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**"INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN FILTHY": A
CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL STYLISTIC ANALYSIS
OF REPRESENTATIONS OF MEN IN WOMEN'S
MAGAZINES**

LAURA COFFEY

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

April 2013

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Abstract

This thesis reports on a Critical Stylistic analysis of representations of men in a corpus of women's magazines, with the aid of corpus linguistic methods. Focusing on four 'textual-conceptual' (Jeffries, forthcoming) functions of text; Naming and Describing, Equating and Contrasting, Representing Processes/Events/States, and Assuming and Implying, it shows how the texts construct ideologies of masculinity that constitute the magazines' performances of masculinity for a female audience.

I identify five central ideologies of masculinity, and gender more broadly, that occur across all four of the tools:

- Men are either 'good' or 'bad'
- Men are driven by their carnal instincts
- Men are naturally aggressive
- Men and women are essentially different
- Heterosexuality is normative

These unifying themes are shown to be consistent with the forms of masculinity associated with the New Lad figure, linked to representations of masculinity in the 'lads' mags' of the men's magazine market.

Alongside these unifying themes, I also show how different kinds of masculine identity are emphasised depending on the kind of text they appear in, and in which genre of women's magazine they feature. These differing representations are interpreted in terms of the flexibility of gender performance. This thesis argues that Butler's theory of performativity can be applied to texts such as women's magazines in two ways: women's magazines form part of the "rigid, regulatory frame" (Butler, 1990: 33) which determines what constitutes acceptable performances of gender for society, and that they are also in themselves performances of gender. They are also "a set of repeated acts [...] that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance of a natural sort of being" (Butler, 1990: 33). The linguistic images of men inscribed in the pages of women's magazines are repetitions that have become part of the naturalized, accepted performances of masculinity.

The ideologies of masculinity discussed here are potentially harmful from a feminist perspective, because if men are consistently shown to be aggressive or sexually driven, women may come to expect men to behave in this way.

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Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my mother, who claims not to be a feminist. It is my hope that one day she might read this and think about changing her mind.

Chapter One: Introduction

As a teenager I was an avid reader of women's magazines. I remember eagerly devouring the advice on how to perfect the latest make-up trends and must-have looks, and, most importantly, how to bag myself a man. It wasn't until I grew up a little that I was able to reflect that this advice seemed to persistently involve me doing all the hard work, and I suspected that the boys I was interested in weren't slavishly following the same kinds of tips from *FHM* or *Loaded*. I also began to realise that the kinds of men I encountered did not always behave in the same ways that the magazines I read told me they would.

When I started this research, I was no longer an avid reader of women's magazines, but I was curious to see if my remembered experiences of how men were talked about in these texts still rang true. I had read a few studies on women's magazines during my undergraduate degree, but nothing on how men are presented. So, armed with my newly acquired linguistic skills, I decided to embark on a study of how images of masculinity are encoded in the texts. The result is a Critical Stylistic analysis of a corpus of women's magazines available to UK consumers, with the aid of corpus linguistic tools.

This chapter contextualises my thesis by discussing different theoretical and methodological approaches to language and gender. I first delineate the aims of this research and the research questions it answers. In order to contextualise these aims, I then discuss the historical development of research into language and gender, focusing on how earlier research has conceptualised gender and its relationship to language use, and the construction of gender identities. I outline the dual methodological approach to the research reported on in this thesis, namely corpus linguistics and Critical Stylistics, and discuss previous studies of language and gender using corpus and critical linguistic methods.

1.1 Aims and research questions

My study is an investigation into textual representations of masculinity in a corpus of women's magazines available to UK consumers, and aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What stylistic techniques are used to represent male identities in the corpus?
2. What are the implications of these findings?
3. How do women's magazines treat the relationship between maleness and masculinity?
4. How might the texts be said to 'perform' masculinity?
5. How can corpus linguistic tools aid the researcher in conducting Critical Stylistic analyses of large bodies of texts?

The feminist literature on women's magazines tells us that women are constrained by 'consumer femininity' (Talbot, 2010: 138), whereby women are encouraged to engage in beautification processes that involve 'fixing' problems pertaining to appearance in order to uphold ideals of femininity and ultimately please men (see section 2.2.1.1 below). Very little has been said about how masculinity might be constructed in these texts, despite the fact that much of the literature cite men as the motivation for these representations of women (section 2.2). Aside from wanting to contribute to a gap in current research on women's magazines, I have also decided to examine male representation for specifically feminist reasons. Choosing to focus on women's roles, women's language, or women's writing means that women become marked; for example, in studies of gender in discourse analysis there has been a phallogentric tendency to analyse 'women's language' as a deviation from the male norm (Mills, 2012: 17). I think it is important to challenge the androcentrism of research which highlights the deviancy of women's behaviour and implicitly upholds men's status as norm-makers.

Specifically in the field of language and gender, there has been a tendency to focus on differences in men's and women's linguistic behaviour, and how conversational patterns are affected by gender stereotypes. However, studying the ways in which gender stereotypes are created is also a useful contribution to the study of the relationship between language and gender. While I do not personally align with extreme determinist views of language as directly affecting the world (e.g. Sapir, 1929; Whorf, 1940), the kinds of messages that are valued in a culture will most likely have some effect on the members of that society. For example, studies in psychology suggest that 'media framing' (Taylor, 2008) can affect beliefs and attitudes regarding sex and relationships, as well as behaviour (Taylor, 2008; Aubrey et al, 2003; Collins et al, 2004); if women are consistently told that all men are driven by their sexual urges, then they are more likely to come to expect this behaviour from men.

Feminist philosopher Judith Butler's seminal work *Gender Trouble* (1990) has had extensive influence on research in the field of language and gender. Butler interprets gender as 'performative', defining 'gender' as "the repeated stylization of the body" (1990: 33). This enables gender to be perceived as performed partly through the reiteration of particular linguistic acts, and rejects the notion of biological sex as a basis for gender construction (Cameron, 1997a: 29). This theorization of gender is motivated by the refutation of gender as a binary construct and the subversion of hegemonic categories, and allows for a multiplicity of femininities, masculinities or androgynies. Research which adopts a

performative approach to gender has tended to focus on individual performances of gender through interaction as opposed to textual performances (for example Cameron, 1997b; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1995; Hall, 1995). However, media texts' representations of masculinity and femininity are also performances of gender, and their potentially constitutive nature renders them important sites of linguistic inquiry.

My final research question concerns methodological issues. The model of stylistics used in this analysis includes in it tools that have predominantly been applied to small-scale qualitative analyses. Part of the impetus for conducting this study was to see how far these tools can be applied to more quantitative studies; those using automated techniques to search electronic databases for linguistic patterns.

1.2 Theoretical approach

1.2.1 Approaches to language and gender

This section contextualises the current study within the context of developing theories of language, gender and sexuality. Earlier models of language and gender are often categorised according to the '3 D's'; referring to Deficit, Dominance and Difference. These paradigms address the issue of men and women's use of language, rather than how gender is conceptualised *through* language, which is the primary concern of this study. Later models incorporated the notion of performativity, which conceptualises 'gender' as something a person 'does', as opposed to something one 'has'. This perception of gender rejects essentialist, fixed dichotomies of sex and gender, such as the twinning of 'maleness' with 'masculinity' and 'femaleness' with 'femininity'. Firstly, I will outline the 'three D's' approaches to language and gender; I will then discuss the performative model of gender which was later adopted by linguists working within discourse analytic frameworks, and which my own study is founded on.

1.2.1.1 Gender as difference: the 3Ds

1.2.1.2 The 'deficit' approach

Danish linguist Otto Jespersen is often cited as the first to discuss female language use, and his work is characteristic of the 'deficit' approach to language and gender. Jespersen's chapter on 'women's language' from his 1922 book, *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin*, polarised male and female language use. Jespersen asserted that whereas women function to maintain the 'purity' of language, men are responsible for its innovation and creativity. His interpretation of 'purity' related to the notion that women avoid "coarse

and vulgar expressions”, preferring “refined (and in certain spheres) veiled and indirect expressions” (1922: 246). This androcentric view posited ‘women’s language’ as a deficient version of men’s speech, and relied purely on Jespersen’s own intuitions about language use.

Language and gender would later be addressed more empirically by variationist sociolinguists, using ‘gender’, or more accurately, biological sex, as an independent variable (Cheshire 1982; Fischer 1958; Labov 1966, 1990; Milroy 1980; Trudgill 1972, 1974). However, like the feminist-inspired ‘dominance’ and ‘difference’ approaches to language and gender outlined below, variationist sociolinguists tended to assume a determinist model of ‘gender’, and looked for differences, rather than possible similarities between men and women’s use of language. Sociolinguistic studies have received significant critiques from feminist linguists for what they perceive as sexism in sociolinguistic research, where male speech is theorised as a positive norm, and women’s speech is treated as a negative deviation. For example, in Trudgill’s study of dialect use in Norwich, women are interpreted as exhibiting ‘conservative’ speech habits because they are said to aspire to a higher social class, where men’s use of vernacular speech acquires the more positively valued ‘covert prestige’ (Mills, 2012: 17-18).

1.2.1.3 The ‘dominance’ approach

The ‘dominance’ model of language and gender, developed out of second wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, is exemplified by the notion that differences between men’s and women’s speech are a product of, and affirmation of, male dominance in society. The most influential and controversial research characteristic of the ‘dominance’ approach is Robin Lakoff’s pioneering work *Language and Woman’s Place* (1975). Lakoff argued that there are two styles of speech in existence: ‘neutral language’ and ‘women’s language.’ She asserted that women’s speech style was marked by the use of particular linguistic features, including hedges such as ‘you know’, ‘sort of’ and ‘well’ etc that reduce the force of an utterance; intensifiers like ‘very’, ‘really’, ‘so; tag questions; rising intonation on declaratives and ‘trivial’ lexis and ‘empty’ adjectives, including evaluative adjectives like ‘lovely’, ‘divine’, and ‘charming’, which Jespersen had also claimed were features of women’s speech (Lakoff, [1975] 2004: 78-80). Lakoff said that these features are linked in terms of their communicative function in conversation, which is to weaken the force of an utterance. For example, rising intonation is interpreted as showing tentativeness; tag questions are associated with a desire for confirmation and approval, and qualifiers and intensifiers are said to function as hedges in conversation (Lakoff, [1975] 2004: 79). Lakoff concluded that

this inassertive speech style is a symptom of patriarchal society, in which women are brought up to think of assertion and authority as masculine qualities, and taught instead to display 'feminine' qualities of weakness, passivity and deference to men. Her thesis argues that young girls acquire Women's Language in the course of childhood socialization as a way of preparing them for their subordinate place in adult society.

Lakoff is often interpreted as straddling both 'deficit' and 'dominance' currents, because while Lakoff interpreted differences between men's and women's use of language as reflecting women's subordination in society, her arguments still relied on the notion of female language as a deviation from the 'male norm'. Many sociolinguists have acknowledged the methodological flaws in Lakoff's work; like Jespersen's work in the 1920s, the 'features' of women's language she observes were based mainly on her own intuitions, and the few participants she did include were all educated, white, middle class subjects. However, while her work was empirically dubious, Lakoff is often credited as the first person to give serious intellectual space to the relationship between language and women's subordinate position in society. It is because of this that her work is considered by many feminist language and gender scholars as signifying the birth of feminist linguistics (e.g. Bucholtz, 2004; Mills and Mullany, 2011). The publication of *Language and Woman's Place* sparked a number of empirically based discourse analytic studies seeking evidence for features of Women's Language (e.g. Dunn, 1988; Fishman 1980, 1983; Holmes, 1984; O'Barr & Atkins 1980; Cameron et al, 1988; Zimmerman and West, 1975).

At the heart of the 'dominance' approach lies the issue of power: women's use of language is perceived as 'powerless' language (O'Barr and Atkins, 1980), because of the subordinate position of women in society. Pamela Fishman, in her infamous work on talk between three heterosexual couples (1980, 1983) found that:

as with work in its usual sense, there appears to be a division of labor in conversation. The people who do the routine maintenance work, the women, are not the same people who either control or benefit from the process.

(1983: 99).

Fishman interpreted women's low status interactional work, or 'interactional shit work', as a symptom of the low-status jobs they are pushed into. This kind of explanation is an attractive one to feminist researchers, but as several commentators have pointed out, there are some problems with the notion that conversational dominance is analogous to patriarchal dominance: to assert that a linguistic feature is 'powerful' or 'powerless'

necessitates being able to establish meanings unequivocally, but since linguistic forms are 'multifunctional' – they can mean different things in different contexts and be interpreted in different ways depending on context – it is not possible to state that one particular form always functions in a particular way; for example that tag questions communicate unassertiveness, or that interruptions always function as assertions of power.

Asserting that differences in language use are attributable to the unequal power relations of patriarchal society also assumes that all men have power over all women. Whilst power relations are clearly an important part of interaction, they are context dependent. As Talbot points out, if we want to talk about male dominance, we need to be more specific, and talk about how patterns of male dominance might vary in different cultures, or across different contexts within a particular culture (2010: 111). Despite these criticisms, it is important to recognise the importance of Lakoff's work in aligning feminism with the study of language and gender, and in considering power as the direct index that explains women's use of language.

1.2.1.4 The 'difference' approach

The current of research often termed the 'difference' approach to language and gender asserts that men and women speak differently, not because of power differentials, but because they belong to different social subcultures, and therefore use language to fulfil different social roles (see for example Coates, 1989; Holmes, 1984; Maltz and Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1990). This suggested that gendered talk needed to be understood via the study of single-sexed as well as mixed-sex groups, which prompted the investigation, and positive re-evaluation of women's talk (e.g. Tannen 1990; Coates 1989), and later, investigation of men's talk (Coates 2003; Johnson & Meinhof 1997).

The main proponent of this approach is Deborah Tannen, who wrote a book about the conversational rules men and women adhere to (Tannen, 1990). Her theory was based on Gumperz's (1982) work on ethnically distinct subcultures, and Maltz and Borker's work on children's playground interactions. Maltz and Borker found that boys and girls tended to have different norms of interaction in segregated play: boys usually play in hierarchical groups and use a more competitive speech style, where girls play in small groups of 'best friends', where they use a more supportive speech style. Maltz and Borker argued that these speech styles developed in youth result in a form of 'cross-cultural miscommunication' between males and females, analogous to that which Gumperz found in his research on miscommunication between different ethnic groups. Gumperz showed that subtle

differences in the way two ethnic groups used language could lead to what he called 'crosstalk': systematic misunderstandings which neither group was conscious of.

Tannen appropriated this idea of crosstalk from research on interethnic communication and applied it to the case of male-female communication. Tannen argued that men grow up in a world where conversation is a contest, but for women talk is a way to exchange confirmation and support, and used the term 'genderlect' to describe these different gendered 'dialects'. Tannen argues that differing activities and social norms of boys' and girls' peer groups teach them different rules for talking, and that child separation makes the two sexes as different in their ways of communicating as people of different ethnicities or nationalities: "conversation between men and women is cross-cultural communication" (Tannen 1990: 47). Tannen asserts that it is not the genderlects themselves that are a problem, but that expectations that one must conform to their genderlect are likely to restrict men and women in different situations, and not being aware of one another's genderlect will result in communicative stalemates. Critics of Tannen's work have argued that her position is apolitical, and thus ignores how differing power relations between men and women might affect their communicative behaviour (e.g. Uchida, 1992). In the context of women's magazines, the idea that men and women do not understand one another because they are inherently different is echoed, for instance, in the inclusion of articles like 'Man Talk' (see section 8.1.3.1), where the text implicitly implies that men's utterances are in need of explanation, because women cannot understand them.

There are numerous problems with the cross-cultural miscommunication argument, and the 'difference' approach in general. As Cameron (2007: 44) observes, a major problem with the difference model is that in its focus on *differences* between men and women's linguistic behaviour, it ignores possible *similarities* between men and women. For example, studies surveying work on male and female linguistic differences have actually found little evidence for sex differences in language use (Dindia and Allen 1992; Canary and Hause 1993; Hyde 2005). Janet Hyde examined the results of 46 studies on sex variation, covering 20 years of data, and found that on most psychological characteristics, men and women were more alike than different. Her findings for studies on gender differences in verbal behaviour also show that men and women are more similar than they are different (Hyde, 2005: 186).

To argue that men and women belong to distinct subcultures implies that men and women are inherently different creatures, which can have serious consequences. For example, Henley and Kramarae explain how the two-cultures argument could allow for things like acquaintance rape and domestic abuse to be interpreted as extreme cases of

miscommunication (Henley and Kramarae, 1991). Sociolinguist Susan Ehrlich (2001) recorded the proceedings of a sexual harassment case which demonstrates how the folklinguistic idea that men don't understand women's indirectness can result in women being blamed for male sexual assault. She recorded the proceedings of a Canadian university tribunal concerning two women students who had made complaints against the same male student, after discovering that they had both been out on a date with him and been sexually assaulted at the end of the evening. Both incidents had begun consensually, but the women claimed that he had forced them into further sexual activity which they made clear they didn't consent to. The male student insisted that the women had consented, or at least had said nothing to make him think that they didn't. Ehrlich analysed the proceedings, and noted how members of the tribunal interpret the incident as a case of miscommunication, and the women complainants were held responsible for the breakdown in communication – i.e. that the women should have indicated that they didn't want to have sex with him more directly.

This idea also features prominently in sex education and rape prevention programmes, which instruct women that if they do not want to have sex, they should 'just say no' (Cameron, 2007: 93). It is stressed that a woman's refusal should take the form of a firm, unequivocal 'no' – the idea being that only by keeping the message short and simple can you be sure it will not be misunderstood. However, conversation analysts Celia Kitzinger and Hannah Frith (1999) conducted focus-group interviews with 58 women and asked them how, in practice, they communicated to men that they did not wish to have sex. Despite being familiar with the 'just say no' maxim, most of the women said they felt this strategy would be more likely to aggravate men – the strategies they actually reported were designed to mitigate the force of the refusal, such as giving excuses like 'I've got a headache', 'I'm tired', 'I'm on my period', and so on. Cameron points out that all the strategies the women reported are ones used by *both* sexes in any situation where it is necessary to refuse something, and that studies of interaction show that in everyday contexts, refusing is never done by 'just saying no': "Most refusals don't even contain the word 'no'. Yet in non-sexual situations, no one seems to have trouble understanding them" (Cameron, 2007: 94). As Kitzinger and Frith assert, this undercuts the notion that men misunderstand 'indirect' refusals on the basis that they have been socialised to only respond to direct forms of language. In the case recorded by Ehrlich (2001), the women were held responsible for the actions of the male assailant because they failed to communicate directly in a way that the two cultures approach asserts men would have been better equipped to understand.

Like the 'deficit' and 'dominance' models, the difference approach is also necessarily essentialist, because it relies on the concepts of 'male/female' and 'masculinity/femininity' as fixed, relational binaries. All three models are ultimately based on the notion of difference, assuming essential or generalisable differences in language use that could be mapped onto gender and sexuality and focusing on one side of the supposed binary distinctions (gay people or women) at the expense of the 'normal' other (heterosexuals, men) (Baker 2008a: 58).

The '3 D's' typology presupposes that gender is reflected through language use. However, developments in social constructionism and post-structuralism induced a change in the way research into gender construction conceptualises 'gender', influenced particularly by the notion of 'performativity'. Within linguistics, these developments signal a shift in emphasis from "gendered speakers" to "what is communicated by, to and about women, men, boys and girls" (Sunderland and Litosseliti 2008: 4).

1.2.1.5 Performativity and gender as a social construct

The distinction between 'sex' as a biological category and 'gender' as a social construction is a fundamental development of Western feminist thought, and may be ascribed to existentialist feminist writer Simone de Beauvoir's observation that one is not born, but 'becomes' a woman (1949). Shapiro (1981) defines 'sex' as "biological differences between males and females" and 'gender' as the "social cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences" (cited in Yanagisako and Collier 1990: 139). This dichotomy is problematic, as it implies that there are two genders, based upon two sexes: it is in itself an essentialist model, and promotes a heteronormative world-view. It also "overstates similarity within the categories" and "understates similarity across the categories" (McElhinny 2003: 23).

However, the conceptualisation of gender as a set of practices that people 'do' or 'say' challenges this idea that gender is something you 'have'. The notion was first discussed by Money (1955), and developed by poststructuralist feminist writers in the 1970s (Baker, 2008a: 4).

In her seminal work, *Gender Trouble*, Butler interprets gender as 'performative', defining 'gender' as "the repeated stylization of the body" (1990: 33). The idea of performativity is a development of the linguists Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969, 1979, 1983, 1989) notion of speech acts. Austin had noted that illocutions like 'I promise' or 'I pronounce you...' are

'performatives', in that they bring a state of affairs into being, rather than describe something that already exists. Such performatives cause changes in the real world. Butler argued, therefore, that language could be used in order to *construct* gender. Additionally, gender itself is performative, as a socially constructed process which we are continuously engaged in:

Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance of a natural sort of being.

(Butler, 1990: 33).

Influenced by the deconstructionist approaches of Jacques Derrida and Michael Foucault, Butler argues that it is the notion of the fixedness of meaning that has allowed for sexuality, gender and biological sex to be mapped onto one another: the relationship between the three phenomena has been made to appear somehow natural and unchanging. Expanding on Foucault's work, she suggests that certain cultural expressions of gender have become naturalized in society, acquiring hegemonic status. Butler's thesis calls for a subversion of this hegemony: "the mobilization, subversive confusion, and proliferation of precisely those constitutive categories that seek to keep gender in its place by posturing as the foundational illusions of identity." (1990: 34). Butler therefore proposes a deconstruction of gender, a break-down of the traditional and limiting roles which lie at the root of the inequality of the sexes.

A performative account of gender enables it to be perceived as performed partly through the reiteration of particular linguistic acts, rejects the structuralist duality of 'sex' and 'gender', and the notion of 'sex' as a basis for gender construction (Cameron, 1997: 29). Language and gender researchers working within methodological frameworks inspired by post-structuralism and social constructionism, such as Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, (feminist) Critical Discourse Analysis, Conversation Analysis and the lesser known Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis, usually adopt this interpretation of 'gender'.

Such research has tended to focus on individual performances of gender through interaction as opposed to textual performances (for example Cameron, 1997b; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1995; Hall, 1995). However, in this thesis I argue that media texts' representations of masculinity and femininity can also be considered performances of gender, and their potential to influence readers' world-views means they are an important site for feminist analysis. I argue that the distinction traditionally made in surveys of language and gender

between spoken performances of gender and written representation needs to be questioned (e.g. Cameron, 1998; Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2008). Particularly because texts like women's magazines present a "tissue of voices" (Talbot 1992: 176), the line between written and spoken discourse becomes blurred.

Additionally, it is my contention that the fact that these texts repeat ideologies of gender means that they represent part of the "rigid, regulatory frames" (Butler, 1990: 33) that police individual instantiations of gender. If masculinity and femininity are products of what we do, then the meaning of these actions can only be legitimised by their recognition from others: aggression, virility and dominance can only come to index a masculine identity if others acknowledge that these qualities might point to masculinity, and this can only occur if these connections are repeated over time. Women's magazines are an example of texts that reiterate ideas of what are possible and acceptable performances of masculinity, which "congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance of a natural sort of being." (Butler, 1990: 33).

That these repetitions lead to an illusion of naturalness explains how performativity works to *hide* the performative nature of gender: the repeated performance means that carnality comes to be perceived as an 'essence' of male identity so that carnality entails masculinity, rather than it being seen as a potential behaviour that may or may not be enacted by a man. Therefore, performativity theory is a useful framework to account for the ways in which the illusion that 'men are naturally carnal' can be sustained by women's magazines and other mass media texts.

Related to the notion of performativity is that of 'indexicality' from linguistic anthropology (Ochs, 1992). In her research comparing the communicative practices of motherhood in US society with that of Western Samoa, Ochs employs the theoretical notion of indexicality to argue that gender is either directly or indirectly indexed through language. Direct indexicality refers to language in which the sex of the speaker is explicitly encoded, such as items like *man/woman* and *husband/wife* or titles such as *Mr/Mrs*. Indirect indexicality refers to language use that has become associated with gendered meanings. For example, a competitive interactional style is associated with masculinity, where more supportive speech styles have come to indicate femininity.

While indexicality is usually used in interactional studies of gender (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Holmes, 2006), it is also a useful concept to bear in mind when analysing textual constructions of gender, as lexical items have also become imbued with associations

of gender. For example, Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) found that in their corpus study of gender construction in the press, in terms of appearance, adjectives such as *handsome*, *strapping* and *stocky* were used to modify male referents, where those such as *pretty*, *sexy* and *glamorous* were used to modify female referents. We could therefore say that while these items do not directly index gender, in that the referents of, for example, *glamorous* do not necessarily have to be female, they most frequently are female, and therefore the word indirectly indexes, or 'points to' femininity.

1.2.1.6 Hegemonic Masculinity

Alongside the theoretical shift in perspective from a conception of gender as who we *are* to "effects we produce by what we *do*" (Cameron, 1997b: 48), was a consideration of how language constructs masculinity. *Language and Masculinity* (Johnson and Meinhoff, 1997) was the first book-length consideration of the relationship between men and language. Until the 1990s, the focus of language and gender study had been unequivocally on women, betraying an assumption that men's language represents the 'neutral' benchmark by which women's language should be measured. For some this reflects a wider androcentrism in scholarship (e.g. Jenkins and Kramarae, 1981: 16; Mills, 1995: 44). Studies of all-male interaction can be seen in part as an attempt to challenge the sexism and androcentrism of earlier research and bring male language into focus, because unless we challenge how gender norms are produced and sustained, there can be no "subversive confusion" of them (Butler, 1990: 34).

Research into language and masculinities still focused predominantly on men's interactional behaviour, examining how both formal features and topic content might exhibit performances of masculinity in talk (e.g. Coates, 2003; Kiesling, 2002), although research in (critical) discourse analysis and related disciplines also turned to how written texts construct ideologies of masculinity for their readers (e.g. Baker, 2003, 2008a; Benwell, 2001, 2003a, 2004; Coupland, 1996). The study of how speakers construct masculine identities centred on how speakers use language to assert their own heterosexual masculinity with the aim of subordinating homosexual identities (e.g. Cameron, 1997; Kiesling, 2002). In his study of online communication between gay men, Baker observes how some men perform "hyper-masculinity", drawing on linguistic features associated with heterosexual masculinity, because it is the most powerful, and therefore desirable form of masculinity in most societies (Baker, 2008a: 80).

The literature on language and masculinity reveals a concern with how language can be seen to construct what is conventionally termed 'hegemonic masculinity'. This term was popularized by sociologist Robert Connell (1987, 1995) to refer to forms of masculinity that rely on "a correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power" (Connell 1995: 77). The term 'hegemony' is appropriated from Gramsci (1971, 1985), who used it to refer to compliance towards a dominant person or group. The notion of dominance, both cultural and physical, is therefore a key aspect of hegemonic masculinity. Frosh et al (2002) describe hegemonic masculinity as an amalgamation of various concepts and practices, such as: "heterosexuality, toughness, power and authority, competitiveness and the subordination of gay men" (2002: 75-6). Hegemony is what naturalizes culturally valued forms of masculinity and subordinates masculinities that conflict with these dominant forms.

Coates (2003) uses the concept of hegemonic masculinity to explain the patterns of talk she found in her analysis of 32 informal interactions between all-male friendship groups, focusing in particular on story-telling. Her interest in men's linguistic behaviour was in part a reaction to the tendency to focus on 'women's language' and assumptions made about men's language based on mixed-sex interaction (see also Coates, 1989). Coates concludes that the men in her study align themselves with hegemonic masculinity, exhibiting qualities of toughness, competitiveness, power, a lack of self-disclosure and heterosexuality (2003: 197). In terms of topics of conversation, she found that 'beer-talk', heterosexual encounters, modern technology, sport and cars were prominent themes. These may be recognisable to the reader as things which stereotypically index masculinity, and are also present in my data: the magazines also presuppose men's heterosexuality, virility and interest in things like drinking, sport and cars (see 7.2 below). As mentioned above, the concept of heterosexual display is a prominent theme in the literature on language and masculinity, and this is largely supported by my analysis of constructions of masculinity in women's magazines: oppositional meanings construct sexuality as a binary construct (see 5.2.4.2); homosexuality is associated with femininity, and heterosexual masculinity is an assumed norm (see 7.2.4).

Research into men's language also asserts that men are less prone to self-disclosure and to discuss emotions (Coates, 2001, 2003). Men are largely seen as unemotional in my data, although the desirability of self-disclosure, or at least an acknowledgement of the possibility of emotionality, is also evident: the real life story 'My girlfriend jilted me at the altar' is a first-person narrative which is part of a regular series of stories prefaced by the tagline 'Men Cry too...'. This story could be said to function in part as an example of male disclosure.

As the 'norm', hegemonic masculinity is also the 'ideal' form of masculinity, which is endemic in phenomena like celebrity culture, and therefore a natural presence in women's magazines. Part of the importance of studying hegemonic masculinity in women's magazines is the notion that women also contribute to its construction, because "[m]en do not take up positions of dominance by their own efforts alone" (Talbot 1998: 198). Women's magazines instruct women on how men should behave and be treated, as well as how women should present themselves to the world.

This review of previous language and gender research has highlighted the original contribution this thesis makes to the field: the use of performativity theory and the notion of indexicality have previously only been used in the analysis of gender performance in spoken interaction. I have shown how language and gender scholars usually uphold a distinction between spoken interaction and written representation, and that studies have concentrated mainly on the *use* of language rather than how gender is represented *through* language, which this study is concerned with.

1.3 Methodological approach

This section describes the combined quantitative and qualitative methods used in this thesis, and the advantages and disadvantages of such a combined approach. I first outline the principles of corpus linguistics, and how this method has been applied to linguistics, particularly within sociolinguistic and critical discourse analytic studies of identity construction, and in the field of language and gender. I then describe the qualitative framework used to structure the analysis of the corpus, and its relationship to critical discourse analysis and stylistics.

1.3.1 Quantitative approach: corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics (CL) is "the study of language based on examples of real life language use" (McEnery & Wilson 1996: 1). It uses quantitative methods to analyse large bodies of naturally occurring language in order to uncover linguistic patterns, and is widely renowned for its contributions to lexicography and descriptive grammar (Mautner 2007: 54). CL involves feeding digitised texts into corpus analysis software, which can perform statistical calculations to reveal linguistic phenomena such as keywords and collocations, which are then interpreted manually by the researcher. A corpus is defined as a collection of texts that are machine-readable, authentic, and sampled in such a way as to be representative of a particular language or language variety (McEnery et al, 2006: 5).

Because of its quantitative aspect, CL is considered to aid the objectivity of analyses. Of course, all quantitative corpus-based approaches also require some qualitative input: it is ultimately the researcher who interprets linguistic patterns (Baker, 2006: 18). However, quantitative methods allow the researcher to analyse larger bodies of text, which increases the reliability of findings, and using frequency data can support findings derived from smaller-scale analyses.

1.3.1.1 Corpus-based versus corpus driven approaches

A broad distinction is made between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches in CL, although in reality there is often some overlap between the two. In principle, corpus-driven approaches are data-driven and hence inductive, rejecting the notion that corpora should be designed and used with preconceived theories in mind. A corpus-based approach is more inclined to use corpus data to test out an existing theory, revising preconceptions in the light of the results of corpus analysis, and is therefore more deductive. (McEnery et al, 2006: 8-11). This study is a combination of both approaches in that the corpus was designed to address research questions relating to the representation of men, but some of the analytical techniques (discussed in Chapter Three below) were designed to reduce the extent to which preconceived notions of masculinity were imposed upon the analytical process.

This approach to identity-based CL studies is untypical: previous studies within the critical linguistic tradition that exploit corpus linguistic methods in the analysis of ideology construction in texts usually use particular search terms as a starting point; that is, they have a clear sense of the object under scrutiny (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Morrison and Love, 1996). For example, in their analysis of the representation of asylum seekers in the British press, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) use lexemes including *refugee(s)* and *asylum seekers* as search terms, and previous corpus studies of gender representation do the same with MAN and WOMAN as the starting point for calculating patterns (e.g. Baker, 2010; Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Pearce, 2008). Whilst this method ensures efficiency in filtering data, facilitating the manageability of manual analysis, I felt that this would also prescribe assumptions about gender and therefore of which may be salient terms for further analysis. I therefore preferred to take a more inductive, and therefore corpus-driven approach to identifying lexical realisations of masculinity, driven by what I found rather than what I expected to find.

1.3.1.2 Types of corpora

There are also two broad categories of corpora concerned with the kinds of population corpora are designed to represent: general corpora and specialized corpora. General corpora are intended as overall descriptions of a particular language or language variety (McEnery et al, 2006: 14). For example, the BNC (British National Corpus) was designed as a representation of modern British English. Specialized corpora, on the other hand, are domain or genre specific. A further distinction is made between synchronic and diachronic corpora. Synchronic corpora provide snapshots of a particular population at a specific point in time, whereas diachronic corpora are designed to chart the development of a particular population over time. The corpus compiled for this study can therefore be described as a synchronic, specialized corpus, representing the women's magazine genre. It is also a static corpus, as opposed to a dynamic or 'monitor' corpus, in that it is not intended to be updated or added to, and therefore is only representative of the kinds of language being used to describe men and masculinity at a specific point in time.

1.3.1.3 Applications of corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics has a wide range of applications in linguistics, including language teaching and translation studies (Johns, 1997; Laviosa, 1998; Xiao and McEnery, 2002); lexicography (Podhachecka and Piotrowski, 2003); forensic linguistics (Woolfs and Coulthard, 1998); discourse analysis (Baker, 2005; 2006; 2008a, 2008b) and stylistics and literary studies (Semino and Short, 2004; Mahlberg, 2007; McIntyre, 2008). Corpus-based approaches to text analysis have become increasingly popular over the last few decades (Baker 2006: 2). Corpus methods have previously been applied to the investigation of particular discourses and ideologies in media texts (Baker 2005, 2006; 2008b; van Dijk 1991; Morrison and Love 1996; Caldas-Coulthard and Moon 2010; Charteris-Black 2004).

Of most relevance to the present study is the growing body of corpus-based work that has been carried out in the area of language and gender (e.g. Shalom 1997; Coates, 1999; McEnery et al 2000; Holmes 2001; Rey 2001; Sigley and Holmes 2002; Schmid and Fauth 2003; Koller, 2004). These studies have mainly focused on linguistic constructions of female identities, and predominantly from a sociolinguistic perspective.

1.3.1.4 Corpus approaches to language and gender

As well as focusing on sociolinguistic perspectives, most studies on language and gender using corpora have also either examined 'sexist language', looking at sexist forms like generic *he* and *man*, gender-neutral terms and sexist suffixes (Holmes, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c; Baranowski, 2002; Sigley and Holmes, 2002) or men and women's use of language in either specialized or general corpora (Kjellmer 1986; Biber et al 1999; Coates, 1999; Romaine 2001; Sigley and Holmes 2002). Studies of language and gender in general corpora are much more ubiquitous and focus mainly on sexism and the asymmetrical distribution of gendered terms (Kjellmer, 1986; Rayson et al, 1997; Schmid and Fauth, 2003). For example, Kjellmer (1986) compared frequencies of masculine and feminine pronouns, and lexical items *woman/women* and *man/men* in the Brown and LOB corpora, and found an overall asymmetrical distribution of terms in favour of male items. Sigley and Holmes (2002) also found that masculine items were more frequent than female ones in their study of frequencies in the Brown and LOB corpora, in comparison with Wellington Corpus of Written New Zealand English, the Freiburg–Brown Corpus of American English, and the Freiburg–LOB Corpus of British English. However, some (e.g. Baker, 2008b; Pearce, 2008) have used general corpora to examine collocates of gendered terms in order to uncover patterns of gender differences. In particular, Baker's (2008b) study of the terms *bachelor* and *spinster* in the BNC contributes to wider feminist debates around the 'semantic derogation' of women (Schulz, 1975). Baker found that while the word *bachelor* collocated with concepts with a positive semantic prosody, collocates of *spinster* indicated a negative semantic prosody.

Studies of gender construction using specialized corpora are less common. Coates (1999) used a corpus of women's and girl's 'backstage talk' to examine their self-presentation in informal contexts, finding that while such talk allows women to "support each other in challenging or subverting frontstage norms [...], women are obliged to pay attention to prevailing social norms because of their lack of social power" (1999: 77). Limited research has been done on how gender is conceptualised through language in specific domains or genres (with the exception of Koller 2004, 2008; Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010). Studies of women's magazines have predominantly adopted more qualitative approaches (see 2.1.3 below), therefore this study contributes to a small set of studies that also utilise corpus techniques (see 2.1.3.1). Koller's (2004, 2008) work on the cognitive conceptualisation of businesswomen in business magazines looks at gender representation from a sociocognitive CDA perspective, combining corpus linguistics and cognitive metaphor theory. She uses qualitative analysis of complexes of metaphors used to describe

businessmen and businesswomen in the magazines as a means of corroborating the frequency results of the corpus analysis. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) analysed a corpus of newspapers and found that women were frequently modified by adjectives relating to appearance, whereas men were modified by adjectives indicating importance.

The use of corpus linguistics in studies of language and gender seems to contradict the shift from analyses of large scale patterns in sociolinguistics to small-scale studies (Swann, 2002), and with general trends in feminist thought, which has turned from global notions of sisterhood, to more localised, individual issues (Baker, 2006: 9). However, I assert that the recent conceptualisation of gender as performative is entirely in alignment with the incremental focus of corpus linguistics: for instantiations of gender to become recognisable, they have to be reiterated, and CL works on the basis of collecting numerous examples of an idea, that allows the researchers to see its cumulative effect. As Stubbs puts it: "Repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community" (2001: 215). The effectiveness of CL methods in establishing cumulative meanings therefore formed a large part of the rationale for adopting a corpus-based approach to the texts in this thesis.

1.3.1.5 Some limitations of quantitative analysis

Although quantitative methods are on the whole extremely fruitful to the analysis of discourse and ideology, there are some limitations which make a combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches desirable. The first relates to objectivity. Both methods are still heavily reliant on the intuitions of the individual researcher and manual analysis. For example, whilst knowing that the central entity I wanted to focus on was man, I could not simply use 'man' or 'men' as key search terms to acquire frequency information, as this would have eliminated other nominal references to men and masculinity. Koller (2004) describes a similar manual method for establishing conceptual metaphors in her study, because of a desire not to restrict her search to pre-defined expressions (2004: 8).

Another possible limitation is the notion that just because a word occurs frequently in a text, this does not necessarily mean it is semantically central to the text's meaning. Similarly, whilst frequency is clearly central to the cumulative effect of ideology, it could be argued that some constructions which occur less frequently can have more ideological impact than those with a higher statistical significance. For example, while the ideology that sport is a male pastime does not occur frequently enough to warrant being labelled as statistically significant in the corpus, this idea will be instantly recognised by readers of

Western society, because of its ubiquity in other domains in the community (such as sports journalism, Physical Education curricula in schools etc). It is of course for this reason that corpus analyses should combine with a consideration of the social, political and historical contexts in which they occur. Indeed, corpus linguistics has received criticism for “abstracting text from its context” (Baldry, 2000: 36).

Because of these limitations, it is important to complement quantitative results with qualitative interpretation: detailed analysis can provide the context for quantitative patterns; it allows us to answer questions related to text production – who authored the text and for what purpose. In particular, Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful framework for this, as it attempts to link “linguistic analysis to social analysis” (Wood and Kroger, 2000: 206), thereby taking into account the social political, and cultural context of the texts. Using quantitative methods to supplement CDA analyses can also help to counter criticisms of CDA that it selects texts for analysis which will support the researcher’s own interpretative agenda.

1.3.2 Qualitative approach: Critical Stylistics

Critical Stylistics bridges the gap between critical discourse analysis (CDA) and stylistics. CDA aims to show ‘non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination’ (Fairclough, 2001: 229). It is predominantly used to analyse non-fictional texts, and most often from the mass media (although exceptions include Kosetzi, 2008 and Talbot, 1995, 1997a). Stylistics, on the other hand, broadly defined as ‘the (linguistic) study of style’ (Leech and Short, 2007: 11), in its attempt to explain the ‘relation between language and artistic function’, (Leech and Short, 2007: 11) is primarily concerned with analysing the language of literary texts, although this may also entail the exposition of ideologies.

Critical Stylistics aims to ‘assemble the main general functions that a text has in representing reality’ (Jeffries, 2010a: 14), and may be considered as a development of CDA in terms of both theory and methodology (Jeffries, 2007, 2010a). One of the main criticisms of CDA is that it has not yet developed a full inventory of tools for the analyst to work with; a (perhaps inevitable) consequence of its multidisciplinary theoretical foundations. Critical Stylistics attempts to counter this by introducing a systematic model of analysis which amalgamates tools from stylistics and critical linguistics, in order to uncover the linguistic choices of text producers and their possible ideological implications (Jeffries, 2007, 2010).

The introduction of a more methodical framework enhances the replicability of analyses, which in turn may allow for increased objectivity; Widdowson in particular has criticised CDA for its subjective methods of data selection and interpretation (1995, 1996, 1998). Whilst it would be impossible (and undesirable) to remove all researcher bias from the practice of linguistic analysis, the adoption of an explicit methodology does limit this to some degree.

1.3.2.1 Critical Stylistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis emerged in the early 1990s as a synthesis of approaches to the study of discourse, and can be defined as concerned with “analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10). CDA perceives texts, and in particular media texts, as simultaneously creating and reflecting ideologies for the reader (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 3), and is concerned with “de-mystifying” ideologies and power via the “systematic and reproducible investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3). CDA is characterized by a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches, and while concepts such as ‘power’, ‘discourse’ and ‘ideology’ are at the core of all CDA studies, they are variously defined (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3). The roots of CDA lie in an eclectic array of disciplines, including: cognitive science, anthropology, philosophy, rhetoric, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 1).

There are various strands of CDA research influenced by differing social, socio-political and linguistic theories: the discourse-historical Approach (e.g. Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Meyer, 2009), corpus linguistics approaches (Mautner, 2005, 2007; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Caldas-Coulthard, 2010), the social actors Approach (van Leeuwen, 1996), the sociocognitive approach (van Dijk,) and the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 1996). The discourse-historical approach emphasises the study of historical context, and analyses “changes in discursive practices over time and in various genres” (Wodak, cited in Kendall, 2007: [4]). The sociocognitive approach draws on social representation theory (Moscovici, 1982; 2000) to argue that social actors rely upon socially shared perceptions as well as individual experiences. The social actors approach utilises sociological and linguistic theories that emphasise the role of action in establishing social structure. The dialectical-relational approach advocates an analysis of the dialectical relationships between language, and other semiotic forms, and other elements of social practice. Corpus linguistic approaches (which my study is most aligned with) (e.g. Baker, 2006, 2008; Flowerdew, 1997; Mautner, 2005, 2007; Piper, 2000), use large bodies of data and statistical

measurements to uncover repetitive patterns of language. As this (extremely) brief summary indicates, there is no one way of 'doing' CDA; there are a plethora of theoretical and methodological perspectives characteristic of its multidisciplinary focus.

At the core of all CDA approaches are basic questions, such as "How do (more) powerful groups control public discourse" and "How does such discourse control the mind and action of (less) powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such as inequality?" (Van Dijk, 2001: 355). Another aspect that all these approaches have in common is a broadly post-structuralist interpretation of 'discourse', which differs from more traditional linguistic definitions of 'discourse' as text longer than the sentence (Mills & Mullany, 2011: 76). However, different CDA perspectives have different interpretations of 'discourse', something which has attracted a good deal of criticism (Widdowson, 1995). In particular, those working explicitly within the dialectical-relational or social actors approach adopt the Foucaultian sense of 'discourse' as referring to "practices which systematically form the subjects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972: 49). This sense is most similar to the concept of 'ideology' and is often used interchangeably with 'ideology'. I personally have found it helpful to make a distinction between 'discourse' as denoting "text that is focused on a particular topic" (Mills & Mullany, 2011: 76) and 'ideology' as referring to "ideas that are shared by a community or society" (Jeffries, 2010: 5). This is because discourses concerning men and masculinity may not necessarily be ideological, i.e. they may not have become 'commonsense' beliefs. Whilst my use of ideology corresponds roughly with the post-structuralist sense of 'discourse', I do not entirely subscribe to Foucault's definition, because it implies a lack of agency and therefore leaves no room for the possibility of challenge.

As an increasingly interdisciplinary approach to texts, CDA has not yet developed a finite set of 'tools' for the analyst to work with, although CDA studies in the dialectical-relational tradition (e.g. Fairclough, 1996) often utilise elements of functional grammar inspired by Halliday (1985; 1994), in particular, versions of modality and transitivity (Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1989). Indeed, Wodak and Meyer (2009: 2) assert the necessity of eclecticism in their discussion of what distinguishes CDA from other forms of discourse analysis:

CDA is [...] not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach.

Because of its focus on eclectic theories and methods of analysis, CDA is less concerned with detailed, linguistic analysis. This, as Jeffries points out, results in “patchy” coverage of linguistic structures, and the lack of a clear, comprehensive toolkit makes it difficult for students of English Language to apply to the analysis of texts (2010: 6). Proponents of CDA assert that it is not in itself a theory or methodology, but rather a ‘school’ of intellectual inquiry (e.g. Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 5). CDA researchers have therefore been criticised for using the label as more of a political statement or ‘act’.

Where CDA analysis takes a specifically socialist political standpoint, Critical Stylistics is proposed as “a method of finding the ideology in any text, whether or not you agree with it” (Jeffries, forthcoming). The model is based on a series of textual conceptual metafunctions (described in section 3.2.1 below). These functions represent a level of meaning between language structure and language in context, and can be seen as part of Halliday’s (1985) ideational metafunction of language, as they also create world-views (Jeffries, forthcoming).

1.3.3 Reading women’s magazines: some limitations of text analysis

Despite the usefulness of a combination of quantitative and qualitative models of text analysis to a consideration of the ideological implication of texts, there are still limitations to using methods which rely on an analysis of the researcher alone. Although it is outside the scope of this thesis, I acknowledge that incorporating audience reception data into a critical discourse/stylistic analysis of women’s magazines would help to reduce the notion of researcher bias. It would also contribute to our understanding of how readers negotiate ideologies in texts.

Feminist studies of women’s magazines have usually fallen into two distinct methodological camps: those using textual analysis, focusing on how the magazine writers produce ideological meanings, and ethnographical approaches, investigating the ways in which readers negotiate meaning in the texts (see Chapter Two below). Hermes’ (1995) study is perhaps the most notorious of the ethnographical school, which used reader response data to demonstrate how women read and make meaning from the magazines. However, whilst Hermes rejects textual analysis as privileging the text over the reader (1995: 6), McLoughlin (2008: 177) finds a combined approach useful: “I found that my text analysis [...] identified certain themes, [...] which could then be used as a stimulus for discussion in focus groups.” McLoughlin’s research examined two ‘sex specials’ in British teenage girls’ magazines Bliss and Sugar using a combination of CDA and audience reception data. Focus group discussions with target readers were carried out to see how useful the sex advice

provided in the magazines was considered to be by their readers. McLoughlin found that while women's magazines are meaningful for their target audiences, "readers can and do negotiate meaning since they are active in constructing their own subject position(s)" (2008: 192). This complies with the findings of Hermes' (1995) and others (e.g. Frazer 1987; Kehily 1999) who focus on this process of reading. However, more research needs to be done in this area, possibly with the help of psychologists, to improve our understanding of how readers process texts and the meanings they produce.

The use of audience reception data to complement CDA analyses is also a useful way of achieving analytical objectivity, and to some extent breaks the circularity of CDA that critics of the model have often noted (e.g. Widdowson, 1995): CDA 'exposes' ideologies; reader response data, to some extent, tests the influential power of those ideologies. In her study of audience responses to men's magazines, Benwell (2005, 2006) found that some readers were more invested in the texts than others, with some readers describing the magazines as 'disposable' or just 'a bit of fun' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 196). Additionally, Frazer (1987) found that in her study of young women discussing *Jackie* magazine, the girls she interviewed did not reflect the implied reader constructed by the texts, and were "freer of the text than much theory implies" (1987: 135). This alludes to the problem of circularity associated with CDA analyses: 'exposed' ideologies are still just the interpretation of the analyst. Future research would benefit from combining quantitative and audience reception analyses to combat the subjectivity of CDA, whilst substantiating some of its findings.

1.4 Summary and outline of the thesis

In this chapter I have outlined the theoretical and methodological approaches relevant to this study. I provided a brief account of the historical development of language and gender research in linguistics, and placed this thesis within the context of a performative approach to gender construction. I then described the quantitative and qualitative analytical frameworks used in this study. I placed my thesis in the context of previous studies of language and gender using corpus methodologies, and described the Critical Stylistic model in relation to Critical Discourse Analysis. I also considered how this study differs from ethnographic approaches, discussing some of the limitations of text analysis in light of this.

