

## LEXICAL CHOICES OF GENDER IDENTITY IN GREEK GENRES: THE VIEW FROM CORPORA

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### Abstract

This paper examines the role of the lexical pairs *άνδρας/άντρας* ‘man’ vs. *γυναίκα* ‘woman’ and *αγόρι* ‘boy’ vs. *κορίτσι* ‘girl’ in the construction of gender identity. We use corpus methodology to study the frequency, meanings and collocations of the noun pairs in five different genres of Greek, namely news and opinion articles from newspapers, and general interest, male and female magazines (2,4 million words in total). Our findings point to a fundamental asymmetry in the treatment of the two genders. Furthermore, genre and audience design are found to be prominent in gender construction: In general, male identity is viewed in similar ways in all genres, whereas female identity is constructed in a less uniform way, since texts addressed to women significantly diverge from other genres. Thus, lexical choices are affected by the positioning of the text producer as a member of an in-group, especially in genres in which gender is foregrounded.

**Keywords:** Audience design; Corpus linguistics; Gender; Genre; Identity; Noun; Vocabulary pairs.

### 1. Gender and language<sup>1</sup>

The issue of gender and language has been one of the most prolific areas of research in linguistics and neighbouring disciplines, approached from a multiplicity of theoretical perspectives and with a variety of methodological tools. Apart from the obvious intrinsic interest of the subject, it seems that the material unearthed in linguistic research is so rich and varied that it can sustain extended preoccupation with the means by which gender is inscribed, signalled or constructed in linguistic interaction. This is at least the case with our study of gender lexis in Greek, which has progressively developed into a large-scale project of gender and discourse in Greek corpora. The present paper reports our findings from the analysis of the two basic noun word pairs relating to gender (*άνδρας/άντρας*<sup>2</sup> ‘man’ vs. *γυναίκα* /jin'eka/ ‘woman’ and *αγόρι* /ag'ori/ ‘boy’ vs. *κορίτσι* /kor'itsi/ ‘girl’), while in a separate paper (Fragaki & Goutsos, forthcoming) we study central adjectival choices, in a preliminary treatment of this multifaceted issue.

Our study is placed within an emergent trend in gender research, which focuses on the functions of denotative words used for male and female referents. This line of research brings together sociolinguistic and textlinguistic or discourse analytic concerns

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<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of *Pragmatics* for their invaluable comments, which have helped us unfold our analysis.

<sup>2</sup> The lemma for ‘man’ has two phonologically and orthographically different forms, the more formal /'andras/ *άνδρας* and the informal /'andras/ *άντρας*. In the discussion below we comment on their different distribution.

through the use of corpus methodology. A basic assumption of this approach, which we share with researchers like Holmes (2000: 141), is that social identity is constructed, among else, through semantic distinctions codified in the vocabulary and the grammar of a language. We are thus specifically interested in how gender identity and related ideological positions are conveyed and/or constructed by the way language is used in specific lexico-grammatical patterns.

In our view, this is a particularly promising avenue for research, since it attempts to bridge the gap between earlier formal studies of gender and recent emphasis on gender as socially constructed in interaction. Although it would be especially difficult, if not hazardous, to draw an outline of related studies, there seems to be a growing realization in the literature (see e.g. Cameron 2003; Kendall & Tannen 2003) of the tension between documenting gender-related patterns of language use and viewing language as a symbolic resource for gender construction. It is mainly earlier research that has given emphasis on individual linguistic forms as characteristic of women's and men's speech (e.g. in the frame of variational sociolinguistics), while more recent approaches have focused on gender differences as communicative strategies in a variety of genres and contexts of interaction.

The issue of gender and language as topic of research has emerged only recently in the study of Greek. (For a review of related studies in Greek, see Charalambakis 2001: 121-142; Archakis & Kondyli 2002: 155-160; Pavlidou 2002; Kakridi-Ferrari 2005: 78-83). So far, scholars' interest has focused on the grammar and lexicon of Greek. On the one hand, attention has been devoted to morphosyntactic phenomena such as endings, especially in professional or generic nouns (e.g. Pavlidou 1985; Fragoudaki 1988, 1989; Makri-Tsilipakou 1989, 2003), and to gender as a grammatical category, which has been exhaustively treated in the recent Anastasiadi-Symeonidi & Chila-Markopoulou (2003; see also Ralli 2002). On the other hand, scholars have also investigated semantic gaps and lexical asymmetries in Greek. A number of studies using material from a variety of sources such as dictionaries and thesauri find that the abundance of positive terms for the masculine goes hand in hand with a mass of derogatory terms for the feminine (Makri-Tsilipakou 1996; Tsokalidou 1996; Pavlidou et al. 2004; Goutsos & Katsoyannou 2006). Finally, there have only been a restricted number of studies which focus on how gender is constructed in interaction in Greek (Tannen 1982, 1983; Makri-Tsilipakou 1991; Georgakopoulou 1995; contributions in Pavlidou 2002), while there is evidently still much scope for research on the subject.

In sum, it can be said that the treatment of gender and language in Greek is mainly restricted in language descriptions of the grammatical system and the vocabulary of Greek rather than actual use. It is a telling feature of this kind of research that intuition or anecdotal evidence are also often employed as sources of data. Our study focuses, instead, on the use of lexical items referring to gender in attested data from Greek corpora. Electronic corpora provide access to a vast amount of authentic linguistic material, which can be thoroughly analysed in terms of frequency and patterns of use. In addition, the employment of corpora facilitates the description and comparison of specific genres, thus allowing us to more closely specify claims about general language. Finally, and most importantly, by studying particular genres, we relate individual lexical choices to contextual parameters and can attempt a synthesis of approaches that have so far diverged in their interests.

The employment of corpus methodology in the study of gender and language has already been developed to a certain extent in English. In particular, there have been

quite a few specialized studies on male vs. female vocabulary pairs (Leech & Fallon 2004 [1992]; Holmes 2000, 2001; Stubbs 2001: 161-164; Holmes & Sigley 2002; Sigley & Holmes 2002; Gesuato 2003), while research has also focused on markers and semantic fields preferred by men and women in specific corpora (Schmid 2003). Some of the contextual parameters which these studies take into account are geographical variation, mode (spoken versus written), speaker gender and diachronic development. One of the few corpus studies of how vocabulary contributes to gender construction specifically in women's magazines is del-Teso-Craviotto (2006).

These studies offer a useful ground for comparison between English and Greek, as we will see in our analysis below. At the same time, they have not sufficiently focused on genre variation and audience design. As Gesuato (2003) points out, there is a need for gender terms to be examined in additional corpora, relevant to specific genres. Our project precisely aims at fulfilling this gap by comparing the use of individual lexical choices in five genres of Greek, namely news articles and opinion articles drawn from newspapers, as well as magazine articles coming from general interest, male and female magazines. Our data, therefore, includes gender-oriented genres (e.g. magazines addressing a male or female audience), along with texts which are not committed to a particular audience in terms of gender.

The choice of genres addressing different target groups gives us the opportunity to test Lakoff's (1975: 27) early claim that women are treated as inferior human beings both by men and women. That is, rather than analysing the role played in these genres by the text producer's gender, we focus on the construction of the male and female position in the discourse through the producer's allegiance with their assumed audience. In other words, we assume that the writer's positioning as a member of the in-group which they address is discursively constructed and maintained in female and male magazines. By contrast, in general magazines or newspapers, which address a gender-neutral audience, gender is not equally foregrounded. In addition, by analyzing newspapers apart from magazines, we are in a position to contrast more formal vs. less formal texts and examine how spelling conventions and writing style relate to gender construction.

