political magazines in Austria qualified the programme as a victory for Mad-
      eleine Petrovic. The magazine "News" stated on 29th November 1994, that Busek's pre-
      sentation was rather distanced and formal while Petrovic kept to the point but remained
      calm.

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The relevance of fundamental frequency contour for interruptions: A case study of political discussions in Austria

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Abstract

The pragmatic function of prosody plays an important role in interaction. Previous research on female/male discourse has consistently revealed that women are interrupted to a greater extent than men. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to investigate prosodic features on the promotion or prevention of interruptions. The findings of the current study indicate that the peak position of fundamental frequency contour of perceptually prominent positions exhibit a larger effect on interruptions than the duration of pauses. Early and medial peak positions of stressed syllables prevent from expected interruptions, whereas late peak positions seem to evoke interruptions. The point to be emphasized is that this result has been obtained in competitive discussions mainly, whereas in cooperative settings both prosodic parameters showed less importance.

1. Introduction

1.1 *Mean speaking fundamental frequency*

Fundamental frequency (f_0) is usually described as an inherent differential parameter of female and male voices. Due to sex-specific differences in length and thickness of the vocal cords, the absolute height of the f_0 is normally described as being about one octave higher for women than for men. Moreover, control of f_0 has been found to be due to laryngeal adjustments and subglottal pressure (see Holmberg et al. 1989, also for an overview).

Looking at different languages, it appears that not only do the mean speaking fundamental frequencies seem to be dependent on the prevailing pitch range of speech in a given linguistic community but also on the perception of pitch ranges (Deutsch 1991, Dolson 1994). The following differences can be observed examining the mean speaking fundamental frequencies of different languages, (see Table 1):

Table 1.   Mean speaking fundamental frequencies for reading (in Hz).
Source: Dolson (1994: 325f).[1]

	women	men
am. English	203.6	105.6
Spanish	217.8	124.6
Japanese	225.2	130.6

As far as perception is concerned, the difference between American and Japanese women runs up to 181 cents,[2] the difference between American and Japanese men runs up to 372 cents. Thus, in terms of perception, the difference between American and Japanese men is considerably higher than the difference between American and Japanese women. As these language-specific differences are statistically significant and independent of biological factors like weight or height of a person, it seems to be evident that cultural and social factors play an important role in the determination of mean speaking fundamental frequency.

The difference between men and women, however, seems to be an undeniable fact. As stated above, the measured difference is about one octave (1138 cents between american women and men, 969 and 939 cents between spanish and japanese men and women respectively). But mean speaking fundamental frequency is also dependent on other parameters, as emotional state of a person. Therefore, under the influence of certain emotions, mean speaking fundamental frequency increases considerably (Bezooyen 1984, Klasmeyer 1995). Moosmüller & Deutsch (1995) can show that the mean speaking fundamental frequency of a man increases to 230 Hz in emotional stressed (aggressive) utterances, whereas the unstressed mean value is located at 146 Hz, a difference of 792 cents! In comparison to the values listed in Table 1, the mean speaking fundamental frequency in an aggressive emotional state lies in the area of an average female voice.[3] Diagram 1 shows the change of the fundamental frequency from "normal" to aggressive emotional state:
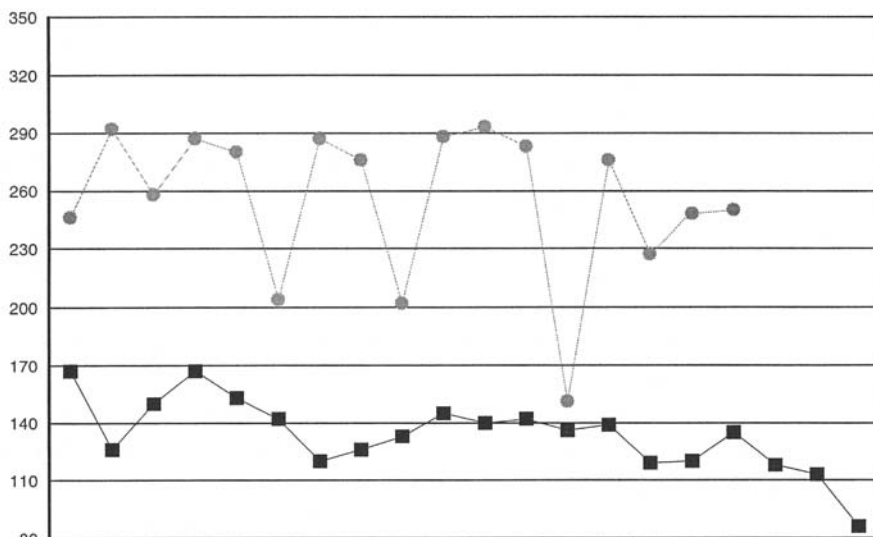
Diagram 1: f_0 of one and the same speaker, ■ – „normal" emotional state, ● – aggressive emotional state. y-axis: frequency in Hz.

