

## Russian genderlects and referential expressions

OLGA T. YOKOYAMA

*Slavic Languages and Literatures*  
*University of California*  
*Los Angeles, CA 90095-1502*  
*olga@humnet.ucla.edu*

### ABSTRACT

The first goal of this article is to present a description of the linguistic features that distinguish the genderlects of Russian. Although there exist some data on interruptions and other kinds of gender-specific discourse behavior in Russian, they are not discussed here, because the variables that govern gender differences in linguistic behavior are too numerous and inconclusive, and Russian data that bear on such behavior remain at this point too meager. Rather, what is discussed here are the structural features of Russian genderlects. This focus leads to a second goal, a theoretical one: to explore how genderlect phenomena can be explained in the Transactional Discourse Model (TDM), a broadly generative, pragmatically based discourse model that is sensitive to the factors that control the occurrence of gender-specific features in speech. (Russian, gender, referential expressions, suprasegmentals, diminutives, imperative, Transactional Discourse Model, lexicon, metaphors, interlocutor distance, markedness, culture-based hierarchies.)\*

This article has two main sections. First, based on descriptive work on Russian genderlects published in the past decade, I present the main distinctive features of Russian genderlects in some detail. The abundance of examples in this section seems necessary in order to do justice to the Russian data, which have been inaccessible to Western scholars interested in gender linguistics. The descriptions show that Russian genderlects consist of two gender-specific sets of structural features that span all the components of language, from the phonological to the lexical. The rules are, to varying degrees, non-exclusive (in the sense of Ochs 1992). I assume that pragmalinguistics must account not only for the form of these rules, but also for the pragmatic conditions of their application and for the position of these rules in the overall pragmatic mechanism that leads to their application by speakers – while also taking into account the complexities of their non-exclusive and, in some cases, constitutive nature. I suggest a natural way of describing this system in the framework of the Transactional Discourse Model (TDM).

The second section takes up a specific problem of Russian grammar: Here I re-examine Russian feminine agentive referential expressions – virtually the only

specific problem of Russian gender linguistics that has received some attention in non-native literature. I argue that the TDM consistently accounts for the generation of these data; and I suggest that the slighting connotation of some feminine referential expressions in Russian (also attested for other languages; cf. Connors 1971) shows a principled gradation which can be explained by certain extra-linguistic changes in Russian society. I also examine cross-gender reference in Russian, which reveals the same cultural values as those involved in the feminine agentive expressions. These values are manifested in linguistic form and can be incorporated in the TDM as well.

#### RUSSIAN GENDERLECTS

The first observation to keep in mind when considering Russian genderlects is that they are attested almost exclusively in Colloquial Russian (CR), the first description of which appeared in Zemskaja 1973. The main research on gendered language in Russia, which began to appear almost two decades later, has so far focused on phonology, lexicon, phraseology, and discourse behavior. This later research – Zemskaja, Kitajgorodskaja, and Rozanova 1990, 1993 – is based almost exclusively on their transcripts of CR (1990:226, 1993:133), defined by them as the language of spontaneous communication between speakers of Literary Normative Russian in informal and/or intimate settings, i.e. the vernacular of the intelligentsia. I have suggested (Yokoyama 1994, 1995) that the crucial distinctive feature of CR is its *svoj* mode,<sup>1</sup> in which the speaker assumes “short interlocutor distance” (SID) between him/herself and the addressee. *Svoj*-ness is motivated both psychologically and socially, and it is subject to fluctuations that depend on subtle shifts in the speaker’s perception of him/herself and of the addressee. The opposite of SID is “long interlocutor distance” (LID).

A second point that must be stipulated at the outset concerns the status of “genderlect” per se. Russian researchers stress the non-exclusive nature of gendered features, and their limited status as merely “typical” rather than absolute traits. The theoretical problems raised in the West regarding the term are well known (e.g. Thorne et al. 1983). I will nevertheless continue to refer to “bundles” of typical “male” or “female” features as “genderlects.” That these features are not absolute in Russian is indisputable, if only because of their dependence on SID. However, once the speaker assumes a SID, these features appear, and the “isoglosses” between them coincide with the sex of the speakers. The composition of the bundles is admittedly not fixed, but enough gender-specific features “bundle together” to justify a working notion of a “lect” along gender lines. I return briefly to this issue below in the discussion of a specific genderlect feature of segmental phonology.