By using the notion of audience design as defined above we can more closely specify how gender construction is achieved in different genres. Our focus is on the lexical means by which gender is constructed in our data and in particular on the basic noun vocabulary referring to the male and the female gender. More specifically, the purpose of our paper is to study the frequency, meanings and collocations of the two noun pairs: *άνδρας/άντρας* vs. *γυναίκα* and *αγόρι* vs. *κορίτσι*, the basic terms in Greek for referring to the male and female human being, respectively.

## **2. Data and methodology**

Our data comes from five sub-corpora of the Corpus of Greek Texts (CGT). CGT is the result of the co-operation between the University of Athens and the University of Cyprus, which have set out to constitute a new corpus of Greek as a basis for linguistic research and a resource for teaching applications. It is extensive (30 million words) and is made up of texts produced after 1990, thus reflecting current linguistic practice (see Goutsos 2003 for details).

In this study we have selected to draw data from two main sources, newspapers and magazines. Newspaper data consists of news articles and opinion articles drawn from daily and Sunday newspapers published in Greece. Magazine data comes from three types of sources: a) General interest magazines (mainly with a social and/or political focus), b) Male magazines and c) Female magazines<sup>3</sup>. (As mentioned above, the terms *general*, *male* and *female* are to be taken as a kind of shorthand for the type of audience these magazines are meant to address rather than the sex or gender of the authors writing in them). Overall, the corpus consists of 2,400,000 words, as can be seen in Table 1.

	NEWSPAPERS		MAGAZINES		
<i>Genre</i>	News articles	Opinion articles	General	Male	Female
<i>Words</i>	600,000	600,000	600,000	300,000	300,000

**Table 1: Number of words per genre in the data**

Let us note here that we have chosen the same number of data (600,000 words) from news articles, opinion articles, general magazines and gender-oriented (male and female) magazines in order to allow for easy comparison in raw numbers rather than percentages.

Our method of analysis is based on the use of frequency lists to determine the relative importance of the items studied and the analysis of concordances to identify specific patterns of use. This has come to be a standard procedure in working with corpora (cf. Stubbs 1996; Baker 2006; del-Teso-Craviotto 2006), which aims at analyzing each word in its immediate context in order to gather information about its meanings and collocates as an indication of its use in language.

In the following sections we first discuss our findings concerning the frequency of the items under consideration and then proceed with the qualitative analysis of the meanings and collocates for the two pairs in turn. In particular, for the distinction of meanings we have employed formal criteria such as the use of definite, indefinite or zero article, singular vs. plural number, the occurrence of possessive pronouns etc., combined with semantic criteria (collocates and wider context). Meaning distinctions were also checked against the related dictionary entries, which corroborated our analysis (Triandaphyllidis 1998; Babiniotis 2002). In the analysis of collocates we have looked at concordances with a 6-word span to the left and right of the search item. We have identified as collocates both words (from the grammatical categories of noun, adjective and verb) and phrases occurring in this span. This wider approach to the notion of collocate has allowed us to look into repeated lexical patterns and thus establish collocational groupings that reveal dominant and contesting discourses of gender (cf. Baker 2006: 95-120). We have not taken into account any frequency-based techniques of calculating collocates, but we have chosen to study all collocates that fall into semantic groupings.

<sup>3</sup> The newspapers from which we have drawn our data are: *Ελευθεροτυπία*, *Η Καθημερινή*, *Ριζοσπάστης*, *Το Βήμα*, *Πατρίς*. The general interest magazines are: *Αναπηρία Τώρα*, *Δικαιωματικά*, *Ερευνητής*, *Σαμιζντάτ*, *Focus*. The male magazines are: *Κλικ* and *Men Magazine*, while the female magazines are: *Είμαι*, *Business Woman*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Fashion Club*, *Lipstick*, *Vita*.

### 3. Frequency

The frequency of the noun pairs under investigation is presented in Table 2. In the Table, separate figures are given for the two morphological variants for ‘man’ as well as for the combined occurrence of both (*άνδρας/άντρας*).<sup>4</sup>

	NEWS ARTICLES	OPINION ARTICLES	GENERAL MAGAZINES	MALE MAGAZINES	FEMALE MAGAZINES	TOTAL
<i>άνδρας</i>	91	77	81	37	128	414
<i>άντρας</i>	20	17	73	89	103	302
<i>άνδρας/άντρας</i> ‘man’	111	95	154	126	230	716
<i>γυναίκα</i> ‘woman’	215	173	221	186	673	1,468
<i>αγόρι</i> ‘boy’	16	11	37	17	60	141
<i>κορίτσι</i> ‘girl’	28	20	14	45	96	203

**Table 2: Absolute frequency of pairs in sub-corpora**

What is immediately apparent in the figures given in Table 2 is that there is a clear quantitative preference to the female member of both pairs in all genres, with the exception of *αγόρι*, which outnumbers *κορίτσι* in the general magazines. In some cases, the female member of the pair occurs almost twice or even more than twice than the male member of the pair (e.g. *αγόρι* vs. *κορίτσι* in the opinion articles, *γυναίκα* vs. *άνδρας/άντρας* in the news articles and female magazines). It is also interesting that, overall, *γυναίκα* outnumbers *άνδρας/άντρας* in all genres by two to one and *κορίτσι* outnumbers *αγόρι* in all genres by one and a half to one.

This is a very surprising finding in terms of what has been found for English (e.g. Leech & Fallon 2004 [1992]; Sigley & Holmes 2002). Although we should be wary of hasty generalizations on the basis of numerical findings, we would like to suggest that this difference is not due to an attempt to redress the lack of equal treatment between men and women but may indicate, for instance, that the female member of the pairs is treated as marked in our genres. Thus, it may be that writers stress the gender of the referent in our data mainly when it is female. This may be noted, among else, in professional or, more generally, occupational names, in which *γυναίκα* is added in order to specify the gender of the person referred to. As we will see below, these uses are prominent with the female rather than the male member of the pair, suggesting that the former is associated with the marked, non-typical use.

A second finding in terms of frequency is that all members of both pairs in our data are more frequent in the male and female magazines than the other genres. This would indicate that the issue of gender is more foregrounded in the magazines addressed to either male or female audience, as well as that the female and male

<sup>4</sup> Here, as well as in the rest of the paper, we use the lemma form of the nouns to subsume all different morphological variants for case and number, unless we explicitly comment on a particular form.

magazines are both concerned with the representation of both their in-group and their out-group. If we look more closely at numbers, gender terms seem to be particularly prominent in the female magazines, which refer more to both genders but especially to women. Thus, the female magazines appear to be more concerned with their in-group, since there are almost three times as many references to women than to men. In total, evidence from the frequency of the items under discussion suggests that women are more talked about, especially by women, and also that magazines foreground gender and its construction in comparison with newspapers in our data.

In addition, the occurrence of *άνδρας/άντρας* and *γυναίκα* is much more frequent than the pair *αγόρι* and *κορίτσι*. The frequency of *γυναίκα* is more than seven times greater than that of *κορίτσι*, while instances of *άνδρας/άντρας* are five times as frequent as those of *αγόρι*. Obviously, the intended audience of newspapers and magazines can account for this large difference in frequency, since adult topics, at least in the data chosen, are not likely to include reference to boys and girls. However, this difference may also be related to the narrower meaning range of the words *αγόρι* and *κορίτσι*, as we will see below.

A final remark can be made about the morphological variants *άνδρας* and *άντρας*. As we can see in Table 2, the newspapers seem to have standardized use in favour of *άνδρας*, while in the general and female magazines there is free variation with a slight tendency also in favour of the standardized *άνδρας*. In the male magazines, on the other hand, there is a distinct preference for the form *άντρας*. As we will see below, these morphological variants are also distinguished in terms of their associated meanings and connotations.