On the other hand, mean speaking fundamental frequency may drop down to 163.7 Hz for female smokers (Gilbert & Weismer 1974, ref. Dolson 1994). Moreover, the difference of the mean speaking fundamental frequency between girls and boys increases from age 8 to 11 continuously, i.e. before the onset of puberty (Bennett 1983). Karlsson & Rothenberg could show that "at least part of the differences between female and male speech is learnt; in some cultures it is learnt at an early age" (1992: 1).

This data strongly suggests that in addition to biological constraints social and cultural factors are responsible for the difference of mean speaking fundamental frequencies of men and women.

1.2 *The role of fundamental frequency in discourse*

Julia Hirschberg (1993) draws a rather depressing picture of the way research on prosody and discourse stands at the moment:

> So, we have some evidence of some intonational and acoustic features that appear to signal certain aspects of discourse structure, such as topic beginnings and endings. And we have some notion about which discourse-level

> factors influence the decision to accent an item. In neither case do we know which factors are more important or more reliable than others. Nor do we know what sort of interaction there is among different cues. Nor do we know much about speaker or listener variability (1993:93).

All linguistic signs are multi-functional and multi-facetted. This holds true even more for prosodic phenomena. Therefore many functions can be ascribed to prosody (see e.g. Tench 1990, also for an overview of the literature). For example, prosody functions as a marker of accent (grammatical function) as well as a marker of the expression of emotions (paralinguistic function).[4] Which function has to be emphasized depends on the subject and on the context of investigation.

Most studies on female/male discourse have reported that women are interrupted to a greater extent than men are. Therefore, the present study will concentrate on prosodic cues prohibiting or promoting interruptions.

Much research has been done on prosodic cues signalling segment boundaries (cf. e.g. Lehiste 1975, Hirschberg 1993, Geluykens/Swerts 1994). As far as the pitch movement of phrases is concerned, finality of discourse segments is signalled by low boundary tones. These prosodic cues are positioned right before or at the actual boundary. Therefore they are of minor relevance for interruptions, as interruptions usually occur before a boundary. Swerts (1993), however, reports that finality/non-finality is announced some time before the actual break so that finality can be anticipated. Finality, therefore, is pre-signalled by a stepwise decline of f_0 and by a more rapid speaking rate. A pre-boundary rise, on the other hand, signals non-finality. These results strongly suggest that those cues signalling finality/non-finality are ignored whenever an interruption occurs.

Out of this reason, speakers who want to keep their turn have to set other cues in order to prevent an interruption. In case of an increasing probability of being interrupted, the intention of a speaker seems to concentrate on one aspect: "I want to keep my turn, I don't want a reaction of my opponent for the time being".[5] Therefore, the speaker has to place her/his cues on perceptually salient positions. It follows from the perceptually-oriented concept of figure and ground (cf. e.g. Madelska/Dressler 1996) that stressed syllables are most salient. Together with the fact that interruptions occur before a boundary it seems evident that cues preventing interruptions are shifted to smaller entities, i.e. to the perceptually salient stressed syllables.

1.3 *Peaks*

For German, f_0-movements within a syllable have been most precisely described by Kohler and his colleagues (Kohler 1991). According to Gartenberg & Panzlaff-Reuter (1991), early, medial and late peaks are distinguished. An early peak is usually positioned before the onset of the stressed vowel; the stressed vowel/syllable, therefore, always contains a greater part of the f_0 fall. The position of medial peaks is within the vowel of the stressed syllable, the realisation of the fall depends on vowel quality and quantity. In case of late peak patterns a low f_0 portion at the beginning of the vowel and a delay of the peak's onset towards the end of the vowel is observed; in case words consisting of more than one syllable, the late peak occurs during the next unstressed syllable (Gartenberg & Panzlaff-Reuter 1991: 32ff).

The different peak patterns described can be perceived by the listeners. Perceptual tests showed the medial peaks as being perceived more stressed due to enlarged energy concentration in the middle of the signal/vowel. Thus, the increase in energy supports the difference between rise and peak in producing stressed vowels, whereas at early and late peaks with lower energy, a higher pitch difference is necessary in order to produce a comparable effect (Kohler & Gartenberg 1991).

