Slavic Gender Linguistics

EDITED BY

Margaret H. Mills

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SLAVIC GENDER LINGUISTICS

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Margaret H. Mills (ed.)

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SLAVIC GENDER LINGUISTICS

Edited by

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JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
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Background and Introduction

The present multi-authored volume represents the first English-language monograph on Slavic gender linguistics based upon empirical studies in Russian, Polish, Czech, and Old Slavic. Although gender linguistics has been the focus of international, primarily English-language scholarship for over two decades and has received modest attention in the Slavic world (notably Polish), this discipline has only recently become a research focus for Russian and Western Slavic linguists. Such recent attention has been documented by Slavic linguists on both sides of the Atlantic ocean. Beginning in 1993, The Academy of Sciences Russian Language Institute published *Russian language in its functional view: a communicative - pragmatic aspect* (Nauka: Eds. E.A. Zemskaja, D.N. Šmelev). That edited volume featured an extensive chapter on Russian gender linguistics "Peculiarities of male and female speech" by E.A. Zemskaja, M.A. Kitajgorodskaja and N.N. Rozanova (pp. 90 - 136). The Russian publication was followed by the inaugural panel on Slavic Gender Linguistics at the 1994 national conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Philadelphia, and by subsequent panels at that conference, as well as at the American Association of Teachers of Slavic Languages and Literatures (AATSEEL). 1996 saw the first doctoral dissertation in contemporary Russian linguistics devoted to the topic of gender linguistics (N. L. Heingartner, Brown University). Subsequent dissertations, as well as graduate seminars at several leading universities have likewise been exploring this new territory in Slavic linguistics. Based on the proliferation and reception of panels and their representation of a variety of linguistic approaches to the study of male and female speech in Slavic languages, gender linguistics has clearly begun to provide a wealth of new data, methodologies, and preliminary findings to scholars in the broader fields of Slavic linguistic, cultural, and literary studies.

For over two decades the name Elena Andreevna Zemskaja has been synonymous with scholarly innovation in the field of contemporary Russian linguistics. In the early 1970s, E.A. Zemskaja and her colleagues at the USSR Academy of Sciences Russian Language Institute first began collecting and analyzing data on naturally occuring spoken Russian. Their goal was to provide conclusive evidence of the existence of two separate, yet co-functioning representations of the spoken Russian literary language. The codified literary language (*kodificirovannyj literaturnyj jazyk* - KLJ) is the official language of public discourse and exchange (radio and television broadcasts, academic classrooms, political debates, etc.) whose codified norms fill Russian dictionaries, grammars, and language textbooks. The second literary language, called colloquial Russian (*razgovornaja reč'*- RR) governs the informal sphere of usage and is employed in casual daily speech encounters by educated, urban-dwelling native speakers. Unfortunately for both Russian and other Slavic linguists, these publications from the pioneering research collective at the Russian Language Institute have been rather difficult to obtain and were made available in limited printings: *Russkaja razgovornaja reč'*, (Ed. E.A. Zemskaja, Nauka, 1973), *Russkaja razgovornaja reč': Teksty.* (Eds. E.A. Zemskaja and L.A. Kapandadze, Nauka, 1978), *Russkaja razgovornaja reč': Lingvističeskij analiz i problemy obučenija* (Ed. E.A. Zemskaja, Russkij jazyk, 1979), *Russkaja razgovornaja reč'. Obščie voprosy, slovoobrazovanie, sintaksis* (Eds. E.A. Zemskaja, M.V. Kitajgorodskaja, E.N. Širjaev 1981), *Russkaja razgovornaja reč'. Fonetika, morfologia, leksika, žest.* (Ed. E.A. Zemskaja, Nauka, 1983). Despite the relative difficulty in gaining access to these works, these monograph series on colloquial Russian (word formation, syntax, phonetics, morphology, lexicon and gesture) offered scholars a treasure of recorded and transcribed texts from authentic sources and helped introduce contemporary Russian linguistics to the larger international arena of sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics. Unfortunately, to date, no English-language summaries nor translations of these pioneering works have been made

available to linguists who do not possess a working knowledge of Russian.

It came as little surprise to those of us familiar with Zemskaja's earlier work that the core of scholars who edited and contributed to the above-mentioned monographs - E. A. Zemskaja, M.V. Kitjagorodskaja, N. N. Rozanova, T. G. Vinokur, M.J. Glovinskaja, E. I. Golanova, and O.P. Ermakova - would likewise be among the first to raise questions and advance inquiries in the sphere of Russian gender linguistics. Based upon familiarity with several prominent English-language works in gender linguistics, this group posited that Russian possesses a strong language- and culture-specific tradition with regard to male and female speech patterns, speech behaviors, and conversational structures. Moreover, they employed a rather vehement tone in their call for future objective analyses of male-female speech which are not grounded in Western feminist theory and would comprise a so-called "non-passionate" approach to the study of the possible language differences between men and women. As in the majority of social science research in contemporary Russia today, overtly feminist-based approaches to linguistic research are still considered by most scholars to be somewhat "flawed" by virtue of their basic methodological constructs. In attempting to illustrate the potential drawbacks of feminist-based linguistic scholarship, however, Zemskaja limited her objections to one earlier work by the German linguist Troemel-Ploetz - *Gewalt durch Sprache* (1983) - and concluded the following:

> On what basis can one make assertions about the oppression of women and their oppressed position in contemporary society? Such assertions have only the most indirect connection to the real (authentic) language differences between men and women. These real differences are related to three aspects: 1) the social construction of society and the relative status of men and women in it; 2) speech behavior of men and women; and 3) historical developments in the construction of the language itself. We believe that this tie with the feminist movement interferes with the objectivity of research. Authors of works from the feminist school begin from the position that a similar construction of the language and its use influences the "linguistic consciousness" and, correspondingly, the behavior and position of a person in society. From our point of view, this theory has remained unproved (1983: 94).

Clearly this pointed distancing in their own work from any of the current varieties of feminist-based approaches, in addition to the call for future non-politicized, rhetoric-free gender linguistic research, further solidifies the unique intellectual perspective that linguistic, humanistic, and social science research continues to maintain in post-perestroika Russia today.

Preliminary Russian research on gender linguistics: Zemskaja's "Problems for Study" (1993)

In her opening paragraphs identifying specific areas of study for Slavic gender linguistics, Zemskaja raises perhaps the most substantial question of all. Although noting that contemporary sociolinguistic research to date has examined language differentiation along several parameters, she concludes that existing research suffers one major shortcoming: it does not sufficiently answer the question: Are there any differences in the language itself (and not in the foundation of the system of the language!) - and if such differences do exist, what exactly comprise those which occur between the two basic groups of speakers - men and women? (1993: 101). In order to provide conclusive answers to this question, Zemskaja cites the need for future in-depth empirical studies on how men and women actually talk in a variety of languages and social collectives. Only such documented study can sufficiently question whether such differences in men's and women's speech do occur in one or another language, and develop arguments for possible common, universal, non-national peculiarities which may characterize men's and women's speech in a variety of languages. Such research, suggests Zemskaja, stands to shed light on several peculiarities of men's and women's psychology (both individual and social), and on the specifics of contemporary foundations of society. Furthermore, such research may prove helpful for pedagogues working with the acquisition of speech habits among young schoolchildren (1993: 101).

From "folklinguistics" to Russian contributions to gender linguistics

In the above-mentioned chapter, Zemskaja set out not only to provide a Russian-language overview of some earlier Western research on gender linguistics, but to raise questions about the so-called "folklinguistic" perceptions of Russian speech behaviors as a way of calling for further study. Folklinguistics here is used according to Coates (1986) and others' definitions as a mindset about women's speech, as chronicled in proverbs, sayings, and set phrases, which holds as its general view that any women's distinctive speech peculiarities and behaviors are identified and classified as a violation of the norm of male speech. Zemskaja suggests that a number of phenomena brought to light in previous studies in English and German considered "typical" of women's speech may be applicable to the Russian language, as well. However, in order to advance these questions beyond the realm of Russian "folklinguistics," she cites the need for an objective examination of the peculiarities of contemporary Russian men's and women's speech in both spoken varieties of the literary language - the codified literary language (KLJ) and the colloquial language (RR).

The studies of Zemskaja et al. have focused on the sphere of phonetics (segmental and suprasegmental, including the peculiarities of expressive phonetics) and lexicon (the active vocabulary of men and women, differences in the perceptions of words, means of expressive and evaluative speech, use of "empty" lexical items, etc.), as well as peculiarities of the speech behavior of men and women in mixed-sex and same-sex speech groups. Field work was carried out by both audio-taped recordings and written notations on the conversations of speakers of a variety of ages and professions. The following is a brief English-language overview of the highlights of the recent field work by Zemskaja, Kitajgorodskaja, and Rozanova on the peculiarities of male vs. female speech in contemporary spoken Russian.

Phonetics

Findings indicate a number of differences between male and female speakers in the realm of vocalization - especially in the timbre

colorings of vowels. Male speakers tend to speak with a more closed mouth - a fact which produces more "narrow" vowels, not as rich in timbre (1993: 103).

Vowel lengthening in the first pre-tonic [a], also called "akan'e" in Russian, was fairly prominent among women speakers. This is a particularly interesting feature to note, since in earlier decades this was considered a feature of "Old Muscovite" pronunciation and is still noted among elderly Muscovites of both genders (1993: 104). By contrast, men's speech is more inclined toward a lengthening of consonants, a feature not generally found among women's speech (1993: 106).

According to Zemskaja's preliminary findings, women appear to have a much more varied prosodic means to express a variety of emotional meaning. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to employ lexico-grammatical, as opposed to prosodic means, to express emotional coloring in their speech (1993: 110).

Conversational structures

Women appear to be more psychologically "adaptable" and "flexible" with regard to conversational interruption and unanticipated topic changes. Zemskaja suggests that this phenomenon is not associated with women's biological gender, per se, but is connected with their various social and familial roles (i.e., women as homemaker, mother, and wife). This tendency, noted in the sphere of unofficial, informal communication, seemed to indicate that women's constant juggling of a variety of assigned social roles ultimately creates a particular "stamp" of behavior for them in general, and influences their speech strategies. Characteristic illustrative examples can be seen below:

(1) *(dve ženščiny razgovarivajut o sobytijax v Kitae)*
A: *(izvinjajas') Prostite / u menja bojus' tam (na kuxne) ubegaet čto-to //*
B: *Nu idite / idite!*
(Two women are discussing current events in China)
A: (excusing herself) I'm sorry / I'm afraid I've got something running over there (in the kitchen).
B: Well go / go!

(2) *(Mužčina i ženščina govorjat po telefonu)*
M: Ja obdumyval `etot vopros očen' dolgo / možno skazat' /vsju soznatel'nuju žizn'//
Ž: (izvinjajas') Prostite / ja čajnik vyključu / /.
(A man and a woman are talking on the phone)
M: I've thought about this question for a very long time / I guess you could say / over the course of my entire lifetime / /
W: (excusing herself) I'm sorry / I'll turn off the teapot / /. (1993: 113)

A specific peculiarity of male speech behavior is a phenomenon best described by Zemskaja as "psychological deafness." Although not necessarily typical of all male speakers, this seeming ability to "tune out" other, less interesting topics of conversation around them (i.e., not related to politics or sports, etc.) is evidenced among males in a mixed-sex groups. Such attention to specific topic focus is illustrated below:

(3) *(razgovor meždu mužem i ženoj)*
Ž: *Čaj pit' budeš'?*
M: *(ne otvečaja, prodolžaet gorovit' s sobesednikom).*
Ž: *Čaj budeš' pit'?*
M: *(ne obraščaet vnimanija).*
Ž: *(serdito) Ja tebe govoru! Čaj budeš' pit'??*
M: *(spokojno) A-a? Da / požaluj //.*
(conversation between husband and wife)
W: Tea / to drink (inf.) / will you ? (Will you have some tea?)
H: (not answering, continuing his conversation with other male).
W: Tea / will you / to drink (inf.)? (So, will you have some tea?) [emphatic]
H: (doesn't pay attention).
W: (angrily) I'm talking to you! Will you have some tea??
H: (calmly) Huh-h? Yeah / I guess so / /. (1993: 115)

By contrast, Zemskaja notes that women tend to react very keenly to their surroundings and, even when discussing important matters, exhibit the ability to respond to that which they see or hear going on around them.

(4) *(Na progulke. Dve ženščiny srednyx let govorjat o stixax)*
A: *U nego rifmy sostavnye často / nu / kak u Minaeva/ /*
B: *Da-da // No ne v rifmax ego obajanie // Menja zavoražaet ritm v ego stixax //*
A: *Smotri - smotri / sobaka kakaja! Vodolaz čto-li?*
(On a walk. Two middle-aged women are discussing poetry).
A: He often has such prominent rhymes / well / like Minaev's / /
B: Yes, yes / / but it's not only in his rhymes that his real charm lies / / I'm really struck by the rhythms in his verse / /
A: Look - look / what a dog! That's a Newfoundland, isn't it? (1993: 115)

On the basis of their preliminary studies, Zemskaja concludes that typical speech behavior of Russian men and women differs quite significantly. Men often appear deeply engrossed in their own thought processes and do not react to what is going on around them. Women live in a more "open" conversational environment, reacting with more sensitivity to what is taking place around them (children, nature, pets, everyday occurrences, etc.). She suggests that it is precisely those circumstances which play such a large role in the speech behavior of men and women and provide a reflection of their social roles in a given society.

Interruptions in informal Russian speech environments

Zemskaja summarizes from selected Western studies on this topic that men more often interrupt women than they do other men and, in general, women interrupt conversations less frequently than men. She adds that a majority of the research has been focused on so-called "official speech," including the public speech of television interviews, official meetings, round table discussions, etc. (p. 117). The focus of her research group's attention on conversational interruptions has been the domestic front, an informal sphere in which men also appear to be more likely to begin speaking before their interlocutor has finished. Interestingly, Zemskaja cited a notable group of men (primarily those of the older generation) who were taught to never interrupt their interlocutor, particularly if they are speaking with a woman. In their investigations of interruptions, Russian researchers were interested not only in the sex of the

"interrupter," but in the reaction to the interruptions, and the conditions which produced the reaction.

Initial findings suggest that in informal natural conversations in Russian society, women often tend to protest the fact that they've been interrupted. Frequently heard formulae of the type *"Daj skazat'!"* / Let me speak!, *"Ne perebivaj!"* / Don't interrupt!, *"Ne mešaj! Ja ešče ne končila!"* / Don't barge in! I'm not finished yet! were addressed to spouses or other family members and close friends. Interestingly, in response to such requests not to interrupt, there often appeared follow-up protests of the type: *"My ne v parlamente! Čto ty obežaeš'sja!"* / We're not in Parliament! Why are you getting upset? or *"My že doma!"* / Come on, we're at home! However, if the topic of conversation is not especially serious and doesn't require focused concentration, the speakers tend to relate and react more calmly to the interruptions (1993: 118).

Conclusions from Zemskaja et al. and questions for further study

In her concluding remarks to the chapter on gender linguistics, Zemskaja states the following:

> The entire issue of identifying and classifying typical peculiarities of men's and women's speech is further complicated by the fact that in the Russian language, there are no strictly determined boundaries which mark these distinctions. Those peculiarities and distinctions which we have noted are not indisputable law, but general tendencies (1993: 132).

She adds that differentiation in male and female speech, as in any speech differentiation, bears additional stamps of other sociolinguistic aspects, such as age, education, profession, place of birth, and residence. No doubt, social indices such as profession (in particular, those women employed in so-called "male" professions) do leave their particular stamp on any individual's speech habits.

Several complex, yet interesting questions for further study follow Zemskaja's overview of the first Russian-language field work in gender linguistics:

1. Does the age of the participants influence the ultimate characteristics of differentiation between male and female speech? And, if so, in what way?
2. Have those speech distinctions of so-called "women's speech" noted at the beginning of the 20th century been preserved in the speech of today's younger generation?
3. Have new "stereotypes" of men's and women's speech been created?

Finally, Zemskaja et al. note from their empirical research to date the following tendencies vis-`a-vis male and female speech in contemporary colloquial Russian (*razgovornaja reč'* - RR):

> We submit that there are no existing peculiarities in the code (number of speech forms) between male and female speakers. However, in our observations, there are notable distinctions and peculiarities in the *language use* [Ed. italics] of men and women. Men and women, having differing spheres of activity have preferred topics of conversation, which ultimately influences their understanding and their use of various lexical groups (1993: 133). [Ed. note: Cf. Yokoyama, Zaitseva, and Christensen in this volume].

More specific tendencies which Zemskaja observed in their findings are listed below:

1. There appear to be no particular observable distinctions between men and women in the sphere of grammar [Ed. note: Cf. Urtz, Sonkova, and Janda in this volume];
2. There appear to be some significant differences in male and female speech in the area of word formation. In particular, the use of diminutives and several other productive types of word formation is primarily a female domain [Ed. note: Cf. Andrews and Mozdzierz in this volume];
3. With regard to gender-specific traits in men's and women's use of the language, women are more inclined toward "cooperative" conversation; as a result they tend to ask more questions and employ more reactive replicas than men [Ed. note: Cf. Grenoble in this volume];

4. Women's speech is more emotional, which is evidenced by their fondness for using expressive forms of evaluative comments often accompanied by adjectives and adverbs [Ed. note: Cf. Sharonov in this volume];
5. Women employ crude or profane language less often than men;
6. Women are generally more polite in their conversational interaction;
7. Women more often employ indirect, as compared to direct requestive forms [Ed. note: Cf. Mills in this volume];
8. The question of whether men or women interrupt their conversational partners more often is still in need of further in-depth study (1993: 134).

Overall, Zemskaja notes that to the number of peculiarities of men's and women's speech which are evidenced in their actual behaviors must be added one more: women's traditional dual roles in society (working women who are also the mothers, cooks, housekeepers, etc.) as compared to the role of men as the traditional head of the family and primary provider. This peculiarity is evidenced by women's ease in switching from one topic of conversation to another and in their ability to fulfill the roles of mother and homemaker while occupied with other conversational tasks. Men, even those participating in the raising of their children and care of the home, as a rule, view this activity as merely "helping" their wife or mother, something of secondary import, which they find to be both difficult and bothersome. Such a life position, she concludes, may then determine their negative relationship toward "co-situational" topics which interrupt otherwise serious, singularly-focused conversations (1993: 134).

In conclusion, Zemskaja et al. return to what they perceive as the "core" issues in establishing a neutral, objective approach to examining the sphere of authentic gender-specific language use in contemporary informal speech environments today not only in Russia and other Slavic-speaking countries, but in the world as a whole. Their concluding questions are intended to prompt other researchers to collect substantial empirical data and provide language - and cultural-specific responses to the larger questions:

1. Does the structure of the language itself influence its use and, ultimately influence the linguistic consciousness of the speakers?; and
2. Can we determine that a certain "sexism" is characteristic to the structure of a language, that the existence of grammatical gender and use of the masculine gender as the unmarked form, in addition to other features, leads to the subjugation of women, to the "invisibility" in the structure of the language, contributing to the maintenance of a patriarchal formation of the society?

Although the Contemporary Russian Section of the Academy of Sciences Russian Language Institute has yet to probe further into these questions, they believe these issues are deserving of special research and new approaches for future multifaceted studies on language use by men and women.

The present volume of original scholarship by eleven Western and Russian researchers, drawn from the fields of morphology, syntax, pragmatics, discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and literary analysis, represents the first collaborative response to Zemskaja's call for in-depth empirical studies on male and female speech in the Russian and Slavic language communities. It is our hope that the inaugural studies collected in this volume will help foster further research in this dynamic field of language use among men and women in a variety of languages and cultures.

Margaret Hill Mills, Editor
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Referential knowledge in discourse: Interpretation of {I, you} in male and female speech

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Introduction

This paper explores some discourse mechanisms directly responsible for interaction among the status of speech participants, discourse procedures, and the meaning of a linguistic expression, thus contributing to our understanding of such controversial issues as the role of language in maintaining social dominance.[1] While the overwhelming majority of linguists agree that language in many ways reflects the hierarchical structure of a society and that the relationship 'social hierarchy —> language' exists, there is no consensus on the status of the other side of the relationship, namely 'language —> social behavior'. Thus, one of the most influential scholars in gender linguistics, Deborah Tannen, argues that although typical male discourse is organized by targeting "status/power" while female discourse targets "connection/solidarity" (1990), neither strategy inherently leads to dominance in society:

> <...>one cannot locate the source of domination, or of any interpersonal intention or effect, in linguistic strategies, such as interruptions, volubility, silence, and topic raising, as has been claimed (Tannen 1993: 166).

My analysis indicates that in fact it is possible to capture the mechanism of domination in discourse, as well as the source of some cultural stereotypes about women's linguistic/discourse behavior, although not exactly in terms of the linguistic strategies investigated by Tannen. Theoretical premises for the analysis are based on Yokoyama's (1986) Transactional Discourse Model (or TDM), within which I investigate notions comparable to Tannen's

"interpersonal intentions" and "effects," as well as the area covered in many studies on discourse and gender linguistics by such terms as "projecting self", "footing," "alignment," and "framing."[2] In what follows, I will (a) give a brief overview of Yokoyama's theory; (b) discuss the meaning of the Russian discourse particles *ved'*, *razve* and *neuželi* as related to some TDM procedures, further elaborated; (c) proceed to discussion of the mechanism of dominance in language and extra-linguistic reality, and (d) conclude with an overview of data from literary sources (some collected by me, others offered in Vidan [1995]).

1. TDM and the meaning of particles

TDM is a description of a prototypical discourse situation.[3] Each discourse exchange is an act of transfer of knowledge from one individual to another. The dynamics of knowledge transferal before, during, and after each utterance are captured in the formalism of set theory. Two individuals in discourse are viewed as two large sets of knowledge, A and B, each with a smaller knowledge subset containing the individuals' matter of current concern. The pre-discourse situation (a set for contact) involves a non-null intersection A∩B and a partial intersection of their subsets, Ca and Cb (henceforth: Cab), which obligatorily contains the following items: referential set of deixis {*I, you, here, now*}, predicational knowledge, a shared code, and the interlocutors' desire to engage in discourse. As soon as information from Ca is conveyed to B, it becomes a part of Cb, and the items in subsets Ca and Cb become identical. Such merger is a formal indication of a successful transaction of knowledge.

TDM operates with seven kinds of communicable knowledge, of which we will examine three kinds related to the meaning and use of the particles *ved'*, *razve* and *neuželi*. These particles will be shown to be directly dependent on the implicational interrelationship between referential knowledge, propositional knowledge and the CODE. Let us begin with the set of referential {deixis} obligatorily located in Cab prior to any discourse exchange. Conceptualization of the actual discourse situation as corresponding to a prototypical one would involve mapping prototypical {I, you} to

the "referential portraits" of the actual speech participants. The content of the mutual "referential portraits" of the interlocutors at the moment of the discourse situation to a great extent determines the application of the obligatory rule of Relevance and constitutes a source of the speaker's choice of linguistic expression of the utterance. The following example from Yokoyama (1986) provides a good illustration of this point: when A says "I have a backache" it is all right for B to respond with "Oh, I have a backache, too" if B is A's husband, but not if B is A's doctor; in that case this response would violate the Relevance Requirement. In her seminal study of the conditions for subject deletion in imperative sentences, Moon (1995) points to the important fact that the interlocutors' interpretation of each other's roles is also influenced by the discourse setting:

> <...> let us assume that A is not only B's next-door neighbor, but also B's doctor. Then, whereas a hospital setting would most likely restrict the relationship between A and B to a doctor-patient relationship, a grocery-store setting would allow A to interact with B either as B's doctor or as B's neighbor.

Moon's example shows that the content of the deictic referential set found in the Cab is not in one-to-one correspondence with reality and depends on the speaker's interpretation of the setting, i.e., of the deictic referential {here}. In this paper, however, I will focus mainly on the referential knowledge of {I, you} conceptualized as members of the obligatory deictic set.

Yokoyama (1986: 9) defines referential knowledge as "knowledge of the code assigned to a unique bundle of qualities that a given specific referent represents for a given speaker or a group of speakers." The composition of the knowledge of a code item is remarkably similar to that of referential knowledge and differs only in the degree of generality of propositions and in the number of speakers possessing this knowledge. My research supports Yokoyama's point about the interdependence between propositional and referential knowledge, but it also indicates that referential knowledge is not constant even for the same speaker as far as it concerns propositional bundles related to {I, you}. The referential content of not only {you} but also {I} changes *for the same speaker* according to the numerous social roles one goes through in the course of the day. Nevertheless, in order to be found in Cab, the

referential bundles for {I} and {you} *must coincide for both discourse participants*. As my analysis will show, practically every utterance contributes some changes to the propositional "bundles" constituting referential knowledge, located in {DEIXIS}, and these changes are closely related to the meaning and function of particles.

2. Interaction of propositional and referential knowledge in discourse and the particle *ved'*

Consider (1), in which a character from a Chekhov story, Ol'ga Mixajlovna (absorbed in her marital troubles, pregnant and tired), has to entertain numerous guests arriving at various times during the day to celebrate her husband's name-day:

(1) a. *Staroe staritsja, a molodoe rastet... Vy obedali?*
old-N. old-en-self and young-N. grows... you dined
'The old are getting older, the young keep growing...Did you have dinner yet?'

b. *-Ax, ne bespokojtes', požalujsta! -skazal student.*
oh not worry- imper. please said student
'Oh, please don't trouble yourself,' said the student.

c. *-Ved' vy ne obedali?*
ved' you-pl. not dined
'But you didn't have dinner yet, did you?'

d. *-Radi boga, ne bespokojtes'!*
for (the sake of) God not worry-imper.
'I beg you, do not trouble yourself!'

e. *-No ved' vy xotite est', -sprosila Ol'ga Mixajlovna*
but *ved'* you-pl. want to-eat asked O.M.
grubym i žestkim golosom, neterpelivo i s dosadoj-
rude and cruel voice-I impatiently and with irritation
eto vyšlo u nee nečajno, no totčas že ona zakašljalas',
this went-out at her unintentionally but that-time same she began-cough
ulybnulas', pokrasnela. (Chekhov, v. 7, p.176)
smiled blushed
'But you *do* want to eat, don't you asked O.M. in a rude and cruel tone, impatiently and with irritation–it came out that way

unintentionally, but at the same moment she began to cough, smiled and blushed.'

Trying to entertain her guest and desperate for a topic, Olga Mixajlovna starts with platitudes and then draws inspiration from her role as hostess. The referential pictures {I, you} found in Cab prior to the dialogue are: A (Olga): {*gostepriimnaja xozjajka* 'good hostess'} B (Student): {*učtivyj gost'* 'polite guest'}. Labels marking social roles actually belong to the CODE and therefore contain identical items of propositional knowledge for B and A, which can be roughly represented as: {*gostepriimnye xozjajki kormjat gostej* 'good hostesses feed their guests'} {*učtivye gosti starajutsja dostavit' xozjaevam kak možno men'še xlopot* 'polite guests try to give their hosts as little trouble as possible'}. It is important to note that as soon as the speaker chooses his/her "referential portrait", the bundles of propositions composing it will contain at least one proposition the speaker is expected to act upon in the {here, now} setting. In other words, if one chooses a role to play, one is supposed to act it out. Thus (1a, b) are based on the interlocutors' referential roles chosen *prior to discourse*, presented in (1a') and (1b') along with the items of propositional knowledge composing these roles:

(1a') A : {*gostepriimnaja xozjajka'* 'good hostess'}
-> [[*nado nakormit'* 'should offer food']]
(1b') B: {*učtivyj gost'* 'polite guest'}
-> [[*A ne nado bespokoit'sja* ' A shouldn't trouble herself']]

Each item of propositional knowledge composing a referential portrait of an interlocutor serves as a kind of instruction to act upon in the given setting. The hostess's question is not intended to obtain an informational answer just to satisfy her curiosity. It is, rather, a request for propositional knowledge upon which she would base her further course of action.

Immediately after the first exchange the interlocutors' referential portraits become different, for the following reasons. Let us note that (1a) is a yes/no question. The yes/no answer is supposed to contribute to the referential portrait of the guest {B is hungry or B is not hungry}. However, the guest avoids a direct answer, which is equivalent to a shy admission that he is hungry. Since every discourse exchange feeds the knowledge sets of both interlocutors,

there is now a mutual awareness of the change in his referential portrait: B: {*golodnyj gost'* 'hungry guest'}, found in the Cab. This alteration creates an immediate restructuring in the composition of the referential portraits of {I, you} for both interlocutors. Thus, *after the discourse exchange* in (1b) we see the following picture:

(1b") B: {*golodnyj gost'* 'hungry guest'}
-> but says [[«A ne nado bespokoit'sja»
'A shouldn't trouble herself']]
A: {hostess}
[[A knows that the guest is hungry]]
[[A *ne bespokoitsja* 'doesn't trouble herself']]
-> A: {*negostepriimnaja xozjajka* 'bad hostess'}

It turns out that B's answer contains a direct challenge to the referential portrait of the hostess {A: *gostepriimnaja xozjajka* 'good hostess'} since the proposition [[A *ne bespokoitsja* 'doesn't trouble herself']] upon which it is suggested she act changes her referential portrait to its opposite: {A: *negostepriimnaja xozjajka* 'bad hostess'}. The referential addition to the set of {DEIXIS} {B: *golodnyj gost'* 'hungry guest'} is a stumbling point for both interlocutors, since she really does not want to be bothered but does not want to admit it, while he is really hungry and is ashamed to admit it. Her question in (1c) is intended to resolve the contradiction. The answer she receives in (1d) *Radi boga ne bespokojtes'* 'For the sake of God, do not trouble yourself' only increases the controversy and aggravates the tired and irritated woman further. At this point Ol'ga Mixajlovna erupts in direct confrontation: this time not only *ved'* but also the conjunction *no* 'but' indicate that she finds a contradiction between the unambiguous signals that he is hungry and the proposition he offers her to act upon, stubbornly sticking to his original referential portrait {polite guest}. He has lost this label, in her opinion, since he repeatedly failed to say, *'No, I am not hungry,'* the only answer which would allow her not to be bothered while concurrently saving her referential "face." This is the source of her obvious frustration. In return, having made her emotions obvious, she rapidly loses her original referential role and appears both ruthless and tactless–as indicated in the author's comment.

This analysis shows that there indeed exists a dynamic interdependence between referential and propositional knowledge.

The particle *ved'* marks the presence of two conflicting sets of "referential portraits." Each set of referential portraits is associated with a proposition upon which the interlocutors are supposed to act. Thus, if the guest is not hungry, the hostess may be excused from giving him food *and still be a good hostess.* Both utterances with the particle *ved'*, (1c) and (1e), put forth an argument capable of destroying one of the competing referential portraits – therefore leaving only one proposition to act upon. The force of the speaker's argument is derived from the fact that it contains an item of knowledge already present in the addressee's knowledge set and thus has the powerful status of shared knowledge.

Let us reflect on one interesting point: the discourse participant who ends up having two sets of referential portraits instead of one is very likely to disagree with the role he or she is cast in; it is this participant who must put forth extra effort to convince his/her interlocutor to change the portrait. Let us also recall that for successful completion of a knowledge transaction *both* interlocutors have to end up with identical material in their sets of current concern, i.e., in Cab.

The same principle operates in passage (2), another episode from the same story. At the end of this difficult day Ol'ga Mixajlovna is finally alone with her husband, Petr Dmitrič, and she says:

(2) a. -*U tebja v poslednee vremja zavelis' ot menja kakie-to tajny.*
at you in recent time began from me some-kind secrets-N.
Èto nexorošo.
this no-good
"You've begun to keep some secrets from me recently. That's not good."

b. -*Počemu že nexorošo?-otvetil Petr Dmitrič suxo i ne srazu.*
why no-good answered P.D. dryly and not at-once
-*U každogo iz nas est' svoja ličnaja žizn',*
at each of us is self personal life
dolžny byt' i svoi tajny poètomu.
must be also self secrets therefore
What's wrong with that?' P. D. answered dryly and after a pause. 'Each of us has a private life of one's own, so it's only normal that there'd be one's own private secrets.'

c. -*Ličnaja žizn', svoi tajny... vse èto slova!*
personal life self secrets all this words

Pojmi, čto ty menja oskorbljaeš'!
understand-imper. that you me insult
-skazala Ol'ga Mixajlovna podnimajas' i sadjas' v posteli.
said O. M. lifting-self and sitting in bed-L
-Esli u tebja tjaželo na duše, to počemu ty skryvaeš' èto ot menja?
if at you heavy on soul then why you hide it from me
'Private life, one's own secrets... those are all just words! Do you realize that you insult me!' said O. M., rising and sitting up on the bed. 'If you have a burden on your soul why do you hide it from me?'

d. *I počemu ty naxodiš' bolee udobnym otkrovenničat'*
and why you find more comfortable to-be-open
s čužimi ženščinami, a ne s ženoj?
with strange women and not with wife
'And why do you find it more comfortable to confide in strange women, rather than in your own wife?'

e. *Ja ved' slyšala kak ty segodnja na paseke*
I *ved'* heard how you today at bee-garden
izlivalsja pered Ljubočkoj.
poured-self-out before L.
'I did hear you indulging in confidences in front of Lyubochka at the bee-garden.'

Ol'ga Mixajlovna's picture of DEIXIS {I, you} before uttering (2a):

A= *you*, Petr D.	B= *I*, Ol'ga M.
A: {is O. M.'s husband;	B: {is P.D's wife;
CODE: husbands and wives are close and share thoughts and feelings}	CODE: husbands and wives are close and share thoughts and feelings}
-> [[A has to explain why he didn't share his troubles with her]]	->[[B shared her worry about A's not sharing]]

Ol'ga Mixajlovna's statement in (2a) that her husband has recently been keeping secrets from her is not disputed by her husband. What he disputes is the label she gives to this fact. The point is: he does not hide things, he simply has a right to keep them private. The discourse picture on which (2b) is based is given below. It represents the composition of referential knowledge associated with the deictic {I, you} from the husband's perspective:

Petr D.'s picture of Deixis {I, you} on which (2b) is based:

A = *I*, Petr D.	B= *you*, Ol'ga M.
A: {a human being; like every human being has a right to private thoughts}	B: {like B, A is a human being and like every human being has a right to her private thoughts}
-> [[there is no need to talk about his private thoughts]]	-> [[there is no need to talk about her private thoughts]]

After the wife applies to herself her husband's view of {I, you}, she gets two sets of {DEIXES} and two conflicting propositions to act upon:

O.M.'s picture of Deixis {I, you} after (2b) and her basis for (2c):
A: {*you*, Petr D.} and B: {*I*, Ol'ga M.}
I. A: {is a human being who has private thoughts which he doesn't share:
CODE: a stranger}-> [[there is no need to talk about it]]
I. B: {is a human being with whom A does not share his thoughts:
CODE: a stranger to A} ->[[«there is no need to talk to B about it»]]

B: {*I*, Ol'ga M.} and A: {*you*, Petr D.}
II. B: {is P.D.'s wife:
CODE: husbands and wives are close and share thoughts and feelings}
->B: {is A's wife, whom he treats like a stranger}
->[[A *oskorbljaet* 'insults' B]]
->[[A and B need to talk, because lack of talk estranges A and B]]

As in passage (1), in (2) Ol'ga Mixajlovna ends up having two referential portraits and two propositions to act upon, while her addressee adheres to just one. The utterance with *ved'* changes this metinformational state of affairs. Let us see how Ol'ga Mixajlovna initiates steps to reduce her referential portraits and propositions to one, instead of two. First of all, she sums up the contradictions in her husband's behavior precisely in terms of propositions testifying

to a different cast of their referential roles: not only did Petr Dmitrič not keep his thoughts private, he opened his heart to a stranger rather than to his wife. *Ved'* accompanies a proposition which contains a non-disputable proof that he, contrary to his statement, in fact had had the need to talk to someone and that the referential portraits of himself and his wife he presented earlier were, therefore, false.

Both passages analyzed above focused mainly on the interlocutors' deriving deictic referential portraits from propositional knowledge. The passage from Chekhov's *Skučnaja istorija* 'Boring Story' presented in (3) shows this process working in the opposite direction. This episode depicts the desperate Katja, who comes early in the morning to Nikolaj Stepanovič's hotel room to seek help and advice:

(3) a. *-Radi istinnogo boga skažite skoree, siju minutu, čto mne delat'? (...)*
for-sake true God-g tell-imper. faster this minute what I-D to-do
'For God's sake, tell me quickly, this very instant–what am I to do?'

b. *-Ničego ja ne mogu skazat' tebe, Katja,- govorju ja.*
nothing I not able to-say you-D Katja say I-N.
'There is nothing I can say, Katja,' I answer.

c. *-Pomogite! rydaet ona, xvataja menja za ruku i celuja ee.*
help-imper sobs she-N grabbing me by hand and kissing it
'Help!' she sobs, grabbing my hand and kissing it.

d. *-Ved' vy moj otec, moj edinstvennyj drug!*
ved' you-pl. my father my only friend
Ved' vy umny, obrazovanny, dolgo žili! Vy byli učitelem!
ved' you-pl. intelligent educated long-time lived you-pl were teacher-I.
Govorite že: čto mne delat'?
tell-imper *že* what I-D. to-do
'*Ved'* you are my father, my only friend! *Ved'* you are intelligent, educated, you've had a long life! You were a teacher! Tell me what to do.' (Chekhov, vol. 7, p. 309)

This passage is especially indicative of the interplay between referential specifications of the deictic set {I, you} obligatorily located in the Cab and the propositional knowledge associated with each specification. Let us first look at the discourse setting from Nikolaj Stepanovič's perspective.

Nikolaj Stepanovič's picture of DEIXIS {I, you}:

A= *you*, Katja	B= *I*, Nikolaj Stepanovič
A: {unhappy and intruding upon B with impossible requests} ->[[«B tell A how to live her life»]]	B: {does not have qualities enabling him to tell people how they are supposed to live their lives} ->[[B can't tell A how to live her life]]

Once again we see that as soon as the speaker has chosen a referential role for him-/her-self, the choice immediately affects the addressee and casts him or her in the corresponding setting. The proposition upon which Katja wants Nikolaj Stepanovič to act requires completely different referential specifications than those presented by him. In (3d) she invokes all the CODE labels which contain propositions upon which Nikolaj Stepanovič could/should act in the manner she needs. Let us now look at the referential portrait of Nikolaj Stepanovič as depicted by Katja:

Katja's picture of Nikolaj Stepanovič:

B: {is A's father, A's only friend}	-> [[A can ask B for help]], -> [[B cares about A and would give her advice]]
B: {is intelligent, educated}	-> [[B has expertise to advise A]]
B: {has lived for a long time}	-> [[B has experience and can advise A]]
B: {has been a teacher}	-> [[B can teach A what to do with her life]}

Once again we see that *ved'* is used in the presence of two competing referential portraits of the discourse participants and two conflicting propositions to act upon. The order in which the referential labels are arranged in (3) is also significant. The label {*Vy moj otec, moj*

edinstvennyj drug 'you are my father, my only friend'} provides the grounds for Katja's turning for help to this particular person and satisfies the Relevance Requirement. Each label is a means to challenge the old man's self-depiction as someone who can say nothing as to how Katja is supposed to live her life. It is noteworthy that each label, each proposition which Katja places in the deictic {*Vy*, 'you' Nikolaj Stepanovič} is also part of his knowledge; she did not fabricate these qualities. It is clear that Nikolaj Stepanovič simply dismisses these qualities as irrelevant to the matter at hand. This analysis has prepared us to discuss the actual location of the knowledge accompanied by *ved'*.

In her pioneering paper of 1990 in which TDM was applied for the first time to the study of particles, Lillian Parrott suggested that *ved'* "signals that, in the speaker's estimation, the information which s/he is conveying is located on the periphery of the interlocutor's knowledge set." My analysis not only supports her conclusion but further contributes to this category cases such as (1) and (3), which might appear to be counter-examples: if the student in (1) is hungry, he must be aware of it, so how can we analyze this awareness as peripheral knowledge? Is it credible that Nikolaj Stepanovič, talking to Katja, does not remember that he has lived a long life, or that all his life he has been a teacher? As it is, we see that for each discourse exchange the speaker's choice of his/her own referential portrait is restricted by the way it affects the referential portrait of the addressee and, eventually, by propositional knowledge upon which the interlocutors will act. Time and again we see the importance of distinguishing between one's actual experience and the discourse conventions of channeling it. Thus, whether one actually remembers a certain item of knowledge turns out to be less important than whether one considers that item relevant to the immediate discourse situation. It is not unreasonable to suppose that when bracketed as irrelevant, a knowledge item automatically gets demoted to the periphery of one's knowledge set.

In Zaitseva (1995) the analysis of role-changing has been applied to establishing the meaning and function of two other discourse particles, *razve* and *neuželi*. Due to space limitations, I can offer only a brief summary of my research concerning *razve* and *neuželi*.[4] All three particles signal some discrepancy between the speaker's picture of the discourse situation (i.e., the state and content of the

interlocutors' knowledge sets) and that of the addressee. Matching one's discourse picture against that of the addressee (as part of the speaker's conceptualization of the discourse situation) falls under a procedure described in Yokoyama (1986) as *assessment*. The present analysis indicates that the lexical meaning of discourse particles is based on different strategies employed by the interlocutors in the process of assessment. It is noteworthy that (a) the possibility of a mistake in the speaker's assessment is taken into consideration by discourse rules[5] and (b) that the meaning of discourse particles is based on different strategies for resolving mismatch in the interlocutors' views of the discourse situation. Comparing the lists of items of propositional knowledge as fitting/misfitting the referential label seems to be one of the basic strategies. Expectations as to which participant is supposed to check the list and who is to correct the misfitting item are another striking aspect of personal interaction reflected in the meaning of the particles. They can be described as follows:

Ved' signals that the speaker's set of deictic referential portraits for {I, you} differs from the referential roles envisioned by the addressee, and the *ved'* utterance contains a proposition designed to change the addressee's referential label. The proposition accompanied by *ved'* is capable of producing such a change because of its status as shared knowledge, even though it is located in the center of the speaker's set of current concern and at the periphery of the addressee's knowledge set.

The particle *razve* signals that while both interlocutors have the same referential or code label, the speaker's referential set contains a proposition which is at variance with that of the addressee, and that the speaker's judgment is based on the item of propositional knowledge just introduced into the Cab. An utterance with *razve,* then, is a metinformational request to the addressee to clarify the contradiction.

Using *neuželi,* the speaker questions an item of propositional knowledge from his/her own referential bundle and checks it against the propositional knowledge introduced into the Cab. What unites *neuželi* with *razve* and sets them apart from *ved'* is that there is only one referential label in focus and the proposition contradicting the referential label has just been introduced into Cab. *Razve* and *neuželi* differ in one important respect: an utterance with

razve is a request for the addressee to check the misfitting proposition from the speaker's set against the addressee's bundle of propositions, while *neuželi* signals that the speaker finds that the proposition introduced into Cab directly contradicts the speaker's own referential label. The utterance with *neuželi* is the likeliest hypothesis capable of resolving that contradiction. That the speaker is not concerned with the addressee when uttering a sentence with *neuželi* can be supported by the following word-order test:

(4) a. *Razve vy znakomy s Nabokovym?*
razve you acquainted with Nabokov-I.
b. *Vy razve znakomy s Nabokovym?*
you *razve* acquainted with N.
c. **Vy neuželi znakomy s Nabokovym?*
you *neuželi* acquainted with N.
d. *Neuželi vy znakomy s Nabokovym?*
neuželi you acquainted with N.
'Are you really acquainted with Nabokov?'

As established in Yokoyama (1986), questions with a second-person pronoun in the initial position as in Yokoyama's example *Ty za čto menja udaril?* 'Why did you hit me?' signal the speaker's concern with the addressee. A sentence with *neuželi* preceded by *vy* 'you' as in (4c) is predictably unacceptable because the meaning of the lexical item *neuželi* and the word order of the sentence contain conflicting information.

3. Dominance vs. subordination in discourse

The interaction between referential and propositional knowledge shown in the constant shifts of referential portraits of the interlocutors is the basic mechanism behind domination/subordination. The category introduced in the analysis, *a proposition to act upon*, relates linguistic coding, discourse, and extra-linguistic behavior,[6] since the same proposition may either enter a bundle of propositions composing one's referential knowledge or be part of a CODE item. This explains the paramount importance of choice of referential specifications for deictic {I, you}, i.e., sets of interlocutors' *referential portraits*. Choosing one's own

referential portrait may easily turn into a domination device, since: (a) it predetermines a corresponding role for one's discourse partner; (b) it controls the partner through a prescribed proposition to act upon (associated with the imposed role); (c) it sets restrictions on what can be communicated to a person in this particular role and may block altogether the intended relocation of knowledge (to be discussed below).

Role-changing dynamics and their relation to *a proposition to act upon* explain why the principle of relevance is so omni-powerful.[7] In light of this analysis, the concept of relevance can be formulated (or refined) as a set of restrictions on communicable propositions, imposed by referential portraits of the deictic {I, you}. Since discourse rules require that the set {I, you} is obligatorily located in Cab before any discourse exchange, the referential specifications for deixes have to be identical for both participants. In case of conflicting views of {I, you}, the conflict *must be* resolved, otherwise there will be no merge of the two sets of current concern, required for successful knowledge transaction by discourse rules. Thus only one set out of two competing sets of referential portraits gets selected before the interlocutors may proceed, and this choice provides the setting for domination/subordination.

Domination in action is illustrated in Zaitseva (1995) in an analysis of a passage from Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita* in which the speaker's set of referential portraits for {I, you} not only was imposed upon the addressee against the addressee's will, but also had completely blocked the relocation of information intended by the addressee. In this passage, the buffet manager who comes to Voland (the devil in disguise) to complain about magic money which turned into cut paper makes several failed attempts to state his business. Voland subjects the buffet manager to humiliation and mockery through successive changes in how he sees {I, you}: 1) {you=salesperson, I=potential client}; 2) {you=unwelcome solicitor, I=unwilling to be your customer}; 3) {you=a person concerned with the morals of Muscovites; I= the higher being to whom people come with their concerns}. Each time the buffet manager's set: {I=representative of the Soviet trade system, you=the person responsible for the trouble in my buffet} is ignored and suppressed. Voland's intentionally incorrect conceptualization of the deictic {I, you} not only forces his interlocutor to act out a role he did not

intend or choose, but also completely blocks the relocation of knowledge the buffet manager was planning to impart.[8] This passage provides convincing illustration of how means of control provided by discourse rules may easily turn into a domination device.

4. Evidence from distribution of particles in literary texts

In analyzing the meaning and use of Russian discourse particles we observed negotiations concerning the referential portraits and their propositional content. The data discussed below was gathered to verify the correlation among rule-governed discourse behavior, use of particles, and the personal traits of a discourse participant.[9] Thus, the distribution of particles in Chekhov's drama *Uncle Vanya* seems to indicate that it is possible to make some predictions based on the meaning of the particles. Hence, Astrov, the character who is least typical in terms of social roles is granted use of the particle *ved'* more than anyone else:
Ved' is used altogether 7 times: by Astrov 5 times; by Elena 2 times;
Razve altogether 3 times: 1 time by Sonja; 1 by Astrov; 1 by Elena;
Neuželi: 3 times altogether, all used by Professor Serebrjakov.

Among the three particles examined, only *neuželi* shows that the speaker is questioning the fit of new information to his/her own referential knowledge, and clearly reveals the speaker's focus on self. It is noteworthy that all the instances of the use of *neuželi* belong to Professor Serebrjakov, the most selfish and self-centered character in the play.