In Chapter Two I place my study in the context of previous studies of women's and men's magazines. I consider previous research on gender representation in women's magazines, identifying key themes in the literature that also relate to my own findings, including the construction of femininity as a consumerist practice, the construction of gender as biologically determined, the relationship between feminism and women's magazines, and

the construction of normative heterosexuality. The relationship between feminism and gender representation in these texts is emphasised because I am interested in the implications of the texts' performances of ideologies of masculinity from a feminist perspective. I survey different linguistic approaches to the study of women's magazines, as well as reviewing ethnographic approaches to understanding the texts. In section 2.3, I consider studies of representations of masculinity in men's magazines, including linguistic and socio-cultural approaches, detailing the behaviours and practices associated with the New Lad figure found predominantly in 'lads' mags'. This is done in the light of the stereotypical images of masculinity found in my data which correspond with those of the New Lad, as well as highlighting my original contribution to the study of masculinities, in considering masculine construction in magazines targeted at female, not male audiences.

Chapter Three details the methodological processes involved in the implementation of my analysis, including both my methods of data collection and methods of analysis using both Critical Stylistic and corpus linguistic tools. I discuss how I collected and categorised the articles for inclusion in the corpus, in terms of the different text types and magazine genres that they belong to. I explain how I have used corpus linguistic tools, specifically frequency, concordances and collocation, to aid my analysis of the four tools of critical stylistics delineated in section 3.2.1: Naming and Describing, Equating and Contrasting, Representing Actions/Events/States and Assuming and Implying.

Chapters Four through to Seven present the results of the analytical processes described in Chapter Three. Chapter Four presents the analysis of Naming and Describing, which refers to the ways in which the texts label and describe male identities. I identify lexis which exhibits lexical, social and referential gender, serving as direct and indirect indices of masculinity. My discussion of adjectival descriptions includes an analysis of both manually-derived and statistical collocates. Chapter Five describes how the texts create equivalences and oppositional meanings that construct men as equating to cultural ideals and other metaphorical concepts, including conceptual metaphors; and present men in terms of hyponyms of GOOD/BAD opposition and in terms of exclusive, complementary opposites. Chapter Six shows how the texts represent men's actions and states of being, focusing on actions towards women and states of being denoting both physical and personal traits. In the final analysis chapter, I examine how the texts assume and imply ideologies of masculinity through different types of presupposition and implicature.

In Chapter Eight, I pull together the findings of the analysis and consider how they reveal five unifying trends: the idea that men are either 'good' or 'bad'; that men are motivated by

carnal instincts; that they are naturally aggressive; men and women are inherently different creatures; and the idea that heterosexuality is normative. I also show how the tools work together to produce the ideologies that for reasons of clarity have been presented in isolation, by conducting an analysis of an excerpt from the data as a case study. Finally I evaluate the effectiveness of combining corpus linguistics with the Critical Stylistics model, and offer some suggestions for further research.

I shall now turn to a review of the research on women's and men's magazines, in order to highlight the original contributions this thesis makes to this growing body of work.

Chapter Two: Women's and men's magazines

2.1 Introduction

According to Braithwaite, women's magazines have been in circulation since the late 1600s, and there are now over 80 million women's magazines on the market (1995: 10). The fact that women's magazines have such an established history is testament to their popularity among female audiences. It is also for this reason that examining how gender is constructed for their readers is such an essential area for feminist study: it is important to examine the kinds of ideologies of femininity and masculinity that women are buying into when they consume these texts, and examine the potentially derogatory effects of these.

Most studies of women's magazines have acknowledged the fact that men are a core focus of mainstream women's magazines, and that these publications are heavily engaged in instructing women on how to please men (Firminger 2006; Litosseliti 2006; McLoughlin 2000; Jeffries 2007; Ménard and Kleinplatz 2008). For example, McRobbie acknowledges the ubiquity of men in the pages of *Jackie* magazine: "even the enjoyment of fashion and pop music seemed to be defined in terms of the presence or absence of a 'boyfriend'" (1996: 182). Commentators also recognize that women are constructed as actively pursuing heterosexual relationships, and as primarily responsible for their relationships with men (Eggins and Iedema 1997; Litosseliti 2006: 100). Despite this, limited research has been carried out explicitly on the role of men in women's magazines, and how masculinity is negotiated in these texts, with the exception of Chang (2000), and Firminger (2006), but these are written from a social psychology, as opposed to linguistic, perspective. To date there have been no studies of the linguistic construction of masculinity in lifestyle magazines for women.

While women's magazines have a long history in our society, men's lifestyle magazines are, in comparison, a relatively recent development. The first attempt at a British men's lifestyle magazine was *Men Only* launched in 1935 (Greenfield et al, 1999: 458). Other magazines that followed such as *Playboy* and *Esquire* focused primarily on sexual content, and *Playboy* in particular brought pornographic material into mainstream culture (Osgerby, 2001: 76). These magazines are associated in socio-cultural studies with the figure of the Old Man (Edwards, 2003). Titles such as *Arena* and *GQ* emerging in the 1980s shifted the focus of content to encompass an increased emphasis on fashion and health. These magazines are often cited as marking the rise of the New Man, perceived as a challenge to traditional forms of masculinity. The New Man was:

an avid consumer and unashamed narcissist but had also internalized and endorsed the principles of feminism including a reassessment of the traditional division of labour and a new commitment to fatherhood

(Benwell, 2003a: 13)

This was followed by the advent of magazines like *FHM* and *Loaded* in the 1990s. These magazines celebrated a return to traditional, hegemonic forms of masculinity associated with “drinking, sport and sex” (Jackson et al, 2001: 1), and are often discussed in terms of a ‘backlash’ against feminism (e.g. Benwell, 2003b; 2004).

Although this thesis is not intended as a comparative study, it is interesting to consider how the representations of masculinity found in this study compare with the findings of research into masculine construction in men’s magazines.

The very fact that there are magazines dedicated to ‘being a man’ or ‘being a woman’ is indicative of an ideology of gender differences, because it assumes that men and women have different experiences, and ultimately live in different spheres, as the ‘two subcultures’ approach to language and gender would advocate (Maltz and Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1990).

This chapter contextualises my study in relation to existing research on women’s and men’s magazines, and explains how this thesis contributes to the study of women’s magazines. I introduce previous accounts of gender representation in women’s magazines, focusing on the concepts of consumer femininity, gender determinism, women’s magazines and feminist movements, the promotion of heteronormative discourses in women’s magazines and their (under) representation of homosexual identities. Moving on from studies of gender representation, I discuss accounts of the linguistic architecture of women’s magazines, which includes a consideration of how the text producers construct different subject positions for the reader, and simulate a synthetic friendly relationship between the reader and magazine writers’ personas. I then recount the different methodological approaches to the study of women’s magazines, focusing on different linguistic approaches to textual analysis, as well as ethnographic approaches to reading magazines. Finally I discuss previous accounts of masculine construction in men’s magazines and comparative studies of men’s and women’s magazines.

2.2 Previous studies of women’s magazines

Women’s magazines have been studied from a wide range of disciplines and perspectives. Analyses of content have focused explicitly on ideologies of femininity, although studies of

magazines for girls and young women have acknowledged that the ability to attract boys is an important step in girls' ascendancy to womanhood (Firminger, 2006; McLoughlin, 2000). The study of magazines for adolescent girls has concentrated on the pedagogical role of magazines, the potential influence of these on girls' self-perception and their socialization into traditional gender roles (e.g. Duke and Kreshel, 1998; McRobbie, 1982; Peirce, 1990; Williamsen, 1998). Magazines for women are described as gatekeepers of advice for women on fashion and beauty, sexual relationships with men and careers (McRobbie, 1996; Talbot, 1995), and idealised images of the female body (Jeffries, 2007).

The survey of the literature on women's magazines will focus mainly on studies of gender representation, as opposed to readership or studies of marketing and production processes. My discussion also concentrates on studies of gender representation in magazines for adult women, rather than adolescent readerships, as these are most relevant to my own study.

2.2.1 Women's magazines and gender representation

There is a substantial body of work on the women's magazine genre that cuts across disciplines including linguistics, sociology, cultural studies and mass communication, and psychology (Ballaster et al 1991; McRobbie 1978; 1982; 1991, 1996; McCracken 1993; Talbot 1995, 1998; Currie 1999; Andrews and Talbot 2000; Gough-Yates 2002; Machin and Thornborrow 2003; Tincknell et al 2003; Gill 2007; Jeffries 2007; Hasinoff 2009). These studies can be grouped into the following discernible themes: the idea that femininity is a consumerist practice, gender as biologically determined, and heteronormativity and female sexuality.

2.2.1.1 Consumer femininity

Among the literature on women's magazines are a number of studies that focus on the idea of femininity as a consumerist practice; the notion that femininity is a product that can be bought, because "women's bodies are always imperfect. They always need fixing." (Smith 1988: 47). According to this research, women's magazines promote the idea that women's bodies can be 'fixed' through the use of cosmetics and other 'curing' processes.

McRobbie's (1978, 1982, 1991) analyses of *Jackie*, a magazine aimed at young women, denigrated women's magazines as conforming to patriarchal societal structures, producing a 'culture of femininity' centring around the concept of romance and the repetition of beautification processes in order to attract a male suitor. Talbot (1998: 172) also describes women's magazines as a tool of 'consumer femininity', where achieving feminine identity is

represented as reliant on undertaking 'feminizing practices', which involves the consumption of various material and visual resources for 'creating' femininity (1998: 173). Additionally, she argues that female sexuality is also offered to the reader for consumption; showing how the headlines of a series of instructional features on the cover of magazines serve as 'sell lines' for the magazines themselves (1998: 174). McCracken also notes that "women's magazines repeatedly succeed in linking desire to consumerism" (1993: 301), and Eggins and Iedema also note that the Australian women's magazines they analysed encourage women to work on their bodies in order to make themselves attractive to men (1997: 168).

Machin and Thornborrow (2003) similarly discuss discourses of consumerism in their study of *Cosmopolitan* magazine. They examined how *Cosmopolitan* represents women's sexual and work practices, and found that women are constructed as succeeding in communicative, as opposed to technical, creative or intellectual spheres. They also concluded that women are constructed as able to access agency and independence through a manipulation of male sexuality; power is achieved through the exploitation of women and their bodies. The authors argue that female empowerment is represented as a product for consumption, and that it is a discourse of consumerism which allows women to forge feminine identities.

These accounts therefore acknowledge that the desire to please men is represented as a primary motivation for indulging in feminizing practices.

2.2.1.2 Sociobiology

Hasinoff's recent study (2009) discusses discourses of 'sociobiology' in *Cosmopolitan*, a model of gender essentialism in which "men are driven by psychological and physiological urges" and women are associated with "domestic labor, nurturing behaviors, and [adhere] to ideals of white middle-class Western femininity" (2009: 267-8). She argues that the magazine presents this essentialism as indisputable scientific 'fact', which in turn justifies the maintenance of 'normative' gender practices. Firminger's (2006) study of American teenage girls' magazines also discusses essentialist definitions of gender in the texts. She found that where teenage boys are represented as unemotional, sexually driven and superficial, girls are encouraged to pursue boys, but are less sexualised. They are also responsible for the maintenance of relationships and construct their identities based on what is attractive to boys.

Through a textual analysis of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, Hasinoff argues that "scientific common sense consistently offers anti-feminist justifications for the practices and

techniques of normative femininity" (2009: 269). Hasinoff's (2009) survey shows how references to expert research on sociobiology are used to assert that norms of female bodily appearance reflect men's genetically-determined subconscious desire for fertility, effectively 'biologizing' heterosexuality (2009: 273). Hasinoff's examples demonstrate how *Cosmopolitan* uses sociobiological statements to encourage the reader to work out what men find attractive and create a simulated natural version for male consumption. The texts in my corpus do not make explicit reference to genetically-determined behaviour in men, for example through the use of terms such as 'hard-wired'. However, statements like 'men are...' and the use of *he* create "synthetic personalisation" (Fairclough, 1989: 62). For example:

14 things you should never ask a man to do.

[...]

10. Look into ANY jewellery shop window. He will get The Fear. (*More*)

While the use of third person pronoun *he* implies an individual referent, it actually addresses men en masse, implying that all men would be afraid in this context, thereby all men are afraid of commitment. The effect of this kind of synthetic personalization is therefore to imply that these are universal traits. This ultimately aligns with a biological account of gender, in that it does not allow for the influence of social stimuli or individuality: men are treated as one homogeneous 'species'.

Hasinoff's data sample is limited to articles specifically reporting on sociobiological studies, and so does not consider how a biological interpretation of gender is more implicitly constructed in women's magazines. Hasinoff also writes from a feminist science studies perspective, and is not concerned with how discourses of gender are linguistically realised to the same extent that a critical stylistic or critical discourse approach would be.

My study shows how men's behaviour is explained in terms of biological factors, and therefore indicates how the magazines implicitly present essentialist accounts of gender. For example, in Chapter Six, I show how men's biological need for sex is assumed and implied in the texts via the processes of presupposition and implicature (see section 7.2.1).

2.2.1.3 Feminism and women's magazines

Second wave feminists have been campaigning against the discrimination of women as a global group since the 1960s. Second wave feminism has achieved a great deal in terms of

changing attitudes towards the role of women in Western society, affecting legislation relating to equal opportunities, childcare, contraception and abortion (Mills 2004: 1). The question of whether women's magazines launched following the development of second wave feminism are informed by feminist ideas has been a prominent theme in studies of women's magazines (Gill 2007: 198).

Caldas-Coulthard (1996: 253) notes that 'glossy' magazines (see section 3.1) demonstrate "an acceptance and incorporation of some basic feminist and liberal principles", but that "[t]he conservative discourse of separate spheres between men and women and of female passivity [...] continue to coexist with a liberal discourse of the independent woman." This perceived flux between female passivity and independence, between empowerment and subordination, problematises the notion of women's magazines as feminist discourses. Earlier studies, influenced by the second wave, provided textual analyses highlighting the ways in which women's magazines are in contradiction with feminist principles (e.g. Friedan 1963; Tuchman et al, 1978). These studies were therefore motivated by a desire to uncover 'unreal' images of women and promote more positive images that were more in line with the feminist movement (Gough-Yates, 2002: 8). Media scholars in the 1980s began to adopt more ideologically-driven analyses of women's magazines, asserting that they were "instruments of domination" (Gough-Yates, 2002: 9) influenced by Althusser's work on ideology (for example Glazer, 1980; Leman, 1980).

McRobbie (1996) asserts that the 'conventional' feminist critique of women's magazines as exemplifying oppression – one that her earlier work on *Jackie* magazine in the 1970s and 80s subscribed to – is unhelpful, as it "avoids reflecting on the relation feminism might have with the girls who read these publications [...] [t]his in turn generates an enormous polarisation between 'the feminists' and the magazines and their readers" (1996: 180).

In a similar vein, Winship argues that:

we shouldn't just contemplate the many and inevitable ways [women's magazines] are not feminist, but also consider what they might say to feminism.

What can we learn from these magazines to enrich a feminist politics?

(Winship, 1987: 139)

Winship's work (1983, 1985, 1987) charted the changing content of women's magazines from the 1950s to the 1980s. She is one of a number of scholars (e.g. Hermes, 1995; Talbot, 1998) who acknowledges the 'pleasure' of women's magazines, but asserts that the

pleasure derived from them “depends on being familiar with the cultural codes of what is meant to be pleasurable, and on occupying the appropriate spaces” (1987: 52).

In light of this, a more coherent, and reflexive dialogue between feminism and women’s magazines could contribute significantly to the development of feminist movements. For example, women’s magazines could helpfully contribute to feminist activism if their producers could provide coherent, consistent content addressing feminist issues, such as unequal rates of pay between men and women, equal access to contraception for women and violence against women. While there is evidence that some of the glossy magazines are influenced by feminist thought, by the inclusion of articles on domestic violence (Asiana) and career advice, there are paradoxes here: for instance, women are represented as assertive, yet increasingly sexually available to men (Tincknell et al, 2003).

Additionally, as Gill (2007: 200) points out, unlike other feminist discourses, women’s magazines promote individual, rather than a social transformation, despite the illusion of ‘synthetic sisterhood’ constructed via second person address and other tactics of synthetic personalization. Women’s magazines are not critical of structural inequalities; they do not circulate around discourses of patriarchy, ideology and dominance. It is notable that the only magazine to directly address issues like gender inequality in politics or include items on women working in cultural industries is Diva magazine, specifically for lesbian readerships. This is worrying because it contributes to the idea that ‘feminism is only for lesbians’. The absence of such articles in magazines for heterosexual women also assumes that straight women are not interested in these issues.

Women’s magazines could also contribute to feminist practice if they acknowledged that men and women are more similar than different, rather than representing male and female subjects as inherently different, requiring dichotomous gender work. If it was consistently acknowledged that men do not all behave the same way in relationships, that a difference in sexual behaviour between the sexes is not natural and inevitable, then women’s magazines would pose a challenge to ideologies around male sexuality that serve to justify male sexual violence against women.

It is acknowledged by writers like Winship (1987) and McRobbie (1996) that women’s magazines have great potential as feminist discourses, because of their celebration of women’s lives to a mass audience. Glossy magazines such as Marie Claire and Cosmopolitan in particular have been praised for their increased focus on issues that extend beyond advertisements for the latest mascara or advice on how to get the new boy from the office

to notice you (Gill, 2007: 199). However, these magazines still promote heterosexual relationships as the end goal for any woman, and the kinds of men women are encouraged to pursue are those who conform to hegemonic ideals of machismo; they don't work in low-paid jobs, they're not emotional and they don't wear eyeliner. For women's magazines to deconstruct some of the gender stereotypes they promote would be one way of contributing to a feminist understanding of gender relations. I place my own research within this context of women's magazines as contributing to a developing feminist politics and praxis.

2.2.1.4 Sexuality and women's magazines

2.2.1.4.1 Heteronormativity

The term 'heteronormativity' was first coined by Warner (1993) and refers to "the assumption that everyone is heterosexual and the recognition that all social institutions [...] are built around a heterosexual model of male/female relations" (Nagel 2003: 49-50, cited in Baker 2008a: 109). Heteronormativity is therefore aligned with essentialist definitions of gender and the notion that all human beings can be categorised along a male/female binary, and promotes the notion that "sexual relations are only normal when they occur between two people of the opposite sex" (Baker 2008a: 109). Consequently, heteronormativity is also engaged in the silencing of non-heterosexual practices.

There is a thread of research focusing on sexuality in women's magazines that has identified the presence of this universal heterosexuality (e.g. Farvid and Braun, 2006; Kehily, 1999; McLoughlin, 2008). Jackson asserts that the magazines she read in her study were "relentlessly heterosexual" (1996: 58).

McRobbie (1996: 190) also notes that when women's magazines include features on homosexuality, this "is always done in an obviously sympathetic way which only confirms the status of heterosexuality as the norm". In an analysis of a problem page from *Bliss* magazine, McLoughlin's (2008) demonstrates how the agony aunt's reply frames homosexuality as a stage that the letter writer will grow out of, thereby confirming that normality of heterosexuality in the text. Gough and Talbot (1996) also make a similar argument, in their discussion of a problem page from the *Sunday Mirror* newspaper, in which the letter is interpreted as implying that homosexual experiences are legitimate, providing they ultimately function to confirm heterosexuality.

In a recent survey of women's magazines, Gill (2007: 200) notes that where they are referenced, homosexual men are presented as "style accessories" for young women. This renders them desexualised, which further reiterates a heterosexist ideology. Ménard and Kleinplatz (2008) conducted a study on how men and women's magazines' sex advice promotes the achievement of 'great sex', and found that discussions of sex contribute to constructions of gender-role stereotypes and promote heteronormative discourses. I will show how mainstream women's magazines presuppose this universal heterosexuality via a number of linguistic and visual strategies, including the use of male pronouns to refer to objects of sexual desire and 'eroticised' images of men, through the use of adjectival descriptions focusing on sexual attractiveness (see Chapter Four section X); these in turn discount sexualised images of women and the linguistic placement of women as objects of desire for female readers.

2.2.1.4.2 Female Sexuality

Recent studies on women's magazines acknowledge an increasing focus on female sexuality in women's magazines (Gill 2007; Tincknell et al 2003). This may be attributed to a general increased awareness of female sexuality, triggered by second and third wave feminisms. Gill (2007) asserts that since the 1990s, there have been a number of discernible shifts in the content of women's magazines, including "an emphasis on (heterosexual) sex" (2007: 184). She lists three prevailing discourses of sexuality in 'glossy' women's magazines:

- Emphasis on pleasing your man
- Sexual frontierism – women are encouraged to try new things to avoid getting 'stuck in a rut'.
- Feminist (postfeminist) discourse about taking charge sexually

(Adapted from Gill 2007: 192)

Discussions of female sexuality in women's magazines acknowledge that although women are often represented as sexually confident, this is couched in a necessity to please men (Firminger, 2006; Jeffries, 2007; Litosseliti, 2006; McLoughlin, 2008). In particular, Holloway (1984) refers to a 'male sexual drive' discourse that prevails in women's magazines, where men 'cannot help' having a high sex drive. This ideology of masculinity is also reflected in the data of this study, where men's natural virility is assumed via the processes of presupposition and implicature (see section 7.2.1 below). The construction of an essentialist binary between male and female sexuality has been considered in much research on gender representation in women's magazines (Kehily 1999; Litosseliti 2006;

McLoughlin 2008; McRobbie 1996). McLoughlin found that in teenage girls' magazines, "male sexuality is prioritised, and that females are the passive recipients of male activity" (2008: 179). Additionally, Farvid and Braun's (2006) thematic study of male and female sexuality in six issues of *Cleo* and *Cosmopolitan* also found that men are represented as more sexually adventurous than women. This also reflects the distinction between representations of male activity and female passivity that linguists using transitivity analysis have observed in women's magazines (Eggins and Iedema 1997; Jeffries 2007), and other non-fictional and fictional texts (Burton 1982; Mills 1995; Wareing 1990, 1994).

McLoughlin's textual analysis of 'sex specials' shows how the magazines assume that men are afraid of committing to women (2008: 181), but that for women, long-term relationships are privileged over short-term sexual encounters (2008: 179). This correlates with Farvid and Braun's findings, where women are presented as in pursuit of 'The One', which is in turn presented as women's ultimate goal (2006: 299).

McLoughlin (2008) found that men are represented as ignorant when it comes to issues like contraception and menstruation (2008: 180). Stibbe's study on *Men's Health* magazine also supports this, where "instructions on the best way to have sex and [...] descriptions of great sex, condoms are never mentioned, creating a positive image of unsafe sex" (2004: 47). The practicalities of sexual health in both men's and girls' magazines is also therefore constructed as women's responsibility.

2.2.2 The 'voice of a friend'

As well as ideologies of femininity, there have also been some studies examining the stylistic form of women's magazines (e.g. McLoughlin, 2000), which also involves a consideration of the constructed relationship between the implied reader and the writers of women's magazines (Talbot, 1992). Talbot (1992) examines the 'text population' of real and imaginary characters, investigating the text as a "tissue of voices" for indices of people addressing one another (1992: 176). She shows how, in order to simulate friendly face-to-face interaction with the reader, text producers use what Fairclough terms "synthetic personalization", which is the "tendency to give the impression of treating each of the people 'handled' en masse as an individual" (1989: 62). This involves techniques such as using informal vocabulary to set up a friendly, 'chatty' relationship with the reader, and inclusive *we* to refer to both the writer and reader. The writers minimise the social distance between themselves and the reader in order to address the reader as a friend (1992: 189). Other linguistic studies of women's magazines have made similar points about how the texts

address the reader: Jeffries (2007) also comments on the use of direct address in her corpus of women's magazines via second person pronouns *you* and *your*.

McLoughlin's textbook-style account of magazines includes a consideration of both men's and women's magazines, although her focus is on women's magazines and femininity construction. She considers some of the linguistic features which make up the discourse of magazines, and explores the same features as Talbot in her analysis of how magazines address their mass audience in a way which give the impression of knowing the reader personally (McLoughlin, 2000: 68-70). Her account also includes an analysis of femininity construction in women's magazines and representations of masculinity in men's magazines: she compares two advertorials, one from *FHM* promoting skincare products, and one from *Cosmopolitan* advertising a make-up brand. She notes how in *FHM* the text producers encourage the male ideal reader to commence a beauty regime, but behind closed doors, whereas in the *Cosmopolitan* article it is assumed that the female reader will already have a beauty regime. Her findings are evidence for a wider gender ideology that the consumption of beauty products is a necessary part of femininity construction, but is treated as in opposition to traditional masculine construction. There is also evidence for this ideology in my data (see sections 4.1.3.2.1 and 7.2.2).

2.2.3 Practices and approaches in the analysis of women's magazines

The majority of research that has been carried out on gender representation in women's magazines, as well as focusing mainly on constructions of femininity, is also mainly derived from areas like sociology, cultural studies and psychology (e.g. McRobbie, 1996; Winship, 1987; Taylor, 2008). Although language is often the analytical focus in textual analyses from these disciplines, little attention is paid to grammatical structure or lexical choice, in other words, of how language actually works to *produce* these representations. If we can understand the mechanics of *how* a text creates linguistic images of masculinity, then we can understand more about how readers might reach these possible interpretations of the texts, and therefore the kinds of effects they may have on the reader. There is *some* linguistics-based research on women's magazines that has proved invaluable in the design and implementation of my study (e.g. Jeffries, 2007; Eggins and Iedma, 1997; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Motschenbacher, 2009); this thesis represents a small contribution to this growing body of work.

2.2.3.1 Linguistic approaches

Much of the work that has been done on women's magazines in linguistics comes from a CDA-inspired perspective (Talbot, 1995; Eggins and Iedema, 1997; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Jeffries, 2007; Williams, 2007; Motschenbacher, 2009). Most of these constitute small-scale, qualitative analyses of the texts, with the exception of del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) and Motschenbacher (2009), who also incorporate corpus techniques. Jeffries' (2007) study can also be considered a 'corpus' study, as she examined quite a large dataset, with 86 texts in total, although she did not explicitly employ quantitative techniques to explore linguistic patterns. It was Jeffries' work that provided both the impetus, and importantly the analytical model, for my own study. Working within a broad CDA framework, Jeffries' analysis of women's magazines aimed to investigate the 'problem' of the texts' representations of women's bodies, as a reflection of wider ideologies concerning idealised femininity. Unlike other critical linguistic studies of women's magazines, Jeffries' work presented a coherent, systematic model for analysing texts. The textual-conceptual functions that the model is based on (see Chapter Three below for an explication of these) are useful for thinking about what any text is "doing", in other words, the ideological effect it produces. This places an explicit focus on the ideological function of language, which other analyses of textual representation in women's magazines have not emphasised to the same extent. In her discussion of the role of men in her data, Jeffries states that "the male is largely absent from the scene [...] and is only referred to in relation to problems [...] and as a partner in relation to (assumed heterosexual) sex" (2007: 70). In this assessment, the role of men is downplayed, but, as I hope my analysis shows, representations of men can be seen as significant in (re)producing norms of femininity as well as masculinity in the texts.

Del-Teso-Craviotto's study utilises corpus linguistic techniques in her analysis of the vocabulary of a corpus of four women's magazines. She argues that while lexical items like 'man' and 'woman' are shared across all four magazines, an examination of the contexts of use reveals that they are used differently in the different genres of magazine. For example, in what she calls the 'traditional' magazines (more or less equivalent to the 'domestic weeklies' in my corpus) the lemma MAN occurred much less frequently than in the 'progressive' magazines (equivalent to the 'glossies' in my corpus) (2006: 2014). Interestingly, she found that the lemma MAN co-occurred with words indicating a romantic interest in men in *Cosmopolitan*, such as 'romantic', 'perfect' and 'sexy', whereas in *Ms* magazine, MAN appeared close to words relating to social categorisation, such as 'young', 'gay', 'black', and 'managers' (2006: 2015). I found a similar pattern in my corpus, where

descriptions of men relating to familial kinship were much more frequent in the domestic weeklies than in the glossies, where naming strategies are focused more on the reader's romantic relationships with men (see Chapter Four below). This reflects the different target readerships of the two genres; as magazines like *Cosmopolitan* are targeted at younger readers than the more traditional, domestic weekly magazines, it is expected that these readers will be single. The higher frequency of lexis relating to fatherhood and marriage in the domestic weeklies suggests that it is expected that older women will be married and have children.

Eggins and Iedema's (1997) social semiotic study of six issues each of two Australian women's magazines *New Woman* and *SHE* also argues that the increasing volume of titles on offer in the women's magazine market means that in theory there is a plethora of femininities on display. However, they also find that despite the apparent differences, the magazines are linked by a "largely internally consistent ideology of femininity" (1997: 166), and therefore offer "difference without diversity" (1997: 193). They assert that both *New Woman* and *SHE* engage in the 'desocialization' of men and women, where differences in social class or ethnicity, for example, are not explicitly stated. This is not entirely true of my corpus, which does include nominal labels such as 'brother' (denoting African-American ethnicity), and pre-modifying adjectives like 'Asian' that do characterise men according to social categories (see Chapter Four below).

Eggins and Iedema's study does attempt to look at some frequency patterns, but no actual figures are given; instead features are rather vaguely coded as either '+', '-', '=' or '#', meaning the text displays 'comparatively frequent'; 'infrequent'; 'moderate' or 'variable' use of a feature (1997: 171). However, the authors do uncover some interesting findings. Using Halliday's metafunctions as an organising principle for their analysis, the authors found differences in linguistic patterns across the two magazines' covers, contents pages, letters, columns and features. Looking at the magazine covers, Eggins and Iedema found that *New Woman* makes specific reference to the reader's identity through second person pronouns *you* and *your*, while on the cover of *SHE*, participants were non-celebrity individuals or generic groups (1997: 171).

2.2.3.2 Reading women's magazines: ethnographic audience studies

As well as text-based analyses, a number of studies have investigated the relationship between the magazines and their readers, using ethnographic data to analyse reader's

responses to the texts (Frazer, 1987; Ballaster et al, 1991; Hermes, 1993, 1995). These studies aim to measure the impact of ideologies of femininity as suggested by scholars of textual analyses. The results of these studies are inconclusive, with some proposing that readers are able to adopt 'critical' or 'conscious' approaches to content (e.g. Frazer, 1987; McLoughlin, 2008), where others assert that the texts ultimately have 'no meaning' for their readers (Hermes, 1995).

Ballaster et al (1991) concluded from their interviews with women that readers were acutely aware of the magazines as "bearers of particular discourses of femininity" (1991: 127), and reported that some readers were able to adopt a critical approach to reading the texts (1991: 37). Frazer also reports on the "self-conscious and reflexive approach to texts" of the young readers of *Jackie* magazine she spoke to (1987: 419), and there is evidence of the readers being aware of the ideologies of femininity constructed by the texts, and their own resistance to them (1987: 416-418). The idea of the conscious reader is also reflected in McLoughlin's (2008) study of 'sex specials' in British teenage girls' magazines *Bliss* and *Sugar* using a combination of CDA and ethnographic interviews. She found that while most of the comments from the younger group of readers (14 years old) aligned with the magazines' ideal readers, in that they felt the magazines were reliable sources of information, they occasionally showed 'awareness' of "the text producer's schemes" (2008: 190). Additionally, most of the comments from the older group (15 years old) were coded as 'critical' (2008: 190).

Hermes conducted 75 interviews with readers of women's magazines, and found that, interestingly, the readers imbued the texts with meanings that were independent of the content of the magazines themselves. Her interviewees talked about how reading the magazines fitted into the context of their everyday lives, but did not expound much on the content of the texts themselves. Hermes therefore concluded that the 'messages' of women's magazines are not significant (1993: 504).

Taylor (2008) conducted a more experimental study of reader response. He asked 120 female participants to read one of four articles from *Cosmopolitan*. Two of the articles framed sex in terms of long-term, committed relationships, the other two in terms of pleasure and enjoyment. After reading the articles, participants were asked "evaluative questions" about what they had read, then completed measures of partner trait preferences under the pretence of answering questionnaires to "help researchers understand [their] responses" to the article (2008: 275). While an important contribution to psychological accounts of the reading process of women's magazines, Taylor's study is based on intuitive

assumptions about what the texts are 'about', rather than a textual analysis of content. Therefore I suggest that future analyses of the effects of gender representation in women's magazines would benefit from a 'triangulation' of linguistic analysis, ethnographic and experimental methods.

It is my opinion that while magazines are 'easily put down' (Hermes, 1995), they are consumed by large numbers of readers and therefore still constitute a potential influence on how women perceive the roles of men in their lives.

2.3 Men's magazines

The fact that there is also an abundance of research on masculinity in men's magazines formed part of the rationale for my study, as I was interested to find out whether the kinds of images of masculinity sold to consumers of men's magazines would also be present in women's magazines. In this section, I discuss previous research on men's magazines, which while being cross-disciplinary, also reveals unifying trends. The literature outlines three broad genres of men's magazine that correspond with three symbolic manifestations of the ideal reader: the Old Man, the New Man and the New Lad, which also correspond broadly with developments in feminism. The Old Man is perceived as correlating with pre-second wave traditional masculinity; the New Man represents a response to changing gender roles in the wake of feminist movements, where the New Lad is interpreted as a 'backlash' to feminism in a third wave or 'post-feminist' era. The survey that follows therefore provides an informative backdrop to my analysis of women's magazines.

2.3.1 New men to new lads: the backlash to feminism

Studies of masculinity and popular culture have theorised masculinity in terms of three figures: the Old Man, New Man and New Lad (Chapman and Rutherford, 1988; Edwards, 2003; Nixon, 2001; Gill, 2003). Edwards (2003) characterises the Old Man as typifying pre-feminist sexism, associated with magazines such as *Playboy* and "defined rigidly through his heterosexuality" (2003: 138). The New Man is associated with the emergence of men's style magazines in the 1980s such as *The Face*, *GQ* and *Arena*, that focused on men's fashion, and is conceptualised as 'feminist-friendly', entrepreneurial and sexually ambiguous (Edwards, 2003: 139). The New Lad is linked to the launch of 'lads mags' like *FHM*, *Loaded* and *Maxim* in the mid-90s, which replaced this focus on fashion and style with an emphasis on "more 'laddish' forms of masculinity, associated with drinking, sport and sex" (Jackson et al, 2001: 1).

Feminist writers on masculinity and men's magazines have documented the rise of the New Lad in terms of a 'backlash' against the New Man and his 'pro-feminist' principles (Benwell 2003b; Edwards 2003; Franks 1999; Whelehan 2000). In this narrative, the kind of masculinity promoted in these magazines is perceived as a return to 'traditional', or 'hegemonic' forms, which are "made apparently more palatable by a mischievous knowingness (commonly termed *irony*) which enables it to survive in a post-feminist era" (Benwell, 2001: 19). As Mills (2008: 11) also observes, this attempt at ironic distance promotes sexist values, 'disguised' as harmless humour.

2.3.2 Studies of men's magazines

As with studies of women's magazines, the majority of the available literature on men's magazines has been conducted in fields like cultural studies and media studies (Breazeale, 1994; Nixon, 1996; Jackson et al, 2001; Crewe, 2003; Edwards, 2003), although there is a small growing body of work within linguistics (e.g. Benwell, 2001, 2002; 2003a, 2003b; 2004; Stibbe, 2004). Benwell in particular (2003b: 151) calls for the application of linguistic models to the analysis of masculinity in socio-cultural studies of these texts. While I have decided to make a distinction between socio-cultural and linguistic studies of men's magazines here, there are many crossovers in terms of their findings; I uphold this distinction purely for the purposes of documenting differences of approach.

2.3.2.1 Socio-cultural studies of men's magazines

While most of the literature on men's magazines adopts a feminist standpoint, Jackson et al (2001) are an exception in their conscious efforts to "avoid a tone of moral outrage or blanket condemnation" (2001: 3). Instead, they emphasise the "harmless fun" of men's magazines. Their study reports on research into magazine marketing, focus group work, and content analysis, aiming to "explore the ambivalent spaces that [lads mags] occupy" (2001: 1). Their discussion of the contents of men's magazines show how the concept of marriage and long-term relationships are viewed as "a form of social constraint" preventing men from "living a life of consumptive and sexual freedom" (2001: 81). Being single is therefore celebrated, as autonomy and independence are highly valued. The reverse is true in women's magazines, which promote the idea of long-term relationships, and in particular marriage, as the ideal goal for any woman (e.g. Farvid and Braun, 2006; McLoughlin, 2008). The idea that men are afraid of commitment is certainly present in my corpus, however, interestingly, while there is much evidence to suggest a similarly 'laddish' attitude to relationships is presented in women's magazines, images of more caring, sensitive

masculinities are also more visible in my data. For example, an analysis of naming strategies demonstrates that men are seen to occupy roles of father and husband, and modified positively with lexis connoting nurturing or emotional behaviour (see Chapter Three below).

Interestingly, Benwell (2002: 157) notes that while the focus group interviews in Jackson et al's (1999) study revealed the "easily put down" nature of men's magazines that Hermes (1995) also identified in relation to women's magazines, where they are described as "superficial" and "vacuous" (Jackson et al, 1999: 358), conversely, the 'pleasure' of men's magazines is also evident: one focus group participant revealed he kept a stash of all the back copies of one particular magazine. As with women's magazines, then, studies of men's magazines reveal a tension between the texts as disposable consumer products, and style bibles for 'doing' femininity or masculinity.

Commentators on the men's magazine market have also noted how the increasing visibility of the male body in men's style magazines of the 1980s revealed tensions between sexualised images of masculinity in fashion and advertising, and the need to assert unambiguously heterosexual representations (Simpson, 1994). Adopting Laura Mulvey's concept of the 'male gaze' from psychoanalysis, Nixon (1996, 1997) and Edwards (1997) analyse practices of spectatorship in menswear retailing, advertising, marketing and magazine culture. They argue that as the implied gaze of images in magazines like *GQ* and *Arena* is potentially homoerotic, this gives rise to tensions between these and textual content of the magazines. In 'lads mags' of the 1990s, however, the glaring focus on "drinking to excess, adopting a predatory attitude towards women and obsessive forms of independence" (Jackson et al, 2001: 78) pointed to an unambiguously heterosexual implied reader. In my own study, the most prevalent ideologies of masculinity seem to align with those documented in men's magazine studies; the difference is in how they are valued by the magazine writers. For example, while it is assumed that men adopt a 'predatory attitude' towards women (see Chapter Seven), it is not presented as an ideal aspect of masculinity, but one which must be tolerated as a fundamental 'truth' of masculine identity. This finding demonstrates one of the ways in which the magazines reformulate the New Lad for a specifically female audience in women's magazines.

2.3.2.2 Linguistic studies of men's magazines

The interdisciplinary edited collection *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines* (Benwell, 2003a) is one of the most comprehensive studies of men's magazines, and contains a number of chapters dedicated to the linguistic construction of masculinities (Baker, 2003;

Benwell, 2003b; Taylor and Sunderland, 2003). Adopting a broadly Faircloughian approach to CDA, Benwell's (2003b) study describes the "perpetual oscillation" between traditional, idealised forms of masculinity and "ironic, fallible and anti-heroic masculinity" (2003: 157). She defines 'heroic' or 'traditional' masculinity as that associated with "muscularity, physical labour, outdoor settings, heroic activities, sport and violence", and anti-heroism as forms associated with "ordinariness, weakness, and self-reflexiveness" (2003: 157). She analyses an extract from a tribute to Clint Eastwood from *GQ* magazine, demonstrating how the writer presents him as the agent of material action intention processes, physical actions which have a direct affect on objects in the world. Benwell asserts that while heroic masculinity is what the magazine writers aspire to, anti-heroism is "what he inevitably falls back on" (2003b: 157). I found a similar distinction between heroic and anti-heroic representations of men in women's magazines, but for women, heroic behaviour also involves the promise of happily ever after: metaphorical nouns label men as 'princes' and 'heroes' (see section 4.1.3.2.3).

Taylor and Sunderland's chapter also adopts a CDA approach to the analysis of an article from *Maxim* about a male sex worker, Peter, and shows how positive representations construct him as a sex expert and in control (2003: 176). They also suggest that the absence of references to a long-term partner means that Peter is represented as a free agent, aligning with the prevailing discourses of *Maxim*, where men are represented as seasonally single (2003: 177). This differs considerably from the article on female sex workers analysed by Caldas-Coulthard (1996), in which long-term heterosexual relationships were implicitly constructed as the desired goal. Being an escort is treated here as unproblematic for men, where for women it is seen as 'degrading' (2003: 178).

In an earlier study, Benwell (2001) analysed a letters page from *Loaded* magazine to show how ritual insults function as a cohesive device that promotes the 'hegemonic subculture' of laddish modes of masculinity, which exclude women and gay men, and promote drinking, heterosexual sex and sexism. Her analysis also makes a connection between 'male gossip' in spoken discourse (Johnson and Finlay, 1997) and the 'banter' present in men's magazines (2001: 21). She reports on the high frequency of taboo language in men's magazines, which is also supported by more quantitative studies such as del-Teso-Craviotto's (2005) comparative corpus study. Benwell (2002) analyses how humour and irony in conjunction with visual images allows for hegemonic forms of masculinity to dominate, while appearing to offer alternatives. She also makes a connection between Butler's definition of gender as a "stylized repetition of acts" (1988: 519) and depictions of masculinity in men's magazines, but does not emphasise the need to also question the

distinction made between textual and spoken performances of gender, which this study in part aims to do.

Stibbe (2004) conducted a critical discourse analytic study of six issues of the U.S. edition of *Men's Health* magazine, which demonstrates how hegemonic masculinity is promoted as the desirable form. He found that the magazine presents certain 'ideal' masculine behaviours and attributes, including: increased muscularity, meat-eating, beer-drinking, the consumption of convenience food, (hetero)sexual prowess and television watching (particularly sport). These correlate with behaviours associated with the figure of the New Lad. Stibbe's analysis reveals the kinds of overt instances of sexism found in British lads' mags of the 1990s which commentators describe as a 'backlash' against feminism (Benwell 2003b, 2004; Gill 2003, 2007). Although Stibbe claims to be approaching the texts from a feminist perspective, the construction of heteronormativity, for example, is largely ignored.

While Benwell's (2001) qualitative study of "telling illustrations" was based on a corpus of men's magazine data, the only other corpus-based study of men's magazines is that of Baker (2003), but this is specifically focused on the language used in personal ads in magazines for gay men, and therefore is not overtly invested in challenging hegemonic forms. However, his findings indicate that the kinds of masculine displays valued in gay magazine personal ads are in fact those that align with hegemony: the most frequent adjectival collocates of male identities were lexis such as *straight-acting*, *non-scene* and *non-camp*, words which link masculinity to heterosexuality (Baker, 2003: 250). Baker interprets his findings in terms of the 'eroticization' of the male body in the 1980s, where the sexualised images of the male body in the media (including the men's lifestyle magazine market) became more mainstream (Baker, 2003: 256-7). At the same time, he argues, gay men were represented increasingly negatively, with the introduction of Clause 28 in 1988, and the tabloid press' declarations that HIV and AIDS was 'a gay disease' (Baker, 2003: 256). It may be, therefore, that in the light of this stigmatization of homosexuality and celebration of heterosexual masculinity, there resulted an 'identity crisis', causing advertisers to become "increasingly fixated on the idea of stereotypical heterosexual masculinity" (2003: 258).

2.4 Comparative magazine studies

As well as studies focusing solely on either men's or women's magazines, there is also a collection of studies, particularly on textual representation, comparing gender construction in both men's and women's magazines (for example del-Teso-Craviotto, 2005; Moschenbacher, 2009). These have compared constructions of femininity in women's

magazines with representations of masculinity in men's magazines; as far as I am aware, my study is unique in focusing *solely* on masculinity in relation to women's magazines.

As with singular studies, the majority of comparative studies have been conducted in sociology and cultural studies. Malkin et al's (1999) comparative content analysis of 21 women's and men's magazine covers demonstrated that while women's magazine covers use 'sell lines' that focus on improving physical appearance, men's magazine covers emphasise entertainment, expanding knowledge and pastimes.

In their study of social agency and moral discourse in teenage and men's magazines, Tincknell et al (2003) observe that where men are central to constructions of normative femininity in teenage girls' magazines, women serve a peripheral role in men's magazines, functioning solely as objects of desire. In girls' magazines, men are both sexual objects and owners of social agency, which results in "a constant and profoundly anxious solicitation of male opinion and approval that fits uneasily with the assertion of 'girl power'" (Tincknell et al 2003: 59).

Psychological research into male body image in men's and women's magazines shows that "the ideal male body marketed to men is more muscular than the ideal male body marketed to women" (Frederick et al 2005: 81). In their study of representations of male body image in men's and women's magazines, Frederick et al (2005) compared images of men from the front covers and centrefolds of *Cosmopolitan*, *Men's Health*, *Men's Fitness* and *Muscle and Fitness* to see if the contrast between men's perceptions of women's preferences and women's actual preferences were reflected in differences in visual representations of men. Their findings indicated that female-audience magazines present less muscular images of men than male-audience magazines, which implies that male physical appearance in general is constructed as less important to women than men's behavioural or mental attributes in women's magazines. This finding seems to be supported in my analysis, where behaviour, in particular sexual behaviour, is lexicalised more frequently than physical appearance (see chapters Four - Seven).

Motschenbacher (2009) investigates the performative construction of masculinity and femininity via body-part vocabulary in a corpus of advertising texts taken from *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health*. He found that lexis such as *muscles* and *six pack* occurred more frequently in *Men's Health* than *Cosmopolitan*, and concluded that while these terms are not lexically gendered (Hellinger & Bussmann, 2001–2003), i.e. there is nothing in the denotative meanings of these terms that can be said to directly index gender (Ochs, 1992),

they are associated with masculine performance, or what Ochs (1992) would term 'indirect' indices of gender. While most comparative studies of men's and women's magazines take the notion of gender difference as a starting point, Motschenbacher places his study more firmly within a poststructuralist framework by asserting that he takes *similarity* between men's and women's bodies as a basic assumption (2009: 5). His theoretical approach to the texts is therefore very similar to my own in wanting to investigate kinds of lexis that have come to 'mean' masculinity in women's magazines. My analysis of body part lexis also shows that body part vocabulary that does not directly index gender (those items that do not refer to male or female sex organs) in fact indirectly indexes masculinity due to their co-occurrence with specifically male referents (see section 4.1.4 below).

2.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed some of the key literature on women's and men's magazines, from various disciplines and methodological approaches, in order to place this study in an appropriate empirical context. I have identified some key themes arising from text analyses of women's magazines, some of which my own analysis attends to, such as the construction of heterosexuality, and an ideology of gender as a biological construct. I identified that one of the unique aspects of this study lies in its investigation of men and masculinity, not femininity, and in its combination of corpus-based analysis with a critical linguistic framework. I discussed commentators of men's magazines' identification of a form of masculinity termed the New Lad; the analysis in chapters Four - Seven shows how some of the behaviours and practices associated with men in the glossy genre of women's magazines in this study can be interpreted as constructions of New Lad masculinity for a female audience, which represents a unique perspective on gender construction in women's magazines. In the next chapter, I discuss my methods of data collection, and describe the analytical processes used in my exploration of the women's magazine corpus in Chapters Four – Seven.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter I outline the methods of data collection and analysis used in this study. First I discuss my methods of data collection, outlining how I built the corpus of women's magazines, and provide a breakdown of the corpus contents, including a consideration of the different magazine genres and text types that the corpus comprises. I talk about the different target demographics of the magazines in relation to the distinction made between the 'glossy' and 'domestic weekly' genres of magazine. I then discuss my methods of analysis, detailing how I have combined the model of Critical Stylistics with some basic corpus linguistic tools.

3.1 Corpus build and design

To collect the data for this study, I simply went to a popular high-street retailer in Huddersfield and bought all the women's magazines relevant to my research questions (see section 1.1 above) that were available on that particular day. As the magazines were chosen based on their relevance to the research questions, only general lifestyle magazines were chosen, and only those which would be likely to reveal something about men and gender relations. Magazines concerned with issues such as parenting were excluded on the basis that fatherhood is an aspect of masculinity which is outside the scope of this study. The sample is also limited by practical issues of data collection: I collected the magazines that were available from one particular retailer, as it was not practical for me to scour the shelves of a number of retailers; I also collected all the magazines on one day, which means it is possible that I have not managed to obtain a copy of all of the available relevant women's magazines sold by the retailer. Given this 'opportunistic' method of data collection, the magazine sample cannot be said to be representative of *all* UK women's magazines, merely of the lifestyle publications from a specific retailer. It would have been easier to create a more balanced corpus if I had decided to use the e-versions of magazines, but a quick glance at the contents of these confirmed that the available content of online publications is much more limited than the print versions, and I suspect that the print versions attract a much wider audience than their corresponding websites because of this. Indeed, according to ABC, in the period June-January 2013, digital editions only made up 3.2% of *Cosmopolitan* magazine's total circulation (Sedghi, 2013).