In the present context, dealing with the occurence of interruptions, the additional pragmatic role of peak patterns produced in stressed syllables is of importance. Along that line of argumentation, Schmidt's (1994) very basic and functional conceptualization of terminal rise vs. fall seems to be most adequate if a speaker has to shift her/his concentration on the prevention of an interruption. The analysis of the prosody of interjections[6] lead Schmidt to the assumption that the most basic pragmatic functions of pitch movements are those of "hearer reaction expected" (denoted by a terminal rise) and "no hearer reaction expected" (denoted by a terminal fall). Therefore, a terminal fall (=early peak) denotes "no hearer reaction expected" (see Diagram 2),[7] whereas a questionary character is produced in late peaks of stressed syllables/vowels containing a rise (in analogy to Schmidt's 1994 „hearer reaction expected"; see Diagram 3).
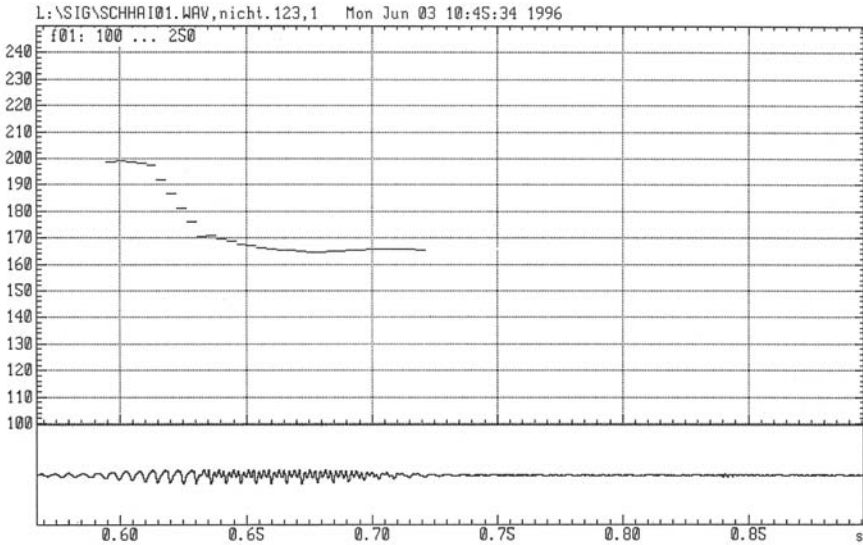
Diagram 2: f₀ of „nicht" (not), early peak, spoken by Heide Schmidt (discussion 1). x-axis: time, y-axis: frequency in Hz.
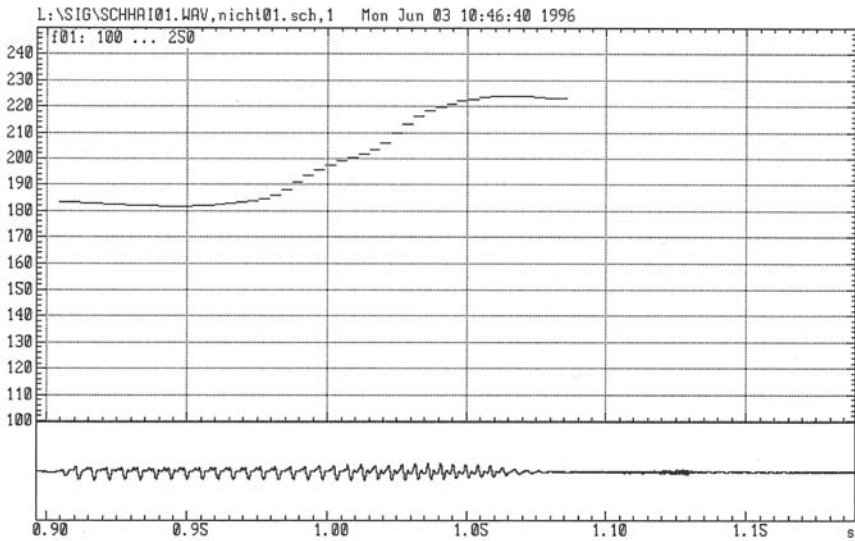
Diagram 3: f₀ of „nicht" (not), late peak, spoken by Heide Schmidt (discussion 1). x-axis: time, y-axis: frequency in Hz.

