The non-sexist language debate in French and English

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Candidate's Statement

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university of institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification.

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Signed:

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Abstract

The field of gender and language has gradually abandoned studies of gender-fair language, perhaps considering that there is little left to say on the subject. However, the debate over gender-fair language rages on in the media. Language bodies spend a significant amount of time and money on producing guidelines, yet there have been woefully few studies on what speakers think of these reforms, and the few studies that have been carried out have tended to focus on small groups. In addition, there have been very few analyses of how sexism gets debated and defined within media texts themselves, whereas examining social evaluations of language is essential in understanding the motivating force of language change. There is also a dearth of comparative studies in gender and language, which would allow conceptions of language in general, as well as feminist linguistic reforms, to be framed in their cultural and historical perspectives.

This thesis aims at filling this gap in the field of gender and language by examining discourses on feminist linguistic reform in the media from a cross-linguistic perspective. A corpus of 242 articles (approx. 167,000 words) spanning 15 years (2001-2016), whose main topic is (non-)sexist or gender-fair language was collected from British and French on-line national newspapers. Apart from the obvious fact that the media have an enormous influence on public opinion, this is where the debate on sexist language has traditionally been carried out, and thus the media play a special role in the debate. On-line newspaper texts were therefore chosen in an effort to find discourses that readers are exposed to on a regular basis, and that could be classed as widespread and familiar to the general public.

A corpus-based analysis was employed as a starting point to identify traces of discourses that are used to frame arguments in the gender-fair language debate. Frequency lists, keyword lists, and word sketches were carried out in order to indicate possible directions for analysis. Hypotheses based on the literature review were also followed up with searches for particular semantically related terms relating to discourses found in other studies. Finally, a CDA analysis was carried out on relevant concordance lines.

Twelve main discourses were identified in the two corpora, based on six principle ideologies of language. Findings indicated that the overwhelming majority of these discourses and language ideologies are found in both the English and the French corpus, and across the political spectrum of newspaper groups. However, differences in quantitative and qualitative use may indicate on the one hand, deeper cultural differences between the UK and France, and on the other, core political and moral values between the right and left wing.

The main contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes is in helping to revitalise research on sexist language through an analysis of the discourses and language ideologies that determine the success, or failure, of non-sexist language, as well as a novel analysis of the origin of sexism in language (Chapter 3).

> The debate around sexism has been a struggle to change words, a struggle over language, at the same time as it has been a struggle over legitimacy and about who has the right to define the usage of language [...]. (Mills 2004, p.39)

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter will:

- **locate this thesis in the field of language and gender**
- **justify the research undertaken**
- **explain the purpose, aims, and research approach**
- **delimitate the disciplinary and methodological scope**
- **give a brief overview of each chapter**

This thesis explores the debate on non-sexist language[1] in British and French online media. As the above quote suggests, the guiding idea of this thesis is that language is a site of contestation over meaning and authority, in which a variety of social actors struggle for dominance. Unlike earlier work, this thesis examines the discourses drawn upon in the non-sexist language debate, and the ideologies of language that underpin them, rather than simply the arguments for and against. Using a corpus of online newspaper articles, I identify the common discourses invoked, their frequency, as well as how and why they are invoked to promote a particular argument. Discourses and language ideologies are compared between left wing and right wing, quality and tabloid, and British and French newspapers. Finally, I draw upon wider social and historical phenomena to complement my analyses of the discourses and language ideologies identified in my corpus.

1.1 Where this thesis is located in the field of language and gender

Whereas studies in English have moved away from research on sexism in language viewing it as 'outdated and archaic' (Mills 2008, p.9), languages with grammatical gender such as French have never lost this focus. As such, work on sexist linguistic structures has been marginalised in the English-dominated field of gender and

[1] I use *non-sexist language*, *gender-fair language*, and *feminist linguistic reform* interchangeably to refer to sexism in the linguistic structure (syntax and semantics) as opposed to *sexist discourses*, which refers to the way we talk about women and men (see parts 2.4.1 and 6.1 for a definition of *discourse*).

language over the past two decades (Motschenbacher 2015, p.28). This thesis seeks to defend research on sexism in language, arguing that poststructuralist concepts such as *linguistic wounding* (Motschenbacher 2010, p.169), *conceptual baggage* (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.499), *discursive sedimentation* (Motschenbacher 2010, p.24), and *functional weight* (Curzan 2003, p.139) can be fruitfully combined with a structuralist view of language as attributing relatively stable meanings to words. Consequently, in the field of gender and language, this thesis is situated at the intersection of second wave feminist linguistic research, and third wave / queer research.

1.2 Justification for this research

A sizeable quantity of work has already been produced on identifying sexism in language, and the arguments for and against gender-fair language (e.g., Bengoechea 2011 for Spanish; Elmiger 2008, Yaguello 1992 for French; and Pauwels 1998, Blaubergs 1980, Spender 1980 for English). By comparison, not only has work on what laypeople think about language in general been neglected, until relatively recently it has been dismissed by professional linguists as unworthy of investigation, folk linguistic beliefs being seen as silly and irrational (Kroskrity 2005, p.496; Cameron 1995). Even if laypeople's views on language are sometimes silly and irrational, ideologies of language drive public opinion on language topics (Milroy 2001, p.538), and are often the motivating force behind linguistic change (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, p.70). In addition, they are of sociological interest, and 'may also add something to our understanding of the infinitely complex phenomenon that human language is' (Cameron 1995, p.32). For those who are trying to promote the use of gender-fair language it is therefore essential to know why it is accepted or rejected by the general public. Given the continued use of sexism in language, especially in grammatically gendered languages, the lack of research on why people use it is surprising (Stahlberg *et al.* 2007 cited in Hellinger 2011, pp.570-71).

A second gap that this thesis fills is how sexism gets debated, defined and invoked within the media (Attenborough 2013, pp.694-95). Attenborough notes that apart from a handful of exceptions (Mills 2008, pp.114-19; Cameron 2006, Chapter 3;

Fairclough 2003) 'little or no research has focused specifically on the ways in which "sexism" [...] gets re-presented to us through the media' (Attenborough 2013, pp.694-95). This thesis examines how certain linguistic structures and words are debated in the media, i.e., what counts as sexist, by whom, and why.

In addition to the lack of studies on attitudes to sexist language, and how sexism gets debated in the media, there are very few studies that take a cross-linguistic approach to sexist language (Fraser 2015; Luraghi 2014; Motschenbacher 2010; Teso 2010; Gabriel *et al.* 2008; Gygax *et al.* 2008; Hornscheidt 1997; Pauwels 1996). Taking such an approach in this thesis allows readers to relativize the discourses and language ideologies that I identify by putting them in their cultural and historical perspectives (Motschenbacher 2015, p.35; Woolard 1998, p.4), also highlighting the impact of non-linguistic phenomena on feminist linguistic initiatives. It is interesting to compare English and French for two principal reasons: Firstly, from a linguistic perspective, comparing languages with different structures (English is a Germanic language and French a Romance language) can shed light on how the linguistic structure of a language may facilitate or impede gender-fair language. Secondly, from a more social perspective, examining two countries with different sociolinguistic landscapes and histories, allows us to identify which non-linguistic factors enable or hinder reform.

A final gap that my research fills is one identified by Blommaert concerning the lack of work on the historical production and reproduction of language ideologies (Blommaert 1999, p.1). Although some work has been done on the origin of sexist language and/or the origin of grammatical gender (Luraghi 2009b, 2011; Michard 1996; Violi 1987; McConnell-Ginet 1984), they have rarely discussed the *processes* involved in these phenomena. Chapter 3 fills this gap, combining concepts from a Language Ideology framework in novel ways to create new understandings of sexism in language from a historical perspective.

1.3 Research aims

The purpose of my research was to answer the overarching question: **What discourses are invoked in the gender-fair language debate in English and**

French, and what language ideologies underpin them? Answering this overarching question will, I hope, go some way to tackling the question of why we are *still* debating non-sexist language in the 21st century. My initial interest in non-sexist language stemmed from my surprise at certain people's resistance to it. I had always assumed that those who did not use it were simply sexist. However, certain events (e.g., friends getting married and changing their surnames) started to challenge my assumption that using non-sexist language was simply common sense. One aim of my research is to contribute to the discussion on gender-fair language, and offer some tentative answers to the question of why non-sexist language is still an issue today. Following Mills and Mullany (2011, p.19), another aim of this thesis is not only to describe my findings, but also 'to produce suggestions for action to bring about social change on the basis of thorough linguistic analysis'. This thesis can thus be seen as a form of 'academic activism' (Lazar 2007, p.145).

1.4 Research approach

As many scholars (e.g., Curzan 2003; Milroy 2001; Cameron 1995) in various fields of sociolinguistics have observed, purely objective research is an illusion: 'The questions that we ask affect the answers that we find, and the assumptions and beliefs that we hold influence the questions that we ask' (Curzan 2003, p.184). Indeed, certain scholars (Lazar 2007, p.146; Klinkenberg 2006; Milroy 2001, p.532; Irvine and Gal 2000, p.73) have argued that research that is *explicitly* ideological is in fact more objective than research that is *covertly* ideological because the researcher's position is clearly stated from the outset. This thesis takes a critical feminist perspective drawing heavily on the work of Sara Mills and Deborah Cameron. In other words it takes as given that language has not evolved in a social and cultural vacuum (Curzan 2003, p.184), that it has been shaped in the interests of, and to reflect the world view of those in power, which for most of European history has been upper / middle class white heterosexual men. Implicit in this perspective is a language ideology of language as a tool, that is, language influences to some extent the way we see the world, and can thus be used as a tool for social change.

1.5 Research boundaries

This thesis looks at how non-sexist language has been debated in the media, more precisely online British and French national newspapers covering the period 2001-2016. Thus, it cannot claim to describe what 'people' 'think' about non-sexist language, only what discourses are drawn upon in two languages, in one form of media, by certain groups of people (mostly journalists), during a specific period of time. I cannot claim to know how readers receive these discourses, whether they agree or disagree, and how they engaged with them. However, it can be argued that journalists are likely to reproduce discourses that appeal to their 'community of coverage' (Cotter 2010, p.25 cited in Vessey 2015, p.4). In addition, the media, and especially established newspapers, are generally seen as credible sources of information, and thus readers 'tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions' from sources they see as trustworthy' (Nesler *et al.* 1993 cited in Van Dijk 2003, p.357). Established newspapers also reach a very large audience, thus increasing the 'ideological force' (del-Teso-Craviotto 2006, p.2018) of the discourses found there. What my research *can* claim to do is identify discourses and language ideologies that have an important ideological force, and that reach a wide audience.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

This chapter has located my research at the intersection of second wave and third wave / queer perspectives on sexism in language. It has identified a gap in the field of language and gender in that little work on sexist language that combines structuralist and poststructuralist approaches has been carried out, as well as very few studies on how sexism, and particularly sexist language, gets debated in the media. This chapter has also explained the purpose of my research, and the feminist perspective that has guided it. Finally, I have stated the limitations of the thesis, what claims I can make, and those I cannot make.

Chapter 2 focuses on how sexism in language has been theorised from second wave (structuralist), third wave and queer (poststructuralist) perspectives, arguing that a combination of these two approaches is not only possible, but

desirable, opening up new avenues for the study of sexist language. Chapter 3 uses the Language Ideology concepts of *iconization, fractal recursivity*, and *erasure* in a novel way to analyse the origin of sexism in language, specifically semantic pejoration, and the masculine generic, one of the most common arguments against non-sexist language. Chapter 4 focuses on how the contemporary debate has unfolded in the UK and France. It discusses the different social and historical conditions within which certain language ideologies were able to take hold. I argue that it is language ideologies, especially a standard language ideology, that has slowed down the adoption of gender-fair language in France, rather than the internal structure of the language, or sexist ideologies. Chapter 5 provides a theoretical clarification of what I intend to investigate, and justifies my choice of research question in light of previous studies. Chapter 6 explains how the conceptual framework influenced my research design, justifies the choices of methodological approaches, data selection and collection. Chapters 7-10 present the results and analyses of my main research question: **What discourses are invoked in the gender-fair language debate in English and French, and what language ideologies underpin them?** Each Chapter answers one of four more specific RQs: Chapter 7: What discourses surround *language* in the *English* corpus? (RQ1); Chapter 8: What discourses surround *gender-fair language* in the *English* corpus? (RQ2); Chapter 9: What discourses surround *language* in the *French* corpus? (RQ3); Chapter 10: What discourses surround *gender-fair language* in the *French* corpus? (RQ4). Chapter 11 discusses the major differences and similarities between the English and French corpora, as well as those between the right and left wing newspapers. Finally, Chapter 12 concludes the thesis, summarising the results of the main findings and suggesting directions for further research.

> 'When *I* use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less.'
> 'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you *can* make words mean so many different things.'
> 'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master - that's all.'
> Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865)

Chapter 2 Theorising sexist language

This chapter will:

- **discuss how sexist language has been theorised in different paradigms in the field of gender and language**
- **argue that structuralist and poststructuralist approaches are not necessarily incompatible**
- **locate my approach to sexist language**

Since the establishment of linguistics as an academic discipline at the beginning of the 20th century, language has been theorised from two main perspectives – structuralist and poststructuralist – that have profoundly influenced the way that feminist linguists have examined sexism in language. Consequently, this chapter is conceptually divided into two main parts: how sexist language is theorised within structuralist and poststructuralist linguistics. I begin with how second wave feminist linguists analysed sexist language from a structuralist perspective, before looking at poststructuralist approaches, which I have separated into third wave and queer.

2.1 The waves: a brief description

Describing feminism in waves is, like any metaphor, not perfect, and feminist scholars have frequently questioned its usefulness (Evans and Chamberlain 2015). Using a wave narrative implies a unified movement, with distinct projects. It also implies a chronological movement, and thus a kind of forward progression. In reality, feminism has been full of splinter groups. Theories that are popular in one wave are not necessarily new, but have been bubbling away on the sidelines of other waves (Evans and Chamberlain 2015, p.400). Alternatively, the waves could be thought of more in terms of 'surges of action' as opposed to a certain kind of feminism (Mann & Huffman, 2005, p.58, cited in Evans and Chamberlain 2015,

p.401). Nonetheless, Evans and Chamberlain (2015, p.406) argue that the waves metaphor can be fruitful as long as there is 'critic[al] engage[ment] with the narrative, to ensure that it does not continue to be used solely as a means by which to reinforce feminist in-fighting and crude inaccurate caricatures'. I will therefore follow tradition and continue with a waves metaphor.

The following paragraphs give a brief chronological description of the waves, bearing in mind they do not conform to a 'neat progressive notion of history' (Evans and Chamberlain 2015, p.398). Later, in each relevant part, I explain how each wave has influence research on language and gender.

First wave feminism (from the late 19th century to the early 20th) describes the sustained political movement in the West for political equality for women, including the right to vote.

Second wave feminism roughly corresponds to the second half of the 20th century, and began with Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* in 1949, and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1953. The personal became political, and second wave feminists fought for rights such as universally available contraception, abortion, and equal pay. Second wave feminism has been frequently criticised for being exclusionary, in that it was essentially a white, middle class movement that ignored minorities and the working class.

Third wave feminism 'surged' around the end of the 20th century, but contrary to the second wave, it was a more diffuse movement with no central political goal (Evans and Chamberlain 2015, p.399). In reaction to criticisms against second wave feminism, third wave 'aspir[ed] to greater inclusivity, foregrounding queer and non-white issues in an attempt to move away from white middle-class hegemony' (Baumgardner and Richards 2000, cited in Evans and Chamberlain 2015, p.399). Judith Butler's notion of gender as a fluid performance, rather than as an innate stable identity came to the forefront, and terms that had been rejected as sexist by the second wave, were reclaimed by the third (e.g., *queer, girl*).

Fourth wave feminism is 'still so novel that it is yet to enter fully into the problematic relationship between different waves' (Evans and Chamberlain 2015, p.400). General agreement seems to be that it began in the first decade of the 21st century and is associated with on-line activism, and movements such as SlutWalk and the Everyday Sexism project. Moreover, 'a commitment to intersectionality, an embrace of humour and scepticism of feminist intellectualism are all mentioned as distinctively fourth wave' (Cochrane 2013, cited in Dean and Aune 2015, p.381). However, as far as I am aware, fourth wave feminism has not had much (any?) theoretical influence on research in the field of language and gender. Therefore, I do not discuss fourth wave any further in this thesis.

Queer is not a feminist movement as such, although the two movements are not necessarily incompatible (e.g., queer feminism). The queer movement evolved from a reaction to the American gay and lesbian rights movement in the 1970s and 80s. Its starting point was sexuality rather than gender per se. In the same way that third wave feminism questioned the concept of 'woman' as a coherent stable identity, queer questioned the coherence of an identity based on sexuality (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013, p.520). Queer's main focus is on questioning heteronormativity, and on deconstructing the binaries of male/female and heterosexual/homosexual (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013, p.520).

Research on sexist linguistic structures emerged from second wave feminism, and with the rise of the third wave, has been marginalised over the past few decades (Motschenbacher 2016). A move towards poststructuralist notions of the performative nature of language has meant that studies of sexism in language have been seen as 'outdated and archaic' (Mills 2008, p.9). However, in the same way that critical engagement with the waves metaphor can be used to stress the continuity of feminist ideas, this chapter argues that second wave structuralist analyses of sexist structures can be successfully combined with third wave and queer poststructuralist approaches in order to revitalise the research on sexism in language.

2.2 Defining *sexism*

In order to define what counts as sexist language, a brief definition of *sexism* is needed. *Sexism* is typically defined as something like 'discrimination on the basis of sex and/or gender' (Lind 2011). *Sexism* usually refers to the system of attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes that one sex (usually males) are superior to another sex (usually females). Biological sex is the basis for the presumed superiority of men over women. In this chapter I look at how the ideology of sexism materialises in linguistic structures and semantics.

According to a framework developed by social psychologists Glick and Fiske (1997), sexism is ambivalent: it can be divided into hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is instances of overt negative stereotyping, for example, that girls are not as good at science as boys, or that fathers are less important than mothers. Benevolent sexism, on the other hand, may be perceived by some as positive, for example a man holding a door open for a woman, or offering to carry a heavy object for her. However, when he would not do the same thing for another man, this modern-day chivalry is an instance of benevolent sexism, which is based on the idea that women are weaker than men, and so need men's protection and help. Both hostile and benevolent sexism are two sides of the same coin, which serve to mutually reinforce traditional gender roles, and therefore sexism (Glick and Fiske 2001).

Sexism is difficult to define because there is no uniform agreement on exactly what behaviour, attitudes, words, or discourses actually constitute sexism (Mills and Mullany 2011, p.144). People may disagree as to whether an action, word, comment or joke is sexist, depending on the circumstance and people involved. In a study of sexist jokes by Sunderland, she found that multiple readings of the jokes were made, and that, despite the obviously sexist nature of the jokes, feminist readers were able to simultaneously 'recognise, cognitively deal with, perhaps rationalise, and perhaps be amused by these contradictions' (Sunderland 2007, p.213).

Defining sexist *language* essentially depends on which paradigm is being used, i.e., whether a structuralist (second wave), or a poststructuralist (third wave or queer) approach is being employed. In this chapter I will tease out the differences between these approaches. However, there is often a considerable amount of overlap between them, and they should not be seen as simply chronological, but as potentially complementary (Mills 2003b).

2.3 Structuralist perspectives: Second wave feminist linguistics

The theoretical orientation of second wave feminist linguistics is traditionally a structuralist one (Ehrlich and King 1992), i.e., 'language as a system of signs that are associated with stable meanings' (Motschenbacher 2015, p.28). Structuralism has its origins in linguistics, and is generally said to have started with Ferdinand de Saussure and the posthumous publication of his *Course in General Linguistics* in 1916. Saussure saw language as a static system of interconnected units, and modelled language in purely linguistic terms, free of psychology, sociology, or anthropology. The basis of structuralist linguistics is the *sign*. A sign has two parts, the *signifier* (e.g., the written word *cat*, the sound /kæt/, or a picture of a cat) and the *signified* (the concept *cat*). Within this system a sign can only be understood by its contrast with other signs. Phonetically, we are only able to understand /kæt/ because of the opposition of /k/ to other sounds such as /b/ in *bat*, /h/ in *hat,* and /m/ in *mat* etc.

Saussure's work was innovative because it drew attention to the structuralist significance of binary oppositions, which was then used in other approaches such as componential analysis, which relies upon binarity. However, Cameron rightly asks 'whether these binary oppositions exist in language to be discovered, or whether they are constructed as a convenient method of analysing language' (Cameron 1992, p.86). Componential analysis studies the semantic properties of words based on their binary features. For example, *man* = [+ male], [+ mature], *woman* = [– male], [+ mature], *boy* = [+ male], [– mature], *girl* = [– male] [– mature], and *child* = [+/– male] [– mature]. Here we see again the idea of male-as-norm where *woman* is categorised as [– male]. According to this analysis, the masculine is the 'unmarked' category (see part 2.5.2 below for a discussion of 'markedness').

Cameron argues that the convention of [+/– male] is exactly that, a *convention*, not 'an inalienable part of the language' (Cameron 1992, p.88). Componential analysis is also unable to grasp the contextual meaning of a gendered form, for example calling an adult woman a *girl* ([– male] [– mature]) may be used as either a marker of solidarity (e.g., among a group of friends), or as a marker of asymmetrical power (e.g., a male boss to his female secretary).

In grammatically gendered languages like French, the masculine and feminine only make sense in contrast to each other. If the feminine grammatical gender disappeared, the masculine would not exist either, as it would have nothing to define itself against. Cameron asserts as much for the entire concept of masculinity and femininity: 'If there were no concept of femininity, there could be no concept of masculinity either' (Cameron, 1992, p. 83). Structuralist linguistics is based on binary categories, which can only be understood in opposition to each other (see part 2.5.1 for how queer linguistics analyses binarity).

Second wave feminism has a wide range of feminist intellectual underpinnings, which includes liberal feminism, cultural feminism, and radical feminism (Bucholtz 2014, p.25). However, '[w]hat unifies these forms of second-wave feminism is a focus on gender difference as the foundation of feminist thinking' (Bucholtz 2014, p.25) and gender as a pre-existing social category that affects how people speak. Thus, binarity is part of what characterises second wave feminism.

2.3.1 The 3Ds: Deficit, Difference and Dominance

This focus on gender difference gave birth to what is commonly known as the 3Ds in language and gender studies, i.e., Deficit, Difference and Dominance (see Litosseliti 2006; and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003 for good summaries). The 3Ds include sociolinguistic variation of how men and women speak, but also analyses oriented more towards linguistic structure, for instance, how gender is represented in morphology, syntax and semantics (Hellinger and Motschenbacher 2015; Hellinger and Bußmann 2003, 2002, 2001).

As the Dominance model is the only one of the 3Ds to address sexism in language, i.e., in morphology, syntax and semantics, I will focus on how sexist language has been theorised from this perspective, and its criticisms.

The Dominance perspective, which emerged from radical feminism, was popular in the English-speaking world in the late 70s and early 80s (West and Zimmerman 1983; Spender 1980; Fishman 1978) before losing ground to other, more context-sensitive, third wave models. On the other hand, one aspect of the Dominance model (sexism *in* language) has never gone out of fashion in the French-speaking world (Michard 2004; Houdebine 2003; Michard 1999; Michard 1996; Houdebine 1995; Yaguello 1992). The Dominance approach has a clearly political motivation and focuses on how women are dominated *in* and *through* language. Early studies seemed to show how men interrupted women more, or how men ignored women's conversational topics and imposed their own (West and Zimmerman 1983; Fishman 1978; Zimmerman and West 1975). However, studies such as these have been criticised for not taking other factors into account, for instance, status hierarchy or cultural differences in overlapping talk, as well as what counts as an interruption (Kitzinger 2008). The Dominance model implies that women are always in a powerless position, and that, inversely, men are always in a powerful position. All of the 3Ds adopt an essentialist vision of gender, which often 'position[s] women's experiences […] as universally shared' (Bucholtz 2014, p.31), i.e., usually from a white, middle class perspective.

The focus for feminist linguists studying sexism in language from a dominance perspective has been on three main areas: 1) female invisibility in language, for example the masculine generic, or words such as *Mankind*; 2) asymmetrical gender-marking, for instance '*lady* doctor' when gender is not relevant or titles for women and; 3) semantic derogation. Thus, sexism is to be located in isolated words (lexical sexism e.g. *bitch*, *Mankind*) or grammatical forms (morpho-syntactic sexism e.g. actr*ess,* priest*ess*).

2.3.1.1 Female invisibility

Making women more visible in language by questioning the generic status of the masculine was among the first things to be addressed by feminist linguists (Yaguello 1992; Spender 1980; Martyna 1978; Bodine 1975; Lakoff 1975), who considered that the masculine generic ensured that men remain visible whilst rendering women invisible (Spender 1980) (see Chapter 3 for an analysis of how the masculine became generic).

A perennial issue in French relating to women's linguistic invisibility has been how, and whether, to feminise job titles, beginning in the 1980s and continuing today (Elmiger 2011; Dister and Moreau 2009; van Compernolle 2008; Houdebine 1989; Houdebine-Gravaud 1998). In a grammatically gendered language like French, the masculine is viewed as the generic form, and so able to refer to any gender. Many job titles (usually the more prestigious ones) either did not exist in the feminine, or had fallen out of usage, and so had to be 'feminised', or 'demasculinised'. Although *féminisation* is the more common term in French, many scholars (Burr 2012; Elmiger 2008; Khaznadar 2000) point out that using this term implies a deficit model, i.e., that the language is masculine in its basic forms, and that feminine forms are derived from masculine ones (see footnote on p.59 for flexion vs derivation). Other scholars prefer terms such as *parité linguistique* [linguistic parity] (Baider *et al*. 2007), *démasculinisation* [demasculinisation] (Gygax and Gesto 2007), or *langage épicène* / *épicénisation* [epicene language] (Moreau 2001). As a point of comparison, in German, the usual terms are *sprachliche Gleichstellung* [linguistic equality], *Gleichbehandlung* [equal treatment] or *nichtsexistische Sprache* [non-sexist language], and only very rarely *Feminisierung* [feminisation] (Elmiger 2008, p.26). In English, this strategy has been called *the visibility principle* (Mucchi-Faina 2005), *engendering* / *regendering* (Romaine 2001), or *gender specification* (Pauwels 1998). Cameron has discussed the gender specification of the high profile architect Zaha Hadid in the media, and posited that although referring to her gender could be seen as sexist, it also raises the visibility of women, highlighting her achievements in a male dominated field (Cameron 2015a).

Despite the emancipatory political goals, gender specification has been criticised as 'an epistemological cul-de-sac' (« un cul-de-sac épistémologique ») (Chetcuti and Greco 2012, p.11), which encourages difference, and is uncritical of a binary gender system that excludes gender non-conforming people. Moreover, a recent study has shown that women using feminine job titles in Polish are evaluated more negatively than women who use a generic masculine title (Formanowicz *et al.* 2013). Although gender specification has solved some problems, it has created others in its wake.

Second wave analyses of sexist language criticised generic *he*, provoking the infamous 'Pronoun Envy' letter to the *Harvard Crimson* magazine in 1971 (Silverstein 1971). Despite Lakoff's pessimistic claim that 'an attempt to change pronominal usage will be futile' (Lakoff 1975, p.44), its use has decreased quite dramatically over the past few decades (Earp 2012), and is no longer simply the default choice. Feminist initiatives have therefore had a clear impact on the way we use pronouns. In fact, the use, or avoidance, of the masculine as a generic has become 'an index of a certain absence or presence of ideological solidarity with the reformers' (Silverstein 1985, p.253), consequently indexing *the speaker's politics* as well as a third person.

2.3.1.2 Asymmetrical gender-marking

Asymmetrical gender-marking relates to the use of modifiers or suffixes to express the gender of the referent, for instance ***lady*** *doctor*, ***male*** *nurse*, or *-ette*, and *-ess(e)* suffixes which are added onto a masculine stem, which are often seen as trivialising and derogatory (Mills 1995, p.70). Cameron traces the history of *-ette* in English, and describes how it was used to belittle women who were demanding the right to vote at the beginning of the 20th century. Originally known as *suffrag**ists***, opponents started to refer to the more militant faction as *suffrag**ettes***. Because *-ette* was also used as to create diminutives (e.g., *cigarette, kitchenette*), coining the term *suffragette* was a way of belittling these women (Cameron 2015b). However, *suffragette* is one of the rare words that have been successfully reclaimed by feminists, and which have completely lost their original negative connotations.

Asymmetrical gender marking also concerns titles for women. Although they were targeted as part of the second wave feminist movement, debate has been on-going since at least 1848, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a leading figure of the early women's rights movement in the USA, encouraged women to abandon all titles, and simply use their first and last names (Baron 1986, p.166). The debate gained momentum from the 1970s onwards, and still causes considerable controversy today (Mills 2014). In both French and English there were two titles for women (*madame* and *mademoiselle* / *Mrs* and *Miss*), and only one for men (*Monsieur* / *Mr*). The fact that women had to divulge their marital status, when it was not always relevant, was judged sexist. In order to level these asymmetries *Ms* was reintroduced[1] by feminists, and has been fairly successfully adopted in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Britain, with the lowest rates of adoption found in postcolonial varieties of English in the Philippines, Singapore and Hong Kong (Hellinger and Pauwels 2007, p.673). Despite the success of *Ms*, it has not succeeded in its original aim of eliminating *Mrs* and *Miss* in order to level the original asymmetry. Several scholars have noted that neologisms often take unintended directions (Cameron 2016a; Motschenbacher 2010; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Silverstein 1985, p.252), which seems to have been the case for *Ms*. Today, there are three choices for women in English which, in an unintended way, reveal even more information than before. Far from being neutral, *Ms* is often seen as indexing certain groups of women, for example divorced, lesbian, living in a de facto relationship, feminist, or older single women (Warhurst 2015; Pauwels 2001), i.e., women who are not in a traditional relationship and/or are politically motivated. In fact, in an on-line survey that I carried out (Coady 2014), 19% of English-speaking respondents thought that using *Ms* signalled feminist leanings, and 24% were not sure. The remaining 57% saw no connection between *Ms* and being a feminist.

Not only does the asymmetry between men's and women's titles force women to reveal irrelevant personal information about themselves, it can be manipulated,

[1] *Ms* actually dates from the 1760s when it was an abbreviation for *Mistress*. It was simply a polite term of address for a woman, and did not mark for marital status nor index a speaker's ideological position regarding gender equality (Baron 2010).

and used as a weapon. In addition to the above mentioned survey, I carried out a study of *Mme* and *Mlle* in two French newspapers (Coady 2014), and found that *Mlle* was very often used to discredit female politicians, e.g., to highlight their lack of experience and so their suitability for the job, whereas *Mme* was the neutral form used to address the vast majority of women mentioned in the articles. A survey carried out to complement the corpus study, revealed that many francophone women who took part in the survey did not necessarily see *Mlle* as sexist. In fact, they claimed to consciously and strategically manoeuvre between titles, depending on the context and interlocutors, in much the same way as Mills' respondents did regarding their use of titles in English (Mills 2003a), thus highlighting the importance of context, something that second wave analyses rarely took into account. Although *Ms* has not solved the problem of asymmetrical gender marking, it has at least succeeded in demonstrating that there is no neutral option.

In addition to unintended directions that language intervention can take, even when there is only one title for women and one for men, it does not necessarily make them both neutral. For example a study in German (Hellinger 2006), where only *Frau* is used for women, found that newspapers often refer to women politicians with the title, e.g., *Frau Merkel*, whereas they tend to refer to men by last name only:

> In political discourse as elsewhere, an excessive emphasis on femininity where a corresponding emphasis on masculinity does not occur creates gendered asymmetries. It may be argued that the newspapers' labelling practices not only contribute to the symbolization of referents as gendered beings, but that underlying the choice of referential labels are opposing gender ideologies. (Hellinger 2011, p.573)

2.3.1.3 Semantic derogation

Semantic derogation is the common phenomenon of lexical items designating women gradually taking on pejorative, and very often sexual, meanings (Schulz 1975 [2000]). This phenomenon can be seen in the democratic levelling (Schulz 1975 [2000, p.84]) of male-female pair terms, for instance the pair *lord* and *lady*. Originally used to designate members of the nobility, *lady* gradually became generalised. Today, any woman can call herself a *lady*, whereas *lord* has retained its prestige as a noble title. *Lady* is usually used as a polite form of address for a

woman, as a sign of respect, which 'indicates not only the semantic deterioration of the term “lady” in comparison with “lord” but the even greater decline of the term “woman” which is avoided in certain contexts, in case it sounds “rude”' (Mills 1995, p.84; also see Cameron 2015a). As these scholars note, even the word *woman* itself has undergone semantic derogation, a phenomenon which started as far back as Old English: *cwen* [woman] gave the term *queen* [female ruler], but also *quean* [prostitute] (Schulz 1975 [2000, p.84]). The term *quean* (often spelt *queen*) has deteriorated 'even further' than *prostitute*, and is now often used to designate gay men (see below for a discussion on pejorative terms for gays and lesbians).

Democratic levelling is not the only way semantic derogation manifests itself. Far more common is the addition of sexual connotations to words relating to women, where the masculine form has none: *Sir* (a polite form of address) vs *Madam* (a polite form of address / manager of a brothel); *Master* (a polite form of address / expert) vs *Madam* (a polite form of address / manager of a brothel) / *Miss* (unmarried woman / prostitute) / *Mistress* (a man's lover) (see Erickson 2014 for a history of *Mrs, Miss* and *Mistress*); *courtier* (someone who attends the court of a monarch) vs *courtesan* (a prostitute). The same tendency can be seen in French, e.g., *entrâineur*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [coach / trainer] vs *entraîneuse*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [a woman employed in a night club whose job is to encourage clients to drink]. These are but a few examples, many more can be found in Baider 2004, Schulz 1975 [2000, p.84], Mills 1995, p.84, and Yaguello 1992.

Schulz maintains that 'virtually every originally neutral word for women has at some point in its existence acquired debased connotations or obscene reference, or both' (Schulz 1975 [2000, p.83]). However, historical linguist Curzan (2003), argues that we need to avoid 'oversimplifying "patriarchal influence" on or "sexism" in the language', yet at the same time not ignore the fact that derogation tends to affect words referring to women and children, far more than men (Curzan 2003, p.140). She mentions one study (Ng *et al.* 1993) that found that words related to women are not necessarily systematically semantically downgraded. The experiment found that the respondents who 'had unfavorable attitudes toward women downgraded, whereas pro-women respondents upgraded, female-associated words relative to male-associated words' (Ng *et al.* 1993, p.66). It

should be noted that the experiment was carried out in a laboratory setting with invented words. Studying the meaning of invented words, out of context, may not be the most reliable way of analysing semantic pejoration. The study did, however, note that semantic changes 'encode not so much the attitudinal biases of the population at large [or their respondents] but those of the more powerful groups in particular' (Ng *et al.* 1993, p.78). One word can have many, even contradictory meanings, and it is powerful people, such as dictionary makers, journalists, teachers, and language academies, who can more easily influence which of these particular meanings comes into focus at any particular time (see part 2.4.5 for the notion of shifting the *functional weight* of words).

A further criticism addressed at second wave feminism is a focus on the domination of women. Some scholars (James 1998) assert that there are just as many insulting terms for men, but that these are focused on competence and strength, whereas derogatory terms for women are usually sexual slurs. James notes that 'women are evaluated largely in terms of the extent to which they conform to heterosexual male needs and desires' (James 1998, p.404), but that men are also evaluated from the perspective of the socially powerful group (heterosexual men). Although many insults were not gender specific (e.g., *airhead, dog, wimp*), those in the 'promiscuous' category (e.g., *slut*) referred to females more often than men. In addition, James contends that when a man insults another man using a female-referential term (e.g., *cunt* or *bitch*), this 'impl[ies] that the man is weak like a woman' (James 1998, p.411). Although this study shows that there are also many insults for men, there is a clear gender distinction between *the kinds* of insults that are addressed to men and women. Not only are women seen as sexual beings more than men (see part 2.4.3 below on conceptual baggage), the very idea of anything related to a woman is often used as an insult (see part 3.4.4 for *woman* as a 'contaminating concept'). Words that are semantically feminine like *bitch*, have an even higher wounding potential when used to insult a man (see part 2.5.1 for using grammatically feminine nouns in French and German to insult gay men).

Although terms like *slut* and *bitch* are often used as insults, they are sometimes used jokingly, or even affectionately, between friends (Motschenbacher 2010,

p.167; James 1998, p.410). The absence of context when analysing sexist terms means that simply categorising a word as sexist is too simplistic. It is the meaning that speakers and hearers give it in context that can be classed as sexist or not.

2.3.2 In defence of second wave

The study of sexism in language has more or less been abandoned in English-speaking contexts today, where feminist linguistic reforms have largely been adopted (Mills 2008, p.17). However, in grammatically gendered languages, the concern with structuralist linguistic inequalities has never faded. In fact, Mills holds that '[t]his type of sedimented sexism in grammatical-gender languages can only be contested using a second wave feminist analysis' (Mills 2008, p.32). Despite criticisms, second wave feminist linguists were politically effective at making people think about language, and its wounding potential (see part 2.4.2 for linguistic wounding). It may not always have worked as intended (e.g., *Ms*), but it has 'removed the option of political neutrality' (Cameron 1995, p.119). However, it would be more accurate to say that neutrality has never actually existed, just the *illusion* of neutrality.

Although labelling terms such as *bitch* or *cunt* as sexist, and therefore to be avoided, will not eliminate sexism, '[k]eeping such terms unsaid and unsayable can also work to lock them in place, preserving their power to injure, and arresting the possibility of a reworking that might shift their context and purpose' (Butler 1997, p.38). Moreover, people will find other ways to express the same idea. Curzan's image of language as a river is useful here:

> If we imagine a living language as a river, constantly in motion, prescriptivism is often framed as the attempt to construct a dam that will stop the river in its tracks. But, linguists point out, the river is too wide and strong, too creative and ever changing, and it runs over any such dam. (Curzan 2014, p.4)

Trying to eliminate sexism by purging the language of offending words is probably futile. However, the point is not necessarily to eliminate certain terms, but to challenge sexist ideas through a focus on language:

> [F]eminist linguists' anti-discriminatory language campaigns have [...] challenged the conventionalised thinking which informs such utterances and those discursive structures within society which condone sexist statements [...]. Feminist linguistic interventions call not only for a change of usage but also for critical thinking about gender relations, and as

> such they should be seen as more than an attempt to ban certain language usages. (Mills and Mullany 2011, p.145)

To come back to the river analogy, 'if we imagine prescriptivism as building not just dams but also embankments or levees along the sides of the river [...] that attempt to redirect the flow of the river, it becomes easier to see how prescriptivism may be able to affect how the language changes' (Curzan 2014, p.4). In this way, feminist interventions will not perhaps stop sexist language in its tracks, but will more subtly 'divert' language in less sexist directions.

2.4 Poststructuralist perspectives (1): Third wave feminist linguistics

Poststructuralism challenged structuralist notions of language as an isolated system of signs, in which social parameters were not relevant. In the 1960s and 70s, philosophers such as Foucault, Derrida and Barthes (who were originally structuralists) began to reject structuralism. Paradoxically, it took much longer for mainstream linguists to question structuralism. In fact, writing in 1993, Poynton (1993, p.2) observed that mainstream linguistics seemed not to have registered the linguistic turn at all. One reason for this was possibly the idea that 'linguistics [is] the unproblematically 'scientific' study of language' (Poynton 1993, p.5). In other words, linguistics was generally seen as an objective field, in search of 'the truth', and divorced from the messy business of society (Irvine and Gal 2000, p.73) (also see Klinkenberg 2006). The fact that continental European countries have been slow to accept poststructuralist ideas of language (Motschenbacher 2010, p.5) perhaps goes some way to explain why French feminist linguists did not marginalise the study of sexism in language to the same extent as in English-speaking countries (Motschenbacher 2016).

In fact, there is a dearth of studies linking formal linguistics to sociolinguistics (Guy 2011), and even fewer linking formal linguistics to gender and language (notable exceptions are Abbou (2014), the four volumes of *Gender Across Languages* (Hellinger and Motschenbacher 2015; Hellinger and Bussmann 2003, 2002, 2001), and Michel (2016)). Recently, there have been calls for the incorporation of formal linguistics within poststructuralist theory, in order to precisely examine the

linguistic means by 'which subjects come to be constituted in terms of specific power/knowledge relations' (Poynton 1993, p.2).

From the 1990s sexism in language started to be seen as anachronistic, as ideas about language itself were changing. There was a move away from second wave analyses of sexist language, which were 'firmly rooted in structuralist notions of language as a system of signs that are associated with stable meanings [in which] gendered linguistic structures [are] a consequence of the social reality of binary gender' (Motschenbacher 2015, pp.29-30), and a move towards a poststructuralist approach, in which meanings are negotiated in context. As Mills notes,

> Part of the reason that the study of sexism sometimes feels outdated and archaic is that the model of language which it presupposes is itself outdated, assuming that meanings reside in words and that words are stable in their meaning and unaffected by their localised and contextualised usage. (Mills 2008, p.9)

Due to this shift in models of language, from structuralism to poststructuralism, and the resulting apparent incompatibility of analysing sexism in language, third wave research tends to concentrate instead on other forms of sexist language such as subtle or indirect forms of sexism, which can be identified through discourse analysis.

2.4.1 Sexist 'Discourses'

Subtle or indirect forms of sexism, i.e., sexism in *discourse* rather than isolated words and expressions have been popular areas for analysis in third wave feminist work. This kind of sexism relies on shared, common sense knowledge, and often goes unnoticed because it is institutionalised, i.e., it rests on a set of beliefs and common sense assumptions that everybody recognises and can be drawn upon for use (Mills and Mullany 2011, pp.148-49). Discourses 'systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, p.49). In other words, they are 'socially constituted and socially constitutive' (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p.87). Discourse analysis can be used to analyse forms of subtle sexism, revealing discourses that draw upon, and at the same time reinforce 'common sense' assumptions. For example, in Sunderland's analysis of parenting magazines she found evidence that discourses in parenting magazines draw upon the common sense assumption that the mother is the principle carer. She found that 'the main

fatherhood discourse running through these "parenting" magazines is *still* that of a "Part-time father" [...] the father is referred to but always in an auxiliary role' (Sunderland 2004, p.118) (italics in original). The more people are confronted with these kinds of discourses, the more natural and common sense they become. Therefore, when a father and mother are making actual decisions about parental leave, it may seem obvious, and hardly worth questioning that the mother will take time off work, thus reinforcing the discourse of mother as main carer.

The kind of discourse analysis that has been employed in gender and language studies has usually been *Critical* Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is not a method of, but more an *approach* to, discourse analysis (Van Dijk 2013), which aims to 'unveil and challeng[e] taken-for-granted assumptions about language and the social, as well as recogniz[e] discourse as a potentially powerful agent in social change' (Mautner 2009a, p.124). The C in CDA means that language is seen as:

> entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes and expresses power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not necessarily derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures. (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.10)

Access to this resource is not equally distributed (e.g., journalists control the discourses circulated in the media, teachers manage discourses in the classroom). A CDA approach highlights the roles of the actors in any discourse, and how particular discourses may benefit some, but not others. A CDA approach thus allows researchers to reveal how social inequalities are discursively produced and reinforced. It has an emancipatory goal, in that scholars produce knowledge that 'enable[s] human beings emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection' (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.7). CDA has been employed in gender and language studies to reveal sexist discourses in advertising (Lazar 2014), on the factory floor (Holmes 2006), in classrooms, parenting magazines, and children's literature (Sunderland 2004), among many others.

Although most third wave research tends to avoid the study of sexism in language, if we view the *language system* from a poststructuralist perspective, i.e., 'as the result of repeated linguistic performances that over time have led to the

materialisation of certain structural categories' (Motschenbacher 2010, pp.61-62), this opens up new, exciting ways to study sexism in language, going beyond a second wave approach, and breaking down the binary distinction between *langue* and *parole*-oriented studies[1]. In other words, from a poststructuralist perspective, linguistic gender (i.e., lexical and grammatical gender) is a manifestation of repeated performances of language in use, and should be viewed in the same way as social gender. The performance of linguistic gender has taken on the appearance of being fixed, but it is just as unstable as social gender (Curzan 2003; Baron 1986; Connors 1971).

The most useful poststructuralist concepts to describe the fluid nature of linguistic gender categories are *linguistic wounding* (Motschenbacher 2010, p.169), *conceptual baggage* (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.499), *discursive sedimentation* (Motschenbacher 2010, p.24), and *functional weight* (Curzan 2003, p.139). These concepts allow an analysis of meaning both in *and* out of context, and explain *how* words develop the power to injure over time, thus building a bridge between structuralist and poststructuralist notions of sexist language.

2.4.2 Linguistic wounding

In her analysis of sexist language, Mills refers to sexism in language as part of overt sexism. She distinguishes second and third wave approaches to sexist language as follows:

> whilst a second wave analysis might focus on the use of the generic pronoun 'he' [...] or derogatory terms used to describe women such as 'bitch' or 'slag', a third wave feminist analysis might focus on the variable ways in which terms such as 'bitch' might be used and [...] the factors which lead to a hearer or reader considering the term to be offensive [...] ironic or funny. (Mills 2008, p.26)

Mills recognises that the problem with this approach is that a focus on the local (how one particular person might interpret *bitch*), makes it difficult to refer to sexist language as a global, structural and systematic phenomenon, something that Butler has also commented upon:

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[1] *Langue* [language] and *parole* [speaking] were terms used by Saussure to differentiate the abstract linguistic system (*langue*), which was independent of speakers, and concrete instances of language use by speakers (*parole*). Saussure compared *langue* to the rules for playing chess, and *parole* to the actual game in action.

> recent efforts to establish the incontrovertibly wounding power of certain words seem to founder on the question of who does the interpreting of what such words mean and what they perform. [...] no consensus is possible on the question of whether there is a clear link between the words that are uttered and their putative power to injure. To argue, on the one hand, that the offensive effect of such words is fully contextual, and that a shift of context can exacerbate or minimize that offensiveness, is still not to give an account of the power that such words are said to exercise. To claim, on the other hand, that some utterances are always offensive, regardless of context, that they carry their contexts with them in ways that are too difficult to shed, is still not to offer a way to understand how context is invoked and restaged at the moment of utterance. (Butler 1997, p.13)

Butler sums up the double bind of analysing sexist language well here. Context dictates whether a word is used in a sexist way or not, and yet some words seem to have the power to injure, almost regardless of context. Cameron (1995) uses the example of a debate in the USA over whether the term *water buffalo* (when addressed to an African American by a white person) was racist, to illustrate how words need to be interpreted in their context. We cannot claim that *water buffalo* is inherently racist, but 'the power relations in this example make it particularly explosive' (Cameron 1995, p.158), and so afford the term a particularly high wounding potential (Motschenbacher 2010). In her study of lexical choice and gender ideologies in women's magazines, Del-Teso-Craviotto describes this phenomenon as 'the ideological weight of specific words in their linguistic context' (del-Teso-Craviotto 2006, p.2004). Words are not ideology-free, and depending on the context, can have more or less wounding potential (Motschenbacher 2010). In addition to scholars' analysis of sexism in language, third wave research has also focused on the variety of *responses* to sexist language, e.g., Sunderland's work on the reception of sexist jokes (Sunderland 2007).

2.4.3 Conceptual baggage

One way of accounting for the ideological weight that certain words carry is McConnell-Ginet's 'conceptual baggage', which she defines as:

> what traditional lexicographers and others have called connotations, but also encyclopedic knowledge, stereotypes or prototypes, and background assumptions, as well as knowledge about social practices in the course of which the word gets used. (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.512)

McConnell-Ginet argues that 'words matter so much precisely because so little matter is firmly attached to them' (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.524). In other words, it is because of the formal emptiness of words (words themselves are simply

empty shells that speakers attach meaning to), that they have such a high functional value. Although the context is essential to understand exactly what a particular word means in any given utterance, words also pick up conceptual baggage through similar uses in specific contexts. This baggage remains with them, even out of context. When we look a word up in the dictionary, we are given a definition that is largely out of context, for example the definition of *woman* is usually given as something like 'an adult female human being'. However, the example sentences show the conceptual baggage attached to this word. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2011)[1] gives the following sentences as examples:

> The woman gave him a slow, sensual smile that seemed deliberately provocative. (1979 J. E. Hitt *Tennessee Smith* 134)
>
> A solitary middle-aged woman...was watering her lawn in hip-hugging Capri jeans. (2009 *New Yorker* 9 Feb. 81/1)

Sexuality, desire, and the importance of physical appearance are aspects in these sentences that are part of the conceptual baggage of the term *woman*. In contrast, these are the example sentences for *man*:

> You will generally find women loosen up less lavishly than men. (1949 P. G. Wodehouse *Uncle Dynamite* i. 8)
>
> All the Indians here, men and women and children, are busily ploughing the hillsides. (1991 *Jrnl. Southern Afr. Stud.* 17 421)

The first example comes from a discussion between two men about how women tip less generously than men. However, I am not aware of this being a common stereotype. The second sentence is rather neutral, with no particular sex or gender stereotypes. These example sentences demonstrate how men are seen as neutral, whereas women often have connotations of sexuality (Michard 2002).

One relatively recent method that enables us to identify a word's conceptual baggage is corpus linguistics (CL) (see part 6.3). Corpus linguists such as Paul Baker have used the notion of 'lexical priming' (Hoey 2005), that is, the idea that when a particular word is used, all of the connotations that it invokes for the reader/listener are primed, ready to be called upon to interpret what is being said. Regarding terms such as *bitch*, it is not the word itself that is sexist, but the

[1] These examples were not cherry picked. I simply chose the two most recent examples under the first definition of 'woman' ('An adult female human being. The counterpart of man').

conceptual baggage invoked in a particular context, which may make it sexist (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.524).

McConnell-Ginet asserts that the conceptual baggage of *he* (that it evokes men more readily than men *and* women) makes it difficult to distinguish between generic and specific usage (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.521). This idea has been widely supported by cognitive linguistic experiments, which have found that masculine pronouns induce more male-specific imagery (Alvanoudi 2015; Hellinger 2011; Boroditsky, *et al*. 2003; Brauer & Landry 2008; Doleschal & Schmid 2001). Consider the following example that she uses to stress the incongruity of the masculine pronoun:

> To get [a reliable housecleaner], you should pay him at least $20 an hour.
> (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.501)

According to traditional grammar books, the masculine pronoun covers female as well as male referents, but because *he* generally triggers the image of a man, and because a prototypical housecleaner is a woman, the result is this jarring effect (see part 2.5.2.5 for prototypicality).

2.4.4 Discursive sedimentation

There is a significant amount of overlap between the notions of *conceptual baggage* and *discursive sedimentation*, and the 'historically contingent character' (McConnell-Ginet 2002, p.139) of semantics and grammar is taken into account in both concepts. The difference between the concepts lies in their foci. *Conceptual baggage* tends to focus on semantics, whereas *discursive sedimentation* also takes grammar into account. Motschenbacher uses Butler's idea of *discursive materialisation* (Butler 1993) to describe how grammar is 'a collective term for categories that have sedimented through repeated occurrences' (Motschenbacher 2010, p. 87). For instance, repeatedly using different endings for nouns referring to women and men, results in the sedimentation of the grammatical gender categories of feminine and masculine. Motschenbacher illustrates the idea of discursive sedimentation with the example of Čakavian (a variety of Croatian), in which some speakers inflect masculine a-stem nouns according to the o-stem pattern (*a*-stem nouns usually refer to females, and *o*-stem to males).

Motschenbacher argues that this trend (also noted in other Slavic languages, and see part 3.4.4 for examples of a similar phenomenon in French and Spanish) reflects how dominant binary gender discourses in society are reflected onto and sedimented into the language structure.

2.4.5 Functional weight

Curzan has examined sexism in language from a poststructuralist perspective, showing the processes by which semantic pejoration happens. She warns that 'it can be easy to fall into historical semantic explanations that describe words changing meanings rather than speakers using words with a different meaning' (Curzan 2003, p.138). The words that we class as sexist today, for example, *bitch* or *slag*, carry a rich history. Curzan shows how and why speakers start to use neutral words with negative meanings, explaining their conceptual baggage today:

> Word meaning is inextricably intertwined with the extralinguistic world and with speakers' attempts to talk about their perspective on that world; speakers' expressive needs, therefore, strongly influence new word creation and changes in use and meaning of existing words within a speech community [...]. (Curzan 2003, pp.137-38)

Rather than words changing meaning completely, Curzan talks about the 'shift of "functional weight"' (Curzan 2003, p. 139). In other words, words can have many meanings simultaneously (consider the example of *Madam* above, where it can either be used as a polite form of address, or to refer to the manager of a brothel). These different meanings come in and out of focus at different times in history, but they all leave a mark, which forms part of their conceptual baggage:

> semantic pejoration relies on common, shared stereotypes so that negative meanings attached to the use of a neutral word in a given context in a negative way make sense (i.e., can be interpreted), even if they are not shared by the hearer; later this more negative connotation can become a denotation not dependent on a shared stereotype – dependent only on prior use of the word in a negative manner. In other words, a word such as princess can only be understood as a negative term for women given a shared stereotype that princesses (or royal women more generally) are, for example, demanding, fussy, spoiled, unable to take care of themselves, etc. (Curzan 2003, p.138)

Curzan observes that there is a general pattern of words sliding down the social scale, e.g., words which at one point referred to children, became more negatively connoted, and came to refer to servants, and then to people of 'questionable character' (Curzan 2003, p.149). *Girl* used to mean 'youth of either sex', for example *knaue girl* for 'boy' and *gay girl* for 'girl'. Then, it began to refer

exclusively to a 'female child', before developing the additional meaning of 'maid servant' in the 17th century. By the 18th century, 'prostitute' had been added to its potential meanings. The semantic slide of words relating, not only but especially, to women, are evidence of sexism in society being reflected (and reproduced) in language:

> The semantic shift of English words such as *girl* and *wench* to mean 'servant' and 'prostitute,' as well as to serve as general terms of contempt or reflecting subordinate status, cannot be divorced from the history of sexism in English-speaking societies. (Curzan 2003, p.152)

Words therefore, cannot be classified as sexist out of context, but at the same time, words have layers of sedimented meanings attached to them, which are primed when heard. In a way, words carry their history with them, with their own potential meanings, ready to be activated according to the situation at hand.

2.5 Poststructuralist perspectives (2): queer linguistics

In addition to the four poststructuralist concepts of *linguistic wounding, conceptual baggage, discursive sedimentation*, and *functional weight*, there are two others that are more closely linked to queer linguistics. Queer linguistics is also poststructuralist, but focuses more specifically on the deconstruction of norms. Therefore, this section will explore two linguistic concepts which underpin linguistic norms: *binarity* and *markedness*. Before looking at these two notions more closely, a brief description of the field of queer linguistics is necessary.

It is perhaps easier to describe queer as what it is *not*, rather than what it is. Queer is *supposed* to escape all attempts at definition (Motschenbacher 2010, p.6), and has been described as 'a signifier without a signified' (Saussure's terminology), or a 'floating' or 'empty' signifier[1] (Lévi-Strauss' terminology), i.e., the word *queer* (the signifier) is stable, but the concept it refers to (the signified) is not, as it is only defined in relation to current norms, and norms change. Because queer challenges 'whatever constitutes the normal, the legitimate, the generally accepted' (Sicurella 2016, p.81), as those norms change over time, queer relocates itself to retain its

[1] In much the same way as McConnell-Ginet describes words as empty shells to which speakers attach meaning (McConnell-Ginet 2008, p.524).

subversive force. It is, by definition, indeterminate and elastic, precisely the qualities that give it its political efficacy (Jagose 1996, cited in McConnell-Ginet 2002, p.138). Studies on language and gender carried out from a queer perspective challenge how current gender and sexuality norms are produced in, and reinforced by, language. Queer *linguistics* challenges how the *language system* does this:

> The main objective of queer linguistics 'is to counter linguistic manifestations of heteronormativity (rather than sexism, homophobia or heterosexism exclusively). Heteronormative practices cover a much broader spectrum, which includes overt forms of gendered and sexual discrimination but also more subtle or covert mechanisms through which language constructs heterosexuality as normal, desired or preferable. One such mechanism is the linguistic construction of essentialist, binary gender categories. (Motschenbacher 2014, p.250)

2.5.1 Binarity

In the above quote, Motschenbacher is referring to binary grammatical and semantic gender categories, as found in most European languages. These categories reinforce binary oppositions, which are viewed 'as a form of normativity that forces individuals to fall into one side of this binary and marginalizes those who fail to adhere to normative assumptions about gender oppositions' (Barrett 2014, p.210). For example, in French a man is usually referred to with a grammatically masculine noun, and a woman with a grammatically feminine noun. There is no third gender, which makes grammatically gendered languages particularly challenging for non-binary people. Queer goes further than simply asking how we 'do' gender. It not only critically questions gender relations, but also *the very existence of gender, and its binary nature.*

As opposed to structuralist linguistics, queer linguistics theorises binary grammatical gender as unstable, fluid and normative, like social gender. In fact, grammatical gender can be seen as the linguistic reflection and reinforcement of binary social gender. For queer linguists the reason that gender binarism exists is to establish and stabilise a heteronormative system, in which women and men are supposed to be different from one another, and in which opposites attract. Motschenbacher argues that 'every time speakers or writers use binarily gendered forms, they reinstantiate the discursive formation of the heteronormative system' (Motschenbacher 2014, p.250).

In formal linguistics there is an 'assumption of binarity', e.g., syntactic trees which must always branch into two parts (rather than three or four), and phonological theory, which is founded upon binary distinctive features (e.g., voiced (/b/ /z/) or unvoiced (/p/ /s/) consonants). Rather than accepting patterns of linguistic diversity, anything which does not fit into a binary framework is abstracted and shoehorned to the point of being able to fit into one (Barrett 2014). This assumption of linguistic binarity works in the same way as the assumption of social gender binarity, in other words, as a normative mechanism (Barrett 2014). An example of how a binary gender system can work as a normative mechanism is when grammatical gender and referential gender clash.

Concerning animate nouns, in most Indo-European languages, a man is usually referred to with a masculine noun and a woman with a feminine noun. The problem with this is that it reproduces, naturalises and legitimises an essentialist dichotomy, and does not take into account any exceptions to the gender binary. This can be seen when there is a clash between grammatical and referential gender, for example, *tapette*$_{\text{FEM}}$, *fiotte*$_{\text{FEM}}$, *pédale*$_{\text{FEM}}$, *tantouze*$_{\text{FEM}}$ and *tarlouze*$_{\text{FEM}}$ (all meaning something like *poofter, fag,* or *pansy*) are all grammatically feminine nouns in French used to insult gay men. Several studies in queer linguistics – Michel (2016, p.238), Coutant (2014), and Van Raemdonck (2011) for French, and Motschenbacher (2010, pp.75-77) for German – have found that a high percentage of insulting terms for gay men are grammatically feminine.

Masculine nouns can be used to insult lesbians, but this is a much weaker trend. Insulting terms for lesbians are generally feminine, not masculine. The social hierarchy of man at the top is thus reflected in grammatical gender, with the masculine as more prestigious. Insulting a man with a masculine gendered noun does not add any extra force to the insult, but using a feminine noun downgrades him to the status of woman[1]. Insults for lesbians tend to be grammatically

[1] Baker has also observed how many insults for gay men (e.g., *effeminate, sissy, queen*, and *fairy*) 'characterize gay men in terms of a supposed "feminine" gender performance [...] conflat[ing] homosexuality and gender by suggesting gay men are like women' (Baker 2014, p.106).

feminine, because you cannot go any lower down the hierarchy than feminine[1]. Curzan has shown how words that originally referred to women tend to descend the semantic slope, becoming terms for women servants, then prostitutes, finally ending up as insults for gay men 'who seem to be regarded as somehow similar to, if not lower than, prostitutes by a hostile heterosexual community', e.g., *maiden, tart, queen/quean*[2], *faggot...* (Curzan 2003, p.154). In other words, grammatical gender is used as a normative force to police the boundaries of social gender and sexuality. Although these terms can be used as terms of solidarity *within* a gay community, they would probably be considered as insults if used by someone outside of it.

2.5.2 Markedness

Binaries inevitably lead to hierarchies (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013), in which one element of the binary is more prestigious, or in which one element becomes the formally 'marked' form, and the other the 'unmarked' form. Markedness is an important concept for sexist language, as it forms the basis for arguments that the masculine is the generic form. It is therefore interesting to look more closely at this notion and exactly what it means. Markedness is essentially about distinguishing what is seen as normal (unmarked), from what is abnormal (marked) (Barrett 2014).

The term *markedness* was first proposed by Nicholas Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson in the 1930s (Haspelmath 2006, p.25). Both Trubetzkoy and Jakobson were part of the structuralist Prague School, which was extremely influential in the field of linguistics. Trubetzkoy originally used *markedness* in order to distinguish

[1] Neuter nouns generally refer to inanimate sexless objects, and as such have more of a *dehumanising* effect than an insult to somebody's gender or sexuality (McConnell-Ginet 2014: 23, and Motschenbacher, personal communication).

[2] The words *queen* and *quean*, now homonyms differentiated only by spelling and sometimes used interchangeably in contemptuous reference to homosexuals, stem from two different Old English words: as defined by the OED, *cwen* 'a (king's) wife or consort'; and *cwene* 'a woman, a female; from early ME [Middle English]. a term of disparagement or abuse, hence: a bold, impudent, or ill-behaved woman' (Curzan 2003, p.154).

certain phonological features, for example nasal versus non-nasal phonemes[1]. The marked form was defined as the *presence* of a particular feature, and the unmarked form was the *absence* of the feature, thus nasality was marked, and non-nasality was unmarked. This is interesting in light of the earlier discussion on componential analysis, where the unmarked forms *man/boy* are defined by the *presence* of maleness [+ male], whereas *woman/girl*, the marked forms, are defined by the *absence* of maleness [– male]. Later, Jakobson applied markedness to lexical and grammatical meaning, arguing that the difference between a semantically marked and unmarked form was not a difference between [+A] or [-A], but a difference between [+A] (the marked form) and *indifference* between [A] and [+A] (the unmarked form) (Haspelmath 2006, p.28-29). To give an example, *woman* could be seen as marked [+A] because it carries an extra meaning compared to [A] (woman = human **+ female**), whereas *man* is the unmarked term [A] because it does not differentiate between the sexes (man = human) (also see Silverstein 1985).

The term *markedness* has been so widely used in linguistics that it has developed a variety of senses, and is now seen 'as an almost theory-neutral everyday term in linguistics' (Haspelmath 2006, p.27). Queer linguistics, however, sees markedness as a tool for establishing normative ideologies (Motschenbacher 2010), or as a means of promoting certain values (Klinkenberg 2006). In other words, the grammar system is a means of reinforcing (or challenging) dominant social values:

> The pattern in formal linguistics has been to interpret marked forms in relation to their unmarked counterparts much in the way that alternative expressions of gender and sexuality have traditionally been ideologically viewed in relation to their statistically more common heteronormative counterparts – precisely the ideology that queer theory seeks to challenge, not to uphold. (Barrett 2014, p.215)

In French, the masculine is used as the unmarked term. However, there has been much debate in recent years over this practice, especially when referring to a specific woman. The Académie française (the official language body in France) claims that:

[1] A nasal phoneme is a sound produced by allowing some air to escape through the nose, e.g., /n/ and /m/.

> If, indeed, French has two genders, called masculine and feminine, it would be more accurate to call them the marked gender and the unmarked gender. Only the masculine, the unmarked gender, can represent masculine as well as feminine elements.[1]
>
> Si, en effet, le français connaît deux genres, appelés masculin et féminin, il serait plus juste de les nommer genre marqué et genre non marqué. Seul le genre masculin, non marqué, peut représenter aussi bien les éléments masculins que féminins.
> (Académie française 2014)

One of the main problems related to markedness theory is that there is no general agreement on which criteria are necessary to show markedness, whether some are more important than others, what to do if the criteria give conflicting results, or how they interrelate (Waugh and Lafford 2000). Haspelmath (2006, p.26) rejects the term *markedness*, and argues that it should be replaced with more precise terms. He defines 12 different criteria to show markedness, and Croft (2003) defines six. Of these 18 criteria, I have identified five that are relevant for the study of sexism in language:

1. *semantic specification*
2. *restricted distribution*
3. *contextual neutralisation*
4. *overt coding*
5. *conceptual difficulty*

The first two categories (*semantic specification* and *restricted distribution*) refer to terms that are restricted with regard to which *actions* they are able to perform in the language.

2.5.2.1 Semantic specification

One term in a pair is said to be semantically 'marked' when one of them is semantically exclusive, e.g., *lioness*, only refers to females, whereas *lion* can refer to both male and female lions. Haspelmath explains that in order to understand this, 'we have to assume some conventionalization', i.e., speakers tend to use *lion* as the generic form and *lioness* to refer only to females, and over time this use became the norm (Haspelmath 2006, p.29). There is nothing inherent in the masculine form that makes it generic.

[1] All translations are my own.

However, the Académie française insists that only the masculine, the unmarked gender, can represent masculine as well as feminine elements. On the other hand, Croft (2003, p.100) states that 'there is no cross-linguistic consistency as to which value is chosen'. In some languages the masculine is used as the generic, and in other languages it is the feminine (e.g., Maasai spoken in east Africa). With regard to English and French, the feminine is not necessarily always the marked form in relation to the masculine, e.g., it is the semantically feminine term *cow* which is used to refer to cattle in general, not the masculine *bull*. Other feminine unmarked terms in French and English include *poule*$_{\text{FEM}}$ */ hen* compared to *poulet*$_{\text{MASC}}$ */ cock*, *oie*$_{\text{FEM}}$ */ goose* compared to *jars*$_{\text{MASC}}$ */ gander*, and *duck* to *drake*.

> The main reason for this would seem to be that males of the species are normally kept in smaller numbers by farmers than females, and purely for breeding: the main stock is female, and this is treated [...] as the unmarked norm. (Lyons 1977, p.308)

In other words, the unmarked form represents the *socially more valued form*, whether male or female.

In French, the generic terms for *giraffe* and *mouse* are feminine: *la girafe*$_{\text{FEM}}$ and *la souris*$_{\text{FEM}}$. There is no specific term for the males, so the adjective *mâle* [male] has to be added to create a masculine: *une*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *girafe*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *mâle*$_{\text{MASC}}$ */ une*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *souris*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *mâle*$_{\text{MASC}}$ (also see Motschenbacher 2010, Chapter 6 for feminine generics). Moreover, in pairs such as *king/queen*, or *mother/father*, the concept of markedness does not even apply. None of the pair terms are semantically marked in relation to the other. The terms in each pair are mutually exclusive.

Haspelmath asserts that this kind of phenomenon 'should be described with standard semantic concepts like *hyponymy* and *polysemy*, and that generalized conversational implicatures [1] and their conventionalization are crucial for understanding the observed asymmetries' (Haspelmath 2006, pp.28-29). Whether *man* refers to males only or all of humanity is largely understood thanks to the context, although the ambiguity of inclusive versus exclusive *man* has been used in

[1] Conversational implicature is a term coined by Grice, and used in pragmatics to refer to what is *suggested* in an utterance, rather than what is literally said. What the hearer understands depends on the conversational context, e.g., irony (Davis 2005).

many countries to deny women the right to vote (see Dawes 2003 for Switzerland, Baudino 2001, p.21 for France, and Baron 1986, p.139 for Britain).

Using the terms *hyponymy* or *polysemy* rather than *marked* would put the emphasis on the *function* that the word fulfils rather than suggesting that that is has an innate unmarked value. Michel (2015) distinguishes between generic *function*, and generic *value*. In fact, any noun can function as a generic (or 'hypernym'), e.g., *animal* is a hypernym for *cat, dog, lion,* etc.; *fruit* is the generic term for *apple, banana, apricot,* etc.

2.5.2.2 Restricted distribution

Some terms do not occur in as wide a range of contexts as others, e.g., in degree questions the terms *high* and *young* are marked compared to *low* and *old*, e.g., 'How *old* is she?' On the other hand, 'How *young* is she?' is far less common. Although Haspelmath classes *restricted distribution* as a separate criterion from *semantic specification*, as far as lexical gender is concerned, it is almost exactly the same thing and is, in fact, 'a direct consequence of semantic marking' (Lyons 1977, p.308). In other words, if one member of a pair is semantically specific, it will in all likelihood have a restricted distribution. The example that Lyons cites to illustrate restricted distribution is also rather interesting from a gender and language perspective:

> English *dog* shows a wider distribution than *bitch* in that it can be combined with the adjectives *male* and *female* (*male dog, female dog* vs. *male bitch, *female bitch*). [...] if B only occurs under specified conditions, while A may always occur, B is said to be marked and A unmarked. (Lyons 1977, cited in Haspelmath 2006, p.35)

Haspelmath does not remark on the polysemy of the term *bitch,* and its use as an insult for women, something that has surely played an important role in its distributional potential.

2.5.2.3 Contextual neutralisation

Contextual neutralisation relates to gender agreement resolution in contexts of neutral value. A neutral value context is one in which the unmarked term will be used to refer to both the marked and unmarked terms, thereby neutralising the

specificity of the marked form. For instance, in semantics, words like *man, cow, hen, nurse, souris*$_{FEM}$, and *giraffe*$_{FEM}$ are unmarked compared to *woman, bull, cock, male nurse, souris*$_{FEM}$ *mâle*$_{MASC}$, *girafe*$_{FEM}$ *mâle*$_{MASC}$[1], and can be used to refer to both sexes. There is an obvious overlap here with the *semantic specificity* category. However, it is slightly different in that in includes grammatical agreement (e.g., rule of the masculine taking precedence (*le masculin l'emporte*[2]), and generic *he*). The masculine grammatical gender is said to neutralise any semantic specification that the feminine has, so sentences such as *chaque étudiant*$_{MASC}$ *devrait emmener son livre* [every student should bring his book] are said to include *both* male and female students. Again, Croft highlights that this is 'just as inconsistent cross-linguistically as other neutral value contexts' (Croft 2003, p.100). For instance, in Swahili the adjective agrees with the closest noun, as it used to in Latin and French (see part 3.4.3). He also asserts that contextual neutralisation cannot be linked to any structural coding, i.e., the marked form is not necessarily *formally* marked (e.g., with an affix like *princ**ess***). Croft concludes by saying that, 'these neutralization phenomena are not associated with typological markedness phenomena' (Croft 2003, p.101), i.e., they are not regular either within specific languages, or cross-linguistically. This conclusion suggests that if contextual neutralisation is not a typological or structural phenomenon, the answer perhaps lies more in *social context*.

2.5.2.4 Overt coding

Overt coding refers to formal markedness, that is, when the unmarked term is usually less complex than the marked term. The marked form usually has an inflectional or derivational ending, for example *happy, child,* and *host* are unmarked, whereas ***un****happy, child**ren*** and *host**ess*** are marked. The unmarked form is therefore the base form, to which affixes are added. Feminine forms ending in *-ess* or *-ette* are overtly coded forms, derived from a zero coded form, e.g., *prince*

[1] *Une*$_{FEM}$ *souris*$_{FEM}$ *mâle*$_{MASC}$, and *une*$_{FEM}$ *girafe*$_{FEM}$ *mâle*$_{MASC}$ are grammatically feminine, but *semantically* masculine. See Motschenbacher (2010, p. 64-7) for an explanation of lexical, social, grammatical, and referential gender.

[2] In a sentence with an adjective referring to both a masculine and a feminine noun, the adjective will agree with the masculine noun, e.g., *le tabouret*$_{MASC}$ *et la chaise*$_{FEM}$ *sont bruns*$_{MASC}$ [the stool and the chair are brown].

→ *princ**ess***[1]*.* Haspelmath (2006, p. 52) notes that *prince* may have originally applied to *both* sexes, with the suffix *-ess* functioning like the adjective *female*. *Prince* then narrowed down to refer only to male princes, in the same way that *man/homme* originally referred to humans, but narrowed down to refer to males (see part 3.3). Haspelmath suggests that frequency, and the 'rational principle of least effort or economy' (2006, p.43) can explain overt and zero coding. The more a word is used, the more likely it is to be shortened (by dropping modifiers for example), and become uncoded.

It should be noted that the base form is not necessarily the masculine. Although job titles to describe women working in male-dominated professions are sometimes overtly coded (e.g., *priest/priest**ess***), terms for men in female-dominated professions are also sometimes overtly coded, e.g., ***male** nurse*. The overtly coded forms do not reflect prototypical characteristics (the sex) of priests or nurses, consequently, they are less frequent, and so are overtly coded (Haspelmath 2006, p.43).

The base form is also not necessarily the least complex (shortest) form. In French, adverbs regularly use the feminine form of the adjective as a base, for instance, *doux*$_{\text{MASC}}$ / *dou**ce***$_{\text{FEM}}$ → *dou**ce**ment*$_{\text{ADVB}}$ [gentle → gently], *joyeux*$_{\text{MASC}}$ / *joy**euse***$_{\text{FEM}}$ → *joy**euse**ment*$_{\text{ADVB}}$ [joy → joyously] (Morin 1983, p.147). In these formations, the *feminine* is the zero coded form (Bauer 2003, p.111). Many scholars (Bauer 2003; Khaznadar 1989; and Blanche-Benveniste 1997; Nida 1967, p.75; De Felice 1950, p.24 cited in Breyesse 2002, pp.91-94) have noted that phonetically, it makes more sense to use the feminine as the base form. For instance, orally it is much easier to form the masculine from the feminine in French. For example, if someone learning French knows that *grise*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [grey] is pronounced /gʁiz/ they can easily construct the masculine by removing the last consonant: /gʁiz/ → /gʁi/. Going in the other direction, from masculine to feminine, is impossible without knowing the written form because the *-s* is unvoiced in *gris*$_{\text{MASC}}$ /gʁi/ (Blanche-Benveniste 1997, cited in

[1] Khaznadar (1989) argues that the only feminine nouns derived from masculine forms are *-ette* and *-esse* nouns. Moreover, Connors observes that even these forms are 'not necessarily built on a masculine in the strict sense. Thus *clergesse* [a female religious cleric] was clearly no more based on the m[asculine] counterpart *clerc* than *duchesse* [duchess] was on *duc* [duke] (notice its *-ch-*, probably from *duché* [duchy] [...])' (Connors 1971, p.578).

Breyesse 2002, p.94). In addition, it is the feminine form, not the masculine, which is generally found in all derivative forms, e.g., it is from the feminine form *blan**che***$_{\text{FEM}}$ [white] (pronounced /blɑ̃ʃ/) that the verb *blan**ch**ir* [to whiten / to launder (money)] is derived, not the masculine form *blanc*$_{\text{MASC}}$ (pronounced /blɑ̃/) (Elmiger 2008, p.107). Interestingly, in French-based creoles, which evolved orally without much contact with written forms, it is the feminine form (or more precisely the *long* form) of adjectives that has become the neutral generic form. For instance, in Haitian creole, the adjectives *lèd* [ugly], *soud* [deaf], *dous* [sweet] are all based on the feminine forms *laide*$_{\text{fem}}$ /lɛ**d**/, *sourde*$_{\text{fem}}$ /suʁ**d**/, and *douce*$_{\text{fem}}$ /du**s**/, (in which the final consonant is voiced), not the masculine forms *laid*$_{\text{masc}}$ /lɛ/, *sourd*$_{\text{masc}}$, /suʁ/, and *doux*$_{\text{masc}}$ /du/, in which they are silent (Fattier 2007).

In sum, *every* form is coded, whether it is zero coded or overtly coded. The absence of an affix is meaningful in itself.

2.5.2.5 Conceptual difficulty

Unmarked categories tend to reflect prototypical characteristics, e.g., a prototypical priest is male, and so *priest* is the unmarked form. A prototypical secretary is a female, so the usual term used in French is *une*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *secrétaire*[1]. This is also known as *prototypicality* (also see part 3.3 for *iconization*), where one prototypical member of a group, comes to represent the rest of the group, in the same way that '[t]issues are Kleenex; petroleum jelly, Vaseline; bleach, Clorex, etc. to the economic detriment of those brands that are ignored by this terminology' (Moulton 1981, p.113, cited in Curzan 2003, p.70). This kind of markedness is often related to the conceptual difficulty of imagining a female priest or a male secretary (Haspelmath 2006, p.32). In fact, frequency of use is the best explanation for this phenomenon:

> 'conceptual difficulty' may be caused by low frequency of use, and that it [low frequency] is often the cause for it. There is no need for a 'markedness' concept to mediate between cause and effect. (Haspelmath 2006, p.33)

[1] The noun *secrétaire* is epicene. ***Une***$_{\text{FEM}}$ *secrétaire* invokes the image of an administrative secretary whereas ***un***$_{\text{MASC}}$ *secrétaire* invokes the idea of a secretary of state (Brunetière 1998, p.77).

Put simply, a male priest is the prototypical priest because male priests are more numerous than female priests, and so we process the word *priest* as male. Because we process *priest* as male, it is easier to conceptualise a man when the word *priest* is used, and we need to use a modifier such as *female* to describe a female priest. This works in the same way for ***male*** *models*, ***male*** *prostitutes,* etc. where the prototypical model, or prostitute is a woman (Baker 2014, p.88).

Haspelmath concludes that the term *markedness* should be replaced by other terms (five of which I have examined in relation to sexism in language). These five phenomena are all based on frequency. The more frequently something, or someone, is talked about, the shorter the form will probably be (*priest* vs *priest**ess*** */ **female*** *priest*). The more frequently one particular group is talked about, the easier it is to conceptualise them. However, 'frequency' needs to be qualified. As Haspelmath points out,

> frequency in texts has nothing to do with frequency in the world. For instance, the verb *eat* is much more frequent than *go to the bathroom*, even though the latter activity is presumably just as frequent (Ariel 2004), and *beetle* is much rarer than *dog*, even though the world has many more beetles. Clearly, what we talk about is determined not by the world as such, but by our perception of it and by what we find relevant. (2006, p.45).

Frequency correlates with *social value*. Often something is talked about more frequently because it is more socially valued (the above example of *cow, hen,* etc.). This suggests that linguistic norms ('marked' and 'unmarked' terms) are simply the discursive sedimentation of social values. Unravelling how these norms come into being, and the ideologies behind them, is one of the main objectives of queer linguistics.