A good candidate for discourse style compatible with the meaning of *ved'* would be someone able to focus on the interlocutor's peripheral knowledge and at the same time dissatisfied with his/her own referential portraits in all types of social settings; someone who is constantly concerned with other people's view of him-/herself. This description prompted me to consider the Underground Man, the first-person narrator of Dostoevsky's *Notes from Underground.*[10] To confirm my intuition, I checked the distribution of all three particles in the first 50 pages of *Notes from Underground* and in the first 50 pages of another first-person novel by Dostoevsky, *Podrostok* 'A Raw Youth,' also written

in the genre of memoir and featuring a personality with completely opposite traits, Arkadij. Arkadij is a naive teenager absorbed in his inner life who, unlike the Underground Man, knows firmly what role in life he is to play. His image ought to be associated with a low number of *ved'* usages and a higher number of uses of *neuželi* . The results of my count fully supported these predictions: (Table 1)

Table 1

	A raw youth	*Notes from Underground*
ved'	14 times altogether	86 altogether
	used by Arkadij: 7	used by the Undergr. Man: 81
neuželi	6; together with *neužto*[11]: 8	4 altogether
	used by Arkadij: 7	used by the Undergr. Man: 4
razve	6 ; used by Arkadij: 5	6; used by the Undergr. Man: 5

These results are especially staggering if we take into consideration the frequency range in these particles. According to Zasorina (1977), they range as follows: *ved'* - 1074; *razve* - 317; *neuželi* - 155. Thus, Arkadij uses the most frequent particle *ved'* the same number of times as the least frequent particle *neuželi,* and *neuželi* twice as much as the Underground Man. There is also textual evidence supporting my interpretation of the distribution of the particles. Both narrators find the opportunity to state their satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their own physical portraits in relationship to other people's:

> *Notes from Underground:*
> <...> *ja nenavidel ego krasivoe, glupen'koe lico (na kotoroe ja by, vprocem, promenjal s oxotoju svoe* umnoe*)*
> 'I hated his handsome stupid face (for which, though, I would gladly exchange my *intelligent* one).' (p. 135)

A Raw Youth:
Kraftovo lico ja nikogda ne zabudu <...>. A meždu tem sprosite, - ja by ne promenjal moego, mozet byt', daže poslogo lica, na ego lico, kotoroe kazalos' mne tak privlekatel'nym. <...>.
'I will never forget Kraft's face. <...> Nevertheless, if you ask me, I would never exchange my–perhaps even vulgar–face for his, which seemed to me so attractive.'(p.43)

Is this distributional principle applicable to capturing typical male/female discourse behavior? In a contemporary play by Arbuzov, *Gody stranstvij*[12] 'Years of Wandering' (substantially longer than Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*), there are 4 male and 4 female characters. The distribution of *ved'*: F= 47; M =18. The male character who uses *ved'* more frequently than others (8 times while other men use it 5, 4 and 3 times), Vedernikov, like Chekhov's Astrov, displays atypical behavior in the eyes of others and, like Astrov, has a strong, vigorous personality. The female who uses *ved'* more frequently than other women, Ljusja (14 times, while other women use it 7, 5 and 2 times), is the most submissive person, a devoted mother and wife. This distribution unites atypical men and a stereotypical woman despite the differences in their personality traits. The reasons for this will become clear after analysis of what is perceived as typical discourse behavior for men and women and a look at the source of this perception.

5. The source of the stereotypical view of male/female roles in discourse

Vidan's (1995) data collected from Tolstoy's descriptions of marital arguments in *Anna Karenina* seem to support all the most entrenched stereotypes about women's behavior in discourse: evidence of deceiving (F=21, M=3); of anger (F=10, M=0); of hatred/repulsion/contempt (F=9, M=0); of emotional distress (F=7, M=4); of patience (F=1, M=6); submissiveness (F=3, M=9); apologetic behavior (F=0, M=6); interruptions (F=6, M=1); questions (F=22,

M=5); imperatives (F=11, M=16); unfulfilled attempts, intentions, desires (F=12, M=6).

While Vidan interprets anger and other strong negative emotions displayed by women characters as a sign of their dominant behavior, this display is also suggestive of childlike, immature conduct, especially in light of the low count of their fulfilled "attempts, intentions and desires." From initial reading of the data, females emerge as manipulative (high count of lying), weak creatures (they achieve what they want only half of the time), a quarrelsome lot difficult to deal with; while males display mature and responsible behavior. Although male dominance suggests itself (in the end, men get to use more imperatives; they achieve what they want twice as often), this dominance is perceived--as in the most stereotypical views--to be fully justifiable due to the aura of stability and good sense projected by the male image.

Below I offer my interpretation of Vidan's data (as well as on my own analysis of other passages from *Anna Karenina*) within the framework of the present study. This focus on role-changing dynamics reveals that all depictions of *female anger* are connected to women's dissatisfaction with the sets of referential portraits {I, you} imposed upon them by their partners. Dissatisfaction with the roles in itself does not justify the outbursts of anger, and rather suggests uncooperative behavior on the women's part. In each case, however, it is the propositional knowledge possessed by both partners that prevents women from accepting their partner's view of {I, you}. Thus, Dolly is offered the role of a beloved wife, and Anna that of a loving, "honest" one, *in the presence of propositional knowledge possessed by both interlocutors and contradicting the suggested roles.*[13] The most efficient strategy for resolving the contradiction is changing the set of referential portraits so that the conflicting proposition would fit it. This strategy is regularly employed by female characters. Thus, in Anna's case her view of Karenin's referential portrait undergoes the following transformation (Part I, Ch. 4):

{a loving husband} —> [*does not care for his wife's feelings]
—>
{a husband} —> [does not care for his wife's feelings]
—>
{unloving husband}

The conflicts between two females are regularly resolved through open (often painful) discussion of mutual sets of referential portraits in relationship to "explosive" items of propositional knowledge (see the Dolly-Kitty conflict in Part II, Ch. 3, pp. 148-150)

Another strategy, regularly employed by males and characteristic of Karenin, is bracketing the nonfitting propositional knowledge and demoting it altogether from his set of current concern (cf. the analysis of (3), which establishes this kind of bracketing as a regular phenomenon in discourse). Karenin's bracketing resolves a contradiction for his own knowledge sets alone; he leaves Anna with conflicting items and *ignores* this fact.[14] Bracketing the material from one's Ca which intersects with Cb (i.e., is located in Cab) qualifies this act as a metinformational violation, unilaterally changing the status of the shared item of knowledge. One violation brings in a number of others: (a) the interlocutors' sets of current concern do not merge after a verbal exchange (a formal indication of unsuccessful knowledge transaction); (b) the addressee is left with two conflicting items of knowledge (a formal indication of lying, see Yokoyama [1988]). This strategy places female interlocutors at a complete impasse: they are denied the right to follow regular discourse rules. Their understanding of truth and sense of reality (i.e., propositional knowledge in the Cab) does not matter to their partners,[15] what they feel is ignored,[16] and no one cares if they lie–all this to preserve the original pictures of referential portraits imposed by males. Their open fight for changing roles is reflected in a statistically high rate of metinformationally disruptive outbursts of anger and other negative emotions; their acceptance of the roles despite the state of their knowledge sets is evidenced in the high count of lies. The other side of the picture, the women's states of mind leading to this behavior, would be related to taking women's points of view into consideration, and is not reflected in the stereotypical perception of female discourse behavior.

It is interesting that all the instances of apologetic, submissive behavior and patience displayed by male speakers (and interpreted by Vidan as evidence of male subordination) aim at maintaining the *status quo*, the original referential portraits. Thus, Stiva Oblonskij begs his wife to disregard the shared propositional knowledge that he had an affair with another woman; Dolly's bracketing and demoting of this item of propositional knowledge from her knowledge sets would preserve the original {I, you=loving husband and wife} intact. In this respect Stiva's strategy differs from that of Karenin, who simply insists that Anna act upon propositions associated with {I, you=loving husband and wife} without worrying about fitting contradictory items. However, both strategies are similar in that they are directed at making the female partners adjust their knowledge sets according to male views of {I, you}. All the instances of apologetic, submissive behavior on Karenin's part cited in Vidan's Appendix 2 (Vidan 1995, 181) are connected with his desire to preserve their roles intact,[17] despite clear manifestations of Anna's feelings, which do not fit the roles. Vronskij, wooing Anna, follows the same strategy: *Tol'ko ne izmenjajte ničego. Ostav'te vse kak est'*. 'Just do not change anything. Leave everything as it is.' It is significant that Vronskij's words about preserving the *status quo* are immediately followed by *Vot vaš muž'* 'Here is your husband.'[18]

Males' conservative tendency to cling to the original sets of referential portraits may at times work to their disadvantage or make them less flexible than they wish. This is nicely illustrated in a passage from *Anna Karenina* in which Koznysev approaches Varen'ka, who is hunting for mushrooms, with the intention of proposing marriage to her. Contrary to his own and Varen'ka's expectations, and despite the fact that he had rehearsed the marriage-proposal speech in his mind a moment before, it does not take place, because he does not make an effort to change the referential roles {I, you= mushroom hunters}.

6. Conclusion

One of the advantages of TDM is in that it allows one to explore a cognitive blue-print on which the speaker bases each of his/her utterances. Such blue-print operates with categories from linguistic

and extra-linguistic reality simultaneously, within the same cognitive space. It is achieved through Yokoyama's classification of communicable knowledge into seven kinds and the assumption that the speakers deal not with reality, but with *knowledge* of reality. This provides for a common denominator and a possibility for *direct* interaction between knowledge of language, knowledge of discourse rules and procedures and knowledge about the extra-linguistic status of the interlocutor (gender, social hierarchy etc.).[19]

The meaning and distribution of Russian discourse particles have been shown to depend on the interaction between different kinds of knowledge and to reflect cognitive strategies for the speaker's conceptualization of a discourse situation[20]. There are established such cognitive strategies as: (a) fitting an item of propositional knowledge into referential bundles associated with the deictic {I, you} and relating it to CODE items containing a corresponding proposition; (b) bracketing a nonfitting item of propositional knowledge as part of the conceptualization of a discourse situation; (c) negotiating conflicting sets of referential portraits {I, you} vs. imposing one set and suppressing the other (a setting of dominance in discourse).

Notes

1. This paper is based on an informal publication of my research on particles (Zaitseva 1995b), which has been investigated further and substantially reworked for the present paper.
2. See the collection of articles devoted to these and similar issues in Tannen (1993b).
3. See Yokoyama (1986) for details.
4. See Zaitseva (1995b) for details.
5. Moon's (1995) analysis demonstrates that the principles of pronominalization and pronoun deletion as well as subject deletion with imperatives are based on the speaker's realization of a mismatch between the speaker's and the addressee's idea of what is located in the center vs. periphery of Cab. The act of pronominalization prompts the addressee to rearrange his/her Cb "so that the addressee's and the speaker's pictures of Cab become identical" (Moon 1995: 103). Moon's research independently supports my findings; her further elaboration of the TDM and its formalism is perfectly applicable to the description of particles as suggested here. The present work would

benefit from an application of Moon's framework allowing for much more rigorous description than can be offered here.

6. The same kind of relationship between linguistic and extralinguistic behavior is manifested most clearly by performatives, vocatives, imperatives and, as demonstrated in Yokoyama (1986), by word order and intonation in Russian (which codes the rule-governed restructuring in the interlocutors' knowledge sets caused by any utterance). See Zaitseva (1995a) for treatment of speech act verbs in TDM.
7. Studies employing *relevance* usually use this concept as self-explanatory, focusing on its potency rather than definitions, as in Sperber and Wilson (1986) . Grice's Maxim of Relevance is set on an axiomatic basis, and in Yokoyama (1986) the Relevance Requirement is described in general terms: "the speaker must offer only what the interlocutor would presumably find relevant" (Yokoyama 1986: 28).
8. In Zaitseva (1995b), the analysis of Luria's (1976) work on cognitive development suggests that wrong conceptualization of the deictic referential portraits underlies Luria's subjects' inability to form abstract concepts and to use such basic logical operations as deduction.
9. See Baranov *et al.* (1993: 14), who adduced statistically significant data on a correlation between the distribution of the discourse particles *razve* and *neuželi* and the narrator's perception of events in two of Bulgakov's novels.
10. See Schönle's (1990: 319-334) study of distribution of reflexives in *Notes from Underground,* supporting this view.
11. *Neužto* is a particle close in meaning to *neuželi;* see Bulygina and Šmelev (1987).
12. Aleksej Arbuzov (Moscow, 1961).
13. Vidan's insightful analysis of Karenin's behavior in the horse-race scene fully corroborates this point: "his [Karenin's] reasoning is grounded in the fact that Anna is his wife, thus she must love him. However, the input he gets during the race from Anna's behavior contradicts his knowledge." And further: "It is clear that Karenin's commitment to what he empirically learns at the racesite is smaller than to what he rationally believes." (Vidan 1995: 162-63).
14. This metinformational act is captured in Tolstoy's description of Karenin's habitual disregard for other people's point of view: *perenosit'sja mysl'ju i čuvstvom v drugoe suščestvo bylo duševnoe dejstvie, čuzdoe Alekseju Aleksandroviču* (171) 'To put himself in thought and feeling into another being was a mental action foreign to Karenin.'
15. Cf. Anna's internal monologue with *razve,* challenging Karenin's labeling his feeling for Anna with the CODE label "love" after he says to her: *Ja muž tvoj i ljublju tebja* 'I am your husband and I love you.' Her first reaction shows that she immediately considers Karenin's words as a possible solution of the conflict. Matching them against her knowledge of reality, however, shows her that she has been tricked again:

> *"Na mgnovenie lico ee opustilos' i nasmešlivaja iskra potuxla vo vzgljade; no slovo 'ljublju' opjat' vozmutilo ee. Ona podumala: 'Ljubit? Razve on možet ljubit'? Esli b on ne slyxal, čto byvaet ljubov', on nikogda i ne upotrebljal by ètogo slova. On i ne znaet, čto takoe ljubov'"* (175)
>
> 'For an instant her head had drooped and the mocking spark in her eyes had died away, but the word 'love' aroused her again. 'Love!' she thought, 'as if he can love! If he had never heard people talk about love, he would never have used that word. He does not know what love is.'

Anna protests, using the CODE label as referential: it blatantly misfits reality.

16. Cf. Anna's assessment of Karenin's motive after he expresses his displeasure about her behavior with Vronskij: *'Emu vse ravno,' podumala ona. 'No v obščestve zametili i èto trevožit ego.''It's all the same to him,'* she thought. 'But it was noticed in society and that worries him.' (175, emphasis mine). What is "all the same" to Karenin is the shared proposition that Anna's feelings have changed. Disregarding that kind of knowledge blatantly contradicts the referential label {I, you=loving husband and wife}. Her relationship with Vronskij brings her to the same point: *'Kak tvoja golova, lučše?' skazal on spokojno, ne želaja videt' i ponimat' mračnogo i toržestvennogo vyraženija ee lica* (371). 'How is your head–better?' he said calmly, not wishing to see or understand the gloomy and solemn look on her face.
17. Cf. the description of what went on in Karenin's mind after he tells his wife that her behavior at the horse race was unacceptable and before he makes an apologetic statement: *Teper', kogda nad nim viselo otkrytie vsego, on ničego tak ne želal, kak togo, čtoby ona, tak že kak prežde, nasmešlivo otvetila emu, čto ego podozrenija smešny i ne imejut osnovanija. No vyraženie lica ee, ispugannogo i mračnogo, teper' ne obeščalo daže obmana. - 'Možet byt', ja ošibajus',-skazal on.-'V takom slučae ja prošu izvinit' menja.'* Now that a complete disclosure was impending, he wished nothing so much as that she would, as before, answer him mockingly that his suspicions were ridiculous and groundless. But now the expression on her frightened and gloomy face did not promise even deception. 'Perhaps I am mistaken,' said he. 'In that case I beg your pardon.' (Part II Ch. 29).
18. See Zaitseva (1993) on the author's acknowledgment of the reader's potential inference.
19. See, for example, Tannen (1993, 183): "The intersection of language and gender provides a rich site for analyzing how power and solidarity are created in discourse. But prior research in this area evidences the danger of linking linguistic forms with interactional intentions such as dominance. " Tannen's warning is fair only when "linguistic forms" and "interactional intentions" are viewed with no provisions for common cognitive denominator.

20. This conclusion contradicts Sperber & Wilson (1986, 173-74) who maintain a firm line between language and communication: "Languages are indispensable not for communication, but for information processing; this is their essential function"; "The activities which necessarily involve the use of language (i.e., a grammar-governed representational system), are not communicative, but cognitive." In fact, as we saw, discourse exchange (i.e., "communication") depends on the dynamics of knowledge relocation and thus has to be considered a part of cognitive activity.

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Gender, iconicity, and agreement in Russian

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Introduction

This paper treats a grammatical phenomenon that appears to be influenced by reference to the natural gender (rather than grammatical gender) of the nouns involved: namely, variation in subject-predicate agreement which may occur with what I refer to as *s*-constructions. These are compound noun phrases of the type *brat s sestroj* 'brother with sister', in which the first noun is singular and in the nominative case and the second is either singular or plural and in the instrumental case, as is required by the use of *s* 'with' to conjoin the two nouns. The usual Russian conjunction for joining noun phrases, verb phrases, adjectives, adverbs, and so on, is *i* 'and'; under certain conditions noun phrases (and only noun phrases) may also be conjoined by *s* 'with'. Strictly speaking, Russian predicates normally agree only with nominative nouns; however, plural predicates are frequently found with *s*-constructions, indicating agreement with both nouns.

A number of the grammars and theoretical works which deal with *s*-constructions use masculine examples to illustrate plural agreement and feminine examples to illustrate singular agreement. This could be considered just a coincidence; however, certain written sources (and some informants) make this distinction explicit, by stating that while a plural predicate is possible with an *s*-construction if the nominative noun is masculine, the verb *should be* singular if the nominative noun is feminine (and refers to a female). For example, Rozental' (1978: 240) states that when mixed genders are involved the masculine tends to precede the feminine and plays a stronger grammatical role, so that if the feminine noun comes first it is emphasized and therefore agreement will be singular. In (1), the plural is preferred:

(1) *Muž s ženoj pošli v teatr.*
'Husband with wife went (pl) to the theatre.'
(Rozental' 1965: 229)

However, if the nouns appear in reverse order, as in (2), the singular is preferred instead:

(2) *Žena s mužem pošla v teatr.*
'Wife with husband went (sg) to the theatre.'
(Rozental' 1965: 229)

Rozental' claims that *žena* is emphasized when the order is changed, but does not offer any other explanation. While this claim concerning differences in agreement patterns seems to be true of some *s*-construction pairs, it is not true for all, since it is certainly possible to have plural agreement when the nominative noun is feminine, as Rozental' himself demonstrates in (3):

(3) *Galja s Tanej postupili v odin i tot že institut.*
'Galja with Tanja enrolled in the same institute.'
(Rozental' 1965: 229)

Since both nouns in (3) are feminine, one could argue that this is a male-female word order problem, limited to mixed-gender pairs; however, it is possible to find examples such as (4), in which the nouns are proper names and the nominative noun is feminine:

(4) *Èto byli Žjuli s Seržem.* (Černyševskij)
'It was (pl) Julie with Serge.' (Šaxmatov 1963: 255)

Moreover, the problem seems to disappear when names are substituted for the original pair:

(5) *Katja s Kolej/Kolja s Katej pošli v teatr.*
'Katja with Kolja/Kolja with Katja went (pl) to the theatre'.

Although Kolja and Katja are in fact husband and wife, reversing the order of the names has no effect. It would seem that there is no reason for the emphasis to change, within a given context, except

that this particular set has become fixed in its order and expectations change when the order changes. The differences in agreement that occur with *muž s ženoj* 'husband with wife' must, then, be considered a matter of gender roles rather than grammatical gender.

We can summarize the specific problem in the following: for pairs comprising fixed sets (i.e., things which normally occur together, as in *otec/mat'* 'father/mother', *brat/sestra* 'brother/sister', and so forth) in which both members are of "equal" status (i.e., not of inherently unequal status, such as parent/child, employer/employee, and so on), if the nominative noun refers to the male partner, then agreement may be plural or singular, depending upon other determining factors. If, however, the nominative noun refers to the female partner, agreement is generally *singular*. This occurs despite the fact that when personal names are substituted for the gender roles, they are followed by plural predicates, regardless of which noun is in the nominative.

1. General factors affecting agreement with *s*-constructions

A number of factors are involved in determining whether the predicate with an *s*-conjoined subject will be singular or plural.[1] These include, among others, whether the referents of the nouns are equal or unequal in status, age, or responsibility (e.g., *Sergej s Ivanom* 'Sergej with Ivan' versus *professor so studentom* 'professor with student' or *mat' s rebenkom* 'mother with child'); the semantics of the verb (whether the predicate requires or implies a leader, resulting in a singular predicate, or is rather an activity in which two or more people can share equally); whether any adverbials present are directional or locational (directional adverbials may result in a "leader" reading and hence a singular predicate); whether the instrumental noun is singular or plural (when plural, the predicate is usually singular); and use of *vmeste* 'together', which, rather counterintuitively, promotes singular agreement. Most of the effects of the various individual factors boil down to a fairly simple rule: those factors which favor the interpretation of an animate *s*-construction as a unified entity also favor plural predicates, while those factors which tend to present the members of the *s*-construction as separate or unequal also tend to

favor singular predicates. The opposite is true of inanimates, however, and I attribute the difference directly to the effect of animacy.[2] Inanimate *s*-constructions usually comprise sets, things which normally occur together, such as *samovar s čajnikom* 'samovar with teapot' or *čaška s bljudcem* 'cup with saucer'. Predicate agreement with such sets is singular, unless there are other factors present which encourage a non-set interpretation, in which case agreement is plural (see examples (6) and (7) below).

2. Iconicity and inanimates

Word order for inanimate sets is iconic: in other words, the order of the nouns reflects the real-world functional relationship between their referents.[3] Various studies of fixed sets have shown that items which are larger, more powerful, or of greater importance in whatever sense, tend to precede those which are smaller, less powerful, or less important.[4] So, for example, the word order of a set such as *čaška s bljudcem* 'cup with saucer' is iconic because the cup is functionally more important than the saucer.

If the word order of an iconic set is reversed (e.g., *bljudce s čaškoj* 'saucer with cup'), the result is an interpretation that the two items no longer constitute a single unit and therefore the verb is plural. This is illustrated by the pictures in (6) and (7):

(6) *Na stole ostalas' čaška s bljudcem.*
'On the table remained (sg) a teacup with saucer.'

(7) *Na stole ostalis' bljudce s čaškoj.*
'On the table remained (pl) a saucer with a teacup.'

As long as iconic word order is observed, the cup is assumed to sit on top of the saucer in its normal functioning position, in other words, to be a single entity with two parts; when the word order is changed, the two items are considered to be separate entities located side by side. It is my belief that this "breaking of the set" also occurs with animate pairs - an occurance which, in turn, will account for gender differences in agreement patterns.

To test this hypothesis, printed examples of mixed-gender animate *s*-constructions (taken from literary sources and grammars) with verb endings left blank, were presented to several groups of Russian native informants with the request that they supply the missing verb form.[5] Pairs were provided in both usual (masculine preceding feminine) and reversed word order. Following completion of this task, informants were later asked to provide more detailed commentary on the justification for their responses. The corpus to be tested comprised two groups of paired examples: the first consisted of iconic pairs whose members were not inherently of unequal status (e.g., not employer/employee or parent/child) and all of which had plural predicate agreement in the original sentences; the second group consisted of non-iconic pairs (generally personal names). The specific pairs which which were tested in the survey are listed in (8) below:

(8) **Gender-specific pairs**

muž s ženoj 'husband with wife' (used both with surnames and verbal predicates)
otec s mater'ju 'father with mother'
brat s sestroj 'brother with sister'
deduška s babuškoj 'grandfather with grandmother'
starik so staruxoj 'old man with old woman'
djadja s tetej 'uncle with aunt'
papa s mamoj 'papa with mama'
ženix s nevestoj 'groom with bride'
mužčina s ženščinoj 'man with woman'
xozjain s xozjajkoj 'host with hostess'
korol' s korolevoj 'king with queen'
car' s caricej 'tsar with tsaritsa'

Non-paired/Names

Galja s Tanej 'Galja with Tanja'
Miša s Olej 'Miša with Olja'
Petja s Lenoj 'Petja with Lena'
Nikolaj s ženoj/Natašej 'Nikolaj with wife/Nataša'

3. Behavior of iconic pairs

As Rozental' indicated, the pair *muž s ženoj* 'husband with wife' is strongly iconic. In (9) it appears with a surname; under normal word order conditions, the *s*-construction refers to the couple as a single entity and the surname as predicate is plural:

(9) *Muž s ženoj Polonskie*
'Mr. and Mrs. Polonskij [lit. 'husband with wife Polonskij']'
(Švedova 1970: 489)

Reversing the word order produces an interesting result: the strength of the iconicity appears to be such that even with the order reversed some informants still perceived the pair as a couple and provided the plural surname (*Polonskie*). However, on the other hand, the usual word order appears to be so "fixed" that when it was reversed, several informants sought justifiable reasons to explain this reversal and provided the instrumental singular *Polonskim*, as if to say 'the woman (wife) with her husband, Polonskij', meaning either that she has had more than one husband, or that she and her husband have different surnames. In either case, it is clear that he is accompanying her, as opposed to the interpretation that they form a couple known as Mr. and Mrs. Polonskij. Results are similar for other pairs, such as *brat s sestroj* 'brother with sister', *otec s mater'ju* 'father with mother', and *starik so staruxoj* 'old man with old woman', although in these instances there is slightly more tolerance for the reversed word orders, as seen in the following (the first example is the original, the second is the test sentence):

(10)*Brat s sestroj uexali v derevnju.*
'Brother with sister went (pl) to the country.'
(Rozental' 1978: 240)

(11)*Sestra s bratom uexala/uexali v derevnju.*
'Sister with brother went (sg)/(pl) to the country.'

For non-iconic pairs, there is little or no resistance to feminine-first word order with plural predicates, despite the suggestion in prescriptive grammars that masculine nouns should precede feminine nouns:

(12)*Miša s Olej kupili avtomobil'.*
'Miša with Olga bought (pl) a car.' (Andreyewsky 1973: 198)

(13)*Olja s Mišej kupili avtomobil'.*
'Olja with Miša bought (pl) a car.'

In general, resistance to word-order reversal is highest with the derivationally related, strongly iconic pairs *xozjain/xozjajka* 'host/hostess', *korol'/koroleva* 'king/queen', and *car'/carica* 'tsar/tsaritsa'. For most of these pairs it is not possible to retain an *s*-coordination with a plural predicate. However, it is still possible to use *i* 'and' (*xozjajka i xozjain pošli* 'hostess and host went (pl)'), to separate the parts of the *s*-construction with the verb (*xozjajka pošla s xozjainom* 'hostess went (sg) with host'), or to use a singular predicate and emphatic intonation (*xozjajka s XOZJAINOM pošla* 'hostess with HOST went (sg) [and not with someone else]'). It should be noted that for the derivationally related pairs, all of the feminine terms are derived from the masculine terms. According to the empathy framework found in Kuno (1986: 207), something which is dependent on another thing will have a lower empathy value than that on which it is dependent: the empathy value of (x) is greater than that of f(x); therefore, (x) will precede f(x): we say *Jill*$_i$ *and her*$_i$ *sister* rather than *Her*$_i$ *sister and Jill*$_i$. This could well apply to derived terms, as the derivational nature of the term may reflect its real-world status. The derived feminine terms are all marked; therefore, the feminine-first word order for these pairs is also marked.

Tolerance of reversed word order is in general slightly higher for iconic pairs which are not derivationally related: *djadja/tetja* 'uncle/aunt', *papa/mama* 'papa/mama', *ženix/nevesta* 'groom/bride', *mužčina/ženščina* 'man/woman'; however, the greater the iconicity of the pair (e.g., *ženix/nevesta, mužčina/ženščina*), the less likely that it will appear in reversed order with a plural predicate. Reversed word order and use of *s* may have unexpected results: when *mužčina s ženščinoj* is reversed, there are additional sexual connotations to be considered; it would appear that when the role is strictly limited to gender identity rather than additional familial or social positions the use of *s* as coordinator emphasizes the sexual relationship. The greatest tolerance of reversed word order is evidenced in pairs of kinship terms, such as *djadja/tetja* 'uncle/aunt', *deduška/babuška* 'grandfather-grandmother', and *papa/mama* 'papa/mama'. In fact, the *preferred* word order for the latter is feminine-first, *mama s papoj* 'mama with papa'. For these pairs word order is less determined by gender than by other factors: the speaker's relationship (blood and emotional ties) to the people in question, and the fact that these kinship terms also serve as forms of address. For a child, *mama* and *papa* are the names by which the child addresses his or her parents. The same can be said of *babuška* 'grandmother', *deduška* 'grandfather', *tetja* 'aunt', and *djadja* 'uncle' (*tetja* and *djadja* may also be used by children to address other adults). Therefore, these particular kinship terms behave like other personal names in *s*-constructions.

One further point regarding strongly iconic pairs is warranted here. Many such pairs denote kinship and societal roles on more than one level; in other words, the referents of such nouns relate to each other in a familial sense and to society at large in some other sense. For example, *car'* 'tsar' and *carica* 'tsaritsa' are, first, married to each other, and second, heads of a sociopolitical hierarchy. The more entrenched the roles are (and hence, the more grammaticized the usual word order), the more difficult it is to make changes in word order without also changing the sense of unity of the group. Gender-specific roles have become grammaticized, while names have not.

Finally, it should be noted that even strongly iconic pairs may be reversed and have plural predicates, given the proper context:

(14)Nataša, ostavšis' s mužem odna, tože razgovarivala tak, kak tol'ko *razgovarivajut žena s mužem*, to est', s neobyknovennoj jasnost'ju i bystrotoj poznavaja i soobščaja mysli drug druga, putem, protivnym vsem pravilam logiki, bez posredstva suždenij, umozaključenij i vyvodov, a soveršenno osobennym obrazom. (L. Tolstoj)

'Nataša, left alone with her husband, also conversed in the way that only *wife with husband converse* (pl), that is, with an unusual clarity and quickness, apprehending and communicating each other's thoughts, by ways contrary to all rules of logic, without means of judgments, deductions and conclusions, but in a completely peculiar manner.'
(Arutjunova 1981: 358; emphasis added)

Although the preceding discourse has concerned Nataša, and the order of the *s*-construction, *žena s mužem* 'wife with husband', is the reverse of the usual order, the predicate and following modifiers pertaining to *žena s mužem* all have to do with the ways married couples, not individuals, communicate. This focus on the real world group (married couples) allows a plural predicate, even with the unusual NP-internal word order.

4. Conclusion

The present study advances several interesting and important findings related to gender, iconicity and agreement in contemporary Russian. My test methods and follow-up study with native informants indicate that there are, in fact, cases in which the feminine noun in an *s*-construction may produce a plural, in place of the expected singular predicate. All other things being equal, the single most important determining factor in predicting agreement in mixed-gender cases is whether or not the nouns involved refer to sex-determined and societal-determined roles such as husband/wife or host/hostess. With regard to predicate agreement, there appears to be a range of iconic roles which will determine singular vs. plural usage. Roles which have more than one dimension, such as

car'/carica 'tsar/tsaritsa' are more bound by these dimensions and, hence, more "fixed" in their *s*-construction word order and predicate agreement. The most flexible pairs are those comprising personal names, while the most flexible gender role pairs are kinship terms such as *mama/papa* 'mama/papa,' which are also used as forms of direct address.

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Notes

1. For a more comprehensive description of factors and their effects, see Urtz (1994).
2. Various studies of agreement with collective nouns, quantifiers, and conjoined noun phrases have shown that animates are more likely to trigger plural agreement, while inanimates will tend to have singular agreement; see Mullen (1967), Crockett (1976) and Corbett (1983).
3. For other studies on iconic phenomena in language, see Haiman (1985a, b).
4. The following sources contain extensive lists of such fixed-order or idiomatic noun phrases in various languages, including Russian: Abraham (1950), Bergel'son and Kibrik (1981), Cooper and Ross (1975), Ivanov and Toporov (1965), Lambrecht (1984), Malkiel (1959), Plank (1979), Sannikov (1989), and Smith (1985).
5. Informants were recent arrivals to the United States, ranging in age from late teens to mid-fifties, and came from a variety of educational, social, and geographical backgrounds.

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A gender linguistic analysis of Mrożek's *Tango*

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Introduction

This paper will employ a gender linguistics framework in order to analyze Sławomir Mrożek's play *Tango*. Reference will be made to previous studies of the differences in women's and men's speech that have been conducted by both English- and Slavic-speaking researchers. The ultimate goal of the paper is to illustrate how a gender linguistic analysis of a literary work can enhance the reader's understanding and interpretation of the work in light of its contemporary social context.

Mrożek is one of Poland's most famous contemporary playwrights, and *Tango* is the best known and most widely-staged (in both Poland and abroad) of his plays.[1] The action of *Tango* takes place in three acts. It is impossible to pinpoint exactly when the play is set in history, although we know that it is sometime after the 1940's. The country in which the drama is set also remains unspecified. The main character of the play is Artur, a 25-year-old university student. The other characters are Stomil, Artur's father; Eleonora, his mother; Eugeniusz, his great-uncle; Eugenia, his grandmother; Ala, his cousin and fiancee; and Edek, a hanger-on in the house.

To summarize the plot of the play briefly, Artur is very disillusioned with his family. His parents have always prided themselves on being free from the fetters of rules and conventions, and their dirty, cluttered house is a perfect example of the lack of order that characterizes their lives. Artur's grandmother and great-uncle spend their time playing cards with Edek, who, it turns out, is having an affair with Artur's mother. Artur's father Stomil is always dressed in his pajamas; he occupies himself with experiments

in avant-garde theater. Artur proposes marriage and a traditional wedding ceremony to his cousin, Ala, as a means of participating in the type of convention and tradition that he has never known in his family life. He also enlists his great-uncle, Eugeniusz, to help him restore order to the family by means of intimidation and force. Artur (with the help of Eugeniusz) requires everyone to dress in fancy, outdated clothing, he has the house cleaned up and organized, and he forces Edek to serve the family as a valet. Toward the end of the play Artur realizes that his attention to form and convention still fails to bring meaning to his life, and he once again becomes greatly disillusioned. He comes to the conclusion that power is the force that gives life meaning, and in order to demonstrate his power over his family, he orders Edek to kill Eugeniusz. Before that can be accomplished, however, Ala tells Artur that she betrayed him with Edek. Artur, hurt and furious, wants to kill Edek, but Edek succeeds in killing Artur first. As the curtain closes, Edek has established himself as the one in charge, and he and Eugeniusz dance the tango together.

In the analysis that follows below, I shall first present the types of linguistic differences evidenced between the female and male characters in Mrożek's play, and then discuss how these linguistic differences contribute to an enhanced interpretation of the work.

1. Differences in male and female characters' speech

In this section I shall present the ways in which the speech of Mrożek's male characters differs from the speech of his female characters.

1. 1 *Amount of speech*

The first way in which the speech in the play differs along gender lines is in the actual amount of speech attributed to the characters. The play has seven characters—four male and three female. Although the number of male and female characters is roughly equivalent, the amount of speech delivered by the males as opposed to the females is strikingly disparate. I counted 13,652 words of

dialogue in the play. Out of those 13,652 words, 10,322 were delivered by males, and only 3,330 were delivered by females. The specifics of the amount of speech assigned to each character are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1.

Name of Character	*Number of words of dialogue*
Artur (m)	5010
Stomil(m)	2823
Eugeniusz (m)	1913
Edek (m)	576
	Total (m)> 10,322
Eleonora (f)	1480
Ala (f)	1377
Eugenia (f)	473
	Total (f)> 3,330
	Overall Total> 13,652

As these figures indicate, the male characters have a disproportionately large amount of dialogue as compared to the females. If in an "ideal" distribution the dialogue was attributed equally to all seven characters, each person would speak 1,950 words. However, as the table shows, none of the three female characters comes close to 1,950 words of dialogue. By contrast, each of the two male protagonists records significantly higher total amounts of speech; thus male characters do 76% of the speaking in the play, even though they comprise only 57% of the total number of characters.

It is also interesting that the male characters often deliver lengthy speeches consisting of a large number of complex sentences, while the female characters tend to have one- or two-sentence utterances. In act II, for example, Artur has an extended conversation with Ala (pp. 110-22). Artur has a number of lengthy "speeches" during this conversational interchange; he delivers four speeches of six lines, one of eight lines, one of nine lines, one of 10 lines, two of 14 lines, one of 20 lines, and one of 27 lines. By contrast, Ala, his interlocutor, delivers only one speech comprising more than six lines (it numbers seven lines total). Ala's contributions to the discourse consist primarily of one-line utterances interspersed among Artur's speeches. Ala quite literally struggles to get a word in edgewise.

The other male characters, with the exception of Edek, also deliver lengthy speeches. Stomil has one speech of 15 lines and one of 18 lines (pp. 100, 125-6); Eugeniusz delivers a speech of 24 lines (pp. 94-5). In contrast, the longest speech by a woman is one in which Eleonora has 10 lines (p. 142); Ala's longest speech (referred to above) is seven lines. It is important to note here that Eleonora's 10-line speech takes place in a same-sex dyad with Ala as her interlocutor. In instances of mixed-gender conversation women characters are not given the opportunity to contribute to the discourse for as many as 10 lines at a time.

The predominance of male as opposed to female speech in Mrożek's play corresponds to the findings of a number of studies done on English data that show that men tend to talk more than women in a variety of discourse settings.[2] Such findings contradict the popularly-held belief in American, Polish, and other cultures that women talk more than men.[3]

1. 2 *Topics of conversation*

Not only do the men in Mrożek's play talk more than the women, but they also restrict the sphere and focus of the conversation topics. Artur, the main character, talks almost exclusively about philosophical and political ideas. The only other topic he raises over the course of the play is relationships, namely his relationship with his family members and with Edek. Even in this topic focus on relationships, however, Artur restricts his view of them through the lens of his ideological beliefs.

Stomil spends the majority of his time talking about philosophy, politics, and art and in arguing these issues with Artur. However, he occasionally speaks of less lofty issues, namely of food, of clothing, and of his state of health.

Eugeniusz converses some with Artur and Stomil about theories and ideas, but he also focuses his conversation topics on various members of the household and his relationship to them. Some of his dialogue refers to the card games that he plays with Eugenia and Edek.

Edek does not have many lines, and those he does have are scattered randomly throughout the play. He appears at various

points, utters a few lines, and then disappears again. His lines do not attempt to raise topics or interrupt others, but serve primarily as reactions to statements and requests made by the other characters. Whereas the other male characters discuss philosophy and politics, Edek is noticeably silent on these themes. As a matter of fact, when Ala asks Edek whether he has any principles (in act III), all Edek can do is mention some nonsensical and off-color aphorisms that he jotted down from a friend (pp. 143-4).

The female characters do not discuss intangible intellectual subjects such as politics and philosophy. On the contrary, their main focus is on subjects that have traditionally been viewed as women's issues, namely husbands/boyfriends/lovers, children, and the home. (See: Yokoyama, this volume). Because the female characters tend to talk about everyday, routine subjects, they are limited to short segments of dialogue, as was seen in section 1. 1. above, while the male characters, who spend their time discussing ideas, have many lengthy sections of dialogue.

The female character with the most lines is Eleonora. Although she spends a few minutes reminiscing with Stomil about how they rebelled against conventions in the old days (pp. 98-9), the majority of her dialogue focuses on how her husband and son are feeling and what they are going to eat and wear, her affair with Edek and how that relates to Stomil, and her relationship to her son's future wife. Interestingly, Eleonora *is* aware of the differences in men's and women's topics of conversation, and she supports maintaining those differences. In act III, when Eugenia tries to get the attention of her family to tell them that she is dying, Eleonora cuts her off with these words (p. 151):

(1) *Niech mama nie przeszkadza. Nie widzi mama, że mężczyźni*
let mama not bother not sees mama that men
rozmawiają o polityce?
talk about politics
'Don't bother us, mama. Can't mama see that the men are discussing politics?'[4]

With regard to the other female characters, most of what Ala says (much of which appears in act II) is in reaction to Artur's statements and evolves around her attractiveness and sexual desirability

(pp. 110-22). When during this conversation Artur tries to discuss with her in philosophical terms why it is important for them to get married, she says that philosophy bores her (p. 112). Ala also discusses with Eleonora what it is that makes Edek attractive, Eleonora's attempts at making Stomil happy, and what her (Ala's) relationship with Artur will be like (pp. 141-5).

The third female character, Eugenia, has the least number of lines of all the characters. Her dialogue contributions are limited to protesting Artur's treatment of her, chastising her brother Eugeniusz for his behavior, and finally, in the end, dying. As with the other two women, Eugenia is viewed more in relation to the men around her than as a character who is important in her own right.

That the male characters' dialogue focuses on ideas while female characters talk mostly about the male characters is clearly evidenced in another scene from act III. Artur, having grown disillusioned with form and convention as a way of restoring meaning in his life, is searching for another philosophy. Eugeniusz and Stomil offer suggestions, but their suggestions don't satisfy him. Eugeniusz then recommends asking Eleonora for her ideas. Artur responds as follows (p. 150):

(2) *Kobiet nie ma co pytać.*
women\ not\ has\ what\ to ask
'It's no use asking the women.'

Eleonora further justifies Artur's statement by acknowledging that she had had an idea, but now she's forgotten it, and perhaps Artur ought to ask Edek. It is ironic here that Eleonora would recommend Edek as someone possessing philosophical insights, considering that only a few pages earlier Ala and Eleonora discovered that Edek's sole philosophical principles were ridiculous fragments borrowed from a previous conversation with a friend. In this revealing scene Eleonora, the main female character, comes across as rather scatter-brained, and far too concerned about the cake she has in the oven to be bothered by "men's" talk.

As Coates (1986: 103) notes, because women in various cultures often talk about different topics than men, this does not mean that men's topics are inherently more important or more serious than women's topics. It is people's judgments that label talk of politics

serious and talk of relationships or child-bearing trivial.[5] In Mrożek's play we see several examples of these types of value judgments, since when the female characters do speak of relationships and home, they are by implication labeled as being unable to participate in discussions of a more lofty nature. A further conclusion can then be drawn that the women do not speak about philosophical issues owing to the judgment that they are not viewed to be intellectually capable of such discussions. As a consequence of this first point, it is further accepted and understood that women are not interested in such discussions.

1. 3 *Use of imperative forms*

Another gendered line of demarcation among the characters of the play has to do with the use of imperative forms. For the purposes of this paper, I define an imperative form as any direct request or demand on the part of one character for another character to perform some action. I do not include in this analysis of imperative constructions indirect strategies such as suggestions or hints.

The play contains a great many imperative forms, used by both male and female characters. Most of the imperative constructions are of the standard first- and second-person variety, as well as the third-person type formed with the particle *niech* 'let'. Following Wierzbicka (1985: 155), I consider these linguistic forms of the imperative stylistically and semantically neutral. What is significant in terms of a gender analysis, however, is that the play also contains a number of imperatives that are *not* neutral, and all of them are uttered by the male characters.

The non-neutral or marked imperative constructions consist of the use of the infinitive and the use of the strong lexemes *won* and *precz*, both of which mean 'get out, get away.' Wierzbicka (1985: 155) observes the following about the use of the infinitive as an imperative form:

> ...But especially offensive is the impersonal syntactic construction, with the infinitive used instead of the more neutral imperative: the impersonal infinitive seems to annihilate the addressee as a person (the absence of a mention of the addressee in the sentence being an icon of his/her 'non-existence'), it implies that the addressee is not worthy to be addressed as an individual human being, and that the speaker does not wish to establish any 'I-you' relationship with him/her. In particular, the speaker excludes the possibility of any reply from the addressee. The infinitive signals no discussion (there is no person here whom I would regard as a potential interlocutor, for example, as someone who could refuse or decline to do as I say).

According to Wierzbicka (1985: 154-5), speakers use infinitives as imperatives either when they are very angry, or when they want to assert their authority. Kleszczowa and Termińska (1983: 119-20) agree that speakers use infinitives as imperatives to assert authority over the addressee, whether or not that authority is acknowledged by the addressee.

The words *won* and *precz*, which have an imperative function even though they are adverbial rather than verbal in form, are both judged by native informants to possess a very powerful illocutionary force. Informants find little difference in the strength of the two words, although *won* is perceived as being low-style, and *precz* is perceived as being literary or high-style. These judgments are corroborated by dictionaries of Polish, which label *won* "vulgar" and "colloquial" and *precz* "literary."[6]

In Mrożek's play, all of the male characters use one or both of the above-mentioned strong imperative constructions. Artur uses infinitive imperatives 10 times, *won* four times, and *precz* two times. Stomil uses *precz* once. Eugeniusz uses infinitives as imperatives four times and *precz* once. Edek, the male character with the fewest lines, uses infinitive imperatives three times, all of them at the very end of the play.

By contrast, the female characters never use an infinitive imperative, nor do they use the words *won* and *precz*. As was mentioned above, the main function of these strong imperative forms is to show anger or assert authority. The female characters in *Tango* do get angry, but they do not wield the same power and

authority in the family as the male characters. Given their relatively powerless position and function in this social group, women characters do not express their anger through the use of strong imperatives which are direct linguistic strategies designed to move others to action. It is significant that Edek utters his strong imperative constructions only after he has killed Artur and has assumed the leadership role in the group. Similarly, Eugeniusz uses the strong infinitive imperatives only after he has been empowered by becoming Artur's assistant in ruling the household.

These findings about the use of imperatives in Mrożek's play offer additional insights on the perception of dominance and power in discourse. Previous English and Russian studies on imperative use show that men are more likely to use direct imperative constructions than are women, who often use indirect syntactic constructions when they want someone to do something.[7] Moreover, those previous studies cited the tendency for men to use stronger imperatives than women—an observation which holds true for the samples of speech in *Tango*. The female characters in *Tango* may use as many direct imperatives as the male characters, but owing to their perceived social status, they do not use any of the strong, marked imperative constructions.

1. 4 *Use of diminutive forms*

Wierzbicka (1985: 169) states that the "core meaning of true diminutives" is as follows:

> I think of it as of something small. Talking about it I feel good feelings (towards you) of the kind one feels in contact with small children.

According to an early study on features of Polish women's speech (Handke 1990: 23), and on features of Russian women's speech (Zemskaja et al. 1993: 124-5), the use of diminutives is generally more characteristic of women's speech than of men's speech, since diminutives are most naturally used in addressing children, and women have traditionally been the primary caregivers to children. In *Tango* the use of diminutive forms does not fit this picture.

In analyzing the use of diminutives in *Tango*, I have chosen to exclude diminutives of proper names (with one exception as regards Edek's use of proper names, which I shall explain below). There appears to be equal use and distribution of these forms in the play; characters make frequent diminutives out of each other's names, regardless of the gender of the speaker and/or addressee.[8] Rather, I shall focus my discussion on diminutive forms which are built from kinship terms, non-proper nouns, and adjectives.

With the exception of Edek, the characters in the play are all members of the same extended family. It is natural, then, that the members of the family use affectionate diminutive kinship terms in referring to each other. These diminutives include *mama* 'mom' from *matka* 'mother', *wujcio* and *wujaszek* from *wuj* 'uncle', *synek* from *syn* 'son', *babcia* 'grandma' from *babka* 'grandmother', and *siostrzyczka* from *siostra* 'sister'. Aside from the use of diminutive kinship terms as a means of showing affection, however, they are also used at various points in the play to show derision; interestingly, it is only the male characters who use the terms in this way.

