TATKENOVA ALMIRA TOLEUKHANOVNA

LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL GENDER IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE:
CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE GREEK, KAZAKH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGES

Ph.D. thesis

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:
SUPERVISOR: T.S.PAVLIDOU
MEMBERS: M.MARGARITI-RONGA
         CH.TZITZILIS

THESSALONIKI 2010
# Table of contents

Introduction

Part I Theoretical framework

1.1 Linguistic gender in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian languages

1.1.1 Introduction

1.1.2 Linguistic gender in the Greek language

1.1.3 Linguistic gender in the Kazakh language

1.1.4 Linguistic gender in the Russian language

1.1.5 Summary

1.2 Political discourse: categories, characteristics and methods of analysis

1.3 Political interview in the press: constituents and peculiarities

1.4 Gender in political discourse

1.5 The problem of the research, data and methods of analysis
Part II Gender in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian political discourse: differences and similarities 98

2.1 The Greek interviews: structure and participants 98

2.1.1 Structure of the interview in the Greek newspaper “Το Βήμα της Κυριακής” 98

2.1.2 Linguistic gender in the Greek interview 101
2.1.2.1 Gender in the opening phase of the interview 101
2.1.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview 105

2.1.3 IR vs. IE: strategies of adversarialness and gender 121
2.1.4 Conclusion 126

2.2 The Kazakh interviews: structure and participants 128

2.2.1 Structure of the interview in the Kazakh newspaper “Егемен Қазақстан” 128

2.2.2 Linguistic gender in the Kazakh interview 131
2.2.2.1 Gender in the opening and closing phases of the interview 131
2.2.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview 131

2.2.3 Conclusion 171

2.3 The Russian interviews: structure and participants 173
2.3.1 Structure of the interview in the Russian newspaper “Известия”

2.3.2 Linguistic gender in the Russian interview
2.3.2.1 Gender in the opening and closing phases of the interview
2.3.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview

2.3.3 Conclusion

2.4 The Russian interviews with women politicians: structure and participants

2.4.1 Interviews with women politicians: newspapers, participants and structure
2.4.2 Linguistic gender in the Russian interviews with women politicians
2.4.2.1 Gender in the opening and closing phases of the interview
2.4.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview

2.4.3 Conclusion

2.5 Gender in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian political interviews: similarities and differences

2.6 Conclusion

Bibliography
Introduction

The present thesis deals with the ways in which social gender is constructed via the linguistic category of gender in the Greek, Kazakh and Russian political discourse. Linguistic gender is defined as the object of the research and is analyzed on the basis of political discourse in the media, in particular on the basis of political interviews selected from the printed press. The newspapers that served as a source of the data belong to official mass media published in Greece, Kazakhstan, and Russia.

The linguistic representation of gender is based on the principle of gender dichotomization but it varies from language to language, from culture to culture, from situation to situation. The contrastive approaches to the problem on the basis of more than one language bring up and make visible the peculiarities of gender construction and representation in a multi-dimensional complex where gender is interwoven with the parameters of occupation, status, ethnicity, situation, institution, culture.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine whether there are similarities and/or differences in the social construction of gender via the category of linguistic gender in Greek, Kazakh, and Russian political interviews and to discuss the results of the contrastive analysis from the viewpoint of the contribution of gender representations to the dominant gender order.

In order to achieve the purpose, a number of tasks are set. First of all, it is to describe, on the basis of the literature, the linguistic means that express gender and ways they are used, to delineate how similar and different are the three languages in expressing social gender in language and what are the cultural grounds for the representation of men and women in language. The two sexes – male and female – find their reflection in the lexical structure of Greek, Kazakh, Russian, and in the grammatical structure of Greek and Russian. There are lexemes in each language that denote people of male and female sex. These include common and proper nouns: the former comprise sex markers (man – woman), kin terms, the latter – last names, first names and patronymic. The lexemes are not restricted in their semantic content by reference to one’s sex only: they may indicate the referent’s age (as all sex markers do) or his/her marital status. Kin terms can be gender-distinguishable in terms of usage as well, i.e. can be used either by men or women. Personal names can express what are the
traits expected from a male or a female person. In Greek and Russian, all nouns are divided into masculine, feminine and neuter. People of male and female sexes are referred to by masculine and feminine forms of nouns, respectively. Masculine and feminine forms of nouns are often informative of what activities are meant to be typically men’s or women’s. All this diversity of social meanings can be complemented and elaborated by meanings peculiar to the culture of people who use the language. Along with cultural motivations, there can exist gender representations universal for all languages and cultures: for instance, the positive concept of ‘mother’.

The second task is to analyze the potential of linguistic gender for political discourse and to answer the question about who, when and why exploits (de)gendered discourse. All the types of linguistic gender enumerated above can turn from the resources that reflect the person’s sex in language into a powerful instrument of legitimizing or delegitimizing political agents owing to all socially and culturally determined stereotyped connotations. Political discourse is the discourse of powerful groups whose members represent the state structures: government, Parliament, political parties. At the same time, political discourse mediated by the press, TV and radio, does not exist in a social and institutional vacuum: the communication that takes place between media representatives and political figures is targeted at the audience who form the future electorate. The struggle for power on the political field makes politicians resort to many techniques that can involve required gender representation.

The third task is to reveal what linguistic markers of the social category of gender are deployed in political interview in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian contexts and in what situations they come into play, what peculiarities of the interview as a genre contribute to their use, how the linguistic representation of gender interacts with such parameters as culture, setting, etc., in the discourse, and which linguistic categories tend to be the most/least productive and why. One of the discourse types in politics is a political interview, which involves representatives of mass media and political institutions. The two participants – an interviewer (henceforth IR) and interviewee (henceforth IE) – arrange their communication according to the established conventions of the genre: every interview starts with the introduction of the IE and projection of the
topic followed by question-answer exchanges. The reporter’s questions concern issues that are urgent for a wide public and the politician’s duty is to respond to these inquiries. The symmetries or asymmetries in power for each of the speakers can be determined, along with the conventions of the genre, by other parameters important in a given context. The question is when and why it becomes significant for the interviewer or the interviewee to identify the self or the other on the basis of gender. When it is done, what resources are preferable for this identification: for instance, whether it is ‘a man’, ‘a husband’, ‘a father’, ‘a grandfather’ or ‘a woman’, ‘a wife’, ‘a housewife’, ‘a mother’, ‘a grandfather’ or a ‘minister’, ‘politician’ based on functional roles that the speakers identify themselves or others by.

The fourth task is to compare and to contrast the results of the analysis cross-culturally. Gender representations may differ due to the three societies and cultures involved or they can share much in common as all the languages have universal principles for division of human society into two parts. The differences/similarities are discussed from the standpoint of Critical Discourse Analysis with the aim to disclose ideological implications of particular gender representations.

Social implications of gender representations can be built on stereotypical models of behaviour, thinking, of duties and roles ascribed to people of two genders. These implications come out as something pre-given, inherent in a person of male and female sex. Common-sense assumptions that gender ideologies draw upon are not easy to decipher without looking behind ‘hidden’ meanings. The critical study of language that sets as its goal the detecting of ideological work of language and of the ways power is exercised via this work is known as Critical Discourse Analysis presented in Fairclough (1989; 1995a; 1995b; 1997; 2004), Wodak (1996; 1999; 2001a; 2001b; 2003), and van Dijk (1993; 2001; 2005). Fairclough’s (1989; 1995a; 1995b; 1997; 2004) Critical Discourse Analysis takes as the starting point the interpretation of discourse as social practice which allows to undermine the social character of gender representations and to trace its role in the hierarchical arrangement of relations between the two genders.

The structure of the thesis is determined by the purpose and the tasks set: it consists of two parts that present theoretical framework and the results of the research
followed by the conclusion. The first part deals with the categories of linguistic gender in each of the three languages, describes the categories of political discourse and constituents of political interview as its genre, explains the choice of the Critical Discourse Analysis and makes a survey of literature on gender in political discourse. The second part explains the criteria the data are selected by, delineates the gender representation in each of the three contexts, contrasts the results taking into consideration all the dimensions (situational, institutional, social) that effect linguistic choices of the speakers, and, finally, draws some conclusions in the light of Critical Discourse Analysis. Bibliography combines the sources in Greek, Kazakh, Russian, English together in one list built according to the English alphabet. The annex provides texts of all the interviews, with photographs and captions omitted.

The fragments and examples taken from the Kazakh and Russian newspaper texts are followed by their English translation which presents an attempt to make the translated extract as close to the original as possible and, at the same time, to make it readable in the foreign language.
Part I Theoretical framework

1. 1 Linguistic gender in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian languages

1.1.1 Introduction

Social gender “has to do with stereotypical assumptions about what are appropriate social roles for women and men…” (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 11). The term gender, that appeared to decipher and to avoid a naturalization of stereotypical assumptions about men and women and to emphasize its social and cultural character, is differentiated from the term sex (also named biological/natural gender) that refers to maleness and femaleness based on physiological differences. As Pavlidou (2010: 419; 414) shows, approaches to ‘gender’ as to an activity (“doing gender”) “pointed to interaction as the crucial locus for the conceptualization of gender” and “the study of language and gender, and in particular of interaction and gender, can make an important contribution to the analysis of gender construction” by explicating “what is actually involved in constructing gender: what tools are employed, how this process of doing/performing gender is actually enacted”.

One of the tools involved in gender construction is linguistic gender which is described below on the basis of literature for the Greek, Kazakh and Russian languages.

The term linguistic gender is used by Hellinger & Bußmann (2001-2003: 2-20) to denote the ways to express gender-specific personal reference in language. Linguistic gender embraces two categories: lexical and grammatical gender.

Lexical gender is the semantic property [female] or [male] (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 7) that is specified primarily in nouns. It covers animate beings that possess biological gender and it is biological gender or sex that is reflected in the meaning of a noun.

Lexical gender, first of all, covers two semantic groups denoting animate beings:

- people – a category where gender is expressed by:
  a) sex markers (‘man’ – ‘woman’)
  b) kinship terms
  c) personal names
- animals (not relevant here).
Sex markers, along with kinship terms, are characterized by “symmetry of the opposite gender counterparts: these nouns are paired by gender but are not derived from each other; they stand in so-called equipollent oppositions..., i.e. both terms are marked and cannot replace one another” (Čmejrková 2006: 28). Symmetry should be understood in the sense that two terms are available in language, the one to refer to a person of male and the other – to a person of female sex.

Kinship term, as Dickey (1996: 62) adopts it, is “any term which, in its lexical or vocative meaning, can imply relationship by blood or marriage”.

Personal names that officially (the adverb officially implies that nicknames, pseudonyms and suchlike anthroponyms are not focused on here and that only names used in one’s identity card are included) identify people have obligatorily last name + first name formula in each of the three languages. In Kazakh and Russian this model may include the patronymic formed by adding a gender-specific lexeme (Kazakh) or a masculine or feminine suffix to the father’s name (Russian).

In the thesis, I consider names (family names, first names and patronymics) as a part of lexical gender, though in Greek and Russian they present a grammatical category characterized by congruence between morphological (masculine – feminine) form of the noun and the referential gender, which identifies a referent as male or female.

**Grammatical gender** is an inherent property of the noun which controls agreement between the noun (the controller) and some (gender-variable) satellite element (the target) which may be an article, adjective, pronoun, verb, numeral or preposition (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001: 7). Grammatical gender is a morphological category that is expressed by masculine, feminine and neuter inflexions of nouns.

In both Greek and Russian, grammatical gender is not restricted to male versus female opposition but is a tripartite system masculine-feminine-neuter. Grammatical gender embraces inanimate objects as well.

A category based on lexical and/or grammatical gender is forms of address.

**Address form** is defined as “a speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her collocutors” (Braun 1988: 7).

The system of address forms includes proper names, occupational and kin terms, titles, nominations of the referent by his/her gender, age, position, geographical place of
residence, ethnicity, etc. Addressing a person brings along the use of the second person pronouns, which in Greek, Kazakh, and Russian possess a T/V distinction. Brown & Gilman (1962: 253-257) link the T/V forms with the dimensions of power and solidarity. The power when a superior speaker says T and receives V may be based on the former’s physical strength, wealth, age, sex, or institutionalized role. Solidarity is expressed in mutual V or T between persons of roughly equivalent power.

Different rules that cause the use of that or this form of address in various cultures can be summarized in two elements that Holmes (1992: 275) puts forward as determinative of T/V pronoun usage:
1) the relationship between the speaker and the addressee;
2) the social context in which they are speaking.

These two will always influence the choice of the address form. The relationship of speaker and addressee depends on the identity of both and takes into account their age, social status, kinship, gender. The context (formal or informal setting, audience, topic of discourse) is another important factor that can explain why this very form is applied in a given discourse.

To sum up, linguistic gender is comprised of lexical and grammatical gender, and additionally of address forms based on the resources of the both.

The three languages are described in the alphabetical order. With respect to the Kazakh language, which does not have grammatical gender, the list of lexical gender is extended by occupational terms. The scheme to delineate linguistic gender is as follows: 1) lexical gender (sex markers, kin terms, personal names); 2) grammatical gender; and 3) address forms.
1.1.2 Linguistic gender in the Greek language

Lexical gender

1 Sex markers. The representation of gender in lexical and grammatical structure of the Greek language is described in Pavlidou (Παπιλίδου 1984; Παπιλίδου 2002; Παπλιών 2003).

As she shows (Παπιλίδου 2002; Pavlidou 2003), the lexemes άντρας – γυναίκα that reflect biological differentiation of people may undergo the same morphological processes but the semantic/pragmatic results are not identical, – which reflects differences in the social evaluation and hierarchical relations of the two genders. Semantic asymmetry is illustrated by:

- positive connotations of the lexeme άντρας and negative of the lexeme γυναίκα observed:
  a) in derivations from these nouns based on diminutive and augmentative suffixes:
     άντρακλισ – γυναικάρα (the connotation is ‘a sexually appealing woman’);
     άντρακι – γυναικάκι (the connotation is ‘unimportant, unworthy woman’)
     αντρούλης - γυναικούλα (the connotation of naivety and simplicity, for example, in the phrase γυναικούλες του λαού; the masculine diminutive cannot be used in a similar way). At the same time, both of these terms can be used affectively when applied to one’s husband or wife.
     αντρικός – γυναικείος are morphologically symmetrical but the difference in evaluation provided by the two is evident in semantic and pragmatic asymmetries when they are used in the structure of the phrases (below).
  b) in phrases that use derivatives from these lexemes:
     αντρίκια λόγια – γυναικείες κομβέντες – while the first one is to be paid due attention to, the second can be neglected;
     αντρικές δουλείες evoke deference, while γυναικείες δουλείες is ironically used.
  c) in compound forms where the second component is a female-specific lexical morpheme and the first one pejorative adjectives παλίο and βρομο: βρομογάνακο, βρομοθήλαικο, παλιογάνακο, παλιοθήλαικο (also βρομοκόριτσο, παλιοκόριτσο formed in a similar way). Theoretically it is possible to derive nouns composed of παλίο and βρομο and of a lexeme that refers to a person of male sex, but there is no such practice except
the cases when in male-specific compound nouns the second constituent has the meaning ‘of old age’: παλιόγερος, βρομόγερος (that have feminine counterparts παλιόγρια, βρομόγρια). In the lexemes παλιόπαιδο, βρομόπαιδο the second element is gender-neutral both in terms of grammatical and referential gender (Παπλίδου 2002; Pavlidou 2003).

- lexical gaps in the vocabulary. For instance, in the pair αντρώνομα – εκθηλόνομα, απογυναικώνομα the first verb denotes the transition into adulthood and is applied to boys who become adult. There is no equivalent for women; the latter verbs are a) used only with a male subject and b) do not denote the process of maturation of the subject. They can be applied pejoratively to men conveying the meaning of effeminacy. Consequently, says Παπλίδου (2002: 53), a woman has two choices: a) never to become an adult; b) to be identified via a man’s prototype (values, aims, behaviour). Another verb derived from άντρας is επανδρώνω which is used generically to refer both to men and women (Παπλίδου 2002; Pavlidou 2003).

As Pavlidou (2003: 184) argues, the nouns άντρας – γυναίκα are not exactly equal in their most symmetrical appearance: άντρας has connotations of bravery, truthfulness, integrity, and significance, whereas γυναίκα implies cowardliness, insincerity, slyness, triviality. Hence, calling a man γυναίκα is an insult. She points as well to the extension of the entry for the word γυναίκα in dictionaries to cover the meaning ‘cleaning lady’ or ‘a person who serves the others’.

The lexemes to denote a person’s marital status: γεροντοπαλλήκαρο – γεροντοκόρη differ as well in their evaluative connotations (Παπλίδου 1984: 74).

Along with the pair αγόρη – κορίτσι, the noun to refer generically to boys and girls is a gender-indefinite παιδί. But, as (Pavlidou 2003: 186) shows, in certain contexts it refers only to males (‘Έχει δύο παιδιά κι ένα κορίτσι) granting them implicitly a more general status than to the female-specific term.

Katsoyannou & Goutsos (2006: 105) note that the way gender construction is reflected in the Word Thesaurus for Greek seems to follow the inadequate lexicographic practice of non-electronic dictionaries. The features of the Greek Thesaurus to prove this conclusion are:
1. imbalance in both the selection of meanings and their sequencing;
2. marked prominence of male forms with respective absence of female forms;
3. systematically negative or stereotypical associations of synonyms given for women;
4. inclusion of derogative terms, even where it is clearly uncalled for.

2 Kinship terms. The Greek system of kinship terms, according to Makri-Tsilipakou (1981), reflects changes in the social system of the Greek society, with some terms having become extinct or having ceased to be an active part of the vocabulary. The description of kin terms she gives (Makri-Tsilipakou 1981: 253) shows that in Greek there are gender-neutral terms expressed by nouns of neuter gender such as εγγόνι, δίσεγγονο, ανέψη, αδέλφη, βαφτισίμι which can refer to people of both sexes. Their masculine and feminine counterparts refer either to males or females, respectively.

The terms for co-siblings-in-law like μπατζανάκης and συνυφάδα are shown in her description both as gender-differentiating and as gender-differentiated in use at the same time, i.e. they can be used only by male speakers for male referents or females – for female reference.

There is a kin term, according to Makri-Tsilipakou (1981: 258), that lacks a male equivalent: it is the lexeme μάνα which can be given the top position on a scale of intensity of feeling or intimacy of relationship.

Another lexeme that is not restricted only to denoting a kin relationship is the derivative εσώγαμπρος which “holds a unique position in the Greek kinship terminology in that it is the only term that makes explicit reference to the financial status of the son-in-law. Apart from the fact that it was customary for newly-weds to join the groom’s family, which is the reverse of what the term implies, an εσώγαμπρος was completely dependent on the bride’s family and was even set up in business by them” and thus the term expresses “covert social disapproval” (Makri-Tsilipakou 1981: 262).

Another domain where the factor of gender is of significance, even if not so strongly as it used to be, is related to the ceremonial kinship terms νονός – νονά.
According to Makri-Tsiliarakou (1981: 265), “Greek law forbids marriage between godparents and godchildren. On the contrary, there is no obstacle to marrying a spiritual co-sibling although it is easy to see that the same criterion applies to both cases namely that of averting alleged incest... godparents took great care to christen only male or female infants thus averting the danger of incest if ever godchildren came to marry one another. Naturally, this tradition is still only partially alive outside large urban centres and modern Greeks generally do not recognize any such relationship.”

Verbs derived from kin terms can also be used as generic forms: for instance, *νιοθετώ* derived from *νιός* is applied in reference both to a male and a female child.

As we will see afterwards, kin terms are not frequently used by speakers in the Greek political interviews.

### 3 Personal names

In Modern Greek, it is the model *surname + first name* that is used. Although the names of the father and the mother are necessarily indicated in official documents (for instance, in identity cards), they do not extend their use any further. That is, in contrast to a surname and a first name, they are never used in the vocative function.

As Τριανταφυλλίδης (1982: 18) shows, a child’s last name is that of his/her father, a woman’s – either of her husband’s or father’s. There are cases, however, when a child takes his/her mother’s first name as a last name: ὁ Κώστας (τῆς) Ελένης or his/her mother’s name derived from a male name (called *αντρωνυμικό* in Greek – see Address forms below): Γιάννης (τῆς) Χατζημαναστόσκοινας, Θεοδόσιας (τῆς) Μολλαζούδιας, Αντώνης (τῆς) Παπαντωνίας. As he comments (Τριανταφυλλίδης 1982: 196), such a use is not so uncommon in the colloquial language and in some places the family name derived from the name of mother is rather a frequent phenomenon (in cases a woman is a widow, or the father has moved to a foreign land, or when the mother is a stronger personality than the father). With these names still preserved in language as family names, the practice of taking mother’s name as a last name is out of use now.

A woman’s last name, as Pavlidou (2003: 182) says, is marked for gender in a very asymmetrical way: her family name “is always the genitive singular of a related man’s name. In other words, a woman’s official identification is always based, at least morphologically, on a man’s identity”. As she notes (Pavlidou 2003: 182), legislative
changes in Greece in the mid-1980s effected that the women keep their own family name after marriage and it is up to the couple to decide whose name a child will have: her name, his name or a combination of the two; in practice the vast majority of the children get their father’s name only, and the whole family is identified via the man’s name. Men’s family names usually have the form of masculine nouns in the Nominative and, as a result, are morphologically marked Παπιίδης, Παπαδόπουλος (Παπιίδου 2002; Pavlidou 2003).

The stock of the Greek first names can be divided into three groups:

a) male names: Θομάς, Λουκάς
b) female names: Ανδρή, Πηνελόπη
c) pair names that have the same lexical root and are differentiated by preceding masculine and feminine articles and masculine and feminine suffixes (i.e. by grammatical gender): ο Μάριος – η Μαρία, ο Κωνσταντίνος – η Κωνσταντίνα, ο Αλέξανδρος – η Αλέξανδρα.

As Pavlidou (2003: 181) shows, “in all Greek first names grammatical gender corresponds to referential gender (except for those that are loans from other languages, e.g., Alex, Stef)”. At present Greek baptismal names, as Herzfeld (1982: 290) shows, do not suggest idealized qualities in the bearer but are rather indices of social linkage between kinspersons, though in Ancient Greece, as Blundell (1995: 131) illustrates, the meaning of a name was taken into account with the female names obviously denoting the qualities women were expected to display: Μαλαθάκη, Ευκολίνη ‘soft’, ‘contented’. The erosion of the gender polarization reflected in the meaning of the female names can be assessed as a positive tendency towards women. Still, there is a difference in word-formation processes: the gender of a name can be changed when it is attached diminutive suffixes, but if, as Pavlidou (2003: 181) says, feminine names can become masculine in their diminutive form, the reverse does not happen, i.e. masculine names never become feminine.

**Grammatical gender.** Greek is a language with a tripartite system of gender which is characteristic for all nouns: masculine, feminine and neuter. The three genders in Modern Greek are defined to be (Τριανταφυλλίδης 1993: 225) in correspondence with
the three declensions of nouns: Declension I are nouns of masculine gender, Declension II are those of feminine, and Declension III are neuter.

Grammatical gender is recognizable by (Τριανταφυλλίδης 1993: 216) a) inflexions in the Nominative singular (masculine gender -ας, -ης, -ος, ως, -ες, feminine -α, -η, -ω, -ος, -ον, neuter -ο, -ι, -μα, -ος, -σμο, -ζιμο, -ψιμο, -ως, -ας) and b) from the article.

Target genders in the Greek language are articles (definite and indefinite), third person pronouns (possessive, definite, demonstrative, relative, interrogative, indefinite), some numerals, adjectives in NPs and in the function of a predicative in the compound nominal predicate, participles. The Greek language, in contrast to Russian, keeps the masculine/feminine/neuter distinction in the plural, too: e.g., οι καλοί μαθητές – οι καλὲς μαθήτριες. τα καλὰ νέα.

The classification of people into male and female beings finds reflection in language via masculine and feminine forms of nouns, respectively. There are, however, the following exceptions: gender-neutral nouns that refer to human beings (shown in Lexical gender); indeclinable loanwords distributed differently among gender categories: they may follow (Mackridge 1989: 51) the sex of the referent (ο σταρ – η σταρ) but not always: το μανεκέν; morphological imbalance between the sex of the referent and the gender of the noun takes place in case these nouns take diminutive or augmentative suffixes (Κλαίρης & Μπακπινώτης 2001: 60): το αντράκα (male sex but neuter gender), ο κορίτσαρος (female sex but masculine gender).

The relation between grammatical and social gender studied in Παπιλίδου (2002); Pavlidou (2003); Pavlidou (2004) showed that though all the Greek nouns are morphologically marked in reference to people of male and female sexes, there are often semantic and pragmatic asymmetries in the representation of male and female sexes in language. First of all, it is manifest in the generic use of the masculine nouns (Παπιλίδου 2002: 47):

Ο φοιτητής έχει το δικαίωμα να δεί το γραπτό του.

The symmetry of grammatical gender evident from the masculine and feminine forms ο βεβαιών – η βεβαιούσα, ο δηλών – η δηλούσα, as Παπιλίδου concludes (2002: 47), is not observed in the use since only the masculine forms are used to denote people
irrespective of gender. Generic use is also typical, as she illustrates, for the indefinite and interrogative pronouns κανείς, ποίος and personal pronouns in the accusative plural:

Μπορεί κανείς να καλέσει πρώτα το νούμερο...
Ποίος είναι;
A: ‘Εδώ στα βιβλία σας παρέκτησες τις φοιτήστριες που τα γύριζαν.
B: ‘Όχι, αλλά θα τους τα δώσω αύριο.

The feminine forms (καμία, ποια, τις) in the same function are grammatically incorrect.

The dominant position of the masculine gender, as Παπιλίδου (2002: 48) shows, is observed in coordination as well: Είδα στην παραλία νέους και νέες αγκαλιασμένους να περπατούν ανέμελα but not Είδα στην παραλία νέους και νέες αγκαλιασμένες να περπατούν ανέμελα.

Sometimes, the morphological symmetry that yields to social asymmetry reflected in language contributes to the impossible and queer language types such as the use of occupational terms in the feminine gender as an address form (Κυρία Καθηγήτρια!) or to the contradiction in the meaning and form:

Ο φοιτητής έχει δικαίωμα να ζητήσει αναστολή φοίτησης λόγω εγκυμοσύνης.

The second produces a comic effect but, as Παπιλίδου (2002: 49) notes, is seldom used in the correct way.

There are cases when the generic forms are used exclusively to refer to men:
Ο συνδρομητής και/ή σύζυγος πρέπει να έχουν μαζί τους την προσωπική ’χρυσή κάρτα’ που θα ελέγχει απ’ τον υπάλληλο της ΕΛΠΑ.

As Παπιλίδου (2002) concludes, the generic use is not inclusive of men and women but often only of men and the underrepresentation of women results in their symbolic exclusion from domains and activities of prestige. The function of the generic masculine, when the masculine form can be applied both to a male and female referent, is performed by adjectives and participles as well (Παπιλίδου 2002; Pavlidou 2003).

The fact that the ways men and women get represented in language reflects relations of power and sexism is confirmed by study (Παπιλίδου et al. 2004) of lexical representations of the sexes in Greek which showed that in the Greek language the feminine nouns are twice as many as masculine nouns, still masculine nouns that denote a human being are twice as many as feminine nouns. Feminine gender nouns refer only
to denote female beings and the semantic content of these nouns displays that female
beings are the object to evaluation, positive and negative, and are more often evaluated
on the basis of their appearance and sexuality (and also of their relation to the family),
in contrast to men, who are assessed on the basis of values and moral qualities
(Παπλίδου et al. 2004).

Among nouns, occupational terms display a wide referential potential to refer
both to males and females (though suffixation produces feminine nouns derived from
the masculine stems: ἴρως – ἴρωδα, γιατρός – γιατρίνα, βασιλιάς – βασίλισσα). A
significant number of derivational suffixes for formation of feminine nouns do not
restrict the generic use of masculine forms. The exploratory studies (Παπλίδου 1985;
Μπαζιήο 1996) revealed that the choice of unambiguous termination is not favored in
more formal contexts and that the use of forms is directly related to the prestige of an
occupation associated with language varieties. As Pavlidou (2003: 186-187) explains:
“The problem with feminine occupational terms in Modern Greek does not only consist
in making female work visible linguistically; it also poses a test case for the
independence of the standard language from the diglossic past in Greece. When Greek
women started to work in fields traditionally occupied by men, the need for designating
the new female activities was covered with forms supplied by the (then) official
language, katharevousa. Some of these terms, e.g. ντάλληλος..., φιλόλογος..., αρχαιολόγος...
were “two-gendered”… (…) In contrast to katharevousa the demotic
language system guarantees the distinction of the feminine gender from the masculine
in all cases. Nevertheless, the demotic forms, although their use is somewhat more
extensive today in certain instances, have not replaced the learned or katharevousa
forms in all cases”.

The gender of a person in masculine occupational terms is marked by satellite
elements, as Κλαίρης & Μπαζιήο (2001: 54-56) show, via articles, adjectives, and
pronouns – without any lexical or derivational differentiation (ο γραμματέας – η
γραμματέας, έμπειρος φωτογράφος – έμπειρη φωτογράφος, ο δικός μας πρόεδρος – η
dική μας πρόεδρος. For the sake of emphasis, lexical specification can be used η κυρία
πρόεδρος, η γυναίκα πιλότος, οι άνδρες πολίτες.

To sum up, feminine nouns, in contrast to their masculine counterparts, cannot
be used to refer to people of either sex being restricted to female reference only.
Moreover, they still cannot contest masculine nouns on the scale of prestige and status when it comes to the matter of occupation. Thus, with the language providing all the necessary tools for making the two categories symmetrical enough, masculine forms continue to function as generic forms.

**Address forms.** In the Greek language, like in some Slavic languages (Czech and Ukrainian), the system of cases includes the so called Vocative.

As Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton (1987: 139) point out, the Vocative Case is distinct from other cases only for one class of nouns. The generalisation about the vocative singular is that it always lacks a final –s, a segment which marks nominative as opposed to genitive-accusative for most masculine nouns and genitive as opposed to nominative-accusative for most feminine nouns; the final vowel of the vocative form, though, differs from other cases just in the masculine o-stems, so that only in those nouns is there really a distinct vocative singular form. The vocative, then, for all other masculine nouns, is identical to the genitive-accusative case (=nominative without final –s), while for feminine and neuter nouns the vocative singular is identical to the nominative accusative case (which lacks a final –s). In the plural the vocative is identical to the nominative case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.Sg</td>
<td>ἄνθρωπος</td>
<td>ἀντρας</td>
<td>κοπέλα</td>
<td>παιδι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.SG</td>
<td>ἄνθρωπον</td>
<td>ἀντρα</td>
<td>κοπέλας</td>
<td>παιδιοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. SG</td>
<td>ἄνθρωπε</td>
<td>ἀντρα</td>
<td>κοπέλα</td>
<td>παιδι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.PL</td>
<td>ἄνθρωποι</td>
<td>ἀντρες</td>
<td>κοπέλες</td>
<td>παιδιά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.PL</td>
<td>ἄνθρωποι</td>
<td>ἀντρες</td>
<td>κοπέλες</td>
<td>παιδιά</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Greek forms of address have been studied by Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1983), Πέτριτς (1989), Dickey (1996), Symeon (1996). The use of address forms in Modern Greek, according to Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1983), is determined by such parameters as social class, familiarity, age, sex, rank, and political affiliations. The classification and
adoptive description (address forms related to the person’s gender) of Greek address forms given below is based on Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1983). She divides address forms into the following groups:

1) a) first name or last name
   b) κύριε, κυρία, δεσποινίς + first name/last name
   κυρ/κυρά (colloquial), κυρά¹ + first name

   The model κύριε, κυρία, δεσποινίς + last name in combination with V pronoun is used as an address term at schools and other educational institutions, generally at workplace. There is a tendency for female teachers to be more often addressed by κυρία + first name by both schoolchildren and their parents, in contrast to men who receive κύριε + last name. The chances to be on familiar terms, as Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1983: 227) argues, are greater when the recipient is of female sex. Schoolchildren get from their teachers either first name or diminutive name or last name. The first two are used by women and by teachers who prefer a democratic style, while the latter is typical for an authoritarian teacher.

   At high school, students address their teachers with κύριε καθηγητά or κύριε, κυρία, δεσποινίς + last name and V pronoun, with a man more often addressed by the titulated occupational term.

   There is also a phenomenon of a woman being called by a name derived from her husband’s (Γιώργανα): when she is identified as a human being via the relation to her spouse (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1983: 235). Such names derived from a man’s first or last name (with the help of –ανα, -δανα, -ινα: Τζαβέλανα, Νοσαρούδανα, Θοδωρίνα) are common, according to Τριανταφυλλίδης (1982: 116, 117), in the colloquial language in the countryside areas.

2. kinship terms (+ first name)

¹ the lexeme κυρά in Greek can be used with and without stress: as Τριανταφυλλίδης (1998) shows, it is “άτονη προτακτική λέξη που ακολουθείται πάντα από το ενοικό, προσδιορίζει βαρυτικό θηλυκό όνομα ή ουσιαστικό που δείχνει αξίωμα, ιδιότητα, επάγγελμα, μερικές φορές ευρυκάκια: κυρά-Κατίνα, κυρά-Δέσποινα, κυρά-δασκάλα, κυρά-συμπάθερα”. When used separately or followed by possessive pronouns, the lexeme acquires stress: κυρά (μου).
The use of kin terms in out-of-home settings is observed in the countryside areas. The exchange of kin terms as an address form used by family members is determined by the factors of age and familiarity.

At educational institutions, the kinship terms are used by primary schoolchildren when addressing a female teacher: μαμά, θεία.

There is a difference in the use of the terms that denote kin by marriage: άντρας – γυναίκα which are not used in the same way and with the same frequency. It is typical of a man to address his wife with γυναίκα as in Γυναίκα, φέρε μου ένα ποτήρι νερό. Γυναίκα, που είναι οι παντόφλες μου; Γυναίκα, μη με ξαλίζεις! (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1983: 234).

3. occupational terms. It should be noted that occupational terms a) can be either preceded by the lexemes κύριε/κυρία as κ.καθηγήτα, κ.δικαστή, κ.υπουργέ or b) can be used without them: γιατρέ.

4. honorific titles: σεβασμότατα, εξοχότατα, μακαριότατα

5. others: νεαρέ, μικρέ, συνάδελφε, κοπελιά, μάστορα, λεβέντη, φίλε, παιδί μου, κόρη μου, χρυσή μου, καλέ, μπάρμπα.

As Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1983: 235) shows, such address forms as βρε, κρίε, καλέ, χριστιανέ μου, αφεντικό, μπάρμπα are characterized as typical for people of lower social stratum. And they tend to be gender-differentiated in use by speakers, i.e. some of these address terms are used either by men or by women only. Men exclusively use κούκλα, μαντάμ, μάστορα, λεβέντη, μάνα μου, αφεντικό and more often than women γλυκελά μου, μπάρμπα, φίλε. Βρε, κρίε, καλέ, χριστιανέ μου, πουλί μου, χρυσή μου, καλή μου are characterized as address forms used exclusively by women; πασά μου is more often used by women (when used by a man to address a woman, it acquires sexual allusions) (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1983: 233).

The preference for T/V pronouns (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1983: 233) differs for people of male and female sex: men show preference for the singular form, while the majority of young and relatively educated women who come from urban areas use the plural form of the pronoun.
1.1.3 Linguistic gender in the Kazakh language

**Lexical gender**

1 **Sex markers.** The factors of age and also of marital status are observed in Kazakh in lexemes that denote people of *male* and *female* sex. As it is evident from the table below, the nouns that denote one’s marital status and age are more elaborate for female referents (қелінішек, қәріқыз) that lack male counterparts (the lexical gap is observed in the case of the pejorative lexeme қатын as well), while the lexeme that denotes an old man and expresses deference (қария) lacks a female counterpart:

Table 1: Male and female reference in Kazakh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ұл/‘boy’</td>
<td>қыз/‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бөздала/‘a boy who has come of age, not married’</td>
<td>бойжеткен/‘a girl who has come of age’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>жеіім/‘fellow’, ‘guy’ (may be married or single)</td>
<td>қалындық/‘fiancée’ (a girl who is engaged)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бойдак/‘single’, ‘unmarried’, ‘bachelor’</td>
<td>бойдак/‘single’, ‘unmarried’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>қәріқыз/‘old maid’, ‘spinster’ (pejorative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>қелінішек/(young married) ‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ер(кек)/‘man’</td>
<td>әйел/‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>қатын/‘woman’ (colloquial, derogatory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ata/‘old man’ (deferential)</td>
<td>ata/‘old woman’ (deferential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>қария/‘old man’ (deferential)</td>
<td>эже/‘old woman’ (deferential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ақсақал/‘old man’ (deferential; literally ‘white beard’; is used to denote a respected honoured person)</td>
<td>ақсақал/‘old woman’ (deferential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>шал/‘old man’ (colloquial)</td>
<td>кемірі/‘old woman’ (colloquial)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In contrast to ұл/’boy’ which refers to childhood, the lexeme қыз/’girl’ covers both childhood and adolescence (these nouns also denote kin relations meaning ‘son’ and ‘daughter’, like ама – апа, аже that mean both ‘grandfather’ – ‘grandmother’ and ‘old man’ – ‘old woman’).

Age progression in combination with marital status is more significant for women – which is reflected in lexical gaps: қалындық/’fiancée’ (a girl who is engaged) and келіншек/(young married) ‘woman’ lack equivalents for their male counterparts.

The significance of the factor of age in relation to women is evident also from the interpretation the lexemes ұл/’boy’ and қыз/’girl’ have in the Қазақ тілінің түсіндірме сәздігі (2008)/Explanatory dictionary of the Kazakh language:

ұл/’boy’ –
1. Еркек бала, ер бала/’a child of male sex’, ‘male child’.
2. Халық қамын ойлайтын ер-азамат/’a male citizen concerned with matters of the common cause’.

The lexeme қыз/’girl’ has the following meanings:
1. ұрғашы жынысты сәби, әйел бала/’a baby of female sex’, ‘female child’.
2. балығатқа толған қыз бала; бойжеткен/’a female (child) that has come of age’.

As Хасанулы (2007: 102) says, the Kazakhs, like many other peoples, place men higher than women. It is manifest in the attitude towards boys, because they were thought to become defenders of the motherland, to continue one’s family line. But at the same time traditional was the high evaluation of a woman, of her role in the family. Жанатаев’s (1998) study of the meanings that the lexemes әр/’man’, әйел/’woman’, жәігім/’young man’, қыз/’girl’ are provided with confirms this opinion. He shows, for instance, that among the meanings of жәігім/’young man’ are those of халық нәмісі/’the pride and the honour of the nation’, ел қорғаны/’the defender of the country’, while those for қыз/’girl’ are қыз – болашақ аңға/’a girl is a future mother’, қыз тәрбиесі – басты мақсат/’the upbringing of a girl is the utmost aim’ (Жанатаев’s 1998: 12-14).
Like in other languages (cf. the Greek γεροντοπαλλήκαρο – γεροντοκόρη), the lexemes to denote unmarried people have different implications for males (statement of fact) and females (disapproval). The structure of these compound nouns may be similar as well: e.g., кәріқыз – γεροντοκόρη where the first component means ‘old’, the second – ‘a girl’, ‘a maid’. The noun бойдақ/’single’ preserves its neutral implication when used as a male generic in reference to a girl. Its female counterpart кәріқыз is also used to name a thorny plant whose prickles are difficult to take off from one’s clothes once they are there.

The lexeme еркек/’man’ and әйел/’woman’ can be used as separate items or can appear as the second component of compound nouns in combination with the lexeme adam/’person’, ‘human being’ which is considered to be gender-neutral and to refer both to men and women. In case it is necessary to specify the gender of the referent we have: ер(ек) adam/’man’, әйел adam/’woman’. The compounds әл бала/’boy’ and қыз бала/’girl’ are formed in a similar way (бала meaning ‘child’).

There are some collocations in which only ер/’man’ can appear as the second part: for instance, with the lexeme азамат (meaning: 1. citizen; 2. man who has come of age): ер азамат/’man’, but one will never come across әйел азамат/’woman’. The dictionary of Болғанбаев (1999) gives the form азаматша for ‘a female citizen’. The noun is also applied as a male name: Азамат.

The specification of female gender via the lexeme қыз/’girl’ is unavoidable in the case of батыр қыз that can be translated as ‘heroine’ (literally ‘hero girl’). In the old times, the term батыр designated men-warriors, physically strong and desperately brave who inspired the others in the fights against enemies. As the warriors were men, it is quite natural that the term is specified when referred to women. 2

Another example to illustrate such usage is шешен/’orator’ – quick-witted, eloquent, wise. In the old times public orators were usually men advanced in years; now the lexeme can be used in reference to a woman with specification of gender: шешен қыз/’orator girl’.

2 In Kazakhstan it is the famous names of Әлия Молдағұлова and Мәншүк Маметова (and other women-warriors) that are preceded by the honourable батыр қыз: the two young women were posthumously awarded the supreme title of The Hero of the Soviet Union for their feats on the battlefields during the Great Patriotic War (World War II).
The word ақсақал (literally ‘white beard’) that denoted a male person advanced in years (who enjoyed recognition and deferential attitude of the community for his wisdom and experience) now is used, irrespective of gender, to refer to people who have great accomplishments in various domains: in art, science, etc., when men and women are enumerated together.

However, the list of sex markers is not restricted by those given above. Table 2 provides the following meanings and synonyms (based on Синонимдер сөздігі (Бизаков 2007)/The dictionary of synonyms) for them:

Table 2: Sex markers: synonyms and meanings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synonyms</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| шал, қария, қарт, шал-шакын (сол.)/(colloq.) | коргөн-білгені қоп, жасы ұлғайған ер адам  
‘old man’                             |
| кемпір, кейуана, ебей, ебене, ебесін, ебейін | қысқы, қартайған әйел  
‘old woman’                         |
| еркек, ер, ражұл (кітаб.)/(bookish) | ер жынысты адам  
‘man’                                    |
| әйел, қатын, ұрғашы, ақжылық, шуықебас, төмен етек | адам баласының ұрғашы  
жыныстылыары  
‘woman’                             |
| үл, ер бала, еркек бала, атұстар | еркек жынысты бала  
‘boy’                                        |
| қыз, қыз бала, әйел бала, қызалақ (қарап.)/(colloq.), қырықжетуи | әйел жынысты бала  
‘girl’                                       |

The gap in the meanings given to ‘old man’ and ‘old woman’ with the specification ‘experienced’ and ‘knowledgeable’ in the former can be explained by different social roles men and women had in the society: in the old times it was the...
council of the oldest men that took important decisions concerning a certain community, a settlement and their members.

The row of synonyms for the word ‘man’ is completed by the lexeme ғажұл which is used only in the bookish style, while its female counterpart acquires four dysphemisms қатын/’woman’, ұрғашы/’female’ (when used as an adjective the lexeme ұрғашы does not render derogatory connotations – see Table 2; as a noun, it is pejorative when referred to a human being), ұл/ ‘small-headed’, әйел/ literally ‘long hem’ and one synonym of the elevated style әқжаулық/literally ‘white covering’ which refers to a married woman (at the wedding ceremony, when a bride enters her future husband’s house, her head is covered with a white scarf).

When used in the plural form, the lexeme әйелдер/’women’ is interchangeable with the synonym қыз-келінішкелер/’(young) women’ that points to the age of women who are referred to as the compound noun consists of the lexeme қыз/’girl’ and келінішкелер/(young married) women’.

The lexemes ұл/’boy’ and қыз/’girl’ have the synonyms that are practically out of use in the modern language: атұстар/literally ‘horse-rider’ and қырықжеті literally ‘forty seven’. The latter is characterized as obsolete (Болғанбаев 1999) and dates back to the old tradition to give the engaged girl’s parents precious gifts – forty seven in number.

Beside ұл бала/’male child’ and қыз бала/’female child’, there are compounds еркек бала/literally ‘man child’ and әйел бала/literally ‘woman child’ that can be rendered as ‘a boy’ and ‘a girl’.

The compound nouns that contain the lexemes қыз/’girl’ and еркек/’man’ but are characterized by opposite reference are қызтеке (literally ‘girl goat’) used to mock the men with feminine manners (now is also used in dictionaries as an equivalent for the English ‘hermaphrodite’) and еркекшора/’tomboy’ used to refer to a girl brought up and dressed like a boy.

Apart from the nouns, there are several verbs that are gender-specified, i.e. are used to refer either to men or to women.

The Kazakh ержету (comprised of the lexemes ‘man’ and ‘reach’) – to grow up – can denote both males and females who have come of age (cf. the Greek
αντρόνοματ), while δοιξετυ (comprised of ‘height’ and ‘reach’) – to grow up, to come of age can be applied only in reference to a girl.

Хасанулы (2007: 109) shows that the verbs айттыру – ‘to arrange engagement for a girl’ and сыңсу – ‘a farewell song of a bride which she sings leaving her home and family’ are used in reference to women only (the tradition of a farewell song is nearly out of practice now).

Other verbs that denote wedding ceremonies are gender-informative as well: the combination босаға атта/ literally ‘to step over one’s threshold’ can be said only of a woman (it means that she has got married having entered her husband’s house).

Different are the verbs to say that a person ‘had his child – son or daughter – married’: when it is a girl, it is said қызын ұзатты, if it is a son – ұлын ұйлендірді. The verb ұйлену/ to marry has intransitive (ұйлену) and transitive (ұйлендіру) forms. As for the transitive verb ұзату, a woman who is getting married does not function as the subject; it is the parents who ‘have a daughter married’. Such a difference is due to the tradition practised in the old times when the decision about the son’s or daughter’s marriage was taken by the parents: if the son had a chance to choose his future spouse (in case his parents had not already arranged his engagement), the daughter could not make her own choice. With the old tradition no more valid today, the combination қыздарын ұзатты means that the parents organized their daughter’s wedding party.

Gender-specifying are the verbs ұйлену and тұрмысқа шығу or күйеуге шығу – ‘to get married’: the former implies a man, the latter two – a woman, with the both functioning as subjects in combinations with the verbs in question.

2 Kinship terms. The description of basic kin terms is based on Сарыбаева (1991) whose dissertation deals with the structural, semantic and stylistic peculiarities of kinship terms in the Kazakh language. Basic kin terms implies that the lexemes to denote one’s distant kin like шӛбере келін/’great-grandson’s wife’, intensified forms like қарын бӛле/literally ‘cousin by womb’ (i.e. a child of one’s mother’s sister), uterine and consanguineous kin, and, generally, obsolete lexemes токал/’second wife’ and detailed descriptions (e.g., the term жездеге/’brother-in-law’ refers both to one’s sister’s husband and to one’s father’s sister’s husband) are omitted.
The Kazakhs distinguish mother’s and father’s kin using әта/’grandfather’ – әже/’grandmother’ for the father’s parents and нағашы әта/’grandfather’ – нағашы әже/’grandmother’ for the mother’s parents.

In the Kazakh society the factor of age, especially of old age, in most social settings can be more than or as powerful as that of gender. The hierarchical relationships within the Kazakh family structure where the elders are to be treated with deference are manifest in kin terms, which are clearly informative to which generation and gender each member belongs in relation to others. For instance, there are three terms to refer to siblings:

аға – ’elder brother’
іні – ’younger brother’, used by males
бауыр – ’younger brother’, used by females (now used by males, too)
апай – ‘elder sister’
қарыңдас – ‘younger sister’, used by males
сіңлі – ‘younger sister’, used by females.

The terms for one’s in-laws are also suggestive of the referent’s age and gender in relation to the speaker:

жезде –‘brother-in-law’ (elder sister’s husband)
күйеу (бала) – ‘son- & brother-in-law’ (daughter’s or younger sister’s husband)
жанге – ‘sister-in-law’ (elder brother’s wife)
келін – ‘daughter- & sister-in-law’ (son’s or younger brother’s wife).

The terms above do not differentiate the speaker’s gender, i.e. they are used by both males and females, in contrast to those given below that refer to one’s co-siblings-in-law and can be used only by a man or a woman:

бажа – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (wife’s sister’s husband)
абысын – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (husband’s brother’s wife)
қайын ага – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (husband’s elder brother)
қайын іні – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (husband’s younger brother)
қайын апа, қайын бике – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (husband’s elder sister)
қайын сіңіз – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (husband’s younger sister)
балдыз – ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (wife’s younger brother; now is used to refer to any
of her younger siblings).

That is, the terms to be used by the daughter- or sister-in-law to refer to her co-
siblings are more elaborate in comparison to those used by a man to speak about his
wife’s brothers and sisters. The word келін/’daughter- or sister-in-law’ actually denotes
the person who comes, enters the family (кел means ‘to come’). It emphasizes the
importance of the family and the distinction between in-group and out-group members.

As it is evident, most of the kin terms are not only gender-differentiating but are
gender-differentiated in use, i.e. can be used only by men or women accordingly.

Apart from gender-specifying lexemes, there are gender-neutral terms. For
instance, the pair күйеу/’husband’ – әйел/’wife’ along with the synonyms бай – қатын
(colloquial, vulgar forms) have gender-neutral зайып, жар, жұбай, қосақ, жар-
жолдас/’spouse’, ‘half’ to refer both to the husband and to the wife.

The following compounds that contain these kin terms display what kind of
behaviour and manners of men and women are viewed as unacceptable in the Kazakh
society and are therefore disapproved of:

қатынбасша (formed by the derogatory қатын/’woman’ plus басшал/’headed’)
– a man considered to be ‘under the thumb’ of his wife or too much involved in
women’s jobs (cooking and the like);

күшік күйеу (composed of the lexemes күшік/’puppy’ and күйеу/’husband’;
roughly can be translated as ‘’tamed’’ son-in-law’) – is used to refer to the man
who, after establishment of marital alliance, accepts to live together with his
wife’s family in her parents’ house (can be paralleled to the Greek ἐσώγαμπρος).

There are kinship terms that are neutral in terms of reference but are gender-
specifying in other sense:
                                                                            

боле/’cousin’ is used to denote children (both male and female) of the sisters;

нагашы/’uncle’ or ‘aunt’ (the mother’s relatives);

торқін жұрт is a collective noun to denote a married woman’s own family and relatives;

жиең/’grandchild’ – a child of one’s sister or daughter,

жиеңшар/’greatgrandchild’ (a son or a daughter of жиең).

In Kazakh the terms for grandchildren do not have any gender differentiation for a referent but are differentiated in accordance to whether the child is the son’s or daughter’s. The kin terms жиең and жиеңшар refer to grandchildren in the daughter’s line. The child(ren) of the son are: немере/’grandchild’, шәбере/’greatgrandchild’, шәпшек/’grandchild’ (the forth generation), немене/’grandchild’ (the fifth generation), туажат/’grandchild’ (the sixth generation), жүрежат/’grandchild’ (the seventh generation).

The description of descending generations in the son’s line is as detailed as that of the seven preceding generations. As Кенжеахметұлы (2001: 34) shows, the scale of seven generations ascends as follows: 1. Бала/’child’ . 2. Әке/’father’ 3. Ата/’grandfather’. 4. Арғы ата/’great-grandfather’. 5. Баба/’forefather’. 6. Түп ата/’grandfather-progenitor’. 7. Тек ата/’grandfather-propositus’.

The Kazakhs make use of the kin terms that describe the relations between a person and his/her descendants, says Сарыбаева (1991: 19), for the people to be aware of their membership in a certain grouping and for the intention to keep to the law of clan exogamy. Every Kazakh, be it a male or female, is to know his/her roots, his or her grandfathers up to the seventh line and the group or clan he/she comes from: therefore the kin terminology is elaborate as it is helpful in the genealogical identification of a person and the genealogical list, as a rule, includes men: grandfathers, sons and grandsons (some exceptions are given in Personal names below). It is one of the primary duties of the parents that their child knows the preceding generation lines. It is done with the aim to prevent any possibility of marriage between people who can be
related by blood to each other and, consequently, with the aim to have healthy descendants. The person who does not possess this knowledge is strongly disapproved of: Жеті атасын әймейтін жетесіз/Unwise is the one who is unaware of his seven grandfathers’ and vice versa: Жеті атасын әйген үл жеті жұрттың қамын жері/’The son who knows his seven grandfathers will take care of seven communities’. The tradition of Жеті Ата/Seven Grandfathers’ is described in Кенжеахметұлы (1997) as one of the treasures of the Kazakh people.

The word бала/’child’ is neutral in meaning and refers both to a male and a female child and very rarely can one hear it used to refer to a male child only (cf. the Greek παρδί). The latter phenomenon is more often observed in the South and the West of Kazakhstan that are known to be more traditional than the East and the North of the country.

3 Personal names. In the Kazakh language personal names are metaphorical and, in their majority, gender-informative.

Асылбекова (2006: 20) in her examination of the motivational and cognitive aspects of Kazakh proper names shows that gender is taken into consideration in naming a child: girls’ names often contain such components as шаш/’hair’, қоз/’eye’, ғұл/’flower’, сұлтап/’beautiful’, бұке, бибі/’girl’ (of noble origin in the old times), while the components of boys’ names are сұлтан/’sultan’, хан/’khan’, батыр/’hero’, ғали/’respected’, etc.

She divides all the stock of proper names into three groups:

1. names that can be given to males only: Абылай, Қабанбай, Бөгенбай
2. names that can be given to females only: Айна, Айғұл, Әсем
3. names that are gender-neutral, i.e. can be used to name either a boy or a girl: Жанат, Дидар, Асыл.

The lexemes ғұл/’flower’, ай/’moon’ (in Oriental poetry and prose moon is a symbol of beauty), әк/’white’, сұлтап/’beautiful’, алтын/’gold’, құміс/’silver’, маржан/’pearl’ used in women’s first names (Калиев 1996; Серікбаева 2003; Асылбекова 2006) suggest that typically feminine features must be beauty, grace, innocence, tenderness.
Калиев (1996: 70) indicates that the possibility of the names of flowers to turn into female names appears when these flowers are associated with beauty and tenderness, like Жанар or Жанаргул/‘asphodel’, Еңлік or Еңлікгул/‘edelweiss’, Қаламтыр/‘carnation’, Қызғалдақ/‘tulip’, Райхан/‘basil’, Раушан/‘rose’.


The component шаш/‘hair’ is used only in female names since long beautiful hair is considered to be a feature typical only of a girl: Алтыншаш/‘golden-hair(ed)’, Сүмбілшаш/‘long-hair(ed)’, Сұлушаш/‘beautiful-hair(ed)’, Қарашаш/‘dark-hair(ed)’ (Асылбекова 2006: 20).

Men’s first names composed with the help of the lexemes хан/‘khan’, ер/‘man’, ‘hero’, бай/‘rich’, бек/‘nobleman’, ‘strong’ emphasize that their bearers are to be strong, willed, and are to succeed in life. That is why boys are often named in honour of great personalities: governors, wise judges, heroes, writers and poets, statesmen. For instance in the city of Taraz, according to Асылбекова (2006: 21), 60-65% of male children born within 2003-2004 were named in honour of the national heroes, khans, great scholars, writers: Ерасыл, Магауия, Бекболат, Нұрсұлтан, Абылай, Кенесары, Қазыбек, Мұстафа, Сұлтан, Қараш, Қамбыл, etc. Gender expectations often reflected in the very meaning of a male name are reinforced by the associations (courage, intellect, talent, will, leadership, wisdom) the names of the great personalities evoke.

Тілеубердиев (2006: 86), however, stresses that the Kazakh people do not consider courage and heroism to be typical of men only since the national history witnessed a lot of women renowned for their fearlessness and brevity. As an example that both men and women are of equal significance for the society, he gives names with the lexeme ел in their structure which can be rendered as ‘nation’, ‘people’, ‘country’. Boys are named Елдос/‘nation’ + ‘friend’, Елхан/‘nation’ + ‘khan’, Елжан/‘nation’ + ‘soul’, while girls usually receive Елдана/‘nation’ + ‘wisdom’, Елнұр/‘nation’ + ‘light’, Елсана/‘nation’ + ‘consciousness’, ‘intellect’. The second
component of names displays in what way men and women are related to the nation: men are supposed to bear responsibility for safety of the country and it is men who lead the people, but men are, on the other hand, born and brought up by women and it is, first of all, women who define the future of the nation since the proper upbringing of the next generations is primarily dependent on them.

Another fact pointed to is the use of female names as genonyms, i.e. names of groups and clans, along with male ones. The genealogy of the Kazakh people provides a number of female genonyms: Домалақ ене, Дәулетбике, Алтын, Мәукеш, Айбике, Нурбике, Улдай (Сейдімбек 1997). That is, there are clans named after women – their founders and progenitresses.

A “paradox” concerning personal names consists in naming a female child Ұлболсын/literally ‘boy to be’, Ұлбалы/’boy child’, Ұлтуган, Ұлтуар/’boy born’, Ұлболе/’boy baby’ and other names with the component ұ/’boy’: Ұлдана, Ұлтан, Ұлжан, Ұлтай. The Kazakh name-giving based on certain popular beliefs demonstrates, according to Снасапова (2003: 22), how strong is the trust of people in the great power of the word. A name with the component ұ/’boy’ in its structure is given to a daughter when the parents wish much the next child to be a son (in the families that have only female children).

Nowadays there is a tendency to add the Russian affix -a to Kazakh female names: for instance, instead of Айжан, Гүлжан, Гүлнәр there appear Айжана, Гульжана, Гульнара. As Тілеубердиев (2006: 47) explains, this phenomenon is evoked by the influence of the Russian language (in which it is an inflexion of feminine gender nouns) and culture. The tendency to attach borrowed feminine suffixes to first names is typical for the speech of inhabitants of the northern and eastern regions where the percentage of the Russian population is high.