Articles were selected from the magazines based on whether the topic in some way related to men or relationships, including interviews with or profiles of individual celebrities. Therefore the data includes articles concerning both collective and individual male identities. The resulting data comprises 148 magazine articles. The magazines cover a wide range of target readerships, including differences in terms of age, race, class and sexuality. Following

Hermes, the magazines can also be grouped into two different subgenres; 'glossy' magazines and 'domestic weeklies' (1995: 6). The more traditional 'domestic weekly' magazines are those which place an emphasis on celebrity, true life stories, and tend to be produced on a weekly basis. The glossy magazines have a larger and wider range of content, use high quality 'glossy' print, and are usually published on a monthly basis. These two categories also comply with different target demographics according to socio-economic class: the glossy magazines are on the whole marketed at middle class readerships, whereas the weekly magazines are generally read and targeted at working class women (Hermes, 1995: 6). The 'domestic' magazine category also aligns with what Caldas-Coulthard terms 'traditional' magazines, where women are situated in a domestic sphere and the concept of femininity is "bound to family ideals of affection, loyalty and obligation and domestic production or housekeeping" (1996: 253).

In order to classify the magazines according to this distinction, I obtained information about the target demographics for each magazine from publishing company press packs, which were available from the magazine publishers' websites. *More* proved to be an interesting anomaly in this categorisation, as it contains elements of both the glossy and weekly genres: for example, it is targeted at younger readerships and contains instructional feature articles like the other glossies, but it is produced on a fortnightly basis, and includes a focus on celebrity culture. It has been categorised here as a domestic weekly for ease of reference, but this highlights the fact that these are by no means clear-cut labels. The resulting corpus contains articles from 10 glossy magazines and 11 domestic weeklies (see table 2 below).

The data were scanned into the computer using Optical Character Recognition software, and then manually edited for any errors made at the scanning stage and stored as separate text files. I then used the wordlist function in WordSmith Tools (Scott, 2008), to gather statistical information about the distribution of words across the corpus (see section 3.2.2.1 on frequency wordlists).

Magazine	Articles		Words	
	Number	% of corpus	Number	% of corpus
Asiana	16	10.8	17,333	10.7
Best	7	4.7	6,600	4.1
Company	8	5.4	9,115	5.6
Cosmopolitan	14	9.5	10,998	6.8
Diva	9	6.1	11,283	7
Easy Living	4	2.7	5,094	3.1
Ebony	9	6.1	9,224	5.7
Glamour	7	4.7	6,536	4
Love It	8	5.4	10,798	6.7
More	10	6.8	7,641	4.7
My Weekly	5	3.4	6,619	4.1
Pick Me Up	6	4	8,140	5
Pride	4	2.7	3,330	2.1
Real People	5	3.4	6,995	4.3
Scarlet	9	6.1	9,187	5.7
Take a Break	3	2	4,446	2.7
That's Life	6	4	6,327	3.9
Woman	5	3.4	3,770	2.3
Woman & Home	4	2.7	7,185	4.4
Woman's Own	4	2.7	3,347	2.1
Woman's Weekly	5	3.4	8,186	5
Total:	148	100	162,154	100

Table 1: Total frequencies of articles and words in each of the magazine sub-corpora

Table 1 shows that in terms of word frequency, the corpus is not balanced in terms of word counts belonging to each magazine. However, given that women's magazines are intended to be 'centre of interest' publications (McLoughlin, 2000: 2), I did not anticipate that there would be any great differences between each individual magazine in terms of gender representation. I was also limited by the available data, and I felt that leaving out data in order to ensure an equal number of words across each magazine may have resulted in an insufficient sample to answer my research questions.

Table 2 shows that the corpus is more equally balanced in terms of magazine genre, enabling a more direct comparison between genres of magazine than between the magazines themselves:

Magazine genre	Word frequency	% of corpus
Domestic weeklies	72,870	45%
Glossies	89,288	55%

Table 2: Frequency of words in the magazine genre sub-corpora

I anticipated that because magazines in the domestic weekly category are targeted at an older readership than the glossy magazines, these texts would be more likely to represent men in terms of their roles as fathers or husbands, rather than boyfriends. This finding was largely born out in the data (see section 4.1.3.1).

I will now delineate the different text types evident in the corpus.

3.1.2 Text types

As well as magazine genre, I also anticipated that there may be differences in the kinds of masculinity evident depending on text type.

Text types were identified prior to scanning the magazines into the computer, which involved analysing their content for references to men. Because of this, it was not possible to control the number of articles belonging to each text type. Standardising the number of words included in the samples of the different text types would have necessitated the exclusion of some text types, for example the review, but I wanted to capture as much data as possible to ensure a sufficiently large dataset. As a result, it is not possible to claim that the articles chosen for inclusion in the Women's Magazine (WM) corpus are representative of those text types. When making comparisons between different text types, I have used normalized frequencies, which does ensure greater comparability, but even this means that interpretations of findings should be tentative. However, I predicted that the different purposes of the various text types would give rise to some general differences in the textual representation of men which would be worthy of further analysis, and this was born out in the data. For example, I found that the real life stories were more likely to present violent images of men, and the fictional texts were more likely to present men meronymically in terms of their body parts.

The criteria used to identify the different text types was a combination of 'internal' and 'external' categories: 'internal' criteria refers to the linguistic components of a text, for example grammatical structure or lexical features; 'external' criteria relate to the perceived functions of the texts. For example, in terms of internal criteria, the problem page is based on a series of adjacency pairs. External criteria of problem pages are that these adjacency pairs constitute questions from the reader with corresponding answers from the resident 'agony aunt' or 'uncle'; the purpose of problem pages is therefore to provide a forum for readers to disclose their personal problems and seek advice from experts. The external criteria can be used to differentiate different text types that contain the same internal criteria. For example, one thing that differentiates problem pages from interviews is the fact that the adjacency pairs in interviews are representations of a conversation between the interviewer and a celebrity interviewee, with the dual purpose of providing the reader with information on that celebrity and promoting the commercial outputs that they are currently involved in, such as their latest film, television programme, album, etc.

The text-types which make up the largest proportions of the corpus are the features, interviews and real life stories, with each making up around a quarter of the corpus. The amount of space given to these text types is indicative of their status as staples of magazine discourse:

Text type	Number of articles	% of corpus	Total word frequency	% of corpus
Advertorials	3	2%	1,536	1%
Features	26	18%	35,459	22%
Fiction	8	5%	14,860	9%
Interviews	33	22%	35,046	22%
Opinion columns	13	9%	9,204	6%
Letters	4	3%	2,315	1%
Lists	3	2%	967	1%
Problem pages	15	10%	14,447	9%
Profiles	4	3%	1,379	1%
Reader surveys	6	4%	4,160	3%
Real life stories	26	18%	34,226	21%
Reports	6	4%	8,298	5%
Reviews	1	1%	261	0%
Total:	148	100	162,158	100

Table 3: Number of articles and word frequencies in the WM corpus per text type

According to the raw frequencies in Table 3 here, the text types which make up the largest proportions of the corpus, particularly in terms of word count, are the features, interviews

and real life stories. This indicates their importance to the discourse of women's magazines, and also suggests that these are the kinds of texts which are most concerned with representing men, given that the articles were chosen on the basis of whether or not they feature male identities or refer to men in some way.

I will now describe the internal and external features of the different text types in the corpus.

3.1.2.1 Advertorials

Advertorials are advertisements that are presented as feature articles, written to encourage readers to buy the products featured in them (McLoughlin, 2000: 101). There are only three of these in the women's magazine corpus: 'A man for all seasons' (*Easy Living*), 'The men who make you look good' (*Easy Living*) and 'My Place' (*Woman*). This is likely a reflection in itself of the fact that the kinds of products usually advertised in women's magazines are related to fashion and beauty, and these are topics that are incompatible with hegemonic masculinity, as the analysis in chapters Four - Seven indicates.

3.1.2.2 Opinion columns

Opinion columns are narrated from the point of view of one individual. As a result they are narrated in the first person, and have a persuasive rhetorical strategy. Of the 13 opinion pieces in the corpus, 7 are written by women, and 6 by men. Most of the columns are related to sex and relationships in some way. *Asiana* is interesting in that it contains two columns, one where the implied author is a man and the other in which the implied author is a woman. The two pages are graphically very similar, which suggests that they are intended to be read as male and female counterparts, implying that men and women have naturally different opinions, emphasising a discourse of gender differences. The column narrated from the perspective of a female writer is about how the fashion world is prejudiced against plus-size women; the one written from the point of view of a male writer is about how women are only interested in money when it comes to selecting a suitable partner. These are arguably stereotypically gendered topics, in that fashion is associated with femininity, and finances and careers are stereotypically perceived as male domains, indexing masculinity.

The tone of opinion columns is also often humorous, with writers exploiting irony and hyperbolic language.

3.1.2.3 Features

Delin (2000) identifies three key values in writing features in women's magazines: evidentiality, discursivity and point of view. 'Evidentiality' refers to writers' use of varied authoritative sources of information, such as direct quotations from experts; 'discursivity' refers to the explanatory and elaborative function of feature writing, as opposed to the representation of 'facts'; 'point of view' relates to their evaluative style – they represent opinions of the writer via 'affective' vocabulary (2000: 112). Features are similar to columns in their use of evaluative lexis, but differ from them in the amount of space given to expert voices, which also causes them to serve a more pedagogical function.

Out of the 26 features in the WM corpus, 17 are on the topic of sex and relationships. Most of these adopt an instructional tone, and include advice from 'experts' giving relationship advice to readers on how to obtain and keep a male partner, with the exception of the features in *Diva* magazine, which are about gay marriages and lesbian dating; they are included in the corpus because they also discuss men and heterosexual relationships.

3.1.2.4 Fiction

Fictional texts in women's magazines are imaginary narratives purportedly sent in by readers of the magazines, although some are also published authors, who use the fiction pages of the magazines as a platform for promoting their material.

While only two of these could really be described as 'romance' fiction, in that the central character is a young woman with a male love interest whom she finds "mysterious and domineering" (Wareing, 1994: 118), most of them are also centred on romantic relationships. I predicted that the fictional texts would be the text type most likely to include features such as body part agency, and metonymic representation of men via body part terms, which is discussed in section 6.5.

3.1.2.5 Interviews

The interviews are representations of conversations between a magazine writer and a celebrity; they are based on adjacency pairs, following a question and answer format. I have included interviews with male celebrities, but also interviews with female celebrities where there is some reference made to men, which is most often to do with romantic relationships.

3.1.2.6 Letters

The letters pages are a forum for the readers to have 'their say'; the ones included in the women's magazine corpus are letters pages specifically on the topic of men, and feature exclusively in the domestic weekly genre: 'You've got Male' from *Love It* magazine exploits the homophonic properties of *male* and *mail* to indicate that the letters included in it are all about men; *That's Life's* 'Aren't Men Daft' is a regular feature dedicated to displaying readers' pictures and anecdotes of their male partners' 'daft' exploits, and 'Him Indoors' from *Pick Me Up* magazine forms one section of a page, rather than a whole page, but is also a dedicated space where women can write in about the 'silly' behaviour of their partners. The fact that this type of letters page exists at all is exemplary of the idea that men are seen as an integral part of women's worlds, and that they are not just viewed as objects of desire, but also objects of ridicule.

3.1.2.7 Lists

The list text type is characterised by a numbered list of items, which are either instructional or informative: '6 Secrets of a Man's Wallet' (*Cosmopolitan*), '14 Things You Should Never Ask a Man to Do' (*More*), '8 Things Men Don't Want Women to See' (*Scarlet*). Lists concerning information about men are more likely to appear in the glossy genre, an indication of the fact that it is this genre of magazine which is most concerned with explaining the 'mystery of man' and how to behave around him, given that the assumption in the domestic magazines is that the reader has already successfully obtained a partner, and therefore has no further interest in 'understanding' men.

3.1.2.8 Problem pages

The problem pages are based on a 'question and answer' format, and feature the personal problems of readers who write in for advice from their resident 'agony aunts.' The problem page is a staple feature of women's magazines (McLoughlin, 2000), and can have either male or female advisors.

All the magazines in the women's magazine corpus contain a problem page, which is testament to their importance to the discourse of women's magazines. They differ only in terms of the kinds of experts giving advice: rather than the traditional agony aunt figure, *Scarlet's* problem page has 'pleasure aunts', who are 'sex and relationship experts,' which fits in with this magazine's explicit focus on sex. *Glamour* also makes use of a panel of 'experts', while *Take a Break* describes their agony aunts as 'buddies'; 'real' women who can offer advice as a 'friend'. Domestic weekly magazines *Best* and *Pick Me Up* both have celebrity agony aunts: Lorraine Kelly and Jeremy Kyle, respectively. Jeremy Kyle is a television chat show host who presents *The Jeremy Kyle Show*, in which members of the

public come on air to divulge their personal problems and dilemmas, often related to family feuds, in front of a live studio audience. Jeremy Kyle acts as a mediator between the participants on the show, although his stance is rarely objective.

3.1.2.9 Profiles

The profiles are similar to celebrity interviews, in that they are intended to put a particular celebrity individual in the 'spotlight', with the overarching aim of promoting the products associated with that celebrity. They differ from interviews in that the voice of the interviewer is often not present; presumably these are based originally on some kind of interview, in which the interviewer's questions have been excluded, to give the impression of proximity between the celebrity concerned and the reader. Occasionally the questions are reformulated into declarative statements, for example in *Scarlet's* 'Top 5 X-Factor Loin Throbs,' pictures of five previous contestants from television talent show *X-Factor* are accompanied by 'vital statistics'-style facts about the celebrity in question, detailing information such as their age, where they live, and whether or not they are single, which are clearly based on some kind of questioning process.

3.1.2.10 Reader surveys

The reader surveys are based around one or more questions addressed to samples of readers, or men accosted on the street, in order to discover 'what goes through men's minds'. For example, a survey from *Glamour* magazine centres around the single question 'What's your favourite erogenous zone?', and a survey from *More* asks 'Should a girl ever make the first move?' As with the lists text type, the surveys are more likely to appear in the glossy magazines, as these are the texts most concerned with telling single women what men think, in order that they may successfully obtain a man for themselves.

These articles also often include statistics, indicating what percentages of the sample voted in a particular way. For example, *Glamour's* survey 'Would you rather...', which reports the results of a series of scenarios presented to a sample of readers, shows what percentage of the sample voted for each scenario, which is then followed by a comment on the results given:

Would you rather...

He's too pale 62%

He's too tanned 38%

Really now? A lily-white indie boy over a Ready Brek glow? But what about er, um, Peter Andre and, uh, Andy Scott-Lee and... OK, we see your point.

The comment is supposed to represent the collective 'voice' of the magazine, indicated by the use of inclusive pronoun 'we.' In this case the 'we' is exclusive, as it does not include the reader in its reference. The reader surveys are one of the few text types in which a distance is created between the writer and the reader, as the rest of the time, techniques such as the use of second person pronouns serve to reduce the social distance between the reader and text producers (Talbot, 1992; McLoughlin, 2000).

3.1.2.11 Real life stories

Real life stories are narratives which are often written from the first person perspective of a female narrator, and are intended to narrate 'true life' events. They are a staple feature of women's magazines (McLoughlin, 2000: 60). Real life stories make up 18% of the texts in the WMC. 25 of these (96%) are found in the gossip sub-corpus; the real life story makes up the largest proportion of text-types in the gossip genre (39%). This not only suggests that real life stories are distinctive to the gossips, but also that the representations of men found in the real life stories may be distinctive to that particular text-type, and perhaps to the gossip genre itself.

Direct speech is also used to reduce the visibility of authorial point of view in the real life stories, where direct speech and first person pronouns indicate a character's point of view in the title of the story, as in 'I love the Man who Knifed You (*That's Life*); 'My arm was wrenched clean off' (*Pick Me Up*).

The first person pronouns indicate that the stories are being narrated from the point of view of the (female) characters, and therefore the magazine writers' point of view is 'hidden'. In this way they are similar to fictional narratives. Real life stories and fictional narratives differ from features in that the narrators of these can be described as 'omniscient'; the representation of characters' thoughts in features is much more limited (Davies, 2007: 13).

3.1.2.12 Reports

Reports were identified by the use of factual information, often including statistical information on a topic. For example, *More's* 'Man Facts' was defined as a report article because it lists a series of 'facts' about men, using statistical information gathered from various sources. They can also be articles on a serious topic, for example, *Company* runs

articles that are headed as 'reports' as a regular feature, and the one in my corpus is about women who turned to working in the sex industry to finance their travels around the world. However, most of the reports in my corpus are on arguably more trivial topics than this; *More* reports on 'What it's like Living with a Man' and *Scarlet's* 'Sex, Lies and Videotape' provides statistical information on men and women's porn viewing habits.

3.1.2.13 Reviews

Reviews are texts which provide an evaluation of a media product, such as books, television programmes or films. The only magazine which contained this text type was *Diva*, and there was only one relevant review for inclusion in the corpus. This means that this is not a representative sample for the review text type, but is included so as to compile as much relevant data as possible in order to answer my research questions.

All the magazines are addressed at heterosexual women apart from *Diva*, which is targeted towards lesbian readerships. The fact that *Diva* was the only magazine to include a review text is indicative of the differing focus of *Diva*: this magazine also features articles relating to politics, art and culture, topics that are not present in the magazines aimed at heterosexual women. This indicates that heterosexual women are constructed as inherently different to homosexual women by the producers of women's magazines.

3.2 Methods of analysis

This study combines the CDA-inspired Critical Stylistics framework with some quantitative techniques from corpus linguistics. Although there are a number of critical linguistic studies in CDA that utilise corpus techniques (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Baker, 2006; Koller, 2004) this study is unique in using the Critical Stylistics model. The corpus tools were used as a way of obtaining the data in order to facilitate the application of the Critical Stylistics framework to the texts. As discussed in Chapter One, part of the rationale for this thesis was to try and find out how effective corpus linguistic tools could be for carrying out this kind of stylistic analysis, especially those which relies on pragmatic principles, such as the analysis of presupposition and implicature. As the discussion of my analysis in Chapters Four - Seven indicates, combining critical stylistics with corpus methods was often difficult, because of the limitations involved in automatic searching. These are also discussed further in sections 3.2.1.1-3.2.1.4.

To describe the methods of analysis, I will first delineate the tools of Critical Stylistics, and elaborate on the four tools used for the analysis in this study, outlining how I have used them in combination with corpus linguistic tools.

3.2.1 The tools of critical stylistics

In this section I will briefly outline the tools of critical stylistics, and detail the four “textual-conceptual functions” (Jeffries, forthcoming) used for the analysis in this study. I will briefly outline how I have used the tools here; more detailed explication of the mechanics of using the tools is explained in the relevant analysis chapters, for reasons of clarity. The tools of critical stylistics, as outlined by Jeffries (2007, 2010a), are as follows:

Conceptual-textual function	Formal realisations
Naming and describing	Choice of nominals to denote a referent; nominalizations; the construction of noun phrases with modifiers (in pre- and post-positions) to further identify the referent.
Equating and Contrasting	Noun phrase apposition; parallel structures indicating synonymous relationships; relational transitivity choices.
Contrasting	Lexical or structurally constructed opposition (antonymous sense relations or syntactic triggers); negation.
Enumerating and exemplifying	Two, three or four-part lists indicating hyponymous and meronymous sense relations.
Assuming and implying	Presupposition and implicature
Prioritizing	Transformation of grammatical constructions (e.g. active to passive voice); clefting.
Constructing time and space	Choices of tense; adverbials of time; deixis; metaphor.
Representing Actions/Events/States	Transitivity choices.
Presenting opinions	Modality choices; speech and thought presentation.

Table 4: the tools of critical stylistics

(adapted from Jeffries 2007, 2010a)

The model expands on linguistic features frequently adopted in other critical approaches, particularly critical linguistics (Fowler, 1991, 1996) and CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1998). The tools are displayed here according to textual function and some of their possible formal realisations. It is not intended to be an exhaustive list, but to provide a coherent

model that directly addresses the functional aspect of text analysis: to 'answer the question of what any text is "doing"' (Jeffries, 2010: 15). By thinking about the conceptual functions of a particular linguistic form, the reader is more likely to be able to make links between linguistic form and ideological meaning, and it is partly for this reason that I have found Jeffries' model a particularly illuminating toolkit. Another advantage that critical stylistics has over other CDA methodologies is the logical cohesion and interconnectivity of the tools themselves: for example, a consideration of how oppositional and equivalent meanings are constructed may also rely upon the processes of presupposition or implicature. This interconnectivity is a strength of the model, but also occasionally made it difficult to decide which of the conceptual tools a particular example would be best considered an instance of; I have tried to separate the functions where possible, providing cross-references to the other tools where relevant. I have also demonstrated this interrelation of the tools in the construction of meaning via an analysis of one or two short examples from the data in section 8.1.3.

I will now briefly explain each of the conceptual tools used, and how I have utilised them in this thesis. For clarity, the tools are presented here in the order that they appear in the analysis.

3.2.1.1 Naming and Describing

'Naming and describing' involves examining how entities and events are labelled and modified, and is realised through the noun phrase. Acknowledging the significance of how an entity or event is defined and evaluated via naming practices is not in itself a new concept, and is similar to the concept of 'referential strategies' in CDA (see for example, van Leeuwen, 1996; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Nominalization, one realization of naming, is also frequently considered in CDA studies, and is present in Fowler's list of tools for CDA analysis (1991). What makes Jeffries' approach unique is the use of the noun phrase as the basic unit of analysis. For reasons of space, I have focused my analysis here on the text producers' choice of nouns to refer to men, and modifying adjectives, either attributive adjectives premodifying the head noun or functioning as the Complements of intensive verbs in predicative form. In Jeffries' analysis of women's magazines, she also examines the use of determiners and pronouns in categorising the reader, but narrows the focus of adjectival descriptions to those premodifying the head noun. I decided to expand my analysis of adjectives to those in propositional form, as these also function to categorise male identities, particularly in categorical, generalising forms, such as 'men are...', which I deemed to be fruitful for uncovering ideologies of the ideal man.

As discussed in Chapter One, previous studies of gender construction using corpus techniques have used male nouns such as MAN, MEN and pronouns as search terms for finding statistical patterns (e.g. Koller, 2004; Pearce, 2008). I decided not to do this, as although this would have facilitated quantitative analysis of nominal reference, it would not have revealed the ideological differences in the choice of noun, as discussed in Chapter Four (section 4.1.3.2). Therefore, in order to conduct an analysis of naming strategies, I used Wmatrix (Rayson, 2008), a web-based corpus interrogation program which automatically encodes corpora for Part-of-Speech metadata. This meant that I could search for nominal tags to find male pronouns, and search through concordance lines (see section 3.2.2.2) of common nouns in order to find nouns with male referents.

I searched for adjectival descriptions of men in a similar manner, by using the POS tag of different categories of adjectives to find those modifying a male referent. This allowed me to record instances of attributive adjectives, premodifying male referents in noun phrases, as well as predicative adjectives, functioning as the grammatical Complement in clause with male Subjects. I also decided to conduct a more quantitative study of how men are described in the corpus, by finding some statistical collocates of male identities. The notion of statistical collocation is described in more detail in section 3.2.2.3 below.

3.2.1.2 Equating and contrasting

'Equating and contrasting' refers to how texts construct oppositional and equivalent meanings. Despite an acknowledgement in CDA studies of the way that entities or events are often represented oppositionally, the analysis of linguistic opposition in CDA analyses is unique to the model. It develops work in lexical semantics on (decontextualised) sense relations between words (e.g. Lyons, 1977; Cruse, 1986; 2004; Murphy, 2003). Following Davies' work in this area (2007, 2008, 2012), the critical stylistic approach to opposition construction acknowledges how processing new opposites often relies on an understanding of higher level, conventional opposites, such as GOOD/BAD; MALE/FEMALE. The concept of superordinate opposites, and the specific categories of opposition used in this study are described in more detail in section 5.2.

Oppositional and equivalent meanings are often signalled via syntactic triggers, including co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions (such as *and*, *but*, *or*, *yet* etc). In order to search for instances of equivalence and opposition, I searched through concordance lines of the POS conjunction tags in Wmatrix, recording those which created equivalent or

oppositional relationships relevant to the representation of men. However, not all equivalence or opposition is signalled by syntactic means, as they sometimes rely on semantic relationships or parallel clause structures. Appositional equivalence, for example, involves the juxtaposition of two NPs, as in 'Kirsty, the brilliant psychologist.' There are no searchable lexical triggers here, and Wmatrix is only able to tag individual words, not parse whole phrases or clauses. Although in theory it is possible to use an automatic parser to automatically analyse sentence structure, the available programs only allow the user to parse individual sentences, not whole corpora, so in practice this would have been difficult and time consuming. As a result, appositional equivalences created via the juxtaposition of NPs were not recorded.

As with Naming and Describing, the corpus tools were mainly used as an organisational aid to help me to find relevant data for analysis. As well as recording instances of different types of opposition, I also made a note of any underlying higher level opposites, following Davies' (2008, 2012) approach to the analysis of opposition construction.

3.2.1.3 Representing Actions/Events/States

'Representing Actions/Events/States' involves the analysis of transitivity choices, which is based on Simpson's (1993; 2004) presentation of Halliday's model of transitivity, due to its accessibility and ease of application to both literary and non-literary texts. Transitivity forms part of Halliday's functional grammar, which is based on the idea that language is shaped by the social functions it has come to serve. Halliday proposes three 'metafunctions': the interpersonal metafunction of Halliday's theory is concerned with interactions between the writer/speaker and reader/hearer; the ideational metafunction of language is concerned with the expression of our experiences of the world both internally and externally to the conscious self, while the textual metafunction concerns grammatical systems related to the organization of text (Halliday, 1985; 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

Transitivity is a realisation of the ideational metafunction: the system of transitivity construes experiences into a set of process types and relates them to the participants and circumstances involved in the production of the clause. By analysing the syntax of language in this way we may observe how texts employ linguistic devices to direct, question and inform the reader, and so is extremely useful for exposing ideology in texts.

Previous analyses of discourses within stylistic and critical linguistic frameworks have made particular use of transitivity in uncovering world-views (Fowler 1991; Simpson 1993; Eggins

and Iedema 1997; Jeffries 2007, 2010a). Transitivity is useful for observing 'who is doing what to who', and therefore facilitates an analysis of power relations and the types of actions men perform in women's magazines.

In order to find instances of transitivity, I searched concordance lines of lexical verb POS tags in Wmatrix. As I was only interested in how male identities were represented, I only recorded instances of male participants acting as the agents of verbs; I concluded that an analysis of the kinds of actions men are seen to perform in the texts would be of most use to my research questions, and would also make the task more manageable. I coded these for process type, and any other kinds of participants involved in the clause. This involved looking at whether recipients of the verb phrase were male or female participants, or represented as inanimate objects, cognitions, events, or places and so on. I also analysed the semantic properties of the verbs themselves, in order to ascertain what *kinds* of material actions or intensive processes and so on that men are seen to perform in the texts.

3.2.1.4 Assuming and Implying

The metafunction 'assuming and implying' refers to how knowledge is either treated as background information or implied in texts. This textual-conceptual function is realised by the processes of presupposition (Levinson, 1983) and implicature (Grice, 1975). Presuppositions assume the existence of an entity or event, or assume the occurrence of an action. For example, in the NP 'his beer drinking', possessive pronoun 'his' presupposes the existence of the nominalised action of drinking, and the existence of the male participant. In 'he stopped snoring,' the verb 'stopped' presupposes that the male participant previously snored. Conversational implicatures are meanings implied by the text which the reader infers via a process of 'reading between the lines.' These are based on occasions where a speaker flouts one or more of Grice's maxims of conversation, giving rise to implicatures, the implied meanings that must be uncovered by the reader (the processes of presupposition and implicature are discussed in more detail in section 7.1).

The analysis of semantic presupposition is to an extent more amenable to automatic analysis than conversational implicature, as presupposition is signalled in the text by specific linguistic triggers. Implicature is a more pragmatic concept; uncovering implicatures relies much more heavily on contextual information and the reader's own schematic knowledge. Schemas are elements of background knowledge which the reader draws on in order to construct meaning from texts (e.g. Semino, 1997). Inferring implied meanings is heavily dependent on schematic information. Because of this reliance on context and

background knowledge in the retrieval of implicatures, this proved the most difficult to obtain using corpus techniques. I was not able to conduct an automated search for implicature, instead relying on manual analysis of the sentences captured for my analysis of transitivity processes.

3.2.2 Corpus linguistic processes

This study uses corpus linguistic tools as an organisational aid to find evidence of how the texts represent men in terms of the four metafunctions of critical stylistics outlined in section 3.2.1 above. I have not exhausted all the available tools of corpus linguistics, or utilised them in all the ways that it is possible to do so; the discussion below therefore focuses on those which have been used in this thesis.

3.2.2.1 Frequency

Basic frequency analyses are central to corpus linguistics. Studies of discourse analysis using corpus linguistic methods often begin with the frequency word list. In WordSmith Tools, the Wordlist function allows the user to create a single list of all the words in a corpus or sub-corpus, which the analyst can then use to derive statistical information about individual words or lemmas in a corpus. Wordlists are often used as the starting point for corpus analysis; if you have an idea of what particular lexical items you want to investigate, Wordlist will tell you their raw frequency in the corpus and what proportion of the corpus they make-up. For example, in their analysis of the representation of refugees in the press, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) used REFUGEE, ASYLUM, IMMIGRANT, ILLEGAL ALIEN, and DEPORT as search terms as a starting point for their analysis of discourses. I used the Wordlist function in WordSmith initially to calculate frequencies of the different genres and text types: I made a wordlist for each of the glossy and domestic weekly genre, which allowed me to find out how big each of the two sub-corpora was. I also made Wordlists of the different text types, which allowed me to see what proportions of the corpus the different text types constituted.

However, when it came to undertaking the first part of the analysis, involving processes of naming and describing, I decided not to use a wordlist to find instances of male reference. This is because I wanted to use the concept of the noun phrase as a starting point, which I thought would be best facilitated by a consideration of relevant word classes that appear in NPs, and so I decided to base my search on grammatical rather than lexical categories. I did use wordlists in the analysis of body part agency (section 6.5), where I searched wordlists

of the different text types to find body part terms, and then computed concordances in order to see how the body parts behaved in context.

3.2.2.2 Concordances

A concordance is a list of all the instances of a particular search word in a corpus, presented within its co-text, which is usually a few words either side of the node item (Baker, 2006: 71). In my study concordances of body part terms were used to examine the kinds of actions performed by them in the analysis of body part agency (section 6.5), but elsewhere I used POS searches in Wmatrix to find the relevant lexis under examination. In WordSmith it is possible to sort concordance lines within a specified span to the left and right of the search term, which can make analyses of long lists of concordance lines much easier to search through. Wmatrix also allows the user to compute concordances to examine the contexts of use, but it is not possible to sort concordance lines in Wmatrix. However, WordSmith does not have the capability to tag words for POS information, so most of the analysis had to be done in Wmatrix. WordSmith Tools has the facility to calculate collocational information about pairs of lexis from concordances, so the Concordance function was used in WordSmith to calculate collocates of adjectives describing men (see section 4.2.2).

Another way in which I have taken advantage of the Concordance tool is when looking at the contexts of specific lexical items in a reference corpus, in order to test my intuitions about common contexts of use. Baker also discusses the usefulness of consulting reference corpora as a means of triangulation in the analysis of discourses (2006: 16). As I mentioned in section 1.3.1.2 above, the British National Corpus (BNC) is a general corpus, designed to be representative of the English language in general, in contrast to the WM corpus, which is a specialized corpus. The BNC can therefore be utilised as reference corpus to corroborate my interpretations of particular words or phrases. The BYU-BNC is an online interface that allows the user to interrogate the BNC, generating a random sample of up to 50 concordance lines of a chosen word or phrase. I used this facility for checking the validity of hypotheses about the meanings of words. For example, in my analysis of naming and describing, I suspected that the phrase 'bad boy' is often used to describe male promiscuity and violent behaviour; by searching for 'bad boy' using the BYU-BNC, I was able to look at the co-text of the randomly generated concordance lines and confirm that it indeed seem to indicate a discourse of violence and womanising. Because the BNC is a general corpus, and therefore contains representative samples of texts from a wide range of genres and text types, this meant that the meanings of 'bad boy' that I had identified in the WM could be

interpreted as reflective of wider use in the language, and not specific to women's magazines.

3.2.2.3 Collocation

'Collocation' refers to "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text" (Sinclair 1991: 170). Statistical collocation specifically refers to "the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span" (Baker et al, 2008: 278). The collocates of a word contribute to its meaning, providing information about the most frequent concepts associated with a word. Collocation may be calculated in WordSmith Tools using a number of different statistical measures: Specific Mutual Information (MI); MI3; Z-score; log-likelihood or T-score. The different measures favour different types of words: the MI score tends to give high scores to low frequency words – lexical, rather than functional items – whereas algorithms like MI3 and log-likelihood tend to afford saliency to high frequency function words (Baker 2006: 102). The MI test calculates the expected probability of two words occurring near to each other, based on their relative frequencies and overall size of the corpus. It compares this figure with the actual frequency and converts the difference into a number indicating the strength of collocation (Baker 2006: 101). In this calculation, a score of three or more is considered indicative of strong collocation (Baker 2006: 101).

My analysis of how the texts describe men in Chapter Four includes a consideration of both statistical and manually derived collocates. This is because the computation of collocates using corpus linguistic tools only allows the user to calculate the relationship between specific words, rather than a set of semantically related words. I wanted to be able to find out what kinds of descriptions were consistently used with reference to men, pointing to ideologies of masculinity, which I knew would not necessarily entail the use of the *same* adjectives, but low frequency instances of different but semantically related lexis. For example, *hot*, *fit*, *eye candy* etc, are synonyms relating to physical attractiveness that individually occur infrequently in the corpus, but taken together build up a picture of how physical attractiveness, and certain kinds of attractiveness, are privileged as desirable aspects of masculinity for the reader. However, it is not possible to do this using corpus methods, because the software cannot identify this semantic relationship and treat these as one category of collocate.

Additionally, because the calculation of collocation involves examining how concepts are related to a single lexeme, it was not possible to calculate statistical collocates for all the

different nominal references to men together. So, in order to compute statistical collocates, I decided to calculate collocates of the lemmas MAN and MEN. To do this, I created a wordlist of the corpus articles in WordSmith Tools, and lemmatised the forms of *man* and *men* using a lemma match list. This meant that MAN and MEN would be treated as one entry.

In terms of defining the parameters in which collocates are identified, there is much debate about what the optimum word span for obtaining collocates is. Baker (2006: 103) uses a word span of 3:3 for looking at collocates of SPINSTER and BACHELOR in the BNC, because this was one which he found most likely to reveal collocates in noun phrases containing the search terms. I used a word span of 5:5 (the default setting in WordSmith), to try and catch a wider range of words associated with men in the corpus, including those in clausal, as well as phrasal constructs. I then filtered the results of these to find adjectival collocates that functioned to categorise male referents, discarding those that did not serve some kind of modifying function. This method will not have provided all the statistical collocates of nominal references to men in the corpus, but did provide me with a form of corroboration for the manual analysis of words co-occurring with male nouns, and also provided data that could be compared with other corpus studies of gender construction.

Chapters Four - Seven below present the results of the analytical methods outlined in this chapter. The nature of the specific linguistic features analysed and how I obtained these is delineated in more detail where relevant, for ease of reference. The first of these analysis chapters, Chapter Four, reports on my analysis of how the text producers name and describe men in the magazine data.

Chapter Four: Naming and Describing

This chapter examines how male entities are labelled and categorised by the magazine writers, as “one of the potentially most influential choices any writer makes is the names s/he uses to make reference” (Jeffries, 2007: 63). Following Jeffries, I take the noun phrase as the basic unit of naming.

Jeffries intended the textual-conceptual function of ‘naming’ to reflect a broadening of the category of nominalization traditionally used in CDA analyses. Nominalization is commonly considered a potential site for ideology construction in texts, as it allows “habits of concealment” (Fowler, 1991: 80), whereby the identity of participants is hidden, and can also presuppose the existence of events or states. For example, in ‘the decline in interest in feminist issues’ the noun ‘decline’ is used in place of a verbal process, as in ‘people’s interest in feminist issues is declining.’ The transformation of the clause into a noun phrase, deletes the verbal element, which in this case disguises the agent of the decline in interest, and presupposes the existence of such a decline. However, in my data, I did not find the process of nominalization to be the most salient way in which naming practices construct ideologies of masculinity. There are nominalizations which turn behaviours into nominal labels, as in ‘he’s a drinker’ rather than ‘he drinks’, but these do not result in the same kinds of presuppositions. The kinds of presuppositions evident in the data relate to assumed behaviours rather than states of being, and are therefore discussed in terms of the conceptual-textual function ‘Assuming and Implying’ in Chapter Six.

In this chapter I will focus on the choice of noun used to label male entities, including common nouns and body part nouns, and attributive adjectives in noun phrases, as well as predicative descriptions. The choice of noun includes a consideration of whether nouns exhibit lexical, social, or referential gender (see section 4.1.1 below), what kinds of semantic categories are evident, and the ideological implications of the noun chosen to refer to a particular male entity. For example, what kinds of pejorative or ameliorative connotations a particular word or group of words may evoke. My analysis of how men are described in the data includes an examination of the types of adjectives used to describe male referents and the ideologies of masculinity that they promote.

My analysis will deal with the practices of naming and describing separately for reasons of clarity, although it should be noted that as modification is in fact part of the naming process, they actually work together to produce the effects stipulated here.

4.1 Naming

The conceptual-textual function of 'naming' fairly simply refers to how a particular entity or event is labelled (Jeffries, 2007: 63; 2010: 17). Writers make decisions about how to refer to men in women's magazines; the choice of noun indicates which aspects of male identity the writer wishes to be foregrounded. For example, a noun like 'hottie' focuses on physical appearance, 'boyfriend' on relationship roles, and 'soldier' on occupational roles.

I predicted that an analysis of the choice of nouns used to name individual males or groups of men would reveal attitudes towards particular ways of being that are potentially ideologically harmful, from a feminist perspective. For example, in some contexts, the decision to use the word 'lad' or 'bloke' in place of a more evaluatively 'neutral' noun like *man* may exhibit traces of a discourse of 'bad behaviour' such as heavy drinking and womanising, which are sometimes associated with these terms (see discussion in section 4.1.3.2.1 below). This kind of choice is potentially significant, because it feeds into a broader ideology that men are irresponsible.

Nouns with male referents for each text type were found using corpus analysis software Wmatrix (Rayson 2008). Text files for each of the text type sub-corpora were created and uploaded to Wmatrix. Wmatrix uses automatic tagging software CLAWS to tag data for part of speech. By sorting the wordlist for each of the text type sub-corpora by part-of-speech, I was able to scan the different nominal categories for relevant items. The categories examined were: proper nouns (including singular, genitive singular and plural); pronouns (including possessive, reflexive, subjective and objective); common nouns (singular, plural and genitive). The main advantage of doing this was that it was much quicker than scanning through wordlists. Another advantage of using Wmatrix to do this is that it recognises compound nouns such as 'police officer' and 'lorry driver'.

In analysing the types of nouns used to label men in the corpus, I have found it useful to refer to Hellinger et al's (2001) categories of linguistic gender construction: lexical gender, social gender and referential gender. This model also corresponds with Ochs' (1992) notion of direct and indirect indexing of gender (see section 1.2.1.5).

4.1.1 Lexical, social and referential gender

Proper nouns and pronouns are 'lexically' gendered in that they include the semantic feature [male] or [female] in their denotative meanings. Personal nouns referencing men and women in general (e.g. *man*, *bachelor*), and address terms (e.g. *Mr*, *sir*) are also lexically gendered, in that they directly index the sex of the speaker, and include the component [male] in their denotation. Common nouns such as *soldier*, *mechanic* or *truck driver* are 'socially' gendered, because although they are technically gender-neutral, in reality they are more likely to be perceived as referring to male identities. Referential gender refers to actual referent of a particular lexeme, thus a word can simultaneously have social and referential gender. This is a useful category for describing nouns that usually index femininity, but here have a male referent, such as the use of *diva* to denote a male referent (see discussion in section 4.1.3.2.4 below).

4.1.2 Frequencies of different types of nouns

Table 5 below shows raw and normalized frequencies of proper nouns, male pronouns, common nouns and body part nouns across the corpus. Raw figures have been normalized to per 10,000 words of text to allow for some comparisons across the different text types:

Text type	Frequency of male proper nouns		Frequency of male pronouns		Frequency of male common nouns		Frequency of male body part nouns	
	Raw	Normalized	Raw	Normalized	Raw	Normalized	Raw	Normalized
Advertorials	27	175.8	39	253.9	10	65.1	3	19.5
Columns	65	70.6	404	438.9	94	102.1	24	26.1
Features	253	71.4	872	245.9	428	120.1	47	13.3
Fiction	165	111	620	417.2	110	74	49	33
Interviews	520	146.1	2186	623.8	397	113.3	74	21.1
Letters	24	103.7	119	514	67	289.4	9	38.9
Lists	7	72.4	58	599.8	30	289.6	3	31
Problem pages	28	19.4	575	398	258	178.6	11	7.6
Profiles	28	195.8	76	551.1	24	174	4	29
Reader surveys	89	213.9	228	548.1	72	173.1	35	84.1
Real life stories	574	167.7	1527	446.2	423	123.6	163	47.6
Reports	46	55.4	92	110.9	127	153.1	20	24.1
Reviews	13	498.1	0	0	5	191.6	1	38.3

Table 5: Frequency of male body part nouns per text type

According to the normalized frequencies in Table 5, the text type with the highest expected frequency of proper nouns is the reviews and the reader surveys. Proper nouns are used to refer to specific male identities in the magazines, often those in the public eye such as celebrities, musicians and authors; academic or medical 'experts' such as psychologists, medical doctors and relationship experts; fictional characters, and 'real-life' people, such as male subjects for surveys, characters in the real-life stories, or partners of the magazine readers.

Pronouns either function as anaphoric references, or, interestingly, as a collective term, e.g. 'Where to spend Christmas day – your place or his?' (*Company*) The writers' decision to use a noun that usually denotes a specific referent in order to refer to a collective identity, what Fairclough terms "synthetic personalization" (1989: 62) is one of the strategies women's magazines adopt in order to make them appear as though they are addressing the individual reader and her life personally, and is a well documented characteristic of women's magazines (Talbot, 1992: 175; Litosseliti, 2006: 98). The significance of using male pronouns to denote a collective male identity is that they presuppose that these qualities and attributes are applicable to *all* men. This is particularly the case with the possessive pronoun *his*, which produces existential presuppositions in noun phrases (see section 7.1.1 below). As the pronouns are such a high frequency nominal, it would have been far too time consuming to manually examine each one for individual or collective reference, and in any case their function is fairly simple: to construct the reader as heterosexual, and to construct the male referents as a homogenous group; the behaviours and practices associated with this homogenisation are better dealt with via an analysis of presupposition and implicature.

While it is interesting that pronouns are used for general reference as well as functioning as anaphoric references to specific identities, and that there are a variety of different celebrity, real life and expert male identities in the texts, I found that the most ideologically salient nominal categories for naming men were the common nouns and body part nouns, and so therefore these will be the focus of my analysis of naming.

4.1.3 Common nouns

4.1.3.1 Frequencies of common nouns per text type

The following table shows both raw and normalized frequencies of common nouns per text type. The raw frequencies were normalized to frequencies per 10,000 words of text.

Text type	Frequency of common nouns with male referent (tokens)	Normalized frequencies
Advertorials	10	65.1
Columns	94	102.1
Features	428	120.1
Fiction	110	74
Interviews	397	113.3
Letters	67	289.4
Lists	30	289.6
Problem pages	258	178.6
Profiles	24	174
Reader surveys	72	173.1
Real life stories	423	123.6
Reports	127	153.1
Reviews	5	191.6

Table 6: Frequencies of common nouns per text type

According to the normalized frequencies in Table 6, the letters and list text types contain the highest frequency of common nouns. Closer examination of those in the lists shows that the majority of the nouns are lexically gendered (20 tokens; 67%) and 13 of which are forms of the lemma MAN, denoting [+male]. However, there are also one or two interesting examples of metaphorical usages in the lists that could be described as being socially gendered and therefore indirectly indexing masculinity:

(1) 13. Prove he loves you by punching that **bloke** who pinched your bum.

(‘14 Things You Should Never Ask a Man to Do’, *More*)

(2) 8. The booths in foreign sex shops that charge 1€ and contain a porn DVD jukebox with buttons and levers so you can zoom in and slow down the action. With a tissue dispenser. And a mop and bucket. Very popular with British **stags**. Ladies, you've been warned.

(‘8 Things Men don’t want Women to See’, *Scarlet*)

(3) 2 WADS OF CASH “Women love a **provider**, but someone who only carries cash may not be the best long-term bet.”

(6 Secrets of a Man’s Wallet’, *Cosmopolitan*)

It is possible that the decision to use the term *bloke* in example (1) would invoke the reader's schematic knowledge of a discourse of 'men behaving badly', given that it denotes a man who has allegedly committed sexual harassment, the kind of behaviour that is associated with 'laddish' forms of masculinity (Jackson et al, 2001). The metaphorical 'stag' in (2) is an example of the conceptual metaphor MEN ARE ANIMALS, and is therefore socially, rather than lexically gendered. Conceptual metaphors are metaphors that operate on a cognitive level, in which one concept is understood in terms of another (Gibbs, 1994: 6). Conceptual metaphors allow complex or abstract concepts to be understood in "more familiar" terms (Gibbs, 1994: 6). In this case, therefore, the 'complex' concept of man is understood in terms of an animal. When used to denote an animal, *stag* refers to a male deer, thus the word has the semantic meaning [+male] in its denotative reference.

However, the metaphorical use of 'stag' here also indicates additional connotative meanings, which are associated with the New Lad image. In the UK the term *stag* is commonly used in the context of heterosexual marriage to refer to an attendant of a traditional celebration of a man's 'last night of freedom' or 'stag-night' before he marries his bride; the female equivalent to *stag* is *hen*. Stag nights are associated with practices including excessive drinking and going to strip clubs, often in European cities like Amsterdam which has more relaxed laws on the sex industry. It is therefore probable that the term *stag* here will connote such practices, in alignment with New Lad masculinity.

The lexeme 'provider' in (3) is a nominalization of the process 'someone who provides'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of *provider* is: "A person who or thing which provides or supplies something; spec. a person who provides for his or her family, a breadwinner." (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). Although the term can be used with a female referent, it could be argued that *provider* is socially gendered, in that the ideology of men as breadwinner is much more ubiquitous than the notion of women occupying this role. A random sample of concordance lines of *provider* in the BNC revealed that while it is most often used in economic or business contexts to refer to companies, the one example of its use in the sense of breadwinner denotes a male referent.

Examining the male common nouns in context in the letters text type also revealed that the majority of them are lexically gendered (29 tokens, 43%):

Semantic category	Lexis	Frequency	% of total frequency
Male referent	MAN (18); BLOKE (4); GUY (3); <i>lad</i> (2); <i>bachelor</i> (1); <i>fella</i> (1); <i>male</i> (1)	29	43
Romantic relationship	Boyfriend (7); crush (2); fiancé (2); groom (2); hubby (2); husband (2); partner (2)	19	28
Kinship relationship	<i>Son</i> (3); <i>brother</i> (1); dad (1) <i>son-in-law</i> (1)	6	9
Occupation	Administrator (1); agent (1); celeb (1); gardener (1); monk (1); President (1)	6	9
Attractiveness	Eye candy (1); hunk (1); totty (1); treat (1)	4	6
Social relationship	Neighbour (1)	1	1

Table 7: common nouns with male referent in letters grouped into semantic categories

The second most frequent category of nouns in the letters is those that express romantic relationships. The lexemes *fiancé*, *groom*, *hubby* and *husband* all denote relationships in terms of marriage, and they all come from the domestic weekly genre of magazine. This reflects the domestic weeklies' construction of the ideal reader as women in heterosexual marriages; the glossy magazines are aimed at younger, single women. This difference is reflected in the corpus as a whole: nouns labelling men relating to marriage overall occur more frequently in the domestic weeklies (67 tokens, 56%) than the glossies (52 tokens, 44%). The presence of these terms in the glossy magazines suggests that marriage is still presented as a desirable goal for women, however.

Interestingly, the four terms in the 'attractiveness' category in the letters are all metaphorical. *Eye candy* and *treat* are examples of the conceptual metaphor MEN ARE FOOD:

(4) Where have all the fit men gone? Do they stay indoors when the nights start closing in? [...]