A good example of the combination of an early peak pattern together with a terminal fall of the utterance is given in Diagram 4:
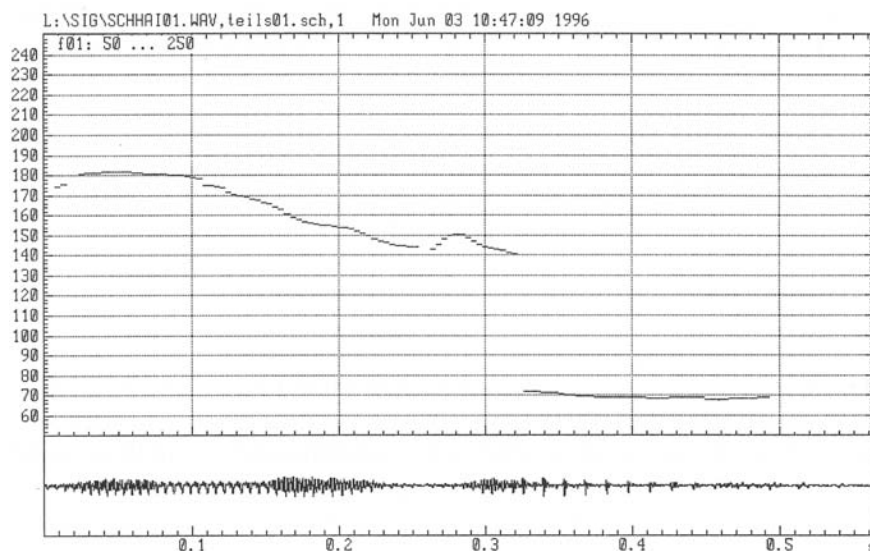
Diagram 4: f$_0$ of „Ende sagen" (finish) of the phrase „laß mich's nur zu Ende sagen" (just let me finish, discussion 1). x-axis: time, y-axis: frequency in Hz.

The speaker, Heide Schmidt (discussion 1), does not want to be interrupted. On the segmental level she expresses this desire by means of a request. On the prosodic level, the request is converted into a demand by means of the early peak in the first syllable of "Ende" (end). The final fall in "sagen" (say) denotes the finality of this phrase. She now continues with her statement.

2.   The data

Sound material from three different round-table discussions broadcasted by Austrian TV has been selected. In each of the discussions, one female politician, head of a political party, participated.

- Discussion 1 took place on February 4th, 1994. Participants: Heide Schmidt, leader of the Liberal Party, Georg Mautner-Markhoff, member of the Liberal Party, Jörg Haider, leader of the Freedom Party, Rainer Pawkowitz, member of the Freedom Party, Elmar Oberhauser, moderator.
- Discussion 2 took place on March 12th, 1993. Participants: Madelaine Petrovic, leader of the Green Alternative Party, Robert Lichal, member of the Austrian people's party, Elmar Oberhauser, moderator.
- Discussion 3 took place on September 25th, 1994. Participants: Heide Schmidt, leader of the Liberal Party, Madelaine Petrovic, leader of the Green Alternative Party, Elmar Oberhauser, moderator.

2.1 Discussion 1

This discussion was initiated by the withdrawal of Heide Schmidt from the Freedom Party and the foundation of the new Liberal Party under her leadership. Jörg Haider, her opponent, is known as a verbally aggressive discussion partner, his discussion strategy is easily comprehensible: in order to avoid accusations against him or debates on general principles, he forces a thematic change by means of a verbal attack on the current speaker. In most cases his statement has no relation whatsoever with the former contribution. By means of this personal attack, he forces his opponent to react immediately and consequently to drop his/her presentation (Moosmüller in print).

2.2 Discussion 2

This discussion took place on the occasion of extremely long contributions of members of the Green Alternative Party during a session of the Parliament; e.g. Madelaine Petrovic held a speech with a ten hours duration. Robert Lichal, her opponent in this discussion, accused the Green Alternative Party of having committed not only a constitutional violation, but also he used a well-known strategy in male/female discussions: he tried to impose Madelaine Petrovic a minor status by advising her continuously.

Madelaine Petrovic did not let herself be put off by these repeated instructions and pursued her course, in fact, successfully. With regard to discussion 1, Madelaine Petrovic had the disadvantage of a less cooperative discussion leader. She had almost no opportunity to give a final statement.

2.3 *Discussion 3*

The third discussion took place on the occasion of the elections of the National Assembly in autumn 1994. The progress of the discussion was very quiet, as known for discussions among women. For the biggest part of the time no verbal attacks or interruptions occured; there was only one accusation at the beginning by Heide Schmidt who claimed the Green Alternative Party to use wrong methods in their political work (no interruption from Madelaine Petrovic, Heide Schmidt made three interruptions). The speakers related on the contents of the previous speaker, consequently the viewers saw a comprehensive discussion.