As for last names and patronymics in Kazakh, those that are kept unaltered from the Soviet times contain Russian suffixes of masculine and feminine gender:

-ов, -ова, -ев, -ева and others (in last names)
-ович, -овна (in patronymics).

In the original Kazakh variant two ways are possible:
1. when the lexemes ұлы/"son of" and қызы/"daughter of" are attached to the name of the father, thus making it easy to identify the person as male or female; a personal name formed in this way can be used as a last name or, more often, as a patronymic;

2. the anthroponymical formula consists of one’s first name, patronymic and last name (the latter two – without any borrowed affixes). In this case, it is the first name that helps in gender orientation.

If a name is gender-neutral, then it is only the context that clarifies the gender of the bearer.

4 Occupational terms. As for occupational terms in modern Kazakh, it is only the pair төрөгә/"chairman" – төрәйым/"chairwoman" that displays the gender distinction.

Some gendered occupational nouns have lost their primary meaning: for instance, the pair сері – наз. In the old times the lexemes сері or сал-сері were used to refer to a man-poet, improvisator and musician/composer, while наз was used for his female colleague. They travelled from place to place entertaining people by their verses and music. Nowadays with the occupation completely gone out of practice, the word наз is not used, while сері stays in the active vocabulary in the meaning ‘nicely/elegantly dressed’ in reference to men.

The terms медбиби, медбике/"nurse’ (literally ‘med(ical) girl’)  are cases of partial loan translation from the Russian медсестра/literally ‘med(ical) sister’.

Some borrowings from Russian also differentiate people by gender: актер/"actor’ – актриса/"actress’.

The lexeme ага/’elder brother’ is widely applied in different occupational titles irrespective of one’s gender:

ага муғалым – ‘senior teacher’
ага оқытушы – ‘senior lecturer’
ага маман – ‘senior’ or ‘head specialist’.

Address forms. The use of address forms in Kazakh, as Шадкам (2004: 94-99) says, varies according to the formality of the situation, a person’s social status, age and sex, occupation and position, education, place of residence, kin relations. Based on the survey of literature, address terms in Kazakh can be divided into the following groups:
1) personal names. It is first name + last name or deferential first name + patronymic formulae that are used in the formal situation. First name only is exchanged in informal communication between relatives, friends, and well-acquainted people.

In Kazakh the first name can express (Мамаева 2003: 22-23) high deference to the addressee when attached the affixes -ақа, -аға, -ақа, -әке, -әке, -қа, -қе:

Жәке from Жамбыл
Ереке from Ерасыл
Сәке from Сарыбай.

Shortened forms of male names: for instance, Мұхан from Мұхтар, belong to the category of honorifics as well. As a rule, honorific forms of address are exchanged between male communicators.

2) kin terms. Kin terms, according to Шадкам (2004: 95), can be used either separately or in combination with one’s first name. Taking into consideration that they can designate collateral relatives differently, the address forms will vary with regard to whom a speaker addresses: representatives (grandmother/grandfather or uncle/aunt) of his/her mother’s or father’s family. They will vary according to his/her age/generation and gender in relation to other members of the family (Шадкам 2004: 95).

Kazakh address forms in out-group relationships are extensively based on kinship terminology as well. Adoption of kin terms for communication in other than family social settings shows that the family for the Kazakhs is the primary community and communication skills developed within a family are extended to external relationships. For instance, kin terms are widely applied as address forms by salespersons at market places in order to urge customers to buy things via shortening the distance between sellers and buyers and creating close and ‘family’ relations.

Kinship terms can also be attached the affix –әке (which is used, as it has been mentioned above, for the formation of an honorific name):

әға + әке = әғеке/’brother’ (deferential),
апа + әке = апеке/’sister’ (deferential),
ата + әке = атеke/’grandfather’ (deferential) (Жанпейісов et al. 2002: 448).
According to Сарыбаева (1991: 25-26), the honorific suffixes, along with diminutive-endearing elements like –жан, -тай, -шек, are used in Kazakh only in the lexemes that denote people of elder generations:

анашым, анажан – ’mother’,
жеке, жежан, жетай – ’father’,
апеке, апажан, апатаи – ’elder sister’, while in lexemes that refer to people of younger generations they are much more rarely used: инише – ’younger brother’.

Мамаева (2003: 22-23) describes other peculiarities of address forms in the Kazakh language: men tend to use address forms that point to one’s age like қария/’old man’, бауырым/’(younger) brother’, жігіт/’guy’, инише/’younger brother’, бала/’child, or to definite traits of one’s character and individual features as батыр/’hero’, сері/’nicely-dressed’, кӛкжат/’wolf’ with the connotation: brave, fearless, etc. Women do not address the elderly with such words as ақсақал/literally ‘white beard’, қария/’old man’ as men do; they use ата/’grandfather’ instead.

Kin terms are preceded by the first name when used as a combination (Шадкам 2004: 95):

Құдайберген ата – grandfather Kudaibergen
Толеухан ага – (elder) brother Toleukhan
Айнаш апа – grandmother Ainaš
Балауса тәте – aunt Balausa.

This form of address is used both in informal and formal settings. For instance, schoolchildren can use either the kin terms ага(й)/’elder brother’, апай/’elder sister’ or first name + ага(й)/’elder brother’, first name + апай/’elder sister’ instead of first name + patronymic to address the teacher.

3) emotive address forms. Emotive address forms are those that express affective, loving attitude of the speaker to the addressee. In Kazakh they are, as a rule, attached the ending of the Possessive Case -(ы)м that is rendered into English by the possessive pronoun ‘my’.

These address forms can be grouped, according to Бакытов (2005: 17; 24), with account of the addressee’s age, sex, occupation, social status, position, kin relations. For instance, while such lexemes as ыңрағым/’my dear’ (literally ‘my light’),
“my dearest one”, “my dear”, “my baby”, “my little one” are used when addressing children irrespective of their sex, the combination “little prankster” (literally ‘black prankster’) is used by the parents when addressing the son only. The lexemes “my pampered one”, “my flower”, composed of the noun “earring” + (my – the possessive case inflexion) are used to address the daughter. Similarly, the lexeme “my light”) is used by the husband to address his wife.

The examples display that among emotive forms of address those that differentiate either the speaker, or the hearer, or both by his/her gender are typical only for an exchange among family members.

4) collective address forms. In order to address the public the following are applied: literally ‘brothers’ (a metaphorical male generic), ‘people’, ‘nation’, ‘people’, ‘community’. According to Мамаева (2003: 22), these forms also tend to be used by men.

The form “Ladies and gentlemen’ can be heard in very official settings – at the opening ceremonies, at concerts, etc. Similar to Russian, they have come out as a substitute for the gender-neutral “comrade(s)” (cf. the Russian “товарищ(и)” that was used in the Soviet period). The modern language applies the word “comrade” as a deferential form of address to a woman (still not in a wide use).

Generally, it can be concluded that in the Kazakh society it is the factor of age that is decisive in the choice of an address form. It is manifest in the use of honorific address forms that convey deference to addressees older in age.

The ‘honorific’ dimension makes itself present in the second person pronouns. The difference in age, power, and status is also mediated by the T/V distinction (singular form) versus (plural form). It is always the plural form of the second person pronoun used to people who are older, higher in rank and status. But there are also some variations: for instance, if it is nonreciprocal V from students to teachers at school, the use of V pronoun is reversed within the walls of Universities and Institutes: students from the very moment they enter the University are also addressed by teachers with V pronoun.
The differences in use are observed regionally: in the South of Kazakhstan, where people are more conservative about traditions, respectful forms with non-reciprocal V pronoun may be used to all generations above the speaker – including one’s siblings and in-laws.

However, the demands and order established at certain institutions can eraze the peculiarities of addressing people caused by the factors of gender and age: for example, in the army where it is a military rank that determines the choice of an address form.
1.1.4 Linguistic gender in the Russian language

Lexical gender

1 Sex markers. According to Зайковская (2007: 2), in the Russian language the lexemes that denote people by their sex differ among themselves either by the sense of ‘age’: мальчик/’boy’ – юноша/’youth’ – мужчина/’man’ – старики/’old man’ or by regional use: юноша/’youth’, парень/’guy’ – without regional marking and хлопец/’boy’, ‘guy’ marked as ‘southern’. These lexemes form opposite pairs with the lexemes that refer to people of female sex:

мужик/’man’ – баба/’woman’
мужчина/’man’ – женщина/’woman’
парень/’fellow’, ‘guy’ – девушка/’girl’
мальчик/’boy’ – девочка/’girl’

(Зайковская 2007: 2).

The synonyms мужик – баба and мужчина – женщина differ by the registers they are used in: the first pair of lexemes is used in the colloquial language while the second is characteristic of the neutral and the official style.

The lexemes мальчик/’boy’ and девочка/’girl’ cover childhood and teenage years of a person.

The lexemes парень/’fellow’, ‘guy’ – девушка/’girl’ are also typical of colloquial use. Their neutral synonyms are юноша/’youth’ – девушка/’girl’. These lexemes, in their turn, have different explanations in the dictionaries (Большой толковый словарь русского языка 1998):

dевушка/’girl’ – лицо женского пола, достигшее физической зрелости, но не состоящее в браке/’a person of female sex who has reached maturity but not married’;

юноша/’youth’ – лицо мужского пола в возрасте, переходном от отрочества к возмужанию, молодой человек/’a person of male sex at the age between adolescence and maturity, young man’.

The definition of the latter does not point to his marital status, whereas it is found important for the former. The significance of marital status for women is manifest
in the pejorative connotations of the lexeme старая дева/‘old maid’, ‘spinster’, in contrast to the neutral холостяк/‘bachelor’. However, there are lexemes denoting unmarried people that do not differ in evaluative characteristics: for example, бобыль/‘single man’ and бобылка, бобылиха/‘single woman’ characterized in the dictionaries (Больной толковый словарь русского языка 1998) as усилен./‘intensified’ and разг./‘colloquial’ intensify the solitary, lonely existence of people without a spouse and a family. The expressions with these lexemes in their structure enforce this meaning: жить бобыль бобылем – ‘to live a lonely life’.

Doleshal & Schmid (2001: 262) who studied entries for nouns with the feature [female] in Russian-Russian dictionaries contend that only few nouns are listed as independent entries in their feminine form (молодчина/‘splendid person’, супруга/‘wife’), while in the recent dictionaries the majority are often additionally labelled as разг./‘colloquial’, устар./‘archaic’ or even прост./‘vulgar’.

In the Dictionary of synonyms (Александрова 1989), it is the lexeme женщина/‘woman’ that abounds in synonyms classified as ‘colloquial’, ‘archaic’, ‘derogatory’ in contrast to мужчина/‘man’, while the other pairs of lexemes старик/‘old man’ – старуха/‘old woman’, юноша/‘youth’ – девушка/‘girl’, мальчик/‘boy’ – девочка/‘girl’ do not display such a sharp difference:

мужчина/‘man’ – дядя/literally ‘uncle’(colloq. and childrenese); дядька/literally ‘uncle’ (diminutive), мужик (vulgar); муж/‘man’ (archaic and elevated);

женщина/‘woman’ – дама/lady’; особа/lady’ (disapproving); тетя, тетенька (diminutive)/literally ‘aunt’ (colloq. & childrenese); дамочка/lady’ (diminutive); тетка/literally ‘aunt’ (diminutive), баба/‘woman’ (vulgar); бабенка/‘woman’ (diminutive) (vulgar, derogatory); бабец/‘woman’ (coarse and vulgar); дочь Евы/‘Eve’s daughter’ (bookish, humorous); жена/‘woman’ (archaic); женка/‘woman’ (archaic, colloquial).

Such an attitude may be paralleled to the various familial roles of women (those of a mother, a daughter, a sister, and a wife): it is the concept of ‘mother’ that is an
absolutely positive image, while that of ‘a woman – a wife’, as Doleshal & Schmid (2001: 271) show, is the embodiment of all the negative stereotyping.

2 Kinship terms. According to Сарыбаева (1991: 4), the Russian kinship terminology has preserved the features of “a big family” that played a great role in the development of family and marital relations in the Russian society.

Russian kinship terms are possessive of both grammatical and lexical gender. Apart from the nouns that demonstrate a complete correspondence between the meaning of the word and its morphological characteristics like прадед/’great-grandfather’ – прабабушка/’great-grandmother’, брат/’brother’ – сестра/’sister’, жених/’bride-groom’ – невеста/’bride’, there are lexemes such as папа/’father’, ‘Dad’ or дядя/’uncle’ that follow the semantic criterion of gender assignment (see Grammatical gender below).

The pair муж/’husband’ and жена/’wife’ has several synonyms: мужик – баба (colloquial style); благоверный – благоверная (labelled as ‘humorous’). Besides, it is possible to come across моя лучшая половина/’my better half’ instead of жена/’wife’.

Russian, in contrast to Greek and Kazakh, provides two terms for parents-in-law: теща – тёща to refer to the wife’s father and mother, свекр – свекровь to refer to the husband’s parents.

Some terms to refer to in-laws are both gender-differentiating and gender-differentiated in use: свояк/’co-sibling-in-law’ (wife’s sister’s husband), шурин/’brother-in-law’ (wife’s brother) are used by a man, while деверь/’brother-in-law’ (husband’s brother), золовка/’sister-in-law’ (husband’s sister) are correspondingly used by a woman to refer to the spouse’s relatives.

As for gender-marking verbs, Russian has two different verbs for marry: in case of man it is жениться, of a woman – выйти замуж.

There are other verbs derived from kinship terms: e.g., усыновить – ‘to adopt a son’ (derived from сын/’son’) and удочерить – ‘to adopt a daughter’ (formed analogically from the noun дочь/’daughter’). Despite the component сын/’son’ in its structure, the verb усыновить can be used generically (cf. the Greek verb νικέτω): for instance, Усыновить мальчика и двух девочек/’to adopt a boy and two girls’
3 Personal names. The research on connotations of personal names (Кисель 2009: 22) emphasizes that all the names are, in one way or the other, gender marked and possessive of evaluative implications.

Specifically, with regard to the Russian first names and their relation to gender, Сюхакова (2002: 9) contends that they differ from Kazakh first names by the extent of gender dichotomization. In Kazakh, proper names are characterized by the ‘male’ – ‘female’ polarization: male names are related to the notions of a high social status, strength, wealth, are inherent of military symbolism: Кайрат/’power’, ‘strength’, Султан/’sultan’, etc.; female names are related to the semantic fields of ‘appearance’, of senses (tactile and taste): Нургуль/’light’ + ‘flower’, Асем/’beautiful’, Шекер/’sugar’, etc. Russian names of Slavic origin do not keep so sharp a demarcation of masculinity and femininity and are to a much lesser degree related to the military domain: for instance, Владимир/’(one who) possesses the world’, Любомир/’(one who) loves the world’, Святослав/’good by holiness’, Изяслав/’(one who) took glory’.

Russian masculine names, in contrast to Greek, have in their diminutive forms the inflexion –а (associated with the feminine gender): Володенька, Добрынюшка (formed on analogy with the female names Наденька, Любушка).

As for names derived from the same root, Кисель (2009: 13) notes that in the Russian word-stock the quantity of names that can be both masculine and feminine is unlimited (Александр – Александра, Валентин – Валентина). The gender distinction in these names is manifest via morphological means, while their informative potential and etymology remain unchanged.

A survey of dictionaries of Russian names done in Леонтьева’s (2003) study shows that there is a rich variety of such pairs. The problem is how many of them are in use today. According to Леонтьева (2003), the Russian vocabulary is estimated to have about 2600 names, but only a small part is actively used. As the most typical pair names she gives the following: Александр – Александра, Евгений – Евгения, Валентин – Валентина, Виктор – Виктория, Валерий – Валерия. At the same time this list is enlarged by the derivation of feminine names from typically masculine ones.
Thus, in the city of Rostov there appeared Виталия, Владислава, Станислава, Ярослава, Руслана. The so called ‘pair names’ gradually tend to turn into predominantly feminine names: Виктория and Валерия have practically ousted their masculine counterparts.

The diminutive forms of these names (Саша from Александр – Александра, Женя from Евгений – Евгения, Валя from Валентин – Валентина, Лера from Валерий – Валерия) are classified as common gender nouns (Галкина-Федорук et al. 1957: 212-213). Their modifiers vary according to the gender of the referent: ‘dear Sasha’: милый Саша (masculine) – милая Саша (feminine); ‘snub-nosed Jenya Petrov(a)’: курносая Женя Петрова (feminine) – курносый Женя Петров (masculine).

A woman can be referred to by the masculine form of the diminutive form of a name that, in its turn, triggers masculine agreement:

Лизок у нас хороший
Lizok (masculine) with us good (masculine)
‘Little Lizzy is a good sport’.

According to Doleshal & Schmid (2001: 265), such a use occurs in motherese and language of love and has an endearing or upgrading function.

As to last names and patronymics, in Russian they contain gender marking suffixes -ов, -ов-а, -ович, -ов-на: Петров (masculine last name), Петрова (feminine last name), Петрович (masculine patronymic), Петровна (feminine patronymic).

**Grammatical gender.** Similar to Greek, in the Russian language nouns are marked for masculine, feminine and neuter gender.

Morphologically the gender of the noun is expressed in the Nominative singular. Syntactically, the grammatical gender in Russian is manifest in the behaviour of the target forms: attributive adjectives, pronouns, some numerals, participles, predicative adjective or pronoun, verbs in the past tense, and conditional form of the verb. In the plural number gender is neutralized with the exception of оба”’both’ and полтора”’one and a half”, as Doleshal & Schmid (2001: 256) show (as we will see in **2.3, 2.4 of Part II**, the use of the plural pronoun ‘we’ in political discourse and, correspondingly,
neutralization of target genders prevents the wide use of the grammatical gender in the Russian interviews).

Morphological characteristics of the nouns are as follows: all nouns that end in a consonant are masculine: отец/"father", all nouns that end in –a are feminine: мама/"mother", all nouns that end in –o are neuter: вино/"wine’ though, as Doleshal (2000: 121) argues, not all forms of nouns display such a perfect correspondence. The first class also includes (see Галкина-Федорук et al. 1957; Русская грамматика 1980) masculine nouns that end in –а, -я and refer to male persons: дядя/’uncle’, юноша/’young man’, мужчина/’man’, Петя (male name), воевода/’commander’; neuter gender nouns can denote animate beings: подмастерье/’apprentice’ (only the exceptions that concern human beings are picked up from the authors referred).

The category of gender, purely arbitrary for inanimate nouns, turns in animate nouns, according to Галкина-Федорук (1957: 209), into a lexico-grammatical category since in these nouns the category of gender is not only formal but functional/semantic.

In Russian the semantic criterion of gender assignment (masculine and feminine) covers lexemes that denote people (Lexical gender above) and animals. As for the neuter gender, it is characteristic of nouns that denote inanimate objects and is used in reference to a human being (Русская грамматика 1980: §1136) only in a limited number of cases:

детя/’child’
лицо/’person’
существо/’creature’
ничтожество/’good-for-nothing’

and in metaphorical use:
чудовищем/’monster’
чудище/’monster’
страшилище/’fright’.

Russian provides some common gender nouns, i.e. those that take feminine gender with female referents and masculine gender with male referents. They include three groups (Галкина-Федорук et al. 1957: 212-213):
1) declinable common nouns with the –а, –я inflexions that give negative characteristics of a person. They are typical of colloquial speech: неряха/’slattern’, тихоня/’goody-goody’, капризуля/’capricious one’;
2) diminutive forms of personal (masculine and feminine) names derived from the same root (see **Personal names**);
3) indeclinable proper names of foreign origin.

Doleshal and Schmid (2001: 258) add another group to the list: feminine and masculine conversions of adjectives and participles: взрослая заведующая – взрослый заведующий/’adult manager’.

The Russian grammarians (Галкина-Федорук et al. 1957) demarcate common gender nouns from the nouns that can similarly be used to refer to male and female referents. These nouns are presented by two classes:
1) feminine, stylistically expressive, nouns that can be used to refer to people of male sex: змея/’snake’, свинья/’pig’, лиса/’fox’;
2) masculine nouns that characterize a person by occupation or traits and that can be used to refer to a person of female sex: знаток/’expert’, врач/’doctor’, борец/’fighter’. The above mentioned воевода/’commander’ along with the nouns судья/’judge, глава/’head’, коллега/’colleague’ belong to this group as well.

The fact that these nouns retain masculine and feminine agreement even when referred to people of either sex serves as the ground for distinguishing them from common gender nouns. Secondly, the feminine gender agreement of verbs (but not of adjectives and pronouns) with occupational terms is considered to be typical of colloquial speech. Though this type of agreement is reported (Русская грамматика 1980: §1139) to have penetrated into newspaper (which holds true for the Russian newspapers in my data as well) and fiction style:

Будущий филолог из Минска выиграла.
Future (masculine) philologist (masculine) from Minsk won (feminine)
‘A female future philologist from Minsk has won’.

Occupational terms form privative type of opposition. Though the language possesses various ways of coining feminine forms, they are rejected in official contexts. Yokoyama (1999) singles out three semantic classes of female designators:
1) Lexemes that have no slighting connotation in Modern Russian. These are kinship terms, human condition (женщина/"woman"), pupils (пятиклассница/"fifth-grader"), social status (крестьянка/"peasant"), wives (княгиня/"princess"), ecclesiastic status (монахиня/"nun"), canonization status (пророчица/"prophetess"), occupations (губернантка/"governess").

2) Feminine personal nouns that in informal mode convey no slighting, but in formal contexts their use implies that the referents are not taken with sufficient seriousness and must be replaced with masculine forms: e.g., математика/"mathematician", вахтерша/"door guard", фигуристка/"figure skater", пионерка/"Soviet girl scout".

3) A third group that consists of words that exhibit pejorative connotations: докторша/"doctor’s wife", генеральша/"general’s wife", композиторша/"composer", врачиха/"physician", деканша/"dean".

Yokoyama explains the gradations by socio-historical factors. The roles expressed by words in the first group are not contestable by men: only women can be mothers and sisters, and occupations denoted have been women’s since antiquity. As for the nouns in the second group, they denote recent social roles gained by women. The feminine forms in the last one are for social roles that are still perceived as generally male.

Thus, official discourse, with the aim to avoid negative connotations of feminizing suffixes, prefers masculine forms. The exception is special cases such as спортсмен/"sportsman" – спортсменка/"sportswoman", where there is a need to make a distinction due to different standards applied to male and female athletes.

Apart from suffixation, there is compounding which is not a very productive way of forming feminine nouns. It is applied, according to Doleshal & Schmid (2001: 261), very rarely in cases it is necessary to stress the gender: e.g., женщина-космонавт/"woman cosmonaut". They stress the fact that sometimes masculine nouns (драматург/"playwright", политик/"politician") cannot be feminized at all.

Unlike masculine nouns that can be used to name people (in the singular and plural) irrespective of their gender, lexemes of feminine gender cannot be used to refer to a man (except such few cases as умница/"a clever one" and when used in the figurative meaning: e.g., баба/"woman" (derogatory) is an insult when referred to a
A feminine noun can be used to refer to a male person due to the function performed: Он в доме и кухарка, и нянька/"At home he is both a cook and a nanny".

The generic use of the masculine is also illustrated (see Russkaya grammatika 1980: 1143) by the assignment of gender in indeclinable borrowed nouns where nouns that name female persons are of feminine gender (мисс/"Ms.", миссиес/"Mrs.", мадам/"Madam"), while masculine gender comprises nouns that refer to a person generally and nouns that denote one’s social position and occupation (буржуа/"bourgeois", атташе/"attaché").

Besides, interrogative and indefinite pronouns function as generics using masculine agreement.

Generally, masculine forms are preferable despite the fact that the Russian language has various morphological possibilities for making women present in language. The incongruence between grammatical gender of the noun and the gender of the referent is observed both in originally Russian and borrowed words.

**Address forms.** The most important social factors that determine the choice of an address form in Russian are defined by Айсакова (2008: 12) as follows: distance between speakers (acquaintance versus stranger), tone of communication (the extent to which communicators follow etiquette rules), social status and roles of interactants, the level of prestige determined by the social status and differences in social status.

Russian address forms include:

1. sex marking terms: мужчина/"man", женщина/"woman", девушка/"girl", молодой человек/"young man", парень/"guy".

Мужчина/"man’ and женщина/"woman’ appeared after the Revolution of 1917 to substitute for the ‘bourgeois’ words господин/"gentlemen’ and дама/"ladies’ and the colloquial terms мужик/"man’, дама/"lady’ that are equalled to obscene words when used as address forms and are therefore strongly disapproved of (Бесхмельницья et al. 2008: 5, 8; see also the article on language norm at the website of a Russian University http://dofa.ru/open/book/1_russ/raz1.htm).
Still, some sex markers are observed (Городникова 2005: 52) to dominate in the vocative function in informal communication with strangers: for instance, the address form мужик has acquired positive connotations (see examples in 1.4). The same process concerns the word баба, though it keeps its pejorative connotations when modified by the attributes глупая/’stupid’ and especially болтливая/’talkative’.

An unproblematic one is the form девушка/’girl’ which is considered to be polite and equal to the pre-revolutionary барышня/’Ms.’ It is normal to address a child with мальчик/’boy’ and девочка/’girl’ or gender-neutral детка/’baby’, ‘kid’. The forms старуха/old woman’, старая/old (woman’) are also characterized as insulting, while the word старик/’old man’ sounds quite good-hearted (Бесхмельницьна et al. 2008: 5, 9).

The address forms мальчики/’boys’, девочки/’girls’, старик/’old man’, старуха/old woman’ lose their primary meaning when interchanged among young adults (Щербинина 2007: 17).

There are rude and familiar address forms used in the colloquial speech mostly by men (young and middle-aged with the education of a secondary school or a secondary technical school). These address terms (телка/literally ‘female calf’, сука/’bitch’, мужик/’man’ (colloquial), чувак/’guy’, ‘dude’, чувиха/’girl’ (derogatory) баба/’woman’ (colloquial) classify people according to their gender and come from the jargon (Айсакова 2008: 20).

2. Social status. The address form дамы и господа/’ladies and gentlemen’ is applied in official contexts (it is impolite to address the audience that consists of men and women by Господа/’Gentlemen’ only).

The words господин/’Mr.’ and господа/’gentlemen’ are in the centre of the hottest disputes. Specifically, the lexemes господин/’Mr.’ and госпожа/’Mrs.’, ‘Madam’ are recommended to be used in highly official situations and only on the condition that even there they sound neutral. They are to be accompanied by a lexeme denoting one’s position: господин директор/’Mr. Director’, господин учитель/’Mr. Teacher’, господин судья/’Mr. Judge’ or better by one’s last name. They are used without any accompanying elements only in the plural, when addressing the public.
When господин/'Mr.’ appears in the singular, it is perceived as insulting (Бесхмельницьна et al. 2008: 9).

Айсакова (2008: 23) observes that generally the word is associated with a highly intellectual and cultured person, and for this reason sounds out of place in public transport and in outdoor advertisements. This divergence in perception and the sphere of usage is applied for ironical, joking form of addressing the public, e.g., passengers of minibuses (shuttles) are often requested in writing «Господа! Семечки, фисташки, бананы – просьба есть вместе с кожурой!»/'Gentlemen! You are kindly requested to eat sunflower seeds, peanuts, and bananas together with shells and peels!”.

Polite informal communication resorts to the terms сударь/'sir’ – сударыня/'madam’ as well (Городникова 2000: 52).

3. Kinship terms. Kinship terms отец/'father’, мать/'mother’, батя/'father’ (colloquial), сынок/'son’ (diminutive), браток, братец/'brother’ (diminutive) and the like can also be used in reference to unknown people. Some researchers (Кронгауз referred to in Бесхмельницьна et al. 2008: 10) characterize them as warm and typical of the colloquial familiar style; others consider their cordiality very imposing and provoking the irritation of the hearer (Зализняк 2003).

But it is considered quite normal for a child to address unknown adults with the kin terms тетя/'aunt’ and дядя/'uncle’.

Айсакова (2008: 14-16) points out that the following kinship terms may be used in certain sociolects and indicate the group a person is a member of:
- the lexeme братан/'brother’ is used as a form of address in the criminal jargon.
- братишка/'brother’ (diminutive), i.e. ‘younger brother’, is typical form of address in the sailors’ sociolect.
- the word батюшка/'father’ (diminutive) indicates that the addressee is a representative of the Russian clergy, a priest. Other lexemes such as отец/'father’, сестра, сестрица/'sister’, брат/'brother’ are used by the parish to separate selves and others. The pilgrims to monasteries not acquainted to each other use these words addressing each other.
- the lexeme дед/’grandfather’ is the traditional form that is applied by first-year soldiers in speaking to second-year soldiers, which signals a type of hierarchical relations in the army.
- another example is сестра/’nurse’. The word nurse is rendered into Russian by the compound медсестра that consists of two stems мед – contracted form of медицинская/’medical’ and сестра/’sister’. Only the second component is applied as an address form. The word медбрат/literally ‘med(ical) brother’ has recently appeared in Modern Russian to denote men in profession.

4. Gender-neutral term товарищ(и)/’comrade(s)’ This term that came into existence after the Revolution of 1917 was supposed to substitute for all the others. Since it was gender-neutral, it could be used with or without a proper name, an occupational term or a title of a hearer. Ideologically, it implied the equality between the communicators (http://dofa.ru/open/book/1_russ/raz1/htm).

Айсакова (2008: 10) places the term товарищ in the group of regulatives (according to the classification of address terms into two types: indexes and regulatives). Regulatives express the position of speakers, participate in distribution of social roles and regulate the interactants’ relations (e.g., гражданин/’citizen’, господин/’Mr.’, сударь/’sir’). Indexes fulfill the nominative function, they index the main traits and features of the addressee: kin, occupation, position (e.g., сосед/’neighbour’, больной/’patient’ (literally ‘sick’), клиент/’customer’, читатель/’reader’ (in the library), сестра/’nurse’, водитель/’driver’). One and the same word can fulfill, in different situations, the functions of regulatives and indexes, e.g., старик/’old man’ addressed to an old person (index), or to a friend irrespective of his age (regulative).

Городникова (2000: 52) notes that in the Soviet society there were no address forms that emphasized a person’s status and social value. The address товарищ/’comrade’ still used in the army functions as an attention-getter. As for the forms гражданин/’male citizen’ – граждanka/’female citizen’, they were typical of penitentiary institutions, court and militia.

Another gender-neutral term that has gained a stable place as an address form among educated people is коллега/’colleague’.
5. Personal names. Among forms of address, the most widely used are personal names. The survey of the research on personal names in the vocative function makes it possible to conclude that in Russian:

1. first name (a full or a diminutive name) speaks about close, friendly relations between speakers. Names attached diminutive suffixes express caressing and friendly attitude when addressing a person of one’s own age or the younger one (Щербинина 2007: 15-16).

   A full first name is characteristic of official contexts (Кронгауз 2006), when we use Александр, Константин instead of Саша, Костя and instead of the model first name + patronymic.

2. the model first name + patronymic is used when addressing a person who is older than the addressee, whose status is higher, whom the speaker respects or whom he/she does not know well. The Russian patronymic in general is reported to yield its position due to the influence of the English language: e.g., in the official style in the Soviet period the patronymic of high officials was never omitted, now it is surname + first name variant that is used more often.

3. patronymic instead of first name + patronymic when addressing old people acquires warm, intimate colouring (Кронгауз 2006).

4. the formula last name only can sound familiar when used out of a special situation (Щербинина 2007: 16). It can be added that the special context when such a usage is quite normal is to be found, for instance, at educational institutions and military units: students, cadets and soldiers receive last name only as an address form.

   In case one speaks to the person he/she has met before, it is recommended (see http://dofa.ru/open/book/1_russ/raz1/htm) to remember the name and patronymic and use them in addressing the person.

6. Emotive forms. As for emotive address forms like дорогой/’dear’ (masculine gender) or милая/’dear’ (feminine gender), when used to address unknown people they may evoke negative emotions (irritation) on the part of the addressee.

   Scholars (Бесхмельницька et al. 2008: 10; see http://dofa.ru/open/book/1_russ/raz1/htm) stress the fact that modern address forms lack
deference. The old forms are discredited; the new ones have not gained the place proper
in the etiquette of communication. For this reason, it is advisable to use the attention-
getters: Простите/’Sorry’, Скажите, пожалуйста…/’Tell (me), please…’
Извините/Excuse (me)’ that have only communicative force as their primary meaning
partially fades away.
1.1.5 Summary

As it is obvious from the survey of literature on linguistic gender, language does not simply reflect the human society as consisting of male and female beings. Each of the categories of linguistic gender provides much more information than simply denoting a person by his/her sex: it is his/her social and marital status, socially distributed gendered roles, values and expectations. Reflected in lexical units (codified by authoritative dictionaries) and grammatical forms in language they, therefore, define what it means to be a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’.

First of all, in the three languages in the group of **Lexical gender**, sex markers differ in their evaluative connotations for people of male and female sex: the extent of significance of one’s marital status is greater for people of female sex; unlike them, the lexemes that denote an unmarried male person are not followed by the notes ‘derogatory’ or ‘pejorative’ in the dictionaries.

In Greek, nouns denoting a person of male and female sexes and their derivatives are distinguished by a high degree of semantic asymmetry: men are valued much more positively in comparison to women.

In Kazakh, the class of sex markers elaborates on nouns for female reference that indicate age and marital status, along with the person’s sex; these lexemes lack counterparts for male reference. The interpretation of meanings of sex-marking lexemes in explanatory dictionaries defines the spheres meant for men and women: matters of national significance, common cause activities – for the former and domestic, family domain – for the latter. Sometimes lexical specification is necessary to refer to a woman, as due to social and historical factors the activities denoted by the nouns were considered to be typically men’s.

Remarkable is the fact that the lexeme that denotes a woman abounds in pejorative synonyms in Greek, Kazakh and Russian.

Kin terms are characterized by equipollent relations between pairs of nouns that refer to people of male and female sexes in all the three languages. Some kin terms that denote in-laws (in Kazakh blood kin as well) function both as gender-differentiating and gender-differentiated in use. In Kazakh, a number of kin terms are informative of the speaker’s gender and also takes into account if he/she refers to his/her father’s or
mother’s kins. Some kin terms are very elaborate (e.g., lexemes that refer to seven ascending and descending generations) due to the specificity of cultural traditions.

Verbs derived from nouns denoting a person’s sex and kin relations are often used as generics. As a rule, generic forms are those that denote people of male sex.

In Greek and Russian, grammatical gender indicates the sex of the referent in personal names: this rule holds for typically male and female names and to pair names as well. Diminutive forms of Russian masculine names, in contrast to Greek first names, acquire feminine gender. Like first names, last names and patronyms attach affixes of masculine and feminine gender to refer to people of different sexes. In Greek, a woman’s last name is formed via the Genitive of the man’s family name.

Russian first names are characterized as less gender-polarizing than Kazakh anthroponyms. In Kazakh, most first names are easily recognizable as male or female due to their meaning that prescribe their bearers to be ambitious and successful or tender and delicate. If a name is gender-neutral, then the last name and patronymic can be helpful in gender-orienting if they have gender-distinguishing affixes borrowed from Russian or gender-distinguishing Kazakh lexemes. If there are not any of these, then a person is identified as male or female by the context.

**Grammatical gender** in Greek and Russian, morphologically marked in all nouns, contributes to the positive representation of the male part of the society as well, which is expressed by the high social prestige of masculine forms of occupational terms. The majority of nouns denoting occupations formed from the masculine root via feminine derivational suffixes are found to be stigmatized and characteristic for lower layers of the society, thus making speakers apply masculine forms in both male and female reference. In Greek, despite the fact that feminine nouns outnumber masculine nouns, the latter predominate in female reference. Both in Greek and Russian, the generic use, in cases the referent is not specified, is not limited to nouns only, but is typical of pronouns, adjectives, and participles.

In Kazakh, which does not have the category of grammatical gender, gendered occupational terms are not frequent.

**Address forms.** In Greek, the use of some address terms is determined by the addressee’s gender: for instance, a woman can be addressed by the name derived from
her husband’s or female teachers tend to receive more familiar forms of address in contrast to their men colleagues. Besides, some colloquial terms of address are used exclusively by men or women.

In Kazakh, some collective address forms are used as male generics and mostly by male speakers. Individual address can be used irrespective of one’s gender or can be gender-sensitive (most of address forms). Honorific forms of address in Kazakh are used by men and in addressing men only.

Position of address forms in the system of Modern Russian is far from being stable and fixed. Used in the vocative function, sex markers, kin terms and others do not often get the same – either positive or negative – assessment by scholars. In case an addressee is a stranger, one is recommended that attention-getters like Excuse me... should be used; if a hearer is a person acquainted to the speaker, the latter is to resort to his/her name.
1.2 Political discourse: categories, characteristics and methods of analysis

Linguistic manifestations of gender come out as a discursive result of “doing gender” in a certain context. That is, gender gets constructed in the talk and is affected by the immediate setting and a wider context that the talk takes place in. Institutional setting imposes its own rules and norms on an individual who performs the role of a participant. Institutional discourse presupposes that, at least, one of the participants is to be a representative of a social institution. One of the prominent types of the institutional type of communication is political discourse in the media.

Institutional discourse is distinguished from the other types of discourses by a number of constituent features. It is considered (Карасик 2004) to have a certain aim of communication, a particular setting, participant roles, and historical changeability that implies that if a social institution ceases to function as such, then it carries elimination of a type of communication peculiar to it.

The models of communication may vary, according to Шейгал (2004: 59), in accordance with who act as participants:

- institution ↔ institution,
- representative of institution ↔ representative of institution,
- institution ↔ citizens,
- institution ↔ citizen,
- representative of institution ↔ citizens,
- representative of institution ↔ citizen.

In political discourse, as Шейгал (2004: 59) illustrates, a citizen very rarely communicates with an institution in an individual manner. When he/she does, it is the communication in the citizen → institution axis that is observed in such genres as: a) letters and telegrams for or against activities of a politician/political organization; this genre does not presuppose a reply from an institution; b) complaints or reports on somebody on the part of citizens that institutions have to react to by (verbal) action.

Communication in the institution → citizen axis takes place when the latter is offered an incentive (award) or censure (letter to a newspaper or an announcement that expresses critique).
Communication in political sphere in the direction representative of institution → citizen is a rare event which takes place only when an MP [member of Parliament] receives citizens or when political leaders “go to masses” and talk “occasionally” to a passer-by (Шейгал 2004: 59).

Communication between institution ↔ institution is possible when, for instance, a citizen’s complaint is readdressed by a political institution (party, government, etc.) to the other institution that is authorized with powers to resolve the case (for example, to the court or to the bodies of executive power).

In the case of political discourse in the media, there are two institutions that interact: that of politics and that of mass media.

As Lauerbach & Fetzer (2007: 15) indicate, the term political discourse in the media has three referential domains: it can refer to the discourse of political agents in the media, or to the discourse of journalists with politicians in the media, or to the discourse of journalists about politics and political agents in the media.

Discourse of politicians or other political agents like spokesperson are, for instance, speeches on important issues and occasions, e.g., in parliamentary debates, at party conferences, summit meetings, also statements, press conferences and the like.

Discourse about politics and politicians is journalistic discourse in the genres of report, analysis, commentary by the speakers of news programmes, the anchors of news magazines, by studio experts and correspondents on location.

Discourse with politicians and other political personnel are dialogic speech events in which political representatives interact with journalists in the interviews (this is the type considered in the present thesis).

Political discourse that is made accessible to the mass audience via various mass media is necessarily public discourse (Шейгал 2004; Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007).

This factor predetermines another indispensable characteristic of political discourse named persuasion. As Lauerbach & Fetzer (2007: 20) put it, political texts “are addressed to audiences whom their authors know to be divided as regards their interests and political affiliations, on most issues, and whom they will consequently try to persuade to stay within or to come into their camp. Thus political discourse in the media is persuasive discourse”.
Persuasive nature of public discourse causes manipulative use of language: for instance, linguistic manipulation can be based (Шейгал 2004; Ахатова 2006) on ambiguity or vagueness of meaning (when, for instance, abstract notions are used without specification: republic which can be presidential and parliamentary); on words (terms, borrowings, etc.) that play, for politicians, the role of a ‘barrier’ from those not directly involved in a political game; on phantomy (lexical phantoms are words and word combinations such as ‘stability of the state’, ‘democracy’ that do not have referents in the objective reality).

Political discourse in the media is also characterized (Fairclough 1995; Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007) by the hybridization of its communicative genres – by incorporating features of one genre into another and/or by a blending of generic styles, or by drawing on other or more discourses than before, e.g., by incorporating elements of economical, ecological and scientific discourse. It also blends the style of everyday conversation and norms of formal public talk.

The most significant features of political discourse in the media shown above are determined by the factor of the audience (readers, listeners, watchers) that political communication is undertaken for.

As Gurevitch & Blumler (1997: 274) put it, political and media organizations are “separately and jointly engaged in disseminating and processing information and ideas to and from the mass citizenry”. They point out that the two are bound up by mutual power relationships, with the power of political institutions being inherent in their functions as articulators of interest and mobilizers of social power for purposes of political action. For the media power, three sources are defined (Gurevitch & Blumler 1977: 274-275): structural, psychological and normative. The structural root of the power of the mass media springs from their unique capacity to deliver to the politician an audience which, in size and composition, is unavailable to him by any other means. The psychological root of media power stems from the relations of credibility and trust that different media organizations have succeeded in developing with members of their audiences. This bond is based on the fulfillment of audience expectations and the validation of past trust relationships, which in turn are dependent on legitimized and institutionalized routines of information presentation. The normative root of media power springs from respect that it is accorded in competitive democracies to such tenets
of liberal philosophy as freedom of expression and the need for specialized organs to safeguard citizens against possible abuses of political authority.

The issue of power exercised by the social institutions of politics and mass media is linked to the question about the ways via which power is realised, i.e. to ideological mechanisms. Ideologies are defined (Fairclough 1992: 92) as significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices that contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination. Ideologies represented as universalized meanings serve the interests of particular groups in their struggle for power.

Though media and political discourses share such common features as institutional setting and institutional practice of power and ideology, there is no correspondence between the genres of politics and mass media genres, as, for instance, not all types of political communication take place within the mass media framework: for example, closed sessions of Parliament or negotiations.

 Variety of genres of political discourse is determined by different functions political institutions fulfill. The classification of political genres by Wodak & Reisigl (2001: 383-384) is based on functions in the area of political action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of action:</th>
<th>Field of action:</th>
<th>Field of action:</th>
<th>Field of action:</th>
<th>Field of action:</th>
<th>Field of action:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lawmaking</td>
<td>formation of</td>
<td>party-internal</td>
<td>political</td>
<td>political</td>
<td>political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procedure</td>
<td>public opinion</td>
<td>development of</td>
<td>advertising/</td>
<td>executive/</td>
<td>control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and self-</td>
<td>an informed</td>
<td>propaganda</td>
<td>administration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>presentation</td>
<td>opinion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Genres:**
- laws, press releases, party programs, election programs, decisions, declarations of bills, press conferences, declarations/slogans, (approval/rejection: opposition parties, amendments, interviews/statements/speeches, speeches in election, asylum, parliamentary speeches and (press, TV, of principle, campaigns, stay, questions, contributions talk shows, speeches on party election announcements, work) speeches of MPs, of MPs, “round tables,” conventions, posters, inaugural petitions for a regulations, lectures/contributions etc. election brochures, speeches, referendum, recommendations, to conferences, direct mail coalition press releases prescriptions, articles/books, advertising papers, of opposition
'Fields of action’ are understood (Wodak 2001: 66) as “segments of the respective societal ‘reality’, which contribute to constituting and shaping the ‘frame’ of discourse”. In the area of political action, the functions distinguished are those of legislation, of self-presentation, of the manufacturing of public opinion, of developing party-internal consent, of advertising and vote-getting, of governing as well as executing, and of controlling as well as expressing (oppositional) dissent. A discourse about a specific topic can find its starting point within one field of action and proceed through another one.

Consequently, the genres that correspond to different fields of political action may be fusioned together: for example, in any political event mediated by TV, radio or press, formation of public opinion and self-presentation is one of the prime targets of politicians. For instance, such a genre as speeches of MPs is found as performing three functions: lawmaking, formation of public opinion and self-presentation, political control. Whether an MP speaks on a law draft at the session of the Parliament or expresses his/her viewpoint as opposed to that of political opponents and whatever different are the contents and the topics of his/her talk, the need to create and to keep a positive image is always urgent, especially ‘under the eye’ of mass media.

The genres defined by the functions of self-presentation, of manufacturing of public opinion, of advertising, propaganda and vote-getting are meant to be made public via all types of mass media: print, audiovisual, electronic – while the rest have the alternative either to be presented to the wide public or to be shared only within certain political groups.

Though political discourse in the media is a type of discourse that takes place between politicians and media workers, it is not limited only to two categories of interactants: e.g., political debates that involve audience discussion (TV talk shows) may embrace more than two or three categories of participants. Fairclough (1995a: 185)
classifies social agents that contribute to political discourse in the media into five categories:

1. political reporters (journalists, correspondents, radio and television presenters, etc.);
2. politicians, trade union leaders, etc.;
3. experts;
4. representatives of new social movements;
5. ordinary people.

With the institution of mass media and ordinary people involved, still it is professional politicians (MPs, members of the Government, leaders and members of political parties, etc.) who can be characterized as the main social actors in this type of discourse in the sense that it is they who serve as a ‘source’ of information and opinions.

The fact that political discourse is the discourse of political figures is evident, first of all, from its goal that Fairclough defines as a struggle for hegemony (based on the concept of Gramsci) between different political groups. “Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent” (Fairclough 1992: 92).

Ideological mechanisms work through language: as Fairclough (1989: 2) puts it, “Ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour where we rely most on ‘common-sense’ assumptions”. As he shows (1989: 107), a dominant discourse is subject to a process of naturalization (e.g., apparent fixity of the ‘dictionary’ meanings or conventional ways of interactional routines) in which it appears to lose its connection with particular ideologies and interests and become the common-sense practice of the institution. Thus when ideology becomes common sense, it apparently ceases to be ideology; this is itself an ideological effect, for ideology is truly effective only when it is disguised.

The relationship between ideology and power, when exercise of power is achieved via common sense ideological assumptions hidden behind routinely used conventions in discourse, is the primary concern of Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical study of discourse has been worked out in van Dijk (1993; 2001; 2005), Wodak (1996;
and Fairclough (1989; 1992; 1995a; 1995b; 1997; 2004): the three approaches are not identical but share common points. They are all oriented at disclosing how language use participates in manipulation and exercise of power in the society and in the consequent relations of domination and subordination. This focus on ideological workings of power, hegemonic struggle and inequality makes Critical Analysis very useful for research (van Dijk 2001: 358-361) that study: 1. gender inequality; 2. media discourse; 3. political discourse; 4. ethnocentrism, antisemitism, nationalism, and racism. Their own work focuses on the discourse of racism (van Dijk 1993; Wodak 1999; Wodak & Reisigl 2001) and on media representations (Fairclough 1989; Fairclough 1995a).

van Dijk’s sociocognitive approach to discourse sees cognitive structures (defined as the beliefs shared by members of groups and communities) and mental models as a mediating link between discourse and society. Critical discourse analysis, in his words, is to make explicit the way socially shared beliefs, i.e. ideologies and knowledge, are reproduced in discourse and how they maintain and legitimate domination (van Dijk 1993; van Dijk 2001; van Dijk 2005).

Wodak (2001a: 3) distinguishes three concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis: the concept of power, of history and of ideology. Her discourse-historical approach investigates historical, organizational and political topics and texts and, in doing so, attempts to integrate all available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change and, at this point, social theories able to explain the context are integrated. Her triangulation approach applies ethnographic methods to provide a model of context.

Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (1989) is the integration of social theory based on M.Foucault and J.Habermas and of linguistic theory associated with systemic functional linguistics of M.Halliday.

The connection of linguistic analysis and concepts of ideology and power in Critical Discourse Analysis will be productive for the study of the representation of gender in political discourse in the media – a public domain where power and dominant
ideologies are enshrined, in particular in political interview which is an encounter between representatives of two significant institutions – politics and journalism.

Discourse, according to Farclough, is a form of social practice, i.e. “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258). As he says (Fairclough 1995a: 182), political discourse provides the clearest illustration of the constitutive power of discourse: it reproduces or changes the social world by reproducing or changing people’s representations of it and the principles of classification which underlie them. Discourse works simultaneously on representations and classifications of reality, and representations and classifications of people.

Representations of people in discourse are always socially significant and motivated. Fairclough (2004: 145-146) defines the following choices in representation of social actors:

- **inclusion / exclusion.**
  Exclusion can be of two types:
  a) suppression – i.e. not in the text at all
  b) backgrounding – i.e. mentioned somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places.

- **pronoun / noun**
  The social actor can be realized as a pronoun (‘I’, ‘he’, ‘we’, ‘you’, etc.) or as a noun.

- **grammatical role**
  The social actor can be realized as a participant in a clause (e.g. Actor), within a circumstance or as a possessive noun or pronoun (our friend).

- ‘activated’ / ‘passivated’
The social actor can be the Actor in processes, i.e. the one who does things and makes things happen, or can be the Affected or Beneficiary, i.e. the one affected by processes.

- **personal / impersonal**
  Social actors can be represented impersonally as well as personally – for instance referring to the police as ‘the filth’ is impersonalizing them.

- **named / classified**
  Social actors can be represented by name or in terms of class or category (e.g. ‘the doctor’). If the latter, they can be referred to individually (e.g. ‘the doctor’) or as a group (‘the doctor’) or as a group (‘the doctors’, ‘doctors’).

- **specific / generic**
  Where social actors are classified, they can be represented specifically or generically – for instance ‘the doctors’ may refer to a specific group of doctors (e.g. those who work in a particular hospital), or to the class of doctors in general, all doctors (e.g. ‘the doctors see themselves as gods’).

The classification given above originates from those of Halliday (1994) and van Leeuwen (1996). Fairclough (2004: 222) emphasizes that it is a matter of social significance which social actors get represented in which ways – for instance, if ‘the poor’ are consistently passivated (represented as subject to the action of others), the implication is that they are incapable of agency.

As we have seen, gender representations (discussed in 1.1 above) involve the same types of representation and are socially motivated. In the further analysis of gender representations in political discourse, I apply Fairclough’s principle of discourse analysis that views *discourse as social practice* and reveals, consequently, social bases for constructing and shaping actors, i.e. claims that people are not simply who they are but people are constructed as such in the discourse (which assumes “doing gender”). In the analysis, I will adopt some modes of representation from the classification provided in van Leeuwen (1996), in particular those based on linguistic gender and helpful in
identifying political agents. These are categories of inclusion of social actors: specification, nomination, classification.

*Specification*, in contrast to *genericisation*, i.e. representation of social actors as classes, refers to them as to specific individuals. It includes individualisation and assimilation. *Individualisation* is a mode of representation when social actors are referred to as individuals; it is realized by singularity. *Assimilation*, on the contrary, refers to social actors as groups and is realized by plurality. *Collectivisation* is a kind of assimilation; it is realised by the first person plural pronoun ‘we’ and by collective nouns ‘nation’, ‘community’, ‘government’, etc.

*Nomination* is the type of representation when social actors are represented in terms of their unique identity; it is realized by proper nouns, and can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semi-formal (name and surname) or informal (name only). Nominations may be titulated in the form of honorification, i.e. by the addition of standard titles and ranks, or in the form of affiliations, by the addition of a personal or kinship relation term.

*Categorisation* represents social actors in terms of identities and functions they share with others. Categorisation is divided into two key types: *functionalisation* and *identification*. *Functionalisation* occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role. *Identification* occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are. Identification has three types: *classification*, *relational identification* and *physical identification*. *Classification* identifies social actors by major classes by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people: age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and so on. *Relational identification* represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relation to each other, and it is realized by a closed set of nouns denoting such relations. *Physical identification* represents social actors in terms of physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context (van Leeuwen 1996: 46-57). (In the present thesis, *identification* is not restricted to the latter types of representations but is used as a general term to cover all possible ways of representing a person or persons).
Social motivations and dominant ‘naturalized’ ideologies do not lie on the surface of what is said or claimed by the speakers: in order to argue that referring, for instance, to a female person as to a ‘woman’ in a certain context has social consequences, i.e. in order to substantiate whether an utterance is discriminatory or, on the contrary, non-discriminatory, there must be definite criteria for the assessment. For this reason, the analysis of social representations given above is complemented by the analysis worked out in Reisigl & Wodak (2001: 44-45) that is based on 5 strategies:

1. **Referential strategies** by which one constructs and represents social actors [that includes all the above mentioned types of representation]
2. **Predicational strategies** which provide social actors as individuals, group members or groups with predications, i.e. with evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates.
3. **Argumentation strategies** and **topoi** through which positive and negative attributions are justified, through which, for example, it is suggested that the social and political inclusion and exclusion, the discrimination or preferential treatment of the respective persons or groups of persons is justified.
4. **Perspectivation** by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of discriminatory events or utterances.
5. **Intensifying** or **mitigation strategies** that help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of discriminatory utterances.

The micro-level of analysis which deals with formal properties of texts (that is, vocabulary and syntax) is linked in Critical Discourse Analysis to the macro-structures (Fairclough 1995a: 57) by the interconnection of the three dimensions of discourse: **text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice**. 1) **Texts** may be of any type: written and oral (spoken or spoken and visual). 2) **Discourse practice** is the processes of text production and text consumption (the term discourse refers “to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (Fairclough 1989: 24)). 3) **Sociocultural**
practice is social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is a part of. Fairclough distinguishes the ‘situational’, ‘institutional’, and ‘societal’ levels, i.e. the specific social goings-on that the discourse is part of, the institutional framework that the discourse occurs within, and the wider societal matrix of the discourse.

The three dimensions of discourse are correlated with three dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1989: 26):

1. description, a stage concerned with formal properties of the text.
2. interpretation, concerned with the relations between text and interaction.
3. explanation, concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context (situational, institutional, societal).

Diagrammatically, the interrelation between the three dimensions of discourse and the three dimensions of analysis is presented (Farclough 1995b: 98) as follows:

Analysis of the sociocultural practice dimension may involve, according to Fairclough (1995a: 62), more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices or yet the wider frame of the society and the culture. He shows in the diagram below (Fairclough 1989: 146) the way the society and the various social
institutions structure social actors into different spheres of action, different types of situation, each of which has its associated type of practice. The term *social order* refers to such a structuring of a particular social space.

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

**Social order: societal**

↓

Determination of institutional setting

↓

Social order: institutional

↓

Determination of situational setting

Situation → Discourse type

What’s going on? Contents
(activity, topic, purpose)

Who’s involved? Subjects

In what relations? Relations

What’s the role of Connections
language in what’s going on?

*Situational context and discourse type*

Four dimensions of situation: connections, relations, subjects, and contents are related to the four questions given in the left side of the diagram.

In the present thesis, discourse type is a political interview between a journalist and a politician who take up the subject positions ascribed by the institutions: those of
an interviewer and an interviewee in relation to each other and of a journalist and a politician in relation to the audience. The question “In what relations?” makes dynamic inquiry into the relationships between the subjects “in terms of what relationships of power, social distance, and so forth are set up and enacted in the situation” (Fairclough 1989: 148). The role of the language is determined by the type of discourse: language is an instrument to obtain information from the main speaker.

I will examine gender representations in political interview within the theoretical framework of Fairclough’s (1989; 1995a; 1995b: 2004) Critical Discourse Analysis (complemented by the analysis of Reisigl & Wodak (2001)) that starts with the formal features of a text and integrates it into the matrix of the social. The peculiarities and constituents of political interview are described in the next part of the thesis.
1.3 Political interview in the press: constituents and peculiarities

Interview – a question and a reply exchange – is used to obtain information in various fields. Bell & van Leeuwen (1994: 3) give the following spheres where questioning is applied:

- police investigations and courtroom procedures,
- schools and universities (mode of teaching),
- social sciences (interview as a method: questionnaires, ‘field’ interviews),
- job interviews,
- medical practice,
- social work (counselors and social workers),
- churches (baptisms, weddings, confirmations),
- mass media (interviews with politicians, experts, celebrities).

In all these domains, one party in the talk speaks on behalf of a certain social institution. Interview between a representative of an institution and a ‘client’ predicts asymmetrical distribution of power and hierarchical relations between participants: for instance, talk between medical workers and patients when the latter are discriminated against and excluded by the professional jargon that doctors use (Wodak 1996), or when an initiative on the part of the patient is dispreferred (Frankel 1990), or when the IR’s control in public opinion polls invokes different reactions of men and women, with men respondents less, than women, comfortable in the discourse managed by female IEs (Johnstone et al. 1992).

Political interview, in contrast to medical, police, public opinion poll interviewing, “is a public arena in which representatives of … institutions [journalism and politics] encounter one another and strive to pursue their respective goals and agendas” (Clayman & Heritage 2004: 7). Mass media and political institutions are mutually dependent on each other: if journalists need politicians as a source of information, political representatives need media personnel for making their own ‘publicity’ and for making their policies, opinions, attitudes accessible to the public. The question about who has the upper hand in political interview is to be sought for answer in the particular context within which a political interview takes place.
Research on political interview is getting extensive and highlights different aspects of the interview: it is the activities of the IR, i.e. his/her questioning strategies, interviewing style, etc. (Macaulay 2001; Clayman & Heritage 2002); it is the answering practices of the IEs, types of responses, evasion of answer or the ways IEs create desirable images for themselves (Greatbach 1986; Harris 1991; Clayman 1993; Bull 1994; Herritage & Roth 1995; Elliott & Bull 1996; Simon-Vandenbergen 1996; Clayman & Heritage 2001); or the indicators of speaker perspective on the part of both IR and IE (Suleiman et al. 2002).