2.6 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter I highlighted the apparent contradiction in studying sexism in language from a poststructuralist perspective. With the advent of the linguistic turn, the study of sexism in language was seen as outdated, and largely abandoned in favour of more contextual, locally focused studies. However, a poststructuralist reading of formal linguistics is possible, and can offer a powerful tool to analyse sexism in language. But poststructuralist research on sexist language only makes sense if it uses second wave 'essential' notions of

gender, albeit strategically, and a view of language which allows relatively stable meanings to words. Using the ideas of *conceptual baggage, discursive sedimentation, functional weight,* and *linguistic wounding* we can successfully talk about sexist language as a global, structural and systematic phenomenon, while at the same time retaining poststructuralism's sensitivity to context.

My approach to sexist language incorporates elements of both second, third wave, and queer linguistics. Linguistic norms are seen as the discursive sedimentation of social values (e.g., the masculine as 'unmarked'), and sexist words (*bitch, cunt,* etc.) as having more wounding potential than others due to their conceptual baggage. This approach allows a more nuanced examination of sexism in language, while retaining the generalising potential of a second wave approach.

This chapter discussed how sexist language has been conceptualised in the main paradigms in the field of gender and language. The next chapter asks where sexist language originated, and how the masculine came to fulfil the role of generic.

Language, like the mouths
that hold and release
it, is wet & living, each

word is wrinkled
with age, swollen
with other words, with blood, smoothed by the numberless
flesh tongues that have passed across it.

Margaret Atwood, *Two-Headed Poems* (1978)

Chapter 3 A historiographical approach to sexism in language[1]

This chapter will:

- **define what conceptualisation of *ideology* I am working with**
- **introduce the field of Language Ideology, in particular the concepts of *iconization, fractal recursivity* and *erasure***
- **trace the semiotic and social processes involved in sexism in language**

The objective of this chapter is to examine two of the most important arguments in the non-sexist language debate – that the masculine is (not) generic, and that individual words are (not) sexist. It is important to examine these two arguments as they are invoked so frequently in the non-sexist language debate. This chapter analyses the semiotic and social processes involved in the emergence of the masculine generic, and semantic pejoration using Irvine's concepts of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure, which 'are deeply involved in [...] the creating of linguistic description' (Irvine and Gal 2000, p.79). Although these three concepts have been used in some very creative ways, as far as I am aware, they have not been used to analyse the origin of sexist language. Nonetheless, they are able to pull together a large number of what appear to be disparate phenomena into one unifying theory to explain how we have arrived at our present linguistic situation, in particular how the masculine became conventionalised as the generic form, and how the semantic pejoration of words related to women tends to happen. In order to fully appreciate current debates about sexist language, a thorough understanding of *where these issues have come from* is necessary. Blommaert advocates a historiographical approach to language ideologies, the goal of which is to demystify the power processes underpinning language ideologies. This chapter

[1] A version of this chapter will be published as 'The Origin of Sexism in Language' in *Gender and Language*, 2018, 12 (4).

therefore takes such an approach in order expose to the power processes underlying linguistic description, thus allowing the reader to better contextualise certain language ideologies discussed in later chapters.

Debates surrounding language and gender are not new phenomena, and go at least as far back as ancient Greeks (Corbeill 2008, p.75; Baron 1986, p.28). In order to assess the validity and significance of arguments, we need to be able to place them in their historical context (Cameron 1995). Indeed, Blommaert argues that there is a gap in current knowledge in the field of language ideologies, that the 'historical production and reproduction of language ideologies, needs to be filled in' (Blommaert 1999, p.1). This chapter goes some way to filling this gap, and peeling back the historical layer of ideologies that have resulted in today's linguistic situation.

Bearing all this in mind, this chapter will concentrate on how the masculine generic has been justified and criticised, what kind of ideologies of language uphold these arguments, and how they are connected to ideologies of gender. The semiotic and social processes involved in semantic sexism will also be examined, i.e., how certain groups of speakers have been able to shift the functional weight (Curzan 2003 p. 139) of words. This chapter will demonstrate that the way in which language has been described is the result of struggles between particular ideologies, especially the ideologies of those in powerful positions.

3.1 Ideology: a definition

Before going any further, a short discussion of the term *ideology* is necessary. As Blommaert notes, 'few social-scientific terms have had such complex histories of interpretation as the term “ideology”. [...] ideology has built a track record of controversy, dispute, and conflict over its meaning' (Blommaert 2006, p.510). The term was coined in the 18th century by Antoine Destutt de Tracy, a French Enlightenment aristocrat and philosopher, with the original meaning of a 'science of ideas' (Woolard 1998). However, Destutt's political stance on republicanism (he supported the American republican form of government) lost him favour with Emperor Napoleon, who managed to turn *ideology* into a term of abuse.

In the field of Language Ideology, two main definitions of *ideology* have been used: a Marxian and a Durkheimian[1] conceptualisation. In the Durkheimian tradition of sociology, it means something like 'world view' or 'belief system'. In this sense *ideology* is a 'neutral', or descriptive term (Blommaert 2006, p.510) that could be replaced with *culture, worldview*, or *belief* (Woolard 1998, p.7). On the other hand, while *ideology* in the Marxian conceptualisation does cover this idea of 'world view' or 'belief system', it also takes into account the moral and political interests of various actors. In this sense, *ideology* has negative connotations, in that it is used in the interests of certain groups of people, to the detriment of others.

Woolard cites four main strands in the 'confusing tangle of commonsense and semitechnical meanings' (Friedrich, 1989 cited in cited in Woolard 1998, pp.5-7) of *ideology*:

1. *ideology* describes the basic notions that the members of a society hold about a particular area with no particular critical stance;
2. *ideology* is 'derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position, even though ideology so often (in some views, always) represents itself as universally true' (Woolard 1998, p.5);
3. *ideology*, following on from the second strand, is directly linked to acquiring and / or maintaining power; and
4. *ideology* distorts the truth in the interest of the powerful, e.g., Engels's description of ideology as a 'false consciousness'.

Woolard argues that 'the great divide' among scholars using the term *ideology* is between the more 'neutral' conceptual foci (the first and second definitions), and more 'negative' stances (the third and fourth definitions). There are however, some important points to mention for each of the above strands. For the first strand, recent theory suggests that, 'ideology is not necessarily conscious, deliberate or systematically organized thought, or even thought at all; it is behavioral, practical, prereflective, or structural' (Woolard 1998, p.6). Woolard

[1] Referring to Emile Durkheim, French sociologist (1858-1917), who founded the academic field of sociology.

claims the second strand is the most widely agreed upon, but that the degree to which ideology depends upon the material aspects of life can vary from a view of ideology and the material as 'mutually constituting and dialectical to views of ideology as secondary, entirely contingent, and/or superfluous' (Woolard 1998, p.7). In the third strand, *ideology* can alternately be seen as belonging to anyone, or only to those in power. Finally, the fourth strand implies that the truth is being purposefully distorted by those in power, but in fact, this distortion could also been seen as deriving from the limits of human cognition and perception. It also suggests that there is some form of objective truth out there to discover, rather than 'truth' being constituted within discourse.

My conceptualisation of *ideology* is critical, although not necessarily 'negative'. In other words, I follow Irvine's definition of *ideology* as, 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together *with their loading of moral and political interests*' (Irvine 1989, p.225, my emphasis), while at the same time, bearing in mind that these systems may not be conscious or systematically organised. Following from this definition, ideology can be held by *any* group, not only those in power. Ideologies of powerful groups are, in many cases, simply more widespread by virtue of the groups' access to particular resources, but certainly those in less powerful positions hold their own ideologies. Finally, I partly agree with the fourth strand, in that many ideologies are hegemonic, where power is expressed through consent rather than force, and ideologies are not always visible. However, I do not believe that there is a 'correct' or 'real' consciousness to parallel 'false' consciousness. There are no 'Illuminati' behind hegemonic ideologies, which may not even be conscious to those who benefit from them.

It is useful here to distinguish between *discourse* and *ideology*. Ideologies can be thought of as the invisible part of an iceberg, and discourses the visible part. In other words, ideologies are the, often hidden, underlying values upon which discourses are based. Discourses are ways of articulating ideologies, and can be identified though traces in language (in my corpus through lexical items). Discourses only make sense when one accepts the underlying ideology as common sense, for instance, employing a discourse of ‘language as a tool’ only makes sense

if we accept the underlying language ideology of linguistic relativity, i.e., that language can, at least to some extent, affect our perception of the world.

3.2 Language Ideology

The following paragraphs will briefly introduce the field of Language Ideology (LI), from which Irvine's concepts of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure stem, before concentrating on the three concepts themselves in more detail. Language ideology[1] is both a concept (relating to common sense beliefs about language), and a field of inquiry (how are these beliefs created and maintained). As a field of inquiry, it originated in North American linguistic anthropology in the 1970s with the work of Silverstein (1979). Its main focus has been on attitudes to language in contexts of contact between different languages or language standardisation (Woolard 1998). LI looks at both explicit and implicit metalinguistic, or metapragmatic, discourse (Woolard 1998, p.9) in an effort to denaturalise taken-for-granted explanations and meanings of and about language. In this way, LI seeks to question norms, and to uncover the complex ideological matrix where language intersects with other social identities (Milani 2010, p.121) such as gender and sexuality.

Ideologies of language expose the connections between the beliefs that speakers have about language (e.g., what is correct, incorrect, sexist, non-sexist, beautiful, ugly etc), and the larger cultural and social systems that these beliefs are rooted in, and an LI framework allows a systematic analysis of these attitudes.

[1] The following three terms are often used interchangeably: *linguistic ideology, language ideology*, and *ideologies of language*. However, some differentiate as follows:

- *Linguistic ideology* to refer to the relation between linguistic ideology and linguistic structures, and is based around Silverstein's work (Silverstein 1979) on metapragmatics, i.e., implicit and explicit commentary on language-in-use.
- *Language ideology* to refer to contact between languages, purist ideologies, and ideologies of standardisation.
- *Ideologies of language* to refer to public discourses on language, including the ideologies of linguists (Woolard 1998, p.4).

I use the terms *Language Ideology* (in capitals), or *LI* to refer to the field of study, and *ideologies of language* and *language ideologies* (in lower case) interchangeably to refer to the concept.

Ideologies of language have been described as 'interpretive filters' (Mertz 1989, p.109) or 'central mediating forces through which language is made meaningful in culturally specific ways' (Rosa and Burdick 2016, p. 108). The analogy of a prism helps to better understand the relationship between language structure, language ideologies, and social meaning.

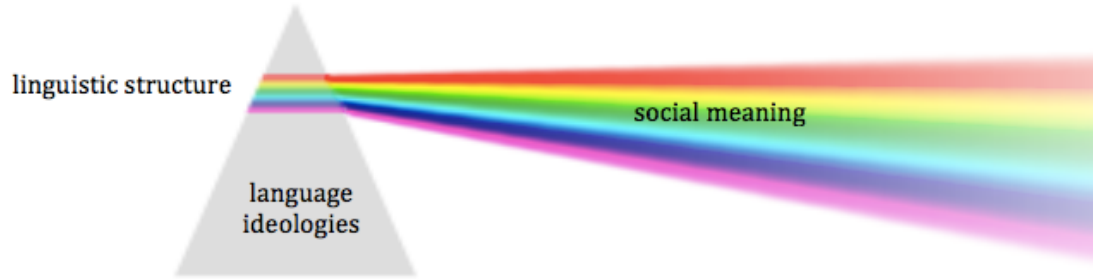


Figure 3.1: language ideology as a prism (image from: https://www.cambridgeincolour.com/tutorials/color-perception.htm)

In the image above, the prism represents language ideologies. Linguistic structure, let us say the pronoun *ze*[1], passes through the interpretive filter of a specific language ideology (here that language indexes something about the speaker), and projects social meaning, in this case, that they have a certain ideology of gender.

Silverstein defines ideologies of language as 'any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979, p.193). However, not only do ideologies of language serve to rationalise language use, they can also 'actively and concretely distort the linguistic structure it represents' (Woolard 1998).

Taking the same example of pronouns, and going in the opposite direction from right to left, social meanings (certain ideologies of gender), travel through the lens of language ideology (here, for instance, that language is a tool for social change), and change the linguistic structure (e.g., the creation of new pronouns). Pronoun choice is therefore rationalised by a specific ideology regarding the nature of language, i.e., poststructuralist ideas of the performative power of language that 'allows for individual agency in disrupting normative assumptions about the

[1] A gender-neutral third person pronoun.

relationship between linguistic form and social meaning [...] in order to promote social change' (Barrett 2014, p.198).

Another example that Silverstein uses to illustrate this phenomenon is feminists' 'misanalysis' of generic *he*: 'the diagnosis of the purported structural ailment [that generic *he* is sexist] is really a process of unambiguous creation of – or infectious innoculation with – the pragmatic disease' (Silverstein 1985, p.254). In other words, feminists have not understood the principles of structural gender categories, i.e., that *he* is part of a formal structural hierarchy of language going from more inclusive to less inclusive, e.g., *masculine* includes *feminine* but not vice versa, *animate* includes *personal* but not vice versa (Silverstein 1985, pp.225-26). He claims that feminists have failed to differentiate between the masculine's notional (inclusive) sense, and its exclusive (male) sense. I am sure that the metaphor of disease in this quote has not escaped the reader's attention. This comment can be understood in terms of what has been termed an ideology of language decay (Milroy, 2001), in which language is apparently on a constantly downward slope (Deutscher 2006), and in which only certain people have the right to comment on it, for example professional linguists. Silverstein adds that generic *he* is a 'structurally dictated indexical usage' (Silverstein 1985, p.256), but he does not indicate *how* these constraints came about, i.e., the social and semiotic processes which resulted in masculine being at the top of this formal structural hierarchy, something which I explain in the rest of this chapter.

Ideologies of language are 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine 1989, p.255). Therefore, from a LI point of view, standardisation (including the normalisation of the masculine as the generic form) should be seen as the result of a discursive project, or ideological process (Woolard 1998, p.20).

Although work has been carried out on attitudes to sexist language (Curzan 2014; Abbou 2011; Elmiger 2008; Cameron 1995) they have not used a Language Ideology framework. Moreover, several studies (Luraghi 2011; Luraghi 2009b; Michard 1996; Violi 1987; McConnell-Ginet 1984; Schulz 1975 [2000]) have analysed the origin of sexist language and/or the origin of grammatical gender, but

again, from varying perspectives. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, an LI framework, and specifically the concepts of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure, allows us to pull all these studies together into a unifying theorisation of the origin of sexism in language. They provide:

> a fine-grained discourse analytical apparatus that allows us to tease out how social boundaries and inequalities are enacted through an ideological matrix where representations of language intersect with images of age, gender, ethnicity, race, sexuality, etc. What remains to be demonstrated is how such boundaries and intersections may become conventionalized and naturalized, or, conversely, are turned into battlegrounds of negotiation and contestation. (Milani 2010, p.121)

As previously stated, one of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate how the masculine became conventionalised as the neutral, generic form, and how contestation of this has been consistently erased from history. Using a slightly modified version of three concepts, I will tease out the social mechanisms through which discourses related to sexist language have been historically produced, circulated and challenged. The following sections will provide a brief explanation of what these three concepts usually refer to in the literature of Language Ideologies, before showing how they can be modified to suit my analysis of the emergence of sexism in language.

3.3 Iconization

Iconization is a *dichotomising* process whereby two groups of speakers are created according to linguistic features that they share, or are perceived to share. For example, in the UK some people pronounce *bath* with a short 'a' /bæθ/, and some people use a long 'a' /bɑ:θ/. On the basis of this pronunciation two groups are identified – people from the north of England /bæθ/ and people from the south /bɑ:θ/. Northerners and southerners are dichotomised, or partitioned, on the basis of this linguistic difference. Iconization describes sociolinguistic conventions that can be observed by any linguist, e.g., northerners tend to pronounce *bath* with a short *a*, and southerners tend to use a long *a*.

As well as being a dichotomising process, iconization is also an *essentialising* process, in which individuals are treated as belonging to homogenous social groups. Continuing with the example of the pronunciation of *bath*: not all northerners say /bæθ/ and not all southerners say /bɑ:θ/. However, with

iconization, any intra group differences are minimised, whereas inter group differences are highlighted. Once a dichotomy exists, a hierarchy is created (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013). Iconization thus results in 'othering' one particular group, and therefore marginalising them. Linguistically, both pronunciations of *bath* are equal, however Standard English (associated with the south of England) is the norm which is promoted, with all the ideological baggage which norms entail (authority, sanction, legitimation): 'norms are the expression of principles which determine what is desirable and what is not, principles which we will call values' (« [les] normes sont l'expression de principes déterminant ce qui est désirable et ce qui ne l'est pas, principes que l'on appellera valeurs ») (Klinkenberg 2006, p.21). A standard southern accent is generally the more socially valued accent.

In fact, the very existence of 'a language' is the result of iconization. Rather than seeing French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese as part of a continuum of Romance dialects, they are partitioned, and their similarities are downplayed, thus essentialising them as separate languages (Blommaert 2006, pp.511-12; Klinkenberg 2006, p.26).

When we think of 'French', we think of standard Parisian French. However, there are many different regional varieties of French (from Picard in the north to Occitan in the south). Rather than seeing France as a patchwork of dialects, all related to their neighbouring varieties[1], we see a monolithic linguistic entity based on the French of Parisian elites (Lodge 1993). In fact, France pursued a very aggressive campaign to eliminate regional dialects starting in the aftermath of the French Revolution, up until very recently (Leclerc 2017; de Certeau *et al*. 1975). Even today, France has an ambivalent attitude to language. Although some regional languages still survive, the French government has repeatedly rejected the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The latest attempt in October 2015 failed to get the required majority in the Senate, with opponents claiming that the cohesion and unity of the French people would be threatened.

[1] Not including non-Romance dialects such as Alsatian (a Low Alemannic German dialect spoken in the north east), or Basque (a non-Indo-European language spoken in the south west).

This kind of discourse draws upon an ideology of 'one language-one nation' (see part 4.5), in which the national language is seen as the glue that holds the nation together, as well as distinguishing it from other nations (iconization). The mobilisation of language in the service of nation building has long been an important political tool. It is often referred to as the Romantic or Herderian concept of language (Woolard 1998, p.17) but in fact goes back much further. In her work on Spanish treatises, Woolard (2004) found traces of discourses relating to language as the cement of the nation as far back as the 16th century (Blommaert 2006, p.518).

This process of iconization in order to create a national identity can still be seen today. One need only look at Serbian and Croatian. Before the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, Serbo-Croatian was a single language with very minor differences. After the breakup, Serbo-Croatian fractured into four 'different languages': Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin, along ethnic and religious lines, rather than linguistic. This division tends to highlight *differences* between these four varieties, and make any *similarities* less visible. In fact, the 'separate languages' of Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin are more similar to one another than British and American English, which are classed as two varieties of the same language (Thomas 2002, p.314). This process of iconization in the Balkans is currently having direct consequences on non-sexist language reform: One reason for the *rejection* of feminist language reforms in Serbia is that neighbouring Croatia has accepted them, and Serbia has spent the better part of 25 years trying to create a separate national and political identify for itself (Rajilic 2017). Thus, iconization can also describe *perceived*, rather than real differences.

In order to analyse the emergence of sexism in language, I have reversed the process of iconization, that is, rather than groups being partitioned because of (real or perceived) linguistic features, *humans are partitioned on the basis of sex/gender*. To come back to the prism analogy, this would be a movement from right to left, in the same way that ideologies of gender equality are changing the pronoun structure.

In my reversed iconization, *humans themselves*, rather than a language or linguistic feature, underwent a process of iconization. Binary conceptions of sex/gender resulted in two groups. Women and men were (and still are) essentialised as homogenous groups, thus ignoring any intra group variation (in biological sex and / or social gender). Once a dichotomy is in place, hierarchy and discrimination follow (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013). The fact that iconization is an essentialising process is particularly interesting in relation to Queer linguistics, whose central aim is, 'de-essentialisation – a mechanism at the heart of Queer Linguistics' (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013, p.528). In other words, Queer linguistics tries to reverse the process of iconization in order to question these norms.

Through iconization, men became icons, or prototypical members of humanity, and represented the whole of humanity. Cameron has noted how 'comparisons have a tendency to set up one group covertly as the norm; in the case of sex, it is men who are the norm.' (Cameron 1992, p.41). As prototypical members, men were placed at the top of the social hierarchy, which was then reflected onto language.

Etymologically speaking, *man* in English, and *homme*$_{\text{MASC}}$ in French, are in fact generic. *Mann* (or *Man*) in Old English meant *human*. If it was necessary to specify the sex of an individual *wer* (adult male) or *wif* (adult female) was added to *mann,* resulting in *wifmann* (for *woman)*, and *wermann*[1] (for *man*). Over time, *wermann* lost its *wer*, and became *mann*, the semantic value of *mann* gradually narrowing down to refer only to men (Curzan 2003, p.62; Baron 1986, p.138). On the other hand, *wifmann* retained its *wif,* eventually becoming *woman*). This process of semantic restriction can also be seen in French: *homme* (man / human) comes from the Latin *homo* also meaning *human*, as in the term *homo sapiens* (*vir* was used to refer to a man and *mulier* referred to a woman). In fact, this narrowing down from *human* to *man* seems to be a widespread phenomenon in many different languages (Doleschal 2015, p.1161). The terms *man* and *homme*, which have semantically narrowed to refer only to men, become the unmarked (see part

1 *Werewolf* (literally *man* + *wolf*) is the only surviving remnant of the term *wer* in Modern English (Baron 1986, p.139).

2.5.2.1) term, in the same way that *America* narrowed down from the name of a whole continent to now usually being restricted to the USA:

> Consider, as an example, the word *America*. Originally this referred to the entire continent in the western hemisphere that Europeans had become aware of after 1492. But English speakers of course used *America* primarily for the part of the continent that was settled from England, and nowadays it has become restricted to the United States of America. It is no longer possible to cancel this enriched meaning in English (**I'm from America, more specifically from South America*). The enriched meaning has become conventionalized. (Haspelmath 2006, p.51).

Rather than for any linguistic reason, markedness and genericity are based on the relative importance and power of one group over another. It is no accident that the USA, the most powerful country on the American continent, appropriated the term. Had Canada had been the most influential country; we would probably be calling it 'America' today. The more powerful a group, the more frequently we talk about them. The more frequent a term is, the more likely it is to be shortened, which is simply due to linguistic economy. The less powerful the group is, the less frequently they will be talked about, and the less likely it is that the term referring to them will be shortened. For example, when someone says the word *egg* we think of a *chicken* egg. Because chicken eggs are more frequently encountered than other eggs, we don't need to specific *chicken* egg. If we wanted to talk about a different kind of egg, we would have to add some sort of modifier, e.g., an *ostrich* egg (Haspelmath 2006, pp.43-44).

It seems as though the terms *man* and *homme* became generic because men were, quite simply, talked about more often than women, because they were the more powerful group. In contrast to *egg*, and more like *America*, I would say that the term *man* has undergone more of an extreme semantic shift. In modern British English *man* is used much more often to refer to male humans, rather than humans in general. Centuries ago, it described all humans, but since at least 1000AD it has been used to refer almost exclusively to adult males (Curzan 2003, p.167). Those against non-sexist language reform often refer to the etymology of *man* and *homme* as evidence of their current generic value, but this is a rather simplistic idea, which Curzan describes as 'etymological fallacies' in which,

> words "mean" - in some fundamental way what they used to mean or originally meant, and all subsequent semantic changes are corruptions or temporary "misunderstandings" of the "correct meaning". Words fundamentally mean what speakers believe that words mean and what they use words to mean (Curzan 2003, p.175).

Silverstein (1979, p.193) also observes that looking for a word's 'true' or central meaning in its etymological origins is a common linguistic ideology. This is also known as an ideology of language decay, in which speakers look back to an imaginary 'Golden Age of perfection' in language (Deutscher 2006, p.80). Arguing that because *man* referred to all humans almost 1000 years ago, therefore it still does today, is about as logical as arguing that because *girl* used to mean 'a child of any sex' (Curzan 2003, p.133; Blaubergs 1980, p.141), it still does today. Those who mobilise the etymology argument tend to cherry pick their examples, conveniently forgetting the many examples which contradict them (see below).

3.4 Fractal recursivity

Fractal recursivity is a term borrowed from geometry, which refers to two interrelated phenomena. A fractal is a pattern that is the same across different scales (it looks the same whether we zoom in or out), and is driven by recursion (repetition) of itself. Fractals can also be found in nature (sunflowers, Romanesco broccoli, crystals in snowflakes) and art (Jackson Pollock, the Sierpinski triangle).

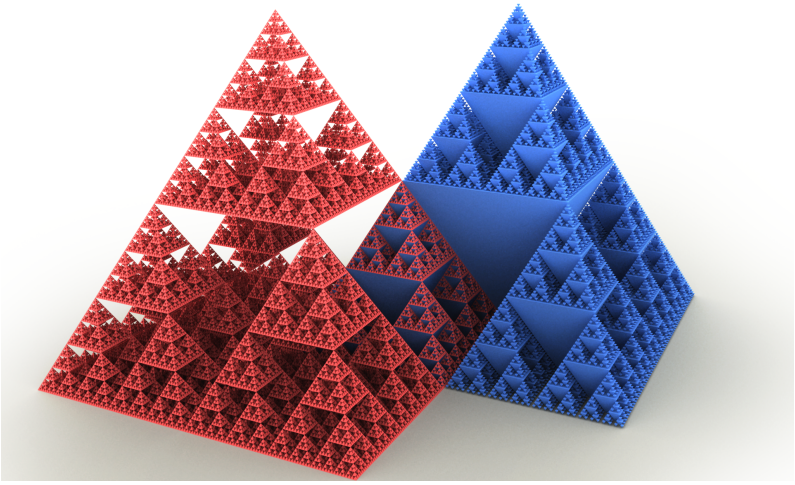


Figure 3.2: Sierpinski pyramids (image from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sierpinski_triangle)

Within Irvine and Gal's framework, fractal recursivity describes how the dichotomies created from iconization are reflected onto some other level (e.g., gender, sexuality, ethnicity, social class...) and repeated (Irvine and Gal 2000, p.38). Thus, in its original format, fractal recursivity projects oppositions that are created at a linguistic level, onto other semiotic tiers, like gender and sexuality. Milani

describes fractal recursivity as, 'create[ing] a chain of *entwined* binary oppositions – man vs. woman, [straight vs gay, standard vs non-standard...] – in which the poles of each dyad are not mutually equal in terms of power and value [...]' (Milani 2010, pp.120-21).

An example of fractal recursivity is the 'gay lisp'. Some people pronounce /s/, and others pronounce it something more like /θ/. On the basis of this linguistic feature two groups are created, and this difference in pronunciation is then projected onto another semiotic tier, in this case male sexuality. A 'lispy' pronunciation (either /θ/ or a 'crispy' high-frequency interdental /s/ becomes an iconic marker of gay men, and indexes a whole host of traits related to stereotypical male homosexuality, such as effeminate behaviour. In a study of perceptual bias of the pronunciation of /s/ (Munson and Zimmerman 2006), male participants were *perceived* as gay if they used a high frequency /s/, whatever their actual sexuality. Obviously not all gay men produce a 'lispy' or 'crispy' /s/, and not all straight men produce lower-frequency /s/, but iconization tends to blur any inter-group similarities. Iconization 'describes how linguistic phenomena are portrayed as if they flowed "naturally" from a social group's biological or cultural essence' (Milani 2010, p.120). In this example, a certain pronunciation of /s/ is projected onto male sexuality, and portrayed as a result of gay men's 'naturally' effeminate nature. This creates a 'natural' opposition between gay and straight men, with a clear social hierarchy. This higher-frequency pronunciation of /s/ does not seem to be the result of gay men's biological make-up[1], and the notion of 'cultural essence' is highly problematic. It seems more likely that the pronunciation of /s/ by gay men is used as an identity marker under certain circumstances.

As with iconization, I have reversed the process of fractal recursivity for my analysis of sexist language. In my version, it is not the linguistic feature that is projected onto gender, but gender that is projected onto the language.

[1] Munson does, however, posit that genetic factors may play some role in the more frequent 'lisp' pronunciation that he found in a study on boys with 'gender dysphoria' (Munson *et al.* 2015), although he does not go into detail as to exactly what these genetic differences may be.

3.4.1 The origin of the feminine grammatical gender

Probably the most powerful example of fractal recursivity is the origin of the feminine grammatical gender itself. Although most European languages have two or three grammatical genders[1] (also known as noun classes) probably around half of the world's languages do not have any (Corbett 2014, p.1), including Turkish, Finnish, Basque, Georgian, and Estonian. Languages that do group nouns into categories do not necessarily have the same two- or three-way distinctions that we find in Indo-European languages. Deutscher cites the examples of languages that have a two-way gender distinction based on animate and non-animate objects, or others which divide the language up into many more noun classes, such as men, women, dogs, other animals, vegetables, drinks, and spears (Deutscher 2011, p.198).

The origin of grammatical gender has never been definitively proved. The late 19th century saw a division into two camps, 'Romantic' versus 'neogrammarian' scholars. Romantic linguists such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Christoph Adelung, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Jacob Grimm (cited in Kilarski 2013, p.117), argued that gender originated in the human tendency to anthropomorphize nature, in other words:

> a primitive animistic world view [where] in their attempt to make sense of the world and of their existence [the first humans] personified the animals, plants, the inanimate earth, rocks, water, and the natural and supernatural forces around them as women and men, as gods and goddesses [...]. (Baron 1986, p.90)

In this sense, grammatical gender was an extension of human gender into the sphere of language. On the other hand, 'neogrammarian' scholars, for instance Johann Werner Meiner and Karl Brugmann (Kilarski 2013, p.117), viewed grammatical gender for inanimates as semantically arbitrary — for animates there is usually a correspondence between social gender and grammatical gender (but see part 2.5.1). Some have gone even further, and suggested that grammatical gender for *inanimate* nouns was simply 'an accident of linguistic history [which] owes its emergence and existence to various linguistic (and no extralinguistic)

[1] See Burr (2012, p.32) for a short history of grammatical gender in Latin. Some scholars in the 1400s classified Latin nouns into five or even seven different categories (masculine, feminine, neuter, common, le tout, le doubteux, and epicene). Also see Curzan (2003, p.28) for Ben Jonson's 1640 six-way division of gender categories in English, based on Latin.

forces' (Ibrahim 1973 cited in Curzan 2003, p.16). Yet others have referred to it as 'unnecessary historical baggage', 'junk' (Trudgill 2011, p.162), and 'linguistic male nipples' (Lass 1997 cited in Kilarski 2013, pp.230-31). Nevertheless, there is no consensus, and as Baron (1986, p.91) notes, '[a]ll in all, the history of gender has never been satisfactorily explained'.

Linguists generally concur that the Indo-European three-way gender system (masculine-feminine-neuter) developed at a relatively recent point from a two-way animate-inanimate gender system (Elmiger 2008, p.51). However, the reasons as to how these two categories came about have been under discussion for over a century (Luraghi 2011, p.436).

There are two ways to view this development: Firstly, the feminine grammatical gender was exclusive (referred only to females), and thus 'marked', while the animate gender, on the other hand, remained inclusive or 'unmarked' (but see part 2.5.2 for a problematisation of markedness). Therefore, linguistically speaking, the animate category could still refer to all humans. The second perspective is that once a separate feminine category emerged, there was a domino effect which automatically modified the value of the animate category, narrowing it down to exclusively masculine. The point of contention is then whether the animate category retained its original inclusive, generic meaning, or whether it automatically lost this value because the feminine category was no longer part of it (Luraghi 2011).

As to why a third (feminine) gender should emerge in the first place, Luraghi argues that, 'the only possible motivation for a new gender which expands on an animacy-based three-gender system is sex' (Luraghi 2011, p.448). This hypothesis is also supported other linguists, such as Antoine Meillet (cited in Michel 2016, p. 29), and Claire Michard, who asserts that:

> the feminine gender only exists and can only exist as a practice of symbolic domination [...] and the political objective can only be to abolish it. [...] If [...] the masculine always signifies human in an absolute way and the feminine never does, we have the right to think that creating feminine forms is a reinforcement of this ideological oppression [...].
>
> le genre féminin n'existe et ne peut exister que comme pratique symbolique de domination [...] et que l'objectif politique ne peut être que de l'abolir. [...] Si [...] le masculin signifie toujours humain de façon absolue et le féminin jamais, on est en droit de penser que forger des féminins est un renforcement de cette opposition idéologique [...].

(Michard 1996, p.44)

In other words, Michard proposes that the feminine grammatical gender emerged because human females were *already a marked sex*. This means that the feminine was, from its very origin, a restricted gender (because it could only refer to females and not humans in general). Luraghi seems to concur on this point. She suggests that even before the emergence of the new feminine gender in Indo-European, words relating to females were already being linguistically marked with suffixes:

> if one looks at Anatolian[1], where a feminine grammatical gender is not available, one finds a number of nouns that refer to human females and derive from masculine nouns with the addition of the suffix -(š)šara-, as in ḫaššuššaraš 'queen', from ḫaššuš 'king'or išḫaššaraš 'lady', from išḫaš 'lord'. (Luraghi 2009a, p.19)

The fact that many non-Indo-European languages such as Basque, Finnish, Hungarian, and Estonia do not have binary masculine-feminine grammatical gender, added to the commonly held idea that non-Indo-European neolithic societies were much more egalitarian[2], seems to support Luraghi's hypothesis. If grammatical gender did indeed originate as a way to linguistically mark women, in a patriarchal Indo-European society, it stands to reason that a more egalitarian society would not mark women in this way, and would therefore not have binary masculine-feminine grammatical gender. Nevertheless, all of this is highly conjectural, and whether neolithic societies really were more egalitarian is also a matter for debate.

The hypothesis that the feminine gender is an offshoot of the animate gender is extremely problematic for feminist linguistics, many of whom (e.g., Khaznadar 1989) have spent the past few decades arguing that the masculine and the feminine are symmetrical categories. However, even if the feminine was originally derived from the animate category, languages are not static. It may be the case that the affixes used to mark the feminine grammatical gender eventually became

[1] Anatolian refers to a group of extinct Indo-European languages that were spoken in Asia Minor. The best known is Hittite, which had a noun-class system based on an animate/inanimate distinction, rather than a masculine-feminine distinction. It is thought that the masculine-feminine gender divide happened in late PIE, after Anatolian had spilt off from that branch (Beekes 2011, p.189).

[2] E.g., Maria Gimbutas, archaeologist and anthropologist, was well known for her beliefs that early European Neolithic farmers had a more egalitarian culture than the invading Indo-Europeans.

grammaticalised (Elmiger 2008, p.52) as flexions[1], which would make the masculine and feminine genders grammatically equal. Just because a masculine may not be overtly coded (see part 2.5.2.4), it does not mean that it is uninflected. The absence of an affix is meaningful in itself, e.g., *un*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *enseignant*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [a teacher] is just as inflected as *un**e***$_{\text{FEM}}$ *enseignant**e***$_{\text{FEM}}$. The masculine is an inflected form that is *zero* coded, whereas the feminine is an inflected form that is *overtly* coded (Haspelmath and Sims 2010, p.92). The absence of the *-e* is not meaningless, it codes for the masculine.

3.4.2 Social gender projected onto inanimate nouns

A second example of my modified version of fractal recursivity is social gender being projected onto inanimate nouns. As previously mentioned, historical linguists do not really know why grammatical gender for inanimate nouns emerged, and why, for example, a bridge should be masculine in French (*un pont*) but feminine in German (*Die Brücke*) (Boroditsky *et al*. 2003, and Sera *et al*. 2002 for how grammatical gender affects how speakers think about the objects concerned).

Grammatical gender for *inanimate* nouns has often been described as semantically arbitrary, with no basis in human physiology or sexual behaviour. However, it is not entirely semantically arbitrary. Scholars have argued that all gender systems are at least partially semantic (Corbett 1991, p.8; Violi 1987, p.15). There are certain classes of nouns which can be categorised according to their semantic value, e.g., names of trees, days of the week, months and seasons, cheeses, wines, metals and minerals are usually masculine in French; names of cars, and academic subjects are usually feminine. This said, for the majority of inanimate nouns, grammatical gender has no semantic basis whatsoever, and is based on morphology and phonology (Cameron, 1992 p.90; Corbett 1991, p.61).

[1] Inflexional values have a syntactic function, but do not change the semantic properties of a word, e.g., *walk**s*** (inflectional value = present) vs *walk**ed*** (inflectional value = past). A derivation changes the meaning of the word, e.g., *to walk* vs *a walk**er*** (Haspelmath and Sims 2010, pp.81-82). Luraghi (2014) maintains that gender is non prototypical with regards to both inflexion and derivation, and although there is not always a clear-cut distinction between inflexion and derivation, gender is closer to the inflectional pole.

This has not prevented some linguists from going to rather extraordinary lengths to provide explanations as to why any particular inanimate noun should be masculine or feminine. In 1949 Mario Pei, the Italian-American linguist, suggested that the sun was masculine in southern countries (*le soleil* in French, *el sol* in Spanish, *il sole* in Italian) because it was stronger. In northern countries, where it was weaker, it was feminine (*die Sonne* in German). The moon was apparently softer in the south, where it is feminine (*la lune* in French, *la luna* in Spanish and Italian) compared to the '"icy moon of cold northern nights"' (cited in Baron 1986, p.102), where it is masculine (*der Mond* in German). The ideologies underlying this explanation are based on the idea that the masculine is the more active, or stronger element, whereas the feminine is passive / weak (an idea which has been documented since the Middle Ages (Elmiger 2008, p.53)). This ideology is also reflected in biology, where the role of females in conception was not well understood before the end of the 19th century. Until that point, the Aristotelian view that the uterus was nothing more than an incubator dominated scientific thinking (McLaren 1990, pp.17-22).

One important result of this leakage between grammatical and 'natural' gender (Romaine 1999; Violi 1987) is the current rule of gender agreement in French.

3.4.3 The masculine takes precedence

Codification of the language flourished in the 16th Century when hierarchies were established between nouns and their relative importance. Although there is no grammatical agreement between nouns and their qualifiers in English, grammarians recommended putting nouns in order of importance, e.g., *king and queen* (not *queen and king*), *father and mother* (not *mother and father*): 'The concept of worthiness is [...] a reflection of a natural order that places man at the head of creation, with woman in a subordinate, subservient, and frequently invisible place' (Baron 1986, p.98).

The same concept of worthiness can be found in French grammar, e.g., *un*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *homme*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *et cinq milliards de femmes*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *sont morts*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [one man and five billion

women died], in which masculine takes precedence, and so the past participle *morts* is in the masculine.

However sexist this may be, we can clearly see some kind of social logic in it. What is less logical is the idea that an *inanimate* noun such as *bonnet* [hat] is somehow more worthy than an *inanimate* noun like *écharpe* [scarf]. Once we know that *bonnet* is masculine and *écharpe* is feminine, the 'logic' becomes clearer. Thus, in a sentence like *le bonnet*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *et l'écharpe*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *sont verts*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [the hat and the scarf are green], *verts* is in the masculine. The masculine noun *bonnet* is considered more worthy than the feminine *écharpe* by virtue of its *grammatical* gender (attributed for morphological reasons), even though both are inanimate objects, with no obvious masculine or feminine qualities. This example demonstrates how social gender, and its hierarchy, was projected onto inanimate objects.

This rule was justified, and the link between grammatical and social gender made explicit, in 1767 when grammarian Nicolas Beauzée claimed that, 'the masculine gender is reputed to be more noble than the feminine *because of males' superiority over females*' (« le genre masculin est réputé plus noble que le féminin *à cause de la supériorité du mâle sur la femelle »*) (cited in Arrivé 2013, p.2, my italics). Until that point, the adjective usually agreed with the last noun in sentence, also known as *la règle de proximité* (the rule of proximity). In the example of the hat and scarf above, using the rule of proximity would result in: *le bonnet*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *et l'écharpe*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *sont vert**es***$_{\text{FEM}}$ where *vert**es*** agrees with the closest noun *écharpe*$_{\text{FEM}}$. Thanks in great part to institutional support, and the marginalisation of those who disagreed (see Viennot 2014, p.74 for examples), the rule of the masculine taking precedence was eventually codified as the rule. Hellinger holds that, '[s]uch forms are a powerful means of communicating the message "male as norm"' (Hellinger 2011, p.571). This rule is still the norm in modern French, although some resistance can be seen over the past few years, e.g., several on-line petitions have been created to bring back the rule of proximity. Almost 33 000 people have signed the latest one, launched in November 2017 (Viennot, 2017).

Despite the fact that English had lost its grammatical gender categories by the end of the 14th century (Curzan 2003, p.13), some grammarians still attempted to

superimpose a revised Latin system of agreement onto the language. In 1712 Michel Maittaire, a French-born grammarian living in England, wrote that in the sentence, '"[...] both my parents, father and mother, are kind, the Adjective *kind*, though it varies not it self [...] ought to be understood of the masculine [...]"' (cited in Baron 1986, p.98). However, Latin did not necessarily advocate the primacy of the masculine (see below). Burr (2012) found that both the rule of the masculine taking precedence, as well as the rule of proximity were accepted in Latin, thus indicating a high level of incertitude and variation before codification of the language began in the 16th century. This grammatical flexibility was eventually rigidly codified by grammarians, who advocated only one possibility, i.e., the supremacy of the masculine. The rule of proximity died a quiet death. Thus, it would seem that the masculine generic should not be seen as a new rule that was invented by prescriptive grammarians, but rather simply as a variant (Newman 1997, p.21, cited in Curzan 2003, p.59), alongside the rule of proximity. In the same way that 'a language is a dialect with an army and a navy'[1], the masculine generic can be viewed as a variant backed by those in power.

3.4.4 Semantic pejoration

Fractal recursivity can also explain semantic pejoration (Schulz 1975 [2000]), i.e., the process by which a neutral term referring to a girl or woman gradually takes on negative connotations, often sexual. In part 2.4.5, I discussed the example of *girl*, a word that originally referred to a child of any sex, ending up as a term for a prostitute. Curzan, has also shown how words tend to descend the semantic slope further ending up as insults for gay men, 'who seem to be regarded as somehow similar to, if not lower than, prostitutes by a hostile heterosexual community', e.g., *maiden, tart,* and *queen/quean*[2] (Curzan 2003, pp.153-54) were neutral words (i.e., not insults) which referred to women, but which can be used today as insults for gay men (notwithstanding their use as terms of solidarity *within* the LGBTIQ+

[1] An adage popularized by the sociolinguist Max Weinreich, who heard it from a member of the audience at one of his lectures.

[2] The words *queen* and *quean*, now homonyms differentiated only by spelling and sometimes used interchangeably in contemptuous reference to homosexuals, stem from two different Old English words: as defined by the OED, *cwen* 'a (king's) wife or consort'; and *cwene* 'a woman, a female; from early ME. a term of disparagement or abuse, hence: a bold, impudent, or ill-behaved woman' (Curzan 2003, p.154).

community). Thus, semantic pejoration does not only affect women, but seems to follow clear social hierarchy.

It is important to stress again the role played by speakers in semantic drift. It may seem obvious that speakers are behind any semantic change, but we tend to talk about *words* changing meaning (*words* being the subject of the verb *to change*, as if words were animate beings), rather than *people* using words with different meanings (Curzan 2003, p.138). In other words, it is speakers who shift the *functional weight* of words (Curzan 2003, p. 139), calling on the potential meanings contained in a word's *conceptual baggage* (McConnell-Ginet 2008, pp.512-16) according to the context.

Schulz's article was written at the beginning of Second wave research, and takes a dominance approach to sexism language. As such, she tends to view *all* men as dominating *all* women. Thus, she contends that the 'language used by men to discuss and describe women reveals something about male attitudes, fears and prejudices concerning the female sex' (Schulz 1975 [2000, p.87]). However, this overlooks the fact that not all men are in positions of power, in every situation. Although she could be criticised for a rather essentialising perspective, Schultz's article was extremely important in that it was one of the first to draw attention to how semantic derogation seems to be a phenomenon affecting words referring to women, much more than those relating to men.

Continuing with my focus on the processes involved in sexist language, the reasons why speakers shift the functional weight of certain terms will be examined. Schultz refers to Ullman (1967, pp.231-32), who identifies three possible reasons for semantic derogation: 1) association with a contaminating concept; 2) euphemism; and 3) prejudice. Schultz claims that men tend to think of women as sexual beings, so that any term referring to women becomes associated with the concept of sexuality, for example the terms *woman, female* and *lady* went through cycles in the 19th century, during which the functional weight of one term gradually shifted towards connotations of *mistress* or *prostitute* (Schulz 1975 [2000, p.88]), forcing people to use one of the other, 'uncontaminated' terms. The connotations of

sexuality, immorality etc. are eventually projected onto the uncontaminated terms, and the cycle is repeated *ad infinitum*, i.e., fractal recursivity.

I would argue that euphemism is a *result of* association with a contaminating concept, not a separate reason in itself. We use euphemisms because we want to avoid explicitly referring to an idea that could be seen as impolite, insensitive, embarrassing, etc. As a result of *woman* being contaminated, we use *lady* in order to avoid any sexual, or female bodily connotations:

> 'Lady' is a euphemism, a veil drawn over the grossness of female physicality, sexuality and reproduction. A lady does not have bodily functions, whether sex-specific, like menstruation (as the song says, 'only women bleed') or shared with the male of the species (there used to be a saying that 'horses sweat, men perspire and ladies gently glow'). The word 'lady' appears in coy expressions like 'lady garden', which are designed to sanitize references to the female body, but when the reference is to something like rape, which cannot easily be sanitized, its effect is incongruous and jarring. (Cameron 2015a)

However, it could be argued that the third reason, prejudice, is the overarching reason that englobes both association with a contaminating concept, as well as euphemism. Schultz refers to what the psychologist, Gordon Allport (1954, p.179) calls 'labels of primary potency', i.e., terms with which an in-group marks, or stereotypes an out-group. Allport offers the following illustration:

> You may correctly say that a certain person is *human, a philanthropist, a Chinese, a physician, an athlete*. A given person may be all of these but the chances are that *Chinese* stands out in your mind as the symbol of primary potency. (Allport 1954, p.179)

Obviously, the label of primary potency will depend on context, for example for a Chinese person, the term *Chinese* may not be the term which stands out in their mind, as being Chinese is a normal condition for a Chinese person. However, I would also like to highlight the fact that potentially anyone can be human, a philanthropist, a physician, or an athlete. Not everyone can be a Chinese person. Therefore *Chinese* is the 'odd one out' in a sense. The marking of an out-group also goes back to iconization, and the emergence of a feminine grammatical gender (part 3.4.1), as well as feminine endings such as *-ess(e)*, and *-ette*, and fractal recursivity explains the projection of prejudice onto language. This said, women are not always the out-group. Michel (2014, 2016) has shown that the term *sage-femme*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [midwife] is being used as the generic term for women and men in France.

Evidence for prejudice against women, and thus a desire to distance oneself from the contaminating concept of *woman*, can be seen in job titles. Motschenbacher (2010, p.107) claims that to refer to men in traditionally female-dominated professions, in which only a feminine noun exists, brand new gender-neutral terms are often created from a different root, which are more prestigious. For example, when fathers stay at home to look after their children, they become *homemakers*, or *stay-at-home dads*, but not *househusbands*, terms that emphasise the active role they play. Men whose job it is to clean are called *cleaners*, not *cleaning gentlemen*.

In French and German, entirely new terms have been created for male midwives: in French, the Académie française, who were extremely reluctant to feminise job titles (see part 4.7), quite happily proposed the term *maïeuticien*$_{\text{MASC}}$ (Houdebine-Gravaud 1998, p.19), which has been widely rejected by both male and female midwives (Michel 2016). In German, the male version of *Hebamme*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [midwife] has become *Entbindungshelfer*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [obstetrician], not *Hebamm**er***$_{\text{MASC}}$ (Motschenbacher 2010, pp.107-8). In order to redress the primacy of the masculine as generic, new feminine forms are being coined based on the new masculine forms, for example, *Entbindungshelfer**in***$_{\text{FEM}}$ [obstetrician], the suffix -in being used to feminise from the new masculine form) (Motschenbacher 2010, pp.107-8).

In French, this phenomenon goes back to at least the 14$^{\text{th}}$ century, when some masculine nouns began to lose their final -e, which had become associated with feminine nouns. So, epicene *idiote* became *idiot*$_{\text{MASC}}$ and *idiote*$_{\text{FEM}}$ (Connors 1971, p.586). Neither is this phenomenon restricted to French or German. In some dialects of Latin American Spanish words ending in the suffix -*ista* (which are technically epicene) are sometimes considered too feminine, and the new, more masculine sounding suffix, -*ist**o***, has been created, resulting in *maquinisto*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [engineer / machinist], and *pianisto*$_{\text{MASC}}$ [pianist] (Connors 1971, p.578) (also see part 2.4.4 for an example of a similar phenomenon in a Croatian dialect).

Fractal recursivity proves itself to be a useful concept, in that it is able to explain both sexist grammar, and semantic pejoration as being part of the same process.

3.5 Erasure

As opposed to iconization and fractal recursivity, which I slightly modified, erasure is used in its original format.

> *Erasure* is the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away. [...] Because a linguistic ideology is a totalizing vision, elements that do not fit its interpretative structure – that cannot be seen to fit – must be either ignored or transformed. (Irvine and Gal 2000, p.38)

The following part is divided into two main discussions: how arguments against the generic value of the masculine in French were ignored, and issues of linguistic authority in relation to erasure.

There are numerous examples of erasure regarding feminist linguistics (Viennot 2014; Baudino 2001), a process whereby any evidence that contradicts the naturalness of one side of the argument is ignored, not recorded, not discussed, and then simply fades away into the shadows of history. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed how the processes of iconization and fractal recursivity resulted in the masculine becoming the generic form. In this part I will focus on how counter discourses to the masculine generic were erased from the public arena.

3.5.1 The masculine as 'heir of the Latin neuter'

When Vulgar Latin[1] transitioned into French, the neuter gender in Latin was absorbed by the masculine in French. This phenomenon is part of the reason that some see the masculine as more inclusive, and therefore able to fulfil a generic role.

Khaznadar (2007, p.33) on the other hand, vehemently disagrees arguing that, 'saying that the French masculine is the "heir of the neuter in Latin" is an untruth' (« Dire que le masculin français est « héritier du neutre latin » est une contrevérité »). There are four main issues that need to be addressed with regard to the Latin neuter: 1) many neuter nouns became feminine, not masculine; 2) the

[1] 'Vulgar Latin' refers to the forms of Latin spoken by the common people, as opposed to written Classical Latin.

etymology of *neuter* is ambiguous; 3) most neuter nouns were inanimate; and 4) *neuter* does not necessarily mean *generic*.

Firstly, although the masculine did absorb most neuter nouns in Latin, over a third became feminine nouns in Old French (Polinksy and van Everbroeck 2003, pp.376-78), e.g., *mare*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [sea] in Latin became *mer*$_{\text{FEM}}$ in French, gaudia$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [joys, delights] became *joie*$_{\text{FEM}}$, and *folia*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [leaves] became *feuille*$_{\text{FEM}}$ (Solodow 2010, p.230). This can be explained by the fact that *gaudium* and *folium* were more widely used in their plural forms *gaudia* and *folia* in Vulgar Latin, which, because they ended in -a, were mistaken for the feminine singular, and so became feminine in French[1].

Secondly, the etymology of *neuter* does not necessarily support the claim that it has a generic value. *Neuter* (*ne-* + *-uter*) literally means 'not either' (Kennedy 1906, p.14). It could therefore be argued that if *neuter* means *neither* masculine nor feminine, it therefore *ex*cludes rather than *in*cludes both of these noun classes, defies logic and 'is literally nonsense' (« littéralement un non-sens ») (Khaznadar 2006). This interpretation of *neuter* can be seen in most North Germanic languages, which make a distinction between *neuter* and *uter* (common gender) (Motschenbacher 2010, p.77). In addition, one of the first Latin grammars, *De lingua latina* by M. Terentius Varro (116-27 BCE), translates the Greek σκεύη [things] (Corbeill 2008, p.80) as *neutrum* [neuter] in Latin (Burr 2012, p.31). Other Latin works also confirm this perspective: in his *Institutiones grammaticae,* Priscianus (5$^{\text{th}}$ century CE) wrote that the *communis* (common gender) referred to *both* males and females, as opposed to the neuter, which signified *neither* male nor female (Burr 2012, p.31).

Thirdly, the vast majority of neuter nouns in Latin, as well as Indo-European (Luraghi 2011, p.440), had *inanimate* referents (Khaznadar 2007, p.33), apart from a few exceptions such as *vulgus*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [the common people] (Kennedy 1906, p.222) or *scortum*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ and *prostibulum*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [prostitute] (Pitavy 2014, p.175). It seems very

[1] The -a ending of the neuter plural goes all the way back to Indo-European. Many collective nouns were neuter, and so took the ending -a, which was a suffix also shared by the feminine. For a long time, linguists assumed that there was a semantic link between collectives and the feminine, but recently this has been discounted. It seems as though the neuter plural and the feminine were two separate morphological developments (Luraghi 2009b).

unlikely that the handful of animate neuter nouns which became masculine, transmitted their 'unmarked' quality to the thousands of existing masculine nouns, thus giving these masculine nouns a kind of double identity – marked when used with a male referent, and unmarked when employed in a non-specific context. It could also be argued that the absorption of the neuter by the masculine simply increased the size of the masculine noun class, rather than modifying the value or quality of the nouns already there. The neuter was as marked as any other gender (in that it had specific endings that coded it as neuter), and it was only 'neutral' in that it referred to inanimate entities.

Finally, the underlying problem here is seems to be a conflation of the terms *neuter* and *generic*, which are not synonymous. *Neuter* refers to a specific noun class, which in Latin was composed almost entirely of inanimate nouns, e.g., *templum*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [temple], *mare*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [sea], and *carmen*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ [song / poem]. *Generic*, on the other hand, describes the capacity of a noun to refer to a whole class or group of things, e.g., *fruit* is a generic term referring to bananas, apples, oranges, kiwis etc. Neuter nouns do not therefore necessarily have a generic value. In fact, any noun is capable of fulfilling the role of generic. However, according to traditional grammar, the masculine has an *inherent* generic value when referring to animate nouns thanks in great part to its absorption of two thirds of Latin neuter nouns (which were not necessarily generic, and which referred to inanimate objects for the great majority).

Using the Latin heritage of French mobilises a 'tradition' discourse, 'demonstrat[ing] how particular forms could be legitimized by historicization. *To give a history to a form was by the same token to legitimize that form*' (Milroy 2001, p. 550) (italics in original). Woollard also notes that,

> representations of the history of languages often function as Malinowskian charter myths,[1] projecting from the present to an originary past a legitimation of contemporary power relations and interested positions. (Or, we might prefer to say, projecting from the past a legitimating selection of one from among contending centers of power in the present) (Woolard 2004, p.58).

[1] Bronisław Malinowski was an anthropologist who advocated that myths tended to advance the agendas of the storytellers and of the people in power.

In other words, the storytellers of history cherry-pick the elements that support their arguments, while erasing those that do not. Khaznadar (2006) also noticed that the Latin heritage argument is not anodyne: 'Incorporating the Latin origins of French into the debate imposes respect from the uninitiated, perhaps intimidating them' (« Inscrire dans le débat les origines latines du français impose le respect aux non-initiés, les impressionne peut-être »). The power to decide which discourses are promoted, and which are erased is not universally accessible. In order to promote a particular discourse, one needs to be in a position of linguistic authority, hence the power of language bodies like the Académie française.

3.6 Linguistic authority

A short discussion on linguistic authority is fitting here. History is, after all, written by the winners.

Powerful speakers are those in positions of linguistic authority, language bodies, dictionaries, teachers, spell-checkers, the media, etc. Speakers tend to 'accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media' (Van Dijk 2003, p.357). This also applies to the rules of the language.

The meaning of words are constantly being renegotiated but 'not all members of the speech community are similarly equipped to participate in this renegotiation (McConnell-Ginet 1984, p.133). Powerful speakers can, for example, sway the functional weight of words. If, in a particular context, one speaker is in a more powerful person than another (e.g., teacher - student), and the powerful one uses a word with one of its particular meanings (e.g., *girl* referring to an adult woman), the powerless person will understand thanks to the context. However, even if they disagree with this use, challenging the more powerful person would be difficult. Throughout history, a small group of men have had access to the public arena, and were therefore in a position to set the linguistic agenda. They had more power to decide the functional weight of words, than women or less powerful men.

> The more one talks and the less one listens, the more likely it is that one's viewpoint will function as if it were community consensus even if it is not [...] what does seem to emerge is the greater likelihood that vocabulary will be marked by a viewpoint that is predominantly male than by viewpoints predominantly female. (McConnell-Ginet 1984, p.132)

Today, meanings can be challenged more easily, thanks in great part to more democratic forms of communication such as the Internet. For example, the generic value of the masculine is being challenged, resulting in less consensus over what *he* or *man* now means:

> Indeed one could argue that it has become more and more difficult for people to try to express a generic meaning with this form [generic masculine], simply because it is less and less plausible to assume that others will share this view of its literal meaning or be willing to see the generic as a plausible "figurative" extension. (McConnell-Ginet 1984, p.133)

In part 3.2 I briefly mentioned Silverstein[1] who claimed that generic *he* was a 'structurally dictated indexical usage' (Silverstein 1985, p.256). Nonetheless, implying that inclusive masculine is simply a fact of grammar fails to take into account the fact that languages do not evolve in a social and cultural vacuum (Curzan 2003, p.184). A language structure does not just build itself, it is shaped over centuries by speakers, with powerful speakers having more influence than powerless speakers. Cameron labels this tactic 'mystification': 'to deny that authority could be at work (by saying, for instance, that such and such a usage is 'just a fact about the grammar of x') is a mystification' (Cameron 1995, p.6). There is always somebody behind language change; the question is how visible they are.

In her PhD thesis Jacobs studied the speech of Hebrew-speaking feminists. She clearly states that these women have an ideological motivation for their language choices, but that the masculine generic is also an ideological creation: '[T]he primary difference between the two phenomena is the symbolic privilege that conventional and standard practices enjoy which erases their connection to the[ir] ideological stance' (Jacobs 2004, p.44). Not only are counter discourses erased from history, but the dominant group's ideological stance is also erased, resulting in the impression of political neutrality, and 'the allegedly immutable laws of 'the language' (Cameron 1995, p.164).

[1] Incidentally, Silverstein was part of the group who wrote the infamous 'Pronoun Envy' letter to the *Harvard Crimson* in 1971 (Silverstein 1971). See Cameron 1992, p.94 for a critique of the letter.

Pioneers of the field of linguistics saw it as a disinterested science, which was 'divorced from everyday speech and social life of its speakers' (Irvine and Gal 2000, p.73). Linguists pride themselves on being descriptive, not prescriptive. Yet, there is a very fine line between descriptive and prescriptive linguistics (Cameron 1995, pp.3-11). Linguists have to make decisions about what words make it into the dictionary, which meanings are more common, which examples to use to illustrate usage, etc. By doing this, they influence usage in a cycle of description and indirect prescription. Woolard refers to Eagleton's analysis of Austin's speech act theory when she says that 'ideology creates and acts in a social world while it masquerades as a description of that world' (Eagleton 1991, cited in Woolard 1998, p.11). Nothing is objective description, including the science of linguistics.

The poststructuralist turn has questioned the very existence of a disinterested science: '[T]he feminist position has raised as problematic the notion of scientific neutrality itself, as failing to recognize that all knowledge is socially and historically constructed and valuationally based' (Lazar 2007, p.146). This kind of discourse has been mobilised in the sexist language debate. Those against change have promoted themselves as the guardians of neutrality, while at the same time criticising feminist linguists as lacking in scientific objectivity (Luck 2014):

> a deviant minority does not have the right to impose its particular usage on the majority: neither in Quebec (contaminated by its English-speaking neighbours), nor French-speaking Switzerland (influenced by its proximity to German), nor a priori a smaller minority, like in the canton of Geneva, and even less so an infamous militant faction in Geneva who should not have the pretension to give French lessons to the French.
>
> une minorité déviante n'a pas le droit d'imposer son usage particulier à la majorité: ni le Québec (contaminé par le voisinage de l'anglais), ni la Suisse romande (influencée par la proximité de l'allemand), ni a priori une minorité plus faible, comme le canton de Genève et moins encore une infime fraction militante de Genève ne sauraient prétendre donner des leçons de français aux Français. (Morier 1993, cited in Elmiger 2008, p.90)

However, 'critical/feminist research [is] more objective than most others' (Lazar 2007, p.146) because it openly states its political stance, rather than hiding behind discourses of scientificity.

Yet throughout history it has been a minority of elites who have imposed its particular usage on the majority of the population. Maurice Druon, perpetual secretary of the Académie française from 1985 to 1999, clearly stated that, '[t]he

language of the elite should become the language of the people' (cited in Jack 2001, p.27). In other words, the problem really comes down to *who* has the right to meddle in the language, not *how* they meddle in it.

3.7 Summary

This chapter used a LI approach to explain how an ideology of the masculine generic came to take hold, how biological sex was reflected onto the language structure, how some discourses become dominant, and how others were erased. By using the three concepts of iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure (with iconisation and fractal recursivity in a slightly modified way), I show how they are useful for research on sexism in language, in that they are able to tie disparate phenomena together into a coherent framework, and very efficiently explain how sexist language emerged.

To summarise: iconization results in the partitioning of humans into two groups based on gender. Men became iconic of the whole of humanity, and a prototypical example. This partitioning, and resulting hierarchy, was then projected onto language through the process of fractal recursivity, and the masculine gender became the generic form. Finally through erasure, certain discourses were able to become dominant, while others were erased from the public arena.

It is through these processes that current grammatical norms such as *le bonnet*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *et l'écharpe*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *sont* ***verts***$_{\text{MASC}}$ [the hat and the scarf are **green**] can be explained. They are norms, which certain people have been in a position to implement over the centuries. The generic status of the masculine is 'an integral part of a doctrine which [...] was consciously constructed over the centuries and [...] the natural order it proposes concurs with the idea that men are 'worthier' than women' (Burr 2012, p.30). An understanding of not just *why* sexism in language exists, but *how* it exists allows us to pick apart arguments against feminist linguistic reforms more easily. It allows us to argue that institutions such as the Académie française are not just sexist, but that their arguments are linguistically unsound (also see Viennot *et al.* 2016). Because the role of the masculine as generic is so frequently invoked in

the non-sexist language debate, it is important to examine how it was attributed this role.

This chapter used a historiographical approach to analyse sexism in language, specifically the masculine generic and semantic pejoration. It used the three concepts of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure to explain how current linguistic norms emerged. This chapter provided information that allows the reader to better contextualise certain arguments identified in my corpus, and better understand the next chapter: how the gender-fair language debate has unfolded in the UK and France.

> The French language is like the stiff French garden of Louis XIV, while the English is like an English park, which is laid out seemingly without any definite plan, and in which you are allowed to walk everywhere according to your own fancy without having to fear a stern keeper enforcing rigorous regulations.
>
> Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1905)

Chapter 4 Language ideological debates in the UK and France

This chapter will:

- **explain how certain ideologies of language have shaped the non-sexist language debate**
- **describe the necessary conditions for the formation of these ideologies**
- **provide a social context to the discourses identified in Chapters 7-10**

In October 2014 during a parliamentary debate in the Assemblée Nationale (the French lower chamber), right wing representative Julien Aubert (UMP) addressed left wing representative, Sandrine Mazetier (PS)[1] as *Madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *le*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *président*$_{\text{MASC}}$**.** Mazetier repeatedly requested that Aubert follow the rules of the Assemblée Nationale and refer to her in the feminine as *Madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *la*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *présidente*$_{\text{FEM}}$**.** He refused, claiming that he was simply following the standard rules of French, as set out by the Académie française, and that *Madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *la*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *présidente*$_{\text{FEM}}$ referred to the *wife* of a president, not a female president. Mazetier fined Aubert a quarter of his monthly parliamentary allowance, and a media debate ensued.

This event is just one of many 'eruptions' in the non-sexist language debate in France and the UK, and a prime example of a 'language ideological debate' (Blommaert 1999). Debates in this sense are discursive struggles and contestations that shape public opinion (Blommaert 1999, p.8). In fact, debates about language are inherently ideological in the same way that *any* discursive practice is inherently ideological because of the shared values and interests of participants, their relative power, etc. They are sites of contestation, 'a struggle to change words, a struggle over language, [and] at the same time […] a struggle over legitimacy and about who has the right to define the usage of language' (Mills

[1] The UMP (*Union pour un Mouvement Populaire*) was the major right-wing party in France. In 2015 it changed its name to *Les Républicains.* The PS (*Parti Socialiste*) is the major left wing party.

2004, p.39). Blommaert observes that debates are excellent arenas to study language because:

> they define or redefine the language ideologies (often through conflicting representations) in the same way as debates about language define or redefine these languages. They shape or reshape them, and so become the locus of *ideology (re)production*. [...] ideologies do not win the day just like that, they are not simply picked up by popular wisdom and public opinion. They are being reproduced by means of a variety of institutional, semi-institutional and everyday practices: campaigns, regimentation in social reproduction systems such as schools, administration, army, advertisement, publications (the media, literature, art, music) and so on. (1999, p.10)

Chapter 3 showed how an LI framework can contribute to the 'de-historicisation' (Blommaert 1999) of language ideologies that support sexist language. This chapter continues in the same vein, focusing on the language ideological debate: the specific linguistic ideologies that have shaped the gender-fair debate in the UK and France, the necessary conditions for the formation of these ideologies (Silverstein 1979, p.195), the social actors, or 'ideological brokers' (Blommaert 1999, p.22) involved, and their vested interests.

4.1 The current sociolinguistic context

Feminist linguistic interventions have been relatively successful in the UK (Curzan 2014, pp.114-36; Mills and Mullany 2011, pp.156-59; Paterson 2011, p.82), whereas they have encountered much more resistance in France. Although some resistance still exists in the UK, it is relatively rare to find examples of generic *he* or *man* in journal articles, books, university documents, or newspaper articles, and the use of *Ms* is also widespread (Mills and Mullany 2011, p.158). Indeed, Curzan (2014, p.117) observes that 'it can be easy to lose perspective on the surprisingly rapid success of nonsexist language reform'. On the other hand, Cameron is more pessimistic, claiming that the use of generic *he* is still common amongst her university students. She argues that there may be a resurgence of generic *he* and that 'old habits of usage [have] crept back' (Cameron 2016b). In support of this position she cites Curzan's study of *he or she* in the Corpus of Historical American English, which notes a decline of the use of *he or she* as an alternative to generic *he* from the 2000s. However, Curzan argues that this decline is due to the rise of singular *they*, not a resurgence of generic *he* (Curzan 2014, p.127). Nonetheless, despite pockets of resistance, the most overt forms of linguistic sexism in English have decreased dramatically since the 1970s.

On the contrary, in France non-sexist language has had a more much limited success, where 'the discussion revolves nearly exclusively around the use of feminine terms in specific reference to women and around feminisation' (Burr 2003, p.128). The current wave of debates was initiated in 1984 with the creation of a terminology commission to examine the vocabulary concerning women's job titles [C*ommission de terminologie relative au vocabulaire concernant les activités des femmes*] by the socialist government in power, whose job was to find terms to refer to women in traditionally male-dominated professions. Despite a relative amount of success regarding the adoption of feminine job titles (Dister and Moreau 2013; Fujimura 2005) strong resistance still remains against the feminisation of certain job titles, especially prestigious ones, such as *president*$_{\text{MASC}}$ → *présidente*$_{\text{FEM}}$ as the Aubert-Mazetier example above demonstrates. Feminine forms are often seen as less prestigious. For instance, Christine Ockrent, a well-known journalist, chose the masculine title of *rédac**teur***$_{\text{MASC}}$ *en chef* [editor] over the feminine title of *rédac**trice***$_{\text{FEM}}$ *en chef* claiming that the feminine title would imply that she was editor of a woman's magazine, and not the serious and respected news magazine, *L'Express* (Fleischman 1997, p.837).

Not only does France lag behind the UK in the adoption of feminist reforms, other francophone areas such as Quebec, Belgium and Switzerland have adopted feminist reforms much faster, and with much less controversy than France. Dawes (2003, p.207), notes that 'France distinguishes itself from other countries by its resistance to feminisation' (« La France se distingue des autres pays par sa résistance à la féminisation »), and that this resistance is deeply entrenched (Dawes 2003, p.197).

The use of titles has also been rather slow to respond to feminist interventions. *Mademoiselle* [Miss] is still widely used in France, even when referring to an unmarried adult woman, whereas in Quebec it is only used for young girls (Office Québécois de la langue française 2018), and has not appeared on official forms since 1976. Switzerland removed it from official forms in 1973; East Germany removed the equivalent, *Fräulein,* in 1951, Austria in 1970, and West Germany in 1972 (Elmiger 2008, p.321). Half a century later, the French government followed

suit, and decided to remove *mademoiselle* from official government forms in response to the 2012 campaign *mademoiselle, la case en trop* [mademoiselle, one box too many] by feminist groups *Chiennes de garde* and *Osez le féminisme*. However, this decision did not go uncontested, and in a study I carried out on the frequency of use of *mademoiselle* from 2010 to 2014 in two French newspapers, I found evidence of a backlash in one of them (Coady 2014).

This quick description of the current sociolinguistic landscape in the UK and France raises the question of *why* France is lagging behind not only the UK, but also other francophone countries. '[T]he relative success of attempts at gender-based language reform is dependent on the social context in which the language reform occurs' (Ehrlich and King 1992, p.179). It is therefore essential to examine the social and political context in which the debate has taken place, to identify which language ideologies have shaped the debate, as well as 'the necessary conditions for the formation of ideologies, and the sufficient conditions for their institutionalization' (Silverstein 1979, p.195).

4.2 Standardisation

Debates surrounding language and gender go back at least several centuries (Corbeill 2008, p.75; Baron 1986, p.28). However, it was with the standardisation of French (and English), and the ensuing power struggle for authority over language, that a more political dimension was added to the question. The advent of the printing press in Europe in the 15th century became 'one of the massive modes of standardization' of language (Silverstein 2013, p.9). Standardisation involves norms being chosen and prescribed. This could only be done by literate people, thus eliminating most of the population in late-Medieval Europe.

Later, during the 17th and 18th centuries, literary salons were popular arenas for language debates both in France and England. These salons were usually hosted by cultivated women and were instrumental in setting trends in the most sophisticated ways to speak (Hergenhan 2008). However, in 1635 linguistic power was relocated from French salons to the Académie française, resulting in the erasure of women's voices from the standardisation of French. Out of the 731

members in its almost 400-year existence, only eight have been women. The first was elected in 1980. There is some dispute regarding how much influence the Académie still has today, with some arguing that its 'role for the general public nowadays is largely symbolic' (Ayres-Bennett and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2017, p.109). One aim of my research is to contribute to this debate (see part 9.2).

4.3 Linguistic protectionism

Not only did the Académie française exclude women until 1980, most language gatekeepers were (and still are) made up of cultural elites, and thus exclude most of the population. The 40 members of the Académie française were given the mission of 'giving our language certain rules and keeing it pure' (« donner des règles certaines à notre langue, la tenir en pureté ») (Académie française 1995, pp.5-6). This implies that the language was not pure, that it had been contaminated, and needed to be protected. This contamination came from 'the rubbish that it had contracted in the mouths of the people, or in the crowds of the Palace [...]' (« des ordures qu'elle avoit contractés ou dans la bouche du peuple ou dans la foule du Palais [...] ») (Académie française 1995, pp.5-6). This language ideology of purity is thus intrinsically linked to social class. It was certainly not the language of the lower classes that the Académie chose to model its rules on. Vaugelas (one of the original members of the Académie) explicitly defined *le bon usage* (correct usage) as: 'The way the most wholesome part of the court speaks, in accordance with the way the most wholesome part of authors of the time write' (« la façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la Cour, conformément à la façon d'escrire de la plus saine partie des Autheurs du temps »). The French that the Académie took as its model was the French of a small section of Parisian elites.

This same elitist thinking, and language ideology of purity and decay can still be seen today. Maurice Druron (member of the Académie from 1966 to his death in 2009), wrote that the Académie still followed Vaugelas's advice:

> That is the way we still function, and how we will continue to function. How many times have we asked one another, "Would *you* write that?" And if we answer no, we cross it out.
>
> C'est de cette manière que l'on continua de procéder, et que nous procédons encore. Combien de fois nous demandons-nous les uns aux autres : « *Ecririez-vous cela, vous ?* » Et si l'on répond non, on raye. (Druon 2004)

Moreover, Ayres-Bennett (2015) found that the language ideology of *bon usage*, particularly involving the idea of purity, is still prevalent today in language columns in the written press.

These same ideologies can be found in English, with regular panics over the state of spelling and punctuation (Bauer and Trudgill 1998). However, as Deutscher (2006) observes, a language ideology of decay is not a new phenomenon. It has been around as long as people have been using language. The reason for this is not irrational nostalgia, he argues, but quite simply that language decay is much easier to observe compared to creation, and that they are, in fact, two sides of the same coin.

4.4 *Le bon usage* as a linguistic straitjacket

In an attempt to stem the tide of decay, language authorities have drawn upon discourses of protectionism. However, according to Fleischman it is precisely

> this visceral ideology of linguistic protectionism that equates change – of any sort – with decline or decay, that I believe offers the most compelling answer to the fundamental question posed in this paper: how to account for the difficulties France has encountered in trying to institute the kind of nonsexist usage called for by feminists and others [...]. It is this doctrine of bon usage [...], that has maintained the French language in a virtual straitjacket in France and its speakers in a state of veritable paranoia with regard to innovation or the creation of new vocabulary (Fleischman 1997, p.841)

She describes how, during the Second World War, when Switzerland and Belgium were cut off from France, feminine forms were coined more easily. Francophone countries tend to gravitate around the cultural influence of France, whereas anglophone countries are more decentralised (Klinkenberg 2006, p.19). Thus, without the influence of standard French, other francophone countries were much less constrained with regard to language innovation (Fleischman 1997, p.842ff). Another fascinating example illustrating the powerful effects of a standard language ideology is that of French-based creoles that I discussed in part 2.5.2.4. Far from the influence of Paris, and written French, they developed in a different direction, with adjectives losing gender altogether. Without any official language body to enforce certain norms, these creoles were free to evolve along different lines. Although the colonies were technically part of France, the ideology of one

nation, one language could not take hold there because of the geographical distance from language gatekeepers.

4.5 One language, one nation

A language ideology of language as a national treasure, or the glue that holds the nation together also exists in English, but it does not enjoy the institutional support that it does in France. Language has played a much more important role in nation building for France than the UK for historical reasons (also see part 3.3 on iconization and nation building). After the French Revolution in 1793,

> the nation desperately needed a new symbol for its identity to ensure solidarity within France and distinctiveness without. The French standard language was roped in for the job. [...]. Since the French language is now the symbol of nation, failure to use the national language and even failure to use it 'properly' makes you a traitor to the national cause. (Lodge 1998, p.30)

At the end of the 18th century, French (in all its dialectical variants) was spoken by less than half of the population. Yet, it would become part of the glue that would hold this new republic together. As mentioned in part 3.3, in an effort to unify the country, France attempted to replace regional dialects with standard French (modelled on the Parisian elite). In 1794, Abbé Grégoire (a revolutionary leader) wrote a report entitled 'Report on the necessity and means of obliterating dialects and universalising the use of the French language' (« Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française »). The desire for one language was purely political. In 1794, Bertrand Barère, one of the most prominent members of the National Convention during the French Revolution wrote:

> The monarchy had its reasons for looking like the Tower of Babel; in a democracy, leaving citizens in ignorance of the national language, incapable of controlling power, is to betray the homeland... For a free people, the language must be one and the same for all.
>
> La monarchie avait des raisons de ressembler à la tour de Babel; dans la démocratie, laisser les citoyens ignorants de la langue nationale, incapables de contrôler le pouvoir, c'est trahir la patrie... Chez un peuple libre, la langue doit être une et la même pour tous. (cited in Leclerc 2017)

He described regional languages as 'barbaric jargons' (« jargons barbares ») 'vulgar dialects' (« idiomes grossiers ») that could only be useful for fanatics and counter revolutionaries (Leclerc 2017). Language was therefore a way to *free* the

people from their 'false consciousness' (also see parts 7.4 and 9.5 for a 'language as freedom' discourse in my corpus).

This discourse is still mobilised today. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 2015 the French Senate refused to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages for the third time, claiming that it would jeopardise the principles of indivisibility of the Republic and the unity of the French people (de Montvalon 2015). In addition, a 2004 preliminary report on the prevention of delinquency recommended that mothers of foreign origin should not speak the 'patois' of their country (« le parler patois du pays ») (Bertrand Barère, cited in Leclerc 2017) at home so that their children would speak only French, and better integrate into French society. In the same way that 'vulgar dialects' were seen as an obstacle to national unity at the end of the 18th century, the multilingualism of immigrant families is portrayed (by some) as an obstacle to integration, as promoting delinquency, and a pathogen (Muni Toke 2009). In sum, the French language is so deeply entwined with ideas of language as the glue of the nation, that any debate involving language will be affected.

The ideology of language as glue of the nation does exist in the UK, but is much less powerful. Blommaert argues that nationalism (in the German sense of *das Volk* with an emphasis on shared ethnicity) is treated as folklore in the UK (Blommaert and Verschueren 1992, p.364), and Lodge claims that, 'for Anglo-Saxons [...] language is not normally a fundamental element of national identity' (Lodge 1998, p.30). It has, however, been important in other English-speaking countries, such as the USA, where multilingualism has been seen as a threat to cultural and national unity (Cameron 1995, p.160) (see the 'English-only' movement). This is partly due to the fact that linguistically, the UK is much more homogeneous than the USA. The 2011 UK census recorded that 92% of people in the UK speak English at home, whereas a 2016 US census recorded only 79% in the USA (United States Census Bureau 2017). The necessary conditions for an ideology of language as glue of the nation to take hold are simply not present in the UK. In France, the statistics are closer to those of the USA with 82% of people speaking French as their first language (Lerclerc 2017), perhaps partly explaining the enduring strength of this discourse in France.