#### 4. *άνδρας/άντρας* ‘man’ vs. *γυναίκα* ‘woman’

##### 4.1. *Meanings*

Our close study of the data has revealed several meaning categories in which different uses of the two members of the pair can be classified, according to the criteria mentioned above. These categories are the following, illustrated with examples from our data for both genders.

a) male or female GENDER, usually with the definite article:

- και στον άντρα το κόμπλεξ μου τη σπάει... (WLMG24-5149)<sup>5</sup>

‘a complex in a man [lit. the man] gets on my nerves’

- το Κοράνι σέβεται τη γυναίκα (WRPG16-0267)

‘the Koran respects woman’ [lit. the woman]

b) a particular male or female PERSON, almost always with the indefinite article:

- ένας ρακένδυτος άνδρας μαζεύει τα απομεινάρια από τα πιάτα (WRPG16-0179)

‘a man in rags collects leftovers from plates’

- συνάντησα μια γυναίκα σε αξιοθρήνητη κατάσταση (WLMG16-5399)

‘I met a woman in a lamentable state’

<sup>5</sup> The first part of the code used refers to the genre from which the example is drawn, namely WRPG16 to news articles, WOPG16 to opinion articles, WLMG16 to general interest magazines, WLMG24 to male magazines and WLMG23 to female magazines, while the second part indicates the source text.

- c) member of PERSONNEL (mainly police, guard or armed forces), mostly in the plural:  
- με πόσους άνδρες και γυναίκες θα ενισχύσετε το αυτόνομο αστυνομικό τμήμα; (WLMG16-5599)  
'with how many men and women will you equip the autonomous police department?'
- d) SPOUSE, always with possessive pronouns:  
- ο άνδρας της Ισμέτ Φινταντσι αγόρασε τη δεκατριάχρονη (WRPG16-5903)  
'her husband [lit. man], Ismet Findanci, bought the thirteen year-old [girl]'  
- μπήκαμε σε μεγάλο δίλημμα με τη γυναίκα μου (WLMG24-5197)  
'me and my wife [lit. woman] were in a big dilemma'
- e) combined with an OCCUPATIONAL name in noun groups:  
- να δουλέψουν πιο σκληρά από τους άνδρες συναδέλφους τους για να αναγνωριστεί... (WLMG23-5123)  
'to work harder than their male [lit. men] colleagues in order to recognize...'  
- το Λουξεμβούργο δεν έχει καμία γυναίκα ευρωβουλευτή (WRPG16-0851)  
'Luxemburg has no woman Euro-MP'
- f) ADULT as opposed to child:  
- τα «παιδιά» σας γίνανε άνδρες (WLMG16-5234)  
'your "children" have become men'  
- είναι γυναίκα, δεν είναι κοριτσάκι πλέον η Δήμητρα (WLMG24-5078)  
'Dimitra is a woman, no longer a little girl'
- g) PRESTIGIOUS or powerful person, often in the plural:  
- η συνάντηση των δύο ανδρών έγινε σε ιδιαίτερα ηλεκτρισμένη ατμόσφαιρα (WRPG16-0623)  
'the meeting of the two men took place in a quite tensed environment'
- h) a STEREOTYPICAL role, usually with no article:  
- κατάλαβε ότι έχει να κάνει με άντρα και όχι με...ρόμπα (WLM24-5043)  
'he understood that he had to deal with a man [lit. man] and not with a puppet'
- i) a FAMILY member:  
- Οι άντρες της οικογένειας το έχτισαν με τα χέρια τους (WOPG16-0736)  
'the family men built it with their own hands'
- j) an ILLEGAL person, mainly a prostitute:  
- η παράνομη διακίνηση γυναικών μέσω Βουλγαρίας (WRPG16-5834)  
'the illegal trafficking of women through Bulgaria'
- k) SERVANT:  
- ...τις δουλειές του σπιτιού σε κάποια άλλη γυναίκα (WLMG23-0106)  
'... the house chores to some other woman'
- l) special uses for ironic CHARACTERIZATION of the person referred to. This applies only to certain nouns (ο άνθρωπος 'the human being', το παιδί 'the kid', ο/η χριστιανός/χριστιανή 'the Christian (man/woman)'), which specify the subject or object in order to add an evaluative overtone:  
- για να έχει την ησυχία της η γυναίκα, όχι να λέει ο καθένας ποιος μπαίνει και ποιος βγαίνει (WOPG16-0579)  
'so that she, the woman, should be relieved and not have anyone speak about who comes in and who comes out'.

Table 3 presents the frequency of meaning distinctions for άνδρας/άντρας and Table 4 that for γυναίκα.

<i>άνδρας/άντρας</i> 'man'	NEWS ARTICLES	OPINION ARTICLES	GENERAL MAGAZINES	MALE MAGAZINES	FEMALE MAGAZINES	TOTAL
GENDER	25 (22%)	45 (48%)	106 (69%)	46 (37%)	165 (71%)	387 (54%)
PERSON	13 (12%)	6 (6%)	30 (19%)	27 (21%)	28 (12%)	104 (15%)
PERSONNEL	50 (45%)	11 (12%)	2 (1%)	24 (19%)	-	87 (12%)
SPOUSE	4 (4%)	7 (7%)	5 (4%)	18 (14%)	16 (7%)	50 (7%)
OCCUPATIONAL ADULT	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	3 (2%)	-	13 (6%)	19 (3%)
ADULT	-	-	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	-	3 (0.4%)
PRESTIGIOUS	16 (14%)	20 (21%)	4 (3%)	4 (3%)	-	44 (6%)
STEREOTYPICAL	-	2 (2%)	2 (1%)	6 (5%)	8 (3%)	18 (3%)
FAMILY	-	2 (2%)	-	-	-	2 (0.3%)
vague	2 (2%)	-	-	-	-	2 (0.3%)
Total	111	95	154	126	230	716

**Table 3: Frequency of meaning distinctions for *άνδρας/άντρας***

<i>γυναίκα</i> 'woman'	NEWS ARTICLES	OPINION ARTICLES	GENERAL MAGAZINES	MALE MAGAZINES	FEMALE MAGAZINES	TOTAL
GENDER	114 (52%)	130 (75%)	176 (80%)	127 (68%)	595 (88%)	1,142 (78%)
PERSON	43 (20%)	19 (11%)	24 (11%)	23 (12%)	6 (1%)	115 (8%)
PERSONNEL	-	-	1 (0.5%)	-	-	1 (0.07%)
SPOUSE	13 (6%)	9 (5%)	11 (5%)	32 (17%)	11 (2%)	76 (5%)
OCCUPATIONAL ADULT	15 (6%)	13 (8%)	9 (4%)	3 (2%)	60 (9%)	100 (7%)
ADULT	-	-	-	1 (1%)	-	1 (0.07%)
ILLEGAL	27 (13%)	1 (0.5%)	-	-	-	28 (2%)
SERVANT	-	-	-	-	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.07%)
CHARACTERIZA- TION	-	1 (0.5%)	-	-	-	1 (0.07%)
vague	3 (1%)	-	-	-	-	3 (0.2%)
Total	215	173	221	186	673	1,468