Recent studies of political interview focus either on the IR’s or IE’s strategies during the talk on the basis of two and/or more languages and cultures: Becker (2007) compares IRs’ questioning strategies in British, German and American contexts; Weizman (Weizman et al. 2007) studies possible asymmetries established by IRs in Al-Jazeera and on Israeli television; Johansson (2007) investigates the functions of represented discourse in IEs’ answers in French and British political interviews; Fetzer (2007) explores challenges posed to IEs in British and German contexts. As Simon-Vandenbergen (2007: 33) puts it, “by studying closely linguistic choices in similar data in different languages and cultures the resources which are exploited surface more visibly”.

The survey of literature shows that most political interviews that have been analyzed are ‘live’, broadcast interviews from radio and television, though newspaper interview is prior to them by time of emergence. The decision to select interviews published in the press is explained by several reasons: first of all, newspaper interviews are more accessible (either in print or electronic form) in all the three contexts in comparison to broadcast interviews; secondly, newspapers provide the amount of material enough for analysis since most newspapers contain a special section for interviews with political representatives; thirdly, interviews in the press, in contrast to their televised counterparts, are the least investigated type of political interview; and, finally, newspaper interviews usually pass through the editor’s hands and, in respect to this, it is of interest to trace the representation of gender in language from the viewpoint of political correctness both on the part of the journalist and the politician interviewed.

The parameters that the definition of political interview has to be restricted to, according to Jucker (1986: 7), are as follows:
• medium in which the interview is realized,
• participants (both active and passive),
• topic-coherence,
• form.

The medium can be oral when the interview is recorded and broadcast by a radio station, it can combine audio and visual channels in television interview, and it can be only visual in case of newspaper interviews when a previous oral interaction is presented to the reader in the form of a written (and edited) text.

Active participants are those whose verbal contributions are recorded or typed, whilst passive are presented by observers, listeners or readers.

In radio interviews sometimes the audience can participate if it is a phone-in programme; in TV programme part of the audience can be present in the studio at the particular moment the event is taking place. The interview can be broadcast ‘live’ or can be pre-recorded. In case of newspaper interview the channel is always indirect: the audience always has access only to the printed variant of communication which is mediated by the journalist.

The two participants, as Jucker (1986: 9) puts it, alternate as speaker and addressee, whereas the audience is invariably restricted to the role of addressee. In the newspaper interview the participants are a newspaper correspondent and a politician who, in Hang’s (cited in Jucker 1986) terms, can be defined as an IE with first-hand knowledge of the topic under discussion.

Moreover, there is another participant invisible to the eye of the public but active in the sense that he/she contributes to the final result presented to the audience: the editor of a newspaper or of a political journal.

The number of participants involved classifies interviews into dyadic, triadic, and those in which more than three participants (more than one IR and IE) take part. Like broadcast counterparts which involve a high number of interactants, newspaper interviews can also include more than two interlocutors: it is, in Illich’s (1998) classification, collective or mass interviews which involve several IEs when one question evokes more than one answer and ‘interviews with letters in hands’ or ‘direct lines’ interviews that give the reading public the opportunity to ask their questions in the written form or by phone. With all the variety of interview types that can vary in
different contexts, the classical and universal type is the dyadic communication between a reporter and a person interviewed.

Tanaka (2004) draws attention to another issue related to participants – role allocation in the interview and participants’ identities: one participant (IR) has more information about the other person, e.g., his/her professional achievements, which creates psychological restrictions and reinforces the asymmetry of the interaction. At the same time she supposes that the identity of the IR may be less relevant in interviews where politicians or experts are interviewed.

Researchers (Bell & Leeuwen 1994; Tanaka 2004; Clayman & Heritage 2004) coincide in viewing the position of the IR as advantaged and his/her interlocutor as being in less favourable situation since IRs have the right:

1. to choose the topic;
2. to ask questions;
3. to initiate and terminate the interview;
4. to initiate and shift topics;
5. to determine what will be treated as ‘already agreed upon’, as taken-for-granted;
6. to direct the answerer towards certain kinds of answer;
7. and to compel the answerer to answer.

In other words, while the IR asks questions, the IE is obliged to give answers. The IR plans a logical structure for the interview (for this very reason, the interview is classified as a pre-arranged talk) and that is why controls the sequence of topics and their interconnections, whereas the IE answers spontaneously.

Although IRs do not know the answers beforehand, they operate with a sense of ‘correct’ answer, as Bell & Leeuwen (1994: 74) indicate: the correct answers are those that correspond to their definition of the IE as a social type and of what constitutes relevant knowledge and experience for an IE of that type. They can change the meaning of the IR’s answers through editing (reactions can be altered and questions improved upon, or even rephrased) and through the way they are introduced and linked. In case of ‘incorrect’ answers, the IEs risk being seen as out of touch with the audience, as irrelevant or even deviant. The IR acts as a representative of a social institution, i.e. he/she inhabits roles which are embedded in institutions. The IE may have greater
power, then interview turns into a verbal contest in which the legitimacy of IE’s power is at stake (e.g. the honesty of the politician). In certain kinds of media interview, the IR takes the role of the “unrepresented”, the “consumers”, the “suffering public”, as well as of large industrialists, selfish trade unions and the like. Such ‘interpellations’, close as they may come to the public dispute, nevertheless take the form of question-and-answer exchanges, perhaps to preserve a certain amount of deference towards the power of the IE (Bell & van Leeuwen 1994).

Still, the relations between social actors that participate in this interactional activity are considered to be asymmetrical as the prerogative to ask and to direct the conversation is the IR’s. According to Weizman (2007), with more than two IEs this asymmetry can be reinforced when the IR identifies himself/herself with one of being interviewed, challenging the other.

There is one restriction singled out for the IR: he/she cannot give personal opinions, since neutrality is a requisite in professional journalism, so in the interview flow of information is one-way. But the IR may not always conform to this principle, to a lesser or greater extent, that is why the explorers of the genre (Heritage & Greatbach 1993: 107) give preference to denoting it as “formal neutrality” or “neutralistic” stance.

The function of the interview is defined (Heritage & Greatbach 1993: 106) as the communication of information or opinion from public figures, experts or other persons for the benefit of the audience. Winter (1993: 119) singles out its second function – media interviews create and construct politicians’ images. The definition of political interviews as information-seeking and image-establishing structures takes into account the aims pursued by both participants (even when the IR responds in a very impersonal style – as, for example, Minister of Economics and Minister of Agriculture do in the Kazakh interviews in my data – it plays into his/her hands since bare facts and precise information produce an impression that an IE speaks to the point and his personal image is that of a public figure of high competence and efficiency, knowledgeable about his/her field of activity).

The twofold aim of the interview determines that its format, at least in its ideal form, is to consist of sequences of questions asked by IR and answers provided by IE. That is, questions are defined (Winter 1993; Heritage 2003) as the basic and central way of organizing an interview on the part of the IR. At the same time, in designing
questions IRs have to, as Heritage (2003: 57) puts it, “strike a balance between two competing journalistic norms. On the one hand, IRs are expected to be impartial, objective, unbiased, and disinterested in their questioning of public figures. They are expected to have respect for the facts and the perspectives that IEs communicate, and to work to bring these into the public domain. On the other hand, IRs also subscribe to a norm of adversarialness. They should actively challenge their sources, rather than being simply mouthpieces or ciphers for them”. According to Иньиго-Мора (2008: 34), IRs may break the principle of neutrality and conform to the norm of adversarialness by 1) asserting and expressing their personal opinions, thus not restricting themselves to asking questions; and/or by 2) resorting to forms of affiliative behaviour. She singles out 6 strategies of adversarial behaviour of the IR in a political interview: 1) contradictions, 2) if-clauses, 3) footing shift, 4) disagreement, 5) statements proposing that the politician’s policies are misguided, 6) dangerous presuppositions. Questions are characterized (Иньиго-Мора 2008: 35) as adversarial when they explicitly express objection, criticize one’s policy, highlight controversies between party members or emphasize contradiction of facts in the speech of a politician. Adversarialness is estimated according to thematic or topical content of questions. Иньиго-Мора (2008: 37-38) characterizes questions that contain dangerous presuppositions as the most adversarial: this type of questions may evoke more than one answer, nevertheless an answer will confirm the implicit presupposition of the question (as we will see afterwards, in 2.4 of Part II, implicitly unfavourable presuppositions can be related to the gender of the IE). The least adversarial is the strategy of footing shift, i.e. citation of opinions and views, since in this case the IR just voices the opinion. Apart from questions themselves, Clayman & Heritage (2002: 762-771) single out such dimensions of adversarialness as a) assertiveness that concerns the degree to which IR manages to push IE for a particular response and b) hostility that captures a degree to which a question is overtly critical of an IE and institution he/she represents. Both are achieved with the help of prefatory statement(s) substantively hostile in character that preface a question. The use of assertive statements in relation to the IR’s gender has been analyzed by Winter (1993) who terms them as declaratives (see 1.4 below; in the data of the present thesis, the use of assertions, classified in pragmatics as representative speech acts, is related to the IEs’ gender as well: see 2.1 of Part II).
If the IR is expected to establish a balance between remaining neutral and, simultaneously, being provocative, the IE, according to Bell & van Leeuwen (1994), in order to be interviewed by a mass media representative is expected to have:

- **news value** that has to do with the accomplishments of the IE in politics and other fields which in the mass media make up the spectrum of human life;
- **symbolic value** that deals with the IE’s private life and ‘behind the scenes’ character;
- **entertainment value**: IEs are obliged to be good talkers or story-tellers, witty and amusing, whether or not they are professional entertainers (this is more valid for broadcast interviews).

The IE is usually questioned in his/her specific role, as Prime-Minister, MP, etc. and interviews are usually restricted to one single item to discuss – which Jucker (1986: 12) calls topic-coherence of interview. The principle of topic-coherence can be violated when the IE’s symbolic value overweighs his/her news value (in the data, the Russian interviews with women politicians cover both political issues and IEs’ private life).

Political interview is placed (van Lint 1986: 361) in the group of investigatory types of spoken discourse which aim to investigate political matters, i.e. matters having to do with the daily work of politicians. According to van Lint (1986), political interview is distinct from other spoken text genres like the general genre (small talk, conversation), the argumentative genre (debate, discussion), the evaluative genre (appraisal interviews, job interviews) or the activating genre (negotiations, therapeutic discourse). Though fact-finding is the purpose of taking an interview, it is not a composition of bare facts designed as IE’s answers. Even if started as such, it can turn into a heated debate between IR and IE, especially when the former appoints himself/herself as the “voice of the public”; appraisal theory (which studies the linguistic resources speakers use for evaluative purposes) applied in the study of political interviews (e.g., Becker 2007) testifies as well that the boundary between types of spoken discourse is fluid.

When it comes to newspaper interview many of the peculiarities typical of TV and radio interviews fade away or may not be present at all. For instance, spontaneity of the IE’s answers cannot be traced in printed text, added that it can be heavily edited. The IE is in a less vulnerable position, not “in the hands of the IR in front of a public”,
so the risk of being marginal and deviant is much lesser. In this sense, newspaper, in
contrast to TV and radio, is a less entertaining medium and fierce verbal contest that can
occur in TV or radio talk is not a typical phenomenon in the press.

The preference for the type of interview (adversarial/confrontational or
deferential) depends on cultural values of the society. For instance, in the Japanese
society, as Tanaka (2004) shows, news interviews are ‘generally controlled’, so that IEs
are seldom challenged or offended which is in stark contrast to American, British,
Australian, New Zealand or Israeli news interviews, where both IR and/or IE can
challenge one another and be openly aggressive. However, this does not imply that
deferential political interview is the only type in, for instance, Asian culture and
adversarial one is the only style preferred in Western journalism.

It has been observed (Bell & van Leeuwen 1994) that in the latter case the
dereference displayed is the deference toward the symbolic values represented by
politicians’ image rather than the deference towards politicians as holders of high office.
They view the interaction between IRs and IEs not as simply contestation when IRs
take up a more active, more investigative and more interrogative roles standing in for
‘us’ against ‘them’ or cooperation when they are locked into a relation of mutual
dependence with politicians but as a combination of both, with cooperation more
evident in some contexts, competition more evident in others.

Political affiliations and orientation (pro-governmental or oppositional) of a
newspaper also can give a key to what is to be expected from an interview with a
politician, in which light his/her answers will be presented to the public, and how he/she
will be treated by the representative of the media institution.

Constraints of interview as a genre of political discourse are also manifest in the
structure of the interview, in its opening and closing parts in particular. As Clayman &
Heritage (2004: 58) put it, “The conventions for opening and closing a news interview
are best understood as adaptations [by IR and IE] to the specialized task of interviewing
and to various contingencies posed by the complex institutional environment in which
interviewing takes place”.

Clayman & Heritage (2004: 60) delineate in broadcast interviews three separate
segments of the opening – an interview begins with 1) a news announcement or
statement of topic termed headline, after which 2) background information is detailed,
and then 3) the IR leads in to the interview proper, often by formally introducing the IEs. Only upon completion of these tasks does the IR issue the first question.

The data show that structurally the component parts of newspaper interview correspond to those of ‘live’ interviews: the main phase (question-answer exchange) is preceded by a) a headline that introduces the topic of the talk (and the IE) and b) the introductory paragraph that may compress background information and identification of the IE together.

Jucker (1986: 12) argues that interviews possess linguistic indications of the genre as well: 2nd person pronouns and the use of the same deictic centre. However, these linguistic choices can be used in other genres of political discourse and in other registers as well.

The constituent features of political interview described above are defined by the main purpose of this type of institutional talk. The purpose is the exchange of information between a journalist and a politician, when the former looks to highlight issues that can be of interest to the public, while the latter provides the information and pursues the goal of creating a positive self-portrait. Such a distribution of roles between the participants in the interview will determine, in its turn, what kind of interviewing will take place: cooperation or contestation, what topics will be raised, etc. In the other context, however, it can be the social value of an IE who holds a high seat in the body of power that will cause a deferential attitude of the IR and, consequently, selection of appropriate interviewing strategies and topics. All these parameters, along with many others, will outline the gender shape of the participants in a certain institutional, cultural and social context.

The present thesis deals with the ways of constructing gender by the two participants of the newspaper political interview. Specifically, in the focus are linguistic gender categories that the IR and the IE operate with in constructing self or the other as a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’. The initial question concerns which of the participants uses and gives preference to a particular type of gender representation with the ‘why’ coming next. The question that brings all the three languages and contexts together is about common and different points in gender representations. And final but foremost is the inquiry about the social consequences of these representations, different or alike, for the society and the groups that this society comprises.
1.4 Gender in political discourse

Conventional division of domains into public and private, the former being the prerogative of men, and the latter being considered exceptionally the realm of women seems to resist strongly its position to social changes. Political discourse, until recently, has been and in most societies remains to be a male-dominated sphere of public activity.

For this very reason, man is the point of reference and, accordingly, the masculine behaviour is perceived as a norm in public spheres. And it explains the tendency in modern research on gender in political discourse to focus on women-politicians, i.e. on a marked category. The discussion of gender-related linguistic behaviour in professional domain, on the relationship between language use, gender and power in public institutions has resulted in the study of gender roles in male-dominated workplace, mostly on ‘female voice’ in this context.

The studies of language and gender in public discourse shed light mainly on the problem in the aspects of masculine and feminine styles of interaction, of men’s and women’s styles of speaking in public/political sphere whether it concerns the mass media workers (Winter 1993), politicians (Felderer 1997; Kotthoff 1997; Wodak 2003; Shaw 2006; Нурсеитова 2007) or common people in the role of voters (Гриценко 2003).

Winter (1993) compares the interviewing strategies of a male and a female IRs in Australian interviews with prominent male politicians. During the talks analyzed, the female IR tends to be more cooperative: she prefaces each question with an address form; her questioning style is characterized by diversity of prosodic manipulation and includes a greater number of question forms; she is not manipulative in interrupting and in taking the floor from the male IE; she expresses her gratitude to the IE for his time and the IE, in his turn, acknowledges her gratitude. The male IR’s style is characterized as a competitive one: he uses address forms less frequently; his questioning strategy is that of declaration of values rather than enquiry since he does not use prosodic information to such an extent as his female colleague and the incidence of declaratives in his contributions is rather high; he is more competitive in turn-appropriation and floor-holding tactics; and there is no evidence of mutual gratitude in the same-gender interview. Winter concludes that the cooperative style of the female journalist is more
successful as it helps achieve the main functions of the interview, which are exchange of information and creation of image for the IE. The competitive questioning results in the adversarial tone of the talk and implies value judgements by the IR.

Kotthoff’s study (1997) is on the negotiation of expert status by male and female participants of television debates. She infers from her data that everyday gender politics is obvious from the number of women-participants: when the talk deals with “women’s issues” women make up the majority in television conversations, whereas in discussions on politics there is, as a rule, only one woman present as a participant. Gendered trends are manifest as well in the ways men and women negotiate an expert status in TV debates with men more often than women gaining a high expert status for themselves and with women communicating knowledge in less authoritative formats (out of 10 discussions she analyzes only in two there was a symmetrical status order observed).

Shaw (2006) investigates what makes female MPs powerful or powerless in the British House of Commons and in the Scottish Parliament. According to her data, women MPs in the House of Commons made interventions that interfere with the debate floor far fewer than their male colleagues. They are not observed at all to participate in filibustering (a practice when MP(s) from one political group speak(s) for so long that there is no time left for the debate to be accomplished) and they are often subject to sexist barracking on the part of their male counterparts. This makes a strong contrast to the Scottish Parliament where women MPs feel free to break the linguistic practices, interrupt their colleagues, etc. Among the reasons for this egalitarian culture, Shaw sees the involvement of women in the Scottish Parliament from its origins and the higher proportion of women MPs in comparison to the House of Commons.

Felderer (1997) examines the case of a woman politician in the political debate with two men: one – her political opponent and the other – a journalist who directs the talk. She focuses on the ways the female participant copes with standardisations of her gender. The young woman is the leader of the party of the Opposition. During the debate, she displays her political positions actively, confidently and resists to the authoritarian manners of her male opponent expressed in interruptions, corrections and critique of her linguistic manners and style. The female politician’s interruptions are categorized as legitimate as they are directly connected to content and are to remind the other debater of the questions put to him. Her assertive manner creates the image of a
young and courageous politician. In the debate which the researcher calls “a mixed
gender confrontation” (Felderer 1997: 396), politeness strategies of the male opponent
are used to put the female interlocutor into a traditional stereotyped frame of a woman
who needs guidance on the part of a more experienced expert in politics. According to
Felderer, it is his persistent adherence to the old ideas about gender roles that played
against him in the political contest: the image that came out was that of out-of-date
person unable to participate in a discussion where both genders are to be equal.

Нурсеитова (2007) analyzes gender specificity of women politicians’
communicative behaviour in the political discourse of Kazakhstan, in particular such
parameters as communicative self-presentation, agency, expressivity, control
(authoritativeness), leadership, tolerance, politeness, communicative dominance,
preferences for topics to be discussed. According to her conclusion, communicative
models used by women intensify the existing social gender asymmetry: for instance,
women IEs differ from men IEs in that they use the tactics of rejecting rumours, of
positive evaluation of their own appearance; they use nominalizations and Passive
Voice constructions that hide their ‘I’ more often than men; the issues of gender
equality and of family are traditionally discussed in the interviews with women,
whereas men politicians avoid comments on that. The mass media, according to
Нурсеитова (2007: 14), work out a modern stereotype of a woman when she is
represented as “self-confident”, “strong”, “efficient”, “successful”, “able to defend
women’s interests” and, at the same time, as a “good house-keeper” and a “good
mother”, the latter being determined by cultural norms and values.

Даулетова (2003) who studies the genre of autobiographical prose written by
politicians comes, on the one hand, to the conclusion that there are differences between
men and women authors. The differences are reflected in the topics chosen (men write
about money, business, cars; women – about family and appearance) and in making
emphasis on certain stages in their personal life (men dwell on the period of
professional career; women – on their childhood). On the other hand, she infers that
women, in the course of their professional life, get adapted to the masculine norms of
behaviour and masculine role in politics, while men get amenable to the so called
feminine emotional state (depression, frustration, nervous breakdown) and get tired of
responsibility they are burdened with.
Гриценко’s study (2003) is on the ways of constructing ‘male’ and ‘female’ voices in the Russian pre-election campaign and on gender stereotypes that come into play in the process. Her analysis revealed that women voters in their letters to the candidates express their gratitude, complain, sympathy and involvement, whereas men analyze, accuse and give advice. In these letters (published in the press), a woman is objectivized (e.g., via dative and agentless constructions), she is constructed as the object (or victim) of external actions or decisions; a man, in contrast, acts as an agent (e.g., via assertive statements) who takes decisions and influences others. Гриценко does not exclude that the authorship is questionable in the sense that the letters may not have been written by real voters. Her analysis shows that the representations of ‘female voice’ are based on certain gender stereotypes and, in their turn, reproduce these stereotypes.

These studies conducted in various contexts display, mostly, the same commonalities in the linguistic behaviour of men and women in the political domain: cooperative women’s style vs. men’s competitive, discussion of traditional “women’s” topics by women-debaters, etc. There are two sides of the coin: as Pavlidou (2010: 417) says, people talk like ‘women’ or ‘men’ because they comply with a model of feminine or masculine speech prescribed by a stereotype but, on the other hand, linguists who look for differences in the linguistic behaviour of men and women are held responsible as well for the vitality of certain stereotypes.

As for linguistically relevant aspects of gender in political discourse, most of the studies concentrated on instructional or critical analysis of rhetorical techniques used by politicians, since most of the research had in their primary focus persuasive effects of political language.

The survey of literature shows that there are different stylistic devices (personification, metaphor, periphrasis) based on linguistic gender, which are widely applied in political rhetoric, with lexical gender being especially productive. The categories of linguistic gender – 1. kin terms and sex markers; 2. grammatical gender; 3. address forms – and the angles they are viewed from by scholars are dealt with below.

- First of all, it is kinship terminology that provides the majority of personified metaphors and epithets especially widely used in political rhetoric: the concepts of
one’s native land (country as the mother), nation, tongue are, as a rule, based on kin terms (e.g., see kinship metaphor in Чудинов 2001).

Particularly, the gender and nation binary was well investigated in the Russian context. Эдмонсон (2003: 138) studies the ambivalent image of Russia, which is, traditionally, not presented as a maid but as a mother – матушка Русь/”mother Rus”.

On the one hand, this image served as a moral opposition against authorities protecting common people from their destroying influence but, on the other hand, it served these authorities. This symbol used for patriotic propaganda during the World War II was ambivalent as well: on the one hand, Motherland appears as a very powerful figure calling her sons to fight, and at the same time it is a vulnerable territory that needs protection. It made some authors even consider Russia to be a “feminine nation” (Эдмонсон 2003: 139).

In the view of recent political events this image can be also polysemous: culturally the archetype “Magna Mater” is a bosom for all her children, but it can “keep” them there as prisoners (in case of Chechnya): Эберт (2003: 165, 170) stresses the fact that neither a wife nor a daughter plays any role in the national symbolism – which shows that it is the role of a mother that is the most important and the only role meant for a woman in the national discourse.

Speaking about personification in English, where, similarly, countries (also cities, ships, universities, flowers, virtues, vices, arts, crafts) and, in particular, the nouns democracy, fame, fancy, fashion, fortune, history, labor, moon, nation, nature, peace, rumor, society, state are personified as she, Svartengren (1927) argues that it is the emotional interest that is mirrored by the feminine gender: “it is the sympathy born of living and working together, of good understanding, and the warm feeling of interest, admiration, surprise, of dependent respect and awe that find their expression in this she. It is a kind of attenuated and sublimated sexuality, which is concerned not only with what is womanlike, but with anything that takes a man’s fancy, in one way or another. The pronoun it mentions a fact, more or less coldly and indifferently, an indifference that sometimes may sink down below par and develop into a term of disparagement…” (Svartengren 1927: 110).

Political discourse, the main objective of which is defined as a struggle for power, is based on dialectical opposition: there is always We/Friend(s)/Ally(ies) versus
They/Enemy(ies)/Opponent(s). This opposition may be contributed to by gender dichotomy reinforced by the discursive strategy of masculinization/feminization of the sides in confrontation, which is achieved, according to Рябова (2004: 4-6), via explicit labelling and via ascribing masculine attributes to a politician (President in the military uniform, doing ‘men’s’ sports and hobbies (racing, hunting, shooting, wrestling, etc.), the homosocial character of a political community when ways of communication and leisure are determined by the model of ‘men’s friendship’). That is, political discourse resorts both to verbal and non-verbal strategies.

Masculinization and feminization are what van Dijk (1993: 34-35) defines as the classical case of the combination of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In political struggle and rhetoric the objects of masculinization and feminization may range from countries and nations to political parties and individual opponents.

As Рябова (2004: 4) illustrates, the discursive strategies of masculinization embrace explicit marking: настоящий мужик, настоящий мужчина/literally ‘real man’ – widely used in the Russian electoral political discourse.

Manifestation of masculinity suggests being popular among female electorate, when women-voters are ‘entrusted’ to assess the politician ‘as a man’ instead of focusing on his professional qualities. The accent on sexuality often resorted to in pre-election campaigns serves the aim of emphasizing that the male potency and professional qualities are equalled and presuppose one another. Another way of masculinization and sexualization of a political leader is the metaphor of hierogamy – the marriage of a country and a ruler/governor. ‘Russia’, a feminine noun, is personified as a woman who needs a reliable husband – the President. The argument “Россия — страна женского рода, и сегодня словно невеста на выданье. Ей муж нужен <…> сильный, волевой президент…” /“Russia is a noun of feminine gender, and today [Russia] is like a bride. She needs a husband <…> a strong and self-willed president…” is illustrated in its different variations in the Russian public discourse (Рябова 2004: 1).

The accent on sexuality of a man – political leader is used as an extra argument in the struggle for power. As a result, Рябова remarks (2004: 7), gendered and sexual metaphors are becoming an active part of the politicians’, analysts’, journalists’ lexicon.
According to Чудинов (2001), sexual metaphor in Russian mediatized political discourse has conquered the leading position, which was an unimaginable phenomenon in the Soviet period. The banning of censorship, he concludes, must have been understood by journalists as total freedom from any moral restrictions.

Demasculinization of a political opponent (see Гриценко 2003; Рябова 2004) by attributing to him ‘feminine’ traits and denying the so called masculine characteristics is another way of masculinizing the Self and discrediting the opponent: mass media in describing politicians as fussy, hysterical, cowardly, etc. very often do it with the help of comparisons вести себя как баба/’to behave like a woman’ (derogatory term), маменькин сынок/’mummy’s boy’, краснеть как девушка/’flush like a girl’. Гриценко (2003: 4) illustrates this by an example when one of the candidates for the position of mayor was constantly attributed feminine traits благодаря экстравагантной внешности/’owing to his extravagant appearance’, по причине крайне экзальтированного поведения/’due to an extremely ecstatic behaviour’, жеманство/’mincing manners’, капризы/’whims’, как мимоза распушился/’became as fluffy as a mimosa’. The conclusion is: a man is not to be too keen on his looks in contrast to a woman. As for women-politicians, attributing the traits of the opposite sex to them fulfills dual function, as Рябова (2004) observes. It can serve the aim to discredit a person but can also contribute to the positive presentation of a woman-politician.

The feminine, according to Рябова (2004: 6), has a dual interpretation: it symbolizes subordination, being emotional and partial – all this hinders proper governing (as an example she quotes the words said by the notorious Russian politician at the Round-table discussion in the State Duma: “You [women] have been long in power. Everything is of feminine gender: власть/’power’, страна/’country’, Родина/’motherland’, even армия/’army’ is of feminine gender… And today our soldiers were dying in Chechnya, because Russian boys came from broken families… headed by women”). At the same time, the feminine can be represented positively as a symbol of justice and kindness (e.g., a woman-politician says in her pre-election campaign “I want the power to be not only strong but kind and just” and in this way contrasts it to negative masculine traits as stubbornness, pride, insatiable desire of leadership and power).
Рябова concludes that discourse gendered in these ways serves as a tool of political struggle, as a means of political mobilization, and as one of resources of ‘gender construction’. Political discourse doesn’t only exploit gender identity, but constitutes it, constructing new gender relations (in 1990-ies the dominant image of a politician was that of a western-type manager that the Russian political elite had to correspond to).

- Secondly, it is the potential of the category of grammatical gender.

Described as a secondary grammatical category “since it is not vital for the proper functioning of any language” (Ibrahim 1973: 24), grammatical gender with its masculine-feminine-neuter division provides a basis for creating necessary gendered images. For example, in a Russian presidential pre-election campaign one of the arguments to persuade the voters in favour of the then President was «Ельцин – мужик, а Россия – существительное женского рода»/'Eltsin is a man [mujik], and Russia is a noun of feminine gender’ (quoted in Рябова 2004: 3).

As it has been mentioned above (in 1.2), the term political discourse in the media refers either to the discourse of politicians in the media, or to the discourse with politicians in the media, or to the discourse of journalists about political agents in the media. Political discourse is, first of all, the discourse of the powerful and therefore the studies in this field concentrate on what public figures say or do, whilst ordinary people, also classified (Fairclough 1995a: 185) as participants of political interaction, stay passive in the background being mentioned only as a target audience. Illustrative in this respect is the study of the media discourse by Гиалимпок (2008: 218-219) which shows that in TV news social subjects of high status and prestige (politicians/government officials, experts) statistically predominate over the category of low social status, i.e. ordinary people, in the sense that the latter are televised and referred to by journalists very infrequently in contrast to the former. Generally, common people’s reactions have not gained much attention but give a very important key to understanding political attitudes and situation.

The techniques used by politicians do not change, be it opposition between politicians and common people or confrontation within a political camp, i.e. between different political parties and groups, between the government and the opposition, etc. Gendered images (‘family of the nation’, the ‘father of his country’, the heroic soldier
dying to protect his womenfolk, ‘Mother Russia’, the nation as goddess) disseminated by political authorities and used top-down establish, according to Connell (2002: 64), emotional relations which are defined by him as a dimension of gender system.

As for the opposite direction, i.e. bottom-up, there is, as a rule, no direct interaction taking place, especially under the conditions of a totalitarian regime which suppresses any freedom of expression. But the attitudes find their reflection in the so called antitotalitarian language: Wierzbicka (1990: 12-15) provides some examples of linguistic self-defense in Poland under the Communist regime. Within 1944-1954 the State Security of the State was officially named Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego/’Office of Public Security’ or UB. Due to “security” activities of the organization, its name (the acronym UB, to be more exact) acquired inherent connotations similar to those of Gestapo. The people who belonged to the institution were perceived as anonymous instruments of an evil, terror, frightening and unpredictable “it”. Grammatically, these associations were expressed by neuter agreement with the acronym (instead of the expected masculine since the head-noun urzad is of masculine gender). As it is known, neuter in Slavic languages is associated with inanimateness and its purposeful and “irregular” use is a way of dehumanization. Thus grammatical gender served as a resource to express the attitude of the oppressed to the oppressor.

- Thirdly, it is the use of address forms in political discourse.

The research on their use in Polish (Jaworski & Galasinski 2000) and Chinese (Kuo 2003) acknowledge complicated functions of address: in political debates the strategic choice of address helps participants gain political and interactional advantage over opponents, to maintain positive public face, to gain legitimacy for their ideologies. Address forms tend to occur when a debater challenges his rivals.

But the aspect of gender in relation to address forms is rarely touched upon in the papers, since the prevailing majority of political elite are men and in the discourse analyzed the participants are men. The illustrative example (given in Айсакова 2008: 25) is the slip of a tongue made by a TV-host when he addresses a woman-politician with господин/’Mr.’ instead of госпожа/’Ms.’.

Address forms are, in Bates & Benigni’s terms (1975: 272), “a history in miniature” since they reflect all the social, political, and ideological changes.
Sociopolitical changes in Kazakhstan and Russia (the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the economic system of planned economy, the advent of the capitalist economic system and market relations followed by transformation of ideological values and standpoints) are marked by the shift from symmetrical to asymmetrical use of address terms, but the process does not go smoothly. Though the changes widened the gaps between social classes, there is a certain resistance to revival of the terms forgotten and out of use since the October Revolution of 1917. For instance, Russian господин/’Mr.’ and госпожа/’Ms.’ in the vocative function were applied to address foreigners but not Soviet citizens (Minaeva 1998: 89). In political discourse, in their present day use they create official atmosphere and show social and personal distance between the interlocutors. According to Айсакова (2008: 25), the address form господин президент/’Mr. President’ (instead of usual first name + patronymic formula) was used by common people during the press-conference with the President of Russia in questions concerning human rights and, generally, in questions that voiced people’s negative opinion and negative attitude to the addressee.

These address forms are still found by most people to be alien and, in linguistic terms, marked: “When pronominal choices go unnoticed it is because the taken-for-granted production of pronominal markers is in tune with the unmarked code, the ideological norm determining the rule of address having already been implicitly recognised and acknowledged by participants. Violation occurs when the address frame has been either disrupted or purposefully challenged by the intentional act of one or more participants” (Jacquemet 1994: 302).

Other examples of the use of the address form господин/’Mr.’ testify that its role in the new political context extends far beyond the vocative function: as Minaeva (1998: 93) contends, the prosody of господин, when applied by deputies of communist party to their political opponents, leaves no doubt to a Russian speaker as to its negative connotation.

In the Kazakh and Russian context the best solution to sound neutral and deferential is the formula first name + patronymic.

The way of addressing a person by his/her name is recommended by a recent pamphlet of the European Parliament entitled “Gender-neutral language”. Such a preference helps avoid mentioning the marital status of women-politicians evident from
Mrs. and Ms., Madam and Mademoiselle, Señora and Señorita (http://news.mail.ru/politics/2435613/).

In political discourse the distribution of gendered images based on linguistic gender will depend on social, institutional rules, cultural norms (tabooed topics), on availability of censure (expressions that many politicians afford in public in Kazakhstan and Russia were unthinkable in the Soviet period with its highly ritual language and strong control) or, in modern terms, political correctness, on the type of press the newspaper belongs to: quality or yellow, on intentions of participants (IR and IE), on gender of the IE. In case it is women-politicians, the questions about her familial role of a wife and a mother are often inevitable. The image of women may be determined in a certain way by a set of cultural values and norms. For example, the component ‘a good house-keeper, a wife, a loving mother’, according to Хасанова & Заритовская (2002), Нурсеитова (2007), is obligatory for the portrait of a Kazakh woman-politician, and journalists in the Kazakh context tend to ask female IEs questions concerning their family, image, appearance, etc. (which is not observed in the Kazakh interviews in my data). The role of IRs is crucial in this type of interaction: guided by certain gender stereotypes they can direct the flow of the conversation and define the subject of talk with respect to the gender identity of IEs. There are other factors that explicate one’s gender in a political interview: for instance, Wodak (2003) on the example of female members of the European Parliament shows that their gender identity comes to the surface due to the topic discussed, expertise to be presented, responsibilities fulfilled, the necessity to oppose traditional gender roles in order to succeed.

To sum up, in the research on gender and political discourse, the focus on the interrelationship between social gender and communicative behaviour of interactants is a more dominant tendency than the study of linguistic gender. Some categories of linguistic gender (e.g., kin terms and sex markers) used in political discourse are analyzed in the structure of political metaphors or as a part of masculinization and feminization strategies, the others (e.g., grammatical gender and address forms) are not related to the category of social gender when studied on the basis of political discourse. The present thesis makes an attempt to analyze the use of linguistic gender in political interviews and the role of lexical gender, grammatical gender, and address forms in the construction of the social gender of the participants.
1.5 The problem of the research, data and methods of analysis

As the discussion above shows, the three languages have different means of representing gender: lexical gender composed of sex markers, kin terms and personal names, grammatical gender (present in Greek and Russian), and address forms based on lexical (and grammatical gender) available in all.

All of the subclasses of linguistic gender, in one way or another, contribute to the social construction of gender, expressing attributes associated or ascribed to men and women, displaying gender expectations, making people of one sex present in language while underrepresenting the other. Among all the subcategories of linguistic gender in Greek, Kazakh and Russian, sex markers stand out, more prominently than the others, as lacking symmetry in male versus female reference. Kin terms are characterized by equipollent relations between lexemes that refer to males and females and demonstrate considerable differences in designating familial relations in the contrasted languages and contexts. Personal names in their majority signal a person’s gender in languages either by morphological characteristics (Greek, Russian) or by their meaning (Kazakh) which is informative of expectations and roles related to the gender of a person. Grammatical gender in Greek and Russian coincide by a lot of parameters: the tripartite system of gender, semantic criterion of gender assignment to animate nouns, generic use of masculine nouns (pronouns, adjectives, participles, etc.), especially when they denote occupations of high social prestige. Address forms, being the most sensitive barometers of social and historical changes, depict the prevailing tendencies in the societies including those that are related to the dominant gender order.

The use of some categories of linguistic gender in political discourse is determined by the objective and characteristics of this type of discourse: struggle for power, its public and persuasive nature, – which, consequently, defined the focus of most of the studies. Such a genre of political discourse as an interview produced for a wide audience and the problem of social gender have been mostly studied from the point of view of how the social gender impacts the way a person communicates, under what conditions his/her gender identity comes up and how different are politicians – men and women – in their linguistic behaviour.
In the present thesis, linguistic gender is defined as the object of analysis and is examined from the viewpoint of its involvement in the construction of social gender of agents in political discourse. Political discourse in the media is an encounter of the two biggest social institutions that exercise social power with the help of naturalized ideologies that are crystallized in language. Constitutive power of political discourse provides, as a consequence, a rich toolkit for producing representations of people desirable for maintaining the social hierarchy. Social representations of gender produced and reproduced in the discourse of political figures in the media, in particular in political interviews, are the ways of practising these power relations excluding or suppressing the disadvantaged social groups, by identifying them on relational or physical basis that can be totally irrelevant in a particular situation but nevertheless brought along. Types of representations in political interviews can depend, to a considerable degree, on the roles of the IR and the IE when it is the former who has the right to ask questions, to choose topics giving preference either to news value or symbolic value of his/her guest, or it can be determined by the preference for confrontational or deferential style of interviewing in a particular social and cultural setting, etc.

The present thesis deals with the problem of the social gender construction via explicit gender markers existent in language, i.e. lexical gender, grammatical gender and address forms, in the discourse of a political interview. The involvement of linguistic gender into the process of construction of social gender and the results of such an involvement for the IR and the IE are described on the basis of political interviews in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian languages.

The data for the research are selected from the three newspapers Το Βήμα της Κυριακής of Greece, Егемен Казақстан of Kazakhstan, Известия of Russia. The newspapers are selected according to the following criteria: 1) they are to have republican or federal coverage; 2) they are to have a wide circulation; 3) they are to be of the same type: daily or weekly.

All the three newspapers coincide in that they all have nation-wide coverage with the Russian Известия circulating out of the boundaries of the Russian Federation. All of them are disseminated via print and electronic media. The texts for analysis from
the *Известия* are taken from online resources (the website shown in the table below), while the Greek and Kazakh materials are taken from the printed original.

The statistical information (see Table 3) evidences that the three newspapers have a big reading audience.

The third criterion for selection was the type of the newspaper: daily or weekly. Since in the Greek *To Βήμα* the interviews with politicians are published mainly in the Sunday newspaper, it is *To Βήμα της Κυριακής* that served as a source for the Greek data. Besides, it is *To Βήμα της Κυριακής* that shows a much wider circulation, while for its daily counterpart the corresponding figures are rather low:

2008: *To Βήμα* – 15 263

*To Βήμα της Κυριακής* – 190 645;

2009 *To Βήμα* – 10 168

*To Βήμα της Κυριακής* – 168 917.

Table 3: Newspapers: statistics and type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th><em>To Βήμα της Κυριακής</em></th>
<th><em>Егемен Қазақстан</em></th>
<th><em>Известия</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On</td>
<td><a href="http://www.izvestia.ru">http://www.izvestia.ru</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional dimension</td>
<td>nation-wide</td>
<td>nation-wide</td>
<td>nation-wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation 2008</td>
<td>190 645</td>
<td>135 974</td>
<td>234 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>168 917</td>
<td>150 395</td>
<td>225 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type (days a week)</td>
<td>Sunday (1)</td>
<td>daily (5)</td>
<td>daily (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount of the texts is 90 interviews all in all: 30 interviews from each of the three newspapers, respectively.

Chronological frames cover the period from 2008 till October 2009. There is a slight difference in months (*To Βήμα της Κυριακής* – 2008-2009 (I-IV); *Егемен Қазақстан* – 2008-2009 (I-VI); *Известия* – 2008-2009 (I-X) (see the table below) due to the purpose to have equal proportions of data.

Table 4: Newspaper interviews: chronology and amount
As for the category of participant, the interviews are to meet the two basic criteria:

1. they are to be of dyadic type with one IR and one IE;
2. the IE is to represent a certain political institution.

Dyadic types are preferable as they are typical interviews that are produced every day in all the three contexts: Greek, Kazakh and Russian, and will provide a quantity of material necessary for generalizing conclusions.

Moreover, in order to ensure the homogeneity of genre, we focus only on interviews done on their own right, i.e. as an independent genre, excluding the cases when an extract from an interview appears as part of an article or commentary, news column, essay for the illustrative or other purpose.

As for the second condition, it should be mentioned that the contents of the talk do not effect the process of selection. Firstly, my initial intention to have a set of interviews from the three contexts that correspond to each other in topics discussed did
not eventuate through the period of data selection: the issues offered for discussion are
determined by the political situation in the three countries which, in each context, is
marked by its own peculiarities. Secondly, political topics in my data do not cover only
those characteristic of “top-level” politics such as foreign, domestic and economic
policy of the state. Otherwise the data would be restricted to interviews with “top-level”
politicians: President, Prime-Minister, leaders of political parties. The term political in
the thesis implies the daily activities of political figures not only of republican or federal
significance but of regional dimension, too. Consequently, the events discussed may
concern various spheres such as education, law, language policy, ecology and ‘minor’
issues important at the regional level.

In their bulk, the interviews are targeted at obtaining information concerning
political life, events and activity, but in a tiny proportion there are interviews that
investigate personal matters (e.g., career of the IE).

The interviews with ex- and foreign politicians are excluded from the data. The
exclusion of the former is determined by the intention to preserve the ‘homogeneity’ of
the texts and, therefore, the objectivity of the results since, most possibly, there will be
questions related to the personality of the IE, his/her retrospective reflections on the
political events of the past, his/her role in them, etc. The talk with foreign politicians
brings up the possibility to have a translated text instead of the original.

In the interviews analyzed, apart from the main participants, i.e. IR and IE, there
is another referent – a third party discussed by the main speakers. Therefore the
description of the categories of linguistic gender covers the three groups:

1. the interviewer
2. the interviewee
3. the third person mentioned or talked about by the main participants during the
   interview.

The interplay of linguistic and social categories of gender in each of the three
contexts is analyzed, in the first stage, quantitatively. The quantitative analysis provides
the mean frequency of linguistic gender items which is calculated by the formula:

\[ x = \frac{\Sigma}{n} \]

where \( \Sigma \) is the sum total of linguistic gender items and \( n \) is the number
of interviews. For instance, if the sum total of address forms in the IE→IR axis in 10
(33%) Greek interviews is 25; then \( x = \frac{25}{10} = 2.5 \). The mean frequency of address
forms per 30 interviews (100%) comes out from \( x = 25:30 = 0.8 \). The tables that provide results of quantitative analyses contain two columns for each of the referents (IR, IE and the third party): ‘Number’ and ‘Frequency’, the former gives the number of the interviews and the latter – the figures of frequency of linguistic gender items a) per the number of texts they are used in and b) per the total number of texts.

The quantitative analysis is followed, in the second stage, by the qualitative analysis based on Fairclough (1989; 1995; 2004) that concentrates on the ways men and women are represented in political discourse and reveals social motivations of these representations. Fairclough’s analysis is complemented by the analysis of Reisigl & Wodak (2001) that helps classify a particular type of representation as prejudiced or unprejudiced, substantiated or irrelevant. The qualitative analysis elaborates on those categories of linguistic gender via which social gender becomes an \( \text{oriented-to} \) category in the given political interviews. In the classification of identities, gender identity is referred to the group of transportable identities that “travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction. They are latent identities that “tag along” with individuals as they move through their daily routines … they are identities that are usually visible, i.e. assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization … it is important to distinguish between the registering of visible indicators of identity and \( \text{oriented-to} \) identity which pertains to the capacity in which an individual should act in a particular situation. Thus, a participant may be aware of the fact that a co-interactant is classifiable as a young person or a male without orienting to those identities as being relevant to the instant interaction” (Zimmerman 1998: 90-91).

Similarly, for example, personal names serve as indicators of one’s gender without making a special stress on it. That is why the subcategories of linguistic gender that turn out to be ideologically burdened (e.g., sex markers, kin terms, grammatical gender) in political discourse are in the primary focus of the study, while those that classify a person as male or female, without orienting to these classifications, are briefly commented.

In the final stage, the results of quantitative and qualitative analyses get compared: similarities and differences that arise are discussed in terms of their
contribution to the existent gender order, both locally and universally, and are supplied by explanations that involve all the dimensions: situational, institutional and societal.

Applying Fairclough’s (1989; 1995a; 1995b) three-dimensional analysis we start with the description of formal features of the text that includes: a) the delineation of its structure; b) the description of linguistic resources of representing gender in language (which is complemented by the delineation of strategies of implicit construction of gender that have come out in the process of analyzing linguistic gender in the Greek and Russian interviews with women politicians).

The structure of the interview is of significance since the gender of the participants is displayed either during the talk or is indicated only in the parts preceding and following the question-answer sequences. In general, the newspaper interview consists of a headline, of an introductory part with the identification of the participant(s) plus background information about the IE, and of the main body, i.e. question-reply sequences. In the thesis, the main phase of the interview, i.e. question-answer sequences, is studied as one whole with its opening and closing sessions. As for closings which are launched in broadcast interviews by IRs and usually involve thanking IEs for their participation, in printed press they are either omitted (Greek and Russian interviews) or are, as a rule, reflected in the text (Kazakh interviews).

The second part of the dissertation that deals with the interviews in Greek, Kazakh and Russian follows the scheme: structure of the interview, representation and construction of gender of the IR, the IE and the third person in the opening/closing phases and in the main phase of the interviews.

Due to the fact that no interviews with women politicians are available in the Russian newspaper for the period 2008-2009, some additional data are selected from other sources (the criteria of selection are described in 2.4 below). It is done with the aim to trace the use of linguistic gender in the talk with female referents, especially the use of grammatical gender, in order to make verified conclusions.
Part II Gender in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian political discourse: differences and similarities

As it has been said above, linguistic gender as a tool to construct the category of social gender (Hellinger & Bußmann 2001-2003; Παπιίδνπ 2002; Thüne et al. 2006) is analyzed on the basis of political interviews from the Greek, Kazakh and Russian newspapers. The interviews selected are of dyadic type with one IR – a newspaper journalist, and one IE – a representative of a political office. The present part of the thesis examines, quantitatively and qualitatively, the categories of linguistic gender that contribute to the construction of social gender of the IR, the IE and of the third party that is talked about by the main speakers. The peculiar use of some linguistic gender categories (address forms in the Greek interviews) that required explanation highlighted implicit ways of gender construction. The discussion on the latter has been included as a separate point in 2.1.3 below (in the Russian interviews in 2.4, similar phenomena are analyzed within the discussion on linguistic gender categories since they are closely interrelated with linguistic gender).

2.1 The Greek interviews: structure and participants

2.1.1 Structure of the interview in the Greek newspaper “Το Βήμα της Κυριακής”

The Greek interview consists of the following parts:

- name of the section the text is placed in: 
  
  Πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ή Συνέντευξη

- identification of the IR:

  συνέντευξη στον Β.Χιώτη

- introductory paragraph that projects the agenda of the talk and identifies the IE:

  Τη στρατηγική με την οποία θα ανοίξει η κυβέρνηση την πόρτα της χώρας στα ιδιωτικά πανεπιστήμια αποκαλύπτει σήμερα στο «Βήμα» η υπουργός Εξωτερικών κυρία Ντόρα Μπακογιάννη, επισημαίνοντας ότι το κοινοτικό δίκαιο υπερισχύει του Συντάγματος. Η κυρία Μπακογιάννη
επιτίθεται εναντίον όσων προκαλούν ένταση στα αμφιθέατρα αλλά και στον πρόεδρο του ΠαΣοΚ για τη στάση του στο άρθρο 16 του Συντάγματος. Η υπουργός δεν αρνείται τις αδυναμίες που εμφανίζει η κυβέρνηση στον πόλεμο κατά της ακρίβειας αλλά και στην προσπάθεια να λειτουργήσει το κράτος, ενώ απευθύνει και πάλι ένα ιδιαίτερα ανεπτυλόμενο μήνυμα στον προθυπουργό της πΓΔΜ κ. Νίκολα Γκρούφσκι, ο οποίος διεκδικεί σήμερα την επανεκλογή του.

- secondary identification of the IE (placed in the centre, underlined and printed in capital letters):
  
  ΝΙΚΟΛΑ ΜΠΑΚΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ

- short summary of the IE’s position on the issue(s) discussed (as a rule, expressed in a single sentence):
  
  Η υπουργός Εξωτερικών λέει ότι προσφέρουν κάκιστες υπηρεσίες στην Παιδεία όσοι στηρίζουν και ανέχονται τη βία, επισημαίνει ότι το κράτος έχει πολλές αδυναμίες και υποστηρίζει ότι γίνεται προσπάθεια κατασκευής διαφωνιών σε επίπεδο υπουργών

- headline which is, as a rule, a quotation from an IE’s contribution put in italics:
  
  «Το κοινοτικό δίκαιο υπερισχύει τον Συντάγματος για τα ιδιωτικά πανεπιστήμια»

- question-reply sequences.

Beside the main body of the interview there can be at maximum two separate short texts presented in the form question-reply that are separated from the main text. They are placed on the background different from that of the main text, e.g., coloured in gray, and have their own headlines. Thematically, these short extracts contain the discussion of issues that are of social and political significance at a given moment:

ΓΙΑ ΤΙΣ ΣΧΕΣΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΑΣ – ΣΚΟΠΙΩΝ.
Another way to stress the points of the talk important from the viewpoint of the newspaper is one up to three quotations from the IE placed out separately.

The group of journalists consists of 8 men who conduct 22 interviews and 2 women who lead 8 talks. The group of IEs includes 23 men and 7 women coming from different political parties. To make things clear, it should be noted that in 7 interviews with women-politicians it is actually 4 women who are interviewed: the then Foreign Minister is interviewed three times, the then Minister of Labour and Social Protection gives one interview, the Secretary General of the Communist Party – one interview and the representative of the “ΠαΣοΚ” party – two interviews. Out of 23 interviews with men-politicians, five politicians are interviewed twice: the then Minister of Healthcare, the then Minister of Finance, the then Minister of Defence and two politicians from the parties of «ΠαΣοΚ» and «ΣΥΠΙΖΑ». Thus, in the group of 23 male political representatives, it is 18 people who are actually interviewed.

In the stock, 19 interviews are same-gender talks (in 17 both the IR and IE are men; in 2 – both are women) and 11 are cross-gender talks (5 interviews where the IR is a man and the IE is a woman; 6 talks where the IR is a woman and IE – a man).

In the prevailing majority politicians come from «Νέα Δημοκρατία» which was the ruling party during the period the newspapers cover. The second place belongs to the other biggest party of Greece – «ΠαΣοΚ», while the representatives of other parties appear on newspaper pages quite infrequently:

Table 5: Gender, political affiliation and number of the IEs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of the IE</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>«ΝΔ»</th>
<th>«ΠαΣοΚ»</th>
<th>«ΣΥΠΙΖΑ»</th>
<th>«ΚΚΕ»</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2 Linguistic gender in the Greek interview

2.1.2.1 Gender in the opening phase of the interview

The results of the quantitative analysis on the use of linguistic gender in the opening and main phases of the interviews show that the identification of the journalist via his/her name placed before the introductory paragraph is provided by all the texts. The name of the reporter is mentioned once; no secondary identification is given in contrast to the IE:

Table 6: Linguistic gender in the opening phase of the Greek interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th></th>
<th>IE</th>
<th></th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linguistic gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal names</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>articles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the interviews = 30

As for the markers of grammatical gender, the necessity to give some background information about the IE in the introductory paragraph makes the distinction of the IE’s sex manifest in adjectives, articles and pronouns, and much more rarely – in nouns. The percentage of the texts where adjectives, nouns and pronouns display the sex of the third person in the opening phase is very low by itself and there is usually a single example per text.
The masculine and feminine articles that precede occupational terms (which are all masculine generics when used in reference to a female IE) are present in 97% of the texts – in the introductory paragraph and in the summary that precedes the main headline:

Example 1:

O υπουργός Αμυνας επιχειρεί να βάλει τέλος στη διαδοχολογία, αδειώνει τα γείματα υπουργών και δηλώνει ότι έχει ολοκληρωθεί ο σχεδιασμός για τη μείωση της στρατιωτικής θητείας (Greek interviews, № 26).

Example 2:

Η υπουργός Εξωτερικών μιλάει για τον ανασχηματισμό, για την τρομοκρατία, για την οικονομία και για τα μεγάλα κοινωνικά προβλήματα (Greek interviews, № 14).

Example 3:

Ο εκπρόσωπος του ΠοΣοΚ για θέματα Δικαιοσύνης θεωρεί βραδύτατη την πορεία των ερευνών και εκτιμά ότι είναι υπαρκτός ο κίνδυνος παραγγέφης για τυχόν ποινικά αδικήματα υπουργών (Greek interviews, № 11).

The ways of reference to the IE include pronouns (possessive, personal, definite, relative, demonstrative), when information concerns the IE’s position in politics, his/her ambitions, views, etc.:

Example 4:

Την έντονη διαφορία του για τους συναδέλφους του υπουργού και βουλευτές που πολίτευσαν με κανόνες επικοινωνίας και “επιδημιάς”, όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρει, εκφράζει ο υπουργός Μεταφορών κ. Ευρ. Στυλιανίδης. Σχολιάζοντας τις πρόσφατες εξελίξεις στην Κοινοβουλευτική Ομάδα της ΝΔ, αλλά και την απόφαση του Πρωθυπουργού να τον
μετακινήσει από το υπουργείο Παιδείας, ο κ. Στυλιανίδης παρατηρεί ότι ο πολιτικός δεν πρέπει να είναι "παραθυράκιας" ή "σταρ", φωτογραφίζοντας σαφώς ποιους εννοεί, χωρίς όμως να τους κατονομάζει. Ταυτόχρονα επιμένει στη φράση του "Καραμανλής ή χάος" για την οποία επικρίθηκε ακόμη και από στελέχη της παράταξής του, σημειώνοντας ότι οι εξελίξεις του δικαιώνουν και πως η σχολή Καραμανλή αποτελεί μονόδρομο για τη χώρα.

Ο υπουργός Μεταφορών αφήνει αιχμές για συναδέλφους του που πολιτεύονται με κανόνες επικοινωνίας, αναλύει τους στόχους του στο υπουργείο και κάνει λόγο για συνέχιση των αποκρατικοποιήσεων (Greek interviews, № 18).

Example 5:

ΕΥΘΥΝΕΣ στο ΠαΣοΚ για το κλίμα σκανδαλολογίας που επισκάζει την πολιτική ζωή του τόπου εν μέσω οικονομικής κρίσης επιρρίπτει ο υπουργός Υγείας και Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης κ. λ. Αβραμόπουλος με τη συνέντευξή του στο «Βήμα της Κυριακής», για την οποία τον συναντήσαμε στο πολιτικό του γραφείο στη λεωφ. Βας. Κωνσταντίνου. Υποστηρίζει ότι όλοι οι πολιτικοί κρίνονται, όχι μόνο πολιτικά, αλλά και ηθικά. Ζητεί επιτάχυνση της υλοποίησης του κυβερνητικού προγράμματος, μιλά για την πολιτική μάχη των ευρωεκλογών και χαρακτηρίζει οξύμορο την παραφιλολογία που συνοδεύει τη συζήτηση για την μετακαραμανλή εποχή. Επίσης, μιλά για τη νέα γρίπη και για την κριτική που ασκείται για τα οικονομικά της Υγείας.

Ο υπουργός Υγείας κατηγορεί το ΠαΣοΚ για τη σκανδαλολογία, δηλώνει ότι στις ευρωεκλογές δεν κρίνεται η κυβέρνηση και καταρτά στην κριτική που του ασκείται για τα οικονομικά του τομέα της Υγείας (Greek interviews, № 30).