4.6 The Cathedral (French) and the Bazaar (English)

Language has long been a concern for the French state, in contrast to the UK. Ayres-Bennett and Tieken-Boon van Ostade argue that the creation of the Académie française 'came to incarnate the pre-eminent role assigned to the language of the royal court' (Ayres-Bennett and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2017, p.106). Comparatively, the state has not interfered much in matters of language in the UK. Lodge observes that,

> [a] key function of the standard language (the Queen's English, Oxford English, Public School English) is to bolster the traditional structures of power. There is no need for the state to regulate it [English], since traditional non-state institutions do the job perfectly well. (Lodge 2016)

Apart from an official language body, the same sources of authority exist in France and the UK. Both countries have grammar books, dictionaries, the media (including language columns), etc. The main difference is the more top-down approach taken in France, with a high level of state involvement. On the other hand, 'the English tradition of language treatment is generally privatized and laissez-faire' (Woolard 1998, p.21). Language in general has been compared to an open source project (McCulloch 2015). Following this computing analogy, English can be compared to a bazaar, which grows up in an organic, yet unsystematic matter, whereas French is more like a cathedral, in which an exclusive group builds the plan.

Despite calls for one (Curzan 2014, p.5), a language academy was never created in England. Its absence is striking when compared to other European languages, such as the Académie française in France, or the Real Academia [Royal Academy] in Spain, the Accademia della Crusca [Academy of the Bran][1], or the Rat für deutsche Rechtschreibung [Council for German Orthography] in Germany. English speakers have,

> relied on a network of authorities or "language mavens," [which] have historically been lent authority through the power of publication: creating grammar books and style guides; editing books and dictionaries; opining on language in newspaper columns. (Curzan 2014, p.5)

[1] 'The name "Accademia della Crusca" was derived from their lively meetings, playfully called "cruscate" ('bran-meetings'), and came to signify the work of 'cleaning up' the language (the bran is the part of the wheat that is discarded when the grain is cleaned up)' (Accademia della Crusca 2011).

As Curzan points out, these 'language mavens' have enjoyed a certain amount of authority. I would therefore not describe language regulation in the UK as exactly 'bottom-up'. Access to the media, the creation of dictionaries and grammar books is not universal. The first grammar books were 'written by men for the edification of other men', and as a result 'deal[t] with male concerns from a male point of view' (Stanley 1978, cited in Paterson 2011, p.71). It is therefore logical that the masculine became generic, not necessarily through a conscious attempt to make women invisible, but simply because women were not part of the linguistic decision-making processes, and were therefore forgotten.

In the absence of an official language body in the UK, feminist linguistic reform has been quite grassroots in its nature (Mills and Mullany 2011, pp.156-58; Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008; Pauwels 1998, p.11). Pauwels (2011, p.15) argues that this grassroots movement initially faced 'immense opposition from the 'language establishment' (e.g., language academies, style councils etc.)'. However, perhaps because there has been no single source of language authority in English, it has been easier to ignore opposition. There have been some top-down decisions, for example, the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act required job advertisements to make it clear that positions were open to both men and women (Cameron 2016b). Nonetheless, most non-sexist reforms have been carried out on a more local level. For instance, a particular university or council may decide to change their language policy. These more dispersed changes may have been an advantage for gender-fair language. If one institution makes changes, affecting only their employees, it may be reported in the local press, but might not make national headlines, thus instigating less controversy. If a government makes changes (the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act), this will affect everybody, and generate national interest. This piecemeal approach has perhaps allowed gender-fair language to gain ground institution by institution, until it became quite widely accepted in the UK.

Liddicoat claims that '[e]vidence of the success of feminist language-planning projects can therefore be seen in the adoption of feminist concerns by official language agencies' (Liddicoat 2011, p.4). However, this does not necessarily apply to the situation in France, where there has been tension not only between feminist

linguistic movements and language gatekeepers, but also conflict *between* institutional gatekeepers themselves.

4.7 The Académie française versus the government

In February 1984, the French socialist government created a terminology commission, headed by Benoîte Groult (a feminist writer and journalist) to examine the issue of vocabulary concerning the job titles for women. This project was greeted with uproar from many quarters, even before any linguistic analysis had begun. Out of the 23 commissions in existence at that time, the commission on feminisation was the only one to receive a warning from the Académie française, to be the victims of a violent media campaign and to be called to the Assemblée Nationale for questioning (Houdebine 2003, p.55). When the left wing government lost its majority in 1986 and right wing Jacques Chirac became prime minister, the feminisation question was buried, and only resuscitated with the arrival of a left wing government led by Lionel Jospin in 1997. A second commission was set up to study the question of feminisation, whose report, in an impressive feat of mental gymnastics, supported the feminisation of 'job names' (« *noms de métiers* ») but not of 'titles, grades or functions' (« *titres, grades et fonctions* »). To put it as simply as possible, the report claimed that if a person was summoned by *Madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *le*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *juge*$_{\text{MASC}}$, they are being summoned by the *Justice Department*. If, on the other hand, a person was summoned by *Madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *la*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *juge*$_{\text{FEM}}$, they were being summoned by *a particular woman*. Admittedly, this is a rather opaque distinction that very few people ever make, or even understand. Burr observes that the 1998 report is 'full of contradictions and that it is really trying to save what can be saved of the authority of the masculine gender' (Burr 2003, p.129). What this debate shows is the diminishing authority of the Académie française, highlighted by its attempts to retain its linguistic authority. For example, the Académie wrote an open letter to President Jacques Chirac in 1998 asking him to:

> use your supreme authority to remind every person, whatever his place in the State, of the respect that we owe this language, which is a fundamental element of our intellectual heritage as well as our cultural future.
>
> bien user de votre autorité suprême pour rappeler chacun, où qu'il soit placé dans l'État, au respect dû à cette langue qui est l'élément fondamental de notre patrimoine intellectuel comme de notre avenir culturel. (Baudino 2001, p.374)

Later in 2014 after the Aubert-Mazetier clash, the Académie issued a statement bemoaning the fact that the government had never made (been *able* to make?) the distinction between the feminisation of 'job names' and 'titles, grades and functions'. This time, the Académie did not ask the government to exert its authority, instead the Académie rejected the government's authority, while attempting to reinforce its own:

> No text gives the government 'the power to unilaterally modify the vocabulary and grammar of French'. [...] The Académie alone was instituted as 'the guardian' of usage.
>
> Or aucun texte ne donne au gouvernement « le pouvoir de modifier de sa seule autorité le vocabulaire et la grammaire du français ». [...] Et de l'usage, seule l'Académie française a été instituée « la gardienne ». (Académie française 2014)

Since the first commission in the 1980s, feminisation has slowly gained ground, with a turning point in 1998. Dister and Moreau (2013, p.9) cite the following conditions that contributed to this 1998 turning point: The spirit of the times, i.e., an ideology of equality (see below); an official position with a legal framework; feminisation guides and awareness campaigns; and the role of the press in diffusing information and in adopting feminine terms in articles. Houdebine (2014) remarked that *Le Monde* was one of the most hostile newspapers to feminisation, yet the day after the 1998 report was published it began feminising job titles, thus demonstrating the importance of official support as one (of several) of the necessary conditions for gender-fair language to take hold.

4.8 Ideologies of equality

As observed by Dister and Moreau (2013, p.9) one of the necessary conditions for the acceptance of gender-fair language was 'the spirit of the times' (**«** *l'air du temps »*). The progress made in Europe over the past few decades in gender equality has been astounding. It is hard to imagine a world in which a woman was not allowed to vote (until 1928[1] in the UK and 1945 in France), to work without her husband's consent (until 1965 in France), receive equal pay (until 1970 in the UK), and give her child her own family name (since 2005 in France), etc. Yet, these advances are still within living memory for many women.

[1] In 1918 *all* men over the age of 21 were granted the right to vote, and women *over the age of 30, who met minimum property qualifications.* In 1928 women won the right to vote on equal terms with men.

In part 3.2 I used the analogy of a prism to show how language structure, and wider social ideologies can travel through the filter of language ideologies to influence each other. The following paragraphs will demonstrate how ideologies of equality have been filtered through the prism of language ideology to change the structure of the language.

This ideology of equality has had a profound effect on language, but can be dated back much further than the 20th century. For instance, Silverstein (1985) demonstrates the influence of ideologies of equality on pronouns in English. Old English had two different pronouns for the second person singular and plural - *thou/thee* and *ye/you*[1], henceforth abbreviated to T and Y. With the domination of Anglo-Norman French in 13th century England, these pronouns began to take on the two French distinctions of solidarity (T)/non-solidarity (Y), and social 'power' status (asymmetrical use of T and Y). Using T symmetrically indicated familiarity or solidarity. Using Y symmetrically indicated politeness or non-solidarity, and was used by the upper classes as an index of their status. Social power status was indicated through the non-reciprocal use of T and Y. A social inferior would address a social superior with Y, whereas the social superior would address the social inferior with T. Thus 'a set of social-indexical values [was] overlain over the strictly referential distinction of NUMBER' (Silverstein 1985, p.244).

By the 17th century T had fallen out of general usage by speakers in and around London (the English that was to become Standard English). Brown suggests that the disappearance of the T can be explained by, 'the development of open societies with an equalitarian ideology […] larger social changes created a distaste for the face-to-face expression of differential power' (Brown and Gilman 1960, p.269). The indexical value of T had changed to the point that it had become a potential insult at the beginning of the 17th century. Brown and Gilman term this 'the *thou* of contempt', and cite attorney general Edward Coke insulting Walter Raleigh at the

[1] *Thee* and *thou* were second person *singular* pronouns. *Thee* was the nominative form, and *thou* was the accusative/dative form. The second person *plural* equivalents were ye_{NOM} and $you_{\text{ACC/DAT.}}$

latter's trial[1] by addressing him with thou: 'All that he did, was at thy instigation, thou viper; for I thou thee, thou traitor' (Brown and Gilman 1960, p.278).

Two main reasons explain why Y became the pronoun of choice and not T: Firstly, by imitation, i.e., the upper class's symmetrical usage of Y had spread down the social hierarchy. Secondly, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) continued to make a distinction between T and Y based only on number, rejecting the power semantic projected onto *ye/you*:

> Friends used symmetric T, hence others had to avoid it, lest they be mistaken for members of its sect; Friends avoid symmetric Y, and hence others must use it only. Consequently, a new system emerges, in which societal norms abandon T decisively as a usage indexing speaker as Quaker and take up the invariant usage of Y. A STRUCTURAL or FORMAL change in the norms of English has been effected. (Silverstein 1985, p.251)

Paradoxically, it was the same ideologies of equality that resulted in the Friends using symmetrical T, and larger society adopting symmetrical Y. But, as Brown explains, 'the Friends were always a minority and the larger society was antagonized by their violations of decorum' (Brown and Gilman 1960, p.268).

The example of second person pronouns demonstrates how ideologies of equality are filtered through the prism of language ideologies and can result in structural changes to the language system. In addition to structural changes, it shows how the indexical value of pronouns can change, becoming a marker of speaker identity.

Silverstein argues that the same phenomenon can be seen today with third person pronouns, in which using (or not using) the masculine as a generic,

> is turned into an index of a certain absence or presence of ideological solidarity with the reformers. [...] to the ideologically committed reformers [using the masculine as generic] index[es] the speaker as not solidary with the equalitarian ideals [...] of the reform group. (Silverstein, p.253)

Thus, an indexical marker of a speaker's stance on gender equality is superimposed onto the referential value of the pronoun, including all the newer forms such as *ze*. Indeed, in both France and the UK,

> [o]ne development that has affected attitudes to language is the rise of a new kind of gender identity politics. Today the most vocal demands for linguistic reform come from trans, non-binary and genderqueer activists; and when they call for 'inclusive' language,

[1] Walter Raleigh was charged with treason in 1603 for his involvement in a plot against James 1st. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London until 1616, and pardoned by the King in 1617.

> what they mean is not language that includes women as well as men, but language that includes people of all genders and none. (Cameron 2016b)

This new kind of gender identity politics, which sees gender as multiple, rather than binary, has also resulted in changes at the structural level of language. Klinkenberg (2006) argues that when there is an imbalance between linguistic norms and wider social values, such as equality, it is precisely this distortion that can explain the dynamic nature of the language system.

> The source of the deviance is the presence of a distortion between the objectives proposed to social actors and the modalities that are actually available.
>
> La source de la déviance est la présence d'une distorsion entre les objectifs proposés aux acteurs sociaux et les modes d'actions qui sont réellement à leur disposition. (Klinkenberg 2006, p.21)

Examples of the kind of dynamic this imbalance produces are new pronouns like *ze*, the resuscitation of singular *they*, or new titles like *Mx*. In fact, rather than a proliferation of new titles, Baker has noted a general decline in the use of the titles in English, which could indicate, 'a move towards more informal, equal and colloquial ways of addressing people' (Baker 2010a, p.144). Thus, the dynamic is not always creative in nature. As noted above, language decay is intimately linked with creation.

4.9 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter the question as to *why* is France is lagging behind (not only the UK, but also other francophone countries) was posed. Although the structure of French undeniably presents an extra obstacle to gender-fair language, it is certainly not insurmountable, as evidence from other francophone countries shows. Dawes (2003, p.209) argues that obstacles to non-sexist language are not due to the internal structure of the French language, but to speakers imposing their ideology on the language, especially a standard language ideology.

Indeed, many scholars have pointed out that, 'pronouncements about language belong to a "double discourse" in which language is simultaneously both itself and a symbolic substitute for something else' (Cameron 2003, pp.448-49), and that, 'concerns about “proper” language are ultimately refractions of a deeper need or

desire to impose order on other social issues' (Milani 2010, p.127). In this sense, the whole gender-fair language debate could be viewed as a case of fractal recursivity, in which, because overt forms of sexism are now seen as unacceptable in society, 'a symbolic means of discrimination' is used (Blackledge 2005, p.i, cited in Milani 2010, p.135). Sexist ideologies would therefore be refracted onto debates about language, where language would provide the symbolic means of discrimination. However, if this is true, it would imply that France is more sexist than the UK, or other francophone countries, which I do not think is the case. I believe that it is not sexist ideologies in particular (although they do obviously play a part), or even the internal structure of French (although it does present certain obstacles) that are blocking gender-fair language, but rather ideologies of language, in particular the ideology of language as national treasure to be preserved intact.

Certain ideologies of language, and ideologies of equality have shaped how the gender-fair language debate has taken place in the UK and France, and resulted in non-sexist language taking slightly different paths. It seems that all of the ideologies mentioned in this chapter exist in both countries, but that due to different social and political contexts, some of ideologies have been able to take hold better in one country than the other. Language ideologies have been described as an ‘interpretive filters’ (Mertz 1989, p.109), through which the language structure and wider social ideologies influence one another. However, it may well be the case that some filters have ‘finer mesh’ than others, slowing down or preventing ideologies of equality from reaching the language structure.

All attitudes to language and linguistic change are fundamentally ideological.
(Cameron 1995, p.4)

Chapter 5 Conceptual framework

This chapter will:

- **provide a theoretical clarification of what I intend to investigate**
- **justify this thesis in light of previous research**

The framework that emerges from the conceptual dimensions presented in the preceding chapters is based on three main ideas: linguistics is far from being an ideologically neutral discipline; sexist language is part of the language structure, but at the same time context-dependent; and the success or failure of non-sexist language is dependent not just on internal linguistic constraints, but on dominant language ideologies, that are themselves the result of specific historical and social conditions.

As Cameron observes, '[a]ll attitudes to language and linguistic change are fundamentally ideological' (Cameron 1995, p.4). The previous chapters have highlighted how various gender and language ideologies have shaped the linguistic landscape today. I have discussed how certain ideologies became dominant, and others were erased. It follows on that my own research is fundamentally ideological in that I see language as a site of struggle for sex and gender equality. Feminist research, both in the social and hard[1] sciences, is often criticised as lacking in objectivity. But, if true scientific objectivity is an illusion, especially in social sciences (although natural sciences are not immune) then the best we can do is simply be honest about where we stand. In fact, several scholars, e.g., (Lazar 2007, p.146; Klinkenberg 2006; Irvine and Gal 2000, p.73) have argued that explicitly critical research is more objective than most others precisely because it is explicit about its stance, aims and objectives. On the other hand, research that 'claims to be non-ideological and value-neutral, but which in fact remains covertly

[1] For instance see the 2015 PLOS ONE controversy over sexist comments by an anonymous reviewer for a biology paper written by two women: '"It would probably ... be beneficial to find one or two male biologists to work with (or at least obtain internal peer review from, but better yet as active co-authors)" to prevent the manuscript from "drifting too far away from empirical evidence into ideologically biased assumptions [...]"'. (Gander 2015)

ideological and value-laden, is the more dangerous for this deceptive subtlety'. (Joseph and Taylor 1990, p.2 cited in Milroy 2001, p.532).

Consequently, language is a feminist issue, and debates about non-sexist language are 'the manifestation of conflicts between different language ideologies [and gender ideologies] that struggle for power and dominance, or, to use Gramsci's (1971) term, hegemony' (Milani 2007, p.22).

Although there are many different kinds of feminisms, what unites a majority of these feminisms is a widely shared conception of gender as

> an ideological structure that divides people into two classes, men and women, based on a hierarchical relation of domination and subordination, respectively. Based upon sexual difference, the gender structure imposes a social dichotomy of labour and human traits on women and men, the substance of which varies according to time and place. [...] the ideological structure of gender [...] privileges men as a social group, giving them what Connell (1995) terms a 'patriarchal dividend', in terms of access to symbolic, social, political, and economic capital. An example of the symbolic capital accrued to men in English-speaking cultures is the way in which male pronouns and nouns ('he'/'man') have been given generic status in the English language, which by default always assures men of visibility while simultaneously rendering women invisible. (Lazar 2007, pp.146-47)

Again, not all feminists share the same language ideologies, but language has been an important site of struggle for many feminists, who have viewed it as a tool to promote social change. Nevertheless, they have not always been explicit about their own ideological stances. Cameron (1995) has criticised feminist linguists who have argued against prescriptive grammar (e.g., generic *he*), claiming that language should be descriptive, and reflect new social realities of gender equality. However, this erases 'the agency of feminists engaging in specific verbal hygiene practices' (1995, p.19), and promotes the idea that language evolves 'naturally'. Gender-fair language is itself a form of prescription that feminists should be explicit about.

In this thesis, sexist language is conceptualised using elements of both structuralist and poststructuralist linguistics. Sexist meanings are seen as sedimented in the language structure, through repetition of use, which itself is a result of certain gender and language ideologies. Words then take on conceptual baggage, which is primed when the word is used. However, whether words are understood as sexist or not, is highly context-dependent. Nonetheless, some words have more

wounding potential than others, and are consequently defined as 'sexist language' for this thesis.

Finally, my conceptual framework takes into account the social and historical nature of sexist language. Gender-fair language is part of 'an ideological matrix where representations of language intersect with images of age, gender, ethnicity, race, sexuality, etc.' (Milani 2010, p.121), and in the case of this thesis, other language ideologies. The success or failure (in terms of frequency of use) of feminist linguistic reform seems to be only partly due to the internal structure of the language, as a comparison between the French spoken in mainland France, and other varieties such as Quebecois French shows. It appears that conceptualisations about language play an important role in determining whether gender-fair language will be adopted or not.

A review of the literature on sexist language revealed a dearth of studies on what speakers actually say about gender-fair language. The few studies that have been carried out (Abbou 2011; van Compernolle 2009; 2007; Elmiger 2008; Benwell 2007; Schwarz 2006; Jacobs 2004; Houdebine-Gravaud 1998) have tended to focus on qualitative analyses of small groups, with the exception of Parks and Robertson (1998), who carried out two surveys with over 300 students.

If conceptualisations of language and gender are negotiable, an arena where both of these concepts are currently being negotiated is the sexist language debate. Rather than examining the arguments for and against gender-fair language, which has already been thoroughly researched (e.g., see Bengoechea 2011 for Spanish, Elmiger 2008 for French, and Pauwels 1998; Blaubergs 1980 for English) focusing on how these arguments are *framed,* i.e., what discourses they draw upon, allows us to more easily link arguments about non-sexist language with wider language, and gender ideologies.

This thesis aims at not only identifying the discourses surrounding gender-fair language, and the language ideologies that underpin them, but also at offering some explanation of where they come from. In an effort to identify discourses with as wide a reach as possible, I analyse a corpus of on-line newspaper articles from

both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. The articles were taken from popular English and French on-line newspapers in order to address the following gap in comparative linguistics studies.

Apart from a few studies (e.g., Fraser 2015; Luraghi 2014; Motschenbacher 2010; Teso 2010; Gabriel *et al.* 2008; Gygax *et al.* 2008; Hornscheidt 1997; Pauwels 1996) very little comparative work has been carried out which would allow conceptions of language in general, as well as feminist linguistic reforms, to be framed in their cultural and historical perspectives. A comparison of English and French thus provides a very fruitful comparison in that they have enormously influenced each other over the centuries, yet have distinct histories and internal language structures.

This short chapter identified the gender-fair language debate as a site of struggle that has so far not been widely studied in the field of language and gender, specifically the discourses invoked in the debate. Comparative linguistics studies were also identified as absent from the field. The conceptual framework that emerged from an exploration of the wider literature on sexist language also guided the choices made in the next chapter on research design.

If we knew what it was we were doing,
it would not be called research, would it?
Albert Einstein

Chapter 6 Research design

This chapter will:

- **explain how the conceptual framework influenced the research design**
- **justify the choices of methodological approaches, data selection, and collection**
- **show how the data was analysed**

In order to fill the gap in knowledge identified in the literature review, and answer my main research question (**What discourses are invoked in the gender-fair language debate?**), it was necessary to choose what kind of data to analyse, as well as the methodological approaches best suited to achieving the purpose of my research, i.e., to identify the discourses invoked in the gender-fair language debate.

6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

My perspective on sexist language, based on the conceptual framework that emerged in the literature review, led me towards a CDA approach. While CDA 'does not constitute a well-defined empirical method but rather a bulk of approaches' (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.27) these approaches all share two common features: CDA is '(1) [...] problem-oriented and not focused on specific linguistic items, yet linguistic expertise is obligatory for the selection of the items relevant to specific research objectives; (2) theory as well as methodology is eclectic, both of which are integrated as far as is helpful to understand the social problems under investigation' (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.31). CDA is an approach but also a *discourse theory*, in that it 'views discursive and linguistic data as a social practice, both reflecting and producing ideologies in society' (Baker *et al.* 2008, p.280).

Discourse in CDA is defined in this thesis as 'ways of seeing and constructing the world' (also see part 2.4.1 on 'sexist discourses'). However, the term *discourse* can be confusing as it can have several different meanings. Sunderland classifies discourses into two broad categories: descriptive and interpretive (Sunderland

2004, p.6). *Descriptive* discourses can be further divided into: 1) any stretch of written or spoken text, and 2) the modes of communication used in a specific context, e.g., 'classroom discourse', or 'academic discourse'. *Interpretive* discourses, on the other hand, refer to how the term is used in CDA, in which discourses are the production of 'meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events' (Burr 1995, cited in Baker 2014, p.4). Not only do interpretive discourses *produce* a particular perspective of events, they produce it in 'the interests of people in a particular social location' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, p.412). *Discourse* in this interpretive sense is often used interchangeably with *ideology* (Sunderland 2004, p.6). However, it is useful for this thesis to distinguish between ideologies as shared beliefs systems, and discourses as the *expression and reproduction* of those beliefs or values through language (Van Dijk 2006). In this way, ideology can be compared to the submerged part of an iceberg, and discourse to the tip. Discourses rest on certain underlying common sense assumptions, norms, and shared values (ideology) (see part 3.1 for definitions of ideology).

In order to avoid what Antaki (2002) called 'under-analysis through circular discovery' (i.e., claiming that a particular discourse in my corpus is being invoked, and then using my corpus to provide 'proof' for the existence of this discourse) I cite sources outside of my work that corroborate my claims.

In this thesis I adopt Sunderland's 'interpretive discourse identification' approach in which she argues that discourses 'need to be separately identified, described and differentiated' (Sunderland 2004, p.27). However, as she notes,

> the analysis of discourses is never straightforward in that it cannot, in contrast to the analysis of more formal or purely linguistic features, deal with 'bounded' units. Although we may unintentionally *imply* that discourse (*a* discourse) has boundaries (fuzzy-edged), as Wodak observes, a discourse has no objective beginning and no clearly defined end (1997: 6). This is not only in terms of the 'length' of a unit of analysis of talk or written text, but also because of its *intertextuality.* A given discourse is always related to others - diachronically and synchronically. (Sunderland 2004, p.11, emphasis in the original)

Although Sunderland poses the question of where one discourse begins and another one ends, she does not provide a satisfactory answer. Nonetheless, she does note that for a discourse to exist it must be *recognisable*, i.e., it must make

sense for people. The analogy of the prism that I mentioned in part 3.2, is also helpful here in describing how I 'bounded' discourses in my analysis.

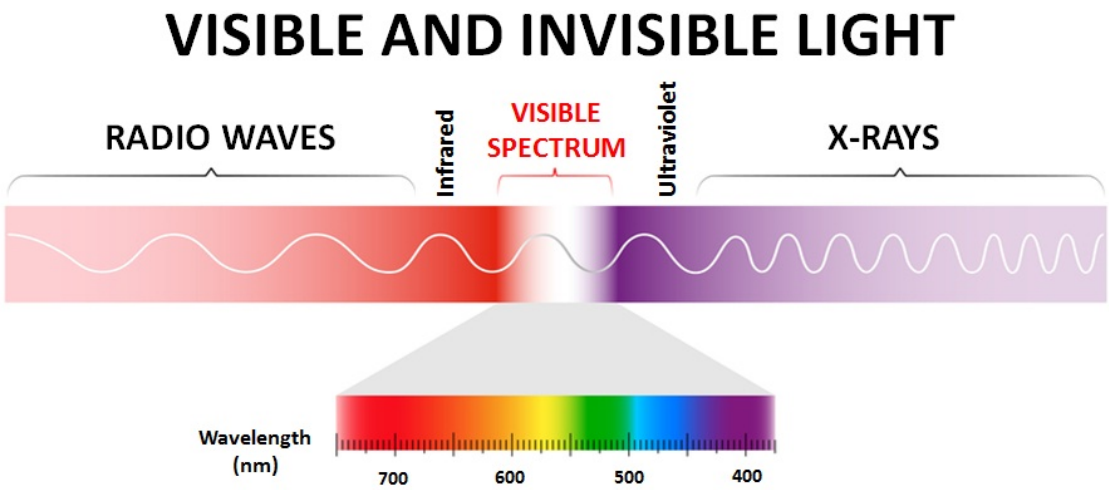


Figure 6.1: Visible and invisible light (image from: https://www.tnuda.org.il/en/)

In the same way that we all recognise certain wavelengths on the electromagnetic spectrum as colours, but not others (e.g., gamma, x-rays, ultraviolet, etc.), certain discourses can be recognised, and others cannot. There may be some dispute over where green ends and yellow begins, but we all see either green or yellow, and not blue or red. Therefore, in my analysis I have 'bounded' certain discourses assuming that they will 'be visible', i.e., that they will make sense to readers, although there is certainly room to debate the particular boundaries I drew. For instance, it could easily be argued that a 'language police' discourse (parts 8.2 and 10.2) is not a separate discourse, but part of a 'freedom' discourse (parts 7.4 and 9.5). I separated them into two discourses because a 'freedom' discourse was used in relation to *language in general*, not specifically non-sexist language. On the other hand, a 'language police' discourse was used in relation to *gender-fair language*, not language in general. This division allowed me to distinguish between the discourses surrounding gender-fair language, and the language ideologies that underpin them.

6.2 Language ideology

Chapter 3 demonstrated how a Language Ideology (LI) framework can be used to analyse the *origin* of sexist language, and Chapter 4 showed that the *debate* on non-

sexist language is an example of what Blommaert (1999, p.3) calls a 'language ideological debate'. Gal (2006, p.387) describes LI as being similar to Foucauldian discourse analysis, in which linguistic practices 'form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, p. 49). However, LI adds an extra dimension in that it also analyses metadiscourses about language. The combination of LI and CDA can thus offer 'important and potentially *complementary* theoretical and methodological frameworks' (Milani and Johnson 2008, p.365, emphasis in the original). Both LI and CDA take a *critical* perspective on questions of power and inequality. They seek to understand how particular conceptualisations of language are used to maintain power and dominance (Costa 2017, p.114), how they work in favour of some groups, and against others. For instance, in my corpus certain language ideologies are used to argue against non-sexist language, thus reinforcing sexism in society, benefitting one group (men) over another (women).

In this thesis, I am looking for the underlying ideologies of language that discourses on gender-fair language reform are based on. My aim is to identify and name these language ideologies in the same way as I aim to identify and name discourses.

6.3 Corpus linguistics

CDA has been criticised for 'cherry picking the right texts' to suit a particular hypothesis (Mautner 2009b, p.32). In order to avoid this problem, and to be able to make more reliable and generalizable claims, I decided to use a corpus linguistics (CL) approach. Several scholars have observed the advantages that a mixed methodology, especially a combination of CDA and CL can give (Baker and Levon 2015; Flowerdew 2012; Mautner 2009a). There are nevertheless some tensions between the two approaches. For example, CDA usually does an in-depth 'microscopic scrutiny' of the text, whereas CL tends to take representative samples from much larger corpora without all the contextual data (such as images or layout from newspaper articles) (Mautner 2009b, p.34). However, depending on the research question, the two approaches can be combined fruitfully. In my case, I decided to focus on lexical patterns, as CL is particularly suited to this method.

Corpus linguistics is not a single method, 'rather it utilizes a collection of different methods which are related by the fact that they are performed on large collections of electronically stored, naturally occurring texts' (Baker *et al.* 2008, p.274). In the same way that CDA encompasses a bulk of approaches, CL is a collection of different methods, united by the theory that language is not random, but patterned (Sinclair 1991). The kinds of patterns that CL can help reveal include the following:

- **Semantic preference** is the semantic field that a particular node word belongs to and often collocates with (e.g., the node word *hair* usually collocates with words describing length and colour.
- **Semantic prosody** (Louw 1993) describes the effect that semantic preference has on the node word. The company a word keeps (its collocates) can tell us what 'conceptual baggage' (see part 2.4.3) the node word carries. For instance collocates of the verb *to cause* are usually negative. *Cause* will therefore be tinged by the surrounding negative collocates even if *cause* itself does not carry a negative semantic value.
- **Discourse prosody** (developed by Tognini-Bonelli (2001) and Stubbs (2001) cited in Baker 2010, p.132) is similar to semantic prosody, but it extends over larger stretches of text than semantic prosody.

The primary processes used in CL are frequency, concordance, collocation, keywords, and dispersion (Baker 2010, pp.19-28):

- **Frequency**: the number of times a particular term appears in the corpus.
- **Concordance**: the node word presented in a table with a few words either side to show its context.
- **Collocation**: the tendency of two words to appear together, e.g., *swimming* tends to collocate with *pool*. There are several different ways to calculate collocation scores (see Baker 2010, p.26). I explain my choice of *logDice* below.
- **Keywords**: words that appear more (or less) frequently than expected in the focus corpus when compared to a reference corpus. Keyword score is basically calculated by dividing the normalised frequency per million words in the reference corpus by the normalised frequency per million words in

the focus corpus[1]. For example in my English corpus, *pronoun* has a keyword score of 688 which means that if my corpus were one million words, it would appear 688 times compared to only once in a reference corpus of one million words.

- **Dispersion**: refers to how consistently a term appears in the corpus, i.e., whether it is clustered in one or two articles, or whether it is evenly spread throughout the corpus.

Within CL there are three ways to approach a corpus:

- **Corpus-*based***: is a top-down, deductive approach. The researcher already has clearly defined hypotheses, and simply uses the corpus to check their intuition, e.g., searching a corpus for sexist discourses.
- **Corpus-*driven***: is a bottom-up, inductive approach in which the researcher has no particular hypotheses as to what they may find. They approach the corpus from a 'naïve' stance, using CL to see if any particular patterns emerge. However, 'it is very difficult to approach a corpus from a completely naïve stance' (McEnery *et al.* 2006, p.8). Therefore, from a CDA perspective, in which no research is neutral, a corpus-*driven* approach is not suitable for my research.
- **Corpus-*assisted***: is a more abductive approach in which the researcher has some starting hypotheses but also looks for other patterns in the corpus. Corpus-assisted can also involve other sources, e.g., interviews, or etymological or historical research. Indeed, Baker argues that corpus studies involving CDA *should* involve other forms of analysis 'which take social, historical and political context into account' (Baker 2010, p.8).

A corpus-*assisted* approach was the best suited to my conceptual framework as I incorporate other sources (such as a historiographical element, and some etymological analyses). In addition, a corpus-*assisted* approach is compatible with a CDA perspective. A corpus can give the research *evidence* for a specific discourse, but does not explain *why* a particular discourse may be invoked in a particular context. I therefore had to look outside the corpora using CDA.

[1] See https://www.sketchengine.eu/documentation/simple-maths/for the exact formula.

Choice of corpus tool: Sketch Engine

There are many different corpus tools available (see Baker 2010, p.8) for a selection). After some experimenting with *AntConc*, *WordSmith* and *GraphColl,* I chose to work with the online corpus management tool *Sketch Engine*. This decision was based on three main factors:

Firstly, Sketch Engine has built in reference corpora in several different languages. In particular, it has a reference corpus of UK newspaper articles ('English Broadsheet Newspapers 1993-2013 (SiBol/Port)' of 654,435,535 words). No newspaper corpus was available for French. The next best choice was the 'FrTenTen corpus', which is an Internet-based corpus of 9,889,689,889 words)[1].

Secondly, with Sketch Engine it is possible to directly compare multilingual data (a problem that Vessey (2015, pp.10-11) encountered with WordSmith) because it uses *logDice* to calculate collocation score. *logDice* is just one method for calculating collocation score among many (see Gablasova *et al.* 2017; Brezina *et al.* 2015, p.160; Kilgarriff 2015; Rychlý 2008) for comparisons of methods.

Thirdly, *logDice* is a good choice for small corpora like mine, as it does not have a 'low-frequency bias' (Gablasova *et al.* 2017, p.11). Because both of my corpora are relatively small (76,313 words for the English corpus and 90,480 for the French corpus), l needed a method of calculating collocation scores that would take this into account. *logDice* has a theoretically maximum value of 14. If a pair of words only appears together (and never separately) in the corpus, they will have a collocation score of 14. Collocation score with *logDice* is logarithmic (hence *logDice*) not linear. In other words, it goes up by a factor of 2 with every point added, so for example, a collocation score of 4 is *twice as much* as 3.

[1] Since I selected my reference corpora, better suited corpora have become available on Sketch Engine such as the 'Timestamped JSI web corpus' available in both English and French.

6.4 Data selection and collection

In order to examine how people talk about non-sexist language, an appropriate arena in which people's views are expressed needed to be selected. Potential choices of data collection included: questionnaires, interviews, the Internet (blogs, Twitter, forums etc), TV, radio, and newspapers. My pilot study on titles for women in French involving an online survey and online newspapers (Coady 2014) informed my decision to use online newspapers. *Online* newspapers provided easy access to articles, which were already in digital format, and therefore amenable to a corpus linguistics approach. However, this meant that only relatively recent articles were available (my corpus covers the period 2001-2016), and that a diachronic study of changes in discourses was not possible (but see Appendix nº1: Newspaper statistics for a graph of distribution of articles over time on p.246).

The media have traditionally been the arena in which both gender-fair language and many other language questions have been debated. The media provide a public forum in which different actors voice their opinions, and respond to one another. Not only do the media provide an *arena* for this debate, they are also an important *source* of more implicit language ideologies, evident in their choice of certain terms, spellings, and structures (DiGiacomo 1999, p.105). The media, especially the established newspapers, are generally seen as credible sources of information, and thus readers 'tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions' from sources they see as trustworthy' (Nesler *et al.* 1993 cited in Van Dijk 2003, p.357).

Online newspapers allowed me access to discourses and language ideologies that reach a large audience, thus increasing the 'ideological force' (del-Teso-Craviotto 2006, p.2018) of the discourses found there. Although it is difficult to give precise numbers on the readership of online newspapers (Newsworks 2017), it is safe to say that it is significantly more than questionnaires or interviews would have allowed. In addition to the fact that newspapers cast a wide and very influential net, they also have a cumulative effect:

> Day after day, many people purchase and read the same newspaper, absorbing its news and also the way that it reports world events. Newspapers are therefore ideal sites where the incremental effect of discourse can take place. A negative or ambiguous word, phrase or association may not amount to much on its own, but if similar sentiments appear on a

> regular basis, then the discourse will become more powerful, penetrating into society's subconscious as the given way of thinking. (Baker 2005, pp.61-2)

It is precisely this repetition that CL can help reveal, and that might pass unnoticed otherwise.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the lack of an official language authority in English is striking when compared to other European languages:

> Language academies in England have never existed, despite calls for one (e.g. Jonathan Swift) and an attempt at its creation by John Quincy Adams [...] Instead, English speakers have relied on a network of authorities or 'language mavens,' [which] have historically been lent authority through the power of publication: creating grammar books and style guides; editing books and dictionaries; opining on language in newspaper columns. (Curzan 2014, p.5)

This implies that the media may have more influence over language in the UK than in the other countries mentioned, depending of course on how much respect and authority is granted to the official language bodies. As mentioned in the Introduction, I chose to compare English and French because they not only have different language structures, they also differ in their sociolinguistic landscapes, notably the existence of an official language body (the Académie française) in France, where there is none in the UK.

Despite the many advantages of using a data set from online newspapers, they are not without some disadvantages. Firstly, the websites[1] that I used to collect the articles downloaded the text only in .txt format. Therefore the original typeface, layout and any images were not included, resulting in the 'semiotic impoverishment of text' (Mautner 2009b, p.44). This is unfortunate in that the visual layout of an article can foreground certain aspects of the article, or prime readers towards particular readings (Wodak 2015, p.1; Van Dijk 1988, p.84).

Secondly, 'access to specific forms of discourse, e.g., those of politics, the media, or science, is itself a power resource' (Van Dijk 2003, p.355), and as such, not universally accessible. The voices of those in positions of power (journalists,

[1] LexisNexis was used to search for articles in English (https://www.lexisnexis.com/ap/academic/form_news_wires.asp) and Factiva (https://www.dowjones.com/products/factiva/) for French articles, which were not available on LexisNexis.

politicians, scholars, and other symbolic elites) are louder than others in traditional media outlets. This monopoly has recently been challenged by newer channels of communication such as blogs, podcasts, YouTube videos, etc., which have 'utterly transformed the communicative landscape' (Johnson and Ensslin 2007, p.9) since the end of the 20th century. In order to balance this monopoly, I also collected over 28,500 comments on the articles in my corpus, which I had originally planned to analyse. Unfortunately, due to lack of space I was not able to include these in this thesis.

While not a disadvantage per se for my study, something to bear in mind is that despite the power which journalists have over which discourses are expressed in the media, they cannot write whatever they please. Newspapers have house styles that journalists must follow. For instance, the style guide used in *The Guardian* and *The Observer* (*Guardian* and *Observer Style Guide* 2015) has clear rules for their journalists regarding how to write about 'gender issues', including using 'firefighter, not fireman' and 'postal workers, not postmen'. On the other hand, on *The Telegraph*'s list of 'banned words' is *chairperson* and *chair*. Readers are informed that 'chairman is correct English' (*Telegraph Style Book*, 2018). Journalists are therefore confronted with certain constraints concerning non-sexist language, regardless of their own personal opinion.

A final point worth remembering is that newspapers do not all have the same circulation, as the graph below shows. This said, although the discourses in *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* may have a wider circulation than *The Times* and *The Guardian*, it seems likely that they do not reach the same *kind* of people, i.e., decision-makers are more likely to read broadsheets. Therefore, despite the smaller circulation of discourses in the broadsheets, they arguably have more influence than those in the tabloids.

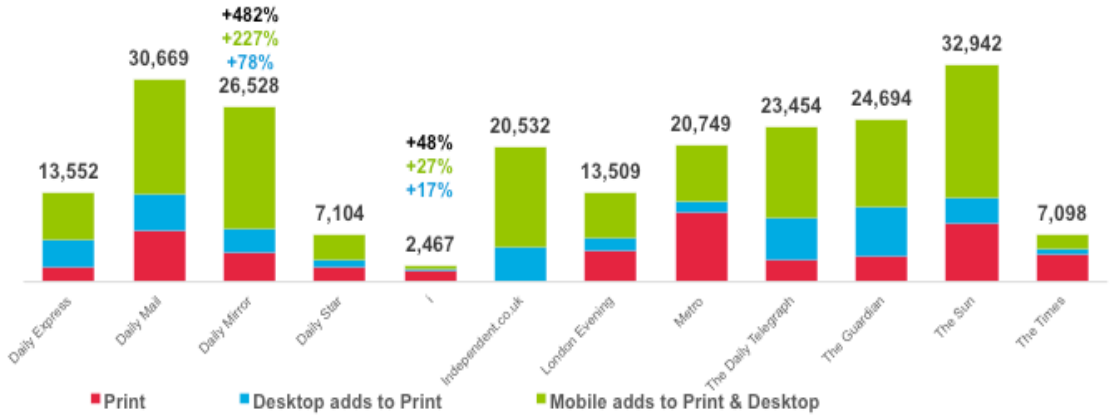


Figure 6.2: Average monthly multi-platform reach for selected UK newspapers in thousands (000) for 2017 (Newsworks 2017).

The situation is slightly different for French newspapers in that tabloids do not exist. Therefore all the articles in the French corpus are from the equivalent of UK broadsheets. The graph below shows average monthly readership from selected papers that are in my corpus (statistics were not available for all newspapers). RW refers to right wing papers, and LW to left wing papers.

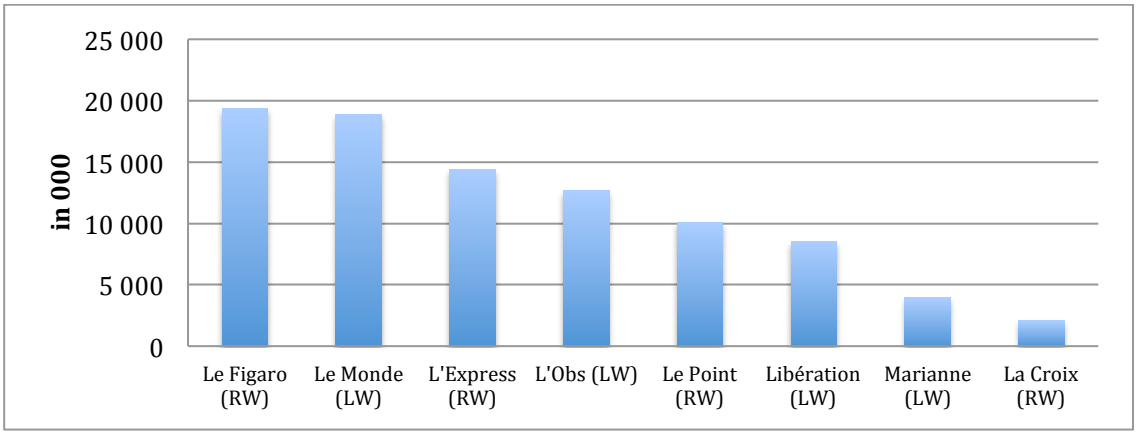


Figure 6.3: Average monthly multi-platform reach for selected French newspapers in thousands (000) for 2016 (Alliance pour les chiffres de la presse et des medias 2016).

Based on the literature review and on wider reading, the lists of terms in the table below were created. Then, the online databases LexisNexis and Factiva (which allowed me access to articles that are usually behind a paywall) were used to search for articles on non-sexist language using these terms:

English search terms (LexisNexis)	French search terms (Factiva)
(non-)sexist language / word(s) gender-neutral language / word(s) gender-inclusive language / word(s) (non-)gender specific language / word(s) mademoiselle (non-)sexist pronoun(s) (non-)sexist grammar (non-)sexist semantics queer queer language / word(s) feminist language feminist linguistics generic he generic pronoun singular they generic man sir AND Miss AND sexist Mazetier AND Aubert Swedish hen	féminisation de la langue / du langage / lexique / de la grammaire féminiser langue / langage / lexique / grammaire langage (non) sexiste mot(s) (non) sexiste(s) madame le président AND Mazetier AND Aubert monsieur la députée école maternelle AND Mazetier grammaire (non) sexiste langue (non) sexiste titres de métiers sexisme linguistique sexisme langagier suedois hen le masculin l'emporte mademoiselle sexiste mademoiselle la case en trop que les hommes et les femmes soient belles règle de proximité pronom neutre pronom (non) sexiste

Table 6.1: English and French search terms for articles

Finally a Google search was carried out with the same search terms, which resulted in a handful of extra articles. In case of multiple copies of the same article, only one was kept. Only national newspapers were selected, and only articles that had sexist language as the main topic rather than a passing reference.

6.5 Data description

The above search resulted in an English corpus of 76,313 words and 116 articles from 12 different publications (Sunday and daily editions of each newspaper were classed together), and a French corpus of 90,480 words and 126 articles from 16 different publications.

The publications were grouped according to political tendencies and broadsheet / quality. For the English corpus, this gave the following categories: CQ (centre quality), LWQ (left wing quality), RWQ (right wing quality), RWT (right wing tabloid), and CT (centre tabloid)[1]. No articles on gender-fair language were found in any LWT publications. The same distinctions did not apply to French

[1] This categorisation was based on existing knowledge of the UK and French media, and checked on several websites including the results of a 2016 government survey (YouGovUK 2017). It should be noted that not all papers in a specific group have the same stance on a subject, e.g., I found that the *BBC* (CQ) and *The Guardian* (LWQ) have very similar discourses on non-sexist language, whereas *The Independent* (LWQ) is closer to the RWQ papers than the other LWQ ones.

newspapers, which were simply classed into LW or RW. The graphs below show the percentage of words from each newspaper in my corpus (for fuller details see Appendix nº1: Newspaper statistics). For the English graph, CQ publications are in shades of yellow, LW in red / orange, RW in blue, RWT in green, and CT in grey. For the French graph, LW papers are in shades of red and orange, and RW in blue.

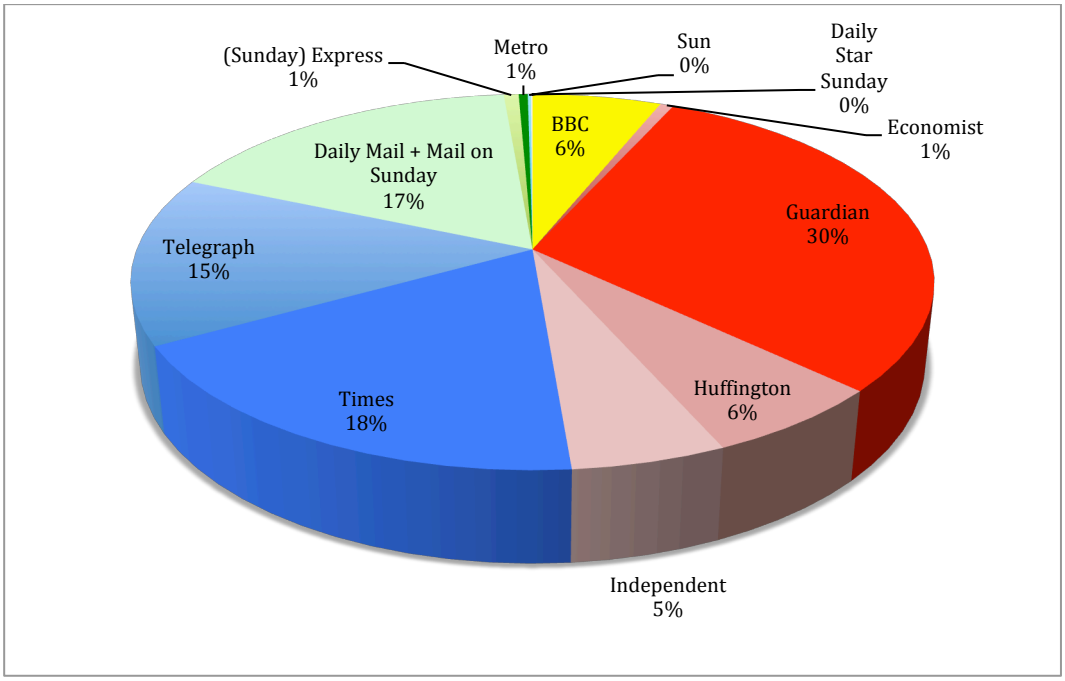


Figure 6.4: Percentage of the English corpus for each newspaper (by number of words)

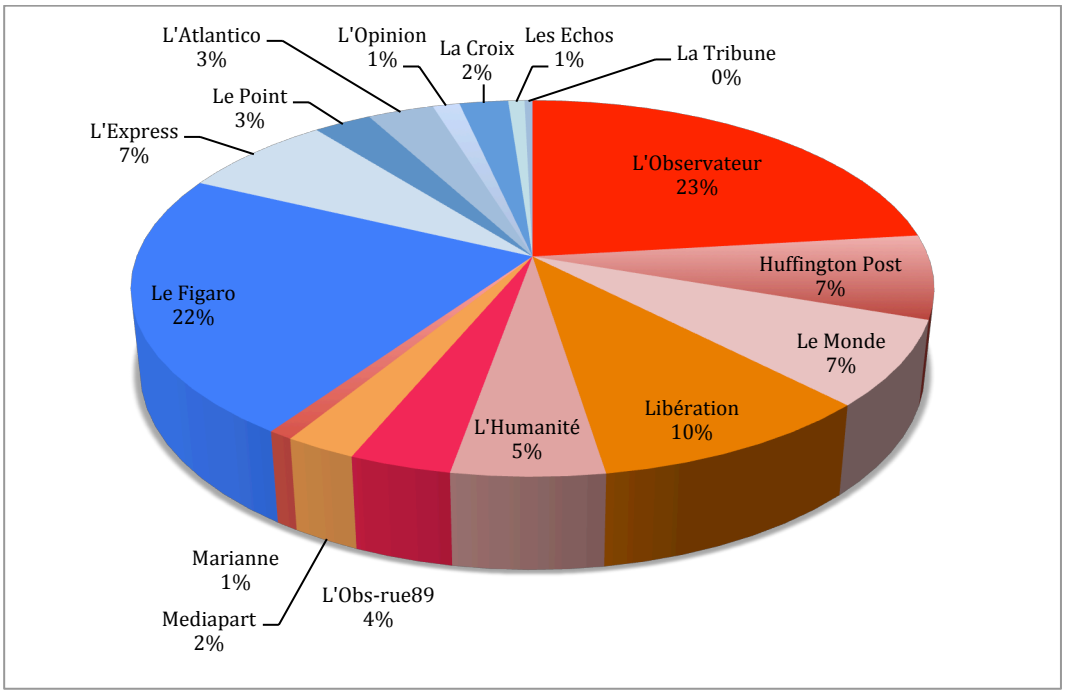


Figure 6.5: Percentage of the French corpus for each newspaper (by number of words)

6.6 Data analysis

As a way into the corpora, two keyword lists were generated for each corpus using the 'word list' function on Sketch Engine. Three default settings were modified: Firstly, 'lemma_lc' (lowercase) was chosen instead of 'word' in order to avoid repetitions of terms (e.g., *language* and *language**s*** *or* ***m****ademoiselle* and ***M****ademoiselle*). Secondly, ARF (average reduced frequency[1]) was chosen in order to identify terms that were evenly dispersed throughout my corpus. Thirdly, 'minimum frequency' was changed from 5 to 1, because my corpus was quite small and also because even if a word appears only once, it could still contribute to a discourse (Baker 2014, p.111).

Terms such as *byline*, and *load-date*[2] were deleted from the lists. The remaining top 100 keywords[3] were retained, and the online word cloud tool *Word It Out* (available at https://worditout.com/word-cloud) was used in order to better visualise the keywords. In the word clouds below the bigger and darker the word, the higher the keyword score. The top 100 keywords (see Appendix nº2: Top 100 keyword lists for full lists with keyword scores) were then organised into different semantic categories, or themes.

[1] ARF is a variant on a frequency list that reduces the score for multiple occurrences of a word that occur close to one other, so that 'bursty' words are not given too high a score.
[2] In English, the following 17 terms were deleted from the keyword list: *byline, load-date, publication-type, GMT [Greenwich Mean Time], journal-code, updated, reserved, pg [page], mailonline, BST, [British* Summer Time], copyright, newspapers, AM, length, edition, English, and Guardian. In French, the following five terms were deleted: words (referring to the number of words in an article), huffpost, XVIIe, Figaro, and AFP (Agence France Press).
[3] A keyword list, rather than a frequency list, was chosen as it eliminated very frequent but uninteresting terms such as *be, the, and*, etc.

Figure 6.6: Word cloud for the top 100 keywords in the English corpus

THEME	KEYWORD
LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE RULES, LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	abstract, adjective, connotation, context, [politically] correct, correctness, default, definition, denote, dictionary, feminine, generic, grammar, grammatical, guideline, hen, imply, inherently, inclusive, language, linguistic, linguistics, masculine, meaning, neutral, noun, pedant, phrase, plural, pronoun, refer, reference, reinforce, singular, term, usage, use, vocabulary, word, ze
MARITAL STATUS AND TITLES	honorific, madame, mademoiselle, maiden, marital, married, mistress, Monsieur, Mrs, Ms, Mx, [marital] status, surname, title, unmarried
GENDER, SEX, AND SEXUALITY	binary, diversity, female, gay, gender, gender-neutral, gendered, girl, lesbian, male, queer, sex, tran, transgender, woman, women
SEXISM	equality, equivalent, feminism, feminist, prejudice, sexism, sexist, stereotype
OFFENCE	acceptable, annoy, demean, derogatory, insult, offend, offensive, unacceptable
RIDICULOUS	silly, ridiculous
OLD FASHIONED	old-fashioned, outdated
MISCELLANEOUS	blog, broadly, everyday, Jane, Kamm, Oliver, progressive, tweet

Table 6.2: top 100 keywords in the English corpus

Figure 6.7: Word cloud for the top 100 keywords in the French corpus

THEME	KEYWORD
LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE RULES, LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	Académie [française], académicien [member of the Académie française], adjectif, appellation, auteure* [author], autrice*, correcteur, confusion, dénomination [name], désigner [designate], dictionnaire, écrivaine* [writer], écrivaines* [writers], emporter [take precedence], féminin, féminisation, féminiser, grade [professional rank], grammaire, grammairien, grammatical, hen [neutral Swedish pronoun], langue [language], langage [language], Latin, linguiste, linguistique, masculin, métier [profession], neutre [neutral], orthographe [spelling], pluriel, professeure* [teacher], pronom, règle [rule], sémantique, substantif, suffixe, supériorité, terminologie, usage [use], Vaugelas [17th century French grammarian], vocable [term], vocabulaire
THE AUBERT-MAZETIER AFFAIR (see p74)	Julien Aubert, Assemblée [Nationale equivalent to the House of Commons], bannir [ban], [Claude] Bartolone, circulaire, député [male MP], députée [female MP], formulaire [form], hémicycle [literally 'semicircle' referring to the layout of the Assemblée Nationale], idéologie, indemnité [compensation], insurger [rebel], Sandrine Mazetier, ministre, parlementaire, pétition, polémique, politiser, procès-verbal [official report], privation [revocation], querelle [quarrel], sanction, sanctionner, signataires, Ségolène [Royale], UMP [right wing political party], Vaucluse [a geographical department in France]
SEXISM	discrimination, domination, égalitaire [egalitarian], égalité [equality], féminisme, féministe, inégalité [inequality], parité, sexisme, sexiste, stéréotype, supériorité
SEX AND GENDER	femme [woman], genre [gender], mâle, sexe, sexué [sexed]
TITLES AND MARITAL STATUS	damoiseau [young lord / squire], madame, mademoiselle, marital
MISCELLANEOUS	neutraliser, obstiner [persist], orateur, persister, Suède [Sweden], suédois [Swedish], vice-président

auteure*$_{FEM}$ */ autrice***$_{FEM}$ [author], *écrivain**e***$_{FEM}$ [writer], and *professeur**e***$_{FEM}$ [teacher] are (often contested) feminine versions of *auteur*$_{MASC}$, *écrivain*$_{MASC}$ and *professeur*$_{MASC}$ respectively.

Table 6.3: top 100 keywords in the French corpus

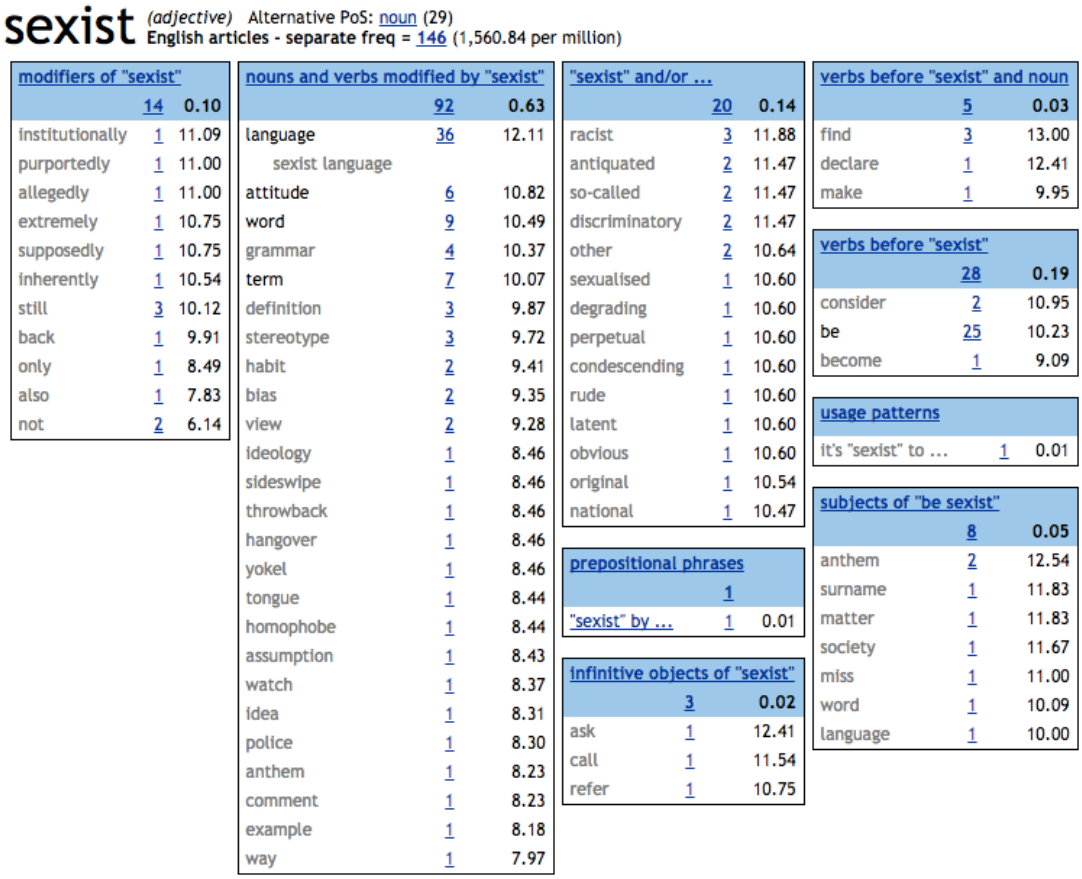
As the above word clouds and tables show, there are many similarities between the French and the English keywords. In both corpora, there are terms that cluster around the themes of language, sexism, sex, gender, sexuality, marital status, and personal titles. However, some differences emerge from a comparison of the two tables: Whereas the English topics include ideas of offence, ridicule, and being old-fashioned, the list of keywords does not suggest the presence of these discourses in the French corpus. There are many references to the Aubert-Mazetier affair in the French corpus that are, understandably, not present in the English corpus. The French titles *monsieur, madame,* and *mademoiselle* are part of the top 100 *English* keywords, whereas in the *French* keywords there are very few references to gender-fair language in English.

In fact, in the English corpus there are 105 occurrences of *French,* whereas in the French corpus there are only 14 for *anglais* [English]. It would seem that the British press is more interested in what is going on across the Channel than vice versa. This may be a result of the top-down system in France. The press in general tend to report on foreign politics at a *national* level. Because national institutions in France generally debate language reform, it is more likely to reported by the British press. On the other hand, gender-fair language reform in Britain tends to be on a more local level, and therefore less likely to be of interest to the French press.

Organising the keywords into topics is necessarily subjective and imprecise (Baker, *et al*. 2015, p.246). However, it provides an entry point into the corpus. It also shows the 'aboutness'[1] (Philips, 1989) of the corpus. As expected, my corpus revolves around discussions of language (especially pronouns and titles), gender, sex, sexuality, and sexism. However, these keywords are simply an entry point into the corpus, as they do not necessarily point towards specific discourses. For instance, although *pronoun* has the highest keyword score (688.4) in the English corpus, a word sketch, and an examination of the use of *pronoun* in context did not reveal any particular discourses specifically surrounding the term *pronoun*. Some collocations, e.g., *fight* or *avoid* indicated discourses that will be discussed in the following chapters, but which are not specific to pronouns.

[1] 'Aboutness' refers to the thematic content of the corpus. Keywords are used to measure the densities of linguistic features in a corpus, thus showing what it is about.

Word sketches were carried out on several keywords in order to see if they hinted at any discourses. For example, a word sketch of the adjective *sexist* suggests that certain words or actions are not always accepted as being sexist (*purportedly, allegedly, supposedly, so-called*). The word sketch also indicated the possible presence of an 'old-fashioned' discourse (*throwback, hangover, antiquated*), and an 'offensive' discourse (*degrading, condescending, rude*), which was confirmed through further analysis.



sexist *(adjective)* Alternative PoS: noun (29)
English articles - separate freq = 146 (1,560.84 per million)

modifiers of "sexist"	14	0.10
institutionally	1	11.09
purportedly	1	11.00
allegedly	1	11.00
extremely	1	10.75
supposedly	1	10.75
inherently	1	10.54
still	3	10.12
back	1	9.91
only	1	8.49
also	1	7.83
not	2	6.14

nouns and verbs modified by "sexist"	92	0.63
language	36	12.11
sexist language		
attitude	6	10.82
word	9	10.49
grammar	4	10.37
term	7	10.07
definition	3	9.87
stereotype	3	9.72
habit	2	9.41
bias	2	9.35
view	2	9.28
ideology	1	8.46
sideswipe	1	8.46
throwback	1	8.46
hangover	1	8.46
yokel	1	8.46
tongue	1	8.44
homophobe	1	8.44
assumption	1	8.43
watch	1	8.37
idea	1	8.31
police	1	8.30
anthem	1	8.23
comment	1	8.23
example	1	8.18
way	1	7.97

"sexist" and/or ...	20	0.14
racist	3	11.88
antiquated	2	11.47
so-called	2	11.47
discriminatory	2	11.47
other	2	10.64
sexualised	1	10.60
degrading	1	10.60
perpetual	1	10.60
condescending	1	10.60
rude	1	10.60
latent	1	10.60
obvious	1	10.60
original	1	10.54
national	1	10.47

prepositional phrases	1	
"sexist" by ...	1	0.01

infinitive objects of "sexist"	3	0.02
ask	1	12.41
call	1	11.54
refer	1	10.75

verbs before "sexist" and noun	5	0.03
find	3	13.00
declare	1	12.41
make	1	9.95

verbs before "sexist"	28	0.19
consider	2	10.95
be	25	10.23
become	1	9.09

usage patterns		
it's "sexist" to ...	1	0.01

subjects of "be sexist"	8	0.05
anthem	2	12.54
surname	1	11.83
matter	1	11.83
society	1	11.67
miss	1	11.00
word	1	10.09
language	1	10.00

Word sketch 6.1: 'sexist' as an adjective in the English corpus

Word sketches were, however, only useful with terms which occurred relatively frequently such as *sexist* (175 occurrences). Therefore, the word sketch function was only used for terms occurring frequently, and in the same way as the keyword and frequency lists, i.e., as an entry point into the corpus looking for possible traces of discourses, which were then verified through searching for synonyms and related terms, and closer textual analysis.

One example which highlights the problem of relying too heavily on keywords is the lemma[1] POLICE in the focus corpus. It has a relative frequency of 52 per 100,000 words (41 occurrences) and is present in 22% of articles (25/116), but because it also has a high frequency in the reference corpus, it is not classed as a keyword in my corpus. However, it is an important term, and is one of the main lemmas in a 'language police' discourse that I found evidence for. As Baker observes:

> Keywords will [...] not reveal discourses but will direct the researcher to important concepts in a text (in relation to other texts) that may help to highlight the existence of types of (embedded) discourse or ideology. (Baker 2004, p.347)

Keyword analysis and collocation lists were therefore often simply a starting point in my analysis, which suggested the existence of certain discourses. I subsequently looked for synonyms of a specific term, or read through the articles to find other traces of the same discourse, then used the software to check for other occurrences in the corpus, and to examine the concordance lines to verify if my hypotheses were correct or not. I am aware that by the very fact of looking for specific discourses I am more likely to find them. However, I tried to make my starting point as neutral as possible by beginning with the discourses that the keywords suggested. In addition, there are discourses which I searched for but which I did not find. For instance, I expected to find a 'sexist' discourse. However, I found hardly any evidence for this (see part 11.3 for possible explanations).

After a preliminary analysis of my data, I decided to separate 'discourses surrounding **language**' from 'discourses surrounding **gender-fair language**'. The rationale for this was to separate explicit language ideologies (conceptualisations of language *itself*), from more implicit ones expressed through discourses invoked to argue for or against gender-fair language. However, discourses surrounding language, and those surrounding gender-fair language, are intertwined. As previously mentioned, the distinctions I have drawn between them are open to debate.

[1] A lemma is the canonical form, or dictionary form of a word, and is usually shown in small capitals. For instance, the lemma POLICE includes related forms such as *police*, *policing*, and *policed*.

In order to answer my main RQ (**What discourses are invoked in the gender-fair language debate?**), I devised four more specific RQs:

1. What are the discourses that surround **language** in the **English** corpus?
2. What are the discourses that surround **gender-fair language** in the **English** corpus?
3. What are the discourses that surround **language** in the **French** corpus?
4. What are the discourses that surround **gender-fair language** in the **French** corpus?

The CQ-LWQ-RWQ-RWT-CT (for English) / LW-RW (for French) distinction is employed for the quantitative part of the analysis. For the qualitative part, the discourses are analysed according to how they are used. However, these usually coincided with the above newspaper groupings. Therefore, the concordance tables are divided into CQ-LWQ-RWQ-RWT / LW-RW. In order to make sense of the differences in opinion found in the different groups, I draw upon Moral Foundations Theory (Graham *et al.* 2009), which has identified some common differences between right and left wing core political values (see part 11.4 for a fuller discussion).

Only occurrences that were used as part of the specific discourse that was under analysis were retained. Exact search terms (in lowercase bold) are shown in the tables in Appendix nº3: Search details for each discourse. Lemmas are in small capital letters. Lemmas which are in the colour grey were part of my searches, but they did not contribute to the particular discourse under analysis so were not included in my statistics. RF refers to relative frequency. Because my two corpora were closer in size to 100,000 than 1,000,000 (the usual base for RF), I calculated the RF out of 100,000. The '%' sign measures dispersion and refers to the percentage of articles a particular lemma or discourse was found in. Discourses are in inverted commas, e.g., a 'so-called' discourse. Words in red and bold are the node words under analysis.

In the following chapters, the discourses are ordered in a way that I feel best tells their story. However, the discourses that were identified should not be viewed as discrete or linear. Together, they are part of a network of ideas, which could be

ordered in many different ways. As noted above, '[a] given discourse is always related to others - diachronically and synchronically' (Sunderland 2004, p.11).

Language is the tool of the tools
Lev Vygotsky

Chapter 7 Discourses surrounding language in the English corpus (RQ1)

This chapter will:

- **identify the main discourses surrounding language in the English corpus, and the language ideologies that underpin them**
- **analyse how these discourse are used in the non-sexist language debate**

The aim of this chapter is to answer my first research question: What are the discourses surrounding *language* in the English corpus? As mentioned in the previous chapter, I chose to separate discourses surrounding *language in general* from discourses surrounding *gender-fair language*. This chapter identifies the language ideologies that discourses relating to feminist linguistic change (the next chapter) are built upon. Six principle discourses relating to language in general were found:

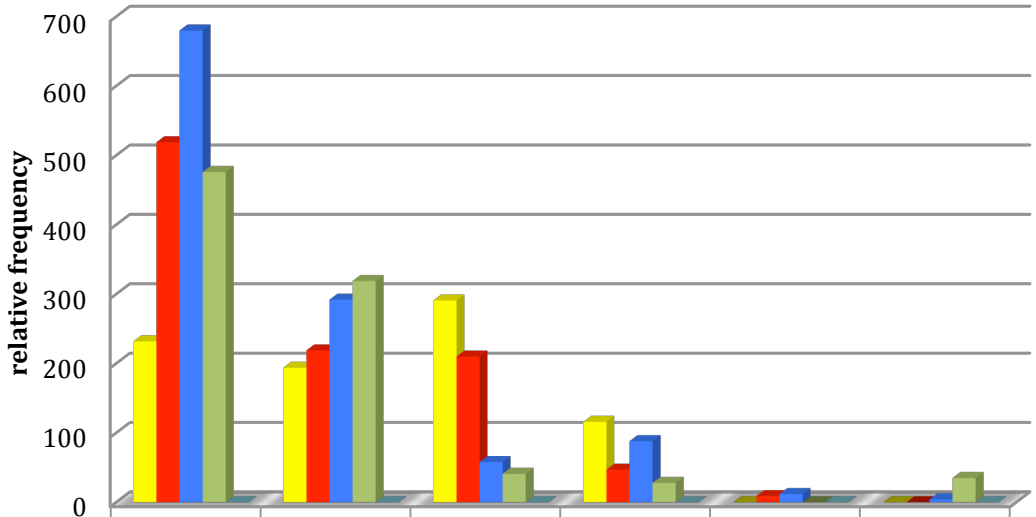
- a 'tool and/or mirror' discourse,
- a 'natural evolution' discourse,
- a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse,
- a 'freedom / choice' discourse,
- a 'national identity' discourse, and
- a 'language authority' discourse.

I have named these discourses in a way which I hope will be immediately recognisable to readers, for instance a 'tool and/or mirror' discourse refers to language being viewed as a tool for social change, or a simple mirror of reality. A 'natural evolution' discourse refers to how language can be — in this case, as a biological organism.

There is undoubtedly some overlap between the discourses relating to language in general and those relating to feminist linguistic change, and many of them are dependent on one another. Nevertheless, I have grouped together what I believe to be certain common discourses that suggest particular attitudes about what language is, or should be, in my corpus. These discourses about language in general

will put the specific discourses on feminist linguistic change in the next chapter into context, and help explain many of them.

The graph below presents the six discourses identified in the English corpus, in order of relative frequency:



	LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE	FREEDOM / CHOICE	TOOL / MIRROR	NATURAL EVOLUTION	NATIONAL ID
CQ	232	194	291	116	0	0
LWQ	519	219	210	47	9	0
RWQ	680	292	58	88	12	4
RWT	476	319	41	28	0	35
CT	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 7.1: RF of discourses for RQ1

The above graph shows the six discourses in order of relative frequency in order to better compare them. However, the discourses are discussed in an order that allows a more logical narration:

- tool and/or mirror
- natural evolution
- sensitivity / offence
- freedom / choice
- national identity
- language authority

7.1 'LANGUAGE AS A MIRROR AND/OR TOOL' discourse

The question of if and how language affects how we perceive reality is known as linguistic relativity[1]. This is a discourse that is common outside of linguistics with regular articles appearing in general publications such as the *New York Times Magazine* (Deutscher 2010), and as such should be recognisable to readers of UK newspapers. Cameron (1995, p.136) has also observed its role in the non-sexist language debate. It is useful to look at attitudes to linguistic relativity because many feminist scholars argue that the concept of linguistic relativity is fundamental to gender-fair language initiatives:

> [i]nitiatives for language reform rest on the assumption that sexist practices are not only a reflection of conservative usage symbolizing gender relations in a particular culture but also they actively contribute towards the maintenance of gendered hierarchies and stereotypes. (Hellinger *et al*. 2011, p.566)

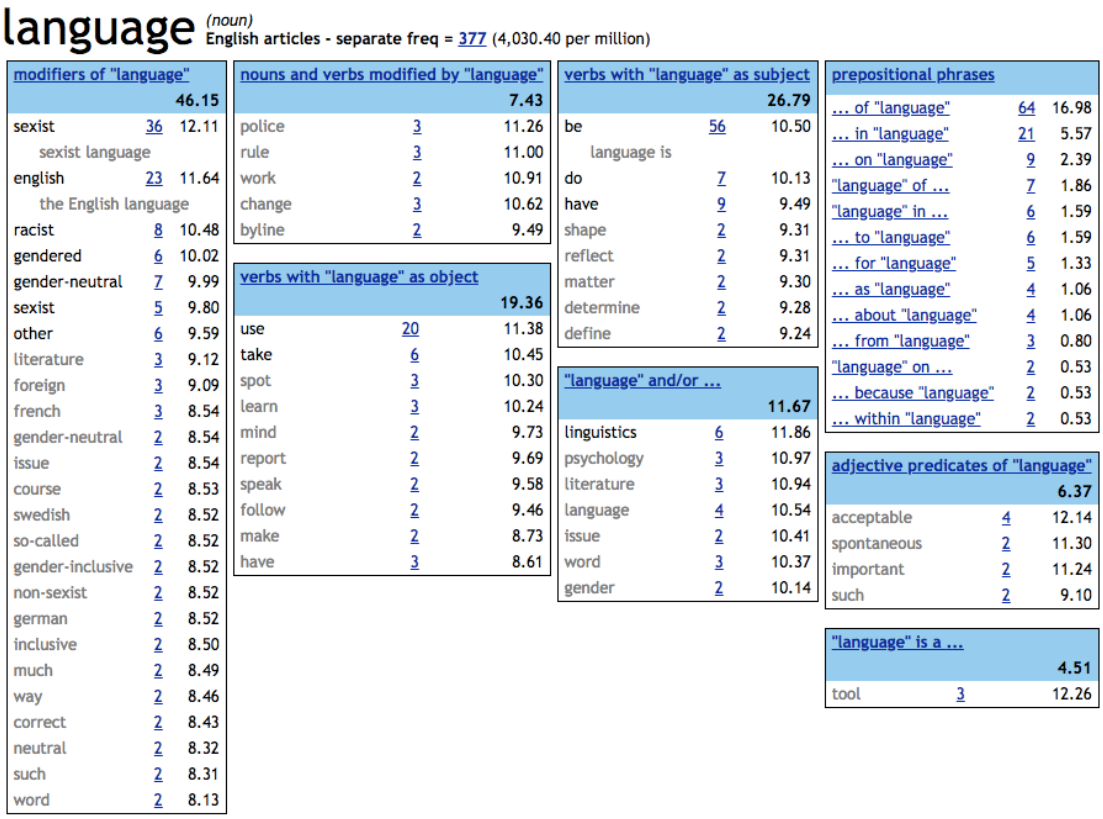
Cameron, on the other hand, argues that although the idea that language can influence our perception of reality is a valid question in the non-sexist language debate, it is often ineffective if not accompanied by a *political* critique (rather than arguing for accuracy or precision) of why we should replace a word.

> We should therefore be honest enough to defend our tampering not in terms of its purported linguistic merits, but in terms of its political utility for raising consciousness, denouncing sexism and empowering women. (Cameron 1992, p.125)

The question of linguistic relativity, is thus of central importance in the debate. Evidence for this discourse was found in a word sketch for the term 'language'[2].

[1] Linguistic *relativity* needs to be distinguished from linguistic *determinism*. Linguistic relativity refers to the possibility that the language a speaker uses can *influence* how they perceive reality. Linguistic determinism, on the other hand, implies that language not only influences, but also *determines* how a speaker perceives the world. Linguistic determinism has been criticised as unsound and is no longer considered a serious theory in linguistics. Studies in cognitive linguistics, however, have shown support for linguistic *relativity* (see p.59 and Boroditsky *et al*. 2003; Sera *et al*. 2002).

[2] The word sketch function in Sketch Engine does not work with the wild card (*). These results therefore only refer to the precise term *language*.



language *(noun)*
English articles - separate freq = 377 (4,030.40 per million)

modifiers of "language"		46.15
sexist	36	12.11
sexist language		
english	23	11.64
the English language		
racist	8	10.48
gendered	6	10.02
gender-neutral	7	9.99
sexist	5	9.80
other	6	9.59
literature	3	9.12
foreign	3	9.09
french	3	8.54
gender-neutral	2	8.54
issue	2	8.54
course	2	8.53
swedish	2	8.52
so-called	2	8.52
gender-inclusive	2	8.52
non-sexist	2	8.52
german	2	8.52
inclusive	2	8.50
much	2	8.49
way	2	8.46
correct	2	8.43
neutral	2	8.32
such	2	8.31
word	2	8.13

nouns and verbs modified by "language"		7.43
police	3	11.26
rule	3	11.00
work	2	10.91
change	3	10.62
byline	2	9.49

verbs with "language" as object		19.36
use	20	11.38
take	6	10.45
spot	3	10.30
learn	3	10.24
mind	2	9.73
report	2	9.69
speak	2	9.58
follow	2	9.46
make	2	8.73
have	3	8.61

verbs with "language" as subject		26.79
be	56	10.50
language is		
do	7	10.13
have	9	9.49
shape	2	9.31
reflect	2	9.31
matter	2	9.30
determine	2	9.28
define	2	9.24

"language" and/or ...		11.67
linguistics	6	11.86
psychology	3	10.97
literature	3	10.94
language	4	10.54
issue	2	10.41
word	3	10.37
gender	2	10.14

prepositional phrases		
... of "language"	64	16.98
... in "language"	21	5.57
... on "language"	9	2.39
"language" of ...	7	1.86
"language" in ...	6	1.59
... to "language"	6	1.59
... for "language"	5	1.33
... as "language"	4	1.06
... about "language"	4	1.06
... from "language"	3	0.80
"language" on ...	2	0.53
... because "language"	2	0.53
... within "language"	2	0.53

adjective predicates of "language"		6.37
acceptable	4	12.14
spontaneous	2	11.30
important	2	11.24
such	2	9.10

"language" is a ...		4.51
tool	3	12.26

Word sketch 7.1: 'language' as a noun in the English corpus

The verbs *shape, reflect, matter, determine*, and *define*[1] seemed to suggest a discourse related to linguistic relativity. Indeed, in the reference corpus LANGUAGE *evolves, peppers, fascinates, divides, betrays, reflects*, and *is*. The only verbs with LANGUAGE as subject that my English corpus and the reference corpus have in common is *reflect* and *be*. In the reference corpus language does not *matter*, *shape, determine* or *define* (at least often enough to be a keyword). This suggests that my corpus focuses on the effect (or not) that language has on society. The concordance lines of the following lemmas offer support for this hypothesis:

AFFECT, COGNITION, CONSTRAIN, CONTRIBUTE, DESCRIBE, DETERMINE, EFFECT, INFLUENCE, MENTAL, MIRROR, MODEL, MODIFY, REALITY, REFLECT, RELATIVITY, REPRODUCE, SHAPE, SAPIR-WHORF, STRUCTURE, SYSTEM, and TOOL (see Table 8 on p.252 for full search details).