Whatever it is, the lack of **eye candy** down the pub as well as the cold is starting to make me sad. *Caroline, Northampton*

(‘Inbox’, More)

(5) With his phenomenally hot body and puppy dog eyes, Jesse's a **treat** for any woman.

(‘You’ve got male’, *Love It*)

There have been a number of feminist linguistic studies on sexism in language that have investigated what Schulz (1975) termed the ‘semantic derogation’ of women, which refers to the idea that over time, lexis for women has acquired negative connotations. Some of this research has revealed a tendency for women to be conceptualised as food more frequently than men, with lexis including terms of endearment like ‘honey’, ‘sugar’, and ‘sweetie’, which “imply the referent is something good to eat, available for consumption” (Mills, 1995: 117). Hines (1999) in particular investigated the pervasiveness of the conceptual metaphor WOMEN AS DESSERT metaphor. She argues that the dessert terms used to label women trivialise women because they are “essentially peripheral”, in that, for example, *cheesecake* is not an essential food item, and can even be regarded as ‘sinful’ (Hines, 1999: 148). Writing over a decade before this study, Hines asserts that these terms are used exclusively with female reference; the examples here could suggest that this tendency is changing. However, whether or not labelling these men with food items can be said to carry the same trivialising connotations as equivalent terms for women is debatable, given that words for women assume they are “small, quick-to-consume, edible morsels” (Mills, 1989: 235), therefore connoting *ease* of consumption, which has a specifically belittling effect.

4.1.3.2 Themes of common nouns per text type

In order to explore semantic patterns of common nouns used to label men across the corpus, the common noun lemmas were divided into the following semantic categories:

Semantic category	Frequency (tokens)	% of male common noun tokens
Social classification	805	39.9
Relational roles	755	33.8
Occupation	230	13.2
Metaphor	103	5.1
Behaviour/personality	104	5.1
Human	29	1.4
Appraisalment	17	0.8
Quantification	1	0.05

Table 8: common nouns used to refer to men grouped into semantic categories, ordered according to frequency

The most frequent semantic category of common nouns is that of social classification, which includes terms relating to sex, age, class, sexuality, nationality, religion and so on. These are arguably more permanent aspects of identity, because they are much more difficult to change than more temporary aspects, such as occupation, or other behavioural roles, such as 'interviewer', or 'contender'. The largest sub-category of social classification are nouns whose primary semantic purpose is to express the quality [+male], and includes words like *boy*, *bloke*, *man*, *lad* and so on. As with the example of *bloke* discussed above from the lists, I anticipated that some instances of terms like *lad* and *bloke* would have additional connotative meanings that index the kinds of hegemonic masculinity that are associated with the New Laddism in men's magazines (Benwell, 2003b, 2004; Jackson et al, 2001). Closer examination of the contexts of LAD and BLOKE revealed that in the majority of cases, LAD and BLOKE could be interpreted simply as informal or colloquial synonyms for MAN. However, approximately a third of these are used in contexts where men are behaving in ways that are culturally associated with New Lad masculinity (21 instances, 32%).

4.1.3.2.1 Lads and blokes: the construction of New Lad masculinity

As discussed in Chapter Two (see section 2.3.1 above), the practices and behaviours that are attributed to the New Lad in men's magazines are things like excessive drinking, sexism, and a rejection of beautification processes associated with the earlier New Man of style magazines (Jackson et al, 2001).

The following examples from a feature from glossy magazine *Company* demonstrate how *lad* connotes a rejection of beautification processes:

(6) And it's not just the super-fashion-forward metrosexual types who love their lipsticks - men all over the UK are getting involved (remember this summer, when even the laddy **lads** on *Shipwrecked* wore eyeliner for the beach party every week?).

(7) "I've grown up thinking it's better for us **lads** to be seen not to care much about grooming. Surely that's better than caring too much!" Jason, 27, Newcastle

(8) "Blokes should look like **blokes**, and in my opinion, we look better natural." James, 26, Manchester

(‘The New Man Make-Up’, *Company*)

Of course the premodifying adjective ‘laddy’ in (6) is instrumental in producing the anti-beautification connotations here, but as the adjective is ultimately derived from the noun ‘lad’, this indicates that the label ‘lad’ also connotes a rejection of the use of cosmetics. The speech reported here represent the voices of ‘real’, as opposed to celebrity or expert, individuals. In (7), the male participant clearly rejects the appropriateness of cosmetic products for a legitimate performance of masculinity; it is assumed that it is possible to care “too much” about one’s appearance, which is equated here with grooming practices, and this acquires negative status via the conventional meaning of ‘too’ as implying negative evaluation of the propositions involved (see section 7.1.2 for an explanation of how texts assume and imply meanings via conventional implicature). The fact that (8) contains a tautological proposition implies that the second of the two instances of ‘bloke’ here does not just denote [+male] but has other connotative meanings, which in this case are that ‘real’ men do not wear make-up. Wearing make-up is not perceived by the participants here as in alignment with authentic masculinity because it is associated with femininity.

As well as a rejection of beautification processes, the New Lad is also said to be a womaniser, afraid of long-term commitment in relationships (Jackson et al, 2001: 81; Taylor and Sunderland, 2003: 177). In the following examples, the ‘laddish’ connotations of BLOKE contributes to the texts’ construction of the ideology that men are commitment-phobes, and adopt a predatory approach to women:

(9) So girls have got to go out with a guy for 11 years before they can get them down the aisle? Dec: "Well, you don't want to rush into anything, do you?" [...]
Ant: "**Blokes** are renowned for taking their time..."

(Interview with Ant & Dec, *Cosmopolitan*)

(10) From snogs in the stationery cupboard to naked bums on the photocopier – do **blokes** really run wild at the office bash?
(‘What Goes Through Men’s Minds’, *Cosmopolitan*)

(11) Should a girl ever make the first move? [...]
'Yes. I can't imagine any **bloke** having a problem with it.' Paul, 23, Oxford
(‘40 Men One Big Question’, *More*)

The instance of ‘blokes’ in the first example here is uttered by celebrity TV presenter Ant McPartlin. He is being questioned about men’s assumed propensity to postpone marriage, because of their fear of ‘rushing into’ long-term relationships. In (10), short-term sexual encounters are glossed as hyponyms of ‘running wild’; an idiomatic phrase which connotes animal behaviour, again drawing on the conceptual metaphor MEN ARE ANIMALS. The final example here is from a survey of male respondents to the question of whether women should initiate sexual encounters/relationships. The response implies that no man would take issue with this, because all men are interested in being in heterosexual relationships. The premodifying quantifier ‘any’ assumes inclusive reference, which assumes all men are the same.

Interestingly, all of the examples discussed in this section come from articles in magazines aimed at single women. The tokens of *bloke* in the domestic weeklies do not occur in the context of ‘laddish’ masculinity, and seem to function more simply as colloquial synonyms for *man*. This could suggest that the glossy magazines are more influenced by the forms of masculinity found in men’s magazines than the domestic weeklies are.

4.1.3.2.2 Occupational nouns

The common nouns relating to occupation were categorised into semantic fields:

Job sector	Example lexis	Frequency	% of occupational nouns
Culture and creative arts	Actor; singer, author, comedian	53	23
Emergency services and armed forces	Fireman; police officer; soldier	27	12
Science and medicine	Doctor; physician; botanist; engineer	25	11
Government and politics	President; candidate; mayor	25	11
Business and management	Businessman; CEO; founder	17	7
Media	Cameraman; journalist; presenter	16	7
Religion	Minister; monk; vicar	9	4
Sport	Athlete; footballer; basketball player	9	4
Law	Judge; solicitor	8	4
Security	Bouncer; security guard	7	3
Charity and voluntary	Eco-campaigner; activist	6	3
Hospitality and catering	Baker; barman	6	3
Manual labour	Gas man; mechanic; joiner	5	2
Transport and logistics	Lorry driver; truck driver	5	2
Finance and administration	Accountant, administrator	4	2
Agriculture	Farmhand; gardener	3	1
Education	Professor; teacher	3	1
Fashion and beauty	Trainee hairdresser; models	2	1

Table 9: semantic categories of occupational nouns used to label men in the corpus

Table 9 shows that the majority of occupational nouns belong to the field of culture and creative arts (53 tokens, 23%). This finding probably reflects the presence of celebrity identities in the magazine, who are mainly actors and musicians. The second largest category is that of the emergency services and armed forces (27 tokens, 12%). The majority of these (21, 78%) denote occupations in the police force. It is interesting that the occupations at the higher and lower end of these figures seem to reflect the cultural gender divide in the workforce: jobs in the armed forces and emergency services are traditionally associated with men; the occupations with the lowest frequencies in Table 9 are those in areas like fashion and beauty and education, which are conventionally associated with women. From this perspective, the magazines are creating a stereotypical male population, where men perform roles that are in alignment with traditional hegemonic masculinity.

Given that there appears to be a strong presence of occupations associated with men and masculinity in the corpus, I also found it useful to consider occupational nouns in terms of lexical and social gender. There were a small number of lexically gendered nouns, marked with the suffix *-man* or *-men*:

Lexically gendered common nouns	Raw frequency
Businessman	6
Fireman	1
Gas man	1
POLICEMAN	4
Postman	1
Repairman	1

Table 10: Frequencies of lexically gendered occupational nouns with male referents in the corpus

It is notable that while the manual labour terms here (*repairman*, *gas man*) are those that have not been subject to anti-sexist language reform, the others all have gender-neutral alternatives codified in dictionaries as a result of feminist campaigns for language reform, for example: *fire fighter*, *police officer*, *businessperson*.

As well as occupations that are lexically marked for male reference, a number of the occupational terms could also be described as indicating social gender. For example, whereas a term like *nurse* is more likely to be interpreted as having female reference, *soldier* is more likely to be perceived as male. As Motschenbacher observes, “[s]ocial gender

is a matter of entrenched social stereotypes that tie certain role scripts to women and men” (2009: 3). Table 11 below delineates lexis that could be described as exhibiting social gender:

Job sector	Socially gendered lexis	Frequency
Culture and creative arts	ACTOR; composer; DJ; movie producer	21
Emergency services and armed forces	Cop; SOLDIER; spy; agent; OFFICER	21
Science and Medicine	Doctor; GP; engineer; surgeon; consultant; physician	21
Government and politics	Mayor; president; governor	18
Business and management	BOSS; CEO; entrepreneur	9
Sport	athlete; baseball player; basketball analyst; boxer; F1 champion; footballer; motocross driver; racing driver	9
Law	Judge; lawyer; QC; solicitor	7
Security	Bouncer; guards; security guard; security official	7
Transport and Logistics	Lorry driver; truck driver; trucker	4
Manual labour	Joiner; mechanic	3
		119

Table 11: Socially gendered occupational nouns used to label men in the corpus

According to table 11, there are 120 instances of occupational nouns that could be interpreted as exhibiting social gender, comprising 52% of the total number of occupational nouns with male referents. The occupational nouns in the emergency services and armed forces, sport, manual labour and security categories are all terms that are traditionally associated with male occupations. This is often a reflection of the gender ideology that men are physically stronger than women, and therefore roles like fire fighter and police officer, which are physically demanding, come to be associated with men rather than women. It could be argued that some of these terms are more obviously linked to social stereotypes than others; but some of these, such as *footballer*, *soldier*, and *lorry driver*, are very well

established as gendered roles, and therefore indirectly index masculinity. The fact that the majority of male identities that populate women's magazines occupy stereotypically gendered roles demonstrates the magazines' role in reifying these gendered scripts.

An analysis of the distribution of occupational nouns across the different text types showed that the real life stories contained the highest frequency of lexis in the emergency services and armed forces category (20 tokens, 74%). The majority of the occupational nouns in the culture and creative arts category come from the interviews text type, which would be expected, given that the interviewees in these texts are celebrities, who are more likely to have made their success in the creative arts than in the armed forces. It is interesting that the kinds of men who are idealised in women's magazines are more often actors and musicians, whereas research on the male populations of men's magazines shows that the kinds of men who are idolised in those texts are often individuals associated with "dangerous spheres", such as war photographers or members of the armed forces, who serve as heroes for the aspiring male (Benwell, 2003b: 157).

4.1.3.2.3 Monsters and heroes: metaphorical nouns

Nouns in the Metaphor category are nouns with a figurative meaning. These seem to fit into two broad categories: cultural stereotypes based on particular behaviours or appearance, such as *boy-about-town*, or *hero*, and more specific culturally defined figures, such as *bogeyman* or *devil*. There are 17 instances of fictional metaphors, based on characters from mythical and fairytale genres, or romance fiction. The following are examples from the fairytale genre, which focus on the notion of physical attractiveness and chivalry:

(12) Remember, you will date a few **frogs** before you find your prince.

(‘Revamp your Dating Rules’, *Pride*)

(13) You've heard the saying: You have to kiss a lot of Eric Banas before you find your **prince**.

(14) Michelle Obama knows how to keep the twinkle in her husband's eye while pushing him to the top. I used to be **Prince Charming** too, but baby, why did you have to change the happy ending?

Examples (12) and (13) contain intertextual reference to the Brothers Grimm fairy tale *The Frog Prince*, in which a young princess grudgingly agrees to befriend a frog, who

consequently transforms into a prince. The ideal reader here is one who is familiar with the story, and the related proverbial phrase 'you have to kiss a few frogs before you find your prince', and who will therefore interpret 'frogs' in (12) and 'Eric Banas' in (13) as a metaphor to denote an unattractive or undesirable man, and 'prince' as referring to an attractive, highly desirable man. The reader will likely infer that 'Eric Banas' is intended to denote an undesirable man due to the negative connotations usually associated with 'frogs', and the conversely positive associations of 'prince'. In 14, 'Prince Charming' refers to the stock protagonists of fairytales. This article is a column by a male writer who is complaining that since marrying his wife, their relationship has changed. Here he is comparing their relationship with that of fairytales, which arguably draws on the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A FAIRYTALE. The intertextual reference to 'happy endings' also supports this interpretation. The writer also compares their relationship with that of the then Presidential candidate Barack Obama and his wife Michelle Obama, and compares himself with Obama, stating that they are both Prince Charmings, signalled by the conventional implicature of *too*. The reader must rely on her schematic knowledge of fairytales to interpret the label 'Prince Charming' as referring to an idealised form of masculinity associated with desirability and wealth.

The following examples feature metaphorical nouns denoting romantic behaviour towards women, which sometimes have conflicting connotations:

(15) He has this **Romeo** look about him and you can immediately tell he's a **ladies man**. He made me feel immediately at ease.

(*'Blind Date', Asiana*)

(16) 'It's hard posing naked with fit men: I admitted to Joe one night. He nodded. 'Being a **ladies' man** comes with my job, he confessed.

(*'We're Addicted to Play-Away Sex', Love It*)

(17) If he's a **Lothario** who's working his way through as many women as possible, make sure he's having safe sex. If he likes putting on women's pants, although you both might be embarrassed, it's not the end of the world.

(18) Company reports on the rise of the mascara man. It all started with cheeky Noel Fielding and wicked **lothario** Russell Brand. Now, it seems, boys everywhere are delving into their very own make-up bags.

(*'The New Man Make-up', Company*)

In the first example here, being a 'ladies' man' appears to be perceived by the female narrator as a positive description, as it is equated with putting her at ease, which is culturally recognisable as a positive scenario. The proper noun 'Romeo' is here used as a modifier to head noun 'look', suggesting that *Romeo* does not just denote the fictional character from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, but also refers to a set of behaviours that can serve as a descriptive category. The dictionary definition of *ladies' man* is "a man who enjoys female company, esp. one who is sexually successful with women" (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). In Shakespeare's play, the character of Romeo is successful in seducing Juliet, thus 'Romeo' and 'ladies' man' can be interpreted as roughly synonymous. In example (16), the writer treats the compound 'ladies' man' as a negative description, which the reader can infer from the conventional negative meaning of the reporting verb 'confessed', and premodifying adjective 'wicked', which denotes bad behaviour.

The noun *Lothario* is used as a common noun in examples (17) and (18), but comes from the name of a male character who seduces women in Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*. By extension, the name *Lothario* is often used as a term for "a man whose chief interest is seducing women" (*Merriam-Webster*, 2013).

There are also a small number of metaphorical nouns with explicitly negative connotations such as *beast*, *monster*, and *bogeyman*, which denote men who have committed immoral acts, specifically in the real life story text type:

(19) Better to end up in hospital than be raped by that **beast** again...

(*'Beautiful Swan', Real People*)

(20) I put that ad in the paper looking for love. But all I found was a **monster**.

(*'Lonely Heart Killer', Real People*)

(21) The **BOGEYMAN'S** here ... Jodie was dragged naked from her bed. What did her kidnapper want and where was he taking her?

(*'The Bogeyman's Here', That's Life*)

Example (19) is from a story in which the female narrator was sexually abused by her father; the excerpt from (20) is from a narrative in which the female narrator embarks on a relationship with a male respondent to a personal ad, only to discover that he murdered his wife. The final example here is from a story in which the female narrator's ex-partner

becomes, jealous of her relationship with a new lover, breaks into the house and attacks her new boyfriend, then abducts her. According to the dictionary, the *bogeyman* is "a monstrous imaginary figure used in threatening children" (*Merriam-Webster*, accessed 2013). It is interesting that this should be the chosen noun, given that the victim of the male perpetrator is not a child, but an adult woman. 'Love' is used metonymically in (20) and is constructed as in opposition to 'monster', the male antagonist of the narrative. The choice of noun 'beast' in (19) has animalistic connotations, drawing on the conceptual metaphor MEN ARE ANIMALS.

In these stories, the male referents have all committed acts of violence; the use of metaphorical nouns with animalistic connotations is a way of dehumanising these men. The magazine writers' decision to include such nominal references is characteristic of tabloid news discourse, particularly in cases of male sexual violence. For example, in her study of news reporting in *The Sun*, Clark (1992) found that where men are the agents of acts of violence against women, they are referred to as 'maniacs' or 'monsters' as a way of dehumanising them (Clark, 1992: 210). Naylor's (2001) study of reports of sexual violence in the British press found that male offenders in sex murder cases are often labelled 'fiend' or 'monster' (2001: 190). Soothill and Walby (1991) also discuss tabloid newspapers' appropriation of nicknames like 'beast' and 'monster' to denote offenders in sex murder cases.

4.1.3.2.4 Divas and Fashionistas: indeces of femininity

As stated in section 4.1.1, 'referential gender' denotes who a particular noun refers to in a given context, and can be a particularly useful category for observing the subversion of gender stereotypes (Motschenbacher, 2009: 4). For example, the words *fashionista* and *diva* are typically gendered with a female bias in English, but are used with male referents in the corpus in order to attribute 'feminine' behaviours to the referents in question. In the case of *diva*, the attribution of feminine behaviour is intended as an insult:

(22) Whenever someone offered commiserations or made a comment about the tackiness of Todd's post-divorce rush to the altar, I'd bat it away with a comment like: "You are looking at a happily divorced woman." Or I'd resort to irony: "In private Todd was always a diva... so I'm not surprised he simply had to marry one."

(*'The Christmas Ring', Woman & Home*)

This fictional story is narrated from the point of view of a female character called Anne, who is Todd's ex-wife. Todd is a lawyer who divorced Anne to marry an opera singer. The narrator describes Todd as a *diva* in order to subvert previous descriptions of Todd as "hard-nosed". Here the narrator exploits the connotative meanings of the word *diva* in order to imply that Todd is controlling and demanding. A negative appraisal of being a diva is implied by the proposition that Todd keeps his diva-ish behaviour a secret; the reader is to infer that such behaviour is shameful. The word *diva* has the component [+female] in its denotative meaning, and therefore usually directly indexes femininity. It is often used to describe demanding women, particularly those who work in theatrical occupations; these negative connotative meanings are transferred to the male referent here. Therefore part of the illocutionary force of the insult is that Todd is behaving *like a woman*. The idea that behaving 'like a woman' is insulting is of course both sexist and essentialist, as it assumes that it is possible to behave 'like a woman', and that it is undesirable to do so. On the other hand, it would also be possible to interpret the use of 'diva' as a subversive act, if we perceive signifying a male body with a female signifier as beginning to break down the sex-gender equation.

In the following example, the author of the opinion column 'Supersize Fashion' uses the term *fashionista* to refer to a man, implied by the pre-modifying compound adjective 'woman-hating' (assuming that a person who 'hates' women would not themselves be a woman):

(23) I refuse to believe that I'm a size 32 or whatever just because some twisted woman-hating *fashionista* has decreed anyone with a big butt and big boobs must necessarily be.

(Tania Ahsan', *Asiana*)

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'fashionista' as "A person employed in the creation or promotion of high fashion, as a designer, photographer, model, fashion writer, etc. Also: a devotee of the fashion industry; a wearer of high-fashion clothing." (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). In order to check my intuitions about the gendered connotations of *fashionista*, I used WebCorp, a concordancer that allows the user to interrogate internet search engines. I used WebCorp for this because *fashionista* a fairly new term, and did not enter the dictionary until 2002, therefore the BNC does not contain any instances of it. There are methodological issues with doing this, because, for example, there is no way of knowing how balanced the internet is as a corpus of texts. However, some corpus linguists (e.g. Lew, 2009) have argued for the usefulness of using the web as a source of corpus data,

particularly in the case of rare usages, and I simply wanted to ascertain some common contexts of use for the term 'fashionista'. Examining a list of concordance lines in WebCorp revealed that the majority of uses of the term refer to women who follow high fashion, or work in the fashion industry as designers, models or fashion writers. This suggests that 'fashionista' usually indexes femininity. Given that the fashion industry and femininity are also sometimes associated with male homosexuality, the reader may infer the term 'fashionista' as indirectly indexing gay male identity when used with male reference like this. The choice of premodifying compound adjective 'woman-hating' also suggests a male referent (assuming that it is not intended masochistically!).

In an interview with professional gladiator 'Tornado' in *Scarlet*, Tornado is categorised as a *pin-up*, which arguably usually has a female referent:

(24) How do you feel about becoming a pin-up?

I love it.

(interview with 'Tornado', *Scarlet*)

The term pin-up connotes [+female], as it comes from the notion of the women pin-ups and calendar girls featured in popular magazines in the 1940s and 50s (Horne, 2011), although this was later appropriated by producers of the 'new women's magazines' like *Cleo* launched in the early years of the second-wave feminist movement, which included nude male centrefolds as a way of 'turning the tables' on the female equivalents in magazines for men (Le Masurier, 2011: 226). Examining the co-texts of *pin-up* as a noun in the BNC revealed that a slight majority (53%) had female referents, and these were most often in the context of war-time pin-ups or as a way of describing attractive women, where the instances of *pin-up* with a male referent were most often to denote celebrities or pop stars in magazines for teenage girls. Additionally, the phrase 'male pin-up' occurred twice in the sample, where the equivalent 'female pin-up' was not present, suggesting that the concept of the female pin-up is perhaps more culturally established than that of the male pin-up.

In the context of women's magazines, however, the reader may likely draw on schematic knowledge of the kinds of nude male pin-ups that populate teenage magazines. Using the term *pin-up* to describe Tornado therefore emphasises his celebrity status, as someone "being, or worthy of being, the subject of such a picture; glamorous, attractive." (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). 'Tornado' is the stage name given to the actor who plays him in the television game show *Gladiators*, in which 'regular' contestants challenge the gladiators to various duels, tests of strength and endurance modelled on those of the Roman Empire over

two millennia ago. It is therefore interesting that the decision to describe Tornado as a 'pin-up' focuses on his identity as a sexual object of desire, rather than on physical strength, as his stage name does.

4.1.4 Body part nouns

4.1.4.1 Frequencies of body part nouns

Body part nouns name parts of the male body, either to compartmentalise the male body or as a metonymic reference to a male identity. Metaphorical meanings of body part nouns were included in frequency counts where they are not entirely idiomatic; i.e. when the sense of the body part is retained. For example, in the phrase "getting his leg over" ('Tough Love', *Pride*) whilst this is technically an idiom, performing the act of sexual intercourse does usually entail carrying out the action denoted. Table 12 shows frequencies of male body part nouns according to text type:

Text type	Frequency of body part nouns with male referent (tokens)	Normalized frequencies
Advertorials	3	19.5
Columns	24	26.1
Features	47	13.3
Fiction	49	33
Interviews	74	21.1
Letters	9	38.9
Lists	3	31
Problem pages	11	7.6
Profiles	4	29
Reader surveys	35	84.1
Real life stories	163	47.6
Reports	20	24.1
Reviews	1	38.3

Table 12: Frequencies of body part nouns per text type

According to the normalized frequencies in Table 12, the text types with the highest frequency of body part nouns are the reader surveys and the real life stories. However, the relative high frequency of body part nouns in the reader surveys reflects the inclusion of the article 'Would You Rather' (*Glamour*). It presents the results of a survey asking readers to

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choose between a number of scenarios, and a third of the scenarios concern physical appearance. Of the 35 instances of body part nouns in the reader survey text type, 23 (66%) come from this article. Therefore it is not possible to assert that it is the reader survey as a text type which is prone to representing men in terms of body parts, only that this particular text does so. However, the high frequency of body part nouns in the real life stories does appear to be indicative of the text type in general, as they are more evenly distributed across the texts.

Considering the corpus as a whole, there are roughly equal numbers of body part nouns with male and female referents: of the 1163 body part nouns, a slight majority have female referents (641, 55%), but this isn't a significant difference. There are also roughly equal numbers of gender-exclusive body part nouns: 90 instances of body part nouns only have male referents (7.7%); 103 only co-occur with female identities (8.9%). Whilst it is important to appreciate that in terms of pure frequency, men's and women's bodies are afforded equal space in the texts, examining the contexts of these may indicate an underlying gender difference of ideological import, particularly if they reiterate existing discourses of masculinity, because they contribute to the codification of hegemonic masculine ideals. Examining what kinds of lexical fields are evident in these two sub-groups of the body part nouns will therefore demonstrate what physical differences between the sexes are represented, giving an indication of how masculinity is conceptualised in relation to femininity by the magazine writers.

4.1.4.2 Themes of body part nouns

An analysis of the lexical fields of both the male-only body parts and female-only body parts revealed the following lexical fields:

Lexical field	Male-only body parts		Female-only body parts	
	Lexis	Frequency	Lexis	Frequency
Genitalia/sex organs	Button mushroom (2); COCK (5); crotch (1); ERECTION (3); li'l guy (1); man garden (1); pencil (3); penis (8); private parts (2); pubic bone (2); sensitive areas (1); shaft (1);	42	Clitoris (7); labia (1); vulva (1); womb (1)	10

	sperm (1); testicle (1); todger (1); trouser forest (1); trousersnake (1); WILLY (6); winkle (1)			
Body	Anatomy (1)	1	figure (2)	2
Bottom	Ass (1); buns (1)	2	Bottom (1); butt (1); buttocks (1)	3
Chest			Boob (11); BREAST (11); implants (2); tits (1)	25
Face	Buckteeth (1); expression (2); forehead (1); gnashers (1); goatee (1); gob (1); grimace (1); grin (3); jaw (1); lashes (1); moustache (1)	14	Cheekbone (2); chin (1); chompers (1); eye socket (1); eyelashes (1); freckles (2); nostrils (1); WRINKLE (3)	12
Hair	hairs (1); hairstyle (1)	2		0
Head		0	Nape (1); scalp (1); throat (5); tongue (3)	10
Hormones	Testosterone (2)	2	Oestrogen (2)	2
Internal organs/body tissue/fluids	Bone marrow (1); Heart valves (1); pancreas (2); saliva (2); sweat (1); tendons (1); veins (1);	9	bladder (1); kidneys (1); LUMP (3); lungs (1); vomit (1)	7
Limbs	Clutches (1); fingerprint (1); fist (3); THUMB (2)	7	Ankles (2); armpits (1); fingertips (1); foot (1); nails (3); stump (2); TOE (3)	13
Muscles	Biceps (1); brawn (1);	5	Pelvic-floor muscle	1

	pecs (1); six-pack (2)		(1)	
Skeleton		0	Pelvis (2); ribs (1)	2
Skin	Complexion (1); scar tissue (1); spots (2)	4	Bruises (2); Cellulite (4); goosebumps (4); ripple (1); scar (1); stitches (3)	15
Stomach	Belly button (1); puppy fat (1)	2	Flab (1)	1
Total		90		103

Table 13: Lexical fields of male-only and female-only body parts in the WM corpus

There are shared lexical fields between the male-only and female-only body parts; what is more interesting is the lexical differences in the shared fields. Although this is not intended as a comparative study, and the analysis that follows will focus mainly on the male-only body parts, examining the kinds of body parts that index femininity will also aid in an analysis of how masculinity is constructed, given that gender is often conceptualised as relational.

4.1.4.2.1 Button mushrooms and trousersnakes: synonyms for the penis

By far the largest lexical field in the male-only body parts is that of genitalia, with a total of 42 instances, making up almost half the number of tokens in this category (46%). There are four times more instances of genitalia lexis in the male-only category than in the female-only category, and it is also interesting that the items in the female 'genitalia' sub-field mostly denote internal parts (3 of 4 lexemes). Jeffries (2007: 73) found an implicit distinction made between the "accessibility" of men's genitalia and "relative inaccessibility" of female sex organs running throughout her magazine data. She explains how the magazine writers compare female sex organs with everyday objects, as an attempt to reduce the 'mystery' of the female anatomy. In my data, comparisons with everyday objects such as 'pencil' and 'button mushroom' may be interpreted as attempts to ridicule male sex organs.

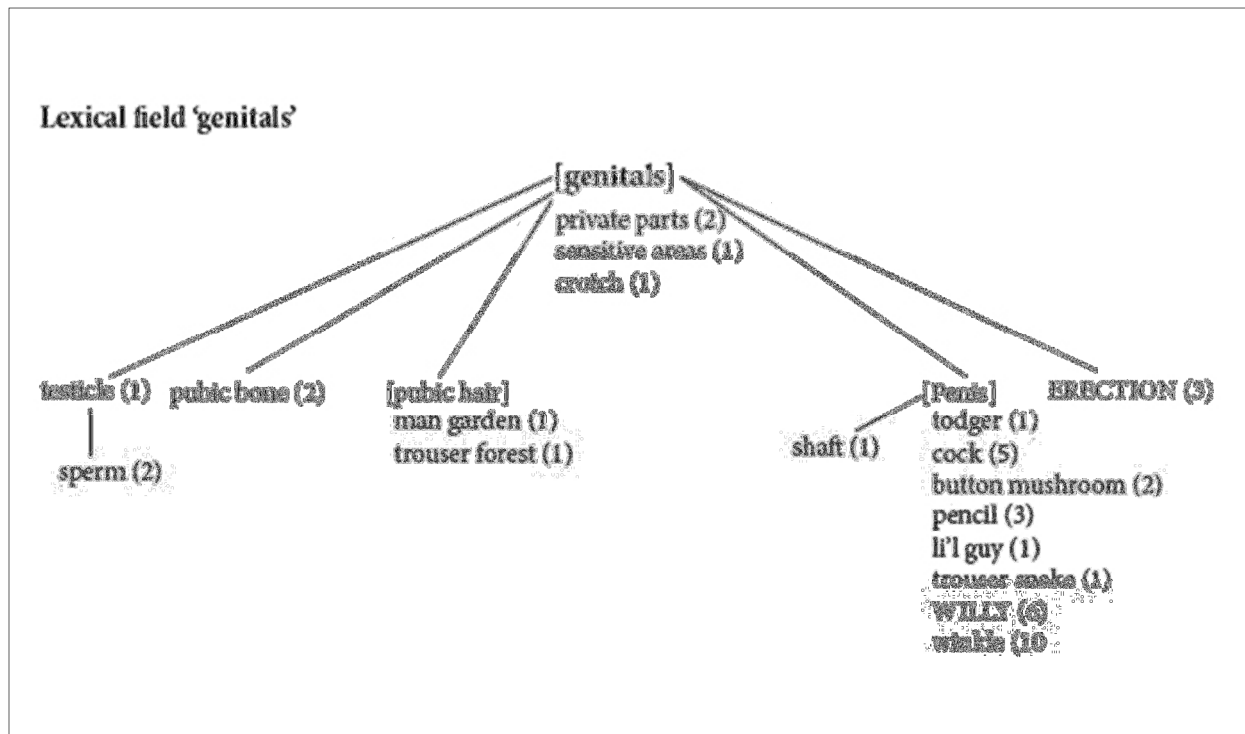


Fig. 1: Lexical field of 'genitals' for the male-only body part terms

The lexemes in the male-only genitalia lexical field are mostly synonyms for the penis (29 tokens, 69%). Cameron's (1992a) study of synonyms for the penis in a group of American college students found that the terms the male students listed could be grouped into the following semantic categories: person, animals, tools, weapons and foodstuffs (2006 [1992a]: 153). The female participants came up with terms that fit into categories including names, animals, tools, weapons, foodstuff, romance, size/shape and useless things and nonsense terms. The terms for penis in the WM corpus can be similarly categorised:

Semantic category	Lexical items	Frequency
Person	li'l guy	1
	WILLY	6
Animal	trouserssnake	1
Penis	COCK	5
	penis	8
	todger	1
Size/shape	button mushroom	2
	pencil	3
	shaft	1
	winkle	1
		29

Table 14: Penis terms grouped according to semantic categories

The terms in Table 14 were categorised as such according to their contexts of use. The metaphorical items *button mushroom* and *pencil* come from a reader survey entitled 'Would You Rather...', which presents the results of a survey of a series of supposedly oppositional scenarios. The two terms here are in fact constructed opposites (see Chapter Five section X) in the question "Would you rather he had a button mushroom or a pencil?":

(25) Unzip him to find a pencil 60%

Unzip him to find a button mushroom 40%

Well, we never. We always thought short and thick would win over long and thin.

We stand corrected.

(*'Would You Rather...'*, *Glamour*)

Here the parallel adjective phrases 'short and thick' and 'long and thin' are glosses for 'button mushroom' and 'pencil', respectively. The scenarios in this survey are intended to entail negative outcomes; the participant is to pick the 'best' option from these "'aargh, how to choose' dilemmas" (*Glamour*, 'Would you rather...'). The qualities and behaviours discussed in the article are therefore representative of undesirable aspects of masculinity, which are being 'judged' by the readers who took part in the survey. Both penis terms here are deemed 'useless', i.e. not conducive to 'satisfying' sexual activity, implied by the idiomatic phrases 'well, we never' and 'we stand corrected'. These negative evaluations of lexis denoting small size ultimately recapitulates the notion that 'bigger means better', because, presumably, 'satisfying' sex would necessitate the man possessing a large penis. They can also be seen as euphemistic comparisons with everyday objects that function to

reduce the perceived importance of the penis. This differs from the function of such comparisons in Jeffries' study of body part terms for the female body, where they served to reduce the mystery of internal female sex organs (Jeffries, 2007: 74).

The term *winkle* in a report from *Scarlet* magazine also relates to small penis size:

(26) A 14-year-old boy has been admitted to hospital after a fish 'slipped' up his penis.

[...]

While he was having a tinkle the creature apparently escaped his grasp and slid up his **winkle**.

(‘Full Frontal’, *Scarlet*)

The word *winkle* could be interpreted as connoting smallness via the phenomenon of phonetic symbolism. Psychological studies have shown how in pairs of invented words containing *i* or *a*, the *i* vowel is more often interpreted as symbolising small size, where *a* more frequently symbolises large size (Sapir, 1929: 227). It is possible then that the short front vowel [ɪ] is more likely to be interpreted by the reader as denoting a small, rather than a large value. Additionally, the reader may infer ‘winkle’ as an abbreviated form of ‘periwinkle’, a type of shellfish that is also characterised by smallness. Interestingly, in this interpretation, ‘winkle’ can be perceived as an example of the MEN ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor discussed in section 4.1.3 above. In this instance the diminutive connotations of *winkle* contribute to the infantilization of the teenager, rather than the uselessness of the penis, as in the ‘pencil’ and ‘button mushroom’ examples.

The terms ‘li’l guy’ and ‘WILLY’ are personifications of the penis. The instance of ‘li’l guy’ comes from a column, also in *Scarlet* magazine, by a male writer on his experiences of being a presenter for the adult TV show ‘Sexcetera’, at a point where he’s explaining why he had sex with a married stranger in the middle of an interview:

(27) Well, when an attractive naked woman is touching your **li’l guy** at six in the morning, the train has pretty much left the station and you ain’t looking for the brake lever.

‘Willy’ is also a personification, deriving from the name of a cartoon character in *Man’s Best Friend*, who was, in fact, a penis (Cameron, [1992a] 2006: 153). In personifying his penis, the writer draws on the idea that the penis is an “uncontrollable Other, with a life of its

own" (Cameron, [1992a] 2006: 153). The use of a contracted form of *little* arguably connotes fondness, and therefore could be interpreted as non-threatening. However, the decision to use a personal noun rather than a denotative item like 'penis' makes a point of representing the narrator's penis as a separate entity, and thus self-governing. This interpretation is supported by the writer's metaphorical description of the sex act comparing it with the operation of a locomotive, which could be said to invoke notions of automation, equating sex with mechanical procedure that is difficult to curtail. This interpretation of male sexuality has serious feminist implications: as Cameron points out, accepting that male sexuality is 'uncontrollable' and domineering gives credence to occasional claims by men in rape cases that they were 'driven' by irresistible sexual urges ([1992a] 2006: 153).

It is interesting that none of the terms here relate to the tools or weaponry categories found in Cameron's study. The personifying terms, 'li'l guy' and 'willy', also connote intimacy rather than heroism, as with some of the names that the men in Cameron's study came up with (2006 [1992a]: 153). The terms 'button mushroom', 'pencil' and winkle in the size/shape category arguably all have negative connotations, because they denote small penis size, focusing on the fallible, rather than powerful, nature of the penis. This difference in representation was also found in Cameron's study, where the women informants also produced more terms relating to size/shape, and which focused on the penis as non-threatening or 'useless' (Cameron [1992a] 2006: 158).

4.1.4.2.2 Muscles

In the lexical field of muscles, all the lexis in the male-only category are those that are externally visible; *pelvic-floor muscle* in the female-only category refers to an internal muscle, which is not visible, and therefore does not index physical strength in the same way that the muscle terms in the male-only category do. The fact that terms relating to muscularity only have male referents is indicative of their importance for the construction of the ideal male body. Looking at the co-text for these terms reveals their positive evaluation in the texts:

(28) Dreamy Daniel was also runner-up on TV show *Top Celebrity Arm Wrestlers*. We'd certainly love to see his **biceps** in action!

(‘Alison Hammond’, *Woman*)

(29) Brains, brawn - and he's shown us he can dance, too.

(‘Ultimate Hottie’, *Cosmopolitan*)

(30) It must take a lot of working-out to hone that **six-pack**... " It takes three hours in the gym and a five-mile run every day - I have to be physically ripped for a big fight .

(Interview with Ricky Hatton, *Cosmopolitan*)

(31) Rickey Hatton tells us he's proud of his **six-pack**. Wow! It must take a lot of working-out to hone that six-pack...

(Interview with Ricky Hatton, *Cosmopolitan*)

(32) Talent-show judge, Piers Morgan, 43, talks about Simon Cowell's **pecs** and Sharon Osbourne's temper...

(Interview with Piers Morgan, *Woman's Own*)

In (28), the reader is included as a referent via inclusive pronoun 'we' in the proposition that witnessing this celebrity's arm muscles at work would be desirable. The instances of 'six-pack' in examples (30) and (31) are from an interview with boxer Ricky Hatton, which are accompanied in the text by a 'pin-up' style photo; his physical appearance is therefore immediately visually foregrounded. The idea that he should be 'proud' of his stomach muscles, and the assertion that attaining such an appearance takes a certain amount of labour, triggered by epistemic modal verb 'must', implies that bodybuilding is hard work. Given that perseverance and diligence are culturally valued qualities, Ricky's commitment to maintaining a muscular physique (the fruits of his labour) is interpreted as a positive achievement. 'Pecs' is afforded positive appraisal via its constructed opposite 'temper' in example (32) (see Chapter Five section 5.2.2 on opposition construction). The parallel structure of the noun phrases produces oppositional meanings; anger has a negative semantic prosody, foregrounding the positive connotations of *pecs*.

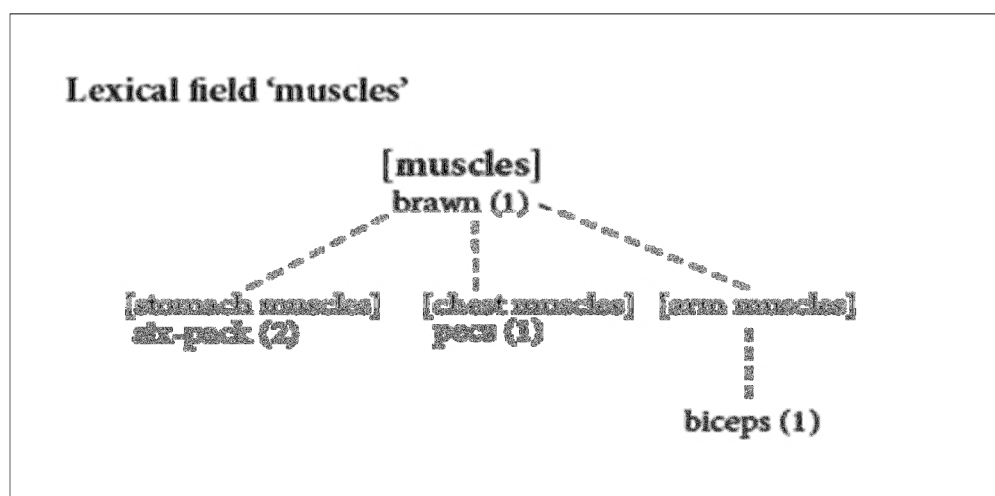


Fig. 2: Lexical field of 'muscles' for the male-only body part nouns

In Fig. 2, the dashed lines represent a relationship of hyponymy. While body part lexis relating to muscularity is clearly not significant in any statistical sense, the co-occurrence of these items with male identities suggests that muscles are represented as specific to masculine identity in the texts, and because the muscle terms collocate more frequently with male referents, they may be said to exhibit social gender, functioning as indirect indexes of masculinity. This finding is supported by Motschenbacher's (2009) study on body part vocabulary in *Men's Health* and *Cosmopolitan*, which did find that male bodies were described in terms of muscularity significantly more than female bodies (2009: 16).

4.1.4.2.3 Face

Examining the lexical field 'face' reveals some interesting differences between meronyms with only male referents, and those that are only used with female identities. Meronyms *WRINKLE*, and *freckles* are aesthetic features, associated with beauty. *WRINKLE* is always a beauty flaw; a sign of aging, whereas *freckles* are sometimes perceived as a positive attribute. A random sample of *freckles* in the BNC showed that 24 (48%) had a female referent, where 12 (24%) had a male referent, and that in 9 cases (18%) 'freckles' were positively valued.

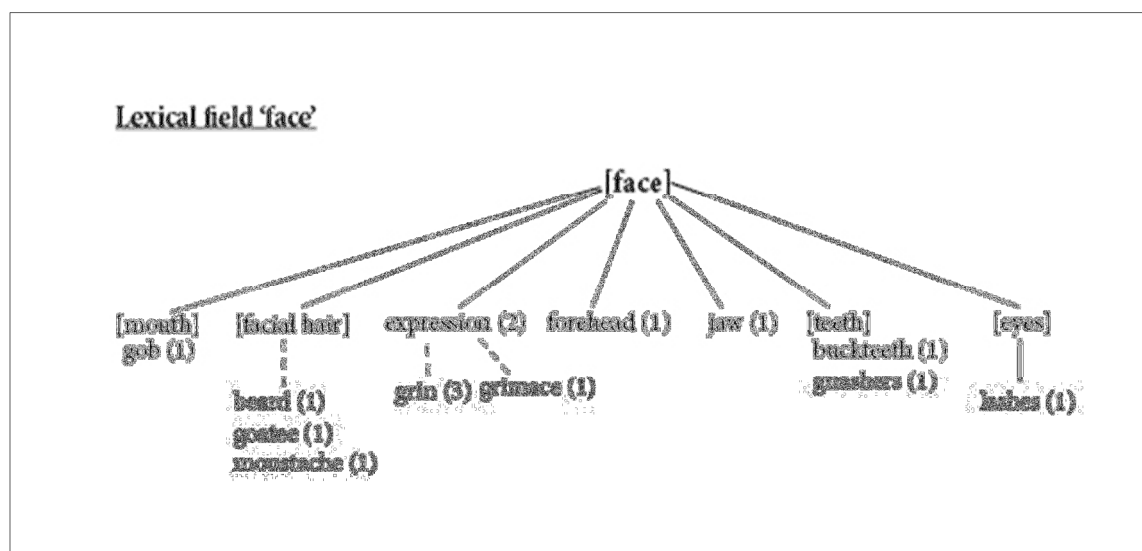


Fig. 3: Lexical field 'face' in the male-only body part terms

The male-only body parts contain hyponyms of facial hair: *beard*, *moustache*, *goatee*; indicating that these are also indirect indexes of masculinity. The synonyms for teeth, 'chompers' in the female category and 'gnashers' in the male-only group have interesting

differences in their semantic connotations: 'gnashers' has a distinctly violent, animalistic association in comparison with 'chompers', which connotes informality.

4.1.4.2.4 Limbs

There are also interesting differences in the lexical field 'limbs'. The female-only group contains items 'nails' and 'fingertips', which are not shared by the male-only category. Motschenbacher's (2009) study also found that the majority of instances of finger part terms occurred in relation to female identities. In the male-only category, there is an instance of *fingerprint*, which in this case belongs to a murderer from real life story 'Have Sex or Die' (*That's Life*). Also in the male-only group is the nominalization *clutches*, which is used to describe the behaviour of a possessive ex-boyfriend in *Pick Me Up's* problem page. The lexeme *fist* can also be grouped under this field, all three instances of which are the agents of material actions in two real life stories from *Love It*:

(33) Lee pulled his fist back again and pummelled my face hard.

(34) As his fist slammed into my cheek, the room span around me.

(35) 'Get out!' I shouted, close to tears. But instead, he pulled back his fist and smashed it into my cheek.

The material actions performed by the body parts, 'pummelled', 'slammed' and 'smashed', here all have violent connotations. The fact that these aggressive actions are constructed as being performed by the fist reduces the amount of agency, and therefore control, attributed to the men themselves here. The stylistic functions of male body part agency is discussed further in Chapter Six (section 6.5).

4.2 Describing

The kinds of adjectives used to describe an entity or event reveal the writer's attitudes towards it. Looking at the kinds of adjectives used to describe male identities in the corpus provides an indication of the kinds of behaviours and attributes that are presented as desirable by the magazine writers.

In order to capture adjectival descriptions of men, I analysed the co-texts of the concordance lines captured during the process of finding nouns for the analysis of naming strategies. Given that the adjectives co-occurring with male identities discussed in this section were found via this more manual process, they do not therefore represent statistical collocates. In order to triangulate the findings of this more qualitative analysis, I decided to

also conduct a more quantitative analysis of adjectival collocates, using the lemma MAN as a node term (see section 4.2.2 below).

4.2.1 Themes of adjectives modifying men

The (manually obtained) adjectives used to modify male identities in the corpus were divided into the following semantic categories:

Semantic category	Example lexis	Frequency	% of total frequency of adjectives
Personality and behaviour	shy, romantic	149	31
Physical appearance	dark, stocky	80	17
Evaluation	terrible, fabulous	74	16
Social classification	gay, black, young	71	15
Relationship	former, new, long-term	51	11
Mental/emotional states	shocked, ecstatic	47	10
Total		472	

Table 15: Semantic categories of adjectives modifying men in the WM corpus

Table 15 shows that the largest category of adjectives are those relating to personality and behaviour. This is an indication that these magazines present personality traits as more important male qualities than, say, physical appearance or age. Adjectives relating to mental and emotional states are the least frequent descriptions of men, suggesting that on the whole the men are not represented as emotional beings. This reiterates the wider ideology of men as unemotional.

4.2.1.1 Sexual descriptions

Looking at the contexts of the adjectives in the personality and behaviour category revealed that they produce roughly equal numbers of positive and negative descriptions; 75 can be interpreted as positive descriptions, and 74 are negative. A semantic analysis of the adjectives in the personality and behaviour category revealed a small number of adjectives relating to sexual behaviour (10). Interestingly, looking at the co-texts of these showed that they mostly have negative connotations (80%):

(36) "I had this very **experimental** boyfriend, and he was always bringing home sex toys. I thought it was funny, until the night he promised me 'a surprise.' Expecting a new vibrator, I was completely horrified when he produced a strap-on dildo, complete with studs and chains. And no, I didn't wear it." Casey, 24, Gateshead

Although being 'experimental' initially seems to be valued positively in (36) via the subject complement *funny* in the following clause, this acquires negative connotations, indicated by the narrator's description of herself as "completely horrified". The evaluative force of 'horrified' is increased by intensifying adverb 'completely', and serves to evaluate the object NP in the following adverbial clause.