Example 6:
“ΠΑΡΕΑ” με το “Κεφάλαιο” του Μαρξ, τη «Γενική θεωρία της απασχόλησης, του τόκου και του χρήματος» του Κέινς και το βιβλίο του Mark Mazower “Η Ελλάδα και η οικονομική κρίση του Μεσοπολέμου” – το οποίο του συνέστησε να διαβάσει ο πρώην πρωθυπουργός κ. Κ.Σημίτης (!) –, περνά τον λόγο ελεύθερο χρόνο του αυτή την περίοδο ο κ. Αλ. Αλαβάνος. Αλλά κι όταν δεν έχει την ευκαιρία να ξεφυλλίσει τα βιβλία που επέλεξε, στην προσπάθεια του να εμβαθύνει στα της οικονομικής κρίσης, ρίχνει κλεφτές ματιές στον Σαιξπήρ «ημέρας» που προσφέρει καθημερινώς «Το Βήμα», ακόμη και μέσα στις συνεδριάσεις της Βουλής, όταν αυτές αποκτούν το σύνθετο αναρχικό περιεχόμενο τους. Ψυχραμος και στωικός, παρά το χαμηλό δημοσκοπικό “βαρομετρικό” για το κόμμα του, αλλά και αισιόδοξος, ο πρόεδρος της ΚΟ του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ δηλώνει στη συνέντευξή την οποία παραχώρησε στο «Βήμα» ότι «και με το 7% είναι ορατά». Για το ΠαΣοΚ υπογραμμίζει ότι δεν υπάρχει η απαραίτητη «γενική προγραμματική σύγκληση» για να καταστεί δυνατή μια ευρύτερη συνεργασία, ενώ δεν βλέπει «όπως κατά διάνοια» κίνδυνο διάσπασης του ΣΥΝ. Την ίδια στιγμή κρατά κλειστά τα χαρτά του για το τι θα πράξει ο ίδιος στο μέλλον, ενώ εμμέσως πλήν σαφώς τάσσεται υπέρ των δύο θητειών για τους εν ενεργεία βουλευτές του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ (Greek interviews, № 21).

In Example 4 (in the first part) and Example 6 the cataphoric use of the pronouns is informative of the sex of the referents who are introduced further on in the extract.

The adjectives that characterize the IE explicitly (as in the Example 6 above) are a rare phenomenon:

... Ψυχραμος και στωικός, παρά το χαμηλό δημοσκοπικό “βαρομετρικό” για το κόμμα του, αλλά και αισιόδοξος, ο πρόεδρος της ΚΟ του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ δηλώνει ... (Greek interviews, № 21).

The IE and his activities are related to the activities of his colleagues: that is why the third person mentioned in the introductory paragraph is, as a rule, a politician known nation-wide. For this reason his name is not mentioned at all – only a position is
indicated which is preceded by the article: στον πρόεδρο του ΠαΣοΚ, του πρωθυπουργού and the like.

2.1.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview

As is evident from the table on the quantitative analysis, personal names in the main phase of the interviews are mentioned with regard to the third person only, since participants of political events are discussed by the main speakers:

Table 7: Linguistic gender in the main phase of the Greek interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal names</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex markers</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>articles</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td>3% (1)</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>67% (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>3% (1)</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Address forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33% (10)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>50% (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the interviews = 30

In the whole corpus, there is a single case when a sex marker is used for self-reference by the IE (see Example 7 below). Kin terms are not a frequent category either
when they concern the IE (one item per text – see Example 8, Example 9) or the third person (a single case demonstrated in Example 10).

In the group of grammatical gender indicators, the article is used to point to the sex of the third person referred to: as a rule, it precedes a noun that denotes position, with the name omitted. The use of pronouns for individual self-reference by IEs is exhausted by three examples (Example 13, Example 14, Example 15); pronouns are more frequent in the third person reference (Example 21). In contrast to other target genders, adjectives are present in the texts for all the three groups of referents. High percentage of the texts that contain adjectives (67%) for the IR’s reference does not imply that the texts abound in them. As a rule, the number of adjectives varies from one to two. The same is true for the third person reference (Example 22). In the case of an IR, only a single instance is observed (Example 11). Nouns that agree with the sex of a referent are the least frequent category: a single instance for an IR (Example 12) and two examples available in reference to the third person.

Address forms are found in both directions: from IE to IR (Example 23, Example 24) and from IR to IE (Example 25, Example 26). The number of texts with address forms in the IR → IE axis outnumber the number of texts with a reverse order but the difference in frequency is minimal (the reasons are described below in Address forms).

Lexical gender

1 Sex markers. This category turned out to be an unproductive one: the IR does not speak explicitly from the position of a man or a woman.

In the case of the IE, in a single instance a woman-politician refers explicitly to her gender:

Example 7:

IR: Είχα πάντα την απορία: Οταν δέχεσα επιθέσεις, θεωρείτε ότι οι επιθέσεις αυτές οφείλονται στη στρατηγική που ακολουθείτε στο υπουργείο Εξωτερικών ή στη στρατηγική που ακολουθείτε στη γενικότερη πολιτική σας πορεία;
ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥΝ πολλοί λόγοι για να επιτίθεται κανείς σε έναν πολιτικό και ο καθένας έχει τους δικούς του. Κάποιοι ενδεχομένως ενοχλούνται από την πολιτική που ακολουθούμε, από τα αποτελέσματα που υπάρχουν, και αυτό το βλέπω υιοθετώ μετά το Βουκολήστη. Υπάρχουν ορισμένοι που ενδεχομένως δεν μου συγχροούν ότι είμαι γυναίκα. Φθάσαμε στο σημείο να κατηγορηθώ για το χαμόγελό μου. Άλλοι προφανώς δεν συμβιβάζονται με την αποδοχή που υπάρχει από μια πολύ μεγάλη μερίδα της κοινωνίας. Υπάρχουν πολλοί λόγοι που κρύβουν εμπάθεια και καχυποψία, όπως υπάρχουν και καλόπιστοι επικριτές που μου επιτίθενται γιατί θεωρούν ότι έχω κάνει λάθη (Greek interviews, № 10).

Notaeworthy is the fact that these words are said by the female politician whose party is a power-holder at the moment of the interview (out of 7 interviews with the women-politicians in the data she is interviewed in 3); her counterparts from opposing parties (other 3 interviews out of 7) do not provide comments of the kind (see Greek interviews, № 1; Greek interviews, № 15; Greek interviews, № 29). Though she does not specify who is hidden behind those ορισμένοι που ενδεχομένως δεν μου συγχροούν ότι είμαι γυναίκα, these people may come from the opposing political groups, from the mass media and from the society in general. Judging by a single case, it is hard to conclude whether women in politics are in the position of “interlopers”, as Eckert (2004: 67) puts it, liable to be judged or misjudged by criteria different from those that men are assessed and whether the speaker’s second remark about a smile used as a ground for attack (Φθάσαμε στο σημείο να κατηγορηθώ για το χαμόγελό μου) speaks of subjective criteria of assessment when a political representative is judged with regard to her appearance but not according to her professional accomplishments and fulfillment of her functions – larger amount of data is necessary for the verification of a conclusion.

The third person, reference to whom is initiated either by the IR or the IE, is not spoken of as a representative of one of the two genders, either.

2 **Kinship terms.** Like the previous category, kin terms are not even sporadic phenomena in the text of the interviews. Rare kin terms in the Greek context are never initiated by the IEs themselves but are provided in the question of the journalist:
Example 8:

IR: Προϋπόθεση για την επιτυχία των σχεδίων σας είναι η παραμονή σας στο υπουργείο. Να υποθέσω ότι, κατά τούτο, έχετε το πλεονέκτημα ως εξάδελφος του Πρωθυπουργού;

IE: Ούτε πλεονέκτημα είναι η συγγενική σχέση μας ούτε μειονέκτημα. Ο καθένας έχει τον ρόλο του. Είναι ο Πρωθυπουργός και είμαι ο υπουργός του. Οι σχέσεις μας είναι πάρα πολύ καλές και η συνεργασία μας θαμάζει – εξαιρουμένων των ποδοσφαιρικών προτιμήσεων, βεβαιώς. Οπωσδήποτε όμως η εφαρμογή των αλλαγών που θέλω να φέρω προϋποθέτει χρόνο και η επιτυχία τους είναι, αν θέλετε, το προσωπικό μου στοίχημα. Μακάρι να έχω τον χρόνο να ολοκληρώσω αυτό που έχω ξεκινήσει (Greek interviews, № 5).

The question is a rather provocative one and is threatening for the image of the politician who refuses to pick it up and to take the subject position of ‘the cousin of the Prime-Minister’. Instead, he insists on being talked to from the viewpoint of his professional identity: the position of the Minister of Culture and his professional (not familial) relations with the PM: Ο καθένας έχει τον ρόλο του. Είναι ο Πρωθυπουργός και είμαι ο υπουργός του.

A kin term is used in the interview with a 33-year-old young man elected the President of a political party – the age quite young for politics:

Example 9:

IR: Αλήθεια, η οικογένεια σας, ο στενός περίγυρός σας, πώς το πήραν; Δεν σας είπαν “πού πας, βρε παιδί μου, να μπλέξεις”;

IE: Ο περίγυρός μου θα είναι ήσυχος όσο οι αξίες της Αριστεράς υπάρχουν στη ζωή μου. Η μόνη ανησυχία πήγαξε από μέσα μου όταν διαβάζω μηνύματα ανθρώπων που δεν γνωρίζω, και όλα λένε περίπου το ίδιο πρόγραμα: «Τον νού σου, μην προσδώσεις τις ελπίδες μας». Οι προσδοκίες του Νίκου από τη Σταλίδα Κρήτης, της Ελένης από την Κεφαλλονιά, της άλλης Ελένης από την Εύβοια, του Χρήστου από τα Γιαννιτσά με τον μισθό των
400 ευρώ, με κάνουν να συνειδητοποιώ πόσο βαθιά έχω ξαναχτεί (Greek interviews, № 2).

When used in reference to the third person, a kin term is also related to the professional activity of the people in question. Though used exclusively once, it shows that familial relations may turn into an instrument of discrediting one’s political opponents:

Example 10:

IR: Γιατί πιστεύετε ότι ο κ. Μητσοτάκης επιχείρησε να ανοίξει την παρούσα περίοδο τον φάκελο της Αποστασίας;
IE: Η ερώτηση είναι πολύ εύστοχη και η απάντηση πάρα πολύ δύσκολη. Είναι δεδομένο ότι η ευθύνη των ισχυρών παραγόντων της Ενώσεως Κέντρου, μεταξύ των οποίων και του κ. Μητσοτάκη, είναι μεγάλη. Αυτοί προκάλεσαν την κρίση. Και προφανώς σε συνεννόηση με τον Παναγιώτη Κανελλόπουλο, τότε αρχηγό της ΕΕ. Διότι αλλιώς δεν δικαιολογείται η διαβεβαιώση την οποία έδωσε ο Κανελλόπουλος κατά την ομιλία του στην πλατεία Κλαμπόνος τον Φεβρουάριο του 1965 προς τους βουλευτές της ΕΚ, ότι η ΕΕ θα στηρίζει οποιαδήποτε άλλη κυβέρνηση που θα προέρχεται από την Ενώσεις Κέντρου. Ουσιαστικά δηλαδή ο Κανελλόπουλος προέφτιζε τους βουλευτές της ΕΚ σε αποστασία, οι οποίοι ανέμεναν τη δημόσια δήλωση του Κανελλόπουλου για να προχωρήσουν στο εγχείρημά τους.
IR: Γιατί το λέτε αυτό;
IE: Ακούστε. Η κυβέρνηση Παπανδρέου ουσιαστικά κατέρρεε από μόνη της. Ηταν μια κυβέρνηση που είχε μέσα της τα σπέρματα της αυτοδιαλύσεως. Ηταν και από την άλλη πλευρά ο Ανδρέας Παπανδρέου που δημιουργούσε προβλήματα στον πατέρα του, στο κόμμα του και στην κυβέρνηση. Και διερωτώμαι γιατί επισπεύδηκε η πτώση της κυβέρνησης Παπανδρέου. Υπάρχει μια απάντηση. Ως τη στιγμή της εμφανίσεως του Ανδρέα Παπανδρέου ο Μητσοτάκης ήταν ο αδιαφιλονίκητος διάδοχος του Γεωργίου Παπανδρέου. Από τη στιγμή που εμφανίστηκε ο Ανδρέας στο
At present, the political situation in Greece is a confrontation between the two biggest parties of Greece and confrontation between the two families – founders of these parties. In the example above, some facts from the family situation are presented as one of the reasons of a political failure and of ascribed tendency for self-destruction in the opposing political camp. However, few kin terms used in the data cannot be declared to be related to the gender of a person talked about.

3 Personal names. As people talked about are public figures, it is formal nomination that is used, i.e. last names (preceded by κύριος/κυρία): ο κ. Καραμανλής, ο κ. Παπανδρέου. Informal nomination (first names) is used rarely: once (see Example 9) first names are used illustratively to refer to common people, in another case a minister refers to her retired colleague by his first name to emphasize her friendly attitude (Greek interviews, № 14).

Grammatical gender. In the Greek interviews, it is the IE who makes the sex of the IR manifest via masculine and feminine adjectives and nouns:

Example 11:
IR: Είχετε διαπιστώσει κρούσματα εταιρειών που εκβιάζουν την κυβέρνηση με απολύσεις για να εξασφαλίσουν οικονομική στήριξή;
IE: Το μήνυμα που έστειλε η κυβέρνηση ήταν σαφές και ξεκάθαρο από την αρχή. Δεν πρόκειται να γίνει η κρίση άλλη μπροστά στο διατάξεις των εργασιακών δικαιωμάτων και για καταφύγη σε καταχρηστικές απολύσεις. Και να είστε σίγουρος, κύριε Χιότη, ότι θα εξαντλήσουμε κάθε αυστηρότητα στην τήρηση της εργατικής νομοθεσίας. Τα περί εκβιασμού, λοιπόν, δεν μπαίνουν καν στη διαδικασία να τα σχολιάσουμε γιατί απολύστατα η κυβέρνηση δεν εκβιάζεται από κανέναν και στο όνομα κανενός. Αποφασίζει και λαμβάνει μέτρα για τη στήριξή των πολιτών και κυρίως εκείνων που πιέζονται περισσότερο από τη
δύσκολη συγκυρία. Στεκόμαστε στο πλευρό τους και θα ενισχύσουμε με όσα περιθώρια έχουμε, με σύνεση και υπευθυνότητα εκείνους που έχουν πραγματικά ανάγκη. Και τις επιχειρήσεις και τους εργαζόμενους και τους ανέργους (Greek interviews, № 16).

Example 12:
IR: Ζητάτε επίμονα προσφυγή στη λαϊκή επιμηγορία. Η κοινή γνώμη όμως δεν φαίνεται να ελκύεται από το αίτημα του ΠαΣοΚ για πρόωρες εκλογές. Με ποιο σκεπτικό επιμένετε;
IE: Οι εκλογές δεν είναι αυτοσκοτός. Αν κρίναμε με γνώμονα το δικό μας συμφέρον, θα επιδιώκαμε οι εκλογές να προκηρυχθούν αφού πρώτα η παρούσα κυβέρνηση είχε εισπράξει το πολιτικό κόστος της κρίσης, όπως άλλωστε της αξίζει. Ωστόσο, για σκεφθείτε να ήσαστε ιδιοκτήτρια ενός μαγαζιού και να συνειδητοποιούσατε ότι ο διευθυντής που είχατε επιλέξει πριν από πέντε χρόνια είχε αφήσει τη βιτρίνα αραχνισμένη, το προσωπικό διημερμένο και απογοητευμένο, διαπιστώνατε σπατάλες στις πρώτες ώλες, κλοπές από το ταμείο και αύξηση του δανεισμού. Και επιπλέον να προέκυπτε η κρίση. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση θα αλλάζατε ή θα διαπιστώσατε στη θέση του τον διευθυντή; Η διεθνής κρίση είναι ένας λόγος παραπάνω για να αλλάξουμε όμως έναν κατά γενική ομολογία αποτυχημένο Προθυτυπωρό και την κυβέρνησή του. Ο τόπος χρειάζεται επεγόντως μια νωπής και ισχυρής εντολής κυβέρνηση που δεν θα κυβερνά με μοναδικό στόχο τις δημοσκοπήσεις της επόμενης εβδομάδας και θα έχει καθαρό ορίζοντα τετραετίας. Γι’ αυτό προτείνουμε συναντητική εκλογή Προέδρου Δημοκρατίας και εκλογές το αργότερο μαζί με τις ευρωεκλογές, για τις οποίες θα καταβάλουμε έτσι κι αλλιώς το προεκλογικό και οικονομικό κόστος (Greek interviews, № 23).

The second example presents a single case when the grammatical gender of the noun – an occupational term – is in agreement with the sex of the referent, a female IR. Generally, the unequal representation of male and female IRs and IEs in the data, where men-journalists and men-politicians prevail in number, makes it difficult to come to
generalizing conclusions about the use of masculine and feminine forms of occupational terms. At the same time, the data allow to sum up that the role of the IR in the Greek context is not restricted to that of a passive listener. The examples above (see also Address forms) show that the IEs demonstrate a considerable addressee orientation directing the talk not only to the invisible reading audience but involving the journalist into the talk as well and inviting him/her to share the opinion of the speaker.

With regard to adjectives that display one’s sex, they are used by IEs for different purposes: as epistemic expressions (Είμαι βέβαιος/βέβαιει... Ίμαι πεπεισμένη...) that allow the speaker to present himself/herself “as public and private figures, supplementing public information from the domain of traditional politics with epistemic, emotive, and social commitment” (Fetzer 2008: 389); or for positive self-characterization (Παραμένω σταθερός...); for expressing intentions (Είμαι αποφασισμένος..., είμαι έτοιμος...) and feelings (Είμαι υπερήφανος..., είμαι ευχαριστημένος...). The tendency on the part of politicians to speak as representatives of a political institution expressed in the ‘we’ (see Example 11, Example 12, Example 16, Example 19) is one of the factors that explain why the category of grammatical gender is manifest in few instances (in the nominative singular) in the text.

As it has been said above, the use of pronouns (personal, demonstrative, reflexive) in the IE’s contributions is restricted and is provoked by the type of question the IR asks. In Example 13 and Example 14, the questions asked by the IR can be characterized as personal in the sense that they concern the behaviour of the IEs. In the first example, it is the dressing style of a young politician that can be found extraordinary in the political environment with its strict dress code; in the second – it is the moral behaviour and ethics of the government members that is questioned.

Example 13:

IR: Κάποιοι σας φαντάζονται να πηγαίνετε στο Προεδρικό Μέγαρο με... τζίν και παπάκι! Θα μας εκπλήξετε σε τέτοιο βαθμό;
IE: Θα ήθελα μέσα από τον ρόλο του προέδρου του Συνασπισμού να παραμείνω αυτός που είμαι. Δεν προτίθεμαι να κάνω θεσμικές εμφανίσεις ούτε ντυμένος τουρίστας, αλλά ούτε ντυμένος «πρόεδρος». Είναι ζήτημα αυτοεκτίμησης (Greek interviews, № 2).
Example 14:
IR: Μπορεί ο πολίτης να εμπιστευθεί μια κυβέρνηση της οποίας τα μέλη
dιαπληκτίζονται μονίμως και μάλιστα δημοσίως;
IE: Υπερβάλλετε, δεν διαπληκτίζονται τα μέλη της κυβέρνησης. Θα ήταν
όμως εξαιρετικά υποκριτικό να σχετιστεί κανείς ότι μέσα σε ένα
συλλογικό πολιτικό όργανο δεν υπάρχουν διαφορετικές προσεγγίσεις. Και
πάνως δεν είμαι εγώ εκείνη που θα το σχετιστώ. Υπάρχουν εναλλακτικές
προσεγγίσεις και διαφορετικές απόψεις και γίνεται ένας υγιής πολιτικός
διάλογος για να βρεθεί η καλύτερη δυνατή λύση για ένα συγκεκριμένο
πρόβλημα. Επιπλέον, πολιτική δεν γίνεται με τη σιωπή. Ο διάλογος είναι
οξυγόνο. Και εσείς στις εφημερίδες σας, όταν κάνετε τη σύσκεψη, ο καθένας
βλέπει από διαφορετική οπτική τα θέματα και τα συζητάτε για να βγει
tελικώς την άλλη ημέρα η εφημερίδα (Greek interviews, № 10).

Example 15:
 Η κατάσταση της οικονομίας είναι ελεγχόμενη. Σήμερα η χώρα
eπηρεάζεται από την κρίση, όπως και ολόκληρη η Ευρώπη. Σε πολλούς
tομείς όμως είμαστε σε καλύτερη κατάσταση σε σύγκριση με τους εταίρους
μας. Και το λέω αυτό έχοντας μόλις επιστρέψει από τη συνεδρίασή του
Eco/Fin. Σας διαβεβαιώνω λοιπόν - από αυτά που ο ίδιος είδα και άκουσα
από τους συναδέλφους μου – ότι υπάρχουν αρκετές χώρες στην Ευρωπαϊκή
Ενωση που αντιμετωπίζουν πολύ σοβαρότερα προβλήματα. Με τις
οικονομικές τους να συνρικνώνονται, την ανεργία να εκτινάσσεται και
μεγάλες επιχειρήσεις να κλείνουν. Δεν θέλω σε καμία περίπτωση να
υποβαθμίσω τις δυσκολίες που αντιμετωπίζουμε και εμείς. Θα πω όμως ότι
συμπληρώνουμε ήδη έναν χρόνο πάνω στην κρίση και η ανεργία στην
Ελλάδα παραμένει με μικρότερο αριθμό, την ίδια στιγμή που σε άλλες
χώρες καλπάζει πάνω από το 10% (Greek interviews, № 24).
In **Example 15** the IE makes use of his personal experience – of what he saw with his own eyes, and hence uses the reflexive pronoun, – to convince the IR and the reader of the things he is talking about.

As for pronouns in the plural form, there is only a single instance when those of the masculine and feminine gender are used in a parallel way instead of the masculine generic:

**Example 16:**

IR: Σας άκουσα να λέτε ότι αυτό που έχει σημασία δεν είναι τα αξίωματα. Πώς αντιλαμβάνεστε τον ρόλο σας στη θέση του προέδρου;

IR: Το ουσιώδες είναι το πώς αντιλαμβάνεται κανείς το κόμμα. Η Αριστερά οφείλει να ενισχύει ακόμη περαιτέρω τις αξίες της: τη συλλογικότητα, τη συντροφικότητα, την ανιδιοτέλεια, την εσωκομματική δημοκρατία. Και την ίδια στιγμή να γίνει ακόμη πιο μάχη και αποτελεσματική, να ανταποκριθεί στις απαιτήσεις ενός μεγάλου τμήματος της κοινωνίας που αναζητεί πολιτική διέξοδο. Αυτό σημαίνει νέα «διάταξη δυνάμεων», άνοιγμα του κόμματος στον κόσμο, σοβαρή πολιτική δουλειά. Στην κατεύθυνση αυτή όλοι και όλας πρέπει να κάνουμε με τον καλύτερο τρόπο τη δουλειά που μας έχει αναθέσει το κόμμα. Προφανώς και ο πρόεδρος (Greek interviews, № 2).

Such an exclusive use can be caused by the ideas and ideological stances of the party whose leader is speaking. The IE is the leader of the opposition party “ΣΥΡΙΖΑ” which declares that it “identifies itself with the ideas and values of democratic socialism, ecology, feminism and anti-militarism” (http://www.syn.gr/en/profile.htm). The avoidance of the generic masculine pronoun by the main speaker causes the analogical use of the nouns by the journalist who gives the summary of the talk in the opening phase of the interview:

**Example 17:**

... Με άμεσο και αντισυμβατικό πολιτικό λόγο, δεν διστάζει να μιλήσει για όλα: για τη δημοφιλία του, το lifestyle στην πολιτική, τον πολιτικό και
θεσμικό του ρόλο, το ηγετικό προφίλ που προτίθεται να φιλοτεχνήσει, την κοινωνία που αντιστέκεται, τα σκάνδαλα και τη χρεοκοπία του δικομματισμού, τις κυνοφορούμενες ανακατατάξεις στο πολιτικό σκηνικό και τα όρια του υπάρχοντος πολιτικού συστήματος, τον ρόλο της Αριστεράς και τις οριοθετημένες σχέσεις της με το ΠαΣοΚ, για τους νέους και τις νέες τους 400 ευρώ που του στέλνουν e-mail λέγοντάς του «τον νου σου, μην προδώσεις τις ελπίδες μας», και ακόμη την πρόταση του κ. Αλ. Αλαβάνου για κυβερνητικό συνασπισμό με επίκεντρο την Αριστερά και τον φιλόδοξο στόχο του για αλλαγή των υφιστάμενων συσχετισμών δυνάμεων. ... (Greek interviews, № 2).

When the sex of a person referred to is not specified, it is the generic masculine that is used both in the singular and in the plural forms:

Example 18:

IR: Εννοείτε τις συχνές, όπως έχετε αναφέρει, συναντήσεις του κ. Αθανασίου με τον Εισαγγελέα του Αρείου Πάγου;

IE: Είναι ένα από τα πολλά παραδείγματα που θα μπορούσε να αναφέρει κανείς. Άσος μάλιστα ένα από τα πιο ακραία. Οι δικαστικοί λειτουργοί που υπηρετούν στον Αρείο Πάγο γνωρίζουν για τις συχνές και τακτικές επισκέψεις του στον προϊστάμενό του. Σε τι αποσκοπούσαν, αν όχι στην παροχή οδηγιών και εντολών; Και για λογαριασμό πούλου δίνονταν οι οδηγίες και εντολές, αν όχι της κυβέρνησης; Θα έπρεπε να θυμηθούμε ότι σε άλλες εποχές άρκεσε η αντίσταση ενός ανακριτή, του Χρ. Σαρτζέτάκη, προς τον τότε εισαγγελέα του Αρείου Πάγου Κ. Κόλλια στην υπόθεση Λαμπράκη για να εμπεδωθεί η πεποίθηση στον λεω ότι οι δικαστικοί λειτουργοί είναι ανεξάρτητοι. Η ανεξαρτησία της Δικαιοσύνης δεν επιδέχεται εκπτώσεις και απαγορεύει επαφές και συνεργασίες μεταξύ προϊσταμένων και υφισταμένων (Greek interviews, № 11).
Example 19:
IR: Πιστεύετε στη διεύρυνση της ΝΔ και προς ποια πλευρά;
IE: Η ΝΔ απευθύνεται, όπως σας είπα, ανεξαρτήτως σε όλους τους πολίτες. Η ιδεολογική αφετηρία του καθενός δεν αποτελεί θέμα. Ολοι είναι καλοδεχούμενοι στην κοινή προσπάθεια. Ολοι όσοι επιθυμούν τη λύση των προβλημάτων, έχουν κοινούς στόχους, είναι μαζί μας και είμαστε μαζί τους. Απευθυνόμαστε σε όλους τους Ελλήνες και ως κυβέρνηση το έχουμε αποδείξει (Greek interviews, № 6).

Example 20:
Αυτός, όμως, δεν είναι ένας φαίλος κύκλος: Διότι η ΕΕ για να δώσει το «πράσινο φως» απαιτεί την ύπαρξη επενδύσεις και ο επενδυτής για να δηλώσει ενδιαφέρον επιθυμεί να έχει πρώτα το «πράσινο φως» της ΕΕ. (Greek interviews, № 7).

In reference to the third person, grammatical gender is manifest in the article, the pronouns (possessive, personal, definite, relative), and adjectives:

Example 21:
… Αντίθετα, ο Καραμανλίδης, χωρίς να μετατοπιστεί από τον υπεύθυνο και ήπιο λόγο του ενδιόντας σε οξύνεις, προσωποποιήσεις και φανατισμούς, αυξήσει την προσωπική του ιδιαιτερότητα ταυτίζοντας την πορεία της παράταξης, και στη συνέχεια πιστεύω και του τόπου, με την προσωπική του προσωπική … (Greek interviews, № 18).

Example 22:
… Ως τη στιγμή της εμφανίσεως του Ανδρέα Παπανδρέου ο Μητσοτάκης ήταν ο αδιαφορικός διάδοχος του Γεωργίου Παπανδρέου. Από τη στιγμή που εμφανίστηκε ο Ανδρέας στο πολιτικό προσκήνιο άρχισαν να μειώνονται οι πιθανότητες να γίνει αρχηγός ο Μητσοτάκης. Ίσως για αυτόν τον λόγο επέστρεψαν τα γεγονότα του Ιουλίου του 1965 (Greek interviews, № 8).
When the third person mentioned is a nation-wide politician, it is only his position that is mentioned preceded by the gender-differentiating article: ο Πρωθυπουργός.

Address forms. The distinguishing feature of the Greek newspaper (in contrast to the Kazakh and Russian) is address forms directed to the IR by the IE. As a rule, the address form is expressed by the pattern κύριε/κυρία + last name:

Example 23:
IR: Μετά τον τερματισμό της εσωκομματικής σύγκρουσης ποιες είναι οι προτεραιότητές σας; Σε ποιους απευθύνεστε εν τέλει το ΠαΣοΚ;
IE: Στην Ελλάδα τα τέσσερα τελευταία χρόνια συντελείται μια τεράστια αδικία. Ζούμε μια τεράστια αδικία εις βάρος των φτωχών και των μεσαίων στρωμάτων. Αυτό που έχει εξοργίσει τους έλληνες πολίτες είναι ότι η κυβέρνηση Καραμανλή, που ανέλαβε τη διακυβέρνηση της χώρας την εποχή που έπρεπε να γίνει μια δίκαιη κατανομή όσων καλών προέκυψαν από της θυσίας για την ένταξή στην ONE και τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες, ήλθε αντιμέτωπη με μια κατάφωρα αδικία και αντιλαϊκή πολιτική. Από το 2004 αυξήθηκαν οι φόροι που πληρώνουν οι φτωχοί και οι μεσαίοι, μειώθηκαν οι φόροι που πληρώνουν οι μεγάλοι και οι οικονομικά ισχυροί, εγκαταλείφθηκε, στην κυριολεξία αφήθηκε στην τίχο του, το κοινωνικό κράτος.

Στόχος του ΠαΣοΚ είναι να αποκατασταθεί η κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη, το αίσθημα δικαιού, και να ανταμειψθούν εκείνοι που έβαλαν πλάτες για να βρεθεί η πατρίδα μας στη θέση που βρίσκεται σήμερα. Μην ξεχνάτε, κύριε Κοβζάε, ότι αυτή είναι η πιο επιτυχημένη συνταγή ανάπτυξης σε όλες τις ανεπτυγμένες κοινωνίες και στην ΕΕ. Η στασιμότητα και ο συντηρητισμός έχουν κλείσει τον κύκλο τους. Τα κυβερνητικά αυτονόμα και ο επικοινωνιακός λαϊκισμός που τα στηρίζει εξάντλησαν τη δυναμική τους (Greek interviews, № 4).
Example 24:

IR: Εχετε κλείσει δύο χρόνια στο υπουργείο Υγείας. Τι εικόνα έχετε σχηματίσει; Είναι δύσκολος και κουραστικός τομέας;

IE: Αλήμονο αν σε κουράζει η προσφορά στην κοινωνία, που είναι και η πεμπτουσία της συμμετοχής μας στην πολιτική. Μην ξεχνάτε εξάλλου ότι εγώ ζήτησα να παραμείνω σε αυτό το υπουργείο, ώστε να παραδώσω έργο τουλάχιστον ως προς τις πολιτικές που ξεκίνησαν επί των ημερών μου και πάντοτε σε αρμονία με το κυβερνητικό μας πρόγραμμα. Ακούστε, κυρία Φυστανίδου, η πρόκληση στην πολιτική δεν είναι να περάσεις από μία ηλεκτρική καρέκλα και να μην καείς. Είναι να καταφέρεις πηγαίνοντας κόντρα σε εκείνα που κάποιοι θεωρούν ανυπέρβλητα προβλήματα να λύσεις κάποια από αυτά και να αφήσεις χρήσιμο έργο πίσω σου. Εμένα, στην πολιτική, τίποτε δεν με φόβισε, ούτε με φοβίζει. Και γι’ αυτό δεν ανήκω στην κατηγορία εκείνων που ζητούν ή επαιτούν δημόσιες θέσεις. Είμαι έτοιμος να αναλάβω όσα αποστολή μου ανατεθεί (Greek interviews, № 9).

Under the conditions of a heated political struggle between different political forces, it is significant for representatives of these forces to create a desired image for themselves when coming into the focus of mass media. The newspaper, which does not make affiliations with any of political opponents and which speaks on behalf of the society preferring to be viewed as a ‘voice of the public’, is double times as important for politicians being interviewed. For each political grouping and their representatives it makes sense to have a journalist on his/her side, since the way politician’s portrait is depicted depends on how skillfully he/she controls his/her behaviour in the course of the interview replying to most ‘inconvenient’ and provocative questions.

The address from the IR to the IE exploits predominantly the model κύριε/κυρία + position in contrast to the formula κύριε/κυρία + last name:

Example 25:
In 37% of the interviews, there is no address form used either by the IR or the IE.

In 30% of the texts, it is the IR who addresses the IE: the address form is found in the initial question and fulfills the phatic function, i.e. is used for establishing contact with the speaker.

In 13% of the texts, the use of address forms is reciprocal: in half of the cases the proportion of address forms used by the IRs and IEs is equal (see Greek interviews, № 9; Greek interviews, № 22). In the other half (Greek interviews, № 13; Greek interviews, № 14), the use of address forms is not consistent: both interviews are cross-gender interviews with the male editor-in-chief of the newspaper in the role of IR and the female minister in the role of IE. In one talk (Greek interviews, № 14), the proportion of address forms used by the IR and the IE is 2:1: the IR addresses the IE in the initial question and, next time, in the question that signals the change of the subject (which opens a separate paragraph in the text of the interview), while the IE addresses the IR once. In the other interview, the proportion of address forms between the IR and the IE is reverse: 3:5, respectively. The IR uses the address form traditionally at the very beginning of the talk and, for the second time, in a categorical assertion that rejects what has been said by the IE:

**Example 26:**

IR: Πόσο πιθανό βλέπετε το ενδεχόμενο πρόωρον εκλογών;
IE: “Δεν είναι στις προθέσεις της κυβέρνησης οι πρόωρες εκλογές”.
IR: Δεν με πιστεύετε, κυρίως υπουργέ. Ακόμη και ο Προθυγράφος μιλάει ήδη, δώδεκα μήνες μετά τις εκλογές, για στρατηγική τρίτης εκλογικής νίκης. Ακόμη και ο ίδιος φαίνεται πως δεν πιστεύει ότι μπορεί να εξαντληθεί η θητεία αυτής της κυβέρνησης (Greek interviews, № 13).
The address form here mitigates the adversarial and threatening, out of disagreement, tone of the utterance – the strategy called ‘Giving deference’ when “deference serves to defuse potential face-threatening acts by indicating that the addressee’s rights to relative immunity from imposition are recognized” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 178). The IR openly and uncomprisingly undermines the opinion of the IE – and in this case she is “socially challenged”, as Weizman (2006) puts it. Her social role in the interview is that of a politician and this implies in a particular case that as such she is to be aware of most possible development of events when the Prime-Minister himself does not deny the possibility of elections. The straightforward assertion and reference to the Prime-Minister deprives the IE of the chance to give a ground for her opinion.

The IR addresses the IE for the third time in the final question in the paragraph that places out separately another hot issue of politics of the day. The address form in the final question signals the end of a very long interview.

In the rest 20% of the interviews, it is only the IR who is addressed. The figure includes three interviews with male politicians (Greek interviews, № 4; Greek interviews, № 6; Greek interviews, № 19) and two – with female (Greek interviews, № 10; Greek interviews, № 16). The disproportion between the number of address forms used by the male and female politicians is striking: 2, at maximum, by the former and 5 and 3 – by the latter. Such a use of address forms in the direction from the female IEs to the male IR could give a ground to relate the phenomenon to the different styles of men’s and women’s talk: competitive vs. cooperative (Winter 1993; Tannen 1998), if similar addressee orientation were observed in the interviews with other women – political representatives (Greek interviews, № 1; Greek interviews, № 15; Greek interviews, № 29) and if all of them were conducted by male journalists (two interviews are taken by a female reporter).

Such an imbalanced use, when only the female IEs use address forms as cooperative markers including “the IR in a display of mutual understanding and cooperation in the beliefs of the speaker” (Winter 1993: 124), is explained by the adversarial interviewing style of the male IR that can be characterized as an implicit way of gender construction (see 2.1.3 below).
2.1.3 IR vs. IE: strategies of adversarialness and gender

As it has been discussed in 1.3 of Part I, the format of the interview as a genre presupposes, in its ideal form, the exchange of questions and replies on the part of the IR and the IE. Deviations from the norm, when instead of questioning an IR resorts to assertions that express his/her disagreement with an IE, critique of the policy pursued by the administration he/she represents, objections, have been characterized (Clayman & Heritage 2002; Иньго-Мора 2008) as strategies of adversarialness.

In the Greek context, journalists break up with the traditional form of conducting an interview expressing their own evaluation in the form of assertive statements: 40% of the interviews are conducted as question-reply sequences, while 60% contain assertive statements of the IR. Generally, the number of contributions set by the IR floats between 8 and 16 (80% of the Greek interviews), whereas the interviews where this amount is exceeded are not typical (20%). The latter include the interviews with the Minister of Economics (Greek interviews, № 3; Greek interviews, № 12), the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Greek interviews, № 13; Greek interviews, № 14), the Minister of Culture (Greek interviews, № 5) and a representative of an opposing party (Greek interviews, № 2). The fact that the interviews with these politicians are much more extended than the talks with the others is caused by the importance of problems discussed: the solutions of the economic problems of the state under the conditions of the world economic crisis (Minister of Economics); sensitive points in the relationships of Greece with other states and hot issues in the domestic politics (Minister of Foreign Affairs); the interest of the journalist in the interview with the Minister of Culture is evoked by the ambitions of the latter to introduce considerable changes in his Ministry (as it is stated in the opening phase); the last case is the interview with a 33-year-old leader of a political party whose political career, due to his young age (as it is stated in the introductory paragraph) attracted much attention on the part of mass media. However, the amount of assertions used by the IR is not observed in the interviews longest in duration. It is the interviews with the female Minister of Foreign Affairs (Greek interviews, № 10; Greek interviews, № 13; Greek interviews, № 14) where the quantity of assertive statements makes up a half of all the IR’s contributions in the first interview, and one third – in the other two. It makes up one third in the interview with the female Minister of Labour
and Social Protection (Greek interviews, № 16). In the interviews with the male Minister of Economics, assertive statements take a half (Greek interviews, № 3) and one third (Greek interviews, № 12) of all the IR’s contributions. In the interview with the male Minister of Culture (Greek interviews, № 5), the proportion of assertive statements to questions is one fourths. These figures, nevertheless, do not speak of anything by themselves since assertive statements, judging by their content, perform different functions.

Firstly, assertive statements may appear in the IR’s contribution since the IE, who foresees what the question is going to be about, interrupts the journalist:

**Example 27:**

IR: Ωραία, δεν έχει κανείς αντίρρηση. Απλώς οι άνθρωποι του Χρηματιστηρίου λένε ότι τα τελευταία χρόνια, επειδή ακριβώς υπήρχαν τέτοιες ρυθμίσεις, αντλήθηκαν 40 δις. ευρώ από τις αιξήσεις μετοχικού κεφαλαίου...

IE: Και θα συνεχίσουν να αντλούνται (Greek interviews, № 12).

Secondly, the IR may introduce and set the subject for the IE to talk about with the help of assertion instead of a question:

**Example 28:**

Να πάμε σε μια άλλη δύσκολη απόφαση: στο πρόβλημα των ειδικών λογαριασμών, το οποίο φάνηκε ανάγλυφα με την υπόθεση του υπουργείου Πολιτισμού.

Να έρθουμε στο τελευταίο κομμάτι της πολιτικής για τις αποκρατικοποιήσεις (Greek interviews, № 3).

Thirdly, the IR may use an assertion instead of a question when he/she is not satisfied, to a full extent, with the IE’s reply:

**Example 29:**
Finally, assertive statements can render the evaluation of the IR. As a rule, it is a negative and critical one, with the critique concerning the efficiency of the government the IE is a representative of:

**Example 30:**

*Κυβέρνατε όμως ήδη τέσσερα χρόνια. Δεν μπορείτε πια να λέτε ότι φτάνε οι προκάτοχοι σας όταν είχατε αρκετό χρόνο για να βελτιώσετε κάποια πράγματα.*

*Ναι, αλλά όταν διαφωνούμε δεν καταγγέλουμε ότι ένας τον άλλον δημοσίως. Οποίος ο κ. Μεϊμαράκης, ο οποίος πρόσφατα δήλωσε ότι όσοι τον μέμφονται μέμφονται προτίστος τον εαυτό τους. Νομίζω εσάς εννοούσε... (Greek interviews, № 10).*

In the first example, the IR deprives the IE immediately of the chance to accuse the party who had previously been in power of the existent state of things in the country. The presupposition is that the things have not been changed for better by the ruling party whom the IE represents, though the party has been governing for four years that the IR defines as the period of time long enough to improve the situation.

The second remark of the IR belongs to adversarial strategies in the classification by Ηγμιγο-Μορά (2008), as it highlights the disagreements and contradictions that the members of the ruling party have and that they demonstrate publicly.

If the IR speaks about the possibility of pre-term elections for the ruling party in the example below, in the remark that follows he expresses his confidence that they will take place soon since the government itself produces the impression that it is ready for them. “Being ready” implicates that the policy pursued by the party in power and its results are estimated as unsatisfactory by the journalist:
The style of the IR can be rather imposing: the use of the modal verb in Example 32 is prescriptive to the IE and it is presupposed that there is something worth of being criticised about the policy of the then government that the IE represents. The IR openly points to the contradiction between what the IE says and does, thus forcing her to speak about the flaws of her administration:

Example 32:
Πρέπει όμως να κάνετε και την αυτοκριτική σας. Το λέτε αλλά δεν την κάνετε... (Greek interviews, № 13).

In Example 33, the first statement is one of the least adversarial strategies (Ингу-Мора 2008) since the IR just voices the critique expressed by the parties of opposition. In the second remark, the IE is not given a chance to say her opinion since the IR declines the possible negative answer pushing her to accept his point of view:

Example 33:
Η αντιπολίτευση όμως σας κατηγορεί ότι «πουλάτε ελπίδες για προσλήψεις στο Δημόσιο»...

Ολα αυτά πάντως μυρίζουν εκλογές. Το παραδέχεστε κι εσείς, φαντάζομαι. Το ίδιο θα λέγατε και εσείς αν ήσασταν στην αντιπολίτευση... (Greek interviews, № 16).

Assertive statements of this kind, i.e. with a critical assessment, prevail in the interviews with women-politicians, and the examples above come from the interviews with two women-ministers. The women who have already got access to a high position in power (the IEs in question are Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Labour
and Social Protection) tend to undergo a more scrutinized analysis and critical evaluation and interrogation, in contrast both to their female colleagues from the opposition camp and their male counterparts. The more important is the position of a female politician and the more sensitive are political issues related to this position, the more extended and tense is the interview and the more adversarial is the interviewing style she receives from a mass media representative.
2.1.4 Conclusion

In the Greek context neither of the two participants of the interview speaks overtly from a standpoint other than professional.

The identity of the IR (except his/her name) does not show up in the introductory paragraph of the interviews. Predominantly, it is the newspaper that interviews a politician but not a particular person: “συνέντευξη στο “Βήμα της Κυρηνακής”, and in a single case the journalist speaks as ‘we’: “… τον συναντήσαμε στο πολιτικό του γραφείο” (Greek interviews, № 30).

The Greek political situation can be characterized as a highly competitive one. The confrontation between the two opposing political forces represented by the two biggest parties “Νέα Δημοκρατία” and «ΠαςΩκ» (with the former being the ruling party during the period that the data cover) determine the topic and contents of the talk in most of the interviews. It is the leaders (who are both men) of the political parties that are represented via the device of individualization but never in terms of gender. The members of the parties tend to speak as representatives of a political group. The IE’s private identity, expressed with the help of ‘I’, enters into discourse when he/she expresses his/her attitude and commitment to what is stated (realized by adjectives of masculine and feminine gender). With a single exception (when masculine and feminine forms of pronouns are used in a parallel way), mostly it is masculine generics used both in the singular and plural forms.

Though linguistic gender is not a frequent category in the Greek discourse, there are other ways of constructing the participant as a representative of her gender. Rather tense interactions where two female IEs receive adversarial assertive statements instead of questions expected in the framework of the interview are rather illustrative. A woman seems to be held, in contrast to her male colleagues, double times as responsible for the flaws of the governing bodies she represents and is a member of.

Generally, in the Greek context the role of IR is not bound up with the task of asking questions: he/she appoints himself/herself as the ‘representative of the public’ and the questions asked can be threatening to the face of an IE. In cross-gender interviews, the male IR also displays significantly lower addressee orientation in contrast to his female interlocutors (the same two women ministers mentioned above)
who address him rather frequently during the talk receiving no reciprocal address. The position of the IR can also be significant: in the majority of the interviews where the latter is addressed (23% out of 33%), he is not an ordinary journalist but the editor-in-chief of the newspaper.
2.2 The Kazakh interviews: structure and participants

2.2.1 Structure of the interview in the Kazakh newspaper “Егемен Қазақстан”

Structurally, the interview in the Kazakh newspaper consists of the following parts:

• name of the section the text is placed in:
  
  Демократия – даму даңғылы / Democracy – perspective of development, 
  Укімет / Government, 
  Депутат дауысы / The voice of MP.

• headline that consists of
  a) the identification of the IE followed by a quotation from the IE:
    Әбіш Кекілбайұлы: Жасампаздық артса, жағдай жақсара түседі
    Abysh Kekilbaiuly: Creative approach is a way to improve the situation.
  b) a quotation from the IE that announces the topic of the talk;
  c) title (and subtitle) given by the journalist.

• introductory paragraph that states the topic of the talk and introduces the main speaker:
  “Саяси партиялар туралы” Заңға өзгерістер мен тольқтырулар 
  еңгізу жөніндегі заң жобасы қазір қоғам тарапынан қызу 
  талқылануда. Осыған орай біз Мәжіліс депутаты, палатаның 
  Халықаралық істер, қорғаныс және қауіпсіздік комитетінің 
  мүшесі, саясаттану галымдарының докторы, профессор Камал 
  БҰРХАНОВҚА жолығып, жаңа ӛзгерістерге байланысты пікір, 
  ұстанымдарымен болісуін өтінген болатының.

Due to the amendments and complements made to the Law “On political parties”, its draft has evoked hottest disputes in the society.
We turned to Kamal BURKHANOV, the Member of Majilis [the Low Chamber of Parliament], the member of the Chamber’s Committee on
International Relations, Defence and Security, Doctor of Politology, Professor, to share his opinion on the amendments made.

- question-reply sequences (in few cases, the main body starts with the contribution of the IE on the topic with the IR’s initial question deleted)

- closing of the interview. In the Kazakh interview it is the IR who puts the full point in the talk by expressing his/her thanks to the IE (80% of the texts):
  Әңгімеңізге рахмет.
  Thank you for the talk.

In 16% of the cases, the IR’s does not give ‘bare’ thanks but gives his/her high evaluation on the content of the talk or expresses his/her wishes to the IR:

  Мазмұнды әңгіменізге рахмет.
  Thank you for the meaningful talk.

  Әңгіменізге көп рахмет, мақсаттарыңызға жетулеріңізге тілектеспіз.
  Thank you very much for the talk, we wish you achieve all your aims.

- identification of the IR:

  Сұхбаттасқан Сауытбек АБДРАХМАНОВ.
  Interview conducted by Sauytbek ABDRAKHMANOV.

In some interviews held at length, the parts in the main phase are preceded by separate subtitles that disclose the issues discussed in the talk.

In the Kazakh context, the group of IRs includes 19 men, 9 women, and in one case the person conducting the interview is not identified. Actually, there are 11 men journalists who conduct 20 interviews and 5 women journalists who direct 9 interviews.

In 30 interviews, 25 IEs are men and 5 are women. Out of 26 male politicians, four (two MPs, Minister of Education and Science, Minister of Culture and Information) are interviewed twice each. One female politician (the Chairwoman of the
National Committee on the Issues of Women, Family and Demographic Policy) is also interviewed twice. Thus, it is actually 22 men and 4 women who speak in 30 interviews.

Out of 30 talks, 23 are same gender interviews (in 19, men journalists talk to men politicians, in 4 – women journalists interview women politicians), 6 are cross-gender talks (with 1 interview where the IR is a man and the IE is a woman, and with 5 talks where the IR is a woman and the IE is a man), in a single case with no IR identified, the IE is a man.

The politicians interviewed come in the prevailing majority from the ruling party “Нұр Отан”:

Table 8: Gender, political affiliation and number of the IEs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of the IE</th>
<th>Party/movement</th>
<th>“Нұр Отан”</th>
<th>“Ақ жол”</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2 Linguistic gender in the Kazakh interview

2.2.2.1 Gender in the opening and closing phases of the interview

The quantitative analysis on the frequency of linguistic gender items shows that the only category of linguistic gender provided in the opening and closing segments of the Kazakh interviews is one’s personal name:

Table 9: Linguistic gender in the opening and closing phases of the Kazakh interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal names</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary identification</td>
<td>97% (29)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary identification</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>13% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the interviews = 30

Identification of the IR via his/her first and last names provided in 97% of the texts is the only key to his/her gender. The IE’s name given in the headline in 13% of the texts and/or his/her name and position/title shown in the introductory paragraph in 100% of the interviews is the only indicator that helps classify the IEs according to their gender. Reference to the IE and to the third person in the introductory paragraph is mostly of formal nomination type, i.e. by one’s name preceded by his/her position.

As it has been mentioned in 1.5, personal names serve as “visible indicators” of one’s gender and in the opening part of the interview they do not acquire any additional function in terms of gender representation, though they are the only way to signal gender.

2.2.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview

The quantitative analysis displays that in the main body of the interview, i.e. in question-reply sequences, the gender identity of the IR is totally invisible:
Table 10: Linguistic gender in the main phase of the Kazakh interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th></th>
<th>IE</th>
<th></th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic gender</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex markers</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>27% (8)</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10% (3)</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal names</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>87% (26)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address forms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>73% (22)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the interviews = 30

The frequency of kin terms in reference to the IE and the number of the texts they are used in are rather low. Address forms are applied only in the IR→IE axis in 73% of the interviews. It is mostly the third person(s) in reference to whom all the subcategories of lexical gender are found: sex markers, kin terms and personal names. Only in 7% of the texts (out of 27%) identification via sex markers concerns particular people, in the rest of the cases sex markers are used to refer to groups of people in general (as in the examples below).

**Lexical gender**

1 **Sex markers.** In the texts taken for analysis neither the IR nor the IE speaks explicitly as a ‘man’ or as a ‘woman’. The IR’s and the IE’s personal ‘I’ is hidden due to the fact that they exchange information as representatives of the institutions of mass media and politics, not as individuals. In particular, the representative tendency is evident in the use of the pronoun ‘we’ by both and is typical for IEs whose contributions are much longer in contrast to IRs (see Example 14, Example 15, Example 16 below).
In some interviews (Kazakh interviews, № 15; Kazakh interviews, № 27) the style of the IE is very impersonal: no signs of his personal involvement are available. The way the information is presented: reference to facts and figures – creates a positive image of a public person who is knowledgeable in his domain and keeps the situation under control (the IEs are Minister of Economics and Budget Planning, Minister of Agriculture).

In the interviews, it is the third person referred to by the main participants who is identified by his/her gender. Gender raised as a separate topic makes it possible to divide referents into particular and general. Reference to particular persons is restricted to the following two examples: талантты жігіттер/’talented guys’, кәріпті үш келінішек/’three attractive women’ (Kazakh interviews, № 7).

In approximately one third of the interviews gender is either elaborated or touched upon as an issue and problems concerning gender are discussed without reference to a specific person. There are three interviews that focus exactly on the problem of gender, gender policy, gender equality; in other cases the gender issue is never failed to be mentioned because the talk is about the problems of education and the upbringing of the young generation. It is the position of the politicians that sets such an agenda for the interview: Minister of Education and Science, Minister of Culture and Information, MP and President of the Civil Alliance responsible for the work of NGOs, MP and Speaker of the Public Association of the Youth Parliament, MP and the Secretary of the Committee on Social and Cultural Development of the Majilis, the Chairwoman of the National Committee on the Issues of Women, Family and Demographic Policy.

High abundance of sex markers determined by the topic of the talk and by the position of the IE (Chairwoman of the Committee on Issues of Gender, Family and Demographic Policy) makes it possible to distinguish the particular ways of representing men and women, as qualities attributed to each gender are often expressed overtly. The images of men and women given below are based on the IE’s contributions:

• Woman is the most reliable partner: strong-willed, patient, hard-working, encouraging, resistant to difficulties
At the very beginning of the interview, the IE is asked to comment on the phrase “Ең сенімді серікістеп – әйелдер” – “The most reliable partners are women” said by the President on the annual ceremony held on the International Women’s Day:

Example 1:

...әйелдер қауымын ең сенімді серікістеп деген сөзінде де талай сыр жатқаны анық.

Озіңіз де жақсы білесіз, отпелі кеңең қалқымыз үшін улкен сын бөлді. Сондай сәтте қыз-қелінішкетер қауымы еліміздің еңсе тікетінде елісегіз улес көсті. Сонан 90-ыны әкеларды жұрт ұмытың көйімінен шығар..., жұрт ұшқалай абдырап қалқаңда әйелдер білкіті сымының еліберін, ісі кіріспі. Ала қан арқалап, отбасының күнкоғісін айырды, бала-шаганы жұдеддеді. Ер азаматынан да, ұл-қызқың да өз күнімізді озіміз корейік, ешкімге алақан жаямайық, жұрт істеген тірлікті біз де істейік деп еңбекке жұмыляды. Ең бастысы, өз қан қалқысы өз қаны қыңға деме ді. Елдекімдер көкек бос сөздің жетегінде жүркеді. Елді-бірге жұлдан өз сиін өркендетті. Бала-шаганы өзір ісіп, елдің ертенін тәрбиеледі. Қынлыққа моіымады. Қайта қынлыққа қарсы тұрып күресті, күресе жұріп нарық зандылығын өзің дейіретіні, үйрене жұріп вазге е ейіреті. … (Kazakh interviews, № 23).

... undoubtedly, his words that women are the most reliable partners mean quite a lot.

You are perfectly aware yourself that the period of transition was a big test for our people. At that time women made a huge contribution to raising the people’s spirit. People cannot have forgotten those 90-ies..., in the times of total confusion it was women who actively got down to work. Carrying coloured bags on their backs, they earned the income of the family without letting their children feel any difficulty. It was women who stimulated their husbands, their sons and daughters to work without asking anyone for help and to earn their living like all other people did. The most
important thing is that whatever difficulties and sufferings they faced, women did not ever give a word of complaint. They did not go around doing empty talks like some others did. Instead, they succeeded in their business. Moreover, they brought up their children and thus brought up the future of the nation. They did not yield to difficulties. Instead, they struggled against difficulties, learning in this struggle the laws of the market economy and helping others get adapted to them.

By his words said on the 8th of March which is still celebrated as the International Women’s Day in Kazakhstan and in the other post-Soviet countries, the President expresses his appreciation of what women had done during the first difficult years that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and his gratitude to them. The very expression серіктес/‘partner’ used in reference to woman implies ‘a partner of a man’ as the speech is addressed to all women: traditionally men congratulate women (at home and at workplace as well) on this very holiday and organize celebration marked by flowers and other gifts. The President speaks not only from the subject position of the head of the state but as a representative of the male part of the society. That is, the phrase “Ең сенімді серіктестер – әйелдер” – “The most reliable partners are women” refers to a woman not as to a separate individual, but as to a link in the chain man-and-woman.

The IE confirms the words of the President by reminding the difficult 90-ies with many plants and factories closed down, with growth of prices, and with rapidly growing unemployment rate. During that period, a lot of women – qualified teachers, doctors, and engineers – had to become market sellers (“coloured bags” implies huge bags that market vendors used for packing goods) and practically became bread-winners in their families. The IE stresses more the moral rather than the material aspect of the issue – women are attributed highly positive characteristics: possessive of high spirit and strong will, patient, hard-working and encouraging for others (husband and children), resistant to difficulties. Emphasis is put on the role of woman as an educator: children and their proper upbringing were not neglected by a hard-working mother. Thus, it is the family which benefits and therefore the nation whose future depends on the growing generations of citizens.
In this way, the chain that starts from a man-and-woman dyad extends to family involving children and develops into the link between the former and the whole nation.

- **Woman as a delicate, tender being**

**Example 2:**

**IR:** Бүгінгі кездесуді пайдаланып, мына бір жәйтті да айта кетсем, әйелдің қыз-келінішектердің өміре жылының сәкітуы болып табылады, олардың ұзынғы қауіпсіздігін анықтай аламыз. Әйелдің құлақтары құлақтарынан зияны көп, олардың зияның құлақтарына қатысты әңгіме. Бұл пікірліктірек тәріздегі жәндікті корсетеді.

**IE:** Мұндай пікір пайда болуы мүмкін, але аударма жататын жаңа ұғым. ... (Kazakh interviews, № 23).

**IR:** Using the chance I would like to raise another issue: when the point comes to gender equality, representatives of some educated circles openly display their disliking of the topic. If one listens to their motivation, it is said to bring more harm than good, first of all, to the demographic growth and stability of the family. How would you comment on such a viewpoint? It is true that the Creator made man and woman different. It is also true that physiologically woman is a delicate, tender being. But it is a pity that we
think of gender equality as a notion inclusive of women only. Since gender equality presupposes protection of man’s rights along with woman’s. In my opinion, suchlike views are caused by lack of comprehension of the matter.