3. Results

Acoustic analysis was carried out with the work-station S_Tools developed at the Research Department for Acoustics of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna (Deutsch & Noll 1990, 1994). The method SIFT (Markel & Gray 1976) was used for analysis of fundamental frequency.

3.1 *Mean fundamental frequency*

Frequency differences of the mean fundamental frequency between all three discussions have been evaluated. Both women displayed a lower mean fundamental frequency in discussion 3 compared with discussion 1 or 2 (see Table 2):

Table 2. *Mean fundamental frequency of the two analysed politicians (in Hz).*

	Heide Schmidt	Madelaine Petrovic
discussion 1	176	–
discussion 2	–	198
discussion 3	161	184

In terms of perception, a difference of 149 cents between both discussions of Heide Schmidt and 133 cents between those of Madelaine Petrovic have been observed. According to the experiments of Atkinson (1978) the vocal cords are shortened and less tensed during low pitch production with a relaxation of the

cricothyroid muscle; it is suggested therefore that the cooperative and relaxed atmosphere in discussion 3 contributed to the relative lowering of f_0. This interpretation is supported by the fact that emotional tension (like aggressiveness) raises the mean fundamental frequency (see 1.1), with an increase of the longitudinal tension of the vocal cords accordingly caused by the contraction of the cricothyroid muscle (Atkinson 1978).

3.2 *Peaks and pauses*

In section 1.3. it has been suggested that early peaks denote "no hearer reaction expected", whereas late peaks denote "hearer reaction expected". Medial peaks, which occur less frequently, seem to denote "no hearer reaction expected" as well, because a fall in the stressed syllable/vowel is to be observed. The results of discussion 1 and 2 support this interpretation; the use of early or medial peaks in the stressed syllable/vowel prevents speakers being interrupted even in cases when two phrases are separated by a long pause. As soon as an accumulation of late peaks can be measured, interruption starts.

3.2.1 *Discussion 1*
The opponents are Heide Schmidt (HS) and Jörg Haider (JH):

```
01   HS:   für mich ein 'wesentlicher 'Satz, daß 'du in einer 'Clubsitzung,
02         daher wird es viele 'Zeugen 'geben, als es um das 'Volksbegehren
03         ge'gangen ist, wörtlich er'klärt hast, 'wörtlich, "ich 'rechne
04         sogar damit, daß etwas pa'ssieren wird", denn es war meine
05         'Sorge, daß wir ein 'solches 'Volksbegehren einfach als 'Risiko
06         nicht 'eingehen sollten, weil die Ge'fahr zu groß ist, daß es
07         zu 'Ausschreitungen kommt. 'Glücklicherweise hab ich nicht
08         'recht behalten. Aber die Ge'fahr 'war da. Und deine 'Antwort
09         da'rauf war, "Ich 'rechne sogar dafü-, damit, daß etwas
10         pa'ssieren wird, aber 'da müssen wir durch". 'Das sind 'wirklich
11         die 'Töne, die wir aus der Ge'schichte 'ke ⌈nnen. Und ich
12   JH:                                           ⌊nein, das ist,
13   HS:   ⌈'frage mich,
14   JH:   ⌊ glaube ich, ein 'falsches Zi'tat, ⌈meine 'Liebe
15   HS:                                        ⌊das ist ein 'wörtliches
16         Zi'tat, das ich 'mitgeschrieben ⌈habe, es hat mich
17   JH:                                   ⌊wir haben
18   HS:   ⌈zu'tiefst er'schreckt.
19   JH:   ⌊ wir haben ge'sagt, dafür sind ⌈wir nicht ver'antwortlich ⌈
20   HS:                                    ⌊'nein                    ⌊'nein,
```

In this sequence, Heide Schmidt accuses Jörg Haider of deliberately accepting the possibility of riots following the negative impact of his petition. As Heide Schmidt starts her accusation, Jörg Haider first has to listen what he is accused of. Therefore, in the first phrases (line 1 - 3) no danger of a possible interruption is given. The first possible point to place an interruption is given at the end of Schmidt's quotation ("passieren wird" — "will happen"; line 4); Haider now knows what he is being accused of. From that point of discussion an increase of the probability of interruptions has to be taken into account.[8] The most dangerous points are:

- "eingehen sollten" – "should'nt run" (line 6)
- "Ausschreitungen kommt" – "will be riots" (line 7)
- "recht behalten" – "was not right" (line 8)
- "war da" – "was there" (line 8)
- "darauf war" – "was" (line 9)
- "passieren wird" – "will happen" (line 10)
- "wir durch" – "we must go through" (line 10)