Artur addresses his father using the word *ojciec* 'father' in third-person constructions 60 times throughout the play.[9] However, there are two times when he uses the diminutive term *tata* 'dad' in addressing his father. Both of these occurrences are in act II (pp. 122, 127), and both are used when Artur is confronting his father about Eleonora's affair with Edek. Artur switches from the dignified term "father" to the familiar term "dad" as a means of showing his diminished respect for his father in looking the other way at Eleonora's unfaithfulness. Artur employs the diminutives in these instances not to show affection, but to express scorn toward his interlocutor. It is also significant to note that in the heat of anger during the aforementioned scene between Artur and his father, Artur employs a second-degree diminutive term—*tatuś* 'daddy'—which in this context carries a purely pejorative label (p. 124).

Edek uses several diminutive kinship terms; this level of familiarity is somewhat surprising since he is the one character who is not a member of the family. He uses the terms *mamusia* 'mommy' and *tatuś* 'daddy' when, in act II, Artur tries to break up a card game being played by members of the family and Edek (p. 130).

Edek first admonishes Artur for not listening to his mommy about not breaking up the game, and then adds that if he were Artur's daddy, he'd give Artur a good thrashing. By using these diminutives in reference to and in the presence of Artur, Edek conveys his opinion of Artur's behavior, namely that Artur is acting like a spoiled little child who still thinks of his parents as *mamusia* and *tatuś* and who ought to be disciplined by them.

Besides the terms *mamusia* and *tatuś*, Edek also employs the familiar diminutive form *babuś* 'gram' when speaking to Eugenia (pp. 108, 130). Edek is the only member of the household who uses this particular diminutive. Rather than using this word to express contempt, as in the case of the forms just discussed, Edek evokes *babuś* in an attempt to insinuate himself into Eugenia's good graces. Edek's use of diminutives as a means of ingratiating himself with members of the family will be discussed below.

Aside from kinship terms, Artur uses two other diminutive forms. The first is *oczka* 'little eyes' built from the noun *oko* 'eye'. Artur uses this word in reference to Edek. Ala mentions that she thinks Edek has pretty eyes, to which Artur responds "those measly little pig eyes?" (p. 117). The other non-kinship diminutive Artur uses is the rhyming two-part word *mężyk-wężyk* built from the words *mąż* 'husband,' and *wąż* 'snake'.[10] Artur calls his father this during their big discussion and argument in act II (p. 124). Artur employs this term as another means of showing his contempt for his father, who, he believes, is afraid to learn the truth about Eleonora's affair with Edek. Once again Artur relies on diminutive forms not to show affection and endearment, but rather to show lack of respect.

Edek does not show any more respect for Artur than Artur does for Edek. Edek consistently refers to Artur as *pan Artek* 'Mr. Artek'.[11] Edek's preference for this particular diminutive of Artur's name is interesting because he is the only member of the household to use it. Artur is referred to as "Artur" 32 times and as "Arturek" 16 times by various members of the household. He is referred to as "Artek" only five times, and all by Edek. Similarly, Edek refers to Artur as *szefek* 'little boss', from *szef* 'boss' at the end of the play (p. 157), when Edek is acting as Artur's assistant. Edek's use of these familiar forms when addressing Artur is a subtle means of showing his true feelings. Edek may be forced to bow to Artur's will throughout most of the play, yet

he manages to express his contempt for him through this linguistic device.

There is another instance in which Edek uses a proper name diminutive in a very familiar way. This occurs at the end of the play, after Edek has taken power and is ordering the others around. He refers to Eugeniusz as *"Pan Genek"* and *"Pan Genio"* (pp. 161-2). Up until this point, only Eugeniusz's sister has used the diminutive *"Genek"* in addressing him. It seems that Eugeniusz and Eugenia have special diminutives for each other. Just as she is the only one to call him *"Genek,"* he is the only one to call her *"Geńka."* Edek's reference to Eugeniusz as *"Pan Genek"* at the play's end serves to confirm Edek's own sense of power and authority and to further illustrate his abandonment of conventions of showing respect for others. As was alluded to above, another way in which Edek makes additional use of diminutive forms is to ingratiate himself with the female members of the household. He has a pet name for Eugenia—*babuś*—and he uses this and other diminutives when he is in her company. Thus, for example, in act I he uses *rączki* 'little hands,' from *ręka* 'hand' to say to Eugenia that he is "kissing the little hands of madame benefactress" (p. 91). Later, when Artur criticizes Eugenia for spending all of her time playing poker with Edek, Edek interjects that they also play *brydżyk,* from *brydż* 'bridge' (p. 100). Edek has two motivations for using this diminutive in this context; first, to trivialize Artur's argument about his grandmother's lax moral state, and second, to appear flippant and humorous in front of the ladies. In act III, when Eleonora and Ala are discussing Eleonora's relationship with Stomil (and Edek) and Ala's relationship with Artur, Edek once again employs an ingratiating device. Ala asks Edek to come over to where she and Eleonora are talking, to which Edek replies *"Słucham, proszę panienki"* (p. 143). *Panienka* 'girl/young lady' is a diminutive form of *pani* 'woman.' Translated literally, this means something like "I'm listening if you please, young ladies." By using the form *panienki,* Edek makes a point of stressing the youthfulness of the women, a ploy intended to curry their favor. It may be possible that Edek is addressing only Ala in the line quoted above.[12] Even if this is true, he still selects a marked form in calling her *panienka.* After all, if she is old enough to get married, she is old enough to be referred to as *pani* rather than *panienka.*

The last diminutive which I shall mention is uttered by a woman, Ala, near the end of the play, when she tells Artur that she was unfaithful to him with Edek. Artur, upset by Ala's news, wants to know why she did it. She replies that she had her reasons. When he presses her for the reasons, she offers that they are *takie maluśkie, takie malusienieczkie* 'so tiny, so teeny-tiny' (p. 159). Ala uses these forms in an attempt to trivialize what she has done. She hopes that her behavior will seem less serious if described in this way.

What is most striking here in terms of a gender analysis is that aside from the use of proper names, it is for the most part the male characters, not the females, who use diminutive forms in *Tango*. The characters who use diminutives the most are Artur and Edek. Artur uses diminutives ironically in order to convey his contempt for his addressee; Edek uses diminutives to convey his contempt of Artur and to ingratiate himself with the women. These findings actually correspond to Zemskaja's et al. (1993: 125) observation about Russian; although as a general rule women tend to use diminutives more often than men, men tend to use diminutives to express irony more than women do.

2. Implications of the differences in female and male characters' speech

It is not enough merely to note the differences in the speech of the female and male characters in Mrożek's play; mention must be made of the significance of these differences in gaining a better understanding of the play in the broader social context of contemporary Polish.

Perhaps the most important insight that emerges from a gender analysis of this work is that even though the members of this fictional household consider themselves to be thoroughly modern and above the confines of tradition, they are, in fact, very traditional, at least in regard to Western perspectives on gender roles. The men in the household do most of the talking, which, contrary to popular belief in many cultures, seems to be the norm rather than the exception. Further, the gender roles in this family are very clearly defined. The men occupy themselves with pursuits of the mind, such as studying at the university and discussing important political

and philosophical ideas. The women concern themselves with making sure that the men are taken care of, both physically and emotionally. It is difficult to understand that what Artur wants for his family is a return to "tradition;" this analysis illustrates how through their conversational interaction the members of his family exemplify and espouse traditional roles and values.

The two characters who appear as exceptions to this scenario of traditional male and female roles are Eugenia and Edek. Both of them are minor characters, and both of them are, in a sense, not integral members of the family. Eugenia is a less-than-integral character owing to her age. She spends her time playing cards and trying to stay out of Artur's way; she is not a major participant in any of the critical scenes of the play, except for the one in which she dies.

The character of Edek bears closer examination. Edek is an outsider to the family, and aside from Eugenia he is the character with the fewest lines. Yet in spite of this apparent peripheral status, he plays a very dominant role in the play. Even when Edek is not on stage he is often the focus of the other characters' conversation, such as those between Artur and Stomil or Eleonora and Ala. And Edek is, of course, the reason for the tragedy at the end of the play, since it is Ala's announcement of her unfaithfulness with Edek that causes Artur to want to kill Edek and leads instead to Edek killing Artur. It is truly ironic that it is the character who at one point is relegated to a servant's role who ends up with the ultimate authority over all the other characters.

One significant way in which Edek differs from the other male characters is in his lack of interest in philosophy and other intellectual pursuits. Whereas Artur studies medicine and philosophy and another unnamed discipline at the university, the closest Edek gets to a university is thumbing through the pictures in one of Artur's textbooks. And whereas Artur in particular but also Stomil and Eugeniusz spend a great deal of time discussing the merits of various philosophies, Edek does not possess even a single principle that he can espouse to Ala when asked. In his decided lack of interest in philosophical matters, Edek is more like the women than the men. He is not so different from Ala, who states that philosophy bores her, nor from Eleonora, who believes that talk of politics does not concern her.

Another way in which Edek exhibits what may be considered female traits is in his use of diminutives. His use of very familiar diminutives from proper nouns, as well as his use of cloying diminutives such as *rączki, brydżyk,* and *panienki* mark what is typically a female style of speech. As has been noted by Vidan (1995) and Yokoyama (1995), when male characters in literature exhibit elements of female speech, they are rarely admirable characters. Edek is anything but admirable, a fact which becomes apparent beginning with the very first description of him in the stage notes for act I (Manheim and Dzieduscycka 1981: 10):

> The third individual, who gives the impression of being crude and shady, wears baggy, light-gray, rumpled pants and an ugly checked shirt, open at the chest. His shirtsleeves are rolled up. He habitually scratches his fat behind. Long greasy hair, which he frequently combs with a comb which he takes from his back pocket. Small, square mustache. Unshaven. A watch with a shiny gold wristband.

By contrast, Artur seems to have all the linguistic features necessary to identify him as a "real man"—he talks a great deal, he talks about traditional male subjects like politics, and he uses forceful, even rude imperative forms. As was discussed in section 1. 4. above, he does use some diminutives, but whereas Edek's diminutives are often mannered and cloying, especially when he interacts with the women, Artur uses diminutives to show anger and disgust at the men who are not acting like real men, namely Edek and Stomil. (Stomil fails to act like a real man because he is being cuckolded but is afraid to confront the guilty parties). Note the description given of Artur at the beginning of the play (Manheim and Dzieduscycka 1981: 10):

> From the right enters a young man of twenty-five at the most: imposing and pleasant appearance. Neat, freshly pressed, ready-made suit that fits him perfectly, white shirt, tie. Under his arm he is carrying books and papers.

Ironically, it is the less-than-admirable, less-than-manly character who in the end prevails over the well-educated, well-dressed, and manly character. When Edek takes control over the group at the end

of the play, his speech changes accordingly, and he begins to use strong infinitive imperatives of the type never used by the women.

3. Conclusion

In this paper I have illustrated how a gender linguistic analysis of a literary work can contribute to a better understanding of the work as a whole and in its broader social context. It is my hope that this original contribution to the field of Slavic gender linguistics vis-a-vis contemporary Polish literature will serve to encourage further studies which can illuminate the complex ties between gender and dominance and their representation in contemporary Slavic literatures.

Notes

1. See Czachowska (1978: 122-39).
2. See Coates (1986: 103) and Frank and Anshen (1983: 28) for discussions of various studies on male vs. female verbosity.
3. According to my native informants, there is in Poland a widely-held belief that women talk more than men. The same stereotype exists in Russian culture.
4. All the translations in this paper are mine, unless otherwise indicated. The type of imperative construction used in this example will be discussed below.
5. As an example of the culturally-imbued view that women speak about trivial subjects, Polish has the pejorative expression *babskie gadanie* 'women's chatter,' which refers to silly, unimportant talk. Moreover, superstitions are often referred to as *"babskie gadanie."* Note that English also has a pejorative gender-specific term that serves a similar function: "old-wives' tale."
6. See, for example, Doroszewski (1958 and 1976), Łempicka (1969), and Stanisławski (1988).
7. See Coates (1986: 107-8), Philips et al. (1987: 194-8), Thorne et al. (1983: 140-9), and Zemskaja et al. (1993: 134).
8. It does seem that the female characters are more likely to make second-degreed iminutives (such as *Edziunio* and *Alunia*) out of proper names than are the male characters, but the number of these forms is too small to make a valid generalization.
9. For a discussion of the use of Polish third-person forms of address by younger family members to older family members, see Stone (1977).

10. It is difficult to find a good English translation for this word. Manheim and Dzieduscycka (1981: 58) translate it as "phony."
11. It is not uncommon for Poles to use the respectful term *pan* 'Mr.' or *pani* 'Ms./Mrs.' in combination with first names, and even first names that have been diminutized. See Swan (1986: 254).
12. The verb *prosić;*, which literally means "to request" but which has a number of non-literal uses in Polish, generally takes the accusative case. There is a formulaic use of it, however, where it takes the genitive case. That use is in polite formulas of address of the type *Proszę pana, proszę pani* 'Sir, Madame.' In spite of the formula, the impulse for speakers to regularize the government of the verb is very strong, and one commonly hears the phrase *Proszę panią* (acc) in contemporary spoken Polish. In Edek's line *Słucham, proszę panienki*, it is possible that he is regularizing the verb by using the accusative plural ending, or he may be maintaining the normative grammar rule and using the genitive singular ending. It is my contention that he is regularizing the verb and using the accusative plural. This is not an unreasonable supposition, since *proszę panienki* is not heard with the same frequency as the formulaic *proszę pani* (and even that high-frequency formula is being regularized), and since in other spots in the play Edek does not use the standard grammar. (Note, for example, his imperatives of the type *Wykładaj się pan*, where he mixes the formal form *pan* with the informal, familiar *ty* imperative.) Manheim and Dzieduscycka (1981: 82) disagree with my interpretation, however, in their translation of *Tango*. They interpret Edek's statement as being directed just to Ala.

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Gender linguistic analysis of Russian children's literature

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Introduction

While differences between male and female language are found in all linguistic components, from phonetics to speech behavior, opinions have differed as to their basis. Until as recently as the first half of this century, explanations commonly appealed to innate differences in intelligence, emotionality, and other cognitive and/or psychological traits between the sexes.[1] In recent decades, however, detailed studies have convincingly correlated linguistic differences with a variety of social and socially-conditioned factors,[2] suggesting that most gender linguistic distinctions are learned, and not biological.[3]

Thus it is instructive to examine gender-specific language models that children might internalize as they develop gender identification in a given culture. According to Thompson (1975), children can correctly label their own sex, and are aware that some objects and activities are associated with each sex (e.g. women wear skirts, men wear neckties), by 24 months. By age three, they arrive at the understanding that all other children are either boys or girls. According to Best et al. (1977), children acquire abstract stereotypes much later: 75% of eight-year olds and almost 100% of eleven-year olds display a solid knowledge of sex-typed traits; Hetherington and Parke (1986) confirm these findings. Gender identification in children occurs after the child has differentiated between gender roles and has perceived him-/herself as being more similar to same-sex models; gender identity is completely grasped by about age seven (Kohlberg 1966). As far as linguistic behavior is concerned, Edelsky's 1977 study demonstrates that American first-graders have already developed stereotypes of how women and men speak. With these

findings in mind, the primary purpose of this study is to examine some linguistic models given to Russian children in the most easily documentable of media, i.e., the printed word. To do this, I will examine several books targeting readers of pre-school age ("dlja doškol'nogo vozrasta"); the age at which children enter first grade in Russia is seven, which is exactly the age at which gender identity is completely grasped.

1. Gender distinctions in Russian

The few published articles dealing with Russian gender linguistics originated as inevitable by-products of research on the spoken contemporary language; this is implied by the authorship of these articles, which is the same as that of the well-known series of works on Colloquial Russian by E. A. Zemskaja and her group. That these articles began to appear only in the late 1980's is probably indicative of a general lack of interest in issues of gender in Russian society, the reasons for which lie well beyond the scope of the present work. However, the late appearance of studies on gender differences in Russian had its advantages: Russian linguists undertaking this subject were addressing a well-studied area, enabling them to bypass the field's earlier developmental stages and to examine issues already familiar to scholars, and to make comparisons with tendencies and problems which had become well-established in Western gender linguistics. As a result, the few descriptive articles on gender distinctions in Russian are remarkably informative. The tendencies discussed specifically in Zemskaja et al. (1993; see the Introduction in this collection) will be taken as a point of departure for the present study.

First, I will discuss four of the observations made in Zemskaja et al. (1993) that are particularly relevant for this paper: (1) different types of diminutives are distributed differently between the genders (124-126); (2) female associative fields tend to be general and humanistic (nature, animals, daily life), while men's tend to center on technology, sports, hunting, and on professional and military spheres (120-123, 127-132); (3) most occupational terms with feminine word-forming suffixes are felt to be less dignified than corresponding masculine nouns (126-127); and (4) interjections,

particularly *oj*, are used by women much more commonly than by men (123-124). I explain these observations below, before addressing, in section 2, the data from Russian children's literature.

The data from adult speech described in Zemskaja et al. (1993) show that women use more diminutives when speaking to (and about) children and pets, regardless of the real-life qualities of the entity or activity referred to; consider the examples in (1):[4]

(1) a. *Vytiraj sam ličiko!* 'Dry your face yourself!'
dry yourself face-dim.

b. *Pej / pej/ gorjačen'koe pej//* 'Drink it, drink it while it's hot!'
drink drink hot-dim. drink

c. *Davaj kušan'kat'!* 'Let's eat!'
let's eat-dim.

d. *Sejčas ja tebe sopel'ki vytru//* 'I'll wipe your runny nose in a minute.'
now I to-you snots-dim. will-wipe

e. *Smotri kakoj čemodančik u djadi doktora//*
look what suitcase-dim. at uncle doctor
'Look what a suitcase the doctor has!' (with reference to a big suitcase)

(Zemskaja et al. 1993:124 ff.)

As can be seen in (1a-c), diminutives regularly occur with nouns and adjectives, and can be formed even from a limited number of adverbs and verbs. They can be used, moreover, with reference to unpleasant objects or objects of large size, as in (1d) and (1e). Quite remarkably, men also use these diminutives in limited circumstances, namely, when they are temporarily fulfilling female roles, such as babysitting.

In contrast to the above, self-deprecating diminutives are typically used by males, as in (2):

(2) a. *Ja tut statejku nakropal //* 'I've scribbled a little article here.'
I here article-dim. scribbled

b. *U menja est' soobražen'ica na ètot sčet //*
at me are thoughts-dim. on this account
'I have some (probably dumb) ideas about that.'
(Zemskaja et. al. 1993: 125)

The differences between male and female associative fields can be seen in their respective lexicon and metaphors; consider the lexical usages in (3):

(3) a. f.: *Tam takoe temnoe pjatnyško // Nu tam èlementy kakie-to potekli*
there such dark spot-dim. ptcl. there elements some ran
'There's a small dark spot there. Ugh... some elements ran.'

m.: *Da / židkie kristally //* 'Yeah, liquid crystals.'
yes liquid crystalls

(b) f.: *Nu vot / ja pero (dlja podušek) vse vysušila na balkone //*
ptcl. ptcl. I feathers (for pillows) all dried on balcony
Teper' by prožarit' ego xorošen'ko // Možet nad plitoj povesit'?
now ptcl. heat it well maybe over stove hang
'Well, here, I've dried all the feathers on the balcony. It'd be good now to heat it well. Maybe I should hang it over the stove?'

m.: *Ty znaeš' / ne sovetuju // Tam že ostatki saževyx častic /*
you know not I-advise there ptcl. remnants of-soot particles
uglevodorody // Oni že vozgonjajutsja / isparjajutsja /
carbohydrates they ptcl. sublimate evaporate
popadajut na xolod / vse tam budet //
get in cold all there will-be
(Zemskaja et. al. 1993: 121-122)
'You know, I don't advise it. There are remnants of soot particles there, after all, of carbohydrates. They'd sublimate, they'd evaporate, then they'd cool off. All these things will be in there.'

According to Zemskaja et al. (1993), men tend to use precise technical terms, while women resort to general vocabulary and substitutions. This is true regardless of the speakers' training and occupation (which is in general much less gender-specific in Russia than in the West), and independently of the topic of conversation. Russian men would thus use technical terms even when they are humanists by training, and even in domestic conversations pertaining to everyday topics. The same tendencies are corroborated by the usage of similes and metaphors; consider (4):

(4) a. daughter (technology student):
Nu vot / kak na èkzamen uxodit' / i golova zarabotala//
ptcl. ptcl. when to exam go then head started-working
'So just as I'm ready to go to my exam, my head finally started working.'

father (technician):
Progrelsja dvigatel'// 'The engine got warmed up.'
warmed-up engine

b. m. (humanist) to a restless child:
Nu čto ty kak pograničnaja zastava!
ptcl. why you like border guard
'What the heck are you doing, you're like a border guard!'

c. f. humanist:
Mne včera xudo sovsem bylo// Znaeš' kak belym medvedjam na juge//
to-me yesterday bad totally was you-know like to-white bears in south
'I felt really bad yesterday. You know, like polar bears feel in the south.'

d. f. technician:
Ja prisosalas' k vam kak pijavka//Nu ešče nemnogo popiavlju i ujdu
I got-stuck to you like leech ptcl. more bit I-will-be-a-leech and I- leave//
(Zemskaja et al. 1993: 128-129)
'I got stuck to you like a leech. Well, I'll leech a bit longer and then leave.'

The differences in speech poetics seen in (4) suggest that women's active lexicon and the associative sets therein are composed of items of more general encyclopedic knowledge, in contrast with men, whose active lexicon and associative sets incorporate semantic fields of a more specialized nature.

The third feature relevant to the present paper pertains not only to male-female speech differences but to differences in the terms used to refer to males and females. In colloquial speech, some indication of the referent's sex is virtually obligatory,[5] and this is accomplished by productive word-formation processes. As in

American English, however, most feminine forms thus produced have derogatory nuances (however slight); consider (5):

(5) a. *Nu / èto titanka mysli / korifejka nauki!*
ptcl. this titaness of-thought luminaress of-science
'Oh well, she's a titanness of thought, a luminaress of science!'

b. *Naša šefka nastojaščaja ved'ma* / 'Our she-boss is a real witch.'
our chiefess real witch

c. — *Kto u vas zavkafedroj?* 'Who is your department chair?'
who at you department-chair

— *Zavša? Ej let 50 // Germanistka odna//*
chairess to-her years Germanistess one
'Our chairess? She's about 50, a woman-Germanist.'

These feminine forms are never used in the presence of the referent, and many of them are used more by men than by women (some suffixes, e.g. *-in-(ja)*, as in *xirurg-in-ja* 'she-surgeon', are used almost exclusively my men). Perhaps even more significant is the fact that even the most neutral feminine forms with the suffix *-k-(a)* (e.g. *dissertant-k-a* 'female dissertation student', *aspirant-k-a* 'female graduate student') are perceived as less formal (or by some even less respectful) than their corresponding masculine forms, which are used with reference to women in more formal situations; and some words denoting prestigious occupations simply do not have feminine forms (*ministr* '(cabinet) minister', *pedagog* 'pedagogue'; cf. Engl. *waiter/waitress* but *senator/*senatress*).[6]

In addition to the gender-specific features described in Zemskaja et al., as just discussed, I will point out other gender-specific features that can be deduced from my data, involving linguistic patterning thus far not mentioned in the existing literature on Russian gender linguistics. Without further field research of the sort undertaken by Zemskaja et al., it is difficult to know whether these features represent actual gender distinctions in the language, or are merely artifacts of the authors' perceptions; such features serve, in any case, as models for pre-school-age children, and are therefore relevant to the concerns of this paper.

2. Nursery-level texts

An examination of the gender linguistic features of four randomly-chosen nursery-level books shows that the four features just described in section 1 are all represented in these texts.[7] In addition, the analysis brings to light an additional gender-specific feature not discussed in Zemskaja et al. (1993).

2.1 Dobraja xozjajuška *["A Kind Little Mistress"] by V. Oseeva*

This is a short story (279 words) about a little girl failing her rite of passage: she does not devote herself fully to her pets, and is punished in the end by her puppy deserting her. The most obvious gender linguistic feature in this text is the use of diminutives, the first of which occurs in the title itself. Of the girl's four pets, two are grammatically feminine (hen and duck), and two are masculine (rooster and puppy). The text consists of three types of sentences: straightforward third-person narrative by the narrator, third-person narrative representing a character's point of view ("represented speech"), and direct speech. The following distribution of diminutives is observed in the direct speech of the characters in the story:

girl	11/13
hen and duck	4/4
rooster and puppy	1/2

In the speech of the three female characters — i.e., the girl, her hen and her duck — 15 out of a total of 17 occurrences of nouns are diminutives. In the speech of the two male characters, on the other hand, the rooster uses one noun, which is diminutive, and the puppy uses one noun, which is not. A similar distribution is seen in the narrative sections representing the point of view of these same characters:

from girl's point of view	18/21
from hen's and duck's point of view	3/5
from rooster's and puppy's point of view	1/9

Thus, in the narrative portions representing female points of view, diminutives occur in 21 out of 26 total occurrences, but only once in 9 occurrences during narration from a male perspective. It should be noted that the diminutives in male speech and in the narrative representing the male characters' point of view are in fact associated with the rooster,[8] who is a rather weak and opportunistic character in the story; by contrast, the puppy, a decisive and masculine character, avoids diminutive forms. While it may seem farfetched at this point to draw conclusions based on such scanty evidence, the subtle correlation of what could be called an "androgynous" speech pattern with a non-heroic male is entirely consistent with other data, as will emerge from our discussion below.

Among gender-based features apparently related to the differences between male and female associative fields discussed in section 1, two should be mentioned: (a) the nature of the girl's interaction with her surroundings, and (b) her perceptions, as reflected primarily in the predicates. The girl's activities consist of feeding, caressing the pets, and playing with them while swimming or sitting on the porch. Her perceptions, as registered mainly in the narrative portions representing the girl's point of view, are: the rooster's beauty, the hen's warmth, softness, and usefulness (egg-laying), and the puppy's cuteness. Although no comparison can be drawn between male and female cognitive spheres (given the absence of a corresponding human male character in this story), these features of the girl are worth noting, as they will recur with other female characters considered below.

2.2 Miška Toptyžka *["Teddy the Stomper"] by B. Zaxoder*

This story (437 words, excluding songs) describes the rite of passage of a wimpy teddy who becomes a tough little bear (note that the word *Miška* 'teddy bear' is a masculine noun). The story consists of three parts: a pre-rite-of-passage part, a rite-of-passage part (the longest of the three), and a post-rite-of-passage part. Diminutives pertaining to the bear (two adjectives describing the bear)[9] occur only in the pre-rite-of-passage part.[10] Similarly limited to the pre-rite-of-passage stage is the interjection *oj*, uttered by the little bear himself. Another difference between the three stages appears in the nouns used to

address or describe the bear: in the pre-rite-of-passage part he is addressed as "sonny", while in the post-rite-of-passage part, the epithets used to refer to him are *molodec* 'fine fellow', *sportsmen* 'athlete', and *čempion* 'champ'.

The bear's actions undergo a dramatic transformation between the pre-rite-of-passage and the rite-of-passage stages. In the first part, he weeps, he sobs and complains about being teased by other boy-animals, he bumps into others, steps on their feet, and loses wrestling matches. In the course of the rite-of-passage, he proceeds to exercise, run, swim, climb trees, jump, play football and volleyball, wrestle (successfully), join other boy-animals, take lessons from adult animals, and generally think and figure things out; only at the very beginning of his training does he once "take fright".

Among the other characters, the bear's parents display an interesting contrast. When the little bear is upset about being teased by his playmates, the mother-bear reaches into the cupboard and invites him to eat *medok* (diminutive of 'honey'); the father-bear, on the contrary, thinks hard and gives his son helpful advice, while speaking sternly.[11] Both parents, however, address the little bear as "sonny".

We can generalize, then, that at the pre-rite-of-passage stage, when he is being perceived by others as cute (cf. the diminutives of "son", "shaggy" and "clumsy"), and when his actions are emotional and lacking in self-control (he weeps and sobs), the little bear's speech behavior is androgynous (note his use of the interjection *oj*). But as the teddy undergoes his training and performs difficult physical tasks, and as he begins to think rather than to feel, his language and the language of the narrator change as well: diminutives and interjections disappear, and the community begins to refer to him as a cool champ. Thus the verbal indicators suggest that a less-than-admirable pre-rite-of-passage teddy is androgynous both in speech and action, whereas a "real bear", who is cool and admirable, speaks and is spoken of in male language.

2.3 Kto Čto *["To Each His Own"] by I. Vorob'eva*

This is a collection of 11 short poems (380 words in all), 10 of which center around specific human referents, both boys and/or girls. The

activities described in the poems reflect quite well the differences between male and female associative fields discussed by Zemskaja et al.: the boys-only poems (6 out of 10)[12] deal with a boat, dirt, fishing, an airplane, a whistle, and carpentry; the girls-only poems (two out of 10) deal with booties and clothes; the remaining two poems describe mixed-sex activities (berry picking and scrap iron recycling).[13]

The nature of the girls' interaction with the world is rather passive, especially when compared with that of the boys. One of the two girls' poems is about a girl having booties sewn for her, and in the other, two girls decide that in order to cut down on mending and patching they should simply be more careful with their clothes; it is noteworthy that both girls' poems center around items of clothing.

The boys' relation to the world, on the other hand, is focused on the creation of objects (building a toy boat, making a whistle and a bobber, carpentry) and controlling them (floating the boat, removing a dirt pile from a playground, flying planes).[14] Boys operate in the outside world (with connections to nature, distant oceans, rivers, birds), and they value speed (witness the endearing *provornaja moja* 'my swift one' and *krylataja moja* 'my winged one', referring to a toy boat) and height. It is only in caring for the elderly, in work ethics, and in communal spirit that boys and girls participate equally: both sexes share communal activities such as berry picking and recycling, are encouraged to love work and to have fun, and to help the elderly.

Besides these features, which confirm the points made in section 1, pronominal references in the poems reveal the following interesting distribution:

of six boys' poems	1st p sg is used in two
	my s '(lit.) we with' used in two
	1st p pl is used in two
of two girls' poems	1st p pl is used in one
	3rd p (1st name hypocoristic) is used in one
in two boys and girls poems	1st p pl is used in two

This distribution suggests that boys tend to be more subject-like — a point not mentioned in the existing literature on Russian gender linguistics. Moreover, the use of the phrase *my s* '(lit.) we with' in

two of the boys' poems with reference to the narrator himself and his father and brother, respectively, implies close male bonding.[15] This point is corroborated by the content proper of at least one of the poems containing this type of coordination, in which joy at becoming like dad is expressed explicitly.

2.4 Igruški *["Toys"] by A. L. Barto*

This is a collection of 12 very short contemporary nursery rhymes (208 words in all), 10 of which (173 words) center around specific human referents: five poems are about boys and five about girls.[16] These very popular poems support quite well Zemskaja et al.'s observations regarding male and female associative fields. The following distribution of topics is observed:

boys' poems	airplane, horse, boat, military drum, red flag
girls' poems	teddy bear, cat/truck, ball, rabbit, kid (goat)

As in 2.3, the boys' relationship to the world involves control. In addition to controlling objects (building an airplane, pulling a boat on a fast-moving stream and setting up a red flag), some boys control living creatures (drumming at the head of a parade, riding a horse, giving a ride to frogs).

In contrast, the girls' relationship with the world is characterized, as in "A Kind Little Mistress", primarily by nurturing: girls love and nurture their stuffed animals, and when one girl fails to nurture — abandoning a helpless bunny under the rain — the poor bunny gets all drenched and is miserable. Interestingly, two other girls' poems depict poor judgment: in one, a girl's attempt to give a ride to a cat in a toy truck causes the truck to be overturned, while in another, a girl cries, fearing that a ball will drown. Thus in three out of the five girls' poems, girls commit errors of one sort or another, while no errors appear in any of the boys' poems.

On the formal side, it appears significant that in the boys' poems diminutives are used when referring to a horse, a boat, a flag, and the sun, while those in the girls' poems refer to a river, a ball, a girl, a bunny, and a thread. It appears that these referential expressions endorse a boy's endearing attitude towards things military and

macho (horse, boat, flag), while girls are assumed to feel endearing towards more mundane beings and objects.[17]

It is likewise difficult to avoid the conclusion that the appropriateness of particular occupations is presupposed in these poems: of the three occupational terms that appear, the two used with reference to boys are *kapitan* 'captain' and *barabanščik* 'drummer', vs. *xozjajka* 'mistress' with reference to girls. This presupposed appropriateness seems related to the inherent lack of dignity implied by female occupational terms like *dekanša* 'she-dean' and *joginja* 'female yogi', noted above in Section 1.

Much as in the preceding collection, boys are reflected in the first person more often than girls ($I_b : I_g = 3 : 2$), while the reverse is true for the third person (he : she = 1 : 2):

of five boys' poems	three are in 1st p sg
	one is in1st p pl
	one is in 3rd p sg
of five girls' poems	two are in 1st p sg
	one is in 1st p pl
	two are in 3rd p sg

"mom's 'we'"[18] occurs with reference to girls in two poems and to boys in one poem

"Mom's 'we'", which occurs in two of the five girls' poems, implies a mixed attitude, containing elements of both caring and patronizing. It is also notable that the one ambiguous boys' poem[19] also contains "mom's 'we'". This poem shows certain indications of targeting a very young age, namely the repetition of a single line, and the expressed sense of relief at returning home "to mommy". At this young age, it appears, it is all right for boys to enjoy the sense of security provided by their mothers, as did Teddy the Stomper in his pre-rite-of-passage state.

3. An upper-level pre-school text

N. Nosov's *Priključenija Neznajki* ["Adventures of Know-Nothing"], a monograph-length book (158 pp.) for older pre-schoolers, is a volume that belongs to a long-running classic series in Soviet children's literature. The book describes a world of tiny child-

like people, referred to below as boy- or girl-munchkins; their world is otherwise structured like the world of adults, including many ordinary occupations and professions.

3.1 *First names*

The names in the book are all made-up and carry semantic connotations associated with the root. All but one of the boy-munchkins' names can be divided into the following semantic categories: occupation-oriented names (8), personality-revealing names (8), cognitive characterizations (3), food-related names (3), and outfit-based names (1). All these names characterize their bearers accordingly: occupation-oriented names are based on a typical symbol of that occupation (e.g. "Bullet" for a hunter, "Dr. Pillman" for a physician); personality-revealing names build on a character trait (e.g. "Grumpy", "Silent"); cognitive features are described by names like "Know-it-all" or "Know-Nothing";[20] a person with a sweet tooth is called "Syrup"; and finally, the one clothing-based name is "Rags". One boy-munchkin's name does not fit into these categories, namely *Pudik*, although he is usually referred to by his nickname *Cvetik* 'Flower'; this munchkin is a poet.

Girl-munchkins' names fall into quite different semantic categories: they are animal-based (5; e.g. "Bunny", "Kitty", "Swallow"), plant-based (4; e.g. "Daisy", "Chamomile"), nature-based (3; e.g. "Snowflake", "Downy"), appearance-based (3: e.g. "Blue-eyes", "Plumpy"), and insect-based (2; e.g. "Fly"). There is one girl-munchkin — a poetess — whose name is object-based, i.e. *Samocvetik* 'semi-precious stone'.[21]

Given the transparency of the roots, it is striking that the boys' names are built on individualizing intellectual, professional, social, or personality-based qualities of the bearers, thereby attributing to each an unmistakable identity. Girls' names, on the other hand, are for the most part simply "cute": no particular individuality is discernible between, say, Daisy and Chamomile. We have, then, a parallel to the point noted in section 2.3 (cf. also 2.4), regarding the greater degree of individuation for boys as opposed to girls: the names in *Neznajka* individuate each of the boy-munchkins, as

compared to most of the girl-munchkins. In the few cases where an individual trait is encoded in a girl's name, the trait invariably pertains to physique, like Blue-eyes.[22] Only three females have a profession in this story: a doctor, a (nameless) nurse, and a poetess.[23] Corresponding to the boy-doctor (Dr. Pillman, the only character in the book referred to by a last name) is the girl-doctor *Medunica* 'Lungwort', a clever name indeed: this is a flower name (and thus fits squarely within the floral semantics of other female names), but a flower with medicinal qualities.[24]

A separate explanation is required for the boy-poet's name, which is the only boy's name that belongs to the floral category.[25] This feature associates him with the girl-munchkins, thus making him "androgynous", in the same way this term was applied to the rooster in the first story, to Teddy before his rite of passage, and to the toddler who built an airplane. While one would not want to base strong claims on such limited evidence, one can at least say that linguistically androgynous patterning has been found to appear with a distinctive and interesting class of characters who are clearly judged to be insufficiently masculine: an artistic man (the poet), a not entirely admirable character (the rooster), and pre-rite-of-passage boys (the pre-adolescent bear and the toddler).[26]

3.2 *Diminutives*

The total number of girl-munchkins' utterances is approximately half that of boy-munchkins'.[27] The total number of diminutives of nouns, adjectives and adverbs in the direct speech of girls and boys (exclusive of address forms) is 24 and 30, respectively.[28] Thus the girl-munchkins' utterances contain a higher overall percentage of diminutives. The relatively abundant data provided by this book allow us to delimit more precisely the gender-specific distribution of diminutive classes, some types of which have not yet been discussed in the literature. Consider the figures presented in Table 1:[29]

Table 1

	boys	girls	conclusion
epithets	7	3	b = g
animals	0	3	b < g
time units	2	0	b > g
objects			
emotional	3	0	b > g
polite	8	0	b >> g
tiny objects	0	3	b < g
empathetic	4	0	b >> g
adjectives	6	11	b << g
adverbs ('a bit')	0	4	b << g

Epithets (e.g. *trusiška* 'scaredy-cat') is the only class where the number of diminutives used by boy- and girl-munchkins was proportional to the total number of boys' and girls' utterances (i.e., b : g = 2 : 1). With words denoting animals (e.g. *zajčik* 'bunny'), girls used diminutives three times, while boys never used them; this is the expected distribution on the basis of Zemskaja et al.'s findings. With time units (e.g. *nedel'ka* 'week'), only boy-munchkins used diminutives (twice). Diminutives referring to inanimate objects differed in distribution depending on their size: with items that were already small (e.g. "small hole", "small circle"), second degree diminutives[30] were found in girl-munchkins' utterances (3), but with items that are not typically small (e.g. "umbrella", "song", "suitcase"), diminutives only occurred in boys' speech (11). There was further differentiation within this category: three occurrences out of 11 were uttered in emotionally charged contexts: twice referring to "home" (as the speaker became further and further removed from it on his first balloon journey), and once referring to a sad "song" that caused the speaker to cry. It appears that in such moments of emotional weakness, the boy-munchkins slipped into the feminine linguistic realm. One of the remaining eight occurrences of diminutives with objects not inherently small in size (*saxarok* 'sugar') represents a "food" diminutive (not unusual with men; cf. fn. 4), while the remaining seven are cases of "polite diminutives", a milder variety of the self-deprecatory diminutives mentioned above in section 1 as constituting a class of diminutives characteristic of male speech.[31] All seven occur in a conversation

between a male writer and three other boy-munchkins, a conversation in which the writer himself sounds exquisitely sophisticated and well-mannered, while his less literary interlocutors try hard to match his standards, especially when addressing him.

The last nominal class of diminutives of objects is quite interesting, as it occurs in male speech, yet clearly represents a female point of view: diminutives of "handkerchief", "jumper-dress", "little circular band-aid" and "rag" are used by male munchkins in dealing with female munchkins, and with reference to objects belonging to the females. This then resembles the case of males using child-oriented diminutives when babysitting, i.e., of males assuming a female role and/or point of view.[32]

As for diminutive adjectives and adverbs, girl-munchkins use these much more often than boy-munchkins. Both of the adverbial diminutives in the sample intensify smallness (as in Eng. "a tiny-tiny bit"). Most of the adjectival diminutives in the sample have a slightly negative base adjective, the diminution apparently softening the negative evaluation (e.g. "poor", "silly", "fat").

Diminutives occurring in addresses show a clear pattern of male-female differentiation in usage. Used exclusively by males towards males is the address form *bratec* 'little brother', and used exclusively by females towards females is *miločka* 'sweety'. *Milen'kij* '(adj.) deary', on the other hand, although used five times by girl-munchkins, did occur once in the speech of a male munchkin. This last address form was used exclusively in the context of pleading for favors, and the usage by the boy-munchkin was apparently conditioned by his weak position vis-à-vis the grantor of the request.

3.3 *Commands and requests (CRs)*

The existing literature makes no mention of male-female differences with regard to CRs. The material in this section therefore proposes new data of potential theoretical importance for Russian gender linguistics, as opposed to the above-described manifestations of well-established gender-specific linguistic traits, as these are visible in children's literature. Given, moreover, the clear gender-specific

distribution patterns of CRs, the subliminal impact of this material on young readers/listeners is likely to be significant.

Boy-munchkins' CRs constitute 17% of their total utterances in the book. This is somewhat smaller than the proportion of CRs by girl-munchkins, these constituting 23% of their utterances. But when broken down by the gender of the addressee, it emerges that 82% of the boys' CRs are addressed to boys, while 72% of the girls' CRs are also addressed to boys. Boy-munchkins, then, receive considerably more CRs from both boys and girls than do girl-munchkins. Further subdividing CRs into several pragmatic categories reveals still other male-female differences.

3.3.1 *Attention-drawing imperatives*

Attention-drawing imperatives, such as "tell me", "listen", "look", were used overall by boys (15% of their CRs) more frequently than by girls (6% of their CRs). Boys, however, never used attention-drawing imperatives when addressing girls (18% of boys' CRs addressed to other boys constituted attention-drawing imperatives), while girls used them at the same rate with addressees of both sexes. Thus boys, in effect, never needed to command girls' attention, whereas they expended much effort commanding the attention of other boys when addressing them.

Patterning in parallel with attention-drawing imperatives, with regard to their considerably higher usage by males, were imperatives retaining the 2nd person pronoun in the imperative sentences. These occurred in 7% of boy-munchkins' CRs, and only in 2% of girls' CRs.[33] While the discourse function of such imperative utterances awaits a comprehensive analysis,[34] I tentatively label these imperatives "attention-verifying", and combine them with attention-drawing imperatives as metinformational devices whose main function is to facilitate informational transactions.[35] Taken together, then, we can say that metinformational imperatives occurred in 20% of the boys' CRs, but only in 8% of girls' CRs.

3.3.2 *Softening devices*

Boy-munchkins used words like "please" in 4% of their CRs addressed to other boys; in contrast, no such expressions occurred when boys addressed girls. In girls' CRs addressed to boys, these occurred at a higher rate (9%) than in girls' CRs addressed to girls (5%). Girls were thus "short-changed" by both boys and girls with respect to "please" and its functional equivalents.

Addition of the prefix *po-* to verbs and comparative adjectives, as well as addition of the verbal particle *-ka*, were both considered to be softening devices (although these morphemes can at times impart a patronizing tone). Boys used them in 6% of CRs addressed to girls and in 8% of CRs addressed to boys, and girls used them in 17% of CRs regardless of the addressee's gender. The difference between their frequency in boys' and girls' speech was considerable (b : g = 7% : 17%).

Another softening device found in the data was reduplication of imperatives.[36] Boy-munchkins used this in 1% of CRs addressed to boys, but never to girls. Girl-munchkins, on the other hand, used this in 4% of CRs addressed to boys and in 3% of CRs addressed to other girls.

Although omission of the verb (e.g. "Quiet!") may appear at first glance to be abrupt, this, too, is probably a softening device as well.[37] Such CRs occurred with comparable frequency in the speech of boys (6%) and girls (5%), but girls used them to address other girls only in 3% of their CRs, while they used them twice as often when addressing boys.

In summary, the distribution of softening devices examined so far indicates that boys use them, on the whole, less frequently than girls, and that when they do use them, they use them towards other boys rather than towards girls; girls, too, use them more often towards boys than towards girls.

Indirect CRs bordering on advice, such as *(ne) nado* 'it is/isn't necessary' and *nel'zja li* 'could it be possible', showed different tendencies. Insofar as girls used them much more frequently than boys (16% vs. 4%), these softening devices patterned in the same way as those just considered. Unlike the preceding devices, however, the addressees of these somewhat elaborate CRs were much more often female than male: boys used them 11% of the time when they

addressed girls, but only 3% of the time when addressing other boys; girls, too, used them 28% of the time when addressing other girls, but only 13% of the time when addressing boys.

The patterning of this last class of CRs is particularly interesting because of its implications for the factor of interlocutor distance. As I argue elsewhere (1993, 1994a, b), there are two communicational modes in Russian, the familiar (*svoj*) mode and the distant (*čužoj*) mode. The *svoj* mode abounds in particles, resorts to intonational (rather than linear) marking of new information, shows a preference for parataxis, for allegro phonology, for reduplications and deletions, and is generally impositional.[38] The *čužoj* mode, on the other hand, is more constrained, more hypotactic, and less impositional. Direct CRs are more consonant with the *svoj* mode, while indirect CRs essentially belong to the *čužoj* mode. The distinct distribution in the gender-based patterns of direct vs. indirect CR usage suggests that the softening devices used in these two modes of communication differ not only in their formal structure, but also in their gender distribution: in the familiar *svoj* mode, boys rarely use softening devices with their CRs when addressing girls; but in the distant *čužoj* mode, they use them much more frequently when addressing girls than when addressing boys. Girls, on the other hand, use softening devices in the *svoj* mode more often with boys than with girls, while in the *čužoj* mode the opposite is true.

3.3.3 *Intensifying devices*

The data include certain very strong imperatives, which occur exclusively in the speech of the boy-munchkins. These are infinitive forms used as imperatives (*Otstavit'* 'As you were!' [lit. 'to remove']), singular imperative forms used to address plural addressees (*Rrrazojdis'!* 'Break it up!'),[39] and the uninflected word *marš* 'go!' (etymologically "March!"). No such expressions were found in girls' CRs. Added phrases like "right now" were also found exclusively in boys' CRs. These boys'-only intensifiers were found in 6% of all boys' CRs; 5% of CRs directed towards other boys and 9% of those directed towards girls contained them.

Adding the particles *nu* and *nu-ka* strengthens the urging to perform an action, and these particles, too, were predominantly a male feature. Such forms were used in 13% of boys' and only in 4% of girls' CRs. Boys directed them with equal frequency towards boys and girls, while girls directed them at girls in 10% of girl-addressed CRs but at boys only in 3% of boy-addressed CRs.

The distribution of intensifying devices suggests that they were used predominantly by boy-munchkins. In the relatively infrequent cases when girls used one of the weaker forms of intensifying particles, they directed them at girls three times as often as towards boys. Unlike softening devices, which represented a female feature rather than a male one, and which were used more to address males (except for the indirect commands that belong to the distant *čužoj* mode), intensifying devices constitute an essentially male feature, directed at girls with greater frequency than at boys.