Yes, erroneous is the opinion that gender equality alienates women from the family, from child-raising. …

The emphasis of the IE on the physiology is caused by the necessity to explain that gender equality does not aim at denying anatomical differences between men and women. The fact that the notion ‘gender equality’ is becoming to be associated with ‘woman’ only causes the IE’s attempt to shift the focus from woman to man and his rights.

- The changing nature of man

Further on, the IE opposes her critical vision of modern man to the critique about the negative influence of the gender equality policy on stability of the family.

Example 3:

... Әрине, осындай ой-пікір іелерін де түсінуге бола ма дейімін. Және ондай әніме ұлт келеше‌ге жаңағырлықтан тұтын отыр деп білемін. Алайда, ондай пікірді айтатында ер азамат болмысының вазерін барға жатқанын айтып неге дабыл қақпайды?!.

Бұрындары қазақтын ер азаматының әлелесі отбасына асып, айналасына, ағайынға тегіс жететін. Соның арқасында жекір эйел, жетім бала болмайдын. Ал бұғінгі кейібір азамат өзге түгіл, өз балақасына жан қызыңғы бере алмай жұруғені де өтірік емес. Міне, бұғінде дабыл қағатын, қоң болып колға алатын құрделі мәселенің бірі осы ма дейімін. ... (Kazakh interviews, № 23).

… Of course, such opinions can be understood, too. And I would like to think that they come up due to the concern about the future of the nation.
But why don’t supporters of such a viewpoint raise the alarm about the changing nature of a man?!

In the past the warmth of the heart of the Kazakh man was enough to share not only with the members of his family but with people around him and other relatives. There was no widow, no orphan left without help. It is not an exaggeration to say that today some men cannot even give the warmth of their soul to their own children leave alone other people. That is, in my opinion, one of the complicated problems that we should raise alarm about, that we should solve by common effort. …

The comparison given between what the man was like in the past and what he is like now makes the contrast and the negative characteristics – inability to take responsibility – more vivid. It is a responsibility of a family member (a father, an uncle, a brother, etc.) for his relatives; it is a responsibility of a member of the society (for example, of a good neighbour) for those who are in need of help (widows and orphans). The role of a protector of the weak (specifically of women and children left without husband and father) traditionally prescribed to a man is, according to the IE, losing its value in the contemporary society. Like a woman, man is also a link in the chain that starts from the family and expands to out-of-family environment.

- Irresponsible man as destructive for the family and the society

Example 4:

Өзіңіз де білесіз, республика халқының 52 пайызы әйел. Бұл елімізде ер азаматка қараганда, әйелдер саны көп деген сөз. Көп болатыны, бала кезде ұл мен қызғы санның інгейлес болса, қызғы келе ер азаматтар санны сирей береді екен. Газылдардың пайымдауына жасаңыз, әрі тұрлі әрекетпен әрекетпен жынырайды. Арак, есірткі, темекі әдеттер әдеттерге дей ұйыр болады. Соның салдарынаң денсаулығына нұқсан келеді. Ен көп, өлар өз денсаулығын күпейді, салдыр-салқ кәрақты дейді. Дәрігерлердің сөзіне дән қойқақ өз денсаулығын күпейдің кесірінен бөліңдікке
ұшырап жатқан жәнімтер де аз емес көрінеді. Осының бәрі айналып келгенде, ерлі-зайыптылардың арасына сызат тусіріп, отбасына, бала-шагасына қаншаға қағылы-қасірет жекелінің енді озіңіз де іштей жоғалай беріңіз. Сөйтін, ол озің гана емес, отбасының мушелерін де баянысыз етеді. Ата-анасына қағылы-қасірет шектіреді. Ең сұмдығы, озіңің қарактан басып алып жүрге алмай, сандар бар санатта жақы бөи күң кешіп журген ерекетердің жылы отқен сайдын көбейе тусі. Қоғамда ер азаматтың бойындасы еренсіздікке бой үйретіп бара жатыр ма деймін. Неге десеңіз, оласың қойынға, оларга арнап дәнсілік күмілі, жеке басының күмілі сияқты пайдалы көп мүшеліде айтпайды. Ендің кесірінен ажырау арқылы ерлер қатарынан көбейіп қалады. Бұл әдеттерге үйір болуға шақырады. Осының кесірінен ажырау арқылы ерлер көп емес, отбасы мүшелерін қаңқа емес. Ең сұмдығы, әдеттерге үйір болуға жақсы қылмай, ата-ана үмітін де ақтамайды. Зиянды әдеттерге үйір болу үшін, олицетвор, ер кесірінен ажырау арқылы қолға алатын мәселенің бірі осы ма деймін.

Аріне, ер азаматтың бәріне қуіге жасаудан аулақпайы. Өйтсе деген басына жақсылық ойламайтын әрекет басып алып жүре алмай, санда бар санатта жақсы қылымды қағылып жүретін ерлі-зайыптылардың арасына сызат тусіріп, отбасына, бала-шагасына қаншаға қағылы-қасірет жекелінің енді озіңіз де іштей жоғалай беріңіз. Сөйтін, ол озің гана емес, отбасының мушелерін де баянысыз етеді. Ата-анасына қағылы-қасірет шектіреді. Ең сұмдығы, озіңің қарактан басып алып жүрге алмай, сандар бар санатта жақы бөи күң кешіп журген ерекетердің жылы отқен сайдын көбейе тусі. Қоғамда ер азаматтың бойындасы еренсіздікке бой үйретіп бара жатыр ма деймін. Неге десеңіз, оларға арнап дәнсілік күмілі, жеке басының күмілі сияқты пайдалы көп мүшеліде айтпайды. Ендің кесірінен ажырау арқылы ерлер қатарынан көбейіп қалады. Бұл әдеттерге үйір болуға жақсы қылмай, ата-ана үмітін де ақтамайды. Зиянды әдеттерге үйір болу үшін, олицетвор, ер кесірінен ажырау арқылы қолға алатын мәселенің бірі осы ма деймін.

As you know, women make up 52% of the population of the Republic. That is, in our country women outnumber men. The thing is that in childhood the number of boys and girls is equal, in the course of time the number of men decreases. According to researchers, men tend to get into accidents more often. They get addicted to vodka, drugs, and
cigarettes. Consequently, their health is damaged. The most alarming thing is that they are careless about it. According to doctors, there are a lot of young men who, consequently, suffer from impotence. You can understand how all the aforesaid contributes to breaking the harmony between spouses and how all this brings sorrow to family and children. Thus, it is not only he himself but his family members who are made unhappy. It is his parents who suffer. The most awful thing is that the number of men who cannot be responsible for themselves, who are present in quantity but not in quality, is growing with every passing year. I am afraid that the society is getting used to such an unconcern. Since they [men] are not provided with any useful consultation on health care. On the contrary, there is a great deal of advertising of vodka, wine and beer and of calling to bad habits. All these result in a growing number of divorces. It is, in my opinion, one of the problems that we must solve by common effort.

Of course, we are far from putting all men in the same boat. Nevertheless, as it has been said before, alarming is the growing number of men who are not able to bear responsibility for themselves and for what they do. It is a very frightening situation. Since a person who cannot take care of himself is not able to bring any good to the society. Such a person will not be good at his job, at bringing up his children; he will not come up to the hopes of his parents. He will trample down the feelings of his spouse. It is known that it is extremely difficult to change an adult person for better. That is why it is in the family that the proper upbringing of a male child is to start: teaching him to responsibility, to avoiding bad habits, to taking care of his family and relatives, to loving his nation and motherland.

The responsibility of man is multi-dimensional. On the one hand, he is to justify his parents’ hopes. On the other hand, he is to contribute to his children’s proper upbringing. He is to build harmonious relations with his spouse. The Kazakh expression used by the IE in reference to men санда бар санатта жоқ/‘available in quantity but
not in quality’ implies that the man of quality is the one who is able to be responsible for himself and others around him.

The example evidences that in the Kazakh society it is kinship which is a major source of structure: “human relationships are thought of as being largely vertical relationships between preceding and following generations” (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 141). What Scollon & Scollon (1995: 130) write about the cultures of China, Japan, Korea can be applied to the Kazakh society as well: “In Asia, as in any other society in which such traditional kinship relationships are emphasized, any individual is acutely aware of his or her obligations and responsibilities to those who have come before as well as to those who come after. From birth one is made conscious of the debt owed to one’s own parents, which is largely carried out in the form of duty and obedience. But … one is also made acutely conscious of the debt owed to one’s own children and other descendants, which is largely carried out through nurture, responsibility, and benevolence”.

Lack or absence of responsibility and its consequences are assessed not only on the level of the institution of the family but of the society and of the nation on the whole, since a man who cannot take care of his primary small community is not believed to be able to serve his nation and his motherland properly. That is why the IE’s offers on the improvement of the situation are directed both 1) at the family that is to give special attention to the upbringing of a boy from the start and 2) at the society as a whole. She stresses not only the men’s unconcern about their own health (drug-, cigarette- and alcohol-addiction) and lack of responsibility but the role of the society and societal institutions (for instance, those of media that disseminate commercials of beverages and cigarettes; or of the medical establishments that remain passive) in paving the way for the state of things available. The way she characterizes men, though negative, is not aimed at discriminating anyone since she speaks from the subject position of a high official who chairs the committee on issues of family and her viewpoint is based on the official sources (medical institutions, research).

- Gender equality is a man-and-woman not man versus woman relationship

Example 5:
... If to say that the present XXI century is the epoch of knowledge and consciousness, up to now there has been no scientist who has theoretically proved that “woman’s intellect is lower than that of man”. I have not come across anything like this, either, in the 4 Holy Books that have become spiritual pillars of all the world peoples. Life itself shows that woman’s professional and educational competence is not worse than that of man, life itself proves that a clever and educated woman keeps together her family, her children in harmony. And no one can deny that such women are the
impetus of the society. Generally, there is no reason to divide people into men and women. The Kazakh people say “The man has not come down from the heaven, a woman is his mother, the woman has not come up from under the earth, a man is her father”. Our aim is not to oppose men and women, on the contrary – without breaking up the harmony between family members, – to explicate all their skills and talents and to involve them in the common cause. Therefore, the gist of the aforesaid is as follows: it is necessary to change the old stiff viewpoints, to change the old customs. The fact that not all that is old is good is evident from the wise Abay’s words “Do not sit saying empty proverbs like an old judge”: some opinions are not only of any use but are questionable in terms of doing credit to the speaker.

The above contribution of the IE is the continuation of her reply to the question about the negative opinion on gender equality. As the negative reaction and fear are about the family, the tendency to speak of man and woman not in terms of individualization but as of family members – a husband and a wife, as a father and a mother – is kept up. The issue ‘Woman and education’, and later, the harmonious entity man-and-woman, are related to the family and the society as well: they do not exist by themselves but within a society and are to be productively involved in common activities.

Speaking about woman and education, woman and career, the IE uses such authoritative sources as the science and the Holy Books to confirm her words that woman is not in any way inferior to man and has not been proved to be. She illustrates her opinion that an educated woman is an impetus of a progressive society and that gender equality does not threaten the family by examples from everyday life which echoe her previous contribution (see Example 1) on the roles (bread-winners and, simultaneously, educators of children) women played under the circumstances of economic crisis and total confusion in the society. Even in those times, hard-working women busy with the task to bring income to the family did not leave their children on their own, without any control over their education and upbringing. And it is not occasional that further on the IE cites the Kazakh proverb Еркек көктен түскен жоқ –
The man has not come down from the heaven, a woman is his mother, the woman has not come up from under the earth, a man is her father’ (applied also as a title of the interview): proverbs are not invented anew, they are accumulated in the course of historical life of an ethnos and are a part of heritage from the elder generation to the young. In a particular case, it is a very skillful strategy on the part of the IE to sound convincing and to make her opinion popular: the idea that men and women are equal and are to be treated as such is not an innovation worked out by contemporaries but is something that was acknowledged by the ancestors. The strategy is up to the point under the conditions when it is necessary to oppose the prejudiced attitude to the issue of gender equality that roots back to old views (which find their reflection in corresponding proverbs and sayings as well). With these old opinions still available and circulating in the society, appropriate is the quotation “Ескі бише отырман құр макалдан”/“Do not sit saying empty proverbs like an old judge” from Abay Kunanbayev, the prominent Kazakh poet, which is used by the IE to prove that the society is to reconsider critically old traditions and prescriptions concerning the place of men and women. (At the same time, the resource quoted helps the IE create a highly positive image of herself as of a well-read and educated person, since the authority of Abay, one the most progressive representatives of the Kazakh society of the 19th century, is acknowledged by all the Kazakh people – and, in this respect, her stance is legitimized well).

In her interview, the IE speaks not only as an official representative but takes up the subject position of a ‘woman’, too. In many sentences (e.g., “We are far from putting all men in the same boat”) she identifies herself with all other women in her ‘we’ contrasted to ‘they’, i.e. ‘men’.

If in the example above the IE talks about the issue of gender equality theoretically explaining what the notion stands for, in the other interview she talks about the present state of things about gender equality and about the equal opportunities for men and women in professional domain:

- **Women in professions: caretakers and educators**

**Example 6:**

It is possible to say that up to now women’s intellectual and professional qualities have not been used to the full extent. We cannot deny that the majority of our women work in the spheres of health care and education. The number of housewives is not little, either. As a rule,
we say that the percentage of women who work in the bodies of state power is 58%, though only 11% of women participate in decision-making processes. That is why we would say that one of the urgent issues in the society today is to change the existent state of things, to improve it according to the demands of the time. By the end of this month, the National Committee and the People’s Democratic Party of “Нұр Отан” are going to hold a conference. One of the matters to be raised there is the policy of making women present in decision-making positions including politics. It is time to quit with the old idea about male dominance in the spheres of politics and power in general.

The issues also to be discussed at the conference comprise protection of women’s rights, the involvement of women in politics and business, the raising of the status of the family, the development of moral values. At one session of the conference, there will be a discussion of the law draft “On men’s and women’s equal opportunities and equal rights” prepared by members of the Majilis. This law draft aims at increasing opportunities for women and also at using their potential to the full extent.

There is much to gain from women’s leadership qualities and activeness. For this purpose, at the initiative of the National Committee, Women’s leadership schools have been started in our republic. At present such schools are opened in the countryside areas as well.

Despite the gender equality policy that has been pursued from the Soviet times, the real picture with equal opportunities for men and women is far from being ideal. According to the IE, women make up a considerable part of employees in the organs of state power; still they do not influence or participate in decision-making processes, with the exception of a tiny minority. Familiar is the prevailing presence of women in professions of teachers and doctors – the traditional ideas about the roles of women as of educators and caretakers are still persistent in the modern society. As Doleshal & Schmid (2001: 268) explain, “in the former Soviet Union two thirds of the physicians and the three quarters of the teachers were women in 1990”.

146
In both of her interviews, the IE correlates the issues of gender equality and family. She puts emphasis on the fact that women deal with the problem of the raising the status of the family:

- **Women as regenerators of the family values**

**Example 7:**

Бүгінде жастар арасында отбасының танымдық-тәрбиелік әсерінің қөмі, құндылық ретінде әлі әр тәрізді жайылып барға жатқаны өтірік емес. Қоғам осы мәселені орғе оздығын оқілдеп, органның жоқпығына аландаулы. Сондықтан да бұл міндет келген Мемлекет басшысы біздің коммиссия немесе әкімет орнын топты. Үлттық комиссия сөз өрісі немесе отбасы мен жүктеп орналасын нығайтуға бағытталған. Тәрізді орны жарык-жинайды бұрышы барлығы дәрілік отбасы жағдайының ызғылыға бағытталада. Тағы бір айта кететін жақтап, некенің және отбасының бөлігін көтеру және арқылы әліаралар кешенін дайындау, ұлттық комиссияның қоғамдағы жағдайын қатару үшін бірқатар өлеуметтік зерттеулер жүргізінгені де соз орайында тіле жеткен үшін ында тілесе деейміз.

(…)

Өлімдегі нарықтық экономика мен азаматтық қоғамның басты компоненті – жауапкершілігі және, қасиети шебер азаматтардың тәрбиеленуінде отбасының маңызды рөл аткарады. Адамдар, отбасы жақтарының өнбекке, сол арқылы руханы құндылықтарға баулуы тиіс. Ал біздің комиссия жоғарыда айтылған Неке және отбасы бөлігін көтеру және қандықты өшіретінің ондағы қоғамдығы жоқысында қазақстандық отбасының моделі мен тәрізді қабылдау, сөз орай жұмыс жасауы тиіс. СONDай-ақ, қазақстандық отбасыға
It is true that nowadays for young people the educating role of the family has diminished and the significance of the family as a value is lowering down. The society is anxious that there is not any representative institution to deal with this problem. That is why the head of the state is charging our committee with this task. The National Committee keeps in its focus the family issue in the society and considers it necessary to bind together the demands of the time and our national culture. This year all our activities are directed at strengthening the position of the family. Another point to speak about is that we worked out a set of measures on enhancing the role of the marriage and the family and sent it to the government to be approved of. We must note that the foundation for these activities is established by the Gender Equality Strategy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the years 2006-2016, in the section on the family. With respect to this, we would also like to mention that the National Committee has conducted several social research works in order to investigate the state of the family in the society. …

(…)

Especially great is the role of the family in bringing up responsible, skillful and qualified citizens – the main constituent of the market economy and of the civil society. … That is, the family is to foster in the young the wish to work and the respect for moral values. Our committee is to adopt the model and ethics of the Kazakhstani family in the frames of the above mentioned Project on a set of measures aimed at enhancing the status of marriage and family, and to work according to this Project. That
is, the Kazakhstani family needs a stable support in the process of getting adapted to and in understanding the modern world and its moral principles. This work is done in our country by the women’s movement. … However, we would like to broaden the scope of our activities. For this purpose, we intend to involve all women from NGOs in the process. Our work in this direction is to be discussed at the conference that will be held in November.

The IE, the chairwoman of the National Committee on the Issues of Women, Family and Demographic Policy, speaks about the responsibilities of the institution she chairs. The name of the committee is informative, by itself, of the range of issues embraced. The very fact that the same body combines the issues of women and family presupposes that they are inseparably linked to each other. In one of her previous contributions, the IE talked about the role of the family in the upbringing of a male child, in the interview segments above she speaks about the family and its role in producing responsible and reliable citizens irrespective of their gender. The family values are reduced in the modern society and are not comparable to what they were for the elder generations. Under conditions of market economy, it is women who are charged with the duty to renovate the value of the family: the IE does not mention any involvement of representatives of the male part of the society in the cause.

In this respect, it is worth noting that the interviews that focus on the issues of gender, gender equality, on the activities of NGOs, on the problems of the young (see Kazakh interviews, № 3; Kazakh interviews, № 14; Kazakh interviews, № 22; Kazakh interviews, № 24) are same-gender interviews: both the IRs and the IEs are women. In the corpus, out of 4 women IEs only one (Kazakh interviews, № 25) is interviewed by a man-journalist, the topic does not cover any of the points mentioned and deals with the anti-crisis programme of the government.

The role of ‘protector of women’s rights’ is taken by the female IE (due to her position), and it is again she who gives highly positive characterization of women and negative portraying of modern men (Kazakh interviews, № 24). However, she does not aim at discriminating one part of the society: her negative representation of men (irresponsibility, alcohol- and drug-addiction, lack of care for the family members) in
the previous contributions is based, for example, on the data provided by medical workers. The IE talks about the social roots of the problem and the ways to solve it. That is why she draws attention to the matter of giving a proper upbringing, first of all, to a boy.

However, women are not always represented one-sidedly, as the embodiment of virtue and wisdom. The next female speaker is very critical of modern women and raises, respectively, the problem of the young women’s behaviour today:

- **Changing nature of woman**

**Example 8:**

IR: Бүгінгі күні жастар алдында тұрған басты міндет не деп ойлайсыз?


Елбасымыз жастардың нашақорлық, маскунемдікті жаны қаламайтындай кесепті ретінде қабылдауы қажеттігін Саяси кеңестің отырысында атап айтты. Өткен 10 жылығын көбемінде көшкеде, көшкілік орнандарда темелі шеңір тұрған қыздарды кездестірмейтін едік. Тартса да тығылып, бір қалғарыңғы сөйлелерге баратын еді, қазір олай емес, жәігінің бірре темекіні бұрғыратын тұрған қызға тәңгілмейтіндің қойға тұстік. Нашақорлардың жасы да тыым тамынды кетті. ... (Kazakh interviews, № 3).

IR: What do you think is the most important duty for our young people today?
IE: I would say it is the uniting of young people by the idea of the Kazakhstani patriotism and love of motherland. To my mind, drug-addiction, alcoholism and other negative social phenomena appear due to the lack of work done among young people. Why not take as the national idea the Development Strategy of “Kazakhstan – 2030” or the aim to enter the group of 50 competitive countries.

At the meeting of the Political Council, the Head of the State emphasized the necessity to consider drug-addiction and alcoholism among young people to be a disaster. Within the past 10 years girls smoking cigarettes were not to be seen in the street, in the public places. If they did smoke, they did it in a very secluded corner. Today things have changed, we are not surprised any more to see girls who smoke in the company of guys. The age of drug-addicts has considerably gone down as well. …

The IE who is the Speaker of the Youth Parliament talking about alcoholism and drug-addiction among young people makes a special point on girls’ behaviour in contrast to how it was only 10 years ago. Smoking and drinking are not found good either for boys or for girls, but as it is a girl who is seen as a future mother and educator of children she and these habits are considered to be an incompatible combination.

In other talks, the necessity to concentrate on the upbringing of both boys and girls is stressed – and here all the institutions must be involved: educational establishments and the society in general:

- **Upbringing of a boy and a girl as a common cause**

**Example 9:**
... Халықтық іс, ұрпаққа жасаған шарапат – ол мәңгілік болып саналады. Ұрпағымыз білімді болса, білікті болса жуәр ер жол қашанда анық, шығар бінік талассыз. Ал оган жет е көб беру, ұтымды ұйымдастыру бізге жүктелген міндет. Осы жерде Абай данышпаның: “Құдайдан қоңық, пенден ерт, балақ бала болсың
десең – окыт, мал аяма‖, деген сөзі өйыма оралып отыр.
Отанымызда мешіт салу ісі жақсы жүріп жатыр. Дұрыс,
қолдайымын. Қазір егемен еліміздеге ыңдыған мешіт бой тікетеді.
Імансыздықтан имандылыққа бет бұрганың белгісі ғой.
Сол мешіттерге ертен кім барады, ерине, бұгінгі ұл мен қыз.
Оларды мектептен бастап сол имандылыққа, ибалыққа баулуды көп болып
қолға алуымыз керек. Бұган біз гана емес, дініміз бен тіліміздің,
діліміздің тұтын көтеріп жұруғен азаматтар да атсалауы қажет.
Осылай дей отырып, мешіт тұрғызу үрдісін мектеп салу дәстүріне
қарай бұрақ деген ойды ұлы кеткен талқышына ұсынуды жоң қоріп
отырып (Kazakh interviews, № 8).

… The common cause, the good done to the following generations will
remain an eternal thing. If our children are educated and knowledgeable,
then there will always be high goals to achieve. And ours is the duty to
give this proper attention and efficient arrangement. In respect to this, the
words said by the wise Abay come to my mind: “If you want your child to
have a fear of God, to have a respect for other people, and if you want
him/her to grow up a good person – then teach your child, do not spare
expenses”. The construction of mosques in our country has a good pace.
That’s right, I agree. Now in our independent country there are thousands
of mosques constructed. It shows that the society of atheism made a turn
to faith. Who will be going to these mosques tomorrow, of course, those
who are a boy and a girl today. That is why starting from school age, by
common effort, we must foster humane and moral values in them. Apart
from us, all those who are interested in the development of the language,
of cultural and religious values must take part in this cause. And in respect
to this, I find it necessary to offer, for public discussion, the idea of
turning the process of mosque construction into the construction of
schools.
The IE is the Minister of Education and Science who, supporting in general the idea of intensive construction of mosques, reminds (the reading audience) of the fact that the education of a child starts at school and it is school that brings up a citizen. And what kind of a person will go to a mosque tomorrow depends, first of all, on the educational establishment. At the same time, he puts emphasis on the responsibility and the role of the elder generation (implied by the pronoun ‘we’ and ‘by common effort’) for the proper upbringing and education of children.

As it is evident from the examples above, the issues of gender and family are indivisible. The problems concerning the behaviour and morals of young men and women are attached to the institutions: first of all, to the institution of the family with its teaching, instructing and educating functions. That is why, some examples for the category ‘Kin terms’ are the continuation of the talk about gender.

2 Kinship terms. As it can be expected from the aforesaid, the majority of kin terms used in the texts is not related to the IR or the IE at all but refers to the third person or group of persons.

The two categories – sex markers and kin terms – are linked in the data in a dialectical relation of cause and effect: to be man and woman means to be good, responsible and reliable members of the family (a son, a husband, a father, etc. and a daughter, a wife, a mother, etc.) and the family determines what kind of people (men and women) will grow up from a child, be it a girl or a boy.

The examples above show that in the Kazakh culture characterized (see Абдыгаппарова 2002) as collectivist, it is the family which is a primary and basic collective. The needs, values, and goals of this collective take precedence over the needs, values and goals of the individual. A boy and a girl, a man and a woman are not spoken of as separate individuals: they, their behaviour and moral values are estimated via projection to the institution of the family, of the society and of the nation.

The comparison between what family meant for the elder generations and how it is looked upon by the young people intensifies the idea about the start of the destruction of the family values. The contrast: we – the elder generation, our parents versus they – the young generation, our children is kept in the interview with the highest involvement of kin terms. Entitled “Әке-шешенің қандай екендігін баласына қарап
tanuğa bolady” – “One understands what kind of people the parents are by looking at the child” (Kazakh interviews, № 5), it discusses problems of the young generation in detail:

- **Educator (+caretaker): woman (grandmother) versus TV & PC**

**Example 10:**

… Әке-шеше жұмысқа кеткенде баланы тәрбиелейтін теледидар, ал ол “жәндикте” қандай бағдарламалар көрсетіліп жатыр? Менің 10 жасы немесе бар, екінші ауысымда оқиды, кейде сол тұсқе дейін қандай бағдарламалар көріп жатыр екен деп көркүп отырамын.


Казіргі жағдайларда қарқындылық қорықсыздығы бар, қарқынды堡垒ының бар. Сондай-ақ ойындарға қарынау жұлдызды ағаш етіп тұрсында қызметі жүреді.

… When the parents are at work, it is TV that educates a child, and what programmes are on at that time in that “box”? I have a 10-year-old grandchild who has school in the afternoon, sometimes I am afraid to think what TV programmes he/she [?] is watching in the morning.

Today the young people want to live separately from their parents; our children were brought up and cared by their grandmothers. They controlled children’s homework, gave their meals, and were perfectly aware what time the child leaves for school and what time comes home. Good quality films are shown at night, films about violence and crimes are
shown by day. Now look at all those computer games – the aim is to shoot somebody down, to overtake and to hit a person to death, to take someone’s car by force. I doubt very much that a child lost over his/her head and heels in such games will become a good-hearted person. That is why we must not view the upbringing of the young generation as the task set for the Ministry of Education and Science only. …

The title of the article and the content of the contribution emphasize the idea of a family as of the main unit of the society that is charged with the function of proper upbringing and education of a child, and this unit is put above all the educational establishments with their pedagogical tasks. The changes of values observed in the preferences of the young give evidence that traditional gender roles are undergoing considerable changes. A woman, a grandmother, prescribed the role of an educator and caretaker of children in the past is now yielding her position to new technologies: with his/her (working) parents and his/her grandparents living separately, the child is left to decide for himself/herself how to spend leisure time, what TV programmes to watch, etc. Remarkable is the fact that the interview is conducted by a woman journalist; the IR is the only man politician whose interview, due to his position, concentrates exclusively on the matter of the upbringing of the young generation. The example is one of the few cases when the IE speaks from the relational standpoint, i.e. from the subject position of the grandfather of a 10-year-old grandchild: the use of a kin term that is related to the IE personally is caused by the topic of the interview (this rule holds for other cases when an IE speaks about his/her kins).

Family relations are projected on out-of-family settings and structures as well. As a result, there is a close interrelation and interchangeability of sex markers and kin terms in the Kazakh data. This projection ascends from a person, people and group(s) of people up to representatives of institutions and institutions themselves:

a) a singular person

Example 11:
IR: Today there are more than 6000 NGOs registered in our country, among them only about 3000 are said to work properly. In this respect, I have a question. Generally, who assesses the work of NGOs and is there any monitoring of their activities done?

IE: Really, the reports on the number of NGOs provide different figures. Some give the number of 7000, the others – of 9000. According to some sources, only 10% among them do active work. What is the issue here. In our society there are a lot of people who are willing to do something useful. However, with the will available, the majority is not aware of the ways. For instance, I know a mother: she herself and her children are disabled, but she is full of energy, she is eager to act, to attract the society’s attention to the problems of disabled people but she does not know how to put it into practice. We are to instruct these people of the ways. …
b) a group of people:

**Example 12:**

... Біз YEY-лардың жұмысына мониторинг жұруғізді енді гана қолға ала бастадық. Осы жерде бір әдетті ескермесе болмайды. Қалаларда YEY секторының жұмысы қолға қойылған болса, ауылдарда олай емес. Және олардың ішінде Укіметтен елгееттік тапсырмасы деп қаражат, немесе ғрант алмай-ақ, әздері табандарын тоздырып, көп тұлғалар мен жылы жүрекеті азаматтардың есігін қағып, солар берген қаражатқа пайдалы іс түндіріп жатқандары да бар. Мысалы, Қызылорда қаласында бір аула клубы жұмыс істейді. Оның бір зейнеткер іта-анаалары бұрыс қолға түкінген отбасылардан шыққан балалар үшін жанығынай есік қағып қаражат жасап, оларға кілім тігіп, тамақтандығып, жан жылуын сыйлап, бір жағынан тәрбиесімен де айналысады. Осы адамның жұмысын қағып қаражат көрек? Сондықтан YEY-лар жұмысын бағалау әлгіндей жандардың жұмысына баға беруі мүмкін (Kazakh interviews, № 21).

… We have just started to tackle the monitoring of NGOs’ activities. Here one thing is to be taken into account. In urban areas the work in the NGOs sector has been organized, in the countryside – has not. Among them, there are those who, without asking the Government for financing or grants for social needs, go around knocking at the doors of well-off and kind-hearted people and, on these money, do something useful for the society. For example, there is a local club functioning in a block of flats in Kyzylorda. There, some parents-pensioners go and knock at the doors to collect money for children from problematic families. They sew clothes and organize catering for the children. On the other hand, they give them the warmth of their hearts and in this way they partake in their upbringing.
How should the work of such people be assessed? That is why the matter of NGOs’ work assessment requires great care and tact; it is possible to hurt the people who work on their own good will, without anyone telling them to do so, by the attempts to give their activities some kind of assessment.

The choice of referring expressions can be explained via their relation to the topic: the IE speaks about people who are willing to help others or who voluntarily take care of neglected children. Instead of saying I know a woman (Example 11) or There are pensioners (Example 12), the IE elaborates on their kin status I know a mother and There are parents-pensioners. In the second case, though the Kazakh word ‘parents’ is a collective noun composed by the lexemes амал/’father’ and ана/’mother’, the activities spoken about (catering and sewing clothes) gives way to the supposition that it is predominantly women who organize these activities. In this context, the people take up the nurturing of the children who are not their own, and thus fulfill the functions similar to those of parents, and are characterized as such: caring, sharing the warmth of their hearts, and working for the sake of the children. Similar to the role distribution among members in the family, it is the elder generation that is to take responsibility for the nurturing of the young, especially of neglected children and disabled people.

c) representatives of institutions:

Kin terms used in reference to officials working in the civil service are functionally oriented: in the sentence below ‘brothers of the nation’ implies that the people in question work for the good and the welfare of the nation:

Example 13:

IR: Сіз Мәжілісіңіз Халықаралық істер, қорғаныс және қауіпсіздік комитетіне жетекшілік жасаңыз. Халықаралық маңызы зор заң жобалары негізінен осы комитет арқылы отеді. Комитетке қатысты басқа қандай багыттар бар?
IE: Жалпы, Парламент Мәжілісінің ырыны байланыстырының дені осы комитет арқылы жүзеге асады. Бұл, еріне, занды құбылыс. Ал
қарапайым статистикаға жүгінсек, Парламентке келіп жатқан заң жобаларының 40 пайызға жуығы халықаралық мәселелеріне арналғаның көрмейі. Осының өзі комитеттің жұмысы қаншалықты ауқымды екенін көрсетеді. Комитеттің құрамында талай жыл мемлекеттік органдарды басқарған, дипломатиялық қызметтерде, қорғаныс, қауіпсіздік сақтамында қызмет атқарып, Елбасының тапсырмаларын орындауға тікелей атқау арналған ел ағалары бар. Бұл бір жағынан қызмет көрсететін атқау жасайды, екінші жағынан құмшалық қызмет көрсететін мәселелерге сөзді қауіпсіздік құмшалығын қауіпсіздігін күшейтеді. … (Kazakh interviews, № 4).

IR: You chair the Committee on International Relations, Defence and Security of Majilis. It is here that the law drafts of international significance are analyzed. What else is done by the committee?

IE: Generally, most foreign relations of the Parliament’s Majilis are performed by this committee. It is, of course, a very natural thing to expect. If we just look at what statistics says, we will see that about 40% of law drafts of the Parliament are related to the matter of ratification of international agreements. Only this does show how big our deal of work is.

In the committee there are people (literally ‘brothers of the nation’) who worked for many years in the leading positions in the state organs, in diplomatic service, in the spheres of defence and security and who directly participated in the work on the errands of the President. On the one hand, it contributes to the everyday work being done properly; on the other hand, it contributes to a very critical view on many issues. …

It is difficult to infer from the example whether the expression ел ағалары/ brothers of the nation’ refers to men exclusively or is a male generic that includes men and women. In a particular case, when reference is made to employees of the Committee on
International Relations, Defence and Security of Majilis, it is most possible that the employees are men, since the work in the organizations that deal with the matters of defence and security requires military education, and at institutions of military education the structure is predominantly homogeneous in terms of gender.

d) an institution itself:

Example 14:

IR: Elbasy Н.Ә. Назарбаев кабілетті жастардан, сондықтан "Болашақ" багдарламасы стипендияларынан жаңа буын басқарушыларын қалыптастыру турали идеясын ұсынды. Осыған байланысты "Болашақ" багдарламасының бүгінгі жастанда жұкпейтін басты міндеті неде деп ойлайды? 

IE: "Болашақ" багдарламасы стипендияларының форумында Н.Ә. Назарбаев "жаңа формациядагы қазақстандықтарды тәрбиелеу өзге Қазақстанды әлемдегі ең бір әулет, бәсекеге кабілетті адами капиталга не елге айналдыру" мақсатында "Интеллектуалды ұлы - 2020" ұлының және жаңа буынды туралы идеясын ұсынды. Осыған байланысты "Болашақ" багдарламасы стипендиялары бүгінгі жастанда жұкпейтін басты міндеті неде деп ойлайды? Елбасы Н.Ә. Назарбаевтың биылғы "Қазақстан халқының әл ауқатын арттыру - мемлекеттік саясаттың басты мақсаты" атты Қазақстан халқына Жалғанда ұсыны және "Нұр Отан" ХДП-ның мемлекеттік басқару жүйесін оңай жетілдіретін кадрлар жасақтауға барлық тәсілдері арқылы жасауға әрекет етеді. Демек, буындың мемлекеттік түлектері еліміздің ертениң ұшының барынша басқару арқылы қаруға жатады. Яғни, ақысы маман - халықтың әл-ауқатын артыруға бар, арқылы болашағымыздың қол一秒 (Қазақ интервью, № 9).
IR: The President N.A. Nazarbayev put forward the idea of forming the new generation leaders selected from gifted and capable young people, “Bolashak” grant-holders among them. In this respect, what is the main duty, in your opinion, that the “Bolashak” programme charges its grant-holders with?

IE: At the “Bolashak” grant-holders’ forum, the President N.A. Nazarbayev, with the aim “to bring up the Kazakhstani of new formation and to make Kazakhstan a state of most competitive human resources”, came up with the idea of the “Intellectual nation – 2020”. He emphasized that great are the expectations and trust in the young generation, in their capability to develop our state further and to make it one of the most competitive countries of the world.

In this year’s Message to the Kazakh nation entitled “The main objective of the state policy is the development of Kazakh people’s welfare” the President made a stress, for the PDP [People’s Democratic Party] of “Nur Otan”, on the necessity to actively participate in the formation of specialists that will further develop the state regulation system and in enhancing the role of young professionals of high potential. That is, with the help from the elders (literally ’elder brothers’ generation’) the young generation, including the graduates of the “Bolashak” programme, is to actively work for the good of our country. In other words, a qualified specialist is the guarantee of the further development of the people’s well-being and of our stable future.

“Bolashak” (the literal meaning of the word is ‘future’) is the name of the scholarship subsidized by the government. It is an investment of the government into the education of the young generation: here the government performs the role of a caretaker, of an elder link in the structure of the society. Like younger members of the family are to reverse all the support they had from the elders, the young members of the
community are to take care of the future of their nation by working hard for the good of the country.

The use of relational identification that represents actors in terms of kinship relations instead of representing them, for instance, in terms of functionalisation (in their occupational roles) may be one of the main reasons of positive perception of power in the Asian societies. As it is shown in Spencer-Oatey (1997), in Asia power is understood as nurture, benevolence, kindness and care on the part of those who are in power towards subordinates and not as a type of domination. The words said at the end of the interview by the speaker in Example 15 show that the same perception of power is characteristic of the Kazakh society:

Example 15:


«Болашақ» бағдарламасының іегерлерін жастарыңыздан дарынды да ең тандаулы өкілдері деп танымыз, осы себепті, бағдарламаның нәтижелі жұзеге асырылуына әрбір қазақстандық мүдделі болуы тиіс.

There is a Kazakh saying: “Young people are a golden bridge to the future”. Young people are the future of our nation. Every young person is to find his/her place in the society according to his/her abilities, to principles he/she keeps to in life. Our pace on the way of social and economic development is directly connected to the principles young
people keep to in social and political life, in their confidence in the future. Therefore we, the elder generation (literally ‘elder brothers’ generation’), are responsible for the next generation to grow up into people well-bred, cultured, knowledgeable, skillful at advanced technologies, and especially for them to grow up into citizens who will be concerned about the future of our state and nation.

We consider grant-holders of the “Bolashak” programme to be the most gifted and distinguished representatives of the young generation, that is why every citizen of Kazakhstan is to be interested in the productive fulfillment of the programme.

It is again the male generic of a kin term that is used by the speaker to refer to the elder generation with whom he identifies himself by the use of the pronoun ‘we’. The prevalence of nouns denoting men in generic use dates back to the times when the most important decisions concerning the society were taken by men and by councils that consisted of men only.

d) nation:

The family metaphor conveyed by the kin term intensifies the idea of individuals belonging to one big family – which is the nation itself:

**Example 16:**

... Тәуекелшіл елдің баласымыз гой – жұрт бойын қимылдасқан, бірауыздылық көрсете білсек, біз алмас қамал әлдә жеке әр тіріх күе. ... (Kazakh interviews, № 4).

... We are the children of the resolute nation – and the history witnesses that there is no fortress not to be taken if the efforts are combined and the nation is united. ...
IR: ... Алқаның кеңейтілген отырысындағы баяндамаңызды мемлекеттік тілде жақса сыз ғой?

IE: Міндетті түрден. Тек мына жайда ескерткім келеді. Әр жең жерде мемлекеттік тілде сөйлеуңе кезімдеге: “Қазақшаңыз қатып кетіпті”,”Тілді жақсы менгеріп алыпсыз” деген сияқты мактау естіні жатамын. Мен ондай сөздерді сан тұрлі себептерге байланысты ала тілінен алыстан қалған адамның жақсы немесі қоздау турғысынан гана қабыл аламын. Шыңдығында, қазақ тілі сияқты аса бай, құнарлы тілді аз қақтытын аясында кемеліне келтіріп менгеріп кету деген бола көміркету ғының нәрсе. Мысалы, менің мемлекеттік тілде сөйлеуді үйрену үшін жылы сіздің газетіңізге “Ана тілім туралы” деген мақала жаздым. Тәуелсіздіктен кейін көзіңіз ашылған мың - мыңдаған қаракәз бауырларың қатарына оз тілімдегі оралып отырғаныңызды мәлімдеу үшін жазбам (Kazakh interviews, № 1).

IR: … You will make your report at the enlarged collegiate session in the official language, will you not?

IE: For sure. I would like to say one thing only. Here and there, when I speak the official language, I often hear such praises as “Your Kazakh is excellent now”, “You have learnt the language well”. For various reasons, I accept such words only as a wish to give support to a good intention of the person alienated from the mother tongue. In fact, it is an impossible thing to learn, within a short period of time, such a rich and resourceful language as Kazakh. For instance, some time has passed since I started learning the official language. You will see: I will learn it to the full extent. Last year I wrote an article entitled “On my mother tongue” for your newspaper. I wrote it to show that I returned to my own language, together with other thousands of Kazakhs (literally dark-eyed brothers) whose feeling of national consciousness awoke after the country gained independence.
Here the male generic қаракӛз бауырлар/'dark-eyed brothers’ refers to the Kazakh people in general (as it has been mentioned above in 1.1.2 the term бауыр was used by an elder sister to refer to her younger brother, now it is used by men, too), irrespective whether it is men or women and including both. In Kazakhstan the situation with the Kazakh language is complicated due to the 70-year-old membership in the Union of the Soviet Republics: the official language of the state is the Kazakh language which is gradually gaining the place proper in all the social institutions and in public service. At the same time, the multiethnic structure of the society in Kazakhstan and the fact that for over seven decades the language of communication was Russian, while the others were suppressed, the former remains to be the lingua franca on the territory of many CIS (the Commonwealth of Independent States) countries including Kazakhstan, and has the official status of the “language of interethnic communication” codified by the Constitution of the Republic. Generally, this language situation results in bilingualism in the institutional discourse as well: politicians are still free to choose the language they have a better command of to speak in public. The Minister who is in the role of IE is one of those who switched on to his mother tongue.

Generally, in the Kazakh interviews the third party is represented in terms of collectivization and the groups of people are identified on the basis of their gender which is indivisibly interconnected with their kin status.

3 Personal names. It is always, without exception, formal nomination of the third person that is used: either first name and last name formula with/without position/title preceding it, or first name, patronymic and last name model; last name only is used very rarely.

Honorific forms of names in the speaker-referent axis refer only to the great personalities who made a huge contribution to culture, and they preserve the tendency to be used in reference to men. The people often quoted or referred to by the IEs are, for instance, the prominent scholar and poet Akhmet Baitursynuly, the great writer and statesman Mukhtar Auezov:

Example 18:
Ахан from Ахмет:

... Біз ұлы Ахан, ұлт ұстазы Ахмет Байтұрсынұлы айтқандай, жоғымызды ізден жүрген жоқыны екенімізге есеке салым келеді. Барымызды ешкім тартып алмайды. Сол барды жоқты түгендеу арқылы толықтырайық деген ізгі ниетті қалың жұрттың алының колденен тартып отырған жайым бар (Kazakh interviews, № 8).

... As the great Akhan, the teacher of the nation Akhmet Baitursynuly said, we are the people who concentrate too much on our own weak points. Nobody can take away the strong points we have. I suggest that we should enhance our strong points by strengthening the weak ones.

Example 19:

Мұхан from Мұхтар:

Ертеректе сол кездегі “Мәдениет және тұрмыс” журналында Мұхтар Әуезовтің “Жапония” атты мақаласын оқығаным бар. Сонда Мұхан жапондардың елін кӛтеру мақсатында әлемдегі ең озық оку орындарына жағдайларын жәбедіру құрылымы, оларға міндетті түрде елге қайтасың деген шарт қойып, оқып-үйреніп келген жаңа жұмысқа келсіп енізген, жапон халқының табиғатына жат ғадет пен зұрыңқарды екиштіліккен тақталы, тек өз топырағына бейімделген ғана сіңіру арқылы жақсы жетістіктерге жеткенін айтады. ... (Kazakh interviews, № 5).

Long time ago I read Mukhtar Auezov’s article entitled “Japan” from the journal “Мәдениет және тұрмыс”/”Culture and everyday life”. There Mukhan writes that the Japanese, with the aim to make their country prosperous, sent their youth to the best Universities of the world on the condition that they were to come back. When the students returned, their education and knowledge were adapted to the Japanese mentality when put into practice and use. They selected only those skills that were in
harmony with the Japanese cultural values leaving the alien things aside – and in this way they made a lot of good accomplishments. …

In the list of the contemporaries, it is again prominent writers whose names are used in the honorific form:

**Example 20:**
*Шерага* from *Sherkhan:*

... Бұғінде бізде жоғары білікті астаналық мәдениет және опер әлітасы қалыптасты. Қаламызда көпеген елімізге енбегі сіңген әншілер мен музыканттар, әртістер, саясаткерлер тұрып жатыр. Мысалы, *Шераганды*, үлкен қаламгер Шерхан Мұртазаны, Парламент Сенатының депутаты, қорнекті жазушы Әбіш Кекілбаевты, қезінде Еуразия университетінде ғылыми өрт арасында ағылшын ұлес қосқандар қатарында Мырзатай Жолдасбеков, Акселеу Сейдімбек, Қойшығыра Салғараұлы, Несіпбек Айтов әлісі бізге басқаларды күрметпен айтуға болады. ...

(Kazakh interviews, № 7).

… Today, the formation of highly educated elite in the sphere of culture, of art has been accomplished. In our city there are a lot of musicians, singers, politicians whose contributions to culture are acknowledged by the society. For instance, with deference can we mention the names of *Sheraga*, the great writer Sherkhan Murtaza, the MP and the prominent writer Abish Kekilbaev; among those who contributed much to the establishment of a research center at the Eurasian University are Myrzatay Zholdasbekov, Akseleu Seidimbek, Koishygara Salgarauly, Nesipbek Aitov and others.

In the example, the honorific form of the name added the lexeme *азау*’elder brother’ conveys not only sincere and high deference to the person spoken of but also sounds very warm. As Мұсабаева (1995: 47) explains, when taken out of the familial
context, the original meaning of аға burdens with the feeling of special deference and thus the word acquires additional expressive and emotional colouring.

**Address forms.** There is no address found in the direction from IE to IR.

The forms used to address the IE are as follows (from the most to the least frequent ones):

1. the model *first name + patronymic* formed according to the original Kazakh pattern, i.e. with the help of the lexemes ұлы/'son' and қызы/'daughter':

   **Example 21:**
   
   Tobylbek Esenjoluly, қазіргі таңда Қазақстанның ішкі рыногы ұлттық тұтыну стандарттары денгейімен алгандан, негізгі тамақ онімдері түрлері бойынша жеткілікті дәрежеде қамтамасыз етіліп отыр деуге болады. Сөйті тұра соңғы уақыттары бірқатар азық-тұлік түрлері бағасының өсуін қалай түсіндүріге болады? *(Kazakh interviews, № 6).*

   Tobylbek Esenjoluly, today the internal market of Kazakhstan, according to the level of national consuming standards, can be stated to be provided to the necessary extent with the main kinds of food products. Nevertheless, how can the recent growth of prices for some food products be explained?

2. honorific forms in the speaker-addresssee axis are used quite exclusively and, similar to the honorific forms applied for the third person reference, are all used by men IRs to address men IEs:

   **Example 22:**
   
   Кәмеке from Камал:
   
   Кәмеке, жаңа заң жобасындағы бұрынғы заңды либерализациялай жолында айтылған нәкты дүниелерді атап берсеңіз *(Kazakh interviews, № 17).*
Kameke, would you comment on concrete offers on the new law draft, offers that were made on the way of liberalizing the text of the previous law.

Example 23:

Әлеке from Әлихан:

Әлеке, ел тәуелсіздігін баяндұ ету мақсатында астананы Қарының төсіне қошіру тұраулы идеяның туындауына өрай сөл қездері қоғамда нендей көзқарастар орын алады? (Kazakh interviews, № 30).

Aleke, what kind of opinions were expressed at the time when, with the aim to strengthen the independence of the country, the idea about moving the capital to the heart of Arka was put forward?

Example 24:

Әбеке from Әбіш

Курметті Әбеке, жылдың басты құжаты саналатын Елбасы Жоңдауының жағына епілүі қай кезде өде өрісін қойға алыға қызмет етеді. Біз Жоңдау баспасөзге ыққан күні нәрселерге жоқ көздері арқылы мақала жазып, ол “Елбасы айтарын айтты. Енді сөз елдің өздінде”, деп аяқтаган өді. Ел сөзін ұстанған азаматтардың бірі өзінің өзінің ““Бұлғы Жоңдау несімен ерекшеленеді?”” деп қояғымыз келді (Kazakh interviews, № 2).

Dear Abeke, the publication of the President’s Message, which is considered to be the main document of the year, is always a very significant event. In our article that came up immediately after the publication of the Message in the media we wrote: “The President said his word. Now the word is to be said by the nation itself”. You are one
of those who voice the public opinion and your voice is a distinguished one. We would like to ask you what is special about this year’s Message.

The special deference expressed by the honorific name in Example 24 is intensified by the adjective preceding it. As in case with the third person reference, honorific forms are used to address politicians that are, by their professional activity, people who have made a considerable contribution to art and science, for instance: the prominent writer Әбіш Кекілбаев, professor and expert in political studies Камал Бұрханов.

The term мырза/'Mr.' in the interviews is never applied either as a direct address form or in reference to the Kazakhstanis or former compatriots from the Soviet Union. It appears only once, in reference to a foreign politician: Скотт мырза/'Mr. Scott’ which conveys norms of reference in the English-speaking society.
2.2.3 Conclusion

The identity of the IR does not come up during the talk: in the interview it is the institution of the printed media that addresses another political institution (party, government, Parliament) represented by a particular person. As a result, the talk may be very impersonal.

67% of the texts are preceded by an introductory paragraph. The identity of the journalist is made almost invisible by the generalizing әйел/’we’ which is either explicitly used or is evident from the verb inflexions: әңгімелекен едік/’(we) talked’, сұрақтар қойған едік/’(we) put questions’, пікір бөлісуін өтінген болатыныбыз/’(we) requested to share his/her views’.

Predominantly, it is the IE who does the activity: әңгімелейді/’(he/she) talked’, өзінің өйларын әртәге салады/’shares (his/her) views’.

As for the IE, thematically the interviews aim to clarify issues that have social and political resonance and the IE speaks as an official representative of the government, of a political party, as a Member of Parliament, etc. The details of one’s personal life and one’s personal characteristics are of no relevance in the interview which aims at obtaining information from public domain.

Though the IR is described as the participant who has interactional advantages over the person being interviewed, the role of the latter cannot be diminished just to answering questions. Due to the cultural norms, the status of the politician can be reinforced by his/her age. Абдыгаппарова (2002) describes the model of modern Kazakhstani culture as a combination of the “soviet culture” legacy and traditional culture attributions. By the soviet culture are meant increased structuring of activities, extended number of written rules, standardized organization, and more resistance to change. Traditional culture attributions are cultural values of Kazakh people that include among others respect for age and hierarchy.

Respect for age which is an important component in the culture of the Kazakh people will undoubtedly impose certain restrictions on the behaviour of the IR, given that the majority of politicians reach their status and position in mature years and turn out to be superior due both to their age and high social position.
Besides, the asymmetry between the roles of IR and IE is testified by the expression of gratitude to the main speaker at the end of the talk. Very official format of the Kazakh interview requires that this type of acknowledgement on the part of the IR should be obligatorily reflected in the text. It is acknowledgement of the favour done by the IE to the IR as to the representative of the media institution and the appreciation of the IE’s time and desire to cooperate. This “debt-sensitiveness” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 247) in the Kazakh culture is directly proportionate to the age of the person: it enhances with an increase in age of an interactant.

The Kazakh political situation cannot be characterized as a competing or a conflicting one: nearly all the IEs are representatives of the Government and of the ruling party. The issue of gender is raised every time when the problems of the young generation are discussed. It is a contrast between preceding and coming generations, a contrast between the experience of the past and modern values that is often emphasized in the talks.

The basic collective in the Kazakh culture is the family and the contrast made by the IEs stresses the significance of preserving family values at present. Man and woman are represented through the prism of family, and through their roles they are to play as family members; they are not spoken of as separate individuals.

The fact that the issue of gender is of so much significance is explained by the situation: the society that was forbidden any official religion for over 70 years and now does not operate with the Soviet ideology either, is searching for the ways to harmonize the new social and political system and traditional cultural values. In particular, the focus is on moral and humane values to be fostered in the young who are said to view even family and marriage as a joint venture expected to bring profit.
2.3 The Russian interviews: structure and participants

2.3.1 Structure of the interview in the Russian newspaper “Известия”

Due to the fact that the texts of the interviews from the Russian newspaper were selected from its website http://www.izvestia.ru, there is indication of the time and date at the end of the text that are absent in the printed variant (absent in the Greek and Kazakh materials as well).

The main parts that constitute the Russian interview look as follows:

- a headline that may include one of the three variants:
  a) identification of the IE and a quotation from the IE:

  Глава МИД России Сергей Лавров: Жизнь заставляет американцев вести себя более здраво
  Sergey Lavrov, Head of the Russian MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]: Life makes the Americans behave more reasonably

  b) a quotation from the IE (and a subtitle);
  c) a title given by the journalist.

- identification of the IR:

  Ксения Фокина

- introductory paragraph that discloses the issues for discussion and introduces the IE:

  В Нью-Йорке завершилась неделя общеполитических дискуссий на 63-й сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН. Выступавшие с трибун ораторы как никогда часто вспоминали Россию, глава нашего МИД Сергей Лавров провел в Нью-Йорке рекордное количество двусторонних переговоров. Он явно был в центре внимания – и съехавших со всего мира журналистов, и коллег-министров. Каковы же главные результаты основной сессии для
The week of general political discussions at the 63rd General Assembly of the UNO in New York is over. Never before had the speakers mentioned Russia so often from the tribune. Sergey Lavrov, the Head of our MFA, broke the record by the number of bilateral negotiations conducted in New York. He evidently was in the focus of attention – both of the journalists that came from all over the world and of his minister-colleagues. What are the main results of the UNO session for Russia? That is what Sergey Lavrov is talking about in the exclusive interview to Kseniya Fokina, the reporter of the “Izvestia”.

- question-reply sequences

- the time and the date of the interview: 20:20 30.09.08.

Sometimes the question-reply sequences are divided by subtitles, which in their turn come from the IE’s contributions. The text itself can be followed by a short commentary under other authorship (7% of the texts) or by the results of the public opinion poll (3%) that confirm or contradict what is said by the IE.

In the Russian data, the group of IRs includes 4 women who conduct 14 interviews, 12 men who lead 13 interviews and in 3 cases there is no identification of the journalist at all.

The IEs in all the 30 cases are men-politicians: 3 of them (Foreign Minister, Foreign Deputy Minister, MP and a member of the Russian delegation) are interviewed twice each; a recordable number of interviews (9) is taken from the constant representative of Russia to the NATO – which makes up nearly one third of all the interview stock. Thus, in 30 interviews it is actually 19 politicians that are interviewed.

Out of 30 interviews, 14 interviews are cross gender talks (female IR and male IE), 13 are same gender talks (male IR and male IE), and in the rest of the three cases where the IR is not identified, the IE is a man.
The majority of the politicians belong to the ruling party «Единая Россия»:

Table 11: Gender, political affiliation and number of the IEs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of the IE</th>
<th>«Единая Россия»</th>
<th>«Справедливая Россия»</th>
<th>«Россия молодая»</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phenomenon of such a homogeneous, in terms of gender, representation of political forces can be accounted for the fact that most of the discussions predominantly rotate around the issues of the external policy of the state: in 70% of the texts the IEs talked to are holders of important positions: representatives of Russia to the NATO, Foreign Minister or Foreign Deputy Minister, ambassadors, politicians chairing economic and political organizations, members of delegations to represent Russia at the international summits. As it has been mentioned before, topics of the interviews are determined by the political situation in each of the three countries and the differences available have made it impossible to select the data that correspond to each other in topics discussed. And though there are women of high rank in the Russian domestic politics, most of those responsible for external affairs are preferably men: judging from the words of one of the IEs, such a position has to do, to a considerable extent, with the military education (which is also a male-dominated sphere).

30% of the texts bring up the matters of internal dimension. The representatives of the political parties hold the floor in 13% of the texts: in 6.5% it is representatives of
the ruling party and in other 6.5% – the floor is given to representatives of two parties whose political stance is supportive of the policy pursued by the ruling party. In the rest 17%, the interviews raise the issues of domestic significance without concentrating either on international or intranational confrontation.
2.3.2 Linguistic gender in the Russian interview

2.3.2.1 Gender in the opening and closing phases of the interview

The quantitative analysis displays that in the case of IRs, his/her first and last names are practically the only indicator of their gender in the group of **Lexical gender**: 

Table 13: Linguistic gender in the opening and closing phases of the Russian interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal names primary identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90% (27)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>97% (29)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30% (9)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80% (24)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17% (5)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3% (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs in the past tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13% (4)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60% (18)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives &amp; participles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10% (3)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7% (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the interviews = 30

The personal name of the IE who is the main participant of the talk is mentioned twice (in the headline and in the introductory paragraph) in the prevailing majority of the texts. The name of the third party is mentioned in 40% of the interviews. There is a single case of a kin term applied in reference to the IE (**Example 7**).
The introductory paragraph, which consists of 2-3 sentences at maximum, may contain grammatical indicators of gender – the verbs in the past tense – that refer to all the three groups of participants, – including the IR (13% of the texts – see Example 1, Example 2). In the majority of cases (60%), it is the IE who comments, talks to, shares his views with the IR – and his sex, accordingly, is manifest in the verbs (Example 5) that denote verbal activity. Verbs that denote other activities of the IE, and also pronouns, adjectives, nouns and numerals that manifest grammatical gender are present at minimum: one, more rarely – two instances per text. The same can be said about the display of grammatical gender in the third person reference with the exception that nouns and numerals are not observed in this group.