The four subsections that follow contain a survey of genderlect features observed in SID, in segmental and suprasegmental phonology, in word formation,

and in lexicon, phraseology, and syntax. A fifth subsection discusses cognitive differences manifested in the speech of Russian men and women. The sixth subsection is theoretical: I discuss the data and propose a framework for generating and explaining them in the TDM. Unless otherwise specified, examples and observations of data are taken from Zemskaja et al. 1993, the most comprehensive descriptive work on Russian genderlects to date. The symbols “/” and “//” are taken from the sources quoted; they indicate non-final and final intonation, respectively. The Russian data are given in the standard transliteration used for Slavic linguistics, where correspondences to IPA symbols are roughly as follows:  $\check{c}$  = [tʃ],  $c$  = [ts],  $\check{s}$  = [ʃ],  $\check{z}$  = [ʒ],  $j$  = [j],  $\check{s}\check{c}$  = [ʃtʃ],  $y$  = [u]; in phonetic transcriptions, [Cʰ] indicates a palatalized consonant, and a superscript indicates a modification of the host symbol (i.e., [Λ<sup>o</sup>] represents a sound transitional between [Λ] and [ə])

### Phonology

The following phonological rules, peculiar to either male or female genderlects, are generally low-level postlexical rules (in the sense of Kiparsky 1985). I assume that they apply at appropriate points after the relevant morphophonemic and syntactic rules have applied.

*Segmental genderlect features.* Russian men’s vowel articulation tends to be more closed and more central, resulting in a ə-like realization of virtually all unstressed vowels and leading to their virtual disappearance. A male/female difference is particularly prominent in “vowel reduction” patterns of pretonic /a/ and /o/ after hard (non-palatalized) consonants.<sup>2</sup> In first pretonic syllables, men reduce these phonemes to [Λ<sup>o</sup>], while women reduce them to [a] (and concurrently lengthen them); the literary norm is [Λ].<sup>3</sup>

- (1) a. M: [pΛ<sup>o</sup>gódə] F: [pa:gódə] NORM: [pʌgódə] ‘weather’  
 b. F: *Užas k[a:]kój! Teper’ p[a:] górodu/ tol’ko v k[a:]lóšax xodit’//*  
 ‘How awful! The only way to walk in town these days is in galoshes!’

The phonemic representation of 1a ‘weather’ in Russian is /pogóda/. The two main dialect groups of Russian, Northern and Southern, differ in their treatment of the underlying /o/ in the first pretonic syllable. The underlying /o/ in first pretonic position in Northern *okan’e* dialects remains rounded: [pogóda], as in 2a. In Southern *akan’e* dialects, the underlying first pretonic /o/ undergoes a “vowel reduction” rule and generates [Λ]: [pʌgódə]. The literary standard (the LID mode) is based on the Moscow dialect, as in 2b:

- (2) a. *okan’e* dialects: /o/ → [o] / \_\_\_\_ (C)V  
 [+stress]  
 b. Moscow standard: /o/ → [Λ] / \_\_\_\_ (C)V  
 [+stress]

Compare this with the typical male and female outputs of the SID mode:

- (3) a. Male genderlect: /o/ → [Λ<sup>o</sup>]/ \_\_\_(C)V  
[+stress]
- b. Female genderlect: /o/ → [a]/ \_\_\_(C)V  
[+stress]

If the Northern and Southern dialects are divided by the *okan’e/akan’e* isogloss, then the male and female genderlects of speakers of Literary Normative Russian (i.e., the Moscow *akan’e* dialect in the LID mode) are further divided by the [Λ<sup>o</sup>]/[a] isogloss in the SID mode.<sup>4</sup> Unlike primarily behavioral differences – which may be determined by the speakers’ communicative goals, and which to that extent are not rule-governed in the linguistic sense – the application of 3b in women’s speech can hardly be viewed as more rationally selected than the application of 2b by speakers of the *akan’e* dialect. It is the presence of structural isoglosses of this kind that justifies, I suggest, the term “genderlects.”