3.3.4 *Hortatives*

Let us consider, finally, the distribution of 1st person plural imperatives. This type is more frequent in boys' speech as compared with girls' (12% vs. 5%). Moreover, boys address them to other boys much more frequently than to girls (13% vs. 4%). Girls, too, address them twice as often to other girls (8%) as to boys (4%). The overall tendency, then, is that same-sex addressees are invited to join in an activity more often than addressees of the opposite sex, and that males not only tend to invite other males to join them more often than they invite females, but that in general, they initiate joint activity more often than females. This echoes the distribution of the phrase *my s* in boys' poems (cf. section 2.3), which implies, it was suggested, a strong male bonding.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of Russian children's literature at the nursery and pre-school levels demonstrates the pervasiveness of gender-specific linguistic and cognitive models in materials directed at this early age group. Particularly clear throughout the data is the association of

certain diminutive usages with female language. Consistent patterns of interaction with the world, and concerns typical of one or the other gender, are equally obvious already in the nursery rhymes, and remain so through late pre-school age: girls nurture, commit judgment failures, and are taken care of, while boys create and control objects and situations; girls cherish beauty, warmth, softness, cuteness, and practicality, while boys appreciate speed, height, action, male bonding and independence. The degree of individuation of males is appreciably greater than that of females. There is evidence that insufficiently masculine language is associated with artistic, negatively-portrayed and/or immature males.

As for commands and requests — a form of data hitherto not investigated in this context — the model presented by the children's classic *Neznajka* suggests that boys can count on unconditional attention from girls, but that they must expend considerable effort to engage and to sustain the attention of their male addressees. It also suggests that in the *svoj* mode, both boys and girls use fewer softening and more strengthening devices when addressing their CRs to girls. In the *čužoj* mode, in contrast, girls are on the receiving end of softening devices much more frequently than boys.[40]

To conclude, it seems fair to say that the linguistic models presented to Russian pre-school children of the past two generations reveal remarkably traditional forms of male-female verbal behavior. This patterning is consistent on the whole with the adult patterns described in Zemskaja et al. (1993), and can thus contribute to a unified and comprehensive theory not only of adult linguistic usage and behavior, but of Russian linguistic behavior more generally.

Notes

1. Cf. Coates 1993: 22 ff.
2. Cf. Coates 1993 and references therein.
3. Even the most obviously biological feature of speech, i.e. voice pitch, has been shown to be affected by speakers' perception of their own sex-role: differences in voice quality between men and women are greater than anatomical differences alone would dictate (Sachs, Lieberman, and Erickson 1973).

4. Zemskaja et al. 1993:124 ff.; the slashes are reproduced from the citation source: a single slash "/" indicates non-finite intonation, and a double slash "//" indicates finite intonation; "dim." (in the glosses) marks diminutive forms. Note, however, that diminutives of food items when offering food to a guest or in addressing a food store clerk, as well as so-called "doctor's" diminutives, are used by speakers of both sexes (Zemskaja et al. 1993: 125):
   Seledočki dat'? Seledočki? '(Would you like to) have some herring-dim.?'
   Jaiček tri desjatočka// 'Eggs-dim. thirty-dim., (please).'
   Časik otdoxnut' v palate// 'Rest an hour-dim. in the ward.'
   Pokažite jazyčok // 'Let me see your tongue-dim.'
5. This is a descriptive statement, which of course does not imply the existence of any normative rules to that effect.
6. Despite the well-known claim that masculine nouns can refer to feminine referents because of the grammatical unmarkedness of masculine gender (cf. Jakobson 1961), cross-gender reference is in fact possible in both directions. It is significant that referring to a man with a feminine form amounts to downgrading the referent (thus when addressed to a man, the feminine *Dura!* 'idiotess' is considerably more insulting than the masculine *Durak!* 'idiot'), while referring to a woman with a masculine form has an upgrading effect (when addressed to a wife, the masculine *Durak!* is more affectionate than critical (cf. Eng. "You silly!"), while the feminine *Dura!* is a plain putdown. For an in-depth analysis of these issues, see Yokoyama 1998.
7. All of the books analyzed in this section belong to the category of books with more illustrations than text (similar to the class of so-called "picture books" in English-language children's literature).
8. The two words are *xozjajuška* 'little mistress' and *petušok* 'little rooster',
9. These are *moxnaten'kij* 'shaggy' and *kosolapen'kij* 'clumsy'; diminutives in the direct speech of other characters will be discussed shortly below.
10. The one diminutive in the rite-of-passage stage (*xvostik* 'tail') occurs in the narrative representing a squirrel's point of view; 'squirrel' is a feminine noun.
11. This depiction of parents is quite typical. In V. Sitnikov's (1988) story *Legkaja ruka* ['(lit.) Light Hand'], the mother of the girl is described variously as agitated, not knowing how to handle a beehive, giving advice, and pacifying her daughter, while the father praises the daughter, laughs, and handles the beehive properly. Similarly, in E. Uspenskij's classic (1974) *Djadja Fedor, pes i kot* ["Uncle Theodore, (male) Dog and Tom-Cat"], the mother screams, orders her husband and son around, gets easily excited, nurtures, and exhibits practicality; the father supports his son's love for animals, and his need for companionship and independence. This is a topic for a separate study.
12. In this section and the next, the basis for deciding which poems are "boys'" and which are "girls'" is primarily linguistic: adjectives and past tense verbs show gender agreement, and pronouns and nouns indicate gender as well. In a small number of cases, however, the illustrations served as clues: it was judged that in the absence of explicit grammatical or lexical evidence, the

artist's intuition should be counted as equivalent to that of a native informant's interpretation of the text; the illustrations, moreover, were doubtless approved not only by the editor, but also by the author, and must therefore correspond to the author's understanding of the poems.

13. The sample is far too small to conclude that boys appear as topics more frequently than girls. Note, however, that of the total of 35 works by Solženicyn, 25 mention a male in the title, two mention a female, and eight do not mention either; Graham 1975 provides equally striking male-heavy statistics based on the content of American schoolbooks. Interestingly, however, of the total of eight works by Russian nineteenth century female writers, eight titles mention women, none mention men, and three don't mention either (statistics on Solženicyn and on Russian female writers was provided by Loren Billings, personal communication, based on bibliographies by Levickaja 1991, Martin 1977, and Učenova 1986, 1987, 1988).
14. One poem juxtaposes a boy's creation of a whistle (which enables him to join the birds in the trees and to wake up all the neighbors) with a girl's creation of mundane artifacts (a hen, a bucket, a crib, and a house for a cat — all made of clay).
15. For more on this type of coordination, which implies a close bond between the two referents of the coordinated noun phrases, see Urtz 1994 (cf. also Urtz, this volume).
16. One of the poems counted here as a boys' poem has no formal indication of the gender of the subject. It goes as follows:

    We'll build a plane all by ourselves,
    We'll fly over the woods.
    We'll fly over the woods
    And then we'll return to Mom.

    In view of the material already described, it is the airplane-building aspect of the poem that leads to its identification as a boys' poem, although there is admittedly an element of circularity here. Indeed, the concluding phrase about returning home to "mommy" is not entirely masculine either, and on the whole the poem may perhaps be better characterized as androgynous; there is in principle no reason, after all, why girl listeners could not identify with the builder of an airplane. If the poem is counted as ambiguous, the calculations given below would need to be adjusted accordingly, although in an insignificant way as far as the generalizations to be drawn from this material. I comment further below on the androgynous character of this poem.
17. One of the boys' poems uses a hypocoristic term for the sun, while a girl's poem uses such a term for a river; at the risk of sounding too farfetched, one could point out that this contrast is reminiscent of the ancient opposition between masculine/dry/bright/fiery vs. feminine/moist/dark/ nocturnal; cf. Ivanov and Toporov 1965.
18. E.g., a mother saying to another adult regarding her small daughter: "We're a little cranky today because we have a tummy-ache." In this collection,

"mom's 'we'" occurs in one poem in subject position and in another as possessive "our" with a third person subject.

19. Cf. fn. 16.
20. Note that the Russian names *Znajka* and *Neznajka* (lit. "He who knows/doesn't know [things]") do not incorporate the negative connotations of English counterparts like "Know-it-all", "Ignoramus", etc., but merely express the cognitive feature in question.
21. Frank and Anshen (1983: 20) mention women's names in American usage that refer to vegetation (Rose, Daisy, Iris, Heather, Olive, Myrtle, Flora) and minerals (Ruby, Pearl, Beryl); note also Spanish Esmeralda.
22. Among the more common forms of nicknames in American English, Frank and Anshen (1983: 22) mention the predominantly male type of nickname referring to some attribute, like Shorty, Lefty, Curly; note that the attributes such English nicknames capture seem generally to be based on appearance, among other qualities. The naming pattern in *Neznajka* reserves looks-based names for girls only.
23. I.e. *poètessa* ; it is noteworthy that in Contemporary Russian, as in English, *poèt* is a more respectable way to refer to a female poet, while *poètessa* is merely a "lady poet", mostly associated with female poets of the nineteenth century. It is interesting that the somewhat dated word *poètessa* is used to refer to the only female poet in this book, the content of which is otherwise contemporary.
24. Note that the root of the word is *med-* 'honey', which she uses as a medical cure-all; in contrast, Dr. Pillman uses iodine and castor oil.
25. The poet's "real" name *Pudik* may also belong with female names, as it corresponds to the name of a sparrow chick in the well-known children's story *Vorobyšek* ["Little Sparrow"] by M. Gor'kij. This name does not otherwise exist as a personal name.
26. While further research is need to substantiate this hypothesis, female linguistic features characterize at least one other artistic character, namely a male opera singer in Leonov's play *Obyknovennyj čelovek* ["An Ordinary Man"]. Similarly, Vidan 1995 argues that a similar linguistic androgyny is exhibited by Stiva Oblonsky's discourse behavior in Tolstoj's *Anna Karenina* (cf. also Zaitseva, this volume); it is noteworthy that Stiva is lovable, but not entirely admirable.
27. Boys' utterances : girls' utterances = 1529 : 714; an utterance for this count was defined graphically as a string ending in one of the following punctuation marks: ".", "?", "!", or "...".
28. Some of the personal names occurred only in diminutive forms. These were not included in the count, as they can be considered the unmarked forms for their respective bearers.
29. The letters "b" and "g" stand for "boy" and "girl", respectively.
30. Second degree diminutives intensify the smallness, but add an endearing or cute meaning (cf. Eng. *teensy-weensy*), while first degree diminutives may imply just small size; cf. Stankiewicz 1954 and Volek 1987.

31. The class of self-deprecatory diminutives may well require reconsideration, as it appears that in Russian culture there exists a continuum between self-deprecation and politeness. The food diminutive "sugar" just mentioned was used by "Doughnut", a sweet-tooth munchkin notable for his polite manners; there may well be just a short step from his politeness to the self-deprecation of the remaining seven cases. It may also be necessary to re-examine the gender distribution of this category of diminutives, as maids in deluxe hotels in Leningrad were trained to use nothing but diminutives when referring to objects in a guest's room, e.g. glasses, pillows, suitcases, etc. (Valentina Zaitseva, personal communication). It may be more appropriate to posit a class of "diminutives of social hierarchy", which are (a) self-deprecative when referring to an object in the sphere of interest of the speaker, and honorific when in the sphere of interest of the addressee, and which are (b) gender-specific only to the extent that certain social hierarchies are better established in occupations or relationships specific to one or the other sex.
32. It is impossible to say whether females use non-diminutive forms if or when they assume male roles, as non-diminutives reflect the unmarked situation. It would be natural to assume, however, that point of view switch takes place in lexical and/or word-formational choices, regardless of the gender of the speaker, and that when females assume males' point of view, their use of diminutives and other female features decreases accordingly. See Yokoyama 1998 on the gender linguistics of role-switching.
33. This tendency is even more pronounced in the patterning of imperatives with subject pronoun semi-encliticized to the verb (e.g. *Idi ty k čertu!* '(lit.) Go you to devil!'), a format associated with curses, charms and similar commands, the fulfilment of which is beyond the addressee's scope of control. These occur exclusively in boys' speech in this sample.
34. The patterning of imperatives with surface subjects as just described provides additional evidence in support of Moon's (1995) analysis of such imperatives. The data also suggest that despite a certain softening effect often associated with imperatives having utterance-initial surface subjects, their primary discourse function is "attention-verifying".
35. For further discussion of the metinformational function, see Yokoyama 1987: 13 ff.
36. I distinguish between "reduplications" and "repetitions". Unlike repetitions ("Come! Come!"), reduplicated imperatives do not form two distinct intonational phrases or utterances ("Come-come!"); cf. Yokoyama 1994a: 95 ff.
37. If one were to supply the verb, it would never be infinitive, which constitutes the harshest command (cf. section 3.3.3): *Sidi tixo!* (imper. 'sit') but **Sidet' tixo!* (infin. imper. 'sit') for 'Sit quietly!'
38. Cf. Yokoyama 1994b on the impositional nature of the *svoj* mode.
39. Note that this particular example (p. 113) shows lengthening of [r], which is a typical phonetic trait of macho male speech (cf. Zemskaja et al. 1993: 105).

40. The difference between the CRs in the *svoj* and in the *čužoj* modes implies a male-dominant domestic situation, combined with a chivalrous attitude towards a "distant" woman. While it would be hasty and inappropriate to draw broad conclusions about Russian culture based on these limited data, preliminary comparison with Japanese CRs suggests culturally-dependent differences as well as cross-cultural similarities; cf. Kiser and Yokoyama 1994.

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Gender roles and perception: Russian diminutives in discourse

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Contemporary linguistics has been generally successful in articulating a range of interesting questions and problems for analysis. As the questions became more complex, linguistic science was obliged to become more sensitive to the relative nature of language categories. It is perhaps the recognition of the interrelatedness of linguistic phenomena, as well as the importance of meaning at all levels of the linguistic sign, that facilitates new discoveries and reshapes the direction of linguistic thought. Within the context of the broadly-defined fundamentals of interrelated linguistic phenomena, we can reengage in discussion the questions of language change and language acquisition. Traditionally, such issues were dealt with by quite disparate groups of linguists, often dividing themselves into the "theoretical" or "applied" linguistic camps. Yet, it has become clear that these questions are not only related, but presuppose and require each other in the basic theoretical principles of those linguists who are interested in explaining (not merely describing) the principles of change in language. Such a topic, at some juncture, obligatorily raises the question of language change within the lifetime of a community of speakers. It is here that the question of how children learn to speak their first language (L1) may provide important insights into the teleology of language change in general.

The richness of lexical word-formative processes in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) and Contemporary Standard Colloquial Russian (CSCR) and their often direct impact on morphology provide the linguist with data that lend themselves to a non-reductionist, relational paradigm where phenomena are analyzed in constellations, not as isolated entities. It is within this general context that one might begin to discuss the order of

acquisition of certain word-formative types. One aspect of this line of argumentation entails a perspective which takes into account the fact that small children, even before they begin to produce forms themselves, frequently hear more complex morphological forms than the simplex form that would typically be closer to the so-called *base form*. One broadly-based example of such complex forms in adult-child verbal interaction is related to the use of diminutive[1] forms in speech. Given the child's initial contact with these morphologically complex lexical forms, he or she is obliged to perform mental operations that, in some instances, are the reverse of what the adult speaker performs.[2] It is precisely such shifts and ambiguities in production by the young speaker that open the door for idiosyncratic language behavior and, ultimately, language change.

However, even though such linguistic "facts" may be considered common knowledge, they are not sufficiently rigorous for making theoretical claims within the rubric of word formation in CSR and CSCR—additional verification is necessary. The following analysis will present the results of a study conducted in St. Petersburg, Russia in May, 1995 (henceforth SP2), which deals with how junior high, high school and first year university students perceive the use of diminutive substantival forms in discourse with small children, with family members, and with their peers. There were 100 students involved in the study, 60 females and 40 males from the ages of 12 to 19.[3] The results will be compared to those obtained in an earlier study conducted with adult speakers of various ages and backgrounds in St. Petersburg in January of 1994 (henceforth SP1). Given the fact that the students (SP2) were required to respond to the survey as part of their class work, they were more thorough in their answers where form production was required than was the case in many of the adult surveys (SP1). The question of the significance of speaker and hearer gender in defining parameters of usage and perception of usage will be one of the central points addressed by the following analysis. I will also address in what way, if any, gender and other variables interrelate in a consistent manner.

The Second St. Petersburg Study (SP2)

The questionnaire for SP2 was two pages in length and required students to perform two basic operations: (1) select those forms that are used most often in discourse with small children (question 1) and (2) answer questions and provide examples of lexical forms used by family members and friends and themselves in specified contexts (questions 2-9). Each student was additionally required to state their age, gender and school class/college year.[4] The complete questionnaire is listed below with percentages reflecting the students' responses:

(1) *V dannom spiske podčerknite formy, kotorye čašče vsego upotrebljajutsja v razgovore s malen'kimi det'mi:*
[Underline the words in the list that are used most often in conversation with small children.]

šapočka	87%	*šapka*	17%			hat
plat'ice	79%	*plat'e*	21%			dress
detočka	55%	*detka*	29%	*rebënok*	16%	child
**ručonka*	64%	*ručka*	31%	*ruka*	5%	hand
**nožonka*	27%	*nožka*	68%	*noga*	5%	leg
**popočka*	43%	*popka*	47%	*popa*	10%	butt
glazki	94%	*glaza*	6%			eyes
rotik	88%	*rot*	12%			mouth
nosik	87%	*nos*	13%			nose
uški	89%	*uši*	11%			ears
sobačka	91%	*sobaka*	9%			dog
košečka	85%	*koška*	15%			cat
lošadka	92%	*lošad'*	8%			horse
miška	90%	*medved'*	10%			bear
cvetočki	86%	*cvety*	14%			flowers
stul'čik	84%	*stul*	16%			chair
stolik	78%	*stol*	22%			table
krovatka	89%	*krovat'*	11%			bed
okoško	84%	*okno*	16%			window
**rubašečka*	57%	*rubaška*	40%	*rubaxa*	3%	shirt
šarfik	93%	*šarf*	7%			scarf
botinočki	76%	*botinki*	24%			boots
tufel'ki	84%	*tufli*	16%			shoes
tapočki	88%	*tapki*	12%			slippers
korobočka	85%	*korobka*	15%			box

*mamočka	44%	mamusja	8%	mamulja	18%	mama
mamulen'ka	9%	mama	19%			
*papočka	39%	papusja	8%			
papulja	21%	papa	24%			papa
papulen'ka	8%					
*babuška	43%	babusja	14%	babulja	35%	granny
babulen'ka	8%					
*deduška	42%	dedusja	11%	dedulja	31%	grandad
dedulen'ka	9%	ded	7%			
ložečka	77%	ložka	23%			spoon
viločka	73%	vilka	27%			fork
tareločka	76%	tarelka	24%			plate
bratik	87%	brat	13%			brother
sestrenka	62%	sestrička	20%	sestrënočka	9%	sister
sestra	9%					
dočen'ka	65%	dočka	21%	doč'	14%	daughte
synoček	50%	synulja	21%	synok	20%	son
syn	9%					
pal'čik	87%	palec	13%			finger
ptička	93%	ptica	7%			bird
rybka	95%	ryba	5%			fish
jabločko	73%	jabloko	27%			apple
moločko	77%	moloko	23%			milk
konfetka	84%	konfeta	16%			candy
*Sašen'ka	70%	Saška	10%	Saša	20%	Sasha
*Lenočka	68%	Lenka	6%	Lenusja	10%	Lena
Lena	16%					
*Pašunja	11%	Pašulja	22%	Paška	10%	Pasha
Pašen'ka	30%	Paša	24%	Paxa	3%	
*Iročka	38%	Irunja	5%	Ira	9%	Irina
Iriška	22%	Irka	3%	Iriša	23%	

*In those categories where students indicated more than one answer or failed to select a form, these choices (or lack therein) have been included and are reflected in the percentage scores. For additional forms listed by the participants of the study, see Appendix one.[5]

(2) *Kto v vašej sem'e upotrebljaet umen'šitel'nye formy (tipa <<buločka>>, <<rybka>>, <<rotik>>, <<šarfik>>, i drugie) bol'še vsego?*

'Who in your family uses diminutive forms (like "roll", "fish", "mouth", "scarf" and others)?' [mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, sister, brother, aunt, uncle, you]

*mat'*___________ *otec*___________ *babuška*______
*deduška*_________ *sestra*__________ *brat*_________
*tëtja*___________ *djadja*__________ *Vy sami*________

(3) *Kto v vašej sem'e upotrebljaet umen'šitel'nye formy men'še vsego ili sovsem ix ne upotrebljaet?*

'Who in your family uses diminutives least of all or not at all?'
[mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, sister, brother, aunt, uncle, you]

*mat'*_________ *otec*_________ *babuška*_________
*deduška*_______ *sestra*________ *brat*____________
*tëtja*_________ *djadja*________ *Vy sami*________

(4) *Soglasny li vy, čto umen'šitel'nye formy upotrebljajutsja s det'mi doškol'nogo vozrasta čašče čem s bolee vzroslymi?*
*da*________ *net*________ *ne znaju*________

'Do you agree that diminutives are used with preschool children more often than with school-age children?' [yes, no, don't know]

(5) *Nravjatsja li vam kogda v razgovore upotrebljajut umen'šitel'nye formy?*
*da*________ *net*________ *vsë ravno*_______

'Do you like it when diminutives are used in conversation with you?'
[yes, no, don't care]

(6) *Napišite 5 slov (ljubyx), kotorye čašče vsego vy slyšite:*
'Write out any five words that you hear most often.'

[from mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, male friend, female friend].
(a) ot materi (b) ot otca (v) ot babuški (g) ot deduški (d) ot druga (e) ot podrugi:

Napišite vaš vozrast:_; pol_; klass________.
'Give your age, sex and grade in school.'

(7) *U vas est' mladšij brat ili mladšaja sestra?*

da________________ net____________
'Do you have a younger brother or sister?' [yes, no]

(8) *Kakie umen'šitel'nye slova vy sami upotrebljaete s malen'kimi det'mi?*
'Which diminutive forms do you use with small children?'

(9) *Kakie umen'šitel'nye slova vy sami upotrebljaete s rovesnikami*
'Which diminutive forms do you use with your peers?'

Lexical forms commonly used in discourse with small children

The results of student responses to question one demonstrate unequivocally that teenagers believe that morphologically complex diminutive forms are used considerably more frequently in conversation with small children than nonsuffixed, simplex lexical forms. In those instances in which the students were given three or more choices, particularly in the substantival categories referring to parents and grandparents and proper names, many students noted multiple forms. It is important to note that not all suffixed types are equally popular, although all of the choices given were chosen by at least 3% of the participants (although the mean was much higher).

In order to distinguish potential hierarchies and semantic fields, it would be useful to look more closely at the lexical groupings that occur in question one. On a general level, the responses to question one support the hypothesis that children are exposed in direct discourse to a significantly high percentage of complex morphological forms. Within this group of complex forms, there exists specific hierarchies of lexical usage. Of the list of 121 distinct lexical forms given in question one, 7 forms of the total substantives were chosen more than 90%. These forms include:

rybka	95%	fish
glazki	94%	eyes
ptička/šarfik	93%	bird/scarf
lošadka	92%	horse
sobačka	91%	dog
miška	90%	teddy bear

The next most popular group as indicated by percentages (85% to 89%) includes body parts (*rotik, nosik, uški, pal'čik*), siblings (*bratik*),[6] and inanimate objects generally associated with small children, especially articles of clothing (*šapočka, tufel'ki, tapočki, krovatka*). Finally, the remaining animal (*košečka*) falls into this group.

If we compare these results to the original St. Petersburg study (SP1), we find some very striking similarities. In SP1, the single lexeme which received the highest percentage of choice was the same - *rybka* (88%). The next highest group in SP1 (as in SP2) was semantically restricted to animals (both real and "stuffed") and body parts.

SP2 results demonstrate that when there are two *-k-* suffixed lexemes competing in two or more columns in question one of the survey, where the compound suffix is *-očk-a* or *-onk-a* versus a single *-k-* suffix, the more complex suffixed form is chosen more frequently than the simple *-k-* suffixed form in 7 of 9 instances. The two exceptions are *nožka* (68%)/*nožonka* (27%) and *popka* (47%)/ *popočka* (43%). In SP1, both sets of forms display the same type of distribution. In my analysis of SP1 (Andrews [1995: 53-64]), I make the observation that there is less of a difference in the percentage distribution of the competing lexical items when both have a *-k-* based word-formative suffix. This observation remains valid even in those cases where the lexemes with the *-k-* suffix do not

demonstrate a specifically diminutizing meaning (cf. *vilka, ložka, tarelka, koška*). The same observation may be articulated with regard to SP2, but the gap in distribution is generally larger than in SP1 in all categories given under question one.

There are only two lexical entries that show a reversal of distribution in SP1 and SP2, namely:

> [SP1] - *ručonka* (18%) /***ručka* (82%)**; *rubašečka* (48%) /***rubaška* (52%)**/ *rubaxa* (0%);
> [SP2] - ***ručonka*(64%)**/*ručka*(31%); ***rubašečka*(57%)** /*rubaška* (40%)/*rubaxa* (3%).

I would suggest that there are multiple explanations that would speak to the difference in distribution of these two sets of forms in the two studies. First, both forms were in a list of three choices and thus, there is more of an opportunity for variation. Second, the two sets of forms include competing *-k-* suffix types, and we have already noted that competing *-k-* based suffixed lexemes demonstrate a narrowing in distribution and selection in general. Third, the differences could be attributed to the age difference of the participants of each study. Teenagers may, indeed, be more exposed to diminutive forms in general discourse than adults and thus, would be more likely to pick the forms that they hear the most. However, in order to give more serious consideration to this final hypothesis, we will have to consider the answers given to subsequent questions in the SP2 survey. Based on the answers to question 6 (see below), there is evidence that fewer diminutives may be used with the 17 and 19 year olds than with the 12 - 15 year olds, where the 15 year old group lists the maximum number of distinct diminutive forms. However, the distribution of participants by age was not into equal groups, a fact which would have an impact on the number of responses.

Naming

There are two groups of substantival forms in question one that require special attention: the multiple forms for "mother, father, grandmother, grandfather" and the set of proper names (derivatives

of *Aleksandr, Elena, Pavel, Irina*). There were three to six word-formative variants to choose from in each of these groups. Both the most frequently chosen form in each set, as well as the subsequent distribution of forms, shows a clear pattern:

most frequent --> least frequent

mamočka	mama	mamulja	mamulen'ka	mamusja
papočka	papa	papulja	papulen'ka/papusja	
babuška	babulja	babusja	babulen'ka	
deduška	dedulja	dedusja	dedulen'ka	ded(a)

Sašen'ka	Saša	Saška		
Lenočka	Lena	Lenusja	Lenka	
Pašen'ka	Paša Paxa	Pašulja	Pašunja	Paška
Iročka	Iriša Irka	Iriška	Ira	Irunja

Clearly, forms in the compound suffix *-oč/k-a* are selected most frequently wherever they exist, including the classes of generic substantives. [The only exception is *popočka/popka,* but in this case, the percentage difference is the smallest of all of the entries at 43% to 47%.] The second most popular suffixed type are forms in *-ul'-a.* In those cases where there is no competing form in *-oč/k-a,* two suffixes come to the fore: *-uš/k-a* and*-en'/k-a.* The suffixes *-us'-a* and *-un'a* are used less frequently than those mentioned above, but more frequently than the simple *-k-* suffixed forms. Suffixes consisting of three parts (e.g. *- ul'/en'/k-a; -on/oč/k-a*) are never selected as the most frequent forms. Therefore, we find a threshold of complexity for discourse with children that is restricted primarily to simplex and compound suffixed forms where the compound suffix consists of no more than two distinct parts, where the stem final suffix includes *-k-*

.

In the category of proper names, those forms in the bare *-k-* suffix (cf. *Saška, Lenka, Irka*) were chosen with the least frequency. Only the form *Paxa* was less popular than *Paška.*[7] In SP1, precisely the same picture emerged as in SP2. The significance of the semantic

role of the *-k-* suffix in proper names is crucial in explaining its lack of popularity in the two studies conducted. As I have already noted elsewhere (Andrews 1989: 123-134; Andrews [in press]), there is a significant presence of *-k-* suffixed derived proper names in both CSR and CSCR, where there are not only numerous forms of this type, but they are also used quite frequently. However, both studies explicitly stated that the forms to be selected would be the names of children. Thus, it seems to be appropriate that the speakers involved in the studies avoided simplex forms in *-k-* since they are not used with the same frequency with children in the family as they are by adults with their friends and acquaintances in social discourse. Further confirmation of this principle is found in the answers to questions 6, 8, and 9, where a large number of entries involve derived proper names (cf. Appendices 2 and 3).

One of the reasons for hesitancy in the usage of *-k-* suffixed derived proper names is connected to the potential derogatory sense that accompanies these forms (Andrews 1989: 124-129). However, the derogatory sense is determined by the relationship of speaker and addressee and the context of usage. For example, many speakers of Russian have noted two particularly dominant contexts in which the *-k-* suffixed derived proper name is often used: (1) in discourse concerning a third party that is not present at the time of the utterance, and (2) in the vocative function. In both instances, a prerequisite for usage is a pre-established relationship between the speaker and the referent of the form in *-k-*. In many cases, this relationship is between peers, close friends, and relatives. Thus, the range of reference of derived proper names in *-k-* is bounded in a restricting fashion and usage beyond those bounds evokes in the hearer a sense of inappropriateness and/or rudeness.

Source of diminutives in discourse

Questions two and three were formulated as simply as possible, and included examples to help those students who were unsure of the meaning of the term *"umen'šitel'nye formy,"* to determine which family members use diminutive forms with the greatest and least frequency. In several instances, multiple answers were given. Tables 1 and 2 show the distribution of responses by age and gender:

Table 1
Question 2 (SP2): Who, from the following list, uses diminutives most frequently?

AGE	GENDER **Female**[8]								
	mother	father	grandmother	grandfather	sister	brother	aunt	uncle	oneself
12	4		3	1			1		
13	8		4		2	1	1		
14	7	3	4		2		1		
15	4		5	2			1		
16	5	1	10	1	2	1	2		
17	3		2						
19	1								1
Total:	32	4	28	4	6	2	6		1

Females: 73
Males: 10

AGE	GENDER **Male**								
	mother	father	grandmother	grandfather	sister	brother	aunt	uncle	oneself
12	3		2	1	1				
13	7	2	6			1	4		
14	1		1		1				
15	2		6		2				
16	2		4	1					
17	4		1		1				
19	2		3						
Total:	21	2	23	2	5	1	4		

Females: 53
Males: 5

Table 2
Question 3 (SP2): Who, from the following list, uses diminutives less frequently?

AGE	GENDER Female								
	mother	father	grandmother	grandfather	sister	brother	aunt	uncle	oneself
12	1	6	2	1	2	2	1	3	
13	3	9	2	4	2	4	2	3	
14	2	4	1	1	5	2	2	3	
15		6	1		2	2	2	4	
16	4	9		2	3	4	1	4	
17	1	4		2					1
19		1							
Total:	11	39	7	10	14	14	8	17	1
Females:	41								
Males:	80								

AGE	GENDER Male								
	mother	father	grandmother	grandfather	sister	brother	aunt	uncle	oneself
12		1		2		3	1	1	
13	3	7	4	6	4	6	4	4	
14	1	2		1	1	1	1	1	
15	1	4		1	1	1	1	1	
16	1	4			1			1	
17	1	4	1	2	1	3	1	1	
19		2							3
Total:	7	24	5	12	8	14	8	9	3
Females:	28								
Males:	62								

The results to questions two and three clearly demonstrate that both male and female students perceive female speakers to use diminutive forms more frequently than male speakers. Additionally, the distributions for the category of mother and grandmother are almost identical as the two individuals most likely to use diminutives, regardless of the student's own gender (72% for female students and 76% for male students). It should be noted that there is a slight reversal in ordering between mother and grandmother as the most likely source of diminutives, where

females choose mother over grandmother (39% and 34% respectively), and the males choose grandmother over mother (40% to 36% respectively). However, this difference does not appear to be very significant when one considers the entire array of answers, where both male and female students indicate that mothers, grandmothers, sisters, and aunts use diminutives more than fathers, grandfathers, brothers, and uncles.

In question three, the father was indicated by both groups of female and male students as the least likely to use diminutives (32% and 27% respectively). The fact that fathers are listed by both student groups as less likely to use diminutives than other older or younger family members dispels the potential generalization of diminutive usage based purely on age, while supporting the observation that males appear to use diminutives less than females. Nonetheless, the percentage of *non-usage* of diminutives attributed to the father is between 2 - 13 percentage points **lower** than the percentage of *usage* attributed to the mother or grandmother.

One could argue that the students' perception of usage might not correspond to actual usage, but psychological research on human judgment of frequency tend to support the accuracy of such judgments.[9] Furthermore, given the general consensus of both male and female students concerning the lack of use of diminutives by their siblings (24% and 23% respectively), the entire notion of age as a parameter determining diminutive usage or the lack therein seems to remain viable only as a *relative* parameter, where the perspective of the participants of the speech event (Jakobson's P^s) becomes the dominant factor in the scale.[10] Thus, the answers to questions two and three demonstrate no difference based on the gender of the student, but do show a marked difference in gender based on the source to whom the diminutive forms are attributed.

Defining the addressee

Question four raises the question of age with regard to the addressee of utterances using diminutive forms. We have already seen that the age of the addresser is, at best, a relative parameter, while the answers to question four unequivocally argue in favor of more frequent diminutive use with preschool age children, thus making

the age of the addressee a determining factor. Of those surveyed, 93% of the males and 87% of the females responded that diminutives are used more often with preschool children. In a third, follow-up study with adults (SP3), 43 of 46 participants (i.e. 94%) responded affirmatively to question four. This evidence, combined with the results of SP1, confirm that adults and school children alike believe that speakers use more diminutives with preschool-aged children.

Emotional responses to diminutive usage in discourse

In the responses to question five ("Do you like it when people use diminutive forms in conversation with you?"), the majority of the female participants indicated that they had no preference (47%), while the majority of the male participants indicated that they "did not like" the use of diminutives in discourse with them (45%). Furthermore, there is a marked difference between the genders with regard to "liking" the use of diminutives in conversation, where the females answer affirmatively 31% and the males only 15%. This particular question provides what I consider to be important information on speaker perception and what the students believe to be appropriate and acceptable behavior in front of their peers. In the previous questions, we have asked students to evaluate what they believe to be normative linguistic behavior. They had no personal stake in these questions. However, question five is of a different nature and requires them to evaluate their own feelings about a particular kind of linguistic behavior. At this juncture, we see the factor of age where 13-16 year old males seem to be the most negative about the use of diminutives. The female students show no significant preferences based on age. The fact that more males state that they dislike the use of diminutives in discourse when they are the designated addressee indicates that diminutives are, in fact, being used in such instances. Questions six, eight, and nine will reveal to what extent this may or may not be true. [In order to make conclusive statements concerning the significance of the specific relationship between age and gender in terms of preferences, further studies are required that will focus on the perception of diminutive use with a large sampling of various age groups of both genders.]

Question seven was asked in order to insure that the survey participants were representatives of different types of family units, where there may or may not have been younger children in the family. This question is of particular importance if one adheres to the belief that the discourse between siblings plays a significant role in the verbal behavior of children, especially when we are considering the question of diminutive usage in discourse with small children. For the purposes of our survey, the students were balanced in representing families in which they did and did not have younger siblings (males: 50/50; females: 37/63). This fact indicates that the participants of the survey would have extensive exposure to verbal behavior with small children other than themselves and would, thus, lend additional credibility to their responses to question one.

Frequency of diminutive usage

It is generally accepted as axiomatic (in the context of CSR) that women use diminutive forms in speech more than men. Yokoyama (1991:364-5) states that the reasons for such a phenomenon include the "subordinate status of women, as well as their willingness to project an emotionally charged self-image." The results of three studies conducted in St. Petersburg in the past two years confirms that speakers of Russian, regardless of their own age and gender, indicate that women, specifically mothers and grandmothers, use diminutive forms in speech more frequently than men, specifically fathers. Although I have attempted to state these findings in a neutral fashion, it is nonetheless feasible that these statements in their present formulation may lead to false conclusions and generalizations.

I would hypothesize, based on the findings of these studies and other relevant research, that those speakers of Russian surveyed are probably correct in their assessment that mothers and grandmothers use diminutive forms more frequently than fathers. However, I would reframe this statement in the context that the *quantity of discourse* between mothers, grandmothers and children is significantly greater than the quantity of discourse between fathers and children. Therefore, it may indeed be true that this subset of

females uses diminutive forms more frequently, but the reason would be attributed to the fact that their overall number of discrete speech acts is considerably larger than the set of speech acts of their male counterparts. If we accept this modified interpretation of the data, then two important conclusions result: (1) males may use as many diminutives per discrete utterance as females; (2) females may use a similar level of diminutive forms in speech with a more broadly defined range of interlocutors than their male counterparts.

The implications of the first statement would provide for a relativized definition of frequency where males and females would use diminutives in a similar fashion (at a similar level of frequency) at the level of a discrete utterance. Thus, the actual difference in male and female speech would not be their use of diminutives per se, but a difference in the number of utterances produced in general. [Such a hypothesis can be tested by survey and by recording.] The second point is, in part, related to the first in terms of qualifying the range of interlocutors, where females may use diminutive forms with a wider range of interlocutors than males. In other words, female speech patterns are more stable, regardless of the different addressees involved, while male speech patterns demonstrate more potential modification depending upon the type of addressee (including status, age, gender, etc.). Such statements imply that the difference, if indeed there is one, in male and female speech is not based in the set of their normative utterances, which includes a common comprehension and usage of grammar, morphology, lexical usage and syntax, but rather in their *discourse strategies.*

One might argue that we gain nothing by reframing our data in this way. However, I believe that such a shift in focus from the gender parameter of diminutive usage to the number of speech acts produced in general, while taking into account different potential sets of participants of the speech event, allows for a more balanced perspective in terms of inclusion of speech communities and individual style. Specifically, if one refers to research in the area of individual speech patterns and style, we find examples of males who demonstrate a high saturation of diminutive forms in their "generic" speech (Knorina 1989: 119). Our conclusions must take into account that there exists such a thing as a speaker's individual style that is, at the same time, considered *normative* within the speech community. Furthermore, as we begin to analyze the lexical

forms given by the participants of the survey, where words are attributed to specific speakers (questions 6, 8, 9), the types of responses given will shed additional light on the importance of the interlocutor in determining the usage of diminutive forms in spoken utterances by women and men.

Lexical forms in discourse

Question six attempts to evoke the most common lexical items the participants hear from their mothers, fathers, grandmothers, grandfathers, and friends (conveniently distinguished in Russian by paradigmatically-given gender markers as *drug* and *podruga*). [Notice that the emphasis in this question is not on diminutives, but on the *most frequently* heard forms.] A total of 1216 responses was obtained from 100 participants.[11] Of the 1216 responses, 321 involved diminutive forms. Table 3 gives a complete listing of the total number of diminutive forms given according to the participant's gender and age and the source speaker:[12]
[For a listing of the actual lexical entries, see Appendix 2.]

Table 3

19 year old:	**Females**	**Males**	**14 year old:**	**Females**	**Males**
mother:	5	6	mother:	18	4
father:	1		father:	8	
grandmother:	4	3	grandmother:	14	
grandfather:			grandfather:	11	
friend(m):	1		friend(m):	5	
friend(f):		3	friend(f):	4	
17 year old:	**Females**	**Males**	**13 year old:**	**Females**	**Males**
mother:	11	8	mother:	20	8
father:	1		father:	6	2
grandmother:	1		grandmother:	4	6
grandfather:	2		grandfather:	5	
friend(m):	1		friend(m):		
friend(f):	7		friend(f):	1	2

Table 3 (cont.)

16 year old:	Females	Males	12 year old:	Females	Males
mother:	19	3	mother:	13	4
father:	11	1	father:	8	4
grandmother:	9	1	grandmother:	13	6
grandfather:	4		grandfather:	8	
friend(m):	10		friend(m):	1	
friend(f):			friend(f):		

15 year old:	Females	Males
mother:	20	8
father:	5	3
grandmother:	7	7
grandfather:	4	1
friend(m):	4	
friend(f):	6	2

If we look closely at the distribution and content of the lexical forms given in by the participants, the following salient points come to the fore:

1. Diminutive forms make up 26% of the total utterances given (321 of 1216);
2. The large majority (95%) of diminutive forms given (305 of 321) are substantives used in addressing or naming either the participant or another family member;
3. 78% of the diminutive forms were listed by female participants (i.e. 251 of 321, with males listing a total of 70 forms);
4 There is a distinct difference in the distribution of diminutive forms based on the gender of the participant, namely: males attribute 71% of the diminutive forms they list to females (mother - 56%; grandmother - 41%), while females attribute only 61% to females (mother - 42%; grandmother - 19%); males attribute 16% of diminutive forms to the father and grandfather, while females attribute 39% to the father and grandfather;

Thus, we find a significant difference in the genders of both the addressee and the addresser with regard to diminutives. Here again, I believe that these numbers accurately reflect discourse between the groups given, where fathers and grandfathers seem to use more

diminutives when talking to daughters and granddaughters than to male children, and mothers and grandmothers not only use more diminutives in general, but they are the primary sources for diminutive forms in discourse with the male family members. Although the statistics might lead us to interpret that mothers and grandmothers use more diminutives with male family members than with female ones, the overall number of diminutive forms noted by females is so much larger than the number listed by males that this interpretation would not be justified. Instead, it seems appropriate to focus on the more restricted group of addressees with whom males use diminutive forms, on the one hand, and the less restricted group of addressees with whom females use diminutive forms, on the other. [Once again, as we found with *-k*-suffixed derived proper names, the nature of the participants of the speech and narrated events plays a determining role in which forms are produced.]

Questions eight and nine redirect the focus of analysis back to the actual speech of the participants of the survey. I am compelled to conclude that these two questions were somewhat problematic for the participants of the study due to the fact that, in a few instances (primarily involving the 14 year old students), the forms recorded by the participants were not even marginally diminutive. Consider the following listing of some of the more inspiring responses:

tormoz, klassno, prikol'no, otpadno, otlično, ubljudok, bolden', ovca, eda, zasoxni plesen',prelest', zajac[13]

[For a complete listing of diminutive forms given in answer to questions 8 and 9, see Appendix 3.]

In general, the types of lexemes listed in answer to questions eight and nine were similar to those given in answer to question six in that there was a predominance of diminutive proper names and other names used by or about the participant. Of the 100 participants, approximately 20% claimed not to use any diminutive forms in answer to questions eight and nine.

Conclusions and hypotheses for future research

In an attempt to synthesize some of the more salient points of the preceding analysis, I would like to articulate the following general principles that are supported by the results of SP1 and SP2:

1. Adult speakers, including young adults from the age of 12, use a significant number of complex morphological substantival forms in discourse with small children;
2. Adult and young adult speakers of Russian believe that a greater number of diminutives are used in discourse with preschool aged children than with older children;
3. Perception of usage and actual usage are distinct categories that exhibit varying degrees of intersection and overlap, namely: (a) general perception of lexical usage in discourse with small children is consistent in all of the studies I have conducted so far; (b) when the survey questions required self-analysis, the perception of usage does not appear to be as consistent or reliable in terms of actual usage as in the context of perception of the speech habits of a second or third party;
4. Females are more likely to use diminutive forms with a more broadly defined range of interlocutors than males;
5. Males and females may use diminutive forms at a similar frequency at the level of discrete utterances;
6. Age seems to be less significant in determining the use of diminutives in discourse than the gender of the participants of the speech event;
7. Although 45% of the male students questioned (especially those age 13-16) stated that they dislike the use of diminutives when they are the addressee, responses to question six indicate that diminutive forms are nonetheless quite common in those contexts where a family member is the speaker and they are the addressee (cf. Table 3);
8. The speaker-addressee relationship is one of the primary parameters in determining the use of diminutives;
9. Proper names and naming in general are the most prominent lexical categories for use of diminutives in discourse;
10. Both the participants of the speech event and narrated events (P^s and P^n) are essential components in determining the use of -k-suffixed derived proper names;

11. Complex suffixes are typically used in discourse with small children, where the threshold is generally a compound suffix with 2 analyzable parts;
12. The *- oč/k-a* (*- oč/k-ø*) suffix is one of the most frequently used in discourse with small children;
13. All *-k-* based suffixed lexemes obligatorily set up relationships between a set of observers (including, but not restricted to, the speaker and addressee) and various speech and narrated events in which codified perceptually-based relations are used to define the potential referent(s) of the sign complex;
14. There exists the potential for individual style and usage that, when idiolectic in nature, will not adhere to the principles given above.

The preceding analysis has attempted to address the more salient aspects of the results of field work conducted in St. Petersburg, Russia most intensely in the period between 1993-1996, in which one of the ultimate goals has been to initiate a body of research on the role of gender in defining different types of discourse strategies, specifically in the realm of verbal interaction with children within the context of CSR. Given the specific focus of this paper, I have not exhausted the explanatory power of the data resulting from SP2, especially the lexical responses to questions 6, 8, and 9; this will be the focus of a future study. However, I have attempted to demonstrate that by developing a balanced approach to explaining language usage that includes not only an analysis of the forms produced and perceived, but a focus on the speakers and hearers that are both source and goal of the spoken utterance, it becomes possible to develop a theoretical framework in which questions of verbal discourse can be posited that require the recontextualization of scientific conclusions with actual linguistic data.

Notes

1. I will generally use the term "diminutive" to refer to the range of suffixed lexical forms discussed in the present analysis. Use of this term does not necessarily exclude the sense of "endearing" (R *laskatel'nyj*) which typically accompanies various complex lexical items in their standard usage (e.g. R *knižecka, plat'ice,* are listed in the 17-volume Soviet Academy

Dictionary of Contemporary Literary Russian [SSRLJ] as *umen'šitel'noe-laskatel'noe*). The semantic markers invariantly signaled in a "diminutive" lexical suffix are described in very different ways. In a Jakobsonian framework, any lexical morpheme will be charged with a basic *Gesamtbedeutung*. Such a perspective is a fundamental part of the theoretical basis for a good deal of morphological studies, including my own work (cf. Andrews 1989, 1993, 1994, 1996). However, there is also a significant literature in morphopragmatics where the individual lexical morphemes are characterized as having "no semantic meaning" and the focus of such an approach lies in two major areas: "the universal pragmatic foundations of morphology... [and] the relations between morphological rules and their interpreters as well as the interpretant of a potential (or actual) output of such a rule..." (Dressler & Kiefer 1990: 69). [Also relevant to the current discussion are Dressler & Merlinie-Barbaresi 1987 and Wierzbicka 1991: 104-130.] In the present analysis, multiple suffixes are involved in the data. Although our emphasis is on choices made by the participants of the speech event, in no instance do the data indicate that the semantic meaning of the lexical morpheme is devoid of a general, invariant meaning signaled within the code itself.

2. The question of the order of acquisition is one of the central points involved in the relationship between /x/ and /š/ in certain suffixed pairs (e.g. *kartoxa/kartoška, Paxa/Paša*). For a detailed discussion of this question, see Andrews (1993 [JSL], 1994).
3. In the spirit of experimentation, one nine-year-old female participated in the study. Her responses were normative in the first section where only recognition and selection, not production, were required. Those questions requiring active production of lexemes proved to be too difficult. The grouping of participants by age is: 12 years old - 9; 13 years old - 23; 14 years old - 16; 15 years old - 15; 16 years old - 19; 17 years old - 11; 19 years old - 6.
4. Next to the question concerning gender (R *pol*), one 13-year-old male answered, in addition to designating his gender, *polerovannyj* ("polished"). Please note that the transcription system used here is a spelling-based transcription and is not phonemic nor morphophonemic.
5. The use of *doča* as a nominative form for "daughter" (*syna* was also given in SP1) demonstrates a general principle of declensional shifting in substantival word formation in CSR that has been noted in the relevant literature (cf. Stankiewicz 1968: 98, Zaliznjak 1977: 270-71, Andrews 1993: 202-213).
6. The difference in the distribution of responses with regard to substantival forms for "sister" in SP1 and SP2 is determined by the fact that in SP1, two forms were given to choose from, whereas in SP2, four responses were given. In both cases, the form *sestrёnka* was selected most frequently (75% in SP1 and 62% in SP2).
7. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between the /x/ in *Paxa* and forms in */šk/ and / š / (Paška / Paša),* see Andrews (1993 [JSL], 1994).