**Table 4: Frequency of meaning distinctions for *γυναίκα***



Tables 3 and 4 indicate, first of all, that in our data we find six common meanings for the two members of the pair (GENDER, PERSON, PERSONNEL, SPOUSE, OCCUPATIONAL, ADULT). However, we can notice an asymmetry in the frequency of occurrences for each meaning. For instance, the meaning PERSONNEL is marginal in the case of women: There is one occurrence only, the one given in the example above, in which, moreover, γυναίκες ‘women’ is accompanied by άντρες ‘men’. By contrast, this is an important meaning in the case of men, since it covers 12% of all instances. Similarly, there are more instances of γυναίκα combined with OCCUPATIONAL nouns in all genres than of άνδρας/άντρας. It is also interesting that both overall and in each genre, the ratio of GENDER meanings to female PERSON is larger than that of GENDER to male PERSON: Thus out of all instances of γυναίκα 78% belong to the GENDER category and 8% to the PERSON one, while the corresponding figures for άνδρας/άντρας are 54% and 15%. This suggests that more than two thirds of all uses of the word *woman* denote the female gender, while only half of all uses of *man* denote the male gender. Taken together with our previous observation about the use of *woman* with occupational nouns, this supports our view that γυναίκα in our data is more frequent because it is the preferred term for marking gender. In other words, the issue of gender seems to be associated with women rather than men. At the same time, we can suggest that whenever there is discussion of women in our data, this seems to concern women as representatives of their gender rather than as individual persons. Secondly, our figures show that each member of the pair has three meanings of its own. In particular, άνδρας/άντρας has the meanings: PRESTIGIOUS, STEREOTYPICAL, FAMILY, which, importantly, are either neutral or positive, signifying power and prestige. It is also significant that in one of the instances of the STEREOTYPICAL meaning, the noun is gradable (οι αρσενικοί βοηθοί είναι πολύ ANTPEΣ ‘male helpers are very MEN’, WLMG16-5397), suggesting an evaluative rather than a simple classificatory use of the item.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, γυναίκα exclusively has the meanings: ILLEGAL, SERVANT, CHARACTERIZATION, which all have negative connotations and correlate with the notions of powerlessness and deprecation. Thus, it can be argued that the semantic distinctions that are only found in one member of the pair are related to perceived social roles and attitudes towards the two genders, which are asymmetrical to the detriment of women.

In addition, a clear relation between genre and meanings is found in our data, in the sense that some meanings are preferred in specific genres, while others are scant or absent. For example, the OCCUPATIONAL meaning of άνδρας/άντρας and γυναίκα is prominent in the female magazines, while the male magazines show a preference for the meaning SPOUSE, suggesting different views of gender roles in texts addressed to men and women. Furthermore, in the case of άνδρας/άντρας, the male magazines show a preference for certain meanings such as PERSON, STEREOTYPICAL and SPOUSE. (These meanings also happen to be related with the morphological variant άντρας, as we will discuss below). The female magazines, on the other hand, do not have any occurrences of the meanings PRESTIGIOUS and PERSONNEL in relation to men. In the case of γυναίκα the female magazines seem to opt for a neutralized meaning (GENDER), along with its combination with OCCUPATIONAL nouns. The male magazines, instead, show a preference for the meaning SPOUSE. The evidence thus suggests a discrepancy in the way the two genders are constructed in the genres in question, since the magazines

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<sup>6</sup> Our investigation of adjectival pairs in Fragaki & Goutsos (forthcoming) suggests that evaluative uses of adjectives are prominent means by which sexist stereotypes appear in our data.

addressed to men view men and women in their stereotypical roles, whereas the magazines addressed to women emphasize less stereotypical views for both.

Finally, in terms of the morphological variation between *άνδρας* and *άντρας*, we can note that the form *άντρας* is preferred with the meanings SPOUSE, STEREOTYPICAL, PERSON, while *άνδρας* with the meanings PERSONNEL, PRESTIGIOUS, OCCUPATIONAL. There seems to be an implicit evaluation here in the relation of forms with meanings, since the more formal type *άνδρας* is preferred with more prestigious meanings, and the converse.<sup>7</sup> The same correlation between form and meaning is also found with plural forms, which mainly occur with the meanings PERSONNEL for men and ILLEGAL for women (cf. Gesuato 2003).

#### 4.2. *Collocates*

The asymmetry observed in meaning distinctions is also found in the collocational groupings identified for the pair *άνδρας/άντρας* vs. *γυναίκα*, as explained in the methodology section above. Tables 5 and 6 in the Appendix present a detailed overview of collocational groupings and their members for the items in question. To simplify a complicated picture, we can note that *man* and *woman* share seven groupings of collocates, belonging to the semantic areas of appearance, sexuality, equality, positive properties, negative properties, relationships and power. However, there are telling differences in the content of these common areas. For example, as regards appearance there is much more emphasis on clothes and accessories in the case of *γυναίκα*. In addition, in the area of sexuality the collocates for *woman* suggest passivity, while the opposite is true for *men*. The collocates indicating positive properties mostly refer to intelligence and character in the case of men and (mostly public) behaviour in the case of women. The negative properties attributed to men are not particularly serious, whereas those for women range from weakness to maliciousness. In the field of relationships women are shown in relation to marriage. Lastly, the collocates relating to power present it as something achieved in the case of men, but as something still to be pursued for women. It is also interesting that power for men is associated with a limited number of words repeated in all genres (*ισχυρός* ‘powerful’, *μεγάλος* ‘great’, *σπουδαίος* ‘important’), while for women there is more variation.

Turning now to the different sets of collocates for each member of the pair, there are two semantic areas associated only with men and seven exclusive to women. Those for men refer to their appearance as public persons and their involvement in conflict, suggesting positive and prestigious or stereotypical and active views of men. Those for women show greater variation including the semantic areas of obstacles, abuse, prostitution, work/business, participation in society and activities; *woman* also occurs among items in a row, mainly referring to groups of people. As we can see, these semantic areas are either negative, presenting women as victims, or emphasize women’s effort in the social sphere. It is interesting to note that women in the semantic field of prostitution are presented as passive. The special mention of *εργασία* ‘labour’ and *εργάζομαι* ‘to work’ in the area of work/business suggests that labour is not self-evident for the female gender. This is confirmed by the presence of the two semantic areas of

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<sup>7</sup> Meaning differences may also be associated with phonological variants such as [‘andras], [‘andras], [‘a<sup>n</sup>dras], [‘adras], but our data do not allow us to explore this hypothesis.

participation in society and work/business, which are not found for men. It is also worth commenting on the category of items in a row comprising women, which mostly include minorities, weak people or people of a low social status.

Furthermore, the collocates for men and women are not distributed in the five genres in the same way. In the case of the collocates of *άνδρας/άντρας* there are remarkable differences between the male and the female magazines. For instance, in the area of sexuality, the former adopt everyday and obscene vocabulary (e.g. *γαμούν* ‘fuck’, *την πέφτουν* ‘make a pass at her’), whereas the latter take a more scientific and formal perspective (*γονιμότητα* ‘fertility’, *δυσλειτουργίες* ‘malfunctions’). It is also noteworthy that the female magazines do not have any collocates of men belonging to the groupings of public person and power. The only exception is the phrase *ισχυρό φύλο* ‘strong sex’, appearing in quotes, something which suggests that the term is in doubt.

In the collocates of *γυναίκα*, the general and male magazines seem to consistently contrast with the female magazines. Thus, in the area of sexuality, the general and male magazines present women as passive objects (*έτοιμη για αναπαραγωγή* ‘ready for reproduction’) and use slang and obscene vocabulary, respectively, whereas the female magazines are mainly interested in the issue of pregnancy and use technical terms typical of a scientific style (*αναπαραγωγική ηλικία* ‘reproduction age’). As regards positive properties of women, the male and, mainly, general magazines promote an obsolete, passive model of behaviour (*άγια* ‘saint’, *απονήρευτη* ‘guileless’), while the female magazines highlight an ideal picture of the modern woman (*κοινωνική* ‘sociable’, *τολμηρές* ‘daring’). This contrasting view is also prominent in the grouping of activities, where the male magazines portray women as having nothing to do, whereas the female magazines view women as extremely busy. Finally, the issue of equality is only found in the newspapers and female magazines. The former mainly treat this in terms of comparison between men and women, emphasizing a politically correct view of equality, whereas the latter seem to consider equality as something not achieved yet, and this explains the use of negative words such as *μειοψηφία* (‘minority’) and *ανισότητα* (‘inequality’).