**Lexical gender**

1 **Personal names.** As for the name of the IE, it is always the first name + last name formula; there is a single case when the IE is referred to by his first name in the introductory paragraph due to his young age and informal style of talk. Reference to the third person is always formal: first and last name either preceded by title/position or without it.

2 **Kin terms.** A single instance of a kin term used in reference to the IE is given in Example 7 below: its use has to do with the professional issues discussed in the talk and is not related to the gender of the person in question.

**Grammatical gender.** In the introductory paragraph, the sex of the IR is signaled by verbs in the past tense:

**Example 1:**

В понедельник в российских СМИ появилась информация, что Москва готова отказаться от возобновления военного сотрудничества с НАТО, если альянс не отменит учения в Грузии, намеченные на май. За разъяснением «Известия» обратились к постоянному представителю России в НАТО Дмитрию Рогозину. С ним беседовала Екатерина Забродина (Russian interviews, № 23).
On Monday, the Russian mass media informed that Moscow is ready to decline the renewal of the military cooperation with the NATO, if the alliance does not cancel the military exercises in Georgia planned for May. The “Izvestia” turned to Dmitry Rogozin, the constant representative of Russia to the NATO, for comments. Ekaterina Zabrodina talked (feminine) to him.

Example 2:

Заместитель председателя правительства – министр финансов России Алексей Кудрин на очередном заседании Совета по финансово-экономической политике государств-членов ЕврАзЭС избран его председателем. Обозреватель «Известий» специально для полосы «ЕврАзЭС» попросил вице-премьера ответить на вопросы, которые представляют интерес не только для специалистов, но и для широкого круга читателей (Russian interviews, № 5).

Alexey Kudrin, the Deputy of the Government’s Chairman and the Russian Minister of Finance, at the regular meeting of the Council on the Financial and Economic Policy of the EurAsEC member-states was elected its chairman. Specially for the “EurAsEC” column, the reporter of the “Izvestia” asked (masculine) the Deputy of the Government’s Chairman to answer the questions that are of interest not only to specialists but to a wide public as well.

The IR appears, in few cases, to be the subject of the action, i.e. as the one who talked, asked questions, turned to a politician for his interpretations and explanations of a problem (as in Example 1). The very meaning of the verb in Example 2 makes it clear what is the distribution of power between the IR and the IE, where the former is the one who requests and the interview itself takes place if the latter gives his consent to cooperate.
In other cases, the IR is not present in the opening part as the interview is either conducted by the newspaper itself (Example 3) or the subject is collectivized by the pronoun ‘we’ (Example 4):

Example 3:

Экс-президент Республики Северная Осетия – Алания, а ныне председатель комиссии Совета федерации по культуре Александр Дзасохов в преддверии своего 75-летия выпускает в свет книгу "Человек и политика". В ней сенатор анализирует важнейшие политические события, происходившие в мире, СССР и России на протяжении 50 лет. "Известия" спросили автора про бывший Союз и современный Кавказ (Russian interviews, № 21).

Alexander Dzasokhov, the ex-President of the Republic of South Ossetia – Alania and the present chairman of the Committee on Culture of the Federation Council, on the eve of his 75\textsuperscript{th} birthday, is sending his book “Person and politics” to be published. In the book, the senator analyzes the most important political events that took place in the world, in the USSR and Russia within 50 years. The “Izvestia” asked the author about the former Soviet Union and the modern Caucasus.

Example 4:

… Мы попросили прокомментировать результаты прошедших выборов секретаря президиума Генерального совета "Единой России" Вячеслава Володина (Russian interviews, № 3).

… We asked Vyacheslav Volodin, the Secretary of the General Council panel of “Единая Россия”, to give his comments on the results of the recent elections.
As the main participant of the interview is a politician, it is his activities that tend to be rendered by verbs in the past tense:

**Example 5:**

В то время как европейские посредники в Женеве вновь пытались усадить Россию и Грузию за стол переговоров, кавказский вопрос поняли депутаты ПАСЕ. Об итогах парижской дискуссии, а также о закулисных интригах саммита «двадцатки» корреспонденту «Известий» Екатерине Забродиной рассказал депутат Госдумы, директор Института политических исследований Сергей Марков (Russian interviews, № 17).

While the European negotiators in Geneva were trying to make Russia and Georgia sit down to the table of negotiations, the Caucasian issue was raised by the members of the PACE [Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe]. Sergey Markov, member of the State Duma and the Director of the Institute of Political Research, told (masculine) Ekaterina Zabrodina about the results of the Parisian discussions and also about the behind-the-scene intrigues at the summit of “20”.

When the opening paragraph resorts to historical present there is no agreement in gender, in contrast to the past tense:

**Example 6:**

В среду вечером в телезфире президент Украины Виктор Ющенко объявил о роспуске Верховной Рады и назначил досрочные выборы, которые должны состояться в течение 60 дней. Как это скажется на отношениях Киева с Москвой? Об этом и многом другом «Известиям» рассказывает российский посол Виктор Черномырдин. С ним беседует Янина Соколовская (Russian interviews, № 15).
On the Wednesday evening TV-broadcast, Viktor Yushenko, the Ukrainian President, announced the dissolution of the Verkhovnaya Rada and appointed the pre-term elections that are to take place within 60 days. How will it effect the relationships between Kiev and Moscow? Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian Ambassador, tells the “Izvestia” about this and many other things. Yanina Sokolovskaya talks to him.

As it has been mentioned above, verbs in the past tense that manifest grammatical gender are predominantly those that denote verbal activity (as in the examples given above). The examples when an introductory paragraph has verbs that denote other activities of the IE, and also pronouns, adjectives, nouns and numerals that exceed the minimum reported by the quantitative analysis, i.e. 1-2 instances per text, are exhausted by those given below:

**Example 7:**


Sergey Mironov, the chairman of the Council of Federation and the leader of the party «Справедливая Россия», was the first (masculine) among the Russian officials to openly publish (masculine) the tax return on income and property – his own and his spouse’s. Why did he decide (masculine) to be the first? What will the officials have to refuse from during the crisis? What will happen to the inefficient governors? Sergey Mironov told (masculine) the “Izvestia” about this and many other things.
Example 8:
Назначение президента Российского футбольного союза Виталия Мутко главой нового министерства в кабинете Владимира Путина застало футбольную общественность врасплох. Ведь в последние три года 49-летний сенатор от Санкт-Петербурга фактически олицетворял в России именно спорт № 1. Впрочем, сам он рассчитывает совмещать работу в правительстве и РФС. Об этом Мутко рассказал во вторник корреспонденту «Известий» Михаилу Шпенкову (Russian interviews, № 7).

All football fans were taken aback by the appointment of Vitaly Mutko, the President of the Russian Football Union, to the position of the head of the new ministry in the cabinet of Vladimir Putin. The previous three years, the 49-year-old senator of St.Petersburg practically did embody sport №1 in Russia. Though, he himself plans to combine the work in the government and the RFU [Russian Football Union]. On Tuesday, Mutko talked about it to the reporter of the “Izvestia”.

Example 9:
Активист молодежного движения «Россия молодая» более полутора лет жил двойной жизнью. В сентябре 2006 года он был «внедрен» в лагерь главного политического оппонента «Румола» – запрещенной «Национал-большевистской партии». О том, как удалось осуществить это «внедрение» и что собой представляет НБП изнутри, Алексей рассказал в интервью «Известиям» (Russian interviews, № 6).

The activist of the youth movement «Россия молодая»/“Russia the Young” more than a year and a half lived a double life. In September of 2006 he “penetrated”
(masculine) into the camp of the illegal “National-Bolshevist Party”, which is the main political opponent of the “Rumol” [contracted form from «Россия молодая»]. Alexey told (masculine) in his interview to the “Izvestia” how this “penetration” was carried out and what the NBP looks like from inside.

The number of interviews where the sex of the third person is manifest in grammatical forms is restricted due to the fact that it is not an individual who is talked about but a collective establishment: a certain institution, grouping (as in the examples below):

Example 10:

Власти Украины пообещали делегации НАТО, посетившей Киев, поскорее реформировать свою армию по натовскому образцу. Представители стран – членов альянса разворачивают агитацию в украинских регионах. ... (Russian interviews, № 9).

The Ukrainian government promised the NATO delegation, which came with a visit to Kiev, to reform its army after the standards of the NATO as soon as possible. The representatives of countries – members of the alliance are starting up their agitation campaign in the regions of the Ukraine. …

Example 11:

Главный итог 63-й сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН – долгожданная разрядка после недель политического напряжения, грозящего перерасти едва ли не в военное. Именно в ООН (что реабилитирует ее авторитет) Вашингтон отказался от военных угроз Ирану, поддержив "мирную" резолюцию в Совете Безопасности, согласился провести встречу по Ближнему Востоку, на которой квартет посредников высказал недовольство
израильской поселенческой деятельностью и заявил о желании сотрудничать с Россией. … (Russian interviews, № 13).

The main result of the 63rd session of the UNO General Assembly is a long-awaited relaxation after weeks of political tension that is on the point of turning nearly into a military confrontation. It was in the UNO (which rehabilitates its reputation) that Washington refused from its military threats to Iran having given support to the “peace” resolution in the Security Council, agreed to hold a meeting on the Middle East at which the quartet of negotiators expressed their discontent with the settlement activities of Israel and announced their desire to cooperate with Russia. …

2.3.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview

The quantitative analysis on the frequency of linguistic gender items in the main phase of the interviews displays that the IR’s sex has almost no manifestations except a single case when it is rendered by an adjective (Example 27 below):

Table 14: Linguistic gender in the main phase of the Russian interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal names</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex markers</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>17% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs in the past tense</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>37% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditionals</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>10% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives &amp; participles</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numerals</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address forms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the interviews = 30

All the categories of linguistic gender: lexical gender, grammatical gender and address forms are applied in reference to the IE and the third person. Personal names and sex markers are used in the third person reference only. Kin terms are used both for identification of the IE and of the third party and show much lesser frequency in the third party reference.

As for the category of grammatical gender, verbs in the past tense used for self-reference by the IE do not exceed, as a rule, one per text (with few exceptions). When it comes to the third party, the amount of verbs varies from one to three-four in the majority of instances (though this difference does not show up in their frequency calculated per 100% of the texts). It is verbs and pronouns used in the third party reference that display much higher frequency in contrast to conditionals (the number of which in the IE’s contributions is one per text: Example 30, Example 31), nouns, numerals (a single example), and adjectives.

It is only IEs who receive address forms from their interlocutors (see Example 37) and there is a single case when an IE addresses the third party in the talk (Example 38).

Lexical gender

1 Sex markers. The group of sex markers in the Russian text comprises, along with nouns, adjectives derived from nouns denoting the sex of a person (the phenomenon not
registered in the Greek and Kazakh data). The adjectives cannot be always rendered into English by the same part of speech:

джентльменский диалог – ‘gentlemen’s dialogue’ (Example 19 below);
юношеское желание – ‘the desire of a young guy’ (Example 21 below).

Sex markers are used in reference to the third person (but not either in the IR’s or the IE’s reference). It can be reference to a specific person (as in the examples below) or to a group as a whole.

Example 12:
IR: Что стоит за всеми этими разговорами об отмене ПДЧ для Грузии и Украины?
IE: Процедура ПДЧ была введена после «большого скачка» конца 90-x, когда одним махом в НАТО были приняты Польша, страны Балтии и еще несколько государств – по принципу «пока Россия не очухалась». При том, что они прекрасно понимали: в военном отношении эти страны представляют даже не ноль, а минус. Теперь же ПДЧ важно для натовцев, потому что они понимают: Грузия, Украина, а также Хорватия, Македония и Албания – это страны, которые нужно подтягивать под стандарты альянса. Нарушение этого принципа было бы нонсенсом.

Европейцы, конечно, на отмену ПДЧ для Грузии и Украины не пойдут. Здесь у Вашингтона вся надежда на натовский «комсомол» в лице Прибалтики, Польши и Чехии. Те будут кричать «даешь Грузию в НАТО», а американцы, ссылаясь на волну «молодых демократий», – требовать предоставления членства Киеву и Тбилиси. Но осторожные французы, немцы, бельгийцы и испанцы вряд ли на это согласятся. Зачем делать такой подарок госпоже Райс, которая мыслями уже, наверное, в Стэнфордском университете?
IR: Получается, что Райс хочет нанеследок пересорить европейцев между собой. Зачем ей это нужно?
IE: Последнее время с ней вообще что-то очень странное происходит. Надо постараться понять эту женщину, у которой, казалось, весь мир был в кармане. И вдруг Маккейн проиграл – и ей снова придется зарабатывать на жизнь лекциями (Russian interviews, № 18).

IR: What do all these talks about the cancellation of the plan for membership in the organization for Georgia and the Ukraine hide behind them?
IE: The procedure of the PMO [plan for membership in the organization] was introduced after the “great leap” of the late 90-ies, when at one ample swoop Poland, the Baltic countries and a few other states were accepted into the NATO – according to the principle “while Russia is coming to itself”. All this was done with the full comprehension of the fact that in the military respect these countries are not even a zero but a minus. Now the PMO is important for the NATO because they understand: Georgia, the Ukraine and also Croatia, Macedonia and Albania are the countries that are to be pulled up to the standards of the alliance. The violation of this rule would be nonsense.

The Europeans, of course, will never cancel the PMO for Georgia and the Ukraine. Here Washington relies only on the NATO’s “komsomol” represented by the Baltic States, Poland and Czechia. Those will be shouting “Georgia into the NATO”, and the Americans, making reference to the will of the “young democracies”, – will demand that the membership of Kiev and Tbilisi should be allowed. But careful French, Germans, Belgians, and Spanish will hardly agree to that. Why should Ms. Rice, who in her thoughts may be already at the Stanford University, be done such a present?
IR: It means that Rice wants in the end to make the Europeans quarrel between them. What for does she do it?
IE: She has been behaving quite strange lately. One should try and understand this woman who seemed to have the entire world in her pocket. And suddenly McCain lost – and she will have to earn her living again by delivering lectures.

Example 13:
IR: Значит, вы не ждете приятных сюрпризов от встречи натовских министров иностранных дел?
IE: Я хорошо знаю этих людей. Они не дураки. Думаю, не в интересах Запада сейчас ломать стенку к соседям, где в одной квартире бьется меж двух Викторов экспрессивная женщина, не зная кому довериться, а в другой – бегает опасный уголовник с ножиком. Они, конечно, слышат, что там за стенкой происходит, иногда даже ухом пытаются прильнуть к ней. Но ломать ее и пускать всю эту катавасию к себе явно не готовы. Так что, думаю, пока стеночка сохранится (Russian interviews, № 18).

IR: So you don’t expect any pleasant surprises from the summit of the NATO’s Foreign Ministers?
IE: I know these people well. They are not fools. I think the West now is not interested in breaking the wall to the neighbours where in one flat there is an expressive woman struggling between two Victors not knowing whom to trust in, and in the other there is a dangerous criminal rushing with a knife. They, naturally, hear what is going on there, – behind the wall, sometimes they even try to cling their ears to it. But they are not ready to break it and to let in all that confusion. That is why, I think, the wall will remain in its place.
The topic of the interview concerns the international relations of Russia and the NATO countries. The sensitive points in the politics of the day are differences in the political positions of Russia and the USA on the issue of membership of the ex-Soviet republics of Georgia and the Ukraine in the NATO. In the case of extremely polarized positions, there is, as a rule, a particular enemy that embodies and symbolizes all the ‘evil’. A tool of ‘negative other-presentation’ is based on the gender of the politicians referred to.

The referring expression becomes a strategy when it is of practically no relevance to the context of discussion: resorting to a politician’s gender (‘this woman’, ‘expressive woman’ in the examples) when talking about political events and issues is similar to resorting to one’s ethnicity – both are oriented to discriminatory and deprecatory labelling.

Kanter (1993: 208) speaking about numerical representation of women in corporations introduces the notion ‘token’ since, being the minority, women are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals. In the cases analyzed, the lexeme ‘woman’ itself becomes a token: the actions of a woman politician are not treated as those of a representative of a political institution but are individualized. In other words, where a social actor must be represented by functionalisation, there appears, instead, classification on the basis of gender. Nevertheless, she is not presented as an individual woman either but as a symbol of her gender – the fact confirmed by the traits ascribed to her.

Though the lexeme ‘woman’ is in itself implicit predication due to the connotations it conveys in the given context, it is accompanied by overtly expressed prejudiced characteristics: ‘strange’ (Example 12) and ‘expressive’ (Example 13). Strange and illogical behaviour of the female Secretary of State is already mentioned in the introductory paragraph preceding the text:

В преддверии встречи глав МИД стран НАТО, которая пройдет во вторник в Брюсселе, уходящая администрация США проявляет беспрецедентную активность. Она пытается убедить европейских союзников срочно принять Украину и Грузию в альянс – минуя обязательный этап предоставления этим странам плана для
On the eve of the summit of the Foreign Ministers from the NATO countries, which is going to take place in Brussels on Tuesday, the resigning US administration displays non-precedental activity. It is trying to convince its European allies to accept the Ukraine and Georgia urgently into the alliance – without providing these countries with the compulsory plan for membership in the organization. Condolisa Rice, the Secretary of State, tore off her European colleagues’ telephone wires, but after France, Germany, Spain, Italy and a number of other European states replied “no”, suddenly said: “Georgia and the Ukraine are not, for sure, ready to enter the NATO”, and that the idea of their urgent acceptance was that of Great Britains’s. …

The first question of the journalist is about the reasons of such a way of behaving on the part of the Secretary of State:

IR: Чем вы объясняете такую активность Кондолизы Райс?
IE: Американская администрация судорожно пытается додавить своих партнеров, чтобы оставить Бараку Обаме непростое наследство в отношениях с Россией, с Восточной и Западной Европой. Чем скорее Украина Ющенко и Грузия Саакашвили окажутся в составе альянса, тем больше возможности для американцев спрятать концы в воду – и относительно их участия в подготовке нападения на Южную Осетию, и в том, что касается членства в организации (ПДЧ). Госсекретарь Кондолиза Райс оборвала телефоны европейским коллегам, но после того, как Франция, Германия, Испания, Италия и еще несколько европейских государств сказали «нет», неожиданно заявила: «Грузия и Украина вступить в НАТО, конечно, не готовы», а идея их экстренного приема принадлежала Великобритании. … (Russian interviews, № 18).
IR: How do you explain such activeness on the part of Condolisa Rice?
IE: The American administration is making convulsive attempts to put final pressure on their partners in order to leave Barack Obama a heavy heritage in the relationships with Russia, with Eastern and Western Europe. The quicker the Ukraine of Yushenko and the Georgia of Saakashvili will find themselves in the alliance, the more chances to cover the traces will the Americans have – both concerning their participation in the arrangement of the attack against South Ossetia and concerning the circumstances of the Orange Revolution victory.

Though the introductory paragraph and the reply to the IR’s first question state at the beginning that it is the US administration that initiates the kind of activity described, further on in the development of the talk the changeability of political stances is ascribed, in an individualized manner, to a particular person whose illogical, inconsecutive actions can be put down a) to an insatiable thirst of power evident from the reference госпожа (which even now in a certain context functions as a synonym for ‘exploiter’): Зачем делать такой подарок госпоже Райс, которая мыслями уже, наверное, в Стэнфордском университете?/’Why should Ms. Rice, who in her thoughts may be already at the Stanford University, be done such present?’ and b) to her ambitions: … эту женщину, у которой, казалось, весь мир был в кармане/’… this woman who seemed to have the entire world in her pocket’.

In the second example the attribute экспрессивная/’expressive’ evokes the stereotype of women as being voluble and emotional talkers.

Both of the examples are illustrative in presenting women politicians as not able to act or to succeed on their own: that is, the political success and career of Rice is directly dependent on how successful her male colleague is, who finally loses presidential elections and as a consequence ей снова придется зарабатывать на жизнь лекциями/’she will have to earn her living again by delivering lectures’.
choice of a modal verb придетъ/’have to’ (that conveys obligation due to the circumstances when a person is forced to do something) and of the expression зарабатывать на жизнь/’to earn one’s living’ (instead of, for instance, ‘to work’) that speaks of a struggle to survive – rather vividly stresses the contrast between her previous position and her future prospects.

As for the then Ukrainian PM Timoshenko, she is referred to, in a rather mocking manner, as the person who “is struggling between two Victors not knowing whom to trust in”. The “two Victors” are the high political figures of the Ukraine – Viktor Yushenko (the then Ukrainian President) and Viktor Yanukovich – the reference to the high holders of political office by their first names also lacks deference, but, at least, they are credited political independence. It is the woman-politician who is striving for political alliances with one of her male colleagues in order to make her position in politics stable. The verbs бьется/’is struggling’ and довериться/’to trust in’ imply in the former case – her desperate attempts to find her place on the political arena with two powerful opponents, and in the latter case – the use of the verb that denotes an intimate, personal sharing of one’s secrets, troubles, emotions, etc. is a resort to the stereotype that in the man-woman dyad it is he who solves problems while she confides in him all her fears and troubles.

In Example 12 the speaker finally attributes all the flaws of the American foreign policy scheduled by the administration of the state to an individual person. Like in Example 13, the verbal attack is made on the opponent’s personality: her predictability, her competence, her ability to succeed on her own. This type of argumentation called argumentum ad hominem (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 72) is not concerned with the ‘facts’ of the matter in question, but with attacking alleged motives of opponents: for instance, Последнее время с ней вообще что-то странное происходит/’She has been behaving quite strange lately’ does not specify what else exactly she has been doing that may strike others as an odd behaviour.

The content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion are defined as ‘topoi’ (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 74). In both cases it is the topos of definition or topos of name-interpretation (locus a nominis interpretatione) traced back to the following conclusion rule: if an action, a thing or a person (groups of persons) is named/designated (as) X, the action, thing or person
(group of persons) carries or should carry the qualities/traits/attributes contained in the (literal) meaning of X.

The relation between the two in the above mentioned illustrative examples turns into a vicious circle: the politicians in question are unpredictable, strange, illogical, expressive, insatiable for power and at the same time dependent on others because they are women – and as they are women, they are expected to be unpredictable, strange, illogical, expressive, insatiable for power and at the same time dependent on others.

In both examples, the situation is viewed through the prism of vision of the problem ascribed to the Europeans and their common sense though no citations, quotations, references are made.

The speaker in both examples alternates between taking and, at the same time, avoiding full responsibility for the truth of his utterance: starting with the intensification via the adverb конечно/’of course’ (Европейцы, конечно, на отмену ПДЧ для Грузии и Украины не пойдут/‘Europeans, of course, will never cancel the PMO for Georgia and the Ukraine’), he further on reduces the force of the utterance by the adverb вряд ли/’hardly’ (Но осторожные французы, немцы, бельгийцы и испанцы вряд ли на это согласятся/‘But careful French, Germans, Belgians, and Spanish will hardly agree to that’) and by a rhetorical question used instead of a direct, categorical statement (Зачем делать такой прощальный подарок госпоже Райс, которая мыслями уже, наверное, в Стенфордском университете?/’Why should Ms. Rice, who in her thoughts may be already at the Stanford University, be done such a present?’). The alternation appears when the point comes to the issue itself: possibility of the intending membership of Georgia and the Ukraine in the NATO.

But when the point comes to a particular person – the embodiment of the ‘enemy’, the intensification devices convey only full commitment to the truth of the utterance: the original sentence Надо постараться понять эту женщину, у которой, казалось, весь мир был в кармане is built as an impersonal construction that can be rendered ‘It is advisable to try and understand this woman who seemed to have the entire world in her pocket’ with Russian надо/’should’, ‘advisable’ (i.e. epistemic commitment of logical necessity) involving everyone: the speaker, the hearer (the journalist who asks the question), and the reading audience with the implication that though it might be difficult to understand such a strange, illogical way of behaving we
should make an attempt to do it. The use of придется/’have to’ (И вдруг Маккейн проиграл – и ей снова придется зарабатывать на жизнь лекциями/’And suddenly McCain lost – and she will have to earn her living again by delivering lectures’) emphasizes the condescending attitude of the speaker to the person in question: her future does not seem as shiny as the past was, so she can be even pitied for.

In the second example, the speaker does not provide a direct answer to the IR’s question (Значит, вы не ждете приятных сюрпризов от встречи натовских министров иностранных дел?/’So you don’t expect any pleasant surprises from the summit of the NATO’s Foreign Ministers’) but again balances between intensification (well, naturally, I think in the initial position) and mitigation (I think used parenthetically):

Я хорошо знаю этих людей. Они не дураки. Думаю, не в интересах Запада сейчас ломать стенку к соседям, где в одной квартире бьется меж двух Викторов экспрессивная женщина, не зная кому довериться, а в другой – бегает опасный уголовник с ножиком. Они, конечно, слышат, что там за стенкой происходит, иногда даже ухом пытаются прильнуть к ней. Но ломать ее и пускать всю эту катавасию к себе явно не готовы. Так что, думаю, пока стеночка сохранится (Russian interviews, № 18).

I know these people well. They are not fools. I think the West is not interested now in breaking the wall to the neighbours where in one flat there is an expressive woman struggling between two Victors not knowing whom to trust in, and in the other there is a dangerous criminal rushing with a knife. They, naturally, hear what is going on there – behind the wall, sometimes they even try to cling their ears to it. But they are not ready to break it and to let in all that confusion. That is why, I think, the wall will remain in its place.

I think fulfills different functions in the same utterance: the cognitive verb used in the initial position “boosts epistemic commitment”, while in parenthetical I think its verb has “a reduced semantic content in the matrix clause, and that is why the complement is only weakly asserted” (Fetzer 2008: 395, 388). Attenuation concerns the
intention ascribed to the NATO countries on the issue of integration of the two ex-
Soviet republics, while intensification achieved with the help of the adverb naturally
refers to presenting as a statement-of-fact that the countries of the West are perfectly
aware of what is going on in the Ukraine and Georgia – one part of that “is going on
there” being an expressive woman and her desperate struggle.

Intensification in the examples protrudes and presents as something natural and
evident the negative characteristics of the ‘enemy’ in person of two female political
representatives. The discourse turns out to be sexist and discriminatory with gender
involved as a strategy to delegitimize the opponents and this strategy is applied when it
is women-politicians who come to be embodiments of the enemy.

As for the ways of negative presentation of a male enemy, here predicational
strategies resort to other, than gender, parameters. The male opponent can be
characterized negatively by his activities: he is the one who makes aggression, he is an
aggressor compared to Hitler:

**Example 14:**

IR: Чего вы ждете от сегодняшней встречи глав МИД альянса?
IE: Разговор у них будет очень тяжелый. И, безусловно, тяжелый
разговор будет после этого у нас с ними, если они не признают
факта агрессии со стороны Саакашвили и нашего права на
самооборону в соответствии со статьей 51 Устава ООН. В этом
случае мы не будем дожидаться пересмотра программ
сотрудничества с Россией. Нам тоже будет противно работать с
людьми, которые в критический для нас момент приняли сторону
агрессора. А если будет заявлено, что Тбилиси по-прежнему ждут в
НАТО, то для нас это будет звучать настолько же угрожающе, как
перспектива приема в альянс гитлеровской Германии (Russian
interviews, № 10).

IR: What are you expecting from today’s summit of Foreign Affairs
Ministers of the alliance?
IE: They will have a very hard talk. And, no doubt, afterwards our talk with them will be hard, if they don’t admit the fact of aggression on the part of Saakashvili and our right to self-defence, according to Article 51 of the UNO Charter. In such a case, we will not be waiting until the plans of the cooperation with Russia are reviewed. It will be disgusting for us, too, to cooperate with the people who at the moment crucial for us supported the aggressor. And if it is declared that Tbilisi is still being waited at the NATO, to us it will sound as threatening as the prospect of accepting the Hitlerite Germany into the NATO.

The overt predications can be based either on the mental state ascribed to him (he is insane and obsessed), or his insignificance (he is an instrument in the hands of others, he is a swindler), or the danger he presents to the others (he is a criminal – Example 13 above):

Example 15:
IR: Сегодня альянс заявил, что учения в Грузии состоятся, несмотря на военный мятеж. А грузинские власти прямо объявили Россию в причастности к этим событиям.
IE: Это даже невозможно комментировать. Если у грузинского президента несварение желудка, значит, мы ему что-то подсыпали.
Я давно говорю: в Грузию надо не военных отправлять, а санитаров. А вот NATO как большая мощная организация могла бы проявить гибкость, если бы услышала наши доводы и отменила учения. Самое огорчительное, что эта организация становится все более непредсказуемой. Ну не получается у альянса вести себя адекватно, стабильно и прилично. Не получается быть нашими партнерами. При том что многие в альянсе разделяют тревоги российской стороны. Сейчас для нас главное – найти зачинщиков этого демарша. Как говорится, авторов на сцену. Для этого я запросил проведение встречи на уровне послов. Сначала выяснить, кто
IR: Today the alliance announced that military exercises in Georgia will be conducted despite the military rebellion. And the Georgian authorities openly accused Russia of being involved in these events.

IE: It is not even possible to comment on that. If the Georgian President suffers from indigestion, it means that we have put something into his food. I have been saying for a long time: it is necessary to send medical orderly to Georgia, not the militaries. As for the NATO, being a big powerful organization, it could be more flexible if it heard our reasons. The most frustrating thing is that this organization is getting more and more unpredictable. The alliance fails to be adequate, stable and decent in its behaviour. They fail to become our partners. In spite of the fact that many alliance members share the Russian anxieties. Now the most important thing for us is to find those who arranged this demarche. As we say, the authors are invited to the scene. Well, after that we will be thinking what we are going to do.

Example 16:

IR: На днях глава МИД Бельгии высказался против принятия Грузии в НАТО. В Европе вообще есть понимание опасности такой перспективы?

IE: Здесь понимают, что Саакашвили – это американский проект. Неофициально сетуют, что им приходится иметь дело с таким аферистом. Вашингтону нужно было заточить шило против России на Кавказе, вооружить бесноватого товарища, который получил хорошее образование в США, и, судя по всему, не только юридическое.

IR: В МГИМО его не приняли ...
ИЕ: Слава богу, в МГИМО таких не принимают. Наверное, даже медкомиссию не прошел. Американцы не могут признать, что вбухали столько денег в дырявый карман. А перевооружение Саакашвили – это идиотизм. Не говоря уже о том, что это противоречит конвенциям ОБСЕ и ЕС: нельзя поставлять оружие странам, где есть локальные конфликты. Грузинская армия показала, что умеет гусеницами ездить по женщинам, но в реальном бою разбегается как крысятник. Поэтому я говорю европейским коллегам: если хотите вляпаться в военное противостояние с Россией, вэлкам, но не рекомендую рисковать сытой буржуазной жизнью своих стран ради одного мелкого афериста (Russian interviews, № 12).

IR: The other day the Head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Belgium spoke against accepting Georgia into the NATO. Is there any understanding in Europe how dangerous such a prospect is?
IE: Here they understand that Saakashvili is an American project. In informal talks, they complain that they have to deal with such a swindler. Washington was to sharpen the awl against Russia in the Caucasus and to arm the obsessed chap who got a good education in the USA and, evidently, not only in law.
IR: He was not accepted into the MSIIR [Moscow State Institute of International Relations] …
IE: Thanks to god, suchlike are not accepted to the MSIIR. Possibly, he even couldn’t pass the medical exams. The Americans cannot admit that they have thrown so much money into a pocket full of holes. And the rearrangement of Saakashvili is idiotism. Leave alone that it contradicts the conventions of the OSCE and EU: no weapon-providing to the countries with local conflicts. The Georgian army showed that they can only track over women by tanks, but in the real battle they scatter away like rats. That’s why I tell my European colleagues: if you want to get caught into a
military confrontation with Russia, – welcome, but I don’t recommend that you should risk the bourgeois replete life of your countries for one small swindler.

Example 17:

IR: Вы получили отповедь от руководства НАТО?

IR: Have you had a reproof from the administration of the NATO?
IE: All this is a PR-action targeted at the internal consumer, i.e. the Western public opinion, to show that the alliance will stand up for its small pupil Saakashvili. And also – to shake a little finger at Russia. As for us, we will take into account only activities done. For the present, the NATO members’ stance is pragmatic. The council Russia-NATO has been decided to be “frozen” until we completely draw out the troops from the territory of Georgia. But the question is what is meant by the troops – reinforcement of the 58th army or a peacekeeping unit.

The predications ‘insane’, ‘obsessed’ prevail in the above mentioned examples as well as that of ‘a small thing’. The enemy is never delegitimized via his gender as in instances with female political representatives but in the gendered discourse his depreciation and delegitimization is achieved via confronting him and the opposite sex:
Грузинская армия показала, что умеет гусеницами ездить по женщинам, но в реальном бою разбегается как крысятник. The Georgian army showed that they can only track over women by tanks, but in the real battle they scatter away like rats. The connotation of the lexeme ‘women’ here is weak, helpless, armless and stands in sharp contrast to the well-armed forces: thus women get objectivized as victims. The inference to follow is that the men (the Georgian army and, consequently, Saakashvili himself) who are brave enough to fight against the weak and the helpless are not men and warriors but are worthy being called only ‘cowardly rats’. This is the only illustration when a discourse is gendered in relation to a male politician but, in contrast to the instances when female politicians are referred to, it is done rather covertly, primarily by the device of collectivization: грузинская армия/’the Georgian army’. The social actor in this case is impersonal, the army is an instrument of the state deprived of an initiative of its own – the attack is made at the person who stands behind and who controls and regulates the activities of the army.

The analysis of competing or conflicting discourse, in particular case – confrontation between Russia and the West (represented by the USA, the NATO countries) on relatively recent events (war in the Caucasus, the tension between Russia and Ukraine) – shows that ‘big’ politics remains to be a male-dominated sphere of social activity, a business for ‘guys’ (Example 18, Example 19):

Example 18:

Всем стало ясно, что позиция НАТО по Южному Кавказу оказалась серьезнейшей политической ошибкой альянса. Тогда сработала логика «холодной войны» – разделение на «хороших» и «плохих» парней. Дальше так продолжаться не может. «Битье посуды» привело к тому, что решение насущных проблем может быть отодвинуто на долгие годы. Конечно, напрямую наши партнеры никогда в этом не признаются. Но именно они стали инициаторами встречи. Уже расписаны дальнейшие контакты. Можно сказать, что работа Совета разморожена. В конце февраля – начале марта, вероятно, состоится уже формальное заседание на уровне послов. Мы также договорились, что генсек НАТО встретится с главой
Everybody understood that the NATO’s stance on the Southern Caucasus is a political blunder of the alliance. At that time it was the cold war logic that worked – the division into “bad” and “good” guys. We cannot continue this way any more. “The breaking of dishes” has lead to the state of things when the solution of the most urgent problems can be put off for many years. Of course, our partners will never openly admit it. But it was they who initiated the meeting. Further contacts have been planned, too. It is possible to say that the work of the Council has been unfrozen. At the end of February and at the beginning of March, the formal meeting at the ambassadors’ level may be held. We also came to the agreement that the Secretary General of the NATO will have a meeting with the head of the Russian delegation at the forthcoming conference on security in Munich.

**Example 19:**

**IR:** Удалось ли «растопить лед» на вчерашнем заседании?

**IE:** Переговоры прошли гораздо удачнее, чем ожидали натовские постпреды. Они опасались скандального развития событий, но нам удалось не скатиться на уровень «сам дурак». Обсуждались именно базовые принципы наших отношений. Разговор был сложным, но все стороны остались довольны, кроме самых оголтелых участников, которые оказались в меньшинстве. Спор с НАТО постепенно превращается в джентльменский диалог. Я даже физически почувствовал себя лучше после этой полемики (Russian interviews, № 11).

**IR:** Did it become possible “to break the ice” at the yesterday meeting?

**IE:** The negotiations went much better than the constant representatives of the NATO had expected. They were afraid of a scandalous development of
events but we managed not to sink to the level “you are a fool yourself”. It was the basic principles of our relationships that were discussed. The talks were hard but all the parties were satisfied except the most unbridled ones who were a minority. The debate with the NATO is gradually turning into a gentlemen’s dialogue. I even did feel better physically after these disputes.

Example 20:
IR: Какое впечатление произвел на вас новый генсек?
IE: По всему видно, что человек профессионально подготовлен, находится на соответствующей его уровню должности, нацелен на сотрудничество. Расмуссен – умелый политик, с опытом руководства. Будучи премьером Дании, он умело обходил рифы мировой политики, в том числе европейской, лавируя между крайним атлантизмом и становясь, когда надо, убежденным европейцем. Человек он, безусловно, неординарный. Судя по нашей беседе, его желание исправить отношения с Россией искреннее.
IR: Как он вел себя на первой встрече? Конструктивно?
IE: Он вел себя как нормальный человек. Когда ему предлагают нормальные вещи для укрепления связей и углубления сотрудничества, что здесь возражать-то? Расмуссен продемонстрировал свою адекватность, соответствие масштабу проблем, которые легли на его далеко не хрупкие плечи (Russian interviews, № 27).

IR: What impression did the new Secretary General produce on you?
IE: It is quite evident that the person is well-trained, is in the position adequate to his level and is geared up for cooperation. Rasmussen is an efficient politician of rich experience. When he was the PM of Denmark, he skillfully avoided the reefs of the world politics, including the European, manoeuvring between the extreme atlanticism and turning, when necessary, into a staunch European. He is, beyond doubt, no
ordinary person. Judging by our talk, his wish to improve the relationships with Russia is sincere.

IR: How did he behave at the first meeting? Was he constructive?
IE: He behaved like a normal person. What can be there to object to when he is suggested normal ways of strengthening the ties and intensifying the cooperation? Rasmussen showed his own adequacy to the dimension of problems that burdened his shoulders that are far from being delicate.

In the Russian language the combinations хрупкие плечи/’delicate’ or ‘fragile’ ‘shoulders’ versus сильное и/или мужественное плечо/’strong’ or/and ‘masculine shoulder’ are used to refer to woman and man, respectively. It is the manifestation of gender conveyed via secondary relations (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 60), when lexical items have background meaning corresponding or invoking male- or female-associated properties. The speaker characterizing Rasmussen, the new appointed Secretary General of the NATO, depicts him in highly positive terms relating нехрупкие плечи/’not delicate shoulders’ to his level of professionalism, competence and expertise.

On the intranational level, the sphere of politics is also characterized by absolute homogeneity in terms of gender. In one of the interviews that was conducted at length and in an informal way, the IE who is an activist of the youth movement «Россия молодая»/’Russia the Young’ depicts his experience of being a “member” of the “National-Bolshevist Party” for a year and a half in order to find out what the “enemy” looks like from inside. The question of the IR concerns the ideological aspect of struggle:

Example 21:
IR: И все-таки, что вы можете сказать об идеологии нацболов? Ради чего ребята ведут свою борьбу?
IE: Мне самому очень хотелось разобраться в этом полтора года назад. Сейчас я могу сказать с уверенностью – никакой идеологической платформы у НБП нет. Всем движет эпатаж, юношеское желание прославиться, а заодно и показать всем, что «я уже большой». … Большинство из них до «партии» были одиноки,
IR: And still what can you say about the ideology of natbols? [contraction from National Bolshevist] What are the guys struggling for?
IE: I was eager myself to find it out a year and a half ago. Now I can say for sure – the NBP does not have any ideological platform. Everything is motivated by the effort to startle the others, by the desire of a young guy to become famous and at the same time to show everyone that “I am already an adult”. … Most of them, before joining the “party”, lived a lonely life, had problems in communicating with people of their own age, with the opposite sex. And every young guy needs his own “pack”. The NBP gives them a feeling of being a part of a force no matter that it is an imagined one. …

The way the IE speaks about the members of the political party (the expressions themselves – ‘guys’; ‘the desire of a young guy’; ‘problems with the opposite sex’) leaves no doubt as to the fact that the membership does not allow any possibility of exception: they are all young men. His answer is also heavily invested by existing gender ideologies: every young guy needs his own “pack”; every young guy has the ambition to become somebody, to succeed. This “pack” is a male-dominated youth movement the participation in which gives them the feeling of solidarity, friendship, of a certain unity that will stand up for each of its members. In terms of logic these are arguments that are to confirm the main thesis: the party does not possess any clearly defined ideological position and political standpoint. The motives that attract the guys to join the party are related to gender and age, not to the ideological stance and certain ideas. In this way, the speaker discredits the leader of the party who makes use of the crowd of boys who predominantly come from problematic environment.

In the interviews, attempts to resist the dominant gender order are observed in spheres other than politics:
Example 22:

IR: A вас самого назначение на пост министра не удивило?
IE: Так ведь такие вопросы тщательно обсуждаются. В Совете Федерации я возглавлял комитет по делам молодежи и спорту. И отчетливо представляю, насколько важна физическая культура для нового поколения. Мы ведь футбольные поля в РФС сотнями строим не для галочки, а чтобы наши дети были здоровыми во всех отношениях.

IR: Вы ведь сами вырастили двух дочерей. Без спорта воспитание детей представляет?
IE: Вообще-то воспитание должно быть гармоничным. Здесь не нужно что-то одно выделять. В то же время не случайно ведь мы в РФС предлагали в порядке эксперимента ввести в школах обязательные уроки футбола для девочек (Russian interviews, № 7).

IR: Were you surprised by being appointed to the position of Minister?
IE: But such issues are thoroughly discussed. In the Federation Council I chaired the Committee on Issues of Youth and Sports. And I understand well how important physical education is for the new generation. We, in the RFU [Russian Football Union], do build hundreds of football fields not for a report but for our children to be healthy in all respects.

IR: You yourself have brought up two daughters. Can you imagine children’s upbringing without sports?
IE: Generally, there must be harmony in the upbringing. You should not concentrate on one thing. At the same time it is not occasional that we in the RFU suggested, on an experimental basis, introducing compulsory lessons of football for girls.

Sports or some kinds of sports, like politics, are associated only with men. In his interview the Minister of Sports, Tourism and Youth Policy speaks about their suggestion to include lessons of football for girls into the school curriculum. However,
there is no comment on how successfully it has been put into practice and if it has been put at all. The IE, speaking about harmonious development of children in general, exemplifies it by innovations meant for girls since the question makes reference to his two daughters. In comparison to sex markers, kin terms are a rare phenomenon and are always related to the IE’s professional activity.

2 Kinship terms. Used sporadically in the talk of politicians, kinship terms are initiated by the IEs themselves, when the IR’s questions concern the IE’s career as in Example 23 and Example 24:

Example 23:
IR: А как возникла идея направить вас представителем в НАТО?
IE: Я решил вернуться к истокам. Я окончил международное отделение журфака МГУ. Ещё в школе интересовался военными делами. У меня отец крупный военный ученый. Более того, я чувствовал, что, оказавшись в тупике во внутренней политике, могу выйти во внешнюю политику и там реализоваться. Я провел консультации в Министерстве обороны, Совбезе. И убедился: эта тема, где можно достойно себя проявить и действительно служить стране. И не потерять при этом свое политическое лицо – я ни в какие партии не перебегал, никто публично не требует от меня извинений за мои «политические ошибки». Я остался при своих убеждениях, но так получилось, что Кремль и я – мы нашли нечто общее, что может снять все очень жесткие противоречия, которые были до сих пор (Russian interviews, № 1).

IR: How did the idea to send you as the representative to the NATO come up?
IE: I decided to go back to my roots. I finished the International Relations Department of the Journalism Faculty of the MSU [Moscow State University]. My interest to the military sphere starts as early as from school. My father was a prominent scientist of the military domain.
Moreover, I felt that, having found myself in the deadlock in the internal politics, I can go out into the external politics and fulfill myself there. I conducted consultations at the Ministry of Defence, at the Security Council. And I did make sure: that is the field where one can fulfill oneself and really serve the country. And, together with it, avoid losing one’s political face – I never changed one political party for another, nobody demands that I ought to bring public excuses for my “political mistakes”. I have kept to my viewpoints but it turned out that the Kremlin and I – we found something in common that can take away all those hard contradictions we had had before.

**Example 24:**

IR: Мура́т Магомедович, а с чем связано решение о вашей отставке?
IE: Это мое решение, оно абсолютно добровольное. Это определённый этап в жизни. Я уже почти семь лет проработал. А в жизни надо уметь принимать правильные решения – и красиво приходить, и красиво уходить. Так делали мои предки, и я так делаю (Russian interviews, № 16).

IR: Murat Magomedovich, what is the reason for your retirement?
IE: It is my decision, taken absolutely on my own will. It is a certain stage in life. I have worked for almost seven years. One should know how to take proper decisions in life – both to come and to leave elegantly. My ancestors did so, and so do I.

In the former case, the politician speaks as the ‘son’ of the prominent military scientist to use this fact as one of the reasons for his new appointment to a high position in external politics, where it is significant to be knowledgeable and efficient about the military domain, under the then circumstances of political tension between Russia and the Western bloc. In the latter, the IR is interested as well in the reason why the IE leaves the position of the president of one of the republics – subjects of the Russian
Federation; the speaker, emphasizing that the decision was not taken because of pressure exerted from the top, refers to his ancestors whom he presents as his model to follow generally in life and in his professional career. In both examples, this kind of ‘retrospection’ contributes to creating a positive image of the IE as of the person who originates from educated and intelligent environment.

The extract below is taken from the interview with the leader of one of the political parties of Russia where he is questioned about his motives to make his income open to the public – an innovation introduced by top political figures at the time (now fixed as an obligation for civil servants by the law):

Example 25:

IR: Сергей Михайлович, а почему вы решили первым опубликовать сведения о своих доходах, еще до того как это сделали президент и премьер?
IE: У меня не было стремления быть «поперед двух батек», просто я делал это всегда и сделал в очередной раз. Единственное – в этом году я уже под влиянием намерения президента опубликовал не только свою декларацию, но и декларацию жены (Russian interviews, № 22).

IR: Sergey Mikhailovich, why did you decide to be the first to have the information about your income published, before the President and the PM did it?
IE: I had no intention to “rush before the two Dads”, I just always did it and I did it this time, too. The only thing is that under the influence of the President’s intention I published not only my own, but also my wife’s tax return.

In particular, the journalist asks why this step had been done before the President and the PM put into practice their intention to have their tax return accessible to the public. The idiomatic expression “to rush before a Dad” used in the reply of the IE
means “to rush ahead of a person who knows better” which is paraphrased due to the context with the two Dads being the President and the PM. The IE stresses the fact that he used to do this before but acknowledges that it is due to the influence of the President’s intention that he had his wife’s tax return published, too. The image the IE is creating for himself is that of an honest and, therefore, trustworthy politician who has nothing to conceal from common people, his potential voters, and who is not afraid of making the sources of his income transparent.

The next contribution is from the talk between a reporter and the ambassador of Russia to Ukraine. Though the topic generally has nothing to do with the personal matters of the IE and the IR’s question, in particular, is about an extremely painful issue in the political relationships of Russia and Ukraine, the IE, nevertheless, refers to his family ties in the talk:

**Example 26:**

IR: До последнего времени едва ли не самым болезненным вопросом российско-украинских отношений был голодомор. Теперь к нему добавилась еще и Грузия?

IR: Up to recently, almost the most sensitive point in the Russian-Ukrainian relations has been that of famine. Now Georgia has joined this point as well?

IE: But it is the Georgians who organized the famine. I am a Russian citizen, I am from the Southern Urals, and my parents told me about it. They told that the dead were not taken away from the streets because there were no people left to do it. And when somebody starts to make use of it, when somebody starts to prove that it was the genocide of one nation only, it is very outrageous. What, Ukrainians only lived in the Ukraine? No Russians, no Tatars and others? And who organized the genocide – did anyone come from Kolyma to arrange it, to take away all the bread? All the regions where the wheat was grown did suffer from the famine. Irrespective of whether it is the Ukraine, the Southern Urals or Kazakhstan. I will never agree that all were directed against one nation only. Look at the lists of the Soviet government of that time. You will see – there were a lot of Ukrainians.

The question about the famine that took place in the 1930-ies, during the period of collectivization, in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and some regions of Russia was one of the most sensitive points, hard and almost impossible to come to consensus to, between the then governments of the Ukraine and Russia. The claim of the Ukrainian administration was that the famine was the genocide against the Ukrainian people. The IE, who strongly rejects this opinion, speaks as the official representative of the state and, at the same time, chooses to speak from the subject position of a ‘Russian citizen’, i.e. a person who comes from one of the Russian regions that suffered from famine. He recalls the words of his parents to give weight to his own words, since they are the people who witnessed the tragedy.

Such infrequent use of kinship terms is determined by the topic-coherence of the prevailing majority of the interviews that discuss political issues, with the exception of the two talks when the IE is put questions about his personal motives in career-making. Used strategically by the politicians for the purpose of creating the necessary image and
reputation, or for confirming and illustrating their opinions, they are not related to the representation of gender either of the IE or of the person(s) talked about.

**Personal names.** The third person mentioned during the talk is referred to formally: by his/her *last name* that can be preceded by a title/position, or by *first name + last name*. The other forms: a) *first name + patronymic (+ last name)*, b) *first name only* (два Виктора/’two Victors’ (see Example 13 above), Эдичка, Эдик/diminutive form from Эдуард (*Russian interviews, № 6*) are used at minimum and display the attitude of the speaker to the person in question: a) deference in the former case and b) its absence in the latter.

**Grammatical gender.** The IR’s sex marked in language when he speaks in the first person is an exception rather than a rule. The example given below is the minimum to illustrate:

**Example 27:**

Я сразу вынужден извиниться за нескромность, но все-таки: «Алексей Федоров» – очень похоже на псевдоним (*Russian interviews, № 6*).

I am immediately obliged to (masculine) apologize for my tactlessness but still “Alexey Fyodorov” sounds like a pseudonym.

Since the IE’s contributions to the talk are far more extended, there are grammatical means of indicating the IE’s sex in the text: verbs, conditionals, nouns. There are only three interviews that are abundant in verbs in the past tense (while in the majority, as the quantitative analysis shows, there is one verb per text). It is the interviews focused on the IE’s personal career:

**Example 28:**
IR: Вы еще до начала предвыборной кампании заявили, что работа в парламенте перестала вас интересовать. Представляли ли вы свой дальнейший путь?
IE: Я действительно не хотел уже работать в Думе. И это решение я принял еще два года назад, когда полностью исчерпал все свои возможности как руководитель фракции. Потому что до тех пор, работая в Госдуме, я чувствовал, что приношу пользу своим избирателям и могу реализоваться как личность, как человек. Потом я понял: ни одно мое решение или решение фракции, которую я представляю, не может дойти даже до первого чтения в Госдуме. И решил, что не могу обманывать себя и своих сторонников. Это не в моих правилах (Russian interviews, № 1).

IR: Before the election campaign got started, you said that the work in the Parliament had stopped to be of interest to you. Did you have an idea what you were going to do next?
IE: I really did not want (masculine) to work in the Duma. And I took (masculine) this decision as early as two years ago when I did (masculine) everything I could as the leader of the fraction. Because working in the Duma I felt (masculine) that I am useful for my voters and can fulfill my ambitions as a personality, as a human being. Later I understood (masculine): any of my decisions or the decisions of the fraction that I represent cannot reach even the stage of the first reading in the State Duma. And I decided (masculine) that I cannot deceive myself and my supporters. It is against my principles.

The sex of the IE can be marked by an adjective as in the example below:

Example 29:
IR: Алексей Леонидович, создано и развивается Евразийское экономическое сообщество – ЕврАзЭС. Для читателей это понятие
IE: Национальный интерес: экономический, политический и стратегический входящих в него стран. В рамках сообщества идет серьезная работа. Она, на первый взгляд, не так заметна, но, уверен, наши граждане со временем увидят и оценят результаты нашего труда (Russian interviews, № 5).

IR: Alexey Leonidovich, the Eurasian Economic Community – EurAsEC – has been established and is developing now. For the readers this notion is both economic and political. Would you explain what was the ground for organizing this union?

IE: National interest – economic, political and strategic – of the member-countries. A great deal of work is being done within the frames of the organization. It is not so visible at first sight, but I am sure (masculine) that our citizens will, some day, see and appreciate the results.

Modal expressions of the kind (не сомневаюсь/’I don’t doubt’, я убежден/’I am sure’), along with speech act verbs (могу заявить/’I can say’, я ответил на вопрос/’I answered the question’, могу добавить/’I can add’) or epistemic verbs (думаю/’I think’, считаю/’I consider’, знаю/’I know’) are the devices through which the ’I’ of a politician gets manifest. In other cases, a politician speaks as a public not a private person: it is the ‘we’ that pervades what is termed by Halliday (1994: 102) as “material processes”, i.e. processes of ‘doing’ (see Example 14, Example 15, Example 18, Example 22 above). The use of the ‘we’ is motivated (Демьянов 2002: 41-42) by the wish to show that ‘we are many’ and implies the support of other in-group members: collective action is always more impressive than a solitary one. It is one of the main reasons why grammatical gender, which in Russian is unambiguously expressed in the nominative singular, does not function as an all-pervasive category in political discourse. The use of the ‘we’ and, consequently, of the plural form neutralizes the gender agreement.
The IE’s sex is displayed in innumerous conditionals (along with scarce pronouns, nouns, and numerals):

Example 30:
IR: Как вы оцениваете нового генсека Совета Европы, экс-премьера Норвегии Турбьерна Ягланда?
IE: На самом деле для нас были приемлемы обе кандидатуры – и норвежца, и поляка, бывшего премьера Влодзимежа Чимошевича. Он русскоязычный, в бывшие времена не раз выезжал на наши комсомольские учебы. Однако выбор в пользу Ягланда нас тоже вполне устраивает. Я с ним общался. Это такой прагматичный европейский технократ, который не связан “брюссельской дисциплиной”. Да и слишком проамериканским я бы его не назвал (Russian interviews, № 29).

IR: How do you characterize Thorbjorn Jagland, the new Secretary General of the Council of Europe and the Norwegian ex-PM?
IE: In fact, both of the candidates – the Norwegian and the Polish ex-PM Vlodzimesh Chimoshevich were acceptable for us. He speaks Russian, in the old times he attended several of our Komsomol courses. But the appointment of Jagland suits us as well. I talked to him. He is a kind of a pragmatic European technocrat not tied up by the “Brussels’ discipline”. I would not characterize (masculine) him as too much pro-American, either.

Example 31:
IR: Что было самым интересным, самым важным в Нью-Йорке? Какие тенденции наметились? О чем больше всего говорили и каковы конкретные результаты дискуссий?
IE: Неделя было интересной. Главный вывод я бы сформулировал так: никто не хочет делать заложником того или иного кризиса огромные проблемы, которые сегодня стоят перед всеми и требуют конструктивного, позитивного взаимодействия. Тем более если
кризис этот был искусственно спровоцирован. ... (Russian interviews, № 14).

IR: What was the most interesting and the most important thing in New-York? What tendencies were set? What were the most discussed topics and what are the results of the discussions?
IE: The week was interesting. I would put (masculine) the main conclusion in the following way: nobody wants the enormous problems to be trapped in that or this crisis, the problems that everybody comes across and that require constructive and positive cooperation. Moreover, if it is a crisis arranged on purpose. …

Similarly, the sex of the third person is manifest in pronouns, verbs in the past tense, adjectives and participles, nouns, conditionals and numerals. The comments of the IEs about what a certain politician, foreign or domestic, said or did, result in the use of verbs in the past tense that are informative of the third person’s sex:

**Example 32:**

... Наиболее ярко отношение Европы к происходящему выразилось в выступлении президента Франции Николя Саркози. Он очень четко обозначил: в сегодняшнем мире нужно в первую очередь заниматься теми вещами, которые напрямую связаны с общими интересами. А не пытаться говорить об общих ценностях, чем так увлекались наши западные партнеры последние годы. Причем увлекались несколько недобросовестно – представляя дело таким образом, будто Россия от общих европейских ценностей отходит.

Что же за это общие интересы? Прежде всего недопущение развала мировой экономической и финансовой системы. О чем, кстати, в эти дни говорил и министр финансов Германии – он прямо призвал к тому, чтобы признать финансовую многополярность. А Саркози говорил о необходимости построения регулируемого капитализма ... (Russian interviews, № 14).
… Most vividly the attitude of Europe to the events was expressed in the speech of the French President Nicolas Sarkozy. He very clearly defined (masculine) that in today’s world it is necessary to deal, first of all, with those things that are directly related to common interests. And not to try and talk about common values that our Western partners were so much keen on doing lately. And they did it rather subjectively portraying the things in such a light as if Russia were diverging from the common European values.

What are these common interests? First of all, to prevent the collapse of the world’s financial and economic system. It was, by the way, exactly what the German Minister of Finance spoke (masculine) about these days – he openly called (masculine) to the acknowledgement of the financial multipolarity. And Sarkozy spoke (masculine) about the necessity to establish manageable capitalism. …

When the IR is interested in the person talked about, this determines high anaphoric reference, though the nouns (with a single exception of ‘gas queen’ in the example below) used for female reference are of masculine gender:

Example 33:
IR: Вы – газовик, Тимошенко называют «газовой королевой». Считаете ли вы её профессионалом в газовой сфере?
IE: Она сегодня руководитель правительства и отвечает за его работу. Энергетика – очень чувствительная тема в экономике любого государства. Премьер обязан в ней разбираться.