8. One 14-year-old female and one 17-year-old female wrote that no one in their family uses diminutive forms at all in response to question 2.
9. There is a sizable body of literature concerning the question of human memory and the encoding into memory of experience, including frequency of occurrence of phenomena. This type of information acquisition is called *automatic encoding* and is relevant to our current discussion in terms of the validity of the student participants' evaluation of the frequency of usage of diminutives by particular individuals. For more information on automatic frequency encoding, see Hasher, Zacks (1984:1372-1388). Also, another area of memory research which is relevant in the context of the current discussion involves determination of the origin of information, or *source monitoring* (cf. Johnson, Hashtroudi, Lindsay [1993: 3-27]). In the context of the three studies that I have conducted in Russia in the past two years, I believe that there is evidence to support the fact that, while adult males do use diminutive forms, they are less likely to admit to doing so. I have discussed this problem in the context of SP1 (cf. Andrews [1995: 53-64]).
10. It is important to note than in question two, both genders note that sisters use diminutives more frequently. Yet, in question three, the results yield a different distribution, where the results of those females questioned state that both sisters and brothers equally fail to use diminutives, while with males, a 4 to 7 ratio results, where brothers are less likely to use diminutives than sisters. Thus, the female responses to question three do not imply the responses given to question two.
11. Some of the 1216 responses involved multiple word answers (cf. *Idi spat'; vynesi musor; ty čto - durak;* , etc.).
12. In the case of one of the 14-year-old females who did not have living parents, "aunt" and "uncle" were used in place of "mother" and "father".
13. One 16-year-old female stated that *zajac* is derived from the lexeme *zajčik.* For those readers who have not been exposed to popular slang in middle and high schools in St. Petersburg, the word *tormoz* ("brake"), which was one of the most frequently given responses to questions eight and nine, is used to refer to a "stupid, slow person".

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Appendix 1

Additional forms listed under question one of the May, 1995 St. Petersburg study:

Head entry:	*Student addition(s):*
mamočka	musik, mamusik, ma
papočka	pa
popočka	popul'ka
babuška	baba, babusik
deduška	deda
dočen'ka	doča
Sašen'ka	Sanja
Pašen'ka	Pašustik

Appendix 2 (question 6)

(1) A listing of diminutive lexemes by males: [repetitions are not included]

Mother: Iljušen'ka, synoček, zajčik, barsik, kiska, kotik, paučinka, synok, rybka, kozlik, ptenčik, Sašulja, šarfik, bezdel'niček, Mitjuša, detočka, konfetka, jabločko, buločka, lošadenok, umnica, solnyško, barsulja, Egorka, sladkij

Grandmother: vnuček, solnyško, synoček, vnučok, korovka, moločko, sapožki, ptička, umnica, synok, rodimen'kij, slaten'kij, Kirjušen'ka

Father: tapočki, synok, dočen'ka, synoček, solnyško, sladkij

Grandfather: vnučok

Friend (f): plat'ice, slavnen'ko, Timoxa, solnyško, zajčenok, Vanečka, Temočka

(2) A listing of diminutive lexemes by females: [repetitions are not included]

Mother: Katen'ka, Katjuša, dočen'ka, zajka, melečka, detočka, solnyško, Alenuška, Lenočka, zajčik, kotënok, ëžik, krošečka, zain'ka, sestrenka, Alenka, Alločka, zajčenok, Mašulja, kotik, rybka, Tanjuša, lapuška, dočurka, lapon'ka, Natašen'ka, lapočka, kóten'ka, medvežonok, lastočka, kison'ka, Anečka, Nastjulja, Dašulja, kiska, Tančik, ptička, Olen'ka, Marinočka, Iročka, Natus'ka, Tanečka, Serežin'ka, dedulja, papočka, Mašulja, begemotik, Lëlik, malen'kij moj, Lenusja, klubnička, kison'ka

Grandmother: Katjuša, vnučečka, šelkovinočka, Annuška, rybka, zain'ka, Olen'ka, Alločka, kotik, solnyško, lapočka, Tanečka, malen'kij, Tošen'ka, umnica, lapuška, krovatka, buločka, vnučen'ka, Ljudočka, Nasten'ka, lapon'ka, pupsik, malyška, Dašen'ka, Dašunja, kozočka, pain'ka, kubyška, zajčik, Mašen'ka, tareločka, dočen'ka, jabločko, Arinuška, Natusja, detočka, kiska

Father: doča, zajka, dočen'ka, ryžik, Natulja, dočurka, čeburaška, tolstuška, zajčik, Tanjuša, Tanečka, kotënok, malyška, sladen'kaja, solnyško, lapuška, synul'ka, Olen'ka, Lëlik, malen'kaja, zemljanička, Annuška, rybka, devočka, dočka

Grandfather: zajčik, Katjulja, devon'ka, jabločko, lyubimen'kaja, Tanečka, vnučen'ka, umnica, lapočka, zaja, sladkoežka, Mašen'ka, Olen'ka
[One 14-year-old female noted that almost every word her grandfather utters is a diminutive.]

Friend (f): Ljubočka, Natulja, zain'ka, solnyško, lapon'ka, rybon'ka, podružka, sestrenka, Marinčik, Marsik, Marišenok, Ol'čik

Friend (m): Anjuta, Natusik, Katen'ka, Katjun'čik, zolotce, lapuška, zajčik, kotik, Katjuša, malyš, Ol'gun'ka, zajka, solnyško, košečka, lapočka, detočka, kiska, malyška, kroška, buločka

Appendix 3 (Questions 8 & 9)

(1) A listing of diminutive lexemes by males by age: [repetitions are not included]

12: zain'ka, solnyško, slaten'kij, umnica, Alešen'ka, karapuzik

13: šapocka, nožonka, lošadka, zasrančik, detočka, malyš, v rotik, nožki, gubki, zajčik, kozlënoček, murzil'čik, duračok, slavik, idiotik, melkij, umnik

14: kozjavka, maljutka, meljuzgá, kroška, šarfik, glazki, ručka, nosik, tetradka, babulja, buločka, korobočka, tapočki, Anjuta

15: malyš, duračok, koška, Bas'ka, Kuz'ka, sobačka, murlyka, detočka, nosik, uški, šapočka, ptička, zajčik, ložecka, družok, drugan

16: pupsik, kotik, Katjuša, malyš, duračok

17: krotik, zajčik, klopik, kroški, kozlik, denežka, rjumočka, vodočka, pivko, gitarka, narodec, Katjuša, Anečka

19: želtorotik, plat'ice, ručka, nosik, sobačka, kiska, miška, solnyško, denëk, mašinka, tortik, figuški

Appendix 3: (Questions 8 & 9)

(1) A listing of diminutive lexemes by females by age: [repetitions are not included]

12: Natašen'ka, lapočka, Iriša, knopka, Iriška, malyška, ručki, botinočki, sobačka, košečka, lošadka, rybka, kiska, solnyško, malen'kij, Natal'juška, Tanjuška, Dar'juška

13: pal'tiško, sovoček, igrušečka, pesoček, mjačik, knižečka, rebënoček, mašinka, plat'ice, umnica, Mišutka, pupočka, zajčik, sobačka, kison'ka, glazki, detki, malyš, šapočka, šarfik, skazočka, kartinočka, zajčik, kotënok, kotik, ručka, nožka, rotik, nosik, ptička, Nataljusen'ka, zajka, milen'kij, Serëžen'ka, duročka, bjaka, lapočka, solnyško, rybon'ka, privetik, detki, mamulja, puxlen'kij, xorošen'kij, pjatërocka, Temočka, Tančik, Tanjusa, Marinčik, popčik, ovečka, bratik, papka, okoško, domiško, ptička, Annuška, Lenočka, Lesik, Timčik

14: lapočka, zain'ka, kroxa, kison'ka, malyš, malyška, dušečka, medvežonok, kiska, sobačka, Ksjuša, Ksenija, zajčik, umnica, slaviček, xorošen'kaja, malyšok, tolsten'kij, milen'kij, rebënok, bud' xorošej devočkoj/mal'čikom, solnyško, rybka, kotënok, murmyška, kroška, mas'ka, krasatulja, pyšecka, pusin'ka, buločka, pončik, Dašok, Nastëna, Alinuška, Ksjun'ka, Danočka, krasavica, rybon'ka, kiska, kartonka, durilka, pupsik, Tan'čik, Tatoša, Mašunja, Irinka, Julen'ka, Sanja, Denja, priduroček, durik, tormozok, ples'ka, Dašulja, Lelja, Mariša, Olečka, ubljudok, mymrusik, devočka, pain'ka, paja

15: cvetočki, kukolka, mašinka, snežok, derevce, kotënok, zajčik, bratik, lapočka, kotënoček, bratiška, zain'ka, konfetka, šarfik, sobačka, košečka, mamočka, papočka, lapon'ka, usi-pusi, solnyško, karapuz, malyš, grjaz'ka, umnica, lapočka, botinočki, nosik, rotik, buločka, zaja, privetik, rybka, Sašen'ka, do svidan'ica, cucik, caca, Ksja, pecat', krolja, Ksjuša, doždik, xomjačok

16: umnen'kij, zain'ka, lapočka, tolstunčik, popočka, rotik, nosik, zajčik, lošadka, uški, maljutka, kroška, milen'kij, malyš, detka, angeloček, kotënok, solnyško, zajka, kotik, rebënoček, ptička, sestrënka, košečka, družoček, detočka, glazki, kukolka, konfetki, tajfunčik, Mišen'ka, kisa, zajac, grjaz'ka, popka, papulja, dedulja, mamočka, konfetka, kartinka, paketik, rybka, privetik, Igorëk, deliški, knižka, bumažka, duročka, tusovočka, Vasen'ka, cucik, usi-pusi, xomjačok

17: sobačka, lošadka, bi-bi, pjam-pjam, mašinka, ptička, sestrënka, rotik, nosik, tapočki, košečka, solnyško, zajčik, rybka, golovka, duračok, krošečka, detka, rybka, zajka, lapočka, krovatka, duročka, popka, Ulečka, Lenočka, Serëženhka, Svetočka, Veročka

19: malen'kij, detka, slavnen'ko, solnyško, plat'ice, tortik, ptička, ževačka

Gender and conversational management in Russian

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Introduction

In comparing male-female speech, many of the differences appear to be connected with the way that men and women interact. A frequent claim in gender-based studies of conversational structure is that women take a more supportive, interactive role than do men. Holmes (1984: 56) argues that women tend to put more effort than men into maintaining and facilitating conversation and discussion. A number of studies have shown that women provide support for others' topics (Fishman 1978, Hirschman 1974, Strodtbeck and Mann 1956) and allow men to dominate the available talking time with little interruption (Eakins and Eakins 1979, Edelsky 1981, Soskin and John 1963).

The current paper focuses on the exchange structure of conversation, or specifically how turn-transition points are negotiated between male and female speakers in Russian through an analysis of recorded spontaneous and elicited conversations. The exchange structure is understood to encompass the mechanical aspects of conversation, including turn-taking strategies such as question-answer sequences and other adjacency pairs, interruptions, overlaps, back channels and try markers, which can be rigorously defined and are relatively quantifiable. While it is difficult to prove that women are more "supportive" and men more "aggressive" interlocutors, Russian women are apt to be interactive conversationalists who tend to use a variety of methods to involve the listener in what they are saying, and when they are acting as addressee, to signal that they are listening. These include tag questions, try markers and back channels and other minimal responses such as *mhmm*, *da* 'yes', *tak* 'so, yes' and others, which signal agreement, surprise, or simply recognition of what the

speaker is saying. Similarly, when someone else is primary speaker (i.e., the speaker who holds the floor), women ask questions to signal that they are listening. When a woman is the primary speaker, she often asks questions which make the listener an active participant in the conversation. This is in sharp contrast to men, who ask bona fide information-seeking questions, or ask questions as argumentative devices. By the same token, men tend to interrupt and overlap more frequently, and to use turn-taking strategies to manipulate the exchange structure and gain control of the floor.

1. Methodology

The data corpus for this study is drawn from three sources: the published texts found in Zemskaja and Kapanadze (1978), and my own fieldwork, comprised of both sociolinguistic interviews and spontaneous conversations recorded in Moscow and St. Petersburg during the period 1992-93.[1] The conversations consist of both single- and mixed-sex dyads, as well as mixed groups of three to four speakers.

Speaker's sex is one of a number of sociolinguistic variables which affect speech; other such variables, relevant for both speaker and addressee, include age, ethnicity, level of education, occupation, regional dialect, socio-economic class, social status and the speech setting (e.g. formal versus informal, etc.). This complex interrelated set of variables comes into play in each speech event, and one primary difficulty in quantitative analyses of any sociolinguistic variable is the issue of separating one factor from another. While the most obvious solution would be to assemble a large data base, that is often not possible in purely practical terms. Accordingly, in this study I will be obliged to make generalizations from a more limited data base than would be ideal, with the understanding that the conclusions here are projections, and may be superseded by future research.

An additional problem lies in the nature of the analysis itself: to a certain extent defining the pragmatic function of a given device within a larger discourse requires a potentially subjective judgment from the discourse analyst. Consider, for example, tag questions: it has been argued that they can be used assertively, to try to get the

addressee to agree with the speaker (Eakins and Eakins 1978), that they can be used affectively, to signal solidarity with the interlocutor (Holmes 1984), or they can signal tentativeness, i.e., that the speaker is unsure of what he or she is saying (Brekweg 1986; Lakoff 1975; Preisler 1986). And although intonation and paralinguistic cues may guide the analysis, it is often difficult to define rigorous diagnostics for determining which pragmatic function is intended. Often interlocutors themselves may misinterpret the intent of the speaker. Accordingly, any questionable instances are omitted from the data count in this study.

2. Interruptions

Interruption may well be the most studied aspect of conversational structure and gender for English speakers. However, the results of this extensive research can be categorized at best as conflicting. Zimmerman and West (1975) find that in male-female conversations, virtually all interruptions and overlaps are by men, which they interpret as a sign of male dominance and a more aggressive speech style than found with women. This is in distinction to Beattie (1981), who finds that there is no significant difference in numbers of interruptions in terms of two sociolinguistic variables—gender and status—and concludes that the social situation is extremely important in determining the number of interruptions and their causes. These kinds of discrepancies point to the need for greater analysis. James and Clarke review approximately 55 articles on gender and interruption. They determine that there are no conclusive studies which prove that "males' interruptions are more likely to constitute attempts to seize the floor than are those of females, or whether females are more likely than males to have dominance-related interruptions directed against them" (James and Clarke 1993:258).

Conclusions are further complicated by interpretations of different types of interruption. Interpretations are very susceptible to bias. For example, most of the research has been based on the assumption that all interruption is dominance-related, that is, it is assumed that when a speaker interrupts, that person is trying to take the floor. But it can be argued that many interruptions are not

attempts to take the floor, but rather signs of support or listener ratification. Furthermore, in a study of a German corpus of interviews, Ahrens (1997) shows that interruptions systematically occur in contexts of potential disagreement. She argues that in these cases, at least, interruptions do not have a destabilitizing effect on conversation. Rather, they are part of a systematic component of the conversational structures of agreement and disagreement.

There are partial solutions to this inherent problem: first, it is important to look at how the interruptions are enacted; second, what happens after the interruption is also significant. Furthermore, we can examine the devices used to interrupt. Discrepancies in research on interruption may also be explained in that studies do not distinguish between kinds of interruptions. At least two should be mentioned here:

1. overlap: speaker A is talking and B starts talking while A continues.
2. "silent interruption" (Ferguson 1977) where the speaker is interrupted midturn but without overlap.

There are some problems with this second kind of interruption: at times it may not constitute genuine interruption but rather of mistiming or misinterpretation (on the part of the interrupter). For both the interrupter and the linguist it can often be difficult to determine unequivocally that a speaker is midturn. Speakers do use turn-yielding devices to signal the close of a turn, but their use is not absolute: the absence of such devices does not necessarily imply that the turn has not ended.[2] For these reasons, silent interruptions have been omitted from the present study; they are in fact relatively infrequent in the corpus. In contrast, overlaps occur quite often in conversations with more than two participants.

The variety of pragmatic functions of interruption is best seen in the context of actual conversation. Consider the following excerpt from an hour-long conversation[3] between one man (Andrei) and three women:

(1) Conversation at the University; fieldnotes

1 Andrej *A vy sobiraetes' rasskazyvat' komu-to tomu, komu ne*
and you plan to tell someone that whom neg
2 *interesno vas slušat',* [*čto li?*] == *ili vot tol'ko govorit'*
interesting you to listen that INTERR or PART only to talk
3 *o bol'šom ==*
about big
3 Irina [*Net, počemu?*]
no why
4 Lena [(??????????)]
5 Andrej ==*vašem uspexe* [*o kakom-to?*]
your success about some kind of
6 Lena [(*laughs*) *s kem*] *s kem / s kem ne interesno*
with whom w/ whom w/ whom neg interesting

1-2 Andrej 'And are you planning to tell someone who's not interested in listening to
5 you, [is that it?] Or just to talk about your big success, ==
3 Irina [No, why?]
4 Lena [?????????]
5 Andrej ==[about some kind of one?]
6 Lena [(laughs) with whoever]
with whoever, with whoever is not interested' (...)

Lines 3 and 4 show that Irina and Lena both simultaneously overlap with the current speaker, Andrej. Both are cases of *unsuccessful* interruptions: neither interrupting speaker manages to gain control of the floor, and Andrej continues his utterance without pause (lines 2 and 5). Irina's overlap, line 3, is not so much an attempt to end his turn and to thus gain control of the floor. Rather, the question seeks clarification of his claims.

Lines 5 and 6 show overlap again between Lena and Andrej, resulting this time in a *successful* interruption: Andrej relinquishes his turn and Lena gains control of the floor, repeating the overlapped portion of her utterance. This repetition functions as a cohesive device at this turn-transition point and reintroduces into the discourse any information that may have been lost in the overlap. This kind of repetition is frequent when women overlap.

Another strategy common to women is to begin an overlapping interruption by overtly acknowledging what the interrupted interlocutor is saying, as in (2):

(2) Two women; fieldnotes

1 Natasha *čto nam ne xuže čem* [*kak vsem*?]
that to us neg worse than as to everyone
2. Tanja [*da, možet byt'*]
xuže,
yes may be
worse
3. *možet byt' ne xuže, nu voobšče //*
potomu čto
may be neg worse well in general
because
4. *komu-to nužna moja pomošč' tam*
someone needs my help there

1 Natasha 'That it's not any worse for us than [for everyone]
2- Tanja [yes, maybe] it's worse,
4 maybe not worse, well in general, because (if) someone needs my help'

The overlapped segment of line 2 is a response to the prior utterance of line 1. This serves local cohesive relations in providing for a transition between turns and also functions as a politeness device, in its explicit recognition of the previous speaker.

While strategies illustrated in example (2), as well as the repetition of overlapped speech, and the use of questions as interrupting devices, seem to be more frequent among female speakers than male, it cannot be said that speakers of either gender interrupt more often. Tables 1 and 2 present the results of a count of interruptions based on four conversation types: first are dyadic pairs with two men, two women, and mixed pairs with one man and one woman; then conversations with more than two speakers and mixed sexes.[4] While this is an admittedly modest data base, the results exhibit no significant difference in the number of times that men and women interrupt.

Table 1 *Summary of interruptions in dyads*

	Dyad #1		Dyad #2		Dyad #3		Dyad #4	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*M*	*F*	*F*
total turns	119	114	21	72	52	49	38	43
total words	1043	665	174	1856	1197	1072	1077	930
total interruptions	22	24	7	11	6	10	8	9
percentage of turns	18.5	21.1	33	15.3	11.5	20.4	21.1	20.1%

Table 2 *Summary in conversations with more than 2 speakers*

	1-M	2-F	3-F	4-F
total turns	51	41	44	41
total words	677	933	688	173
total interruptions	20	12	13	15
percentage of turns	39.2%	29.3%	29.5%	36.6%

While there is some variation in percentage of turns which are interruptions among individual speakers, this variation is not statistically significant and cannot be correlated with gender. Rather, it is more a reflection of variation in individual speaker style. This point becomes especially clear when interruptions across all the conversations are combined, as in Table 3, which shows that an equal percentage of male and female turns are constituted by interruptions:

The last three items in Table 3 suggest that women, although they interrupt as frequently as men, interrupt differently. A larger percentage of the women's interruptions are questions (14% as opposed to 9% for the men). Moreover, a significantly larger number of the interruptions are acknowledged by women than men. Last, the women repeat themselves after an interruption approximately three times as often as the men. Taken together, these three indices support the hypothesis that women are more likely than men to treat conversation as an interactive enterprise. All are what might be called interlocutor-oriented: questions require an answer from the interlocutor, acknowledgments are politeness devices, and repetition reinstates information that may have not been heard due to the interruption.

Table 3 *Summary for all conversations*

	7 Males	10 Females
total turns	348	483
total words	5238	8089
total interruptions	77	108
percentage of turns	22%	22%
questions as interruptions	7	15
percentage of interruptions which are questions	9%	14%
acknowledgments	14	33
percentage of interruptions	18%	30%
self-repetition	3	13
percentage of interruptions	3.9%	12%

3. Questions

Questions, as the first member of an adjacency pair, are an important turn-yielding device: when a speaker asks a question, he or she effectively gives up the floor. When the speaker is addressing more than one person, the question may be posed so as to select a given speech participant to be the next speaker. Using a question to end one's turn and relinquish the floor does not necessarily mean relinquishing control of the floor (or of the conversation). Questions may be used to direct the topic of the discourse: by asking a question a speaker may be inviting others to talk on that topic. In this way questions can be used to control the discourse topic, which may also entail control of the floor. Nonetheless, with the exception of rhetorical questions, questions are by their very nature devices which create interactive conversation. As the first-member of an adjacency pair, they require the second member, and thus give an interlocutor the opportunity to speak. In addition, by asking a question, an interlocutor who does not hold the floor can contribute

to the conversation without pre-empting the floor. Information-seeking questions enable the addressee to speak and thereby signal his/her active participation in the discourse.

There is overwhelming evidence that women ask more questions than men in Russian conversation. In a sample of approximately equal amounts of discourse, women asked twice as many questions as men, as summarized in Table 4:

Table 4: Questions in comparable amounts of speech

	5 males	5 females
total words	4921	4595
total questions (not including tags)	68	122

This count does not include tag questions or try-markers. Try-markers, such as *znaeš'* 'you know', *ponimaeš'* 'you understand', *vidiš'* 'you see', do not necessarily demand a response from the addressee. In other words, they are not first members of adjacency pairs. Instead, try-markers are devices typical of interactive conversational style: they are used to check whether the listener is following what is said, or as a turn-taking device to signal the end of the current speaker's turn and to select the next speaker.

Tag questions are another important indicator of interlocutor relations in conversational structure and have been pointed to as a signal of tentativeness. Russian tags have a different morphosyntactic structure than in English: they are not formed from auxiliary verbs.[5] Instead they take the form of a particle or adverb which occurs after the main clause.[6] By far the most frequent tag in the corpus is *da* 'yes'.

Semantically, tags question the assertion or proposition of the main clause. As mentioned in §2, the pragmatics of tags is an open question. Some (notably Lakoff 1975) assert that tags used by women show uncertainty. In two separate studies of the overall category of hesitant speech in men and women (Brekweg 1987 and Preisler 1986), tags are considered to be a sign of hesitant speech. Others, such as DuBois and Crouch (1975), show that contrary to Lakoff's expectation, men use more tags in formal settings than women do. Their interpretation is that men use tags assertively, to encourage the listener to agree with what is said. This suggests that tag

questions can be used either (1) to signal confidence and/or assertiveness; and (2) those which specifically signal lack of confidence or uncertainty. Note that this in turn implies a potential dichotomy between how the speaker intends something to be interpreted versus how it is actually interpreted.

In the Russian corpus a number of tags occur signaling a high degree of certainty on the part of the speaker. These are frequently found when the speaker is making a point and are used to encourage the addressee to agree with what is being said:

(3) [male speaker; informal conversation]
U sebja že v kvartire ne budeš' risovat'
by REFL EMPH in apartment neg will draw
na stenax, pravil'no?
on walls right

'You won't draw on the walls in your own apartment, right?'

In (3) the speaker had been arguing against the Russian system of government-owned property, asserting that the graffiti one sees in public places and apartment complexes was due to the lack of privatization of property. Here he assumed that the addresses would agree with him that people do not write on their own walls.

In example (4) the tag is used assertively; the speaker is trying to persuade the addressees to agree with him:

(4) [male speaker]
A vy sobiraetes' rasskazyvat' komu-to tomu, komu
and you plan to tell who-INDEF one who
ne interesno vas slušat', čto li?
neg interesting you to listen, that INTERR

'And you plan to tell someone for whom it's not interesting to listen to you, is that it?'

In contrast to the tags illustrated in examples (3) and (4), some tags are used to indicate a speaker's uncertainty. Such tags are tentativeness devices. For example, a tag may be used to check on specific information which the speaker is unsure about, as in (5):

(5) [woman speaker addressing a man, informal conversation]

A	*na*	*pervoe*	*sobesedovanie*	*prišlo*	*čelovek*	*sorok*
and	to	first	discussion	came	people	40
navernoe,	*da?*					
probably	yes					

'And probably about 40 people came to the first meeting, right?'

Here the speaker is trying to remember how many people were at the meeting, her uncertainty is denoted by the modal *navernoe* 'probably' and the tag, which is directed at her interlocutor. Tags can signal a general uncertainty or tentativeness about a given fact or opinion. Tags which are arguably facilitative are when the speaker supplies the interlocutor with relevant information or a word, as in (6):

(6) [both speakers are male]

1.	R:	*Nu*	*èto*	*s tex por kak*	*u*	*nas*	*byli*	*vse*	*èti*	*istorii*
		well	this	since	by	us	were	all	these	histories
		KPSS	*i*	*pročie*						
		KPSS	and	others						
3.	A:	*Naučnyj*		*kommunizm,*		*da?*				
		scientific		communism		yes				
4.	R:	*Naučnyj*		*kommunizm,*		*da,*	*vot,*	*da*		
		scientific		communism		yes	DEMONSTR	yes		

R: 'Well, ever since we've had all these [course on] the history of the Communist Party and the like
A: Scientific communism, right?
R: Scientific communism, yes, that's it, yes'

Tags can also be used facilitatively, as politeness devices. In fact, it is due to the fact that tags are tentative devices that they may be used facilitatively: the signaling of uncertainty, and therefore lack of commitment and/or assertiveness on the part of the speaker, makes it possible for the addressee to disagree or deny a request. Tentative tags will make an utterance, be it a request, command, or question, less face-threatening (see Brown and Levinson 1987). Because these two functions are interrelated, it is often difficult to determine whether a tag is being used tentatively, as in verifying information which the speaker genuinely does not know, or tentatively, as when

the tag is used as a politeness device. For instance, examples (7)-(9) are the most unambiguous facilitative tags in the corpus. These were uttered by the same (male) speaker to the same (female) addressee. The speaker, a guest, was serving the addressee, the hostess, at a dinner party in her home. They can be interpreted as facilitative in that in each case the speaker checks to see what the addressee wants, thereby showing concern for addressee:

(7) [male speaker at dinner table]

Davaj,	*vot*	*èto*	*nalit'*	*tebe,*	*da?*	*Iz*	*ètogo?*
go on	DEMONSTR		this	to pour you		yes	from this

'Let's get on with it, [I should] pour this one here for you, yes? From this?'

(8) [male speaker]

Svet,	*studen'*	*tebe*	*kladu,*	*da?*
Sveta	aspic	you	put	yes

'Sveta, I'm putting aspic [on your plate], okay?'

(9)

A	*xrena*	*tože*	*nemnožko,*	*da?*
and	horseradish	also	little	yes

'And a little bit of horseradish too, yes?'

Tags occur in utterance-final position. Additionally, an analysis of the conversations supports positing a group of what I call *allotags*, where the second speaker tags the prior speaker's utterance with a one-word question, such as *da* 'yes' or *pravda* 'true', 'really'. An example of an allotag is found in the following excerpt:

(10) [D., Dmitrij, is a man; E., Elena, is a woman; Zemskaja and Kapanadze 1978:136]

1. D:	*U*	*moej*	*materi*	*byl*	*kupal'nyj*	*kostjum*		
	by	my	mother	was	bathing	suit		
2.	*ja kak*	*sejčas*	*pomnju/*	*èto vrode*	*kapota*	*bylo//*		
	I how	now	remember	this kinda	housecoat	was		
3. E:	*Da?*							
	yes							
4. D:	*Da//* (laughs)	*On*	*iz*	*takogo/*	*tverdogo*	*materiala/*	*čtoby*	
	yes	it	from	such	hard	fabric	so that	

5. E:	*ničego*	*ne*	*vidno*	*bylo /*	*da?*
	nothing	neg	visible	was	yes

D: 'My mother had this bathing suit. As I now remember, it was kind of like a housecoat.
E: Yeah?
D: Yes. It was made from such stiff fabric that
E: you couldn't see anything, right?'

In line (3) the allotag *da* 'yes' constitutes Elena's total turn. It is used to acknowledge that she has heard what he said, is listening, and may signal some degree of surprise. In this way allotags are back channels and serve as interactive building blocks of conversation, helping maintain the addressee's position as an active participant in the talk. These allotags notably do not ask for clarification or signal disagreement. They are facilitative: they signal that the speaker is following what the previous speaker has said and encourage him or her to continue speaking. Note that the tag in line (5), also uttered by Elena, is used to check information.

While the use and distribution of such tags has not been studied in detail in Russian, it is clear that to a certain extent their distribution is dependent on idiosyncratic speaker style: some speakers prefer a given tag and use it with greater frequency than any other tag. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw preliminary conclusions about their usage based on speaker gender. The data show that women use far more tags than men, and that they ask more questions than men. In analyzing a number of texts where women and men speak approximately the same amount, as measured by total numbers of turns and words, we see that women use almost twice as many tag questions as men, and four times as many allotags. These findings are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: Tags and allotags

	5 males	5 females
total words	4921	4595
total tags	14	25
total allotags	5	21
total questions (not including tags)	68	122

df = 1, c = 53.8, p <.001

This table lists tags which are used either to check information and/or as facilitative devices. In actual conversation, the distinction between the two functions is not unambiguous: in fact both uses can be combined to constitute a group of tags which are used and interpreted as tentative devices. They contrast with the assertive tags. In Table 5 we see that in comparable amounts of speech, with the men speaking slightly more, the women used almost twice as many tag questions as the men and four times as many allotags. Allotags are facilitative in nature; their marked increase in use on the part of the women vis-a-vis the men suggests that women do in fact work more than men at building a specifically interactive type of conversation.[7] This provides further support for the hypothesis that women tend to be more interactive conversationalists. Women tend to use more frequently a variety of methods to involve the listener in what they are saying, and when they are acting as addressee, to signal that they are listening.

4. Evaluation and Conclusion

The distribution of interruptions, questions and tag questions summarized in this paper does support the hypothesis that women are more interactive conversationalists than men. They use devices such as questions which enable the interlocutor to participate in the conversation and give signals to the interlocutor that the conversation is an interactive process. Women use more tags than men to check in with the interlocutor, and allo-tags to indicate that they are listening and participating. Finally, when interrupting they give explicit attention to the interrupted speaker, being more likely than men to repeat themselves, and to follow politeness strategies.

In assessing the reliability of these results, several remaining issues need to be addressed:

– *How do we determine the influence of the setting?*

Studies have shown gender-related differences in reaction to different speech settings. For example, there are studies which show that men use more tag questions in formal settings than women,

whereas women use more tags in informal settings. We can anticipate that turn-taking structures will also be affected by the setting in which the conversation occurs. Accordingly, it is necessary to collect sample conversations from a range of settings and registers. Ideally one can track some of the same participants in different settings in an attempt to minimize the number of variables entering into the data corpus.

–How do we determine the influence of the content of the conversation?

Specifically, there are several issues related to the discourse topic itself. For example, if the conversation is "about" a certain topic, certain speakers may be in a privileged speaking position. This will happen when a speaker, for whatever reasons, knows more about a given topic. "Knowing more" would include first-hand knowledge of a given topic, experiential knowledge, and so on. Because control of the discourse topic is directly related to control of the floor,

– How do we determine the influence of the other speech participants and other sociolinguistic variables?

The speaking style of any given speaker will be affected by the other interlocutors. Relevant factors here include the relative status, age, gender and level of education of each conversation participant. There is no simple diagnostic for determining which speech patterns are gender-related, which are regional, which are distinctive of a specific socio-economic class, and which are simply idiosyncratic. To date, we have mostly data on regional variation, and there related primarily to phonology and morphosyntax. What is needed is a large enough sampling to permit generalizations across these different categories. It remains unclear precisely how large a sampling needs to be to rule out these many variables; and more research in this area is clearly needed. Studies such as those described in this article are presented as a first step in that direction.

Notes

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2 In this regard see Moosmüller (1997) which provides an instrumental analysis of the correlation between interruptions, pauses and acoustic patterns of f_0 movement.

3 Transcription conventions:

[	marks beginning of overlap
]	marks conclusion of overlap
_	underlined utterances are overlapped
=	no pause between lines
(??)	unintelligible
//	untimed pause

Abbreviations:

DEMONSTR	presentative demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic particle
INDEF	indefinite pronoun
INTERR	interrogative
PART	particle
REFL	reflexive pronoun

4 At present I do not have any reliable data for conversations with more than two speakers, single gender. The transcripts in Zemskaja and Kapanadze (1978) are not suitable for this kind of analysis, as they do not adequately distinguish interruption and overlap, and do not sufficiently mark duration of overlaps and pauses. Further data are needed, as the numbers of interruptions and overlaps tends to increase in conversations with more than two participants.

5 In English the tag question is formed with the auxiliary verb and subject of the main clause, which may be affirmative or negative. In those cases where there is no overt auxiliary in the main clause, the auxiliary *do* is used. When the verb of the main clause is affirmative, the tag is negative; when the main clause is negative, the tag is affirmative.

6 The working inventory of tags in Russian is as follows:

da?	'yes'	*tak?*	'so'
net?	'no'	*ne tak?*	'not so'
verno (že)?	'true' (emph. part.)	*tak li?*	'so' + interrog. part.
pravda (že)	'truth' (emph. part.)	*ne tak li*	'not so' + interrog. part.
pravil'no?	'correct'	*čto li/l'?*	'what' + interrog. part.

Of these, *čto* is the interrogative 'what' and *li* (or its unstressed form *l'*) is an interrogative particle. The remaining tags in this list are particles or

adverbs which are not inherently interrogative but are uttered with rising intonation.

7 However, in some cases one of the speakers may have been acting as an interviewer, thus using more facilitative tags to keep the other speaker talking.

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"Teacher talk" in the Russian and American classroom: Dominance and cultural framing

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6th-grade teacher: "In your seats!"
pupil: "We're not your lap dogs, you know!"
teacher: "I said get in your seats! Now sit!"

(from the award-winning Russian film "Scarecrow," 1985)

Introduction

The linguistic strategies connected with classroom instruction and interaction comprise what Cook-Gumperz (1992: 70) and others have referred to as a "specific discourse occasion." The different ways in which these occasions are realized as talk in different speech cultures have begun to be examined by scholars only recently. By means of this potentially powerful genre, teachers shape and guide linguistic and non-linguistic behavior of their students from preschool through adulthood. Of previous published studies on instructional discourse, only a handful have focused on the foreign language classroom. Hullen and Lorscher (1989) delineate the levels and hierarchy of illocutions in teacher-pupil discourse. Kasper (1989) presents an interlanguage study of educational vs. non-educational discourse within the framework of the four discourse-regulatory functions: "uptaking", "turn-taking", "turn-keeping" and "turn-giving." House (1993) further adapts discourse-processing and discourse-comprehension models by Edmonson (1989) with regard to conversational inferencing and the potential for intercultural miscommunication. Watanabe (1993) explores the differing and distinctive framing strategies for classroom discourse as perceived by

American and Japanese students in the American university-level classroom. Questions raised throughout all these works which warrant further in-depth study focus on the theory and application of cultural *expectations* of successful discourse regulation with regard to underlying framing strategies. Discourse regulation in casual conversation is generally viewed as a cooperative activity. In the realm of instructional discourse, however, few would argue that turns are allocated by a traditional one-party system - the teacher. The learners' discourse role, then, is typically relegated to that of responding to the teachers' directives. Whether the methods of instruction are primarily frontal or increasingly cooperative, the social context of the classroom offers a very rich source for data relating to speech act use, cultural convention, and interlanguage pragmatics. It comprises a relatively stable environment in which to observe the directive-rich strategies by which teachers guide, correct, modify and praise student behaviors. The S-H gradient (i.e., the relationship of the speech participants with regard to age, relative power, social distance, and authority) is likewise controlled by the very nature of the activity and the age differential of the speech participants.

With regard to the pre-college teaching profession in contemporary Russian and American society, few would challenge the notion that this is a predominantly female domain. By focusing our study on female classroom instructors, we are able to avoid altogether the much-maligned argument depicting women's speech as both "powerless" and more "polite" as compared men's speech. In fact, in examining this predominantly female genre of instructional discourse, we are presented with the more complex issues of how instructors balance the powerful speech acts and strategies comprising chains of classroom directives, while adhering to the strong universal notions of "nurturing" traditionally associated with women's language use in contact with young children.[1]

The aims of the present cross-cultural study are two-fold:

1. to examine representative educational discourse of the entry-level classrooms (Kindergarten) of two distinct speech cultures and languages, Russian and American English, in order to identify and classify contextualized framing strategies of NS classroom teachers in contact with young NS students in each culture, and

2. to compare and contrast representative speech act models which I have labeled "instructional chains" in NS vs. NNS classrooms to determine which are language-specific and which may be applied successfully and understood more "universally" across linguistic boundaries. This important second stage offers one of the first in-depth comparative studies in which the speech behavior of Russian and American instructors in the NS classroom is compared to that of Russian instuctors teaching adult learners (L2) in NNS (university-level) classrooms.[2] The natural (ethnographic) data for the study, transcribed from in-class audio-recordings, are drawn from NS and NNS small-group classrooms in Moscow, Russia and NS and NNS classrooms Iowa City, Iowa. Both the data sets themselves and my comparative analyses offer important insights and suggest successful strategies to those working in the fields of sociolinguistics, cultural anthropology, educational psychology, as well as to instructors and students in the Russian language classroom.

1. Formulation of the project

The cross-cultural focus of this study arose from first-hand observations and complaints culled at the university-level of Russian language instruction. As Resident Director for a national Russian-language exchange program in Moscow during the late 1980s, I evaluated classroom performances of over 150 American student participants and their predominantly female (90%) Russian instructors. Despite a general satisfaction with the overall academic program, student interviews over the course of three years consistently cited dissatisfaction with the *speech behavior* of their instructors. Complaints referred to an overly "direct," "demanding" and at times "demeaning" instructional style of the faculty, qualities which produced a very defensive attitude among certain American students. As both a linguist and a Russian language instructor, I felt compelled to dig further into the culture-specific *pragmatic events* which might better explain the complaints about instructional style—especially as they relate to the broad range of the speech act so prevalent in discourse regulation—the directive.

The present study further seeks to test the universality of instructional discourse with regard to representative linguistic structures for guiding student behaviors and responses to the appropriate directness and perceived politeness levels. Despite the common philosophical and pedagogical mission of the teaching profession worldwide, preliminary observations suggest that instructional strategies differ significantly across cultural boundaries—in particular with regard to Slavic and American sociolinguistic behaviors. I concur with Wierzbicka (1985) regarding her theory that different cultures do indeed use different means to express the illocutionary force of a directive, although there exist universal pragmatic principles which underlie speech act performance. However, it remains the task of linguists working in the field of cross-cutural pragmatics to determine the culture-specific vs. universal application of discourse framing strategies.

2. Methodology and background

2.1 To arrive at underlying assumptions and expectations which American college students bring to their Russian language classroom, I devised a study to collect natural instructional data from American primary classrooms (6 30-minute sets from primary grades K, 4, and 6). Second, to identify and compare directive strategies of NS Russian instructors as they work with progressively older children, I observed and taped 6 30-minute sets of classroom discourse from comparable Moscow classrooms. As a final component to this cross-cultural study, I sought to compare strategies used by NS Russian exchange instructors with American college students in the U.S. (4 30-minute sets from the University of Iowa) and NS Russian instructors with American college students in Russia (4 30-minute sets of Russian language instruction at Moscow State Pedagogical University).

The present paper features the second stage of analysis in this long-term project and will be limited to the discussion of 4 sets of data selected from the entire corpus:

1) American Kindergarten (teacher age = 28, pupil age = 6.5);
2) Russian Kindergarten (teacher age = 30, pupil age = 6.5);
3) a NS-taught Russian language class for American students at a U.S. university (teacher age = 36, student age = 22); and
4) A NS-taught Russian language class for American exchange students at a Russian university (teacher age = 42, student age = 25).

The distribution of directive types and frequencies for these four sets are illustrated in Table #2 below.

2.2 Despite the emergence of more "cooperative" teaching strategies in the U.S., most American college students today are the product of so-called "frontal" or teacher-directed classrooms. Researchers have observed that the predominant type of classroom talk at all grade-levels is the Initiative-Response-Evaluative Sequence [IRE] (Sommers and Lawrence 1992: 2). Thus, teachers "teach" by guiding pupils through various routines which test memorization and request extrapolation. At the same time they strive to monitor non-linguistic behavior and socialization of individuals and of the group. At the nucleus for building this model of multi-leveled frames of instructions are directive speech acts, which seek information, urge participation, provide hints as to relative appropriateness of responses, and guide and monitor non-linguistic social behavior. Crucial to the successful framing of directives is a metapragmatic awareness on the part of both speech participants—a so-called native ideology or etiquette which assumes (at least a partial awareness) of the *inherent respect system* (Kelley 1987) of the specific discourse occasion.

With regard to the functional aspect of instructional discourse, some researchers refer to it as a type of "Input language" [CDS] - admittedly one which functions beyond issues related to the acquisition of syntax (Gleason 1990: 191). Thus, we might suggest that the context-specific "input" strategy of issuing directives is the very essence of what drives teacher-directed and teacher-dominated discourse in the classroom.[3]

Of special importance in viewing how direct and indirect speech acts are realized in the classroom, is a matter of what Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to as continuous negotiation (albeit with many silent responses and non-responses on the part of H). Thus, both on-record directives and off-record directives are best viewed

sequentially. Tannen (1984) refers to this negotiation process as a matter of "framing." She cites frames to be dynamically linked as "interpretation and responding chains" where negotiated footings are continually changing. Crucial to our understanding of negotiation with regard to instructional discourse is the inherently *unequal* status of the speech participants (S >H) in this specific discourse context. As Aronsson and Rundstrom (1992) demonstrated in their study of politeness and coherence in another speaker-dominant (S>H) environment—pediatric discourse—the full meaning of doctors' directives is revealed only via the outcome of social interaction (a cyclical pattern of questions and checks between the child/patient and the adult/parent in attendance). Results of that study indicate that when doctors sense that respectful indirectness (toward the child) does not work, they tend to phrase their requests in an increasingly direct fashion. Our two-party (S>H) models of classroom instruction and interaction present different challenges in gauging the most appropriate form and level of directives, for unlike pediatric discourse, they do not allow for further clarification or checks from a second (adult) Hearer.

3. Hypotheses

Contemporary American linguistic behavior leads us to believe that typical instructional discourse models, like the Swedish results, will feature directives issued through prescribed *indirect* methods. An important component in the hierarchy of indirection which has been insufficiently studied to date is the perspective of the request form.[4] For example, in typical (S>H) contexts in English, S often questions H indirectly as a *quasi-confirmation* to determine whether H has performed the action requested in the initial directive. I qualify such confirmation with "quasi" owing to the fact that visual observation alone should be sufficient to determine compliance. This representative *hinting strategy,* which is intended both to lessen the degree of perceived face-threatening-act (FTA) and urge H to perform the action, is undoubtedly one of the most wide-spread linguistic forms in American "teacher talk:"

(1) "Stevie - did you put your crayons away?"
[i.e., "Put your crayons away!"]

4. Metapragmatic considerations in the "discourse occasion"

Before taking a look at the classifications of data in this study, I think it beneficial to comment on the metapragmatic factors which influence the formulation, processing, and eventual comprehension of the directives in their respective speech contexts; i.e., the classroom settings proper. A brief overview of the formal descriptions of the two entry-level primary classrooms has been summarized in (4.1—Table 1) below.

4.2 Since the publication over 20 years ago of Urie Bronfenbrenner's groundbreaking study of the U.S. and Russian educational systems, *Two Worlds of Children: U.S. and U.S.S.R* (1972), there have been significantly more changes in *content* than in the *form* of traditional Russian classroom discourse.[5] Although 8th grade public school history classes now include lectures on Stalin's purges and pupils generally shun traditional school uniforms after the third grade, classroom etiquette, conduct, group critique of peers' work, methods of oral recitation, and daily grading remain a firm part of the standard educational methods.

The past 10 - 15 years have witnessed a revolution in form as well as content of the U.S. pre-college curriculum. Prominent catch phrases which drove many of the changes can be summed up briefly: 1) establish in each individual student a positive self-image and strong self-concept, 2) reduce stress in the classroom and outside (limit homework until upper primary units), 3) reduce competition within peer groups in the classroom and outside, and 4) reduce emphasis on failure by providing more pre-school, in-school, and after-school intervention programs.

In looking at this study's English data against the background of the above descriptions of current American educational attitudes, I am hesitant to draw conclusions about cause and effect. However, one clear "effect" has surfaced in the observations and frustrations of

Table 1
4.1 *Metapragmatic indicators: classroom settings and procedures*

American Kindergarten	**Russian Kindergarten**
1. Entrance requirements: -state health form/ immunization record	1. Entrance requirements: - interview with panel of teachers - recitation of poetry, fairy tales
2. Seating arrangements: -circular modules, small groups of tables & chairs, carpeted floors	2. Seating arrangements: -1-piece desk with connected bench i.e., 2-person, side-by-side desk
3. Form of address to instructor: - "teacher!", "*Miss*" Kinner, "Mrs." Jones - (inconsistent use of *Mrs.* and *Miss*)	3. Form of address to instructor: - full name and patronymic, e.g., "Irina Nikolaevna," "Vera Mikhailovna"
4. Instructor's address to pupils: - full or shortened first name, e.g., "Katie", "Joey", "Susie"	4. Instructor's address to pupils: - shortened first name "Saša" from "Alexandr," diminutives: "Sašen'ka" -group dim. vocatives "rebjatki", "detki"
5. Beginning the class (after bell): - group activities until "quiet sign" given teacher often calls on individuals to quiet down or be seated	5. Beginning the class (after bell): - pupils stand silently by desks, -hands at sides, await collective "sit" request
6. Asking /responding to questions: - hand raised while seated, responds while seated	6. Asking/responding to questions: - hand raised at elbow, stand to ask or respond to questions
7. Performance/behavior critiques: - focus on positive (de-emphasize negative) - teacher-directed critiques	7. Performance/behavior critiques: - strong tendency to emphasize negative over positive critiques - teacher-directed solicitations of *peer* critiques
8. Grading procedures: - no evidence of grading or assessment during class - pass/fail written reports sent to parents each term, parent - teacher conference	8. Grading procedures: - frequent grading (announced to class) on classroom performance and recitation - students asked to approach teacher to have grades marked in diary

American exchange students studying in Russia (cited earlier in this paper).