Looking at the pauses Heide Schmidt puts after any phrase, the duration of her pauses becomes considerably shorter after the first possible point of an interruption, i.e. after "passieren wird" in line 4, see Table 3:

Table 3. Duration of the pauses after each phrase (in ms)

text	translation	line	duration of the pause
wesentlicher Satz	essential sentence	01	645
Zeugen geben	will be witnesses	02	749
gegangen ist	talked about	03	415
erklärt hast	declared	03	148
wörtlich₂	literally	03	**1429**
passieren wird	will happen	04	264
Sorge	worried	05	413
eingehen sollten	should'nt run	06	300
Ausschreitungen kommt	will be riots	07	338
recht behalten	was right	08	486
war da	existed	08	657
darauf war	answer was	09	437
passieren wird	will happen	10	321
wir durch	go through	10	795
Geschichte kennen	know from history	11	427

The speaker introduces an extremly long pause before the climax of the statement ("wörtlich$_2$" (literally)). No interruption is expected at that point of the utterance because this phrase is followed by the accusation. After finishing the accusation, she immediately shortens her pauses (264 ms)[9] to be prevented of interruptions which now are not only possible but have to be expected with higher probability. After this phase she very slowly starts lengthening her pauses again. After having repeated her accusation, she even puts an extremly long pause with a higher risk of being interrupted. Remarkably she has not been interrupted at this point, although Jörg Haider should have had enough time to prepare a precise reply. One can suggest that the duration of pauses does not correlate with interruptions highly enough, in contrary they are good markers for climaxes following an introductory statement. On the other hand, pauses enable a speaker to prepare her/his following statements.

However, during the sequence Heide Schmidt has not been interrupted (line 1-10), she uses no late peaks (see Table 4):[10]

Table 4. Position of peaks in the stressed syllable/word.

text	translation	line	peak position
wesentlicher	essential	01	early
Zeugen	witnesses	02	early
gegangen	talked about	03	early
erklärt	declared	03	early
wörtlich$_2$	literally	03	medial
passieren	happen	04	early
Sorge	worried	05	medial
eingehen	run	06	medial
Ausschreitungen	riots	07	early
recht	right	08	early
war	existed	08	early
darauf	answer was	09	early
passieren	happen	10	early
wir	we	10	early
Geschichte	history	11	early
frage	ask	13	late
wörtliches	literal	15	late
mitgeschrieben	took down	16	late
nein$_1$	no	20	late
nein$_2$	no	20	late

After "Geschichte" (history) in line 11, Jörg Haider starts to interrupt his opponent and — interestingly enough — the following stressed syllables of Heide Schmidt are marked by a late peak. She is not able to recapture her turn any more. From now on, she is interrupted frequently, finally even by the moderator who cuts her contributions and gives the turn to Georg Mautner-Markhoff.[11]

3.2.2 *Discussion 2*

The opponents are Madelaine Petrovic (MP) and Robert Lichal (RL):

```
01   MP:   Und wenn ich so eine Disku'ssion wie 'die 'hier mit 'Ihnen 'führ,
02         dann 'weiß ich, daß ich 'auch die 'Kraft habe, 'diesen 'Kampf
03         'weiterzuführen und ich ich 'glaube, daß das 'auch ge'nau die
04         'Umweltgruppierungen und die 'Menschen in diesem 'Lande
05        ⌈ von 'uns und von 'mir er'warten.
06   RL:  ⌊ Frau Dr. 'Petrovic, haben Sie gestern nicht 'auch in der
07         'Präsidiale...
```

In comparison with Heide Schmidt, Madelaine Petrovic sets few and relatively short pauses only, which indicates that she intends to exclude interruptions by avoiding pauses (see Table 5):

Table 5. Duration of the pauses (in ms)

text	translation	line	duration of the pause
führ	draw into	01	366
weiterzuführen	continue	03	300
das	this	03	105
Lande	country	04	308

Madelaine Petrovic does not set pauses at the end of phrases; this happens after "weiß ich" (I know, line 2), "Kraft habe" (have the power, line 2), "ich glaube" (I think, line 3) and "Umweltgruppierungen" (environmentalists, line 4). Moreover in cases she uses pauses, they are much shorter than those of Heide Schmidt.