## **5. αγόρι ‘boy’ vs. κορίτσι ‘girl’**

The pair *αγόρι* – *κορίτσι* (‘boy’ – ‘girl’) is more frequent in the male and, especially the female magazines than in the other genres. Also, the female member of the pair is more frequent than the male one, except in the general magazines. Finally, as has been found with English data (Sigley & Holmes 2002), the two terms often co-occur in the same sentence in the Greek data.

Only a few meaning distinctions can be identified for *girl* and *boy*. Apart from the meaning of male CHILD, *αγόρι* is also found with the meaning of BOYFRIEND, while *κορίτσι*, apart from the meanings female CHILD and GIRLFRIEND, occurs with the meaning of YOUNG WOMAN, either in the sense of MOTHER or PROFESSIONAL or in instances of ironic characterization. However, the restricted frequency of this noun pair does not allow us to trace fully satisfactory semantic profiles, and thus we have to resort to our findings from collocation.

*Αγόρι* and *κορίτσι* have several common collocates. In the newspapers, these collocates are related to their representation as victims (e.g. *απαγωγές* ‘kidnappings’,

αναζητούνται ‘are under search’, εξαφάνιση ‘disappearance’, εκμετάλλευση ‘abuse’, ακρωτηριασμός ‘mutilation’, βιασμοί ‘rapes’), as in the following examples:

- είχε οργανώσει την απαγωγή δύο άλλων κοριτσιών, τα οποία η βέλγικη αστυνομία αναζητεί (WRPG16-0183)  
‘he had organized the kidnapping of two other girls, whom the Belgian police is searching for’
- τον παιδεραστή που άρπαζε ανήλικα αγόρια για να ικανοποιήσει τις ορέξεις του. (WOPG16-0635)  
‘the pedophile who snatched underage boys in order to satisfy his desires’

In all genres but especially in the general magazines, common collocates of the two words refer to age (e.g. νέα ‘young’, νεαρά ‘youthful’, μικρά ‘small’, ανήλικα ‘underage’, 8χρονο ‘8 year-old’, 5-7 ετών ‘5-7 years of age’). It is particularly interesting that κορίτσι in all genres, except opinion articles, may be used to refer to older age e.g. δεκαεννιάχρονο ‘19 year-old’, σε ηλικία γάμου ‘at an age to be married’, δεκαοχτάχρονο ‘18 year-old’, της παντρειάς ‘to be married’. This tendency is also confirmed in instances where we can guess the age of the person talked about from the immediate context, as in the following examples from the male magazines:

- κάθε καινούργιο κορίτσι που εμφανίζεται στο πεζοδρόμιο (WLMG24-5019)  
‘every new girl who appears on the pavement’
- ...και νυν κυρία Καραμανλή. Και όμορφο κορίτσι είναι... (WLMG24-5017)  
‘... and now Mrs. Karamanli. She is both a pretty girl ...’

In the first example, the context makes it clear that the girl referred to is a prostitute, while the second example has an unambiguous patronizing tone, which is intensified by the co-occurrence of κυρία ‘Mrs/lady’ with κορίτσι. Similarly, the girl referred to in the following example from an opinion article is also, in fact, an adult:

- τι μήνα του μέλιτος να κάνει το κορίτσι με τον Πάγκαλο; (WOPG16-0307)  
‘what kind of honeymoon would she, the girl, have spent with Pangalos?’

This is an instance of the ironic characterization which we found above as a separate meaning of γυναίκα (CHARACTERIZATION). It is, of course, interesting that such uses have not and arguably cannot be found with the male members of the two pairs. Finally, reference to girls of an advanced age is also found in the female magazines in cases of workgroups (τα κορίτσια του διαφημιστικού μας ‘the girls of our advertising department’, WLMG23-5039)<sup>8</sup> or mothers (πολλά μεγαλύτερα κορίτσια, νεαρές μητέρες ‘many older girls, young mothers’, WLMG23-5008) (cf. Bolinger 1980: 100; Sigley & Holmes 2002). This evidence suggests that women can be referred to as if they were not adults, whereas it is not socially acceptable to treat men as boys, that is as less than men.

Cases in which collocates of the two members of the pair diverge include, first of all, instances of patronizing or ironic uses of characterization for κορίτσι, found mainly in opinion articles, as in the following examples:

<sup>8</sup> Sigley & Holmes (2002) find a similar use in their data also with boys.

- Τι του βρήκες κορίτσι μου, το γερακίσιο προγούλι; (WOPG16-0293)  
‘what have you find in him, my girl, the hawk-like jawbone?’
- και τι φταίει π.χ. το κορίτσι αν σε νεαρή ηλικία τη φλέρταρε ο Ζάχος!  
(WOPG16-0264)  
‘and why is the girl to blame if e.g. in a young age was flirted by Zachos!’

The emphasis here seems to lie in the age difference between younger girls and older men (cf. Sigley & Holmes 2002), as is also the case in the example from the male magazines: τα κορίτσια εκδικούνται τους άντρες ‘girls take their revenge on men’ (WLMG24-5064), where κορίτσι is contrasted with άντρας rather than αγόρι.

A different emphasis is given to the two members of the pair in the male and female magazines. In the former, boys are presented in multiple roles: As victims (να αποπλανήσει ένα ανήλικο αγόρι ‘to seduce an underage boy’, WLMG24-5003), in relation to sexuality (δίνουν ονόματα στον ανδρισμό τους ‘they give names to their manhood’, WLMG24-5048), aggression (κρατάει το καλάζνικοφ και σκοτώνει ‘he kills with a Kalashnikov’, WLMG24-5016), misbehaviour (έπινε μαύρο ‘he used to have a joint’, WLMG24-5080) and prestige (θα γινόταν πρόεδρος ‘he was to become president’, WLMG24-5004). On the other hand, girls are portrayed in relation to their appearance (όμορφα/απίστευτου κάλλους ‘beautiful/of an incredible beauty’), prostitution and sexuality (κορίτσια που ψωνίζονται στις γωνιές της/κάνει γυμνές σκηνές ‘girls who ‘solicit customers in corners, WLMG24-5040/she plays in nude scenes’, WLMG24-5166) and innocence (τα αθώα κορίτσια από την επαρχία ‘the innocent girls from the countryside’, WLMG24-5088).

In the female magazines boys are presented in comparison to females (τα κορίτσια ωριμάζουν πιο γρήγορα από τα αγόρια ‘girls mature faster than boys’, WLMG23-0086) or in their relation to females as boyfriends (το αγόρι της ‘her boyfriend [lit. boy]’). The collocates for girls, on the other hand, have to do with work (εργαζόμενο κορίτσι/συνάδελφος ‘working girl/colleague’), their relations (το κορίτσι μας είχε μια σχέση ‘our girl had an affair’, WLMG23-5021), their peer-group (κορίτσια του Cosmopolitan/κορίτσια του site ‘Cosmopolitan/site girls’) or they are positively evaluated (αξιόλογο/ατρόμητο/χαρούμενο και κοινωνικό/τολμηρά/ανεξάρτητα ‘worthy/ /fearless/cheerful and sociable/daring/independent’) with an emphasis on their dynamism, independence and worth.