Discussion of this study's preliminary data begins with reference to (4.3 and 4.4—Tables #2 and #3) below. The coding categories for Table #2 feature compilations of each representative type of directive form from the Russian and English corpus of data. Table #3 features frequency and distribution figures for each category of directives drawn from this study's data sets.

5. Discussion of coding classification

As illustrated in Tables #2 and #3, there are distinctive differences in the language- and culture-specific *forms* by which American and Russian instructors guide and regulate classroom discourse. Admittedly, this coded sampling is small in comparison to the overall project. Nonetheless it suggests important tendancies for preferred frames and patterns within each individual set, in intercultural sets of Kindergarten data, in intracultural Russian Kindergarten vs. college-level discourse, and in Russian as a foreign language class (RFL) in Russia and in the U.S.

5.1 Our analyses indicate distinctive patterns of preferred forms for issuing initial directives in Russian vs. English. As seen in Table #3, for example, a breakdown of the Russian percentages of the Imperative category (51.5%, 37%, and 27%) certainly suggests that it is a frequently employed strategy in discourse regulation - both in isolated, unmitigated forms as well as in embedded instructional chains (a feature discussed in the next section). Of the percentage of English imperatives in the data (18.8%) almost none appeared individually, but were embedded in "chains."

The most frequent directive form in the English data was the Hearer Declarative (category #4 - 27%). This type of reference to H ("Sam - you need to finish up now.") apparently carries a much lower degree of FTA while still allowing S a clear, unambiguous route for coding and issuing the directive. By comparison, this category was little evidenced in the Russian data (7.5%, 4.3% and 2.7%).

Table 2

4.3 *Coding categories: Perspective and directness levels*

Coding			English and Russian examples	Scale
				most direct
1	(H)	**Imperative**	Pick up your scraps when you're finished cutting! Tak vot, ty vstan'! *So, here now, you - stand up!* *Tak vot, èto vse doma povtorit' ustno. [infinitive] *So, now, (you) must review all of this orally at home.*	↑
2	Ø	**Rule/Prohibition**	*No running with scissors. *No talking.. [gerunds] *Ne nado gromko govorit'. *No need to talk loudly.* [impersonal] *S knižkami [dim.] tak ne obraščautsja. [3rd. plural] *That's not the way (one) treats books.*	
3	(S)	**Declarative**	I still need to wait for Abby's picture. Ja xoču poslušat' tol'ko devoček. *I want to hear girls only.* *Seli na mesto! *(I want you) in your seats!*	
4	(H)	**Declarative**	You need to stop working now. Tao - you may keep this one. Itak, vy rasskazyvaete stixotvorenie. *So, now, you are reciting (recite) the poem.*	
5	(H)	**Interrogative** [a]	Joey, will you move over so you can see better? Anželika, a ty nam ne xočes' rasskazat' stixotvorenie? *Angelique, don't you want to recite a poem for us?*	
6	(H)	**Interrogative** [b]	Can you find the way that you get to school? Nataša Bondareva, ty počemu neslediš'? *Natasha Bondareva, why aren't you following along?*	
7	(S)	**Interrogative** [c]	Ø English examples Rebjatki [dim.], ja kak prosila obraščat'sja s ètimi knižečkami [dim.]? *All right, little ones, how have I asked you to treat these books?*	
8	(S-H)	**Joint Directive**	Now let's think about how we get to school. I tak, pročitaem ètot vopros. *So, we'll read the question.* *Otkrili dnevnički [dim.], zapisali straničkі [dim.]! [past tense] *We open our assignment books and write down the pages.*	
9	Ø	**Declarative of state**	David, the cap to your marker is on the floor - just so you know. Ø Russian examples	↓
10	Ø	**Gambits**	Uh-huh, that's right. Next. Dal'še, ešče, sledujščij. *Go on, further, next.*	**least direct**

(S) = Speaker perspective, (H) = Hearer perspective, (*) = language-specific form
Interrogatives: a. intention/confirmation b. ability c. information

Table 3

4.4 *Distribution of Types of Directives in Data Sets*

Coding	Russian Kindergarten Moscow [p = 6.5, i =30 years]	U.S. Kindergarten Iowa City, IA [p = 6.5, i = 28]	Russian class U. Moscow [p = 24, i = 44]	Russian class U. Iowa, City, IA [p = 22, i = 36]
1 (H) Imperative	27%	18.8%	37%	**51.4%**
2 Rule/Prohibition	**7.5%**			2.7%
3 (S) Declarative	7.5%	**12.5%**		8%
4 (H) Declarative	7.5%	**27%**	4.3%	2.7%
5 (H) Interrogative[a]		**16.7%**		2.1%
6 (H) Interrogative[b]		**4.1%**	2.1%	
7 (S) Interrogative[c]	**10.5%**			
8 (S-H) Joint Directive	**26%**	4.1%	**26%**	8%
9 Ø Declarative of State		**6.3%**		
10 Ø Gambits	14%	10.4%	**30.5%**	24.3%
Total # of directives	**66**	**48**	**46**	**37**

Interrogatives: a. intention/confirmation b. ability c. information

5.2 That Russian speakers have available to them a variety of syntactic forms for expressing *joint action* is perhaps the most obvious explanation for the high frequency figures in both Kindergarten and college-level data (26%). In comparison to the lone joint directive in English ("Let's finish up now, OK?"), Russian has in its syntactic repertoire at least five distinct varieties for expressing joint action:

a. [inclusive 1st pl. joint imperative] *"Davajte zakončim!"* Let's finish up!
b. [ellided] *"Zakončim!"* We'll finish up!

c. [pl. past tense perfective] *"Zakončili i seli!"* Let's finish and sit down! (literally: We've finished and sat down!)
d. [1st & 2nd pl. pron. inclusive] *"My s vami zakončim poslednuju čast'."* We shall finish the last part.
e. [1st pl. imperfective -no pronoun] *"Sejčas zakančivaem pisat'."* Now we are finishing up writing.

Use of all five types of so-called "joint directives" in classroom discourse regulation without accompanying politeness or mitigating markers is perceived by NS Russian S and H as a neutral, polite, yet unambiguous routing for the directive. Inclusion of the teacher either via pronominal form or elided first-person plural verb form is a clear call to action and never perceived as allowing H a "choice" or the option of non-compliance. That two sets of Russian data (K and college-level) showed equal distribution figures for this form (26% - more than 1 of every 4) speaks not only to their effectiveness in the classroom, but suggests that they may play an important role in Russian speech culture in non-educational contexts, as well.

5.3 English preference for requesting through interrogative forms (notably category #5) is not paralled in the Russian data at this stage of our analysis. Such interrogative models certainly do exist in Russian. Moreover, when negated, these forms comprise the most widespread means for requesting a favor in Russian ("Ty *ne nal'eš'* i mne čajku?" Won't you pour me some tea, too?). The most plausible explanation for its absence in the Russian sets of instructional data stem from the fact that the indirect interrogative form might allow H an "out" if s/he chooses not to comply. Likewise, "hinting strategies" such as the three examples in the English data (and seen in category #9: "Declarative of State") are not prevalent and would not be an anticipated form for Russian instructional discourse regulation.

Two final comments regarding the relative range and scope of the individual categories in my coding scheme. I would not want to suggest that the illocutionary force expressed by all examples comprising these categories is identical. Particularly with regard to the phenomena of politeness and directness in Russian, we can observe a wide range of illocutionary force expressed by one syntactic form - varying from polite requests to categorical commands. Representative data from two notable categories of commands (C)

and requests (R) featured below offer some striking examples of variation.

a. Commands: these appear in elliptical and euphemistic forms, both of which express varying degrees of mitigation and directness.

i. Russian Kindergarten: *"Noč'!"* Night! / *"Den'!"* Day!
Close your eyes! / Open your eyes!
ii. Russian NNS class: *"Model' ! Model'!"*
(Look at the) model! (Follow the) model!
iii. American Kindergarten: "Thumbs up!"
(Put your) thumbs up (if you want to vote for X)!

b. H-Interrogative of ability: as noted in a previous study on pragmalinguistic errors made by advanced American speakers of Russian (Mills: 1993), this category can express a variety of interpretations of illocutionary force – ranging from a true information-seeking question to a strong reproach:

i. *"Susie, can you tell us what today's date is?"* [information seeking]
ii. *"John, can you find your seat?"* [conventional hint]
iii. *"Mark, did you build that all by yourself?"* [compliment]
iv. *"A ty možeš' ne kurit'?"* "Can/Could you not smoke? " [reproach]
v. - *"Izvinite!"* Sorry!
- *"A ty čto - zvonok ne slyšal?"* [reproach]
What do you mean ('Sorry!')? Didn't you hear the bell?

6. English data: Negotiation and "Instructional chains"

Beyond exhibiting a preference for individual directive forms, the preliminary English data provide several rich examples of what I have labeled "instructional chains." Within the corpus of English data, one can observe that many of the indirect request strategies appear to be aimed *far above* the social and pragmatic level of the young pupils. This would, in turn, prompt the instructor to provide additional indirect "checking" strategies before abandoning the face-saving tact altogether and issuing a direct imperative. This is seen in the following sequence, where the teacher has already given clear instructions to the class on the sequential steps of a familiar "cut and paste" assignment. Upon spotting Josh and David lingering

suspiciously next to the table admiring something in Josh's hands, the teacher walked up behind both boys and began the litany of instructions once again:

(1) T1 "Now remember, you're going to choose on this sheet how you get to school." [sheets contains drawings of busses, cars and pedestrians]
(pupils: silence)

(2) T2 "So you'll need to decide how you get to school and then cut it out."
(pupils: silence)

(3) T3 "Josh and David, when you finish - raise your hands and I'll collect them."
(Josh alone turns head slightly in the direction of teacher - still silent)

(4) T4 "OK you guys - find your blue chairs and get started!"

This slow progression of increasingly direct forms is typical of American classroom discourse - especially in grades K - 3. It demonstrates a rather classic frame in its repetition of indirect instructions without the benefit of interceding indirect ("Josh - are you listening?") or direct ("Josh - listen up now!") checks to H. The first evidence of a bare imperative form (Turn #3 above) is literally embedded in a perspective-switching series of directives which I have identified as part of the instructional chain. I offer this as the first of three representative instructional chain models for English which, together with three models for Russian, are featured below in Table #4.

Table 4

6.1 *"Instructional Chain" Models*

model 1	**H-H-S embedded imperative**	
[H] declarative {a}	**[H] imperative {b}**	**[S] declarative {c}**
(a) "When *you* finish,	*raise your* hand,	and *I'll* pick them up."
(b) "If *you* don't understand	please *raise your* hand	and *I'll* be around."

model 2 **H-H embedded hint**
[H] "Why not?" interrogative {a} **and** **[H] modal {b}**

(a) "*Why don't you* put your name on the back, Dustin, and *then you can* give to me?"

(b) "*Why don't you* cut out the bus first, and *then you can* color the stars?"

model 3 **S-H let's make a deal**
[S] declarative {a} **and** **[H] modal {b}**

(a) "Abby, I'll get the scissors and you can be thinking about your route."
(b) "Kyle, I'll hang up your coat then you can get started cutting."

model 4 **joint directives**
***we* [all tenses] declarative {a}** **and** ***we* [all tenses] declarative {b}**

(a) *"A teper' tixonečko sadimsja i prigotovili barabannye paločki."*
"And now (we) quietly sit down and (we) prepare [pl. past] our drumming sticks."

(b) *"Tak, rebjatki, položili na ètu bukvu i čitaem pervuju stročku."*
"Now, children, we've placed (our finger) on this letter and we read the first line."

(c) *"Itak, my s vami sejčas perexodim na pristavki i sdelaem neskol'ko uprjažnenij. "*
"So we are now turning to prefixes and we'll do several exercises."

model 5 **3-step imperatives**
imperative {a} **imperative {b}** **imperative {c}**

(a) *"Vaši knižečki zakrojte, položite na ugoloček i vstali."*
"Close your books, put them in the corner and stand" [pl. past]

(b) *"Itak - poslušaete, rebjatki, poslušaete vnimatel'no i medlenno načali [pl. past]."*
"So, now, listen up , kiddies [dim.] listen carefully and slowly begin."

model 6	**S-H inclusive to H declarative**
1st person plural inclusive {a}	**2nd/3rd person declarative {b}**

(a) "Poexali, rebjatki - itak, pervoe predloženie čitaet Nataša a to usnula sovsem."
"Let's begin, [pl. past] litte ones [dim.], so Natasha reads the first sentence or she'll drift off completely."

(b) "Poexali dal'še moi xorošie - upražnenie #520 - vy ego delaete doma."
"All right, let's go on [pl. past] my dears [dim.] - ex . #520 - you are doing that one at home."

6.2 *Discussion of English instructional chains*

model 1	**H-H-S embedded imperative**	
[H] declarative {a}	**[H] imperative {b}**	**[S] declarative {c}**
(a) "When you finish,	raise your hand,	and I'll pick them up."
(b) "If you don't understand	please raise your hand	and I'll be around."

An instructional chain which exhibits an even greater degree of indirection (and whose real action force, at times, totally eludes H) is the embedded hint. I find this model especially intriguing since it may imply to the younger speech participant (H) that s/he has a choice in performing the action. The indirect request in (model 2b) did, in fact, result in a non-compliant response: "But I want to color the stars first"

model 2	**H-H embedded hint**	
[H] "Why not?" interrogative {a}	**and**	**[H] modal {b}**
(a) "Why don't you put your name on the back, Dustin, and		then you can give to me?"
(b) "Why don't you cut out the bus first,	and	then you can color the stars?"

A final model (model #3 below) which is very representative of English, simultaneously compels the pupil to perform an action while shielding her from the directive's force. Indicative of typical "parenting"" style in negotiating speech behavior with young

children (especially pre-school age), this nonetheless appeared prominently in the Kindergarten data.

model 3		**S-H let's make a deal**
[S] declarative {a}	**and**	**[H] modal {b}**
(a) "Abby, I'll get the scissors	and	you can be thinking about your route."
(b) "Kyle, I'll hang up your coat	then	you can get started cutting."

6.3 *Discussion of Russian instructional chains*

Contrary to the individual directive forms represented in the English models above, Russian instructional chains are primarily built upon series of imperatives and joint directives, focusing both on the group and the individual. In contrast to the English models above, which are based upon perspective-switching, negotiation, and deal-making approaches, typical Russian instructional chains are more dependent upon a sense of cooperation and shared responsibility (both among classmates and teacher-pupil) for performing the action of the directive. By virtue of their more direct syntactic forms, they are not as likely to be considered "negotiable" nor perceived by H as being a suggestion or comprising a choice. Most prominent among these chains are models containing joint, sequential directives which may appear categorical in form, yet are often mitigated through embedded lexical and politeness markers. Model 4 below illustrates this cooperative, lst person plural perspective.

model 4	**joint directives**	
***we* [all tenses] declarative {a}**	**and**	***we* [all tenses] declarative {b}**

(a) *"A teper' tixonečko sadimsja* *i* *prigotovili barabannye paločki."*
"And now (we)quietly [dim.] sit down and (we) prepare [pl. past] our drumming sticks [dim.]."

(b) *"Tak, rebjatki, položili na ètu bukvu* *i* *čitaem pervuju stročku."*
"Now, children [dim.], we've put (our finger) on this letter and we read the first line."

(c) *"Itak, my s vami sejčas perexodim na pristavki i sdelaem neskol'ko uprjažnenij."*
"So we now turn to prefixes and we'll do several exercises."

Another widespread model (model #5 below) comprises a series of three bare imperative forms, appearing both with mitigation (diminutive vocatives, adverbs, and direct objects) and without:

model 5 **3-step imperatives**

imperative {a}	imperative {b}	imperative {c}
(a) *"Vaši knižečki zakrojte,* "Close your books [dim.],	*položite na ugoloček* put them in the corner [dim.]	*i vstali [pl. past]. "* and stand."
(b) *"Itak - poslušaete, rebjatki,* "So, now, listen up , kiddies [dim.]	*poslušaete vnimatel'no* listen carefully	*i medlenno načali [pl. past]."* and slowly begin."

The final Russian model (model #6 below) illustrates a phenomenon which I call "perspective transition" as opposed to perspective switching - the latter evidenced in all three English directive chains. The joint S-H "gambit," which most often includes a diminutive vocative address to H, serves as a signal to alert H that a directive is forthcoming. Thus, the subsequent H-declarative (issued by means of a third- as well as a second-person finite verb form) is more naturally and readily accepted by H and perceived as less categorical than if it were issued without the preceding inclusive move - "let's X + diminutive."

model 6 **S-H inclusive to H declarative**
1st person plural inclusive {a} **2nd/3rd person declarative {b}**

(a) *"Poexali, rebjatki - itak, pervoe predloženie čitaet Nataša a to usnula sovsem."*
"Let's begin, [pl. past], little ones [dim.], so Natasha reads the first sentence or she'll drift off completely."

(b) *"Poexali dal'še moi xorošie - upražnenie #520 - vy ego delaete doma."*
"All right, let's go on [pl. past], my dear ones [dim.] - ex. #520 - you are doing that one at home."

7. Conclusions

The female-dominated profession of teaching in Russia offers linguists a wealth of insights and information connected with this important social activity - the speech genre of instructional discourse. The so-called "cultural scripts" (Wierzbicka 1993) which underscore both S and H classroom expectations and behaviors are eventually acquired by NS students as a result of their progression through the Russian educational system. Yet what preparation for successful classroom interaction do American NNS of Russian (L2) bring to their university-level classrooms in Russia?

Owing to the social nature of this discourse genre, the Russian instructors' voices are preceived by both speech participants in the classroom (S and H) to be "dominant," for through various framing strategies centered around the directive speech act, the instructor is expected to guide and monitor students' linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors. However, the degree to which this dominant voice is either complemented or tempered by universally-accepted notions of women's "nuturing" speech behavior is not only a matter of individuality, but is further complicated by underlying cultural expectations encoded in the classroom "script."

The present study was designed to identify, isolate and compare representative framing strategies for instructional discourse in NS American and NS Russian Kindergarten classrooms and NNS Russian (L2) university-level classrooms. I identified individual syntactic forms of the most representative directives in Russian and English and coded them according to two important features: 1) the *perspective* of the directive (S, H, S-H, Ø) and 2) the *perceived directness level* of the directive with regard to the required path of inference. I then illustrated and discussed several prominent framing strategies for regulating classroom discourse through so-called "instructional chains."

As a result of those analyses, I conclude that in comparison with the shared knowledge sets and metapragmatic information stored by typical American students from their U.S. classroom experience, the Russian university instructors in our study were, in fact, significantly more "direct" in their selection of linguistic forms to regulate classroom discourse with their American students. On this basis, I can further suggest that what many of the American

exchange students failed to perceive in their Moscow classrooms are the unique pragmalinguistic strategies (and experiences) which are historically and culturally interwoven into the Russian speech acts themselves and which can serve to mitigate and counter-balance the potentially powerful directive forms. Thus, such an enhanced view of the regulatory framing strategies employed by NS female instructors will hopefully lend new interpretations to the notions of power and dominance in this important international sphere of social activity, and, perhaps find further application beyond this specific discourse environment.

Notes

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1 In this study I hope to illustrate that strategies of instructional discourse alluded to as "demanding Russian women's speech styles" actually derive from a more complex social, rather than simply gendered hierarchy. This perspective is based upon the social activity of this specific speech genre and the perceptions on both the part of S and H of "dominance" in the discourse regulation. Due to the almost exclusively female domain of the teaching profession in Russian primary, secondary, and post-secondary schools, the social roles, speaking roles, and speech genres associated with the profession are, as a result, often gender differentiated. Thus, perceived gender differences in language use are more likely a reflection of differences connected with the *activity of teaching* - an acknowledged gender differentiated profession not only in Russia, but in most modern world cultures.

2 For further discussion of the potential for cross-cultural miscommunication related to culturally distinct models for instructional discourse-processing (in Russian and American English), see Mills (1995).

3 For purposes of our study, it is important to bear in mind Gleason's warning that "input language" is far from a unitary phenomenon. It changes over time and becomes more complex as children's ability to comprehend it changes. Child language-acquisition specialists have concluded that by the time children are 4 -5 years of age, adults speak to them in a so-called language of

socialization that emphasizes not so much syntactic clarity or rules of language as the rules of society (Gleason 1990: 192). Nowhere is this notion of the language of socialization more evident or prominent than in the the specific occasion of classroom discourse - a microcosm of culture-specific modeling of structures, behaviors and rules.

4 In light of recent interest regarding perspectives in information processing and cognition (notably: Givon 1989 and Wilson and Sperber 1986), this notion of the importance of the observer's perspective plays a significant role in both my analyses and conclusions.

5 Since 1992 we have witnessed the rise and popularity of both private and parochial schools in and around the cities of Moscow and Petersburg, in particular. Some schools have stated explicitly that the driving force behind their new educational mission is to encourage and foster a "return" to the pre-revolutionary, tsarist system of elite education in the tradition of the *gymnasium*. Clearly, future research connected to the content and formal structures of these newly-emerging instructional environments would be of great interest and value to researchers in the social sciences as well as to those in the humanities.

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Speaker, gender, and the choice of 'communicatives' in contemporary Russian

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Background

Interest in gender-linked differences in behavior originated in the fields of psychology and sociology and later spread to linguistics, where it has recently become an important topic of research in linguistic pragmatics. Although this is true of linguistic research studies in North America and in Western Europe, it is, unfortunately, far from the case in Russian linguistic studies. Among studies by Russian scholars in the last 10 years, we find only a handful of works in the field of sociolinguistics. The most remarkable book of recent years (Krysin 1989) discusses modern Russian local dialects, varieties of urban speech, professional and corporate jargons, and youth slang, but fails to even mention the issue of "language and gender."

The most plausible explanation for this situation in contemporary Russian linguistics can be found in the social structures of daily life in Russia—structures which reflect the status, position and various roles which women play in that society. The women's movement of the late 1960s in the West greatly increased public, as well as academic interest in the differing social conditions of men and women. Since the 1970s, research in the field of gender linguistics has become an important instrument for examining these social relationships. In post-perestroika Russia, however, the women's movement has yet to generate substantial interest in Russian society as a whole; hence there has been comparatively little interest devoted to the study of language and gender in the Russian linguistic community.

It is interesting to note that the authors of the first serious study devoted to gender-linked differences in Russian (Zemskaja et al.

1993) do not base their findings on prominent feminist theories of the dominant position of the male in the structure of language and society, but attempt to analyze the problem by means of a more neutral academic approach.

For example, the authors examine such traditional issues in gender linguistics as the use of personal pronouns (he, she) and gender-linked nouns. In American and Western European linguistics, this discussion has led to the conclusion that it is not enough to make observations on grammatical rules; one should also analyze the ways these rules reflect the patterns of dominance that are at work in society (e.g., Jacob L. Mey 1993). Feminist studies explore the problem of language discrimination towards females and the dominant positions of masculinity in language. In illustration of this assertion, some feminist scholars have turned to discussions of maculine-dominated forms for names of professions and titles. However, the case to illustrate examples of the unequal status of professional names for men and women cannot be made so clearly for Russian. E. Zemskaja, M. Kitajgorodskaja and N. Rozanova (Zemskaja, et al. 1993) find more or less regular feminine patterns, parallel to masculine patterns of names for professions in colloquial Russian: *germanist - germanistka* 'specialist in Germanic studies,' *direktor - direktrisa* 'director,' *vrač - vračixa* 'doctor,' *philolog - philologinja* 'philologist.' Moreover, it is the author's opinion that feminine variants of profession names are used for the most part by men. Finally, it is clear that further study regarding the speaker and addressee *perception* of use of the feminine lexical partner would be a valuable addition to our understanding of the question. (See: Mozdzierz, this volume).

The most fruitful approach to gender linguistics from the point of view of Russian linguists to date has been to explore gender-marked ways of using "male" and "female" speech: this includes neatly outlined concepts, arbitrariness, and binary oppositions on the one hand, and nuances and expressiveness on the other hand. But such conclusions, although stimulating, seem to be overly generalized and are not always strictly motivated from a purely linguistic perspective.

As mentioned earlier, the subjects of contemporary research in gender linguistics have traditionally been limited to American and Western European societies and languages. To provide much-

needed data and evidence on the "universality" vs. possible "language specific" nature of gender distinctions, it is crucial that we launch serious studies in Slavic and, in particular, Russian culture and research on the Russian language.

Introduction

The current paper is devoted to a specific part of the lexicon which has tremendous relevance in the field of gender linguistic studies - *communicatives*. Communicatives are a functional and syntactically heterogeneous class which includes interjections, response phrases, common phrases and other related units, such as *'Oh my God!' 'If you don't mind' 'By Jove!'* and so on (see Sharonov, 1996).

Communicatives are immediately connected with the speaker and express both communicative intentions as well as indications of the speaker's mental and psychological state. They are employed predominantly in dialogue speech environments, and if transferred into narrative (indirect speech), these forms are usually followed by interpretative predicates. For example:

(1) Maša: *Èto sdelal Ivan.*
Sergej: *Nu jasnoe delo. Bol'še nekomu.*
(Sergej soglasilsja s Mašej, dobaviv, čto bol'še èto sdelat' bylo nekomu).

Masha:It was Ivan who did it.
Sergei: Sure. Nobody else could have done it.
(Sergei agreed with Masha, adding that nobody else could have done it).

The reason why these units are radically transformed becomes obvious when one considers the semantic features of communicatives. Characteristically, the propositional component is absent in the semantic representation of the utterance, owing to the fact that these components bear no reference to the actual situation. Thus, in warning an addressee against being too enthusiastic about forthcoming products or end results, one can say, *Cypljat po oseni ščitajut!* 'Don't count your chickens before they're hatched!' although the interlocutor's potential success has nothing to do with chickens. Hence, communicatives are the sort of utterances that express the speaker's attitude towards reality but make no direct

reference to this reality. Nothing is expressed by these utterances beyond the speaker's intentions and emotions.

Communicative units are syntactically independent and are automatically reproduced in speech; therefore they function like words and can be analyzed and characterized like words. This is an important characteristic of communicatives which allows them to be separated from the other syntactic constructions and parts of the sentence, conveying both intentional and propositional components. These units are deceptively complex from both syntactic and semantic points of view; as such, they clearly warrant a separate description and analysis.

Communicative units are emotionally colored and are often accompanied by particular gesticulations. Of course, the gesticulation is most often a personal characteristic of an idividual speaker. The speaker is free to choose whether to accompany his/her speech act with some gesture. Nevertheless, some gestures are semiotically significant, and it is our firm belief that they are closely connected with communicatives. Certain gestures are easily recognized: for instance, the gesture of confirmation (nodding one's head), the gesture expressing objection or disagreement (shaking one's head) and many others, more complex and singular, regularly accompany communicatives.

The expressions under consideration have only one basic semantic component (namely, the intention or emotion of the utterance), for example, the expression of agreement, surprise, regret, confession, and so on. Among the many interesting aspects of communicatives are their pragmatic characteristics. One of these characteristics, to be discussed below, is a distinct gender-motivated preference in the choice and use of communicatives.

To date, the main features of communicatives have not been the focus of detailed linguistic and lexicographic analysis; hence there is no readily accepted nor prescribed methodology in this area of linguistics. The corpus of data for the current study was drawn from contemporary literature, television, and radio. The subsequent analyses and preliminary findings are based upon native speaker judgments and evaluations.

Discussion

It would be an exaggeration to claim that one or another communicative form is solely "restricted" for male or female speakers. Almost all of the examples we will cite below are instances of male- or female-preferential *tendencies* rather than sex-exclusive. For example, the Russian expression of indignation or disgusted dissatisfaction, *Fi!*, is used predominantly by women. If employed by a male speaker, this form would characterize the speaker as childish or slightly effeminate. This dual characterization (childish/ effeminate) in usage suggests a strong link between female and adolescent speech in Russian. Clearly this is an interesting and important topic for future research in the study of gender linguistics. Based on our observations at present, however, we can suggest the following tentative hypotheses:

- The similarities between female and adolescent speech and communicative usage reflects the role and influence of women in children's lives. Children tend to acquire the speech habits of their mothers and repeat the language patterns their mothers use (See Yokoyama, this volume).
- It is also possible to look at the problem from the opposite perspective, presupposing that such similarities in usage are a realization of a certain "childish" female strategy, which may carry negative connotations in some speech situations.

We will not advance either argument, however, but present them simply as questions for analysis and discussion. We can begin the discussion with the following example, *Pravda-pravda* 'Really' (lit. 'It's true - it's true'). This is a standard colloquial form used to convince the addressee of something that has been previously stated by the speaker. It is used almost exclusively by women and children. Were it to be uttered by a man (especially in an all-male speech enviroment), this speech act would undoubtedly produce smiles and be understood as a joke or an intentional imitation.

The typical children's manner of asking forgiveness, *Ja bol'še tak ne budu!* 'I won't do it anymore!' is also frequently used by women, especially when communicating with men. The interjection *Oj!* has been well defined by A. Wierzbicka (1993) as an expression of

"surprise, being linked with a sudden thought." (322-23). But this description is limited to standard usage of the interjection. In real communication, women and children use it much more frequently than men. Although its utterance may still be linked to a 'sudden thought,' it has lost much of its original expression of the element of surprise. According to Zemskaja et al. (1993), the interjection *Oj!* precedes virtually every speech act of some Russian women:

(2) *Oj, nu voobšče mne èta kraska užasno nravitsja//*
'Oh, I really like this makeup a lot!'//

(3) *Oj, kakaja ona prelestnaja//* 'Oh, she's so pretty!'//

(4) *Oj, kak oni kupajutsja'* 'Oh, look at them swimming!' (p. 123).

The following use of *Oj!* is also very typical of adolescents:

(5) *Oj, mama, čego ja videla!* ' // 'Oh, mommy, guess what I saw!'

On the other hand, there are some interjections used predominately by males. For example, the expression of surprise *Ba!* is typical for men (although it has been heard to be uttered by a large, middle-aged woman with a husky voice). The same characteristic is connected to the form expressing a sudden realization that strikes the speaker as strange and unusual - the interjective *Ege-ge!* 'Oho!' It also is pronounced with a low, husky voice, which may perhaps explain in part women's reluctance to use it.

The borrowed Italian expression used to interrupt or stop an action or speech, *Basta!* , is also used predominantly by males. This is not a strict rule, but appears to be a matter of preference as noted in the vague field of subtle stylistic problems of everyday communication.

Let us now return to a discussion of earlier feminist and gender linguistic theories regarding forms for referring to people (and the seemingly unequal status of males and females) and the application of those theories to to the sphere of communicatives. Dale Spender (1980) writes:

> Unless irony and insult is intended, it is usually a violation of the semantic rule to refer to males with terms that are marked for minus males. There is a jarring of images if and when people make such a

> mistake. It is all right, for example, to call a mixed sex group 'guys' or 'men,' but it is a mistake - and an insult - to refer to a group which contains even one male as 'gals' or 'women.'

Opponents of this statement appeal to the well-known Jakobson linguistic theory, which views the masculine gender as the "unmarked" form of the binary language system. However, this theory cannot help to account for the popular tendency in colloquial Russian speech to refer to females with terms that are grammatically marked for males. This is most notable with the masculine adjectival forms *'yj/ij'* vs. the feminine endings *'aja/jaja'*. According to the observations of Zemskaja et al. (1993), men use the following forms to address their loved ones and intimates: *moj ljubimyj* 'my lovely,' *moj dragocennyj* 'my precious,' *moj xozjajstvennyj* 'my domestic'—all masculine forms. Women are also found to use masculine grammatical forms in addressing daughters and other small female children: *moj malen'kij* 'my baby,' *moj xorošij* 'my darling.' There is no doubt that these vocative forms are sex-colored. The opposite strategy of referring to males by female-marked names appears to be unacceptable for all languages and cultures. Moreover, there are some peculiarities in Russian which perhaps make this general picture even more complicated.

In all-male dyads or groups, the speaker can use communicatives which associate the speech participants with female society. This is one of the "speech games" that are very popular in Russian male communication, in general. The only requirement of this speech game is that the female roles must refer either to the speaker or to both participants in the dialogue. We shall illustrate this point with some colloquial communicative expressions below.

"Female" communicatives employed by male speakers.

In a male speaker's attempt to turn the conversation to a more intimate level, he can preface his speech with the following communicative (usually accompanied by a smile or partial grin):

(6) *Meždu nami, devočkami, govorja...*
'Just between us, girls...'

The following very popular colloquial form for expressing dissatisfaction in Russian is used both by males and females:

(7) *Zdravstvujte, ja vaša tëtja!*
'Hello, I'm your aunt!'

To express ironic indignation or a rift in a friendship or business matter, a male speaker can say:

(8) *Nu vsë! Razvod i devič'ja familija!*
lit.: 'Well, that's it! (I want a) divorce and (my) maiden name!'

An ironic and slightly vulgar expression of moral support in response to complaints, which are not considered "manly" is the following:

(9) *Ne govori, podruga, sama po pjanke zamuž vyšla!*
lit.: 'Don't tell me, (girl-)friend, I got married when I was drunk, too!'

While analyzing communicative data, we found some gender-linked tendencies in using phraseological expressions. Such communicatives can be categorized according to thematic associations. For example, associations with army service and with alcohol could restrict females from acquiring certain utterances in their speech and encourage the use of synonymous expressions instead. We demonstrate below a few such thematically related communicative expressions.

"Military" communicatives. Military service is obligatory in Russia, and most young men serve for two or three years. After they are discharged, men still actively preserve these language skills, "the military subcode," and generally reserve its use for informal, typically all-male situations. Let us turn to some examples:

The highly colloquial order to stop a quarrel among several people:

(10) *Vsem molčat'! Smirno!*
'Shut up! Attention!'

Humorous confirmation (11) and objection (12):

(11) *Tak točno, tovarišč general!*
'Yes, sir, general sir!'

(12) *Nikak net, tovarišč general!*
'No, sir, general, sir!'

Highlighted agreement to perform some elementary (13), and non-elementary (14) action:

(13) *Est'! Razrešite vypolnjat'?*
lit.: 'Yes, sir. With your permission?'

(14) *U matrosov net voprosov.*
lit.: 'Sailors have no questions.'

Humorous, but strict prohibition as an answer to a request to allow something:

(15) *Razgovorčiki v stroju!*
Silence in the ranks!'

Calls to go to bed at night (16) and to wake up in the morning (17):

(16) *Otboj, mužiki!*
'Lights out, men!'

(17) *Pod"ëm, bratva!*
'Reville, chaps!'

"Alcohol-related" communicatives. The next group of communicatives reflects the historical passion of many Russian males for alcohol. The usage of these forms is an example of typical Russian male humor, because in actual communication it does not presuppose the drinking in reality. Some illustrations:

To express perplexity, the failure to find a clue to some problem at once, one can say:

(18) *Tut bez butylki ne razberëš'sja!*
'The answer is at the bottom of a bottle!'

A jocular requirement of compensation for help or support:

(19) *S tebja butylka pričitaetsja.*
'You owe me a bottle.'

While gambling or performing any exciting action, the male speaker can be encouraged (or encourage himself) to take a risk. This encouragement is expressed by the following:

(20) *Raz pošla takaja p'janka, rež' poslednij ogurec!*
'In for a penny, in for a pound.'
(lit. 'Since the drinking's well underway, you may as well slice the last cucumber!')

When drinking tea, one can refuse a second cup in a humorous manner, saying:

(21) *Čaj ne vodka, mnogo ne vyp'ëš'!*
'Tea is not vodka, you can't drink a lot of it!'

Conclusions

We are still at the initial stage in this study of communicatives and their pragmatic and, more precisely, gender-linked characteristics. It is our belief that the analysis of such data can lead to important findings and improved understanding of Russian gender linguistics and strategies of language behavior in general. Although there is no clearly differentiated women's and men's language (or even jargon) evidenced in contemporary spoken Russian, this study of Russian communicatives has helped to isolate *preferential tendencies* of usage by female and male speakers. These tendencies, however, are not so restrictive and inclusive as to merit marking by lexicographers. There are no strict prohibitions for men regarding the use of female-oriented communicative units, nor are there such restrictions regarding women's use of male-oriented communicatives. If, in the course of conversation, a speaker elects to employ a communicative favored by the opposite sex, this strategy is

considered a conscious one, intended to produce a humorous or comic effect.

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The rule of femininization in Russian

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Introduction

As a social phenomenon, language exists and develops with society. Within language, it is the lexicon which is most affected by political, socio-economic and cultural changes since new realia need to be accounted for lexically. The primary means of enriching the lexicon in Russian, as in many languages, is the formation of new words by means of word formational rules (WFRs). This paper will examine the application of WFRs in Russian which generate feminine agentive nouns by attaching a suffix to masculine agentive nouns and changing their meaning to "female agent" in the process. The most productive feminine suffixes are *-ka, -nica, -(š)čica, -ica,* while suffixation with *-ixa* and *-ša* is restricted.[1] The focus of the current paper is restricted to types and functions of feminine agentives in relation to their masculine correlates, e.g. *učitel'* "teacher" : *učitel'nica* "female teacher." It attempts to encompass the use and impact of feminine agentives in the realm of standard literary language.

Previous linguistic research on these WFRs has noted that once the femininization rules are defined to creatively predict the majority of feminine agentive forms with the expected meaning "female counterpart," certain derivational gaps nonetheless occur in the empirical data: that is, the feminine WFRs (a) predict a small number of forms which are *not* used in the standard language and, (b) *fail* to predict others with deviating meanings. The question arises: Are these gaps due to an imprecise formulation of the WFRs, which otherwise predict a balanced system of feminine and masculine substantival derivation, and, if not, why do some forms appear to be blocked?

1. Methodology and delineation of database

All derivatives which constitute the core of this study denote women according to their profession. Rather than limiting the linguistic database to workers of a certain professional field, the author opted in favor of limiting the database to nouns that are built by means of suffixation with *-ka, -nica, -čica/ščica, -ica,* and *-ša*. Since these suffixes derive the vast majority of feminine agentives in the Russian language, this approach offers a more comprehensive and systematic analysis.

All derivatives examined here were selected in context from contemporary newspapers, journals, periodicals, and biographies, as well as from documentary television broadcasts. The focus of this paper is, thus, on the forms and meanings of femininizations in the contemporary literary language.[2] The data analysis has also benefited from the insights of native speakers.

1. In order to determine which potential feminine agentives are not derived or used, we first need to establish the conditions under which nouns may be subject to the WFRs of femininization.

In 1932 Roman Jakobson introduced the markedness theory in the study of linguistics. In language, Jakobson observed, linguistic features occur in binary oppositions—as marked and unmarked members—which are hierarchically arranged. In the category of gender, the feminine form is the marked member of the opposition in that it is restricted to denote only females, while the unmarked masculine does not have such a constraint. In fact, it can be defined either as the non-presence of the marked feature, i.e., as all male, or it can refer to a non-specific group, which may be mixed or all female.[3]

Beard (1986) revised Jakobson's gender system, proposing four types of gender markings—two marked and two unmarked types:

Marked:	[+F, -M]	statement of female sex reference e.g. *studentka* "female student," *sestra* "sister"
	[-F, +M]	statement of male sex reference, e.g. *otec* "father," *deduška* "grandfather"

Unmarked:	[+F, +M]	statement of general sex reference e.g. *student* "student," *učitel'* "teacher"
Unmarked:	[-F, -M],	no statement of any sex reference e.g. *stol* "table," *kniga* "book," *lošad'* "horse."

Nouns with the features [+F, -M] refer to (biological) females (not feminine nouns), and nouns marked as [-F, +M] refer to (biological) males. Nouns marked [-F, +M] and [+F, +M] are not distinguished morphologically. But only [+F, +M] nouns, i.e., only nouns marked for general sex reference, may be subject to femininization, while nouns marked [-F, +M] cannot be.[4] For example, *student* "student" may derive the femininization *studentka* "female student," whereas *brat* "brother" does not admit feminine **bratka* "sister." This is because *student* has both male and female sex reference, while *brat* is marked strictly for male sex reference. Beard, thus, rejects the concept of grammatical gender and instead defines gender in purely semantic terms; feminine nouns refer to females and masculine nouns refer to males. Grammatical animacy refers to the possession of both gender features. Since inanimate nouns do not have semantic gender features, they cannot undergo femininization. Beard's approach allows derivational femininization to operate without any constraints. It may apply to any masculine noun capable of also referring to females. Beard's proposal predicts which masculine nouns undergo femininization and which do not. It also determines that words with mere grammatical gender, but without natural gender, e.g. *stol* "table," *kniga* "book," cannot undergo the process of femininization.

2. Having established which type of nouns may form feminine derivatives, we will now compare the rule's theoretical competence to its actual performance. Contrary to the rule's assertion, the data show that the femininization rule predicts forms which are not used and fails to predict other forms with deviating meanings.

Although Russian has at its disposal the morphological means necessary to derive feminine correlates to all masculine agentives, derivational gaps are found with every word formational category which derive feminine agentive nouns.[5] For instance, many

femininizations with the productive suffixes *-ka* and *-nica* do not occur or are not used, such as **èkonomistka* "economist," **inženerka* "engineer," **specialistka* "specialist," **predsedatel'nica* "chairwoman." Besides missing forms in the output of the WFRs, some feminine forms show unexpected semantic deviations, not accounted for by the currently stated word-formational rule of femininization. Four types of "wrong" meanings occur:

First, some femininizations denote the marital, rather than the professional, counterpart of the underlying masculine form. For instance, while *liftër* "elevator operator," *kassir* "cashier," *kontrolër* "ticket inspector" have feminine *liftërša, kassirša* and *kontrolërša* denoting a female elevator operator, cashier and ticket inspector, *direktor* "director" does not have feminine *direktorša* in the meaning of "female director," rather it refers to the wife of a director. Similarly, *doktorša, professorša, inženerša* denote the wife of a doctor, professor and engineer. Occasionally, feminine derivations have both meanings, e.g. *doktorša* "wife of a physician" and "female physician." It is important to note that due to their semantic ambiguity, these feminine forms are avoided in official speech in favor of the masculine forms, cf.:

(1a) *Odna za drugoj podnimalis' na tribunu Plenuma ministr i ovoščevod, rabotnica i inžener, doktor nauk i direktor pticefabriki.*

(1a) In turn a minister and a vegetable farmer, a worker and an engineer, a professor and a director of a poultry factory walked up to the rostrum of the Plenum.

(1b) *Tol'ko v Moskovskom gosudarstvennom universitete rabotajut 2767 ženščin—professorov, prepodavatelej, naučnyx sotrudnikov.*

(1b) At Moscow State University alone there are 2,767 women workers—professors, assistant professors, research fellows.

The problem of semantic variation from the expected "female counterpart" to "marital counterpart" can be accounted for within standard models of grammar by distinguishing the levels of

competence and performance. Feminine agentives are defined as the female counterpart of the male agent. In case of forms in *-ša*, this definition must be expanded to accommodate the options of referring either to a professional counterpart or to a marital one.[6]

A second kind of semantic deviation is that of specific feminine derivatives which denote women in professions *different* from those of the deriving masculine nouns. These occupations have in common the fact that the rank, prestige and qualification of the feminine forms are valued beneath those of their masculine derivatives, cf.:

(2a) *texnik* "technician" vs. *texnička* "office cleaner"

(2b) *mašinist* "engine driver" vs. *mašinistka* "typist"

(2c) *laborant* "lab assistant in an academic institution" vs. *laborantka* "lab assistant in a factory"

(2d) *akušër* "obstetrician" vs. *akušerka* "midwife"

(2e) *matematik* "mathematician" vs. *matematička* "math student, teacher"

(2f) *filolog* "philologist" vs. *filologička* "student of philology."[7]

Third, some feminine agentives differ from their masculine counterparts in that their meanings are far narrower than those of the masculine forms. Similar to the previous type above, these feminine derivatives tend to exclude the more positive meaning. Partial semantic correlativity occurs, for example, with the pair *sekretar'* and *sekretarša*. While feminine *sekretarša* is limited to a low-to mid-level secretary in an office, the masculine *sekretar'* may refer either to an administrative or academic secretary, leader, or supervisor. Likewise, masculine *vyborščik* has two meanings: it may designate either an elector or a worker who takes out irregulars in a production line. The feminine correlate *vyborščica*, on the other hand, is used only in reference to a female factory worker. Masculine *medik* denotes a physician and occasionally a medical student, while feminine *medička* refers only to a medical student. The agentive *serdečnik* is a polysemous agentive with the primary meaning of a

heart specialist and the secondary meaning of a heart disease sufferer. By contrast, feminine *serdečnica* designates a female heart patient, but not the medical expert. *Kandidatka* corresponds to *kandidat* only in the meaning of a candidate or nominee of an organization (e.g. *kandidatka v deputaty*), but it cannot designate a woman with an academic degree. *Rabotnik* is a qualified staff member in an institution, while feminine *rabotnica* usually refers to a factory worker (cf. masculine *rabočij*). *Apparatčik* is used in the meanings of a machine operator and of a state or party official, whereas feminine *apparatčica* renders only the lesser meaning of a machine operator.

The following examples illustrate these semantic differences in context:

(3a) *Marija Nikolaevna Lukanova—staršij* apparatčik *ob"edinenija.*
Marija Nikolaevna Lukanova is the senior equipment operator.

(3b) *Èto krupnoe ximičeskoe predprijatie. Odnix ženščin zdes' rabotaet bol'še dvux s polovinoj tysjač*: apparatčicy, *operatory texnologičeskix ustanovok, laboranty, maljary.*
This is a big chemical plant. More than 2,500 women alone work here: machine operators, operators of technological plants, lab assistants, painters.

(3c) *Marija Dmitrieva Kosta,* apparatčica *Bolokovskogo proizvodstvennogo ob"edinenija "Ximvolokno," (...) ustranjaet obryv niti ne za pjat' sekund, (...), a za tri.*
Marija Dmitrieva Kosta, an engine operator at Volokov's production unit "Khim-Volokno,"(...) eliminated the tearing of the net not within five seconds, but within three.

(4a) *V sovremennyx uslovijax v èkonomičeskom sorevnovanii učastvuet nemalo ženščin—naučnyx i inženerno-texničeskix* rabotnikov.
Currently a significant number of women participate in the economic competition—(they include) researchers, engineering and technical staff.

(4b) *Sejčas ona zanimaetsja voprosami organizacii truda, učastvuet v razrabotke maksimal'no udobnyx dlja* rabotnic *uslovij truda na proizvodstve.*
Now she deals with the organization of labor, partakes in developing the best possible work conditions for women working in factories.

(4c) *Naši ženščiny—rybački,* rabotnicy *rybokonservnyx zavodov, vsego god nazad v rezul'tate nelëgkoj bor'by dobilis' luščix uslovij.*
Our women-fishermen, women workers in fish plants-gained better conditions as a result of their difficult battle just over a year ago.