In accordance with the results obtained from the analysis of Heide Schmidt, interruption starts after an accumulation of late peaks (see Table 6):

Table 6.   Position of peaks in the stressed syllable/vowel of the word.

text	translation	line	peak position
Diskussion	discussion	01	early
die	the one	01	late
hier	–	01	early
Ihnen	you	01	early
führ	draw into	01	early
weiß	know	02	late
ich	I	02	early
auch	–	02	early
Kraft	power	02	early
habe	have	02	early
diesen	this	02	early
Kampf	fight	02	early
weiterzuführen	continue	03	late
glaube	think	03	late
auch	–	03	early
genau	precisely	03	late
Umweltgruppierungen	environmentalists	04	late
Menschen	people	04	late
Lande	country	04	late

Only few late peaks in the first part of this sequence occur. The late peak at "die" (the one) is followed by an early peak in "hier", the late peak in "weiß" (know) is followed by an early peak in „ich" (I), the late peak in "weiterzuführen" (continue) is followed by early peaks of the next two succeeding syllables. All three utterances have, therefore, the denotation "no hearer reaction expected".

After the appearance of the hesitation in line 3 — Madelaine Petrovic repeats "ich" (I) indicating uncertainty — she starts setting late peaks. After the 4th late peak which is followed by a pause due to the necessity of breathing in, the interruption of her opponent starts.

3.2.3 *Discussion 3*
The speakers are Madelaine Petrovic (MP) and Heide Schmidt (HS):

```
01   MP:   Wenn ich aber dann 'seh, daß 'Kosovoalbaner, daß 'Menschen
02         in einen 'blutigen 'Krieg ge'schickt werden, daß 'Frauen,
03         die verge'waltigt wurden, hier 'kein A'syl finden, obwohl
04         das Parla'ment das be'schlossen hat, dann 'steh ich da'für,
05         da'zu, sie 'notfalls auch vor der Exeku'tive in 'Sicherheit
```

```
06        zu 'bringen, 'wissend, daß das eine 'Gratwanderung ist, oder
07        au⌈ch, wenn man
08  HS:   ⌊aber da sind wir 'durchaus 'einig. ⌈Es kommt wohl da'rauf an,
09  MP:                                        ⌊ja
10        zu welchen, in welchen Be'reichen man das 'tut und wie man
11        eben 'abwägt. Es gibt auch 'andere 'Beispiele, wo die
12        'Menschenrechte, wie sie hier ver'letzt werden, wohl nach
13        einem 'Aufschrei ver'langen, in anderen Be'reichen, wo's....
```

Discussion 3 presents a totally different picture. Heide Schmidt interrupts Madelaine Petrovic very abruptly (this is one of three interruptions in total), but this interruption has the character of a clarification, thus Madelaine Petrovic is able to continue her statement. In comparison with discussion 2, Madelaine Petrovic uses much more and longer pauses in order to gain time necessary to prepare her new utterances and statements (see Table 7).

The first pause is the longest because it is followed by the climax. Obviously, Madelaine Petrovic does not expect an interruption, and is free to use arbitrary many pauses. In contrast to Heide Schmidt Madelaine Petrovic puts her pauses not necessarily at the end of a phrase (see also discussion 1). This difference can be interpreted due to the fact that Heide Schmidt is the better trained talker (see Table 8).

Table 7. Duration of the pauses (in ms).

text	translation	line	duration of pauses
dann seh	see	01	972
Kosovoalbaner	Albanians from Kosovo	01	604
in einen	in a	02	230
geschickt werden	sent	02	531
daß	that	02	115
beschlossen hat	decided	04	569
dazu	stick to	05	302
zu bringen	by getting	06	402
Gratwanderung ist	is a tightrope walk	06	402

Table 8. Duration of the pauses (in ms).

text	translation	line	duration of pauses
einig	in agreement	08	418
man das tut	this is done	10	385
Menschenrechte	human rights	12	635
verlangen	demand	13	403

As far as peak positions are concerned, both women seem to set these randomly (see tables 9 and 10):

Table 9. Position of peaks in the stressed syllable/vowel of the word (Madelaine Petrovic).

text	translation	line	peak position
seh	see	01	medial
Kosovo	Kosovo	01	late
geschickt	sent	02	early
Frauen	women	02	late
vergewaltigt	raped	03	late
wurden	–	03	early
Asyl	political asylum	03	late
finden	granted	03	early
beschlossen	decided	04	late
dafür	–	04	early
dazu	–	05	early
Sicherheit	safety	05	early
bringen	getting	06	late
Gratwanderung	tightrope walk	06	early

Table 10:   Position of peaks in the stressed syllable/vowel of the word (Heide Schmidt).

text	translation	line	peak position
darauf	on	08	early
tut	done	10	late
abwägt	weighed up	11	early
Beispiele	examples	11	no peak
Menschenrechte	human rights	12	late
verletzt	violated	12	early
verlangen	demand	13	late
Bereichen	areas	13	early

During the discussion described early peaks are preferably used at the end of a phrase, but late peaks also occur in these positions. This implies that there is not so much necessity to concentrate on one peak pattern only. The findings suggest that during discussions which focus rather on facts than on competition, there is no need to concentrate on such subtle parameters like peak positions. To put it the other way round, as women have degrees of freedom to choose the duration and the position of pauses as well as to set peak positions

by will during discussions among themselves, they are able to concentrate on the content — a necessary requirement for a successful and productive discussion.