Даже если бы Тимошенко в газовой сфере ничего не понимала, она была бы обязана освоить азы. Ей не нужен особо профессиональный уровень. Она может не знать, как бурить, добывать и транспортировать. Речь идет о другом. Нужно понимать и представить себе, какими должны стать газовые отношения Украины и России. Да и не только газовые – вообще по
You are a specialist in the gas sphere, Timoshenko is called the “gas queen” (feminine). Do you consider her to be a professional (masculine) in the gas sphere?

IE: Today she is the head (masculine) of the government and is responsible for its work. Energy sector is a very sensitive topic in the economy of any state. The PM must have an idea about it.

Even if Timoshenko did not have (feminine) any notion of the gas sphere, she would have to learn the elementaries. She doesn’t need some special professional level. She may not know how to drill, produce and transport it. The subject is not that. It is necessary to understand and to have an idea what kind of relationships the Ukraine and Russia are to have in the sphere of gas. Generally not only in the gas sphere but in the sphere of energy resources on the whole. Without it, it is impossible to build the economy. Timoshenko understands this.

There is an only example when an occupational term used in reference to a female person is of feminine gender:

**Example 34:**

Последнее чудоцищное преступление – убийство правозащитницы Эстемировой… (Russian interviews, № 25).

The last terrifying crime was the murder of the human rights activist (feminine) Estemirova…

The masculine generic is characteristic of general reference as well, when the gender of a person is not relevant:
Example 35:

IR: Do you think that the form this information is published in is enough for the real anti-corruption effect? Without the exact indication of the source of income and property, this information just multiplies the questions…

IE: I think it is quite possible to extend the list of the data published. Probably it makes sense to write, for example, when the apartment was bought in order to clarify if a civil servant had bought it before joining the civil service or after. To make the prehistory clear. But now tax returns are filled in according to the requirements of the Revenue Service. Later on, may be, there can be some additions introduced, as we say – at the request of people. For example,
some points necessary to be filled in by civil servants. Why not? Moreover, I think it is quite normal. You talk about equality and your rights? Stop, my dear (masculine), you are joining the civil service and be so kind (masculine) to understand (masculine) that you are going to be burdened (masculine) with extra duties. You must (masculine) have your income, your expenses published, and people have the right to know about it.

Example 36:

Ваша оценка ситуации даже для среднестатистического читателя может показаться слишком оптимистичной … (Russian interviews, № 5).

Your assessment of the situation may seem too optimistic even to an average (masculine) reader (masculine) …

Address forms. Address forms used in the interviews are the deferential model first name + patronymic. The use of address forms is not reciprocal since it is always the IE who is addressed:

Example 37:

Николай Платонович, за кризисный год каких только прогнозов мы не наслушались, в том числе и от людей авторитетных и облеченных властными полномочиями в экономической сфере: и об «острове безопасности», и об десятилетиях резцессии, и о выходе из нее, и о «второй волне». По вашему мнению, что в них правда? (Russian interviews, № 30).

Nikolay Platonovich, during the year of crisis, we did hear whatever forecasts there can exist – from people authoritative and entrusted with powers in the economic sphere: forecasts about the
“island of security”, about decades of recession and the way out of it, about the “second wave”. What is true, to your mind, about them?

Only once is the IE addressed by his first name: Алексей due to his young age and rather informal style of talk during the interview. His case is described in short in Example 21 (above in Sex markers). The single case when the IE uses the chance to address the other people from the newspaper pages belongs to this very interview: he addresses the members of the party which he had investigated from inside, temporarily playing the role of a member:

Example 38:
IR: Что вы хотели бы сказать своим недавним «однопартийцам»?
IE: Ребята, большинство из вас – нормальные люди. Не нравится вам власть – идите в оппозицию, протестуйте. На то у нас демократия, слава богу. Но посмотрите же сначала, за кого бороться! Стыдно быть «мясом» у старого... сами знаете кого (Russian interviews, № 6).

IR: What would you like to say to your recent “party colleagues”?
IE: Guys, most of you are adequate people. You don’t like those in power – join the opposition, protest. Thanks to god, just for this we have democracy. But do see first who to struggle for! It is a shame to be a “flesh for the gun” for the old ... you know who.

The noun omitted in the original text у старого …/’for the old …’ is a vulgarism: the complete combination can be старый пердун/’old farter’ or старый козел/’old he-goat’ which are derogatory terms for ‘an old man’. Earlier in the text the IE explains that a lot of members of the party got imprisoned because they are involved in extremist activities organized by the leader of the party. His own party sees as the enemy the leader but not the ordinary members: мы объявили войну пожилому любителю подставлять молодых ребят – ‘we declared war to the elderly fan to trip up young guys’. At the end of his interview he calls these guys to join the real
opposition instead of being made use of. The address form he uses is not a masculine generic at all: as it has been explained in Example 21, the members of the party in question are all of male gender.

In the Russian interviews, the lexeme господин/’Mr.’ is never applied as an address form, it is used in the third person reference (see also Example 12 above):

Example 39:

Мы хотим, чтобы о нашей партии знали, и мы хотим, чтобы люди четко себе представляли, кто является ответственной политической силой в нашей стране. Вот, например, господин-товарищ Зюганов. Он на своем фланге «орудует» уже 19 лет. «Всех долой, в отставку». И что? Что меняется? А вот если вы посмотрите на демографическую программу, которая сейчас реализуется, на материнский капитал, на многие другие вещи, вы увидите, что это наши идеи. ... (Russian interviews, № 22).

We want people to know about our party and we want them to have a clear idea who is a responsible political force in our country. Here is, for instance, Mr.-Comrade Zyuganov. He has been “manipulating” on his flank for 19 years already. “All are to resign”. And what? What is changing? But if you look at the demographic programme which is being put into practice now, at the maternal fee and many other things, you will see that all these are our ideas…

The person talked about is the leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. As it has been mentioned in 1.4 of Part I, the lexeme господин/’Mr.’ is informative of political affiliations and negative attitude to referents or addressees when used by members of the Communist party who exchange товарищ/’comrade’ among themselves to address each other. In the example above, the speaker who applies the unusual combination of господин/’Mr.’ and товарищ/’comrade’ expresses simultaneously that his political opponent belongs to the Communist party and his ironical attitude to the person talked about, to his political position and activities.
2.3.3 Conclusion

In the Russian interview, the IR’s identity is made visible via his/her name and sometimes by verbs in the past tense given in the opening paragraph.

Only in 13% of the texts, the IR appears as the agent, as the doer of the action in the introductory paragraph. Sometimes the IR is not mentioned at all: the role of IR is performed by the newspaper itself: e.g. «Известия» обратились.../“the "Izvestia" turned to...”, «Известия» спросили.../“the "Izvestia" asked...” or ... рассказывает «Известиям» .../[the IE] tells the “Izvestia”...

The IE, due to the conventions of the institutional genre, speaks from the standpoint of a public person. His/her gender gets manifest by means of grammatical gender but they are not many as the IEs tend to speak in terms of ‘we’ with the grammatical gender agreement neutralized in the plural. In the Russian newspaper it is also the use of historical present that prevents the functioning of grammatical gender. In 20% there is no ‘I’ of the IE shown in the text.

As for generic forms, they present an amount too small to make any conclusions for two reasons: 1) all the IEs are men; 2) there are only few examples of occupational terms used to refer to the third (female) person during the talk.

The Russian political situation can be characterized as a conflicting one. The confrontation is not of the intranational type but is held on the international level. The ‘enemy’ is represented by the ‘West’ (the USA, Europe, the NATO and the NATO countries) and also by the ex-Soviet republics (Georgia, the Ukraine). The external ‘enemy’ finds its embodiment in specific persons, too. The negative other-presentation is intensified when the collectivized enemy gets specified and personified in a woman-politician. That is, gender becomes an instrument to delegitimize the opponent. The substitution of the expected functionalization for classification on the basis of gender gives the discourse overtly sexist nature. The delegitimization of a male enemy makes use of other, than gender, parameters. The ways the IEs speak about politics and political agents (‘gentlemen’s dialogue’, ‘good and bad guys’, etc.) make it perfectly
clear who can identify themselves with these participants and who are deprived of any such possibility and are thus excluded from this social sphere.
2.4 The Russian interviews with women politicians: structure and participants

2.4.1 Interviews with women politicians: newspapers, participants and structure

As it has been mentioned in 1.5 of Part I, due to the absence of interviews with female IEs in the Russian context, additional material has been selected from newspapers other than the “Известия”. The interviews are not obtained from the same newspaper, since the “Известия” provides only two interviews with women politicians dated 2006 and 2007. That is why, the option to search for all the material available was chosen.

The interviews with Russian women politicians were sought for in online resources. The key words in the Internet search were the names of the well-known Russian women political representatives, – consequently it prevented me from keeping to the previous criteria for selection of data such as: nation-wide coverage, a wide circulation and the same type of a newspaper. The interviews were selected from 7 Russian newspapers «Известия», «Российская газета», «Газета Недели в Саратове», «Ведомости», «Комсомольская правда», «Аргументы и факты», «Время новостей» (see Table 14 below). For example, the newspaper «Газета Недели в Саратове», in contrast to «Комсомольская правда» or «Аргументы и факты», does not have federal circulation: it is a newspaper published in the town of Saratov.

The overall number of the interviews is 19.

The chronological frames also diverge from those of the previous 90 interviews: the time the interviews were published in is the period within 2006 and 2010. One of the reasons is the relatively recent entrance of the three female IEs into the Cabinet of Ministers, that is why the dates of interviews with them cover the years 2008-2010.

The criterion to select dyadic interviews with one IR and one IE is not followed either, for the purpose to have enough quantity of the data.

In the case of 12 dyadic interviews, the group of IRs includes 7 men (the number of cross-gender interviews is, accordingly, 7) and 5 women; in 3 cases the IR is not identified. There are four cases when the IRs are more than one: in three interviews there are two IRs, male and female, in one interview – a woman minister is interviewed by three men journalists.
Table 14: Women politicians in the Russian newspapers: position and number of interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>«Известия»</th>
<th>«Российская газета»</th>
<th>«Газета Недели в Саратове»</th>
<th>«Ведомости»</th>
<th>«Комсомольская правда»</th>
<th>«Аргументы и факты»</th>
<th>«Время новостей»</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Speaker of the State Duma</td>
<td>«Известия»</td>
<td>29.06.06</td>
<td>29.06.06</td>
<td>03.08.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Российская газета»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Газета Недели в Саратове»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor of St. Petersburg</td>
<td>«Известия»</td>
<td>23.07.07</td>
<td>11.03.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.10.07</td>
<td>07.04.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Российская газета»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Газета Недели в Саратове»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Health Care and Social Development</td>
<td>«Известия»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>02.04.09 10.07.09 23.09.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>02.04.09</td>
<td>15.10.08</td>
<td>04.03.09</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Российская газета»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Газета Недели в Саратове»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Economic Development and Trade</td>
<td>«Известия»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>04.06.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Российская газета»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Газета Недели в Саратове»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Agriculture</td>
<td>«Известия»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.03.10 19.06.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Российская газета»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>«Газета Недели в Саратове»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

226
In 19 interviews, the IEs are 5 women – holders of high position in the Russian government: Vice-Speaker of the State Duma, Mayor of St.Petersburg, Minister of Health Care and Social Development, Minister of Economic Development and Trade, Minister of Agriculture. The number of interviews given by each of the IEs varies from 2 to 6 – with the highest score belonging to the Minister of Health Care and Social Development.

Since the structure of interviews includes the same parts (headline, introductory paragraph with the identification of the IE and the topic, question-answer sequences, identification of the IR, date of the interview) as in the previous newspapers, it is not described and illustrated by examples. However, the interviews with women-politicians may contain diagrammes and statistical data (provided by IEs themselves) that display the state of things in the domains under their control (26% of the texts) or dossiers that depict their professional growth (21%) if their career is not touched upon in the opening part of the interview.

In the table, in bold type are the dates of the interviews where the IE is talked to from the standpoint of her gender and where topics that do not concern her professional activities are raised (relations with husband and children, hobbies, cooking, etc.). In 9 interviews (out of overall 19) these aspects of the IE’s personal life are discussed, that makes up about a half of the corpus. The table is also informative what – news value or symbolic value – is put as the priority in different newspapers. For instance, in their interviews with women politicians the journalists from «Известия», «Комсомольская правда», «Ведомости», «Газета Недели в Саратове» do not fail to ask questions concerning the private life of the IE, whereas in the «Российская газета», which shows the highest amount of the interviews with the female IEs, and in the newspaper «Время новостей» such intrusion into personal life is avoided (though in order to verify this larger empirical data are needed).

In discussion on the use of linguistic gender in the opening, closing and main parts of the interviews with women politicians, some categories of linguistic gender that display the same tendencies as in the previous interviews are only shortly commented.
2.4.2 Linguistic gender in the Russian interviews with women politicians
2.4.2.1 Gender in the opening and closing phases of the interview

The table that contains the results of the quantitative analysis on the mean frequency of linguistic gender categories is informative of the phenomena that are not found in all the previous 90 interviews from the three contexts: in 21% of the interviews with female politicians, the IE is spoken of as a representative of her gender from the very start, in the opening phase of the interview. If it is not done at the beginning, it is postponed for the complementary parts (‘dossiers’ on the IE’s career) placed at the end of the text (or in the text itself):

Table 15: Linguistic gender in the opening and closing phases of the Russian interviews with women politicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic gender</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal names</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary identification</td>
<td>79% (15)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>37% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identification</td>
<td>16% (3)</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>89% (17)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>21% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex markers</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21% (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>21% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11% (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grammatical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>47% (9)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs in the past tense</td>
<td>11% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>68% (13)</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>11% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives &amp;</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>42% (8)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5% (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Personal names predominate in frequency when used to identify IEs. Kin terms are used in reference to IEs only, while sex markers are used in reference both to the IE and to the third party with a greater frequency for the latter.

In the group of grammatical gender, verbs in past tense cover all the three groups of referents with the highest frequency belonging to IEs. The frequency of pronouns and adjectives is also higher for the group of IEs in comparison to the third party since it is the IE who comes to be the central figure in the talk and who is introduced in the opening phase of an interview. The frequency of numerals is low and does not provide big differences for both groups, while nouns are used to refer to IEs only.

**Lexical gender**

1 **Sex markers**

Apart from personal names that identify the referents of all the three groups according to their gender, it is sex markers that are applied when a woman IE is introduced by the IR. Along with the nouns, there are also adjectives derived from the nouns that denote one’s sex (both in the opening, closing and main phases of the texts):

- мужской вопрос – ‘man’s question’, мужской Кабмин/’male(-dominated) Cabmin [Cabinet of Ministers]’, мужская работа/’man’s job’;
- дамская сумочка - ‘ladies’ handbag’; дамский вопрос/’ladies’ question’;
- девичья фамилия/’maiden name’;
- женское меньшинство/’women’s minority’, женский взгляд/’women’s view’, женское увлечение/’women’s hobby’, женский стержень/’women’s character’, женская хитрость/’woman’s trick’, женские квоты/’quotas for women’, женские преимущества/’advantages of women’, женский подход/’women’s approach’, женская конкуренция/’women’s competition’.
Sex markers can be used separately or as a part of a compound noun:

**Example 1:**
Сложившемся в массовом сознании образу "питерских" во власти менее всего, как ни странно, соответствует самый "питерский" чиновник страны – губернатор Санкт-Петербурга Валентина Матвиенко. Возможно, потому, что она работает в самом "городе Петра", а не в столице. Возможно, из-за своего дипломатического и гуманитарного — а не юридического и "сиюового" – прошлого. Возможно, наконец, потому лишь, что она – единственная женщина, занимающая должность руководителя региона. О своих главных политических рисках, об отношениях с московской бюрократией и о том, какое место в ее жизни занимает увлечение роликовыми коньками, Валентина Матвиенко рассказала в эксклюзивном интервью "Известиям" (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 4).

Valentina Matvienko, the Mayor of St.Petersburg and the most “Piter-ian” official, least of all corresponds to the established public opinion about those in power who come from “Piter” [colloquial form of ‘St. Petersburg’]. Probably because she works in the very “city of Peter” and not in the capital. Probably because her past has nothing to do with law and law enforcement institutions but with the Humanities and diplomatic service. Finally, probably because she is just the only woman in the position of the leader of the region. Valentina Matvienko told in her exclusive interview to the “Известия” about her main political risks, her relationships with the bureaucracy of Moscow and the place of roller skates hobby in her life.

**Example 2:**
Во вторник, 7 апреля, единственная в России женщина-губернатор отмечает свой юбилей. Накануне она решила пооткровенничать с
On Tuesday, on April 7, the only woman-mayor in Russia has her anniversary celebrations. On the eve of her birthday, she decided to indulge in confidences with our journalists.

In both examples, the female IE is the Mayor of St.Petersburg which is the second (after Moscow) largest city in Russia and the cultural and educational centre of the country. It is known world-wide for its rich historical heritage; it is there that many international forums are held. To be appointed to the position of mayor of the city of national and international significance is a big achievement by itself. But when it is a woman who runs it, the significance doubles. As both examples intensify, the IE is the only one woman-mayor: a figure that is impressive when one takes into account the number of cities and regions of Russia who are all governed by men mayors. In Example 1 the contrast made between her and other high officials who, as the newspaper puts it, come from “Piter” (the implicated are the President Medvedev, the PM Putin and others) emphasizes the uniqueness of the case. The majority of those high political representatives are men and their education and the subsequent career, as a rule, have to do with law and security, defence and law enforcement bodies. The case of the female IE is contrastive: she has to do with the Humanities and does not have any work experience connected to law and law enforcement bodies. The opening part presupposes that some personal matters (her hobby) are also going to be touched upon.

In Example 2, the extraordinariness of the case is again expressed by the compound noun женщина-губернатор/’woman-mayor’ preceded, as in the previous extract, by the adjective единственная/’only’. Here the choice of the verb пооткровенничать/’to indulge in confidences’ speaks beforehand that it is not a typical formal interview given by a public figure to a mass media representative but a friendly, informal talk between the IR and the IE which will involve discussion of private affairs (the use of the verb would be out of the question in interviews with male IEs even with the talk related to details of their career and other personal facts from one’s life).
Example 3:

"Торговля властью" разъедает систему управления на федеральном и региональном уровнях, приводит к тому, что нередко при принятии решений приоритет отдается не государственным, а узкокорыстным интересам, – таково лишь одно из последних высказываний Любови Слиски с думской трибуны. Что и говорить, эта русская пассионария по праву считается одной из наиболее ярких и самобытных фигур нынешней Государственной думы. Причем не только по рангу первого вице-спикера. Саратовский депутат Слиска славится волевым характером, острым языком и умением резать в глаза коллегам-мужчинам правду-матку так, что даже самые разбушевавшиеся оппозиционные законодатели становятся рядом с Любовью Константиновной настоящими овцами. Неслучайно разговор с Любовью Слиской редактора отдела политики "Известий" Кирилла Привалова начался именно с "мужского" вопроса (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 1).

“Power sale” erodes the system of governance on the federal and regional levels and often results in giving priority, in decision-making, not to the interests of the state but to someone’s mercenary self-interested ends, – this is one of the recent things Lyubov Sliska said form the tribune of the Duma. Without any doubt, this Russian passionary is justly considered to be one of the most impressive and original figures of the present State Duma. And not only due to the rank of the first vice-speaker. Sliska, an MP from Saratov, is known for her strong-willed character, sharp tongue and skill to speak straight from the shoulder to her male colleagues in such a way that even the most enraged ringleaders of opposition turn near Lyubov Konstantinovna into real lambs. It is not occasional that the talk between Lyubov Sliska and Kirill Privalov, the reporter for the department of politics of the “Izvestia”, started with a “man’s” question.
Example 4:

Она редко даёт интервью саратовской прессе, а в свои нечастые визиты на родину пресс-конференциям предпочитает рыбалку и вечера в кругу семьи. Она давно разочаровалась в мужском превосходстве, но продолжает верить людям. Её называют железной леди российского парламента, и никому нет дела до того, как сложно ей порой даётся этот образ (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 2).

She seldom gives interviews to the press of Saratov, and during her rare visits to her home town she prefers fishing and family parties to press-conferences. She got disappointed about male superiority long time ago, but she continues to trust people. She is called the Iron Lady of the Russian parliament and nobody cares how difficult it is for her sometimes to follow this image.

In Example 3 and Example 4, the female IE is represented very positively. In the former segment taken from the “Известия”, the description of the female politician by the male journalist focuses on her straightforwardness, courage, will. His personal positive evaluation is strengthened by the deferential first name + patronymic formula and the intensifier что и говорить/“without any doubt” (translated more closely ‘what is there to say’). Тартаковская (2000: 164) characterizes this type of representation of women as ‘liberal’. According to her, it was typical of the “Известия” of the late 1990-ies: when “positive heroines” are strong-willed, impressive and charismatic women leaders. Such type of gender representation roots back to the gender ideology of the Soviet times when the ideal woman was to be a strong, independent, intellectual, talented professional. The politician in question is represented as possessive of all these qualities and as the one who manages her activities well “turning her male colleagues into real lambs”. Still, the example testifies that women in politics have to imitate men’s norms of behaviour in order to succeed.
However, **Example 4**, which opens the interview in the newspaper «Газета Недели в Саратове» published in a provincial Russian town, shows that there is no correspondence between an image of a strong woman politician and a real person. Behind the mask of the “Iron Lady” of the Russian Parliament and masculine traits of character ascribed to her previously, there is a woman in the traditional sense of the word: one who values her family, who prefers the close circle of her relatives to public activity, who is emotional rather than cold and analytical (she trusts others despite her disappointments). Parallelism in sentence structure and semantic contrast of clauses stress this incongruence between a private and a public person. The talk is conducted by a woman reporter and is one of the interviews that exclusively concentrate on personal aspects of the IE’s life.

The difference between the two descriptions echoes the conclusion made in the studies of masculine and feminine styles in managerial work (e.g., Rojo & Esteban 2003) about women imitating models which have been produced by men. The “two-faced Janus” in person of the female politician displays her “masculine” face at work in order to succeed in the male-dominated Parliament.

Beside the opening part, complementary information placed at the end of the interview can make it one of the most significant points that the IE is the only or first woman whose accomplishments in the public spheres are incomparable:

**Example 5:**

Елена Скрынник награждена медалью ордена «За заслуги перед Отечеством» II степени и удостоена высшей ведомственной награды – золотой медали «За вклад в развитие агропромышленного комплекса России». Она также имеет церковные награды: орден святой равноапостольной великой княгини Ольги III степени и орден святого мученика Трифона III степени («за вклад в борьбу с наркоманией и другими вредоносными явлениями», она – первая женщина, получившая этот орден) (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 18).
Elena Skrynnik has been awarded the Order of Merit II Medal and the supreme award of the department – the gold medal “For the contribution to the development of the agricultural sector of Russia”. She also has awards from the church: the Order of the Saint Equal-to-the-Apostles Grand Duchess Olga of the III degree and the Order of the Saint Martyr Triphon of the III degree (“for the contribution to the struggle against drug-addiction and other harmful phenomena”, she is the first woman who got this order).

If woman and politics, woman and business are still perceived as the entities that do not match each other, the more impressive and the more unusual is the combination woman and the church. These “dossiers” on the IE’s career and accomplishments attached to the texts of the interviews with female political figures are not found in the talks with male IEs.

In a single case, the reference in the complementary part of the interview is made without specification and without reference to the IE herself:

**Example 6:**

С 1985 по 2006 год потребление табака увеличилось на 87 процентов. В России курят 65 процентов мужчин, более 30 процентов женщин, 40 процентов юношей и 7 процентов девушек (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 13).

Tobacco consumption has increased by 87% within 1985-2006. In Russia, 65% of men, over 30% of women, 40% of young men and 7% of young women are smokers.

Statistical data given as additional information to the text of the interview are related to the topic and contents of the talk with the IE who is the Minister of Health Care and Social Development.
2 Personal names. Similar to the previous interviews, both the IR and the IE are identified by the formal *first name + last name* formula that can be preceded by position; the IE is also referred to by the deferential *first name + patronymic*. Reference to the third person is predominantly formal: first and last name either preceded by title/position or without it.

Grammatical gender. Similar to the interviews with male IEs, verbs in the past tense that show congruence with the sex of the referent are verbs that denote verbal activity (either IR’s or IE’s, or of both):

**Example 7:**
...
... Корреспондент отдела экономики «КП» Евгений БЕЛЯКОВ терзал министра вопросами об антикризисных мерах правительства, о пенсиях и ценах на лекарства. А специальный корреспондент Лариса КАФТАН поинтересовалась, как изменится система здравоохранения, а под конец не удержалась и задала несколько личных вопросов. На все Татьяна Голикова ответила серьезно и откровенно (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 11).

... Evgeny BELYAKOV, the reporter for the department of economics of the “KP” [“Komsomolskaya Pravda”] tormented (masculine) the Minister with questions about the government’s anti-crisis measures, about pensions and prices for medicines. Larisa KAFTN, the special reporter, asked (feminine) how the health care system will change, but towards the end she could not keep (feminine) from asking (feminine) some personal questions. Tatyana Golikova answered (feminine) all the questions very seriously and frankly.
In the prevailing majority, the verbs do not exceed one per opening paragraph but when the newspaper delves into detail about the politician’s first steps in her new position or about her promotion to the highest rank in politics, this number varies and exceeds a single instance:

Example 8:

Эльвира Набиуллина, пять месяцев назад возглавившая Минэкономразвития, редко общается с прессой. Пока журналисты обсуждали кадровые перипетии и судьбу самого министерства, она подбирала команду и работала над концепцией долгосрочного развития России. Свое первое интервью в должности главы МЭРТ Эльвира НАБИУЛЛИНА дала обозревателю «Времени новостей» Андрею ДЕНИСОВУ (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 14).

Elvira Nabiullina, who five months ago took over as the head of the Ministry of Economic Development, very rarely comes into contact with the press. While journalists were discussing the changes of the staff and the fate of the Ministry itself, she was selecting (feminine) her team and working (feminine) at the concept of the long-term development of Russia. As the head of the Ministry Elvira NABIULLINA gave (feminine) her first interview to Andrey DENISOV, the reporter of the “Время новостей”.

Example 9:

Валентина Матвиенко дала развернутое интервью газете "Ведомости". В интервью она призналась, что влияла на формирование предвыборного списка «Единой России». Но вступать
в партию власти, а также работать в Госдуме, правительстве и Кремле она не собирается.

В советское время Валентина Матвиенко сделала завидную партийную карьеру: уроженка Шепетовки, выучившись в Ленинграде на провизора, сразу после института начала продвигаться по комсомольской линии и дослед до поста зампредседателя исполкома Ленсовета, была народным депутатом СССР и членом Верховного совета. В 1990-е гг. столь же впечатляюще развивалась ее карьера дипломатическая, а потом и правительственная: посол России на Мальте и в Греции, «социальный» вице-премьер в кабинетах министров Примакова, Степашина, Путина и Касьянова. Последние четыре года беспартийная Матвиенко руководит Санкт-Петербургом и уверяет, что больше ничем другим в жизни заниматься ей неинтересно — хотя она и согласилась войти в предвыборный список «Единой России» (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 5).

Valentina Matvienko gave (feminine) an expanded interview to the newspaper “Ведомости”. In the interview, she confessed (feminine) that she had an influence (feminine) on the making of the pre-election list of the “Единая Россия”. Still, she is not going to join the party of power, either to work in the Duma, in the government, or in the Kremlin.

In the Soviet times, Valentina Matvienko made (feminine) an enviable career as a member of the [Communist] party: a comer from Shepetovka, she graduated the institute in Leningrad and became a pharmacist, immediately after the institute she started (feminine) to get promoted due to her work in the Komsomol and attained (feminine) the level of the deputy chairperson of the executive committee of the Lensovet, she was a people’s deputy of the USSR and a member of the Supreme Council. In the 1990-ies her career in the diplomatic service and afterwards – her career in the government developed impressively as well:
she was the ambassador of Russia to Malta and Greece, “social” vice-PM in the Cabinets of Primakov, Stepashin, Putin and Kasyanov. It has been four years that Matvienko, who does not join any party, runs St.Petersburg and assures that there is nothing else she is interested to do in life – though she agreed (feminine) to being included in the pre-election list of the “Единая Россия”.

Example 10:

Елена Скрынник руководит Министерством сельского хозяйства уже год. Представляя ее коллегам после назначения, президент Дмитрий Медведев говорил, что знаком со Скрынник еще с тех времен, когда он курировал национальный проект «Развитие АПК». Сельхозтехнику для этой программы поставляла госкомпания « Росагролизинг», которой Скрынник руководила восемь лет. «У вас достаточный опыт, чтобы заниматься вопросами организации агропромышленной деятельности в масштабах страны. И я желаю вам успехов, понимая, что сегодня у нас не самая простая ситуация — из-за финансового кризиса ряд проблем, которые и так накапливались в деревне десятилетиями, сейчас обостряются», — напутствовал президент нового министра.

Однако в прошлом году Генпрокуратура, проверив работу государственной компании « Росагролизинг» за последние несколько лет, выявила массу нарушений. Среди них — перечисление значительных средств по предоплате производителю тракторов, компании «Сарэкс», которая часть продукции отгрузила только через год, а полученные средства переводила на офшоры. Расследование «Ведомостей» показало, что Скрынник была одним из бенефициаров «Сарэкса» и еще ряда компаний — поставщиков сельскохозяйственной техники. Сама она объясняла «Ведомостям», что не владеет этими компаниями, а без ее ведома ими мог управлять ее старый партнер по медицинскому лизингу Леонид Зубовский, с которым она не общалась несколько лет. В середине
февраля 2010 г. чиновник, близкий к администрации президента, говорил «Ведомостям», что «дело идет к увольнению Скрынник, но, скорее всего, решение будет принято не ранее чем через два-три месяца» (официальные представители правительства и администрации президента эту информацию не подтверждали).

Беседуя с «Ведомостями» для этого интервью, министр сельского хозяйства не скрывала своего негодования по поводу опубликованного расследования. Но о состоянии дел в подведомственной ей отрасли все-таки рассказала (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 18).

Elena Skrynnik has been running the Ministry of Agriculture for a year already. Introducing her to colleagues after her appointment, President Medvedev said (masculine) that he knows Skrynnik as early as he supervised (masculine) the national project “The development of agricultural sector”. The agricultural equipment for this programme was delivered by “Росагролизинг”, a company by state, that Skrynnik had been running (feminine) for eight years. “You have enough experience to deal with matters of organizing agricultural activities on the national scale. And I wish you success understanding that today the situation is not the easiest – as a consequence of the financial crisis, a number of problems that got accumulated in the course of decades are getting aggravated”, – said (masculine) the President to the new Minister.

But last year the Prosecutor General’s office investigated the activities of the “Росагролизинг”, the company by state, for the previous several years and found a lot of violations. Among them is the transfer of considerable prepayment funds to the tractor producing company “Сарэкс” which dispatched a part of the equipment only a year later and transferred the funds received to the offshores. The investigation of the “Ведомости” showed that Skrynnik was (feminine) one of the beneficiaries of “Сарэкс” and a number of other companies – suppliers of equipment for agriculture. She herself explained (feminine) to the
“Ведомости” that she is not the owner of these companies, and, without her knowing about it, they could be run by Leonid Zubovsky, her old partner in medical leasing, whom she has not seen (feminine) for several years. In the mid-February 2010, an official close to the presidential administration told (masculine) the “Ведомости” that “the things are headed towards the dismissal of Skrynnik, but the decision will be taken only in two-three months” (official representatives of the government and of the presidential administration have not confirmed this information).

Talking to the “Ведомости” for this interview, the Minister of Agriculture did not conceal (feminine) her indignation about the investigation published. But still she told (feminine) about the state of things in the sphere under her control.

In Example 10, apart from the verbs, pronouns and adjectives are also in congruence with the sex of the IE and of the third person mentioned.

In contrast to these target elements, the grammatical gender of the controllers, i.e. nouns, in the opening and closing parts of the interviews is not of a consistent pattern when the referent is a woman. The tendency to use occupational terms as masculine generics does not yield its position: the nouns министр/’minister’, вице-спикер/’vice-speaker’, губернатор/’mayor’, депутат/’MP’, посол/’ambassador’, корреспондент/’reporter’, чиновник/’official’, ‘functionary’ are all of masculine gender even when the bearers of occupations are women. They can be specified by a sex-marking lexeme: женщина-губернатор/’woman-mayor’ (Example 2), госпожа министр/’Ms. Minister’:

Example 11:

Елена Скрынник призналась, что любит цифры, которые, как известно, упрямая вещь. Немного поколебавшись, госпожа министр все же отдала нам для публикации свои графики (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 19).
Elena Skrynnik confessed that she is fond of figures that are, as it is known, stubborn things. Having hesitated a little, Ms. Minister still gave us her diagrams for being published.

The example is a single case when the noun министр/'Minister' is preceded by the lexeme госпожа/'Ms.' which does not have any negative connotations in the context.

The occupational terms used in the feminine gender are стенографистки/'stenographers' (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 12) and пассионария/'passionary' (from Example 3 above). The grammatical gender of occupational terms reflects the traditional division of labour, with jobs of prestige and high social status associated with men and assisting positions – with women. The examples show that politics remains to be a sphere of men since female high-achievers are still unique and innumerable there.

2.4.2.2 Gender in the main phase of the interview

The results of the quantitative analysis on the mean frequency of linguistic gender items in the main phase of the interviews show that only two groups can be discussed since the IR remains in the background in the sense that his/her gender is not represented at all:

Table 16: Linguistic gender in the main phase of the Russian interviews with women politicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>3-rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal names</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>11% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex markers</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>37% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Personal names that in all the previous interviews from the three contexts are used to identify only the third party in the main phase of the interview are observed in the interviews with women politicians to refer to the IE herself. Sex markers are higher in frequency when used in reference to the third party whereas kin terms are more frequent in the identification of IEs.

The category of grammatical gender is not given detailed comments below since target elements (pronouns, verbs in the past tense, conditionals, adjectives and participles) display congruence with the sex of a female referent and do not provide any exceptions to the rules of gender agreement (exception is nouns denoting occupations), differing in frequency for the two groups of referents.

Address forms come exclusively from IR to IE; once an IE uses a gender-indefinite address form meant for the third party.

**Lexical gender**

1 **Sex markers**

Sex markers and kin terms are used in the interviews where the IR makes an inquiry of the IE’s personal affairs. The most common topics in interviews with women politicians are:
- appearance (style in clothing, hairdo, image)
- leisure and hobbies
- family
- cooking
- favourite political figures
- relations with men colleagues
- men and women in politics.

What social images of men and women are existent can be inferred both from the IR’s and IE’s contributions. Noteworthy is the fact that most of these private questions display gendered prejudices and attitudes of the IRs. The representations of women inferred from the IRs’ questions are built on the following traits ascribed to them:

- **Women are jealous of their female colleagues’ success**

  **Example 12:**

  Женщины обычно ревнивы к своим "соплеменницам". Но, признаюсь, меня однажды поразили поэтичность и образность вашего отзыва в прессе об Ирине Хакамаде, а ведь она в чем-то ваш конкурент на политическом поле. Или вы лояльны к коллеге потому, что женщин в политике — наперечет? (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 1).

  Women are usually jealous of their “female co-tribers”. But, I must confess, I was once struck by how poetic and elevated was what you said in the press about Irina Khakamada, who is, in some way, your rival on the political field. Is that you are loyal to your colleague because women in politics are far and few between?

  The taken-for-grantedness of the assumption that envy and jealousy of each other are characteristic of women is expressed in a rather uncompromising way in the male IR’s assertion, though he makes a confession that the IE struck him as an exception to the rule. The use of the lexeme соплеменницы/’female co-tribers’ instead
of the neutral ‘colleagues’ in the context points to some uncivilized ways of constructing interpersonal relationships between women at work. The IE who is complimented as a person who does not come up to the (negative) gendered expectations since she is able to speak highly of other women politicians is asked about the reasons of such a behaviour. The IR’s supposition is based on the conviction that being a minority, women have to keep together with their female “co-tribers” in the male-dominated jungle of politics. Ethics of relationships between public figures or some personal virtues of the IE are not counted as possible explanations.

The fact that this negative stereotype is one of the most persistent is testified by the following example, where the IR hesitates to put it overtly letting the IE make a guess of what he is hinting at – and she unmistakenly grasps his message:

**Example 13:**

**IR:** Но вы хоть согласитесь с тем, что женщина-начальница - это... Как бы помягче сказать...

**IE:** Я вас поняла. Да, принято считать, что если **женщина** пришла руководить, то она не допускает **никакой женской** конкуренции, вокруг нее – выжженное поле. У меня как раз наоборот... У нас, наверное, **единственный** регион в России, где из пятнадцати министров – **четыре** **женщины**, две **женщины** занимают посты **вице-губернатора** (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 6).

**IR:** But, at least, do agree that a **woman** **boss** is … How could I put it more mildly…

**IE:** I got what you mean. Yes, it is considered that if a **woman** becomes a leader, she does not allow any competition on the part of other **women**, and there is a burnt field around her… My situation is quite the contrary… Our region is, probably, the only one in Russia, where out of fifteen ministers – four are **women**, there are two **women** in the position of Vice-Mayor.
The IE in her answer contends that “what is considered” and “what the state of things really are” are not the same and exemplifies this by her own practice: among her subordinates appointed to be ministers and mayors there are several women. Her personal example rejects the stereotyped portrait of a “woman-boss”, as well as it is done (by the IR himself) in the previous example.

- **There are men’s and women’s jobs**

**Example 14:**

IR: Елена Борисовна, интерес к вам огромный! Молодая, энергичная женщина... Да много всего. Вот скажите, портфель министра – он тяжелый?

IE: Да уже потяжелее дамской сумочки, – смеется министр.

IR: Нет, ну серьезно, вот вы когда согласились стать министром, вы же представляли, что за пост будете занимать? (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 16).

IE: Elena Borisovna, you evoke a big curiosity! A young woman full of energy… And many other things. Now tell us if the minister’s portfolio is heavy?

IE: Anyway, it is heavier than a ladies’ handbag, – the minister laughs.

IR: Well now, seriously, you did have an idea of what kind of position you are going to take when you agreed to become a minister, didn’t you?

These are initial questions in the interview conducted by three male journalists. The IE replies with a joke to the first question concerning the minister’s portfolio and minister’s position that can be too much a burden for a young woman. The example shows that the implication of the IR’s questions are not at all favourable to the female IE: to ask if she had a full comprehension of what she was going to take over presupposes the possibility that she might not fully realize what step she was going to
take in her career. In contrast to this case, in interviews with male politicians the IEs are usually asked about their motivations but their ability to comprehend such offers properly is never questioned.

Hobbies, like jobs, follow the same traditional division of responsibilities: outdoor space and activities (fishing, hunting) defined as a domain that belongs to men and indoor practices as those of women:

- **There are men’s and women’s hobbies**

**Example 15:**

IR: Вам не кажется, что рыбалка не совсем женское увлечение?
IE: Отнюдь. Рыбалка – это лучший способ по-настоящему расслабиться. Для меня главное не столько рыбу поймать, сколько просто посидеть на берегу, собраться с мыслями, подумать. Когда смотришь на водную рябь, наблюдаешь за поплавком, который качается на тихой воде, мысли приходят в равновесие, уходят все житейские переживания и заботы. Вода уносит все плохое…

(Russian interviews with women politicians, № 2).

IR: Doesn’t it seem to you that fishing is not very much a woman’s hobby?
IE: By no means. Fishing is the best way to get really relaxed. For me, the most important thing is to sit on the bank, to collect your thoughts, to speculate, but not just to catch a fish. When you look at water ripples and watch the float on quiet water, your thoughts come into balance, all everyday troubles and anxieties leave you. Water takes away all the negative things…

As it has been mentioned before, one of the most frequent topics in the talks with women are their appearance and looks. An IE can be directly asked about the ways she keeps herself in a wonderful form (**Example 17**) or the appearance of women politicians can be commented by the IR (**Example 16**):
• **Women and appearance – indivisible notions**

**Example 16:**

IR: A еще в последнее время молодых стали продвигать в губернаторы: Андрей Турчак в Псковской области, Никита Белых в Кировской... Это что, будущая модель власти: молодые мужики плюс симпатичные женщины?

IE: Насчет женщин вы не преувеличивайте. Что касается молодых губернаторов, вообще приток молодых кадров во власть, это замечательно. Если вы посмотрите состав правительства Санкт-Петербурга – это молодые люди от 30 до 40 лет (*Russian interviews with women politicians, № 6*).

IR: Besides, young people have recently started to get promoted to positions of mayors: Andrey Turchak in Pskovskaya oblast, Nikita Belykh in Kirovskaya... What is that, the future model of power: young men and attractive women?

IE: Don’t exaggerate it about women. As for young mayors, generally the flow of young specialists into power is wonderful. If you look at the list of the St. Petersburg’s administration – the members are young people within 30-40.

**Example 17:**

Для деловой женщины очень важно всегда хорошо выглядеть. У вас есть какая-то женская хитрость, чтобы оставаться в форме? (*Russian interviews with women politicians, № 2*).

For a professional woman it is very important to look good. Do you have any woman’s trick to keep yourself in a good shape?

In the former extract, the IE denies the IR’s assertion that the number of women in high positions allows to speak about the tendency to construct the future model of
power as involving attractive women and young men only. As it follows again, women still present a minority in politics. The combination “attractive women” (with the three female ministers in the present Russian Cabinet of Ministers implied) is not insulting by itself, still it shows that men and women are assessed differently by the IR (the reverse variant would sound unusual and out of place: “attractive men”). The accent on the age of people who get access to positions of power (the three women politicians are also quite young) is caused by the fact that people advanced in years used to take these positions (especially in the Soviet times, when the age of the government members was approximately 55-70).

Example 17 puts the same emphasis on the women’s appearance and shape, though men politicians are also supposed to be interested in their outward looks as a part of their public image.

Stereotyped vision of a female person can be positive, as it is in the IR’s contribution below:

- **There is an actress in every woman**

Example 18:

Есть мнение, что своим личным успехом женщина прежде всего обязана таланту актрисы. А какая актриса скрывается в вас?

(Russian interviews with women politicians, № 2).

There is an opinion that a woman owes her personal success to her talent of actress. What kind of actress is hiding in you?

Though the lexeme ‘actress’ has both negative (insincerity, artificialness) and positive (the ability to find a way out of a difficult situation by skillful performance) connotations, a point here is the latter.

IEs’ contributions create positive and negative images of men and women generally and of men and women in politics, in particular. Sometimes the same speaker can give a portrait of men or women with both ‘plus’ and ‘minus’ marks:
• Women are more responsible, are more sensitive than men to social events vs. Women are gossipers

Example 19:

IR: Любовь Константиновна, существует ли у вас, женщины, какая-то особая стратегия по руководству Госдумой, состоящей в большинстве из мужчин? Бывает ли лично для вас это большинство подавляющим?

IE: Подавляющим? Для меня?!. Не-e-ет! Раньше, может, так оно и было, когда я только входила в тонкости регламентно-протокольной работы. А сейчас я так понимаю: зал должен считаться и с моим мнением! Так, когда встает вопрос, сколько времени мы дадим докладчику для выступления, я просто говорю: по три минуты! И мы не голосуем. И все довольны. И никакой особой стратегии тут нет. Просто нам, женщинам, присуще повышенное чувство ответственности. Мужчина же "загорается" ответственностью только тогда, когда понимает, что завтра ему придется отвечать перед начальником... Мне много приходилось работать и с мужчинами, и с женщинами. Не знаю, с кем проще. Во всяком случае у меня близких подруг нет.

IR: Почему?

IE: Женщины не умеют хранить секреты. Это их единственный недостаток, зато какой!.. А во всем остальном, несмотря ни на какие политические пристрастия, в Думе стараюсь искать поддержки у женского меньшинства. Так было, скажем, тогда, когда мы принимали закон об ограничении рекламы пива или поправки в новый закон о социальной рекламе на телевидении... Депутаты-женщины с гораздо большим резонансом, в отличие от мужчин, реагируют на происходящее в стране, и я им за это благодарна (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 1).
IR: Lyubov Konstantinovna, do you, a woman, have a special strategy for chairing the State Duma that consists predominantly of men? Is this majority sometimes overpowering for you personally?

IE: Overpowering? For me?!.. No-o-o! It might be so before, when I was just getting into all the nuances of work over time limit and protocol. And now I take it this way: the audience chamber is also to take my opinion into consideration! So, when a question arises about the time limit for a speaker, I just say: three minutes. And we do not vote for that. And everyone is satisfied. And there is no special strategy about that. We, women, just have a heightened feeling of responsibility. A man is “seized” by responsibility only when he understands that tomorrow he will have to give a report to the chief… I had to work much both with men and women. I don’t know who is easier to deal with. Anyway, I don’t have close women friends.

IR: Why?

IE: Women cannot keep secrets. This is their only demerit, but what a demerit!!.. But when it concerns all the other things, despite any political bias, in the Duma I try to find support of the women’s minority. I did so when, for example, we were adopting a law on restrictions for commercials of beer or amendments to the new law on the social advertising on TV… Women MPs, in contrast to men, react with a wider resonance to what is going on in the country and I am grateful to them for that.

In Example 3 that provides an opening part of this interview, the IR’s question is called мужской вопрос/’man’s question’ as the male IR is interested in how the female vice-speaker of the State Duma copes with the male-dominated environment at her workplace. The IE creates a positive image for all women and for herself by the ‘we’ in Просто нам, женщинам, присуще повышенное чувство ответственности/’We, women, just have a heightened feeling of responsibility’. On the scale of professional responsibility, a man is placed nearer to the lower end. But it is
remarkable how the speaker distances herself from her female ‘gossiper-colleagues’ identified by the pronoun ‘they’: Женщины не умеют хранить секреты. Это их единственный недостаток, зато какой! Women cannot keep secrets. This is their only demerit, but what a demerit!’. Further on, she keeps this demarcation line when speaking positively about other women MPs: Депутаты-женщины с гораздо большим резонансом, в отличие от мужчин, реагируют на происходящее в стране, и я им за это благодарна/ Women MPs, in contrast to men, react with a wider resonance to what is going on in the country and I am grateful to them for that’. In her other interview, however, she positions herself as an internal member of a socially sensitive group who has “woman’s view” on the problems:

Example 20:

IE: Уважаю Хакамаду как профессионала-политика. Как и я, Ирина не боится говорить правду в глаза... Впрочем, мы с ней никогда конкурентками не были. С партийной позиции у нас с Хакамадой разные ценности, но есть еще и чисто женский взгляд на вещи, политику, страну... Это нас и сблизило. Когда же встречаемся (бывает это крайне редко), никогда о политике не говорим (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 1).

IE: I respect Khakamada as a professional politician. Like me, Irina is not afraid to tell the truth to one’s face… Anyway, we have never been rivals. From the standpoint of party affiliations, Khakamada and I have different values, but we also have a purely women’s view on many things, politics, country… This drew us together. When we meet (it happens extremely rarely), we never talk about politics.

• Woman is more humane and is more ready to compromise than man

Example 21:
IR: Дошли мы с вами до дамских, скажем, вопросов. В чем женские преимущества в политике? Если они есть.
IE: Женщина более компромиссна, более гуманна. Вот, пожалуй, и все. Но преимущество ли это? (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 4).

IR: We have arrived at, let’s say, ladies’ questions. What are the women’s advantages in politics? If there are any.
IE: A woman is more ready to compromise, more humane. But is this an advantage?

The discussion again concerns the differences between men’s and women’s styles of work in politics. The IE ascribes highly positive qualities to a woman but the rhetorical question she puts afterwards assumes that the reply to the IR’s question is negative: in politics, which is a confrontation between various political groups and also between individuals, compromising is hardly to be a helpful tool in order to succeed.

Example 22:
IR: В Российском правительстве к министрам Татьяне Голиковой и Эльвире Набиуллиной добавилась еще и Елена Скрынник. А тактика Медведева и Путина сейчас такая, что там может появиться еще больше женщин. Не перебор ли это?
IE: Нет. Мне, да и большинству женщин, наверное, даже приятно, что благодаря президенту и премьеру эта тема стала так активно звучать.
IR: Может, это вы Медведева с Путиным как-то подговариваете?
IE: Да, я ратую за это, но никого не подговариваю. Просто у нас становится больше ярких женщин, и они востребованы.
IR: Мужиков снимают, женщин ставят. Планомерно так...
IE: Специальной программы нет. И Владимир Путин как-то высказывался, что он против квот каких-то женских. Я, кстати, тоже категорическая противница таких квот.
Male IR: Ага, против, а сами назначают.
Female IR: И что же в этом плохого?
IE: Назначают же не по половому признаку, а по принципу профессионализма, опыта. Причем на очень тяжелые посты. Далеко не каждый мужчина там потянет.
IR: Значит, вперед к матриархату?!
IE: Нет, я не призываю к матриархату, боже упаси! Я просто считаю, что потенциал российских женщин недооценен. Хоть сегодня традиции становятся более европейскими.

Когда я была председателем Комитета Верховного Совета СССР по делам семьи, материнства и детства, я тогда пробила, продавила в полном смысле, закон о том, что право получить отпуск по уходу за ребенком до 3 лет имеет как женщина, так и мужчина. Тогда это была бомба!
IR: Так это вы?!
IE: Вы себе не представляете, как мужики надо мной измывались, издевались: «Да вы что, сумасшедшая? Что вы унижаете мужчин? Как это мужчина будет в декретном отпуске?»

Я говорю: пусть сама семья решит - жене или мужу сидеть с ребенком. Мало ли, у жены, может, карьера хорошая? Сейчас это уже считается нормой (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 6).

IR: In the Russian government, the name of Elena Skrynnik was added to the list of the Ministers Tatyana Golikova and Elvira Nabiullina. And now the tactics of Medvedev and Putin is such that still more women can appear there. Isn’t it too much?
IE: No, it isn’t. I, and, to my mind, the majority of women are pleased that this tendency is activated thanks to the President and the Prime-Minister.
IR: May be it is you who somehow instigate Medvedev and Putin to do this?
IE: Yes, I stand up for it, but I do not instigate anyone. The number of efficient women is growing. And they are in demand.

IR: Men get dismissed, women get appointed. So systematically…

IE: There is no special programme. Vladimir Putin once said that he is against any quotas for women. I am also, by the way, against such quotas pointblank.

Male IR: Yeah, they are against, and still appoint them.

Female IR: And what is bad about it?

IE: They do get appointed not according to the gender criterion, but according to the criterion of professionalism and experience. Moreover, they get the hardest positions. Some men will hardly make a high grade at such work.

IR: You mean: let’s go ahead to matriarchy?

IE: No, I do not call for matriarchy, God save me from that! I just think that the Russian women’s potential is underestimated. Though today some traditions are getting more European-like.

When I was the chairperson of the Committee on the Issues of Family, Maternity and Childhood of the Supreme Council of the USSR, then I struggled and fought, in the literal sense of the words, for the law that a man, as well as a woman, has the right to have a paternity leave until the child is three years old. At that time, it was a bomb!

IR: So that was you?!

IE: You cannot imagine how men mocked and jeered at me: “What, are you crazy? Why do you humiliate men? How will it come that a man will have a paternity leave?”

I say: let the family decide – who, the wife or the husband, is to attend a child. How do you know: may be the wife is making a good career? Now it is considered to be a norm.

In the interview directed by two IRs, male and female, the reactions of the two are quite different. The appointment of the three women to the positions of Ministers of Economics, Agriculture and Health Care and the possibility that more and more women
can be accepted into the government seem to have caused an alarm about the beginning of matriarchy – with all these expressed in the male IR’s questions. Though the interview is conducted in a friendly, joking and informal style, the matters discussed are significant as they reflect the existing gender norms in the particular society. The IE stresses the fact that the PM selects his ministers according to their efficiency and professional qualities but not according to the criterion of gender. She speaks about the new generation of women in Russia – women specialists able to cope with the problems that some men will find hard to solve. In all the examples, where one gender is represented positively it is done with the help of contrasting it to the other, which is, in its turn, downgraded. Social confrontation finds its reflection in language and is strengthened by constant comparison of men and women in favour of one gender and at the expense of the other. But with the representations of women being favourable for them, it is achieved via comparisons to men who remain to be “the point of reference”, as Rojo & Esteban (2003: 254) put it.

• **Women are more hard-working than men**

**Example 23:**

IR: *А может, все дело в том, что существует разница между женским и мужским подходом к проблемам?*

IE: *Женщины, я считаю, более добросовестные, более ответственные, более дотошные. Меня, например, всегда раздражали разбитые дворы в Петербурге. После того как в октябре 2003-го я стала губернатором, прошла по Невскому – все вымощено плиткой. А сворачиваешь во дворы, вправо, влево... Разбитый асфальт, нет освещения. Я была в ужасе! Это все равно что лицо помыли, а про уши забыли.*

*Как будто 20 лет никто из властей туда не заходил. Вот мужики: у них глаз замылился, они этого не видят! Мы разработали программу «Дворы Санкт-Петербурга», 80 процентов их благоустроили. Построили 230 спортив площадок, – при школах. Дворы ожили, там молодежь, дети...*
Последнюю новость слышали? Якобы Валентину Матвиенко хотят назначить министром...

Погодите! Вот в первый год мы высадили цветы. Так половину посрывали. На следующий год запланировали больше цветников. Мне коллеги говорят: «Все равно сорвут!» Я говорю: «Будем высаживать, пока люди не привыкнут, что это для них». И люди сами стали цветы высаживать. И никто не срывает.

Женщина природой так устроена, что она идет на компромисс, а не на конфронтацию. Она во всем старается, чувство самосохранения у нее, может быть, больше развито, чем у мужчин. И деловая хватка.

Интервью с женщинами-политиками. № 6.

May be the thing is that men’s and women’s approach to problems differs?

Women, I think, are more hard-working, more responsible, they delve into every detail. I was, for example, always irritated by the broken-down yards of St.Petersburg. After I became Mayor in October 2003, I had a walk along the Neva – piled all along. But when you turn into the yards, to the right, to the left… Broken asphalt, no lamps. I was terrified! It is like washing you face leaving your ears dirty.

It looked as if none of the authorities made a visit there. Here men are: they have lost sharpness of the eye, they do not see it! We have worked out the programme “The yards of St.Petersburg”, and brought 80% of them to order. We have built 230 playgrounds, – near schools. The yards have returned to life, there are young people, children there…

Have you heard the latest news? That Valentina Matvienko is supposed to be appointed Minister…
IE: … Wait a bit! First year we planted flowers. Half of them were picked. We planned more flowerbeds for the next year. My colleagues say to me: “They will be picked anyway!” I reply: “We will be planting them until people get used that this is done for their sake”. And people started to plant flowers themselves. No one picks them.

It is in the nature of a woman to make a compromise not confrontation. She works hard at any job, and her instinct of self-preservation is, probably, more acute than that of man. And her business grip, too.

IR: Well, yes – Russia takes the second place in the world by the number of women-leaders.

IE: That’s it! Where a toil is needed, – there are women.

The questions in the interviews with female IEs resemble or repeat one another: the IR’s inquiry concerns again the difference between men and women’s styles at work, their approach to problems. The female IE does not fail to give a positive answer: there is the difference. This time she is critical of specific people – her male predecessors in the position of mayor of St.Petersburg. The attribution of positive traits to women (hard-working, responsible, careful about all details) and of unfavourable characteristics to men (formulated in terms of the comparison with women) is substantiated by her own experience: she is the Mayor who cares about the inhabitants of the city, i.e. fulfills her primary professional duty properly. She does not allow the IR to cut her off finishing her reply up to the full point. Her last remark about women being present there where toil is needed refers to the situation in the Soviet Union where women were proclaimed to have a free access to the labour market by the gender equality policy. As a result, there were a lot of women at very hard jobs of low social prestige: for instance, women – railway workers.

In the interviews with female politicians, reference is done without specification of a person, i.e. they tend to speak of men and women in general or their men and women colleagues. This makes a contrast with the interview given by the male IE who speaks about specific female politicians (above in 2.3). Moreover, in the former case
the matter of relevance is not valid since the discussion of men and women and of their characteristic traits is provoked by the IR’s questions.

Women politicians differ in their opinions about men-colleagues which is reflected in the characteristics the latter are provided with:

- **Men-colleagues are easier to deal with than women**

**Example 24:**
IR: Сейчас в нашем правительстве три женщины-министра. Как чувствуете себя в «мужском» Кабмине?

IE: Я долго была замминистра финансов. Привыкла работать с мужчинами, никаких проблем в общении с ними у меня нет. Не в обиду коллегам-женщинам будет сказано, но для меня общаться с мужчинами значительно проще, чем с женщинами. Всегда так было (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 11).

IR: Now there are three women-ministers in our government. How do you feel in the “male(-dominated)” Cabinet?

IE: I had been the Deputy Minister of Finance for a long time. I am used to working with men, and I do not have any problems in communicating with them. I do not want to hurt my women colleagues, but for me it is far easier to communicate with men than with women. Always has been.

- **Men politicians are mendacious and dishonest**

**Example 25:**
IR: Какие мужчины кажутся вам привлекательными сейчас?

IE: Никакие. Я уже давно разочаровалась в мужчинах, и дело здесь даже не в феминизме. Они лживые, и слишком часто даже самые образованные из них оказываются намного ниже в своем развитии, чем необразованная женщина. Иногда кажется, что те же
IR: What kind of men seem attractive to you now?