In sum, there is a common emphasis in all genres in the portrayal of both boys and girls as victims. The different representation of the two members of the pair depends on the genre and is especially evident in the male and female magazines. The male magazines represent a view of boys and girls that does not diverge from stereotypical patterns of behaviour. Aggression is seen as a positive characteristic for boys because of its value as a sign of peer-group identity, while girls are seen as innocent or seductive. It is also significant that the reference to the role of victim, which appears equally in boys and girls, is totally absent in the collocates of *men*, in the same way that reference to innocence fades away in the collocates of *women*. On the other hand, in the female magazines, girls are seen as members of a positively evaluated peer-group in the workplace, while boys are seen in their relations to girls. Without doubt, this diverging emphasis is related to the identity construction of the two kinds of magazines.

It is evident that there is much scope for research here, especially in the comparison of the male and female members of the two pairs, i.e. *άνδρας/άντρας* vs. *γυναίκα* and *αγόρι* vs. *κορίτσι*. In the case of *αγόρι* and *άνδρας/άντρας*, collocates relating to aggression and misbehaviour seem to develop into socially accepted conflict as age progresses. In the case of *κορίτσι* and *γυναίκα*, age does not seem to be the only criterion for distinguishing between the two terms, since, first of all, age boundaries are vague for females in our data, as has also been found in English data (Sigley & Holmes 2002). Although in theory the difference between them is only a matter of age, our data indicates that there is an additional dimension involved. The association of age with properties like innocence, powerlessness, need for assistance and naiveté ends up in assigning these meanings to *κορίτσι*, almost irrespective of age. As a result, *κορίτσι* functions as a characterization or label in addition to being a marker of age. This suggests that the symmetry of pairs is not to be taken for granted as usually assumed but depends on actual use in specific data.

## 6. Discussion and conclusions

Our findings from the examination of the two basic pairs of nouns, man vs. woman and boy vs. girl, in five different genres of Greek point to a fundamental asymmetry in the treatment of the two genders. Evidence of this asymmetry is found in the frequency and types of common and different meanings, as well as of common and different collocates for the members of the two pairs. First, meaning distinctions which are only found with women are derogatory, whereas those found with men are positive. Similarly, collocates which appear only with women are either negative or give emphasis on their effort to participate in the public sphere, whereas for men non-shared collocates deal with their achievement in public life and their involvement in conflict. Furthermore, one of the most interesting findings of our study concerns the long age span associated with girls in contrast to boys, something which implies a view of women as immature and dependent.

Secondly, there is unevenness in the treatment of the two genders even in common meanings and collocates. Different frequencies of meanings give emphasis on stereotypical views of work for men and women, by linking men with the armed forces or by drawing attention to the exceptional character of some occupations for women (e.g. *γυναίκα ευρωβουλευτής* ‘woman Euro-MP’). Likewise, the collocates belonging to common semantic areas draw an oppositional picture, in which men are associated with aspects presented as positive and the reverse for women (e.g. active vs. passive behaviour).

Thirdly, gender was found to signify more than simply the sex of the referent, since a host of additional meanings is present in many instances along with the denotative sense. Thus, it is only *γυναίκα* and *κορίτσι* that occur in instances of ironic or patronizing evaluation, whereas some occurrences of *man* with the meaning of stereotypical role have a gradable quality, linked with positive evaluation. It is interesting here to compare these observations with our findings concerning gender adjective pairs (Fragaki & Goutsos, forthcoming), for which we have noted a tendency to develop gradable, evaluative meanings, which co-exist with classifying functions. These evaluative meanings are related to the stereotypical roles of the two genders, by being based on cultural preconceptions and schemas. In other words, what it means to

evaluate something as ανδρικός vs. γυναικείος ('male' vs. 'female') or αρσενικός vs. θηλυκός ('masculine' vs. 'feminine') depends on what we are expected to already know about the "typical" characteristics of the two genders. This also seems to be the case with nouns like *man*, where our understanding of what πολύ άντρας ('very man') means depends on stereotypical, cultural and linguistic knowledge.

Our study has further pointed out that genre and audience design are prominent factors in the process of gender construction. The newspapers, which stand on the one end of the formality/conventionality scale, present a more equivocal view: While they give emphasis on issues of equality, they also touch upon less politically correct issues like prestige, prostitution etc. The magazines, on the other hand, adopt a more familiar style, which corresponds to less conventional content. For this reason they offer more appropriate discursive space for raising issues of gender and reproducing dominant cultural schemas.

An important distinction in the construction of gender is that between the general interest and gender-oriented genres. The general interest magazines include diverse representations of men and women with a bias towards adopting a male perspective. In this respect, the general magazines are especially important for circulating established views on gender under the guise of an impartial outlook. In contrast, the male and female magazines explicitly foreground their particular stance on gender. Gender construction in male and female magazines can be largely accounted for in terms of van Dijk's (1998: 33) *ideological square*, an abstract ideological pattern involving emphasis on the positive characteristics of the in-group, emphasis on negative characteristics of the out-group, downgrading negative characteristics of the in-group and downgrading positive characteristics of the out-group. Thus, in broad terms, the male magazines present men as successful, prestigious etc. and suppress women's effort towards participation in society, work and equality. They also present negative characteristics of men as positive attributes and do not give emphasis to what women regard as important for themselves. Similarly, the female magazines portray women (and girls) as dynamic, active, busy etc. and undervalue male emphasis on prestige and power. At the same time, they do not seem to emphasise negative male characteristics – and to that extent they diverge from the pattern predicted by the ideological square – but draw a less glorified picture of men (and boys) than the male magazines do. In addition, the female magazines are concerned to a large extent with a female self-image, possibly expressing a feeling of social insecurity.

This pattern suggests that heterogeneous representations of women/girls and men/boys are offered in the texts examined. Male identity is viewed in similar ways in the gender-oriented genres, whereas female identity is constructed in a less uniform way, since the female-oriented texts significantly diverge from other genres. As a result, although our findings support the well-known asymmetry between the two genders found in the literature, our study also points to a more complicated picture, in which men are linguistically represented in more fixed or determined ways (e.g. as strong, powerful etc.), whereas women are viewed in a wider range of associations (e.g. oppressed, striving for equality, powerful etc.). This multifaceted representation of women is certainly related to the drastic changes occurring in their social status and thus social change seems to both affect and be reflected in language use.

It is clear that much more research is needed before we are able to generalize with any certainty about gender identity construction in Greek on the grounds of specific lexical choices. What we have been outlining above are rather emerging

tendencies pointing to broader discursive choices. Our forthcoming work intends to explore different aspects of lexis, analyse a more varied range of texts and involve a more fine-grained taxonomy of genres. More detailed and in-depth studies of social contexts of interaction will definitely add to our investigation. However, it is our belief that the study of corpora offers a privileged method for exploring the interaction between lexical choices and contextual parameters and thus bringing together the micro- and the macro-level of analysis. The view from corpora can open up a much-needed and original perspective on the vexing issue of language and identity.