In cases the discussion is dominated by competition this occurs at the expense of content. The speakers/opponents have to concentrate more on formal parameters in order to maintain their position, status or simply their turn. As demonstrated in discussion 1 and 2, a productive discussion can not be accomplished.

Notes

1.   The means are somewhat lower for spontaneous speech but the language specific differences stay the same (Dolson 1994).

2.   100 cents = 1 semitone, 1200 cents = 1 octave. Whether pitch movements are perceived on a logarithmic frequency scale or on a psychoacoustic scale is still under discussion. Hermes & van Gestel (1991), investigating accent, found out that listeners matched pitch movements on the ERB-rate scale, whereas Traunmüller & Eriksson (1994), who investigated liveliness, showed that listeners perceive f$_0$ intervals in semitones. As the experimental design in the analysis of Traunmüller & Eriksson matches better for discourse analysis, we follow their results here.

3.   This of course does not imply that this man is perceived as a woman! In fact, the discrimination of female and male voices is based on many acoustic parameters (cf. e.g. Henton 1987, Fant et al. 1991, Karlsson 1992).

4.   Prosody is of course not the only marker of accent or expression of emotions.

5.   This interpretation is supported by utterances like "laß mich's nur zu Ende sagen" (just let me finish; discussion 1). The major interest seems not to be that the opponent listens to the statement (typical for political discussions, especially on TV), but that the statement can be finished.

6.   The prosody of interjections refers both to phrase quality and to word quality (Ehlich 1986).

7.   Further investigation on the pragmatic function of peak patterns in Austrian German is in progress; preliminary results of perception tests correspond with Schmidt's concept of terminal rise vs. fall.

8.   Jörg Haider places his interruptions not only at the end of a phrase, i.e. in a pause, but also he cuts his opponents short, see e.g. line 10 (Moosmüller in print).

9.   There is one short pause of 148 ms before the dangerous point, this is due to the fact that the following phrase depends strongly on this phrase.

10.   As the end of a phrase is often marked by a progredient rising contour, the stressed syllable of the last but one word has been analysed.

11.   For a detailed content analysis of this passage see Moosmüller (in print).

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Appendix

Discussion 1:

HS: (It was) for me an *essential sentence* that you *declared* in a club meeting, as the petition for the referendum was *talked about*, and therefore there *will be* many *witnesses*, *literally*, „I even reckon with the possibility that something *will happen*", for I was *worried* that we *should´nt even run* the risk of such a petition, because the threat was too big that there *would be riots*. Fortunately I *was* not *right*. But the threat existed. And your answer *was*, „I even reckon with the possibility that something *will happen*, but there *we* must continue". That really is the tone we *know* from ⌈*history*. And I

JH: ⌊No, I think

HS: ⌈*ask myself*

JH: ⌊this is a wrong quotation, ⌈my dear

HS: ⌊this is a *literal* *quotation* which I *took* ⌈*down*, it

JH: ⌊we said

HS: ⌈*shocked* me *deeply*.

JH: ⌊we said, we are ⌈not responsible for that ⌈

HS: ⌊*no* ⌊*no*

Discussion 2:

MP: And when I participate in a discussion like the one with you, then I know that I will have the power to continue this fight and I I think that environmentalists and the people of this country precisely expect this ⌈from us and from me.

RL: ⌊Misses Petrovic, did´nt you yesterday in the presidium...

Diskussion 3:

MP: But when I see that Albanians from the Kosovo, that people
are sent into a bloody war, that women who have been raped
are not granted political asylum, although this was decided
by parliament, then I stick to getting them into safety even
against the wishes of the authorities, knowing that this is a
tightrope walk, or al⌈so, if

HS: ⌊but here we are
absolutely in agreement. ⌈It certainly depends on what, on

MP: ⌊yes

HS: the area in which this is done and how things are weighed up.
There are other examples, where human rights, as violated here,
demand a protest, in other areas on the contrary, where...

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