In the following example from a real life story, being 'flirty' is associated with infidelity, where the adulterous male is represented in terms of what he is not:

(37) Together 17 years, I'd trusted Ian completely. He was a great dad and a caring husband, and we still made love twice a week. More to the point, he didn't seem that kind of a guy. He wasn't **lecherous** or **flirty**.

The negative connotations attached to the words 'lecherous' and 'flirty' here also contribute to the implicature that behaving in a sexual manner is not constitutive of being a good father or husband; the reader might infer from this that the ideal husband behaves asexually towards other women. It also implies that men who commit adultery cannot make good fathers or husbands, because they are driven by their carnal instincts.

In the following example from *Glamour*, the notions of both sexual innocence and promiscuity are negatively valued:

(38) He's a bit of a **prude** 34%
He's too **kinky** 66%

"Just bend over there, love. Yes that's right. What do you mean the bridle is uncomfortable? Bad horsey." Oh, the mind boggles as to what you've let yourself in for.

(*'Would you Rather', Glamour*)

Despite the fact that the figures here show that being 'kinky' was the preferred choice in this scenario, this quality is evaluated negatively, by both the clause it occurs in, and the commentary provided by the magazine writer below. The intensifier *too* triggers the presupposition that men *are* kinky, and also produces the conventional implicature that being 'kinky' is a desirable quality in moderation; undesirable only in excess, because of the conventional meaning of 'too' as denoting "in excess" (*OED Online*, accessed 2013).

The real life narrative 'Have Sex or Die' tells the story of Jesse Pratt, who tried to rape, and then murdered one of his female employees. Because this was a sexual crime, Pratt is described in terms of his sexuality:

(39) Fact 5: Her **lustful** boss Jesse Pratt has been sentenced to death for her murder.

(*'Have Sex or Die', That's Life*)

The decision to use a premodifying adjective produces an existential presupposition (see Chapter Seven) that Pratt is lustful, and also presents the quality of lustfulness as a permanent attribute of his character; the reader might infer from this that Pratt committed this crime *because* of his carnal urges.

Another example of a description of men in terms of what they are not, in this feature from *Asiana* on blind dating, the narrator invokes the concept of sleaziness to assert that her date is *not* 'sleazy'.

(40) When I was feeding him during dinner, he licked my fingers, which was totally unexpected, but it didn't feel too awkward because there's nothing **sleazy** about him.

(*'Blind Date', Asiana*)

Rather than using an adjective with an oppositional meaning to 'sleazy' in order to categorise her date, she has chosen to use the negative form. Denying propositions entails an invocation of the positive state, thus her denial of his sleaziness here necessarily implies the concept of sleaziness. The word *sleazy* usually co-occurs with male referents; therefore the writer's decision to describe him as such reinforces unwanted sexual behaviour as a specifically male quality, reiterating the idea that men are driven by sexual urges. Interestingly, the intensifying adverb *too* in the adjective phrase 'too awkward' presupposes

that she *did* feel awkward, reminding the reader of the possible danger of the situation, had he turned out to be 'sleazy', and thus a threat to her.

4.2.1.2 Eligible males and bad boys: positive and negative descriptions

The items in the 'evaluation' category exhibit either positive or negative evaluation. The items in this category are lexis that explicitly evaluates men as positive or negative, that is, lexis that has the element [+negative evaluation] or [+positive evaluation] in their denotative meaning, and can be interpreted as hyponyms of *good* or *bad*. Traditionally, hyponymy is taken to describe hierarchical relationships between nominal areas of vocabulary, but Murphy (2003: 221) points out that scalar adjectives can also be described in hyponymous terms, if we define hyponymy as a relationship of inclusion. For example, *excellent* is logically a hyponym of *good*, in that *excellent* entails *good*, and it is broader in meaning. Lexical relations like hyponymy also exist irrespective of context; the examples discussed in this section also fulfil this criterion.

The majority of lexis in this category produces positive appraisals of men (56 tokens, 76%). Positively evaluating adjectives can be grouped according to hyperbolic evaluations (e.g. *fantastic*, *amazing*, *fabulous*), those indicating morality (e.g. *decent*, *good*), and those which indicate suitability for partnership: *eligible*, *perfect*, *right*, *dream*:

Sometimes they [women] get weary of what they consider the hassles of romance and dating within the complications of the dwindling supply of **eligible** males and the challenges of juggling love, marriage, parenthood and work outside the home.

(*'Seeking Sex'*, *Ebony*)

The attributive adjective *eligible* in this example occurs in a post-modifying prepositional phrase to 'supply'. The pre-modifying adjective 'dwindling' implies that there are fewer suitable partners than there used to be. Similarly, the use of evaluating adjective with positive connotations is used to express negative meaning in this extract from a feature article on celebrity break-ups:

(42) It happens all the time to Hollywood's most gorgeous, seemingly perfect women: their equally gorgeous and seemingly **perfect** guys humiliate them by fooling around with someone else.

The pre-modifying modal adverb ‘seemingly’ evaluates the celebrity men in question as *imperfect*, because they are adulterous, reinforcing normative values about heterosexual relationships. This evaluation also presupposes the possibility of ‘perfect guys’, however hard they are to find.

However, the pre-modifying adjective *right* does express positive connotations in this extract from a fictional narrative in *Woman’s Weekly*:

(43) "So how do you feel about being a father again?" she asked, in an attempt to put him in the hot seat.

"In principle, I'd love it, given the right woman."

"You mean Jules isn't?"

"I mean, Jules needs the **right** man, or no man at all. She's no good at compromise."

In this example, *right* denotes ‘correct’, forming part of the ‘right/wrong’ canonical pair. This implies that suitability for partnership is a binary construct. In this context, being the ‘right’ partner means being a caring father.

The attributive adjective *dream* is also used to denote desirable qualities in a man:

(44) Errol is Cosmo's **dream** man because:

He's a hairdresser who makes celebs - like Kelly Rowland - even more gorgeous, then finds time to help ill, needy or homeless women.

(‘Ultimate Man’, *Cosmopolitan*)

The conjunction ‘because’ links the positive classification of Errol Douglas in the initial clause with the propositions in the following clauses, implicating that the qualities implied by them – the he is charitable and skilled in beautification processes – represent valued attributes in a man. We could interpret this as a subversion of gender stereotypes, in that heterosexual masculinity is not usually associated with occupations such as hairdressing, but the word ‘dream’ also conventionally has connotations of fantasy, therefore the reader might infer that for men to be beauty conscious and benevolent is in fact an unrealistic ideal.

There were only 18 tokens of lexis with [+negative evaluation] in their denotative meaning used to describe men. Some of these can be grouped into synonyms out of context, for example synonyms for incompetence (e.g. *hapless*, *daft*) and immorality (e.g. *depraved*, *bad*). There are also a few items which clearly have [+negative evaluation] in their denotative meaning, but which also have specific connotations in-context.

For example, the premodifying adjectives 'good-for-nothing' and 'wicked' in the following examples connote negative behaviour in relationships, which can only be gleaned from their contexts of use:

(45) While it's good to talk, it's best to avoid ranting on about your good-for-nothing ex, family drama or your boss from hell.

(‘Revamp your Dating Rules’, *Pride*)

(46) Company reports on the rise of the mascara man. It all started with cheeky Noel Fielding and **wicked** lothario Russell Brand.

(‘The New Man Make-up’, *Company*)

Example (45) is from an instructional feature on dating, where it is advised that women should not “turn it into a therapy session” and engage in self-disclosure. It is notable that the noun phrase (underlined) is introduced with possessive determiner *your*, which presupposes that the reader *has* a ‘good-for-nothing ex’, constructing the reader as someone who has been unsuccessful in relationships, and implying that there is an abundance of men who are inherently bad.

As in the above example, the connotative meanings of ‘wicked’ in (46) are inferred from its combination with ‘lothario’, discussed in section 4.1.3.2.3 above. The negative denotation of ‘wicked’ becomes associated with the idea of womanising, thus Russell Brand is described as ‘wicked’ *because* he is a ‘lothario’; this reflects the wider ideology of Western society which values monogamous, long-term relationships.

The examples below contain negatively evaluating adjectives connoting immorality:

(47) But what stared back at me was pure evil. You see, my face reminded me of one of the most **depraved** men I'd ever met... *My dad*.

(‘Beautiful Swan’, *Real People*)

(48) 'Who says you can't TAME A **BAD** BOY?' He might play hard men in his movies but, deep down, Danny Dyer loves a woman to take control.

(Danny Dyer, *Cosmopolitan*)

(49) **Are you a romantic or a bad boy?** Take your pick. I will be whatever you want me to be.

(interview with Zayed Khan, *Asiana*)

Example (47) comes from a real life story in which a female narrator tells the story of how she was sexually abused by her father, and underwent plastic surgery to change her facial appearance in a bid to erase the physical connection between her and her father. The adjectival choice here focuses on immorality. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *depraved* denotes "[r]endered morally bad; corrupt, wicked" (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). The connotations of this word are perhaps more extreme than others in this field, such as 'good-for-nothing' or 'bad.' The choice of an adjective at the extreme end of the *good/bad* scale reflects the tendency for magazines to employ a "vocabulary of excess" to emphasise the entertainment value of the texts (McLoughlin, 2000: 21).

Examples (48) and (49) contain the alliterative idiomatic phrases *bad boy*, which is associated with New Lad masculinity. For instance, a random sample of 50 occurrences of the phrase 'bad boy' in the BNC showed that 12 of these described footballers, often in newspaper headlines, for example: "FOOTBALL 'bad boy' Ian Jolosa is in trouble again..." (*The Daily Mirror*, 1992). The behaviours associated with the 'bad boy' image appear to be related to violence and womanising, staple practices attributed to New Lad masculinity (Attwood, 2005; Coy and Horvath, 2011). In example (48), the descriptions 'bad' and 'hard' are treated as synonymous; when used to refer to men, *hard* is usually associated with hegemonic masculine concepts such as violence. The reader may also infer these connotations here. The choice of verb 'tame' also connotes animal behaviour, as it is often used with reference to wild animals. In (49), the concepts of being 'romantic' or a 'bad boy' are opposed, which suggests that being a 'bad boy' is incompatible with the idea of being romantic.

4.2.2 Statistical collocates

In order to obtain statistical collocates, I used the lemmas MAN and MEN as node terms in WordSmith. I set the parameters by which WordSmith identifies collocates at five places to the left and right of the node item, with a minimum frequency of five. I used the Mutual Information test in WordSmith to calculate collocates, which calculates the expected

probability of collocates based on their relative frequencies and overall corpus size; it then compares the expected figure with the observed frequency, and converts the difference between the two figures into a number that indicates the collocational strength (Baker, 2006: 101). It is generally agreed that an MI score of 3 or more indicates a strong relationship, therefore adjectives with an MI score below 3 have not been included in the table of collocates below.

I checked the co-texts of each of the adjectival collocates, to check that the adjectives were modifying male entities, rather than just occurring near men, as adjectives only function as descriptions if they appear as premodifiers in a noun phrase ('the chubby man') or as complements of intensive verbs in a clause structure ('he is chubby'). In total, WordSmith found 170 collocates with a MI score of 3 or above; only 9 of these are adjectival collocates that serve a modifying function:

	Collocate	Collocates with	Frequency in the corpus	MI score
1	Skinny	MAN	3	7.774
2	Chubby	MAN	3	7.359
3	British	MEN	4	6.778
4	Young	MEN	4	5.852
5	Young	MEN	7	5.333
6	Gay	MEN	4	5.276
7	Single	MEN	3	4.670
8	Gay	MAN	4	3.949
9	Black	MAN	3	3.586

Table 16: Adjectival collocates of MAN and MEN in the WM corpus

The adjectival collocates in Table 16 can be grouped according to the semantic categories used for the manual analysis of adjectives in section 4.2.1 above: 'skinny' and 'chubby' are descriptions of physical appearance; 'Black', 'British' and 'young' are social classifications; 'single' denotes relationship status and 'gay' describes the sexuality of the referents. The collocates are ordered here according to MI score: according to the table 'skinny' and MAN has the strongest collocation out of all the pairs listed. 'Skinny' and 'chubby' are lexical opposites, in that they are culturally recognisable as contrasting. Most of the tokens of 'skinny'/'chubby' appear in the same report from *Glamour* magazine, apart from line 4, which is from an opinion column written by a male writer in *Asiana* magazine:

1 sleep with a chubby man or a **skinny man**? Chubby "It's nice to have someth
 2 Would you rather sleep with a chubby **man** or a **skinny** man? Chubby "I
 3 chubby man 42% Sleep with a **skinny man** 58% You'll take a man with svel
 4 unattractive than watching a **chubby** man tighten his belt? 'You won't
 5 extremely bendy. Sleep with a **chubby** man 42% Sleep with a skinny ma
 6 Would you rather sleep with a **chubby** man or a skinny man? Chubby

Fig. 4: Concordance of 'skinny' and 'chubby.'

'Skinny' can be interpreted as having positive connotations, which becomes clear when the co-texts of these are expanded. This reflects the wider world view that a slim appearance is attractive. For example, 'chubby' is equated with unattractiveness in line 4: "Is there anything more unattractive than watching a chubby man tighten his belt?" ('Shihab Salim: Gone for the Crunch', *Asiana*).

I also calculated adjectival collocates of MAN/MEN for the glossy and domestic weekly sub-corpora separately, and found that the pairs in the glossies were identical to those in Table 16, where the only adjectival collocate modifying MAN/MEN I found in the domestic weekly magazines was the lexeme 'young', co-occurring with 'man' three times, and with an MI score of 4.111. This indicates that the magazines in the domestic weekly category are on the whole less engaged in describing men than the glossy genre, which implies that men are overall constructed as less central to women's lives in these magazines.

4.3 Summary

The discussion of strategies of naming and describing discussed in this chapter indicates that men are most often labelled according to social roles and occupations, and most frequently described in terms of behaviour and personality, rather than physical appearance or mental attributes. I also found that nominal labels with lexical gender can sometimes also invoke connotative meanings likened to New Lad masculinity of the kind discussed in the literature on masculinity in men's magazines. An analysis of the metaphorical nouns used to define men revealed intertextual references to male characters of fiction, particularly from the fairytale and romance genres, presenting idealised images of masculinity. I also found some nouns with male referential gender which usually index femininity; for example, I showed how 'pin-up', which traditionally denotes women objectified in the pages of 'girly magazines' is used to describe TV 'gladiator' Tornado. My analysis of the representation of male body parts showed how some terms for male genitalia connote infallibility and small size; these ridiculing techniques seem to function to

reduce the prowess of the penis, although the assumption that 'bigger means better' is also present.

As well as the thematic categories of adjectives discussed in section 4.2.1, most of them can also be interpreted as hyponyms of *good* and *bad*, which suggests that the magazines use adjectival description as a strategy for showing women the types of men who are desirable, and the kinds of men who should be avoided. They are also indicative of a set of stereotypical beliefs about men: that they are incompetent, carnally-driven, and that they have violent tendencies. The negative connotations attached to qualities like being 'filthy', 'kinky' and 'experimental' serve to reinforce normative sexual practices, and adjectives relating to sexual desire and infidelity reinforce an ideology of men as sexually predatory.

While Jeffries' (2007, 2010a) studies focus solely on the role of attributive adjectives, in keeping with a focus on the noun phrase as the unit of naming and describing, I decided to also include predicative adjectives in an analysis of how the texts describe men. This meant that some of the findings here overlap with those of equating and contrasting (Chapter Five below), as predicative clauses also form the basis of intensive relational equivalence. For instance, the example 'he wasn't lecherous or flirty' can be interpreted as describing the referent of 'he', or it can be interpreted as (not) equating the man in question with the qualities of 'lecherous' or 'flirty.'

The type of naming analysis described in this chapter is also not easy to carry out using corpus methods, because it is actually quite difficult to use the noun phrase as a unit of analysis. This is because it is currently not possible to parse whole corpora for phrase/clause structure. For example, in her study of representations of the female body in women's magazines, Jeffries looked at the effect of using different types of determiners to introduce the head noun in noun phrases naming female body parts. She found potentially ideological stylistic differences between, for instance, the use of possessive determiners and demonstratives premodifying the head noun (2007: 78-84). It is therefore difficult to replicate this kind of analysis using corpus linguistics, because the available software for tagging corpora can only cope with POS information for individual words. It is much easier to decode the strategies used by text producers in naming entities manually across whole clauses or sentences, because noun phrase elements work together to produce these ideological effects.

The next chapter examines how the texts create equivalent and oppositional meanings in relation to men, which, as with the analysis of Naming and Describing, involves stating what men are like and whether these constitute positive or negative representations.

Chapter Five: Equating and Contrasting

The textual-conceptual functions termed 'equating' and 'contrasting' refer to the way in which concepts are presented as equivalent or oppositional (Jeffries, 2010a). These functions are linguistically realised by the use of contextually created synonymous and oppositional meanings. There is a strong tradition of research in the field of lexical semantics which considers lexical relations between words, including synonymy and opposition (see for example Lyons, 1977; Cruse, 1986, 2004; Murphy, 2003). These accounts focus on conventional sense relations, and do not consider how novel synonyms or opposites may be contextually constructed. Davies (2008, 2012) and Jeffries (2010a, 2010b) show how a speaker's knowledge of conventional sense relations can aid the interpretation of novel synonyms and opposites, which I found evidence of in my data. This chapter reports on instances of equivalence and opposition found in the magazine data that work to equate men with cultural ideals of masculinity, sexual predators and conceptual metaphors including MEN ARE ANIMALS and MEN ARE FOOD; and contrast 'good' men with 'bad' men, promote gender differences and present masculine identity in terms of sets of complementary binaries that treat men as dichotomous beings.

5.1 Equating

In Jeffries' (2007) study of the textual construction of the female body in women's magazines, she found that equivalence mainly functioned as a pedagogical device, to explain what a technical term meant, or to demonstrate that two referents were considered to be synonymous (2007: 106). As the analysis below shows, I found that equivalence works in much the same way in my data, where the writers use equivalent meanings to explain what men are *like*; the use of propositional forms with intensive verbal processes in particular create the idea that these are statements of 'truth', and therefore a reliable source of information about the 'mystery' of man. I will first delineate the model of equivalence used in this study, and then discuss the results of the analysis.

I have used the model of equivalence put forward by Jeffries (2007; 2010a), which outlines three different types of equivalence: appositional, intensive relational and metaphorical. There is by no means a finite set of triggers for equivalence, but table 17 below demonstrates some of these, with examples from the WM corpus:

Type of equivalence	Equivalence triggers	Example
Appositional equivalence	X, Y, (Z); X and Y	As the film develops, we see him mature and grow.
Intensive relational equivalence	X is Y; X became Y; X seems Y etc	I've become a better husband.
Metaphorical equivalence	X is Y; X is like Y; the Y that is X; X looks like Y	the wonder that is Gok Wan

Table 17: The different types of equivalence with examples from the WM corpus

The different possible triggers for intensive relational and metaphorical equivalence are particularly open-ended. The fact that there are so many different kinds of trigger for synonymy is testament to its prevalence in the language, and therefore its importance for meaning making.

In order to obtain instances of equivalence, I searched through the spreadsheet of sentences captured for my transitivity analysis for intensive relational processes. This allowed me to record instances of intensive relational and metaphorical equivalence. Appositional equivalence was harder to document systematically, and involved a combination of examining the sentences captured for transitivity analysis, and searching for conjunctions in Wmatrix, as synonymous relationships are sometimes triggered with co-ordinating conjunctions *and* and *or*.

5.1.1 Types of equivalence

5.1.1.1 Appositional equivalence

Jeffries defines appositional equivalence as “the juxtaposition of two or more noun phrases in the same syntactic role” (Jeffries, 2007: 104), which also therefore have the same referent. Appositional equivalences often serve a pedagogical purpose, to explain or elaborate. This often occurs in the interviews, where the appositional noun phrases serve to explain who the male interviewee is. For example:

I'm a para olympics Ambassador and HIV activist, along with Ashley Judd and recently performed to handicapped children in Mumbai, I do these things to help others not myself.

Here the noun phrases 'a para olympics Ambassador' and 'HIV activist' both have the same referent, fulfilling the syntactic role of Complement in an intensive relational process. Their equivalent relationship is actually syntactically triggered via co-ordinating conjunction *and*, although as we will see, *and* can also signal oppositional relationships (see section 5.2.2.1 below). In this example, the two conjoined noun phrases are taken to form part of the same overarching concept, namely 'good', or more specifically 'selfless.'

The conjunction *and* can also be used in the creation of lists, as in 'he's gorgeous, kind, gentle and honest' (*Best*). This example could be interpreted as either a four-part list, and thus fulfilling the textual-conceptual function of enumerating (see 3.2.1 above), or they can be interpreted as appositional: the adjectives in Complement position are all semantically related, and all serve the same grammatical function. There is therefore often a fine line between these two functions, which highlights the importance of considering textual function in applying these categories. In my analysis of appositional equivalence using *and*, I had to examine the contexts carefully and discard the more obvious examples of lists.

Appositional equivalences are also often created by the juxtaposition of phrases or clauses with no co-ordination, as in 'Her lustful boss Jesse Pratt has been sentenced to death for her murder' (*That's Life*). In this example the noun phrases 'her lustful boss' and 'Jesse Pratt' both refer to the same referent, constituting different ways of referring to the same male identity; the latter in terms of his given name, and the former in terms of his occupational role and (the writer's assessment of) his sexual behaviour.

Unfortunately, as available parsing programs only allow the user to code sentence-length stretches of text and not whole corpora, I was unable to capture instances of appositional equivalence that relied on this simple juxtaposition of NPs, in other words, those that were not syntactically triggered by the co-ordinating conjunction *and*. This has inevitably limited my findings. Additionally, appositional equivalence significantly overlaps with processes of naming discussed in Chapter Four above; therefore the analysis of equivalence-construction in section 5.1.3 will focus on intensive relational equivalence, in particular metaphorical equivalence.

5.1.1.2 Intensive relational equivalence

Intensive relational equivalence refers to equivalent relations constructed between the Subject and Complement of intensive verb clauses, for example 'he's a typical bloke who leaves all his stuff everywhere', where the NPs 'he' and 'a typical bloke who leaves all his

stuff everywhere' have the same referent. In this case the phrase 'a typical bloke' and relative clause 'who leaves all his stuff everywhere' do not simply refer to the same person, the reader interprets them as equivalent in meaning, taken to be part of the same concept, 'masculinity.'

The Complements of the intensive verbs are often either noun phrases or adjective phrases. In the WM corpus, I found that on the whole intensive relational equivalence functioned to equate men with labels or descriptions, and therefore mostly served a naming or describing function (see Chapter Four above).

5.1.1.3 Metaphorical equivalence

Metaphorical equivalence also utilises intensive relational processes, and involves making metaphorical relations between the Subject and Complement of the verb. For example, in 'But I want you to know he was a real soldier' ('Showdown', *Pick Me Up*), a synonymous relationship is created between the male Subject and the Complement NP, but the intended meaning is not that the referent is literally a soldier, but implies that he has been brave, in the way that is associated with being a member of the armed forces. As far as I know, this kind of equivalence is not generally used in relation to women, because the occupation of being a soldier is traditionally associated with men, and therefore can be said to indirectly index masculinity.

I found this kind of equivalence to be the most interesting ideologically, as it reveals equivalences between male referents and idealised or culturally recognisable metaphors of masculinity.

5.1.2 Frequencies of equivalence

I found that the lexical relation of synonymy was much more frequent than that of antonymy, with types of equivalence comprising 83% of the total number of instances of equivalence and opposition recorded. This was expected, given the prevalence of the copula verb in the corpus, and in the English language in general.

The following tables show frequencies of equivalence according to magazine genre and text type:

Magazine genre	Frequency of equivalence	% of total frequency of equivalence in the corpus
Domestic weeklies	479	38.5%
Glossy	765	61.5%

Table 18: Frequencies of equivalence in the WM corpus according to magazine genre

Text type	Raw frequency of equivalence	Normalized frequency (per 1000 words)	% of total frequency of equivalence in the corpus
Advertorials	7	4.6	1
Columns	60	6.5	45
Features	180	5.1	14
Fiction	89	6.0	7
Interviews	442	12.6	36
Letters	23	9.9	2
Lists	14	14.5	1
Problem pages	96	6.6	8
Profiles	24	17.4	2
Reader surveys	41	9.9	3
Real life stories	230	6.7	18
Reports	37	4.5	3
Reviews	1	3.8	0

Table 19: Frequencies of equivalence in the WM corpus according to text type.

Table 19 suggests that in terms of normalized frequency, the profiles are the text type most likely to contain instances of equivalence. Given that profiles are concerned with relaying information about specific identities; about who they are and what they are like, it is therefore not particularly surprising that these would contain the greatest amount of equivalence, particularly intensive relational equivalence formed using an 'X is Y' frame. Indeed, intensive relational equivalence makes up 79% of the total frequency of equivalence in the profiles. There is also generally more intensive relational equivalence than the other types of synonymous relation, as table 20 below demonstrates:

Type of equivalence	Frequency of equivalence	% of total frequency of equivalence in corpus
Appositional equivalence	112	9%
Intensive relational equivalence	892	72%
Metaphorical equivalence	240	20%

Table 20: Frequencies of equivalence in the WM corpus according to type of equivalence

According to Table 20, intensive relational equivalence is by far the most frequent form of synonymy used in the description of men. However, a thematic analysis of these showed that they overlap in many ways with that of the naming strategies discussed in Chapter Four, and do not have as much potential for ideology construction as the metaphorical equivalences, so the analysis that follows will focus on the role of metaphorical equivalence in the construction of ideologies of masculinity.

5.1.3 Explaining who men are and what they are like: themes of metaphorical equivalence

5.1.3.1 Cultural ideals of masculinity

I found that the most pervasive theme of metaphorical equivalences was those that create synonymy between a male referent and a cultural ideal of masculinity. There were 47 instances of this type of metaphorical equivalence, comprising 20% of the total number of metaphorical equivalences; including those of the general type of proper nouns, such as 'Mr Perfect', or a more specific cultural identity such as 'Prince Charming' (a heroic figure from the fairytale genre), or personal nouns such as 'dream man' or 'soulmate'. The examples selected below demonstrate equivalences with metaphorical personas denoted by proper nouns:

(1) They are now divorced and Pam believes Max is Jules's Mr Right.

(*'Step by Step', Woman's Weekly*)

(2) "If you have a bad fight with your boyfriend but you've let your friends believe he's Mr Perfect, you could find yourself without anyone to talk to," warns Joanna.

(*'Do you Gift-wrap your Relationship?', Cosmopolitan*)

(3) We want the kind of change that turned Barack from a IO-stone afro-wearing "community activist" into the most powerful politician in America, without messing with the fairy tale of romance that made the Obamas the only couple in the presidential race that you could imagine naked in bed with each other.

[...]

I **used to be** Prince Charming too, but baby, why did you have to change the happy ending?

(‘Man’s Point of View’, *Pride*)

The nouns ‘Mr Right’ and ‘Mr Perfect’ are tropes that will probably be familiar to the reader as personifications of abstract concepts, ‘right’ and ‘perfect’, which in turn may both be perceived as synonyms of ‘good’. I am not aware of any female equivalents of such terms, suggesting that the concept of the ideal man is much more prevalent in Western popular culture than that of the ideal woman; for example, ‘Mr Right’ is listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but ‘Mrs Right’ is not (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). These, and other metaphors for the ideal man, such as ‘he’s the love of my life’ (*That’s Life*) and ‘Mark’s The One’ (*Love It*) reveal the desirability of finding the ‘perfect’ partner, and not settling for second best. The fact that this kind of ideology doesn’t seem to translate to female representation could also point to the idea that men’s desires are not perceived by society as being as specific as women’s, the assumption being that men are primarily interested in sexual encounters or short-term relationships, where women seek longer-term commitment from men.

The equation of the male first person narrator with ‘Prince Charming’ will be recognisable as the stock protagonist of fairytales, reinforced by the reference to ‘happy ending’, which is also a conventional element of the fairytale narrative. ‘Prince Charming’ is listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a noun referring to “A fairy-tale hero; an ideal or idealized young male lover; a perfect young man.” (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). The codification of the more generalized meaning of this compound as denoting the ideal man is testament to its pervasiveness in the language.

5.1.3.2 Men as sexually predatory

There are 12 instances of metaphorical equivalence that present the idea that men are sexually predatory (5% of total metaphorical equivalences), with mostly negative connotations.

(4) I was also worried he might be a total let down, but he was every bit as gorgeous as he looks in magazines and movies. He has this Romeo look about him and you can immediately tell he's a ladies man.

(‘Blind Date’, *Asiana*)

(5) The other day, I found a pair of knickers in his drawer. Could he be a pervert, or even a transvestite?

[...]

If he's a Lothario who's working his way through as many women as possible, make sure he's having safe sex. If he likes putting on women's pants, although you both might be embarrassed, it's not the end of the world.

(‘Lorraine Kelly,’ *Best*)

Example (4) comes from a feature article in which a reader of *Asiana* has won a competition to go on a blind date with male celebrity Upen, and also demonstrates a male referent equated with sexual promiscuity, with positive connotations. The conventional meaning of *but* as a contrast marker means that the propositions following it are positively valued, yet the meaning of *ladies’ man* is codified in the language as denoting “a man who enjoys female company, esp. one who is sexually successful with women” (*OED Online*, accessed 2013).

Example (5) also equates a male referent with a noun phrase denoting sexual promiscuity, and also arguably with positive connotations. In this example, the two situations, that the reader’s son is a ‘Lothario’, or that he is a ‘transvestite’ are opposed via co-ordinating conjunction *or* (see section 5.2.2.1), where the second scenario is treated as comparatively more negative than the first, implied by the conventional meaning of *even*. The terms ‘pervert’ and ‘Lothario’ are treated as synonymous, which is supported by both their negative connotations and the kinds of lexis they usually collocate with. ‘Lothario’ is the name of a male character who seduces women in Nicholas Rowe’s *The Fair Penitent*, and by extension is often used as a term for “a man whose chief interest is seducing women” (*Merriam-Webster*, accessed 2013). A quick glance at a random sample of the noun ‘pervert’ in the BNC confirmed that it is most frequently used to refer to a male identity in sexual contexts. The agony aunt’s answer to the possibility that the second scenario is true, that he is a transvestite, indicates that this would be undesirable, in that it is assumed the mother would be ‘embarrassed’; the possibility that he is a ‘pervert’ or ‘Lothario’ is not imbued with the same negativity, as the advice is simply that if her son is going to seduce lots of women, he should do it safely. Male sexual promiscuity is therefore not chastised,

but implicitly promoted, something that has been well documented in the literature on the semantic asymmetry in terms denoting women's and men's sexual behaviour (Baker, 2008; Pearce, 2008).

5.1.3.3 'Blokes should look like blokes'

Interestingly, there are also a small number of equivalences involving the metaphorical use of lexical items that directly index male sex, such as 'bloke' and 'gentleman', which in other contexts would simply have a denotative function, but here imply other connotative meanings, indirectly indexing a specifically hegemonic form of masculinity:

(6) I'm not usually shocked. Apart from one weird occasion, involving a guy who seemed like a real gentleman when we first met... We went to gourmet restaurants, had intelligent conversations and he kissed me goodbye, rather than pushing for anything more straight away.

(*'Men and Sex', Company*)

(7) And at the end of the night...?

Well, I'm a gentleman, so it would be a kiss and goodbye.

(Interview with Tornado, *Scarlet*)

(8) People think when you do Kathak you sort of get all (gestures effeminately) but that's not the case with me. I'm as much a man as I was before.

(Interview with Harman Baweja, *Asiana*)

(9) Should a girl ever make the first move? [...] Yes, but only subtly. They should still let the man be a man.

(*'40 Men, One Big Question', More*)

(10) "Blokes should look like blokes, and in my opinion, we look better natural."

James, 26, Manchester

(*'The New Man Make-Up', Company*)

Examples (6) and (7) demonstrate equivalence between male referents and the concept of being a 'gentleman'. In both cases, it is implied that being a 'gentleman' involves resisting sexual activity beyond kissing, the assumption being that the men have to consciously curtail their sexual desires. In example (8), being a 'man' means being heterosexual, and in

the tautological equivalence in (9), it equates to being in charge of pursuing romantic relations with women. The similarly tautological 'blokes should look like blokes' in (10) implies that men should not wear make-up. The ideologies of gender relations evident here, that men are sexually driven, that heterosexuality is normative, and that make-up indexes feminine, not masculine gender, are also discussed in more depth in the analysis on assuming and implying below (see section 7.2).

5.1.3.4 Conceptual metaphors

Another small frequency but ideologically interesting set of metaphorical equivalences are those that relate to conceptual metaphors MEN ARE FOOD and MEN ARE ANIMALS:

(11) With his phenomenally hot body and puppy dog eyes, Jesse's a treat for any woman.

(*'You've got male', Love It*)

(12) When you think you're ready to get back out there, drop the stereotypical thinking that "men are all dogs."

(*'Seeking Sex', Ebony*)

(13) Many "traditional" women prefer the men to ask, but if he's a good catch, get in there before someone else does!

(*'Seeking Sex', Ebony*)

(14) Parenting is the central lesbian story line of the first season, as Dana and Kirsten attempt to start a family. Cue jokes about soliciting sperm from gay male friends and strangers. 'Think of it like milking a cow. Men are just smellier, stupider cows.

(*'Dana and Kirsten', Diva*)

As mentioned in section 4.1.3.1, conceptual metaphors are higher level cognitive structures that underpin metaphorical uses of language (e.g. Crisp, 2002; Semino and Short, 2004). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also show how metaphors underpin our understanding of concepts, and are therefore conceptual in nature. In example (11), we could argue that the metaphor 'Jesse's a treat' is underpinned by the conceptual metaphor MEN ARE FOOD. Analysing a random sample of *treat* as a noun in the BNC showed that where it is used in reference to food, in 67% of cases, it denotes sweet foods, twice as many as savoury foods.

The concept 'Jesse' is therefore being understood in terms of 'food'. As discussed in my analysis of naming strategies in Chapter Four (see section 4.1.3.1 above), a number of feminist scholars have discussed the practice of representing women's physical attractiveness via sweet food terms, noting their trivialising effects (Schulz, 1975; Mills, 1995; Sutton, 1995; Hines, 1999). *Treat* can be understood as a kind of male equivalent to the WOMEN AS DESSERT metaphor if we consider that 'Jesse' and 'a treat' are constructed here as equivalent, referring to the same concept, namely 'attractive male.' The reader will infer this from the physical descriptions 'hot body' and 'puppy dog eyes', which conventionally have positive connotations. The equation of actor Jesse Metcalf with a generic term for sweet foods therefore emphasises his attractiveness, implying that he is 'good enough to eat.' One could argue, in a similar vein to the example of the male pin-up discussed in section 4.1.3.2.4, that representations of men focusing explicitly on their desirability to women is liberating, representing female sexual empowerment. However, one might also question the progressiveness of this kind of 'reverse sexism,' as it could also serve to validate the presence of the female pin-up in men's magazines.

Examples (12) – (14) are instances of the conceptual metaphor MEN ARE ANIMALS. The negative equation of men with dogs in (12) and cows in (14) have different effects. Example (14) is from a review of an animated fictional television programme about two gay couples; the metaphor is part of an excerpt from the show which a lesbian character is making a comparison between obtaining a sperm sample from a man, and milk from a cow. This is very different to the notion that 'men are dogs'; as cows are generally considered animals of low intelligence, it is likely that this comparison is intended as a humorous trivialisation of men. This could also be interpreted as a potentially feminist critique of the ways in which women's reproductive functions, such as a breastfeeding, are perceived as functional. The 'men are dogs' metaphor arguably draws on the idea that men are sexually promiscuous, and is therefore specifically related to male sexuality.

Example (13) seem to cross over both MEN ARE ANIMALS and MEN ARE FOOD metaphors, because this use of 'catch' derives from the practice of catching fish, and fish are caught to be eaten. This kind of meaning is roughly equivalent to the 'women-as-sex-objects are food' metaphor (Hines, 1999) represented by terms like *cheesecake*, *cherry pie*, and *crumpet*. However, unlike other such metaphors for women, there seems to be an implication that the woman's role here is predatory ('get in there before someone else does!'), which may reinforce an ideology of women as temptresses. There are one or two other metaphorical equivalences that align with this interpretation in the corpus, such as 'I was so love-struck' (*Woman & Home*), and 'he'll be hooked' (*Cosmopolitan*), both with male subjects, in which

the adjectival Complements of the verbs imply that a female agent has 'charmed' or 'caught' her prey.

5.2 Contrasting

Linguists have acknowledged the universal nature of opposition (Murphy, 2003: 215), and its importance for the organization of language, as Lyons states: "binary opposition is one of the most important principles governing the structure of languages" (1977: 271).

Research in CDA often investigates how social actors or events are polarised "in dichotomous ways that oppose good and evil forces" (Achugar, 2004: 291). Davies points out that while the role of opposition in ideology construction has been acknowledged in CDA, little research has been done on the specifically *linguistic* realisations of opposition (2008). Davies adapts and develops the analytical categories for identifying opposites used by Jones (2002) and Mettinger (1994) to analyse news reports of two major protest marches. Jeffries (2007) also demonstrates the use of this model in her analysis of representations of the female body in a database of women's magazines, citing opposition as:

just one of the ways in which cultural and socio-political norms are created as over-simplistic binaries in texts, with the potential influence on readers being to embed such oppositions in their reflex/default perceptions.

(2007: 114)

The model of contrasting offered by Jeffries (2010; 2010b) and Davies (2008; 2012) shows how conventional oppositional pairs can be exploited in the creation of new opposites for ideological gain.

5.2.1 'Gradable' and 'non-gradable' opposition

Studies on lexical semantics have identified different categories of opposition (Lyons, 1977; Cruse, 1986, 2004; Murphy, 2003; Davies, 2008, 2012; Jeffries, 2010a). The two broad categories delineated in the literature that I have found useful in my own study are gradable opposition, sometimes referred to as 'antonymy' and complementarity, or 'non-gradable' opposition.

Lyons (1977: 271) made the distinction between 'gradable' and 'non-gradable' opposition after Sapir (1944): gradable opposites are those which have measurable and comparative

qualities; non-gradable or 'complementary' (Jeffries, 2010b) opposites are mutually exclusive, binary opposites. For example, *masculine/feminine* is an example of gradable opposition because it is possible to assert that there are different degrees of the properties of femininity or masculinity; *male/female* is conventionally considered as a complementary opposite, because it is assumed that the properties of 'male' and 'female' are ungradable, an assertion with which I do not entirely agree (see section 5.2.1.1).

Lyons acknowledges that "opposites are drawn along some dimension of similarity" (1977: 286). They can actually therefore be thought of as synonyms that differ only according to a small number of semantic components. For example, the arguably conventional or 'canonical' opposites *rich/poor* share what Davies terms a 'plane of equivalence' (2008), which in this case might be WEALTH. Their 'plane of difference' (Davies, 2008), on which the two differ, is their respective DEGREE OF WEALTH. I have also found it useful to consider the 'dimensions' or 'planes' of similarity and difference that underpin the construction of novel opposites in my data.

5.2.1.1 Opposition and ideology

Whether a particular concept is treated as gradable or complementary can have significant ideological ramifications. For example, Davies' (2007, 2008) study of opposition construction in newspaper reports of anti-war protest marches demonstrates how the gradable concept of GOOD/BAD is constructed as a non-gradable binary in order to represent social actors as exclusively 'good' or 'bad', which "encourages listeners to view the world as one made up of 'goodies' and 'baddies'" (Davies, 2008: 59).

The ideological potential of gradable/non-gradable opposition is also of interest to feminist linguistics. The concepts of *man/woman* are conventionally treated as non-gradable, for instance, they are codified as having antonymic status in dictionaries and thesauruses. This promotes the idea that biological sex is binary concept. Indeed, in Lyons' explication of the difference between 'gradable and 'non-gradable' opposition, he asserts

A lexeme like 'female' (unlike 'feminine'), [...] is ungradable: we would not normally say *X is as female as Y* or *X is more female than Y* (though *X is not as feminine as Y* is a perfectly acceptable utterance).

(Lyons, 1977: 271)

While this binary distinction has become convention in the language, I argue that it is actually more accurate to think of sex as a gradable concept. For example, according to some reports, one in every 30,000 children is born intersexed (Bing and Bergvall, 1996), and therefore in some sense positioned midway between the poles of male-female; the distinction between male and female is most often medically enforced in these cases through hormones or surgery. Additionally, people who undergo hormone therapy or surgery to transition from one sex to another because they feel that their biological sex is not in alignment with their gender also challenge the binary nature of biological sex. It is therefore more accurate to perceive sex, as well as gender, as gradable antonyms, but the idea of sex and gender differences is so ingrained in our culture that the complementarity of the relationship between lexically and socially gendered items is often taken for granted.

5.2.2 Types of opposition

I have used the model for contrasting put forward by Davies (2008, 2012) and Jeffries (2007, 2010a, 2010b) in my analysis of opposition construction in the corpus. The categories of opposition are outlined with examples from the WM corpus in table 21 below:

Category	Example	Syntactic Frames	Functions
Contrastive opposition	Would you rather he's a bit of a prude or a bit too kinky? [...] nice but broke [...] ugly but rich [...] an ambulance man, all muscles and manners [...]	X or Y X but Y X and Y	Presents exclusive choices
Negated opposition	The likelihood is that he is not repulsed by you, just hurt and confused, and unable to move on.	Not X, Y X not Y Not X, just Y etc	Creates "additional rhetorical emphasis" (Jones, 2002: 90)
Transitional opposition	However, with my Martini goggles on, <u>he became Mr Darcy</u> .	X became Y X turns into Y etc	Indicates change of state
Comparative opposition	He'd rather be anywhere else in the world than perched awkwardly on a	Rather X than Y More X than Y etc	Presents comparisons

	sofa with your golf-obsessed dad.		
Replacive opposition	You'll take a man with svelter thighs than you over a human trampoline any day.	X over Y X rather than Y X instead of Y etc	Indicates preferred states
Concessive opposition	Pratt usually kept his darker side well hidden and despite his grungy exterior, he had the gift of the gab.	Despite X, Y In spite of X, Y etc	Indicates surprising state of affairs
Explicit opposition	There is a difference between making a baby and being a father.	Difference between X and Y X contrasted with Y	Highlight the contrastive meaning of a pair
Parallelism	When it comes to men, he's old enough to know better - and gay enough to give it to you straight!		Often used for rhetorical emphasis

Table 21: The different types of opposition with examples from the WM corpus

5.2.2.1 Contrastive opposition

Contrastive opposition is the most frequent category of opposition found in the corpus, comprising 42% of the total instances of opposition recorded. Its primary function is to present exclusive choices to the reader (Mettinger, 1994), and is often triggered syntactically by co-ordinating conjunctions *and*, *or* and *but*. For example, in 'Would you rather he's a bit of a prude or a bit too kinky?' (*Glamour*), co-ordinating conjunction *or* is a syntactic trigger producing a relationship of exclusivity between the two states of being prudish and 'kinky', even though the modification of the head nouns here ('a bit' and 'too') indicates that the concepts themselves are gradable. The reader is still being presented with an exclusive choice between two contrasting states.

In the WM corpus, I found that contrastive opposition often worked to highlight the complementarity of gender differences, and polarise qualities in men, drawing on the higher level canonical oppositional pair GOOD/BAD (see section 5.2.4 below).

5.2.2.2 Negated opposition

Negated opposition is defined by Jones as “the co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that negates one antonym as a device to augment the other” (2002: 88). Negated opposition therefore serves to make explicit the contrast between two concepts, and is most commonly triggered by syntactic frames including the negator *not*, such as ‘X not Y’, or ‘not X, Y’, or a negated contrastive framework ‘X but not Y’ (Davies, 2007: 87). Elsewhere, Davies states that in instances of conventional opposition, the ‘not Y’ element “merely acts to emphasise what on one level might be claimed to be tautological statements” (2008: 105). For example, to say that someone is ‘a man’ would imply that person is not a woman (because of the way that gender is perceived as a binary construct, discussed in section X above), and thus the ‘not Y’ part of the frame is redundant. However, as Jeffries (2010b: 34) points out, this redundancy of the ‘not Y’ element does not apply to unconventional opposites, because both the contrasted elements have to be specified in order for the reader to understand their construction as opposites. For example, in ‘he is not repulsed by you, just hurt and confused’ underpinned by the syntactic frame ‘not X, just Y’, the states of being ‘hurt and confused’ and ‘repulsed’ are not obvious opposites, thus ‘not repulsed’ does not imply ‘hurt and confused’.

5.2.2.3 Transitional opposition

Transitional opposition indicates a change in state, signalled by verbs such as *turn* and *become*. For example, in ‘with my Martini goggles on, he became Mr Darcy’, ‘became’ is a transitional trigger indicating a change in state from a physically unattractive man to an attractive one. In the WM corpus, the 10 examples of transitional opposition recorded are used to denote changes in men’s occupation (2), temperament (3), appearance (1) and transitions from ‘good’ men to ‘bad’ men (3) and vice versa (1).

5.2.2.4 Comparative opposition

‘Comparative opposition’ (Jones, 2002) involves making comparisons or measurements between two concepts, which conventionally uses syntactic frames such as ‘more X than Y’, and specifically produces gradable opposites (Davies, 2008: 115). An example of this might be: ‘Women are more creative and most men will be happy to go along with what you suggest.’ (*Cosmopolitan*). This example of opposition works to emphasise gender differences, triggered by the syntactic frame ‘more X than Y’, where the ‘than Y’ element (‘than men’) is implied. Interestingly, this example actually works on the basis of an

assumed *similarity* between men and women: the implication is that they are both creative, it's just that women are *more* creative than men.

5.2.2.5 Replative opposition

'Replative' opposites function to indicate preferred states (Davies, 2008: 115), and are triggered syntactically by frames like 'X instead of Y', or 'X in place of Y' and so on. An example of this from the corpus is 'You'll take a man with svelter thighs than you over a human trampoline any day' (*Glamour*), where the replative frame 'X over Y' indicates that it is perceived that as preferable for men to be thinner than their partners.

As with transitional and explicit opposition, there are only a very small number of these in the corpus (7), so their influence on the polarisation of male identities in the texts is minimal. However, more interestingly, examples like the one cited here create complementary opposites, and contribute to presenting exclusive choice in terms of the range of masculine identities on offer in the texts, discussed in section 5.2.4.3 below.

5.2.2.6 Concessive opposition

'Concessive' opposition (Davies, 2008) works exclusively at the level of the clause, where certain subordinating conjunctions are used to indicate that because of the propositions stated in the subordinate clause, the circumstances expressed in the main clause are surprising (Quirk et al, 1972: 745). The most common syntactic triggers for concessive opposition are concessive conjuncts such as *despite*, *while*, and are often underpinned by an overarching GOOD/BAD dichotomy.

5.2.2.7 Explicit opposition

'Explicit' opposition (Davies, 2008) specifically emphasises the presence of a contrast between the concepts involved, termed 'distinguished antonymy' in Jones' framework. Possible syntactic frames include 'difference between X and Y', 'X contrasted with Y', 'X as opposed to Y' and so on. I only found four examples of this in my data, three using the frame 'difference between X and Y', and all involving scenarios, as opposed to contrasting single words.

5.2.2.8 Parallelism

Parallelism refers to repeated structures at the level of the phrase, clause or sentence, which results in particular words or concepts being foregrounded, and often in oppositional meanings becoming apparent. As Leech (1969: 67) explains:

Every parallelism sets up a relationship of equivalence between two or more elements [...] Interpreting the parallelism involves appreciating some external connection between these elements. The connection is, broadly speaking, a connection of either similarity or of contrast.

Davies' (2008, 2012) found that parallel structures was the most frequent syntactic trigger for opposition in his study, and Jeffries' (2010b) acknowledges the ubiquity of parallelism in literary genres such as poetry, and in political speeches, in creating new non-conventional opposition for rhetorical effect. I was alerted to most of the instances of parallelism in this study via coordinating conjunctions, as in the following example:

(15) But frankly, if it was all about food and pushing motorbikes, there wouldn't be so many lonely single sistas out there. I know that, **and** you know that.
(‘Man’s Point of View’, *Pride*)

The parallel structure of the conjoined clauses ‘pronoun + know + that’ constructs the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’ as opposites. Since the referent of ‘I’ is male, and that of ‘you’ is female, the parallel structure also works to emphasise the polarisation of gender differences, which is discussed in more detail in section 5.2.4.2 below. However, a great deal of parallelism is not aided by a conjunction, and so it is likely that a number of relevant instances of parallelism have not been recorded. On close reading, one particular article, ‘Would you rather...’ in *Glamour* magazine was found to contain a number of opposites created via parallel structures which I decided to include in my analysis, as they appeared to play an important role in polarising male identities (see section 5.2.4.3 below).