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### Appendix: Collocates of the basic pair *άνδρας/άντρας-γυναίκα*

	NEWS ARTICLES	OPINION ARTICLES	GENERAL MAGAZINES	MALE MAGAZINES	FEMALE MAGAZINES
appearance	νέο ‘young’, όμορφο ‘handsome’, κομψό ‘elegant’, αθλητικό ‘sporty’		δυνατός ‘strong’, ψηλός ‘tall’, μελαπός ‘swarthy’, ψωμωμένος ‘beefy’, στομαχάκι ‘tummy’	ωραίος ‘handsome’, καλοντυμένους ‘well-dressed’, δυνατός ‘strong’, θεός ‘god’	καλογυμνασμένος ‘well built’, γλύκα ‘sweetie’, υπέροχος ‘wonderful’, γοητευτικός ‘charming’, σαγηνεύει ‘seduces’, ωραίοι ‘handsome’, ηλιοκαμένοι ‘sun- burnt’
sexuality	του πιο σέξυ άντρα στον πλανήτη ‘of the sexiest man on the planet’	ημίγυμνος ‘half- naked’, ολόγυμνος ‘stark naked’	στύση ‘erection’, ομοφυλοφιλία ‘homosexuality’ ζευγάρωναν ‘mated’, επιθυμία ‘desire’, γυμνό ‘naked’, βιάγκρα ‘Viagra’, αναγνωρίζει το ερωτικό κάλεσμα	την πέφτουν ‘they make a pass at her’, την τριγύριζαν ‘they hanged around her’, ερωμένων ‘lovers’, προσόντα ‘equipment’, ζήλια ‘envy’,	σεξουαλική απόδοση ‘sexual performance’, γονιμοποιήσουν ‘to fertilize’, ερωτικά ικανούς ‘erotically potent’, διαταραχές ‘disorders’, δυσλειτουργίες

			‘recognizes the erotic call’	μέγεθος του πέους ‘penis size’, πορνό ‘porn’, προτιμούν τις ξανθές ‘they prefer blondes’, γαμούν ‘they fuck’, σέξι ‘sexy’	‘malfunctions’, δραστήριοι ‘active’, γονιμότητα ‘fertility’
positive properties	εντιμότητα ‘honesty’	υπευθυνότητα ‘responsibility’, δεν... «μασάει» ‘is tough’		ντομπροσύνη ‘outspokenness’, σωστός ‘fair’, ευφυής ‘intelligent’, αυθόρμητος ‘spontaneous’, ήρωας ‘hero’, έχει τη λύση ‘has the solution’	προσωπικότητα ‘personality’, ώριμος ‘mature’, πνευματώδης ‘witty’, δεν κλαίει ‘do not cry’, διακινδυνεύουν ‘take a risk’
negative properties		αναξιπιστία ‘unreliability’	τραυλίζουν ‘they stammer’		μαμάκηδες ‘mommy’s boys’
relationships			φιλία ‘friendship’, αγάπη ‘love’, σχέση ‘relationship’, άρρηκτος δεσμός ‘indissoluble bond’	~του πεπρωμένου της/μου ‘of her/my destiny’	υπέροχος γάμος ‘wonderful marriage’, ζεις με ‘you live with’, ερωτευτείς έναν ‘to fall in love with’
power	κραταιός ‘mighty’, ισχυρός ‘powerful’, μεγάλος ‘great’	σπουδαίος ‘important’, ισχυρός ‘powerful’, μεγάλοι ‘great’	μεγάλος ‘great’, σπουδαιότερους ‘more important’	κραταιός ‘mighty’, μεγάλοι ‘greater’, ισχυρότερους ‘more powerful’	«ισχυρό φύλο» ‘the strong sex’
public person	κοινοβουλευτικοί ‘parliamentary’	πολιτικός ‘politician’, δημόσιος ‘public’, ακαδημαϊκός ‘academic’, επώνυμος ‘renowned’	σημάδι κοινωνικής καταξίωσης ‘a sign of social achievement’	διάσημος ‘famous’	
conflict	χάσμα ‘gulf’, αναμέτρηση ‘confrontation’ ξεσπάσει ‘outbreak’		σκληροί ‘tough’, αμείλικτοι ‘ruthless’, ανταγωνιστικό πνεύμα ‘spirit of competition’	παλεύουν ‘they fight’, προδιαθέσεις βίας ‘predisposition to violence’	ακραίες συμπεριφορές ‘extreme behaviour’

Table 5: Collocates of άνδρας/άντρας in the five CGT genres

	NEWS ARTICLES	OPINION ARTICLES	GENERAL MAGAZINES	MALE MAGAZINES	FEMALE MAGAZINES
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appearance	νεαρή 'young', λαμπερές 'glowing', με πλούσιο στήθος 'with a big bosom'	καταπληκτική 'amazing'	πανέμορφη 'beautiful', ψηλή 'tall', μυώδης 'muscular', όμορφη 'pretty', χάρη 'elegance', εμφάνιση 'appearance', νέα 'young', με ευπρεπή ενδυμασία 'with decent attire', ωραίες 'beautiful'	ξωτικό 'fairy', όμορφη 'beautiful', σούπερ 'super', καλλονές 'beauties', ωραιότερες 'more beautiful', λευκές 'white', παχουλές 'plump', ομορφιά 'beauty', κοσμήματα 'jewels'	εντυπωσιακές 'impressive', υπέροχη wonderful', νέα 'young', κομψή 'elegant', τέλεια 'perfect', υπέροχες 'wonderful', ωραίες 'beautiful', λατρεύουν να φορούν 'they adore to wear clothes', φοράνε ρούχα 'they wear clothes'
sexuality	γυμνή 'naked'		χαρέμι 'harem', έχει κάνει σεξ με γυναίκες 'has sex with women', πλάγιαζε/κοιμάται με γυναίκα 'sleeps with a woman', έρωτα προς/ ένωση με/ επιθυμία προς τη γυναίκα 'love for/union with/desire for a woman', γίνεται ελκυστική 'becomes attractive', προκλητική 'provocative' ζευγαρώνω με γυναίκα 'mate with a woman', έτοιμη για αναπαραγωγή 'ready for reproduction' έλξη 'attraction', προκλητικότητα μιας γυναίκας 'the provocative	στο κρεβάτι 'in bed', πηδάει 'humps', τίτσιδι 'stark naked', είχε πάει με άλλη 'he had been with another woman', μαζοχιστικές διαθέσεις 'masochistic tendencies', ασωτία 'wantonness' επιθυμητή 'desirable', σύμβολο του σεξ 'sex symbol', φιλήδονη 'lustful', ερωτική συνεύρεση 'erotic intercourse', επιτυχία στις γυναίκες 'success with women', παρθένα 'virgin', λεσβίες 'lesbians', σεξοδιαστροφική έλξη 'sexual perversion', γαμιούνται 'are	μείνει έγκυος 'becomes pregnant', δεν έκανε σεξ 'had no sex', περίμενε παιδί 'expected a child', αναπαραγωγική ηλικία 'reproductive age', ανεπιθύμητη εγκυμοσύνη 'unwanted pregnancy', έγκυος 'pregnant', έκτρωση 'abortion', λίμπιντο 'libido', σεξουαλική διάθεση/ ενδιαφέρον 'sexual mood/interest', σεξουαλική ζωή 'sex life'

			nature of a woman, ερωτική 'erotic'	fucked', την πέφτουν στις γυναίκες 'make a pass at women', πορνό 'porn'	
equality	ίση εργασία 'equal labour', ίση μεταχείριση 'equal treatment', ισόρροπη συμμετοχή 'balanced participation'	ίσες ευκαιρίες 'equal chances', ισότητα 'equality', ισόρροπη συμμετοχή 'balanced participation' δικαιώματα 'rights', ίσες δυνατότητες 'equal potential'			ανισότητα 'inequality', αποτελεί τη μειοψηφία 'is a minority', ισότιμη 'equivalent'
positive properties	πληθωρική 'prolific', η πρώτη γυναίκα 'the first woman', διάσημες 'famous'	καταπληκτική 'amazing'	άγια 'saint', ήσυχη συμπεριφορά 'peaceful behaviour', σεμνότητα 'modesty', πλούσια 'rich'	απονήρευτη 'guileless'	καλή σύζυγος 'good wife', κοινωνική 'sociable', ολοκληρωμένη 'complete', πειθαρχημένη 'disciplined', τολμηρές 'daring', υπέροχες 'wonderful', ευαίσθητη 'sensitive'
negative properties		αγράμματα 'illiterate'	ασθενείς 'patient', ασθενή 'patient', παράλυτη 'paralyzed', τρομαγμένη 'scared', φορέας μιαιρότητας 'agent of profanity', έντρομη 'fearful'	χαζοβιόλα 'silly cow', σατανική 'devilish', επικίνδυνη 'dangerous', σκληρή 'harsh', κακιά 'mean', μαλώνουν με άλλες 'they fight with other women', κοιτούν με φθόνο 'they look with envy', αντίπαλες 'opponent', ανταγωνίζονται 'they compete'	αδυναμίες 'weaknesses', κακέκτυπο άντρα 'bad copy of man'
relationships	πολυγαμία 'polygamy'	βρίσκω γυναίκα 'find a woman'	παιδιά 'kids', χώριζε 'separated', παρατούσε	παιδιά 'kids', γιος 'son', ξαναπαντρεύει 'to remarry',	παιδί 'kid', παντρεύτηκε 'got married', μωρά 'babies', μητέρα 'mother',