'MIRROR / TOOL'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
60 RF (47 occ) 22% (26/116)	116 RF (6 occ) 40% (2/5)	47 RF (15 occ) 21% (9/42)	88 RF (22 occ) 26% (11/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 15% (4/26)	0

[1] The word sketch gives two occurrences each for *shape, reflect, matter, determine*, and *define*. However, a search for these lemmas brings up more occurrences, which do not necessarily have language as their subject, but which do relate to language.

Explicit references to the nature of language as a tool or mirror are present in at least 22% (26/116) of articles in my English corpus. The CQ press has the highest distribution. However, as there are so few articles in the CQ, it is difficult to make reliable conclusions from this information. The same problem presents itself for the CQ's high relative frequency (RF). Compared to the LWQ and RWT, the RWQ has a higher relative frequency and a wider distribution. The statistics for the RWQ are due to the fact that *The Times* has a language columnist, Oliver Kamm, who regularly writes about language issues. In fact, 64% of the articles (7/11) in the RWQ, and 86% of *The Times* articles (6/7) in this concordance table are written by Oliver Kamm (the article in lines 34 and 37, 'Checking that we are heading in the right direction', is the only *Times* article written by someone else). *The Times* is therefore unlike the other newspapers in my corpus as it focuses much more on the nature and rules of language.

1			**CQ**	
2		in society. The words we use can	**influence**	incite us to fight wars, hurt, undermine,
3	se and demean. Subconsciously, they can also		**influence**	our mood or our politics. A Google
4		say and do. If language is a	**mirror**	then the reflection we see says: "Women,
5		it chooses its terms of address- can	**reflect**	deeply ingrained attitudes. "[Language] it is a
6		to the way women are treated, and	**reflected**	in society. So let's forget about the
7		If language is a mirror, then the	**reflection**	we see says: "Women, we can't see
8			**LWQ**	
9		that you're lacking, doesn't it have an	**effect**	? FULL TEXT There are many offensive words
10		to be like a girl, then it does have an	**effect**	. Beaumont needs to listen to more Iggy
11		term mademoiselle could change the daily	**reality**	of French sexism So French feminists want
12		when people are either men or women. The	**reality**	is different. There are people who self-define
13		use in the paper should not only	**reflect**	contemporary usage but give it a nudge
14		to choose from Mrs or Miss, which	**reflect**	marital status, and Ms, which can feel
15		sense. But the English language fails to	**reflect**	it. A universal gender--neutral pronoun- somethi
16		agree- it's exciting how our language can	**reflect**	social progressiveness (such as the adoption of
17		entry citing 'rabid feminist' doesn't just	**reflect**	prejudice, it reinforces it| Emer O'Toole One
18	ereotype of “a nagging wife” doesn’t merely		**reflect**	use, it actively reproduces sexism. @OxfordWords
19		cabin crew. In all these cases, language	**reflects**	the fact that jobs once largely the
20		sentence for 'rabid' to ensure that it	**reflects**	current usage". That can only be a
21		sentence for ‘rabid’ to ensure that it	**reflects**	current usage.”
22		doesn't merely reflect use, it actively	**reproduces**	sexism. @OxfordWords 4:30 PM - 23 Jan 2016
23		important data gathering? Or to maintain	**structures**	of normality? If we want to use data to
24			**RWQ**	
25		Sexist stereotypes even influence how we	**describe**	homosexuals. When asked to list the personal
26	ant invention of Newspeak, language doesn't		**determine**	our view of the social world. On
27	a serious misunderstanding. Language doesn't		**determine**	how we see the external world (including
28		On the contrary, things that we observe	**determine**	our understanding of language. The honorific
29	the contrary, our understanding of words is		**determined**	by how we perceive the world. The
30		that it should. The premise that language	**determines**	the way we see the world (including
31		assumes that the way we use language	**determines**	or at least shapes, the way we
32		whether language is an important factor in	**determining**	its users' conception of the world (this
33	ict, Steven Pinker describes such linguistic		**determinism**	as "wrong, all wrong".) Changes in the
34	ortance of language that reflects new social		**realities**	. No longer will "every man praise God"
35	women so that everyone's language use would		**reflect**	a patriarchal order which was said to
36		Kayan woman in the Thai jungle. Language	**reflects**	unconscious conventions about sex and power. It
37		women and the importance of language that	**reflects**	new social realities. No longer will "every
38	elations. Scholars know this argument as the		**Sapir-Whorf**	hypothesis. It's highly implausible. (In his sup
39		such as the advancement of sexual equality,	**shape**	our understanding of language, not the other
40		Day School Trust Language has power. It	**shapes**	how we view the world and how
41		convinced that the way we use language	**shapes**	society and hence that sexist language reinforce
42	gular pronoun tend to maintain that language		**shapes**	our perceptions of the world, and using
43		we use language determines, or at least	**shapes**	the way we see the external world,
44	one's friend. Children and young people need		**structures**	and they need to know where they stand.
45	so unacceptable. Language is a very powerful		**tool**	You have to be so conscious of
46		the world (this is known as the	**Whorf**	hypothesis). So "sexist" language can reinforce
47			**RWT**	
48		referring to humanity as "man" is a	**reflection**	of a patriarchal, male- dominated culture, and
49		language". She added: "Our language is a	**reflection**	of our society and people will always
50	so unacceptable. Language is a very powerful		**tool**	You have to be so conscious of
51	unacceptable. 'Language is a very powerful		**tool**	You have to be so conscious of

Concordance table 7.1: All 47 occ of lemmas contributing to a 'mirror / tool' discourse in the English corpus

The concordance table reveals that there is general agreement in my corpus that language reflects society. Nonetheless, differences emerge as to *how* language should reflect society, as well as to whether language can *shape* society or not.

7.1.1 'Language as a mirror and a tool'

I have grouped the CQ and the LWQ press together here, as the same discourse is found in both groups. Language is seen as a reflection of society. Sometimes it is a positive reflection (lines 16 and 20), sometimes a negative one (lines 4 and 5). Where it is negative, or does not *accurately* reflect society (lines 13 and 15), it should be given a 'nudge in the right direction' (line 13). This may seem like a slightly paradoxical discourse: that language should accurately reflect the society

that we live in (line 15), but at the same time, that it should reflect the society *that we want to live in*, but which is not necessarily the current reality (all of the CQ and LWQ articles here). This apparent paradox can be explained by a view of language as not only *reflecting* society, but also being able to *shape* it (line 4, 17 and 18). If language is a tool, then it should be used to modify society so that the reflection in the mirror is more palatable. Language is a mirror *as well as* a tool in the CQ and LWQ articles in my corpus.

Like the LWQ and CQ, and unlike the other RW articles (see below), *The Telegraph* (line 40) describes language as being able to shape society:

> Language has power. It **shapes** how we view the world and how we define it.
> 2014-05-14 '"Miss"' might be insulting, but calling teachers by their first names should never be allowed. End of', *The Telegraph*

This article clearly expresses a discourse of language as a tool, able to shape reality. On the other hand, although line 45 describes 'language as a very powerful tool', it is a quote – the same as in lines 50 and 51. The 'language as tool' discourse is present in this article but seems to be neither supported nor discredited. If language is seen as a tool in this article, I believe it is seen as a tool that is being misused. The article uses a 'language police' discourse when referring to the proposed government initiative to monitor and reduce bullying in schools by keeping records of sexist insults, or as the journalist puts it, 'creating volunteer squads of girls to police sexist attitudes and report back to teachers' (see part 8.2 for a 'language police' discourse). In addition, the use of scare quotes in the title ('The 'sexist' words your children are no longer allowed to use at school') implies that the terms under discussion are not seen as sexist. Finally, the quote referring to language being 'a very powerful tool' comes at the very end of the article, which implies its relative unimportance compared to the beginning of the article[1].

7.1.2 'Language as a mirror only'

The RW press (apart from the two *Telegraph* articles in line 40 and 45) describe gender-fair language as *resulting from* changes in society, but do not address the

[1] The construction of newspaper articles often follows the form of an inverted pyramid with the most important information at the beginning. The information at the end of the article is often the least important, and often goes unread.

possibility that language can help bring about social changes (lines 35-37 and 48-49). As mentioned earlier, all of *The Times* articles (except line 37) in this concordance table are written by Oliver Kamm, who claims that language cannot shape or determine reality (lines 26-33, 39 and 41-43). Kamm's position is that if we want to eliminate sexist language, it is society that needs to change first. Language will then naturally reflect a less sexist society. Reforming sexist language is simply a waste of time if society remains sexist (see part 8.5 for a 'ridiculous' discourse):

> The case for 'non-sexist language' assumes that the way we use language **determines**, or at least **shapes**, the way we see the external world, including social relations. Scholars know this argument as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It's highly implausible. [...] Changes in the social world, such as the advancement of sexual equality, **shape** our understanding of language, not the other way round.
> 2012-11-17 'Lord Patten of Barnes, Chairman [...]', *The Times* (by Oliver Kamm)

Although the two occurrences from the RWT in lines 50 and 51 seem to support the 'language as tool' discourse, they are in fact quotes (the same quote used by *The Telegraph* in line 45). When the concordance lines are read in the context of the articles, which tend to ridicule gender-fair language initiatives, it is not certain that the journalists see language as a tool. As with *The Telegraph* article in line 45, the quote comes at the very end of the articles, which suggest the relative unimportance of this idea. Although the 'language as a tool' discourse is present, it is neither confirmed nor refuted in the RWT.

The idea of language as a simple mirror of reality is linked to a conception of language as a non-ideological, naturally evolving organism (see part 7.2), i.e., the idea that language evolves to fit its environment, but that it cannot influence its environment. Those who maintain that changes in language simply *reflect* changes in society draw on this language ideology. As previously mentioned, Cameron has criticised this view as being 'overtly ideological', and obscuring the deliberate agency in successful language change (Cameron 1995, p.21).

In sum, all the groups of newspapers agree that language reflects reality. However, the CQ and LWQ press draw upon discourses of language as a tool that should be used to reflect *only the positive elements* of reality. Where necessary, language should be given a 'nudge in the right direction' (line 13). The CQ and LWQ describe

language as a tool, whereas all *The Times* and RWT articles describe language as a simple mirror of society. *The Telegraph* has a more ambivalent attitude towards the discourse of 'language as a tool', with one article clearly articulating this idea (line 40), and another one that does not seem to have a clear position on the question (line 45). The idea that language is either a tool or a mirror is based on the language ideology of linguistic relativity.

7.2 'LANGUAGE AS NATURAL EVOLUTION' discourse

As mentioned above, the idea of language as a simple mirror of reality is based on a language ideology as a naturally evolving organism. Although there was no indication of this discourse in the top 100 keywords, the idea of language evolving like a natural organism has been attested by previous research (Klinkenberg *et al*. 2006, p.27ff; Curzan 2003, p.184; Dawes 2003, p.204; Irvine *et al*. 2000, p.73; Cameron 1995, p.22; Silverstein *et al*. 1979, p.194), and a preliminary manual analysis of the corpus suggested that it was an important idea.

A search for the following lemmas[1] was carried out: ADAPT, BIOLOGY, CHANGE, DARWIN, DIE, DYNAMIC, ENVIRONMENT, EVOLUTION, LANGUAGE WORK, LIVING, ORGANISM, NATURAL, and SPONTANEOUS. This search resulted in only ten occurrences that refer to language evolving in a 'natural' way (see Table 9 on p.253 for full search details).

'EVOLUTION'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
13 RF (10 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	28 RF (7 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0

Although this discourse is marginal, with a relative frequency of only 13 per 100,000 words, and a distribution of only 3%, I believe that it is an extremely important one, as it underpins the 'language as mirror' discourse, i.e., the idea that language should be *an accurate* reflection of society. In fact, the idea that language should be left alone to evolve 'naturally' is precisely so that it can fulfil its function of accurately reflecting reality. This can only be achieved if we stop 'meddling' with it.

[1] Grey lemmas are present in my corpus, but are not used as part of this particular discourse.

	LWQ		
2	ard but I feel like the only way that's going to	change	is if people actually make an effort to make the
3	new forms into a language, unless they spring up	naturally	and, as it were, spontaneously." Grammar pedantry
4	spring up naturally and, as it were,	spontaneously	Grammar pedantry aside, what would be the
5		RWQ	
6	languages, like organisms, are a product of	evolution	. They weren't created simultaneously by God as
7	. Languages, like organisms, are a product of	evolution	LOAD-DATE: November 17, 2012 LANGUAGE:
8	omplished journalists have all misunderstood the	nature	of language, but I believe it to be true. Patten
9	principle of sexual equality is invoked against	natural	linguistic constructions: it's a mistake. Adoptin
10	peculiarities arise because languages, like	organisms	, are a product of evolution. They weren't
11	have understood him that way. Languages, like	organisms	, are a product of evolution LOAD-DATE:
12	I've criticised is a misunderstanding of how	language works	Notwithstanding George Orwell's brilliant inventi

Concordance table 7.2: All 10 occ of 'language as evolving naturally' lemmas in the English corpus

All ten occurrences support a 'language as evolving naturally' discourse. The following quote (lines 6-11) illustrates the extent to which discourses of language evolving naturally, and the previous discourse of language as a mirror, are intertwined:

> It's a large claim that these experienced and accomplished journalists have all misunderstood the **nature** of language, but I believe it to be true. Patten was not indicating, by his use of the object case of the pronoun "he", an unconscious assumption that Entwistle's successor would necessarily be a man. He was speaking idiomatic English, in which the generic singular pronoun is the same word as the masculine singular personal pronoun. That's not sexism: it's just a linguistic quirk. If I enter a restaurant in France on my own and ask for a table "pour une personne", I'm using the correct generic term. My sex has nothing to do with the gender of the noun, which is feminine. It's just a linguistic quirk. The word for a girl in German is neuter: her sex has nothing to do with the gender of the noun. It's just a linguistic quirk. Such apparent peculiarities arise because languages, like **organisms**, are a product of **evolution**. They weren't created simultaneously by God as punishment for building the Tower of Babel, or by anyone else. That's just the way language is. [...] It's worse than a shame that the vital principle of sexual equality is invoked against **natural** linguistic constructions: it's a mistake. Adopting purportedly "inclusive" forms of language does nothing to change sexist attitudes. [...] Changes in the social world, such as the advancement of sexual equality, shape our understanding of language, not the other way round. [...] Languages, like **organisms**, are a product of **evolution**.
> 2012-11-17 'Lord Patten of Barnes, Chairman [...]', *The Times*

The discourses drawn upon in this extract closely echo Silverstein's (1985, p.254) criticism of feminists 'misanalysis' of generic *he* (see part 3.2). In this extract the journalist (Oliver Kamm) claims that generic *he* is the result of the natural evolution of the language. Language is compared to a biological organism. However, whereas actual biological organisms evolve in order to adapt to their environment, Kamm describes language as evolving in a protective bubble, untouched by society, a position that Cameron has criticised as being 'covertly ideological':

> [w]hile the role of deliberate agency in language change should not be overstated [...] regard[ing] 'spontaneous change from below or within' as the norm, and deliberate intervention in language as a special case, [for example] in the case of non-sexist language, [can lead to] a certain rewriting of linguistic history: "successful" changes are assimilated

> retrospectively to the "natural selection" model, and the conflicts that surrounded certain changes are not fully acknowledged. (Cameron, 1995 p. 21)

This idea of 'a certain rewriting of linguistic history' is dealt with in part 3.5 on erasure.

7.3 'SENSITIVITY AND OFFENCE' discourse

The top 100 keywords included several terms that suggested a discourse of language as being potentially able to cause harm: *acceptable, annoy*, *demean, derogatory, insult, offend, offensive,* and *unacceptable.* This discourse is based on a language ideology of language as a potential weapon (Butler 1997, p.27).

In order to verify this hypothesis a search for the following terms was carried out: ACCEPT, ANNOY, APPROPRIATE, DEMEAN, DEROGATORY, FUSS, GET A GRIP, GET A LIFE, INSULT, OFFEND, SENSITIVE, and UPSET (see Table 10 on p.253 for full search details).

'SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
259 RF (198 occs) 62% (72/116)	194 RF (10 occ) 80% (4/5)	219 RF (70 occ) 55% (23/42)	292 RF (73 occ) 71% (30/42)	319 RF (45 occ) 58% (15/26)	0

As the table above shows, these lemmas have a relatively high RF of 259, and are widespread in my corpus, being present in 62% of articles (72/116). This 'sensitivity' discourse can be divided into two sub-discourses: an 'avoiding offence' discourse, mostly found in the CQ and LWQ, and an 'oversensitive' discourse, mostly found in the RW.

7.3.1 'Avoiding offence' discourse

The CQ and the LWQ (except *The Independent,* which is analysed below) focus on avoiding offence. They are therefore grouped together. The CQ and LWQ highlight the importance of context when deciding if a particular term is sexist (lines 8, 14, 15 and 23), as well as the fact that the same word can be interpreted in different ways by different people (lines 10 and 19).

1		**CQ**	
2	is those words and expressions, which we	**accept**	as normal, that are the concern. Powerful
3	professors at first argued "ze" would be	**acceptable**	but "they" would not. "They" was only
4	"thou" and "thee". Later "you" became perfectly	**acceptable**	in both plural and singular. Neither McConnell-Ginet
5	chance of success. This use of "they"	**annoys**	some grammarians. While it does feel natural
6	outspoken women of status are designed to	**demean**	we "yelp", "screech", "bleat", "bitch" and "nag",
7	to fight wars, hurt, undermine, demonise and	**demean**	Subconsciously, they can also influence our mood
8	, you're doing your best to give little	**offence**	. Context is king.
9	showed that defining people by gender is as	**offensive**	and outdated as defining people by race.
10	to "non-binary" - some people regard "queer" as	**offensive**	, others embrace it Genderfluid: Applies
11	t deeply ingrained attitudes. "[Language] it is a	**sensitive**	indicator of the distinctions that a soc
12		**LWQ**	
13	as 'girls'- but is the term an	**acceptable**	way to address adult women? The BBC
14	usage of the word, as it is	**appropriate**	for some people in some situations. But
15	in light-hearted conversation. But 'girl' becomes a	**derogatory**	term when it is used to insult,
16	ime of Caitlyn Jenner and genderless bathrooms, a	**fuss**	driven by those who compulsively find offence
17	continue. Personally, I think we should make a	**fuss**	over any use of language that excludes us
18	, a fuss driven by those who compulsively find	**offence**	in everything they can?
19	The Mail on Sunday that she "wasn't	**offended**	" by the exchange, but it seems a lot
20	either. "Career girls" is outdated, as well as	**offensive**	, when career women outnumber career men.
21	term "sex change" utterly nonsensical. It is also	**offensive**	and generally used purely to sensational
22	n.com. May 27, 2014 Tuesday Is the world 'girl'	**offensive**	? BYLINE: Naomi McAuliffetheguardian.com
23	been removed. Whether you find the word "girl"	**offensive**	or not depends, as ever, on context. Is
24	call them on it. You're being too	**sensitive**	, they say, or it's too soon. Families,

Concordance table 7.3: All 10 occurrences of 'sensitivity' lemmas in the CQ and 12/54 in the LWQ

Most occurrences 47% (30/64) in the CQ and LWQ sub group maintain that being offended at the use of certain terms is perfectly legitimate, or give advice on how to avoid offending people. This can be seen in some of the pedagogically-oriented titles of the articles, such as 'Understanding gender diversity – sex and gender are not the same thing' and 'Why trans is in but tranny is out' from *The Guardian*, and 'Gay vs. Queer – Labels and Limitations' from *The Huffington Post*.

27% (17/64) highlight the importance of context, e.g., when deciding whether the term *girl* used to talk about adult women is sexist or not (e.g., lines 13-15 and 23), or difference of interpretation (e.g., lines 10 and 19). The poststructuralist discourse of language as dependent on context and individual people is evident in the CQ and LWQ articles, and is used to highlight the importance of being sensitive to context and individuals in order to avoid offence.

Cameron has argued that the 'sensitivity' argument is only persuasive because of 'its lack of radical implications' (Cameron 1995, p.134), and that '[t]his makes sexism a matter of individual men giving offence to individual women, rather than a systematic social process' (Cameron 1995, p.134). She warns that civility can be made out to be over-sensitivity or even paranoia (Cameron 1995, p.137), which is exactly how many of the RW articles portray it.

Criticisms of oversensitivity are counterattacked in 5% (3/64) of concordance lines (lines 16, 18 and 24). The three occurrences here refer to existing discourses outside of these particular articles, and are an example of intertextuality. They demonstrate an awareness of an 'oversensitive' discourse that exists outside of these articles, and that is used to counter gender-fair language reforms.

No occurrences were found in the CQ, *The Guardian* or *The Huffington Post* claiming that people are being oversensitive.

7.3.2 'Oversensitive' discourse

The Independent, the RWQ and the RWT tend to share a discourse that suggests that people who are offended by 'sexist' language are simply oversensitive.

1		**LWQ**	
2	" to refer to women, in case they cause	**offence**	. Bosses at Newcastle City Council have tol
3	words as to whether they are likely to	**offend**	the person they are directed to. "In the
4	the vast majority of cases these would not	**offend**	but we want our staff, as part of
5	attending were told of the need to be	**sensitive**	to others. A council spokesman said the
6	of the equality and diversity training, to be	**sensitive**	to the needs of those in all of
7		**RWQ**	
8	he socialist Spanish government has found time to	**fuss**	about the surnames of its citizens. Mother's
9	the emails to a newspaper. The most monumental	**fuss**	ensued, with David Cameron absurdly declaring
10	wrong with calling a woman 'love'? Is it	**offensive**	to call a woman 'love', 'darling' or 'pe
11	for years now that the word madam is	**offensive**	? Surely “a proper little madam” is insul
12	if uttered outside “the North”, the word becomes	**offensive**	, but where does the North start? And wha
13	reduced to people unduly worrying about possibly	**offending**	somebody, we are left with the clipped a
14	things you hadn't realised other people find	**offensive**	and upsetting; From clapping in public
15	public to smiling at women, it seems everything	**offends**	somebody these days, finds Martin Daubney
16	ictoria's Secret to sausages, it seems everything	**offends**	somebody these days. These easily-upset li
17	easily-upset liberals now even have a name:	**offendotrons**	. You can bet that, right now, on a
18	nything you can think of. Football pundit causes	**"offence"**	+ apologizes after saying he'd "do" a pla
19	ut the Commonwealth Games, fearing it might cause	**offence**	. Broadcaster Mark Beaumont, 31, quipped af
20	even though Ms Rahming said: "I wasn't	**offended**	- I didn't find it sexist". LOAD-DATE:
21	herself was not, as far as we know,	**offended**	, but plenty of other women took offence o
22	know, offended, but plenty of other women took	**offence**	on her behalf. Respected feminist commenta
23	poll didn't feel that ‘the missus’ was	**offensive**	. Some 30 per cent said it was "fantastic
24	women (and men) that practically no locals find	**offensive**	. Thus we have "lassie" in Scotland (defi
25	I think a lot of women are very	**offended**	and sensible men are offended by it." Sh
26	women are very offended and sensible men are	**offended**	by it." She welcomes the new Reform Jewi
27		**RWT**	
28	sandals and their flowery dresses they need to	**get a life**	and stop wasting people's time.'
29	and ‘fish stranglers'. Others told her to	**get a grip'**	and focus on 'bigger issues of
30	fun and banter. "These people should go and	**get a life**	, rather than try to make our
31	herself Cynthia Rahming left bemused: 'I wasn't	**offended**	- I didn't find it sexist'
32	t the Commonwealth Games, fearing it might cause	**'offence'**	. Broadcaster Mark Beaumont, 31, joked after
33	embly president Sandrine Mazetier was nonetheless	**offended**	
34	problem now is that people have become over-	**sensitive**	- and the BBC has become too over-cautious
35	hell was going on? I know I've	**upset**	a few people over the years, but no

Concordance table 7.4: Some examples of ‘oversensitive’ lemmas in the English corpus

63% (30/48) of RWT occurrences imply that people are being oversensitive. 53% (40/76) of RWQ occurrences, and 14% (10/70) of LWQ occurrences have the same discourse. All 10 LWQ occurrences come from *The Independent*[1] (lines 2-6 for five of the 10 occurrences). This discourse tends to ridicule those who find offence. The

[1] Although *The Independent* is a left wing newspaper, as far as feminist linguistic reforms are concerned, its discourses are closer to those of the RW than the other LW and CQ papers in my corpus.

following extract from *The Telegraph* (lines 14-20) is from an article that lists eight things which people find offensive. Using the word *girl* is number 7. Also on the list are clapping hands, the Athena tennis girl poster, Minecraft, using the word *old*, Dippy the Dinosaur, smiling at women, and breakfast cereals. Putting the use of *girl* in such a list ridicules it simply by association.

> From clapping in public to smiling at women, it seems everything **offends** somebody these days, finds Martin Daubney
> From Page 3 to Jeremy Clarkson, Victoria's Secret to sausages, it seems everything **offends** somebody these days.
> These easily-**upset** liberals now even have a name: **offendotrons**. You can bet that, right now, on a university campus somewhere, there's a change.org petition being hatched about practically anything you can think of.
> Here are eight of the most ludicrous yet trivial things that people have been getting **upset** about recently. [...]
> 7. Using the word 'girl'. From 'coloured' to 'terrorist', the spoken word is a minefield these days. But the BBC surpassed itself in May last year after cutting the word 'girl' from a documentary about the Commonwealth Games, fearing it might cause **offence**. Broadcaster Mark Beaumont, 31, quipped after being thrown by female judo champion Cynthia Rahming: "I am not sure I can live that down - being beaten by a 19-year-old girl." The "sexist" word was pulled even though Ms Rahming said: "I wasn't **offended** - I didn't find it sexist".
> 2015-03-25 'Eight things you hadn't realised other people find **offensive** and **upsetting**', *The Telegraph*

Liberals (left wing people), academics and students are targeted in this extract as oversensitive 'offendotrons', spending time 'hatching' petitions about 'trivial' things that upset them, and which annoy right wing *Telegraph* readers. The journalist describes language as a 'minefield' these days, implying that 'these easily-upset liberals' are making life more difficult, and possibly more dangerous, for ordinary unsuspecting speakers. Perhaps underpinning this 'offence / sensitivity' discourse is a fear that our freedom of speech is under attack from the aforementioned 'offendotrons'.

7.4 'FREEDOM / CHOICE' discourse

Although the top 100 keywords did not indicate a discourse on freedom, a closer reading of the articles suggested that this idea could be important. In addition, other scholars have already noted the idea of freedom of speech in relation to gender-fair language reforms:

> Public responses to feminist language politics have frequently revealed openly hostile reactions, maintaining that reformed usage violates grammar, is cumbersome and unaesthetic and interferes with freedom of speech. (Hellinger *et al.* 2011, p.575)

A search was therefore carried out for the following lemmas: CHOICE, FREEDOM, LIBERTY, and OPTION. This resulted in 106 hits related to language and/or gender choices (see Table 11 on p.254 for full search details).

FREEDOM / CHOICE	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
139 RF (106 occ) 37% (43/116)	290 RF (15 occ) 100% (5/5)	219 RF (70 occ) 50% (21/42)	60 RF (15 occ) 29% (12/42)	43 RF (6 occ) 19% (5/26)	0

These four lemmas are more frequent and widespread in the CQ and LWQ press compared to the RW press. This suggests that the CQ and LWQ are more concerned about freedom and choice than the RW. However, after having examined the concordance lines and the articles, I believe that both the right and the left wing are concerned with freedom, but that they do not define it in the same way in my corpus. Freedom for the LWQ press focuses on freedom *from oppression for minorities*, whereas in the RW freedom is about freedom *of speech for individuals*. In both cases, this discourse is based on the language ideology that language *is* freedom. For some, without free speech, we are not free. For others, without the freedom to choose how we define ourselves, we are not free.

1		**CQ**	
2	of Miss and Mrs. "You can't impose	**liberation**	on people; it has to come from
3	that a society's language- and how it	**chooses**	its terms of address- can reflect deeply
4	Women can buy badges with the "mademoiselle"	**option**	crossed out and are encouraged to download
5	time on gendered language. If we all	**chose**	our words more carefully, we could make
6	are making it easier for people to	**choose**	to be referred to by other pronouns.
7	which has led this movement, students can	**choose**	from "he," "she," "they," and "ze," as
8	of those- about 50 out of 5,000-	**chose**	pronouns other than "she" or "he", according
9	resource centre didn't want to "limit folks'	**choices**	The alternatives to "he" and "she" are
10	2009. Most people stick to the default	**option**	"none", which means they are not registering
11	non-binary community, however, offer hundreds of	**options**	Some terms come from foreign languages- such
12	not. "They" was only added as an	**option**	in 2014. But English has a precedent
13	Like Harvard, Ohio University gave students the	**option**	to register their preferred name and pronoun
14	advancing. Last year, Facebook gave users the	**option**	to customise gender beyond male and female,
15	all, try to show that whatever you	**choose**	you're doing your best to give little offence
16	avoid annoying people along these lines cautiously	**opt**	for "people" or "humankind" in place of
17		**LWQ**	
18	definitions. This struggle is about our	**freedom**	In France men are addressed as Monsieur
19	blunder, is a classic chat-up line. The	**freedom**	of women in France is very much a matter
20	it to ourselves to fight for the	**freedom**	of the internet, and to keep it
21	clear that a person is entirely at	**liberty**	to choose the name by which they
22	choose and they told us we were	**free**	to include this gender neutral option if
23	The petition says: "The madame/mademoiselle	**option**	means that a woman has to give
24	take Master seriously). And, as for the	**choice**	of Mrs- I am not someone who
25	to define us by our marital status.	**Choose**	Miss and you are condemned to childish
26	you are condemned to childish immaturity.	**Choose**	Mrs and be condemned as some guy's
27	and be condemned as some guy's chattel.	**Choose**	Ms and you become an adult woman
28	so young! Surely mademoiselle was a better	**choice**	when madame was usually reserved for women
29	might be easy for you, with your	**choice**	of Miss, Mrs and Ms over the
30	a stranger. I suspect the lack of	**choice**	in the matter comes down to a
31	will ever be given the opportunity to	**choose**	of a neutral third term such as
32	has issued a circular saying the Mademoiselle	**option**	should be removed from all administrative
33	and voting cards. There was no neutral	**option**	like the English Ms. Men only had
34	from. Many (cis) women resent having to	**choose**	from Mrs or Miss, which reflect marital
35	prefer Mx (pronounced "Mix") as title of	**choice**	and feel positively excluded by forms that
36	recognition of their acquired gender. There's no	**option**	for neutral or non--heteronormative gender."

Concordance table 7.5: All 15 CQ hits and 19/65 from the LWQ for a 'freedom / choice' discourse in the English corpus

The lemmas in the CQ and LWQ are part of a discourse that revolves around the oppression of minorities, either because of a lack of choice in how to identify themselves, or because certain terms carry problematic connotations, and so should be avoided. According to this discourse, creating choice, and making certain terms socially unacceptable will highlight the oppression faced by minorities, and help free them from it. These articles portray choice as a means to avoid sexism or gender binarism. Choice itself is neither good nor bad. What is important in the CQ and LWQ corpus is the *result* of choices, i.e., whether choice, or lack of choice, results in discrimination. Sometimes eliminating choices is recommended (*mademoiselle*), sometimes it involves creating more choice (e.g., *Mx* or new pronouns). Where a lack of choice exists (e.g., line 30 and 36), we should change language to add suitable ones. Choices are important because they define us (e.g., lines 25, 26 and 27). They also affect people (e.g., lines 15, 16 and 35), and thus influence reality. All these choices may make it difficult to know how to address people (e.g., line 11), but this sacrifice is worth making to avoid offence (e.g., lines 5 and 15).

Freedom in the CQ and LWQ is freedom *from discrimination and oppression,* for example lines 18, 19 and 21:

> To French women these titles aren't mere words, but intrusive definitions. This struggle is about our **freedom.** [...] A French law of 1986 makes it clear that a person is entirely at **liberty** to choose the name by which they are known. But a married woman is constantly reduced to her husband's name, and even to her husband's first name. So we read of the death of "Madame Robert Dupont": even in death, the woman has been eliminated entirely. [...] The **freedom** of women in France is very much a matter of words, and I think it is intimately related to language. As with many Latin languages, the masculine form trumps everything when it comes to grammatical agreement of adjectives and so forth. We say *Un Français et trente millions de Françaises sont contents*; those 30 million French women have to be *contents* in the masculine form as dictated by their one male companion, rather than *contentes* as they would be without him. A lot of men tell us that we are fighting the wrong battle, that we should fight first for wage equality, or against the glass ceiling. But words matter.
> 2012-02-24 '"Madame, Mademoiselle" - in France these are about sex, not respect', *The Guardian*

This article is a call to arms for women to break free from the oppression of being invisible, e.g., becoming *Madame Robert Dupont*, or being grammatically absorbed by the masculine. The frequent use of terms associated with war (struggle, fighting, battle) and freedom / liberty draw upon popular images of France as being a nation which has historically struggled against, yet defeated oppression (the

French Revolution, the Second World War). The fact that this article has three out of the eight instances of FREEDOM and LIBERTY, and mobilises such a discourse is perhaps due to the nationality of the journalist. In fact, this article was written by a Frenchwoman, whose country was founded on the three pillars of *Liberté, Égalité* and *Fraternité*, and whose national anthem is a call to arms to fight tyranny. She would thus be well acquainted with such discourses.

1		**RWQ**	
2	to be avoided. I'm not talking about	**freedom**	of speech (which as a political commentator
3	Osez le feminisme. "Men don't have to	**choose**	between Monsieur, Damoiseau or Young Virgin,"
4	with underage women. Yet the approved	**choice**	– "my partner" – can feel toe-curlingly
5	a known person, often as a conscious	**choice**	by a person rejecting the traditional gender
6	December, the American Dialect Society (ADS)	**opted**	for 'singular they' as their Word of
7	that political statement implicitly with my	**choice**	of language. The phrase "his or her"
8	the 1960s. I don't wish, by my	**choice**	of language, to be interpreted as making
9	to make any political statement with my	**choice**	of vocabulary, and I particularly don't wish
10	to make any political statement with my	**choice**	of vocabulary.
11	is often no way of escaping the	**choice**	between madame and mademoiselle. The question
12	to make any political statement with my	**choice**	of language. The cause of sexual equality
13	experienced form-filler can write what she	**chooses**	on bureaucratic bumf, and in any case
14	masses of very married women have positively	**chosen**	to be called Miss for generations, such
15	new inclusive versions of the Amidah as	**options**	whereas only the latter appears in the
16	at US universities. In addition to "ze",	**options**	include "sie", "e", "ou", "ve", and also
17		**RWT**	
18	debate about this. Universities depend on	**free**	and open intellectual debate,' Mr Lesh told
19	The guide also argues that the only	**options**	in council forms for a person's title
20	after complaints that they forced people to	**choose**	between genders'. The proposal is backed
21	called Mr or Mrs forces me to	**choose**	between genders. 'It's assuming people live in
22	culture shifts to where asking for	**chosen**	names and pronouns is the standard practice,
23	positive note, we're still allowed a wide	**choice**	of names to describe those who've come

Concordance table 7.6: All 15 occurrences of 'choice', 'freedom', 'liberty', and 'option' in the RWQ and all six hits in the RWT in the English corpus

The RW concordance lines focus on the difficulties that choices pose in *addressing* people (line 11), or talking *about* people (line 4). The various choices available are often depicted as problematic for people who identify with the traditional binary gender categories, rather than emancipatory for those who do not. Several concordance lines (lines 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12) complain that speakers are judged on their choice of language, that others are reading political statements into their choices, when there are none. The two occurrences of FREEDOM (lines 2 and 18) illustrate this focus on *individual* freedom of speech (as opposed to freedom for women *as a group* in the CQ and LWQ articles above). Although not particularly frequent terms in my corpus, the argument that 'proponents of change are threatening or coercing others to change their language usage' is one that has already been identified by Blaubergs (1980, pp.139-40), and is one that is present in my corpus.

> I'm not talking about **freedom** of speech (which as a political commentator I'm much concerned with) so much as beliefs about language. For another development in the past 30 years is the rise of a view that language is not only capable of causing hurt but that it can itself be a hostile act. [...] You see this premise encapsulated in 'speech codes' and publishers' guidelines that are a feature of US academic life. The approach goes far beyond

> revulsion against obviously insulting terms on grounds of morally irrelevant characteristics such as race and sex. It claims, instead, to detect in common words and phrases implicit messages that cause offence and reinforce oppression. The word 'he', when used as a generic pronoun, is one such term; in much published writing and official documents it has been replaced with 'they', used as a singular generic pronoun. The principle is almost infinitely extendable. One US university press advises its authors that 'language that creates imagery based on gender should be avoided'. And it gives as an example: 'The sea beckoned men to explore her.' This, according to the house style, should be rewritten: 'The sea beckoned, inviting explorers.' [...] Notwithstanding George Orwell's brilliant invention of Newspeak, language doesn't determine our view of the social world. On the contrary, our understanding of words is determined by how we perceive the world. The honorific 'comrade' in the Soviet Union didn't fool anyone into believing that society was equal. [...]
> 2011-12-24 'Language changes, whether we like [...]', *The Times*

The author (Oliver Kamm) claims that he is *not* talking about freedom of speech, when in fact, he clearly is. He complains that people are no longer free to use language as they wish because some people may detect 'implicit messages' in 'common words and phrases'. This suggests that because words and phrases are common, they cannot have implicit messages, and thus cannot be offensive. Only certain groups of people (e.g., US academics, Soviet communists, and Big Brother in Orwell's *1984*) could find offence in everyday words. His reference to George Orwell and the Soviet Union may be intended to strike fear in his readers, implying that British and American society is being taken over by such people. For Kamm replacing *he* with *they* is part of a language policing exercise that reduces speakers' freedom.

The RW do not criticise the idea of having a choice in how to name oneself, but they worry that these choices are being forced upon them, that certain things are now unsayable, and are thus an infringement on an individual's freedom of speech. This concern is not unfounded, although I believe it is often exaggerated (see 'language police' discourse). It should be seen in the context of recent debates around freedom of speech and fear of upsetting people, for example the January 2015 *Charlie Hebdo* massacre and the self-censorship of the press that followed, or campaign to disinvite Germaine Greer to Cardiff University in November 2015 because she said that she did not believe that male-to-female trans people were really women[1]. The question of who was right or wrong is irrelevant here. The

[1] Greer created controversy when she said that a woman is not simply 'a man without a cock'. Her comments resulted in several campaigns to disinvite her from lectures and speeches. She was accused of hate speech and inciting violence. When asked whether she understood that her views

issue is that some people believe that some discourses are being silenced, not necessarily because they are inciting violence or hatred, but because they may offend people. I believe that the RW discourses on freedom and choice need to be seen through this lens. The RW are concerned about maintaining freedom of speech, even if it means offending someone, whereas the LWQ are much more concerned about avoiding offence.

7.5 'NATIONAL IDENTITY' discourse

Although there was no indication of a 'national identity' discourse in the top 100 keywords, language often forms an important part of nationalist discourses (Oakes 2001; Anderson 1991), and has also been employed with respect to gender-fair language (Rajilic 2017). This discourse is founded on the ideology of language as part of our national identity, as the glue that binds people together.

A search for the following lemmas was carried out: BRITISH, CEMENT, COUNTRY, ENGLISH / OUR LANGUAGE, FOUNDATION, GLUE, HEIR, HOLD, IDENTITY, NATION, NATURE, THE PEOPLE, REPRESENT, SOCIAL ORDER, STABILITY, TREASURE and UNIFY (see Table 12 on p.254 for full search details).

NATIONAL IDENTITY	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
8 RF (6 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 8% (2/26)	0

This search resulted in only six hits of two lemmas referring to language symbolising the nation in some way. There were also nine occurrences of COUNTRY and 15 of NATION from one article in *The Guardian*, which although referring to sexist language, did not make any links between a particular country's language and its identity as a nation. These 24 occurrences were therefore not included in the above table, and only six were kept.

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could hurt the feelings of MtF people, she replied, 'People are hurtful to me all the time. Try being an old woman, for goodness sake. I'm not about to walk on eggshells.' (Morris 2015)

1		**RWQ**	
2	words we are entitled to use in	**our own language**	," said Struan Stevenson, a Scottish Conservative
3		**RWT**	
4	did not want "political correctness to rule	**our language**	She added: "Our language is a reflection
5	correctness to rule our language". She added:	**Our language**	is a reflection of our society and
6	politically incorrect. What utter nonsense. The	**English language**	is the proud possession of English speakers.
7	and thousands of players of the traditional	**British**	game have launched a campaign to save
8	a campaign backed by more than 2,500	**British**	bingo fans is under way on the

Concordance table 7.7: All six occurrences of 'language as national identity' lemmas in the English corpus

These six occurrences appear to fit into a discourse in which language is mobilised in a political struggle. Even though this 'language as national identity' discourse is not frequent or widespread in my corpus (it is restricted to three articles written in 2009 in the RW press) it is a very topical one with Brexit, and the rise of nationalist politics in Europe, and therefore deserves some attention.

The occurrences are found in the RW press, and all relate to Britain's relationship with the European Union. All three articles draw upon discourses of British sovereignty regarding EU institutions, and a fear of the EU's encroaching power. The two articles from the RWT discuss the EU's attempt to ban bingo because of certain terms used during the game:

> **The English language** is the proud possession of English speakers. We don't want to communicate in gender-neutral Euro lingo. We pay a good deal to belong to the EU but what for? Haven't MEPs and their well-paid civil servants got anything better to do with their time and our money?
> 2009-12-13 'Crazy### in any language', *The Sunday Express*

> BINGO is under threat from Eurocrats determined to bring an end to cries like 'two fat ladies' because they are not politically correct.
> Politicians and thousands of players of the traditional **British** game have launched a campaign to save it from European bureaucracy.
> [...] The bid to save bingo from the Eurocrats is backed by the Plain English Campaign, whose founder Chrissie Maher OBE said she did not want 'political correctness to rule **our language**'. She added: '**Our language** is a reflection of our society and people will always create slang terms.' Rob Hutchison, who runs OnlineBingoClub.co.uk said he is worried 'EU killjoys are setting their sights on bingo hall banter'.
> He said: 'The number 88 earned its nickname because it looks like two fat women. It's worth sticking up for before we get some diktat from Brussels saying it's derogatory to overweight customers. At the end of the day, fat is fat. What's the alternative? Two generously proportioned people of either gender? It's not very snappy.'
> 2009-12-13 'EU to ban our "sexist" bingo', *The Sunday Express*

The story was, in fact, later revealed to be a hoax (European Commission 2009), but what it interesting here is the nationalist discourses drawn upon by the articles. 'Our' language (as opposed to *foreign* languages) is 'the proud possession of English speakers' and should be protected from outside threats. English is seen

as 'an object one can possess […] characterizing groups of people' (Bloomaert 2006 pp.511-12), or a national treasure, that a foreign enemy is trying to control. It is not only the language that is under attack in these articles, but British sovereignty and British identity[1].

7.6 'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY' discourse

Some evidence of discourses relating to language authority was found in the top 100 keywords: *correct*, *correctness*, *dictionary*, *definition*, *grammar*, *grammatical*, *guideline*, *linguistic*, *linguistics*, *pedant*, and *usage*.

A search for the following lemmas was carried out: ANGLO-SAXON, AUTHORITY, BELONG, CONSTRAIN, CONTROL, CORRECT, DEFINE, DICTIONARY, ETYMOLOGY, GRAMMAR, GUIDE, HEIR, HERITAGE, HISTORY, LATIN, LEGACY, LEGITIMACY, LINGUIST, ORDER, ORIGIN, RULE, SHAKESPEARE(& cº)[2], STRUCTURE, SYSTEM, TEACH, TECHNICAL, and USAGE (see Table 13 on p.255 for full search details).

LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
544 RF (415 occ) 78% (91/116)	232 RF (12 occ) 60% (3/5)	519 RF (166 occ) 81% (34/42)	680 RF (170 occ) 83% (35/42)	476 RF (67 occ) 73% (19/26)	0

No major statistical differences were found between different newspaper groups. As previously mentioned, the CQ subcorpus is so small that it is meaningless to compare statistics. Four main sources of authority were identified:

- language institutions and who has the right to make decisions: DICTIONARY (75 RF / 17%), LINGUIST (34 RF / 16%), and GUIDE (81 RF / 22%);
- the rules of the language: CORRECT (22 RF / 4%), GRAMMAR (96 RF / 28%), LEGITIMATE (5 RF / 3%), RULE (50 RF / 17%), SYSTEM (3 RF / 2%), and TECHNICALLY (4 RF / 2%);
- the history of English: ETYMOLOGY (1 RF / 1%), HISTORY (33 RF / 15%), LEGACY (3 RF / 25), LATIN (8 RF / 4%), ANGLO-SAXON (5 RF / 3%), ORIGIN (20 RF / 9%), and SHAKESPEARE (and other authors) (42 RF / 11%);
- and language use: USAGE (48 RF / 21%)

[1] Paradoxically, bingo originated in Italy.

[2] '& cº' refers to all other authors referred to in my corpus: Jane Austen, Lewis Carroll, Geoffrey Chaucer, George Eliot, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Walt Whitman.

A 'language authority' discourse is drawn upon by both those for and against gender-fair language change in similar ways, with both sides cherry picking their sources of authority to support their views. It seems that this phenomenon is not restricted to my corpus, as studies in psychology have noted that people:

> tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media (Nesler 1993, cited in Van Dijk 2003, p.357).

There seems to be evidence for the same phenomenon in my corpus, where arguments from authoritative sources are only accepted if they are consistent with existing opinions.

In the English corpus, 76% (317/415) of the concordance lines come from articles that *support* gender-fair language. The remaining 24% (98/415) of concordance lines come from articles which *reject* gender-fair language. In the 76% of concordances lines from articles supporting gender-fair language, no significant statistical difference was found between the LWQ and the RWQ. They both use this discourse to support change in relatively equal measure (RWQ - 564 RF / 60% and LWQ - 488 RF / 74%). The CQ is very similar to the LWQ and RWQ (232 RF / 60%). However, the RWT (57 RF / 12%) uses this discourse significantly less to support change (and these instances are mostly quotes from supporters). In general, the articles that draw upon this discourse do not question the notion of authority itself, but use different sources of language authority to support their arguments, while criticising sources of authority that do not support their position.

The lower use of this discourse (24% (98/415) of concordance lines) by those against gender-fair language may simply be due to the absence of language authorities that reject feminist linguistic reform in English. In other words, there are simply fewer language authorities to draw upon, and therefore other discourses, such as freedom of speech are employed. In the concordance lines opposing gender-fair language, some occurrences seem to simply reject authority itself (especially *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph*) describing how the 'PC police' are 'ordering' people to do things, and how rules are being 'imposed' on them. These concordance lines are found only in the RW, and overwhelmingly in the

RWT (5% (22/415) of occurrences). However, it is difficult to say with certainty whether these articles reject authority itself, or whether they simply reject authorities that they do not agree with, and happen not to cite other authorities in support of their arguments.

Only 2% (9/415) of concordance lines were found which unequivocally used some kind of language authority to criticise gender-fair language from a *linguistic* perspective, rather than from an authority angle. No particular pattern, apart from a rejection of gender-fair language, was found in the other 67 concordance lines in this category.

One interesting difference between the English and the French corpus was the use of the term *correct*. Statistically the term has a relative frequency of 22 RF (17 occ) in the English corpus and is found in 4% of articles (5/116). The term is almost twice as frequent in the French corpus, with an RF of 42 RF (38 occ) and has a distribution five times higher, found in 20% of articles (25/126). These statistics are interesting in that they suggest that ideas of the in/correctness of rules play a less important role in the English debate. Looking at the concordance lines confirms this:

1			**LWQ**	
2	in papaperson" (damn him)! If so, what is the	**correct**	way to address a Frenchwoman? Sensible answers
3	, or indeed fucked. Calling a woman "Madame" and	**correcting**	it to "Mademoiselle", as though you've made a
4	person is transgender. If so, always use the	**correct**	pronouns — how they present themselves
5	a person's past, present or future, only use the	**correct**	pronouns for their gender. A person's gender
6	at her local secondary school in London, and was	**correctly**	introduced by the head as Professor Coates,
7	there's some discrepancy about grammatical	**correctness**	, and when there are some readers who are
8	to do their best to make sure they use a person's	**correct**	pronoun choices. There are three forms of
9	massively improve on creating awareness of	**correct**	pronouns in order for everyone to be accurately
10	fine with me being NB and generally uses my	**correct**	pronouns, but at home family members tell me it
11	as female or male, just gender neutral. My	**correct**	pronouns are they/them/their. I think being
12			**RWQ**	
13	to be defined as a diagnosis. From now on, the	**correct**	expression to use when drafting legislation
14	Next on feminism's blacklist after missus, the	**correct**	prefix should be "my," although even that
15	or not the singular "they" is grammatically	**correct**	is another debate - one for the experts. But much
16	for a table "pour une personne", I'm using the	**correct**	generic term. My sex has nothing to do with the
17			**RWT**	
18	le President' • Julian Aubert was technically	**correct**	, because 'president' is a male word • He pointed
19	'. 'Madame le President' is technically	**correct**	, because all nouns in France have a sex, and '
20	. When they are unnecessarily cruel, they can be	**corrected**	by a gentle admonishment. They shouldn't be put

Concordance table 7.8: All 17 occurrences of 'correct' in the English corpus

Whereas *all* the French concordance lines talk about correctness in terms of *rules*, only 35% (6/17) of occurrences in the English corpus refer to *linguistic* correctness in this way (lines 7, 14-16, 18 and 19). The majority of occurrences (59% (10/17)) of 'correctness' refer to addressing someone in the right way, i.e.,

how *they* want to be addressed (lines 2-6, 8-11 and 20). The remaining concordance line (13) refers more to *political* correctness.

To illustrate how language authority discourses can be drawn upon, line 16 is analysed in more detail. *The Times* language columnist, Oliver Kamm, wrote this article. As a language columnist he is automatically accorded authority as a language expert. He is also one of the few journalists in my corpus to discuss gender-fair language in linguistic terms. In this extract he is discussing the use of generic *he* by Lord Pattern of Barnes, and the reactions to this in the media:

> Isabel Oakeshott, of *The Sunday Times*, lamented the 'everyday sexism' that Patten had supposedly exemplified. Mary Ann Sieghart, the columnist, concurred: 'Yes, I shouted at the TV when I heard that!' It's a large claim that these experienced and accomplished journalists have all misunderstood the nature of language, but I believe it to be true. Patten was not indicating, by his use of the object case of the pronoun 'he', an unconscious assumption that Entwistle's successor would necessarily be a man. He was speaking idiomatic English, in which the generic singular pronoun is the same word as the masculine singular personal pronoun. That's not sexism: it's just a **linguistic** quirk. If I enter a restaurant in France on my own and ask for a table 'pour une personne', I'm using the **correct** generic term. My sex has nothing to do with the gender of the noun, which is feminine. It's just a **linguistic** quirk. The word for a girl in German is neuter: her sex has nothing to do with the gender of the noun[1]. It's just a **linguistic** quirk. Such apparent peculiarities arise because languages, like organisms, are a product of evolution. They weren't created simultaneously by God as punishment for building the Tower of Babel, or by anyone else. That's just the way language is.
>
> Patten might have said that Entwistle's successor would need a good team 'around him or her'. That would have been **grammatical** but no improvement, because it's a clumsy construction. Its use rapidly clogs the flow of an argument. Patten might have said 'around them', but that would have been **ungrammatical**, because he would have been using a plural pronoun with a singular antecedent. [...] It's worse than a shame that the vital principle of sexual equality is invoked against natural **linguistic** constructions: it's a mistake. Adopting purportedly 'inclusive' forms of language does nothing to change sexist attitudes. The case for 'non-sexist language' assumes that the way we use language determines, or at least shapes, the way we see the external world, including social relations. Scholars know this argument as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It's highly implausible. (In his superb book *The Language Instinct*, Steven Pinker describes such **linguistic** determinism as 'wrong, all wrong'.)
>
> Changes in the social world, such as the advancement of sexual equality, shape our understanding of language, not the other way round. Patten didn't mean to refer only to

[1] Braun & Haig (2010) found that a *pre*pubescent girl is more likely to be referred to with the neuter pronoun *es*, as in: *das **Mädchen** war erst zwei Jahre alt, als **es**$_{\text{NEUT}}$ unheilbar an Leukämie erkrankte* [the **girl** was only two years old, when **it** fell ill with incurable leukaemia]. However, a *post*pubescent girl is more likely to be referred to with the *feminine* pronoun *sie*, as in: *das **Mädchen** war erst achtzehn Jahre alt, als **sie**$_{\text{FEM}}$ unheilbar an Leukämie erkrankte* [the girl was only eighteen years old, when she fell ill with incurable leukaemia]. McConnell-Ginet argues that this is far from being a linguistic quirk: 'age does not make someone who is straightforwardly a biological female on all counts (genetic or chromosomal, hormonal, genital) any more a female. As a girl matures and moves towards menarche and potential fertility, however, the sociocultural significance of her female sex certainly does increase. Sex is not what matters here but sociolcultural gender considerations are coming into play in (variably) conditioning the form of the personal pronoun' (McConnell-Ginet & Corbett 2014, p.10). See Cameron (1992, p.92) and Corbett (1991, p.228) for other examples.

> men and no one would have understood him that way. Languages, like organisms, are a product of evolution.
> 2012-11-17 'Lord Patten of Barnes, Chairman [...]', *The Times*

Kamm uses several techniques in this extract to give his argument authority. Firstly, he uses technical linguistic terms such as 'the object case', 'generic singular pronoun', 'masculine singular personal pronoun', and 'plural pronoun with a singular antecedent', and also refers to the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis'. All of these technical, scientific terms lend an aura of expertise. As well as referring to Sapir and Whorf, he also cites well-known cognitive linguist Steven Pinker, whom many readers of a quality broadsheet such as *The Times* will have heard of. Kamm also invokes French and German in an attempt to strengthen his argument. While he uses certain language authorities in his article, at the same time, he makes others invisible. He claims that these linguistic phenomena are simple 'quirks', that they are 'natural' constructions, and that languages 'are a product of evolution'. Kamm ignores that fact that languages do not develop in a 'cultural vacuum' (Curzan 2003, p.184), and confuses social and biological evolution. Although languages are undeniably a 'product of evolution', the structure of a language is a product of *social* evolution, not biological evolution. Kamm draws upon these different ideas in order to create authority for himself. Most readers of *The Times* are neither linguists, nor biologists, and so may not question his logic.

7.7 Summary

The English corpus revolves predominantly around the following six discourses:
a 'tool and/or mirror' discourse, a 'natural evolution' discourse, a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse, a 'freedom / choice' discourse, a 'national identity' discourse, and a 'language authority' discourse.

All are present in almost all newspaper groups. However, they are used in different ways depending on the position of the journalist vis-à-vis gender-fair language.

For supporters of gender-fair reforms, language is seen as a tool that usually reflects reality. When language does *not* reflect reality, e.g., when it lags behind *positive* social changes, it should be given a push in the right direction. However,

inequalities should not be reflected in language, even if they exist in reality. Language should be used in order to *create* the reflection that we would like to see in the mirror. Those for gender-fair language tend to use an 'authority' discourse often in order to support their position. Authority not only includes traditional sources such as grammar books, and history (to justify singular *they*, for example), but *individual* choice is also seen as a legitimate source of authority. Individuals should have the freedom to name themselves. If given a push in the right direction, language can free people from oppression. Discourses of sensitivity and avoiding unnecessary offence are also found in these articles. Absent from articles supporting non-sexist language is the idea that language represents the soul of a people as well as discourses suggesting that language evolves 'naturally'. In these articles language evolves because of people's agency. For those who support gender-fair reforms, language is a political tool and not only can, but *should,* be used to improve society. The above discourses are drawn upon with this goal in mind.

On the contrary, those against feminist linguistic reform draw upon discourses of 'language as a mirror'. In this discourse the nature and role of language is to *reflect* reality. If language is sexist, it is because society is sexist. Language does not determine, or even influence, reality. Therefore it cannot change society. Reducing sexism in society will have a knock on effect on language, similar to trickle-down economics. It is not that those against gender-fair change are necessarily sexist or homophobic. However, they reject discourses of language as a tool, and see language as similar to a biological organism that should be left to grow 'naturally'. Language should not be forced to grow in unnatural directions, and speakers should not have their freedom of speech infringed. Discourses around freedom are used to argue that feminist linguistic changes will result in an Orwellian dystopia. Those against change do not want language to be used as a political tool. Language is elevated above mundane political struggles. It is our guarantee of freedom, justice and truth. It is part of our national identity, which is under threat because of politics. Those threatening our language and freedom are 'oversensitive'. This discourse is often found in articles against gender-fair language, in an effort to ridicule the endeavour. Gender fair language supporters are described as 'offendotrons' and should 'get a grip'. Like articles supporting non-sexist language,

'authority' discourses are cherry-picked in accordance with the stance of the journalist.

These six discourses are based on certain language ideologies. One language ideology, which is at the heart of the 'mirror and/or tool' discourse, is that of linguistic relativity: Linguistic relativity explains why the LWQ-CQ argues for gender-fair language, and why the RWQ generally sees gender-fair language reform as useless. Another important language ideology is 'language is freedom', which is the foundation for a 'freedom / choice' discourse: Freedom of speech explains why the RW do not like reforms, which they see as limiting their language choices. Moral Foundations Theory (see part 11.4) is useful here as it identifies liberty (especially negative liberty) as one of the most important values for those on the right.

On the other hand, the LWQ-CQ is willing to limit their own freedom of speech (although they tend not to talk about reform as limiting), in order to free oppressed minorities from discrimination. The fact that the idea that an 'avoiding offence' discourse is found overwhelmingly in the left wing publications is interesting in light of Moral Foundations Theory (see part 11.4) in that it identifies caring for others and avoid harm as one of the most important values for those on the left. Three other language ideologies which can be identified are 'language as a weapon', which underpins the 'sensitivity / offence' discourse; 'language as part of national identity', manifest in the 'national identity' discourse; and 'language as a natural organism', as revealed in the 'natural evolution' discourse. The next chapter analyses discourses that refer more specifically to gender-fair language reform, rather than language in general.

But if thought corrupts language,
language can also corrupt thought.
George Orwell, *1984*

Chapter 8 Discourses surrounding gender-fair language in the English corpus (RQ2)

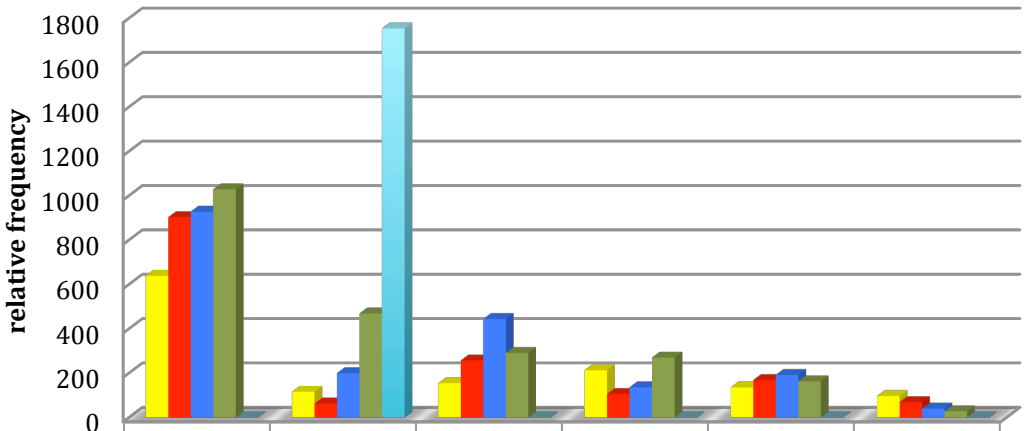
This chapter will:

- **identify the main discourses surrounding gender-fair language in the English corpus, and the language ideologies that underpin them**
- **analyse how these discourse are used in the non-sexist language debate**

The aim of this chapter is to answer my second research question: What are the discourses surrounding *gender-fair language* in the English corpus? The previous chapter identified six main language ideologies that discourses relating to feminist linguistic change are built upon. Knowing how *language in general* is conceptualised in my corpus, the discourses identified in this chapter can be better contextualised. Traces of the following six discourses were found in the English corpus:

- a 'sexism / inequality' discourse,
- a 'language police' discourse,
- a 'war / violence' discourse,
- a 'more important' discourse,
- a 'ridiculous' discourse, and
- a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse.

The graph below presents the discourses in order of relative frequency:



	SEXISM / INEQUALITY	LANGUAGE POLICE	TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED	RIDICULOUS	WAR / VIOLENCE	MORE IMPORTANT
CQ	639	116	155	213	136	97
LWQ	903	63	257	106	169	69
RWQ	928	200	444	136	192	40
RWT	1029	469	291	270	163	28
CT	0	1754	0	0	0	0

Figure 8.1: RF of discourses for RQ2

The six discourses are analysed in the following sequence in order to tell a more logical story:

- sexism / inequality
- language police
- war / violence
- more important
- ridiculous
- tradition / old fashioned

8.1 'SEXISM' / INEQUALITY' discourse

In order to see how gender-fair linguistic initiatives were talked about, an examination of the top 100 keywords was carried out. Relevant keywords included the terms *sexist, sexism, feminist, feminism, equality, stereotype*, and *prejudice*. These terms seemed to suggest a discourse of in/equality. Therefore, a search for the following lemmas was carried out:

ABORTION, ABUSE, ASYMMETRY, CONTRACEPTION, CONSTRAIN, DEVALUE, DISCRIMINATION, DISPARITY, DIVERSITY, EQUALITY, FEMININE, FEMINISM / FEMINIST, HIERARCHY, INFERIOR, PAY / WAGE GAP, MARGINALISATION, MACHO, MASCULINE, MISOGYNY, OPPRESSION, PATRIARCHY,

PREJUDICE, RAPE, RESPECT, SALARY, SEXISM / SEXIST, STEREOTYPE, SUBORDINATE, SUPERIOR, VICTIM, and VIOLENCE (see Table 14 on p.256 for full search details).

'SEXISM / INEQUALITY'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
916 RF (699 occ) 91% (105/116)	639 RF (33 occ) 100% (5/5)	903 RF (289 occ) 95% (40/42)	928 RF (232 occ) 88% (37/42)	1029 RF (145 occ) 88% (23/26)	0

A 'sexism / inequality' discourse is by far the most frequent discourse in the English corpus (the second most frequent discourse is 'language authority' with an RF of 544). Out of the all the lemmas found, the three most frequent were SEXISM, FEMINISM, and EQUALITY, which count for 63% (439/699) of all occurrences in this 'sexism / inequality' discourse. A closer analysis of these lemmas was thus justified.

search terms	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
sexis 320 RF (244 occ) 63% (73/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 20% (1/5)	259 RF (83 occ) 55% (23/42)	356 RF (89 occ) 69% (29/42)	490 RF (69 occ) 77% (20/26)	0
feminism* & feminist* 180 RF (137 occ) 39% (45/116)	232 RF (12 occ) 100% (5/5)	241 RF (77 occ) 55% (23/42)	140 RF (35 occ) 26% (11/42)	92 RF (13 occ) 23% (6/26)	0
equal 76 RF (58 occ) 34% (39/116)	194 RF (10 occ) 100% (5/5)	44 RF (14 occ) 24% (10/42)	100 RF (25 occ) 40% (17/42)	64 RF (9 occ) 27% (7/26)	0
all three lemmas 575 RF (439 occ) 84% (97/116)	284 RF (25 occ) 100% (5/5)	544 RF (174 occ) 86% (36/42)	596 RF (149 occ) 86% (36/42)	646 RF (91 occ) 77% (20/26)	0

An analysis of these three lemmas reveals that there is general agreement that equality is desirable and that sexism is undesirable. However, there is some disagreement as to *how* to achieve equality, whether certain practices can be classed as sexist or not, and whether feminism is helping to promote equality, or whether is it misguided in its endeavours.

8.1.1 'So-called' sexist discourse

A word sketch of the term *sexist* shows that it collocates very strongly with *so-called* (11.47), *purportedly* (11.09), *allegedly* (11), and *supposedly* (10.75). These very high collocation scores – usually the value is less than 10 (Rychlý 2008, p.9) –

means that *sexist* collocates with *so-called, purportedly*, and *supposedly* much more often that expected (see 6.3 for an explanation of collocation statistics).

sexist *(adjective)* Alternative PoS: noun (29)
English articles - separate freq = 146 (1,560.84 per million)

modifiers of "sexist"	14	0.10
institutionally	1	11.09
purportedly	1	11.00
allegedly	1	11.00
extremely	1	10.75
supposedly	1	10.75
inherently	1	10.54
still	3	10.12
back	1	9.91
only	1	8.49
also	1	7.83
not	2	6.14

nouns and verbs modified by "sexist"	92	0.63
language	36	12.11
sexist language		
attitude	6	10.82
word	9	10.49
grammar	4	10.37
term	7	10.07
definition	3	9.87
stereotype	3	9.72
habit	2	9.41
bias	2	9.35
view	2	9.28
ideology	1	8.46
sideswipe	1	8.46
throwback	1	8.46
hangover	1	8.46
yokel	1	8.46
tongue	1	8.44
homophobe	1	8.44
assumption	1	8.43
watch	1	8.37
idea	1	8.31
police	1	8.30
anthem	1	8.23
comment	1	8.23
example	1	8.18
way	1	7.97

"sexist" and/or ...	20	0.14
racist	3	11.88
antiquated	2	11.47
so-called	2	11.47
discriminatory	2	11.47
other	2	10.64
sexualised	1	10.60
degrading	1	10.60
perpetual	1	10.60
condescending	1	10.60
rude	1	10.60
latent	1	10.60
obvious	1	10.60
original	1	10.54
national	1	10.47

prepositional phrases	1	
"sexist" by ...	1	0.01

infinitive objects of "sexist"	3	0.02
ask	1	12.41
call	1	11.54
refer	1	10.75

verbs before "sexist" and noun	5	0.03
find	3	13.00
declare	1	12.41
make	1	9.95

verbs before "sexist"	28	0.19
consider	2	10.95
be	25	10.23
become	1	9.09

usage patterns		
it's "sexist" to ...	1	0.01

subjects of "be sexist"	8	0.05
anthem	2	12.54
surname	1	11.83
matter	1	11.83
society	1	11.67
miss	1	11.00
word	1	10.09
language	1	10.00

Word sketch 8.1: 'sexist' as an adjective in the English corpus

The 439 occurrences of SEXISM, FEMINISM, and EQUALITY were manually analysed for instances of scare quotes, or other devices used to question the validity of the term. This analysis revealed that a 'so-called' discourse does exist, but only around the lemma SEXISM. No occurrences of EQUALITY, or FEMINISM being questioned were found. This is in contrast to the French corpus, in which this discourse concerns all three lemmas (see part 10.1).

1		**LWQ**	
2	do it'"? Accused of being a "bit	**sexist"**	on twitter by @mrirvingclarke, @HarrietHar
3	mments 1,298 ABSTRACT Naomi McAuliffe: It isn't	**sexist**	every time it's used and shouldn'
4	of age and genitalia. "Girl" isn't	**sexist**	every single time it's used, but
5	". The publisher has been criticised for a	**sexist**	bias in its illustrations of how certain
6	. And that is their response to allegations of	**sexism**	. "The example sentences we use are taken fr
7	The Word 'Girl', But Is It A	**Sexist**	Term? 27/05/2014 17:00 | Updated 28 May 201
8	the grounds that it could be considered	**sexist**	. Presenter Mark Beaumont was being filmed s
9	.html LIFESTYLE Oxford Dictionaries Slammed For	**"Sexist"**	Definitions, Including 'Rabid Feminist' An
10	Oxford Dictionaries has been accused of using	**"sexist"**	language and promoting "negative stereotyp
11	Oxford Dictionaries that he considered to be	**sexist**	, including definitions for the words "shril
12	, for fear they may be interpreted as	**sexist**	language. Such traditional Geordie terms ar
13	15 Monday 2:04 PM GMT Government issues list of	**"sexist"**	words and phrases children are banned from
14		**RWQ**	
15	legraph (London) March 16, 2009 Monday EU bans	**"sexist"**	use; of Miss and Mrs BYLINE: Simon
16	leaders on the grounds that they are	**sexist**	. Madame and Mademoiselle, Frau and Fräulein
17	put it so, you are not being	**sexist**	, just rude.
18	-read-too-much-into-it.html The Telegraph	**Sexism**	in language? Don't read too much into
19	'Miss' and male teachers 'Sir'. Is 'Miss'	**sexist**	? Not inherently so, but it's not
20	you think that 'miss' is degrading, or	**sexist**	? Do you agree that using first names
21	beaten by a 19-year-old girl." The	**"sexist"**	word was pulled even though Ms Rahming
22	't offended - I didn't find it	**sexist"**	. LOAD-DATE: March 25, 2015 LANGUAGE: ENG
23	nine per cent agreed it was "extremely	**sexist"**	. I took to Twitter again to ask
24	h's Claire Cohen called it "creeping, benevolent	**sexism"**	adding, "as outdated, crass terms go, 'the
25	October 19, 2015 Monday 10:52 AM GMT The	**"sexist"**	words your children are no longer allowed
26	a singular pronoun, to avoid so-called	**sexist**	language. But even if you accept "they"
27	raises the vexing issue of so-called	**sexist**	language. Some languages have a generic per
28	words that are widely considered to be	**sexist**	, then you are likely to be understood
29	pronoun except when consciously seeking to avoid	**"sexist"**	language. No work in English has had
30	is known as the Whorf hypothesis). So	**"sexist"**	language can reinforce women's oppression.
31	really is odd, in a supposedly anti-	**sexist**	culture, to divide words into masculine and
32	thought that a strict disavowal of purportedly	**sexist**	language helped eradicate discrimination. I
33	change sexist attitudes. The case for	**"non-sexist**	language" assumes that the way we use
34	masculine singular personal pronoun. That's not	**sexism**	: it's just a linguistic quirk. If I
35	about the furore surrounding Richard Scudamore's	**"sexist"**	private emails and the first words that
36	've all done it. Maybe it was	**sexist**	, maybe not - maybe it was lookist or
37	good if your default position is to howl	**"sexism!"**	: you end up seeming faintly comical. Pick
38		**RWT**	
39	L (London) February 4, 2003 Church language	**"is sexist"**	SECTION: Pg. 35 LENGTH: 247 words THE C
40	stical law dating back decades. Other supposedly	**sexist**	words including 'clergyman' may also go in
41	' and 'fireman' must be replaced by	**"non-sexist"**	equivalents. 'Man and wife' may not be
42	and Mrs axed in bid to give	**"sexist**	terms' a Ms BYLINE: SIMON JOHNSON SECTION
43	and Mrs'? Scientists claim it is a	**sexist**	throwback to the 16th century By DAILY
44	'Miss' from official documents because it is	**"sexist"**	Daily Mail A council in France has
45	'mademoiselle' — on the grounds that it is	**sexist'**	. The Gallic equivalent of 'Miss' will be
46	'oiselle', which means "virgin" or "simpleton".	**"Sexist"**	: British comedy 'Allo 'Allo played on the
47	de Garde, who have been campaigning for	**"sexist"**	terms to be scrapped French solidarity min
48	', demand feminist academics in bid to end	**"sexist"**	culture in the classroom BYLINE: LAURA CL
49	bout by a 19-year-old GIRL... So	**"sexist"**	word cut from broadcast BYLINE: IAN GALLA
50	't offended - I didn't find it	**sexist"**	Mariella Frostrup and Miriam O'Reilly su
51	tweeted: 'Maybe the editor thought it was	**sexist**	- it wasn't. I'm not worried
52	't offended - I didn't find it	**sexist,"**	she told The Mail on Sunday. Elsewhere,
53	in April. But evidently sensitive to charges of	**sexism**	, BBC executives decided to edit out the wor
54	been reprimanded and fined for using allegedly	**sexist**	grammar in the Paris parliament. In a
55	a boy to Man up' be considered	**sexist**	? Your guess is as good as mine.
56	social media to ask for a less	**"sexist"**	word. She said she was meeting some
57	have led to many students being accused of	**sexism**	or frowned upon for their political views.
58	.K. 1st Edition EU to ban our	**"sexist"**	bingo BYLINE: By Paula Murray SECTION: N

Concordance table 8.1: All lemmas contributing to a 'so-called' discourse in the English corpus

When SEXISM is used in the RWT its validity is questioned 29% (20/69) of the time, compared to 26% (23/89) in the RWQ, and only 14% (12/83) of LWQ. In terms of relative frequency, the RWT invoke this discourse with an RF of 142, the RWQ 92, and the LWQ 38, which is considerably lower than the French corpus (RW 68 RF and LW 9 RF). It would seem that what counts as sexist is questioned much more often in the English corpus, than the French one. However, in both languages, the RW has a much higher frequency of a 'so-called' discourse than the LW.

> The BBC was embroiled in an extraordinary censorship row last night after cutting the word 'girl' from a documentary about the Commonwealth Games, fearing it might cause 'offence'. Broadcaster Mark Beaumont, 31, joked after being hurled to the floor by a judo champion: 'I am not sure I can live that down - being beaten by a 19-year-old girl.' [...] But evidently sensitive to charges of **sexism**, BBC executives decided to edit out the word 'girl'

> when the programme was repeated last week, leaving an awkward pause in place of the offending word. Asked by a viewer what had happened, Mr Beaumont tweeted: 'Maybe the editor thought it was **sexist** - it wasn't. I'm not worried about it.' Even the judo champion involved, Cynthia Rahming, was left bemused. 'I wasn't offended - I didn't find it **sexist**,' she told *The Mail on Sunday*. Elsewhere, it divided opinion, '[...] The athlete may not have been offended but the BBC has to think of the sensibilities of everybody watching.' Feminist novelist Kathy Lette, 55, however, said: 'If the athlete didn't find it upsetting why should the BBC mount their politically correct high horse and gallop off into the sanctimonious sunset?' [...] 'They had more time to edit it the second time,' she added. 'Mark didn't mean to cause offence. But the word 'girl' was taken out just in case it did.' [...] Former TV presenter Anthea Turner, 53, said: 'It's mad. I think people have got to stand back, stop all this. It is just silly... We have got to be able to have a sense of humour. I feel that there are certain issues you really have to be sensitive about, like race, but you must be able to have a laugh about something. The problem now is that people have become over-sensitive - and the BBC has become too over-cautious.' [...]
> 2014-05-24 'Now BBC bans the G-word- Sports reporter joked that he'd been beaten in judo bout by a 19-year-old GIRL... so **'sexist'** word cut from broadcast', *The Daily Mail*

This extract from *The Daily Mail* has four occurrences of the lemma SEXIST, all of which are invalidated. The first occurrences is preceded by 'charges of', underlining the fact that nothing has been proven. The second and third are quotes from the two people involved, insisting that no offence was meant ('Maybe the editor thought it was **sexist** - it wasn't'), and that none was taken ('I wasn't offended - I didn't find it **sexist**,'). The fourth instance, with scare quotes ('so **'sexist'** word cut from broadcast'), would have been at the top of the article in the original publication. This is important, as it would have immediately primed the readers to be suspicious of claims of sexism. Other discourses are used to reinforce a 'so-called' discourse in this extract, in particular a 'ridiculous' discourse ('joked', 'a sense of humour', 'have a laugh'), a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse ('fearing it might cause "offence"', 'over-sensitive'), and a 'language police' discourse ('censorship', 'politically correct high horse').

As mentioned above, there is general agreement that equality is a worthwhile pursuit in my corpus. Nonetheless, there is some dispute as to whether feminism is the correct path to take to achieve equality. There are several differences in the way that feminism is discussed in the newspaper groups. Firstly, the LWQ (241 RF) and the CQ (232 RF) mention feminism more often than the RWQ (140 RF) and the RWT (92 RF). The LWQ and CQ also tend to have a much more positive view of feminism than the RW. In fact, all CQ and 92% (77/84) of LWQ occurrences were classed as either neutral or positive (either celebrating or defending feminism). Only 8% (7/84) of LWQ concordance lines of FEMINISM describe it negatively (and

none in the CQ). Although I have described these occurrences as 'negative', they are not particularly vehement. They are all aimed at French feminists: Firstly, that it has taken them too long to change things (lines 1-5), and secondly that there are 'more important battles for feminist to fight' than eliminating *mademoiselle* (lines 6 and 7). Only lines 6 and 7 imply that feminists are on the wrong path, but there is no criticism of feminism itself.