5.2.3 Frequencies of opposition

The following tables show frequencies of opposition according to genre of magazine and text type.

Magazine genre	Frequency of opposition	% of total frequency
Domestic weeklies	53	20%
Glossy magazines	206	80%

Table 22: Frequencies of opposition in the WM corpus according to magazine genre

Table 22 demonstrates that the vast majority of instances of opposition come from the glossy genre of magazines. In some ways this indicates that the glossy magazines are on the whole more likely to represent men as behaving or appearing exclusively one way or another, constructing masculine identity as a binary and denying the possibility of varying ways of being. However, as the analysis below shows, both genres do exploit oppositional lexical relations in their representations of masculinity, but the resulting oppositions are different, and largely dependent on the text types involved.

Text type	Raw frequency of opposition	Normalized frequency (per 1000 words)	% of frequency of total of opposition
Advertorials	3	2	1
Columns	27	2.9	10
Features	44	1.2	17
Fiction	4	0.3	2
Interviews	81	2.3	31
Letters	8	3.5	3
Lists	5	5.2	2
Problem pages	18	1.3	7
Profiles	2	1.5	1
Reader surveys	39	9.1	15
Real life stories	26	0.8	10
Reports	4	0.5	2
Reviews	0	0	0

Table 23: Frequencies of opposition in the WM corpus according to text type

In Table 23, the normalized frequencies suggest that the reader surveys is the text type containing the most opposition, once the differences in word length between each text type are taken into account. However, almost all the instances of opposition in the reader surveys (38 of 39 instances) were found in one article from *Glamour* entitled 'Would you rather...', comprising a questionnaire surveying responses to various relationship-related dilemmas posed to selected readers. As a result, the article itself is concerned with constructing polarised images of men in the presentation of exclusive choices (discussed in section 5.2.4.3 below).

5.2.4 Superordinate oppositions

According to Davies, understanding new, non-canonical opposites often relies on an understanding of superordinate canonical opposites (2008: 79). I therefore found it helpful to note any higher level oppositional concepts that were present in the textually constructed examples. These can be categorised into six broad semantic fields: sex, gender and relationships, behaviour, states of being, actions, physical appearance and deixis:

Superordinate Category	Frequency (tokens)	Percentage of total frequency
Sex, gender and relationships	57	31%
Behaviour	9	5%
Morality and evaluation	58	31%
States of being	14	7%
Actions	12	6%
Physical appearance	26	14%
Deixis	9	5%
Total	188	

Table 24: semantic categories of superordinate oppositions

Table 24 shows that the superordinate opposites most frequently drawn on in the corpus relate to the fields of sex, gender and relationships and morality and evaluation. In fact, the most frequent superordinate opposite is GOOD/BAD, which occurs 58 times, making up 31% of the total number of superordinate opposites. In her study of ideology construction in women's magazines, Jeffries (2007: 109) also found that "good versus bad" was the most salient category of constructed opposites relating to representations of the female body. Her study found that hyponyms of good/bad opposition such as normal/abnormal, natural/unnatural and healthy/unhealthy worked to dictate to the reader what are (or should be) desirable or undesirable bodily practices and appearances, indicating "a hugely normative drive [...] towards an ideal, youthful and unchanging body shape" (Jeffries, 2007: 128). In my data, good/bad opposition also functions to present an idealised gender identity, polarising men as desirable or undesirable.

5.2.4.1 Good men versus bad men

GOOD/BAD opposition occurs most frequently in the glossy sub-corpus (37 instances, 64%), which again suggests that this genre is most concerned with polarising men, here in terms

of positive or negative value. Table 25 below also shows frequencies of the superordinate opposites GOOD/BAD per text type:

Text type	Raw frequency of GOOD/BAD opposition	Normalized frequency (per 1000 words)
Advertorials	0	0
Columns	6	0.7
Features	8	0.2
Fiction	2	0.1
Interviews	11	0.3
Letters	1	0.4
Lists	3	3.1
Problem pages	4	0.3
Profiles	1	0.7
Reader surveys	6	1.4
Real life stories	15	0.4
Reports	1	0.1
Reviews	0	0

Table 25: frequencies of the superordinate opposites GOOD/BAD per text type

The text type with the greatest number of GOOD/BAD opposition once the raw frequencies are normalized is the lists. GOOD/BAD opposition also accounts for all three instances of opposition in this text type. Of course these frequencies are far too small to be able to make any general statements about how we might expect GOOD/BAD opposition to function in all women's magazines, but it is interesting that in this particular corpus it is the lists that are more likely to represent masculine gender in terms of a positive/negative binary.

The examples below are those from the lists, in which the opposed lexical items rely on the higher level GOOD/BAD hyponymy in order for the reader to interpret them as complimentary opposites:

(16) CONDOMS We all want a guy who's happy to practise safe sex, but does carrying a condom make him sensible or presumptuous? Overall, it indicates a degree of maturity and personal responsibility.

(17) RECEIPTS "If receipts keep his wallet from closing, it's likely he has a laid-back approach to life, **but** he's probably disorganised," says David.

(‘6 Secrets of a Man’s Wallet’, *Cosmopolitan*)

(18) 14. Carry your handbag. Ever. This is **not** chivalry, it's the best way to make a man look instantly ridiculous.

(‘14 Things You Should Never Ask a Man to Do’, *More*)

In the first two of these examples, contrastive triggers *or* and *but* signal complementary opposition between *sensible* and *presumptuous* in (16), and the concepts of ‘having a laid-back approach to life’ and being ‘disorganised’ in (17). These are not canonical opposites, therefore the reader relies on both the syntactic frames ‘X or Y’ and ‘X but Y’, as well as schematic knowledge about the respective positive and negative connotations of each pair. The use of ‘presumptuous’ in (16) draws on the assumption that men are carnally driven (and consequently that women are not), and that they presume women will want to sleep with them. For the reader to interpret the two adjectives as opposites also relies on the superordinate antonyms GOOD/BAD, where the notion of presumption is evaluated as negative, and sensibility as positive. Example (18) utilises negated opposition to emphasise the writer’s negative evaluation of asking a man to carry a woman’s handbag, where the concepts of chivalry (evaluated as positive) and looking ridiculous (negative) are opposed.

While Table 25 shows that the lists demonstrates the highest frequency of GOOD/BAD opposition per 1000 words, in terms of raw frequency, the real life stories have the highest number of instances of GOOD/BAD opposition (15 instances), which comprises 68.2% of the total number of superordinate categories in the real life stories. As with other texts types, being a ‘bad’ man in the real life stories often involves being morally corrupt, where being a ‘good’ man entails physical attractiveness and caring nature, as the examples below demonstrate:

(19) David was so kind and gentle... *Could he really be a murderer?*

(‘Lonely heart killer’, *Real People*)

(20) One was a popular big-hearted man adored by hundreds on his estate. The other was jealous, spiteful and hell bent on getting revenge.

(‘Showdown’, *Pick Me Up*)

(21) Lynn loved her flash new man. But behind his fake tan and dazzling smile lurked cold, hard, evil...

(22) I put that ad in the paper looking for love. But all I found was a monster.
(‘Lonely heart killer’, *Real People*)

In (19) the parallel structure of the clauses ‘X BE Y’ separated by ellipsis triggers oppositional meaning between the synonyms *kind* and *gentle*, and the NP *a murderer*. Unlike a lot of the GOOD/BAD opposition in the other text types, the concepts being opposed in these examples appear more extreme; in other words, there is a greater degree of difference in meaning between the contrasted concepts than in the other text types. In this example, the aspect of meaning that the two opposed items share, or ‘plane of equivalence’ (Davies, 2008, 2012) could be called something like MORALITY; the way in which they differ, the ‘plane of difference’ (Davies, 2008, 2012) is therefore the degree of morality involved.

In (20) oppositional meanings are constructed via the parallel structure of the sentences ‘X was Y’ combined with the positive connotations of the adjectives *popular*, and *big-hearted*, and negative associations of *jealous*, *spiteful* and being vengeful, evoking the conventional GOOD/BAD oppositional pair; the writer does this in order to highlight the monstrous behaviour of the male antagonist of the story, as a deviation from the positive behaviour of the protagonist. Oppositional meanings are exploited to depict a transformation from a good man to a bad man in (21), where contrastive conjunction *but* triggers contrastive opposition between the positively valued qualities in the initial clause, and the NP object of the second clause. The preposition *behind* creates a relationship of equivalence between the adjectives *flash*, *new* and the qualities in the proceeding adverbial, implying that paying attention to appearance and behaving in a charming manner are desirable attributes. These positive attributes are contrasted with *cold*, *hard* and *evil* because of their opposing negative connotations, again relying on a superordinate GOOD/BAD pairing.

Coordinating conjunction *but* signals contrastive opposition between the NPs ‘love’ and ‘a Monster’ in (22). The respective positive and negative associations with these concepts again confirm this unconventional opposition. These are metaphorical meanings: ‘love’ is used metonymically for ‘a partner’; ‘monster’ is a familiar cultural trope that personifies undesirable qualities.

An analysis of the kinds of qualities that are evaluated as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ across the corpus indicates that physical attractiveness is perceived as important in what makes a man ‘good’ or ‘bad’:

(23) I once met a man who had more teeth than Mr Ed, and was barely bigger than a hamster. However, with my Martini goggles on, he became Mr Darcy.

(‘7 rules to survive the party season’, *Woman & Home*)

(24) Skint and sexy 92% Loaded and ugly 8% To the 8% - thank you for your honesty, but a Miu Miu bag can't hug you at night, y'know...

(‘Would you rather...’, *Glamour*)

In example (23) the syntactic frame ‘X became Y’ constructs the NPs ‘a man who...’ and ‘Mr Darcy’ as opposites. This is an example of transitional opposition, to indicate that the same man turned from ugly (bad) to attractive (good). In utilising opposition here, the narrator presents attractiveness as a binary construct. The same technique is employed in example (24), where the parallel structures create oppositional meaning between ‘skint’ and ‘loaded’, and ‘sexy’ and ‘ugly’. The opposed NPs in (23) are novel opposites that rely on a superordinate ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE opposition, as well as cultural knowledge of Jane Austen’s romance novel *Pride & Prejudice*, of which Mr Darcy is the central love interest; the opposed lexical items in example (24) are semi-canonical opposites in themselves.

The following examples of contrastive opposition rely on the superordinate opposition GOOD/BAD in order to highlight positive and negative attributes of men:

(25) If I had a penny for every time I've seen a beautiful woman pick the nice **but** broke guy over the ugly **but** rich one, I'd be penniless.

(‘Shihab Salim’, *Asiana*)

(26) ROSEMARY: David may not be very useful when it comes to changing nappies and running the house, **but** he's an exciting person to have as a father and a husband.

(‘Has your marriage got the x-factor?’, *Easy Living*)

In example (25) the contrastive conjunction ‘but’ produces oppositional meaning between the concepts lexemes ‘nice’ and ‘broke’, and ‘ugly’ and ‘rich’. The parallel structures of the noun phrases also produces a contrast between ‘nice’ and ‘ugly’ and ‘broke’ and ‘rich’, which the reader is likely to infer from the superordinate conventional pairs RICH/POOR and ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE. Given that being rich and attractive are usually seen as positive attributes, and being poor and unattractive negative, these oppositions are also

hyponyms of the canonical oppositional pair GOOD/BAD. Opposition construction functions here to polarise men as either good-looking or ugly, and rich or poor; and subsequently either good or bad.

Example (26) comes from a feature article *Easy Living* magazine entitled 'Does your marriage have the x-factor?' In this article seven successful couples divulge their secrets for a happy long-term relationship. In this example, co-ordinating conjunction 'but' creates a contrast between the concepts of domestic duty and being a father/husband. This implies that being an exciting father and husband does not entail childcare and domestic chores. The reader will likely infer from this that Rosemary believes that women should be the primary care givers and be in charge of household maintenance. David is also clearly being evaluated as simultaneously good and bad, given that the notion of not being useful at something is generally considered a negative state of affairs, whilst the adjective 'exciting' imbues positive evaluation.

The following example of transitional opposition from a problem page in *Company* magazine draws on the concept of morality in order to position the male subject of the letter as a 'good' man until proved a 'bad' man:

(27) You need to get to know him better - and if he then reveals that his true desires involve duct tape and a herd of goats, that's the time to make your excuses and leave. Before that, he's innocent until proven filthy.

(*'The Ecstasy', Company*)

Here the adjectives 'innocent' and 'filthy' are constructed as opposites using syntactic frame 'X until Y'. The phonological similarities between 'guilty' and 'filthy' will also likely prime the reader to interpret 'filthy' as synonymous with 'guilty', via recognition of the superordinate canonical oppositional pair INNOCENT/GUILTY. This allusion to 'innocence' as a constructed binary opposite of 'filthy' draws on a discourse of morality, associating 'orthodox' sexual practices with normative heterosexuality, and 'filthy' with sexual deviancy, which is emphasised further by the parallel syntactic structure of the familiar idiom 'innocent until proven guilty.' The allusion to the more canonical pair INNOCENT/GUILTY, which may be interpreted as hyponyms of the GOOD/BAD dichotomy, equates 'filthy' with the same connotations of immorality, and therefore negative evaluation.

The following is also an example of transitional opposition, where the narrator uses a 'from X to Y' frame to indicate changes to men's level of commitment in relationships:

(28) It takes more than a pork chop and a Kawasaki 750 to get a man to change his ways **from** playa **to** staya **or from** bachelor boy **to** married man.

There are two layers of opposition present here: the first is actually contrastive, where co-ordinating conjunction *or* triggers oppositional meaning between the two prepositional phrases, aided by the parallel structure of the PPs 'from X to Y', which produces complementary oppositional meaning between 'playa' and 'bachelor boy', and 'staya' and 'married man'. The syntactic frames also create transitional oppositions between 'playa' and 'staya', and 'bachelor boy' and 'married man'. The phonological similarity of 'playa' and 'staya' will help the reader to infer these as opposites, and most probably knowledge of 'playa' as a colloquial term for someone who is

a known love offender, known also as a notorious heartbreaker, one who engages in flirtatious, seductive and/or scandalous liaisons [sic] of little to no meaning and/or feeling, with the opposite sex.

(*Urban Dictionary*, accessed January 2013)

What is implied is that bachelors are promiscuous and uncommitted in relationships, but that that married men are monogamous and committed.

5.2.4.2 Gender differences

According to table 24 above, oppositions relating to sex, gender and relationships are the most frequent semantic category of superordinate oppositions drawn upon in the construction of opposites in the corpus. This semantic category consists of the following canonical opposites:

Name of sub-category	Canonical opposite members	Total frequency in sub-category	% of total number of canonical opposites
Sex/gender	MALE/FEMALE (31); MASCULINE/FEMININE (3)	34	58
Sexual relationships	SINGLE/MARRIED (5); MARRIED/DIVORCED (2); HUSBAND/WIFE (2); MR/MRS (1);	11	19

	FAITHFUL/UNFAITHFUL (1)		
Sexual desire	STRAIGHT/GAY (7); SEXUAL/NONSEXUAL (2)	9	15
Kinship and personal relationships	PARENT/CHILD (2); FRIEND/RELATIVE (2); FRIEND/STRANGER (1)	5	8

Table 26: Opposites belonging to the sex, gender and relationships category of canonical opposites in the corpus

Table 26 shows that the sex/gender sub-category is the most frequent in the sex, gender and relationships category of superordinate opposites. An analysis of instances of this sub-category showed that the superordinate pairs MALE/FEMALE and MASCULINE/FEMININE are utilised in order to emphasise the construction of gender differences in the corpus.

Table 27 below also provides frequencies of opposition constructing gender differences according to text type:

Text type	Raw frequency of opposites indicating gender differences	Normalized frequency (per 1000 words)
Advertorials	2	1.3
Columns	5	0.5
Features	12	0.3
Fiction	1	0.07
Interviews	11	0.3
Letters	1	0.4
Lists	0	0
Problem pages	3	0.2
Profiles	0	0
Reader Surveys	0	0
Real life stories	2	0.06
Reports	2	0.2
Reviews	0	0

Table 27: Frequencies of opposites constructing gender differences according to text type.

Table 27 shows raw and normalized frequencies for instances of opposition denoting gender differences in the corpus. The normalized frequencies suggest that the advertorials are the text type most likely to use opposition to emphasise gender differences.

The examples below are from an advertorial in *Easy Living*, where the higher level MASCULINE/FEMININE oppositional pair contributes to the construction of gender differences:

(29) Philips studied graphic design, **but** discovered make-up when he became involved with cutting edge Belgian fashion designers of the time, developing a monochrome style which gave classic beauty a modern edge.

(30) They look **more like** members of an indie band, but these male movers and shakers are responsible for the way we cut our hair and wear our make-up... "

(‘The men who make you look good’, *Easy Living*)

In the first example here the occupations of graphic design and being a make-up artist are polarised, via contrastive syntactic trigger *but*. The reader is also likely to infer this from her schematic knowledge of graphic design as a stereotypically masculine endeavour, where make-up could be said to indirectly index femininity. Therefore the reader may also draw upon the higher level opposition MASCULINE/FEMININE in order to interpret graphic design and make-up as contrastive concepts.

In (30), a comparative syntactic frame ‘more like X than Y’ opposes the concepts of being in an indie band with being a hairdresser. The ‘Y’ element of the frame is ‘auto-evoked’ (Jones, 2002), which the reader will likely infer from an intuitive knowledge of how opposition is formed syntactically, as well as schematic knowledge about how occupational domains are socially gendered: hairdressing is traditionally female-oriented; rock music is conventionally a male-dominated domain. Therefore the reader may also rely on a superordinate MASCULINE/FEMININE pairing in order to interpret being in a rock band and being a hairdresser as opposites.

In terms of raw frequency, the text type with the largest number of opposition emphasising gender differences is the features (12 instances). Again, this denotes a small frequency and therefore is not generalisable to how opposition would be expected to work in all feature articles in women’s magazines. However, it is interesting that different feature articles across the corpus use the superordinate MALE/FEMALE and MASCULINE/FEMININE

categories to emphasise gender differences in terms of personality and behaviour, as the following selected examples demonstrate:

(31) Rhiannon notices when speaking to couples, however, that gay men are much more definite about what they want, whereas women are open to suggestion.

(‘Carry on up the Aisles’, *Diva*)

(32) "Women are more creative and most men will be happy to go along with what you suggest.

(‘The Nice Girl’s Guide to Naughty Sex’, *Cosmopolitan*)

(33) I’m an extrovert, she’s an introvert. I’m open, she’s private, I never see her cry.

(‘Does your Marriage have the X-Factor?’, *Easy Living*)

Gender differences are constructed via opposition at two levels in example X: a comparison between men and women is ‘auto-evoked’ (Jones, 2002) by comparative adverb *more*, where the ‘than Y’ element of the syntactic frame is elided. This auto-evocation works because of the codified status of *men/women* as conventional complementary opposites in the language. This extract is from an article on gay wedding fairs; the implication is that gay men are more sure of what they want in a wedding than gay women are. This is reinforced by the oppositional meaning constructed at clausal level: the subordinating conjunction *whereas* triggers a contrast via conventional implicature, implying a contrast between the propositions in the main clause with those in the subordinate clause.

The same auto-evocation is at work in (32), where comparative *more* implies ‘than men’: the reader relies on knowledge of conventional comparative structures and the conceptual MALE/FEMALE oppositional pair in order to understand the notions of gender differences that this example draws on. Interestingly, in this example, the writer also draws on a superordinate ACTIVE/PASSIVE opposition, in that the idea that men are ‘happy to go along with’ suggestions could be interpreted as indicating passivity, and the notion of creativity may indicate proactive behaviour. This could be interpreted as evidence of the idea that in women’s magazines, women are presented as responsible for relationship maintenance (Eggins and Iedema, 1997: 169; Litosseliti, 2006: 100-01).

In example (33) from *Easy Living* parallel structures reinforce opposition between the conventional gradable opposites 'extrovert' and 'introvert', 'open' and 'private', as well as the complementary pronouns 'I' and 'she', which because the first person narrator is male, also draw on the superordinate pair MALE/FEMALE. Here the writer uses more conventional opposites to emphasise gender differences between the couple. Within the context of the article, highlighting gender differences also reinforces the heteronormativity of marriage.

5.2.4.3 Exclusive choice in men

In section 5.2.2.8 above I noted that one article in particular contained 38 examples of opposition (18% of the total frequency of recorded oppositions), and that these function to create exclusive choice. The text in question is a reader survey entitled 'Would you rather', from *Glamour* magazine. The article presents the results of a questionnaire surveying responses to various relationship-related dilemmas that were posed to a sample of readers. The dilemmas constitute exclusive choices constructed via parallelism and contrastive opposition, and pertain to desired physical appearance (20 instances), behaviour (11 instances), attributes (3 instances) and choice between different individual men (5 tokens). The majority of opposition in this article is therefore related to physical appearance, suggesting that this is presented by the magazine writers as the most important aspect of a potential partner, although there is only one lexical opposite, *sexy/ugly* concerning physical attractiveness. The rest are to do with the appearance of body parts (8), skin colour (3), overall body appearance (5) and size (3).

The examples below show how parallelism is used to construct exclusive choices concerning body parts:

(34) Bald below 49%

Trouser forest 51%

Almost half of you would prefer Ken-doll baldness? It's just a bit wrong.

(35) Unzip him to find a pencil 60%

Unzip him to find a button mushroom 40%

Well, we never. We always thought short and thick would win over long and thin.

In example (34) the parallel lexical structure 'physical attribute + statistic', and the higher level opposition BALD/HAIRY help the reader to interpret 'bald' and 'trouser forest' as opposites. Metaphorical meanings are also exploited in example (35): interpreting the

'pencil' and 'button mushroom' as opposites relies on the more conventional oppositional pairs SHORT/LONG, and THICK/THIN, which are referred to by the magazine writers in the commentary underneath. I suggest that it is more likely that men and women will be concerned about the size of body parts if they are polarised like this, rather than acknowledging the variability of physical appearance. The inclusion of this particular choice in the article also emphasises the importance of penis size, reifying the idea that a man's penis is symbolic of his status as a man, and therefore successful display of masculinity. Given that these representations of penis size are made in the context of sexual relations, the reader will likely infer that penis size is treated here as an important indicator of a man's success as a lover, reinforcing the idea that carnality is an essential component of masculinity.

There also instances of opposition related to behaviour in the article. The following example concerns sexual behaviour:

(36) Too hard a thrust during sex 65%

Too soft a thrust during sex 35%

In a tussle of 'youch!' vs 'is it in yet?', most of you were on Team Hard rather than Team Gentle.

(37) Your boyfriend fantasises about your sister 46%

Your boyfriend fantasises about your best friend 54%

How to choose? A true divider.

In (36) it is only the adjectives which deviate from the repeated clause structure, and readers will be familiar with the canonical gradable opposites HARD/SOFT. The 'too X, too Y' syntactic frame is reminiscent of what Jones (2002: 101) terms 'extreme antonymy'. 'Hard' and 'soft' are placed at opposite ends of a scale, but they are not treated here as gradable, since the reader is not offered the option of any point midway on the scale, and are in fact presented as complementary. It is important that both options are presented as negative, via the conventional negative prosody of *too*, as this implies that either option would not be enjoyable.

In example (37) the lexical items 'sister' and 'best friend' are constructed as opposites, which is achieved via both the parallel lexical structure of the clauses, and the relationships of equivalence and difference which underpin the two concepts. Given the heterosexual context (provided via the use of second person pronoun 'your' which presupposes the

existence of the reader having a male partner), we can assume that 'best friend' also has a female referent. They also both usually denote close personal relationships; they differ in terms of kinship. Expressing the object of the man's desires as a binary choice rejects the possibility of other options, and, importantly, implies the inevitability of one of these scenarios: the idea that the reader's boyfriend would fantasise about either her sister or best friend is presupposed, which reflects the ideology that men are driven by their sexual urges.

(38) He dressed up as a policeman 25%

He dressed up as a fireman 75%

Forget being cuffed and chastised - you want to be thrown over a shoulder'n'rescued.

Here the parallel clause structures construct the lexically gendered nouns 'policeman' and 'fireman' as contrasting concepts, where they might conventionally be viewed as co-hyponyms of the superordinate category 'emergency services'. Both figures are viewed in Western cultures as heroic, and exemplary of hegemonic masculinity. The fact that these are the only choices presented to the reader is indicative of the saliency imbued in these cultural ideals.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has considered the function of equating and contrasting in terms of representations of masculine identity in the women's magazine corpus. My analysis of the magazine writer's use of metaphorical equivalence shows how men are likened to cultural ideals of masculinity, indicating that the search for the 'ideal man' is presented as important to women. I suggest that equivalent metaphors for the ideal woman are perhaps not in circulation to the same extent, given that female equivalents of cultural tropes such as *Mr Right* and *Mr Cool* are not codified in English via dictionaries like the OED (see section 5.1.3.1). I then discussed how the writers use metaphorical equivalence to equate men with a sexually predatory identity, producing an ideology of men as naturally carnal, an idea which is taken up in more detail in Chapter Seven (see section 7.2.1 below). I then showed how terms that directly index male sex simultaneously indirectly index hegemonic masculine attributes, including heterosexuality, virility and a rejection of beautification processes. The consideration of the small set of conceptual metaphors MEN ARE FOOD and MEN ARE ANIMALS shows how such metaphors can indicate both positive and negative images of men, and can be viewed as attempts to subvert similar treatment of women in the form of terms of endearment and the WOMAN AS DESSERT metaphor documented in feminist

studies of language and sexism (Mills, 1995; Hines, 1999). This consideration of conceptual metaphor is a contribution to the development of the Critical Stylistics model, as metaphor was not one of the tools originally proposed by Jeffries. However, metaphor can also be perceived as part of ideational meaning, as metaphorical language expressing one thing in terms of another can also reveal a writer's conception of the world. As with superordinate oppositional structures, conceptual metaphors indicate the influence of higher level concepts on cognition.

My analysis of opposition construction in the corpus shows how superordinate opposites aid the interpretation of novel opposites, the most prevalent being the GOOD/BAD canonical pair. I demonstrated how 'good' men are presented as kind, attractive and not sexually driven; 'bad' men are morally corrupt, unattractive and promiscuous. The superordinate MALE/FEMALE also works to emphasise gender differences, encouraging an interpretation of gender as a binary construct. Finally, I show how one particular article polarises male qualities in order to present the reader with an exclusive choice in men, negating the possibility of in-between identities.

While the name of this textual-conceptual function 'equating and contrasting' implies that the two functions are themselves dichotomous, in fact I sometimes found it difficult to decide whether an example should be categorised as 'equating' or 'contrasting'. For example, in 'he wasn't over confident or cocky', out of context, *over confident* and *cocky* might be thought of as synonyms; they seem to be different words (both with negative connotations) for the concept of being self-assured. However, the co-ordinating conjunction *or* is conventionally a syntactic trigger for contrastive opposition. This highlights the importance of examining the individual contexts of words or phrases when deciding whether a piece of text should be considered an example of equivalence or opposition.

It is also unlikely that I have been able to capture all relevant instances of appositional equivalence and parallelism, given that there were no searchable syntactic triggers to facilitate an automatic search of these categories. As discussed in section 3.2.1.2 above, this is because it is not possible to code whole corpora for grammatical structure using an automatic parser. Additionally, metaphorical meanings cannot be derived automatically, because "a computer cannot tell the researcher anything about speaker meaning" (Deignan, 1999: 180). It is partly for these reasons that an automated quantitative analysis alone is not sufficient.

Chapters Four and Five have focused predominantly on lexical representations of men in the texts; the final two analysis chapters focus more on how ideologies of male behaviour are constructed through processes more close tied to grammatical structure. The next chapter reports on the kinds of actions men are seen to perform in the texts, via an analysis of transitivity.

Chapter Six: Representing Actions/Events/States

This chapter presents an analysis of the choices the magazine writers make in representing men's actions and states of being in the texts.

It is in examining this function of texts that critical stylistics draws most obviously from Systemic Functional Grammar, adopting Halliday's system of 'transitivity'. In SFG, transitivity refers to the manner in which speakers encode their experiences of the real world via processes: "'goings-on': of doing, happening, feeling, being" (Halliday, 1985: 101). Decisions about what kind of action is performed by an individual can create impressions about the character of that entity; for example, a participant who is represented with more stative verbs than those of action can produce the effect of passivity, or a participant attributed more verbs of speech may give the impression of loquacity. Choices made in the verbal element of the clause can also make people more or less connected with actions, for example, by choosing to construct the clause in active or passive voice.

6.1 The Transitivity model

The model of transitivity used here is derived from Simpson (1993; 2004), as his explication is accessible, and is informed by a symbiosis of stylistic and CDA approaches to text analysis. According to Simpson, transitivity "shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them." (Simpson, 1993: 88).

The transitivity system is based on the verbal element of the clause, or process. The processes expressed by the clause have three potential components:

- The process itself, expressed by a verb phrase.
- Participants involved in the process, usually realised by noun phrases.
- Any circumstances involved in the process, which usually comprise of adverbial and prepositional phrases.

The processes can be categorised according to their semantic meaning; whether they represent actions, states of mind or states of being. The participants have different labels depending on the type of process they are associated with, and express their relationships to the process. Circumstances are optional adverbials that provide information such as time, place and manner, and are usually realised by prepositional or adverb phrases.

Halliday's version of transitivity is an attempt to encode semantic meaning into the grammar of the clause, in a way which traditional grammars do not. This is perhaps best illustrated by the way in which participant labels can make a distinction between grammatical roles and semantic roles in active and passive clauses:

- (1) Richard played the keyboard
- (2) The keyboard was played by Richard

In (1), 'Richard' is the grammatical Subject of the verb phrase 'played', but in (2), 'the keyboard' is the Subject and 'by Richard' is an adjunct. However, it is clear to the reader that the semantic meaning of the clause has not changed: Rich is still the entity performing the action of playing, and the keyboard is the affected participant in each case. If we assign semantic roles to these clause elements, meaning is reflected in the grammar of the clause: we can say that in both of these examples, 'Richard' is the agent, or Actor of a material action process, and 'the keyboard' is the affected participant, or the Goal.

The transitivity model has been utilised in a number of feminist linguistic studies of gender representation in literature and media texts (Burton, 1982; Jeffries, 2007; Mills, 1994; Talbot, 1997a; Wareing, 1994). I will first delineate the different process types, then present the findings of my analysis of them in the women's magazine data.

6.1.1 Material Processes

These are processes of 'doing'. Material processes can be subdivided into material actions of intention, unintentional actions, termed 'supervention' processes, and material events, which are performed by an inanimate agent. The participants associated with material processes are the Actor and the Goal. For example:

- (3) Richard played the piano (Material action intention)
- (4) Richard fell onto the piano (Material supervention)
- (5) The piano slammed shut (Material event)

In (3), Richard is an animate Actor of an intentional material action process; 'the piano' is the Goal of the process; the affected participant. In (4), the process 'fell' is arguably an unintentional action, and in (5), the Actor is an inanimate process, and is therefore termed an 'event' rather than an 'action'.

Feminist linguists have often commented on the gendered distribution of material action processes in texts. Deirdre Burton's influential analysis of Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*

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demonstrated how the female protagonist is assigned a passive role, where other characters act upon her, indicating her subordinate role in the text. Critics writing about romance fiction (Talbot (1997a; Wareing, 1994) have also shown how men are constructed as active in romantic encounters, where women are acted upon, and often presented in terms of their constituent body parts. This is interpreted by feminist analysts as indicating women's lack of control, and men's dominance over women. In her analysis of the female body in women's magazines, Jeffries (2007) found that there were a significant number of material intention processes with female participants fulfilling the role of actor, but that these mostly came from instructions of what women can do to please men, particularly in articles concerning sex (2007: 170). Therefore the women in the texts are not as in control of their actions as the transitivity analysis might suggest.

My analysis of material processes (see section 6.3 below) does not focus specifically on a gendered distinction between activity or passivity: I only coded processes with male agents, so it is not possible to make any quantitative comparison between male and female agency. However, the examples discussed in section 6.3.1 show that the active/passive dichotomy is relevant to gender in some contexts.

6.1.2 Behavioural Processes

Behavioural processes can be thought of as occupying a realm somewhere between material actions and mental processes, and they usually denote physiological processes, such as *cough* or *smile* (Simpson, 2004: 23). The participants associated with behavioural processes are the Behaver and occasionally a Behaviour, as in the following: 'he [Behaver] smiled [Process] a smile [Behaviour].'

The behavioural category was not originally included in Simpson's (1993) version of transitivity, and is also not utilised in Jeffries' (2007, 2010) accounts of critical stylistics, but I found it useful for coding verbs that were not adequately described by mental, material or relational categories. The behavioural category is included in Simpson's (2004) version of transitivity, and is also useful for considering verbs such as the following:

(6) Lee appeared in the doorway. ('Savaged for Refusing a Kiss', *Love It*)

In this clause, the verb 'appeared' suggests an action, but there is no affected participant, only a circumstance adverbial of place, and *appear* is not a dynamic verb. In that case it could be coded as a relational circumstantial process (see section 6.1.5 below), but at the same time, *appear* does not feel as static as a verb like *was*; there is some kind of action

implied. It therefore seems to sit somewhere between material action intention and relational circumstantial, and this can perhaps be explained by the physiological meaning of *appear* as opposed to a verb like *went*. The behavioural category can therefore be useful for accounting for such examples.

6.1.3 Verbalization Processes

Verbalization processes are verbs of speech, such as *said*, or *announced*, although there is often some crossover with behavioural processes: a verb such as *scream*, for example, is not specifically related to speech, although it is a physiological process and involves sound emitting from the vocal cords. Similar arguments can be made for an example like the following:

(7) 'Morning,' he grinned.

Out of context, 'grinned' might seem like a sensible candidate for the behavioural category. However, in this example, 'grinned' is used as a reporting verb; it is therefore intended as a categorisation of speech, and is more accurately coded as a verbalization process. This kind of choice is interesting for an analysis of the ways in which speech is reported and evaluated, hence giving an indication of point of view. I have not given space to an analysis of verbalization processes in this study, because other transitivity choices, mainly types of material and relational process were more prevalent in terms of frequency.

6.1.4 Mental Processes

Mental processes express mental perceptions, such as *see*, *hear*; mental reactions, such as *love*, *hate* and mental cognitions, for example *understand*, *think*. As with verbalization processes, I have not discussed the function of mental processes in the magazine data here, as I found that these were not as prominent as material and relational processes.

6.1.5 Relational Processes

Relational processes are processes of being, expressing the relationship between Carriers and Attributes. Relational processes can also be categorised into three different sub-types: intensive processes, possessive processes or circumstantial processes. Intensive relations usually involve a form of *BE*, as in, for example, 'he is kind.' Possessive processes express a relationship of ownership, as in 'he has long hair.' Circumstantial processes relate to the time or place of the state, as in 'he was at the bar.'

While the account of the different process types outlined here is on the surface logical and user-friendly, as other scholars have noted (Jeffries, 2010a: 40), there are problems with the applicability of some of the categories, as some verbs can be assigned more than one category, depending on their contexts of use.

Additionally, there were a number of cases where verbs could belong to different categories depending on which participants' point of view is taken into account. For example, in the clause 'he wowed me', the action is performed by a male identity, but seems to represent the point of view of the female participant: I have coded 'wowed' here as a material action process, but it in fact implies that the female participant *felt* 'wowed' as a result of the male agent's actions. The decision to construct her as the recipient of a material action process, rather than the agent of a mental process, as in 'I felt wowed', subordinates her participation, focusing on his active role in the process.

There are other issues with the relationship between form and function, for example in processes like 'he's having an affair.' The use of the verb HAVE presents this as a relational possessive process, and therefore a state of being, but it is really an action, as it means 'he is committing adultery.' The decision to present this as a state of being, where the action becomes nominalized as 'an affair', has the effect of reifying the act, because it is presented as a tangible object.

6.2 Frequencies of transitivity processes

Table 28 shows the total frequencies of the different process types with male agents; in terms of raw figures:

Process type	Raw frequency	Percentage of total number of processes
Material actions	1954	30%
Behavioural processes	969	15%
Verbalization processes	810	12%
Mental processes	994	15%
Relational processes	1759	27%
Total:	6486	

Table 28: Total frequencies of process types in the WM corpus

This table shows that overall, the magazine writers are mostly engaged in presenting men's actions and states of being, and least concerned with presenting men's speech.

Looking at the distribution of different process across the different text types might point to whether this pattern is observable across the corpus, or whether men are presented as engaged in different kinds of actions/states according to the kind of text that they appear in. Table 29 shows raw and normalized frequencies of numbers of processes per text type:

	Material Actions		Behavioural processes		Verbalization processes		Mental processes		Relational processes	
	Raw freq	Normalized freq	Raw freq	Normalized freq	Raw freq	Normalized freq	Raw freq	Normalized freq	Raw freq	Normalized freq
Advertorials	15	97.7	9	58.6	3	19.5	3	19.5	5	32.6
Columns	79	85.8	78	84.8	46	50	74	80.4	92	100
Features	266	75	114	32.2	114	32.2	142	40.1	247	69.7
Fiction	167	112.4	102	68.6	91	61.2	77	51.8	146	98.3
Interviews	639	182.3	225	64.2	141	40.2	315	90	632	180.3
Letters	27	116.6	19	82.1	26	112.3	15	64.8	39	168.5
Lists	34	351.6	10	103.4	7	72.4	11	113.8	23	237.9
Problem pages	143	100	72	49.8	76	52.6	117	81	133	92.1
Profiles	31	224.8	23	166.8	10	72.5	4	29	36	261.1
Reader surveys	42	101	41	98.6	10	24	42	101	72	173.1
Real life stories	418	122.1	248	72.5	260	76	158	46.2	279	81.5
Reports	93	112.1	28	33.7	26	31.3	36	43.4	54	65.1
Reviews	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	38.3

Table 29: Raw and normalized frequencies of the different transitivity process types across the corpus

When the frequencies of the different processes are normalized, the text type containing the highest frequency of both material and mental processes is the lists, where the profiles contain the highest number of both behavioural and relational processes. This suggests that the profiles are more likely to represent men in terms of states of being and behaviours than actions, where the lists are concerned with how men act and think, but not what they are like. The letters text type contains the highest relative frequency of verbalization processes, which would be expected given their communicative function.

Aside from comparing raw figures of the different process types, it would also be useful to look at the distribution of different processes within each text type, as this may also give an indication as to how men are characterised by different text types. The figures in table 30 below represent percentages rather than raw figures:

Text type	Process type				
	Material Actions (%)	Behavioural Processes (%)	Verbalization Processes (%)	Mental processes (%)	Relational processes (%)
Advertorials	43	26	9	9	14
Columns	21	21	12	20	25
Features	30	13	13	16	28
Fiction	29	17	15	13	25
Interviews	33	12	7	16	32
Letters	21	15	20	15	30
Lists	40	12	8	13	27
Problem pages	26	13	14	22	25
Profiles	30	22	10	4	35
Reader surveys	20	20	5	20	35
Real life stories	31	18	19	12	20
Reports	38	11	11	15	25
Reviews	0	0	0	0	100

Table 30: The distribution of the different transitivity process types within each text type

Looking at which text types contain the highest and lowest proportions of the different process types gives us an indication as to how men are characterised by the texts. For example, Table 30 shows that the problem pages are the text type containing comparatively the highest proportion of mental processes; given that the problem pages are concerned with self-disclosure, we might expect that this would involve the expression of men's thoughts and feelings. According to table 30, the profiles contain the highest proportion of relational processes, but the lowest proportion of mental verbs, which indicates that this text type is more concerned with presenting men in terms of statements of what they are like, rather than what they think or feel. This would be expected given that that purpose of this kind of text is to showcase celebrity identities. The letters pages contain the largest proportion of verbalization processes, which might be expected, given their interactional element.

The text types containing mostly material processes are those that tell the reader what men do. We might expect that material processes would constitute the highest proportion of processes in the fiction and real life story text types, because as narratives they are centred on one or more 'complicating actions' (Labov and Waletzky, 1967), involving male characters.

The features and reports are informative articles that tell the reader about particular issues, and the majority of these are concerned with sex and relationships (21 articles, 68%), some of which are explicit guides on how to improve relationships (13 articles, 42%). The material processes in these text types are mainly related to how men behave in relationships or sexual encounters, or what women should ask men to do, in order to satisfy their sexual or emotional needs.

If we look at the distribution of process types within each text type, we get an indication of how the different text types choose to represent men's states of being or how they behave. For example, if we read horizontally across Table 30, we can see that for each text type, the processes containing the highest frequencies are either material actions or relational processes. This indicates that across the corpus, the most frequent ways of representing men are in terms of the actions they perform, or how they appear, either physically or in terms of personality. Because of this, the material actions and the relational processes will form the focus of the thematic analysis in this chapter.

6.3 Themes of Material Processes

6.3.1 Sexual activity

An analysis of the different kinds of actions that men perform in the features text type revealed that the most frequent theme was that of sexual activity (38 instances, 11%). Seven of these appear in an instructional article on sexual technique in *Cosmopolitan*, entitled 'The Nice Girl's Guide to Naughty Sex', six of which appear in close proximity in the following passage:

(8) Get him to **massage** your pubic area with the palm of one hand, before **sliding** two fingers inside. Next, get him to **rub** the upper and lower parts of the inside of your vagina, before **moving** up to the G-spot, which is the focal area. Encourage him to gently **squeeze** the clitoris and **circle** it between his fingers.

The fact that the reader is instructed to guide her partner in performing these actions indicates that women's magazines do not always simply tell the reader how to please men, as is purported in the literature on the construction of female sexuality in these texts (e.g. Farvid and Braun, 2006; McLoughlin, 2008), and also suggests that men are not simply in control of their own actions. However, it is assumed that the agent of these actions is male, rendering the female participant a passive recipient of them.

In the following example, while the text producer initially instructs women to actively engage in sexual activity, their passivity is ultimately implied by the representation of male action:

(9) 15. Kiss him! "A scientific study showed that a man's saliva fills up with testosterone when he sees a woman he considers sexy. Simply **kissing** her can pass on some of those hormones, making her feel more in the mood for lust," says Sarah Hedley.

(*'Put the Love Back in Your Life', Best*)

Although the excerpt from this instructional feature from *Best* magazine begins with an implied female agent of the action 'kiss', male agency is the focus of the actual advice: men are the agent of the actions 'sees', 'considers', 'kissing' and 'making'; there are no female agented processes apart from the opening gambit. The text here also implies that

women need men to initiate sexual activity, because they would not ordinarily be 'in the mood for lust.'

The following example is from an article in *Company* magazine in which five 'sexperts' tell the story of their most embarrassing sexual encounters:

(10) Then, when he **freed** his erection and rubbed it against my clothed body, I was happy to go along with the frisky teenage role-play.

The choice of verb 'freed' here also implies agency on the part of the penis; that his penis is in some way 'struggling' to escape. The reader could also interpret this agency as the man having reduced control over his penis, reiterating representations of male sexuality as an 'uncontrollable other' discussed in the naming of male sex organs above (see section 4.1.4.2.1). However, as with the penis terms denoting the infallibility of the penis, the fact that this example is in the context of an article on sexual blunders suggests that the 'power' of his erection is not to be taken seriously here.

Material processes also make up the largest proportion of processes in the lists text type. The majority of these (7 instances, 21%), relate to sexual activity and attracting women more generally. The following example from a list in *Cosmopolitan* show how men are presented as in control of sexual activity, where women's role is passivised:

(11) "Cash, not cards, is an easy way to **impress** women. It says, 'I'm beating the credit crunch - I buy things with real money!' But don't be fooled - It could be a ploy to **make** you fancy him, or even a sign he can no longer get credit."

('6 Secrets of a Man's Wallet', *Cosmopolitan*)

In this example, the choice of verb 'impress' in the subordinate clause is interesting here, as it implies agency on the part of the woman, but the structure of the clause represents 'women' as an affected participant; the clause means 'women are impressed', and thus expresses women's point of view, not men's, but positioning men as the agent of the action has a foregrounding effect, backgrounding the role of 'women.' The male agent is elided, but it is clear from the context that 'men' are the intended Actor here. The use of 'make' implies that the women are not in control of their sexual attraction, that some kind of force would be required for women to be sexually attracted to men. The lack of modalisation in the verb phrase, for example with a verb that does not imply success such as 'try to make

you fancy him' indicates that if men only carrying cash is a ploy to attract the reader, that it would indeed prove successful.

In the reports, 7 processes are a form of HAVE + 'sex', an idiomatic construct which appears to present a material action as a possessive process:

(12) 63% of men have thought about another woman while **having** sex
www.cupidbay.com, September 2008.

(‘Man Facts’, *More*)

(13) HOW TO LOSE A GUY... Matthew McConaughey's mum has revealed her son's father died while **having** sex with her.

(‘Full Frontal’, *Scarlet*)

(14) It makes me feel more confident because my legs look longer, and the guy thinks he's **having** sex with a supermodel rather than little old me.

In all these examples, using possessive process HAVE focuses on 'sex' as an object, or experience, rather than a straightforward action, as a more prototypical material process like *do* might, although the reader will clearly infer 'have sex' to be metaphorical. It is also clear from the co-texts in these examples that the other participants involved in the processes are female, reiterating heteronormative relations.

6.3.2 Physical strength

In the real life stories, material processes are also the most frequent type of process performed by men, which can also involve men acting upon female participants. In the following examples from 'I Dumped my Hubby to Marry a Killer' (*That's Life*), presenting the male protagonist as performing material actions with female recipients serves to highlight the physical strength of the male agent:

(15) Kelly stayed back as I ran into his arms and he **scooped** me up, **swinging** me round.

(16) 'I'm so glad you're here,' Rickey said, **stroking** my dark hair.

(17) He stood up, his chair crashing to the floor as he **wrapped** me in his arms.

(18) 'I love you more, wifey,' he said, **kissing** me hard.

It is notable that the female narrator does not perform these types of material actions; she is the affected participant in these romantic encounters, which reflects findings of other feminist research on female representation in fiction (Talbot, 1997a; Wareing, 1994). In example (15) material actions 'scooped' and 'swinging' have connotations of ease and free movement: a random sample of 50 instances of 'scooped up' from the BNC showed that 43 (86%) of these precede noun phrase objects denoting small, light items. By implying that the actions are easy to perform, the author diminutizes Sharon, which consequently foregrounds Rickey's strength. Sharon's hair is the affected participant in (16), which has the similarly diminutive effect of compartmentalising her. The paratactic clause 'his chair crashing to the floor' in (17) implies that the force of behavioural action stood caused this material event; the reader may infer from this that Rickey is physically strong and domineering, and manner adverbial 'hard' in (18) indicates the force of the action, again evoking a sense of physical strength and domination.

6.3.3 Women as affected participants

As well as the types of actions performed by men, I was also interested in the kinds of affected participants involved in material processes, and particularly of where women are the recipients of material actions. Table 31 below shows frequencies of female affected participants in processes with male agents across the corpus:

Text type	Frequency of female affected participants	% of total affected participants
Advertorials	3	10
Columns	21	18
Features	98	29
Fiction	52	27
Interviews	65	13
Letters	2	5
Lists	4	9
Problem pages	77	35
Profiles	0	0
Surveys	30	43
Reports	31	29
Reviews	0	0

Real life stories	174	41
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Table 31: Frequencies of female affected participants in clauses with male agents across the corpus

According to Table 31, the text type in which female affected participants make up the largest proportion of total types of affected participants of a process with a male agent is the surveys. The text types with no female affected participants are the profiles and reviews. This is because the profiles are solely intended to showcase men and their achievements, not to describe men's behaviour towards women. Similarly, the review text type is intended to evaluate products, not behaviour.

6.3.3.1 Romantic relationships with women

The majority of processes with female affected participants in the surveys relate to a semantic field of romantic relationships (9 instances, 30%). This would be expected given that 3 out of 5 of the articles in this text type are specifically concerned with men's dating behaviour. The processes are all material, and include: *dating*, *approach*, *MEET* and *invited*. The co-texts of 'approach' and 'dating' are interesting in that they form part of an assumption that it is men's responsibility to instigate relationships:

(19) 'Definitely. I'm way too scared of rejection to **approach** a girl.' *Craig, 21, Essex*

(20) 'It's how I met my girlfriend, I didn't have the balls to **approach** her.' *Mathew, 24, Oxford*

(*'40 Men, One Big Question', More*)

(21) Have you ever been with someone at a Christmas party you've ended up **dating**? Craig: "Yes, I **met** my girlfriend at a Christmas do, I got completely wasted and ended up on a bucking bronco with cans of Stella stuffed in all my pockets.