The fourth type is composed of feminine derivatives that *differ from* their masculine counterparts in that they are endowed with additional pejorative connotations, or are stylistically marked as "colloquial." Stylistic or emotive coloring unarguably develops over a period of time. First, individual derivatives are singled out and perceived as stylistically or emotively marked. Then, other forms of a given derivational type are likewise avoided by analogy. For instance, feminine agentives formed by means of the suffix *-ixa* are no longer used in official language, unless they are meant as an insult. Even in the colloquial language it is advised to avoid femininizations in *-ixa,* as in *vračixa* "doctor," *členixa* "member," *povarixa* "cook," since they are likely to be perceived as insulting unless used within a purely "peer" group with a humorous intention. Derivatives in *-ša* are understood in the literary language to refer to traditional women's jobs, e.g. *kassirša* "cashier," *konduktorša* "conductor," *kontrolërša* "(ticket) inspector," *liftërša* "elevator operator," *manikjurša* "manicurist," *manekinša* "model," *parikmaxerša* "hairdresser," *sekretarša* "secretary," while such forms are inconceivable in the standard language when addressing women in influential and high prestige positions, e.g. *bankir* "banker," but not feminine *bankirša.*[8] By contrast, feminine forms, such as *avtorša* "author," *bankirša* "banker," *deputatka* "deputy," *direktorša/ direktrisa* "director," *načal'nica* "superior," *rukovoditel'nica* "leader," are encountered in the colloquial language, although they are often concomitant with pejorative connotations.[9] Feminine forms with and without stylistic or emotive coloring are frequently encountered in school children's, students' and same-sex (female) jargon, e.g. *vračixa* "(school) doctor," *biologička* "biology teacher," *učitel'ka* "teacher."

Based on formal and semantic characteristics, feminine agentives belong to one of three categories:

i. The first category comprises feminine agentives which are formally and semantically correlated with masculine nouns, e.g. *učitel'* "[male] teacher" : *učitel'nica* "[female] teacher," *student* "[male] student" : *studentka* "[female] student." As may be expected, this type constitutes the richest category.

ii. The second type includes agentives which occur in pairs, but whose feminine forms deviate semantically from the masculine correlates. To this type belong feminine forms designating the marital, rather than professional, counterpart, forms which refer to women in a lower professional and social rank, and femininizations which differ from the underlying masculine agentives in that they have acquired additional stylistic or emotive connotations.

iii. The third category encompasses agentive nouns which lack a correlate in the standard language. Given the high productivity of the WFRs of femininization, we might expect that the third category is a collection of linguistic curiosities. However, we find numerous instances in this group where the feminine derivatives, though grammatically possible, are simply not used, e.g. *bankir* "banker," *zamestitel'* "deputy," *inžener* "engineer," *načal'nik* "chief," *èkonomist* "economist." In the absence of a feminine form, a female referent may be emphasized periphrastically by adding *devuška* "girl" or *ženščina* "woman," e.g. *ženščina-vrač* "woman doctor," *devuška-prodavec* "saleswoman," *ženščina-lëtčik* "woman pilot." Since such compound forms may be perceived as condescending, similar to English "lady doctor," they are, in fact, rarely used in the standard language.[10]

Femininizations without a masculine correlate are less common in contemporary standard Russian than unpaired masculine agentives. These forms usually denote female employees in traditional women's jobs in factories and in agriculture, e.g. *rybopriëmščica* "worker in the fish industry," *èlektrotočečnica* "welder," *dojarka* "milk maid," *doil'ščica* "milk maid," *pračka* "laundress." These examples reveal an underlying tendency that *unpaired* feminine agentives denote low-skill activities, while

unpaired masculine agentives typically describe people in influential and prestigious positions.

3. The blocking of some forms and functions of femininizations raises the question of why the femininization rule fails to apply in all cases. Is the imbalance between masculine and feminine forms due to an imprecise formulation of the femininization rule?

Numerous attempts have been made to explain derivational gaps of feminine agentives on morphological grounds. For instance, it has been suggested that the formation of femininizations is blocked in cases where the derivation would result in homonyms. Thus, *stoljarka* and *matroska* do not denote a female carpenter or sailor since these forms already render the meaning of a carpentry (shop) and sailor's clothes, respectively. This argument is contradicted by numerous counterexamples, such as *moločnica*$_1$ "[female] milk-seller," *moločnica*$_2$ "thrush" (infant disease); *cvetočnica*$_1$ "[female] florist;" *cvetočnica*$_2$ "flower box;" *texnička*$_1$ "cleaning lady," *texnička*$_2$ "technical college;" *udarnik*$_1$ "pellet," *udarnik*$_2$ "shock worker; drummer"

According to another commonly-held view, some masculine stems preclude the formation of femininizations due to the peculiar nature of the stem. They include masculine stems in *-#c, -ok, -ik,* borrowings in *-r* or *-g,* and unproductive stems, e.g. *ordenonosec* "holder of a medal," *borec* "fighter, supporter," *znatok* "expert," *direktor* "director," *ministr* "minister," *texnolog* "technician," *vrač* "physician," *povar* "cook." But the primary problem here is not, as previously claimed, a problem of non-derivation, since femininizations, such as *direktorša / direktrisa, soldatka, vračixa, povarixa,* are grammatically possible. Nor is the assumption correct that masculine derivatives in *-#c* do not form feminine correlates (cf. *ispanec : ispanka* "Spaniard," *komsomolec : komsomolka* "Komsomol member," *Leningradec : Leningradka, Peterburgec : Peterburžka, prodavec : prodavščica* "salesperson," *pevec : pevica* "singer"). Rather, the issue here is that some word formational categories (e.g. the type *-#c- ~ -ka/-ščica)* are less productive than others (e.g. *-ist ~ -ist-ka, -tel' ~ -tel'nica*) and that feminine forms derived with unproductive types of suffixation are less likely to be

used in the standard language than feminine derivatives formed with productive derivational models.

4. Since the use of semantically-differentiated agentives, such as *mexanik* "mechanic" : *mexanička* "cleaning lady," is determined by the lexical meaning conveyed in a given situation, the issue of whether the masculine or feminine form is used in reference to women arises only with those feminine agentives which are formally and functionally correlated with their masculine counterparts, e.g. *učitel' : učitel'nica* "teacher."[11] In these cases we would expect that feminine agentives are consistently or at least predominantly used when women are addressed. However, in the underlying data sampling of approximately 600 citations, taken from newspapers, magazines, broadcasts, and conversations, feminine agentives occur only in about half of the cases.[12] Consider, for instance, ex. (5):

(5) *Naibolee vysoko oplačivaemymi dlja ženščin javljajutsja professii učitelej, medicinskix sester i akušerok.*
The most highly-paid professions for women are those of teacher, nurse and midwife.

It is surprising to see in (5) that the masculine form *učitel'* "teacher" is used in reference to female teachers, despite the fact that the teaching profession is a predominately female occupation in Russia. This example contradicts the argument that feminine agentives are blocked in enumerations of predominately masculine agentives. The use of the other two feminine forms, *medsëstry* and *akušerki*, is easily explained in functional terms: The masculine correlate of the latter differs semantically from the feminine form in that *akušër* denotes the specialist, i.e., the obstetrician, rather than the support staff (cf. 2.1.). *Medsestra* and its masculine counterpart, *medbrat* (male nurse), are marked for specific sex reference and cannot be used to refer to the opposite sex or to both.

Compare the use of feminine *učitel'nica* in (6a) and (6b) with the use of masculine *učitel'* in (6c), (6d), and (6e):

(6a) *(...) posle okončanija universiteta prišlos' porabotat' Nurdžemal' Karaevoj prepodavatelem fiziki (...). Vydvinuli zemljaki eë - moloduju* učitel'nicu *v deputaty Bedirkentskogo semskogo Soveta narodnyx deputatov. (...) eë izbrali zamestitelem predsedatelja, a čerez dva goda ona stala ego predsedatelem.*
(...) after graduating from the university, Nurdžemal' Karaevoj had to work as a physics teacher for some time (...). Her fellow-townspeople promoted the young teacher to become a deputy of the Bedirkent Regional Council of people's deputies. (...) She was elected to the deputy chair person, and two years later she became the Council's chair.

(6b) *Anja stala* učitel'nicej. *(...) Ona sčitala, čto objazana budet (...) stat' sel'skoj* učitel'nicej *(...).*
Anja became a teacher. (...) She thought that she would have to become a village teacher.

vs.

(6c) *U Anny Vasil'evna Astraxovoj, edinstvennogo* učitelja *ètoj školy, svoja metodika.*
Anna Vasil' evna Astraxovaja, the only teacher of this school, has her own methods of teaching.

(6d) *Lučšie iz lučšix našix sovremennic — (...)* učitelja.
The best of our (female) contemporaries are teachers.

(6e) *Naibolee vysoko oplačivaemymi dlja ženščin javljajutsja professii* učitelej, *medicinskix sestër i akušerok.*
The most highly-paid professions for women are those of teacher, nurse, and midwife.

In (6a-b), the feminine agentive *učitel'nica* occurs with the modifiers *molodaja* (young) and *sel'skaja* which imply lack of experience. By contrast, masculine *učitel'* refers to women who are outstanding in their profession (cf. 6c-d) or who are well paid (cf. 6e). In (6a), the use of the masculine agentives *prepodavatel' (fiziki)* "teacher (of physics)", *zamestitel'* "deputy," and *predsedatel'* "chairperson" is referential and complimentary, as opposed to feminine *(molodaja) učitel'nica* "young teacher." A similar semantic differentiation could explain the choice of the feminine *(uličnaja) prodavščica* "saleswoman" in (7a) as opposed to masculine *(staršij) prodavec* in (7b):

(7a) *...kak vostorg (...) pomožet ej čerez mnogo let najti put' k ponimaniju xarakterov junoj Džul'etty i* uličnoj prodavščicy *cvetov Èlizy Dulitl.*
(...) will help her in the future to find a way to understand the characters of young Juliet and of the flower street vendor Eliza Doolittle.

vs.

(7b) *(...)* staršij prodavec *magazina No. 4 «Mosèlektrobyttorga» Valentina Borisovna Èmel'janova (...) zametila (...)*
(...) the senior salesperson of "Moselektrobyttorg"'s store No. 4, Valentina Borisovna Emel'janova, noted...

The database suggests that masculine forms are used to denote female professionals in high-ranking, prestigious positions which presuppose high qualifications and advanced training (e.g. *predsedatel'* "chairperson"). Thus, the use of masculine forms prevails in reference to women working in academia, politics, in the military, and in business, e.g. *akademik* "academician," *docent* "lecturer," *doktor/kandidat nauk* "assistant professor," *naučnij sotrudnik* "researcher," *prepodavatel'* "assistant professor," *professor* "professor," *general* "general," *seržant* "sergeant," *biznesmen* "business man," *deputat* "deputy," *predsedatel'* "chair," *president* "president."

This prevalent usage is hardly surprising given the fact that feminine agentives designating professionals in these fields are not used in the standard literary language. Even adjectival formations which easily generate feminine forms, such as *učënyj* "scientist," *zavedujuščij kafedroj* "department chair," are generally associated with the masculine form, regardless of sex.[13] This phenomenon is, of course, tied to the fact that positions such as those mentioned above, have historically been typically held by men.

The database further revealed that masculine forms are preferred in combination with *honorific indicators* and when the agentive noun functions as a title, such as *sobstvennyj* "respected," *odarënnyj* "gifted," *talantlivyj* "talented," *znamenityj* "famous," *glavnyj* "principal," *naučnyj* "scientific," *nezaurjadnyj* "outstanding," *znatnyj* "distinguished," *zaslužennyj* "distinguished," *vydajuščijsja* (cf. ftn. 13) "outstanding;" *staršij sotrudnik* "senior assistant," *doktor* "doctor," *kandidat nauk* "junior scholar," *professor* "professor," *predsedatel'* "chair," *svobodnyj xudožnik*

"independent artist." The preference of the masculine form in combination with *kak, v kačestve, v dolžnosti* may be due to the fact that these expressions indicate someone's status as an archetype, a characteristic usually associated with and expressed by the masculine agentive.

5. In order to understand the use, or rather the non-use, of femininizations, we must take into account the status of women in Russian society.[14] Despite a rough male-female numerical parity in the workplace and although the post-Soviet years have been marked by a noticeable increase in attractive job opportunities for women, Russian women are still found mostly in low-paid routine, secretarial, and assisting jobs.

The present research provides evidence that it is not grammatical constraints, inherent in the Russian language, which yield the formal and semantic asymmetry in the derivation of feminine agentives and the non-use of existing feminine forms. Rather, I suggest that the non-use of feminine forms reflects the traditional social stratification of men and women in the workplace and in society at large. Masculine forms prevail when addressing women in influential, highly-paid or prestigious positions typically occupied by men (e.g. *èkonomist* "economist"), while feminine forms are fairly consistently used for women in traditional women's jobs (e.g. *telefonistka* "operator"). But even in fields in which women occupy the predominant sector, such as in health care and in education, masculine agentives are favored over feminine forms in official and honorific contexts. The preferred use of masculine agentives in positive contexts is consistent with the non-derivation of feminine correlates to masculine agentives which refer to high skill and high prestige occupations. The semantic classification of masculine and feminine agentives into high and low prestige professionals is, in turn, consistent with the semantic irregularities of paired agentives of the type *texnik* "technician" : *texnička* "cleaning lady," *serdečnik* "heart specialist, patient" : *serdečnica* "heart patient."

The connotation of inferiority or lesser value of feminine forms supports the pattern of discrimination against women in the workplace.[15] For instance, although 87% of employees in education in Russia are women, about 85% of those women teach the classes 1-10, with very few holding the position of school directors. At the

university level, 40% of the staff is female, while only 14% of those women hold a doctorate and only 3% are *akademiki*, members of the prestigious Academy of Sciences.

Given the semantic, stylistic and emotive markedness of feminine forms, we may expect a further *decrease* in the use of feminine agentive nouns in official speech, despite the growing number of female professionals in influential and high-skill positions.[16] This will eventually lead to the fading of the traditional gender distinction of Russian animate nouns in the literary language, confining feminine agentive nouns to the realm of the spoken language where they are likely to remain in use. We suspect that the use of femininizations is in the process of being reinterpreted from indicating female sex reference to rendering the difference in style (standard vs. colloquial) or register (neutral vs. emotive). It is likely that agentives referring to women in the performing arts and in sports will remain unaffected by this trend since these domains have different standards or roles for men and women, e.g. *gimnast/-ka* "gymnast," *kon'kobežec : kon'kobežka* "speed skater," *volejbolist/-ka* "volleyball player;" *aktër : aktrisa* "actor, actress," *pevec : pevica* "singer," *vokalist/-ka* "vocalist."[17] Finally, the evolution in the use of feminine forms has further implications for teachers of Russian as well as for Russian language textbook authors in that we must strive to stay aware of the normative use of these forms in the hope of teaching our students both the appropriate literary norms as well as colloquial consequences of their application.

Notes

1. Protčenko (1985) overestimates the degree of productivity of some types of suffixation, e.g. of the type in *-ša* (305-6) and exaggerates the overall output of the WFRs of femininization.
2. It shall be noted that the formation and application of femininizations enjoys greater flexibility in the colloquial language, as has been pointed out by Zemskaja (1979). However, the use of feminine agentive nouns in substandard speech is beyond the scope of this paper.
3. Since the neuter is not relevant to the present discussion of feminine agentive nouns in opposition to their masculine derivants, it is not treated here.

4. Animal terms tend to be used generically to refer to males and females alike, e.g. *lošad'* "horse." They show grammatical agreement and do not usually specify the natural sex. However, when the natural gender needs to be specified, the distinction may be expressed either through the femininization rule (e.g. *tigr* "tiger" : *tigrica* "tigress") or by means of separate lexemes (e.g. *petux* "rooster" : *kurica* "hen").
5. For an overview and a discussion of the conditions of the various types of suffixation used to derive feminine agentive nouns, see Meier (1988:6-48).
6. The wider definition of the female agent solves the linguistic problem, but it raises the question of why in Soviet-Russian society terms with the meaning "marital counterpart" were needed.
7. Cf. Protčenko (1985:315-6): "V to vremja kak terminy *matematik, fizik* i. t. p. oboznačajut učenogo («specialist v oblasti matematiki, fiziki i t. d.»), obrazovanija v forme ženskogo roda upotrebljajutsja v obixode s bolee sužennym značeniem dlja naimenovanija studentok sootvetstvujuščix fakul'tetov—inogda prepodavatel'nic."
8. Otherwise Protčenko (1975:290) and Janko-Trinickaja (1966:196) rule out the use of any form in *-ša* in the literary language.
9. Cf. Švedova (1970:123).
10. Occasionally, the noun *devuška* (girl) or *ženščina* (lady) is used as an intensifier *together with* a feminine agentive to stress how unusual or ridiculous it is, (depending on the context), to find a woman in a given position, e.g. *ženščina-lëtčica* "woman pilot," *ženščina-načal'nica* "woman supervisor."
11. The author does not address the diachronic situation which led to the semantic differentiation of opposing high prestige masculine forms to low prestige feminine forms.
12. All examples of this study's database unambiguously refer to female professionals. Feminine agentives occur in combination with a woman's name or are used with feminine attributive or predicative qualifiers.
13. Protčenko (1985:311) disagrees, citing the following two examples:
    V ètot den' zaščiščala dissertaciju na soiskanie učenoj stepeni doktora fiziko-matematičeskix nauk molodaja *učënaja* Ol'ga Olejnik. (...) Ol'ga Olejnik—vydajuščijsja *učënyj*, krupnyj specialist v oblasti differencial'nyx uravnenij. Apart from the fact that in both cases my informants prefered the use of the masculine form, this example corroborates the point made earlier (cf. 6a-f) that inexperienced or unseasoned female professionals (note the attribute *molodaja*) tend to trigger feminine agentives, while attributes, such as *outstanding, major* typically combine with masculine forms.
14. The significance of socio-economic factors, i.e., the informants' social, educational and professional background, their age and place of residence, in the use of feminine and masculine agentive nouns are discussed in L. P. Krysina's (1974) article "Russkij jazyk po dannym massovogo obsledovanija," Moscow: AN Institut russkogo jazyka, 1974, 269-318. Differences in use based on gender are examined in E. A. Zemskaja (1993)'s book *Russkij jazyk v ego funkcionirovanii: Kommunikativno-pragmatičeskij*

aspect, Moscow: Nauka. For a discussion of the recent employment situation of women in Russia, see Funk & Mueller (1993) and Corrin (1992).

15. It is interesting to recall here the expressive use of feminine forms in reference to men. Thus, it is more effective to call a man a feminine *dura* (vs. masc. *durak*); similarly, *p'janica* "drunkard," *bljadica* "corrupt person," *spletnica* "gossipy person," are more insulting than the masc. counterparts *p'janik, bljad'* and *spletnik.*
16. Otherwise Protčenko (1985:300) who in 1985 predicted a steady increase in the formation and application of feminine forms in *-ka* based on an ever increasing number of women entering men's jobs.
17. An interesting formation is the recent feminine form *plovčixa* "swimmer" which is derived from masculine *plovec* by means of the otherwise unproductive suffix *-ixa.* The use of sports terminology in reference to women is discussed by Protčenko (1975:200).

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Gender-based results of a quantitative analysis of spoken Czech: Contribution to the Czech national corpus

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1. Introduction

The spoken Czech language has not, to date, been studied on a large scale with respect to the sociolinguistic background of its speakers. Previous studies of the Czech language targeted primarily the written language and have not sufficiently addressed quantitative differences between the written and spoken forms. Consequently, the present study is the first attempt to provide an in-depth investigation of the morphological characteristics of spoken Czech. The particular aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the main sociolinguistic features of the subcorpus of data with a focused discussion of the gender-based results which were found.

Among the Slavic languages, Czech occupies a special place. Unlike Russian, Polish or Bulgarian, the differences between the spoken and written forms of Czech language are relatively large. Due to historical developments, a spoken variety of Czech called Common Czech *(obecná čeština)* differs from the Literary Standard Czech Language *(spisovná čeština)* in many ways. While Literary Czech has a rigorous codification and in its pure form almost never appears in the spoken language, Common Czech (the spoken code) lacks any codification and rarely appears in the written language. Consequently, intralingual code-switching and mutual combining of elements from both codes result in different types of utterances ranging from informal situations to formal settings. Deviations of Common Czech from Literary Czech have been described earlier (Vey 1946; Hronek 1972; Townsend 1990; Sgall, Hronek, Stich, Horecký 1992). Similarly, intense oscillations between Literary Czech and Common Czech in colloquial usage in Prague have been

reported (Kučera 1955, 1958; Hammer 1985). Nevertheless, the spoken Czech language has not been the focus of study with respect to the sociolinguistic background of its speakers.

Currently, a computerized Corpus of Spoken Czech with 500,000 word tokens is being prepared at the Institute of Bohemistic Studies (IBS) at Charles University in Prague (Čermák 1992). This corpus will become a part of the Czech National Corpus (CNC), which will contain 100 million word counts at its completion. The CNC corpus is being compiled by major Czech linguistic institutions, including the Institute of Bohemistic Studies, College of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague; Czech Language Department, College of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague; Institute of Theoretical and Computational Linguistic, Charles University, Prague; Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistic, College of Mathematics and Physics, Charles University, Prague; Czech Language Department, Masaryk University, Brno; Czech Language Institute, Czech Academy of Science, Prague. The purpose of the CNC is to collect a statistically viable amount of linguistic data to become the basis for a variety of linguistic studies. Examples include but are not limited to studies of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, semantics, as well as studies of word frequencies supporting educational activities of native and non-native speakers of Czech.

2. Methodology

Corpus linguistics has developed substantially over the last several decades. For large languages, like English, extensive corpora exist in electronic form, are shared among linguistic scientists, and thus are readily available for linguistic research (Biber 1988). The situation with relatively small languages like Czech is somewhat different, as the existence of any corpora was not a norm until the early 1990's. Consequently, our work could not be based on any previous corpus, much less one in an electronic form. Therefore, our pioneering work had to begin with extremely time-consuming, labor-intensive efforts aimed at collecting and organizing the first-ever corpus of spoken Czech.

The present study is based on the analysis of 40,370 word tokens and represents the author's contribution to the Corpus of Spoken

Czech. This subcorpus was obtained by recording formal and informal dialogues of 50 native speakers of Czech from the Prague area during 1988 to 1990. The informants were anonymous volunteers who, from a sociological and demographic perspective, are representative of the Czech population. These recordings were converted into a computer form as a linear text of 120,000 word counts. Completed texts were normalized, and approximately 800 words from each speaker were utilized. Altogether, 40,370 word tokens comprise the subcorpus which was processed and analyzed for this study. All words from the subcorpus were grammatically tagged. Since Czech is an inflected language, grammatical tagging concentrated on morphology and had been performed manually. As such, grammatical tagging itself represented a significant challenge and required preparation of a single-purpose tagging program (Savický 1992). In addition to the grammatical tagging, all words were tagged with language style indexes to facilitate quantitative analysis of intralingual code-switching. The language style was coded using five indices: Literary Czech code, Common Czech code, words shared by both Literary and Common Czech codes, bookish words, and vulgar words. All tagged words were imported in a FoxPro database program. Using the database, lists of word frequencies were composed and declension and conjugation paradigms of spoken Czech were constructed. In this paper, I will focus on the most significant linguistic characteristics of the subcorpus with regard to the sociolinguistic background of the speakers and the type of conversational situation (to be discussed later).

In addition to the grammatical codes, four sociolinguistic variables were utilized in our study; gender, age, education, and conversational situation. Of the 50 informants who participated in the study, 26 were male and 24 were female. Twenty-nine speakers were younger than 35 years and the remaining 21 speakers were older than 35 years. Completion of a secondary education represented the division in the educational variable. Among our informants, 28 speakers finished secondary school and 22 speakers were university graduates.

In the formal dialogue portion of the data collection, informants were asked to respond to 12 questions of general interest (about their educational experience, work place, the role of women in society, etc.). In the informal conversation component, speakers were paired

with a partner of a different gender with whom they were very familiar and could speak freely. There were neither conversation nor thematic restrictions in the informal dialogue. In order to keep their language style as unaffected as possible in the presence of a tape recorder, speakers were not informed of the precise nature of the study (i.e., sociolinguistic analysis) until their conversations and the recordings were completed.

3. General characteristics of the subcorpus of spoken Czech

In the following section, I will provide a brief description of the analyzed subcorpus of 40,370 word tokens. Words in the subcorpus originated almost equally from males and females: 19,971 word tokens from males and 20,339 from females were included, as is shown in Figure 1.

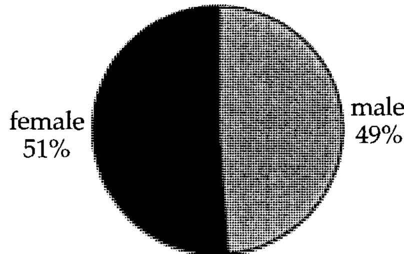

Figure 1 *Word token distribution according to the gender of speakers*

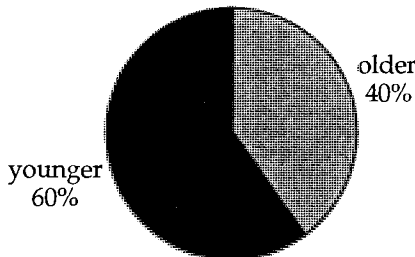

Figure 2 *Word token distribution according to the age of speakers*

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of words with regard to age. In the study, 24,093 word tokens from younger speakers (<35) and 16,277 from older speakers (>35) were used.

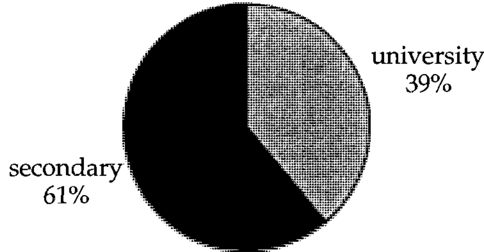

Figure 3 *Word token distribution according to the level of the speaker's education*

In our subcorpus, 24,507 word tokens originated from speakers with a secondary education and 15,863 word tokens from university-educated speakers (see Figure 3). Words obtained from the formal dialogues outnumbered those recorded during the informal dialogues at a ratio of approximately two to one since the informal conversation was always comprised of a pair of speakers. In the formal dialogues, 27,091 word tokens were collected. In the informal dialogues, 13,279 word tokens were processed, as shown in Figure 4.

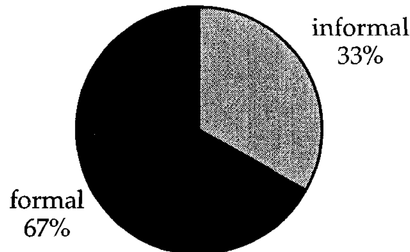

Figure 4 *Word token distribution according to the type of conversation*

4. Quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of spoken Czech

In the following sections, part-of-speech frequencies, language style distribution, and the most frequent parts of speech are discussed.

4.1 *Part-of-speech sociolinguistic frequencies*

Absolute and relative part-of-speech frequencies according to the number of the word forms and lemmas - not considering sociolinguistic variables - are shown in Table 1. A *lemma* is defined as the basic form of the word, usually nominative singular for nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals, or the infinitive form for verbs. Part-of-speech frequency according to the number of word forms is depicted in Figure 5 (below). Part-of-speech frequency according to the number of lemmas is given in Figure 6 (below).

Quantitative analysis of the subcorpus indicated that verbs were the most frequent part of speech represented by 17% of all words, followed by pronouns (16%), and particles (15%). Nouns (13%) and conjunctions (12%) belonged to the group of words with a medium frequency, as well as adverbs (8%), prepositions (6%), adjectives (5%), and other parts of speech and idioms (5%). The low-frequency words included interjections (1%), numerals (1%), and others (abbreviations and names, 1%). In contrast, quantitative characteristics of Literary Czech [Těšitelová 1985] revealed nouns (28%) to be the most frequent part of speech followed by verbs (18%) and adjectives (11%). The detected difference is indeed in agreement with the function of these two Literary and spoken Czech codes. Action and motion are highly characteristic of spoken speech, therefore supporting the high frequency of verbs contained in the subcorpus. Similarly, substitutions of nouns as well as other parts of speech are very common in spoken speech, resulting in a high frequency of pronouns. Finally, expression of opinion, attitude, and emotions resulted in a relatively high presence of particles in the subcorpus of spoken Czech.

The different ratio of word forms and lemmas within individual parts of speech is clearly illustrated in the comparison of Figures 5 and 6. The highest number of lemmas was found within the categories of nouns (28%), verbs (22%), and idioms (16%). On the other hand, the lowest number of lemmas was identified in the categories of interjections (0.9%), prepositions (1%), and pronouns (1.3%).

Tables 2 and 3 (below) show the part-of-speech frequencies according to sociolinguistic variables. In order to compare part-of-speech frequencies within the sociolinguistic categories, it was

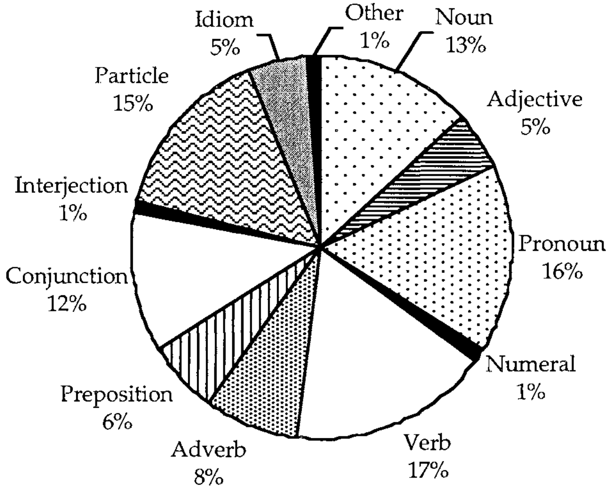

Figure 5 *Part-of-speech relative frequencies according to the number of the word form*

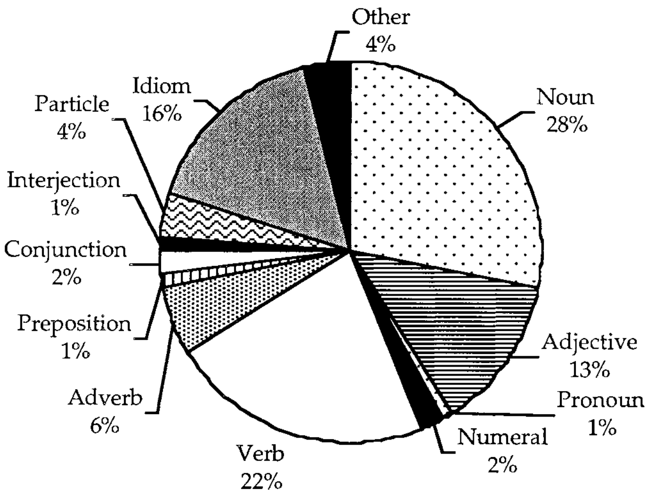

Figure 6 *Relative part-of-speech frequencies according to the number of lemmas*

Table 1 *Part-of-speech frequencies*

Part of speech	Number of word forms		Number of lemmas	
	Absolute	Relative%	Absolute	Relative%
Noun	5121	12.7	1403	27.4
Adjective	2077	5.1	688	13.5
Pronoun	6425	15.9	67	1.3
Numeral	547	1.4	102	2.0
Verb	7030	17.4	1111	21.7
Adverb	3218	8.0	327	6.4
Preposition	2517	6.2	52	1.0
Conjunction	4799	11.9	122	2.4
Interjection	369	0.9	45	0.9
Particle	5904	14.6	185	3.6
Idiom	1987	4.9	801	15.7
Other	376	0.9	209	4.1

necessary to normalize frequencies according to the total number of word tokens in the individual word-form groups. The given percentages represent relative frequencies of parts of speech and are shown in Figure 7 and Table 3. From these results, it is evident that sociolinguistic frequencies do not differ substantially from the overall frequencies presented in Table 1 and Figure 5. The same conclusion can be drawn from the calculated standard deviation of frequencies across sociolinguistic variables shown in Table 3. These standard deviations are small and range from 0.2 to 0.8%. It can be seen that relative frequencies of word forms within the individual sociolinguistic groups do not vary substantially with respect to gender, age, or education. Interestingly, comparisons with respect to the formal/informal dialogue index do indicate differences in word-form usage (see Figure 7 below).

Although the differences are relatively small, it is notable that the type of conversational situation appears to have the strongest influence on the part-of-speech distribution, with frequencies of verbs, adverbs, and pronouns being relatively higher in informal dialogues and frequencies of nouns, adjectives, conjunctions, and idioms being relatively higher in formal dialogues. When comparing the types of conversational situations, higher verb frequency in informal dialogues may be interpreted as a tendency toward action, and movement, while formal dialogues with more nouns and adjectives tend to be more static. Topics of the informal

Table 2 *Absolute part of speech frequencies according to sociolinguistic variables*

Part-of-speech absolute frequency	Gender		Age		Education		Conversational situation	
	Male	Female	Younger	Older	Lower	Higher	Formal	Informal
Noun	2624	2497	3026	2095	2946	2175	3620	1501
Adjective	1081	996	1200	877	1199	878	1552	525
Pronoun	3174	3251	3831	2594	3960	2465	4171	2254
Numeral	298	249	323	224	275	272	308	239
Verb	3464	3566	4182	2848	4376	2654	4487	2543
Adverb	1557	1661	1975	1243	1978	1240	2002	1216
Preposition	1277	1240	1504	1013	1481	1036	1637	880
Conjunction	2335	2464	2840	1959	2877	1922	3419	1380
Interjection	135	234	226	143	226	143	171	198
Particle	2799	3105	3585	2319	3787	2117	4054	1850
Idiom	1012	975	1176	811	1171	816	1548	439
Other	215	161	225	151	231	145	122	254

conversation were completely unrestrained, and therefore the conversational exchange was carried freely, and contained more verbs. The formal dialogues were based on responses to certain questions, therefore higher usage of nouns and adjectives occurred.

4.2 *Word-form frequencies according to Czech language style*

Absolute and relative word frequencies according to the style index in our subcorpus are presented in Table 4 and Figure 8. Almost two thirds (58%) of the spoken Czech language samples analyzed in this study have no style variants since their codes are shared by both the Literary and Common Czech language systems. Distinctly colloquial words (Common Czech) were found in 37% of all words and purely literary forms counted for 4% of all words. Bookish and vulgar words were very rare. To our knowledge, this is the very first reporting of the language style ratio of spoken Czech ever.

Interesting results were observed in the analysis of our subcorpus with regard to the language style index considering sociolinguistic variables, as shown in Figure 9 and Table 5. The differences among the groups were minor, yet consistent - as anticipated. For example, younger speakers used Common Czech more frequently than older ones, and speakers with a secondary education employed Common Czech more frequently than university-educated speakers. As further anticipated, there were also more Common Czech words in the informal conversations than in the formal dialogues, and Literary Czech words were used more often by university-educated speakers and in the formal conversations. Despite the above-mentioned differences, standard deviations given in the last line of Table 5 were lower than 1.7%. The small standard deviations indicate that frequencies of Literary Czech, Common Czech, and the words shared by both codes do not vary substantially if interpreted with respect to sociolinguistic indices.

Table 3 *Relative part-of-speech frequencies according to sociolinguistic variables*

Part-of-speech relative frequency	Gender		Age		Education		Conversational situation		Standard deviation
	Male	Female	Younger	Older	Lower	Higher	Formal	Informal	
Noun	13.1%	12.2%	12.6%	12.9%	12.0%	13.7%	13.4%	11.3%	0.8%
Adjective	5.4%	4.9%	5.0%	5.4%	4.9%	5.5%	5.7%	4.0%	0.6%
Pronoun	15.9%	15.9%	15.9%	15.9%	16.2%	15.5%	15.4%	17.0%	0.5%
Numeral	1.5%	1.2%	1.3%	1.4%	1.1%	1.7%	1.1%	1.8%	0.3%
Verb	17.3%	17.5%	17.4%	17.5%	17.9%	16.7%	16.6%	19.2%	0.8%
Adverb	7.8%	8.1%	8.2%	7.6%	8.1%	7.8%	7.4%	9.2%	0.5%
Preposition	6.4%	6.1%	6.2%	6.2%	6.0%	6.5%	6.0%	6.6%	0.2%
Conjunction	11.7%	12.1%	11.8%	12.0%	11.7%	12.1%	12.6%	10.4%	0.6%
Interjection	0.7%	1.1%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.6%	1.5%	0.3%
Particle	14.0%	15.2%	14.9%	14.2%	15.5%	13.3%	15.0%	13.9%	0.7%
Idiom	5.1%	4.8%	4.9%	5.0%	4.8%	5.1%	5.7%	3.3%	0.7%
Other	1.1%	0.8%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.5%	1.9%	0.4%

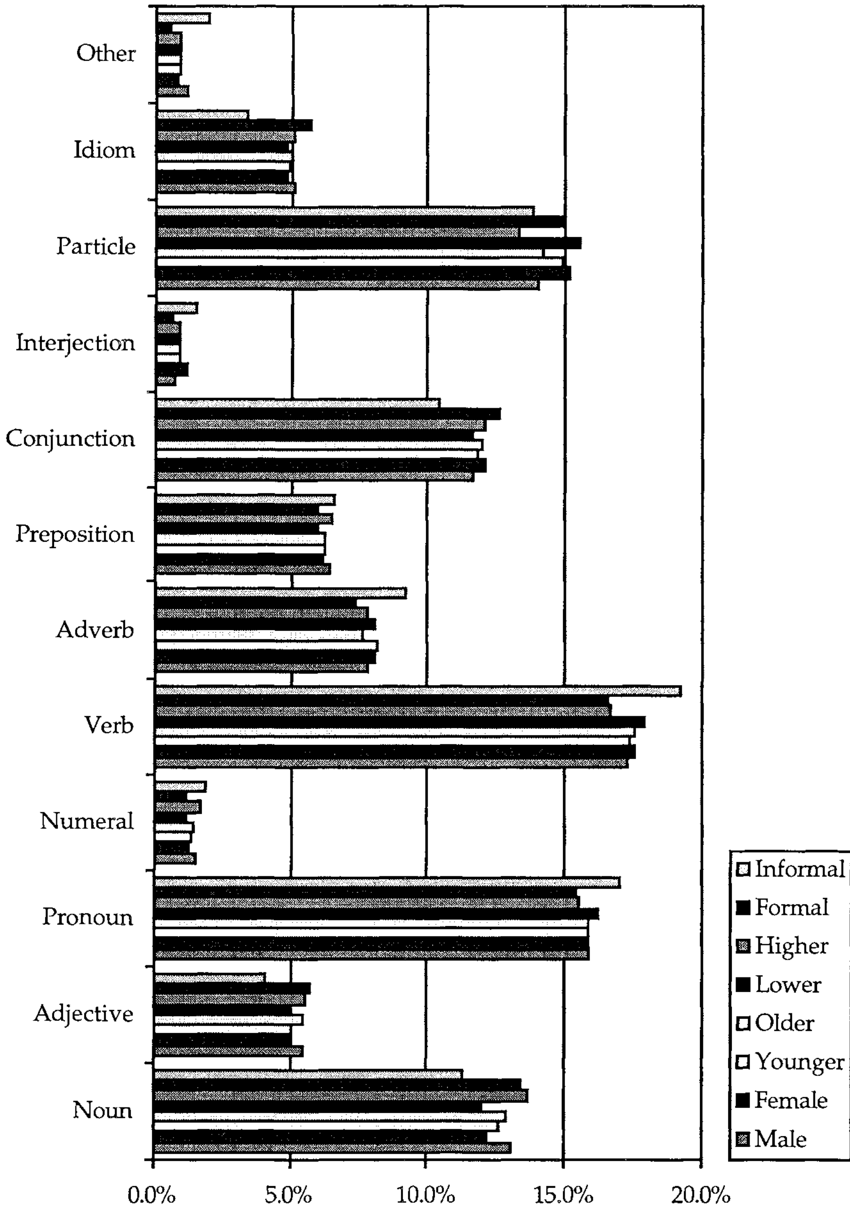

Figure 7 *Relative part-of-speech frequencies according to sociolinguistic variables*

Table 4 *Word frequencies according to the language style index*

Style	**Frequency**	
	Absolute	Relative %
Shared	23350	57.8
Common Czech	15101	37.4
Literary Czech	1790	4.4
Bookish	113	0.3
Vulgar	16	0.04

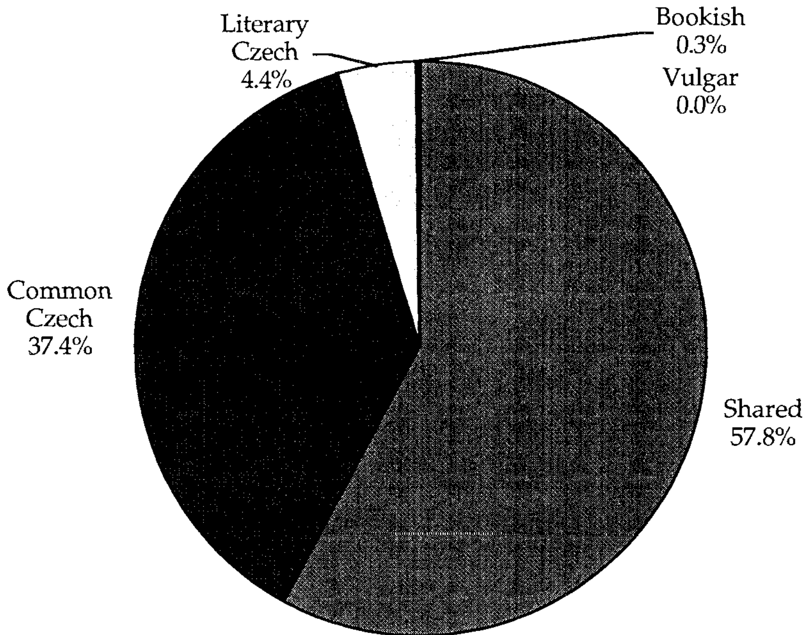

Figure 8 *Relative word frequencies according to the style index*

Table 5 *Absolute frequencies of style according to sociolinguistic variables*

Style index	Shared		Common Czech		Literary Czech	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
male	11253	56.3	7614	38.1	1023	5.1
female	12097	59.3	7487	36.7	767	3.8
younger	13738	57.0	9334	38.7	958	4.0
older	9612	59.1	5767	35.4	834	5.1
secondary	13984	57.1	9561	39.0	904	3.7
university	9366	59.0	5540	34.9	886	5.6
formal	15607	57.6	9873	36.4	1514	5.6
informal	7743	58.3	5228	39.4	276	2.1
Standard deviation		1.1		1.7		1.2

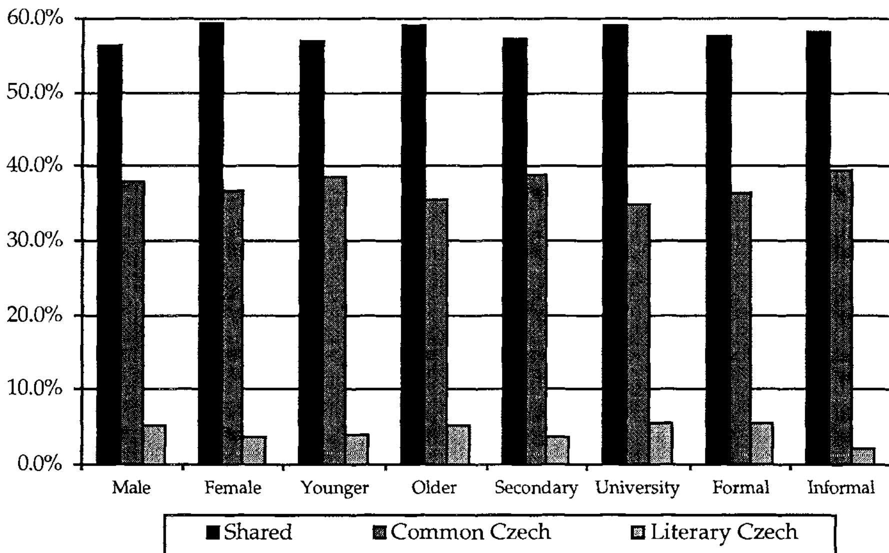

Figure 9 *Relative word frequencies according to the style index and sociolinguistic variables*

4.3 *Verbs and pronouns*

Since verbs and pronouns belong to the most frequent word forms in our subcorpus of spoken Czech, the sociolinguistic character or possible gender differences of spoken Czech can best be studied in these two word forms.

As shown above, verbs belong to the most frequent part of speech and are represented by 17.3% of all words used by males and 17.5% of words used by females. Within the category of verbs, the distribution of tenses shows a prevalence of the present tense indicative for both genders (45% of all verbs). However, the future tense indicative was used more often by females. In the category of a verbal mood, females employed present conditional and imperative forms more often than males. Although the differences are relatively small, they could be interpreted as a tendency of females to express their emotionality using these categories. An interesting observation can be noted in the category of past tense, where Czech prescribes different forms for use by men and women. Men used male endings (talking about themselves or other men) *-l*, like *byl jsem* *('I was ')* in 68% and female endings (talking about women) *-la*, like *byla jsem* *('I was')* in 32% of all cases. Women used female endings (talking about themselves or other women) in 78% and male endings (talking about men) in 22% of all cases. Both genders consistently use the grammar-required past-tense endings that are related to their respective gender. The frequency of same-gender endings was two-times more frequent than opposite-gender endings for males. In comparison, females achieved a four times higher usage of same-gender endings than opposite-gender ones. The quantitative results suggest a clear tendency of both genders to express their personal experience.

Frequency of pronouns was similar to that of verbs. No difference in pronoun frequency was found between genders (16% of all words for both genders). Within pronouns, however, differences can be noted, for example, in the frequency of pronoun types. Females used indefinite *(nějaký - 'some', všechen - 'all')*, possessive *(náš - 'our'; měj - 'my')*, and reflexive-possessive *(svěj - 'my')* pronouns more often, and demonstrative *(ten - 'this')* and relative *(který - 'that, which')* pronouns less often than males. A possible interpretation of these results leads to a hypothesis that males tend to draw more general

conclusions, use more specific examples, and relate them together, compared to females, who more frequently tend to express specific examples and draw the conclusions from personal experience.

Different pronoun forms are used by males and females in the Czech language. Comparing frequency of gender of pronouns in the subcorpus, males used moderately higher masculine gender pronouns (55%) than females. Correspondingly, females utilized more feminine gender pronouns than males (53%). Males used masculine gender pronouns more frequently talking about themselves or other males, than about other females, and vice versa. Interestingly, the percentage for both genders was comparably similar (55% to 53%, respectively). Usage of the neuter gender pronouns was highly identical for both males and females.

5. Conclusion

This paper presented a sociolinguistic analysis of a subcorpus of 40,370 word tokens of Czech spoken language. The analysis of word-form and word-style frequencies with respect to the sociolinguistic indices of gender, age, education, and dialogue type showed that the phenomena under examination did not differ substantially across the sociolinguistic categories. Although the differences discovered in the language style usage as a function of speaker's gender, age, and education were small, the detected differences were consistently in agreement with our initial hypotheses. For example, usage of the non-codified Common Czech was found more frequently in the group of younger speakers, as compared to the older speakers, and more frequent in less educated speakers, as compared to the more educated ones. The frequency analysis of the subcorpus proved that verbs and pronouns belonged to the most frequent part of speech for both genders. The gender-based comparison of frequencies of morphological characteristics of verbs showed slight differences in employment of verbal tenses, and verbal moods, e.g. future tense indicative, present conditional and imperative forms were used more often by females than by males. In the category of pronouns, differences were noted in the frequency of pronoun types. Females used indefinite, possessive, and reflexive-possessive pronouns more often, and demonstrative and relative pronouns less frequently than

males. All the above noted differences were relatively small, and warrant further investigation on larger data.