1		**LWQ**	
2	in France? What have those top French	**feminists**	been doing all these years? Not pulling
3	order. But why has it taken French	**feminists**	so long to realise that "mademoiselle" i
4	Mademoiselle? Non merci Sixty years after the	**feminist**	revolution, France should join other coun
5	can also be blamed on the French	**feminist**	revolution, which has been taking place i
6	comes a half a century after British	**feminists**	began chafing at being called Miss and
7	"aren't there more important battles for	**feminism**	to fight". True, the pay gap between
8	forward for the French. For many French	**feminists**	like me, there are far more pressing
9		**RWQ**	
10	sexist they are… 1. 'The wife' Next on	**feminism**	's blacklist after missus, the correct pre
11	women took offence on her behalf. Respected	**feminist**	commentators were quick to blow their bug
12	common words and gestures finding themselves on	**feminist**	lists of shame. So to avoid embarrassing
13	, users should be safe from London's	**feminists**	who have little jurisdiction outside the
14	give yourself detention until you see righteous	**feminist**	sense?). Quick recap: Scudamore is the c
15	Miss). When, in the 1970s, English-speaking	**feminists**	were trying to impose Ms on us
16	crêmement sexiste, especially from a regiment of	**feminists**	. Those of us who are native English
17		**RWT**	
18	12:31 AM GMT 'Call female teachers SIR', demand	**feminist**	academics in bid to end 'sexist' culture
19	mention teaching. Yet these self-pitying modern	**feminists**	wrap themselves in the cloak of discrimi

Concordance table 8.2: all negative instances of the lemma 'feminism' in the English corpus

On the other hand, the RWQ 16% (7/44) and the RWT 13% (2/15) tend to portray feminism negatively approximately twice as often as the LWQ (the remaining references to feminism are neutral rather than positive). In addition, criticisms from the RW are generally much stronger than from the LWQ. In the concordance table, 'regiment[s]' (line 15) of 'righteous' (line 13) feminists who 'impose' (line 14) and 'demand' (line 17) certain terms. Non-compliance will result in being put on their 'blacklist' (line 9), and 'lists of shame' (line 11). They are 'self-pitying' and wrap themselves in 'cloaks of discrimination and victimhood' (line 18). The use of the word 'cloak' suggests that *The Daily Mail* sees feminists as somehow being dishonest, disguising themselves as victims:

> [g]irls are racing ahead in just about every other area, outstripping their male counterparts in university entrance and professions such as law and medicine not to mention teaching [...] these self-pitying modern **feminists** wrap themselves in the cloak of discrimination and victimhood. I wonder what the original suffragettes would make of their constant whining.
> 2015-10-20 'OH, DO GROW UP, YOU BIG GIRL'S BLOUSE', *The Daily Mail*

This extract is worth pausing on, as I believe that it is representative of a discourse of victimhood that some elements of the left wing are often criticised for. Feminists, and other vocal political minorities, are often portrayed as over-

sensitive 'snowflakes', who want to limit freedom of speech in case it offends (see footnote on p.132 for the example of Germaine Greer). This climate of victimhood is not simply a right wing invention to silence the Left, but has been noted by psychologists (Haidt 2016 24:30-33:30), and sociologists (Campbell & Manning 2014). Campbell and Manning explain that during the 18th and 19th centuries the prevailing moral culture in the West was an 'honour culture', in which 'it is one's *reputation* that makes one honorable or not, and one must respond aggressively to insults, aggressions, and challenges or lose honor' (Campbell & Manning 2014, p712, emphasis in the original). Honour culture then gave way to a 'dignity culture', which is nearly the exact opposite of an honour culture. In a dignity culture, people are thought to have inherent dignity therefore public reputation is less important. Even if insults provoke offence, people are taught that 'sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me' (Campbell & Manning 2014, p713). Campbell and Manning argue that we are currently transitioning from a 'dignity culture' to a 'victimhood culture', which is,

> characterized by concerns with status and sensitivity to slight combined with a heavy reliance on third parties. People are intolerant of insults, even if unintentional, and react by bringing them to the attention of the authorities or to the public at large. Domination is the main form of deviance, and victimization a way of attracting sympathy, so rather than emphasize either their strength or inner worth, the aggrieved emphasize their oppression and social marginalization. (Campbell & Manning 2014, p.715)

In my corpus, the right wing tend to see the left wing as belonging to this victimhood culture, as being over-sensitive (see part 7.3 for a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse), and constantly complaining about trivial matters (see part 8.5 for a 'ridiculous' discourse). I believe that this concept of a 'victimhood culture' is essential in understanding the right wing's reaction to initiatives to combat sexism. They do not support sexism, although they do question it more often than the LW. They do, however, consistently criticise people who complain about sexist language with some form of the 'sticks and stones' adage. Not only should people stop 'whining', they should also stop acting as the 'language police', and curbing people's negative liberty (i.e., freedom from constraints – see part 9.5.2 for negative vs positive liberty).

8.2 'LANGUAGE POLICE' discourse

Although there was only one term in the top 100 keyword list that indicated the presence of this discourse ([political] *correctness*), a manual analysis had revealed several references to the idea of 'language or thought police[1]', or what Blaubergs terms 'unjustified coercion' (1980, pp.139-40). Other scholars (Mills 2008; Suhr 2007) have also noted the link between political correctness and gender. I therefore scanned the articles for other expressions of this idea, and searched for the following terms:

BAN, BIG BROTHER, BRIGADE, CENSOR, CONDEMN, CONTSRAIN, CONTROL, CRACKDOWN, CRUSADE, DENOUNCE, DICTATE, DIKTAT, DOCTRINE, DOGMATIC, HIGH-HANDED, HUNT, IDEOLOGY, IMPOSE, MANIPULATE, MIND, MORAL, NEWSPEAK, NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR, ORWELL, OUTLAW, POLICE, POLITICALLY CORRECT, PC, PURGE, REGIME, REPORT, SOVIET, SPOT, SQUAD, and STASI (see Table 15 on p.257 for full search details).

'LANGUAGE POLICE'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
187 RF (143 occ) 51% (59/116)	116 RF (6 occ) 80% (4/5)	63 RF (20 occ) 33% (14/42)	200 RF (50 occ) 43% (18/42)	469 RF (66 occ) 85% (22/26)	1754 RF (1 occ) 100% (1/1)

As the table shows, the 'language police' discourse is most frequent in the tabloids,[2] and least frequent in the LWQ. Whereas the distribution of a 'language police' discourse is relatively similar in the LWQ (33%) and RWQ (43%), it is extremely high in the RWT (85%). This reflects the fact that those who believe language cannot or should not be used as a political tool (mostly the RW), tend to mobilise a 'language police' discourse, and see any attempt at language planning as political manipulation.

All RW concordance lines all accept and reinforce a 'language police' discourse, and almost all disapprove of 'banning' words. 14/15 of all RWQ occurrences of BAN are from *The Telegraph*. In my corpus these articles all argue that words should *not* be

[1] As noted in part 6.3, one of the drawbacks of relying too heavily on keywords, is that some very frequent (but not key) words do not appear in the list. POLICE was also very frequent in the reference corpus, so was not a keyword in mine.

[2] There is only one 58-word article in the CT group. It is therefore impossible to generalise for the CT press.

banned, yet rather ironically *The Telegraph* (*Telegraph Style Book* 2018) has a list of 'banned words' including: 'chairperson, chair (chairman is correct English)'.

29		**RWQ**	
30	a document called Liturgiam Authenticam, and they	**ban**	such innovations as non-sexist language ("gend
31	rules from Rome and another about the	**high-handed**	way in which the rules have
32	have seen the EU institutions try to	**ban**	the bagpipes and dictate the shape of
33	the EU institutions try to ban the bagpipes and	**dictate**	the shape of bananas, but now they see
34	their fight to have the term "mademoiselle"	**outlawed**	as sexist after the prime minister's
35	conceited young woman? And the recent ridiculous "	**Ban**	Bossy" campaign shouted long and loud about
36	the office. After all, the purse-lipped	**PC**	brigade, like rust, never sleeps. Now Ms
37	, anodyne, bereft of folly. Thanks to the	**PC**	police on perpetual sexist grammar watch, our
38	water torture approach of the sexist grammar	**police**	police, it was just another day at the
39	, bereft of folly. Thanks to the PC	**police**	police on perpetual sexist grammar watch, our prec
40	we Brits were once rightly proud of, but is being	**hunted**	to extinction by beetle-browed busybodies. By
41	Some schools have launched volunteer	**squads**	to report sexist language.
42	Newspeak in Nineteen Eighty-Four) that language	**imposes**	on its users a particular view of
43	by George Orwell's brilliant invention of	**Newspeak**	in Nineteen Eighty-Four) that language im
44	George Orwell's brilliant invention of Newspeak in	**Nineteen Eighty-Four**	) that language imposes on its
45	sceptical of the notion (much popularised by George	**Orwell's**	brilliant invention of Newspeak in Nineteen
46	citizens. These are linguistic quirks, not	**ideological**	statements. You might as well argue that the
47	ing of how language works. Notwithstanding George	**Orwell's**	brilliant invention of Newspeak, language
48	the world. The honorific "comrade" in the	**Soviet**	Union didn't fool anyone into believing
49	ll, then, Mademoiselle! The French government has	**banned**	the word, according to headlines in Britain
50	1970s, English-speaking feminists were trying to	**impose**	Ms on us all, I tried to
51	thing. Contrary to Orwell's invention of	**Newspeak**	, it's possible to understand a concept
52	ideas are not the same thing. Contrary to	**Orwell's**	invention of Newspeak, it's possible to
53	Abraham later wrote that "he didn't	**censor**	his language even though he knew I'
54	. One, I am uncomfortable with the thought	**police**	calling for people's heads. There's
55		**RWT**	
56	clergyman' may also go in a threatened	**purge**	of the CofE's statute books. The
57	that has been passed by the language	**police**	is 'black'. Its associations are ' positive
58	of Children's Minister Margaret Hodge. The	**purge**	of the English language was endorsed yesterday
59	as 'Mrs' or 'Miss' in a new	**crackdown**	on sexist language. A guide issued by
60	s time.' COUNCIL'S STAFF GUIDELINES ON	**PC**	SPEAK 'Girls', as in the phrase 'the
61	Roselyne Bachelot demanded a nationwide law to	**ban**	discriminatory' titles last year. Ms Bachelot
62	.' The Brittany town of Cesson-Sevigne also	**banned**	the term 'mademoiselle' two months ago afte
63	vailable. Prime minister Francois Fillon has also	**banned**	the phrase 'nom de jeune fille', meaning '
64	Au revoir, Mademoiselle! France	**bans**	word for 'Miss' from official documents becau
65	-offence.html A city is proposing to	**ban**	titles such as Mr, Mrs, Miss and
66	vocabulary. The politically correct	**crusade**	will see terms such as 'fisherman', 'freshman'
67	sued controversial linguistic diktat. Recently it	**banned**	its politicians from using the terms Miss
68	time the EU has issued controversial linguistic	**diktat**	. Recently it banned its politicians from us
69	ry 16, 2014 Sunday BANKRUPT? NO, SAY EU LANGUAGE	**police**	POLICE, IT S DEBT ADJUSTED BYLINE: BY GLEN
70	Mrs because they were not considered	**politically correct**	. The bureaucrats said it was sexist to
71	traditional titles Sir' and Miss' to be	**banished**	from schools to stop sexist views taking
72	nline May 24, 2014 Saturday 9:56 PM GMT Now BBC	**bans**	the G-word: Sports reporter joked that
73	The BBC was embroiled in an extraordinary	**censorship**	row last night after cutting the word '
74	why should the BBC mount their	**politically correct**	high horse and gallop off into the
75	' of French life. It has sometimes ordered	**censorship**	of films from across the Atlantic, and
76	'xe'. Donna Braquet said that the new	**regime**	would make campus 'inclusive'
77	official at the university, the new language	**regime**	will make the university 'welcoming and inc
78	are not compulsory and that they do not want to '	**dictate**	speech'. Donna Braquet, who runs the
79	appoint senior teachers as 'gender champions' and	**ban**	pupils as young as five from using
80	In response, some schools are creating volunteer	**squads**	of girls to police sexist attitudes and report
81	etween a stern ticking off and the kind of obsessive	**policing**	of speech and behaviour imposed on children as
82	of obsessive policing of speech and behaviour	**imposed**	on children as young as five today.
83	new rules go much further, introducing a	**regime**	worthy of the old East German Stasi.
84	playground. What will happen to any child	**reported**	for calling someone a cissy'? Will it
85	of volunteer girls have been assembled to	**spot**	sexist language. She said: We have always
86	regime worthy of the old East German	**Stasi**	. Children are being trained to
87	insanity in the current Paedos In High Places	**witch-hunt**	. Campbell insisted that Watson had nothing to
88	sticking up for before we get some	**diktat**	from Brussels saying it's derogatory to
89	EATURES; Pg. 11 LENGTH: 83 words EU chiefs have	**banned**	all titles that identify women as ... well,
90	the phrase man-made is to be	**outlawed**	and replaced by "synthetic". However, on

Concordance table 8.3: All RWQ and RWT occurrences of lemmas contributing to a 'language police' discourse in the English corpus

As this concordance table shows, the RW draw heavily on George Orwell, with frequent references to the author himself (line 45, 47 and 52), his novel *1984* (line 44) and his concept of 'Newspeak' (lines 43 and 51). Other references are made to the Soviet Union (line 48) and the East Germany Stasi (line 86). None of the RW concordance lines reject a 'language police' discourse. Although the RWQ articles usually make an effort to be somewhat balanced, by providing some background to the problem, and why a certain term is controversial, the RWT rarely do so:

> SCOTLAND'S largest local authority has **banned** staff from referring to women as 'Mrs' or 'Miss' in a new **crackdown** on sexist language. A guide issued by Glasgow City Council claims 'Ms' is the ideal term and any references to marital status are discriminatory. [...] Critics last night dismissed the guidelines as crackpot **political correctness** and criticised the authors for undermining the institution of marriage. [...] A council spokesman said people using **banned** words and phrases would not be punished. He added: 'This is a relatively mild reminder that council staff should think about what they say so as not to inadvertently cause offence. It is not a prohibition on types of speech.' But Scottish Tory chief whip Bill Aitken said: 'They need to sit down, calm down if necessary in a cool and darkened room until such time as they are prepared to join the real world.
> 'The fact that taxpayers' money has been spent on this is frankly disgraceful. Not only do they undermine marriage but they make a laughing stock of phrases in English which have been used for hundreds of years.'
> Richard Cook, director of the Campaign Against **Political Correctness** in Scotland, accused the council of denying women the right to their marital status.
> 2006-10-23 'Miss and Mrs axed in bid to give 'sexist terms' a Ms', *The Daily Mail*

In this extract from *The Daily Mail*, a recommendation to use *Ms* by Glasgow City Council is described as a 'crackdown'. Although a council spokesman is quoted as rejecting this discourse, his voice is drowned out in the rest of the article with quotes from people who ridicule the initiative. A 'ridiculous' discourse is evident in the accusation that taxpayers' money has been wasted on such a 'crackpot' idea. Proponents of *Ms* are described as not living in the real world, as 'denying women the right to their marital status' and as 'undermining the institution of marriage'. No traces of irony were identified in the article. A 'tradition' discourse is also invoked in an attempt to give historical authority to controversial terms: words, 'which have been used for hundreds of years', are being replaced. Nowhere in the article is an attempt to explain to readers *why* these terms are problematic.

What is immediately interesting about this discourse in the LWQ and CQ concordance lines is that it is accepted in 77% (20/26) of the lines. Only six lines reject a 'language police' discourse (lines 7, 11, 14, 18, 23 and 24), arguing that nothing has been 'outlawed'.

1		CQ	
2	don't agree with the European Parliament's	ban	of Miss and Mrs. "You can't
3	uropean Parliament's ban of Miss and Mrs. "You can't	impose	liberation on people; it has to come from
4	News A town in Western France has	banned	the word "mademoiselle" - the French equiva
5	Cesson-Sevigne. The small Brittany community has	banned	the use of the term in all
6	three-month-old baby? What matters more,	banning	a word that has only cultural significance
7	coverage imagined that "he" and "she" were being	outlawed	. One opinion column even used the headlin
8		LWQ	
9	launched a petition for "mademoiselle" to be	banned	from administrative use because - gee, you
10	types of sex attacker, or anonymously post	reports	of the daily casual misogyny we all
11	sins, sometimes regarded as po-faced,	politically correct	and puritanical in matters of amour and
12	have to be contents in the masculine form as	dictated	by their one male companion, rather than
13	it's used and shouldn't be	censored	but when implies that you're lacking,
14	a documentary and was promptly accused of	censorship	. In the documentary, The Queen's Baton
15	or not — who do." Bossy As the	Ban	Bossy campaign puts it: "When a little
16	adjective, because I'm afraid it can't actually be	banned	on grammatical grounds. In some quarters, "
17	how do they get around the problem?	Minding	your language is important here. Shim and
18	. And for those complaining this is a "	PC	gone mad" linguistic ambush by the modern
19	sexist, we will be forever perpetuating sexist	ideology	, even without intending to. I still do not know
20	. "I don't think we need to	ban	the usage of the word, as it
21	women? The BBC took the decision to	censor	the word 'girl' in a recent broadcast
22	the programme. The BBC's decision to	censor	the word has divided opinion. Rahming told
23	judgement" before using them. "There is no	ban	on words, such as 'hinny', 'pet', 'love'
24	spokesman said the words had not been	banned	, but that staff had been trained to "
25	Council warns Geordie workers:	Mind	your sexist language, pet BYLINE: By Arifa
26	far more pressing battles to fight than	banning	a lovely and innocuous word from Molière'
27	three-month-old baby? What matters more,	banning	a word that has only cultural significance
28	of 'sexist' words and phrases children are	banned	from using in schools; Phrases such as "

Concordance table 8.4: All CQ and LWQ lemmas contributing to a 'language police' discourse in the English corpus

The degree to which this discourse is accepted by the LWQ-CQ is rather surprising. I had hypothesised a resistance to, or at least an attempt to reframe this discourse, from supporters of gender-fair language. For instance, the European Parliament's decision not to use *Miss* or *Mrs* anymore (lines 2 and 3), and the French government's decision to eliminate *mademoiselle* from official forms (lines 4-6, 8, 26 and 27) could had been reframed in terms of choice, i.e., certain institutions choosing not to ask women about their marital status in a professional / administrative context. In most LWQ-CQ concordance lines banning words is seen as something to be avoided, either on principle because '"you can't impose liberation on people"' (e.g., line 3), or because 'there are far more pressing battles to fight' (e.g., line 26). In general, these concordance lines accept that even if a word is sexist, it should not be censored or banned.

> When we're at school, we expect to be described as 'girls' - but is the term an acceptable way to address adult women? The BBC took the decision to **censor** the word 'girl' in a recent broadcast on the grounds that it could be considered sexist. Presenter Mark Beaumont was being filmed sparring with judo champion Cynthia Rahming and after he was sent crashing to the floor, he said: 'I am not sure I can live that down - being beaten by a 19-year-old girl.' [...] However, the word 'girl' was edited out of a repeat of the programme. The BBC's decision to **censor** the word has divided opinion. [...] 'I don't think we need to **ban** the usage of the word, as it is appropriate for some people in some situations. But I do think we need to encourage mindfulness about language in general, and the employment of this word specifically.' [...] But 'girl' becomes a derogatory term when it is used to insult, belittle or suggest that women are, in any way, inferior to men. We're not about to stop 'going for drinks with the girls', but in a professional environment, we'd like to be 'women' please.
> 2014-05-27 'BBC **Ban** The Use of The Word 'Girl', But Is It A Sexist Term?', *The Huffington Post*

The extract from *The Huffington Post* accepts that the word *girl* is problematic when referring to an adult woman in a professional context, but does not necessarily support the BBC's actions. It could be argued that the BBC did indeed censor the word 'girl'. However, the term 'ban' is disputable. The BBC has not forbidden its employees from using the word. Concordance lines referring to the 'banning' of *mademoiselle, Miss* and *Mrs* also tend to use the term 'ban' in a way that reinforces rather than challenges this discourse.

Even though the LWQ and CQ do not draw upon this discourse as much as the RW, when they do, they generally reinforce rather than challenge it. I believe this is counterproductive for gender-fair language, in that it necessarily implies limiting freedom of speech, something that will immediately provoke a negative reaction in many RW readers (see a 'freedom / choice' discourse in part 7.4). From a pragmatic perspective, advocates of gender-fair language may gain more support by reframing this discourse.

8.3 'WAR / VIOLENCE' discourse

Although there was no indication of a discourse surrounding war or violence in the top 100 keywords, metaphors of 'war' or 'battle' have been noted by several scholars working on gender and language (Hellinger *et al*. 2011, p.578; Sunderland 2004, p.42). Indeed, a search for the following terms confirms that this discourse is also present in my corpus:

ARM, ATROCITY, ATTACK, BATTLE, BLOW, CAMPAIGN, COMBAT, CRUSH, DEFEAT, DEFEND, DISFIGURE, DESTROY, ENEMY, FIGHT, GUARD, MINEFIELD, MILITARY, PROTECT, QUARREL, STRUGGLE, VANQUISH, VICTORY, VIOLENCE, and WAR (see Table 16 on p.259 for full search details).

WAR / VIOLENCE	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
173 RF (132 occ) 49% (57/116)	136 RF (7 occ) 80% (4/5)	169 RF (54 occ) 52% (22/42)	192 RF (48 occ) 48% (20/42)	163 RF (23 occ) 42% (11/26)	0

1		**CQ**	
2	"miss". The move comes as feminist groups	**campaign**	for the word to be consigned to
3	to women hasn't always been a feminist	**victory**	. In the history of English and other languages,
4		**LWQ**	
5	let any slur go unremarked. Trans people's	**battle**	for language is no different from the
6	says Roz Kaveney, linguistics is a vital	**battlefield**	FULL TEXT As a trans man or
7	exemplifies the fact that language is a	**battlefield**	for trans people: we can find ourselves
8	don't have any shame. They really enjoy	**attacking**	women. They are not afraid of us.
9	now there is a new way to	**fight**	back Sexist words are multiplying. Bidisha Friday
10	there more important battles for feminism to	**fight**	True, the pay gap between the sexes
11	phased out from official forms. After a	**campaign**	by feminist groups, the French prime minister's
12	us that we are fighting the wrong	**battle**	that we should fight first for wage
13	aspect that the two feminist groups who	**campaigned**	for the change have been protesting about.
14	fighting the wrong battle, that we should	**fight**	first for wage equality, or against the
15	of men tell us that we are	**fighting**	the wrong battle, that we should fight
16	mere words, but intrusive definitions. This	**struggle**	is about our freedom In France men are addressed
17	raise your hand or speak up." The	**campaign**	to make people think before using the
18	one to watch. It could be that people are up in	**arms**	about it. Pronoun changes, and title changes,
19	lazily applied to trans people. The transgender	**campaigning**	group Press for Change told me: "When
20	name' at all? An interesting debate was	**launched**	on Twitter when @KenSmith asked whether it
21	two decades since she wrote that, these	**battles**	continue. Personally, I think we should make
22	positive thing; what I didn't expect was	**fights**	to break out on my Facebook feed.
23	the word "queer" has a more uphill	**battle**	to mainstream usage because of its original,
24	there might be more substantial issues to	**campaign**	on. Thanks to their efforts a law
25	can adopt his wife's surname. These were	**fights**	worth having. It is sad that there
26	"Language is also not very susceptible to	**campaigns**	But it is in Sweden, where "hen"
27		**RWQ**	
28	forms; French feminists have scored a major	**victory**	in their fight to have the term
29	grammar yesterday, "Lost battles in the grammar	**wars**	talking about the need for careful use
30	ordnance is exploding across the linguistic	**battlefield**	but in terms of gender-neutrality, Germany isn't
31	woman? And the recent ridiculous "Ban Bossy"	**campaign**	shouted long and loud about how off-piste
32	"darling" — and Ms Kenny went to	**war**	on the cheery colloquialism that for generations
33	to 'terrorist', the spoken word is a	**minefield**	these days. But the BBC surpassed itself
34	Prince William was stepping into a linguistic	**minefield**	that men face daily, says Martin Daubney
35	" is an inequality issue up there with domestic	**violence**	or the pay gap. Clearly it isn't. Indeed,
36	abuse, of whom 61pc reported psychological	**violence**	, according to the ManKind Initiative). Fair,
37	carries the baggage of the so-called gender	**wars**	and now inherently pits men and women against
38	editor, Rabbi Professor Jonathan Magonet,	**defended**	the work in progress: however accustomed one
39	the name of equality. They launched a	**campaign**	yesterday to remove "mademoiselle" from all offic
40	with a solution to this particular titular	**minefield**	and that is the indomitable rise of
41	feel proud that they have struck a	**blow**	against sexist terms, but it seems to
42	feminine ending! For example, one of the	**campaigning**	feminist groups putting pressure on Fillon is
43	Mazetier. She says the row highlights a wider	**struggle**	to break down sexism in French politics. At the
44	2014 LANGUAGE: ENGLISH GRAPHIC: Sexism will be	**defeated**	by educating men, not by demonising them
45	men for their private banter and the	**war**	on sexism is lost BYLINE: INDIA KNIGHT
46	street and at work. Laura Bates, who	**launched**	the Everyday Sexism website in 2012 for
47	on Simon's invocation of "logic", however, I'd	**defend**	the construction. In my book Accidence Will
48	are regular sparring partners in the grammar	**wars**	if I describe this as the single
49		**RWT**	
50	pressure from a local women's group. The	**blows**	for feminism come after French solidarity ministe
51	it out: The move is a major	**victory**	for French feminists, such Les Chiennes de
52	July 1st is now law. Washington State's	**war**	on sexist language: Translation guide to gender
53		**War**	of le words: French MP fined for
54	school in England · Some schools have	**launched**	volunteer squads to report sexist language ·
55	the traditional British game have launched a	**campaign**	to save it from European bureaucracy. Brussels
56	bingo fans is under way on the internet to	**protect**	players from being forced to use politically

Concordance table 8.5: Some examples of the 108 occurrences of lemmas used in a 'war / violence' discourse in the English corpus

This discourse has a similar relative frequency in all of the newspaper groups, suggesting that all newspaper subgroups see gender-fair language in terms of a 'battle' (no concordance lines indicate a rejection of this discourse). Indeed, the high number of military terms indicates that it is seen as an organised battle between two clearly defined enemies in which 'campaigns' are 'launched', 'blows' are 'struck', 'battles' are 'fought', and 'wars' are won and lost.

When used in support of gender-fair language, we are told that we need to 'fight back' (line 9) against sexism, that these 'fights are worth having' (line 25), but that there is still a long way to go (lines 21 and 23). It is invoked in almost heroic terms,

i.e., the fight is for something noble, it is for equality and freedom. The following extract from *The Guardian* is about the elimination of *mademoiselle* from official forms in France:

> To French women these titles aren't mere words, but intrusive definitions. This **struggle** is about our freedom. [...] The freedom of women in France is very much a matter of words, and I think it is intimately related to language. [...] A lot of men tell us that we are **fighting** the wrong **battle**, that we should **fight** first for wage equality, or against the glass ceiling. But words matter. Let's imagine unmarried men having to tick the box *Mon Damoiseau*, the medieval equivalent of *Ma Demoiselle*. The boys soon stopped allowing people to call them *bird*, with its insinuation of virginity. Whereas I, at the age of 43, still get called 'Mademoiselle', literally 'my little hen'. Charmant, non?
> 2012-02-24 'Madame, Mademoiselle - in France these are about sex, not respect', *The Guardian*

As the extract shows, a 'war' discourse is drawn upon as well as a 'freedom' discourse. The battle is against linguistic inequality, but also social inequality because 'words matter'. Here, linguistic sexism is seen as part of a wider system of inequality. For those who support non-sexist language, language is a 'battlefield' (lines 6, 7 and 30), upon which the struggle for freedom and equality is being fought.

On the other hand, those against gender-fair language describe 'squads' being 'launched' in combat (line 54) against 'private banter' (line 45), and feminists 'go[ing] to war' against 'cheery colloquialisms'. Language is seen as more of a 'minefield' (lines 33, 34, and 40) than a 'battlefield':

> When he referred to the Duchess of Cambridge as 'the missus', Prince William was stepping into a linguistic **minefield** that men face daily [...] Now, I'm not saying for a minute that most right-minded women think that British men using phrases like 'the missus' is an inequality issue up there with domestic **violence** or the pay gap. Clearly it isn't. Indeed, complaints about the M-word suggest that the fairly trivial matter of a member of the Royal Family engaging in entry-level banter with a football presenter has been blown out of proportion. So why am I bothered? The truth is, most decent men don't want to be seen as sexist, and would much rather work with women to solve the real problems of gender inequality than get embroiled in petty spats. Yet there is a sense among men that the language we use and the way we behave is being continually judged, with many of our common words and gestures finding themselves on feminist lists of shame. [...]
> 2015-06-02 'Mind your language - the words and phrases that mark you out as a sexist', - *The Telegraph*

The journalist of this article presents a linguistic landscape in which there are two sides engaged in a battle – men (and 'right-minded' women) versus feminists. Innocent men have to navigate through a 'linguistic minefield' every day. Being judged on 'the language we [men] use and the way we [men] behave' is inadmissible. Feminists are the only ones who know where these minefields are.

'Most decent men don't want to be seen as sexist' (note the use of the passive voice here – 'don't want to *be seen* as sexist' as opposed to 'don't want to *be* sexist'). They are not sure where to step for fear of getting blown up, and ending up on 'feminist lists of shame'. In *The Guardian* extract 'language matters' because it is a tool to liberate women from oppression (also line 43). Conversely, for *The Telegraph* journalist, language is not seen as part of 'the real problem of gender equality', and attempts to eliminate sexist language are ridiculed ('the M-word', 'trivial', 'blown out of proportion', and 'petty spats'). Language campaigns are compared to other issues such as domestic violence or the pay gap in order to undermine their importance. There are simply, according to this discourse, more important battles to fight.

8.4 'MORE IMPORTANT' discourse

An analysis of 'war / violence' lemmas came up with several examples of the idea that there were more important battles worth fighting. This is an idea that has also been identified in other work on non-sexist language reforms (Blaubergs 1980, pp.138-39).

A search for the following lemmas was therefore carried out: AGGRESSION, ABORTION, BETTER, CAUSE, FUSS, IMPORTANT, MORE, PAY / WAGE GAP, PRIORITY, ELSE, URGENT, RAPE, REAL / SO-CALLED FEMINISM, and VIOLENCE (see Table 17 on p.260 for full search details).

'MORE IMPORTANT'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
54 RF (41 occ) 21% (24/116)	97 RF (5 occ) 40% (2/5)	69 RF (22 occ) 26% (11/42)	40 RF (10 occ) 17% (7/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 15% (4/26)	0

The CQ and LWQ articles invoke this discourse more often that the RW, which could initially seem surprising. However, an analysis of the concordance lines shows that this discourse is *rejected* by 59% (16/27) of CQ and LWQ lines (lines 2, and 9-23). On the other hand, only 14% (2/14) of RW (lines 35 and 43) reject this discourse.

1		**CQ**	
2	too. For Charles Kidd, of Debrett's: "It's	**important**	to get someone's title right. If someone does
3	) Would Simone de Beauvoir approve? What is more	**important**	for a French little girl today? To be addressed
4	same as a man doing equivalent work? What is more	**important**	for a French woman today? Never to hear the word
5	for her three-month-old baby? What matters	**more**	, banning a word that has only cultural
6	, and decided that, actually, there might be	**more**	substantial issues to campaign on. French
7		**LWQ**	
8	language, and I would have thought he had	**better**	things to do." Last June the government made a major
9	seem a small thing in one sense, but language is	**important**	. We have a society in which we believe men and
10	it didn't mean that women were equal, but it was	**important**	to at least announce to the world my intent to be
11	about language, and our preparedness to be	**fussy**	about what people call us in public, have grown
12	"Miss"; cue a wail of "aren't there more	**important**	battles for feminism to fight". True, the pay
13	battles for feminism to fight". True, the pay	**gap**	between the sexes in France is running at a
14	the wrong battle, that we should fight first for	**wage**	equality, or against the glass ceiling. But
15	for its recognition." Using Mx, says Lodge, "is	**important**	to me because gendered titles aren't accurate,
16	around the problem? Minding your language is	**important**	here. Shim and shemale are pejorative
17	the need for a new pronoun was "so desperate,	**urgent**	, imperative that... it should long since have
18	of Caitlyn Jenner and genderless bathrooms, a	**fuss**	driven by those who compulsively find offence
19	continue. Personally, I think we should make a	**fuss**	over any use of language that excludes us by
20	this without inspiring fights - but it is an	**important**	one.
21	them feeling that they don't quite belong. It's	**important**	to remember that honorific terms can be marks of
22	of neutral pronoun options or don't realise how	**important**	such a simple thing can be. Misgendering
23	right and not assume other people's is really	**important**	." Laragh Daniel W. : "I've told people to use
24	word from Molière's vocabulary. What is more	**important**	for a French little girl today? To be addressed
25	same as a man doing equivalent work? What is more	**important**	for a French women today? Never to hear the word
26	For many French feminists like me, there are far	**more**	pressing battles to fight than banning a lovely
27	for her three-month-old baby? What matters	**more**	, banning a word that has only cultural
28	, and decided that, actually, there might be	**more**	substantial issues to campaign on. Thanks to
29	fights worth having. It is sad that there remain	**more**	pressing issues for women than doing away with
30		**RWQ**	
31	socialist Spanish government has found time to	**fuss**	about the surnames of its citizens. Mother's
32	them using your first name. Surely what's more	**important**	in terms of respect is the way they talk to you,
33	issue up there with domestic violence or the pay	**gap**	. Clearly it isn't. Indeed, complaints about
34	" is an inequality issue up there with domestic	**violence**	or the pay gap. Clearly it isn't. Indeed,
35	economic problems, Fillon might have found	**better**	uses for his time than doing battle with the word
36	God may seem pedantic to some, but carries an	**important**	theological message that has long been
37	these linguistic changes are irrelevant to the	**cause**	of women's equality. And the price will
38	bureaucratic bumf, and in any case there are far	**more**	serious battles to fight on behalf of women who
39	society - it's getting out of hand. You do your	**cause**	no good if your default position is to howl "
40	the emails to a newspaper. The most monumental	**fuss**	ensued, with David Cameron absurdly declaring
41		**RWT**	
42	give offence or be insensitive. Justice is more	**important**	than being sensitive to people's feelings.'
43	Women's Law Center senior adviser. 'This is	**important**	in changing hearts and minds.' LOAD-DATE: July
44	table, hasn't the Government got anything	**better**	to do? The justification for this madness is
45	their well-paid civil servants got anything	**better**	to do with their time and our money? LOAD-DATE:

Concordance table 8.6: All lemmas contributing to a 'more important' discourse in the English corpus

In the lines that reject this discourse it is argued either 1) that language change *is* important, or 2) yes, that there *are* more important things, *but* language is also important. The following extract from *The Guardian* concerns singular *they*:

> [...] As part of a liberal, feminist, grammar-nerd circle of friends, I had a small expectation that we would all see 'they' as a positive thing; [...] But some could not be moved: switching to 'they' was meaningless, changing nothing in a world where being born female could justify your being killed. Actions against actions, rather than language, made more sense. And wasn't this push for 'they' just an example of a new political correctness, in a time of Caitlyn Jenner and genderless bathrooms, a **fuss** driven by those who compulsively find offence in everything they can? [...] Personally, I think we should make a **fuss** over any use of language that excludes us by gender, race, sexuality, or religion, but I know that this is itself another issue of contention. [...] I think 'they' is the way to proceed as a default, until English is spoken in a world where the inherent power disparity between the 'hes' and 'shes' is eradicated. I know it won't happen in my lifetime, but as long as we continue to use a language that is inherently sexist, we will be forever perpetuating sexist ideology, even without intending to. I still do not know how to talk about this without inspiring fights - but it is an **important** one.
> 2016-05-05 '"They" - the singular pronoun that could solve sexism in English', *The Guardian*

The journalist acknowledges that even in 'liberal, feminist, grammar-nerd' circles a 'more important' discourse is drawn upon and accepted. However, she counters

this by arguing that language perpetuates sexist ideology, i.e., that language not only reflects gender disparity, it *reinforces* it, even when the speaker does not intend to. Even in CQ and LWQ articles that were classed as accepting this discourse (lines 3-6, 8, and 24-29) sexism in language is never denied or ridiculed. On the contrary, that there are *still* more serious problems facing women than sexist language in the 21st century is something to lament:

> It is sad that there remain **more pressing issues** for women than doing away with *Mademoiselle*, but it's true.
> 2011-09-29 'There is an alternative to the M word', *The Independent*

For these articles it is more a question of *prioritising* feminist campaigns, rather than an outright rejection of non-sexist language.

When a 'more important' discourse is *accepted* by the RW (lines 31-34, 36-40, 42, and 44-45) it is used to *discredit* attempts at language reform. There is no question that gender-fair language campaigns are a good thing, but perhaps not a priority. In these concordance lines this discourse is a waste of 'well-paid civil servants'' time and (our) money (line 45), and possibly even 'just a sly tactic to deflect attention from the dire economic problems engulfing the country' (an expanded version of line 31). Attempts at language reform are ridiculed as 'getting out of hand' (line 39) and 'madness' (line 44):

> [...] The Government has just issued official guidelines to schools on how to deal with suspected racist and sexist language. [...] As the *Mail* asked yesterday: with our schools slipping to 20th in the world performance table, hasn't the Government got anything **better** to do? The justification for this madness is that it will challenge gender stereotyping in education.
> 2015-10-20 'OH, DO GROW UP, YOU BIG GIRL'S BLOUSE', *The Daily Mail*

Evidently, the journalist does not believe that the guidelines will challenge gender stereotyping in schools (in fact, he goes on to ask whether there is indeed any evidence for gender stereotyping in schools at all: 'Are they? Are they really? Where's the evidence?'). It seems that most RW articles accept a 'more important' discourse because language is not seen as part of a wider problem, in other words, as contributing to material forms of sexism. On the other hand, for the majority LWQ and CQ concordance lines, sexism in language and sexism in society are interconnected.

8.5 'RIDCULOUS' discourse

Two terms in the top 100 keywords (*silly* and *ridiculous*) indicated a 'ridiculous' discourse. In addition, this discourse has been noted in other research (Van Dijk *et al*. 2003, p.357; Parks and Robertson 1998). Readers will note that there is some overlap with the 'more important' discourse above. However, in the 'ridiculous discourse' there is no question of what to prioritise, feminist linguistic reform is simply nonsense.

A search for the following lemmas was carried out: ABSURD, AMUSE, COMICAL, COST, CRAZY, FARCE, FINANCE, GET A GRIP / LIFE, JOKE, LAUGH, LUDICROUS, MONEY, PATHETIC, PETTY, POINT, PREPOSTEROUS, RIDICULOUS, SENSE, SILLY, STUPID, TAX PAYER, TRIVIAL, and WASTE (see Table 18 on p.261 for full search details).

RIDICULOUS	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
153 RF (117 occ) 49% (57/116)	213 RF (11 occ) 60% (3/5)	106 RF (34 occ) 52% (22/42)	136 RF (34 occ) 43% (18/42)	270 RF (38 occ) 54% (14/26)	0

As with the 'language police' discourse, a 'ridiculous' discourse is least frequent in the LWQ and most frequent in the RWT. On the other hand, the distribution of these lemmas in the newspaper groups is relatively similar. The concordance lines were examined and classified according to whether they expressed support for gender-fair language or not. The graph below shows the occurrences used to argue *against* gender-fair language (sexist language is ridiculed) in green, and occurrences used to argue *for* feminist linguistic change in purple. Dark purple are instances of this discourse being used to ridicule *sexist* language (e.g., calling female teacher *Miss*). Light purple represents occurrences that reject accusations of ridicule.

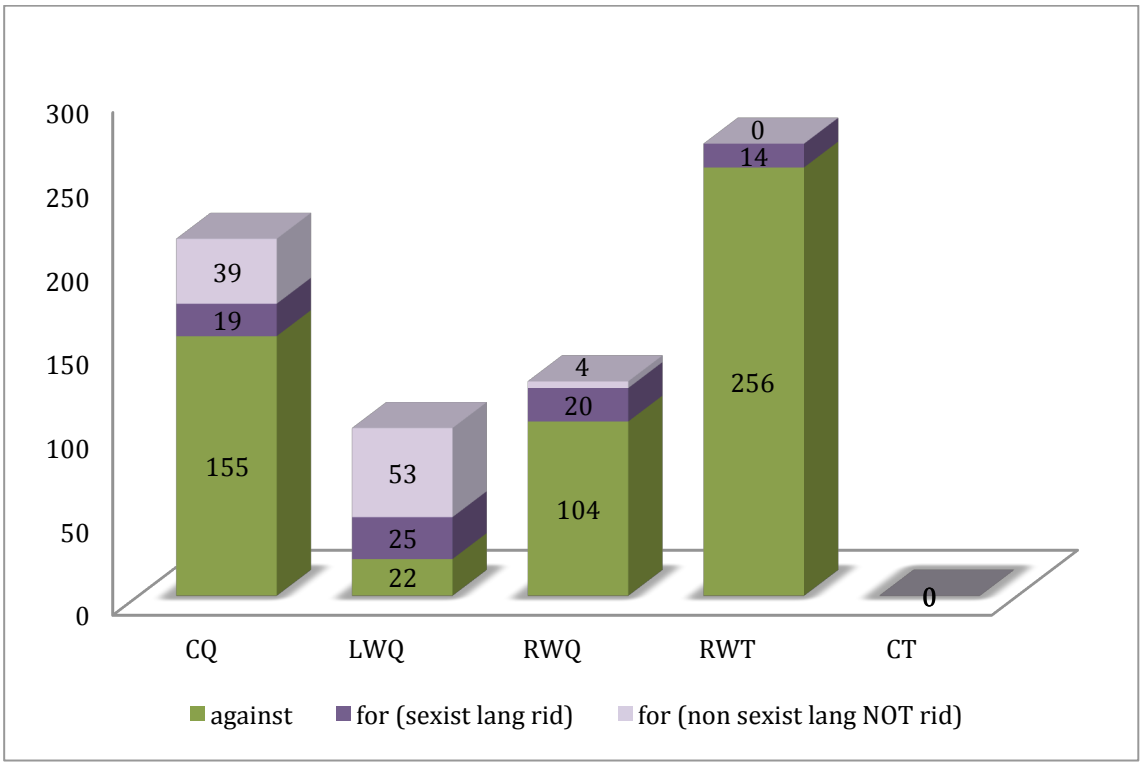


Figure 8.2: RFs for a 'ridiculous discourse' in the English corpus

As the graph shows, this discourse is invoked most frequently to ridicule sexist language, with 66% (77/116) of all occurrences being used in this way. However, there are significant differences between how these occurrences are subsequently framed in the context of the article. For instance, although 36% (16/45) of CQ-LWQ lines (lines 2-5, 7-10, 14, 31, 37, 39, 44-47) were classed as ridiculing non-sexist language, they are mostly either direct or indirect quotes, which are subsequently discredited in the article. Only three occurrences from *The Independent* (lines 45-47) ridicule gender-fair initiatives, and uphold this opinion in the rest of the article. Thus, the overwhelming majority of CQ and LWQ articles that use this discourse use it to *support* gender-fair language, either in the context of the utterance, or if not, in the context of the article.

1			CQ	
2	refrain from using the titles Miss or Mrs.	"Ludicrous"		, one Tory MEP told the Daily Mail. "Pol
3	hadn't experienced any negative attitudes." 'No	point		Some though, just can't see the point.
4	point' Some though, just can't see the	point		. Says Miss Ann Widdecombe MP: "I've grown
5	perfectly good title. I can't see the	point		of Ms and I don't see it
6	see it as an issue. "It's absolutely	ridiculous		. These titles have been around for a ve
7	understood that being a Mrs or Miss is	trivialising		their independent status." A title wh
8	Telegraph, branded it a "waste of taxpayers'	money		". It is more than 30 years since Ms began to
9	, in the Daily Telegraph, branded it a "waste of	taxpayers'		money". It is more than 30 years since Ms bega
10	Another, in the Daily Telegraph, branded it a "	waste		of taxpayers' money". It is more than 30 years
11	students suspect that professors may not get the	point		of gender-neutral pronouns, they may play it
12	are a thing of little consequence. The whole	point		of the day is equality and diversity, and
13			LWQ	
14	Maidstone and the Weald: "Jack Straw is a	silly		ass. A chair is a piece of furniture.
15	hour of every day explaining myself and being	laughed		at, to boot. I had to learn to
16	crossed over to Britain. In addition, the whole	point		of the word was to give women a
17	favour of Ms and thought the title Miss	preposterous		. Elisabeth Murdoch, chief executive o
18	any boy. This early gender divide might seem	trivial		but it was institutionalised in secondary
19	the carpet by a media which likes to	ridicule		them. I remember a group of well-known
20	ebates over the language of transgender may seem	trivial		. In fact, says Roz Kaveney, linguistics is
21	the planet, arguing about words is staggeringly	trivial		minded. Another way is to say that when
22	women's magazine corporation. Oh, how those men	laughed		among themselves as I worked out the acron
23	. Man-hater in particular makes me laugh. Women	waste		a lot of time submissively explaining to
24	their quirky right as "actrices", it does seem	ridiculous		. For French feminists, this may not be
25	e word "man" in her name is an endless source of	amusement		to the kind of person who thinks it witty to c
26	dest but significant changes respond with feeble	jokes		about non-existent proposals to "person the
27	", but Ms, which I recall being greeted with	ridicule		when it started to catch on in the 1960
28	and ability will take him." So far, so	ridiculous		. But what was I going to do about
29	. There weren't women knights, but Miss is	ridiculous		: it doesn't match Sir at all. It'
30	the ones who "just can't take a	joke		". To preserve the status quo it is necessary
31	them being a champion. Beaumont was making a	joke		about being beaten in a combat sport by
32	ce, said: “The comparable male version sounds so	ridiculous		no one would ever run it outside a
33	by a usage, “it sounds old-fashioned/awkward/	silly		/just wrong” is the best justification for a
34	me apology right before a dreadful "dumb blonde"	joke		. I've even been asked in the past
35	ed from passing cars and apologies before stupid	jokes		, but the significance of hair colour has fad
36	see gender as a construct, this makes perfect	sense		. But the English language fails to reflect it
37	arge majority of language users.” But Kosztovics	laughs		down Swedish feminists who instead want to
38	names, and in turn, men are no longer	ridiculed		for working in 'female' professions like
39	actions, rather than language, made more	sense		. And wasn't this push for "they" just an exam
40	women and women's issues as inferior and	laughable		. 7:57 PM - 22 Jan 2016 · Vallejo, CA, Un
41	I don’t have a gender and have	jokingly		, dismissively been called “it” and callin
42	at that stage for someone to ignore or	ridicule		you can be really damaging to your self-
43	vastness and diversity of what no longer makes	sense		to call the "gay" community (unless we're
44	like it, even when that makes them look	silly		. In a test paper for US college students
45	ord in English has stuck. Why? Because they look	stupid		. "Artificial coinages are rarely successful
46	of praise and criticism over 'lack of common	sense		' • Jess Staufenberg • Saturday 29 August 2015
47	sake of gender inclusivity - including common	sense		." • Jonathan Turley, a professor of law and a

Concordance table 8.7: All CQ and LWQ occurrences of lemmas contributing to a ‘ridiculous’ discourse in the English corpus

The concordance table shows that this discourse is drawn upon in the CQ and LWQ to argue that *traditional* language is ridiculous (lines 6, 17, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32 and 33), that jokes made about gender are 'feeble' (line 26), and 'stupid' (line 35), made by 'the kind of person who thinks it witty to call Harriet Harman [Labour MP] Harriet ‘Harperson' (line 25). Although gender-fair language 'may seem **trivial** [...] linguistics is a vital battlefield' (line 20). Using *man* to modify nouns such as *cyclist, politician*, or *writer,* 'sounds so **ridiculous** no one would ever run it outside a feminist standup comedy routine’ (line 32).

The only lines in the CQ and LWQ that ridicule gender-fair language (lines 45-47) both in the utterance and in the article do not criticise gender-fair language per se, but specifically *new* pronouns. For example the article in lines 44 and 45 supports the use of singular *they* as a gender-neutral pronoun, and says that those who do not accept it 'look **silly**' (line 45). However, the journalist claims that new gender-

neutral pronouns such as *hes*, *hem*, *ir*, and *ons* have not been accepted in English '[b]ecause they look **stupid**' (line 45).

On the other hand, when the RW invoke this discourse to argue against gender-fair language, it is upheld in the rest of the article. Thus, the occurrences classed as 'against' are 'real' examples of this discourse being used against non-sexist language.

48		**RWQ**	
49	Commons, was described as a "fool" and "a	**silly**	ass" by Conservatives yesterday over plans
50	without having to resort to the kind of	**ridiculously**	artificial jargon so feared and parod
51	bossy or conceited young woman? And the recent	**ridiculous**	“Ban Bossy” campaign shouted long and l
52	, a coal miner of 45 years, even calls similarly	**no-nonsense**	blokes "ducky" and has never once been accused
53	. There weren't women knights, but 'Miss' is	**ridiculous**	: it doesn't match 'Sir' at all. It'
54	Mrs ___ using my full name? It would be	**ridiculous**	. 'Miss' is also more polite than them u
55	iya) January 28, 2015 Here are eight of the most	**ludicrous**	yet trivial things that people have been
56	blems of gender inequality than get embroiled in	**petty**	spats. Yet there is a sense among men
57	about the M-word suggest that the fairly	**trivial**	matter of a member of the Royal Family
58	it. Its indiscriminate adoption has led to such	**absurdities**	as a recent ITV advertising campaign w
59	nor war"), then you can maintain grammatical	**sense**	only by making the sentence long and clumsy: s
60	referring to drakes and ganders. That would be	**silly**	. These names are simply what the aquatic bir
61	sea beckoned, inviting explorers." It's easy to	**laugh**	at this sort of preciousness, but that's
62	"less" and "fewer", I think there is a	**point**	to the word "Mademoiselle"; even purely phon
63	take on her husband's. There is no	**point**	in it; merely an unacceptable historical rea
64	otherwise). Actually the facts are not quite so	**silly**	. What happened last week was that, under gre
65	at first she had been angry about my	**silly**	behaviour, she had then reflected that I mig
66	. There weren’t women knights, but Miss is	**ridiculous**	: it doesn’t match Sir at all. It’
67	most monumental fuss ensued, with David Cameron	**absurdly**	declaring that Scudamore should stand dow
68	is to howl "sexism!": you end up seeming faintly	**comical**	. Pick your battles, and pick them well. Tw
69	ccess if a majority of people find it a baffling	**farce**	, though, is it? And the bad men get
70	very nice. They referred to women as "gash",	**joked**	about breast size, and so on; the language
71	t emails we'd rather keep private - questionable	**jokes**	that got ramped up and made you cry
72	who must be publicly shamed is both deeply	**stupid**	and absolutely appalling. And five - stumbl
73	Mr Aubert’s monthly pay — as “grotesque and	**ridiculous**	”. But Cécile Duflot, the Green party le
74	descriptions of their behaviour including "bad",	**"silly"**	, "naughty", "rude" and "lazy". Men today ar
75	reflexive, and again you can see why. It makes	**sense**	alongside the use of singular they as a generi
76	was being jocular but his criticisms were still	**nonsense**	. Merriam-Webster pointed out that, as
77		**RWT**	
78	sandals and their flowery dresses they need to	**get a life**	and stop wasting people's time.'
79	do they undermine marriage but they make a	**laughing**	stock of phrases in English which have be
80	join the real world. 'The fact that taxpayers'	**money**	has been spent on this is frankly disgraceful.
81	to run businesses and then come out with	**nonsense**	like this. ' These people with their sandals a
82	prepared to join the real world. 'The fact that	**taxpayers'**	money has been spent on this is frankly
83	flowery dresses they need to get a life and stop	**wasting**	people's time.' COUNCIL'S STAFF GUIDELINES ON
84	he more neutral terms spouses and partners’. The	**cost**	of the red tape revolution demanded
85	an opposition councillor who says the idea is	**'ludicrous'**	. Brighton, which is known for its div
86	thousands of words and phrases re-written at	**tax-payers**	expense. Lawmakers have passed a series of
87	. There weren't women knights but Miss is	**ridiculous**	: it doesn't match Sir at all. 'It'
88	. There weren't women knights but Miss is	**ridiculous**	: it doesn't match Sir at all. It'
89	Mark Beaumont, 31, made	**joke**	after being hurled to floor by judo champion
90	Now BBC bans the G-word: Sports reporter	**joked**	that he'd been beaten in judo bout
91	cause 'offence'. Broadcaster Mark Beaumont, 31,	**joked**	after being hurled to the floor by a
92	damore over emails he sent containing derogatory	**jokes**	about women. The Queen's Baton Relay charts
93	, but you must be able to have a	**laugh**	about something. The problem now is that peo
94	stand back, stop all this. It is just	**silly**	... We have got to be able to have
95	the UMP, said it was ‘a grotesque and	**ridiculous**	sanction' against Mr Aubert, adding the
96	Party MP Cecile Duflot insisting: ‘This isn’t	**trivial**	. Many respectful UMP members don’t do this
97	ritics who called the proposals 'ridiculous' and	**'absurd'**	, the university clarified that nobody woul
98	ves' and ‘fish stranglers'. Others told her to '	**get a grip**	and focus on 'bigger issues of
99	have too much time on your hands to think up PC	**nonsense**	'. Explaining why she tweeted about the issue
100		**Crazy**	### in any language
101	ot anything better to do with their time and our	**money**	? LOAD-DATE: December 14, 2009 LANGUAGE:
102	become politically incorrect. What utter	**nonsense**	. The English language is the proud possession
103	fun and banter. "These people should go and	**get a life**	, rather than try to make our
104	decisions emanating from Europe were "absolutely	**laughable**	". He added: "We are no longer allowed to
105	) March 17, 2009 Tuesday Edition 1 EU MUST BE	**JOKING**	BYLINE: BILL Leckie SECTION: FEATURES; Pg

Concordance table 8.8: 28/34 RWQ concordance lines and 28/38 RWT lines contributing to a ‘ridiculous’ discourse in the English corpus

Only 10 lines were not classed as 'against' (lines 53, 63-66, 74-76, 87 and 88), and only three of these can be classed as real examples of 'for' occurrences, i.e., that the discourse expressed in the concordance lines is upheld in the rest of the article. In

the other seven instances, the rest of the article makes clear that gender-fair language is not supported. Thus, the RW tends to use this discourse in a relatively uncomplicated way. In other words, it is used to ridicule non-sexist language, including campaigns to raise awareness, e.g., describing assertive girls as 'bossy', but assertive boys as 'leaders' (line 51), or calling women 'love' (line 52).

In response to 'feeble' jokes made about sexist language (line 26 in the CQ and LWQ concordance table above), eight RW lines (70, 71, 89-94) claim that people have *overreacted* to jokes. The first article (lines 70 and 71) is from *The Times*, and describes Richard Scudamore's (then chief executive of the Premier League) 'private' e-mails, in which he had referred to women as 'gash', made jokes about 'big-titted broads', and 'female irrationality':

> [...] They [Scudarmore's e-mails] referred to women as 'gash', **joked** about breast size, and so on; the language was robust and crude. Yep: middle-aged bloke privately emails other middle-aged blokes and fails to use respectful vocab. Imagine! Ms Abraham [his PA] later wrote that 'he didn't censor his language even though he knew I'd see them. It came as a complete shock and afterwards I felt humiliated and belittled. I've never felt that way in the workplace before.' She resigned and leaked the emails to a newspaper. The most monumental fuss ensued, with David Cameron **absurdly** declaring that Scudamore should stand down. One, I am uncomfortable with the thought police calling for people's heads. There's a lot of it about, post Jimmy Savile, and although it comes from a good place - the desire for a fairer society - it's getting out of hand. You do your cause no good if your default position is to howl 'sexism!': you end up seeming faintly **comical**.
> 2014-05-24 'Roast men for their private banter and the war on sexism is lost', *The Times*

This extract invokes a 'ridiculous' discourse in conjunction with a 'language police' discourse. Even if the journalist admits that the jokes were sexist, she claims that the fact that they were 'private'[1] should protect Scudamore from 'the thought police calling for [his head]'. In addition, the title of the article is interesting in that it is *men* who become victims, in this case for their 'banter'. Thus, it is the *reaction* to Scudamore's jokes, but not the jokes themselves, that are ridiculed. Laura Bates, who started the *Everyday Sexism* project, has noted that the word 'banter',

> has become central to a culture that encourages young men to revel in the objectification, sexual pursuit and ridicule of their female peers - it's a cloak of humour and irony that is used to excuse mainstream sexism [...]. And it is incredibly effective, because - as we know - pretending that something is 'just a joke' is a powerful silencing tool [...]. (Bates 2014, p.140)

[1] Scudamore had in fact, written the e-mails from his work account, which his (female) PA had access to. Checking his e-mails was part of her job. It is thus questionable how private these e-mails actually were.

In the reference corpus *banter* collocates strongly with *laddish* (7.97), *dressing room* (7.93), *brotherly* (7.18) and *bar-room* (6.87), suggesting that it is often perceived as an activity that men engage in with other men (all the references to *laddish banter, dressing room banter*, and *brotherly banter* refer to men's behaviour).

The second article (lines 89-94) is from *The Daily Mail,* and concerns the use of the word *girl* being used to describe 19-year-old female judo champion, Cynthia Rahming (it was extensively quoted from in part 8.1.1 on a 'so-called' discourse). Rahming said that she was not offended, and did not find the comment sexist. Both articles highlight the potentially problematic nature of how differently sexist jokes can be interpreted, even by those to whom the joke refers (Sunderland 2007).

8.6 'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED' discourse

The top 100 key words indicated the possible presence of discourses revolving around the idea of language being *outdated* (keyword score of 24.7), and *old-fashioned* (13.8). Discourses surrounding etymology, historical authenticity, and tradition have also been found in other work on sexist language (Parks & Robertson 1998; Blaubergs 1980). Therefore, a search for the following lemmas was carried out:

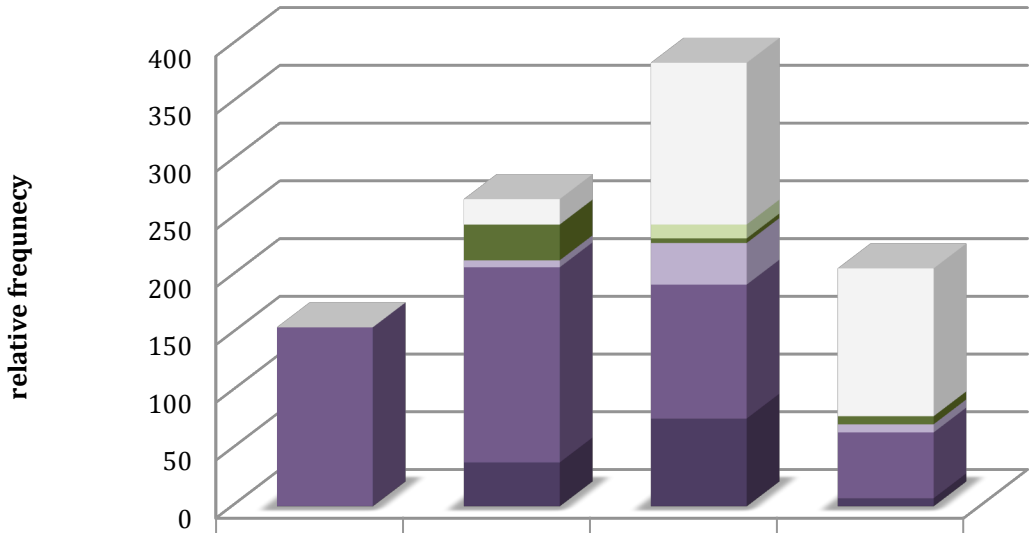
ANACHRONIC, ANGLO-SAXON, ANTIQUITY, ARCHAIC, CONVENTION, DATE, ETYMOLOGY, FAD, FASHION, HISTORY, LATIN, LEGACY, MEDIEVAL, MODERN, OBSOLETE, OLD, ORIGIN, PAST, SHAKESPEARE (& Cº)[1], THROWBACK, TRADITION, TREND and VICTORIAN (see Table 19 on p.262 for full search details).

'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
325 RF (248 occ) 71% (82/116)	155 RF (8 occ) 80% (4/5)	257 RF (88 occ) 69% (29/42)	444 RF (111 occ) 86% (36/42)	291 RF (41 occ) 50% (13/26)	0

As the table shows, this discourse is very frequent and very well distributed, which suggests that it is one that readers would easily recognise. After analysing the

1 '& Cº' refers to other authors referred to in my corpus: Jane Austen, Lewis Carroll, Geoffrey Chaucer, George Eliiot, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Walt Whitman.

concordance lines, they were first divided into whether the discourse was drawn upon to argue 'for' or 'against' gender-fair language, then into an 'old-fashioned' and a 'tradition' discourse. 'Diff' refers to lines that were difficult to class into an 'old-fashioned' or a 'tradition' discourse. An 'old-fashioned' discourse is used to frame certain terms or usages as out of date, and something we should distance ourselves from. Alternatively, using a 'tradition' discourse implies that history and traditions should be respected as valid forms of linguistic authority.



	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT
not classed	0	22	140	128
against + diff	0	0	12	0
against + trad	0	31	4	7
for + diff	0	6	36	7
for + old-fash	155	169	116	57
for + trad	0	38	76	7

Figure 8.3: RF of a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse in the English corpus

What is immediately apparent from the above graph is that the majority of concordance lines (57% - 142/248) use this discourse to *support* feminist linguistic change (purple). Only 6% (15/248) of occurrences were classed as opposing gender-fair language (green), and 37% (91/248) were not classed (grey). As the graph shows, most of the unclassed concordance lines came from the RW, possibly indicating that whereas the LWQ and CQ have a rather clear position on gender-fair language, the RW may be more ambivalent.

LWQ and CQ concordance lines were relatively easily classed into 'for' or 'against', and 'old-fashioned' or 'tradition' discourses, whereas the RW lines were more difficult to classify, as can be seen from the higher number of 'not classed' occurrences in the RW in the palest grey at the top of each column. No instances were found of an 'old-fashioned' discourse being used to argue against gender-fair language.

48% (120/248) of the concordance lines were classed as using an 'old-fashioned' discourse, which is used exclusively in support of feminist linguistic reform. As the graph shows, the LWQ invokes this 'old-fashioned' discourse slightly more often than the other groups.

1		**CQ**	
2	people by gender is as offensive and	**outdated**	as defining people by race. Breeding negativit
3	"archaic", she said, "a hangover from the	**past**	Her own straw poll of the office
4	hasn't always been a feminist victory. In the	**history**	of English and other languages, men have
5		**LWQ**	
6	countries do so already. "It really is	**outdated**	to have language which refers to 'he'
7	Miss and Mrs are marks of the	**old**	world, reminders of women's second-class statu
8	ıdage-in-waiting? Don't be branded and marked by	**old-world**	convention. Let's kick against those fools at
9	as madame implies. No wonder such a patriatchal	**legacy**	makes French women feel patronised. This
10	ıologically related to "damsel", certainly has a	**medieval**	ring to it. There is definitely something
11	trans people, writing and activism are one.	**Old-school**	language such as 'trapped in the wrong
12	response to a vigorous protest about this	**anachronism**	was the French equivalent of "computer says
13	to tick the box Mon Damoiseau, the	**medieval**	equivalent of Ma Demoiselle. The boys soon
14	ıncreasingly filled by either. "Career girls" is	**outdated**	as well as offensive, when career women
15	is rightly becoming a thing of the	**past**	Some men just do not have the
16	./As if I were their well-acquainted friend. (	**Shakespeare**	, The Comedy of Errors) If ye from your hearts
17	Ms or Mx at all? Convention? Quirky	**tradition**	Very important data gathering? Or to maintain
18	manner or character. It is coquettish perhaps,	**old-fashioned**	certainly, but condescending? I'm not sure.
19		**RWQ**	
20	culture where such beliefs are seen as	**antiquated**	and wrong, the sexism that persists is
21	ɜarchers said that their experiments showed that	**outdated**	sexism was the only sufficient explanation. Th
22	of a letter is sexist hangover from	**past**	centuries when men were considered superior to
23	was sexist as it stems from an	**old**	word for "virgin". In France, one traditionall
24	under its belt, should be so hung up on a few	**old-fashioned**	words. For a while, I thought the answer might
25	ɜpending on context as either the embarrassingly	**outdated**	"negro" or the very nasty "n-----". Cue
26	serious amount of adaptation, sounds positively	**Victorian**	in English: "When the customer calls, he
27	was. Madam — a naff, twee, forelock-tugging	**anachronism**	— is one step away from the
28	as "Miss" and men as "Sir" has prevailed. "It's	**old-fashioned**	and it embodies the massive status disparity
29	largely upper-class boys. Miss is largely a	**throwback**	to the late Victorian era when pressure
30	is largely a throwback to the late	**Victorian**	era when pressure was put on women
31	ɭed it “creeping, benevolent sexism" adding, “as	**outdated**	crass terms go, ‘the missus’ surely tops
32	ıltho̱ugh, more tentatively then, it offered both	**traditional**	patriarchal and new inclusive versions of the
33	'. You won't be harming the position of women in	**modern**	society. Oliver Kamm
34	ever dared to be an authoress". This	**dated**	term raises the vexed issue of sexism
35	from all official French documentation. "It's	**old-fashioned**	," she said. "Let's get a move on. Less and le
36		**RWT**	
37	to 'Mr and Mrs' are both remnants of an	**old-fashioned**	world view that placed men before women. Dr
38	status while men don't. It's is simply	**outdated**	and unfair.' The Brittany town of Cesson-Sevig
39	Supplement. Now Professor Coates wants the	**old-fashioned**	terms to be banished from the modern classroom
40	pupils. ‘Miss’ is said to be a	**throwback**	to the late Victorian era, when female

Concordance table 8.9: 36/120 occurrences of an ‘old fashioned’ discourse in the English corpus

The 'old-fashioned' discourse draws heavily on lemmas such as OLD-FASHIONED, OUTDATED, ARCHAIC, and ANTIQUATED, and is often used to portray language as lagging behind social change, e.g., line 14:

> Within not much more than a couple of decades, policemen and woman police constables have become police officers, firemen are now firefighters, male nurses are nurses, postmen are postal workers, air hostesses have become cabin crew. In all these cases, language

> reflects the fact that jobs once largely the preserve of one sex are now increasingly filled by either. 'Career girls' is **outdated**, as well as offensive, when career women outnumber career men.
> 2013-10-18 'Sexist language- it's every man for him or herself', *The Guardian*

Cameron, however, criticises the use of this discourse to promote feminist linguistic change as it is based on a second wave assumption that *words* rather than *the sexism that they symbolise* are the problem, and that the language ideology underpinning this discourse – 'that the purpose of language is to represent states of affairs accurately' (Cameron 1992, p.104) – is too simplistic.

On the other hand, only 22% (54/248) of concordance lines were relatively easily classed as invoking a 'tradition' discourse. Most of these 'tradition' concordance lines (32/54) were used in *support* of gender-fair language, and only 12 against.

1		**LWQ**	
2	non-derogatory as you can get - it's a standard	**Latin**	prefix, as in 'Cisalpine Gaul'. This
3	sense of self. Thus, transgender (where the	**Latin**	trans means "on the other side of") signifies
4	ex and gender do not match, cisgender (from the	**Latin**	"on this side of", ie the antonym of trans)
5	lmost "rather a decent sort". This is of course	**old-fashioned**	, but I hope in a good way.
6	lags (pictured below), is more than 80 per cent	**Anglo-Saxon**	in origin. In standard English, the figure is
7	as "slang" as they are of great	**antiquity**	LOAD-DATE: August 17, 2006 LANGUAGE: ENGLISH GR
8	, as modern English words are predominantly of	**Latin**	origin. For this reason, some dialect experts
9	below), is more than 80 per cent Anglo-Saxon in	**origin**	. In standard English, the figure is less than
10	Wiedersehen, Pet is 80 per cent Anglo-Saxon in	**origin**	REX FEATURES PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper
11	may be interpreted as sexist language. Such	**traditional**	Geordie terms are widely used as terms
12		**RWQ**	
13	By Christopher Howse 8:00AM GMT 15 Mar 2010 In	**Shakespeare's**	poem Venus and Adonis it is ladies first, and
14	, according to researchers. From William	**Shakespeare's**	Romeo & Juliet and the nursery rhyme Jack and
15	There are examples of singular "they" in Louis	**Carroll**	, Jane Austen, the King James Bible,
16	the King James Bible, Shakespeare, Thackeray,	**Eliot**	and Walt Whitman. The backlash against it, it
17	Austen, the King James Bible, Shakespeare,	**Thackeray**	, Eliot and Walt Whitman. The backlash against
18	usage, appearing in the work of writers such as	**Chaucer**	, Shakespeare, and Jane Austen. In 2015,
19	in the work of writers such as Chaucer,	**Shakespeare**	, and Jane Austen. In 2015, singular they was
20	as a deliberate anachronism, and he had reason.	**Austen**	occasionally adopted the word. But she
21	as Barbara Cartland or Judith Krantz, not Jane	**Austen**	and George Eliot. Samuel Butler believed that
22	or Judith Krantz, not Jane Austen and George	**Eliot**	. Samuel Butler believed that the author of The
23	" as generic singular pronouns. For example,	**Shakespeare**	wrote in As You Like It: "God send everyone the
24	women. It sounds much better and it has a long	**history**	behind it: for centuries it was widely used to
25	as a generic pronoun while preserving the	**conventions**	of grammar. But I can't see a
26	ive examples of singular they from each of Jane	**Austen's**	published novels. (From Pride and Prejudice: "
27	language since at least the Middle English of	**Chaucer**	. It's especially common when used in relation
28	language since at least the Middle English of	**Chaucer**	'
29	Edition 'They' as a singular pronoun is no	**modern**	contrivance BYLINE: Oliver Kamm SECTION: NEWS
30	pronoun is often mistakenly thought to be a	**modern**	contrivance: a convenient but nonetheless
31	like each, every or any. Here, for example, is	**Shakespeare**	in The Rape of Lucrece: "And every one to rest
32		**RWT**	
33	nd hers' and the names of romantic couples like	**Shakespeare's**	Romeo and Juliet. 'While the original sexist
34	even had a special spanking paddle'. Call me	**old-fashioned**	, but what's wrong with a table tennis bat? ***
35	' Miss McCarthy queried: I wonder if there is a	**modern**	version that says fishers of people?' She also
36	by one tweeter that the term has biblical	**origins**	. It comes from Matthew 4:19: And he saith unto
37	Politicians and thousands of players of the	**traditional**	British game have launched a campaign to

Concordance table 8.10: 35/54 occurrences of a 'tradition' discourse in the English corpus

This 'tradition' discourse draws heavily on respected authors such as Austen, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, in particular to highlight the historical precedents of singular *they* as a source of authority and justification of its validity today, e.g., lines 26-31:

> The use of *they* as a singular pronoun is often mistakenly thought to be a **modern** contrivance [...] This is all wrong. Singular *they* has been in the language since at least the Middle English of **Chaucer**. It's especially common when used in relation to a noun phrase using an indefinite determiner like each, every or any. Here, for example, is **Shakespeare** in *The Rape of Lucrece*: 'And every one to rest themselves betake ...' In my book Accidence Will Happen: The Non-Pedantic Guide to English I give examples of singular *they* from each of **Jane Austen**'s published novels. [...] It's part of the grammar of standard English.
> 2016-07-16 '"They" as a singular pronoun is no modern contrivance', *The Times*

The references to literary icons such as Shakespeare can also be linked to both a 'national identity' discourse, in which the journalist perhaps hopes to inspire a feeling of pride in the reader, as well as an 'authority' discourse, i.e., if Shakespeare uses singular *they*, then it *must* be correct.

The remaining 30% (74/248) was not easy to class as either being part of an 'old-fashioned' or 'tradition' discourse. As already mentioned, most of these occurrences came from RW publications. Interestingly, many of these lines referred to the lemma TRADITION. A word sketch of the term *tradition* in the reference corpus was very illuminating in this respect. It revealed that collocates of *tradition* are overwhelmingly neutral or positive (e.g., *heritage* (collocation score 8.43), *uphold* (8.13), *proud* (7.83), *ancient* (7.65), *respect* (7.20), *preserve* (7.14), and *honour* (6.52)). Thus, even though the use of TRADITION in my corpus is not immediately obvious from the concordance lines, and sometimes even from a closer reading of the entire article, it is likely to have positive connotations for most readers.

tradition *(noun)*
English Broadsheet Newspapers 1993-2013 (SiBol with trends) freq = 34,558 (44.94 per million)

modifiers of "tradition"		67.29
oral +	196	7.84
oral tradition		
proud +	205	7.83
proud tradition of		
ancient +	280	7.65
ancient tradition		
rich +	276	7.35
rich tradition of		
culinary +	137	7.34
culinary traditions		
age-old +	123	7.34
age-old tradition		
time-honoured +	117	7.31
the time-honoured tradition		
long +	831	7.16
a long tradition of		
centuries-old +	105	7.16
centuries-old tradition of		
folk +	140	7.14
folk tradition		
christian +	160	7.12
the Christian tradition		
cultural +	230	7.09
cultural traditions		

nouns modified by "tradition"		3.79
dictate	30	9.20
, as tradition dictates ,		
tarami	9	7.81
custom	10	6.33
traditions , customs		
religion	8	5.10
ritual	7	4.99
culture	34	4.60
length about Indian tradition , culture and wedding .		
heritage	7	4.08
demand	22	4.06
as tradition demands		
history	22	3.40
tradition , history ,		
field	8	2.75
language	7	2.71
festival	9	1.92
music	7	1.82
today	9	1.21

verbs with "tradition" as object		29.00
continue +	435	8.15
uphold +	143	8.13
revive +	149	7.77
respect	90	7.20
preserve	97	7.14
maintain +	244	7.10
flavour	37	6.66
blackcurrant and apple flavoured Weihenstephaner Tradition , and the		
honour	48	6.52
establish +	125	6.33
tradition established by		
follow +	458	6.29
embrace	51	6.13
observe	43	6.04
inherit	31	5.94
honor	22	5.92
time honored tradition		
break +	136	5.79
cherish	19	5.73
embody	21	5.72
combine	45	5.64

verbs with "tradition" as subject		11.46
dictate	68	8.25
tradition dictates that		
date	83	7.92
tradition dating back to		
stretch	55	7.50
tradition stretching back to		
transitioned	12	6.61
But , this tradition has now transitioned into a style		
bind	15	6.25
influence	22	6.02
inspire	41	5.89
endure	12	5.46
traditions endure		
continue	97	5.21
tradition continues		
shape	9	5.19
persist	8	5.00
survive	23	4.96
tradition survives		
fade	7	4.94
teach	12	4.71

"tradition" and/or ...		20.19
culture +	635	9.42
culture and tradition		
custom +	201	9.37
customs and traditions		
history +	369	8.65
history and tradition		
modernity	86	8.52
tradition and modernity		
heritage +	120	8.43
ritual	68	7.94
rituals and traditions		
value +	129	7.64
values and traditions		
religion	64	7.12
religion and tradition		
belief	53	7.12
traditions and beliefs		
scripture	29	7.04
scripture and tradition		
innovation	44	6.64
tradition and innovation		
practice	54	6.56

Word sketch 8.2: 'tradition' in the English reference corpus

Out of the 36 occurrences of TRADITION in my corpus 22 were classed as ambiguous. The fact that the LW (19 RF) and CQ (39 RF) have so few occurrences of this lemma compared to the RWQ (69 RF) and the RWT (78 RF) is, in itself, instructive. If TRADITION more frequently has positive connotations, those who argue that traditions are sexist, are likely to avoid its use. On the other hand, the more frequent use in the RW perhaps indicates a respect of tradition, even when these traditions may be sexist. For instance, there are 10 occurrences of TRADITION that refer to calling female teachers *Miss* and male teachers *Sir* (all RW). Rather than claiming that these titles are symmetrical, a 'tradition' discourse is perhaps drawn upon in order to, if not to explicitly *support* sexist language, at least legitimise it to a certain extent.

In sum, both an 'old-fashioned' and a 'tradition' discourse are overwhelmingly used to *support* gender-fair language. An 'old-fashioned' discourse is used exclusively in this way. The LWQ and CQ draw mostly on an 'old-fashioned' discourse, thus mostly arguing *for* gender-fair language. A 'tradition' discourse is

used to support gender-fair language 59% (32/54) of the time, and to oppose it 22% (12/54) of the time. Although most of the occurrences of TRADITION were ambiguous, a word sketch in the reference corpus would suggest that it usually has positive connotations. As most the RWQ (68 RF) and the RWT (78 RF) have a higher RF for this lemma compared to the LWQ (19 RF) and the CQ (39 RF), this goes some way to explaining the higher number of concordances lines which were difficult to class in the RW. The LWQ and CQ overwhelmingly draw upon these discourses to *support* gender-fair language, whereas the RWQ and RWT seem to use them in a more balanced way.

8.7 Summary

Six principle discourses surrounding gender-fair language were identified: a 'sexism / inequality' discourse, a 'language police' discourse, a 'war / violence' discourse, a 'more important' discourse, a 'ridiculous' discourse, and a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse.

Arguments in favour of non-sexist language usually draw upon a 'sexism / inequality' discourse in order to highlight that sexist language is just one manifestation of the much larger problem of sexism in society. Feminism is generally seen in a positive light, and as an efficient way to reduce sexism. When a 'language police' discourse is invoked, it is usually to defend non-sexist language against criticism. 'Banning' words is criticised, but a 'banning' discourse is rarely opposed. All newspaper groups talk about feminist linguistic reform using metaphors of wars or battles. Supporters of non-sexist language, describe language as a 'battlefield', and gender-fair language reform as a 'fight worth having', while lamenting the fact that there are still more important battles than language to fight for today. A 'ridiculous' discourse is invoked in order to defend non-sexist language against such claims, to argue that certain traditional uses of language (e.g., *Mrs, Miss* and *mademoiselle*, generic *he*, refusal of singular *they*) are ridiculous, or to ridicule those who reject non-sexist language. Sexist jokes are condemned as 'stupid' and 'feeble'. A 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse is used overwhelmingly to support gender-fair language. An 'old fashioned' discourse is used exclusively in this way. A 'tradition' discourse is invoked to support non-

sexist alternatives, e.g., using historical precedents such as singular *they* in Shakespeare.