(*'What Goes through Men's Minds', Cosmopolitan*)

Examples (19) and (20) are from an article from *More* entitled '40 Men, 1 Big Question', a survey of men's responses to the question 'Should a girl ever make the first move?'. The implication here is that it is men who usually initiate relationships. These are actually examples of men *not* approaching women, despite this assumption that it is men's

responsibility to do so. This is expressed here in terms of men's infallibility, signalled by the assessments that the man was 'too scared' in (19) and 'didn't have the balls' in (20). The latter is an interesting idiom, which directly links male biological sex with the concept of masculinity: 'balls' is a metaphor for something like 'courage'; courage is a stereotypical characteristic of hegemonic masculinity. Example (21) is from an article from *Cosmopolitan* entitled 'What Goes through Men's Minds'. What is interesting here is the assumption on the part of the interviewer that a sexual encounter at a party would *not* lead to a more long-term relationship. These ideas are also related to the notion that men are promiscuous and afraid of commitment, discussed in Chapter Seven below.

Actions relating to dating and relationships also make up the majority of processes with female participants in the fiction text type (9 instances, 18%):

1) no good at compromise." "Did you	dump	her? Is that what all this is ab
2) all this is about?" "I didn't	dump	her. If you remember, I'd arran
3) the problem? Was Max refusing to	leave	his wife? Jules wouldn't have m
4) comment. Justin telling me he was	leaving	me for someone else came as a h
5) .. "As Fay's love of eight years	leaves	her for someone else, we share
6) as his owner. "Are you going to	marry	her?" she asked impulsively. She
7) 'm not surprised he simply had to	marry	one." And in private... in priv
8) roposal - he said: "But I've only	met	you a few minutes ago... and I
9) thing of the sort, of course. "I	met	my ex-wife at art school. She h

Fig. 5: Concordance of processes relating to dating in fiction with female as affected participant.

Lines 1-3, 7 and 9 come from a story called 'Step by Step' in *Woman's Weekly*. Line 6 is from a story in *My Weekly* called 'His Girl Friday', described as a 'romance' narrative centring on the relationship of a male boss and his female secretary. Lines 4-5 come from another story from *My Weekly* called 'Obsession', which tells the story of an obsessive man who leaves his partner for another woman. Line 8 comes from a story from *Woman & Home* called 'The Christmas Ring', about a wealthy divorced couple; after leaving his wife for another woman, the man tells his ex-wife that he wants to buy her engagement ring back from her to give to his new partner. All the fictional narratives in the corpus, apart from 'Village Secret' (*Best*) are focused on romantic relationships between men and women. Unlike the processes discussed from the reader surveys, the verbs relating to relationships in the fiction texts mostly involve marriage or married participants; this reflects the distinction between the glossy magazines as engaged in depicting a world full of single people, and the domestic weeklies as one in which marriage is a given.

6.3.3.2 Violence towards women

According to Table 30, the real life stories contain the second highest proportion of processes with female affected participants (174 tokens, 41% of total processes with affected participants). An analysis of the kinds of processes associated with female recipients in these texts showed that the most prominent theme was that of violent actions (38 tokens, 22%). The vast majority of these (30 tokens, 79%) come from what I have termed the 'monster' narratives, which are stories about men who have committed criminal or adulterous actions. In most cases, the male perpetrators were known to the female victims, and the majority are told from the first person perspective of the female victim-narrator. These violent actions are either related to sexual violence (e.g. *raped*, *sexually assaulted*), murder (*killed*, *murdered*), grievous bodily harm (e.g. *stabbing*, *punched*), or less emotively, verbs that highlight physical dominance (e.g. *forced*, *pulled*, *overpowered*). This last set of processes is interesting in that they imply the helplessness of the female victims, as in the following examples:

(22) 'We're going,' he snarled, **pulling** me from the bed, still naked. 'Let me get dressed, ' I begged, laying Sophia on the sheets. But he just **pulled** me into the hall and down the stairs.

(23) 'Why have you done this to me? 'Nabil said as he suddenly **picked** me up and **threw** me over a fence.

(‘The Bogeyman’s Here’, *That’s Life*)

(24) 'Get off!' I yelled at him, fear pounding through me as Lee **pulled** me towards my bedroom.

(‘Savaged for Refusing a Kiss’, *Love It*)

In all these examples here the female participant is the helpless recipient of the verbs ‘PULL’, ‘picked’ and ‘threw’. The optional adverbials (underlined) are also an important part of this construction of dominance, as they imply that a good degree of physical force is involved in carrying out these actions.

In ‘Have Sex or Die’ (*That’s Life*), a third person narrator uses material actions with violent connotations to describe convicted murderer Jesse Pratt’s actions towards female victim Carrie, in order to present him as dominating and sexually violent:

(25) When she refused, he **overpowered** her, **covering** her nose and mouth with paper towels. He then tried to **rape** her, before **stabbing** her to death.

(26) Pratt then **drove over** his victim's body before **burying** her 15 miles away under some loose gravel.

Pratt is the Actor of the material verbs 'overpowered,' 'rape,' 'stabbing' and phrasal verb 'drove over,' and verbal process demanded, which all have semantic connotations of domination, and are exemplary of the evaluative lexis attributed to tabloid reporting and women's magazine fiction (Fowler, 1991: 45; Nash, 1990: 48; Talbot, 1997a). Additionally, the unmodalised, categorical nature of the propositions means they are represented as irrefutable 'facts'.

As well as the implicitly constructed 'facts' in examples (25) and (26) above, underneath the main text of the article there is a linear sequence of explicitly labelled 'facts' about the case, which also describe Pratt's crimes and represent him as violent and sexually driven:

Fact 1: A trucker found a sleeping bag containing Carrie's **blood-spattered** handbag.

Fact 2: Her **battered** body lay 15 miles away under a mound of gravel.

Fact 3: She'd been **stabbed** and **asphyxiated**, as revealed by haemorrhaging to her eyes.

Fact 4: Paper towels with pieces of duct tape attached were strewn close to her body.

It is interesting that these sentences, unlike those in example (25) and (26) above, are all written in passive voice, hiding the agents of the actions; it is clear that Pratt is the implied Actor of the material actions described here. In Facts 1 and 2, the violent actions are implied by the adjectival modifications blood-spattered and battered in the noun phrases 'Carrie's blood-spattered handbag' and '[H]er battered body'. These nominalisations foreground the cause and recipients of the violence, which arguably has the effect of evoking sympathy from the reader. Lexical verb 'strewn' in Fact 4 has connotations of chaos or disorganisation, which contributes to the construction of Pratt as disorderly.

6.3.4 Gendered practices

As well as sexual behaviour and violence towards women, the text types with the highest proportions of material processes also contain processes related to the construction of

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stereotypically gendered practices. For example, in the report text type, 18 of the 84 material processes (21%) are in relation to stereotypically masculine or feminine behaviour. The practices that could be described as indexing feminine behaviour come from a report in *Scarlet*, under a section entitled 'Boys Talk', in which every month the magazine writers ask selected men a different question. The question in this issue is 'If you were a woman for the day, what would you do?' Their answers reveal stereotypical ideas about feminine behaviours and practices, and reinforce normative heterosexuality:

(27) "The first thing I'd do is **fondle** my breasts, then I'd get pampered and **do** girly things."

SCOTT, 37

(28) "**Go shopping**, then **look** for a nice, good-looking man."

NANDO, 30

(29) "I'd **put on** a dress, **make** myself look beautiful, **walk** my dog and then have lunch in a restaurant. If I had sex, I'd **sleep with** another woman or have an orgy."

ALEXANDER, 32

(30) "I'd **spend** a day at the spa - something I don't do enough as a man. If I had sex I'd **sleep with** a man because, as a woman it would be the right thing to do."

MARTIN, 34

The actions are mostly behaviours stereotypically associated with women: shopping, wearing make-up, wearing dresses engaging in beautification processes. A number of these are also sexual actions, which reinforces the idea that men are sexually driven beings. What is interesting is the way in which sex and gender are seen to uncomplicatedly map onto one another; that the prospect of changing biological sex would necessarily entail changing the kinds of activities the men would ordinarily engage in. Considering Butler's theory of performativity can usefully highlight the mechanisms at work here: according to Butler, "there is no body prior to its marking", there is no inner 'essence' that is masculine or feminine: the gendered identities that we produce are made to seem real because they are citations of gender norms (1990: 98). The examples from 'Boys Talk' here also illustrate the workings of Butler's 'heterosexual matrix', through which identities cohere if they adhere to "a stable sex expressed through a stable gender [...] that is oppositionally and hierarchically

defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality” (Butler, 1990: 206). The heterosexual matrix dictates that to be normative requires a male/female dichotomy, that gender performances match biological sex, and that individuals desire the opposite sex. So, in order for the male participants in this hypothetical situation to ‘qualify’ as female, they must ensure that their gendered behaviour is in alignment with their newfound sex, which also necessarily entails adhering to heteronorms. One could argue that the respondent in example (29) subverts the heterosexual matrix by stating that as a female he would want to have sex with a woman. However, it is equally likely that his motivation for saying this is that he imagines he would retain some ‘essence’ of being a man, and therefore would desire women in adherence to heteronormativity.

Tables 29 and 30 in section 6.2 showed that the lists were the text type with the highest normalized frequency of material actions. In these texts, one of the most prominent themes of material action processes relate to gendered practices (6 tokens, 18%):

(31) To **buy** and **wrap** your friend/mum's birthday present.

(32) **Put up** some shelves. You'll either never hear the end of how brilliant he is or you'll have to re-plaster an entire wall.

(33) To **get rid of** his porn collection. It'll just become a porn collection in a better hiding place.

(34) **Carry** your handbag. Ever. This is not chivalry, it's the best way to make a man look instantly ridiculous.

(35) **Cut down** on his beer drinking, because, 'It's giving you a bit of a belly, babe'.

(‘14 Things You Should Never Ask a Man to Do,’ *More*)

(36) Your partner and his flatmate, in their pants, **playing** *Grand Theft Auto IV* at 4am

(‘8 Things Men Don’t Want Women to See,’ *Scarlet*)

Examples (31–35) are from a list in *More* which specifies a series of actions that men should not be asked to perform, the implication being that this would compromise their identity as men. In (31), the instruction that men should not be asked to ‘buy and wrap’ presents can

be interpreted as due to an assumption that men are no good at buying presents, reflecting the gender ideology that shopping is the domain of women. In (32), the humour of this example relies on the reader's schematic knowledge of DIY as a stereotypically male endeavour: the reader is advised not to ask men to carry out DIY projects because, although it is a stereotypically masculine activity, the assumed outcome would be either failure or boasting. This also therefore relies on the reader's knowledge of the folklinguistic stereotype of men's language that men boast more than women. Example (35) assumes that men drink beer, a drink stereotypically associated with men, and particularly lad culture (e.g. Edwards, 2003). It is interesting that women are advised not to tell men to curb their beer drinking here because of its potential weight gaining effects, as this also therefore implies that diet and fitness should be the preserve of women, not men.

The existence of men's porn collections is assumed in example (33), which also draws on the ideology that men's libidos are stronger than women's. Men are advised not to carry women's handbags in (34) because this would index femininity; this is afforded negative evaluation via the adjectival Attribute 'ridiculous', implying that this action would not be consistent with heterosexual masculinity.

The final example here (36) is from a list in *Scarlet* delineating situations which the writers assume men are involved in, in which it is assumed that men play computer videogames, a stereotypically masculine pastime. As well as presenting stereotypically gendered behaviours, these examples also assume the reader's heterosexual status, and that she is currently in a heterosexual relationship with a man.

6.4 Frequencies of Relational Processes

As we saw in Table 30 above, relational processes are proportionally the most frequent type of process used with a male agent in the profiles and the reader surveys, which suggests that these are the texts most likely to present men in terms of a state of being. Looking at which text types use different types of relational processes can give an indication as to which are most likely to present men in terms of attributes, possessions or circumstances. Table 32 below shows frequencies of different types of relational processes with male agents across the corpus:

Text type	Freq of intensive processes (%)		Freq of possessive processes (%)		Freq of circumstantial processes (%)	
	Raw freq	% of relational processes	Raw freq	% of relational processes	Raw freq	% of relational processes
Advertorials	5	100	0	0	0	0
Columns	67	71	18	19	10	11
Features	182	73	51	20	17	7
Fiction	93	63	29	20	29	20
Interviews	397	63	161	26	74	12
Letters	30	73	7	17	4	10
Lists	17	74	6	26	0	0
Problem pages	97	71	32	24	7	5
Profiles	27	73	7	19	3	8
Real life stories	220	78	22	8	39	14
Reports	36	58	21	34	5	8
Reviews	1	100	0	0	0	0
Surveys	48	65	23	31	3	4

Table 32: Frequencies of the different relational processes with male Carriers according to text type

According to Table 32, intensive processes make up the largest proportion of relational processes across the corpus. This indicates that out of the three different ways of representing men's state of being, the text producers are most concerned with expressing what men are like, as opposed to where they are or what they have.

Jeffries notes that the decision to use an intensive process, rather than a possessive process, can have the effect of making the participant feel closer to the description (2007: 178). For example: in 'Lee's eyes were bloodshot', the decision to represent the affected participant 'bloodshot' as an Attribute in an intensive structure represents this description as a state; choosing a possessive verb, as in 'Lee had bloodshot eyes' constructs the affected participant as a separate object, and therefore not as intrinsic to the agent. The fact that the majority of relational processes are intensive therefore suggests that the text producers on the whole are more concerned to present Attributes as inherent aspects of male Carriers, and therefore more permanent aspects of identity.

Looking at the proportions of intensive relational processes across the corpus in Table 32, it appears that the advertorials and reviews contain the highest proportion of relational intensive processes, although the raw frequencies are very low. The next proportionally highest frequency of intensive processes belongs to the real life story text type; the analysis of relational processes that follows will therefore focus mainly on these.

6.5 Themes of Relational Processes

6.5.1 Intensive processes

While in terms of raw frequency, there are a very small number of intensive relational processes in the advertorials, it is interesting that the writers have decided to present all the men in these texts in terms of what they are like, and not what they do. All the instances of intensive processes describing male carriers in the advertorials come from an article in *Easy Living* magazine called 'The Men who Make you Look Good', which is a piece on male hair and make-up artists, showcasing their services and the cosmetic products they use on women.

(37) They **look** more like members of an indie band, but these male movers and shakers **are** responsible for the way we cut our hair and wear our make-up..."

By CATHERINE TURNER

(38) Now spending as much time at fashion shows as on rock tours, Woods **is** as known for his classic cutting skills ("I just love cutting people's hair off," he says) as his big, sexy styles created with velcro rollers and broken up with surf styling spray (see right).

(39) His unique retro sets **continue to look** modern and glamorous on his current celeb clients, such as Gwen Stefani.

(40) Philips studies graphic design, but discovered make-up when he **became** involved with cutting edge Belgian fashion designers of the time, developing a monochrome style which gave classic beauty a modern edge.

The attributes following the intensive process here are mostly positive, and relate to the men's abilities and success in the industry. It is interesting that some of the premodifying adjectives in the attributes of the intensive verbs here can be said to indirectly index femininity: 'glamorous,' in (39) and 'sexy' in (38) usually collocate with female referents

(Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010: 109). Most the Attributes of these intensive processes are adjective phrases, describing what the male Carriers are like.

In the real life stories, attributes of intensive verbs with male Carriers are most frequently noun phrases that have a naming function (59, 26.5%). For example, in a clause like 'he **was** a joiner', or 'he **is** a brilliant dad', the Attributes describe the male Carrier in terms of his occupation or relationship role. These noun phrase Attributes with a naming function can be categorised into semantic themes as follows:

Category of attribute	Example lexis	Frequency	Proportion of total attributes (%)
Proper nouns	Keith Todd	9	15.3
Occupation	A joiner	3	5.1
Kinship relations	A brilliant dad	13	22
Romantic relationship	Husband	3	5.1
Positively modified nouns	Such a nice guy	7	11.9
Negatively modified nouns	A weak, controlling man	3	5.1
Neutral nouns	the first man	4	6.8
Metaphorical	A monster	7	11.9
Criminal	A killer	5	8.5
Friendship	My confidant	3	5.1
Body part	his stomach	2	3.4
Total		59	

Table 33: Noun phrase attributes of relational intensive processes with a naming function in the real life stories grouped into semantic fields

Table 33 shows that the most prominent semantic theme of noun phrase attributes with a naming function in the real life stories is that of kinship relations. Almost all of the lexis in this category are nouns relating to fatherhood (12 instances, 92%), such as *daddy*, *father*, *dad* and *stepdad*. This is indicative of the tendency for the real life stories to revolve around topics involving family relations. Some of these different semantic fields in Table 33 can also be interpreted as hyponyms of *good/bad*, suggesting that men are presented in the texts in terms of positive and negative states; as well as the negatively modified nouns, the Attributes in the criminal category could also arguably denote negative representations, as do some of the metaphorical Attributes:

(41) I put that ad in the paper looking for love. But all I found **was a monster**
(‘Lonely Heart Killer’, *Real People*)

(42) Giovanni Cruz **is a contender** in our latest competition, Britain's Got Love
Rats.

(‘The Passion that Swept Paris’, *Take a Break*)

(43) David was so kind and gentle... *Could he really be a murderer?*
(‘Lonely Heart Killer’, *Real People*)

Examples (41) and (42) contain metaphorical Attributes with negative connotations. In example (42), the male antagonist Giovanni is not literally a ‘contender’ in a competition, this label serves to emphasise his negative appraisal as a cheat. In example (41), the metaphorical Attribute functions to negatively evaluate the antagonist. The decision to construct this appraisal as an Attribute of a process indicating his state of being, as opposed to, say, a manner adverbial modifying a material process, such as ‘he acted monstrously’, reduces the degree of independency attributed to the action. This means that the reader is more likely to interpret his actions as attributable to his status as a ‘monster’, rather than human folly. In (43), the negative connotations of the criminal Attribute ‘murderer’ are foregrounded by the juxtaposition with the adjective phrase Attribute with positive connotations in the previous clause.

6.5.2 Possessive processes

According to Table 32, the surveys are the text type that contain the greatest proportion of possessive relational processes, which indicates that men are presented mostly in terms of what they have rather than what they are like. An analysis of the kinds of Attributes related to these processes in the surveys showed that they are mainly personal attributes (8, 35%), and the processes often occur in a sexual context (11 instances, 48%). The decision to use possessive, rather than intensive processes creates distance between the Carrier and the Attribute in each case. For example:

(44) Should a girl ever make the first move? [...] ‘It s how I met my girlfriend, I didn't
have the balls to approach her.’ *Mathew ,24, Oxford*

(‘40 Men, One Big Question’, *More*)

(45) Would you rather [...]

He **has** years of experience in bed 40%

He **has** a willingness to learn in bed 60%

(‘Would You Rather...’, *Glamour*)

In example (44), the attribute ‘balls’ is a metaphor for ‘courage’ (also discussed in 6.3.3.1 above). By treating bravery as a separate entity to his identity, rather than using an intensive process, such as ‘I wasn’t brave enough to approach her’, the reader can interpret courage as a quality that can be acquired, rather than forming an innate part of male identity. Similarly, in (45), the Attributes of the process *has* are represented as objects. Within the context of this article, the effect of this may be to compartmentalise the male body: in section 4.1.4.2.1 I discussed examples from this article of male body part nouns which reduce men to their constituent parts; talking about personal attributes as separate entities using possessive processes could also be interpreted as having the effect of compartmentalisation here.

6.5.3 Circumstantial processes

According to Table 32, the fiction text type contains the highest frequency of circumstantial processes; these texts are therefore most concerned with indicating where men are in the fictional world. Analysing the kinds of Attributes involved in circumstantial processes in the fiction texts showed that the majority of these (11 instances, 38%) are introduced by deictic adverbs, as in ‘he’s here waiting for you.’ In the real life stories, which also have one of the higher proportions of circumstantial relational processes compared with the other text types, the majority of Attributes of Circumstantial processes denote domestic settings (14 instances, 30%). As the real life stories frequently feature representations of criminal men, there are also some Attributes connected to judicial settings, as in the following examples:

(46) David **was** in custody awaiting trial, but he seemed to think we could continue our relationship, phoning me every day.

(‘Lonely Heart Killer,’ *Real People*)

(47) None of us knew Lee was capable of doing what he did. Now he’s behind bars.

(‘Savaged for Refusing a Kiss,’ *Love It*)

(48) He’s **lived** on the edge of legality for years.

(‘Have Sex or Die,’ *That’s Life*)

The prepositional phrase Attribute in example (48) is metaphorical, presenting the concept of legality as a tangible object. The alliterative prepositional phrase 'behind bars' in (47) could also be described as metaphorical, meaning 'in prison'.

There are also 8 occurrences of Attributes denoting a connection between the male Carrier and romantic relationships with female participants presented as circumstances, as the following examples demonstrate:

(49) I thought I **was** in love, behaving more like a teenager than a middle-aged father-of-two.

(‘Should I Forgive My Cheating Husband?’, *Best*)

(50) ‘I want to **be** with you,’ he said, clamping his lips on mine.

(‘Savaged for Refusing a Kiss,’ *That’s Life*)

The prepositional phrase ‘in love’ could be interpreted as an example of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A PLACE. This has the effect of presenting *love* as a tangible object, which arguably makes it easier to conceptualise than non-metaphorical expressions, with ‘love’ as a material action process, such as ‘I thought I loved her’. The prepositional phrase ‘with you’ in (50) presents the relationship in terms of deictic proximity, focusing on the physical, as opposed to emotional connection. As with the ‘in love’ example, this decision also presents the abstract notion of a romantic relationship in more concrete terms.

6.6 Body part agency

As well as looking at where men as holonymic entities are the agents of actions, I was also interested in the representation of men in terms of body parts, and therefore where male body parts were given agency in material and behavioural processes. There are comparatively a very small number of instances of male body part agency in the corpus. However, body part agency is an interesting stylistic phenomenon, and can have interesting implications for ideology construction.

Text type	Frequency of processes with male agents	Frequency of processes with male body part agency	% of total processes
Advertorials	35	0	0
Columns	371	4	1
Features	886	6	1
Fiction	586	17	3
Interviews	1952	2	0
Letters	132	3	2
Lists	88	0	0
Problem pages	544	3	1
Profiles	105	0	0
Real life stories	1,380	25	2
Reports	238	3	1
Reviews	1	0	0
Surveys	207	6	3

Table 34: frequencies of processes with body part agency across the corpus

Table 34 clearly shows that processes with body part agency make up a very small proportion of the processes with male agents. The fact that the text types based on a narrative structure are those with the highest proportion of male body part agency here is not surprising; the phenomenon of body part agency is a well documented stylistic feature of fictional genres (see for example Burton, 1982; Mills, 1994; Wareing, 1994). As with holonymic processes, the kinds of processes with body part agency differ according to text type.

6.6.1 Meronymic violence

According to the raw figures in Table 34, the real life story text type contains the most number of tokens of male body part agency, and these frequently present actions with violent connotations.

The most frequent body part in the role of agent in this text type are the eyes (11 instances, 44%):

1. I shook hands with Lee, his brown	eyes	lingered on mine. 'Nice to meet
2. thought. I opened the door. Lee's	eyes	were bloodshot. He looked as if
3. ed? ' I asked. But instead of his	eyes	welling up with tears, they bega
4. Throwing me on the bed, his brown	eyes	danced with hate. 'I want to be
5. cried, backing away from him. His	eyes	glazed with tears. 'I 'm so so
6. was lying in a wooden coffin. His	eyes	shut as if he was sleeping peac
7. t. John 's face was white and his	eyes	were wide with horror . Suddenly
8. look at him, but I could feel his	eyes	bore into me. I was flabbergast
9. locked the doors. As his soulless	eyes	bore into me, I felt like a vuln
10. ht when Ryan stormed round. His	eyes	were glazed, his speech slurred
11. his eyes welling up with tears, they		began roving over my body. 'You

Fig. 6: concordance of 'eyes' as agent of process in the real life stories

The processes performed by men's eyes in the real life stories are either intensive relational, material action or behavioural processes. They are therefore either described in terms of their state of being, or how they are acting. The material action *bore* and behavioural actions *twisted*, *glazed* and *danced* arguably have violent connotations, while material process behavioural action *began roving* and *lingered* have sexual implications ('they' refers to 'eyes' anaphorically here). Intensive processes represent the attributes associated with eyes here as static, rather than dynamic qualities. In her discussion of female agency in women's magazines, Jeffries also notes how descriptions using intensive as opposed to possessive processes create a closer connection between the participant and the attribute (2007: 178).

Other violent actions in the real life stories are attributed to meronyms of the hand and face:

(51) He raped me, his sausage fingers **choking** my throat...

(*'Beautiful Swan', Real People*)

(52) As his fist **slammed** into my cheek, the room span around me.

(*'Savaged for Refusing a Kiss', Love It*)

(53) Spit **trickled** down his jaw and his cheeks **flushed** red with anger

(*'Savaged for Refusing a Kiss', Love It*)

Presenting these actions metonymically has the effect of reducing the distance between the Actor and the process; the first example reformulated to 'he choked me with his sausage fingers', using a holonymic agent, appears to increase the proximity of the participant to the

process, and consequently the amount of responsibility attributed to the Actor. It is also interesting that in the second example, the process in the main clause is a material event, performed by an inanimate Actor, 'the room'. The decision to present the room as the active participant rather than the narrator further subordinates her role here. In example (53) here, the agency of saliva arguably connotes animalistic behaviour.

In his analysis of women's magazine fiction, Nash interprets the agency afforded to male body parts as representing the totality of men's activity: 'the man vibrates in all his parts' (1990: 43). However, metonymic representations of male violence in the real life stories have a dehumanising effect, and imply that the antagonist is not in control of his actions. This is similar to the kinds of stylistic techniques used in newspaper coverage of male sexual violence, where offenders are named using terms with animalistic connotations, such as *beast* and *monster* as a way of dehumanising them (Clark, 1992; O'Hara, 2012; Soothill and Walby, 1991).

6.6.2 Physical attractiveness

In the fiction text type, material processes and intensive relational processes also make up the largest proportion of processes. In this text type, body part agency functions not to present violent images of male behaviour, but more positive actions and appearances, as the following examples from 'Just Passing Through' in *My Weekly* demonstrate:

(54) The silence between them stretched and stretched, his warm, honey-brown eyes **searching** her profile, willing her to look at him.

(55) His eyes **twinkled** mischievously, and she could feel herself blushing.

(56) Joe blinked, long dark lashes **feathering** momentarily against ivory skin,
(57) the corners of his elegant lips **twitching** mischievously.

In these examples, the actions performed by the body parts have more positive connotations, and there is evidence that the male holonyms are evaluated as attractive to the female recipients, which the reader may infer from the premodifying adjectival descriptions in (54) and (56), the manner adverbial 'mischievously' in (55) and (57) and the female participants' reaction in (55). Examples (54) and (57) are coded as behavioural processes, in that they are intransitive physiological processes, where (56) is coded as a material action intention process, as there is an affected participant. In this example, the

female participant is the passive recipient of his gaze, which is not explicitly encoded in the clause in (55), as the verb is an intransitive process, but is implied by her reaction.

There are also some instances of body part agency where agency is attributed to male genitalia, as in the following examples:

(58) Every time we have sex, it's all passionate, then, as soon as he enters me,
he goes floppy.

(‘The Ecstasy’, *Cosmopolitan*)

(59) "It's all about the length of his anatomy and **being** able to reach the right spot!" Kristina Schrader, 22, actress, London

(‘Would You Rather’, *Glamour*)

In (58) from a problem page in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, male pronoun ‘he’ is used metonymically, referring to ‘penis.’ The first person narrator is the recipient of the material action process ‘enters’, where ‘goes’ is a relational intensive process. The decision to present the penis metonymically, rather than meronymically, as in ‘his penis goes floppy,’ arguably has the effect of rendering him accountable for his impotency, and therefore suggests that he is in control of it. This is very different to the representations of the penis as the “uncontrollable other” (Cameron [1992a] 2006: 153) discussed in Chapter Four (section 4.1.4.2.1), where personification of the penis was interpreted as implying a lack of control over sexual desires. In example (59), the agent of the relational intensive process ‘being’ is elided, but the reader could interpret the preceding meronymic NP ‘his anatomy’ as the intended agent.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the kinds of actions, events and states that men are presented as performing or being. I found that on the whole, the magazine writers are most concerned with presenting the men in these texts as acting or being, rather than speaking, thinking or behaving.

I found that the most frequent theme of material actions was those relating to sexual activity, and that women are most frequently the affected participants of material actions in the surveys and real life stories. In the surveys, these were mostly actions regarding men’s romantic relationships with women; in the real life stories, these mainly expressed violence towards women. In the lists and reports, I found a higher proportion of material actions

expressing stereotypically gendered practices, such as the rejection of beautification processes and other practices associated with femininity such as shopping, engaging in DIY, drinking, and playing computer games. These are all practices associated with the New Lad discussed in the literature on men's magazines (e.g. Edwards, 2003; Attwood, 2005).

In terms of relational processes, the most frequent type of relational process was intensive processes, suggesting that the magazine writers were more likely to present men in terms of what they are like, depicting Attributes of physical appearance or personality rather than presenting men in terms of their possessions or circumstances. As well as instances of holonymic agency, I also looked at the kinds of processes performed by male body parts, and found that these were mostly found in the texts based on narrative form, the real life stories and the fiction text type. In the real life stories, processes performed by body parts were mostly violent actions; in the fiction texts, these were usually those depicting physical attractiveness. This indicates that the real life stories are on the whole more interested in presenting men as doing bad things; the fiction texts are more likely to depict the more desirable facets of masculinity.

The overall picture of how men are shown to behave in the texts is therefore contradictory; on the one hand men are objects of desire for women, but they are simultaneously a threat to women, as Ballaster et al (1991: 9) asserts: "there is an evident tension between the need to confirm the centrality and desirability of men in all women's lives and the equally insistent recognition of men as a problem for and threat to women." The actions that men perform in the texts are both attractive to and problematic for women, reflecting this overall tension between men as both desirable and threatening.

This kind of transitivity analysis is not as difficult to carry out as some of the other types of analysis in the Critical Stylistics model, given that transitivity processes and their related participants can be derived from looking at concordances of lexical verbs. This only requires the facility to code texts for POS information, as opposed to information about whole phrase or clause structures. However, categorising verbs into the different process types is not in itself an automatic process: the same verb can be categorised under different process types depending on the context, highlighting the indirect relationship between form and meaning. Focusing solely on male agency has also revealed the relational nature of conventional transitivity analysis: previous feminist linguistic analysis have considered the kinds of processes and their related participants that are associated with women *compared with* men, but because I did not also record instances of female agency, I have not been able to compare the kinds of processes performed by men in comparison with those performed by

women, although I did discover that women were overall the most frequent kind of affected participant in material action processes.

The following chapter concludes the analysis section of the thesis, in which I discuss ideologies of masculinity that rely on presupposed knowledge that the reader brings to the text, and implied meanings that she infers from it.

Chapter Seven: Assuming and Implying

Assumed and implied meanings are forms of implicit language. According to Jeffries, assuming and implying meanings is one of the most powerful ways a text can influence a reader's viewpoint, because presupposing or implying ideas can make them appear to be common sense (2010a: 93). In some ways, then, processes of assuming and implying have the greatest potential for constructing ideologies of masculinity in women's magazines, because they involve implicitly drawing on the reader's background assumptions about gender to make notions of how men do or should behave appear as taken for granted and therefore naturalized.

Assuming and implying are achieved via the linguistic processes of presupposition and implicature. As with the other textual-conceptual tools, 'assuming' and 'implying' are not simply less technical names for 'presupposition' and 'implicature', the two sets of terms reflect the idea that presupposition is one way in which texts can assume meanings; implicature is one way in which texts may imply meanings. The functions of assuming and implying are therefore part of the ideational metafunction of language, in that they are ways of creating world-views. In reality, the distinction between 'assuming' and 'implying' is a fine one, and is one which non-linguists often don't make when they talk about the 'underlying meaning' of texts. The technical categories help us to make a broad distinction between background information that the reader brings to the text (presupposition) and meanings which the reader infers from reading the text (implicature).

I shall now briefly explain the processes of presupposition and implicature, before demonstrating how they work to produce ideologies of masculinity in the texts.

7.1 Presupposition and implicature

7.1.1 Presupposition

Presupposition is a type of pragmatic inference; briefly it refers to assumptions that are triggered by grammatical structures, and can therefore be textually located (Levinson, 1983: 167). There are two main types of presupposition: existential and logical. Existential presuppositions assume the existence of a particular quality or entity, and are most commonly triggered using definite articles or demonstratives, and possessive pronouns. Logical presuppositions, on the other hand, assume the occurrence of an action. The possible set of triggers for logical presuppositions is much more open-ended than that of existential presuppositions. However, Levinson provides a (by no means exhaustive) list of

possible triggers, which I used as a guide for identifying logical presuppositions in the WM corpus (Levinson, 1983: 181-4).

Because presuppositions are signalled by specific linguistic items, it is possible to automatically search for these to a certain extent, for example by carrying out a POS search for determiners and possessive pronouns. However, as most forms of language contain a high proportion of function words (Baker, 2006: 53), conducting such a search to capture relevant existential presuppositions would have been very time consuming. Additionally, logical presuppositions are more difficult to identify automatically, given that the possible set of triggers for logical presuppositions is much less limited than for existential ones. It is for this reason that I decided to search for presuppositions manually, using the list of sentences captured for the transitivity analysis as a way of filtering the data. As a result, it is unlikely that I will have managed to capture *all* instances of presupposition that would be relevant to my research questions, but it did make the search much more manageable, and as the analysis below shows, still provided ample evidence for patterns of ideologies constructed via presupposition.

7.1.2 Implicature

According to Grice (1975), conventional implicatures are implied meanings that are associated with particular lexical items by convention. For example, the conjunction *but* always implies that there is some kind of contrast between the propositions or entities on either side of it:

- (1) Richard likes Jazz music, *but* he also listens to electronica.
- (2) Richard likes Jazz music, *and* he also listens to electronica.

If we compare the effects of the different co-ordinating conjunctions in (1) and (2), the use of 'but' in (1) implies that there is some kind of contrast between the noun phrases 'Jazz music' and 'electronica', whereas we might infer from (2) that the same NPs are being treated as equivalent (see section 5.1 above). Therefore, the implied meaning of contrast in (1) can be gleaned from the conventional meaning of the word *but*. Conventional implicatures are therefore textually triggered in a similar manner to presupposition.

Conversational implicatures, on the other hand, are implied meanings that cannot be inferred from individual lexical items, but are generated when the text flouts one or more of Grice's maxims of conversation. Grice came up with four maxims of conversation that together form the Co-Operative Principle, which states: 'Make your contribution such as it is

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required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged' (1989: 26). Grice's maxims express expectations of behaviour in conversation, and are as follows:

Maxim of Quality

Do not say what you believe to be false.

Do not say that for which you lack evidence.

Maxim of Quantity

Make your contribution as informative as is required for the purposes of the exchange.

Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Maxim of Relation

Be relevant.

Maxim of Manner

Avoid obscurity of expression.

Avoid ambiguity.

Be brief.

Be orderly.

Implicature works on the basis that as hearers, we seek out meaning in interaction with our interlocuteurs; when confronted with an utterance that does not adhere to our expectations, we nevertheless attempt to understand meaning.

Conversational implicatures are defeasible: they can be cancelled by adding additional premises to the original ones (Levinson 1983: 114). They are also context-dependent, meaning they can drop out in certain linguistic or non-linguistic contexts. These types of implicatures are also non-detachable: they are tied to the semantic content of what is said rather than to linguistic form (Levinson 1983: 116). These factors mean it would be impossible to identify conversational implicatures using automated corpus techniques. Therefore in order to identify instances of implicature in the WM corpus, I decided to manually search for these using the list of sentences I had compiled for the analysis of transitivity, looking at the co-texts of sentences where necessary. Given that I was only interested in the creation of implicatures relating to men and masculinity, restricting the search parameters to sentences containing male subjects seemed to be the most sensible way of accessing this type of pragmatic meaning.

7.2 Ideologies of Masculinity

The thematic categories of ideologies in Table 35 below are those constructed via presupposition and implicature in the WM corpus; the two processes are considered together because they are both aspects of pragmatic meaning that produce implicit ideas about men in the texts.

Thematic category	Ideologies of masculinity	Frequency of ideology	Total frequency in category	% of total frequency
Sexuality and relationships	Men are carnally driven	36	72	26%
	Men are promiscuous	8		
	Men are commitmentphobes	8		
	Men are naturally visual	6		
	Men shouldn't be afraid of commitment	1		
Stereotypically gendered practices	Beautification processes and aesthetics are a feminine pursuit	29	68	24%
	Men are excessive drinkers	11		
	Men hate shopping	10		
	Technology is for men	7		
	Sport is a male pastime	6		
	Men are obsessed with cars	5		
Non-desirable qualities	Men are violent/aggressive	14	39	14%
	Men are stupid	10		
	Men are unhygienic	6		
	Men behave badly	4		
	Bad men are ugly	4		
	Men are hypocondriachs	1		
Desirable qualities	Men should be sexually attractive	16	36	13%
	Men should be successful	6		
	Men should be generous	4		
	Men should be kind	3		
	Men should be charming	2		

	Men should be romantic	2		
	Authority figures are attractive	1		
	Men should be confident	1		
	Men should be modest	1		
Heteronormativity	Heterosexuality is normative	14	26	9%
	Homosexuality is bad	12		
Gender and sexuality	Men and women are different	7	16	6%
	The gendered division of labour	6		
	Men are all the same	2		
	Gay people are different to straight people	1		
Non-normative behaviour			14	5%

Table 35: Frequencies of assumed and implied ideologies of masculinity in the WM corpus

According to Table 35, around a quarter of the assumed and implied meanings in relation to men construct ideologies about men's sexuality and behaviour in relationships, and also reflect stereotypical ideas about gendered practices. The specific interests evident here conform to some of those associated with hegemonic masculinity, such as an interest in sport and cars. The notion that beautification processes is a feminine pursuit and a dislike of shopping are interesting in that the negative evaluation of these practices seems to rely on the idea that behaving 'like women' is perceived as negative, an idea I also came across in my analysis of naming strategies (discussed in sections 4.1.3.2.1. and 4.1.3.2.4). Table 35 indicates that the idea that men are naturally violent or aggressive is the most frequent ideology relating to non-desirable qualities, while the most frequently assumed or implied desirable quality is that of physical attractiveness.

The 'non-normative' category contains implications of men's non-conformity to expected behaviour, which are also often imbued with negative evaluation. For example, the following 'man fact' (*More*), implicates that watching soap drama is a deviation from expected male behaviour:

(1) 12% of men can't live without their favourite TV programme. *Virgin Media*, September 2008

The fact that this is a small percentage of the male population indicates that it represents minority behaviour. The declarative statement could be said to flout the maxim of quantity, in that it does not explain why this is noteworthy information. The fact that the statistic denotes a low percentage, and schematic knowledge of society's gendered assumptions about viewing habits may cause the reader to infer that this is in part presented as noteworthy information because television soaps are conventionally perceived as attracting female viewers. I have decided not to provide an analysis of this category, as some of the evident implicatures can also be discussed as examples of some of the other themes; there are some expressing non-normative behaviour that also relate to the promotion of heteronormative sexual practices, or the idea that men should dominate in relationships, for example.

The main ideologies of masculinity I shall discuss in this chapter, therefore, are those relating to the idea that men are carnally driven; that beautification processes index femininity, not masculinity; that men are naturally aggressive; heterosexuality is normative, and that men are the dominant partner in relationships.

7.2.1 Men as carnally driven

The most prominent ideology of masculinity constructed via the assuming and implying metafunction is the notion that men are driven by their carnal instincts: I found 36 instances of this idea (13% of total themes). The majority of these come from feature articles. There are 26 feature articles in the corpus, 17 of which (65%) are explicitly concerned with relationship maintenance and how women should conduct themselves in their relationships. These articles frequently represent men as having a high sexual drive, promiscuous and driven by sexual urges.

'Tough Love' is a feature article from *Pride* magazine, which provides dating advice from Gerry Stergiopoulos, author of dating guidebook *Treat Them Mean, Keep Them Keen* (2008). The 'dating tips' advise women to refrain from having sexual contact with men during the first three dates of a new relationship, because men will 'lose interest'. This idea is clearly predicated on the notion that men are primarily motivated by sex:

(2) Suggest a lunch date: Let him know that you would prefer a lunch date. If it's lunch, he will have no expectations of getting his leg over at the end of the evening!

(3) No kissing: The aim is to create intrigue and make him wait, no matter how attracted you are to him. Unfold gradually without handing yourself over to him on a plate.

(4) Make him wait: If you like him after the first three meetings, then continue seeing him. However, don't jump straight into bed with him - it's better to make him wait.

(5) If you give too much too soon, he will quickly lose interest.

The conditional clause in (2) flouts the maxim of quantity, creating an implicature that the man *would* expect to have sex if the date took place in the evening. The imperative instructions to 'make him wait' in (3) and (4) implicate that men are naturally keen to engage in sexual activity with women. This works via conventional implicature, rather than a flout of the maxims, as the implied meaning is triggered by the conventional use of *wait* meaning "to defer action" (*OED Online*, accessed 2013). The idea that men are keen to engage in sexual activity is also evident in (5), where the implication is that men will lose interest because they have already got what they want, namely sex. The reader is likely to infer this because of prior knowledge of assumptions about men's behaviour in the context of dating rituals. The adverb *too* in this example also implies metaphorically that to have sex with a man is negative, and that there is an appropriate time to do so. This is also due to the conventional meaning of *too* as connoting negative evaluation.

The following examples are taken from an article in *Cosmopolitan* called 'The Nice Girl's Guide to Naughty Sex', an instructional article that informs the reader how to 'keep "naughty" nookie fun and how to 'inject some excitement' in her sex life.

(6) Whispering in his ear is a fail-safe method of planting your fantasy - describe it and he'll be hooked."

(7) "Women are more creative and most men will be happy to go along with what you suggest.

(8) "Some men 'pester' their partners into trying sexual acts, so be firm and state simply what you want or don't want," says Rachel. And if he still pushes? "Make sure your 'no' was clear.

In example (6), the proposition 'he'll be hooked' appears to flout the maxim of quantity, as it is not clear *why* describing a sexual fantasy would get a man's attention (note also the existence of such a desire is presupposed via possessive pronoun 'your'). The reader could infer from this the implicature that he will be 'hooked' whatever the fantasy is because ultimately he will just be pleased that sex is a possibility, because all men are driven by their sexual urges. The same idea is reiterated in (7), where the resulting implicature is that men will go along with the woman's suggestions because they are being given the opportunity to have sex, which is ultimately all men care about. In example (8), the hypothetical clause 'and if..' presents persistence as a possibility in this situation; this implies that men are sexually aggressive and domineering in relationships, and therefore the reader can expect to encounter this behaviour herself. The advice given to the reader to refuse male pestering is also reminiscent of rape prevention programmes that instruct women to 'just say no' to male sexual advances (Cameron, 2007: 92). This is likely to evoke the reader's schema for rape and sexual assault, which may include the notion of men as predatory sexual beings.

The next two examples come from a feature article from *Best* magazine, which lists 18 things women should do in order to improve their sex lives.

(9) **4 Go solo** Female masturbation is still quite taboo, with one study revealing that only 62 per cent of women, versus 92 per cent of men, masturbate.

(10) Jodi Patterson, 27, from Maidenhead, Berks, used female-friendly porn to spice up her flagging sex life... [...] "I think he would have liked anything, but for me it was nice to watch something with more of a storyline and the women being more in control."

Adverb 'only' generates the conventional implicature that 62 is a low percentage, and consequently 92 is a high percentage. The reader may infer that the reason for this gender difference is that men have higher sex drives than women, propounded by the idea that female masturbation is 'taboo': the reader could conclude from this that men are given license to masturbate *because* of the fact that they are assumed to have stronger libidos than women. The proposition that the woman's boyfriend would have enjoyed any sort of

pornographic material in (10) flouts the maxim of quantity, in that she does not explain why she thinks he would have 'liked anything': the reader may infer from this that the reason he would get pleasure from any sort of explicit material is that men are interested in all forms of pornography, because men are ultimately motivated by sex.

One report article from *More* magazine entitled 'Man Facts' provides several statistics about male behaviours, collected from various commercial sources. These are presented in the form of unmodalised, declarative statements, often followed by some kind of evaluative comment from the magazine writers. The 'facts' listed below all reiterate the idea that men are carnally driven, via processes of presupposition and/or implicature:

(11) 1.7 million British men admitted they would lie about their sexual past in order to get a girl into bed. *www.benaughty.com survey, July 2008*

(12) 6% of men spend meetings imagining what it would be like to have sex with their female colleagues. *VisitBritain, September 2008*

(13) Men are likelier to ask out a woman who's wearing red because the colour makes them think of sex. *Journal of personal and Social Psychology, October 2008*

In example (11) the factive verb 'admitted' presupposes the clausal complement, that men *do* lie about their pasts in order persuade women to sleep with them. While the figure is small in (12) (presumably 94% of men therefore *don't* spend meetings thinking about sleeping with their colleagues), the fact that this is the statistic the magazine writers have decided to focus on means that these propositions are the ones that are foregrounded. The implication is of course that men are constantly thinking about sex. In example (13), the implication is that sex is a primary motivation for pursuing a girl, therefore men are motivated by sex. The fact that the last statistic comes from an academic, peer reviewed journal could also make the reader more trusting of its scientific 'truth': for example, Cameron explains how the findings of scientific studies of sex differences are often used by the media to perpetuate gender stereotypes (2007; 2010).

Another list article from *More* entitled '14 things you should never ask a man to do' also contains two statements that contribute to the idea that men are driven by their sexual urges:

(14) 11. To get rid of his porn collection.

(15) 13. Prove he loves you by punching that bloke who pinched your bum.

In both these examples, the masculine pronouns are generic, referring to the male population as a whole in (14) and the reader's partner in (15). The possessive pronoun *his* in (15) creates the existential presupposition that men do indeed have porn collections. The text flouts the maxim of quantity, because it does not provide an explanation of why one should never ask a man to get rid of his porn collection, the implication being that a man's porn collection is a highly valued item, because all men are sex obsessed. The reader can only access this implicature if her schema for men includes the idea that men have a high sex drive, or that they are driven by their sexual urges, and also that being interested in pornography is indicative of these attributes.

Perhaps more subtly, the non-restrictive relative clause postmodifying 'bloke' in (15) produces the logical presupposition that a man has indeed committed this sexual assault. The fact that the writers directly address the reader using second person pronouns *you* and *your* also contributes to the idea that the reader should expect this behaviour, particularly because of the existential presuppositions created by possessive pronouns. To assume the occurrence of sexist behaviour like this is problematic, because it could result in women expecting to encounter this kind of behaviour, or at least perceiving it as a common occurrence, and therefore normative.

Problem pages are intended to provide advice and guidance to women, and the problems featured are often related to men, sex and relationships. In the following problem page from *Company* magazine, the advice to the reader is to exploit men's natural virility for her own gain:

(16) DRIVING ME CRAZY!

My boyfriend has an unhealthy obsession with his car. He spends every weekend washing it, driving it, talking about it, talking to it. There are definitely three of us in this relationship. What can I do?

Emily, 22, Reading

Put your foot down on his clutch, grab his gear stick and show him who's boss. If he persists in giving his motor preferential treatment over you, might I suggest you take up knitting in bed until he realises the error of his ways...

The propositions expressed in the *if*-clause of the agony aunt's answer to this problem appear to flout the maxim of quantity, it is not explained what the consequences of the reader knitting in bed would be; this negligence of information is denoted graphologically here via ellipsis, a writing convention that signals to the reader that she must 'fill in the gaps'. To reach the conclusion that knitting would be perceived as negative by the man, the reader must infer that he would rather be having sex than watching her knit in the bed; the reader is likely to reach this interpretation because of her schematic associations of beds and what people do in them, and perhaps also the traditional notion of knitting as a solitary pastime for middle-aged or elderly women. The woman's refusal to have sex can only serve as punishment for the man's behaviour if it is assumed that he would be distressed by the situation. The fact that the agony aunt does not know that man in question personally means that she is assuming that because he is a man, he will be aggrieved, because all men have a high sex drive. It is also notable that it is assumed the woman would not suffer similarly for being deprived of sexual activity, most likely due to the conventional stereotype that women have lower libidos than men.

The idea that women can use men's sexual urges to their advantage is also expressed in a problem page from *Scarlet* magazine called 'Pleasure Aunts':

(17) My bloke's flat is so filthy that it's actually putting me off having sex with him - how can I get him to change his ways?

Tell him his Stig of the Dump routine is seriously dampening your sexual urges towards him and he'll soon sit up and listen.

The co-ordinate clause 'and he'll soon sit up and listen' arguably flouts the maxim of quantity, because it does not provide enough of an explanation as to why this would help the situation. The implicature arising from this is that the man would perceive the knowledge that the woman's libido is reduced as negative because sex is important to him, again because it is assumed he will have a high sex drive.