			‘left’, σύζυγοι ‘spouses’, γάμος ‘marriage’, παντρεμένη ‘married’, αναζητούν δυνατούς άνδρες ‘look for strong men’	μέλλουσα ‘future’, πρώην ‘ex’, εγκατέλειψε ‘abandoned’, χήρα ‘widow’, ~της ζωής του ‘of his life’	οικογένεια ‘family’
power	δυναμική ‘vigorous’, αξίωμα ‘office’		πολεμιστές ‘fighters’, ορμητική ‘dashing’, επιτυχημένη ‘successful’, καταξίωση ‘achievement’	οικονομικά ισχυρή ‘financially powerful’, με αρχίδια ‘with balls’, προβολή ‘promotion’, επώνυμες ‘renowned’	δυναμική ‘vigorous’, δυναμική παρουσία ‘strong presence’, κρατάει τα ηνία ‘holds the reins’, οικονομικά ανεξάρτητη ‘financially independent’, ηγεσία ‘leadership’, καταξίωση ‘achievement’
participation in society	απεργοί ‘strikers’, αντίδραση ‘reaction’, διαμαρτυρόμενες ‘in protest’, διεκδικούσαν ‘they contested’, καταγγελίες ‘accusations’ διαμαρτυρία ‘protest’, κινητοποίηση ‘movement’	διεκδικεί ‘contests’, συμμετοχή ‘participation’, ψηφίζω ‘I vote’, πολιτική συμπεριφορά ‘political behaviour’	διεκδικήσει ‘to contest’, καταξίωση ‘achievement’, εργασία ‘labour’, στράτευση ‘enlistment’, ένταξη ‘integration’, υποχρεώσεις ‘obligations’, είσοδος ‘entering’, εισαγωγή ‘entering’		ανταπεξέλθουν ‘to cope with’, αντιμετωπίζουν ‘they face’, ασκεί ρόλους ‘plays parts’, δραστηριότητα ‘activity’, επιλογές ‘choices’, σκέφτεται/φιλοδοξεί/ αποφασίζει/επιθυμεί να ασχοληθεί ‘thinks of/aspires to/decides to/wishes to deal with’, συμμετέχουν ‘participate’
obstacles	υστερεί ‘falls behind’, πρόσβαση ‘access’, ανεργία ‘unemployment’ αποκλεισμός ‘exclusion’, ελάχιστη παρουσία ‘minimal presence’	αποκλεισμός ‘exclusion’, προβλήματα ‘problems’	απαγόρευσε στη γυναίκα ‘forbade women’, ανεργία ‘unemployment’		άνεργη ‘unemployed’, ανεργία ‘unemployment’, εμπόδια ‘obstacles’, ενδυνάμωση ‘empowerment’
abuse	απαχθέντων ‘kidnapped’, δέχεται επιθέσεις ‘suffers		βιαιότητα ‘violence’, κακοποιημένες ‘abused’	έσπρωξε ‘pushed’, χτύπησε ‘hit’, χαστουκίζει ‘slaps’,	κακοποιημένη ‘abused’

	attacks', βιασμός 'rape', πέφτουν θύματα βίας 'are victims of violence', πλήττει 'strikes'			δολοφονία 'murder', άψυχο σώμα 'soulless body'	
prostitution	προωθούνται 'they are pushed', ασκούν 'they practice', εξωθούνται 'they are driven', επιδίδονται 'they take on', εκμετάλλευση 'exploitation', εξαναγκάζουν 'they force', εκδίδονται 'they prostitute', διακινούνται 'to traffic in', διακίνηση 'trafficking', μεταφορά 'transport'	του αγοραίου έρωτα 'of street love'	πόρνες 'prostitutes'		
work/business	Ευρωβουλευτής 'Euro MP', αρχηγός κυβέρνησης 'leader of government', πρόεδρος 'president', πρωθυπουργός 'prime minister', επιστήμονες scientists', υπουργός 'minister', εργαζόμενες 'working', εργάζονται 'they work'	κυβερνήτης πολιτείας 'state governor', πολιτικός 'politician', υποψήφια 'candidate', βουλευτής 'MP', υπάλληλος 'employee', μέλη Ευρω- κοινοβουλίου 'members of Euro parliament', εργάζομαι 'I work', αγορά εργασίας 'labour market', ειδίκευση 'training',	ασφαλισμένη 'insured', συγγραφείς 'writers', επιτυχημένη 'successful', πτυχιούχος 'graduate', διοικούσαν 'they managed', εργασία 'work'		βουλευτές 'MPs', γιατροί 'doctors', επαγγελματίας 'professional', επιχειρηματίας 'entrepreneur', εργαζόμενη 'working', μάντζερ 'manager', αγορά εργασίας 'labour market', εξέλιξη 'development', επαγγέλματα 'professions', επαγγελματικός στίβος 'professional field', επιτυχημένη 'successful', εργαζόμενη 'working', εργασία 'work', εταιρείες 'companies', ευθύνες 'responsibilities', θέση/θέσεις 'post/posts', καριέρα 'career', καριερίστες 'career persons',

		συνθήκες εργασίας 'conditions of work'			κατάρτιση 'training'
activities	νοικοκυρά 'housewife'	πάει κομμωτήριο 'goes to the hairstresser'	ασχολείται με τη μαγειρική 'is occupied with cooking', αγοράζουν παπούτσια 'buy shoes'	δεν έχουν με τι να ασχοληθούν 'they have nothing to do'	πολύασχολη 'busybody'
items in a row	ανήλικοι 'underage', γέροντες 'old people', ασθενείς 'patients', παιδιά 'children', νέοι 'young people', αγρότες 'farmers', μικρομεσαίοι 'lower middle class', νεόπτωχοι 'newly poor', νεολαία 'youth', αντιπολεμικό κίνημα 'anti- war movement'	νέο 'young', άνεργο 'unemployed' ανειδίκευτο 'unskilled', κοπέλες 'girls', αγροτιά 'farmers', νεολαία 'youth', παιδιά 'children', υπερήλικοι 'senior citizens', άτομα με ειδικές ανάγκες 'people with special needs'	άτομα με ειδικές ανάγκες 'people with special needs', μικρά παιδιά 'small children', παιδιά 'children', άοπλοι 'unarmed', εξωτερικοί ασθενείς 'outpatients', μειονότητες 'minorities'	μαύρος 'black man', ωραία ρούχα 'nice clothes', χρήματα 'money', γαμπροί 'grooms', νύφες 'brides', κοσμικοί 'socialites'	παιδί 'child', ηλικιωμένος 'aged', άτομα με αναπηρίες 'people with handicaps', άστεγοι 'homeless'

**Table 6: Collocates of γυναίκα in the five CGT genres**