Arguments given against gender-fair language usually invoke a 'sexism / inequality' discourse to argue that language will not reduce sexism. In other words, language is *not* a tool that can be used to change society. Feminism is seen in a negative light, as part of a 'language police' who are trying to curtail freedom of speech. Discourses of a 'victimhood' culture are also present, i.e., that feminists are being oversensitive and should simply 'grow up'. Sexism is generally not denied, but there is a significant 'so-called sexism' discourse, which casts doubt on claims of sexism. A 'language police' discourse is invoked to criticise institutional efforts at reducing sexist language or 'banning' words, as this is perceived an attack on freedom of speech. A 'war / violence' discourse is employed, and portrays feminists as the aggressors: an unjustified war has been waged by the oversensitive language police, who have turned language into a 'minefield'. A 'ridiculous' discourse is used to claim that feminist linguistic reforms are a waste of time and money, and that some people simply do not have a sense of humour. A 'tradition' discourse is sometimes used against non-sexist language. There were some examples of an explicit rejection of gender-fair language, as well as some more implicit rejections. It could be argued that these implicit rejections used the positively connoted lemma TRADITION to, at least to a certain extent, legitimise sexist language.

Underlying many of these discourses is the conception of language as a tool. Those who believe that language is a tool, which should be used to reduce sexism, draw upon a discourse of 'sexism / inequality' to highlight the necessity for non-sexist language. Alternatively, those who do *not* believe that language is a tool, and therefore *cannot* (or it *is* a tool but *should not*) be used to reduce sexism, will invoke a 'more important' and a 'ridiculous' discourse – so much time and money is being wasted on a futile project, when there are much more serious problems to solve. An 'old fashioned' discourse is underpinned by the related language ideology of language as a mirror, which should reflect current reality. A 'tradition' discourse is also sometimes linked to a language ideology of language as a national treasure,

which requires respect and protection. Similarly a 'war / violence' discourse is based on a language ideology of language as a possession to be fought over.

Donnez-moi quarante trous du cul et je vous fais une Académie française.

[Give me forty arseholes and I'll give you an Académie française]

Georges Clemenceau (French politician and journalist [1841-1929])

Chapter 9 Discourses surrounding language in the French corpus (RQ3)

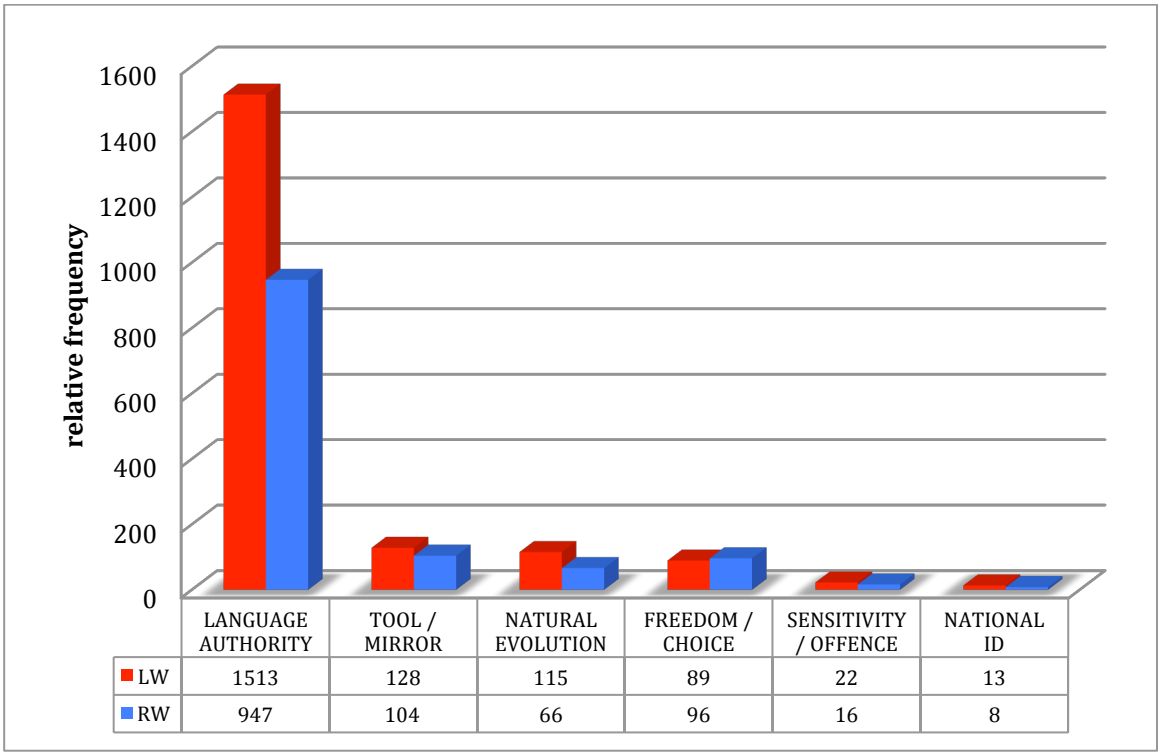
This chapter will:

- **identify the main discourses surrounding language in the French corpus, and the language ideologies that underpin them**
- **analyse how these discourse are used in the non-sexist language debate**

The two previous chapters analysed the English corpus (RQ1 and RQ2). The aim of this chapter is to answer my third research question: What are the discourses surrounding *language in general* in the French corpus?. Discourses identified in this chapter will be compared with those in Chapter 7 (RQ1: discourses surrounding *language* in English) in order to highlight those that are common or particular to both languages. Traces of the same six discourses as in the English corpus were found in the French corpus:

- a 'tool / mirror' discourse,
- a 'language authority' discourse,
- a 'national identity' discourse,
- a 'natural evolution' discourse,
- a 'freedom / choice' discourse, and
- a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse.

The graph below shows the relative frequency of discourses in the left wing and the right wing (in order of relative frequency):



	LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	TOOL / MIRROR	NATURAL EVOLUTION	FREEDOM / CHOICE	SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE	NATIONAL ID
LW	1513	128	115	89	22	13
RW	947	104	66	96	16	8

Figure 9.1: RF of discourses for RQ3

As with the two previous chapters, I have chosen to discuss the discourses in an order which best tells their story:

- tool / mirror
- language authority
- national identity
- natural evolution
- freedom / choice
- sensitivity / offence

As with the English corpus, I began with a word sketch of *langue* and *langage*[1]:

[1] Whereas English only has one word for language, French has two: *langue* and *langage*. *Langue* describes the concept of a particular language shared by a speech community, e.g., *la langue anglaise* [the English language]. *Langage* on the other hand describes the capacity to communicate (therefore not restricted to humans), or a system of communication. For example, a French student specialising in English will do a degree in *LLC (**Langue**, Littérature et Civilsation*), whereas a student specialising in Linguistics will do *Sciences du **Langage***.

langue *(noun)*
French articles freq = 377 (3,440.18 per million)

modifier	118	31.30
français	81	13.40
de la langue française		
roman	8	11.02
françoise	2	9.06
espagnol	2	9.06
suédois	2	8.91
juridique	2	8.86
"	7	8.20
françaisequi	1	8.10
italien	1	8.10
riche	1	8.10
issu	1	8.10
étranger	1	8.07
facile	1	8.07
traditionnel	1	8.04
international	1	8.01
moderne	1	8.00
commun	1	7.92
latin	1	7.92
maternel	1	7.83
neutre	1	7.77
``	1	6.68

sujet_de	77	20.42
être	24	10.18
la langue est		
internaliser	2	9.69
reconduire	2	9.69
défigurer	2	9.69
déterminer	2	9.67
participer	2	9.67
mourir	2	9.64
refléter	2	9.61
appartenir	2	9.61
évoluer	2	9.58
avoir	7	9.48
pouvoir	2	8.96
moment	1	8.71
édicter	1	8.71
bouger	1	8.71
saucer	1	8.71
figer	1	8.71
ramener	1	8.71
contribuer	1	8.71
reléguer	1	8.71
peiner	1	8.69
contraindre	1	8.69
préférer	1	8.69
voir	1	8.68
garder	1	8.65

objet_de	56	14.85
féminiser	5	10.71
simplifier	3	10.70
défigurer	3	10.70
parler	3	10.58
contraindre	2	10.11
régir	2	10.09
vivre	2	10.00
utiliser	3	9.95
``	2	9.69
reconstruire	1	9.16
supposer	1	9.16
édicter	1	9.16
régenter	1	9.16
informatiser	1	9.16
figer	1	9.16
détruire	1	9.16
enrichir	1	9.16
policer	1	9.16
dénombrer	1	9.16
contrôler	1	9.14
décrire	1	9.14
méconnaître	1	9.14
classer	1	9.12
montrer	1	9.12
enseigner	1	9.09

et_ou	44	11.67
police	6	11.94
constitution	2	10.47
équivalent	2	10.44
genre	4	10.37
siècle	2	10.30
grammaire	2	9.93
hän	1	9.50
ixe	1	9.50
vainqueur	1	9.50
changement	1	9.50
peau	1	9.50
norme	1	9.50
virilité	1	9.50
chair	1	9.48
édition	1	9.48
cité	1	9.44
pensée	1	9.44
pays	1	9.44
règle|règles	1	9.41
idée	1	9.41
littérature	1	9.38
différence	1	9.38
origine	1	9.35
rôle	1	9.35
expression	1	9.35

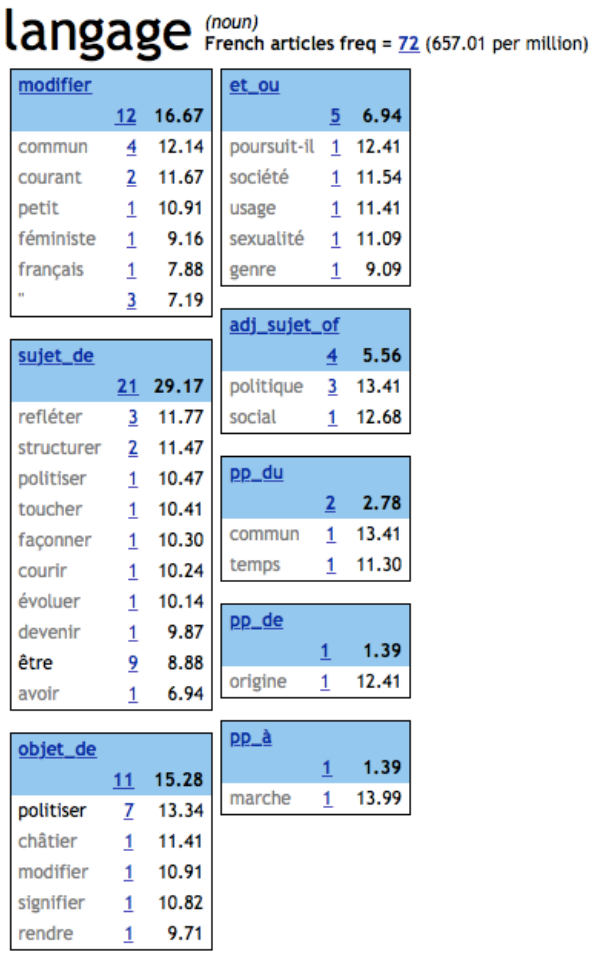
adj_sujet_of	11	2.92
stable	2	12.29
neutre	2	11.83
immuable	1	11.41
dynamique	1	11.41
fasciste	1	11.41
vivant	1	11.41
essentiel	1	11.41
sexiste	1	11.30
féminin	1	11.00

pp_du	7	1.86
pays	2	12.54
monde	3	12.49
sol	1	11.99
mépris	1	11.99

pp_de	5	1.33
origine	3	13.26
coton	1	12.41
niveau	1	12.19

prédicat_de	3	0.80
ciment	1	13.00
héritage	1	13.00
histoire	1	13.00

Word sketch 9.1: 'langue' in the French corpus



Word sketch 9.2: 'langage' in the French corpus

9.1 'LANGUAGE AS A MIRROR' discourse

Some evidence was found for a linguistic relativity discourse in the word sketches for LANGUE and LANGAGE (e.g., they collocate with *déterminer, refléter, structurer, façonner* [to shape]). These terms, and synonyms were searched for, as well as translations for the words found in the English corpus: AFFECTER, COGNITION, CONTRAINDRE [CONSTRAIN], CONTRIBUER, DÉCRIRE [DESCRIBE], DÉFINIR [DEFINE], DÉTERMINER, EFFET, ÉVOLUER [EVOLVE], FAÇONNER [SHAPE], FASCISME, FIGER [IMMOBILISE], FONCTIONNER [WORK], INFLUER [INFLUENCE], MENTAL, MIROIR, MODÈLE, MODIFIER [CHANGE], OUTIL [TOOL], PENSÉE [THOUGHT], POLITIQUE, RÉALITÉ, REFLÉTER, RÉGIR [RULE OVER], REPRODUIRE [REPRODUCE], RÔLE, SAPIR WHORF, STRUCTURE, and SYSTÈME (see Table 20 on p.263 for search full details).

'MIRROR / TOOL'	LW	RW
118 RF (107 occ) 35% (44/126)	128 RF (69 occ) 40% (28/70)	104 RF (38 occ) 29% (16/56)

Compared to the English corpus, the question of whether language is a mirror or a tool, or both, is quantitatively more important in the French corpus. The French corpus has an RF of almost double the English corpus (118 RF compared to 60 RF), has more terms relating to this discourse (19 for French and 12 for English), and is more widespread (present in 35% of articles for French compared to 22% for English).

21% of occurrences of the above lemmas (23/107) express the idea that language is a reflection of society.

1		**LW**		
2	des raisons de commodité, de mode ou d'	**évolution**	des mœurs, on souhaite la modifier, pourquoi
3	français pour désigner les notions et les	**réalités**	nouvelles. Depuis les années 80, la Gauche
4	Si la société est machiste, le dictionnaire	**reflétera**	cela. Quand la société change, le dictionnaire
5	comme le souligne le HCEFH, «la langue	**reflète**	la société et sa façon de penser
6	elles aussi, tout cela au gré de l'	**évolution**	de la société, au gré des différentes dominations
7	femmes au marché du travail peut réellement	**affecter**	la structure de la langue", conclut Geneviève
8	les écrivaines comme les écrivains, et qui	**évolue**	avec les réalités du monde moderne. Pourquoi
9	laissé plus facilement bousculer par l'	**évolution**	des moeurs : c'est le cas du Québec, où
10	comme les écrivains, et qui évolue avec les	**réalités**	du monde moderne. Pourquoi ne sommes nous
11	simple détail : « Le langage reflète la	**réalité**	du monde », insiste cette militante pour
12	pas seulement un simple détail: « Le langage	**reflète**	la réalité du monde », insiste cette militante
13	marché du travail peut réellement affecter la	**structure**	de la langue", conclut Geneviève Prevost,
14	ces féministes soulignaient que le langage	**évolue**	toujours avec la société : dès lors qu'
15	également révélateur des normes en constantes	**évolutions**	. Le lancement officiel du neutre dans le
16	possible. Notre manière d'écrire est-elle le	**reflet**	de notre vision du monde? Oui, sans
17	pas neutre, il a des fondements historiques,	**reflets**	d'un ordre social hérité des siècles passés.
18	les genres est à la fois le	**reflet**	historique et le fondement social de l'inégalité
19	Lakoff démontrent que les langues relèguent	**structurellement**	les femmes à un rôle social secondaire
20		**RW**	
21	de banquière » etc. Toutefois, cette	**évolution**	s'est toujours heurtée à des freins. D'abord
22	pas un détail car "le langage reflète la	**réalité**	du monde", poursuit Brigitte Grésy, qui
23	n'est pas un détail car "le langage	**reflète**	la réalité du monde", poursuit Brigitte Grésy,
24	exclusives. Soit l'on considère que la langue	**reflète**	la culture, soit l'on considère que le
25	française nous permet de nous en libérer. La	**réalité**	des faits conduit aujourd'hui à une expansion

Concordance table 9.1: All 23 lemmas contributing to a 'language as mirror' discourse in the French corpus

78% of these occurrences (18/23) are found in the LW subcorpus, and only 22% (5/23) in the RW papers. However, all of the occurrences express the idea that as society changes, so too should language in order to reflect current social realities. For instance line 8 argues that, *écrivaine*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [*author*] is just as correctly formed as *souveraine*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [*sovereign*] or *châtelaine*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [*chatelain* (owner of a chateau)]. It is not 'pseudo-feminism', but authentic French, shared by all French-speakers, which allows female as well as male authors to make a living, and which 'evolves with the realities of the modern world' (line 8). Although all the occurrences agree that

language should reflect reality, line 3 argues that only certain people are authorised to change language[1]:

> Firstly, the political sphere has forgotten that in France it is the Académie française, which since 1635 has fixed, the rules of the use of French (chapter 24 of its statutes). This is why it participates in the work of specialised commissions which propose French terms to describe new notions and **realities** in various domains (transport, telecommunication, Internet, sport, nuclear engineering, etc.)'.
>
> [...] la sphère politique a oublié tout d'abord qu'en France, c'est l'Académie Française qui fixe, depuis 1635, les règles de l'usage du Français (chapitre XXIV de ses statuts). C'est ainsi qu'elle participe aux travaux des commissions spécialisées qui proposent, dans des domaines variés (transports, télécommunications, internet, sport, ingénierie nucléaire, etc.), des termes français pour désigner les notions et les **réalités** nouvelles.
> 2014-01-17 'Grand genre, petits moyens', *The Huffington Post*

The above extract is also related to a 'language authority' discourse (see part 9.2), which leads on to the next discourse.

9.1.1 'Language as a (political) tool'

Whereas the main point of contention in the English corpus was whether or not language was able to shape society, there is general agreement in the French corpus that language does indeed shape society. The debate in the French corpus centres on whether such shaping is desirable. 68% (73/107) of occurrences of the above terms convey the idea that language *does* shape reality. 36% (39/107) of occurrences explicitly state that language is a tool, and another 32% (34/107) state this *implicitly*, i.e., language is described as political. On the other hand, there are only two occurrences in the French corpus that imply that the words we use have limited influence on reality.

[1] This article was written by Julien Aubert following his 2014 clash with Sandrine Mazetier over his refusal to refer to her in the feminine as *madame **la** presidente* (see p.72 for details).

1		**LW**	
2	aime utiliser le perchoir comme tribune	**politique**	pour ses idées, quitte à écraser la grammaire
3	aime utiliser le perchoir comme tribune	**politique**	pour ses idées, quitte à écraser la grammaire
4	fonctionnaires, ce guide a été pensé comme un	**outil**	pratique qui donne des exemples de stéréotypes
5	vivre la langue. Mais c'est une question	**politique**	. Le bilan de la féminisation des noms de
6	évolutions. Autrement dit, le langage est	**politique**	. L'usage de la langue française repose
7	décision s'est fondée sur des considérations	**politiques**	plus que linguistiques. Ce fut une manière
8	romains1. De la grammaire, on ne décide pas	**politiquement**	. C'était un peu un abus de pouvoir de la
9	, c'était démagogique.» La grammaire est	**politique**	Cette idée que la grammaire est neutre
10	décision s'est fondée sur des considérations	**politiques**	plus que linguistiques. Ce fut une manière
11	assez nettement que le fond de l'affaire est	**politique**	». Preuve du «politique» de la question,
12	de l'affaire est politique». Preuve du «	**politique**	» de la question, si on laisse un instant
13	changent.» Ce combat linguistique, donc	**politique**	, connaît ces derniers mois une nouvelle
14	du sexisme et la promotion d'un langage	**reflétant**	le principe d'égalité entre les femmes et
15	langue ne reçoit pas d'ordre de l'autorité	**politique**	, elle ne connaît que le bonheur d'écrire
16	comment la langue et la grammaire ont été	**façonnées**	pour inscrire dans l'esprit des gens la
17	revendication de leur désignation ; une mesure	**politique**	en souligne la légitimité ; la polémique
18	que cette nouvelle règle ferait réellement	**évoluer**	les comportements ? Difficile de penser
19	encore une chance ? Peut-on imaginer faire	**évoluer**	les choses ? Après tout, la Suisse et le
20	deux-là, c'est… son génie. Vouloir la faire	**fonctionner**	autrement serait autant voué à l'échec
21	langagières portent de nombreuses traces de choix	**politiques**	collectifs. Or, les gens ont l'habitude
22	. Le langage est une pratique sociale et	**politique**	. Maria Candea Page personnelle de Maria
23	présidente" : le combat pour la féminisation est	**politique**	, assumons-le ! Publié le 14-10-2014 à 16
24	féminisation des noms de fonction est bien	**politique**	, il faut l'assumer. La langue n'est pas
25	langue n'est pas neutre, c'est un objet	**politique**	Tout acte de langage est politique car
26	objet politique Tout acte de langage est	**politique**	car la fonction du langage est sociale.
27	chauffeuse de taxi. La langue est un combat	**politique**	Les puristes, tenants du conservatisme
28	les sexes. Le débat linguistique est bien	**politique**	, il faut l'assumer.
29	organiser l'égalité. En linguistique comme en	**politique**	. Déconstruire le genre comme impératif
30	linguistique. Il recèle bel et bien une volonté	**politique**	forte d'inclusion des minorités et de lutte
31		**RW**	
32	mais est devenu aussi un enjeu à la fois	**politique**	et idéologique. À mi-chemin entre « han
33	ou la syntaxe: elle n'est pas en effet un	**outil**	qui se modèle au gré des désirs et des
34	modèle au gré des désirs et des projets	**politiques**	. Les compétences du pouvoir politique sont
35	HCEfh . C'est bien parce que le langage est	**politique**	que la langue française a été infléchie
36	. « Je suis contre l'instrumentalisation	**politique**	du langage. Féminiser les titres ne fait

Concordance table 9.2: All 34 lemmas describing language as a tool in the French corpus

A similar pattern is found in both the French and English corpora, in that the LW articles tend to support the use of language as a political tool, whereas the RW tend to see it as manipulation. Only 14% (4/29) of the LW occurrences express the idea that language is being politically manipulated (lines 2, 3, 8, and 15). In lines 2 and 3 (written by Julien Aubert) Sandrine Mazetier is criticised for exploiting her position as president of the parliamentary session in order to express 'her ideas, even if this means mashing up grammar, the statute of the Académie française, and her colleagues'. However, 86% (25/29) of occurrences in the LW press in the table above argue that language *is* political, whether people like it or not, for example (lines 24, 25, and 26):

> Nonetheless, the debate about the feminisation of job titles *is* **political**, we need to accept that. Language is not neutral; it is a **political** object. Every language act is **political** because the function of language is social.

> Pourtant le débat sur la féminisation des noms de fonction est bien **politique**, il faut l'assumer. La langue n'est pas neutre, c'est un objet **politique**. Tout acte de langage est **politique** car la fonction du langage est sociale.
> 2014-10-14 'madame la présidente : le combat pour la féminisation est politique, assumons-le !', *Le Nouvel Observateur*

On the other hand, 80% (4/5) (lines 32, 33, 34, and 36) of the RW occurrences argue that language should *not* be used as a political tool, for instance (lines 33 and 34):

> Nobody can govern the language, or prescribe rules that would violate grammar or syntax: indeed, it is not a **tool** that is modelled according to one's wishes or **political** projects.
>
> Nul ne peut régenter la langue, ni prescrire des règles qui violeraient la grammaire ou la syntaxe: elle n'est pas en effet un **outil** qui se modèle au gré des désirs et des projets **politiques**.
> 2014-10-15 'Féminisation des noms : la mise au point de l'Académie française', *Le Figaro*

Several references to language authority, and specifically to the Académie française, have been made in the above section, which are part of a 'language authority' discourse that is frequently found in the French corpus.

9.2 'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY' discourse

Language authority includes references to institutions such as the Académie française, the dictionary, language rules, tradition, usage, internal linguistic constraints, and etymology. The top 100 keywords included the following terms, which suggested a 'language authority' discourse: *grammatical, grammaire, grammairien, linguiste, linguistique, usage, Académie, académicien, Vaugelas, dictionnaire, correcteur, Latin*, and *règle*.

The following lemmas were searched for in the French corpus: ACADÉMIE, APPARTENIR [BELONG], AUTORITÉ, CONTRAINDRE [CONSTRAIN], CONTRÔLE, CORRECT, DICTIONNAIRE, ENSEIGNER [TEACH], ESPRIT [SPIRIT], ÉTYMOLOGIE, GÉNIE [GENIUS / NATURE], GRAMMAIRE, HÉRITAGE, HISTOIRE, ISSU [DERIVED], LATIN, LÉGITIMITÉ, LINGUISTIQUE, MOLIÈRE[1], ORIGINE, RÉGIR [RULE OVER], RÈGLE [RULE], STRUCTURE, SYSTÈME, USAGE [USE], and VAUGELAS[2] (see Table 21 on p.264 for search full details).

'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY'	LW	RW
1284 RF (1162 occ) 89% (112/126)	1513 RF (816 occ) 96% (67/70)	947 RF (346 occ) 80% (45/56)

Language authority is an extremely frequent (1284 RF) and widespread discourse (89% of articles) in my French corpus. This suggests that questions of who has the

[1] French playwright and actor (1622-1673)
[2] French grammarian and man of letters (1585-1650)

right to make decisions about language are even more important in the French debate compared to the English one (544 RF / 78%). The 2014 Aubert-Mazetier clash is an excellent example. Aubert immediately referred to the Académie française to defend his position, as well as in the ensuing media debate. Many of the titles of articles in my corpus also reflect this desire for adjudication from a language authority[1].

As in the English corpus, the idea of language authority focuses around four different, but interwoven, themes:

- Language institutions and who has the right to make decisions: ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE (219 RF / 46%), APPARTENIR [belong] (2 RF / 2%), AUTORITÉ (20 RF / 8%), CONTRÔLE (1 RF / 1%), DICTIONNAIRE (59 RF / 19%), LÉGITIMITÉ (20 RF / 13%), RÉGIR [to rule over] (6 RF / 4%);

- The structure, or nature, of the language: GRAMMAIRE (193 RF / 42%), LINGUISTIQUE (102 RF / 29%), RÈGLES [rules] 222 RF / 40%), CONSTRAINTS (9 RF / 5%), the IN/CORRECTNESS of certain forms (42 RF / 20%), ESPRIT [soul] (9 RF / 5%), GÉNIE [nature] (10 RF / 3%), STRUCTURE (2 RF / 2%), SYSTÈME (4 RF / 3%);

- Language usage: USAGE (169 RF / 50%); and

- The history of French: HISTOIRE (56 RF / 19%), ÉTYMOLOGIE (4 RF / 1%), HÉRITAGE (11 RF / 8%), ISSU [origin] (3 RF / 2%), LATIN (70 RF / 21%), MOLIÈRE (6 RF / 4%), ORIGINE (12 RF / 4%), VAUGELAS (8 RF / 5%)

As with the English corpus, the following analysis shows that it is not language authority *itself* that is supported or criticised in my corpus, so much as whether *the arguments* put forth by these authorities are shared or not. In other words, the authority of the Académie française, dictionaries, or history etc., is generally only

[1] For example, 2014-10-07 '« madame la présidente » ou « le président » / quelle est la règle ? ['madame la présidente' or 'le président' / what is the rule?]', *Le Figaro*, and 2014-10-16 '« madame le président » / après l'affaire Julien Aubert, l'Académie française rappelle les règles ['madame le président' / after the Julien Aubert affair, the Académie française reminds us of the rules]', *L'Opinion*

accepted if the journalist already agrees with its position on non-sexist language. However, just because one form of language authority is rejected, it does not mean that they are all rejected (for a rejection of linguistic authority in general see Abbou's (2011) work on anarchists and non-sexist linguistic reform). What my analysis shows is that the journalists cherry-pick their authorities to suit their needs. In fact, both sides in the debate justify their opinion with language authorities. For example, arguments referring to history and tradition are used to justify both the status quo, as well as non-sexist reform. For instance, those *against* the rule of proximity (see part 3.4.3) highlight the fact that people have been taught to put the adjective in the masculine for the past three hundred years as justification for retaining this tradition:

> 'The **rule** of proximity has been in constant **use** for three centuries'
>
> « La règle de l'accord de l'adjectif est d'un usage constant depuis trois siècles »
> 2012-01-14 'Genre, le désaccord', *Le Monde*

On the other hand, those who *advocate* the rule of proximity argue that we should return to the even older tradition of the adjective agreeing with the closest noun:

> This **rule**, which we can qualify as the '**rule** of domination', hasn't always existed. Before that, gender agreement was made according to the **rule** of 'proximity', which consisted in making the gender of the adjective agree with the closest noun to which it refers, and the verb with the closest subject. [...]. So, when and why was the **rule** of proximity deposed in favour of the **rule** of domination?
>
> Cette **règle**, qu'on pourrait qualifier de « **règle** de la domination », n'a pas toujours existé. Avant cela, l'accord du genre se faisait selon la **règle** dite de la « proximité », qui consistait à accorder le genre de l'adjectif avec celui du plus proche des noms qu'il qualifie, et le verbe avec le plus proche de ses sujets. [...] Alors, quand et pourquoi la **règle** de la proximité a-t-elle été évincée au profit de la **règle** de la domination ?
> 2015-03-26 'Que les hommes et les femmes soient belles !', *Mediapart*

Both parties use the authority of rules (of grammar and of usage) to justify two opposing ideas. The fact that language authority can be so easily disregarded poses the question of how much authority these different institutions have. Language authorities such as the Académie française, authors of dictionaries and grammar books, can make decisions and rules, but they can rarely *enforce* obedience from speakers. Indeed, Cameron argues that although language gatekeepers do play an important role in shaping the language,

> it bears repeating that this influence could never amount to total control. (And it is even more difficult to see how men as a group might exert an iron grip on meaning.) (Cameron 1992, p.140)

When there are several sources of authority, it seems that speakers simply choose the ones they agree with, and ignore or criticise those which do not support their opinion.

The following analysis focuses on references to the Académie française, but other search terms appear in the examples (in red). The Académie française is referred to 198 times (219 RF) in my corpus, and is present in 46% of articles (58/126), indicating that it plays an important role as a language authority in France.

A very clear difference emerges between the LW and the RW in relation to the authority of the Académie française. 96% (70/73) of occurrences in the RW accept the authority of the Académie française (the three remaining occurrences were classified as neutral). The RW does not question the authority of the Académie because they agree with its position on feminist linguistic change. It is presented as a

> venerable institution, 'faithful to the mission assigned by its statutes since 1635' [and which], was keen to remind us of the **rules** which are imposed upon our language.
>
> vénérable institution, « fidèle à la mission que lui assignent ses statuts depuis 1635 », a tenu à rappeler les **règles** qui s'imposent dans notre langue.
> 2014-10-15 'Féminisation des noms : la mise au point de l'Académie française', *Le Figaro*

It is interesting how an authority discourse is built in this short extract. The Académie française is a national institution, and as such should be respected. It has upheld its mission of protecting the French language for centuries, and as such should inspire gratitude. The rules are an internal constraint on the language, and as such the Académie has no control over them. They simply uphold these rules. The role of the Académie in the development of the French language is thus made invisible by 'the allegedly immutable laws of "the language"' (Cameron 1995, p.164). This extract relies on commonly held beliefs that tradition is something to be respected and protected.

However, these 'rules that are imposed upon our language' are questioned by many of the LW articles. The articles in the LW subcorpus are more nuanced than the RW articles. 36% (45/124) reject the authority of the Académie, either by proposing counter-arguments, or by ridiculing them, or both.

		LW		
2	a confirmé sa décision: "Ce n'est pas l'	Académie	française qui fixe les règles de l'Assemblée
3	historique que les quarante gardiens de l'	Académie	française ne sont pas prêts à entendre. Car
4	publié en 2012 suite à la pétition féministe, l'	Académie	n'aime pas les révolutions. "La règle de l'
5	de toutes les couches de la société. Puis, l'	Académie	prend comme règle l'usage de «la plus saine
6	et aille en paix. Entre les deux, pourtant, l'	Académie	réaffirme ses dogmes - et redonne vie à des
7	, évidemment écartée lors de la fondation de l'	Académie	. On sait qu'elle attendra 347 ans avant d'
8	. On sait moins qu'à l'heure actuelle, l'	Académie	ne compte aucun-e linguiste, aucun-e agrégé de
9	y opposent. Le masculin peut-il être neutre ? L'	Académie	, s'avérant incapable de faire son travail,
10	il n'y a pas de neutre en français, soutient l'	Académie	(avec raison), «pour désigner les qualités
11	, mais rien de concluant non plus. Enfin, l'	Académie	cherche à effrayer : «Des changements, faits de
12	combien coûte à la République l'entretien de l'	Académie	française et de ses académiciens » ! Les
13	? Par pitié, messieurs les membres de l'	académie	française, ne délaissez pas ces malheureux
14	, sur un contresens. Pour étayer sa thèse, l'	Académie	s'appuie sur les objets non animés du lexique (
15	conservent leur prééminence symbolique, des	académicienNEs	demandèrent à Jacques Chirac d'user de son
16	, 14 janvier 1998), de Michelle Coquillat ("	Académie	et misogynie", 20 janvier 1998) ou de Paul Garde
17	masculin ne l'emporte pas sur le féminin ! "Les	académiciens	ne savent pas de quoi ils parlent", entretien
18	peu, si tel est leur bon plaisir. Il n'y a que six	académiciennes	. Comme au Panthéon, le masculin l'emporte
19	l'élection récente d'Alain Finkielkraut, l'	Académie	française serait plutôt mâle, blanche,
20	non pas en -or-, comme on le lit sur le site de l'	Académie	française) qui en constituent l'étymon, les

Concordance table 9.3: 19/45 lines that reject the authority of the Académie française in the French corpus (NB all 45 lines are from the LW)

The articles that do not accept the authority of the Académie use several different strategies to discredit it. The sexist (lines 7, 16, 18-19), racist (line 19), and socially discriminatory (line 5) nature of the Académie is highlighted. In fact, it was only in 1980 that the first woman was elected, 347 years after the creation of the Académie. Only eight women in its history have ever been elected, and the recent addition of Alain Finkielkraut (French philosopher and public intellectual) demonstrates the propensity for white men to be elected (line 19). Line 5 explains that before the Académie was charged with stabilising the rules of French,

> **grammarians** followed the **usage** of all social classes. Then, the **Académie** took the **usage** of 'the most refined part of the Court' as the rule. There was a rupture in the sense that the French language was not that of the majority, but of an elite.
>
> les **grammairiens** suivaient l'**usage** de toutes les couches de la société. Puis, l'**Académie** prend comme **règle** l'**usage** de «la plus saine partie de la cour». Il y a rupture au sens où la langue française n'est plus celle de la majorité, mais celle d'une élite.
> 2011-03-08 '« Les femmes sont les invisibles de la langue » (mais ça peut changer)' *Humanité*

This social class argument will have been particularly pertinent to readers of *L'Humanité* (a newspaper which has very close ties to the French Communist Party), and who are likely to be more sensitive to class inequalities. Other strategies consist in discrediting the Académie through linguistic counter-arguments (lines 3, 8, 10, 14, 17 and 20), ridiculing or taunting it (lines 13 and 15).

Le Figaro describes the Académie as similar to a respected old butler, who has faithfully served the family for generations. Conversely, the LW articles in the table

above describe it as more like a dogmatic (line 6), narrow-minded, inflexible old man who does not want change (line 4: 'the Académie does not like revolutions'), who is incapable of doing his job properly (line 9), and is an expensive burden on the tax payer (line 12). Whereas the RW articles describe the Académie's age as something positive to be respected, the LW articles tend to see this as indicating that it is out of touch with today's society:

> Today, certain feminists, however, dream of shaking up this nice little **linguistic** arrangement **reigned over** by an institution nearly four **centuries** old. The world has changed, they proclaim, it would be good for the French language to take note.
>
> Aujourd'hui, certaines féministes rêvent pourtant de bousculer ce bel ordonnancement **linguistique régi** par une institution vieille de bientôt quatre **siècles**. Le monde a changé, proclament-elles, il serait bon que la langue française en prenne acte.
> 2012-01-14 'Genre, le désaccord', *Le Monde*

A good example of speakers only accepting the authority of an institution when they agree with it is the following quote from *l'Obs-rue89*:

> This time, it is the **Académie** française that proves Sandrine Mazetier right, says les Nouvelles News [an online news site]: 'Admittedly, the **Académie** française is against the principle of feminising job titles. But it considers that 'this legal and political indifference regarding an individual's sex [using the masculine as neutral] can nonetheless give way to the **legitimate** desire of individuals'. A rather interesting opinion since Julien Aubert called upon the institution in his argument: 'I'm using the **rules** of the **Académie** française...'.
>
> Cette fois-ci, c'est l'**Académie** française qui donne raison à Sandrine Mazetier, raconte les Nouvelles News : « Certes, l'**Académie** française s'oppose dans le principe à la féminisation des noms de fonction. Mais elle juge que 'cette indifférence juridique et politique au sexe des individus « peut s'incliner, toutefois, devant le désir **légitime** des individus »'. Un avis plutôt intéressant puisque Julien Aubert convoquait justement l'institution dans son argumentaire : « J'utilise les **règles** de l'**Académie** française... ».
> 2014-10-16 '« madame la présidente » : l'Académie française donne raison à Sandrine Mazetier', *L'Obs-rue89*

The authority of the Académie française is not rejected here. In fact, it seems to be supported. However, I argue that this is only because the journalist has found a way to use it to support non-sexist linguistic reform.

Only two left wing articles go against this general trend. There are traces of a discourse of an acceptance of the authority of the Académie, even if the authors of the extracts would like to see it accept feminisation:

> 'We ask the **Académie** française to consider as **correct** this **rule** [of proximity] that eliminates the masculine-feminine hierarchy and allows the language more creative freedom'.
>
> « Nous demandons à l'**Académie** française de considérer comme **correcte** cette **règle** qui dé-hiérarchise le masculin et le féminin et permet à la langue une plus grande de liberté créatrice ».

2011-05-04 'Haro sur la grammaire sexiste !', *Le Monde*

The journalist does not reject or discredit the Académie, in fact they seem to recognise that it does have a certain amount of authority over speakers, and that its support is important if changes are to be accepted by the general population.

To sum up, language authority plays a major role in the French debate compared to the English one (it is invoked 2.5 times more often). Tradition, institutions, history, dictionaries, etc., are referred to much more often than usage, implying that speakers use language authority to justify their own linguistic choices, or argue against other uses. However, language authority seems only to be accepted if the speaker agrees with the opinion of the authority in question, thus raising the question of how much authority these language authorities really have. I suggest that the higher frequency of a language authority discourse in the French corpus is related to a comparatively strong standard language ideology. Language authority, like political authority, is highly centralised in France, which has resulted in a strong standard language ideology. One consequence of this ideology is that language is not seen as 'the possession of the native speakers' (Milroy 2001, p.537). Speakers thus turn to language authorities for clarification, as we saw with the Aubert-Mazetier affair and the high frequency of references to the Académie française, who 'have something of the status of high priests' (Milroy 2001, p.537). It would seem that questions of language ownership are not perceived in the same way in the UK and France, with French speakers feeling like they have less ownership of their language than English speakers.

9.3 'LANGUAGE AS NATIONAL IDENTITY' discourse

Although there were no terms indicating a 'language as national identity' discourse in the top 100 keywords, a search was carried for two reasons: this discourse is not only present in the English corpus, but the link between language and national identity has been already been well documented in other research (Rajilic 2017; Oakes 2001; Anderson 1991).

The following lemmas were searched for in order to see if a similar discourse could be found in the French corpus: CIMENT, COLLE [GLUE], COMMUNAUTARISME (see below for translation), ESPRIT [SPIRIT], FONDATION [FOUNDATION], GÉNIE [GENIUS / NATURE], HÉRITAGE, IDENTITÉ, ORDRE SOCIAL, NATION, NOTRE LANGUE [OUR LANGUAGE], PAYS [COUNTRY], PEUPLE [PEOPLE], REPRÉSENTER, STABILITÉ, TRÉSOR, [TREASURE] and UNIFIER [UNIFY] (see Table 22 on p.265 for search full details).

'NATIONAL IDENTITY'	LW	RW
11 RF (10 occ) 13% (16/126)	13 RF (7 occ) 14% (10/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 11% (6/56)

This search revealed 10 occurrences (11 RF) of the above terms found in 13% (16/126) of French articles, with a higher RF in the LW. In the English corpus, the same discourse has a slightly lower relative frequency of 8 RF (6 occ) but a significantly lower distribution of 3% (3/116). The higher distribution in the French corpus suggests that the link between language representing national identity is one which French readers will more easily recognise. Whereas this discourse was used in the English corpus to describe an *outside* threat from the EU, in the French corpus, the threat comes from *within* its own national borders.

1		**LW**	
2	de toutes sortes est le reflet d'une montée des	**communautarismes**	et corporatismes. Chaque groupe est attaché à
3	! Je sais, bien sûr, que la langue est un	**héritage**	, mais il ne faut pas hésiter à la bousculer, il
4	ce n'est pas une affaire légère. La langue est le	**ciment**	de notre pays : lorsque deux orthographes, deux
5	"Le premier instrument du	**génie**	du peuple, c'est sa langue", Stendhal Cette
6	affaire légère. La langue est le ciment de notre	**pays**	: lorsque deux orthographes, deux grammaires
7	13h34 CET "Le premier instrument du génie du	**peuple**	, c'est sa langue", Stendhal Cette semaine, une
8	langue meurt avec ses couleurs, ses nuances, le	**peuple**	meurt aussi" (Maila Talvio)
9		**RW**	
10	demander. Je l'ai dit et redit : la langue d'un	**peuple**	est son âme. La France va mal. Mais comment
11	l'aspect institutionnel, si important dans l'	**esprit**	français, M. Druon déclare que « régir la langue
12	place à la femme à égalité avec l'homme. Pour l'	**esprit**	français attaché aux normes, rappelons que le

Concordance table 9.4: All 10 lemmas contributing to a 'national identity' discourse in the French corpus

An analysis of the concordance lines shows that the 'language as national identity' discourse is overwhelmingly used to argue *against* non-sexist language change, as in the English corpus. In fact, all but one occurrence (line 3) use this discourse to argue that feminising or neutralising the language would somehow damage national identity.

90% (all except line 3) of the above occurrences draw upon the ideology of 'one language-one nation', in which the national language is seen as the glue that holds the nation together. As discussed in parts 3.3 and 4.5, the mobilisation of language in the service of nation building has long been an important political tool, and is

often referred to as the Romantic or Herderian concept of language (Woolard 1998, p.17).

> 'The first instrument of the people's Volksgeist is its language', Stendhal. [...] Decisions about language are not to be taken lightly. Language is the **cement** of our **country**: when two spellings, or two grammars, the fruit of two sources of legitimacy, start to circulate, a scission, a schism, a risk of destroying our common language is produced. [...] 'When a language dies with its colours, its nuances, the people die too' (Maila Talvio).
>
> « Le premier instrument du **génie** du **peuple**, c'est sa langue », Stendhal. [...] Décider de la langue, ce n'est pas une affaire légère. La langue est le **ciment** de notre **pays** : lorsque deux orthographes, deux grammaires commencent à circuler, fruit de deux sources de légitimité, il se produit une scission, un schisme, un risque de destruction du langage commun. [...]« Quand une langue meurt avec ses couleurs, ses nuances, le **peuple** meurt aussi » (Maila Talvio).
> 2014-01-17 'Grand genre, petits moyens', *The Huffington Post*

The above extract concerns lines 4-8. It is from the same *Huffington Post* blog post (a left wing publication) written by Julien Aubert (a right wing politician). Firstly, Aubert builds authority by quoting national icon Stendhal[1], whilst also drawing upon a shared literary and cultural heritage that might inspire national pride in readers of the article. Aubert describes language as the cement of the country, and tries to instil fear in his readers by painting a catastrophic picture of the destruction of the French language, and thus of the unity of the French people if we accept the feminisation of job titles. At the end of the article, and of this extract, Aubert quotes Finnish writer Maila Talvio, implying that not only will using non-sexist language destroy the language and unity of the French nation, but the Volksgeist of the people itself. A similar, but less Herderian, argument is used in line 2:

> The feminisation of grammar and other struggles have some legitimacy. But the emergence of demands of all sorts is the reflection of a rise in **sectarianism** and corporatism. Each group is attached to its 'good cause'. A demand often brandished as a priority card.
>
> La féminisation de la grammaire et d'autres luttes ont leur part de légitimité. Mais l'émergence de revendications de toutes sortes est le reflet d'une montée des **communautarismes** et corporatismes. Chaque groupe est attaché à sa « bonne cause ». Une revendication souvent brandie comme une carte de priorité.
> 2011-05-09 'Féminisation / quel sexe pour la langue de Molière et Beauvoir ?', *L'Observateur*

The term *communautarisme* is not easy to translate into English. Depending on the context, it could be translated as *multiculturalism, tribalism*, or *sectarianism*. It is most often used pejoratively in France, to describe a kind of inward-looking ethnic,

[1] Stendhal was a 19th-century French writer, best known for the novels *Le Rouge et le Noir* (*The Red and the Black*, 1830).

cultural or religious isolationism. It is often seen as a threat to national unity, republicanism, and separation of Church and state. The threat of *communautarisme* is often mobilised in language debates in France. For example, the French government has repeatedly refused to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, with opponents claiming that the cohesion and unity of the French people would be threatened.

The only occurrence in the concordance table to draw upon a discourse of national identity in a pro-reform way is line 3:

> I know, of course, that language is an **inheritance**, but we mustn't hesitate to shake it up, it has to be alive.
>
> Je sais, bien sûr, que la langue est un **héritage**, mais il ne faut pas hésiter à la bousculer, il faut qu'elle soit vivante.
> 2012-01-14 'Genre, le désaccord', *Le Monde*

The author admits that language is an inheritance[1], therefore something of value to be treasured. However, they see a language as a living entity, which will die if it is not shaken up in order to reflect our current society. On the other hand, in all the other concordance lines it is either national unity or the 'spirit of the people' that will die if we modify the language.

9.4 'LANGUAGE EVOLUTION' discourse

There was no evidence for a 'language evolution' discourse in the top 100 keywords. However, as this discourse was present in the English corpus, and has been identified in other work (Klinkenberg 2006, p.27f; Curzan 2003, p.184; Dawes 2003, p.204; Irvine and Gal 2000, p.73; Cameron 1995, p.22; Silverstein 1979, p.194) a search was carried out for the following lemmas:

ADAPTER, BIOLOGIE, BOUGER [MOVE], CHANGER, DARWIN, DYNAMIQUE, ENVIRONNEMENT, ÉVOLUER [EVOLVE], FIGER [SOLIDIFY], FONCTIONNER [WORK], IMMUABLE [UNALTERABLE], MOEURS [MORALS], MOURIR [TO DIE], NATURE, ORGANIQUE, SPONTANÉ [SPONTANEOUS], STABILITÉ, and VIVANT [LIVING] (see Table 23 on p.266 for search full details).

'LANGUAGE EVOLUTION'	LW	RW

[1] But see Milroy (2001, p.537), who argues that the ideology that views language as a 'precious inheritance that has been built up over generations' erases the fact that this has not been done 'by the millions of native speakers, but by a select few'.

95 RF (86 occ) 29% (37/126)	115 RF (62 occ) 34% (24/70)	66 RF (24 occ) 23% (13/56)

In contrast to the English corpus, in which lemmas referring to a 'language evolution' discourse only have a relative frequency of 8 (6 occ) and are present in 3% (4/116) of articles, the French corpus has an RF of 95, and a distribution of 29%. This suggests that French readers will easily recognise discourses revolving around language evolution.

This discourse is present in both the LW and the RW French corpora. Language is described in all these articles as dynamic. All agree that the language is neither fixed (*figé*), nor immutable (*immuable*), and that language changes and evolves over time. There is generally agreement that language spontaneously adapts as social norms evolve. However, some contention as to whether language is being allowed to follow social norms is evident in these concordance lines. The 13 occurrences of lemmas describing language as a living organic being are used to illustrate this:

1			**LW**	
2		coups de décrets est la traiter en langue	**morte**	. Comme le disait Maurice Druon, académicien
3		amendes est stupide. C'est parce qu'elle est	**vivante**	, parlée dans la rue et sous la plume des
4		critique de l'État. "Quand une langue	**meurt**	avec ses couleurs, ses nuances, le peuple meurt
5	meurt avec ses couleurs, ses nuances, le peuple		**meurt**	aussi" (Maila Talvio)
6		toute manière facultative, et de laisser	**vivre**	la langue. Mais c'est une question politique
7		prévalu ? N'oublions pas que la langue est	**vivante**	, qu'elle n'est donc certainement pas figée
8		enseigner à l'école et de laisser ensuite	**vivre**	la langue." Les signataires savent bien
9		hésiter à la bousculer, il faut qu'elle soit	**vivante**	. Nous essayons d'apporter notre petite
10			**RW**	
11		n'est ni victime de censure ni menacé de	**mort**	car Mademoiselle prend ses quartiers d'
12	En son temps, Bossuet s'égosillait : "Madame se		**meurt**	, Madame est morte" . Il se trompait : ce n'est
13		gosillait : Madame se meurt, Madame est	**morte**	. Il se trompait : ce n'est pas Madame
14		. Il se trompait : ce n'est pas Madame qui se	**meurt**	, mais Mademoiselle que la vertu du moment
15		générales semblables aux lois physiques ou	**biologiques**	, que l'on ne peut qu'enregistrer. L'

Concordance table 9.5: All 13 lemmas describing language as a living being in the French corpus

There does not seem to be a clear-cut divide between the left and right wing publications in this discourse. Half of the concordance lines from the LW (lines 2-5) seem to disagree with non-sexist language reform, and half (lines 6-9) support reform. However, it should be noted that although lines 4 and 5 appear in a LW publication, the article was written by right wing politician Julien Aubert. 60% (3/5) of RW occurrences are against reform (lines 12-14), and 40% for (lines 11 and 15). However, all the concordance lines above describe language as a living being, referring to life and death (except line 15) to highlight the vital importance of the reforms.

Those against non-sexist language change (lines 2-5 and 12-14) view language as being in mortal danger if the reforms are accepted (e.g., lines 2 and 3):

> [B]ut to think that you can make language **evolve** by slapping it with one fine after another is stupid. It's because it is **alive**, spoken in the street and shaped by writers' quills that language **evolves**. Wanting to regulate it by hitting it with decree after decree is to treat it as a **dead** language.
>
> [M]ais croire qu'on peut faire **évoluer** la langue à coups[1] d'amendes est stupide. C'est parce qu'elle est **vivante**, parlée dans la rue et sous la plume des écrivains, que la langue **évolue**. Vouloir la réglementer à coups de décrets est la traiter en langue **morte**.
> 2014-10-16 'madame la Présidente et Monsieur le souris', *The Huffington Post*

In this extract, the language police are attacking the language, 'slapping' and 'hitting' it with fines and decrees. The language is portrayed as an innocent victim of police brutality. It is not being allowed to evolve freely following the usage of the general public or authors. Language is not only being stifled, in lines 12-14 it is being murdered:

> In his time, Bossuet cried, 'madame is **dying**, madame is **dead**'[2]. He was wrong: it's not madame who is **dying**, but mademoiselle who is menaced by current righteousness.
>
> En son temps, Bossuet s'égosillait : « madame se **meurt**, madame est **morte** » . Il se trompait : ce n'est pas madame qui se **meurt**, mais mademoiselle que la vertu du moment menace.
> 2011-09-28 'ENCORE UN MOT...ETIENNE DE MONTETY', *Le Figaro*

These examples recall a similar discourse in the English corpus, in which language should be left alone to evolve naturally. The reference to biology, i.e., the study of living organisms, in line 15 also reinforces this discourse.

In a similar way, discourses used *in favour* of non-sexist reform (lines 6-9 and 11) also describe language as being stifled. However, where there is a focus on death in lines 2-5 and 12-14, the focus is more on allowing the language to live and breathe in line 6-9 and 11 (e.g., lines 8-9):

> 'This rule would be supple, notes Clara Domingues. It would be sufficient to teach it in school and then to let the language **live**.' [...] 'I know, of course, that language is an inheritance, but we mustn't hesitate to shake it up, it has to be **alive**.'
>
> « Cette règle serait souple, note Clara Domingues. Il suffirait de l'enseigner à l'école et de laisser ensuite **vivre** la langue. » [...] « Je sais, bien sûr, que la langue est un héritage, mais il ne faut pas hésiter à la bousculer, il faut qu'elle soit **vivante** ».

[1] *Coup* can be translated as a 'blow', 'strike', 'slap' here.
[2] From the eulogy for Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orléans, who died in 1670. Written by Bossuet, a French bishop and theologian.

2012-01-14 'Genre, le désaccord', *Le Monde*

From this perspective, change is necessary to keep the language alive. Stifling change will kill the language.

Both of these perspectives argue that language should be free to follow social norms. However, whereas arguments for gender-fair language focus on language being given the freedom to adapt to new social norms, arguments against focus on language being forced to evolve in unnatural directions, *against* current social norms. Both sides argue that language should be able to evolve freely according to social norms, and both sides see the other side as preventing this from happening. Those for non-sexist reform would like to see the more equal social status of women reflected in the language, whereas those against change argue that language will spontaneously evolve, that those in power should not guide it in any direction. Nonetheless, both arguments ignore the fact that formal codification of the language began centuries ago, and thus it has not been allowed to evolve 'freely' for quite some time (see part 2.5.2.4 for the example of French creoles evolving without a formal language authority). Language is not wild grassland where the plants and flowers evolve without human contact; it is a carefully manicured garden. Yet this fact is minimised by both sides in this discourse.

9.5 'FREEDOM / CHOICE' discourse

Although, no evidence for a 'freedom of choice' discourse was found in the top 100 keywords, it is present in the English corpus. The following three lemmas were searched for in the French corpus to see if a similar discourse could be identified: CHOIX, LIBERTÉ, and OPTION (see Table 24 on p.266 for search full details).

'FREEDOM / CHOICE'	LW	RW
92 RF (83 occ) 37% (47/126)	89 RF (48 occ) 36% (25/70)	96 RF (35 occ) 39% (22/56)

All 83 concordance lines were classed into two groups: those which focused on constraints (negative freedom – see 9.5.2.1), and those which focused on the capacity of language to give speakers more freedom (positive freedom – see 9.5.2.2). No significant difference was found between the LW and the RW in terms

of how frequently these kinds of freedoms are referred to. The concordance lines were also classed into three topics (the feminisation of job titles, grammar, and *madame/mademoiselle*). Again, no difference was found in how often the LW and RW discuss these subjects in relation to freedom, except for grammar, which the LW focus on more than the RW. One clear difference is that the LW seems to be more concerned with the idea of choice, whereas the RW focuses more on the idea of freedom.

9.5.1 Choix [choice]

1		**LW**	
2	Et comment se fait-il, si tant est qu'il faille	**choisir**	entre le masculin et le féminin, que le sort
3	filles elles-mêmes s'autocensurent dans le	**choix**	de leur métier, il est symboliquement
4	» du terme, alors que les hommes n'ont pas à	**choisir**	entre « monsieur » et « damoiseau », voire « jeun
5	à l'origine de cette campagne, le	**choix**	entre « madame » et « mademoiselle » relève
6	les hommes, double civilité pour les femmes ! »	**Choisir**	entre madame ou mademoiselle « oblige la femme à
7	demande dans les documents administratifs de	**choisir**	madame ou mademoiselle. C'est donc une
8	non mariée. » C'est vrai que l'homme n'a pas de	**choix**	à faire. Il n'y a pas de distinction qu'il soit
9	Ça me donnait l'impression que je n'avais pas le	**choix**	. » La loi stipule pourtant que le mariage ne
10	mariées ; • que l'on ait 18 ou 55 ans, faire le	**choix**	entre « mademoiselle » et « madame » est, d'après
11	demande dans les documents administratifs de	**choisir**	madame' ou 'mademoiselle'. C'est donc une
12	de l'accord au féminin ou au masculin, sans	**choix**	possible, déterminé par le sexe assigné à la
13	qu'il ne connaît que deux genres, contraint à	**choisir**	entre l'un et l'autre en cas d'évocation de
14	désigner les collectivités mixtes sans devoir	**choisir**	entre ils et elles, ou celles et ceux (iels,
15	, des participes passés ? Il faudrait bien	**choisir**	entre le masculin et le féminin, ou exprimer les
16	). Une fois de plus, notre langue contraint à ce	**choix**	entre deux éléments, et seulement ces deux-là,
17	peut être féminin ou masculin. On aurait donc le	**choix**	d'écrire «que les hommes et les femmes soient
18	Nous voulons offrir à nos enfants une palette de	**choix**	aussi large que possible, de façon qu'ils ne se
19	le nom des époux : « Il s'agit d'un	**choix**	personnel qui ne peut pas vous être imposé. »
20	quand je leur disais qu'un homme aussi avait le	**choix**	de prendre le nom de son épouse ou d'accoler les
21	mariage n'est plus obligatoire et relève d'un	**choix**	personnel. Pourtant, la double civilité
22	mais que soit donnée à chacun la possibilité de	**choisir**	entre l'un ou l'autre accord. » Ouf ! Monsieur et
23	que 95 % des gens vont spontanément	**choisir**	la seconde solution, sans même savoir qu'il y a
24	certainement applaudies ! Quel que soit le	**choix**	effectué (par qui ?), il faudrait introduire
25	comme un néologisme, pourquoi ne pas	**choisir**	la variante qui va dans le sens de la disparition
26	la forme "petiT". En cas de conflit d'accord on	**choisit**	la forme la plus simple, forme du masculin
27	complètement de la langue française. Ainsi, le	**choix**	de cette règle qui veut que le masculin l'
28	domination du genre masculin. Et si ce	**choix**	a été fait, et a été le fruit d'environ un siècle
29	langagières portent de nombreuses traces de	**choix**	politiques collectifs. Or, les gens ont l'
30	gens ont l'habitude de s'insurger contre les	**choix**	les plus récents, qu'ils appellent le «
31	: ainsi suis-je contraint, en français, de	**choisir**	entre tu et vous lorsque je m'adresse à autrui.
32	. Tutoyer un supérieur ou un employé est un	**choix**	politique, se conformer au traditionnel
33	ou de familiarité. On n'y échappe pas. Nos	**choix**	linguistiques participent de l'organisation
34	vie politique, professionnelle ou familiale,	**choisir**	le terrain linguistique pour mener cette
35	la première solution et d'autre part le premier	**choix**	en son sein qui l'ont emporté ! L'objectif d'
36		**RW**	
37	" et "Osez le féminisme", dénoncent le (non)	**choix**	du terme "mademoiselle" lors de formalités
38	t la langue ont ceci de commun : on ne les a pas	**choisis**	, et on y devient fécond que dans la mesure où l'
39	la délicatesse. « Je laisse toujours les femmes	**choisir**	la manière dont elles veulent être nommées. »
40	). Et si on laissait chaque femme libre de	**choisir**	?
41	des documents officiels (...) - n'impose un	**choix**	entre les deux". En 1983, la ministre des Droits
42	sont les femmes mais aussi les hommes à	**choisir**	le féminin, estimant qu'il s'agit d'une
43	" ou "Madame le président"? Pour avoir	**choisi**	la dernière formulation à l'adresse de la
44	n 1956). Élargir le « trouble » à « l'ordre » au	**choix**	d'une formule de politesse qui traduit une
45	ne donne pas exactement le même sens à son	**choix**	. « C'est un mot assez souvent utilisé et très

Concordance table 9.6: All 43 occurrences of the lemma 'choix' contributing to a 'freedom / choice' discourse in the French corpus

The analysis of CHOIX revealed four main ideas: 1) choices are restricted or non-existent; 2) the availability of choice increases freedom; 3) choices are politically motivated; and 4) being judged on one's choices.

44% (15/34) of the occurrences of CHOIX in the LW focus on the non-existence or the restriction of choice, and how this limits freedom (lines 2-16). Most of these occurrences (lines 4-11) deal with the imposed choice between *madame* and *mademoiselle* on administrative forms, framing this as an infringement on women's negative liberty (the right to be free from constraints – see part 9.5.2.1). Only 22% (2/9) of RW occurrences refer to choice being restricted (lines 37-38). Line 37 refers to feminists denouncing the '(non) choix' [non choice] of *madame* and *mademoiselle* on forms. Line 38 compares the lack of choice we have with regard to our biological sex and to the language we are brought up with:

> It's because power takes precedence over knowledge that the reality of nature, of flesh, of language no longer appears as a reality to contemplate or listen to, but as a material to exploit. [...] the natural established facts of birth, involving a father and a mother, or the traditional facts of language, involving a meaning of words that precedes us. Indeed, sex and language have this in common: we did not **choose** them, [...] Moreover, they are linked to each other: all the words in our language are feminine or masculine, as if the experience of sex difference was at the origin of our first linguistic perception of the difference between things.
>
> C'est parce que le pouvoir l'emporte sur le savoir, que le donné de la nature, de la chair, de la langue, n'apparaît plus d'abord comme une réalité à contempler ou à écouter, mais comme un matériau à exploiter. [...] le donné naturel de la naissance, impliquant un père et une mère, ou le donné traditionnel de la langue, impliquant un sens des mots qui nous précède. De fait, le sexe et la langue ont ceci de commun : on ne les a pas **choisis**, [...] Ils s'articulent de surcroît l'un à l'autre : tous les mots de notre langue sont féminins ou masculins, comme si l'expérience de la différence sexuelle était à l'origine de notre première perception linguistique des différences entre les choses.
> 2013-02-06 'La guerre aux mots', *Le Figaro*

This extract does not denounce the lack of choice, but describes it as simply a fact of life, i.e., there are some things that are 'natural' or 'traditional' and thus cannot (and should not) be changed. This article draws on ideas of language as a simple mirror of the natural world around us: humans are made up of two sexes, which are reflected in the grammatical distinction of masculine and feminine nouns in French. Sex difference is described as such a fundamental fact of life, that it is shapes the way we name objects. The fact that the journalist chooses to use the words 'father' and 'mother' instead of 'man' and 'woman' when talking about children is also relevant. 2012-13 saw a very polemical debate on equal marriage in France. By using 'father' and 'mother', the journalist draws upon discourses of the traditional family unit, and implies that this structure is also a 'natural' fact.

A similar percentage of occurrences in the LW and RW refer to the availability of choice being a positive thing: 29% (10/34) of LW concordance lines (lines 17-26),

and 33% (3/9) of RW concordance lines (lines 39-41). However, whereas the LW focuses on making more grammatical choices available (lines 17-18 and 22-26), or allowing people to choose their surname upon marriage (lines 19-21), the RW focuses on allowing women to choose between *madame* and *mademoiselle* (lines 40-41). Removing the option of *mademoiselle* is framed as limiting women's choices, rather than freeing them from having to make the choice.

24% (8/34) of LW occurrences refer to choices being politically motivated (lines 27-34), half of which (lines 27-30) use CHOIX to describe the origins of the current system, e.g., (lines 29-30):

> We mustn't forget that our language practices carry numerous traces of collective political **choices**. Yet, people are in the habit of rebelling against more recent **choices**, which they call 'politically correct', without realising that their usual practices which they are attached to are just the politically correct of a previous era. [...] Language is a social and political practice.
>
> Il ne faut pas oublier que nos pratiques langagières portent de nombreuses traces de **choix** politiques collectifs. Or, les gens ont l'habitude de s'insurger contre les **choix** les plus récents, qu'ils appellent le « politiquement correct », sans se rendre compte que leurs pratiques habituelles auxquelles ils sont attachés ne sont que le politiquement correct de l'époque précédente. [...] Le langage est une pratique sociale et politique.
> 2013-12-25 'Cachons ce féminin que nous ne saurions voir au pouvoir : de la résistance des FrançaisEs à la féminisation des titres glorieux', *L'Observateur*

Framing grammatical rules as choices, rather than immutable facts, makes them more flexible to change today. Only one RW occurrence (line 42) describes language choices as being politically motivated, and this is to ridicule those who feminise job titles, who think they are helping the feminist cause, but in fact do not understand what 'real' feminism is.

One framing of the idea of choice that is present in the RW but not in the LW is that one can be judged on the linguistic choices one makes. The two occurrences of this in the RW (lines 43-44) refer to the choice of Julien Aubert to address Sandrine Mazetier in the masculine (*madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *le*$_{\text{MASC}}$ *president*$_{\text{MASC}}$) rather than the feminine (*madame*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *la*$_{\text{FEM}}$ *présidente*$_{\text{FEM}}$). Both articles framed his choice as neutral, and Mazetier's reaction (she fined him a quarter of his parliamentary salary) as an infringement of his liberty of expression.

9.5.2 Liberté [freedom]

1		**LW**	
2	, la langue française se montrait bien plus	**libre**	et surtout moins sexiste. Un adjectif qui se
3	par la contrainte ou le laisser à notre	**libre**	appréciation ? Nathalie HEINICH On aura
4	siècle, la langue française usait d'une grande	**liberté**	. Un adjectif qui se rapportait à plusieurs noms
5	féminin et permet à la langue une plus grande de	**liberté**	créatrice ».
6	à la fois simple et souple : elle redonne de la	**liberté**	et du jeu à la langue." Contrairement à ce que
7	Elle sonne mieux à l'oreille, elle offre plus de	**liberté**	dans l'écriture, et surtout, elle est plus
8	le féminin et permet à la langue une plus grande	**liberté**	créatrice ». Le collectif appelle maintenant à
9	, l'art autorise, encourage même, ce genre de	**libertés**	. Il n'en est pas de même pour le langage du
10	(PS). "A l'Assemblée, nous sommes des hommes	**libres**	et des femmes libres. Personne ne peut imposer à
11	, nous sommes des hommes libres et des femmes	**libres**	. Personne ne peut imposer à l'autre un
12	plus élémentaires de notre collègue, ceux de la	**liberté**	d'expression dans cet hémicycle". Haussant le
13	", s'estimant protégé par son droit à la	**liberté**	d'expression et "le droit canon de l'Académie
14	(PS). "A l'Assemblée, nous sommes des hommes	**libres**	et des femmes libres. Personne ne peut imposer à
15	, nous sommes des hommes libres et des femmes	**libres**	. Personne ne peut imposer à l'autre un
16		**RW**	
17	, Hachette). Et si on laissait chaque femme	**libre**	de choisir?
18	des cases... Pour (re)prendre enfin toute sa	**liberté**	! La liberté de se vivre femme, en toute
19	à fournir qu'on est bien ce qu'on dit être. La	**liberté**	bien sûr de celles qui préfèreront qu'on les
20	Madame, et ce sera bien leur droit. Mais aussi la	**liberté**	de celles, comme moi, qui ne veulent pas être une
21	surtout ce qu'elles font dans leur chambre. La	**liberté**	retrouvée de "mademoiselle", ce sera encore
22	sera encore celle du poète ou de la poétesse, la	**liberté**	de rêver un mot, de se laisser envoûter par lui
23	que la langue française nous permet de nous en	**libérer**	. La réalité des faits conduit aujourd'hui à une
24	ont le droit de construire leur identité	**librement**	sans être limités parce qu'ils sont censés
25	enfant de 2 ans. « Nous voulons que Pop grandisse	**librement**	, et non dans un moule d'un genre spécifique »,
26	de son Dictionnaire: elle a en quelque sorte	**libéré**	l'usage, en laissant rivaliser des formes
27	XVIIIe siècle, la langue française était plus	**libre**	. Quand un adjectif se rapportait à deux noms, il
28	de l'usage. L'Académie a, selon elle, "	**libéré**	l'usage, en laissant rivaliser les formes
29	demander à Claude Bartolone, le respect de « la	**liberté**	de parole des députés » en annulant la sanction.
30	[...] relève du principe constitutionnel de la	**liberté**	d'expression » (p. 5), et les attributions de
31	UMP «tiennent à rappeler l'importance de la	**liberté**	d'expression au sein de l'hémicycle.» Julien
32	, député UMP des Yvelines, inquiet pour « la	**liberté**	d'expression des parlementaires » . La
33	des droits de l'homme pour défendre sa	**liberté**	d'expression.
34	règne dans le discours public et qui étouffe la	**liberté**	d'expression. Sandrine Mazetier,
35	de son objet pour sanctionner une parole	**libre**	et mettre au pas un récalcitrant. Le 2 février
36	de l'époque, Louis Mermaz. Le respect de la	**liberté**	de l'orateur n'existe pas au Palais Bourbon. L'
37	est le lieu de France où la parole est la moins	**libre**	. Surveillés par la présidence de l'Assemblée,
38	l'expression paisible des désaccords. La	**liberté**	d'expression protège celui qui parle, non
39	(1791) protège aussi de façon sourcilleuse la	**liberté**	d'expression. En France, au contraire, le
40	de la souveraineté nationale et de la	**liberté**	individuelle, et par l'autorité de l'usage qui
41	qui a pour ambition d'encadrer la	**liberté**	individuelle. Le féminisme ne doit pas être un

Concordance table 9.7: All 39 occurrences of the lemma 'liberté' relating to language in the French corpus

As the concordance table above shows, LIBERTÉ is much more frequent in the RW corpus. Uses of the lemma were divided into negative liberty and positive liberty.

Isaiah Berlin (1958) distinguished between two concepts of liberty – positive and negative – both of which are necessary in a free society. Negative liberty refers to the absence of obstacles or external restraints on one's actions (e.g., freedom of speech). Positive liberty is the capacity to fulfil our desires (e.g., freedom from poverty). All of the negative liberty occurrences in the table above refer to the Aubert-Mazetier affair, whereas the positive liberty occurrences refer mainly to the creative liberty of the language.

9.5.2.1 Negative liberty

43% (6/14) of LW occurrences (lines 10-15) and 48% (12/25) of RW occurrences (lines 29-40) refer to a perceived attack on Julien Aubert's liberty of expression. All six LW occurrences are quotes from people who believe that Aubert should not have been fined. Whereas four RW occurrences are quotes (lines 29-34), the other eight are opinions expressed by the journalists. Six of these come from the same article, in which the journalist frames freedom of speech in France as being 'suffocated' by a 'crushing orthodoxy mind set' (« l'esprit d'orthodoxie écrasant qui règne dans le discours public et qui étouffe la **liberté** d'expression ») The repetition of LIBERTÉ as being under attack is designed to inspire fear in the reader. Liberty is, of course, one of the three founding principles of the French Republic (*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*). If one of its founding principles is under attack, the whole Republic is under attack. This idea also links back to the language ideology of language as the glue of the nation in Chapter 4.

As opposed to the RW, the LW concordance lines do not linger on the question of Aubert's freedom to address Mazetier in the masculine, rather it uses the altercation as a springboard to focus on linguistic and historical arguments in support of feminisation.

9.5.2.2 Positive liberty

41% (16/39) of all occurrences of LIBERTÉ refer to the freedom of the *language*. This idea is missing from the English corpus, which focuses entirely on *speakers'* freedom. In fact, only three lines (17 and 24-25) refer to positive freedom in people's choice of vocabulary or grammar. 50% (7/14) of the LW occurrences of LIBERTÉ (lines 2 and 4-9) focus on the creative liberty of the language, either that the language had more freedom in the past (lines 2 and 4), or that language should be given more creative freedom today (lines 5-9), or both.

In the RW concordance lines, 36% (9/25) of occurrences of LIBERTÉ also refer to the freedom of language. For example, five of these occurrences (lines 18-22) are themselves part of a poetic reply to François Morel's radiobroadcast 'mademoiselle se meurt' [mademoiselle is dying] (Morel 2012). The reply counters Morel's claim

that *mademoiselle* is dying by arguing, that on the contrary, the elimination of *mademoiselle* from administrative forms has not only freed women from the constraint of choosing, but also *mademoiselle* from its box on a piece of paper.

The heart of the 'choice vs freedom' discourse seems to be a conflict between on the one hand, allowing people free choice (to choose either *madame* or *mademoiselle*, to feminise job titles, or not, to use the rule of proximity, or not), and on the other, not imposing choices on people (obligatory choice between *madame* and *mademoiselle*, binary choice of masculine or feminine pronouns, Aubert's sanction for refusing to use the feminine). All 83 concordance lines tend to agree that people should have choices, however, they tend to disagree as to exactly where one person's freedom ends and where another's begins.

9.6 'SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE' discourse

There was no indication of this discourse in the top 100 French keywords. However, as it is such an important discourse in the English corpus (259 RF / 62%) a search for the following lemmas was carried out:

ACCEPTER, AFFRONTER [INSULT], APPROPRIÉ, DÉLICAT, DÉNIGRER [DENIGRATE], DÉSOBLIGEANT [UNKIND], DÉROGATOIRE, CONTRARIER [ANNOY], FÂCHER [ANGER], HISTOIRE, INSULTE, INJURE [INSULT], OFFENSER [OFFEND], PÉJORATIF, SENSIBLE [SENSITIVE], and SUSCEPTIBLE [EASILY OFFENDED] (see Table 25 on p.267 for search full details).

'SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE'	LW	RW
20 RF (18 occ) 13% (16/126)	22 RF (12 occ) 14% (10/70)	16 RF (6 occ) 11% (6/56)

This discourse is much less important in the French corpus compared to the English one. The relative frequency is over 10 times lower than in the English corpus (259RF) and present in only 13% of articles (compared to 62% in the English corpus).

1		**LW**	
2	énergétique, la présidente de séance n'a pas	**accepté**	qu'il l'appelle «Madame le président» ni «
3	que les terminaisons en eure sont parfaitement	**acceptables**	lorsque rien de plus ordinaire ne se propose, vu
4	adresse à un ou plusieurs de ses collègues des	**injures**	, provocations ou menaces.» Après ce rappel à l'
5	paraîtrait du plus mauvais goût, et de plus un	**affront**	à notre belle langue ! Cependant, un peu d'
6	une "cuitée deux jours et une nuit entière". On	**injurie**	les féministes "coupeuses de cheveux en quatre
7	de cheveux en quatre" sans oublier, bien sûr l'	**injure**	classique qui voudrait que les féministes
8	inventaire prétendu neutre se cache en effet un	**dénigrement**	subtil, mais quasi permanent, du féminin. A
9	on le fait, on réalise que ses présupposés sont	**inacceptables**	; et si en plus on découvre qu'on s'en est passé
10	(il sera question de cela plus bas).	**Acceptabilité**	du féminin en français médiéval En français
11	inadmissible ! Honteuse domination virile !	**Inacceptable**	machisme ! De grâce, madame la ministre,
12	que dire 'madame le président' c'est faire	**insulte**	à la nature féminine, je ne le pense pas", juge le
13	appelée "madame" je l'ai presque pris comme une	**insulte**	. Vexée, j'étais. Que celles qui n'ont jamais
14		**RW**	
15	personnel, il ne se donne qu'une seule règle: la	**délicatesse**	. « Je laisse toujours les femmes choisir la
16	ou institutionnelle semble toujours	**inacceptable**	pour une certaine partie du lectorat. Une
17	que dire 'madame le président' c'est faire	**insulte**	à la nature féminine, je ne le pense pas», glisse
18	adresse à un ou plusieurs de ses collègues des	**injures**	, provocations ou menaces». En la matière, on
19	déjà affrontés sur ce terrain grammatical si	**sensible**	. En janvier dernier, après un échange
20	". Enfin, "une mise en cause personnelle", des "	**injures**	, provocations ou menaces" et "manifestation

Concordance table 9.8: All 18 occurrences of lemmas contributing to a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse in the French corpus

Whereas the English discourse focused on avoiding unnecessary offence (mostly found in the CQ and LWQ), and on some being people oversensitive (mostly found in the RW), the French corpus has hardly any traces of these discourses. In fact, only one instance (line 15) refers to taking other people's feelings into account, and avoiding offense. Out of the 18 occurrences of the above lemmas 39% (7/18) focus on the acceptability of using the masculine to refer to women as regards the *rules* (either linguistic rules or those of the Assemblée Nationale), *but not as regards offence* (lines 3-5, 10, 16, 18 and 20). Only 33% (6/18) describe the use of the masculine when referring to women, or the grammatical rule of the masculine taking precedence as either not insulting, or as disparaging (lines 2, 8-9, 11-12 and 17). The remaining 28% (4/18) were classed as miscellaneous (lines 6-7, 13, and 19). No difference was found between the LW and the RW in terms of different discourses.

The fact that this discourse is not particularly important in the French debate suggests that how people *feel* about language, whether they are upset or offended by certain usages or not, is simply not particularly relevant. I believe that the absence of a 'sensitivity/offence' discourse in the French corpus can be explained by the principle of absolute equality, which overrides any individual grievances regarding offence. Absolute equality refers to the principle that there is no special treatment for ethnic, religious or linguistic groups. This model is based on the idea that the state should interact with the *individual*, not communities or groups, in order to give equal treatment to everyone. This principle of absolute equality

means that, for example, *all* religious symbols (the Muslim headscarf, the Jewish kippah, the Christian cross etc.) are prohibited in state schools, and that the government cannot collect data or statistics on its citizens regarding their ethnic, religious, or linguistic backgrounds. Despite its drawbacks (there are no reliable statistics on these issues in France), many people uphold this value, and see it as one of the founding pillars of the French Republic (*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*). When compared to such a 'big principle', being upset about a word can be seen relatively insignificant.

Related to the principle of absolute equality is a deep-seated fear of *communautarisme*. For instance, after the London Bridge terrorist attack in June 2017, British Prime Minister Theresa May declared that, 'the whole of our country needs to come together to take on this extremism, and we need to live our lives not in a series of separated, segregated communities, but as one truly United Kingdom' (Samuelson 2017). This struck a chord with the French press, who have frequently criticised the British 'communitarianism' model, as opposed to the French model of integration. The fear of *communautarisme*, and generalised support for absolute equality, has meant that a sensitivity/offence discourse is seen as not only irrelevant but potentially dangerous in France.

9.7 Summary

The following discourses surrounding language in the French corpus were identified: a 'tool / mirror' discourse, a 'language authority' discourse, a 'national identity' discourse, a 'natural evolution' discourse, a 'choice / freedom' discourse, and a 'sensitivity / offence'.

Whereas in the English corpus, there was a debate as to whether language was a simple mirror of reality, or whether it could be a tool for social change, in the French corpus there was wide agreement that language could indeed be used as a tool. The debate in the French corpus centres on whether it *should* be used as a tool. Those who *support* gender-fair language argue that language is political, whether we like it or not, and therefore *should* be used as a tool to improve society.

For those who support feminist linguistic reform, an 'evolution' discourse is employed to argue that the natural evolution of language is being stifled by traditional language rules and the Académie. Language is not being allowed to evolve in order to reflect current social norms (e.g., more women in previously male dominated professions). Choice is also an important idea in arguments for change, i.e., people should not be forced to choose (e.g., *mademoiselle* or *madame*), and today's language rules are the results of choices made in the past, not immutable facts of language.