IE: No kind of. I got disappointed about men already long time ago, and the thing is not in feminism. They are mendacious, and too often even the most educated of them turn out to be much lower in their development than an uneducated woman. Sometimes it seems that those old women, who sit on a bench near the entrance door, are hundred times as smart and honest as many men in power.

In Example 24 and Example 25, the IEs speak from their experience of work in the Ministry and the State Duma. The characteristics given to men are contradictory: one finds men easier to communicate with; the other characterizes them as mendacious, dishonest and not smart. The point of reference in the comparison in the second example is ‘an uneducated woman’ (not, for instance, ‘an uneducated person’) that places ‘an uneducated woman’ lower in contrast to an uneducated person in general or to an uneducated man. “Those old women, who sit on a bench near the entrance door” in her contribution are women pensioners who live in a block of flats and while away their time sitting on benches near the entrance door chatting between themselves. Women politicians themselves are trapped by the ‘naturalized’ dominant gender ideologies when they reproduce stereotypical views on women.

The female IEs’ perception of their job is not consistent, either:

- Minister is a man’s job

Example 26:

IR: Глядя на вас, у многих женщин, которые хотят сделать карьеру, появляется шанс. Они видят перед собой красивую, счастливую
женщину и успешного министра. Что бы вы посоветовали этим
женщинам, как достичь таких карьерных высот?

IE: Должность министра заставила меня очень многим
пожертвовать. Если жена хочет выбрать себе такой путь, она
должна будет чем-то поплатиться. Я не феминистка, но все-таки
считаю, что министр - это мужская работа. Она требует много
сили и нервов. Желать такой же судьбы другим женщинам я бы все-
таки воздержалась... (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 11).

IR: Many women, who want to make a career, feel they have a chance,
looking at you. They see before them a beautiful, happy woman and a
successful minister. What would you recommend these women, what
should they do to reach such career peaks?

IE: The position of minister made me sacrifice very many things. If a
woman wants to choose such a way for herself, she will have to pay
something for it. I am not a feminist, but still I think that minister is a
man’s job. It requires much strength and nerves. Still, I would keep from
wishing such a fate to other women...

Minister is a man’s job, according to the IE, which requires much strength. She
does not specify what is sacrificed by a woman if she makes such a choice (supposedly,
the family is neglected).

In the other interview, the IR himself states what is sacrificed and neglected, i.e.
family and children:

Example 27:

IR: От чего вы больше всего сейчас устаете?
IE: Честно говоря, я даже не думала об этом. Нет времени. У меня жесткий график работы. (…)

IR: A как же дети?

IE: У меня двойня, девочка и мальчик, четыре с половиной года. Вижу я их, увы, в субботу вечером, и, конечно, в воскресенье. Но скоро, как только все структурирую на работе, станет легче... А еще у меня три кошки.

IR: A что для вас стало самым неожиданно тяжелым, когда заняли пост?

IE: Большая ответственность. А я ответственный человек. И для меня работа министра – большое испытание.

IR: Вы всегда чувствуете, когда принимаете решение, что оно правильное?

IE: Все ошибаются... Естественно, нужно принимать обоснованные решения, получать профессиональные консультации, окружать себя высококвалифицированными советниками, выслушивать все точки зрения, вырабатывать стратегически четкие направления, правила, которые должны быть всем ясны. Именно в такой «системе координат» должен работать ответственный руководитель!

А категория «правильного» – довольно относительная... Нельзя быть до конца уверенным, что твое решение правильное. Только время и практика покажут, так ли это (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 16).

IR: What do you get tired of most of all now?

IE: To tell the truth, I didn’t even think about it. No time for this. I have a very rigid working schedule. (…)

262
IR: What about your children?

IE: I have twins, a girl and a boy, four and a half years old. I see them, alas, on Saturday evening and, of course, on Sunday. But soon it will be easier when I put all things at work to structure… Besides, I have three cats.

IR: What was the most unexpectedly hardest thing for you when you took over?

IE: Big responsibility. And I am a responsible person. For me, the minister’s position is a big test.

IR: Do you always feel that your decision is the right one when you take it?

IE: All people make mistakes… Naturally, it is necessary to take well-grounded decisions, to take professional consulting, to surround yourself by highly qualified counselors, to listen to all viewpoints, to define strategically precise directions and rules that are to be clear to everyone. It is this “coordinate system” that a responsible leader is to work in!

The category of the “right” thing is rather a relative one… You can never be absolutely sure that your decision is right. Only time and practice will show if it was.

The presuppositions of the IR’s questions are based on certain gender prejudiced assumptions about a working woman:

a) От чего вы больше всего сейчас устаете? What do you get tired of most of all now? – there is something that is extremely tiring for the IE (the Minister of Agriculture);
b) А что для вас стало самым неожиданно тяжелым, когда заняли пост?/What was the most unexpectedly hardest thing for you when you took over?’ – there was something that was very hard for the female minister to cope with at her new work.

When the IE refuses to accept the implied assumption about a job being too much tiring for her, the reporter directly asks how she combines her new duties and care about her children. Though the minister agrees that she has very little time to attend to her kids, she expresses confidence that things will change for better when she puts everything at work to order. The case is remarkable in the sense that the IE does not allow the IR to “hook her up” and her replies do not evidently meet his expectations concerning the impossibility for a woman to do her job well and to give proper care to her children. It happens also when she says that the hardest thing in her new position is a huge responsibility (which would be true in case the IE were a man). The case is significant and illustrative by itself as it shows that one can orient to the other’s gender identity without overtly using the means that exist in language for gender representations. The questions that, at first glance, seem to deal only with the work of the IE, encode in their presuppositions the dominant gender stereotypes and ideologies.

And it is this IE who makes it clear at the beginning of the interview that she does not have to sacrifice anything because of her job:

- **Woman and career: no sacrifice**

**Example 28:**

IR: Елена Борисовна, вы красивая и успешная женщина. Бытует мнение, что таким людям ради карьеры приходится чем-то жертвовать...

IE: Вообще-то у меня все нормально. Тот, кто думает, что ради успеха в работе надо чем-то жертвовать, не прав (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 16).

IR: Elena Borisovna, you are a beautiful and successful woman. There is an opinion that such people have to sacrifice something for career.
IE: Actually, I am quite OK. The person, who thinks that it is necessary to sacrifice something for a successful career, is not right.

It follows from the IR’s question that the notions “beautiful” and “successful” do not combine happily together when applied to a woman: the bearer of these qualities pays something for her success. The IE’s negative reply finds its doublet in her colleague’s (Example 29) words who contends that the division of specialists into men and women is irrelevant: both have chances to succeed:

- No men and women in politics: only specialists

Example 29:

IR: Трудно ли женщинам в политике? Каков стиль общения с вами политиков-мужчин: министров, губернаторов, иностранных политиков?
IE: Если говорить серьезно, то на ответственной работе нет мужчин и женщин, есть специалисты, единая команда. И работу каждого надо оценивать по результату. Если есть цель и желание реализовать свои таланты и способности, стремление сделать что-либо для города, страны, все получится и у женщины, и у мужчины. Сейчас у нас формируется новое поколение женщин — решительных, деловых, амбициозных. Уверена, что они проявят себя и в бизнесе, и в российской политике (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 4).

IR: Is it difficult for women in politics? What is the style of men-politicians’: ministers, mayors, foreign politicians in communicating with you?

IE: To talk seriously, there are no men and women in the job that demands responsibility, there are specialists, one team. And the work of each one is to be evaluated according to a result. If there is a will to fulfill one’s talents and abilities, if there is a wish to do something for the city, for the
country, then both a woman and a man will succeed. Now in our country, a new generation of women – resolute, businesslike, ambitious – is emerging. I am sure, they will show themselves both in business and in politics.

What the IE says is “Where there is a will, there is a way” irrespective of whether a person is a man or a woman: both have equal chances to succeed. However, another IE considers the way of ambitious and resolute women to business and politics to be harder than that of men:

- **Woman’s way to success is thornier than man’s**

**Example 30:**

**IR:** Любовь Константиновна, женщине действительно сложнее добиться успеха? Или это миф?

**IE:** Сложнее. И дело вовсе не в женщине. Отношение к нам мужчин до сих пор остается таким же, как в традиционной патриархальной России: 95 процентов мужчин по-прежнему считают, что забота о домашнем хозяйстве, семье и о них лично – это святая обязанность всех женщин (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 2).

**IR:** Lyubov Konstantinovna, is it really more difficult for a woman to succeed? Or is it a myth?

**IE:** It is. And the problem is not in being a woman. Men’s attitude to us is still the same as it was in the traditional patriarchal Russia: 95% of men still think that it is every woman’s sacred duty to keep the household, to care about the family and about them personally.

In the extract above, the IE speaks about the social roots of the problem: the patriarchal gender order dominant in the society. Unequal distribution of domestic
responsibilities (work about the household, care about children) that comes to be a second working shift for a professional woman often prevents her from making a successful career. In contrast to the interviews with men politicians, the family and care/neglect of the family comes to be a key point in the talk with women (see also Kin terms below). As Брандт (2003) explains, following the Soviet government’s gender policy, masses of women went out of their kitchens and children’s rooms into the social space of labour where they enjoyed “equal rights” in all the spheres of life except family. The reform of the family included into the plan of the government was not put into practice: even the powerful mechanism of state proved to be inefficient in the struggle against patriarchal ideas about the distribution of roles in the Russian family.

2 Kin terms. Sex markers and kin terms are interrelated in the interviews with female political figures, i.e. a woman’s gender identity depends on her being a mother, a wife, a grandmother (in contrast to man who is defined via functionalisation: as a political representative):

- A happy woman is a wife, a mother, a grandmother

Example 31:
IR: А как женщина вы счастливы?
IE: Я в своей жизни сделала все, что надо: родила и вырастила сына...
IR: Сергей Матвиенко недавно женился. Внук не ждете?
IE: Да, я мечтаю о внуке... (Улыбается.) И я горжусь тем, что у меня такая хорошая, добрая семья. Когда были трудные времена, когда хотелось на все плюнуть, уйти, мне всегда муж говорил: «Ну что ты переживаешь, ну наконец-то ты будешь мне вовремя готовить обеды, ужины, мы заживем другой, счастливой жизнью. Все будет хорошо!»

И вот это ощущение, что у меня есть тыл и спина, к которой я могу прислониться, – оно очень важно. Да, я счастлива (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 6).
IR: Are you happy as a woman?
IE: I have done in my life everything I ought to: I gave birth and grew up my son…
IR: Sergey Matvienko is said to have got married not long ago. Are you waiting for a grandchild?
IE: Yes, I am dreaming about a grandchild… (She is smiling). And I am proud to have such a kind, good family. In difficult times, when I wanted to spit on everything and leave, my husband would say to me: “What is that you worry about, at last you are going to cook dinners, suppers for me in time, and we will live other, happy life! All will be well!”

And this feeling – that I have the rear and back to lean upon, is very important. Yes, I am very happy.

To be a happy woman means to be a wife, a mother, a grandmother. A woman can have a lot of accomplishments in her professional domain but her personal happiness is directly connected to her family: husband and children. In contrast to a man (none of men in the data is asked if he is happy in his family life), she is really a successful person if she manages to do her work without sacrificing the interests of her family. Her husband is ascribed (by the IE) the role of a “strong shoulder” to lean back upon when she is in need of help and support.

These gender roles are prescribed even if a woman and a man are absolutely equal in their social status as in Example 32:

- Man (husband) as the protector and adviser (in professional issues)

Example 32:
IR: Выглядите вы спокойным человеком. Не принимаете всё близко к сердцу или вас ограждают от плохих эмоций?
IE: Бывает всякое. Но я никому не жалуюсь, потому что некому. Мама всё близко к сердцу воспримет. А мужу? Он сам в такой же ситуации. (Муж – В. Христенко, глава Минпромторга. – Ред.)
Спокойствие проистекает от опыта работы. Если тратить себя
эмоционально абсолютно на все проблемы, с которыми мы сталкиваемся, то просто сгоришь. У меня есть какое-то внутреннее убеждение по поводу того, на что нужно реагировать, а на что не нужно. А ещё многое зависит от настроя. Если ты утром убедил себя, что настроение хорошее, то и день будет удачным.

ИР: А министерский опыт мужа вам помогает?

ИЕ: Мой личный опыт работы, 20 лет в Минфине, дорогого стоит. Хотя в Минздравсоцразвития ситуация воспринимается иначе. При работе в Минфине имеешь дело с «обезличенными» деньгами – некой субстанцией, состоящей из цифр, к которой ты спокойно относишься. А здесь деньги играют существенную роль для эмоционального состояния населения. Это очень сложно. Я сталкиваюсь с разными сторонами жизни. И письма анализирую. Разные бывают – и добрые, и недобрые. Я не знаю, может быть, в силу характера не могу к критике со стороны тех, за кого мы отвечаем, относиться равнодушно. Даже если я себя уговариваю не реагировать, всё равно хватаюсь за трубку и говорю: надо это проконтролировать, доложите мне, как это исполнено! Это жизнь... Понятно, я не смогу объять необъятное. Но всё равно стараюсь... (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 8).

ИР: You look a calm person. You don’t take everything to heart or you are protected from negative emotions?

ИЕ: Different things happen. But I do not complain to anyone because there is no one to complain to. Мом will take everything to heart. What about my husband? He is in the same situation (the husband is V.Khristenko, the head of the Ministry of Industry and Trade – Ed.board). Calmness comes from the experience of work I have. You will just get burnt if you waste yourself emotionally on all problems we come across. I have some inner conviction what I must react to and to what I need not. And also a lot depends on the mood. If you have convinced yourself in the morning that you are in high spirits, it will be a lucky day.
IR: Is your husband’s experience of a minister helpful to you?
IE: My personal experience, 20 years at the Ministry of Finance, is worth a lot. Though the situation is perceived differently at the Ministry of Health Care and Social Development. Working at the Ministry of Finance you deal with “impersonal” money – a substance that consists of figures that you perceive calmly. But here money plays a sufficient role for the emotional state of the population. It is very hard. I face different sides of life. And I analyze letters. They are different – kind and unkind. I do not know, may be because of my character I cannot be indifferent to the critique on the part of those we are responsible for. Even if I persuade myself not to react to that, I grasp the receiver and say: this is to be controlled, report to me how it has been done! This is life… It is clear that I cannot embrace the unembraceable. But I am trying anyway...

The female IE is the Minister of Health Care and Social Development whose husband is (as it is indicated by the journalist) the Minister of Industry and Trade. Her reply rejects the distribution of gender roles between a wife and a husband, when the former is emotionally and professionally dependent on the latter’s protection and guidance, – which is expressed and imposed in the IR’s question. The very fact that he finds it normal to ask if her husband’s experience is useful for her implies that a woman needs help and professional consulting. The IE explains that her own personal experience – 20 years at the Ministry of Finance – equipped her with the skills and tools necessary for a high administrative position. Still, in the other interview when asked the same question (Example 33) she replies in a different way:

Example 33:
IR: К кому в правительстве лично вы можете обратиться за советом, если нужно?
IE: К моему супругу. Потому что уровень его подготовки, профессионализма, опыт работы во власти очень большой. И лучшего советчика, пожалуй, трудно найти (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 11).
IR: Whom in the government can you personally turn to for advice if necessary?

IE: To my **spouse**. Because his level of training, of professionalism, and of work experience in power is very high. And a better adviser is, possibly, difficult to find.

Gender ideologies pervade the interviews with female politicians (it is hardly possible that the male Minister of Industry and Trade will be asked if he turns to his wife minister for professional guidance).

Even when the interview discusses matters connected with the public responsibilities of the IE, as in the interview where **Example 34** is extracted from, at the end of the main phase there is a complement which elaborates her marital status and provides information about her family members:

**Example 34:**

Эльвира Набиуллина замужем за ректором Высшей школы экономики Ярославом Кузьминовым, сын — студент, получает профессию социолога.

«Мы иногда обсуждаем экономические вопросы в семье, но семья — она все-таки не по профессиональному признаку формируется», — говорит Набиуллина (**Russian interviews with women politicians, № 15**).

Elvira Nabiullina is **married** to Yaroslav Kuzmin, Rector of Higher School of Economics, her **son** is a student of sociology.

“Sometimes we discuss economic issues in the family circle, but still the family is not formed according to the criterion of occupation”, — says Nabiullina.
The person interviewed is the female Minister of Economic Development and Trade married to the Rector of the Higher School of Economics. Though the question asked by the reporter is missing, her reply suggests that it concerns her husband’s involvement in her professional activities.

3 Personal names. The exclusive use of the IE’s personal name by an IR during the talk (which is not observed at all in the other contexts) is caused by a rather relaxed and informal style of the interview (see Example 23 above). It is predominantly the formal type of representation of the third person when he/she is identified by name: it is either last name that can be preceded by a title/position, or first name + last name. In a single case, an IE refers to her colleague politician and friend using her last name and then her first name only.

Grammatical gender. The number of pronouns, verbs in the past tense, conditionals, adjectives and participles (as in the interviews with male IEs) is restricted to 2-3 per text with the exception of the interviews that look “behind the scene”, i.e. into the female IE’s private life. Rare emergence of forms that manifest grammatical gender is caused by the same tendency on the part of the IEs to speak in terms of ‘we’ and, consequently, by the use of the plural number, when the interviews concern political issues only.

As for the grammatical gender of nouns, there are nouns of feminine gender that refer to the female IEs and to the third party. These nouns can be grouped into two classes:
1) occupational terms: спортивная/’sportswoman’, студентка/’(female) student’, домработница/’cleaning lady’, медсестра/’nurse’, актриса/’actress’;


3 The lexeme housewife is not classified as an occupational term: as Acker (1973: 939) says, “the full-time occupation of many women, that of housewife-mother, is never considered as a ranking criterion in stratification studies”. As she puts, the question about whether it is due to the fact that this role is either
Example 35:

IR: Если бы вам пришлось сделать выбор между карьерой и семьей, могли бы отказаться от всего, что достигли, и стать простой домохозяйкой?

IE: Не раздумывая. Карьера приходит и уходит, а семья остается. Это мой тыл, и никакая карьера его не заменит. Она никогда не спасет вас, если вам вдруг понадобится помощь или поддержка, если вы попадете в беду. А ваша семья, ваши родные люди всегда будут рядом. И ни в коем случае нельзя жертвовать ими ради карьеры. Такой обмен никогда не оправдается (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 2).

IR: Would you refuse everything you achieved and become just a housewife, if you had to choose between your career and your family?
IE: Without hesitation. Career comes and goes, but the family stays. This is my rear, and no career is able to replace it. It will never save you if you are suddenly in need of help or support, if you get into trouble. But your family, your close people will always be next to you. And you should never sacrifice them for a career. Such an exchange will never give a result.

As in the opening part, the nouns of masculine gender – the majority are occupational terms – function as generic forms when used by the speaker for reference to self or to the third person: посол/’ambassador’, министр/’minister’, профессиональный политик/’professional-politician, медик/’medical (worker)’, предприниматель/’businessman’, стилист/’stylist’ (болельщик/’fan’, маршал/’marshal’). The masculine gender of these nouns triggers masculine agreement in target elements:

not functionally important or not a full-time activity, or only those activities which are directly rewarded financially can bestow status upon the individual, remains open for exploration.
Example 36:

Male IR: Я просто подумал: бедные же мужики-генералы, если у них будет маршалом Валентина Матвиенко!
Female IR: А что? В мире такой опыт есть.
IE: Мы видели даже беременного министра обороны – в Испании (Russian interviews with women politicians, № 6).

Male IR: I just thought: poor men generals, if Valentina Matvienko will be their marshal!
Female IR: And what? The world knows such experience.
IE: We saw even a pregnant (masculine) Minister (masculine) of Defence – in Spain.

The noun minister/’minister’ does not take feminine modifiers even when the state of things rendered by the combination is impossible (cf. the Greek Ο φοιτητής έχει δικαίωμα να ζητήσει αναστολή φοιτητικής λόγω εγκυμοσύνης).

Compounding is used to specify the gender of female referents: женщина-начальница/’woman-boss’, коллеги-женщины/’women-colleagues’, депутаты-женщины/’women-MPs’, женщины-руководители/’women-leaders’, женщины-политики/’women-politicians’, женщины-министры/’women-ministers’, девочка-паяльщица/’girl-tinker’ and in two instances the gender of male referents is explicated: политики-мужчины/’men-politicians’, мужики-генералы/’men-generals’ (Example 36 above). Such an emphasis is explained by the comparison done between men and women in power, between their styles at work, between advantages and disadvantages they may have.

Address forms. The IR’s use of the address form to the IE, which is the same deferential first name + patronymic (now in the feminine gender), is not characterized by peculiarities concerning the gender of the participants. In a single case, the IE addresses her colleagues from the newspaper pages.
2.4.3 Conclusion

In the Russian interviews with women politicians, the IR is identified via his/her name in the opening phase and by the verbs in the past tense. The reporter again functions in his/her institutionalized identity, i.e. it is the collective board of the newspaper that the interview is given to.

The preference to speak as a representative of an institution hides the private face of the IE. It is observed in the interviews that exclusively discuss matters related to politics, which makes one half of the stock of the interviews with women politicians. In the other half, however, the IE is questioned on issues that belong to the sphere of private. Their gender identification and the uniqueness of the only or the first woman in a high position is stressed both in the opening phase and in complementary parts of the interview. Sex markers and kin terms used in the texts bring along all the spectrum of a stereotyped vision of a man and a woman: familial roles of a mother, a grandmother, a wife are obligatory for the image of a woman-politician. The positive representation of women realised by comparisons still makes a man the point of reference and stresses that women still view themselves from a male perspective. Feminine forms of some occupational terms display what occupational roles (housewife, cleaning lady, stenographer) are associative with women.

The IE and the third person are inseparable in the interviews when identified via sex markers: when traditionally asked by the IR about the relationships of men and women of politics, the main speakers either identify themselves with the group (in case of the positive representation) or place themselves out of the group (if the image they provide is negative).

Apart from the overt markers of one’s gender, there are other, covert, ways deployed by the male IRs to construct their interlocutor as a ‘woman’. It is the presuppositions and taken-for-granted assumptions in the questions they put that can be very unfavourable to female IEs who, in their turn, differ in their reactions either coming up with the expected answers or refusing to accept the image imposed.
2.5 Gender in the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian political interviews: similarities and differences

The interviews in the Greek, Kazakh and Russian newspapers include the same parts and start with an opening phase which introduces the main participants and issues to be discussed. In contrast to the Greek and Russian interviews, 80% of the Kazakh interviews have the closing phase in which the IR expresses his/her thanks (which can be accompanied by compliments for the interesting and useful information and wishes of successful work) to the IE for the participation and the desire to cooperate. This ‘debt-sensitiveness’ appears due to the cultural norms of the Kazakh society where traditional is the respect for people older in age. Since most politicians achieve their status and position in mature years, they tend to be superior both as holders of high office and as people advanced in years in comparison to reporters.

The results of quantitative analyses on the mean frequency of linguistic gender items in the opening, closing and main phases of the Greek, Kazakh and Russian interviews, are summed up and brought together in Table 17 and Table 18. As is evident from Table 17, lexical gender, grammatical gender and address forms show the highest frequency in the Russian interviews with women politicians. The second by the frequency of linguistic gender are the interviews from the Greek and Kazakh newspapers that contain same- and cross-gender talks. The frequency of lexical gender in the Kazakh interviews is higher than in the Greek interviews, while address forms display the reverse tendency. The Russian interviews with only male IEs involved show the lowest frequency for all the subcategories of linguistic gender.

The overall frequency of linguistic gender (with the frequency of lexical gender, grammatical gender, and address forms calculated together) for all the three contexts places the interviews on the diminuendo scale in the following order: 1) the Russian interviews with women politicians, 2) the Greek interviews, 3) the Kazakh interviews, 4) the Russian interviews (with men). The Russian interviews with women and men found on the highest and the lowest points of the scale, respectively, speak about the tendency to identify women on the basis of gender whereas for men gender appears to be an irrelevant parameter in the professional talk.
The results of the quantitative analysis on the frequency of linguistic gender categories are rearranged in Table 18 with regard to the referents these categories are used to identify. The IR turns out to be the least represented referent in the interviews, whilst the record of frequency belongs to the third party, with the IE in the mid-position. Among the subcategories of linguistic gender, the IR is predominantly identified by lexical gender which includes only personal names for this category of participant. Lexical gender used to identify the IE includes personal names (8.8), sex markers (1.13), kin terms (2.23) that make up 12.1 shown in the table; for the third person, lexical gender employs personal names (25.5), sex markers (8.7), kin terms (4.6) that make up 38.8 indicated in Table 18. The IE, in contrast to the IR, is identified more frequently via grammatical gender. In this group, the female IEs of the Russian interviews are again in the first place, with the Greek IEs coming next, and the lowest frequency is observed in the Russian interviews with men. In reference to the third party, it is lexical gender that is most frequently deployed (in all its subcategories: personal names, sex markers, kin terms). The mean frequency of linguistic gender in the representation of the third party is the highest in the Russian interviews with women politicians, followed by the Greek interviews, with the Kazakh interviews coming next, and, finally, with the Russian interviews with men closing the line.

The Kazakh and Russian interviews display similarities in the representation of the IR’s gender or, to be more exact, in the absence of representation: his/her gender does not come up at all during the talk. The IR’s identity is made practically invisible: in the Kazakh interviews the identification via a name serves as the only key to identify the IR, while in the Russian interviews it is accompanied by the verb in the past tense given in the introductory paragraph. Such invisibility in the text is caused by several reasons: 1) constraints of the genre of an interview, 2) political orientation of a newspaper, and 3) cultural norms in the Kazakh context.

The interview as a genre imposes, as it has been said in 1.3, certain restrictions on the IR. Firstly, the main speaker is expected to be a politician since the functional goal of a political interview is to obtain information from a public figure. Secondly, neutrality of the IR is a requisite of professional journalism, i.e. he/she cannot give personal opinion. The questions are asked in impersonal way: the journalist speaks as a representative of the media institution. The institutional type of talk is reflected in the
Table 17: Frequency of linguistic gender categories in the opening, closing and main phases of the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian interviews

| Language & referents | Greek | | | | Kazakh | | | | | Russian | | | | Russian WP | | |
|---------------------|-------|---|---|---|-------|---|---|---|---|-------|---|---|---|---|
| Linguistic gender  | IR    | IE | 3P | Total | IR    | IE | 3P | Total | IR    | IE | 3P | Total | IR | IE | 3P | Total |
| Lexical gender     | 1     | 2.4 | 9.6 | **13** | 0.9   | 1.4 | 11.3 | **13.6** | 1.2   | 2.1 | 6.1 | **9.4** | 1.1 | 6.2 | 11.8 | **19.1** |
| Grammatical gender | 0.06  | 4.1 | 4.23 | **8.39** | ×     | ×   | ×   | ×   | 0.23  | 3.15 | 4.76 | **8.14** | 0.3 | 10.15 | 7.05 | **17.5** |
| Address forms      | 0.8   | 0.7 | –   | **1.5** | –     | 1   | –   | 1   | –     | 0.4  | 0.03 | **0.43** | –  | 1.6 | 0.05 | **1.65** |
| Total              | **1.86** | **7.2** | **13.83** | **22.89** | **0.9** | **2.4** | **11.3** | **14.6** | **1.43** | **5.65** | **10.89** | **17.97** | **1.4** | **17.95** | **18.9** | **38.25** |

number of the Greek, Kazakh, Russian interviews = 30; number of the Russian (interviews with) WP [women politicians] = 19
‘IR’ stands for ‘interviewer’, ‘IE’ – for ‘interviewee’, ‘3P’ – for ‘the third person’
‘×’ means unavailable in the system of language
‘–’ means unavailable in the texts of the interviews
Table 18: Frequency of linguistic gender in reference to IR, IE and 3P in the opening, closing and main phases of the Greek, Kazakh, and Russian interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>IR</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>IR</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>IR</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Kz</td>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ru WP</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Kz</td>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ru WP</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Kz</td>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ru WP</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical gender</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address forms</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>17.95</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.89</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>54.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of the Greek (Gr), Kazakh (Kz), Russian (Ru) interviews = 30;
number of the Russian interviews with women politicians (Ru WP) = 19
‘IR’ stands for ‘interviewer’, ‘IE’ – for ‘interviewee’, ‘3P’ – for ‘the third person’
‘×’ means unavailable in the system of language
‘–’ means unavailable in the texts of the interviews
IR's use of the ‘we’ instead of ‘I’ of the reporter: we talked to in all the three newspapers.

The vertical or horizontal position of a mass media institution in relation to the political institution, whose representative is interviewed, determines whether the IR’s behaviour will be cooperative or competitive, adversarial or deferential, provocative or supportive. The Kazakh and Russian newspapers taken for analysis take a pro-governmental stance, which is evident in the political affiliations of the IEs selected for interviewing. That is why the interviews are not of contestation but of cooperation type: the IR and the IE are the members of one team and the IEs are never challenged. The majority of the IEs are government officials, ministers and MPs who are members of the ruling party. The newspaper serves as a tribune for the government. The asymmetry and acknowledgement of debt on the part of the IR is evident from the meaning of the verbs (Kazakh and Russian interviews): we/the reporter asked/requested [the IE]... to comment on... In the Kazakh context, the asymmetry between the roles of a journalist and of a politician is enhanced by cultural norms, since the latter is to be treated with deference as a person older in age and higher in status.

The distinguishing feature of the Greek interviews, in contrast to Kazakh and Russian, is the address forms used towards the IR (mostly to the editor-in-chief of the newspaper) by the politician. Remarkable is the asymmetry in exchange of address forms when the role of IE is performed by a female politician who holds a high position in the Government: being addressed several times during the interview, the IR himself resorts, in the course of the talk, to address forms in a face-threatening act (and at the start and the end of the talk).

The Greek newspaper cannot be characterized, judging by the data, as giving preferences to certain political forces. The floor is given predominantly to the ruling party members but 40% of the texts are interviews with members of opposing parties.

The Greek interviews differ from the Kazakh and Russian interviews in address forms used: the equivalents of the Greek κύριος/κυρία + last name or κύριος/κυρία + position are not applied in the Kazakh and Russian contexts where preference is given to the model first name + patronymic. The lexemes мырза/ханым and господин/госпожа equivalent to κύριος/κυρία are neutral only when speaking about foreigners that accords with the norms of reference in the other societies and they have
not gained a stable place in the active vocabulary of the Kazakh and Russian speakers who still perceive these forms as alien.

Similarities in the representation of the IE’s gender in the Greek, Kazakh and Russian political discourse come out due to the fact that it is the IE’s professional rather than personal identity that is in the foreground: that is why he/she does not tend to speak as a man or a woman, or from the relational standpoint. Politicians tend to speak in terms of ‘we’ as members of a political institution (a party, a movement, a state). The tendency stresses the ‘representative’ character of the discourse. Generally, the ‘I’ of the IE comes onto the stage in statements of opinion which are expressed by adjectives of masculine or feminine gender in Greek and Russian.

In contrast to IRs, it is IEs, in all the three contexts, who are addressed in the majority of the interviews. In the Kazakh context, honorific address forms in the speaker-addressee axis are used exclusively to politicians who, according to their main professional activity, are people of art and science. Honorific forms of names in the data tend to be exchanged among men only.

The third party/parties talked about by the main participants present(s) a case when the political discourse is gendered, in the sense that a person or a group of persons get(s) explicitly represented as a ‘man’/‘men’ or a ‘woman’/‘women’ in the course of the talk and characterized as such.

In the Greek data, there are no examples when a person’s gender is explicitly oriented to. The political situation in Greece is actually a political competition between the two biggest parties «Νέα Δημοκρατία» and «ΠαςοΚ» both headed by male political leaders, who become, as a rule, a target for critique but they are never delegitimized on the basis of their gender. In other cases, it can be the opposing party in general which is criticized but not particular members. As a result, explicit discriminatory gendered discourse is not a tendency even under the conditions of a tense political struggle.

The Kazakh political situation cannot be described as competing or conflicting. It is not a particular person but groups of persons who are referred to in terms of gender. In the Kazakh context men and women are not spoken of and represented as separate individuals. They are spoken of in the roles of members of a family, of a larger

281
community, of a society and of a nation. Sex markers and kin terms form one indivisible whole with kin relations projected on out-of-family situations and structures. The roles meant for a man and a woman are those of a reliable, responsible spouse, of a caring, loving father and a mother, of a good son and a daughter, with the family being the basic value.

From the standpoint of such a dimension of cultural variability as individualism versus collectivism, the Kazakh society, as well as the societies of Greece and Russia, is characterized as collectivist (Gudykunst et al. 1996; Абыгаппарова 2002): in collectivist cultures the needs, values, and goals of the ingroup take precedence over the needs, values (harmony, solidarity), and goals of the individual, whereas in individualist cultures the needs, values (e.g., independence, achievement), and goals of the individual take precedence over the needs, values, and goals of the group. In the Kazakh data, the primary collective for people of both genders proves to be the family, the fact well-illustrated in discussions of gender issues.

The Russian political situation is highly conflicting: the parties of confrontation are not political forces available within a country but states and alliances of states. In 66% of the texts the ‘we’ is collectivized through Russia, the Russian government, the Russian delegation, Moscow, the Russian MFA, the Soviet Union, the USSR, while they is represented by the NATO, the alliance, the NATO countries, Brussels, the West, Tbilisi, Washington, Kiev, Europeans, Americans.

Under conditions of the international confrontation, gendered discourse comes into existence when there is a need to delegitimize the opponent when the latter is a woman. Women-enemies are reduced to their biological gender, while man-enemy is delegitimized rather indirectly – by his attitude to the opposite sex but not overtly on the basis of his gender. A woman-opponent appears to be twice as ‘Other’: first, as a political opponent or enemy, and secondly, as a representative of her gender.

In the Russian interviews with women politicians, the picture that emerges is complicated due to the fact that the interviews are selected from different newspapers: some of them take interest exclusively in political matters, some – only in the IE’s private life, and the other do not follow any topic-coherence mixing professional talk and personal issues. The gender of the IR, similar to the previous 90 interviews, does not emerge via linguistic gender categories. However, men journalists do talk implicitly
from the subject position of a ‘man’ in interviewing a woman politician that is expressed in the gendered assumptions their questions are based upon. The IE, as a result, speaks in a half of the interview stock both as a public and a private, or only as a private person. The image of a professional that is to combine the attributes “successful” and “a loving and caring mother, wife, grandmother” (see Нурсеитова 2007 in 1.4) seems to be vital for some of the Russian newspapers. The comparisons favourable for women (more responsible, more humane, more compromising, more hardworking than men) still show that women view themselves from a male perspective, though people tend to use their own groups as a prototype in a comparison (see Rojo & Esteban 2003). A single case when a female IE characterizes her men colleagues in negative terms is also illustrative as the point of reference in comparison is an uneducated woman (not an uneducated person in general).

Linguistic exclusion of women from this important domain is observed in the generic masculine of occupational terms. Feminine forms of nouns denoting occupations that are deployed in a larger frequency in the interviews with women politicians cover those jobs that have been classified as the prerogative of women: ‘housewife’, ‘nurse’, ‘cleaning lady’, etc. Masculine and feminine forms of the nouns clearly define who is thought to be a stereotypical performer of public and domestic activities.

As it has been discussed in 1.3, there are different strategies (dangerous presuppositions of questions and assertive statements) that IRs use in order to challenge their interlocutors. Apart from the cases of explicitly gendered discourse when people are constructed as ‘men’ or ‘women’ via linguistic gender categories, the discourse also gets gendered when none of linguistic gender items is present in the text: questions and assertive statements may be based on gendered presuppositions and express gender prejudices and ideologies in an implicit way. As we have seen in 2.1, in the Greek context, women ministers, in contrast to their men colleagues, receive critique of the government and imposition of opinion on the part of the man journalist put in the form of assertive statements (adversarial in content) which by themselves are a deviation from the interview conventions. Officials who exercise state power are to bear responsibility for the policy pursued by the bodies of power; still responsibility seems to be aggravated by the factor of gender, if the official is a woman. The presuppositions
contained in questions and taken-for-granted assumptions, as the examples in 2.4 display, can also be very unfavourable for a woman IE (for instance, when a Russian woman politician is asked if she really had a comprehension of what she was going to take over when she agreed to become a minister or when a question is prefaced by the assertion that women are jealous of their female colleagues’ success).

The main postulate of the Critical Discourse Analysis that people are who they are, in particular – men and women, not just because they are born men and women but because they use language in the way that constructs them as such, is best illustrated in the covertly gendered political discourse.

The representation of men and women in political discourse can be upgrading or downgrading for both. There are, however, two types of reference that can be singled out in the interviews analyzed: a) reference to men and women in general, without specification of occupation, and b) reference to men and women politicians. The first one is observed in the Kazakh political interviews where the IEs dwell on the matters of gender due to the position held in the government. The representation of men and women, be it extremely negative, cannot be classified as discriminatory since, firstly, the discussion of the matter is relevant for the topic raised and due to the questions asked by the IR, and, secondly, these issues are not presented as a statement of fact but the social phenomena that cause the existing state of things are discussed (flood of commercials for hot drinks, absence of medical consulting, lack of work done among young people).

In the second case, when men and women referred to are the IEs’ colleagues, gendered discourse is inseparably intertwined and determined by the political discourse itself which is based on confrontation. Attribution of negative traits to one’s male or female colleagues goes out of frames of political correctness but women politicians’ comments in the Russian interviews, at least, are provoked by the IR’s questions. Moreover, they tend to assess their female colleagues negatively as well, however, not including themselves into the group of the downgraded, for instance when an IE characterizes women as gossipers. In the case, when a specific female person is referred to by a male IE (in the Russian interviews with men), gender becomes a tool of political struggle, a mechanism of excluding the Other when the reference to the person’s gender does not have any argumentation basis, i.e. is absolutely irrelevant for the talk.
The strategies applied by men journalists and men politicians confirm that gender is of significance when a person interviewed or talked about is a woman. Though more and more women are gaining positions of prominence in the public sphere, gendered stereotypical assumptions and attitudes still remain prevalent in political discourse.
2.6 Conclusion

The social dichotomization of the human society into people of male and female sex finds its reflection in language and is expressed via the category of linguistic gender that comprises lexical gender (sex markers, kin terms, personal names), grammatical gender, and address forms. The three languages – Greek, Kazakh, Russian – differ in the number of subcategories that make up linguistic gender: that is, lexical gender is available in all the three while grammatical gender present in Greek and Russian is not available in Kazakh; address forms are found in all. The linguistic gender resources in the three languages demonstrate both similarities and differences: sex markers in Greek, Kazakh, Russian are similar in supplying, for instance, information about female referents’ marital status and age, providing positive and negative connotations for people of male and female sex, respectively. As Connell (2002: 65) puts it, “whenever we speak of ‘a woman’ or ‘a man’, we call into play a tremendous system of understandings, implications, overtones and allusions that have accumulated through our cultural history. The ‘meanings’ of these words are enormously greater than the biological categories of male and female”. Kin terms are characterized by the most symmetrical relations between pairs of lexemes denoting male and female beings. The strict gender polarization rendered by the meanings of personal names in Kazakh is missing in Greek and Russian names that are distinguished by their grammatical gender. The differences are observed in the system of the languages: in Greek and Russian nouns have the same tripartite system of grammatical gender (masculine-feminine-neuter) but differ in the target elements. In Greek, grammatical gender distinguishes, among other things, articles (that are not available in the system of the Russian language) and verbs in the past tense in Russian (which do not follow gender agreement in Greek). In both languages, masculine forms function as generics making the social underrepresentation of the female part of the society especially vivid in occupational terms. Address forms indicate existent social order including gender relations in all the three languages.

When used in political discourse in the three contexts, the potential of all of the subcategories of linguistic gender is deployed to a different extent both in terms of frequency and of functions.
According to the quantitative analysis, linguistic gender is a favoured category in the Russian interviews with female IEs, whereas (in the same context) in the interviews with men the subcategories of linguistic gender are present at minimum. By frequency of linguistic gender, the Greek and Kazakh interviews that include both same-gender and cross-gender talks take the mid-position between the Russian same-gender interviews.

The quantitative analysis on frequency of linguistic gender items shows that among the three referents: IR, IE and the third person, the IR gets identified on the basis of gender least of all, while the third party has the highest record in this respect, and the IE takes a place in-between the two. Among the categories of linguistic gender used for identification, the IR is most often identified by lexical gender (personal names), the IE – by grammatical gender, and the third party – by lexical gender with all its subcategories involved.

Political interview with two participants involved – a journalist who represents a newspaper and a politician who speaks on behalf of a certain political institution – has, as a genre, its own peculiarities that impose restrictions on IR and IE. Since the main function of a political interview in the press is to obtain information from a public figure for the benefit of the reading audience, it is up to the IR to fulfill this task professionally preserving neutral and impartial stance during the talk and making the other party provide the required information. For this very reason, the IR is not identified by the categories of linguistic gender other than personal names and in a tiny minority – by verbs in the past tense and by adjectives in the Russian interviews. Moreover, in all the three contexts it is the collective body of the newspaper that performs the role of IR, not an individual. The norms of the institutional talk are enhanced by the cultural norms: in the Kazakh context the asymmetry between the participants is testified by the expression of gratitude to the IE at the end of the interviews since he/she is to be treated with deference as a person older in age. Politicians, as a rule, reach the top positions being advanced in years, therefore they have upper hand in the interviews. Besides, the institutional dimension gives a key to understanding the preferences for a confrontational or deferential type of interviewing. In the Kazakh and Russian (interviews with men politicians) contexts, the newspapers chosen are placed on the vertical axis in their relation to the government, i.e. they fulfill
the function of voicing news and opinions of the body of state power. Thus the IR and
the IE are bound up in relations of cooperation. The Greek newspaper places itself on
the horizontal axis in relation to the government taking the function of “the public
voice”. The politicians interviewed come from different Greek political parties and are
interested in creating a positive image that depends to a high extent on the IR. That is
why the distinguishing feature of the Greek interviews is address forms that IEs receive
from IEs; even the infrequent gender-specifying nouns and adjectives used in reference
to an IR are initiated by IEs.

In political interview, the IE remains the central figure as a source of
information. In the majority of the interviews in all the three contexts IEs tend to speak
from the subject position of political office holders not from a personal standpoint. The
frequency of sex markers and kin terms in reference to IEs is rather low and they
appear, as a rule, in relation to the professional issues discussed. The exception is the
Russian interviews with women politicians which demonstrate the highest frequency of
sex markers and kin terms in the identification of the female IEs since they have to
speak on topics that do not have any connection to the world of politics and to speak
from the subject positions of women (and they are commented on as such in the opening
and closing phases of the interviews), of wives, of mothers, etc. Generally, the same
tendency to speak in terms of we’ prevents the wide use of grammatical gender markers
in IEs’ contributions. In all the three contexts, it is predominantly IEs who are addressed
in the talk by IRs. The difference is the type of an address form used: in the Greek
interviews it is the formula κύριος/κυρία + last name or κύριος/κυρία + position, while in
the Kazakh and Russian interviews it is the model first name + patronymic. The Kazakh
and Russian equivalents of κύριος and κυρία are still perceived to be alien and are not
widely used. Though the forms of address that came out to establish and to emphasize
egalitarian relations in the Soviet period (e.g., the Kazakh жолдас and the Russian
tоварищ, i.e. ‘comrade’) are not practised now, the new address forms fail to replace
their previous counterparts. Honorific forms of address found only in Kazakh tend to be
used by men and in addressing men only, they are very exclusive and are deployed to
show deference to the politicians (writers, scholars) whose contributions to culture are
acknowledged nation-wide.
Considerable differences are observed in the use of linguistic gender items in reference to the third person(s) who is/are mentioned or discussed by IR and IE. The use of linguistic gender categories is determined by the topics and issues raised, which, in their turn, are determined by the situation on the political arena and in the society. In the Greek context, the political situation is that of a confrontation between political parties whose leaders are men. It is mostly they who are criticized by the IEs but never on the basis of gender. The Kazakh discourse is not confrontational or adversarial. The high frequency of sex markers and kin terms in reference to the third person is observed in the interviews that discuss the problems of the young generation, the issue of gender equality and the like. Therefore it is not a particular person but groups of persons in general who are spoken of in terms of gender. In the Kazakh context, sex markers and kin terms form an inseparable unit and are linked in the relation of cause and effect: in the society characterized as collectivist the family turns out to be the primary collective and to be a man and a woman means to be a loving parent, a reliable spouse, etc. and it is the family that determines what kind of person will grow up from a boy and a girl. The Kazakh society that was deprived of the official religion for over 70 years and that, at present, does not operate with the Soviet ideology, is in the search of the ways to preserve the traditional family values threatened by the advent of the new social and political system – that is why the issue of gender and family is often brought up by the IEs when the topic concerns the young that these values are to be fostered in. The Russian political situation is a confrontational one: the parties of conflict are Russia and its external enemies. The identification in terms of gender appears when the third person talked about is a woman politician who is personified as the enemy: in this discourse does emerge all the negative stereotyping expressed by the sex marker ‘woman’. When used for characterization of a political opponent, gender representations are derogatory and discriminatory and are used as a tool of a political struggle. In the Russian interviews with women politicians, the IEs, despite being invited to talk as holders of a high political office, have to comment on the place, relations, advantages of men and women in politics. They give a variety of comparisons that sound very flattering for women, which are still based on men as a prototype (e.g., women are more hard-working than men). In these interviews, the gender-oriented division of labour is
expressed in feminine and masculine forms of nouns that are found at the extreme points on the scale of social value.

Beside the category of linguistic gender, there are implicit ways of constructing the interactant as a ‘woman’ by adversarial strategies (Иньиго-Мора 2008; Clayman & Heritage 2002) that include 1) gendered assumptions or presuppositions expressed in the IR’s questions (in the Russian interviews with women) or 2) critical assertive statements that substitute for expected questioning (in the Greek interviews with female IEs). Women politicians seem to bear responsibility for being a woman – and a woman of a high status, and they are held responsible by the IRs for the flaws of their political alliance. In the Kazakh context, gendered adversarial strategies on the part of the IR are not registered since the interviews with women politicians are same gender talks (added that the newspaper takes a pro-governmental stance).

From the standpoint of the Critical Discourse Analysis, similarities point to the advantaged position of men and disadvantaged – of women in the public domain in all the three contexts. In the Greek context, it is women ministers that undergo the imposition of opinion on the part of the IR and receive much more critical assessments of the policy of the government they represent, in contrast to their men colleagues and women from the opposition. In the Kazakh context, the information on gender equality issues is provided by IEs who speak about the lack of access of women to decision-making processes, about traditional division of labour with women found predominantly in the sphere of education and health care, etc. In the Russian interviews with men politicians it is reference to the female politicians’ gender that is completely irrelevant and hence discriminatory since it brings to the surface all the negative connotations. In the cases when men are represented unfavourably, their negative characterization cannot be considered discriminatory (e.g., in the Kazakh context) since the IE, due to the position she holds, is obliged to speak about social problems (drug-, cigarette-, and alcohol-addiction among young men) that need to be solved. Negative predications attributed to men in politics by a Russian female IE are mitigated by the collectivized character of reference. In the Russian interviews with women, the gender of an IE is brought up by the topics and questions of IRs with no topic-coherence observed and with implicitly gendered unfavourable presuppositions of the IRs’ questions.
Political discourse whose main feature is described (Faircough 1992: 92) as a struggle for power – the struggle which, on surface, is a confrontation between different political forces, political ideologies, and political groupings has, at its depth, one more dimension – confrontation between men and women. This confrontation still seems to be predominantly one-sided with women getting adapted successfully to the new roles in the male-dominated political environment, while it is men, both journalists and politicians, whose discourse and discursive strategies come to be based on patriarchal ideas about women and their place in the society and who do not fail to bring to the surface the gender of a woman politician. It is unilateral confrontation also due to the fact that women experience unequal access to power in all the three contexts, which is evident from their numerical representation in socially and politically significant positions.

With social and political situations, cultures being different, with reference being made to a specific person or to a whole class, women still find themselves obliged to defend their right to be in power and to be treated as professionals and not as a symbolic token of their own gender.
Bibliography


Айсакова, Елена Алексеевна. 2008. Социальная и социокультурная дифференциация обращений в современном русском языке. Авт. к.ф.н., МПГУ, Москва.


Асылбекова, Нұржамал Ӛзенбекқызы. 2006. Кісі есімдерінің уәжділігі мен танымдық сипаты. Ф.ғ.к. автореф., әл-Фараби атындағы КҰУ, Алматы.

Ахатова Багила Абильможиновна. 2006. Политический дискурс и языковое сознание. Алматы: Экономика.

Бакытов, Айткали Тайжанұлы. 2005. Француз және қазақ тілдеріндегі бағалауыштық сөйлесімдердің ұлттық-мәдени ерекшеліктері. Ф.ғ.к. автореф., Абылай хан атындағы КХҚжӘТУ, Алматы.


Becker, Annette. 2007. “‘Are you saying?’ A cross-cultural analysis of interviewing practices in TV election night coverages”. In Political discourse in the media. Cross-


Даулетова, Виктория Александровна. 2003. *Вербальные средства создания автоимиджа в политическом дискурсе (на материале русской и английской биографической прозы)*. Автореф. к.ф.н., Волгоград, ВГПУ.


Fetzer, Anita. 2008. “’And I think that is a very straightforward way of dealing with it’: the communicative function of cognitive verbs in political discourse”. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 27: 384-396.


Hellinger, Marlis & Bußmann, Hadumod. 2001-2003. “Gender across languages: the linguistic representation of women and men”. In Gender across languages: the


Гиалампούκη, Ελένη. 2008. Δημοσιογραφικός λόγος και διακειμενικότητα. Διδ. διατριβή, Α.Π.Θ., Θεσσαλονίκη.
Жанатаев, Қазақбай Әбдуәліұлы. 1998. Адамның жас ерекшелікіне, жынысына катысты атаулар. Ф.ғ.к. автореф., Абылай хан атындағы ҚХҚжӘТУ, Алматы.


Калиев, Байынкол. 1996. Лексико-семантическая и морфологическая структура названний растений в казахском языке. Алматы: «Мектеп».


Katsoyannou, Marianna & Goutsos, Dionysis. 2006. “Gender construction and the Word Thesaurus for Greek”. In *Gender, language and new literacy*, E.Thüne, S.Leonardi & C.Bazzanella (eds), 95-106. UK: Continuum.


Makri-Tsilipakou, Marianthi. 1981. “Greek kinship terms and linguistic change”. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής. Τόμος 20: 249-274. Θεσσαλονίκη: Α.Π.Θ.


Папіідνπ, Θενδνζία. 2002. Γλώσσα-γένος-φύλο. Θεσσαλονίκη: Α.Π.Θ.


Щербинина, Инна Владимировна. 2007. Коммуникативная сущность обращения как средства общения в русском языкознании. Москва: Про Софт-М.


Шостак, Марина Игоревна. 1998. Журналист и его произведение. Москва: “Гендальф”.


Summary

The topic of the present thesis concerns the ways in which social gender is constructed via the category of linguistic gender. More specifically, the aim of the thesis is to examine whether there are any differences and/or similarities in the ways social gender is constructed in Greek, Kazakh and Russian political interviews. To this end, 90 dyadic interviews published in three major newspapers from Greece, Kazakhstan and Russia have been analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, whereby the Russian data were augmented with additional 19 interviews with women politicians, due to the fact that in the initially found Russian interviews all the interviewees were men. On the basis of the relevant literature, linguistic gender is taken to comprise: a) lexical gender (sex markers, kin terms, personal names), b) grammatical gender (a morphological category expressed by masculine/feminine/neuter inflexions of nouns), and c) address forms.

Quantitative analyses yielded that a third party talked about by the interviewer and the interviewee is much more frequently identified by lexical gender (sex markers, kin terms), while the interviewee is identified by grammatical gender, and the interviewer is the least represented participant identified mostly by personal names.

The qualitative analysis showed that gender representations of a third party display differences due to the peculiarities of the political situation in the three countries. For example, in the Greek context, the third party is not identified via sex markers; on the other hand, in the Kazakh context, men and women are identified as such through their familial roles. Moreover, the analysis indicates that the interviewer and the interviewee tend to speak from the professional standpoint, with the exception of the Russian female interviewees who speak as ‘women’ due to the kind of questions that they are asked. Finally, it is shown that discourse can be covertly gendered, i.e. without employing explicit gender markers, but through the use of adversarial assertive statements or the assumptions and presuppositions involved.

The results of the contrastive analysis are interpreted in the light of Critical Discourse Analysis which aims at disclosing the ideologies that the gender representation is based upon and their role in the relations of power between the two genders. In political discourse, patriarchal ideas about women still remain prevalent: the gender of a woman politician, though irrelevant for the professional type of talk, is brought up to the surface either explicitly, via the linguistic gender category, or implicitly, via the strategies of interviewing.
Περίληψη

Το θέμα της παρούσας διατριβής αφορά τους τρόπους με τους οποίους συγκροτείται το κοινωνικό φύλο μέσω της κατηγορίας του γλωσσικού γένους. Συγκεκριμένα, στόχος της διατριβής είναι να διερευνηθεί εάν υπάρχουν διαφορές ή/και ομοιότητες στον τρόπο με τον οποίο συγκροτείται το κοινωνικό φύλο στην ελληνική, καζακική και ρωσική γλώσσα. Γι’ αυτόν τον σκοπό, έχουν αναλυθεί, ποσοτικά και ποιοτικά, 90 διαδικές πολιτικές συνεντεύξεις τριών μεγάλων εφημερίδων στην Ελλάδα, στο Καζακστάν και στη Ρωσία. Στα δεδομένα της έρευνας προστέθηκαν 19 επιπλέον συνεντεύξεις στη ρωσική με γυναίκες πολιτικούς (στις αρχικές ρωσικές συνεντεύξεις όλοι οι συνεντεύξεις ήταν άνδρες). Βάση της σχετικής βιβλιογραφίας, το γλωσσικό γένος θεωρείται ότι περιλαμβάνει: α) το λεξικολογικό γένος (λεξήματα σημαδεμένα ως προς το φύλο, όροι συγγένειας, κύρια συνόματα), β) το γραμματικό γένος (μια μορφολογική κατηγορία που σχηματίζεται με τις καταλήξεις του αρσενικού, θηλυκού και ουδέτερου των ουσιαστικών), και γ) τους τόπους προσφύγησης. Από την ποσοτική ανάλυση των δεδομένων προκύπτει ότι το λεξικολογικό γένος (λεξήματα σημαδεμένα ως προς το φύλο, όροι συγγένειας) χρησιμοποιείται με μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα από τα συμμετέχοντα στη συνέντευξη άτομα για την αναφορά σε τρίτα πρόσωπα. Από την άλλη πλευρά, ο/η συμμετέχον/ουσα στη συνέντευξη πολιτικός προσδιορίζεται συχνότερα μέσω του γραμματικού γένους, ενώ η αναπαράσταση του κοινωνικού φύλου του/της δημοσιογράφου είναι λιγότερο συχνή και συντελείται κυρίως μέσω της χρήσης κυρίων ονομάτων.

Η ποιοτική ανάλυση έδειξε ότι υπάρχει διαφοροποίηση στις τρεις γλώσσες όσον αφορά την αναφορά σε τρίτα πρόσωπα. Η διαφοροποίηση οφείλεται στις ιδιαίτερότητες της πολιτικής κατάστασης στις τρεις χώρες. Παραδείγματος χώριν, στο ελληνικό πλαίσιο, η αναφορά σε τρίτα πρόσωπα δεν συντελείται μέσω λεξημάτων σημαδεμένων ως προς το φύλο. Αντίθετα, στο καζακικό πλαίσιο, οι άνδρες και οι γυναίκες προσδιορίζονται ως τέτοιοι/ες μέσω των οικογενειακών ρόλων τους. Επιπλέον, η ανάλυση δείχνει ότι τα συμμετέχοντα στη συνέντευξη άτομα τείνουν να μιλούν με τη θεσμική ιδιότητά τους, με εξαίρεση τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς από τις 19 ρωσικές συνεντεύξεις, οι οποίες μιλούν ως ‘γυναίκες’, γεγονός που οφείλεται στο είδος των ερωτήσεων που τίθενται σε αυτές από τον/τη δημοσιογράφο. Τέλος, από την ανάλυση προκύπτει ότι η αναπαράσταση του φύλου στον λόγο μπορεί να είναι υπόρθιτη και να συντελείται αφενός μέσω των προϋποθέσεων και αφετέρου μέσω της χρήσης αντικρουόμενων κατηγορηματικών διατυπώσεων.

Τα αποτελέσματα της αντιπαραθετικής ανάλυσης ερμηνεύονται από την οπτική της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης του Λόγου, στόχος της οποίας είναι να φέρει στο φως τις ιδεολογίες στις οποίες στηρίζεται η αναπαράσταση του φύλου και να αναδείξει τον ρόλο τους στις σχέσεις εξουσίας μεταξύ των δύο φύλων. Στον πολιτικό λόγο, ακόμη επικρατούν οι πατριαρχικές ιδέες...
για τις γυναίκες: το φόλο μιας γυναίκας πολιτικού, αν και δεν σχετίζεται άμεσα με τον θεσμικό λόγο της συνέντευξης, έρχεται στο προσκήνιο είτε ρητά, μέσω της κατηγορίας του γλωσσικού γένους, είτε υπόρρητα, μέσω των στρατηγικών της συνέντευξης.