The strongest conclusion can be drawn from the comparison of same-gender and opposite-gender usage of grammar-required past-tense endings of verbs and the gender of pronouns appearing in both male and female speeches. In both categories, a similar tendency was found to use same-gender verbal endings and/or same-gender pronouns at least twice as often as opposite-gender ones.

The corpus of spoken Czech language on which this analysis was based is still being compiled and is expected to reach 500,000 before completion. A similar analysis to be carried out on the completed corpus of more than 500,000 word forms (ten times larger than the present study) is planned in order to confirm or adjust with measurable statistical significance the conclusions reached in the present study.

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Whence virility? The rise of a new gender distinction in the history of Slavic

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Introduction

Imagine for a moment that you are talking with someone in a foreign city, let's say somewhere in Europe, East or West. The person you are talking with says, oh, you're an American? I just met an American right here in this spot yesterday! Quick, fix an image in your mind of the person your interlocutor is talking about. Got it? OK, what does this American look like? I've tried this mental experiment with a number of audiences, always with the same result: a Caucasian male, usually blond, of average build, 25-35 years of age. When I get this response, I ask, wait a minute, you mean it's not a left-handed octogenarian paraplegic lesbian? Why not? Isn't her passport just as valid as the one that fresh-faced American boy has in his pocket? Everybody bursts out laughing at this point.

The object of this experiment is to demonstrate the special cognitive salience of the male human (virile) gender. When confronted with a genderless ethnonym like "an American," although we know that it includes a huge spectrum of varied instantiations, in the absence of any modifiers, we will immediately reach for a generic interpretation. It is the juxtaposition of the generic with the exceedingly non-generic that inspires the humorous response above.

It is surely no accident that the generic gender is virile, although the reasons why this is so go far beyond the scope of this article. As a linguist, what I find remarkable is the fact that the cognitive saliency of virility has the potential to become conventionalized in grammar, and as a Slavic linguist, I find the expression of virility in Slavic

languages particularly remarkable. To my knowledge there has never been an examination of the how the virility phenomenon developed in Slavic, and this article is an attempt to fill that gap. On another level, this article is also an attempt to explore the ways in which linguistic expression reflects human concepts of gender and self.

Virility is not a simple +/- feature in Slavic. It has some subtle complications that are very revealing about how society views human masculinity. In Polish, for example, nouns referring to male humans have three possible Npl endings: one that is "honorific" and involves virile syntax, one that is neutral and involves virile syntax, and one that is non-virile and involves non-virile syntax, referred to in the literature as "deprecatory". Table 1a,b gives a distribution of examples (these are all glosses—actual data and a detailed analysis are presented in 2.1):

Table 1a.

honorific virile	**neutral virile**	**deprecatory non-virile**
astronomer, Balt, nephew, grandfather, general, geographer, engineer, captain, king, officer, father, Sioux, uncle, son, Scot, grandson, plus all first and last names	actor, Englishman, bishop, peasant, boy, Canadian, merchant, pilot, gardener, Pole, lieutenant, employee, colonel, farmer, fisherman, butcher, clerk, singer	bastard, cad, black, midget, horsethief, dwarf, homosexual (vulg.),

Table 1b.

honorific or neutral virile	**neutral or deprecatory virile**
author, hero, doctor, director, professor, psychologist	*small boy, schoolboy, Jew*

As you can see, there is much more to this distinction than virility. After all, Jews, dwarves, homosexuals, blacks, young boys, and horsethieves are every bit as male and human as kings, bishops, doctors, and psychologists. Their credentials for the virile category are just as good as the American passport of the old southpaw

lesbian in the wheelchair mentioned above. However, these males do not make it into the virile category, but instead share the "deprecatory" morphology and syntax used for female humans, animals, and inanimates.

This is a brief preview of just one feature on the virility map of Slavic. The lines on that map have not appeared overnight. They are the result of a protracted, dynamic historical process of change that is very much still with us. The Polish deprecatory virile, for example, is a fairly recent innovation, and as far as we can tell, is still spreading. In order to bring sufficient rigor to this analysis, it will be necessary to wade through a considerable quantity of detail, tracing the origins of virility in Slavic. The present of a language is in many ways the sum total of its past, and it is hoped that readers will appreciate the contemporary significance of this historical view.

Preliminary concepts and facts

Perhaps the most basic distinction motivated by universal human experience is that of SELF vs. OTHER. All languages have some grammatical means for expressing this distinction, namely reflexive morphemes and/or constructions. Nearly as basic, and well-motivated by the functioning of our perceptual organs, is the distinction of FIGURE vs. GROUND.[1] The very structure of sentences, with grammatically defined roles for subject, object, and adverbial circumstances, guarantees that this distinction is also present in every language. The two distinctions can be conflated if the SELF is identified as the ultimate FIGURE, the highest point on the FIGURE-GROUND scale, and a variety of finer distinctions can also be made. The following is a sample of typical SELF-OTHER/FIGURE-GROUND distinctions that have been made in the past millennium in Slavic languages, arranged to form a continuum (although most languages have conventionalized only a subset of these distinctions):

self > humans like self > humans not like self > animals > small, discrete countable concrete objects > masses and collectives > landscape features > ambient intangibles.[2]

For a variety of historical reasons outlined below, the articulation of SELF-OTHER/FIGURE-GROUND distinctions has been especially intense

in the morphology of masculine nouns. This article will concentrate on the history of the first three types of distinction, all of which signal virility. Virility is a relatively new development in Slavic; prior to the events we will discuss, the only grammatical marker of virility was the use of the *a*-stem[3] nominal paradigm with male (and exclusively virile) referents (cf. Common Slavic *sluga* 'male servant'). The use of virile *a*-stem nouns persists as a pan-Slavic phenomenon, but in Czech, Slovak, and Belarusian (and to a lesser extent in Polish and Ukrainian), the declension of these nouns has been accommodated to the masculine/virile patterns of the *o*-stem paradigm. We will explore the synchronic distribution and diachronic development of virility markers in Slavic. In every case, we will see that the progress of morphemes in their spread is governed by the FIGURE-GROUND scale.

At the time when Slavic was dissolving into separate dialects, several seemingly unrelated morphological events were taking place: (a) the rise of animacy, (b) the death throes of the old *ŭ*-stem paradigm, and (c) the foundering of the dual number in most of Slavic territory. As Klenin (1983) has amply demonstrated, animacy was motivated by a variety of factors, primarily NAsg syncretism and genitive-governing verbs. During the famous Slavic reshuffling of declension patterns, in which nominal declension went from a system based on theme vowels to one based on gender, two paradigms, the *o*-stem masculine/neuter paradigm and the *a*-stem feminine paradigm, emerged as dominant.[4] In one part of this system the distinction between subject and direct object, borne by the nominative and accusative cases, was severely compromised. The feminine *a*-stems had a clear opposition of Nsg *-a* vs. Asg *-ǫ*. Neuter *o*-stems had *-o* for both cases, but this was not problematic since neuter referents were far more likely to serve as objects than as subjects of transitive verbs. Only the masculine NAsg *-ŭ* was problematic, since masculine referents could easily serve either role. This distinction was intact with verbs of perception, where the object was marked with the Gsg *-a*, and this motivated the rise of animacy, expressed by GAsg. The GAsg syncretism which yielded the pan-Slavic masculine animate distinction[5] took root before our attestations of OCS, at a time when the exclusively masculine *ŭ*-stem declension lay in ruins, merely a collection of variant endings for masculine (*o*-stem) nouns.[6] Animacy had invoked the FIGURE-

GROUND scale, and the "extra" morphology of the former *ŭ*-stem declension was plundered to further articulate that hierarchy of distinctions. Later, when the dual number lost its semantic moorings in most of Slavic, it provided more material for building FIGURE-GROUND distinctions. Some of these "extra" morphemes were used to distinguish male human beings from all other referents, bolstering the expression of a new gender, virility.

One might ask why there is no parallel development of "feminacy," a hypothetical gender referring to female human beings as opposed to all else. The answer is that feminine paradigms lacked both the spark to start up such a distinction (provided by the GAsg for masculine nouns) and the fuel to keep the fire going (provided by the *ŭ*-stem endings, associated specifically with masculine nouns, and later by old dual endings as well). Nouns referring to women were never singled out morphologically in the first place, and appropriate "extra" morphemes that might be implemented for this purpose were lacking.[7] The spread of animacy to feminine nouns in the plural in East Slavic is a fairly recent development, motivated on the one hand by the *a*-stem viriles (which served as a cognitive bridge for spreading GApl from masculine nouns to feminines, since they had the semantics of the former, but the morphology of the latter) and on the other hand by the tendency toward unification of plural paradigms (removal of gender distinctions), and never awarded female human beings any special status.

1. Animacy sparks virility

Animacy, marked by the GAsg of *o*-stems, began as a specialized virility distinction, limited to "nouns indicating a healthy, free, male person" in Old Church Slavonic (Lunt 1959: 46). The GAsg gradually crept down the SELF-OTHER/FIGURE-GROUND scale to include all viriles and eventually all animates, a process completed at the time of the dissolution of Slavic unity. The further development of virility distinctions elsewhere in the masculine paradigm was achieved largely through the opportunistic exploitation of "extra" morphology pertaining to masculine nouns provided by old *ŭ*-stem and dual endings. The superficially parallel development of a GApl (which variously marks virility and animacy in parts of North

Slavic) comes considerably later, and will be addressed in section 3.0 since it was initially motivated by dual morphology. Virility (and animacy) markers result either from the spread of a morpheme from the top of the SELF-OTHER/FIGURE-GROUND scale (most of the cases discussed below), or from the contraction of a morpheme in the face of incursion by another morpheme progressing up from the bottom of the scale (i.e., the spread of the masculine Apl *-y* to the Npl, which began with inanimates, causing the original Npl *-i* to retreat, yielding an animacy distinction in Czech, a virility distinction in Polish and Slovak, and no distinction in East Slavic, where *-i* was edged out altogether).

2. Former *ŭ* -stem endings fuel the virility fire

The *ŭ*-stem paradigm was lost, but it is by no means gone. Every singular and plural ending has survived in a new, productive role in at least one modern Slavic language.[8] Two original *ŭ*-stem endings, Npl *-ove* and Dsg *-ovi*, have been used to designate virility in parts of North Slavic. In order to explain why and how this came about, it is necessary to examine the historical distribution of the *ŭ*-stems and the environment they were in at the close of the Common Slavic period. Table 2 compares the *ŭ*-stem and *o*-stem endings of the time (cf. Schenker 1993):

Table 2

	singular		plural	
	ŭ-stem	*o*-stem	*ŭ*-stem	*o*-stem
nominative	*-ŭ*	*-ŭ*	*-ove*	*-i*
genitive	*-u*	*-a*	*-ovŭ*	*-ŭ*
dative	*-ovi*	*-u*	*-ŭmŭ*	*-omŭ*
accusative	*-ŭ*	*-ŭ*	*-y*	*-y*
instrumental	*-ŭmĭ*	*-omĭ*	*-ŭmi*	*-y*
locative	*-u*	*-ě*	*-ŭxŭ*	*-ěxŭ*
vocative	*-u*	*-e*	= Npl	= Npl

Note that the two paradigms shared only three endings: Nsg *-ŭ* [9], Asg *-ŭ* and Apl *-y*. Elsewhere the *ŭ*-stem paradigm offered alternative masculine endings, distinct from those of the *o*-stem in

all cases, and also longer in four: Dsg, Npl, Gpl, and Ipl. Former *ŭ*-stem endings have spread in two ways:

a. early and completely either to all masculine hard stem nouns, or to a phonologically definable subset thereof:

Lsg *-u* (Slovene, Serbo-Croatian)
Gpl *-ovŭ* (North Slavic and Slovene)
Lpl *-ŭxŭ* (Czech and Slovak)

Isg *-ŭmĭ* (North Slavic)
Dpl *-ŭmŭ*, Ipl *-ŭmi* (Slovak)

Vsg *-u* (all Slavic where vocative is retained; subsequent distribution has changed in some languages)

b. to mark FIGUREs or GROUNDs (in some instances the endings was later extended to all masculine hard stem nouns, or to a phonologically definable subset thereof, masking the original semantic motive):

FIGUREs	GROUNDs
Npl *-ove* (West Slavic)	Gsg *-u* (North Slavic)
Dsg *-ovi* (West Slavic and Ukrainian)	Lsg *-u* (North Slavic)

It seems odd to claim that the *ŭ*-stem endings have been mobilized for the cause of both figures and grounds, but if we examine the meanings of the original *ŭ*-stem nouns, we understand why this was the case. Although all scholars agree that *ŭ*-stem nouns were few, there is little agreement on the identity of individual lexemes. Only six words are universally recognized as original *ŭ*-stem nouns:

synŭ	'son'	*domŭ*	'house'
vĭrxŭ	'top'	*medŭ*	'honey'
volŭ	'ox'	*polŭ*	'half'

and most scholars would add the following six more items:[10]

činŭ	'rank'	*stanŭ*	'camp'
ledŭ	'ice'	*sadŭ*	'plant; tree; forest
darŭ	'gift'	*ědŭ*	'poison'

The original *ŭ*-stem nouns fall neatly into two groups: clear FIGUREs and clear GROUNDs.

FIGUREs: *synŭ* 'son,' *volŭ* 'ox'
GROUNDs: substances and collectives -- *medŭ* 'honey,' *ledŭ* 'ice,' *ědŭ* 'poison,' *sadŭ* 'plant; tree; forest'
locations -- *vĭrxŭ* 'top,' *domŭ* 'house,' *stanŭ* 'camp'
abstractions -- *polŭ* 'half,' *činŭ* 'rank,' *darŭ* 'gift'

No original *ŭ*-stem nouns have meanings intermediate between FIGURE and GROUND; discrete, countable concrete objects are missing. Given the clustering of the meanings of *ŭ*-stem nouns at the ends of the scale, the "extra" morphology they provided could be associated either with FIGURE or GROUND, and the specific association of each case ending was determined by the markedness values of FIGURE and GROUND in relation to the semantics of the given case. In North Slavic, *ŭ*-stem endings sought the least marked positions:

All other things being equal, FIGURE is marked, GROUND unmarked
Nominative is the case of the subject, therefore FIGURE is unmarked

- Npl-*ove* marks FIGUREs

Dative is the case of the potential subject,[11] therefore FIGURE is unmarked

-- Dsg *-ovi* marks FIGUREs

Locative is case of location/attendant circumstance, so GROUND is unmarked

-- Lsg *-u* marks GROUNDs

Genitive case is indifferent to FIGURE-GROUND and GROUND has default unmarked value

-- Gsg *-u* marks GROUNDs

The role of Npl *-ove* and Dsg *-ovi* will be examined in every language where those endings signal virility.

2.1 *Npl* -ove

Polish

The Npl endings *-owie*, *-i/(-y)*, and *-y/(-i)*[12] are used in Polish both to distinguish humans like the SELF from humans not like the SELF, and to make finer distinctions within the category of humans not like the SELF, pragmatically promoting some to higher (honorific) status and demoting others to the status of non-viriles. The neutral Npl ending for virile nouns is *-i/(-y)* (as in *studenci* 'students,' *autorzy* 'authors'). Npl *-owie* implies higher relative status; *-y/(-i)* is generally derogatory.

If we examine the groups of nouns for which Npl *-owie* is obligatory, we see a clear relationship of similarity to the (idealized) SELF. The SELF is the prototypical FIGURE: a specific, unique, namable being identified with the speaker/hearer's ego (ideally if not actually a human male). It follows that those who are most like the SELF are (male) blood relatives—literally the closest "copies" of the SELF. The fact that one of the most important male kinship terms is an original *ŭ*-stem, namely *synŭ* 'son,' was no doubt instrumental in motivating the extension of Npl *-owie*. Indeed, virtually all Polish masculine kinship terms require *-owie* (e.g., *ojcowie* 'fathers'). Family members are grouped according to family names, which also have obligatory Npl *-owie*, and this ending is further extended to given names. Families can be organized into larger groups, such as clans, tribes, and nations and nouns of this type may also have *-owie*, although other factors may come into play. For names of nations, for example, Npl *-owie* is more likely when the stem is monosyllabic, as in *Bałtowie* 'Balts.'

The other relevant parameter for the semantic segregation of viriles in Polish is relative salience, which is greatest for persons of high status and lowest for marginalized or maligned members of the population. For the most prestigious titles, Npl *-owie* is virtually required, as in *król* 'king,' Npl *królowie; generał* 'general,' Npl *generałowie*. Npl *-owie* is the expected ending for many professions, such as *geograf* 'geographer,' Npl *geografowie*. For many professions, both *-i/(-y)* and *-owie* are used, and the latter has an honorific connotation, as in *psycholog* 'psychologist,' Npl *psycholodzy/psychologowie*.

For many pejorative nouns with virile reference, the use of Npl -*owie* and even the otherwise neutral *-i/(-y)* are marked (ironic), and *-y/(-i)* is expected. This signals both a distancing of the SELF from such "undesirables" and a demotion of these referential viriles to the status of animals and females. Typical candidates for the use of the deprecatory form in *-y/(-i)* are nouns like *bękart* 'bastard,' Npl *bękarty; koniokrad* 'horsethief,' Npl *koniokrady*. Deprecatory Npl forms are expected or common for certain racial, ethnic, and other groups: *Murzyn* 'Negro,' Npl *Murzyny* (non-deprecatory: *Murzyni*); *Żyd* 'Jew,' Npl *Żydy* (non-deprecatory: *Żydzi* 'Jews'); *cygan* 'gypsy,' Npl *cygany* (non-deprecatory: *cyganie*); *karzeł* 'midget; dwarf,' Npl *karły; pedał* 'homosexual (vulg.),' Npl *pedały*.[13]

There are numerous syntactic ramifications to the choice of virile Npl *-owie* or *-i/(-y)* as opposed to non-virile *-y/(-i)* . The Npl endings of adjectives and the plural *l*-participle forms (used in both past and future tenses) also express virility. The Late Common Slavic masculine *-i* has retreated and is now used only with virile, as opposed to non-virile *-e* for adjectives and *-y* for *l*-participles. The 3pl pronoun likewise observes the distinction: virile *oni* vs. non-virile *one*. When the deprecatory Npl *-y/(-i)* is used on a virile noun, however, all other agreement is *non*-virile.

The Polish situation can be summarized as follows:

Npl *-owie*	association with SELF/FIGURE	kin, names, tribes, high status	syntactically virile
Npl *-i/(-y)*	(neutral)	most other viriles	syntactically virile
Npl *-y/(-i)*	distanced from SELF/FIGURE	deprecatory terms, males who are small, young, or marginalized	syntactically non-virile

Slovak

Virility is expressed by three Npl morphemes in Slovak: *-ove* > -*ovia, -i,* and *-e* > *-ia* (limited to nouns in *-tel'* and *-an*). However, there are phonological factors at work, and empirical studies (Bosák 1992, Sabol 1980) show that use of *-ovia* is declining. Like Polish -

owie, Slovak *-ovia* tends to be used with first and last names (*Jánovia, Pasteurovia*), male kinship terms (*otcovia* 'fathers'), some (mainly monosyllabic) ethnic names (*Kurdovia* 'Kurds'), and some titles (*princovia* 'princes'). However, much of the distribution of -*ovia* can be described in terms of morphology or phonology rather than semantics, and *-ovia* cannot be used to promote referents to honorific status in Slovak (the complementary demotion of viriles to non-virile status is also lacking). All virile stems ending in *g, h* and most viriles in other velars are likely to use Npl *-ovia*: *bohovia* 'gods,' *chirurgovia* 'surgeons,' *chlapčekovia* 'boys,' *duchovia* 'spirits'. Virile stems with Nsg in *-a, -o, -i, -us* (*hrdina, hrdinovia* 'hero, heroes'; *šuhajko, šuhajkovia* 'fellow, fellows'; *kuli, kuliovia* 'coolie, coolies'; *génius, géniovia* 'genius, geniuses') all admit *-ovia*, although for many of these words, the use of *-i* is gaining ground.

Thus Slovak clearly distinguishes virile nouns (Npl *-ovia, -ia, -i*) from non-virile, though it does not make the finer distinctions made in Polish.[14] Virile vs. non-virile plural forms are present in adjectives, where the virile Npl is *-í/-i* and the non-virile is *-e*. The 3pl pronoun has two forms: virile *oni* vs. non-virile *ony*. The *l*-participle does not distinguish virility.

Czech

In Czech the primary distinction is animacy (not virility) in the Npl, with inanimates having *-y/-ě* and animates having *-i, -é,* and *-ové*. The neutral Npl form for the vast majority of animate stems is *-i*, and indications are (Sgall & Hronek 1992: 39, Komárek *et al.* 1986: 293; Kořenský 1972: 18-19) that both *-é* and *-ové* are receding in favor of *-i*. However, *-é* and *-ové* are used almost exclusively with nouns having virile referents; the only common exception to this rule being the use of *-ové* as a variant of *-i* with nouns referring to animals that share some morphological characteristic with virile nouns (usually a diminutive *-ek* or a stem in *-l*: *ptáček* 'bird (dim.),' Npl *ptáčci/ptáčkové; mýval* 'raccoon,' Npl *mývali/mývalové*). The distribution of *-ové* in Czech is in some ways similar to that observed in Polish; it is found in the following types of virile nouns:

(1) first and last names (*Václavové, Havlové*)
(2) kinship terms (*otcové* 'fathers,' *vnukové/vnuci* 'grandsons')
(3) some ethnic names (*Arabové* 'Arabs,' *Rusové* 'Russians')
(4) professions (*pedagogové* 'pedagogues,' *ekonomové* 'economists')
(5) monosyllabic stems (*mimové* 'mimes,' *rekové/reci* 'heroes')
(6) stems ending in *-l*, especially if derived from verbal *l*-participles (*patolízalové* 'boot-lickers').

Czech does not, however, attribute any honorific meaning to the use of *-ové*, as the last example above attests. If conditions are met, any virile noun can use *-ové*, even a noun that is strongly pejorative.

2.2 *Dsg* -ovi

Dsg *-ovi* has enjoyed productivity only in West Slavic and Ukrainian. Although this ending was initially extended to mark viriles in the Dsg (a trend already present in Old Church Slavonic and continued in East Slavic until the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries; cf. Grappin 1956: 41 and Gorškova & Xaburgaev 1981: 182), further developments have taken place since the fourteenth century in the territory where we now observe *-ovi*:

-- extension of *-ovi* to non-virile animate and inanimate nouns (Polish and Ukrainian)

-- extension of *-ovi* to non-virile animate nouns (Slovak)

-- extension of *-ovi* to virile nouns in the Lsg (Czech, Slovak, and Ukrainian; probably motivated by DLsg syncretism in *a*-stem and *i*-stem paradigms).

Since the spread of Dsg *-ovi* went "too far" in Polish and Ukrainian (where *-ovi* vs. *-u* distinguish masculine vs. neuter for the vast majority of *o*-stems) and in Slovak (where the distribution has crystallized into an animacy distinction, with *-ovi* for animates and *-u* for inanimates), the use of this ending to mark viriles is limited to Czech, where it is only weakly realized. The further extension of *-ovi* to Lsg yielded a parallel distinction for that case in both Czech and Ukrainian.

Czech

Dsg *-ovi* has been used with viriles, and particularly proper names, since the earliest attestations of Old Czech, and has gradually extended its admissible range to nearly all animate masculine nouns. Dsg *-ovi* continues, however, to compete with the reflexes of the *o*-stem (*-u*) and *jo*-stem/*i*-stem/consonant-stem (*-i*) desinences, and has succeeded in establishing itself as the only admissible variant in only one paradigm, that of the *a*-stem viriles (cf. *hrdina* 'hero,' Dsg *hrdinovi;* but note that viriles in *-ce*, which descend from the *ja*-stem paradigm permit both *-i* and *-ovi*, thus *soudce* 'judge,' Dsg *soudci/soudcovi*). It is tempting to suggest that Npl *-ové* and Dsg *-ovi* might be coextant, but this is not the case. While the use of Npl *-ové* is currently declining, the use of Dsg *-ovi* is on the rise in the spoken language, and in both the literary and spoken languages the coexistence of variant forms is vastly more widespread in the Dsg than in the Npl. Further, the range of Npl *-ové* is limited primarily to virile nouns; whereas Dsg *-ovi* is clearly used more frequently with viriles than with other animates, it can appear on most animate nouns as well: *psovi* 'dog (Dsg),' *koňovi* 'horse (Dsg).' Czech does not extend the use of Dsg *-ovi* to facultative animates (inanimate masculine nouns that have GAsg *-a* and, in some cases, an expressive Npl in *-i*), a fact likely motivated by the basic association of *-ovi* with virility rather than animacy.

2.2.1 *Secondary phenomena in Lsg*

In Czech the distribution of Dsg *-ovi* and Lsg *-ovi* is virtually identical and limited to animate, and particularly virile, nouns. Ukrainian extended *-ovi* to animate nouns in the Lsg; producing an animacy distinction with traces of former association with virility, as in Czech (but without the parallel distinction in the Dsg).

In the recent history of Belarusian, Lsg *-u* has begun to mark virility. Although Lsg *-u* was initially spread to inanimates in Old East Slavic, in Belarusian it became specialized for stems ending in consonants not paired for palatalization—velars, palatals, *c*, and *r* —and spread to all such stems, regardless of their meanings. Since agentive (mainly virile) suffixes tend to end in a palatal, *k*, *c*, or *r*, Lsg *-u* has been associated with virility, and Mayo (1976: 21) notes an

increasing tendency for this ending to replace *-e* in *all* nouns denoting men, as in *ab bratu* 'about brother.'

3. Former dual morphemes add more fuel to virility

Formerly dual morphology has played a role in the development both of the virile/animate GApl, and of virile numerals in both West and South Slavic. In languages where the dual category was lost, but dual morphology became productive, the "extra" morphology is usually used to signal plural. This is the case in the Russian Npl *-á*, Serbo-Croatian DILpl *-ima, -ama*, and in the Spoken Czech Ipl *-ama/-ěma*, as well as the paucal and counted plurals of East and South Slavic. Whereas in becoming plural the dual has only to relinquish its special status as a non-singular number, it is harder to imagine how a number could become a gender. One must consider, however, the fact that grammatical categories such as number, gender, and case do not operate autonomously; in Slavic they share inflectional morphemes. Since every nominal desinence must signal a combination of values for these categories, it stands to reason that changes in the value of one category could affect the others. The relevant relations between number and gender can be expressed in terms of markedness alignment. In the plural there is a tendency to reduce gender distinctions, retaining only the most marked among them. Virility is a highly marked gender and is aligned with the marked number, plural. Here the reduction in individuation occasioned by the plural (as opposed to the singular) can motivate a FIGURE-GROUND distinction at the highest end of the scale (i.e., higher than animacy, which is distinguished in the singular), yielding grammaticalization of virility. It is logical that marked morphemes within the plural (such as former dual desinences) be used with plurals of the marked virile gender. This usage is frequently accompanied by a marked construction as well. The alignment of marked morphology with marked number and marked gender to produce special virile numerals is not uniquely expressed by former dual morphemes. It is also seen with morphemes of different origin, such as the virile numerals in *-ica* in Serbo-Croatian (available only for numbers 2-9 and in the indefinite *nekolcina* 'few'), and the *dvoe, troe, četvoro* series in Russian (with

parallels in Ukrainian and Belarusian) which mark *pluralia tantum* and baby animal (*nt*-stem) nouns in addition to viriles—both derive from original collectives.

3.1 *Virile/Animate GApl*

All of North Slavic except Czech has genitive-accusative syncretism in the plural. In Polish and Slovak the GApl is associated with virile nouns, whereas in Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian it may be used with animate nouns of any gender and is not restricted to human reference. As we shall see, dual morphology served as an essential bridge between the GAsg already tangible in OCS and the later creation of a GApl in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries in most of North Slavic.

It may seem that the development of a GApl was just a natural extension of the syncretism already observed in the singular, but there are several important factors that must be taken into consideration, among them:

a. the development and implementation of GApl is far from uniform in Slavic
b. the conditions under which the GApl developed were vastly different than those that spawned the GAsg: there was no "problematic" syncretism between the Npl and Apl that the Gpl could purportedly "correct"
c. there is ample attestation of dual forms playing a transitional role in the development of the GApl.

In Late Common Slavic masculine nouns did not exhibit nominative-accusative syncretism in the plural, and there is predictably no evidence of GApl in OCS, aside from the replacement of the accusative pronominal forms *ny* 'us,' *vy* 'you' with the corresponding genitives *nasŭ*, *vasŭ*. Indeed, when the Apl *-y* begins to spread to the Npl in North Slavic, it appears first on inanimate stems, thus avoiding the very syncretism that might have been instrumental in motivating GApl. However, the fact that the Apl *-y* *never* spread to the Npl of viriles in Polish (except as a marker of negative affect in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and the Apl *-y* spread to the Npl of animates in East Slavic only *after* the

appearance of the GApl (Šaxmatov 1957: 226-9) should be sufficient evidence to prove that the impetus for developing a GApl must be found elsewhere. Grappin (1950) and Šaxmatov (1957) have both suggested that the dual was decisive in bringing about the GApl in Polish and East Slavic. The chronology of events suggests that whereas there was no nominative-accusative syncretism in the plural, there was such syncretism in the dual, and there is evidence that for viriles the Adu was supplanted first by the Gdu and then by the Gpl, and that both of these changes predate the introduction of the GApl.

Polish

Grappin (1950: 94-101) gives the following chronology of events, based on attestations of Old Polish. By the fourteenth century, the accusative dual of Old Polish, originally syncretic with the nominative dual, had been replaced by the genitive dual for virile nouns only (all the following changes are likewise relevant only to virile nouns). In the fifteenth century, the GAdu form *dwu* 'two' could be accompanied by Gpl morphology on the noun and/or adjective, and by the end of the fifteenth century, the use of Gpl with the adjective was standard. In the sixteenth century the Gpl eclipsed the Gdu for nouns. The following example illustrates this chain of events:

miał dwa młoda syny/brata (Adu) '(he) had two young sons/brothers'	13th C
> *miał dwu młodu synu/bratu* (Gdu)	14th C
> *miał dwu młodych synu/bratu* (Gpl adj & Gdu noun)	15th C
> *miał dwu młodych synów/braci* (Gpl)	16th C

At this point the Gpl began to infiltrate new territory, for it became generalized as a plural quantifier for viriles in a variety of situations. Early in the sixteenth century, the numerals '3' and '4' began to appear in their genitive forms *trzech, czterech*[15] accompanied by Gpl forms of adjectives and virile nouns, and these numerals occasion the creation of a variant of *dwu*, namely *dwóch*. In the late sixteenth century the higher numerals ('5' through '10') and the indefinite numerals acquire *-u* (motivated by Gdu) when quantifying viriles. In the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, the Gpl expands rapidly to collocations not modified by

numerals, and also begins to replace nominative forms in collocations modified by numerals. The adjectival status of '2,' '3,' and '4' was instrumental in facilitating both the spread of the Gpl to '3' and '4' and the spread of this construction to adjectives, first in the presence of numerals and then in their absence. Whereas the spread to nominative constructions with numerals led to the evolution of virile numerals (as in *pięciu panów* 'five men,' cf. 3.2), the spread to accusative constructions without numerals marked the creation of a new GApl. The virile GApl became fully established in Polish in the seventeenth century. The relevant changes in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries can be summarized as follows:

GApl used with *dwu*
> GApl used with *dwu/dwóch, trzech, czterech*
> GApl used with '5' and above, these numerals have *-u* ending
> GApl used with indefinite numerals with *-u* ending
> GApl used in the absence of numerals.

Slovak
Although the historical evidence for this development in Slovak has been obscured by the use of Czech as a literary language, it appears that the virile GApl took hold in that language at about the same time, approximately the sixteenth century (Stanislav 1967: 19), and in the modern spoken language there is a tendency to extend it to animal names as well.

East Slavic
In Old East Slavic the course of developments was similar (minus the special forms for the numerals) and went farther, eventually yielding an animacy distinction for all three genders. Ukrainian, however, retains some association of GApl with virility: non-virile masculines can use the NApl as an alternate ending.

3.2 *Virile numerals*

Polish
The history and modern usage of numerals in Polish is complex enough to fill entire monographs (cf. Grappin 1950 and Schabowska 1967), and many of the details are beyond the scope of the present

study. We shall focus only on the most important events relevant to the creation of virile numerals in Polish.
In 3.1 we outlined a sequence of events which yielded the following special construction for quantified virile noun phrases in the accusative: *dwu/dwóch, trzech, czterech,* '5' and above and indefinites with *-u* + GApl of noun phrase. Contemporary to the expansion of the scope of numerals involved was an expansion of the scope of syntactic environments: the genitive construction started replacing the nominative in the late sixteenth century, became established in the eighteenth, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries neuter singular verbal agreement ultimately eclipsed (virile) plural. For example, for '10 men came':

(1) *przyszli dziesięciu panów*

disappeared in favor of

(2) *przyszło dziesięciu panów.*[16]

'Three' had two nominative forms in Common Slavic: masculine *trĭje,* which contracted to yield *trzē* in Old Polish, and further developed the variant *trzej* via diphthongization in the fifteenth century; and feminine/neuter *tri* > *trzy.* In a fashion parallel to that described above for *dwu,* markedness alignment motivated the use of the most marked morpheme, *trzē* > *trzej,* with the most marked number, plural, and the most marked gender, virile. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *trzē* (> *trzej*) marked only viriles, and *trzy* was used for non-viriles. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the analogical creations *czterej* '4,' *dwaj* '2,' *obaj* 'both,' *obajdwaj* 'both 2' appear. Like the genitive-nominative construction discussed above, *dwaj, obaj, obajdwaj, trzej, czterej* went through a period when they could be constructed both with virile plural and with neuter singular verbal agreement. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the neuter singular construction yielded to the virile plural. Furthermore, the semantics of the virile numerals and their constructions has narrowed to refer only to referents that are exclusively virile; in other words, mixed groups of virile and non-virile referents cannot be quantified this way, even though it is otherwise customary to use virile agreement

for mixed groups. Thus both *trzech studentów* and *trzej studenci* 'three students' specify that all three are male.[17]

Slovak

Historical grammars (Pauliny 1990: 198 and Stanislav 1967: 378-391) offer little explanation of the origin of virile numerals in Slovak, which are first attested in the late eighteenth century. It is likely that the historical record just does not provide enough data to allow us to reconstruct the stages of this development. There are obligatory special numerals *dvaja, obaja, obidvaja, traja, štyria* for '2,' 'both,' 'both 2,' '3,' '4,' which are associated with the use of the corresponding genitive forms in the accusative. These numerals are used primarily with virile referents, but can appear with animals. They are constructed like adjectives, and the noun phrases they quantify are Npl if nominative or GApl if accusative. For '5' and above, the numeral has an *-i* desinence in the nominative and an *-ich* desinence in the accusative, but the use of a special virile numeral is optional. Thus it is possible to say both

(3) *piati žiaci sa hlásia*

and

(4) *päť žiakov sa hlási*

'five students raised their hands.'

The behavior of '2,' '3,' and '4' is similar to that observed in Polish, but overall, virility is more weakly expressed by numerals in Slovak than in Polish.

Bulgarian

By the thirteenth century, the old DIdu form *dŭvama* (later *dvama*) '2' was generalized in Old Bulgarian as an indeclinable numeral, and in the fourteenth century its use was specialized for counting male humans (Mirčev 1978: 193-194). The historical record does not provide much more information, except to tell us that later on forms with a similar function were created, yielding an array of modern numerals, among them: (Table 3)

Table 3.

'2'	*dvama*	*dvamina*	*dvamka*	*dvamca*	*dvoica*
'3'	*trima*		*trimka*	*trimca*	*troica*
'4'	*četirima*		*četirimka*		*četvorica*
'5'	*petima*				
'6'	*šestima*				
'7'		*sedmina*			
'8'		*osmina*			
'9'		*devetmina*			
'10'	*desetima*	*desetmina*			
'100'		*stotina*			
'how many'		*kolcina*			
'several'		*nekolcina*			
'a few'		*malcina*			

The only virile numerals that are widely used in the standard language, however, are the forms for '2'-'6' in *-ma* in the first column, and they act as adjectives, combining with the normal plural rather than the counted plural form, as is the norm for non-virile referents. The use of these numerals is preferred for '2'-'6', but not obligatory, and with other numerals virile nouns tend to use the counted plural. In the first column, virile numerals are clearly derived from the old dual form *dvama*; most of the others contain an *m* which may be at least partly motivated by the same form. It appears likely that the same alignment of marked form with marked number and gender that we saw in Polish stimulated the development of virile numerals in Bulgarian.

Macedonian

The use of virile numerals in Macedonian is less consistent than in Bulgarian (cf. Friedman 1993: 267-268, 294), and the role of the dual in their development, if any, is uncertain. Examples are:

'2'	*dvajca*	'3'	*trojca*	'4'	*četvorica*
'5'	*petmina*	'6'	*šestmina*	'7'	*sedummina*
'8'	*osummina*	'9'	*devetmina*	'10'	*desetmina*
'100'	*stomina*				
'1000'	*iljadamina*				

4. Virility in Slavic: An overview

The following schematic map summarizes the morphological realizations of virility in Slavic (where a marker is non-obligatory, its use is limited to only a few items, or its virile meaning is diluted by use with non-virile referents, it is labeled "weak") (Figure 1).

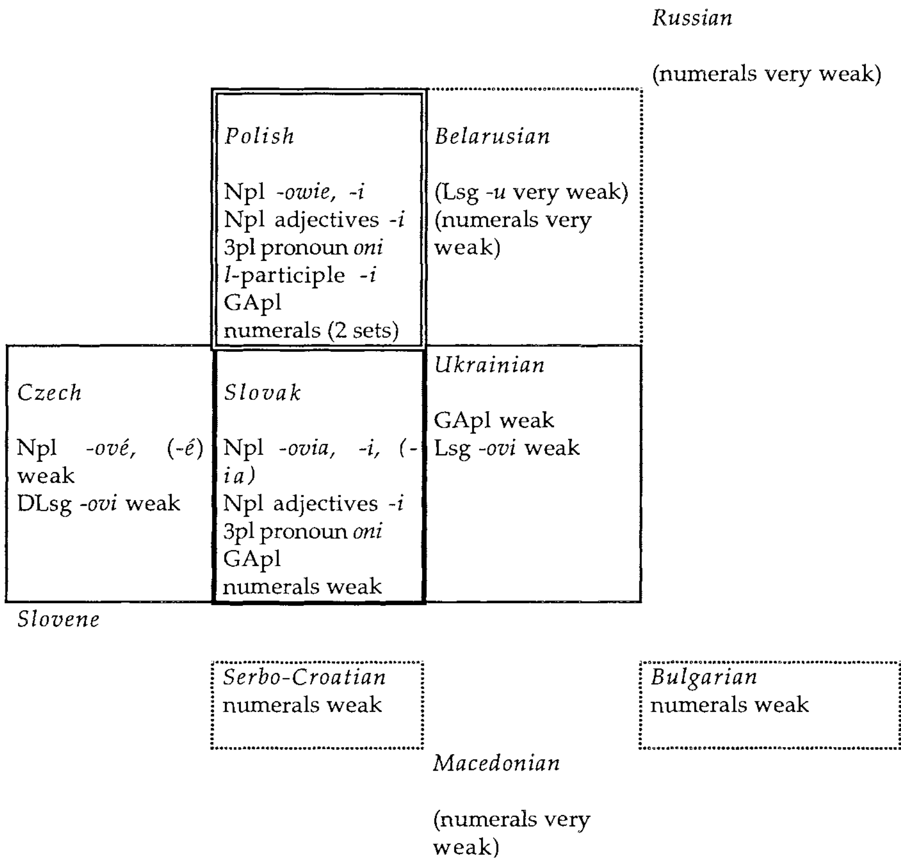

Figure 1

The fact that virility is most pronounced in Polish is, of course, no surprise to Slavists. But the systematic geographic distribution of

virility markers has not been examined in detail before. There is a clear cline in the dialect geography. Next to Polish, the strongest implementation of virility is seen in neighboring Slovak. Somewhat less virility is observable in Czech and Ukrainian, and even less in Belarusian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian. Other Slavic languages show only traces or no virility at all. The variety of virility markers is also instructive. Most virility markers result from the opportunistic spread of "extra" morphemes from defunct paradigms, operating in concert with other semantic and grammatical trends in each given language: articulation of FIGURE-GROUND distinctions, and case, number and gender distinctions. The vast majority of virility markers operate in the plural, where virility functions as a specialized plural gender.

5. Endnote

Last semester a graduate student who is writing a dissertation on ethnic minorities in Germany asked me to read through some texts and a grammar of Upper Sorbian, a language spoken in a Slavic enclave north of the Czech Republic and west of Poland. A distinguishing feature of Upper Sorbian is the fact that it has retained the old Slavic dual, and this motivated me to examine the phenomenon of virility in this language, since it might confirm or disconfirm some of the history I have suggested for Polish and East Slavic. Overall, the picture is very much in harmony with both the history and the virility map above: Upper Sorbian expresses virility by means of: a) Npl endings (including **-ove* > *-ojo* and **-i* > *-i/-y*), b) a genitive-accusative in both the dual and plural (here plural morphology has replaced some dual morphology, just as we would expect), and c) virile numeral forms. Although it is perhaps a gross simplification to say so, virile expression in Upper Sorbian today looks much like it probably did in Polish in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. The graduate student was predictably amused by my interest in this issue, and reported being pleasantly surprised by my use of the term "virility". At the summer language school where she had begun her study of Upper Sorbian, both handbooks and instructors referred to this distinction as one of "rational" as opposed to "irrational", and she did not take very kindly to being classed as

the latter. Which brings us back to the concepts of gender and self addressed at the outset. Language provides a window into how human beings understand and associate these concepts, one that we have only begun to look through.

Notes

1. For detailed discussion of the role of bodily human experience in the shaping of cognition in general and linguistic categories in particular, the reader is referred to Johnson 1987 and Lakoff 1987.
2. "Ambient intangibles" include items such as weather phenomena, sounds, social institutions, and abstractions. The following sources were consulted in the preparation of the data and historical commentary. These and other sources will be referred to in the text only where direct quotes or specific controversy are involved.
   Polish: Buttler et al. 1971, Grappin 1956, Klemensiewicz et al. 1981, Rothstein 1993, Urbańczyk et al. 1984.
   Czech: Gebauer 1960, Komárek et al. 1986, Short 1993a, Šmilauer 1972, Townsend 1981 & 1990, Trávníček 1935 & 1949, Vážný 1970.
   Slovak: Dvonč 1984, Dvonč et al. 1966, Mistrík 1988, Pauliny 1990, Sabol 1980, Short 1993b, Stanislav 1967.
   Sorbian: Schuster-Šewc 1996, Stone 1993.
   Ukrainian: Bilodid et al. 1969, Carlton 1971, Kernyc'kyj 1967, Matvijas 1974, Medvedev 1964, Shevelov 1993.
   Belarusian: Birala et al. 1957, Biryla et al. 1985, Bulyka et al. 1979, Jankoŭski 1989, Mayo 1976 & 1993.
   Russian: Gorškova & Xaburgaev 1981, Panov 1968, Šaxmatov 1957, Švedova et al. 1982, Timberlake 1993, Unbegaun 1935.
   Slovene: Derbyshire 1993, Priestly 1993, Toporišič 1976.
   Serbo-Croatian: Belić 1965, Browne 1993, Leskien 1914, Stevanović 1962.
   Macedonian: Friedman 1993, Koneski 1986, Lunt 1952.
   Bulgarian: Gribble 1987, Mirčev 1978, Rusinov 1987, Scatton 1993, Stojanov 1980, Tilkov et al. 1983.
3. Throughout this article, "*a*-stem" refers to both *a*-stems and *ja*-stems, and "*o*-stem" refers to both *o*-stems and *jo*-stems, and only the "hard" variants of declensional endings are cited.
4. This is of course a gross simplification. Consonant-stem nouns migrate to one of these two paradigms, usually on the basis of gender, the masculine *ŭ*-stem nouns are absorbed by the *o*-stem paradigm, and *ū*-stem nouns become for the most part *a*-stem and *i*-stem feminines. Traces of these paradigms persist as variants to the two dominant paradigms, but not as independent declensional patterns. The only significant remnant is the feminine *i*-stems, which persist in all of Slavic.

5. Present everywhere but in Macedonian and Bulgarian, where declension has since been lost. As noted below, however, GAsg began as a marker of virility, not animacy in Common Slavic.
6. Note that both Lunt (1959: 46-47) and Diels (1932: 157) treat the former *ŭ*-stem endings as variants for certain masculine nouns in OCS, rather than presenting them as an independent paradigm.
7. The only feminine paradigms to collapse were the *r*-stems and the *ū*-stems, but neither yielded much in the way of "extra" distinctive morphemes. The *r*-stem paradigm had only two exponents, *mati* 'mother' and *dŭkti* 'daughter,' and had been at least partially assimilated to the *i*-stem paradigm by Late Common Slavic. The *ū*- stem paradigm was also assimilated to the *i*-stem paradigm in the singular, and to the *a*-stem paradigm in the plural. There is, however, evidence that these two paradigms enjoyed a brief flirtation with virility/animacy (marked by a GAsg) in the Common Slavic period, later subverted due to the overturning of a formerly matriarchal society (Abernathy 1978).
8. Dual *ŭ*-stem endings will be excluded from discussion, since they have not been productive. For a comprehensive treatment of the role of *ŭ*- stem endings in Slavic, see Janda 1996.
9. In the *o*-stem paradigm the Nsg *-ŭ* probably results from a combination of factors (cf. Feinberg 1978), one of which might be analogical borrowing from the *ŭ*-stem ending, where Nsg *-ŭ* is etymologically "correct."
10. These claims are based upon a sample of nine works on Common Slavic, OCS, and the historical grammars of various modern Slavic languages: Meillet 1965, Van Wijk 1931, Lunt 1959, Diels 1932, Vážný 1970, Šaxmatov 1957, Gorškova & Xaburgaev 1981, Unbegaun 1935, and Kernyc'kyj 1967. All nine sources list the first six lexemes; six out of nine list the second six items.
11. The case for identifying the dative as the case of the potential subject is argued in Janda 1993 (cf. also Bachman 1980).
12. Unfortunately Polish orthography obscures the etymological origins of the high front vowel. In this article *-i/(-y)* indicates original *-i* which conditions morphophonemic stem alternations, whereas *-y/(-i)* indicates original *-y* which does not.
13. Where virility is not in question, the deprecatory *-y/(-i)* can be used ironically for positive affect: *te Warszawiaki* 'those (good old) Warsaw guys' (cited in Rothstein 1993: 697).
14. There are four nouns referring to animals that can use the virile *-i* as a variant of *-y* (*vlk* 'wolf,' *býk* 'bull,' *vták* 'bird,' and *pes* 'dog') in the literary language and the use of Npl *-i* with animal names is widespread in spoken Slovak.
15. Etymologically *trzech, czterech* are locative forms, but by the fifteenth century they had replaced the original genitives, partly because of syncretism with the nominative and partly due to the influence of GLpl syncretism in adjectives (recall here that numerals '3' and '4' have the status of adjectives); cf. Klemensiewicz et al. 1981: 340-341.

16. The semantic and syntactic motives for favoring neuter singular agreement are complex and not well agreed on. For a good discussion, see Grappin 1950: 108-113.
17. In order to express mixed groups, the collective numerals are used, as in *troje studentów* 'three students.' Some handbooks state that *trzech studentów* can also be used for mixed groups.

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