Arguments *against* gender-fair language claim that using language as a tool is political manipulation. A 'national identity' discourse is mobilised almost exclusively to argue against feminist linguistic reform. More specifically the idea of a threat to national unity is invoked, involving the concept of *communautarisme* [≈ sectarianism]. The threat to national unity in the French corpus comes from *within* (minority groups within France) rather than outside (the EU in the English corpus). An 'evolution' discourse is drawn upon to argue that the natural evolution of language is being redirected by the ideologically motivated, i.e., that language *usage* should initiate change, not politics. In addition, a discourse of 'liberty' is used to denounce the perceived reduction of choices available (eliminating *mademoiselle*), or the threat to liberty of expression (the Aubert-Mazetier affair).

A 'language authority' discourse was mobilised 2.5 times more often in the French discourse compared to the English one. This suggests that language authority has more ‘ideological force’ (del-Teso-Craviotto 2006) in French. Nonetheless, just as in the English corpus, for both the ‘for’ and ‘against’ camps, sources of authority are cherry picked to suit the arguments advanced. Indeed, *the same source* can be used to argue for *and* against gender-fair language. Despite criticism of the Académie française, it is still plays a very important role in the French debate.

A 'sensitivity / offence' discourse is glaringly absent from both the French LW and the RW articles when compared to the English ones. I suggest that this is linked to the idea of absolute equality, one of the founding principles of the French Republic, which means that people's feelings are simply dwarfed by such 'big principles', as well as a fear of *communautarisme*.

The same kinds of language ideologies as mentioned in the conclusion for RQ1 underpin the six discourses discussed in this chapter: linguistic relativity explains why language is generally seen as a tool, and rarely as simply a mirror. Language as freedom explains why some support gender-fair language (being free from *having to* make a choice), and why others reject it (*not having* the freedom to choose). Language is also seen as the glue that holds the nation together, manifest in the 'national identity' discourse, as well as a living organism, which is being prevented from following its natural development. However, one language ideology which is absent in the French corpus is that of language as a weapon, which explains the absence of a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse.

The next chapter analyses discourses that refer more specifically to gender-fair language reform, rather than language in general.

La langue n'est ni réactionnaire, ni progressiste.
Elle est tout simplement fasciste,
car le fascisme, ce n'est pas d'empêcher de dire,
c'est obliger à dire.

[Language is neither reactionary nor progressive. It is quite simply fascist, because fascism isn't preventing us from saying, it's obliging us to say]
Roland Barthes

Chapter 10 Discourses surrounding gender-fair language in the French corpus (RQ4)

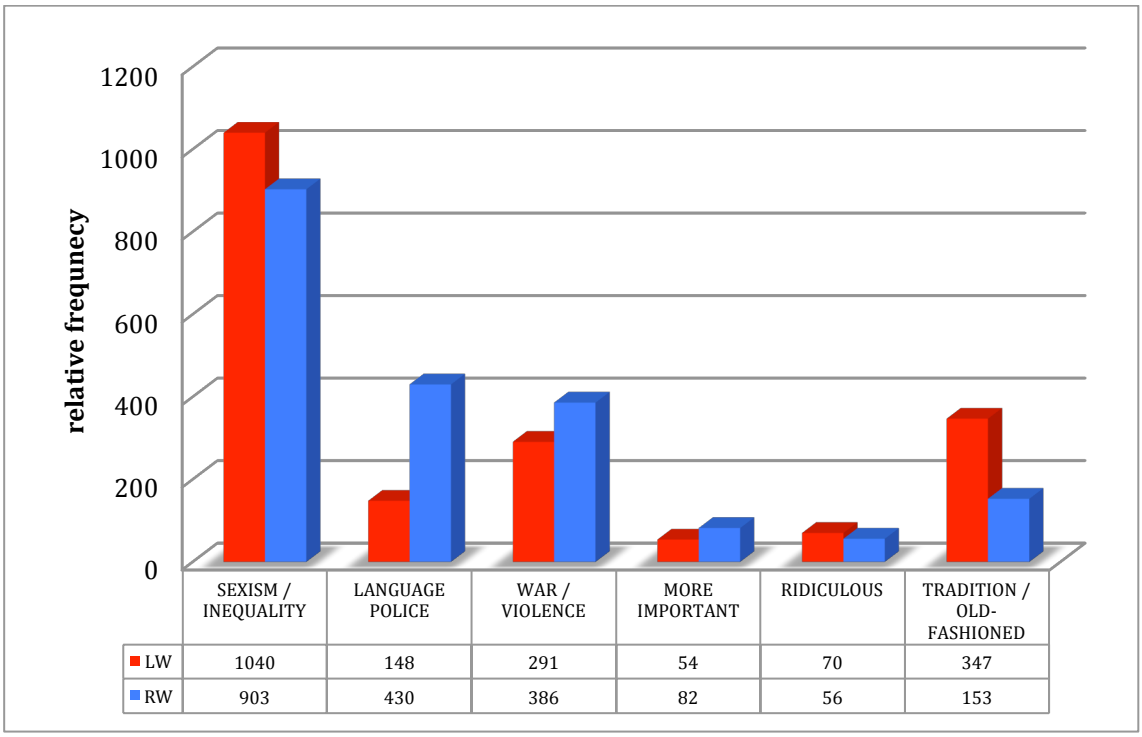
This chapter will:

- **identify the main discourses surrounding gender-fair language in the French corpus, and the language ideologies that underpin them**
- **analyse how these discourse are used in the non-sexist language debate**

This chapter addresses my final research question: What are the discourses surrounding *gender-fair language* in the French corpus? The previous chapter identified the main language ideologies in the French corpus, which underpin the discourses identified in this chapter. Comparisons will be made with Chapter 8 (RQ2: discourses surrounding gender-fair language in *English*) in order to examine any differences and similarities between the two languages. Traces of the same six discourses identified in the English corpus were also found in the French corpus:

- a 'sexism / inequality' discourse,
- a 'language police' discourse,
- a 'war / violence' discourse,
- a 'more important' discourse,
- a 'ridiculous' discourse, and
- a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse.

The graph below shows these discourses in order of relative frequency.



	SEXISM / INEQUALITY	LANGUAGE POLICE	WAR / VIOLENCE	MORE IMPORTANT	RIDICULOUS	TRADITION / OLD-FASHIONED
LW	1040	148	291	54	70	347
RW	903	430	386	82	56	153

Figure 10.1: RFs of discourses for RQ4

To provide a better narrative, the discourses are analysed in the following order:

- sexism / inequality
- language police
- war / violence
- more important
- ridiculous
- tradition / old fashioned

10.1 'SEXISM / INEQUALITY' discourse

The following terms were in the top 100 keywords: *discrimination, domination, égalité* [equality], *égalitaire* [egalitarian], *féminisme, féministe, inégalité* [inequality], *parité* [parity], *sexisme, sexiste, stéréotype,* and *supériorité.* This suggested the existence of a discourse based on the idea of inequality, specifically sexism.

Therefore, a search for the following lemmas was carried out:

ABUSE, AVORTEMENT [ABORTION], CONTRACEPTION, CONTRAINDRE [CONSTRAIN], DÉVALORISER [DEVALUE], DISCRIMINER, DISPARITÉ, DISSYMÉTRIE, DIVERS*, DOMINER [DOMINATE], ÉCART

[GAP], ÉGALITÉ [EQUALITY], FÉMININ [1], FÉMINISER, FÉMINISME, FÉMINISTE, HIÉRARCHIE, INFÉRIEUR, MARGINALISER, MACHISITE [MACHO], MASCULIN, MISOGYNIE, OPPRESSER, PARITÉ, PATRIARCHIE, PRÉJUDICE, RÉMUNÉRATION [PAY], RESPECT, SALAIRE, SEXISME, SEXISTE, STÉRÉOTYPE, SUBORDONNER, SUPÉRIEUR, VICTIME, VIOL [RAPE], and VIOLENCE (see Table 26 on p.267 for search full details).

'SEXISM / INEQUALITY'	LW	RW
985 RF (891 occ) 86% (108/126)	1040 RF (561 occ) 89% (62/70)	903 RF (330 occ) 82% (46/56)

The overall statistics for this discourse are very similar to the one in the English corpus (916 RF / 91%) suggesting that inequality is of equal concern in both corpora.

In the English analysis the lemmas SEXISM (320 RF / 63%), FEMINISM (181 RF / 39%), and EQUALITY (76 RF / 34%) were analysed, as they were the most frequent. The same three lemmas are also the most frequent in the French corpus, albeit in a different order: FÉMINISME (183 RF / 41%), ÉGALITÉ (171 RF / 49%), and SEXISME (98 RF / 37%). As this discourse seems to revolve around these three lemmas, a closer analysis of them seemed to be justified.

search terms	LW	RW
égal 171 RF (155 occ) 49% (62/126)	154 RF (83 occ) 49% (34/70)	197 RF (72 occ) 50% (28/56)
féminisme* & féministe 183 RF (166 occ) 41% (52/126)	180 RF (97 occ) 49% (34/70)	189 RF (69 occ) 32% (18/56)
sexis* 98 RF (89 occ) 37% (46/126)	104 RF (56 occ) 40% (28/70)	90 RF (33 occ) 32% (18/56)
all three lemmas 453 RF (410 occ) 69% (87/126)	438 RF (236 occ) 71% (50/70)	476 RF (174 occ) 66% (37/56)

Indeed, an analysis of the lemmas FÉMINISME, ÉGALITÉ, and SEXISME reveals very similar discourses to the ones found in the English corpus, that is to say, there is general agreement that equality is desirable and that sexism is undesirable. However, there is some disagreement as to *how* to achieve equality, whether certain practices can be classed as sexist or not, and whether feminism is helping

[1] For the lemmas MASCULIN and FÉMININ, only occurrences that either referred to social gender, or clearly stated a link between language and sexism were retained.

to promote equality, or whether is it misguided in its endeavours. I term this discourse a 'so-called' discourse.

10.1.1 A 'SO-CALLED' DISCOURSE

1			**LW**	
2	les genres grammaticaux, on lutte contre une	**inégalité**	, alors qu'en réalité on détourne le sens de l
3	l'école "maternelle", une terminologie trop	**sexiste**	à ses yeux Le HuffPost avec AFP Publication: 0
4	contre les discriminations sexistes. Le	**féminisme**	devrait avoir bien plutôt une visée «
5	l'abrogation d'une règle de grammaire «	**sexiste** »	, par laquelle le masculin l'emporte sur le
6	masculin l'emporte sur le féminin" : et si les	**féministes**	arrêtaient la grammaire ? Publié le 01-03-2012
7			**RW**
8	sexuellement non identifiés). Est-cela le	**féminisme**	? Est-cela que voulaient nos ainées, lorsqu'
9	d'encadrer la liberté individuelle. Le	**féminisme**	ne doit pas être un bras armé de cette idéolog
10	réellement d'un combat féministe ? Le vrai	**féminisme**	, celui que je pourrais revendiquer, consiste
11	eront plus compétentes que les hommes. Le vrai	**féminisme**	consiste à avoir des femmes compétentes à de
12	, relève-t-il réellement d'un combat	**féministe**	? Le vrai féminisme, celui que je pourrais
13	d'entretenir la guerre des sexes, de confondre	**égalité**	et uniformité et de nier la différence des sex
14	respectés tombent dans ce panneau pseudo-	**féministe**	importé du Québec. Mais Marguerite Duras
15	au nom de ce qu'elles croient être l'	**égalité**	. Jospin interroge l'Académie et la Commission
16	dans un couple paraît une grosse atteinte à l'	**égalité**	des sexes. Ils accusent Shakespeare lui-même
17	: « Comme cela est le résidu de la grammaire	**sexiste**	du XVI e , Adam et Ève !... Sexisme odieux ! c
18	: siècle, il semble que nous soyons toujours	**sexistes**	dans nos façons d'écrire. » Ah mince, alors !
19	documents administratifs. Les associations	**féministes**	ont le sens des priorités, elles l'ont prouvé
20	l'école "maternelle", un adjectif trop	**sexiste**	à ses yeux À l'heure où se prépare une loi de
21	. Un qualificatif apparemment trop	**sexiste**	à ses yeux. « Cette dénomination
22	riage pour tous » qui produit une situation d'	**inégalité**	. D'une part, ceux qui ont choisi le mariage
23	n° 1 et un conjoint n° 2), ce qui produit une	**inégalité**	notoire à leur endroit : il saute aux yeux qu'
24	actuels. Ils ne cessent de brandir le terme «	**égalité**	», alors qu'il s'agit seulement de changer le
25	pour que les enfants ne soient pas victimes du «	**sexisme** »	, son personnel ne s'est pas contenté d'éviter
26	égalitariste. Gare aux mots déviants, réputés	**sexistes**	! Ainsi la députée PS Sandrine Mazetier
27	» Très impliquée dans la chasse au vocabulaire «	**sexiste** »	, la députée PS avait proposé en février 2013
28	pour changer une règle de grammaire «	**sexiste** »	. Une initiative qui divise. «Que les hommes e
29	sur le féminin. Pour en finir avec cette règle «	**sexiste** »	, le collectif d'associations L'égalité, c'
30	par France Télévisions car finalement jugé	**sexiste**	. Pour éviter à l'avenir ce genre de déconvenu
31	« Madame le préfet » pour faire progresser l'	**égalité**	? À en croire le Haut Conseil à l'égalité entr
32	politique du moment ou d'un soi-disant	**féminisme**	, qui est en réalité le masque d'une idéologie

Concordance table 10.1: All 30 occurrences of lemmas 'féminisme', 'égalité', and 'sexisme' that contribute to a 'so-called' discourse in the French corpus

The 410 occurrences of FÉMINISME, ÉGALITÉ, and SEXISME are quite evenly spread between the LW (483 RF and 71%) and the RW (467 RF and 66%). 7% (30/410) of these concordance lines question the definition of these terms, whether a particular path will result in more equality, or whether a particular act or term can be classed as sexist or not.

The RW (68 RF) invokes this 'so-called' discourse almost eight times more often than the LW (9 RF). In the context of total occurrences of the three lemmas, this means that 14% (25/174) of occurrences of FÉMINISME, ÉGALITÉ, and SEXISME in the RW corpus cast doubt on the definition or validity of feminism, equality or sexism, compared to only 2% (5/236) in the LW corpus. For purposes of comparison, in the English corpus the 'so-called' discourse only concerned the lemma SEXIST, and

was invoked by the LWQ with an RF of 38, by the RWQ with an RF of 92, and by the RWT with an RF of 142.

It is taken for granted in both the LW and RW French corpora that equality is a noble and worthy pursuit. Nonetheless, out of the 155 occurrences of ÉGALITÉ, in 5% (8/155) there is some debate over the definition of equality, and whether certain actions are in fact creating more or less equality (lines 2, 13, 15, 16, 22-24 and 31). Seven of the eight occurrences come from the RW press. In other words, 10% (7/72) of all occurrences of ÉGALITÉ in the RW dispute the concept, whereas only 1% (1/83) of LW articles do so. In addition, the article from *The Huffington Post* (line 2) was written by right wing MP Julien Aubert, and is therefore not particularly representative of the LW press.

Line 13 is interesting in that it draws on several discourses, and is a good example of how ideologies of language serve as a lens through which views of what society should look like are filtered, and then translated into language choices. The article is from the Catholic paper *La Croix*, and discusses the replacement of the phrase *bon père de famille* (in English law *bonus pater familias*, i.e., 'good family father' or 'a diligent guardian of the rights and interests of his or her ward') with a less sexist alternative. The article was published in January 2014, nine months after a law was passed in France that allowed gay couples the same rights to marriage as straight couples. There was enormous media coverage in France compared to the UK, and a well-organised opposition to the law, which went under the name of *la manif pour tous*[1] [the protest for everyone]. Ludovine de la Rochère, president of *la manif pour tous* is quoted in the article as saying:

> 'The battle surrounding "bon père de famille" is ridiculous [...] Let's stop the war of the sexes, stop confusing **equality** and uniformity and denying the difference between the sexes.'
>
> « La bataille autour du « bon père de famille » est ridicule [...] Arrêtons d'entretenir la guerre des sexes, de confondre **égalité** et uniformité et de nier la différence des sexes. »
> 2014-01-23 'Le « bon père de famille » pourrait disparaître du droit français', *La Croix*

In this short extract a 'war' discourse, a 'ridiculous' discourse, and a 'different but equal' discourse are drawn upon in order to discredit the campaign to replace *bon*

[1] Named in response to the bill, *le mariage pour tous* [marriage for everyone], allowing same-sex marriage.

père de famille. This quote implies that her opponents are aggressively trying to create an asexual, androgynous world, and that they are wasting their time in futile battles when the truth of sex differences is obvious. The idea that non-sexist language change will result in an asexual, sterilised world is also present in several other articles, but unfortunately is not a discourse that I have the space to analyse in this thesis. The article ends, drawing on the authority of a jurist, with a dire warning that changing the expression *bon père de famille* may result in parents not taking good care of their children:

> 'But, and this is my second point, I think that in eliminating such an expression, we are responding to a very strong need for individualism. Because managing a family as a good father was about thinking of the children, about generations to come, and this concern is perhaps not as strong today.'
>
> « Mais, et c'est mon deuxième point, je crois qu'en supprimant une telle expression, on répond à un très fort besoin d'individualisme. Car gérer en bon père de famille, c'était penser aux enfants, aux générations à venir, et cette préoccupation n'est peut-être plus aussi forte aujourd'hui. »
> 2014-01-23 'Le « bon père de famille » pourrait disparaître du droit français', *La Croix*

Although it is doubtful that replacing *bon père de famille* with a less gendered term[1] has resulted in a rise in parents neglecting their children, *La Croix* draws upon this discourse in order to portray non-sexist language reform as part of a larger attack on traditional family values. A 'family values' discourse was also a central discourse mobilised during the same-sex marriage debate, and so would have been very familiar to readers at that time. Despite the article being ostensibly about a change in language, the attitudes expressed towards *bon père de famille* belong to a 'double discourse' (Cameron 2003, pp.448-49; Milani 2010, p.127) through which anxiety about the perceived loss of traditional family values, rather than language per se, is reflected. Social attitudes are 'translated' through the filter of language ideologies onto linguistic choices. One language ideology that seems to be manifested here is a belief in linguistic relativity, that replacing *bon père de famille* will have material consequences for the family.

Out of the 89 occurrences of SEXISME in the French corpus, 13% (12/89) question whether a particular action or word can be defined as sexist or not. 83% (10/12) of these lines come from the RW corpus. Not only do the RW mention sexism less often than the LW (90 RF and 104 RF respectively), but when they do there is a

[1] It was replaced with *raisonnablement* [reasonably] in August 2014.

30% (10/33) chance that an incident or word will not be accepted as sexist, compared to only 4% (2/56) in the LW. The same pattern was found in the English corpus with 38% (34/89) of RWQ occurrences and 25% (17/69) of RWT occurrences questioning sexism, compared to 12% (10/83) of LWQ occurrences. Thus it would seem that the RW casts doubt on instances of sexism more often than the LW in both the French and English corpora. Nevertheless, in general sexism is questioned much *less* in the French corpus than the English one.

Common devices used to challenge sexism in the French corpus are: scare quotes, used 5 out of 12 times with the lemma SEXISME; phrases such as '*à ses yeux*' [in her eyes] (lines 3, 20 and 21); terms like '*apparemment*' [apparently] (line 21), '*réputés*' [reputedly] (line 26), or '*jugé*' [judged][1] (line 30), which serve to distance the journalist from the claim that something is sexist; and sarcasm (line 19) to ridicule claims of sexism ('Feminist associations have got their priorities right').

As with ÉGALITÉ and SEXISME, most (8/10) of the occurrences which question feminism are also from the RW. In the context of total occurrences of FÉMINISME, 14% (10/69) of RW occurrences question feminism, compared to only 2% (2/97) of LW articles. This said, although the RW corpus tends to use a 'so-called' discourse more often than the LW, it has a statistically more balanced treatment of FÉMINISME. Out of the 33 occurrences of the lemma FÉMINISME in the RW, 36% (25/69) were classed as positive references to feminism, 33% (23/69) as neutral and 30% (21/69) as negative. On the other hand, in the LW corpus 72% (70/97) of occurrences of FÉMINISME were classed as neutral, 22% (21/97) as positive, and 6% (6/97) as negative. This suggests that discourses surrounding FÉMINISME in the RW tend to be equally positive, negative or neutral, whereas in the LW articles they are overwhelmingly neutral or positive, and only very rarely negative.

Collocates of FÉMINISME which are part of this 'so-called' discourse include *pseudo* (with a collocation score of 9.48) (line 14), '*est-cela*' [is that] (10.54) (line 8), '*devoir*' [should] (10.44) (lines 4 and 9), and '*consister*' (11.19) (line 11). The idea

[1] Although *jugé* was not a collocate of *sexiste* in my corpus, it was in the reference corpus (with a collocation score of 6.80).

that feminists are pursuing a worthy goal of equality, but that they are on the wrong path is also found in the English corpus. Not only are feminists sometimes on the wrong path, they are also forcing others to follow them on this path.

10.2 'LANGUAGE POLICE' discourse

A 'language police' discourse was hinted at the top 100 keywords, which included: *bannir* [to ban / banish], *idéologie, insurger* [to rebel], *procès-verbal* [fine / penalty], *sanction,* and *sanctionner*. In addition, this discourse is also an important one in the English corpus. Therefore, a search was carried out for the following lemmas:

BANNIR [BANISH], BIG BROTHER, BRIGADE, CENSURE, CHASSE [HUNT], CONDAMNER, CONTRAINTE [CONSTRAINT], CONTRÔLE, CROISADE [CRUSADE], DÉNONCER [DENOUNCE], DICTATEUR [DICTATOR], DIKTAT, DOCTRINE, DOGMATIQUE, GUETTER [LOOK OUT FOR], IDÉOLOGIE, IMPOSER, MANIPULER, MORAL, NOVLANGUE [NEWSPEAK], ORWELL, ORTHODOX, POLICE, POLITIQUEMENT CORRECT, PC, PROPAGANDE, PUNIR [PUNISH], PURGE, RÉGAL, RÉGIME, RÉPRESSION, SOVIET, STASI, SURVEILLER [MONITOR], TOTALITAIRE, and TRAQUER [TRACK / HUNT] (see Table 27 on p.269 for search full details).

'LANGUAGE POLICE'	LW	RW
262 RF (237 occ) 55% (69/126)	148 RF (80 occ) 46% (32/70)	430 RF (157 occ) 66% (37/56)

This 'language police' discourse is closely linked to the 'language as a tool / mirror' discourse discussed in part 9.1. Those who believe language should not be used as a political tool, tend to mobilise a 'language police' discourse, and see any attempt at language planning as political manipulation.

The relative frequency of a 'language police' discourse in the French corpus (262 RF) is significantly higher than the English one (187 RF). The distribution is similar with 55% for the French corpus, and 51% for the English corpus. A left-right divide is also apparent in both corpora, with the RW invoking this discourse much more often than the LW. This can be explained using Moral Foundations Theory (see part 11.4), which posits that right wing people value liberty much more than left wing people.

In the French LW corpus, lemmas associated with this discourse tend to be used in order to *counteract* criticisms of language policing. 55% (44/80) of the occurrences of 'language police' lemmas in the LW are quotes from those who believe that some form of repression is happening. Only 45% are terms chosen by the journalist, and only 23% (18/80) of occurrences in the LW corpus were classed as reinforcing a 'language police' discourse. Most LW occurrences use these lemmas to criticise this discourse, or alternatively to criticise the invisible language policing that has been going on for centuries by language gatekeepers, for instance:

> Since the Académie française immobilised the French language and **imposed** the superiority of one gender over the other, three centuries ago, 'the masculine has taken precedence over the feminine'.
>
> Depuis que l'Académie française a figé la langue française et qu'elle a **imposé** la supériorité d'un genre sur l'autre, il y a trois siècles, « le masculin l'emporte sur le féminin ».
> 2015-03-06 'Langue. Si, si, hommes et femmes sont égales', *L'Humanité*

This extract uses discourses of oppression, and power hierarchies to convince its (communist-leaning) readers to throw off the yoke of centuries of oppression and reject the Académie's imposition of sexist rules (only members of the Académie française vote to elect new members, and they are overwhelmingly middle class, white men).

On the other hand, 72% (113/157) of occurrences in the RW articles express the journalists' opinion, compared to 28% (44/157) of indirect quotes. This difference implies that the RW journalists tend to agree with, and appropriate this discourse, thus needing to quote less than the LW articles, who tend to distance themselves from this discourse.

> Does the fining of an MP for having expressed himself correctly in French on the floor of the French National Assembly mean that the Assembly now appropriates the right to fix the rules of the language, which would bring us to the gates of **totalitarianism**? In our debates tomorrow should we also say, on pain of **sanctions**: 'procureure', 'rapporteure', 'défenseure', 'professeure'[1]? Doesn't the horrifying sound of these words sufficiently express the agony that the **ideology** of excessive feminisation of job titles is inflicting on the French people, so strange for one of the most beautiful languages in the world, forged from a thousand years of civilisation and culture?
>
> La mise à l'amende d'un député pour s'être exprimé correctement en français dans l'enceinte de l'Assemblée nationale française signifierait-elle que l'Assemblée s'arroge désormais le droit de fixer les règles de la langue, ce qui nous amènerait aux portes du **totalitarisme**? Faudra-t-il dire aussi demain dans nos débats, sous peine de **sanctions**:

[1] Feminine equivalents of *procureur* [prosecutor], *rapporteur* [reporter / recorder], *défenseur* [defence lawyer], and *professeur* [teacher / professor]. NB the feminisation of terms ending in *-eur* is generally less well accepted than nouns with other endings.

> «procureure», «rapporteure», «défenseure», «professeure»? L'effroyable sonorité de ces mots n'exprime-t-elle pas assez le martyre que fait subir aux Français l'**idéologie** de la féminisation à outrance des fonctions, si étrangère à l'une des plus belles langues du monde, forgée par mille ans de civilisation et de culture?
> 2014-10-09 'Madame le président / l'ultimatum de 140 députés de l'opposition à Claude Bartolone', *Le Figaro*

This article was written by former right wing Prime Minister François Fillon in the wake of Julien Aubert's fine for insisting on referring to Sandrine Mazetier in the masculine as 'Madame *le président*'. 140 MPs signed a petition to support Aubert. In this extract Fillon draws upon a 'language police' discourse, warning of the imminent collapse of democracy into totalitarianism if people continue to be punished for not feminising job titles in the Assemblée Nationale[1]. Fillon also draws upon a 'standard language' ideology: Aubert expressed himself 'correctly', i.e., in a form of French which has been promoted as the standard, but which has no inherent value compared to other 'non-standard' forms of French, thus implying that any other forms are 'incorrect'. Another common discourse which is drawn upon is what I term a 'violence' discourse, or what Hellinger terms a 'language of war' (Hellinger 2011, p.578), in which not only the language, but French civilisation and culture are under attack (also see Molinari 2015). French is a national treasure that readers of *Le Figaro* should be proud of and should protect. By referring to French civilisation being under threat, Fillon is subtly calling into play not only fears of a corruption of the *language*, but also fears linked to immigration and the loss of traditional French values. As the rest of Europe, French society is in the midst a difficult period in its history regarding immigration, and multiculturalism, which I believe readers of right wing *Le Figaro* would be especially sensitive to.

10.3 'WAR / VIOLENCE' discourse

Only one word in the top 100 keywords suggested a discourse related to violence: *querelle.* Nevertheless, as this was an important discourse in the English corpus, a search was carried out for the following lemmas:

[1] Since 1998 the rules of the Assemblée Nationale state that when referring to a woman, her job title should be in the feminine. However, some representatives require regular reminders of this rule.

ABUSER, ARME, ATROCITÉ, ATTAQUER, BAGARRE [FIGHT], BARBARE [BARBARIC], BATAILLE [BATTLE], CAMPAGNE [CAMPAIGN], CHAMPS DE MINE [MINE FIELD], COMBAT, DÉFENDRE [DEFEND], DÉFAITE [DEFEAT], DÉFIGUER [DEFIGURE], DÉTRUIRE [DESTROY], ÉCRASER [QUASH], ENNEMIE, GARDER [GUARD], GUERRE [WAR], LUTTER [FIGHT], MILITAIRE [MILITARY], PROTÈGER [PROTECT], QUERELLE [QUARREL], SODOMISER, VAINQUEUR [VICTOR], VICTOIRE [VICTORY], and VIOLENCE (see Table 28 on p. 270 for search full details).

'WAR / VIOLENCE'	LW	RW
329 RF (298 occ) 71% (90/126)	291 RF (157 occ) 70% (49/70)	386 RF (141 occ) 73% (41/56)

Lemmas which are part of a 'violence' discourse are much more frequent and wide spread in the French corpus, suggesting that the sexist language debate is seen much more in terms of a battle in my French corpus than in the English one (173 RF / 49%).

10.3.1 Violence against *language*

A 'violence' discourse is often mobilised in the sexist language debate. Language is often portrayed as being under attack, and needing to be protected from those who want to manipulate and destroy it. Alternatively, the debate itself is described in terms of battles, and campaigns, victories and losses, implying that there are winners and losers, that a truce is not an option. Indeed, most of the 'violence' lemmas in the French corpus refer to the debate itself and the various campaigns to promote gender-fair language. Nonetheless, 7% (21/297) of occurrences describe *language* as being under attack. I have chosen to analyse these 21 occurrences as they relate specifically to language, rather than language campaigns per se. This argument has already been noted by Cameron, who argues that

> there is something absurd about the notion that language or words can be attacked independently of their users. There is also something disingenuous about it, since by setting language up as a thing, a monolith, it stops us asking whose words, images and traditions will be under attack if the conventions are changed. (Cameron 1992, p.102)

1		LW	
2	à circuler (...) il se produit un risque de	destruction	du langage commun". Ancienne, la polémique
3	tribune politique pour ses idées, quitte à	écraser	la grammaire, le statut de l'Académie
4	produit une scission, un schisme, un risque de	destruction	du langage commun. Déjà, droite et gauche ne
5	tribune politique pour ses idées, quitte à	écraser	la grammaire, le statut de l'Académie
6	«Madame le» ? On attend en vain la réponse. Vrai	barbarisme	, pourtant. Faute de se prononcer sur ce point
7	notre langue se perdrait dans la cacophonie des	barbarismes	imposés. Marianne SA
8	… Certains (ou certaines) se scandalisent de l'	atrocité	de la féminisation de certains mots, au vu de
9	, par exemple serait un tel exemple d'	atrocité	langagière). Évidemment, la féminisation de
10	à circuler (...) il se produit un risque de	destruction	du langage commun". Ancienne, la polémique
11	interview donnée à "Vice magazine" que ce "hen"	détruisait	son "langage" et que cela était imputable "aux
12	, elles feraient mieux de se battre, au lieu de	sodomiser	les diptères et les lexicographes avec un
13	donnant lieu, pardonnez l'oxymore, à de belles	atrocités	, telles que "professeure", "doctoresse" ou "
14		RW	
15	, Alain Rey considère qu'il s'agit là d'un	« barbarisme »	, c'est-à-dire d'un emprunt à l'étranger.
16	sous le titre : « Non à une langue	défigurée	». M. Maurice Druon reprenait le 12 janvier
17	. LE FIGARO ET VOUS - LETTRES Non à une langue	défigurée	Maurice DRUON 1337 words 29 December 2005 Le
18	bien, quand son gouvernement s'obstine à faire	défigurer	sa langue ? Essayons donc de retrouver un peu
19	la société de consommation avait plus fait pour	détruire	la langue italienne que le fascisme lui-même.
20	de dérivation et constituent de véritables	barbarismes	. Le français ne dispose pas d'un suffixe
21	soit imposé. Mais, conformément à sa mission,	défendant	l'esprit de la langue et les règles qui
22	régenter la langue, ni prescrire des règles qui	violeraient	la grammaire ou la syntaxe: elle n'est pas en
23	de France Télévisions pour Le verbe contre la	barbarie	. Il est docteur honoris causa de l'université

Concordance table 10.2: All 21 occurrences of 'violence' lemmas implying that language itself is under attack in the French corpus

Most of the lines in the LW are used to *support* gender-fair language. Only lines 4-5 and 7 argue *against* feminist linguistic reform. The tendency is the opposite in the RW lines, with most lines arguing *against* (and only lines 14-15 *for*) non-sexist language.

In all of the concordance lines arguing *against* non-sexist language (lines 4-5, 7, 17-23) the lemmas are used without quotes and reflect the journalists' views. Whereas, in all concordance lines arguing *for* gender-fair language, the lemmas are either direct quotes from detractors of gender-fair language, or are used ironically to ridicule them. Line 2 is the only 'for' line where it is used in a straightforward way, not to *criticise* feminist linguistic change however, but to argue that *Madame le* + a masculine noun is a barbarism.

The lemma BARBARISME appears five times in my corpus (lines 6-7, 15, 20 and 23), each time in relation to language. Four out of the five times are to criticise gender-fair language (lines 7, 15, 20 and 23), and only one to support it (line 6). The etymology of *barbarism* (i.e., 'foreign speech') is specifically mentioned in line 15:

> At the same time, the influence of feminisations from Quebec came across the Atlantic. So, we saw *auteure* [*author* in the feminine], then *défenseure* [*defendant* in the feminine], appear. As a linguist, Alain Rey considers this a '**barbarism**', that is to say a foreign borrowing.
>
> À la même époque, l'influence des féminisations québécoises a traversé l'Atlantique. On a ainsi vu apparaître *auteure*, puis *défenseure*. En tant que linguiste, Alain Rey considère qu'il s'agit là d'un « **barbarisme** », c'est-à-dire d'un emprunt à l'étranger.
> 2014-10-09 'Explication; La féminisation des noms, une querelle franco-française', *La Croix*

In France, feminist linguistic reform is often seen as a foreign influence, either directly from English, or indirectly from French-speaking Quebec – where feminisation is seen as an Anglophone influence. Indeed, one collocate of *barbarisme* in the reference corpus is *anglicisme* (collocation score: 10.91), whereas the English reference corpus has no language-related collocates of *barbarism*.

In addition to a 'barbarism' discourse, five concordance lines draw upon a 'language as glue of the nation' discourse (lines 2, 4, 10, 11). Lines 2 and 10 are quoting Julien Aubert, and Aubert himself wrote line 12:

> Decisions about language should not be taken lightly. Language is the cement of our country: when two spellings, or two grammars start circulating, the fruit of two sources of legitimacy, a split, a schism, a risk of the **destruction** of the common language is produced. The Right and Left already don't agree about ideas, but what will happen when they don't even have the same words to say it?
>
> Décider de la langue, ce n'est pas une affaire légère. La langue est le ciment de notre pays : lorsque deux orthographes, deux grammaires commencent à circuler, fruit de deux sources de légitimité, il se produit une scission, un schisme, un risque de **destruction** du langage commun. Déjà, droite et gauche ne sont pas d'accord sur les idées, mais qu'arrivera-t-il lorsqu'ils n'auront même plus les mêmes mots pour le dire ?
> 2014-01-17 'Grand genre, petits moyens', *The Huffington Post*

Aubert specifically describes the language as 'the cement of the country', and describes a catastrophic spilt in society if two different spellings or grammatical constructions are allowed. Even though this discourse is unrealistic and greatly exaggerated, it is still often drawn upon in various language debates, e.g., debates on the use of Spanish in the USA, or immigration policies in Australia (Piller 2015).

There are two examples of language being the victim of sexual violence in my corpus (lines 12 and 22). This is a discourse that has been found by other scholars working on non-sexist language. For instance, Klinkenberg notes references to the 'viol de la langue' [rape of language], 'lubricité lexicale' [lexical lust / lechery], and 'harassement textuel' [textual harassment] (Klinkenberg 2006, p.25).

The use of 'sodomise' in line 12 is actually quoting an article (Brighelli 2014) that is not part of my corpus, in which the author suggests that feminists 'would be better off fighting, instead of **sodomising** dipterans and lexicographers with a

legislative olisbos [dildo]' ['feraient mieux de se battre, au lieu de **sodomiser** les diptères et les lexicographes avec un olisbos législatif']. The use of 'sodomise' here is supposed to be humorous. The normal idiom is *enculer les mouches* [literally 'to fuck flies'], meaning something equivalent to 'splitting hairs' in English. The author uses a higher register (as with 'olisbos' for 'dildo') to express the same idea. Behind the clever word play, however, is still the idea that the language, or in this case lexicographers, are being sexually assaulted. Similarly, line 22 refers specifically to the 'rape' of grammar:

> But, in accordance with its mission, defending the spirit of the language and the rules which preside over the enrichment of the vocabulary, it rejects the mind-set of a system which tends to impose, sometimes against the wishes of the women concerned, forms such as *professeure [teacher], recteure [chief education officer], sapeuse-pompière [firefighter], auteure [author], ingénieure [engineer], procureure [prosecutor]*, etc., not to mention *chercheure [researcher]*, which go against the ordinary rules of derivation and constitute veritable **barbarisms**. [...] The *Compagnie* [the Académie française] make it clear that hurrying or forcing language use amounts to violating the very nature of the French language and to opening a period of linguistic uncertainty. [...] Nobody can act as regent of the language, nor prescribe rules that would **rape** the grammar or the syntax: indeed, it is not a tool that is shaped on the whim of desire and political projects.
>
> Mais, conformément à sa mission, défendant l'esprit de la langue et les règles qui président à l'enrichissement du vocabulaire, elle rejette un esprit de système qui tend à imposer, parfois contre le vœu des intéressées, des formes telles que *professeure, recteure, sapeuse-pompière, auteure, ingénieure, procureure*, etc., pour ne rien dire de *chercheure*, qui sont contraires aux règles ordinaires de dérivation et constituent de véritables **barbarismes**. [...] La Compagnie fait valoir que brusquer et forcer l'usage revient à porter atteinte au génie même de la langue française et à ouvrir une période d'incertitude linguistique. [...] Nul ne peut régenter la langue, ni prescrire des règles qui **violeraient** la grammaire ou la syntaxe: elle n'est pas en effet un outil qui se modèle au gré des désirs et des projets politiques.
> 2014-10-15 'Féminisation des noms / la mise au point de l'Académie française', *Le Figaro*

The extract above is from an article that reprints the Académie's reaction to the Aubert-Mazertier affair in full. The Académie wants to protect women from being referred to as *professeure* or *chercheure* etc. against their wishes. Like a true gentleman, the Académie does not want to hurry (*brusquer*) or force the language into something it is not ready for. The feminisation of certain job titles results in barbarisms (the *-eure* forms the article mentions are often seen as imports from Quebec), and essentially amounts to raping grammar. This plays on the perennial spectre of 'foreign men raping our women'. Despite the terrible reality of rape being used as a weapon in wars, the threat of an external group of men (enemy soldiers, immigrants etc.) 'raping our women' is a discourse which has been mobilised in many forms of discrimination, one of the most recent being the Charleston killer in the USA in 2015, who told African American churchgoers, 'You

rape our women, and you're taking over our country, and you have to go' before shooting and killing nine of them (Bouie 2015). The extract above from *Le Figaro* is part of a larger 'war / violence' discourse, in which the idea of violence against language (often from foreign sources) is transposed onto sexual violence against women. References to sexual violence are also frequent in the next discourse, albeit used in a very different way.

10.4 'MORE IMPORTANT' discourse

An analysis of the 'war / violence' lemmas revealed a 'more important' discourse, which was also found in the English corpus. Therefore, a search for the following lemmas was carried out:

AGGRESSION, AVORTEMENT [ABORTION], BON COMBAT [THE RIGHT BATTLE], CAUSE, IMPORTANT, MIEUX [BETTER], PRIORITÉ, RIEN D'AUTRE À FAIRE [NOTHING ELSE TO DO], SE TROMPER [TO BE MISTAKEN], SOI-DISANT / VRAI FÉMINISME [SO-CALLED / REAL FEMINISM], URGENT, VIOL [RAPE] and VIOLENCE (see Table 29 on p.272 for search full details).

'MORE IMPORTANT'	LW	RW
65 RF (59 occ) 23% (29/126)	54 RF (29 occ) 23% (16/70)	82 RF (30 occ) 23% (13/56)

The concordance lines are equally shared between the two newspaper groups with 49% (29/59) from the LW and 51% (30/59) from the RW. The lines were classed as being either for or against non-sexist language, and as either accepting or rejecting a 'more important' discourse. 'Accepting' means that the concordance line expresses agreement that there are indeed more important things to do. 'Rejecting' means that the concordance line expresses the idea that gender-fair language *is* important.

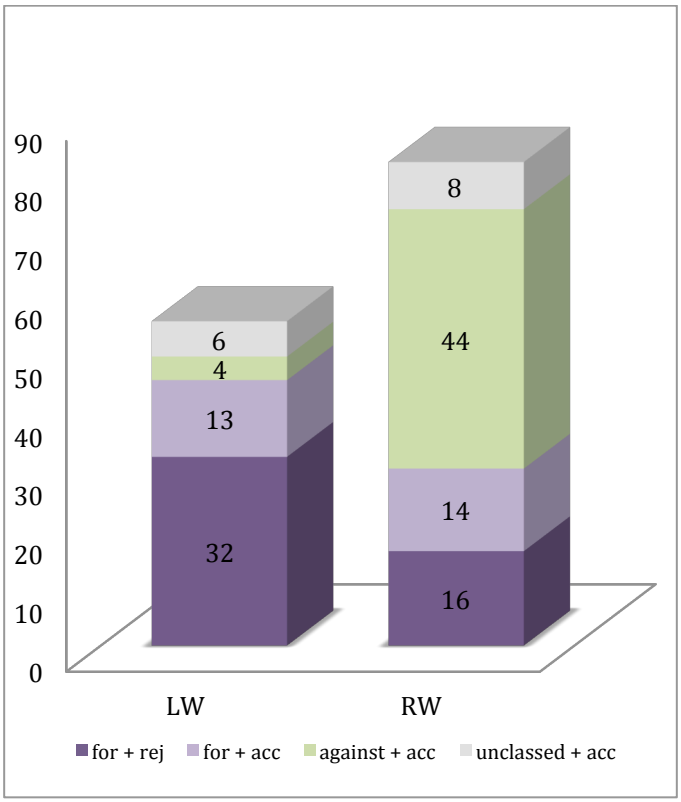


Figure 10.2: The use of a 'more important' discourse in the French corpus

As the graph shows, there are two major differences in how the LW and RW mobilise this discourse: The LW (32 RF) tend to argue *for* gender-fair language and to *reject* the accusation that there are more important things to be done twice as often as the RW (16 RF), whereas the RW (44 RF) tend to do the opposite, i.e., they *accept* this discourse to argue *against* feminist linguistic reform 11 times more frequently than the LW (4 RF).

	LW		
2	. Chaque groupe est attaché à sa « bonne	cause	». Une revendication souvent brandie comme une
3	probabilité qu'elle réponde que ce n'est pas sa	priorité	. On serait donc face à une problématique de
4	d'une majorité politique du moment ou d'un	soi-disant féminisme	, qui est en réalité le masque d'une
5	doute celle-ci: "n'y a-t-il pas des combats plus	importants	à mener?" Une interrogation qui a trotté dans la
6	Comme vous le remarquez, il y a des combats plus	importants	comme de « rester amoureux de quelqu'un d'autre
7	des femmes ; le problème est ailleurs, dans les	salaires	moindres à qualification égale, dans les
8	du travail : on leur refuse des chances et des	salaires	égaux à ceux des hommes. Le féminisme a pris une
9	polémique comme s'ils n'avaient rien de	mieux	à faire? Créatrice de deux collections, «la Cité
10	Le combat pour la parité passe par bien d'autres	urgences	que cette question de terminologie secondaire
11	en pratiquant la dérision : "Encore un débat	urgent	à se pisser dessus de rire" ; l'exemple d'une "
12	, les violences ou les difficultés d'accès à l'	avortement	», elle n'est pas seulement un simple détail : «
13	onnaît volontiers que cette question est « moins	importante	que les écarts de salaires, les violences ou les
14	est « moins importante que les écarts de	salaires	, les violences ou les difficultés d'accès à l'
15	. Que de simagrées, diront certains. Est-ce une	priorité	en ces temps de crise mondiale, se demanderont
16	. "Il y a des combats plus importants, d'autres	causes	à défendre, s'occuper de détail quand on a de
17	administratifs. "Il y a des combats plus	importants	, d'autres causes à défendre, s'occuper de
18	utile. Même si il y a plus important, plus	urgent	, cela n'empêche pas d'y réfléchir ni de le
19	ssi : une provocation utile. Même si il y a plus	important	, plus urgent, cela n'empêche pas d'y réfléchir
20	30, le droit de vote des femmes n'était pas	prioritaire	, le monde traversait la crise... En mai 68, la
21	, le monde traversait la crise... En mai 68, la	priorité	était donnée à la lutte des classes : l'
22	de l'association qui s'établit entre bas	salaire	et forme féminine du nom de métier, ou,
23	, indigne du combat politique. "Elles feraient	mieux	de se battre pour que les ouvrières illettrées
24	à lire et à écrire […]. Elles feraient	mieux	de se battre pour que le slogan 'à travail égal,
25	' ne soit pas un vain mot. Bref, elles feraient	mieux	de se battre, au lieu de sodomiser les diptères
26	de se battre pour que le slogan 'à travail égal,	salaire	égal' ne soit pas un vain mot. Bref, elles
27	par la précarité sociale et les inégalités	salariales	, c'est parce que nos sociétés leur assignent
28	fassent, s'ils persistent à croire que c'est le	bon combat	— mais de grâce, qu'ils ne prétendent pas l'
29	que pour la plupart d'entre elles, la question	prioritaire	est de pouvoir exercer leur libre arbitre
30	pour mener cette bataille nécessaire c'est	se tromper	de combat et se moquer des victimes. C'est se
31		RW	
32	nos ainées, lorsqu'elles se battaient pour l'	avortement	et la contraception? Ce n'est pas en niant les
33	? Ce n'est pas en niant les genres que la	cause	de femmes avancera. Le féminisme proposé par la
34	hommes / femmes dépasse la simple égalité des	salaires	. Elle est entrée dans la langue, où le mot "her
35	: la parité doit dépasser la simple égalité des	salaires	, de la représentation et même des rôles
36	les inégalités homme-femme, les inégalités	salariales	, la question de la parité en politique, les
37	politique, qui n'ont vraiment	rien d'autre à faire	. Qu'est ce qui aurait représenté à vos yeux une
38	où les gens souffrent, n'aient rien de plus	urgent	à régler que des querelles linguistiques
39	réellement d'un combat féministe ? Le	vrai féminisme	, celui que je pourrais revendiquer, consiste à
40	seront plus compétentes que les hommes. Le	vrai féminisme	consiste à avoir des femmes compétentes à de
41	s'est éteinte: certes, d'autres combats plus	importants	nous appellent tous les jours (faire des
42	de Femmes, ne voit pas cette question comme une	priorité	. "Ca ne va pas régler les problèmes des femmes,
43	hommes-femmes telles que les différences	salariales	ou la parité en politique. "Et puis quoi encore,
44	. Dans cette bataille contre les inégalités de	salaires	, la lutte contre les demoiselles n'était pas à
45	contre les demoiselles n'était pas à mon avis le	bon combat	. Voilà donc pour mon opinion personnelle mais
46	. Les associations féministes ont le sens des	priorités	, elles l'ont prouvé depuis quelques années. S'
47	langue » . « Est-ce que cela fait progresser la	cause	des femmes ? Je n'en suis pas certain , se défer
48	actuellement une pétition pour l'égalité	salariale	, nous avions mené une campagne contre le viol à
49	, nous avions mené une campagne contre le	viol	à l'occasion de la journée internationale des
50	âge ou leur statut marital. Est-ce vraiment une	priorité	pour le combat féministe ? N'y a-t-il pas d'
51	féministe ? N'y a-t-il pas d'autres choses plus	urgentes	? Cette campagne nous la préparons depuis
52	, les violences ou les difficultés d'accès à l'	avortement	", cette question n'est pas un détail car "le
53	si cela est "moins important que les écarts de	salaires	, les violences ou les difficultés d'accès à l'
54	fériorisent les femmes". Même si cela est "moins	important	que les écarts de salaires, les violences ou les
55	, du viol, des foetus chromosomés XX dont on	avorte	dans des pays à l'ordre social impunément
56	, vous ne vous fatiguez pas à obtenir l'égalité	salariale	! Et puis qui s'occupe de l'excision, du viol,
57	celles à qui l'on reproche un combat moins	urgent	que d'autres : la faim dans le monde, d'abord! I
58	! Et puis qui s'occupe de l'excision, du	viol	, des foetus chromosomés XX dont on avorte dans
59	. Féminiser les titres ne fait pas progresser la	cause	des femmes. Si on commence à modifier le langage
60	de la parité dépasse la simple égalité des	salaires	, de la représentation et même des rôles
61	d'une majorité politique du moment ou d'un	soi-disant féminisme	, qui est en réalité le masque d'une

Concordance table 10.3: All 58 occurrences of lemmas contributing to a 'more important' discourse in the French corpus

31% (18/59) of concordance lines accept this discourse in order to criticise non-sexist language (lines 2-3, and 32-47). They are able to argue that linguistic sexism is futile because they do not see it as contributing to other forms of sexism. The connection between viewing sexist language as a separate phenomenon, or alternatively as being linked to, and contributing to, other forms of sexism, seems to be what explains how this discourse is used. The extract below discusses the introduction of *hen*, a third person singular neutral pronoun in Swedish (lines 32-36):

> Is that feminism? Is that what our older sisters wanted, when they were fighting for **abortion** and **contraception**? [...] For me, the smoothing over of gender differences, of cultures, and the emerging fantasy of a 'World Community' is **stupid** and dangerous, because it hides a powerful moralising ideology whose ambition is to restrict individual freedom.
>
> Est-cela le féminisme ? Est-cela que voulaient nos ainées, lorsqu'elles se battaient pour l'**avortement** et la **contraception**? [..] Pour moi, le lissage des différences de genres, de cultures et l'émergence du fantasme d'une « World Community » est **stupide** et dangereux, car il masque une idéologie puissante et moralisatrice qui a pour ambition d'encadrer la liberté individuelle.
> 2012-10-09 '« Hen » l'invention grammaticale qui fait des Suédois des « Individus Sexuellement Non Identifiés »', *Atlantico*

In this extract campaigns for non-sexist language such as *hen* and battles for access to abortion and contraception are seen as separate, unrelated phenomena. The journalist implies that instead of fighting for real, material advances for women, feminism has been corrupted by a 'stupid and dangerous' ideology whose aim is a restriction of individual freedom, i.e., negative liberty (see part 9.5.2.1).

On the other hand, 14% (8/59) of concordance lines (6-8, 18-19 and 52-54) accept that there are indeed more important things to do, but that this does not nullify the importance of sexism in language (e.g., lines 16-19):

> Conversely, perhaps what astonishes me more is the outcry caused by the latest proposition from Osez le féminisme and Chiennes de garde, [...] who propose eliminating 'mademoiselle' from administrative forms. 'There are more **important** battles, other **causes** to defend, fussing over details when there are real, more serious issues, cheap provocation.' Basically, deal with female excision, or violence against women first. It is true that violence against women, and the non representation of women in the Senate or in politics are more serious. Admittedly. [...] But does one stop the other? The topic may seem derisory, or simply provocative, but can't we stop and think about it for a couple of seconds? [...] Even if there are more **important**, more **urgent** issues, it doesn't mean we can't think about or respect it.
>
> Ce qui m'étonne davantage peut-être, c'est à contrario la levée de boucliers sur la dernière proposition d'Osez le féminisme et des Chiennes de garde, [...] qui proposent de supprimer le « mademoiselle » des formulaires administratifs. « Il y a des combats plus **importants**, d'autres **causes** à défendre, s'occuper de détail quand on a de vrais sujets plus graves, provoc à deux balles. » Bref, occupez-vous d'abord de l'excision, ou de la violence faite aux femmes. C'est vrai que les violences faites aux femmes, de même que la non représentation féminine au Sénat ou en politique sont des sujets plus graves. Certes. [...] Mais l'un empêche-t-il l'autre ? Que le sujet semble dérisoire, ou juste provocateur, ne pouvons-nous pas nous y arrêter deux secondes ? [...] Même si il y a plus **important**, plus **urgent**, cela n'empêche pas d'y réfléchir ni de le respecter.
> 2011-09-27 'Les féministes en guerre contre le mot « mademoiselle » / une provoc'... utile', *L'Observateur*

As these two extracts show, a 'more important things' discourse is often combined with a 'ridiculous' discourse.

10.5 'RIDICULOUS' discourse

There was no indication in top 100 keywords of a 'ridiculous' discourse. However, this discourse has been identified in other research (Parks and Robertson 1998; Blaubergs 1980), and is an important discourse in the English corpus. Therefore, the following terms were searched for in the French corpus:

ABSURDE, AMUSANT [AMUSING], ARGENT [MONEY], BÊTE [SILLY], BIZARRE, BLAGUE [JOKE], COMIQUE [COMICAL], COMÉDIE, CONTRIBUABLE [TAX PAYER], COÛT [COST], DÉPENSE [EXPENSE], FARCE, FINANCE, FOU/FOLLE [CRAZY], FUTILE, GASPILLER [WASTE], GROTESQUE, IDIOTE, IMPÔTS [TAX], INSIGNIFIANT, PATHÉTIQUE, PERDRE [LOSE], PRÉCIEUSES [RIDICULES][1], RIDICULOUS, RIRE [LAUGH], STUPIDE, and VAUDEVILLE (see Table 30 on p.273 for search full details).

'RIDICULOUS'	LW	RW
75 RF (68 occ) 34% (43/126)	67 RF (36 occ) 30% (21/70)	88 RF (32 occ) 39% (22/56)

For purposes of comparison, this discourse appears half as frequently in the French corpus than the English corpus (152 RF), and is more narrowly distributed than in English (49%). As with the English corpus, the RW (RWQ 132 RF and RWT 270 RF) draws upon this discourse more often than the LW (106 RF).

[1] *Les Précieuses ridicules* is a satirical play written by Molière in 1659, which mocks witty and educated intellectual women.

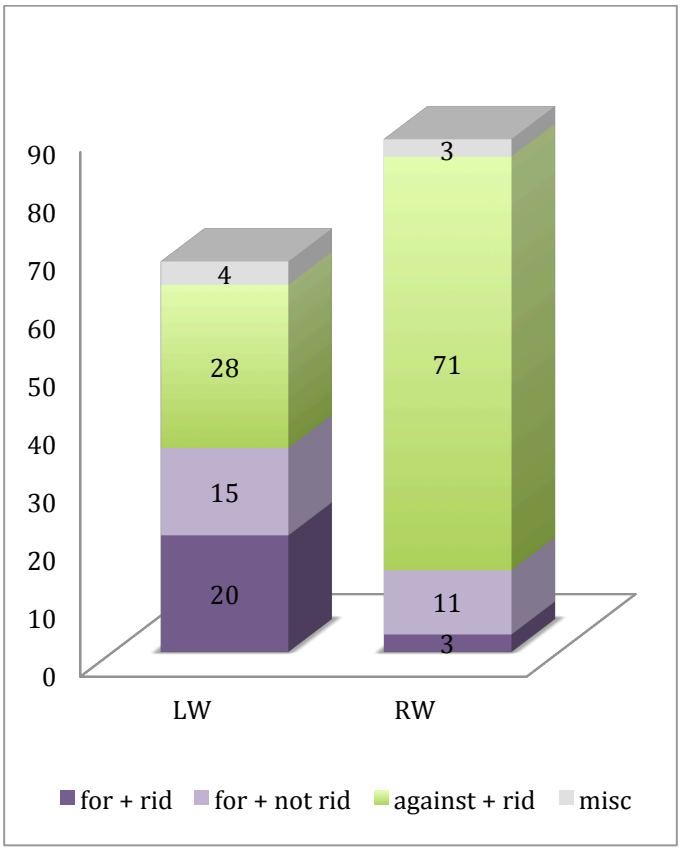


Figure 10.3: RF of a 'ridiculous' discourse in the French corpus

'For' refers to this discourse being used to argue *for* the use of gender-fair language. Instances of this discourse being used in this way are in (dark and light) purple at the bottom of each column. 'Against' refers to this discourse being used to argue *against* feminist linguistic reform, represented by the green part of each column. 'Rid' refers to a 'ridiculous' discourse being accepted (dark purple and green), and 'not rid' refers to this discourse being rejected (NB no instances of this discourse being *rejected* in order to argue *against* gender-fair language were found (against + not rid)). 'Misc' refers to unclassed concordance lines.

As the above table and graph show, the RW (88 RF) draws upon a 'ridiculous' discourse more often than the LW (67 RF). The RW generally invoke this discourse to argue *against* gender-fair discourse (71 RF), and much less frequently to argue *for* (14 RF). For example:

> In order to change things, do we need to start by changing words? Since the Left came to power, the vocabulary has been sent flying. The beginning of a language purge is surreptitiously under way. [...] Watch out for deviant, reputedly sexist words! [...] The word

> 'race' is going to disappear from the Constitution[1]. [...] Is this how he [François Hollande] thinks he's going to eliminate racism? The initiative is as **absurd** as it is **ridiculous**. We can smile about all this, and **laugh** at the prevailing atmosphere of political correctness. But one can't help but see a temptation to repeat the old socialist dream of installing a new order in this propensity to eradicate. One without flavours or smells, denying history and identities. This policing of words, and thus of thought, sends chills up my spine.
>
> Pour changer les choses, faut-il commencer par changer les mots ? Depuis que la gauche est arrivée aux affaires, le vocabulaire valse. Subrepticement, un début d'épuration du langage est en marche. [...] Gare aux mots déviants, réputés sexistes ! [...] Le mot « race » devrait, lui, disparaître de la Constitution. [...] Est-ce ainsi qu'il [François Hollande] pense supprimer le racisme ? L'initiative est aussi **absurde** que **ridicule**. De tout cela, on pourrait sourire, et s'**amuser** du politiquement correct ambiant. Mais on ne peut s'empêcher de voir dans ce penchant éradicateur la tentation de renouer avec le vieux rêve socialiste d'installer un ordre nouveau. Sans saveurs ni odeurs, niant l'histoire et les identités. Cette police des mots, et donc de la pensée, fait froid dans le dos.
> 2013-02-06 'Les mots pour ne pas le dire', *Le Figaro*

Three main discourses are drawn upon in this extract: a 'mirror' discourse (eliminating the word 'race' cannot eliminate racism because language is a mirror of reality not a tool to change reality); a 'ridiculous' discourse (*aussi absurde que ridicule* [as absurd as it is ridiculous], *s'amuser* [laugh]); and a 'language police' discourse (*épuration* [purge], *penchant éradicateur* [propensity to eradicate], *police des mots, et donc de la pensée* [policing of words, and thus of thought]. The journalist implies that avoiding 'reputedly' sexist, or culturally loaded terms such as 'race' is part of a sinister socialist plot to transform France into a country 'without flavours or smells, denying history and identities' (*[s]ans saveurs ni odeurs, niant l'histoire et les identités*).

Like the RW, the LW articles also invoke this discourse to argue *against* gender-fair language (28 RF), but tend to use this discourse to *support* it slightly more often (35 RF). The following extract is an interview with feminist historian, Eliane Viennot, who ridicules the Académie française:

> 'An authoritarian and systematic feminisation could result in a number of linguistic incoherencies. Hurrying and forcing usage would amount to a violation of the nature of the French language and would open up a period of linguistic uncertainty' [...] is **laughable** in its desire to scare the bourgeoisie. And exquisite when you know of the effort that the members of the Académie and their kind have made to 'hurry and force' the language for several hundred years! [...] If it [the Académie] decided to do it, to get down to some serious work, for example by recruiting specialists for its work and not people who have

[1] On the 12th July 2018 the Assemblée Nationale voted unanimously to remove the word 'race' from the Constitution, as well as to add 'without distinction of sex'. The Constitution now ensures the equality of all citizens before the law 'without distinction of **sex**, origin or religion' (« sans distinction de **sexe**, d'origine ou de religion »), where before it read 'without distinction of origin, **race** or religion' (« sans distinction d'origine, de **race** ou de religion »).

> spent their lives trying to get themselves noticed, it could find a legitimacy and credibility again, instead of making people **laugh** at it or inciting scorn.
>
> « Une féminisation autoritaire et systématique pourrait aboutir à de nombreuses incohérences linguistiques. Brusquer et forcer l'usage reviendrait à porter atteinte au génie de la langue française et à ouvrir une période d'incertitude linguistique » [...] est **risible** dans sa volonté de faire peur aux bourgeois. Et savoureuse, quand on connaît les efforts des académiciens et de leurs semblables pour « brusquer et forcer l'usage » durant plusieurs siècles ! [...] Si elle s'y décidait, si elle se mettait à travailler sérieusement, par exemple en recrutant des spécialistes de ses missions et non des personnes qui ont passé leur vie à chercher à se faire remarquer, elle pourrait retrouver une légitimité et une crédibilité, au lieu de faire **rire** ou de susciter le dédain.
> 2014-10-17 'Non le masculin ne l'emporte pas sur le féminin ! « Les académiciens ne savent pas de quoi ils parlent », entretien avec Eliane Viennot (6)', *L'Observateur*

Viennot reappropriates a 'ridiculous' discourse (usually used to argue that gender-fair language reforms are ridiculous), and uses it to ridicule the Académie française, asserting that its members simply want to use their positions to get media attention, rather than do their job properly. However, she implies that even if they tried to, they would be incapable of doing their job properly as they are not specialists. They would, in fact, have to subcontract their tasks out, in order to regain any credibility. Viennot also employs a 'language police' discourse to argue that it is the Académie, and not feminists, who are authoritarian, that *they* have 'hurried and forced' the language for centuries, violating its true nature.

10.6 'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED' discourse

Despite there being no indication of this discourse in the top 100 keywords, a search was carried out for three reasons: 1) collocates of keywords, such as *sexiste,* indicated that certain practices are seen as *désuet* [obsolete], *ringard* [outdated], and simply *vieux* [old]; 2) a 'tradition / old-fashioned' discourse is present in the English corpus; and 3) as mentioned in part 8.6, similar discourses have been found in other research (Parks and Robertson 1998; Blaubergs 1980). The following lemmas were therefore searched for:

ANACHRONIQUE, ANTIQUE, ARCHAÏQUE, CONVENTION, DÉSUET [OBSOLETE], ÉTYMOLOGIE, HÉRITAGE, HISTOIRE, ISSU [ORIGINE], LATIN, MÉDIÉVAL, MODE [FASHION], MODERNE, MOLIÈRE, OBSOLÈTE, ORIGINE, PASSÉ [PAST], RINGARD [OLD-FASHIONED], TRADITION, VAGUELAS, and VIEUX / VIEIL / VIEILLE [OLD] (see Table 31 on p.274 for search full details).

'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED'	LW	RW
269 RF (243 occ) 52% (66/126)	343 RF (185 occ) 59% (41/70)	159 RF (58 occ) 45% (25/56)

For purposes of comparison, in the English corpus this discourse is more frequent (325 RF), and more widely distributed (71%). As with the English corpus, the concordance lines were first classed as being for or against gender-fair language:

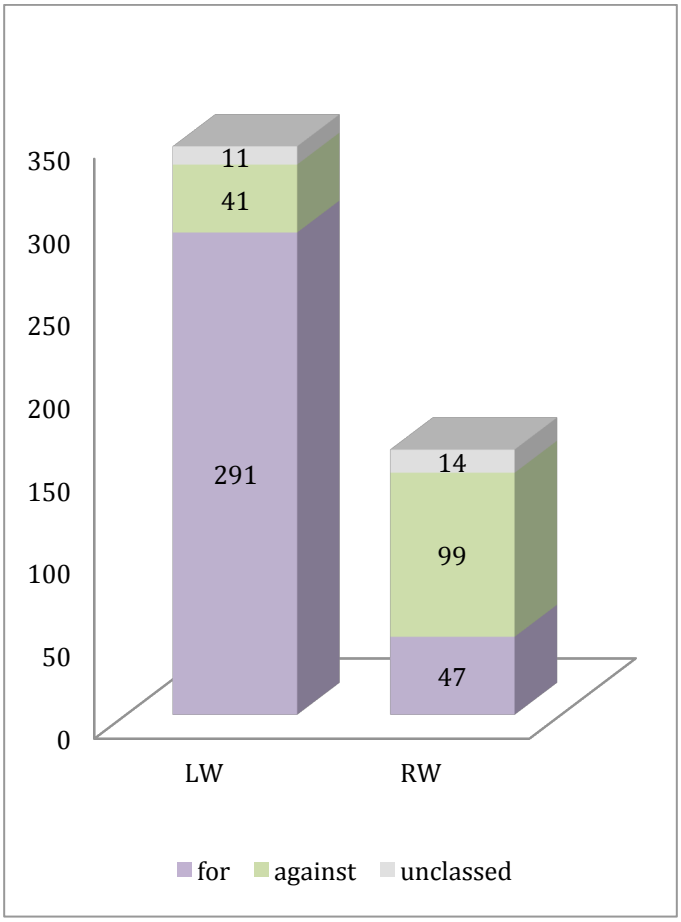


Figure 10.4: RF of a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse (for vs against) in the French corpus

The graph shows that the LW (343 RF) concordance lines invoke this discourse twice as frequently as the RW (159 RF). The opposite tendency was found in English (RWQ - 444 RF and LWQ - 257 RF).

The LWQ column looks quite similar in both the French and the English corpora, i.e., the LW overwhelmingly *supports* gender-fair language (the purple part of the column) with similar relative frequencies in the French (291 RF) and English corpora (213 RF). The French LW (41 RF) and the English LW (31 RF) also have similar RFs for lines that argue *against* feminist linguistic reform (the green part of the column).

On the other hand, the RW corpora do not present the same tendencies in French and English. The French RW tend to use this discourse to argue *against* feminist linguistic change (99 RF - in green) much more than the English RWQ (16 RF). This said, there were more ambiguous concordance lines in the English RW corpora (204 RF for the RWQ and 213 for the RWT) than the French RW corpus (14 RF - in grey)[1].

The concordance lines were then further divided into 'old-fashioned' and 'tradition' discourses. 'Diff' refers to lines that were difficult to class into either 'old-fashioned' or 'tradition' discourses.

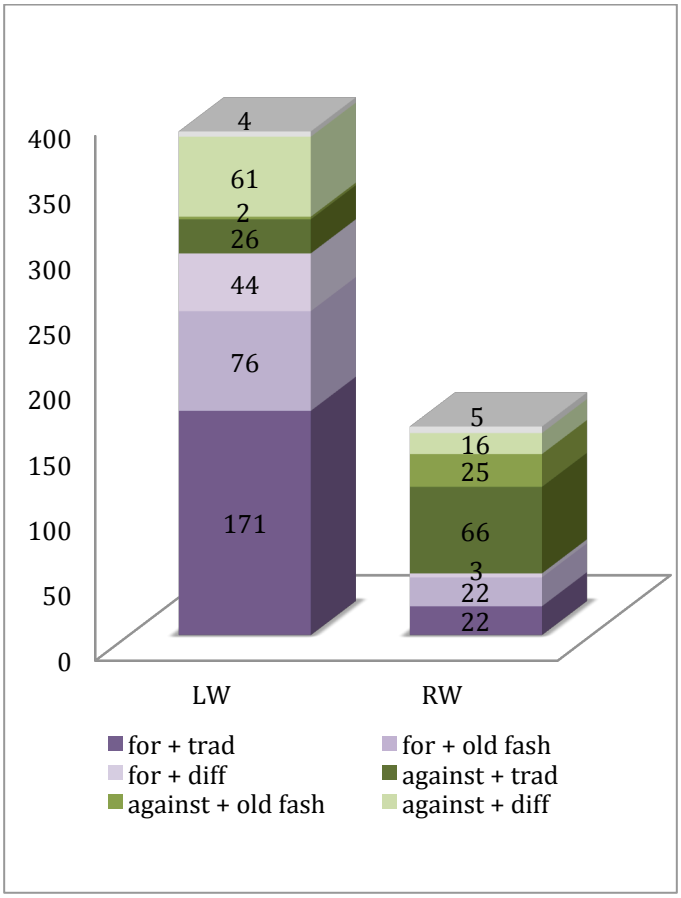


Figure 10.5: RF of a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse (for vs against + tradition vs old fashioned) in the French corpus

As this graph shows, a 'tradition' discourse is more frequently drawn upon in the French corpus, whereas an 'old-fashioned' discourse was the most frequently invoked discourse in the English corpus.

[1] Many of the ambiguous lines in the RW English corpora used the lemma TRADITION in relation to titles such as *Sir* or *Miss* for teachers, thus implying a positive stance on these traditional titles.

The French LW tend to draw more heavily on a 'tradition' discourse, than an 'old-fashioned' discourse. In the majority of cases, this is done in *support* of gender-fair language ('for + trad' on the graph). This can be explained by the fact that certain linguists[1] regularly participate in the gender-fair language debate by writing articles in newspapers. In fact, 49% (70/143) of concordance lines that draw upon a 'tradition' discourse were written by these linguists, and these 65 occurrences were concentrated in only 15% (7/48) of articles. All of these academics, with the exception of Bentolila, support gender-fair language, and use a historical perspective to highlight the sexist history of current norms, and to provide historical evidence for more gender-fair usage:

> Andrea Valentini teaches **historical** linguists at the Université Sorbonne nouvelle Paris 3 [...]. The following lines are to argue the case for the poor suffix *-eure*[2] [...]. Incidentally, a form like *auteure* [author], for example, should also be in the good graces of those who claim to be opposed to the feminisation of nouns by virtue of a defence of **traditional** language, if for no other reason than it dates back to ancient times, well before we started to say *Madame le* : the form *acteure*, which is a **Medieval** variant, was attested, according the the DMF [Dictionary of Middle French], from 1400!
>
> Andrea Valentini enseigne la linguistique **historique** à l'Université Sorbonne nouvelle Paris 3 [...] . Les lignes qui suivent voudraient plaider la cause de ce pauvre suffixe *-eure* [...]. D'ailleurs, une forme comme *auteure*, par exemple, devrait rencontrer les grâces aussi des personnes qui affirment être opposées à la féminisation des noms en vertu de la défense de la langue **traditionnelle**, ne serait-ce que parce qu'elle est attestée à une époque très ancienne, bien antérieure à celle à laquelle on a commencé à dire *Madame le* : la forme *acteure*, qui en est une variante **médiévale**, est attestée, selon le DMF [Dictionnaire du Moyen Français], dès 1400 !
> 2015-06-06 'Autrice ou auteure ? L'heure d'-eure', par Andrea Valentini, *L'Observateur*

Historical linguist, Andrea Valentini, draws upon a 'tradition' discourse in order to highlight the historical precedents for the feminine suffix *-eure*, in nouns such as *auteur*$_{\text{MASC}}$ / *auteure*$_{\text{FEM}}$ [author], much the same way that a 'tradition' discourse is invoked in the English corpus to show historical precedent for singular *they*. In the same way that singular *they* is 'often mistakenly thought to be a modern *contrivance*' (2016-07-16 '"They" as a singular pronoun is no modern contrivance', *The Times*), the suffix *-eure* is often mistakenly described as an invasion from Quebec (2005-12-29 'Non à une langue défigurée', *Le Figaro*), when in fact it has existed since the Middle Ages.

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[1] In my corpus the linguists include: Alain Bentolila, Maria Candea, Yannick Chevalier, Thomas Godard, Edwige Khaznadar, Jacqueline Lamothe, Thérèse Moreau, Andrea Valentini, and Eliane Viennot.

[2] Nouns ending in *-eur* in the masculine are sometimes feminised using the suffix *-eure*.

In the English corpus, although language scholars are quoted, there are no articles written by linguists themselves, perhaps reflecting the top-down nature of the debate in France, compared to Britain (see part 4.6).

The RW also tend to invoke a 'tradition' discourse, but use it to argue *against* gender-fair language:

> Following the recent incident[the Aubert-Mazetier incident] at the Assemblée Nationale, the immortals would like to remind us of correct usage. [...] The venerable institution, which has been 'faithful to the mission it was assigned in its statutes since 1635' wants to remind us of the rules which determine our language [...] The rules that govern the distribution of genders in our language go back to Vulgar **Latin** and constitute one of the internal constraints with which we have to work. One of the constraints of the French language is that it only has two genders: in order to designate qualities of both sexes, one of the two genders thus had to be conferred a generic value so that it could neutralise the differences between the sexes. The **Latin heritage** opted for the masculine.
>
> À la suite du récent incident qui s'est déroulé à l'Assemblée Nationale, les immortels ont tenu à rappeler le bon usage. [...] La vénérable institution, «fidèle à la mission que lui assignent ses statuts depuis 1635», a tenu à rappeler les règles qui s'imposent dans notre langue [...] Les règles qui régissent dans notre langue la distribution des genres remontent au bas **latin** et constituent des contraintes internes avec lesquelles il faut composer. L'une des contraintes propres à la langue française est qu'elle n'a que deux genres: pour désigner les qualités communes aux deux sexes, il a donc fallu qu'à l'un des deux genres soit conférée une valeur générique afin qu'il puisse neutraliser la différence entre les sexes. L'**héritage latin** a opté pour le masculin.
> 2014-10-15 'Féminisation des noms / la mise au point de l'Académie française', *Le Figaro*

In this extract (written by the Académie française), a 'tradition' discourse is drawn upon, not only referring to the language, but also to the 'venerable institution' of the Académie française, itself a French tradition. The date 1635 is highlighted, as well as its faithful fulfilment of its centuries-old mission. The special authority that Latin enjoyed, even after it disappeared as a spoken language, is still evident today in extracts like these. Simply because a phenomenon can be traced back to Latin (even Vulgar Latin), it is immediately conferred a respect that it would not had the origins been from a less prestigious language. Despite the fact that qualified linguists (the Académie has no linguists in its ranks) have debunked the 'Latin heritage' argument (see part 3.5.1), it is still used to argue that the masculine has an innate generic value.

In sum, in the French corpus a 'tradition' discourse (158 RF) is drawn upon more frequently than an 'old-fashioned' discourse (67 RF) (with 43 RF difficult to class). A 'tradition' discourse is used more often in both the LW and the RW. However,

whereas in the LW it is generally used to argue *for* gender-fair language, in the RW it is mostly used to argue *against* it.

10.7 Summary

Traces of the following discourses were identified in the French corpus: a 'sexism / inequality' discourse, a 'language police' discourse, a 'war / violence' discourse, a 'more important' discourse, a 'ridiculous' discourse, and a 'tradition / old fashioned' discourse.

As with the English corpus, an examination of the lemmas EQUALITY, SEXISM, and FEMINISM reveals that there is general agreement that equality is good, and that sexism is bad. However, what constitutes sexism, and whether feminism promotes equality, is debated.

Those who support non-sexist language reject a 'language police' discourse, which is usually invoked in order to criticise the accusation. Because language is seen as a tool for social change, promoting gender-fair language is positive. When a language police discourse is accepted, it is to highlight the role that language authorities have played in policing the language, preventing its natural (less sexist) course. Both those for and against feminist linguistic reforms often describe language campaigns in military terms. However, a 'violence against language' discourse is only invoked to ridicule or criticise this discourse. Supporters of non-sexist language also tend to reject a 'more important' discourse. For these articles, linguistic sexism is part of a wider system of sexism, and even if there are more important things, this does not nullify the importance of language. The attempt to stifle language change is criticised as ridiculous, as well as the old fashioned attitude of the Académie française. A 'tradition' discourse is frequently drawn upon, specifically a historical perspective by academics, in order to support historical precedents for gender-fair language.

Although those against gender-fair language agree that sexism is bad, they often use devices such as scare quotes around SEXISME to express their rejection of the qualification. Because using language as a tool is seen as political manipulation, a

'language police' discourse is logically invoked. Language police are necessary to force people to use or avoid certain terms, thus limiting freedom of speech. A 'violence against language' discourse is invoked in order to highlight the foreign origins (Quebec) of feminisation. This discourse is also linked to a 'national identity' discourse (see part 9.3). Gender fair language is described as destroying the common language, and thus the cement of the nation. Detractors of feminist linguistic reform tend to argue that there are more important problems that need to be dealt with, that spending time trying to manipulate language is a futile endeavour. A 'ridiculous' discourse logically follows on from this idea. Finally, a 'tradition' discourse is drawn upon, especially by the Académie française, and then repeated by journalists, in order to highlight the Latin origins of French, and long standing national institutions such as the Académie.

The language ideologies underpinning these discourses include: language as a tool (to combat sexism), language as freedom (being restricted by the language police or traditional language institutions), language as a living organism (to which violence can be inflicted), language as part of national identity and traditions (cementing the country together, needing to be protected from foreign invasion, and part of our common history).

The next chapter pulls the four previous ones together, discussing the differences and similarities between the French and English corpora, as well as those between newspapers of different political leanings, the implication of my findings, and how they may relate to wider social phenomena.