The text below is in answer to a reader concerned that her cellulite is discouraging her boyfriend from having sex with her:

(18) We take microscopes to our bodies, but men see us in soft focus - at least during sex. I assure you, when he's busy behind you, it's not your cellulite he's looking at.

(‘Sex Therapy’, *Cosmopolitan*)

The cleft sentence ‘it’s not your...’ presupposes the truth of the proposition that he *is* looking at something. The decision to highlight the negative proposition that the man is not looking the woman’s cellulite, does not provide the reader with sufficient information to be fully co-operative, because we have not been told what the man *is* looking at, therefore the narrator flouts the maxim of quantity. The reader is likely to infer from this that he is looking at her bottom; reaching this interpretation relies on the assumption that men are preoccupied by sexual desire.

7.2.2 Beautification processes and aesthetics is a feminine pursuit

Table 35 shows that the second most prominent theme of ideologies constructed via presupposition and implicature are those relating to stereotypically gendered practices. The most prominent ideology of masculinity in this category is the idea that attention to personal appearance should be a feminine pursuit. I found 29 instances of this idea (10% of total themes), and the vast majority of these come from the glossy subcorpus (26, 90%). The saliency of the idea that beautification processes index femininity is questionable if raw frequencies are considered in isolation, given that 11 of the recorded instances of this ideology (37.9%) come from a single feature article from *Company* magazine entitled ‘The New Man Make-up’. However, the fact that there is an article dedicated to the topic of male cosmetics suggests that it is being presented as interesting or unusual in some way: as a deviation from the expected norm. The following examples taken from the article demonstrate this idea that men wearing make-up is unusual behaviour:

(19) "There's a new breed of young men who are comfortable with face scrubs, masks and moisturisers - now they simply want to take it one step further.

(20) This rise in the boy-next-door using make-up (Clinique found that more than one in ten men admit to borrowing their partner's beauty products) has prompted the big beauty brands to launch make-up lines aimed at British men, who want to enhance what God gave them.

(21) Most men just want to look healthier, without it obvious they're wearing make-up. Then there are **the men who are fully embracing their guyliner.**"

In (19), the decision to postmodify 'men' with relative clause 'who are comfortable...' arguably flouts the maxim of quantity in that it provides too much information; the implicature arising from this could be that this information is in contrast to an assumption that men would *not* be comfortable with beautification processes, because it is not seen as normative male behaviour. In example (20), the negative prosody of verb 'admit' produces the conventional implicature that a man borrowing make-up is shameful, or at least unusual. In example (21), definite article 'the' presupposes the existence of men who wear 'guyliner', but the use of intensifying adverb 'fully' highlights this behaviour as a deviation from the norm. Subordinating conjunction 'then' also implies that these men are in contrast to, and therefore a deviation from, the men in the previous sentence who 'just want to look healthier...'. The sense of 'just' meaning 'simply' usually acquires a positive semantic prosody, and contributes to the implicature that the majority of men who wear make-up don't want it to be obvious because of the fact that it is associated with femininity, not masculinity. What is interesting about this article is that while on the surface it appears to be in favour of the idea of men wearing make-up – the article's tagline asks "Why should women have the monopoly on beauty tricks?" – and therefore to some extent challenges traditional gender stereotypes, an analysis of assumed and implied meanings reveal that the article can in fact be read as recirculating the notion of beautification as a specifically *female* practice.

The examples below also demonstrate the idea that beautification processes point to a feminine, not masculine gender, and therefore should not be undertaken by men:

(22) Bald private parts would look too feminine and no man should be neater than me!

('Would you rather...', *Glamour*)

(23) 1. Wear 'just a tiny bit of mascara because it'll make your eyelashes look sooo long'.

('14 things you should never ask a man to do', *More*)

(24) 2. To give an opinion on anything that involves the phrase 'colour scheme. '

('14 things you should never ask a man to do', *More*)

(25) Only 35% of men said they'd be embarrassed to wear make-up.

House of Fraser, October 2008

(*'Man Facts', More*)

(26) 35% of men are afraid to smile because they don't like their teeth.

Swiss smile, October 2008

(*'Man Facts', More*)

Adverb 'too' in (22) creates the conventional implicature that a man having hairless genitals is negative, due to the negative prosody of *too* as a premodifier; the implication is that men should be masculine, not feminine. This seems to advocate gender as a binary construct, despite the construction of gradable opposition here: 'too' indicates that there are degrees of femininity and masculinity, but the fact that male femininity is negatively evaluated serves to maintain the boundary between what is considered an acceptable or unacceptable performance of masculinity.

Example (23) flouts the maxim of quantity, in that it does not explain why having the appearance of long eyelashes would be a negative quality for a man. The emerging implicature that arises is that men shouldn't wear mascara because having long eyelashes is considered a feminine trait, and wearing make-up is a feminine practice. Also notable is the mock feminine speech style signalled by intensifier 'soooo'. The non-standard spelling mimicks the use of an elongated vowel sound; this deviation from the standard spelling arguably flouts the maxim of manner, in that it could be deemed an obscure expression. If the reader is familiar with folklinguistic stereotypes of feminine speech as using intensifiers and evaluative adjectives like 'tiny', she will recognise this as an imitation of an exaggerated feminine speech style (e.g. Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990). The implication is that wearing make-up is a feminine practice, so if a man were to wear mascara, he would become feminine. This would be a negative state of affairs, because men should be masculine, not feminine, and therefore should not engage in feminine practices. Additionally, the reader may interpret this feminine speech style as simultaneously indexing male homosexuality, given that a common folklinguistic stereotype of homosexual men is that they talk like women (Cameron and Kulick, 2003: 74).

Example (24) could be said to flout the maxim of quantity, generating the implicature that asking men to have an input on colour schemes would be futile, because interior design is the domain of women, not men. In order to comprehend this implicature, the reader has to

access her schematic knowledge of the folklinguistic stereotype that women use more colour terms than men (e.g. Lakoff, 1975), or at least that they are less concerned with aesthetics than women. A similar process is required in order to interpret the significance of (26): the fact that the proposition is being presented as a 'fact' means that it is intended to be interpreted by the reader as shocking. If men being concerned with the appearance of their teeth is noteworthy, the implication is that this is non-normative behaviour, because it is usually women who are concerned with their physical appearance.

In example (25), adverb 'only' creates the conventional implicature that more men *should* be embarrassed to wear make-up: elements introduced by *only* usually acquire a negative prosody. To understand this implicature that reader has to draw on the assumption that the practice of wearing make-up should be a solely feminine pursuit.

7.2.3 Men are aggressive

Another ideology reiterated in the corpus is the idea that men are naturally aggressive. I found 14 instances of this idea as expressed via the processes of presupposition/implicature (5% of total themes). Just under half of these come from the real life story text type (six instances). There are 26 true life narratives in the WM corpus, and as discussed in section 6.3.3.2, 11 of these (39%) involve male violence in some way, indicating that the representation of men as violent or criminal is a primary concern for the text producers. The following examples of male violence in the real life stories by means of assumed or implied meanings involve presupposing the criminal status of the male referents in question:

(27) I was allowed home from hospital in September, just in time to be at Monroe County Circuit Court to watch Stephen plead guilty to driving with a suspended licence while causing serious injury, and driving while under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

(‘My arm was wrenched clean off’, *Pick Me Up*)

(28) Three months later, at the High Court in Edinburgh, Ryan pleaded guilty to 'assaulting you to the danger of your life.'

(‘I love the man who knifed you’, *That’s Life*)

(29) In October 1999, he was found guilty of inflicting serious bodily harm on me. He was also convicted of robbing John, the barman and the waitress.

(‘Paradise Lost’, *Real People*)

In all three of these examples, the reader will most likely infer that the propositions expressed in the subordinate finite clauses are true: that Stephen drove with a suspended licence and caused serious injury; that Ryan assaulted the narrator; and the final offender inflicted serious bodily harm on the narrator. These stories are all narrated from the point of view of a female first person narrator, and are all narrations of the violent actions of male antagonists. Given that the real life story text type, whilst presented in narrative form, is intended to describe 'true life' events, the representations of men in them are likely intended to reflect how men are in the real world. Of course, as stories they are also intended to be read for amusement, therefore their stereotyping of men as violent and aggressive could be interpreted by readers as constructed purely for purposes of entertainment. Whichever way the texts are read, women are still being confronted with images of masculinity that accord with the dominant ideology of men as a physical threat to them.

The following two examples come from a feature article entitled 'Why doesn't she just leave him?', which reports on cases of male domestic violence against women. As with the article on male cosmetics discussed above, the fact that this article is included in the magazine means it is valued by the magazine producers as noteworthy information.

(30) Although not exclusive to the Asian community, I learnt very early on that it was an accepted form of control, not one where people turn a blind eye but actively encourage men to exert their power over their spouses and children.

(31) 'When someone who burns you with cigarettes just for cooking his breakfast wrong tells you he'll cut your throat if you even think about leaving, you believe him.

In (30), possessive pronoun 'their' creates the existential presupposition that men *do* have power, and that women are therefore subordinate in marital relationships. Logical presuppositions assume male violence in example (31), where the temporal adverb 'when' presupposes the occurrence of the action in the adverbial clause, and the non-restrictive relative clause presupposes he *does* burn the implied reader with cigarettes. It is also notable that women are constructed in traditional domestic roles here, where it is assumed that the implied female reader would cook for her partner.

The following examples from interviews demonstrate how male aggression is presupposed in the texts, contributing to the normalization of violence as an inherently male attribute:

(32) Do you not prefer being muscular?

(33) The director Apoorva Lakhia, was insistent that we have the right physique for our role. I don't like my muscles to be too big. It gives you a sense of too much power and brings your violent streak to the fore.

(‘Hold the back page... It's Zayed Khan!’, *Asiana*)

(34) Tornado is described as being 'violently destructive' and 'full of unstoppable energy'. How would you describe the real you?

Maybe not as bad, but I'm in the Marines so obviously I've got that controlled aggression.

(‘Tornado’, *Scarlet*)

In (33), from an interview with male actor Zayed Khan, possessive pronoun 'your' produces the existential presupposition that the addressee has a violent streak. In this case 'your' is used as a collective pronoun to refer to all men; the interviewee is therefore presupposing that all men are intrinsically violent. In example (34), the interviewee uses definite determiner 'that' to introduce the noun phrase 'that controlled aggression', which presupposes the existence of the quality of aggression in members of the Marines (the majority of whom are male). The fact that this is evaluated as epistemically certain via modal adverb 'obviously' also contributes to the naturalization of this idea.

7.2.4 Heterosexuality is normative

In Chapter Two I identified the ideology of heteronormativity as a key theme in the literature on gender representation in women's magazines (section 2.2.1.4.1), and this idea is constructed as assumed knowledge in the WM corpus via logical presupposition and implicature. I found 14 instances of this idea as expressed via presupposition/implicature in the WM corpus (5% of total themes). The construction of heteronormativity often depends on invoking the notion of virility, as in the examples below:

(35) While men definitely enjoy watching two (or more) girls playing together, the icing on the cake is when the repairman turns up only to be invited to join in.

(‘Sex, Lies & Videotape’, *Scarlet*)

(36) 17% of men have fantasised about another man.

(‘Full Frontal’, *Scarlet*)

(37) Graham: "Stripping a girl off in bed is much sexier than having her pretty much naked already."

(‘What goes through Men’s Minds...’, *Cosmopolitan*)

Example (35) is from a report on men’s and women’s pornography viewing habits. The use of conjunction *while* generates the conventional implicature that the propositions expressed in the main clause constitute noteworthy information: conventionally this meaning of *while* as a conjunction denoting ‘it being granted that’ (*OED Online*, accessed 2013) implies a contrast between the content of the subordinate clause and the main clause. This contrast is perhaps more obvious here if we also talk about it in terms of concessive opposition (5.2.2.6), in which the syntactic frame *while X, Y* indicates that in light of the propositions in the subordinate clause, those in the main clause are surprising. The implication could be that this is unexpected behaviour for heterosexual men, because straight men should not enjoy seeing another man in a sexual context, thereby upholding heteronormative values. The reader may be directed to this interpretation because of the fact that this article lists ‘facts’ about men and women’s porn viewing habits, and the information conveyed is therefore intended to be shocking or surprising in some way. It is also significant that ‘men’ is not premodified by any adjective specifying that the noun is intended to refer to heterosexual men, which effectively hides the possibility of a homosexual referent, and also therefore normalises heterosexuality.

Example (36) is from a report in *Scarlet*, intended to provide the reader with a roundup of ‘the latest gossip from around the globe’ (‘Full Frontal’, *Scarlet*). This statistic appears in a small section entitled ‘Stats: kinky sex’. The adjective *kinky* usually has connotations of deviancy: I examined a random sample of 50 concordances of *kinky* as the node word and found that in that majority of cases, ‘kinky’ was used to modify concepts being negatively evaluated (57%), and 59% were related specifically to sexual activity. In their study on the representation of male and female social actors in tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) also found that the adjective *kinky* is used in relation to sexual practices, and is mainly associated with men (2010: 106-8). The decision to use ‘kinky’ as a descriptive term implies that fantasising about other men is being evaluated as unusual or deviant. The negative prosody of *kinky* therefore creates the conventional implicature that homosexuality is deviant, and therefore negative; heterosexuality is normative, and therefore positive.

Example (37) is from a survey in *Cosmopolitan*. This is a regular feature of the magazine, where each month a group of men are asked their opinions on various topics, usually to do

with women and their relationships with them. This month the focus of the discussion is on the 'office Christmas party', and the text here is in response to the question 'Can a girl wear too *little* to the Christmas party?' The comparative adjective *sexier* presupposes that a naked woman would be sexy, naturalizing heterosexual desire.

The following example from a feature in *Woman and home* also presupposes universal heterosexuality:

(38) If you don't mind your other half flirting with the sexy redhead in the barely there skirt, then he can't object to you flirting with the hot tamale in the low-slung jeans.

The use of male pronoun *he* presupposes that the reader's 'other half' is male, thereby presupposing the reader's heterosexuality. This example also presupposes male promiscuity, as factive verb 'mind' presupposes the occurrence of the action in the following clausal complement; that he *is* flirting with another girl.

Woman's Own contains an interview with Sue Revel Horwood, sister of Craig, one of the judges on reality TV show *Strictly Come Dancing*. In the interview Sue talks about their relationship growing up, and Craig's personality:

(39) 'Even when he told me he was gay when he was 17, he didn't get emotional – he was very matter of fact about it,' she reveals.

Here the adverbial 'even' generates the conventional implicature that Sue expected Craig to be emotional when telling her he was gay, implying that being homosexual is of major import, due to the fact that homosexuality is deviant from the heterosexual norm. It is the conventional sense of even as denoting "that the sentence expresses an extreme case of a more general proposition implied" (OED *Online*, accessed 2013) that indexes the implied meaning here.

Related to the idea that heterosexuality is normative, is the presence of what Cameron refers to as the 'dread spectre of homosexuality' (Cameron, 1997b: 51). A particularly interesting example of this comes from a survey from *More* called 'Men Overheard', intended to highlight the 'silly' things men say:

(40) Me: You've got a double bed – why doesn't he just sleep with you?

Him: Because I don't have enough pillows to build a wall of heterosexuality down the middle.

The man's response to the female contributor's question flouts the maxims of quantity and relation, because he does not seem to adequately explain the reasons for his proposed action, and this statement also seems irrelevant to the question of having enough room to accommodate his friend. The implicature generated could be that the man is afraid of coming into physical contact with his friend, because for him this would constitute a threat to his heterosexual status.

Feature article 'The Nice Girl's Guide to Naughty Sex' in *Cosmopolitan* is an instructional article on how to 'indulge your saucy side', and contains a section on threesomes. The presence of such a section implies that having a threesome is considered 'naughty', and therefore a deviation from conventional (hetero)sexual practice.

(41) "[...] If you fancy it as a couple, it's less of an emotional minefield to talk about it as a shared fantasy." If your man wants the real deal? Rachel says, "Suggest the third party is a mate of his He'll soon rethink!"

The implication here is that the man would rethink having a threesome because he wouldn't want to be involved in a sexual encounter with a male friend, which the reader can only infer if 'mate' is interpreted as having a male referent. This corresponds with the idea that men and women only socialise in single sex groups, and could be interpreted as reflecting the 'two subcultures' approach to male and female difference advocated in the literature on language and gender discussed in Chapter One (section 1.2.1.4).

The following is from an interview with Harman Baweja in *Asiana* magazine, and expresses a more obviously homophobic ideology:

(42) People think that when you do Kathak you sort of get all (gestures effeminately) but that's not the case with me. I'm as much a man as I was before.

The interviewee is talking about a classical north Indian dance. The paralinguistic gesture is arguably a flout of the maxim of quantity, given that no information is provided at all. The implicatures are therefore that Kathak dancing can turn a heterosexual man gay, and that homosexuality is not compatible with masculinity, consequently implying that homosexuality

corresponds with femininity. The implied meanings rely on an assumption that this traditional style of dancing is an effeminate practice, and that masculinity directly maps onto maleness.

Less explicitly homophobic, 'Man Facts' in *More* magazine also contains statements that warn against potentially effeminate practices:

(43) 12. Dance to anything by Take That.

(44) 14. Carry your handbag. Ever. This is not chivalry, it's the best way to make a man look instantly ridiculous.

Example (43) flouts the maxim of quantity, in that it does not provide the reader with an explanation as to why men shouldn't dance to this popular boy band; the reader may infer from this is that heterosexual men shouldn't dance to Take That because this would constitute effeminate behaviour, which is associated with homosexuality and is therefore negative. In order to relate dancing to Take That with homosexuality, the reader relies on the background cultural knowledge that Take That are a successful boy band, the assumption that boy bands often contain gay members, and the association of boy bands with gay culture (see for example Doty and Gove, 1997; Jamieson, 2007; Wald, 2002).

In example (44), the assertion that carrying a handbag makes a man look ridiculous flouts the maxim of quantity. The reader is likely to infer from this that the reason a man would look ridiculous carrying a handbag is because handbags are female accessories, and therefore not suitable for men. As with example (43), the reader may also infer from this that a man wearing a handbag would constitute effeminate behaviour, indexing homosexuality, due to schematic knowledge of stereotypical gay male identity.

7.2.5 Men are the dominant partner in relationships

The notion that women are responsible for managing relationships with men is acknowledged in the feminist literature on women's magazines (e.g. Eggins and Iedema, 1997: 169; Litosseliti, 2006: 100-01). However, whilst women are shown to be responsible for relationship maintenance in the WM corpus, by focusing on men's roles in the texts I have also found that it is often expected that men are responsible for 'making the first move' in relationships. The examples below demonstrate how this idea of male dominance in relationships is manifested through assumed and implied meanings:

(45) Many "traditional" women prefer the men to ask, but if he's a good catch, get in there before someone else does! In fact, many men find a woman who will make the first move attractive and confident.

(‘Revamp your Dating Rules’, *Pride*)

(46) Reached the "Marry me or I'm outta here" point? "Say, 'I have to figure out what's going on with my life,'" says Parrott. Give him a definite time frame. It could be his best wake-up call.

(‘8 Most Embarrassing, Baffling, Just Plain Insane Sex & Love Situations’, *Glamour*)

(47) National Statistics states that men are, on average, 32 years old when they pop the question, with 29 being the average age at which woman say, "I do".

(‘Fully Loaded’, *Scarlet*)

(48) It definitely gave us something to talk about, and I was secretly delighted when he took my number at the end of the night.'

(‘I Married my Childhood Sweetheart’, *Woman’s Own*)

The first example (46) comes from a feature from *Pride* magazine instructing women on how they should and should not behave in the world of dating. While the message here appears to be that women *should* make the first move when pursuing a male partner, it relies on the implication that it is usually men who initiate dates, and adverbial 'in fact' implies via conventional implicature that women asking men out is usually perceived as *unattractive* by men. Therefore, for women to actively pursue a man is treated as a deviation from the expected norm.

In the second example here, the question 'Reached the "marry me or I'm outta here" point?' is what Levinson terms a 'yes/no question' (Levinson 1983: 184), which presupposes an answer of either 'yes' or 'no'. For the following utterance to accord with the Co-Operative Principle, the reader must answer 'yes'; therefore there is an assumption that the reader wants to get married. There is also an assumption that marriage is the end goal of a relationship, achieved via use of implicative verb 'reached', which presupposes a journey towards this point. Whilst the reader is clearly being constructed as invested in marriage, it is also clear that initiating wedlock is perceived as the man's responsibility: the imperative to '[g]ive him a definite time frame...' flouts the maxims of quantity and relation, as it is not stated what the timeframe is for, or what the purpose of such a 'wake-up call' would be,

implying that he would need encouragement to propose. This is most likely due to the stereotype that men are less motivated by commitment in relationships.

The third example (47) is from an opinion column in *Scarlet* magazine intended to highlight the drawbacks of getting married. This is not in itself surprising, given that *Scarlet* is one of the more 'feminist-friendly' women's magazines, and focuses much more on the sexual liberation of women than other more traditional women's magazines: it contains numerous articles about sex; the 'please aunts' advising readers in the problem pages focus explicitly on problems relating to sex and sexual health; the monthly horoscope is relexicalised as 'sextrology'; and the adverts featured in the magazine are for various businesses in the sex industry (such as dating websites, adult retailers and so on). What is interesting here is that the notion of marriage proposals is treated specifically as a male responsibility: temporal adverb 'when' creates the logical presupposition that men *do* propose to women, women's role is to accept the proposal. Note that the notion of rejection is not an option here, as the non-restrictive relative clause 'at which...' presupposes women's universal acceptance of marriage proposals.

Temporal adverb 'when' also produces a logical presupposition in example (48), this time assuming that the male participant *did* take the female narrator's number, and not the other way around.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have identified four key themes of assumed and implied meanings reiterating ideologies of masculinity that men are motivated by sexual desires; that beautification processes and aesthetic pursuits are not compatible with masculine performance; that men are naturally aggressive; heterosexuality is normative; and that while women are responsible for maintaining heterosexual relations, men are responsible for instigating them.

Many of the examples of ideologies discussed in this chapter rely on the readers' existing schemata, and therefore serve to reinforce them. The ideology that men are driven by a biological need for sex is well documented by previous research on women's magazines (see for example Farvid and Braun, 2006; Hasinoff, 2009; Litosseliti, 2006), and corresponds with what Holloway refers to as a 'male sexual drive' discourse (Holloway, 1984); the idea that men cannot help having a high sex drive. Implicitly assuming this kind of ideology about male sexuality can have serious consequences. For example Cameron notes that a man's "irresistible physical urges" are sometimes used as justification in cases of sexual

assault and rape against women (1992a: 370). If women are continually confronted with the idea that men are primarily motivated by sex, this could influence their own sexual conduct, especially considering the amount of editorial space dedicated to instructing women on how to increase men's pleasure in sexual encounters (Gill, 2007; Litosseliti, 2006: 100; McLoughlin, 2008).

On the surface, one might argue that some of the examples discussed in relation to the depiction of male beautification processes and other aesthetic pursuits are evidence of a greater understanding of gender as performative and a deconstruction of traditional gender practices; for example that cosmetics and beauty products do not automatically index a female identity, or necessitate the feminisation of male identity. However, as I have shown, the writers in fact implicitly imply that for heterosexual men to wear make-up is unexpected behaviour, and therefore outside normative gender practices. I have also shown how the texts assume a universal heterosexuality, which also contributes to the maintenance of traditional gender roles and sexuality as sets of binary opposites, thereby upholding the 'heterosexual matrix', and precluding the possibility of its subversion. The assumption that it is men's responsibility to propose to women, or to instigate romantic relations with women also ultimately upholds a patriarchal structure, because it maintains a power differential between women and men.

An analysis of the ways in which texts assume and imply ideologies is a difficult kind of analysis to carry out automatically because, as with markers of opposition, there is no comprehensive list of syntactic triggers that the researcher can use to search for presupposition or implicature. Conversational implicature is particularly difficult to capture in any kinds of automatic way, because implicatures are generated from pragmatic context, and cannot be retrieved from specific syntactic structures in the way that presupposition can. In order to calculate frequency information about conversational implicature, the whole corpus would have to be coded for flouts of the maxims, which would be labour intensive, and in some senses defeats the purpose of adopting automated corpus interrogation techniques in the first place.

This chapter concludes the report on my analysis of the WM data; the next draws together the common strands identified in the findings and discusses the ideological implications of these.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the research reported on in this study. I first return to the research questions stipulated in the first chapter of the thesis, identifying five central themes running through the findings from the analysis. I consider some of the limitations of the study reported here, and make some suggestions for future research, both for further contributions to the study of gender construction in women's magazines, and feminist approaches to text analysis more generally.

8.1 Research questions

The analysis presented in this thesis has answered five main research questions, which are restated here:

1. What stylistic techniques are used to represent male identities in the corpus?
2. What are the implications of these findings?
3. How do women's magazines treat the relationship between maleness and masculinity?
4. How might the texts be said to 'perform' masculinity?
5. How can corpus linguistic tools aid the researcher in conducting critical stylistic analyses of large bodies of texts?

The underlying aims of these questions are two-fold: questions 1-4 relate to my investigation of the texts' constructions of gender; the final question addresses methodological issues. In order to answer questions 1 and 2, I will summarise the main findings of the analysis presented in Chapters Four - Seven, and consider the ideological implications of the main findings, specifically from a feminist perspective. I will then consider how these findings relate to the magazines' treatment of the relationship between maleness and masculinity, and how the texts' constructions of masculinity can be said to constitute performances of masculinity. Finally, I address the question of how corpus linguistic tools can aid the researcher in undertaking Critical Stylistic analyses of corpora of the kind represented in this thesis.

8.1.1 Representations of men in women's magazines

My analysis aimed to show how ideologies of masculinity are constructed in the texts through decisions made about the following: how men are named and categorised, the kinds of equivalent and oppositional meanings constructed in relation to gender, what kind of information about men is assumed and what ideas about masculinity are implied, and how men are represented as acting or being, via an analysis of transitivity. Taken together,

these tools demonstrate what the texts are 'doing' to construct ideologies of masculinity, and gender more broadly.

In terms of naming and describing, I found that men are most frequently named using nouns relating to social role, particularly occupational roles. I also identified some less frequent but interesting metaphorical nouns serving as intertextual references to other genres, such as 'Mr Darcy' and 'Romeo', indices of masculinity from romantic fiction. Body part nouns were also a lower frequency but important device for representing men and their actions: the lexical field of genitalia showed that terms for the penis simultaneously indicate the fallibility and power of the penis. Adjectival descriptions of men most frequently denote personality traits or behavioural qualities, rather than focusing on physical appearance. Positively evaluating adjectives describe men's suitability as potential suitors; adjectives providing negative appraisals denote bad behaviour in relationships, such as infidelity and promiscuity, as well as morally corrupt behaviour (see section 4.2.1.2).

In my discussion of equating and contrasting, I showed how men are sometimes equated with cultural ideals of masculinity, or direct indices of masculinity that take on connotative meanings, such as the use of 'man' as a metaphor to mean 'heterosexual' (section 5.1.3.3). I also showed how men are equated with concepts expressed in conceptual metaphors like MEN ARE FOOD and MEN ARE ANIMALS, which serve to challenge similar conceptual metaphors equated with women. Oppositional meanings occasionally relied on the reader's schematic knowledge of conventional oppositional pairs, such as GOOD/BAD, MALE/FEMALE, upholding the notion of gender as a binary construct. I also demonstrated how differences between men are also treated in exclusive terms, rather than as a scalar concept.

In my analysis of how the texts represent men's actions and states, I showed that men are most frequently seen to perform material action intention processes or relational processes. In the features, these were mostly sexual actions; in the real life stories, these were mostly actions indicating physical strength. Women were most frequently the affected participants of violent or sexual actions, and material actions also presented men as performing stereotypically gendered practices and behaviours. Intensive relational processes were the most frequent type of relational process used to denote states of being, with Attributes indicating physical appearance, or serving a naming function.

Finally, in my analysis of how the texts assume or imply meanings, I demonstrated that the most frequently assumed or implied idea about male behaviour was the notion that men are motivated by their sexual urges. My analysis also showed how the text producers also

reiterate normative gender ideologies such as the idea that beautification processes index femininity, not masculinity and that heterosexuality is normative. Men are also constructed as naturally aggressive, and it is assumed that while relationship maintenance is primarily women's responsibility, men should actively pursue women in instigating relationships.

8.1.1.1 Common themes

My analysis of the magazine data reveals a number of central ideologies of masculinity that cut across the different tools: the findings suggest that the text producers often present men as either 'good' or 'bad'; as driven by their carnal instincts, and as naturally aggressive. In terms of gender more broadly, the texts rely on the notion of gender as a binary construct, and heterosexuality as normative.

8.1.1.1.1 'Good' men and 'bad' men

My analysis showed that men are often presented dichotomously as 'good' or 'bad' men in the data. In Chapter Four, I demonstrated how this is achieved through naming strategies, by which men are labelled and described using nouns and adjectives with positive or negative connotations. My analysis of the text producers' construction of oppositional meanings in section 5.2.4.1 showed how the reader's schematic knowledge of the superordinate GOOD/BAD pairing aids an interpretation of novel opposites such as 'innocent'/'filthy' as hyponyms of *good/bad*. The notion of physical strength, indicated by the kinds of actions performed by men in the data, is seen as desirable where women are the affected participants of material actions in romantic contexts, but negative where the processes denote violent actions (see section 6.3).

8.1.1.1.2 Men as driven by carnal instincts

My discussion of how the texts assume and imply meanings showed how that the assumption that men are driven by sexual urges is a prominent theme, and this idea also cuts across the other tools: men's assumed carnality is embedded in naming strategies, including metaphorical nouns such as 'Lothario' (see section 4.1.3.2.3 above), and in the kinds of actions they are seen to perform: men act upon women most often in sexual contexts (see section 6.3.1). The assumption that all men are heterosexual is also integral in these representations; women are shown to have male partners, and women are the objects of men's sexual desires.

8.1.1.1.3 Men as naturally aggressive

The idea that men are naturally aggressive is another thematic thread that runs through the findings of the analysis. This appears most obviously in the analysis of transitivity, where I demonstrated how the real life story text type represents men as the Actors of violent material action processes (see section 6.3.3.2). My analysis of how the magazine writers assume and imply meanings also showed how male aggression is often normalized through presupposition and implicature. Metaphorical naming strategies such as 'beast', 'monster' and 'Tornado' also contribute to the construction of this ideology of masculinity. The analysis of body part agency also showed how the agency which is attributed to male body parts serves to present the men concerned as lacking control over their own actions (section 6.5.1), unlike the kinds of male meronymic agency reported in other genres (e.g. Nash, 1990).

8.1.1.1.4 Gender differences

The notion of inherent gender differences is another thread that runs through the data: this is evident in the lexical and social gendering of body part terms, for example, where hyponyms of 'muscle' only co-occur with male referents (see section 4.1.4.2.2 above). The reliance on superordinate oppositional pairs such as MALE/FEMALE and MASCULINE/FEMININE as underpinning contrasted concepts also shows how the oppositional meanings emphasise gender differences (see section 5.2.4.2).

8.1.1.1.5 Heteronormativity

The analysis also shows that heterosexual desire is an integral part of hegemonic masculine performance: the heterosexuality of the reader is assumed, often realised linguistically through existential presupposition, for example through the use of male pronouns. There is also evidence for behaviours associated with homosexuality being treated as negative and inconsistent with hegemonic masculinity, achieved via conversational implicatures (see section 7.2.4). In my analysis of how equivalent meanings are constructed, I showed how some nouns with lexical gender, which ordinarily function as direct indexes of masculinity, such as 'man' and 'bloke' connoted a specifically heterosexual identity in context (see section 5.1.3.3).

8.1.1.2 Implications of the findings

In section 2.1.1.3 I described this study as a contribution to feminist studies of women's magazines. The ideologies of masculinity uncovered in this analysis are therefore interpreted in terms of their implications from a feminist perspective. In sections 4.1.3.1 and 5.1.3.4 I interpreted the use of conceptual metaphor MEN ARE FOOD as a male equivalent of the 'women-as-sexual-object as food' metaphors discussed in the feminist literature on gender and semantic meaning (e.g. Hines, 1999). Constructions of men as useless, via negatively evaluating descriptions like 'daft,' and lexis indicating the fallibility of the penis can also be interpreted as attempts to challenge the kind of 'ironic' sexism that populates men's magazines (e.g. Benwell, 2004; Mills, 2008). However, it is questionable how useful insults directed at, or the sexual objectification of, men can be viewed as effective feminist responses to female subjugation.

One of the most pertinent findings of this study, both in terms of frequency and cultural salience, is the texts' contributions to the 'male sexual drive' discourse (Holloway, 1984), which asserts that men are motivated by their sexual desires, and have a higher sex drive than women. I have shown how this ideology is reiterated via all four of the tools, and I argue that it is this ideology of male behaviour that is in most need of feminist critique. If women are repeatedly presented with the idea that men are driven by sexual urges, this eventually comes to appear a natural performance of masculinity, thus women may come to expect this behaviour from men, which may even result in women changing their own behaviour in response to men's assumed sexual desires. The enthusiastic reader of women's magazines may be particularly susceptible to this, as she is also continuously told that her role in relationships is to keep abreast of the various ways she can increase men's pleasure (see section 2.1.1.4). More serious still, the assumption that men are not only driven by their sexual urges, but also that they are not in control of them (see section 4.1.4.2.1), can sometimes be used as justification for sexual crimes against women (Cameron [1992] 2006: 153).

In addition, the idea that men are naturally aggressive is a recognisable gender stereotype that can have similar implications for women, and from a global perspective, ultimately supports the maintenance of male dominance: presenting male violence as taken for granted decreases our ability to challenge this stereotype and to instigate change.

8.1.2 The relationship between men and masculinity

I began this study with the rather uncomfortable concession that in order to examine how the concept of masculinity is constructed by the texts, the only way to do this that would not necessitate having to manually read all the texts would be to search for direct indices of maleness. This seemed enormously counterintuitive to a feminist approach to gender construction. As discussed in Chapter Four (section 4.1.3.2.4), the relationship between men and masculinity was not always an uncomplicated mapping of sex onto gender, as I had predicted. I found that distinguishing between lexical, social and referentially gendered lexis, and between language which can be said to directly or indirectly index gender was a very useful tool for considering examples which subvert these direct mappings. For example, the instances of lexis that are ordinarily socially gendered with a female bias which occur with male referents, such as 'pin-up' and 'diva' are (albeit infrequent) subversions of these binaries, and therefore can be interpreted as examples of language which begin to unpick the "rigid, regulatory frame" (Butler, 1990: 33) upholding the equation that 'male equals masculine'.

Despite examples like this, on the whole, the sex-gender equation remains largely untouched. While there is some evidence in the data for the idea that gender roles are changing, for example there are some depictions of men wearing make-up, the relationship between maleness and masculinity is largely represented as uncomplicated; sex is seen as equating with gender. Even where there are examples of, for instance, men wearing make-up or engaging in other beautification processes, this is treated as a deviation from the expected norm, which ultimately reaffirms hegemonic ideologies of masculinity. It is not yet possible for these subversions to be normative, because the 'heterosexual matrix' necessitates that men must act masculine; women should be feminine.

In section 5.2.1.1 I argued that sex and gender are best conceived of as gradable concepts, as although they are conventionally thought of as complementaries, in reality they are scalar concepts. Women's magazines also treat gender as a binary construct: even where there are potential subversions of this, such as using 'too' premodifying 'femininity', and thus creating a gradable opposite (see section 7.2.2 example 22), these ultimately serve to maintain the sex/gender binary, because they assert that men should *not* be feminine.

8.1.2.1 Text as performance

In Chapter One I suggested that while the theory of performativity has traditionally been used to analyse the construction of gendered subjects in verbal interaction, the idea of

gender performance can easily be applied to textual representation: texts' constructions of gender can also be interpreted as performances of masculinity or femininity.

If gender is defined as 'the repeated stylization of the body', then coherent repeated representations can be considered performances of gender, because they form part of our understanding of 'masculinity' or 'femininity'. Sunderland (2004: 23-4) makes a distinction between the 'representation' "of *something* or *someone*" and 'performance' as constitutive. However, we can say that representations are themselves performances if we interpret 'representation' as denoting the practices that produce the appearance of an identity, the "foundational illusions of identity" (Butler, 1990: 34), rather than a reflection of a pre-existing subject. It also follows, therefore, that *all* identity representations are performances.

Accounts of the epistemological development of the field of language and gender traditionally emphasise a distinction between gender as instantiated in interactional behaviour and gender representation in written discourse (e.g. Cameron, 1998; Sunderland and Litosseliti, 2008: 4). This suggests a separation of 'real' or 'authentic' identities from imitations of these 'real life' gender performances, an idea which seems contrary to the CDA dictum that language "simultaneously *reflects* reality ('the way things are') and *constructs* (*construes*) it to be a certain way" (Gee, 1999: 82). In addition, the notion of text as performance also throws new light on Butler's assertion that gender is:

a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance of a natural sort of being.
(Butler, 1990: 33)

Women's magazines repeatedly construct masculinity and femininity in limiting ways in line with the constraints of social norms, whilst simultaneously creating naturalized ideologies of gender through those very repetitions.

The idea of the text as a performance of gender is also helpful in explaining the presence of contradictory images of masculinity: contradictory images are present in part because "[p]erforming masculinity or femininity 'appropriately' cannot mean giving exactly the same performance regardless of the circumstances" (Cameron, 1997: 61). Just as the relationship between interlocutors and social situation can have an effect on the type of gender identity performed in talk, texts' performances of gender are also dependent on their target audiences and the social purposes of text.

Performativity theory can usefully be applied to the study of gender construction in text in three ways, then: (1) to account for the ways in which repeated ideas about gender come to *mean* masculinity or femininity, (2) to expose the ways in which sex, gender and sexuality are seen to inevitably coincide with one another, and (3) explore the subversive potential of a multiplicity of gendered identities, given that there is no inevitable link between 'sex' and 'gender'.

8.1.3 Combining Critical Stylistics with corpus linguistics: methodological issues

Aside from questions relating to the representation of men and masculinity in women's magazines, this study also sought to investigate the applicability of the critical stylistics model to the study of large sets of data using corpus linguistic tools. This, I soon discovered, was no mean feat. Although the practice of combining corpus linguistics with CDA is becoming more established as an approach to discourse analysis, my study is the first to combine Jeffries' critical stylistic framework with corpus methodologies. I anticipated that finding out different ways in which men are named would uncover interesting differences in connotation that would reveal different ideologies of masculinity. Therefore, I decided *not* to begin my investigation using MAN/MEN as search terms. This meant that although I was able to uncover differences in naming strategies, I was also unable to produce a comprehensive analysis of statistical collocates.

However, it would also have been much more time consuming to conduct the analysis on a dataset of this size without the corpus interrogation software: the inbuilt automatic POS tagging programme CLAWS in Wmatrix meant that I could search for nominal or verbal POS tags to aid my analysis of naming practices and transitivity. The fact that a number of the tools cannot be derived from specific linguistic features made it difficult to use corpus linguistic tools to find relevant data. For example, I was only able to capture instances of appositional equivalence that involved the conjunction *and*, which I have no doubt are much less infrequent than those triggered by the juxtaposition of noun phrases, but since I could not parse the corpus for phrase structure, it was not possible to record instances of this type of appositional equivalence. In addition, the open-ended nature of presupposition meant that although I was able to use Levinson's list of triggers as a guide for identifying instances of presupposition, I still could not do this automatically. The lexical form of different types of presupposition are varied, for example, the formal category 'factive verb' could contain a number of items, and to predict its members would involve having to predetermine a very narrow set of lexical items, which would inevitably result in missing a

number of relevant presuppositions. However, having already filtered the data for the transitivity analysis made this more manual task significantly easier, as I had already been able to identify some relevant potential contexts for presupposition and implicature.

One of the things that has been the most difficult about combining these approaches has been the need to separate out analysis of the different tools, when in reality, it is clear to me that they all work together to produce the ideological meanings discussed here: for example, the assumed idea that men are driven by sexual urges often also relies on naming choices in the noun phrase. To demonstrate some of the ways in which the tools interrelate, I will now analyse a small excerpt from a letters page by way of a case study.

8.1.3.1 Case study: 'Man Talk'

The following is a section of a letters page from *Love It* magazine entitled 'Man Talk,' in which the magazine writer poses a number of statements intended to reveal the 'mysteries of man':

(1a) HE SAYS: 'Why don't you have a bath, babe?'

(1b) HE MEANS: 'I've got a new PlayStation game and I need you out of the way at the moment.'

(2a) HE SAYS: 'I was listening, but I've got a lot on my mind.'

(2b) HE MEANS: 'I'm trying to watch SkySports.'

(3a) HE SAYS: 'I'm feeling ill – I think I might be dying.'

(3b) HE MEANS: 'I've just sneezed.'

(4a) HE SAYS: 'I've done the weekly shop.'

(4b) HE MEANS: 'I bought alcohol, a loaf of bread and a Pepperami.'

In terms of naming, the third person singular pronoun 'he' does not in fact refer to an individual identity, as the target referent is the reader's partner. This is an example of "synthetic personalization" (Fairclough, 1989: 62), whereby a collective audience is referred to as an individual. The use of 'he' also constructs the reader as heterosexual. The parallel clause structure 'he + present tense verb' creates oppositional meaning between the lexemes 'says' and 'means,' emphasising a difference between semantic form and pragmatic function. The construction of SAYS/MEANS as an oppositional construct also implies that there *is* a difference between what men say and what they really think. This in turn implies

that men's speech needs decoding, which contributes to a discourse of gender differences because it assumes that men's utterances are indecipherable to women.

The process 'SAYS' in the main clauses is a verbalization process, the proceeding independent clauses denote the Verbiage of the process. 'MEANS' could be categorized as a behavioural process, since it seems to fall somewhere between verbalization and cognition. The propositions expressed in the Verbiages draw on stereotypically gendered social practices, behaviours and attributes, where computer gaming and televised sports are constructed as stereotypical male pursuits (1 and 2), and men are perceived as heavy drinking, unhealthy hypochondriacs (3 and 4). The fact that these are presented as categorical, unmodalised statements means that they are treated as universal truths, thus all men are assumed to behave in this way.

The locutions prefaced 'HE SAYS' are intended as violations of the Co-Operative Principle (7.1.2). They are violations of the maxim of quality, in that they are presented by the magazine writers as lies; the 'HE MEANS' statements are expressions of the implied meanings of the 'HE SAYS' locutions. The 'HE SAYS' examples can also all be said to flout the maxim of quantity, in that they do not seem to provide sufficient information, which is subsequently supplied by the 'HE MEANS' statements. Example (3a) is an exaggeration, and therefore violates the maxim of quality. We could also interpret (4a) as a violation of the quality maxim on the same grounds: the implicature of (4b) is that this constitutes insufficient supplies; therefore his original statement in (4a) is also an exaggeration.

The use of 'HE' as a generic referent for men in these examples has a homogenising affect, presupposing that all men exhibit the stipulated behaviours. However, this also has implications for how women are represented in the texts. For instance, the reader may infer from the declarative statement "I've done the weekly shop" in (4a) that it is women who usually carry out the task of food shopping, which implies that domesticity is the domain of women. The reader could also infer from (2a) that it is women who do most of the talking in relationships, drawing on folklinguistic stereotypes about women's loquacity (see e.g. Coates, 1986; Cameron, 1992b).

My discussion of this excerpt hopefully shows that inferring meaning from texts involves processing how all of these different functions interact with one another; the construction of ideology often relies on a combination of a number of the different tools, and I have therefore found that discussing them in isolation has sometimes made it difficult to retain a sense of this 'bigger picture.' In particular, combining corpus methods with the framework

necessitated the isolation of specific linguistic features, such as nouns, lexical verbs, conjunctions and so on, which sometimes also made it difficult to see exactly how the different tools worked together. This also sometimes meant that it was difficult to assess which of the metafunctions a particular piece of text was best considered an example of. For example, while searching for adjectives for my discussion of how the texts describe men, I came across a number of adjectives that on closer inspection were also constructed as opposites, and therefore perhaps best analysed in terms of their function as creating oppositional meanings. This has resulted in some examples from the data being analysed under more than one of the tools, but with as little repetition as possible.

8.2 Limitations and suggestions for future research

The Critical Stylistics tools I have used were prioritized because of their expected relevance to the task at hand, but others would undoubtedly help to illuminate how the texts construct ideologies of masculinity. Some of the tools were left out because I did not deem them to be relevant to my research questions: for example, I did not think that an analysis of 'Constructing time and space' would reveal much about the ideological presentation of men, nor did I anticipate that 'Prioritizing' would tell me much about the kinds of qualities and behaviours that are attributed to men. The tools I have used are therefore those that I predicted would best illuminate the ways that gendered identities are represented.

Future analyses of gender representation could of course explore some of the other tools. In particular, an analysis of 'Presenting Opinions,' through a consideration of modality and speech and thought processes would shed more light on how men's points of view, as well as those of the text producers in relation to men, are constructed in the texts. For example, my analysis of transitivity processes showed that the choice of reporting verb can affect the writer's appraisal of the speaker.

Throughout my analysis, it also became clear that men are often presented in terms of what they are not; an analysis of the metafunction of 'Negating' would also therefore be useful for examining what kinds of qualities or behaviours are presented in the affirmative, and which are constructed via negated forms. Additionally, the conceptual-textual function of 'hypothesizing' would be useful for examining the kinds of expectations of men that are set up by the texts, via, for example, the use of *if*-clauses and epistemic modality.

Aside from the ideological meanings that cut across the different tools outlined in section 8.1.1.1, I also found that metaphorical meanings intersected all four of the metafunctions. As a result, I suggest that future analyses could include metaphor as a useful additional

category for the model. Cognitive metaphor theory posits that representing X in terms of Y is an indication of how we actually understand particular concepts (Gibbs and Steen, 1999). For example, choosing metaphors to express the physical attractiveness of men such as 'eye candy' and 'treat' indicates that men are understood as consumable objects. Conceptual metaphors are also often attempts to construe complex aspects of the world in more 'familiar' terms (Gibbs, 1994). These more 'familiar' terms therefore reveal ideologies of how we conceptualise entities or events. If metaphorical meanings point to ideologies of how the world is conceptualised, then the construction of metaphor could therefore be considered as another textual-conceptual function of text. Occurrences of the conceptual metaphors for masculinity could usefully be further investigated in other kinds of texts; this could shed important light on how the complex notion of gender identity is reformulated into more familiar concepts for the reader.

Further studies of the textual representation of gender in women's magazines would benefit from making comparative analyses between constructions of femininity and constructions of masculinity. This would be best done using more sensitive sampling techniques, to ensure representativeness; in my bid to include as much relevant data as possible to answer the question of how men are represented in the texts, the representativeness of the samples of the different text types has suffered. This has meant that conclusions arising from comparisons between the different text types have to be treated as tentative, even with normalized frequencies. As discussed in section 1.3.3 and 2.1.3.2, future studies of women's magazines would also benefit from a triangulation of textual, ethnographic and experimental data, in order to fully understand the processes of how these texts are consumed and read by their target audiences; specifically, how the ideologies I have identified in my analysis are negotiated by the reader. In addition, my analysis can only ever be a partial telling of the story, because it only considers the role of language in the construction of meaning; future analyses would benefit from a multi-modal approach, considering how both text and image interact in order to perform gender identities, as has been done in other areas of stylistics (McIntyre, 2008) and CDA (Caldas-Coulthard and van Leeuwen, 2002).

While I have tried to use quantitative findings to guide my qualitative analyses of the texts, it is inevitable that my sensitivity to prevailing ideologies of gender in wider society have affected how I have interpreted the data, and the aspects of masculinity that I have chosen to focus on. For example, it will be inevitable that my own cultural perspective, or 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984) as a feminist middle-class woman living in Britain is informed by the notion that gender differences is one way in which society is organised, and that this is

largely to the benefit of men. I am therefore more likely to be drawn to examples from the data that align with this perception of society as partly organised around gender differences.

8.3 Concluding remarks

This thesis has been an attempt to demonstrate the importance of questioning the construction of hegemonic masculinity in a genre of text which is assumed to be 'all about' femininity.

Through my analysis of ideology construction in the texts, I have shown how written representations of gender, like spoken discourse, can also be interpreted as performances of gender identity. This represents my original contribution to the field of language and gender, which has traditionally separated spoken performance from written representation. I have also attempted to combine the Critical Stylistic analysis of texts with corpus linguistic tools, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach, which will aid future analyses.

My contribution to the debate on gender representation in women's magazines has been to question the assumption that these texts only tell women about how they should perform femininity; I assert that they also tell women how they can expect men to appear and behave. I have argued that the importance of feminist linguistic inquiry into texts such as these is not necessarily just in their propagation of norms of femininity, but also in their proliferation of stereotypical images of men as (hetero)sexually motivated and threatening, as it precludes the possibility of subverting the gender order.

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