> Liberals are most concerned about the rights of certain vulnerable groups […]. Conservatives, in contrast, hold more traditional ideas of liberty as the right to be left alone. (Haidt 2012, p.212)

Chapter 11 Discussion

This chapter will:

- **summarise my findings**
- **consider the main differences and similarities between the English and the French corpus, and those between the right and left wing newspaper groups**
- **discuss the absence of a 'sexist' discourse**
- **relate my findings relate to wider social phenomena**

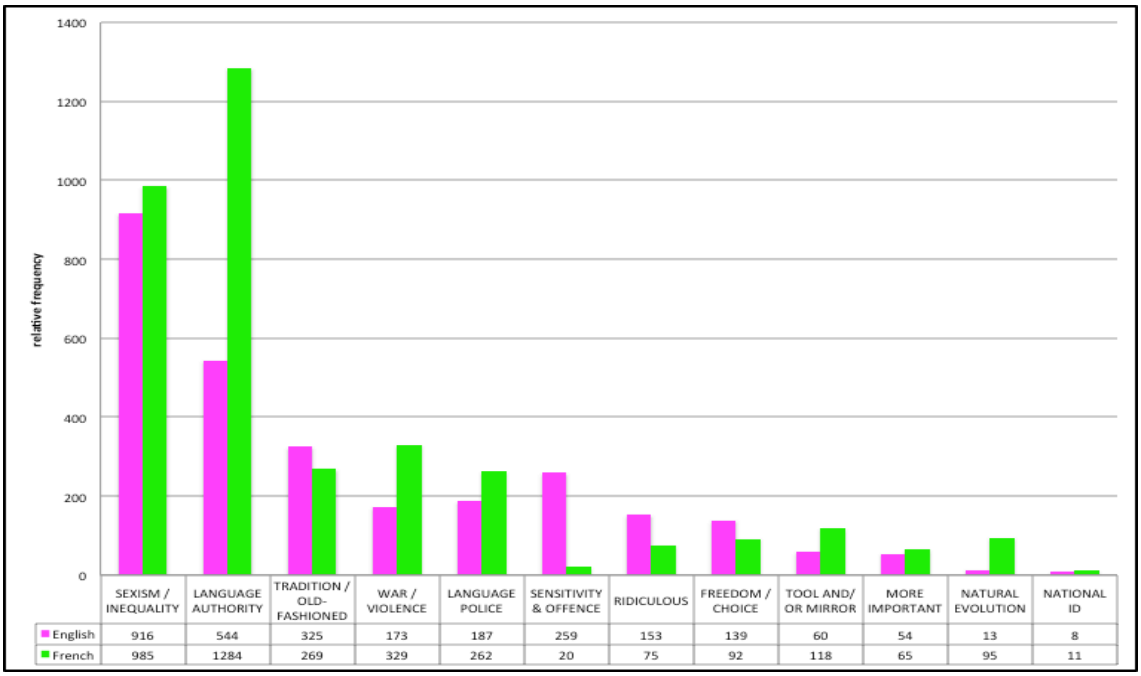
The overarching research question that drove this thesis was: **What discourses are invoked in the gender-fair language debate in English and French, and what language ideologies underpin them?** In order to go some way to answering this question, it had to be narrowed down, and research limits set. For reasons outlined in part 6.4, an online corpus of newspaper articles was chosen, and the main RQ was divided into four more precise RQs:

1. What discourses surround *language* in the *English* corpus? (Chapter 7)
2. What discourses surround *gender-fair language* in the *English* corpus? (Chapter 8)
3. What discourses surround *language* in the *French* corpus? (Chapter 9)
4. What discourses surround *gender-fair language* in the *French* corpus? (Chapter 10)

My conclusions must therefore be read within the research boundaries set, i.e., within the context of online newspaper articles, written mainly by journalists, within the period 2001-2016. This thesis presents the main discourses and language ideologies that readers of these newspapers are *exposed to* on a regular basis, but not necessarily the discourses that they themselves use.

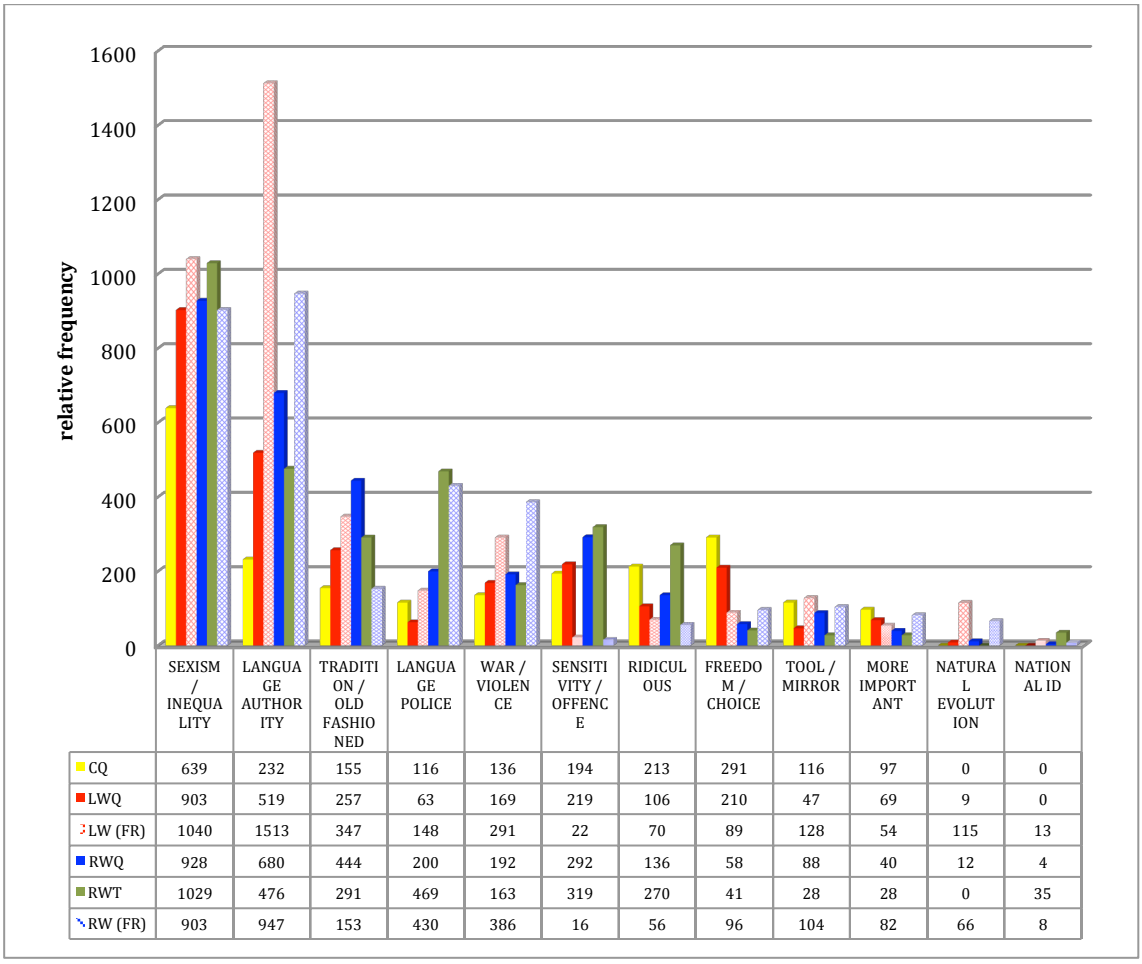
11.1 Summary of findings

The primary findings are presented in the two graphs below. For improved readability I have not included the CT corpus, which consists of only one article.



	SEXISM / INEQUALITY	LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	TRADITION / OLD-FASHIONED	WAR / VIOLENCE	LANGUAGE POLICE	SENSITIVITY & OFFENCE	RIDICULOUS	FREEDOM / CHOICE	TOOL AND/ OR MIRROR	MORE IMPORTANT	NATURAL EVOLUTION	NATIONAL ID
English	916	544	325	173	187	259	153	139	60	54	13	8
French	985	1284	269	329	262	20	75	92	118	65	95	11

Figure 11.1: RF of all discourses (in order of combined RF)



	SEXISM / INEQUALITY	LANGUAGE AUTHORITY	TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED	LANGUAGE POLICE	WAR / VIOLENCE	SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE	RIDICULOUS	FREEDOM / CHOICE	TOOL / MIRROR	MORE IMPORTANT	NATURAL EVOLUTION	NATIONAL ID
CQ	639	232	155	116	136	194	213	291	116	97	0	0
LWQ	903	519	257	63	169	219	106	210	47	69	9	0
LW (FR)	1040	1513	347	148	291	22	70	89	128	54	115	13
RWQ	928	680	444	200	192	292	136	58	88	40	12	4
RWT	1029	476	291	469	163	319	270	41	28	28	0	35
RW (FR)	903	947	153	430	386	16	56	96	104	82	66	8

Figure 11.2: RF of all discourses divided by language and political leaning (in order of combined RF)

Twelve main discourses were identified, all of which are found in both corpora but in varying frequencies, and used in varying ways. Although I have separated the discourses into 12 discrete categories, they often overlap with one another, and as I noted in part 6.1, they could be organised otherwise. The discourses should thus be seen as intertwined and dependent on one another, rather than separate entities. The two graphs above show that both the French and the English corpora, and all the different newspaper groups draw from the same pool of discursive resources. There are only two discourses that are not present in a particular subcorpus (natural evolution in the RWT, and national identity in the LWQ). I am not including the CQ and the CT in this comment, as they are so small (five and one article respectively).

Seven main language ideologies were identified that underpin the 12 discourses. In my corpus, language is conceptualised as:

1. a tool and/or mirror (linguistic relativity)
2. a national treasure / the glue of the nation
3. a possession to be fought over
4. freedom
5. a weapon
6. a biological organism
7. having different varieties, some of which are better than others (= a standard language ideology)

As with the discourses, naming language ideologies is not a precise science: the number of ideologies, as well as the labels I have chosen to use could be debated. In addition, these language ideologies very often overlap with one another. All the language ideologies were found in both languages and in most newspaper groups. Again, the exception is 'language as a weapon', which was absent from the French corpus. It appears that in the French corpus, *speakers* can hurt the language, but the language cannot hurt people.

11.2 Differences and similarities between English and French corpora

In general, the main difference between the English and French corpus is quantitative. In other words, frequency of use differs but the discourses are

generally employed in very similar ways. A higher or lower frequency can indicate that a particular discourse is stronger in one language than the other. For instance, the French corpus invokes a 'language authority' discourse almost 2.5 times more than the English. I believe that this reflects the ideological force of this discourse in France. The frequency of references to the Académie française suggests that speakers do not feel empowered to make decisions about language without consulting a higher authority. Politically, France is a much more centralised nation than the United Kingdom, and this political makeup is reflected in the linguistic landscape. Decisions tend to be top-down from state-supported language institutions. Even if many people disagree with what the Académie française says about gender-fair language, it is still very much a presence in the debate. In addition, many articles in the French corpus are written by professional linguists (who overwhelmingly *support* non-sexist language), who cite other sources of language authority. In Chapter 4, I argued that a strong standard language ideology in France was preventing ideologies of equality from changing the language structure, compared to the UK, but also other French-speaking countries. A language authority discourse is based on a standard language ideology. A standard language ideology would not be able to take hold without language authority (cf the freer development of creoles in part 2.5.2.4). This is not to say that a standard language ideology is absent in the UK. As Lodge (2016) reminds us, the British are '[no] less judgmental in matters linguistic than the French, it is just that their [the British] judgments are based on class instead of reason. They bear less on the written language and more on elocution and "accent"'.

One discourse that differs significantly both quantitatively *and* qualitatively between the two corpora is the 'sensitivity/offence' discourse. The English corpus focuses on avoiding offence and being sensitive to people's feelings, whereas the French corpus only has one concordance line expressing the same idea. This absence seems to reflect a cultural difference that I discussed in part 9.3 – a deep-seated fear of *communautarisme* and the overriding principle of absolute equality. The importance of absolute equality as one of the founding principles of the French Republic means that putting people's feelings on the same level is ridiculous.

11.3 Where is the 'sexist' discourse?

One discourse that I had expected to find, but that was surprisingly absent from my corpus was a 'sexist' discourse. I had expected arguments against non-sexist language to be supported by sexist ideologies. However, I only found one example of what could be termed a 'sexist' discourse in reference to school girls making false accusations 'against someone she disliked or, more likely, of whom she was *jealous*' (2015-10-20 OH, DO GROW UP, YOU BIG GIRL'S BLOUSE, *The Daily Mail*). There were anti-*feminist* discourses but nothing that I could describe as anti-*women*. The absence of an explicitly 'sexist' discourse could be due to one of two reasons: People reject non-sexist language, *not* because they are sexist, but because their language ideologies are not compatible. They may see language as a simple mirror of society, which *cannot* be used as a tool, that feminists are wasting valuable time on the wrong path, and should be concentrating on 'more important' things. The second possibility is that people no longer feel that they can openly articulate sexist beliefs today (Mills 2008, pp.11-12), and so language ideologies have become a symbolic substitute for sexist ideologies (Cameron 2003, pp.448-49). For instance, it is no longer acceptable to justify the rule of *le masculin l'emporte* (the masculine takes precedence) by citing Nicolas Beauzée's (1767) claim that men are superior to women (cited in Arrivé 2013, p.2). This justification is simply erased from grammar books today. This is not to say that some people are consciously hiding their sexist ideology. In part 3.1 I argued that ideologies are not always visible, even to those who benefit from them. Some speakers may not even be conscious that a sexist ideology underpins their views on gender-fair language. Referring to the 'English Only' movement in the USA, Milroy has similarly argued that

> although common sense attitudes are ideologically loaded attitudes, those who hold them do not see it in that way at all: they believe that their adverse judgements on persons who use language 'incorrectly' are purely linguistic judgements (Milroy 2001, p.536)

Finally, just because a discourse may be invisible, does not mean that it is entirely absent. For instance, in part 7.2, I argued that although a 'natural evolution' discourse was infrequent in my English corpus (8 RF / 3%), it was an extremely important one, as it underpinned the 'language as mirror' discourse. It is entirely

possible that although traces of a 'sexist' discourse are not *visible* in my corpus, sexist ideologies may underpin some of the other discourses identified.

11.4 Differences and similarities between the left and right wing: Moral Foundations Theory

Contrary to English-French differences, those between the newspaper groups were more *qualitative* than quantitative. Although there are exceptions, my analysis showed that the left wing newspapers tend to support non-sexist language, and that the right wing tends to reject it. The discourses are drawn upon in different ways, depending on whether the journalist is arguing for or against gender-fair language. For instance, the left wing generally invokes a 'freedom/choice' discourse to argue that gender-fair language allows people more freedom in how to name themselves. On the other hand, the right wing tends to employ a 'freedom/choice' discourse to criticise what they perceive to be infringements on an individual's right to free speech. The differences that I have noted between the newspapers throughout my analysis resonate with recent work in political psychology. Work on Moral Foundations Theory (MFT) (Graham *et al.* 2009) has identified some common differences between conservative and liberal values in the USA, some of which are reflected in my findings. For instance, Jonathan Haidt (2012) has found that

> liberals are most concerned about the rights of certain vulnerable groups (e.g. racial minorities, children, animals), and they look to government to defend the weak against oppression by the strong. Conservatives, in contrast, hold more traditional ideas of liberty as the right to be left alone, and they often resent liberal programs that use government to infringe on their liberties in order to protect the groups that liberals care most about. (Haidt 2012, p.212)

My research confirms many of Haidt's findings. The use of a 'sensitivity / offence' discourse by the left wing newspapers reflects a deeply held concern for minority groups. The way that a negative freedom discourse is invoked by the right wing resonates with their value of liberty. The image below represents the most sacred values for liberals and conservatives in the USA according to MFT. Although the graph refers to the USA, it seems to hold relatively well for the UK, although perhaps less so for France. The thickness of the lines represents the importance of a particular value for that group.

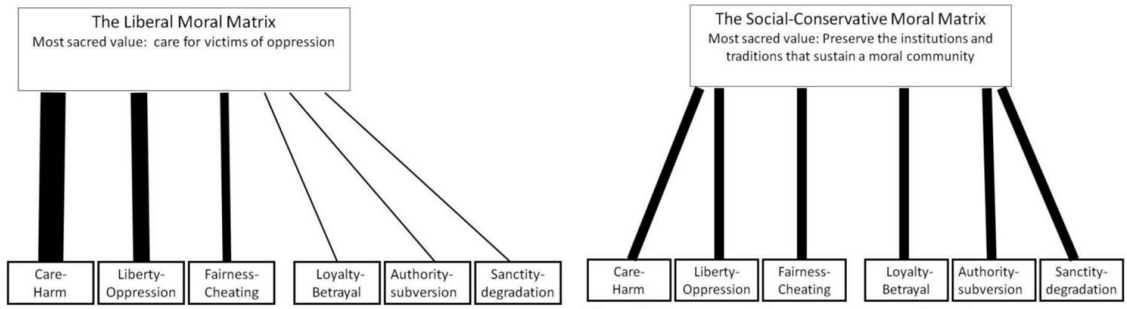


Figure 12.2. *The moral matrix of American liberals.*

Figure 12.4. *The social conservative moral matrix.*

Figure 11.3: The Liberal and Social-Conservative Moral Matrices (Haidt 2012, p.351 & 357)

As the graph shows, the same values are shared by both liberals and conservatives, but not to the same extent. Left wing values are centred on only three parts of the moral matrix, whereas conservative values are more equally shared. This also relates to my findings in that the discourses that I identified are present in almost all newspaper groups, but not to the same extent, and not employed in the same way.

Several discourses identified in my corpus relate to the core values identified by MFT. For the LWQ, a 'sensitivity/offence' discourse is based on value of 'care-harm', i.e., care for victims of oppression. A 'freedom/choice' discourse is based on the 'liberty-oppression' value. For the right wing, the 'language police', 'sensitivity/offence', 'ridiculous', and 'freedom/choice' discourses can all be traced back to the value of 'liberty-oppression'.

I mentioned above that a 'sensitivity/offence' discourse was absent in the French corpus because it could be seen as ridiculously insignificant when compared to the principal of absolute equality or avoiding *communautarisme*. I believe that this idea can also help explain why the right wing often sees gender-fair language as ridiculous. As the graph above shows, liberty (especially *negative* liberty, as opposed to *positive* liberty for liberals) is a core value for conservatives. When comparing the fundamental principle of freedom of speech to someone being upset about being addressed with the wrong pronoun, it can seem ridiculous to some.

As noted above, the graph seems to reflect the English corpus better than the French one. For instance, the LWQ drew heavily on a 'sensitivity/offence' discourse. However, this is not the case for the French corpus. As previously mentioned, this is perhaps due to the ideological force of certain language ideologies, allowing or preventing ideologies of equality from changing the language structure. In general, there seems to be a wider ideological divide in my corpus between the British left and right wing newspapers, than the French left and right. The LWQ and CQ overwhelmingly support non-sexist language, the RWT overwhelmingly reject it, and the RWQ mostly reject it. Although the French LW mostly supports it, and the RW mostly reject it, the gap between them seems to be narrower. Something seems to divide French opinion on non-sexist language less dramatically than in the English corpus. A tentative answer to this question may be the concepts of absolute equality, liberty (*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*), and a strong standard language ideology, which loosely unite all sides of the political spectrum.

In sum, many of the differences I found between the newspaper groups in my corpus, relate to the fundamental differences in core values between the right and left wings.

11.5 Rationalisations are not always rational

One intriguing finding that emerged in the preceding chapters is the often-contradictory ways that the discourses and language ideologies are drawn upon. For instance language can be seen as a *naturally evolving organism* that should change in order to *mirror* current reality (e.g., more women in certain professions). Alternatively, language can be seen as a *naturally evolving organism* that should be left alone in order to *mirror* current reality (there are still more chairmen than chairwomen). What emerges from my research is a certain lack of logic in the arguments used both in support of and against gender-fair language. For example, a common argument found in the right wing against non-sexist language is that it is futile (language does not influence reality), and ridiculous (there are more important things to do). Yet, at the same time, a 'language police' discourse is invoked along with images of an Orwellian dystopia, implying that language *does* influence reality. This lack of logic is not only to be found in the right wing,

however. Many English LWQ articles argue that language should be a mirror of reality, but a *selective* mirror that reflects the reality that we *want* to see.

These contradictions make much more sense when seen through an LI framework, in which rationalisations about language are *post-hoc*. Costa argues that language ideologies are necessarily *a posteriori* rationalisations of experience (Costa 2017, p.119), which then allow speakers to determine *a priori* the meaning of new experiences (Costa 2017, p.121). Much research has been done in social psychology, e.g., Haidt (2012) and Kahneman (2011), that supports the claim that our rationalisations have very little to do with logical analysis or a search for 'the truth', and much more to do with finding reasons to support our initial emotional reaction to a situation. And language debates are a highly emotionally charged arena.

This idea of post hoc rationalisation based on an initial emotional reaction explains the logical inconsistencies found in many arguments in my corpus. It would appear that we rationalise our beliefs about language (and everything else), but we do not necessarily believe something because it is rational.

This chapter has pulled together the analyses presented in the four preceding chapters. It has offered some explanations as to the main differences between the English and French corpora, and those found between the different newspaper groups. I have suggested that a Moral Foundations Theory can give a deeper level of conceptualisation of the discourses identified in my corpus, by relating them to fundamental political and moral values. In addition, the idea of post hoc rationalisation, which is part of a Language Ideology framework, and is also supported by research in social psychology, can explain many logical inconsistencies found in my corpus. The next chapter concludes this thesis.

It is good to have an end to journey toward,
but it is the journey that matters in the end.
Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Left Hand of Darkness*

Chapter 12 Conclusion

This chapter will:

- **discuss the implications of my findings**
- **justify my contribution to knowledge**
- **suggest avenues for further research**

In the Introduction, I wrote that my research should help explain why we are *still* debating non-sexist language in the 21st century. This question is much more difficult to answer than my actual research question, but it is important to at least offer some tentative answers. It is a difficult question as there are many interrelated reasons. However, I believe the main reasons are as follows: In the English corpus, the principle obstacle to non-sexist language seems to be a perceived threat to freedom of speech, especially obvious in the RWQ and RWT, but also sometimes in the LWQ-CQ. In the French corpus, the same perceived threat to freedom of speech is an obstacle (mostly in the RW, but also to a significant extent in the LW). However, in addition to the freedom of speech issue, there is a strong standard language / language authority ideology. This results in native speakers feeling like they do not possess their own language, and therefore looking to sources of authority for guidance. One of the main language authorities in France is the Académie française, which is against non-sexist language.

12.1 Research implications

What the results of my research show is that the debate on non-sexist language is multifaceted. Gender ideologies only represent a fraction of the debate. They are, in fact, part of much larger, interrelated systems of belief involving conceptualisations about language, political values, and the historical and cultural context in which the debate takes place.

In the Introduction I stated that one aim of this thesis would be 'to produce suggestions for action to bring about social change on the basis of thorough

linguistic analysis' (Mills and Mullany 2011, p.19). The following paragraphs thus make some suggestions on how to use discourses more effectively to promote gender-fair language.

Feminist linguistic reform is in great part founded on the concept of linguistic relativity. From this perspective, language is a tool that can be used to change how we perceived reality, and therefore improve society. It thus stands to reason that non-sexist language should be promoted. Cameron, however, warns that changing words does not always change our perception of reality. She gives the example *chairperson* being used to replace *chairwoman*, but *chairman* being retained to refer to men, resulting in cosmetic changes that leave the underlying belief system of sexism intact (Cameron 1992, p.123). According to Cameron, feminist linguistic reform is a means to criticise sexism in society, rather than an end in itself.

The lack of logic in many arguments articulated in the debate implies that a rational argument is often not enough to convince people to use non-sexist language. What emerges from this thesis is that the discourses we choose to frame our arguments are vitally important. In part 8.2, I suggested that the LWQ reinforced a 'language police' discourse by using the word *ban,* and that this was counter productive to feminist linguistic reforms because it triggers a negative reaction in conservatives relating to freedom of speech. However, it is not enough to simply avoid certain discourses. And although explaining the *logical* reasons why gender-fair language is justified is certainly not a bad thing, it is not enough either.

Milroy has argued that

> linguists who try to persuade lay persons directly that all forms of language are equal and that language discrimination is unfair, have misunderstood the nature of the dialogue. It is not about language structure as linguists understand that: it is ideological [...].
> (Milroy 2001, p.538)

Although Milroy is talking about a standard language ideology here, it also applies to gender-fair language. Feminist linguists need to fight this battle (to draw upon a 'war' discourse) with different weapons. Experiments in psychology using Moral Foundations Theory (see part 11.4), have shown that simply presenting people

with facts and evidence is not enough to change their minds (e.g., climate sceptics). On the other hand, appealing to people's core values is much more effective. In other words, in order to change people's minds we need to know what ideologies their discourses are based on, and appeal to *those* ideologies. To give an example, Wolsko *et al.* (2016) carried out an experiment in the USA during which conservatives' attitudes became more pro-environment after being framed in a moral framework 'in which protecting the natural environment was portrayed as a matter of obeying authority, defending the purity of nature, and demonstrating one's patriotism to the United States' rather than a care-harm frame, which simply does not resonate with conservatives as strongly as it does with liberals. Similarly, by invoking a 'sensitivity / avoiding offence' discourse, feminist linguists may be talking to deaf ears. We should instead give serious consideration to the discourses that we draw upon, and how these resonate with people's underlying ideologies and core values.

However, this lack of consistency may, in fact, be unavoidable, and even necessary in this linguistic battle. Cameron points out that feminist may need to adopt a variety of different strategies depending on the context:

> [...] in a given context, what kind of language will best serve our political goals? In practice the answer to this question might involve a variety of strategies, and not necessarily an internally consistent set; it might imply adopting the weapon of rational discourse in some situations, while criticising its use in others. (Whether this kind of inconsistency is itself irrational I leave others to decide!) Let us not forget, either, that feminists in different situations might have differing priorities in deciding on linguistic strategies.
> (Cameron 1992, p.225)

For Cameron, linguistic change should be 'an integral part of a broader social movement' (Cameron 1992, p.220). Language is a weapon in the battle, not the battle itself. From this perspective, language becomes a tool, which should be used in the most efficient way possible according to the context.

The conceptual chaos that is often present in the debate also has implications for our understanding of grammatical gender. Not so much for grammatical gender itself, but in more for how professional linguists have described it. Referring to binarity, Barrett (2014) notes that any linguistic phenomena that do not fit into a binary framework are abstracted and shoehorned to the point of being able to fit into one. In addition, there is a certain lack of logic in how gender agreement

patterns have been explained. Gender for inanimate nouns is generally semantically arbitrary, yet agreement rules follow the principle of the masculine takes precedence, which is based on a supposed male superiority over females. What this demonstrates is that the prejudices and values of professional linguists often trump logic or rationality in how linguistic phenomena are described.

12.2 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis makes several contributions to the fields of gender and language, and Language Ideology. It has demonstrated that research on sexism in language is still worth investigating. By combining a structuralist perspective (in which words have relatively stable meanings) and a poststructuralist perspective (in which meanings are negotiated in context), this thesis helps to revitalise the study of sexist language. Chapter 3 proposed a unique analysis of the origins of sexism in language by combining concepts from the field of Language Ideology in order to create new understandings of existing issues. Before investing in and implementing language reforms, institutions need to evaluate how best to do this. Through an analysis of the discourses invoked in the gender-fair language debate, and the ideologies of language that underpin them, my research has gone some way to explaining why certain language policies succeed or fail. Finally, it has also contributed to research on how sexism gets debated and defined in the media.

12.3 Limitations and further research

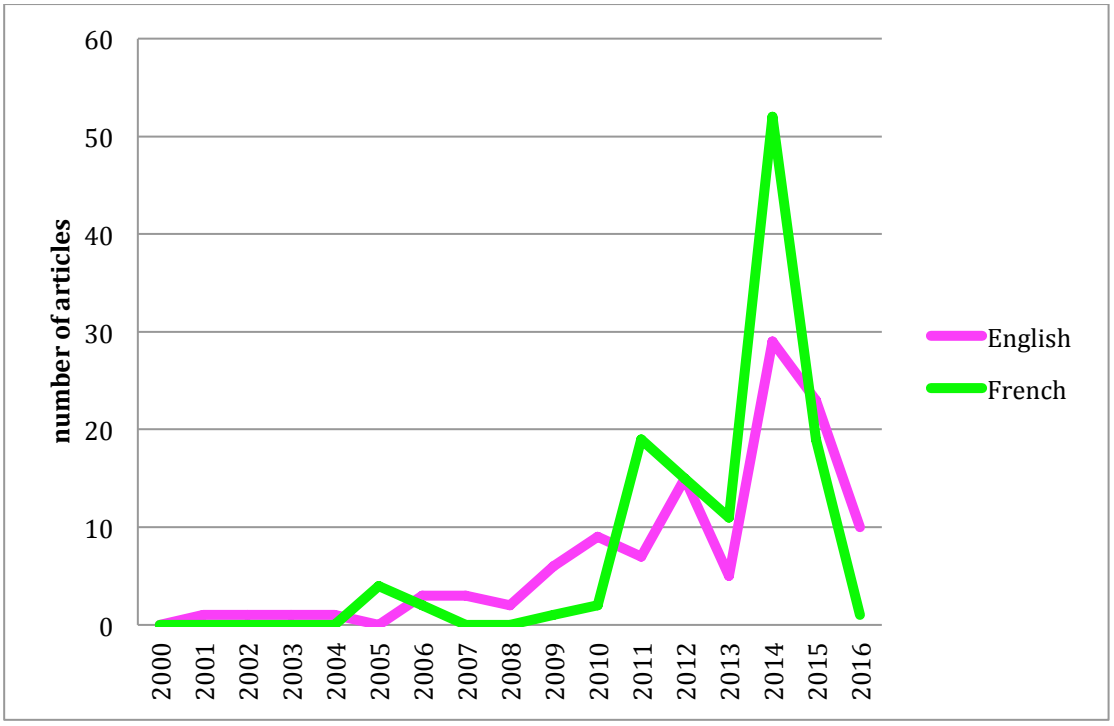
Returning to the bounds of my research, this thesis analyses the discourses drawn upon and the ideologies of language that underpin them in national online newspapers in English and French over a 15 year period (2001-2016). What it does *not* do is analyse readers' reactions to these discourses. I had in fact, collected over 28,000 comments to the articles in my corpus, and had originally planned on including them in this thesis. Unfortunately, due to space limitations that was not possible. An analysis of how readers respond to the articles would add an extra layer of depth to my analysis, as well as making the arena in which meaning is fought over more democratic.

It would also be interesting to compare my findings to discourses surrounding *other* forms of language reform, e.g., spelling. This would enable me to identify discourses and ideologies that belong to both arenas, and isolate those that only apply to gender-fair language.

Finally, further explorations with Moral Foundations Theory would be fruitful, not only for theoretical reasons, but also for practical ones. It may hold some important keys as to how we can better approach language planning of this kind.

81,170 words

Appendix nº1: Newspaper statistics



Graph 1: Distribution of articles over time (2000-2016) (NB the statistics for 2016 only include January-July)

	nº of words	% of corpus	nº of articles	% of articles
CQ				
BBC	4679	6	4	3
Economist	486	1	1	1
total CQ	5165	7	5	4
LWQ				
Guardian	23073	30	29	25
Huffington	4853	6	6	5
Independent	4065	5	7	6
total LWQ	31991	42	42	36
RWQ				
Times	13906	18	23	20
Telegraph	11107	15	19	16
total RWQ	25013	33	42	36
RWT				
Daily Mail + Mail on Sunday	13104	17	22	19
(Sunday) Express	540	1	2	2
Metro	329	0	1	1
Sun	114	0	1	1
total RWT	14087	18	26	22
CT				
Daily Star Sunday	57	0	1	1
total English corpus	**76313**	**100**	**116**	**100**

Table 4: number of words and articles per newspaper for the English corpus

LW	**nº of words**	**% of corpus**	**nº of articles**	**% of articles**
L'Observateur	20929	23	17	13
Huffington Post	6506	7	12	10
Le Monde	6665	7	12	10
Libération	8902	10	10	8
L'Humanité	4750	5	9	7
L'Obs-rue89	3177	4	5	4
Mediapart	2236	2	3	2
Marianne	772	1	2	2
total LW	53937	60	70	56
RW				
Le Figaro	20345	22	28	22
L'Express	6582	7	9	7
Le Point	2485	3	6	5
L'Atlantico	2844	3	5	4
L'Opinion	1155	1	3	2
La Croix	2092	2	3	2
Les Echos	699	1	1	1
La Tribune	341	0	1	1
total RW	36543	40	56	44
total French corpus	**90480**	**100**	**126**	**100**

Table 5: number of words and articles per newspaper for the French corpus

Appendix nº2: Top 100 keyword lists

Table 6: Top 100 keywords in English

```
# Corpus:    user/anncoady/english_articles
# Reference corpus:    preloaded/sibolport_1
```

		my corpus		reference corpus		
	lemma_lc	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/ mill	keyword score
1	pronoun	80.8	856.5	98	0.3	684.4
2	sexist	85.4	904.5	598.7	1.5	355.8
3	gender-neutra	26.8	284.3	18	0	272.6
4	mademoiselle	17.4	183.9	66	0.2	158
5	sexism	31.1	329.7	438.4	1.1	155.2
6	gender	90.8	961.8	2199.7	5.7	144.2
7	plural	16.4	174.1	203.2	0.5	114.9
8	transgender	12.3	130.7	71.7	0.2	111.2
9	tran	11.9	125.8	74.6	0.2	106.3
10	singular	28.7	304.3	733.1	1.9	105.6
11	grammatical	11.4	120.7	162.8	0.4	85.7
12	feminist	50.4	534	2046.1	5.3	85.2
13	honorific	7.7	81.9	41.5	0.1	74.9
14	gendered	7.1	74.9	34	0.1	69.8
15	masculine	16.9	178.7	620.3	1.6	69.1
16	madame	20.5	216.9	923.1	2.4	64.4
17	kamm	6.5	68.8	32.8	0.1	64.4
18	linguistics	8.3	88.3	159.7	0.4	63.3
19	noun	10.9	115.3	338.1	0.9	62.1
20	mx	6.3	67.1	48.7	0.1	60.5
21	linguistic	15	158.9	648.3	1.7	59.8
22	usage	17.5	185.7	876.9	2.3	57.2
23	connotation	10.7	113.3	412.8	1.1	55.3
24	ms.	5.2	55.4	23.5	0.1	53.2
25	language	197.4	2091.1	15691.7	40.5	50.4
26	feminine	17	180.2	1040.3	2.7	49.2
27	binary	6.3	66.6	147.1	0.4	49
28	generic	15.7	166.6	997.9	2.6	46.9
29	marital	16.4	174.2	1142.6	2.9	44.4
30	pedant	5.4	57.3	157.7	0.4	41.5
31	ze	5.2	55	142.3	0.4	41
32	unmarried	11.2	119	815.9	2.1	38.6
33	tweet	9.1	96.9	680.3	1.8	35.5
34	dictionary	15	158.8	1456.9	3.8	33.6
35	monsieur	6.1	64.6	373.8	1	33.4
36	feminism	8.9	94.8	752.4	1.9	32.6
37	derogatory	5.1	53.6	276	0.7	31.9
38	surname	10.6	112.1	1037.4	2.7	30.8
39	queer	5.6	59.9	394.7	1	30.2
40	adjective	7.1	74.8	625	1.6	29
41	co.	7.7	81.2	746.8	1.9	28.1
42	neutral	21	222.5	2715.8	7	27.9
43	equality	21.4	226.6	2825.8	7.3	27.5
44	denote	5.9	62.1	522.5	1.3	26.9
45	demean	5.6	59.4	488.4	1.3	26.7
46	male	75.3	798.1	11279	29.1	26.5
47	outdated	6.8	72.5	733.3	1.9	25.4
48	female	73.2	775.7	12123	31.3	24.1
49	correctness	8.3	87.5	1108	2.9	22.9
50	inherently	5.5	58.7	635.4	1.6	22.6

51	twitter	9.7	102.7	1390.6	3.6	22.6
52	refer	74.3	787.5	13515.8	34.9	22
53	word	243.5	2579.4	47519.7	122.6	20.9
54	stereotype	11.5	122	1911	4.9	20.7
55	inclusive	6.3	66.6	946.7	2.4	19.6
56	offend	15.9	168.4	2962.9	7.6	19.6
57	grammar	14.3	151.2	2711.5	7	19
58	rights	14.5	153.9	2781.5	7.2	18.9
59	hen	5.5	58.4	909.4	2.3	17.7
60	vocabulary	6.2	65.2	1192.6	3.1	16.2
61	woman	279.1	2956.9	73997.5	190.9	15.4
62	phrase	25.4	269.2	6595.9	17	15
63	blog	6.8	71.7	1509.9	3.9	14.8
64	ms	36.4	386.2	9803.5	25.3	14.7
65	mistress	7.3	77.8	1783.5	4.6	14.1
66	offensive	14	148.3	3825.8	9.9	13.7
67	section	40	423.7	13224.9	34.1	12.1
68	lesbian	5.8	61.7	1663.5	4.3	11.8
69	campus	5.1	54.2	1439.5	3.7	11.7
70	term	126.3	1337.9	46367.6	119.6	11.1
71	guideline	10.5	111.5	3575	9.2	11
72	old-fashioned	11.2	118.5	3941.2	10.2	10.7
73	default	6	63.3	2071.3	5.3	10.1
74	abstract	5.3	55.7	1792.2	4.6	10.1
75	imply	11.3	120.2	4297	11.1	10
76	status	33.4	353.5	13402.1	34.6	10
77	diversity	6.7	71.5	2496.3	6.4	9.7
78	maiden	6.7	71.3	2531.3	6.5	9.6
79	reinforce	10.4	110.2	4165.9	10.7	9.5
80	being	7.4	78.8	2907.9	7.5	9.4
81	married	11.3	119.5	4698.2	12.1	9.2
82	meaning	9.5	100.6	4128.1	10.7	8.7
83	insult	7.3	77.4	3219.9	8.3	8.4
84	acceptable	9.8	103.9	4601.4	11.9	8.1
85	broadly	5.2	55	2297	5.9	8.1
86	women	8	84.8	3799.1	9.8	7.9
87	mrs	35.9	379.9	18430.3	47.6	7.8
88	everyday	6.6	70.2	3145.8	8.1	7.8
89	equivalent	20.5	217	10445	26.9	7.8
90	girl	49.1	520.3	25867.5	66.7	7.7
91	mail	14.6	154.7	7510.3	19.4	7.6
92	reference	17	180.3	8829.2	22.8	7.6
93	use	313.9	3325.6	168827.9	435.6	7.6
94	unacceptable	6.4	68	3200.4	8.3	7.5
95	gay	11.5	121.5	6028.4	15.6	7.4
96	media	8.5	90.6	4536.4	11.7	7.2
97	annoy	5.7	60.6	2965.7	7.7	7.1
98	sex	27.9	295.2	15966.1	41.2	7
99	title	46.3	491	28329.3	73.1	6.6
100	address	31.7	335.8	19352.6	49.9	6.6

Table 7: Top 100 keywords in French

corpus: user/anncoady/french_articles
reference corpu: French Web 2012 (frTenTen12)

		my corpus		reference corpus		
	lemma_lc	Freq	Freq/mill	Freq_ref	Freq_ref/ mill	keyword score
1	féminisation	60	556	3963	0.3	413.7
2	mazetier	40	371.5	285	0	363.4
3	aubert	40	369.5	8668	0.8	210.9
4	féminiser	30	282	4147	0.4	207.7
5	sexiste	30	281.2	9834	0.9	151.8
6	féministe	49	453.1	27580	2.4	133.2
7	sandrine	36	328.8	22274	1.9	111.9
8	masculin	147	1347.1	127591	11.1	111
9	grammatical	22	208.3	11740	1	103.3
10	grammaire	42	388.6	32355	2.8	101.8
11	grammairien	12	115.7	2582	0.2	95.2
12	sexisme	15	139.5	6227	0.5	91
13	féminisme	19	173.5	10821	0.9	89.7
14	autrice	9	90.3	283	0	89.1
15	linguiste	16	153.3	8748	0.8	87.5
16	pronom	13	121.4	6966	0.6	76.1
17	hen	9	83.7	1989	0.2	72.2
18	écrivaine	11	102.3	6011	0.5	67.8
19	adjectif	22	209.3	25319	2.2	65.5
20	mademoiselle	43	399.9	58774	5.1	65.3
21	académie	80	731.7	117555	10.3	65
22	féminin	144	1321.6	227900	19.9	63.2
23	écrivaines	6	62.8	818	0.1	59.5
24	vaucluse	12	110.5	11514	1	55.6
25	auteure	17	159.9	22621	2	54.1
26	professeure	10	94	9691	0.8	51.5
27	académicien	9	88.4	8851	0.8	50.4
28	députer	28	261.9	51602	4.5	47.7
29	vaugelas	5	48.8	551	0	47.5
30	hémicycle	8	78.3	8002	0.7	46.6
31	neutre	46	426.7	94914	8.3	46
32	damoiseau	5	49.6	1459	0.1	44.8
33	masculinisation	4	44.7	323	0	44.5
34	stéréotype	13	122.9	21725	1.9	42.7
35	bartolone	5	47	1483	0.1	42.5
36	suffixe	7	63.7	6098	0.5	42.2
37	néologie	4	42.1	462	0	41.4
38	roudy	4	41.7	428	0	41.1
39	substantif	6	56.7	5496	0.5	39
40	marital	5	46.7	2665	0.2	38.7
41	épicène	4	37.8	176	0	38.2
42	linguistique	30	282.2	73844	6.5	38
43	madame	160	1465.3	444740	38.9	36.8
44	julien	34	314	86581	7.6	36.8
45	masculiniser	4	37.5	601	0.1	36.5
46	dumézil	4	37.1	563	0	36.3
47	débaptiser	4	39.5	1391	0.1	36.1
48	doctoresse	4	39.9	1703	0.1	35.6
49	novlangue	4	39.6	1690	0.1	35.4
50	machisme	5	45.5	3869	0.3	34.7

51	leclair	3	35.5	1056	0.1	33.4
52	égalité	52	476.3	153777	13.4	33.1
53	zoughebi	3	31.6	59	0	32.4
54	lexicographe	3	33.9	884	0.1	32.4
55	égalitaire	7	68	13426	1.2	31.7
56	osez	3	33.1	880	0.1	31.7
57	viennot	3	31.4	328	0	31.5
58	sexué	5	46.6	5924	0.5	31.4
59	docteure	3	33.8	1260	0.1	31.3
60	femmes-hommes	3	31.8	530	0	31.3
61	dictionnaire	24	223.8	71986	6.3	30.8
62	bouhours	3	30.9	401	0	30.8
63	kivi	3	29.6	95	0	30.3
64	député	52	478.6	171262	15	30
65	maternant	3	30.6	673	0.1	29.8
66	e.s	3	31.3	971	0.1	29.8
67	officière	3	29.2	217	0	29.7
68	ump	31	284.1	99478	8.7	29.4
69	préfète	4	36.4	3157	0.3	29.3
70	politiser	5	48.7	8277	0.7	28.8
71	auteures	3	33.4	2212	0.2	28.8
72	langue	184	1683.9	665524	58.1	28.5
73	lévi-strauss	3	35	3062	0.3	28.4
74	campese	3	27.5	64	0	28.3
75	baudino	3	27.5	68	0	28.3
76	terminologie	8	78.9	21044	1.8	28.1
77	atlantico	3	29.4	920	0.1	28.1
78	binarité	3	27.6	278	0	27.9
79	druon	3	29.4	1082	0.1	27.7
80	beauzée	2	26.9	101	0	27.7
81	hon	3	33.9	3161	0.3	27.3
82	sexe	77	705.7	284649	24.9	27.3
83	olika	2	25.7	16	0	26.7
84	bentolila	2	26.1	443	0	26.1
85	machiste	3	35.4	4754	0.4	25.8
86	fumaroli	2	25.5	429	0	25.6
87	patriarcal	4	40.5	7554	0.7	25
88	cheffe	3	28.9	2327	0.2	24.9
89	civilité	3	34.7	5270	0.5	24.4
90	circulaire	20	184.9	75850	6.6	24.4
91	poétesse	3	31.3	3888	0.3	24.1
92	correcteur	7	63.5	19236	1.7	24.1
93	groult	2	23.8	642	0.1	23.4
94	benoÃ®te	2	23.8	649	0.1	23.4
95	rapporteure	2	23.8	699	0.1	23.4
96	lepoint	2	24.1	961	0.1	23.2
97	féministes	2	22.2	162	0	22.9
98	vocable	5	46.9	12603	1.1	22.8
99	vallaud-belkacem	2	22.2	289	0	22.6
100	parité	7	69.9	24519	2.1	22.6

Appendix nº3: Search details for each discourse

Exact search terms are shown in the left hand column. RF refers to relative frequency (out of 100 000). The % symbol refers to the percentage of articles the lemma was found in. The * is a wild card, i.e., the search term **describ*** will shown all the endings for this verb.

Table 8: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE AS A MIRROR AND/OR TOOL' discourse in English (RQ1)

'MIRROR / TOOL'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
describ* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
determin* 10 RF (8 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	0	32 RF (8 occ) 12% (5/42)	0	0
effect* 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
influenc* 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	0	0	0
mirror* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	0	0	0
realit* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
reflect* 22 RF (17 occ) 11% (13/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 40% (2/5)	28 RF (9 occ) 14% (6/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
reprodcu* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
shap* 5 RF (4 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	0	16 RF (4 occ) 12% (5/42)	0	0
structur* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
sapir* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
tool* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
all lemmas 60 RF (47 occ) 22% (26/116)	**116 RF (6 occ) 40% (2/5)**	**47 RF (15 occ) 21% (9/42)**	**88 RF (22 occ) 26% (11/42)**	**28 RF (4 occ) 15% (4/26)**	**0**

Table 9: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE AS NATURAL EVOLUTION' discourse in English (RQ1)

'EVOLUTION'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
chang* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
evol* 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
language work* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
organi 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
natur 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
spontaneous* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
all lemmas 13 RF (10 occ) 3% (4/116)	**0**	**9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)**	**28 RF (7 occ) 5% (2/42)**	**0**	**0**

Table 10: Search details for a 'SENSITIVITY AND OFFENCE' discourse in English (RQ1)

'SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
accept 56 RF (43 occ) 25% (29/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 40% (2/5)	50 RF (16 occ) 24% (10/42)	56 RF (14 occ) 26% (11/42)	71 RF (10 occ) 23% (6/26)	0
annoy* 8 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	9 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
appropriate 16 RF (12 occ) 9% (10/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	16 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
demean* 16 RF (12 occ) 7% (8/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 20% (1/5)	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
***derogatory** 12 RF (9 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	16 RF (5 occ) 12% (5/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
fuss* 7 RF (5 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
get a grip / life 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	0	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
insult* 20 RF (15 occ) 9% (11/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	32 RF (8 occ) 12% (5/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
offen 97 RF (74 occ) 28% (33/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 60% (3/5)	69 RF (22 occ) 26% (11/42)	132 RF (33 occ) 29% (12/42)	114 RF (16 occ) 27% (7/26)	0
sensitiv 14 RF (11 occ) 6% (7/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	43 RF (6 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
upset* 10 RF (8 occ) 5% (6/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	16 RF (4 occ) 5% (2/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
all lemmas 259 RF (198 occ) 62% (72/116)	**194 RF (10 occ) 80% (4/5)**	**219 RF (70 occ) 55% (23/42)**	**292 RF (73 occ) 71% (30/42)**	**319 RF (45 occ) 58% (15/26)**	**0**

Table 11: Search details for a 'FREEDOM / CHOICE' discourse in English (RQ1)

'FREEDOM / CHOICE'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
cho* 72 RF (55 occ) 28% (32/116)	136 RF (7 occ) 80% (4/5)	103 RF (33 occ) 38% (16/42)	44 RF (11 occ) 21% (9/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
free* 8 RF (6 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
liber* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
opt* 56 RF (43 occ) 17% (20/116)	136 RF (7 occ) 60% (3/5)	100 RF (32 occ) 31% (13/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
all lemmas 139 RF (106 occ) 37% (43/116)	**290 RF (15 occ) 100% (5/5)**	**219 RF (70 occ) 50% (21/42)**	**60 RF (15 occ) 29% (12/42)**	**43 RF (6 occ) 19% (5/26)**	**0**

Table 12: Search details for a 'NATIONAL IDENTITY' discourse in English (RQ1)

'NATIONAL IDENTITY'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
british 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	14 RF (2 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
english / our language 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
all lemmas 8 RF (6 occ) 3% (3/116)	**0**	**0**	**4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)**	**35 RF (5 occ) 8% (2/26)**	**0**

Table 13: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY' discourse in English (RQ1)

'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
anglo-saxon* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
authorit* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
control* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	0	0	0
correct* 22 RF (17 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	31 RF (10 occ) 5% (2/42)	16 RF (4 occ) 5% (1/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
dictionar* 75 RF (57 occ) 17% (20/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 20% (1/5)	131 RF (42 occ) 31% (13/42)	48 RF (12 occ) 12% (5/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
etymolog* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
gramma* 96 RF (73 occ) 28% (32/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 40% (2/5)	66 RF (21 occ) 24% (10/42)	176 RF (44 occ) 43% (18/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
guide* 81 RF (62 occ) 22% (25/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	72 RF (23 occ) 24% (10/42)	36 RF (9 occ) 14% (6/42)	206 RF (29 occ) 31% (8/26)	0
histor* 33 RF (25 occ) 15% (17/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 20% (1/5)	25 RF (8 occ) 14% (6/42)	48 RF (12 occ) 17% (7/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
latin* 8 RF (6 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	0	0	0
legac* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
legitimat* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	16 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	0	0
linguist* 34 RF (26 occ) 16% (18/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 40% (2/5)	22 RF (7 occ) 14% (6/42)	44 RF (11 occ) 17% (7/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
order* 12 RF (9 occ) 5% (6/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	50 RF (7 occ) 15% (4/26)	0
origin* 20 RF (15 occ) 9% (11/116)	0	34 RF (11 occ) 17% (7/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
rule* 50 RF (38 occ) 17% (20/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 10% (4/42)	100 RF (25 occ) 24% (10/42)	50 RF (7 occ) 23% (6/26)	0
shakespear* (& cº)[1] 42 RF (32 occ) 11% (13/116)	0	25 RF (8 occ) 7% (3/42)	92 RF (23 occ) 21% (9/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
system* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0	0
technical* 4 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
usage* 48 RF (37 occ) 21% (24/116)	0	53 RF (17 occ) 21% (9/42)	76 RF (19 occ) 33% (14/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
all lemmas 544 RF (415 occ) 78% (91/116)	**232 RF (12 occ) 60% (3/5)**	**519 RF (166 occ) 81% (34/42)**	**680 RF (170 occ) 83% (35/42)**	**476 RF (67 occ) 73% (19/26)**	**0**

[1] '& cº' refers to the following other authors referred to in my corpus: Jane Austen, Lewis Carroll, Geoffrey Chaucer, George Eliot, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Walt Whitman.

Table 14: Search details for a 'SEXISM' / INEQUALITY' discourse in English (RQ2)

'SEXISM / INEQUALITY'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
abus* 26 RF (20 occ) 9% (10/116)	0	16 RF (5 occ) 7% (3/42)	40 RF (10 occ) 12% (5/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
contraception 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	1 RF (2 occ) 1% (3/42)	0	0	0
discriminat* 28 RF (21 occ) 11% (13/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	13 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	28 RF (7 occ) 10% (4/42)	64 RF (9 occ) 19% (5/26)	0
disparit* 12 RF (9 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	20 RF (5 occ) 12% (5/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
divers* 26 RF (20 occ) 7% (8/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 20% (1/5)	28 RF (9 occ) 10% (4/42)	0	57 RF (8 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
equal 76 RF (58 occ) 34% (39/116)	194 RF (10 occ) 100% (5/5)	44 RF (14 occ) 24% (10/42)	100 RF (25 occ) 40% (17/42)	64 RF (9 occ) 27% (7/26)	0
feminin* 14 RF (11 occ) 7% (8/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
feminism* & feminist* 180 RF (137 occ) 39% (45/116)	232 RF (12 occ) 100% (5/5)	241 RF (77 occ) 55% (23/42)	140 RF (35 occ) 26% (11/42)	92 RF (13 occ) 23% (6/26)	0
inferi* 7 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 10% (4/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
pay / wage gap 17 RF (13 occ) 9% (10/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	25 RF (8 occ) 14% (6/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
mach* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
marginalis* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
masculin* 8 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
misogyn* 25 RF (19 occ) 6% (7/116)	0	44 RF (14 occ) 7% (3/42)	16 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
oppress* 13 RF (10 occ) 7% (8/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	32 RF (8 occ) 14% (6/42)	0	0
patriarch* 12 RF (9 occ) 5% (6/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	28 RF (7 occ) 10% (4/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
prejudic* 20 RF (15 occ) 10% (12/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	28 RF (7 occ) 14% (6/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
rap* 16 RF (12 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	34 RF (11 occ) 7% (3/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
respect 56 RF (43 occ) 20% (23/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 40% (2/5)	69 RF (22 occ) 21% (9/42)	36 RF (9 occ) 12% (5/42)	71 RF (10 occ) 27% (7/26)	0
sexis 320 RF (244 occ) 63% (73/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 20% (1/5)	259 RF (83 occ) 55% (23/42)	356 RF (89 occ) 69% (29/42)	490 RF (69 occ) 77% (20/26)	0
stereotyp* 43 RF (33 occ) 16% (18/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	50 RF (16 occ) 19% (8/42)	24 RF (6 occ) 7% (3/42)	71 RF (10 occ) 23% (6/26)	0
subordinat* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
superior* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0

victim* 12 RF (9 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 10% (4/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
violen* 12 RF (9 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	20 RF (5 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
all lemmas 916 RF (699 occ) 91% (105/116)	**639 RF (33 occ) 100% (5/5)**	**903 RF (289 occ) 95% (40/42)**	**928 RF (232 occ) 88% (37/42)**	**1029 RF (145 occ) 88% (23/26)**	**0**

Table 15: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE POLICE' discourse in English (RQ2)

'LANGUAGE POLICE'	**CQ**	**LWQ**	**RWQ**	**RWT**	**CT**
ban* 68 RF (52 occ) 26% (30/116)	77 RF (4 occ) 40% (2/5)	28 RF (9 occ) 17% (7/42)	60 RF (15 occ) 17% (7/42)	170 RF (24 occ) 54% (14/26)	0
censor* 9 RF (7 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 5% (2/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
crackdown* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
crusade* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
denounc* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
dictat* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
diktat* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	0	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
high-handed 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
hunt 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
ideolog* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
impos* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
mind* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
moral* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
newspeak, nineteen eighty-four, orwell* 9 RF (7 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	28 RF (7 occ) 7% (3/42)	0	0
outlaw* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
polic* 14 RF (11 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	0	20 RF (5 occ) 10% (4/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 19% (5/26)	1754 RF (1 occ) 100% (1/1)
politically correct / pc 24 RF (18 occ) 12% (14/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	24 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	71 RF (10 occ) 27% (7/26)	0
purg* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	0	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0

regime* 4 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	0	21 RF (3 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
report* 8 RF (6 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
soviet* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
spot* 7 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
squad* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
stasi 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
all lemmas 187 RF (143 occ) 51% (59/116)	**116 RF (6 occ) 80% (4/5)**	**63 RF (20 occ) 33% (14/42)**	**200 RF (50 occ) 43% (18/42)**	**469 RF (66 occ) 85% (22/26)**	**1754 RF (1 occ) 100% (1/1)**

Table 16: Search details for a 'WAR / VIOLENCE' discourse in English (RQ2)

'WAR / VIOLENCE'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
arm* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
attack* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
battl* 22 RF (17 occ) 10% (12/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	31 RF (10 occ) 14% (6/42)	24 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	0	0
blow* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
campaign* 56 RF (43 occ) 24% (28/116)	97 RF (5 occ) 40% (2/5)	56 RF (18 occ) 33% (14/42)	32 RF (8 occ) 14% (6/42)	85 RF (12 occ) 23% (6/26)	0
defeat* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
defend* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	0	16 RF (4 occ) 10% (4/42)	0	0
fight* 24 RF (18 occ) 12% (14/116)	0	38 RF (12 occ) 19% (8/42)	24 RF (6 occ) 14% (6/42)	0	0
guard* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
minefield* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	0	0
protect* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	21 RF (3 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
struggl* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
victor* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
violen* 12 RF (9 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	20 RF (5 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
war* 9 RF (7 occ) 6% (7/116)	0	0	20 RF (5 occ) 12% (5/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
all lemmas 173 RF (132 occ) 49% (57/116)	**136 RF (7 occ) 80% (4/5)**	**169 RF (54 occ) 52% (22/42)**	**192 RF (48 occ) 48% (20/42)**	**163 RF (23 occ) 42% (11/26)**	**0**

Table 17: Search details for a 'MORE IMPORTANT' discourse in English (RQ2)

'MORE IMPORTANT'	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
better 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
cause 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
fuss* 7 RF (5 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
important* 24 RF (18 occ) 13% (15/116)	58 RF (3 occ) 40% (2/5)	34 RF (11 occ) 21% (9/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
more 9 RF (7 occ) 3% (3/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 20% (1/5)	13 RF (4 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
pay / wage / gap 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
urgent* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
viol* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
all lemmas **54 RF (41 occ)** **21% (24/116)**	**97 RF (5 occ)** **40% (2/5)**	**69 RF (22 occ)** **26% (11/42)**	**40 RF (10 occ)** **17% (7/42)**	**28 RF (4 occ)** **15% (4/26)**	**0**

Table 18: Search details for a 'RIDCULOUS' discourse in English (RQ2)

RIDICULOUS	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
absurd* 7 RF (5 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
amuse* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
comical* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
cost* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
craz* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
farc* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
get a grip / life 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	0	0	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (2/26)	0
jok* 17 RF (13 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 14% (6/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
laugh* 10 RF (8 occ) 7% (8/116)	0	13 RF (4 occ) 10% (4/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
ludicrous* 9 RF (7 occ) 3% (3/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
money 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	0	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
petty 3 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
point* 13 RF (10 occ) 4% (5/116)	97 RF (5 occ) 40% (2/5)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	16 RF (4 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
preposterous* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
ridicul* 26 RF (20 occ) 16% (19/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	25 RF (8 occ) 19% (8/42)	20 RF (5 occ) 12% (5/42)	43 RF (6 occ) 19% (5/26)	0
sense 18 RF (14 occ) 11% (13/116)	0	16 RF (5 occ) 10% (4/42)	20 RF (5 occ) 12% (5/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 15% (4/26)	0
sill* 13 RF (10 occ) 7% (8/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	24 RF (6 occ) 10% (4/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
stupid* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
tax*payer 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	0	0	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
trivial* 9 RF (7 occ) 5% (6/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
wast* 4 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
all lemmas 153 RF (117 occ) 49% (57/116)	**213 RF (11 occ) 60% (3/5)**	**106 RF (34 occ) 52% (22/42)**	**136 RF (34 occ) 43% (18/42)**	**270 RF (38 occ) 54% (14/26)**	**0**

Table 19: Search details for a 'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED' discourse in English (RQ2)

TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED	CQ	LWQ	RWQ	RWT	CT
anachron* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
anglo-saxon* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (3/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
antiqu* 8 RF (6 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0
archaic* 7 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
convention* 13 RF (10 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	16 RF (5 occ) 10% (4/42)	20 RF (5 occ) 12% (5/42)	0	0
date 33 RF (25 occ) 18% (21/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	38 RF (12 occ) 19% (8/42)	28 RF (7 occ) 17% (7/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 19% (5/26)	0
etymolog* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0	0
fad* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
fashion 26 RF (20 occ) 16% (18/116)	0	22 RF (7 occ) 14% (6/42)	32 RF (8 occ) 17% (7/42)	35 RF (5 occ) 19% (5/26)	0
histor* 33 RF (25 occ) 15% (17/116)	39 RF (2 occ) 20% (1/5)	25 RF (8 occ) 14% (6/42)	48 RF (12 occ) 17% (7/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
latin* 8 RF (6 occ) 4% (5/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	0	0	0
legac* 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
medieval 3 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/116)	0	6 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	0	0	0
modern* 31 RF (24 occ) 18% (21/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	13 RF (4 occ) 10% (4/42)	64 RF (16 occ) 31% (13/42)	21 RF (3 occ) 12% (3/26)	0
obsolete 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/116)	0	0	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	0	0
old* 14 RF (11 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	19 RF (6 occ) 12% (5/42)	16 RF (4 occ) 7% (3/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
origin* 20 RF (15 occ) 9% (11/116)	0	34 RF (11 occ) 17% (7/42)	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
past 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/116)	19 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	4 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
shakespear* 42 RF (32 occ) 11% (13/116)	0	25 RF (8 occ) 7% (3/42)	92 RF (23 occ) 21% (9/42)	7 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/26)	0
throwback* 5 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/116)	0	0	8 RF (2 occ) 5% (2/42)	14 RF (2 occ) 8% (2/26)	0
tradition* 47 RF (36 occ) 22% (26/116)	39 RF (1 occ) 20% (1/5)	19 RF (6 occ) 14% (6/42)	68 RF (17 occ) 29% (12/42)	78 RF (11 occ) 27% (7/26)	0
victorian* 13 RF (10 occ) 8% (9/116)	0	9 RF (3 occ) 5% (2/42)	12 RF (3 occ) 7% (3/42)	28 RF (4 occ) 15% (4/26)	0
all lemmas 325 RF (248 occ) 71% (82/116)	**155 RF (8 occ) 80% (4/5)**	**257 RF (88 occ) 69% (29/42)**	**444 RF (111 occ) 86% (36/42)**	**291 RF (41 occ) 50% (13/26)**	**0**

Table 20: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE AS A MIRROR' discourse in French (RQ3)

'MIRROR / TOOL'	LW	RW
affect* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	15 RF (1 occ) 8% (1/70)	0
cogniti* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	5 RF (1 occ) 4% (1/56)
contribu* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	0
détermin* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
évolu* 11 RF (10 occ) 8% (10/126)	15 RF (8 occ) 11% (8/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
façonn* 7 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
fascis* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
fonctionn* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
influ* 4 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
mental* 6 RF (5 occ) 2% (3/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
outil* 4 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
pensée* 9 RF (8 occ) 5% (6/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	16 RF (6 occ) 7% (4/56)
politiqu* 30 RF (27 occ) 13% (17/126)	43 RF (23 occ) 19% (13/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 7% (4/56)
réalité* 7 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
refl*t* 11 RF (10 occ) 6% (8/126)	15 RF (8 occ) 9% (6/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
reprod* 6 RF (5 occ) 3% (4/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
sapir*whorf 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
structur* 10 RF (9 occ) 4% (5/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 4% (3/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 4% (2/56)
systèm* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
all lemmas 118 RF (107 occ) 35% (44/126)	**128 RF (69 occ) 40% (28/70)**	**104 RF (38 occ) 29% (16/56)**

Table 21: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY' discourse in French (RQ3)

'LANGUAGE AUTHORITY'	LW	RW
académi* 219 RF (198 occ) 46% (58/126)	232 RF (125 occ) 53% (37/70)	200 RF (73 occ) 38% (21/56)
apparten* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
autorit* 20 RF (18 occ) 8% (10/126)	15 RF (8 occ) 7% (5/70)	27 RF (10 occ) 9% (5/56)
contrain* 9 RF (8 occ) 5% (6/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 7% (5/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/56)
contrôle* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
correct 42 RF (38 occ) 20% (25/126)	50 RF (27 occ) 24% (17/70)	30 RF (11 occ) 14% (8/56)
dictionnaire* 59 RF (53 occ) 19% (24/126)	67 RF (36 occ) 23% (16/70)	47 RF (17 occ) 14% (8/56)
enseign* 25 RF (23 occ) 12% (15/126)	33 RF (18 occ) 16% (11/70)	14 RF (5 occ) 7% (4/56)
esprit* 9 RF (8 occ) 5% (6/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	14 RF (5 occ) 5% (3/56)
étymolog* 4 RF (4 occ) 1% (1/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
génie 10 RF (9 occ) 3% (4/126)	13 RF (7 occ) 3% (2/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
gramma* 193 RF (175 occ) 42% (53/126)	245 RF (132 occ) 49% (34/70)	118 RF (43 occ) 34% (19/56)
hérit* 11 RF (10 occ) 8% (10/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 9% (6/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 7% (4/56)
histo* 56 RF (51 occ) 19% (24/126)	87 RF (47 occ) 29% (20/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 7% (4/56)
issu* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	0
latin* 70 RF (63 occ) 21% (27/126)	89 RF (48 occ) 24% (17/70)	41 RF (15 occ) 18% (10/56)
légitim* 20 RF (18 occ) 13% (16/126)	20 RF (11 occ) 14% (10/70)	19 RF (7 occ) 11% (6/56)
linguist* 102 RF (92 occ) 29% (36/126)	106 RF (57 occ) 30% (21/70)	96 RF (35 occ) 27% (15/56)
molière 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
origin* 12 RF (11 occ) 4% (5/126)	19 RF (10 occ) 6% (4/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
régi* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
r*gle* 222 RF (201 occ) 40% (51/126)	287 RF (155 occ) 46% (32/70)	126 RF (46 occ) 34% (19/56)
structur* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
système*	6 RF (3 occ)	3 RF (1 occ)

4 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/126)	4% (3/70)	2% (1/56)
usage* 169 RF (153 occ) 50% (63/126)	184 RF (99 occ) 60% (42/70)	148 RF (54 occ) 38% (21/56)
vaugelas 8 RF (7 occ) 5% (6/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
all lemmas **1284 RF (1162 occ)** **89% (112/126)**	**1513 RF (816 occ)** **96% (67/70)**	**947 RF (346 occ)** **80% (45/56)**

Table 22: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE AS NATIONAL IDENTITY' discourse in French (RQ3)

'NATIONAL IDENTITY'	LW	RW
ciment 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
communautarisme* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
esprit 2 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/56)
génie 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
hérit* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
pays 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
peuple 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (11/56)
all lemmas **11 RF (10 occ)** **13% (16/126)**	**13 RF (7 occ)** **14% (10/70)**	**8 RF (3 occ)** **11% (6/56)**

Table 23: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE EVOLUTION' discourse in French (RQ3)

'EVOLUTION'	LW	RW
adapt* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
biolog* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
boug* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
chang* 30 RF (27 occ) 17% (21/126)	33 RF (18 occ) 17% (12/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 16% (9/56)
dynami* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
évolv* 32 RF (29 occ) 13% (17/126)	44 RF (24 occ) 19% (13/70)	14 RF (5 occ) 7% (4/56)
fig* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	0
immuable* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
moeur* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
mor* & meur* 8 RF (7 occ) 3% (4/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 3% (2/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 4% (2/56)
spontan* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
stabl* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 2% (1/56)
viv* 6 RF (5 occ) 3% (4/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 6% (4/70)	0
all lemmas 95 RF (86 occ) 29% (37/126)	**115 RF (62 occ) 34% (24/70)**	**66 RF (24 occ) 23% (13/56)**

Table 24: Search details for a 'FREEDOM / CHOICE' discourse in French (RQ3)

'FREEDOM / CHOICE'	LW	RW
choi* 48 RF (43 occ) 20% (25/126)	63 RF (34 occ) 21% (15/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 18% (10/56)
lib* 43 RF (39 occ) 20% (25/126)	26 RF (14 occ) 17% (12/70)	68 RF (25 occ) 23% (13/56)
opt* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
all lemmas 92 RF (83 occ) 37% (47/126)	**89 RF (48 occ) 36% (25/70)**	**96 RF (35 occ) 39% (22/56)**

Table 25: Search details for a 'SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE' discourse in French (RQ3)

'SENSITIVITY / OFFENCE'	LW	RW
accept 7 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 7% (5/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
affront* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
délicat* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
dénigr* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
insulte* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
injur* 6 RF (5 occ) 3% (4/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 3% (2/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
sensible* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
all lemmas **20 RF (18 occ)** **13% (16/126)**	**22 RF (12 occ)** **14% (10/70)**	**16 RF (6 occ)** **11% (6/56)**

Table 26: Search details for a 'SEXISM / INEQUALITY' discourse in French (RQ4)

'SEXISM / INEQUALITY'	LW	RW
avorte* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (3/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
contraception 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
contrain* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 2% (1/56)
dévaloris* 9 RF (8 occ) 5% (6/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 6% (4/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
discrimin* 43 RF (39 occ) 21% (26/126)	39 RF (21 occ) 21% (15/70)	49 RF (18 occ) 20% (11/56)
domin* 30 RF (27 occ) 11% (14/126)	46 RF (25 occ) 17% (12/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
écart* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
égal 171 RF (155 occ) 49% (62/126)	154 RF (83 occ) 49% (34/70)	197 RF (72 occ) 50% (28/56)
féminisme* & féministe* 183 RF (166 occ) 41% (52/126)	180 RF (97 occ) 49% (34/70)	189 RF (69 occ) 32% (18/56)
fémini* & féminis* 56 RF (51 occ) 25% (32/126)	76 RF (41 occ) 31% (22/70)	27 RF (10 occ) 18% (10/56)
hiérarchi* 15 RF (14 occ) 8% (10/126)	20 RF (11 occ) 10% (7/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
inféri* 9 RF (8 occ) 5% (6/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 6% (4/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
machis* 24 RF (22 occ) 10% (13/126)	32 RF (17 occ) 11% (8/70)	14 RF (5 occ) 9% (5/56)

masculin* 91 RF (82 occ) 27% (34/126)	132 RF (71 occ) 36% (25/70)	30 RF (11 occ) 16% (9/56)
misogyn* 7 RF (6 occ) 3% (4/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 4% (3/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
oppress* 6 RF (5 occ) 2% (2/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 3% (2/70)	0
parit* 20 RF (18 occ) 9% (11/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	38 RF (14 occ) 13% (7/56)
patriarc* 12 RF (11 occ) 6% (8/126)	13 RF (7 occ) 7% (5/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 5% (3/56)
préju* 9 RF (8 occ) 6% (8/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 9% (6/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
rémunér* 3 RF (3 occ) 2 % (3/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
respect* 51 RF (46 occ) 24% (30/126)	46 RF (25 occ) 24% (17/70)	57 RF (21 occ) 23% (13/56)
sala* 17 RF (15 occ) 10% (12/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 7% (5/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 13% (7/56)
sexis* 98 RF (89 occ) 37% (46/126)	104 RF (56 occ) 40% (28/70)	90 RF (33 occ) 32% (18/56)
stéréotyp* 45 RF (41 occ) 14% (18/126)	33 RF (18 occ) 14% (10/70)	63 RF (23 occ) 14% (8/56)
subordonn* 2 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
supéri* 21 RF (19 occ) 11% (14/126)	32 RF (17 occ) 17% (12/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
victime* 18 RF (16 occ) 9% (11/126)	15 RF (8 occ) 10% (7/70)	22 RF (8 occ) 7% (4/56)
viol* 30 RF (27 occ) 13% (17/126)	30 RF (16 occ) 14% (10/70)	30 RF (11 occ) 13% (7/56)
all lemmas 985 RF (891 occ) 86% (108/126)	**1040 RF (561 occ) 89% (62/70)**	**903 RF (330 occ) 82% (46/56)**

Table 27: Search details for a 'LANGUAGE POLICE' discourse in French (RQ4)

'LANGUAGE POLICE'	LW	RW
banni* 11 RF (10 occ) 8% (10/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	19 RF (7 occ) 13% (7/56)
big brother 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
brigade* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
censur* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
chasse* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
condamn* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
contrain* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
contrôl* 6 RF (5 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 2% (1/56)
croisade* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
dénon* 10 RF (9 occ) 5% (6/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/70)	19 RF (7 occ) 9% (5/56)
dictat* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
diktat 4 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
doctrin* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
dogmat* 2 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
guett* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
idéolog* 41 RF (37 occ) 17% (21/126)	30 RF (16 occ) 11% (8/70)	57 RF (21 occ) 23% (13/56)
impos* 71 RF (64 occ) 31% (39/126)	44 RF (24 occ) 24% (17/70)	109 RF (40 occ) 39% (22/56)
manipul* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
moral* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	11 RF (4 occ) 4% (2/56)
novlangue* 12 RF (11 occ) 6% (7/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 4% (3/70)	16 RF (6 occ) 7% (4/56)
orwell 8 RF (7 occ) 3% (4/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	16 RF (6 occ) 5% (3/56)
orthodox* 6 RF (5 occ) 3% (4/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 5% (3/56)
polic* 27 RF (24 occ) 12% (15/126)	15 RF (8 occ) 7% (5/70)	44 RF (16 occ) 18% (10/56)
politi* correct* 9 RF (8 occ)	7 RF (4 occ) 4% (3/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 5% (3/56)

5% (6/126)		
propagande* 2 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/56)
puni* 14 RF (13 occ) 6% (8/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 3% (2/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 11% (6/56)
purg 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
régal* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
régime* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
répress* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
surveill* 2 RF (2 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/56)
totalitai 8 RF (7 occ) 5% (6/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 4% (3/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
traqu* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
all lemmas 262 RF (237 occ) 55% (69/126)	**148 RF (80 occ) 46% (32/70)**	**430 RF (157 occ) 66% (37/56)**

Table 28: Search details for a 'WAR / VIOLENCE' discourse in French (RQ4)

'WAR / VIOLENCE'	LW	RW
abus* 19 RF (17 occ) 9% (11/126)	13 RF (7 occ) 9% (6/70)	27 RF (10 occ) 9% (5/56)
arm* 7 RF (6 occ) 4% (5/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 5% (3/56)
atroc* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 3% (2/70)	0
attaqu* 7 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)5
bagarr* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
barbar* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
bataill* 19 RF (17 occ) 11% (14/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 9% (6/70)	30 RF (11 occ) 14% (8/56)
campagne* 33 RF (30 occ) 12% (15/126)	32 RF (17 occ) 13% (9/70)	36 RF (13 occ) 11% (6/56)
combat* 64 RF (58 occ) 21% (27/126)	67 RF (36 occ) 21% (15/70)	60 RF (22 occ) 21% (12/56)
défend* 24 RF (22 occ) 17% (21/126)	24 RF (13 occ) 19% (13/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 14% (8/56)
défaite* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
défigue* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)

détrui* & destruct* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
écras* 4 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
gard* 10 RF (9 occ) 7% (9/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	14 RF (5 occ) 9% (5/56)
guerr* 12 RF (11 occ) 7% (9/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 6% (4/70)	16 RF (6 occ) 9% (5/56)
lutte* 33 RF (30 occ) 16% (20/126)	26 RF (14 occ) 14% (10/70)	44 RF (16 occ) 18% (10/56)
milit* 14 RF (13 occ) 8% (10/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 9% (6/70)	19 RF (7 occ) 7% (4/56)
prot* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 2% (1/56)
querelle* 21 RF (19 occ) 10% (12/126)	20 RF (11 occ) 9% (6/70)	22 RF (19 occ) 10% (12/56)
sodom* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
vainq* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
victo* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (3/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
viol* 30 RF (27 occ) 13% (17/126)	30 RF (16 occ) 14% (10/70)	30 RF (11 occ) 13% (7/56)
all lemmas 329 RF (298 occ) 71% (90/126)	**291 RF (157 occ) 70% (49/70)**	**386 RF (141 occ) 73% (41/56)**

Table 29: Search details for a 'MORE IMPORTANT' discourse in French (RQ4)

'MORE IMPORTANT'	LW	RW
avort* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (3/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
bon combat 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	1 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
cause* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
important* 8 RF (7 occ) 5% (6/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 6% (4/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
mieux* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (2/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 3% (2/70)	0
priorit* 9 RF (8 occ) 6% (7/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 6% (4/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
rien d'autre à faire 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
sala* 17 RF (15 occ) 10% (12/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 7% (5/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 13% (7/56)
se tromp* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
soi-disant / vrai féminisme 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (3/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
urgen* 7 RF (6 occ) 5% (6/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
viol* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
all lemmas 65 RF (59 occ) 23% (29/126)	**54 RF (29 occ) 23% (16/70)**	**82 RF (30 occ) 23% (13/56)**

Table 30: Search details for a 'RIDICULOUS' discourse in French (RQ4)

'RIDICULOUS'	LW	RW
absurd* 9 RF (8 occ) 6% (8/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 7% (5/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 5% (3/56)
amus* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
argent 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
bizarr* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
coût* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	0
dépens* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (2/126)	0	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
financ* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
futil* 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
grotesque* 4 RF (4 occ) 3% (4/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	0
pathétique* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
perte* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
précieuses 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
ridicul* 24 RF (22 occ) 15% (19/126)	22 RF (12 occ) 14% (10/70)	27 RF (10 occ) 16% (9/56)
rire* & risible 7 RF (6 occ) 4% (5/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 4% (3/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
stupid* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (3/126)	0	11 RF (4 occ) 5% (3/56)
vaudeville 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	0	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
all lemmas 75 RF (68 occ) 34% (43/126)	**67 RF (36 occ) 30% (21/70)**	**88 RF (32 occ) 39% (22/56)**

Table 31: Search details for a 'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED' discourse in French (RQ4)

'TRADITION / OLD FASHIONED'	LW	RW
anachron* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
archaï* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	0
convention* 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
désu* 4 RF (4 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 3% (3/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
étymolog* 4 RF (4 occ) 1% (1/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
hérit* 11 RF (10 occ) 8% (10/126)	11 RF (6 occ) 9% (6/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 7% (4/56)
histo* 56 RF (51 occ) 19% (24/126)	87 RF (47 occ) 29% (20/70)	11 RF (4 occ) 7% (4/56)
issu* 3 RF (3 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	0
latin* 70 RF (63 occ) 21% (27/126)	89 RF (48 occ) 24% (17/70)	41 RF (15 occ) 18% (10/56)
médiéva* 6 RF (5 occ) 1% (1/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
mode* 7 RF (6 occ) 4% (5/126)	9 RF (5 occ) 6% (4/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
modern* 22 RF (20 occ) 10% (12/126)	26 RF (14 occ) 9% (6/70)	16 RF (6 occ) 11% (6/56)
molière 6 RF (5 occ) 4% (5/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 4% (3/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 4% (2/56)
obsolète 1 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/126)	2 RF (1 occ) 1% (1/70)	0
origin* 12 RF (11 occ) 4% (5/126)	19 RF (10 occ) 6% (4/70)	3 RF (1 occ) 2% (1/56)
passé* 2 RF (2 occ) 2% (2/126)	4 RF (2 occ) 3% (2/70)	0
ringard* 6 RF (5 occ) 2% (3/126)	6 RF (3 occ) 3% (2/70)	5 RF (2 occ) 2% (1/56)
tradition* 19 RF (17 occ) 10% (13/126)	19 RF (10 occ) 9% (6/70)	19 RF (7 occ) 13% (7/56)
vaguelas 8 RF (7 occ) 5% (6/126)	7 RF (4 occ) 6% (4/70)	8 RF (3 occ) 4% (2/56)
vieux / vieil / vieille* 25 RF (23 occ) 14% (18/126)	26 RF (14 occ) 16% (11/70)	25 RF (9 occ) 13% (7/56)
all lemmas 269 RF (243 occ) 52% (66/126)	**343 RF (185 occ) 59% (41/70)**	**159 RF (58 occ) 45% (25/56)**

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