In the SID mode, Russian women diphthongize the mid vowels /e o/ under word stress,<sup>5</sup> and especially under phrase stress (diphthongs otherwise do not occur in Standard Literary Russian). Examples of female diphthongs are:

- (4) a. *A na l[ié]to kuda sobiraetes’?*  
‘And where are you going this summer?’
- b. *Nas v sanat[uó]rij otpravljajut//*  
‘They’re sending us to a sanatorium.’

When expressive or emphatic, diphthongization may be accompanied by lengthening.<sup>6</sup> The lengthening, however, is generated by a separate rule, since it occurs independently of diphthongization in all stressed vowels in expressive and/or emphatic female speech, as well as in first pretonic position (cf. 1a–b). V-lengthening is, in fact, the only rule of the female genderlect that is found even in the LID mode:

- (5) f (SID): *Nu [ó:]čen’/[ó:]čen’ simpaticičnye tufel’ki!*  
‘Well really, really lovely shoes!’
- (6) f (LID, scholarly presentation): *Ja dumaju čto pered nami voobšč’e/ očen’ uvlek[á:]tel’ naja/ očen’ inter[é:]snaja problema//*  
‘I think that what we have before us is a very exciting, very interesting problem.’

This V-lengthening contrasts with males’ consonant gemination in word-initial position and before stressed vowels in expressive and/or emphatic contexts:

- (7) [z:]a[r:]áza takaja!    *Vot [d:]úra!       [k:]o[z’:]él!*  
‘What a pest!’            ‘What a fool!’    ‘An ass!’ (lit. ‘he-goat’)

As with V-lengthening, C-lengthening is the only genderlect feature that has been observed to occur in both the LID and the SID modes.

In non-expressive, non-emphatic contexts in the SID mode, men’s consonant articulation, by contrast, tends to become lax, resulting in intervocalic voicing of voiceless consonants and in weakening of stops. Consider the product of these male genderlect rules in 8a, where 8b is the normative literary output:

- (8) *Vy mxatovskij variant videli v teatre? Nu počemu košmar? Kto tam igraet?*  
 a. [və mxátəfsk'ì və'ránt v'íd'l'ì ft'átr'ì/ nu pəš'mú kə'šmár/któtəməgrət]  
 b. [vy mxátəfsk'ij vər'íánt v'íd'il'ì ft'íátr'ì/ nu pəčìmu kə'šmár/ któ tam ygrájit]  
 'Have you seen the MXAT version in the theater? Why a disaster? Who's acting in it?'

Besides the excessive vowel reduction to [ə], note the loss of vowels in 8a: [ja] → [a] (twice), [d'il'] → [d'l'], [čim] → [š'm] (with concurrent loss of stop in the affricate),<sup>7</sup> and [aji] → [ə] (the loss of intervocalic /j/ in this environment is a standard option).

*Suprasegmental genderlect features.* Differences have been observed between men's and women's voice quality, nasalization, pitch, and intonational patterns. The expressive usage of pitch, aspiration, labialization, and nasalization are peculiar to female speech. A low/high pitch opposition may signal a negative/positive attitude of the speaker. In 9a, the female speaker tells how a big, rude woman pushed a slim young girl in a bus; and in 9b, the contrast between the speaker's delight in finding what she thought was a good mushroom, and her disgust on looking at it more closely, are partly encoded in the pitch level (a similar use of pitch seems possible in such contexts in English).

- (9) a. <sup>hi pitch</sup>{Devčonka takaja malen'kaja/ stoit plačet//} <sup>lo pitch</sup>{A ètoj xot' by čto/ v nej kilogramm sto vesu//}  
 'The girl, such a little one, is standing there crying. And this one, she doesn't care, she's got 200 pounds on her!'  
 b. <sup>hi pitch</sup>{Oj kakoj xorošen'kij griboček!} <sup>lo pitch</sup>{Fu/ kakaja gadost'!}  
 'Oh what a nice little mushroom! Yuck, disgusting!'

Low pitch in female speech may also cancel the truth value of a proposition, as in 10, where speaker B indicates by the low pitch of her response a denial of the truth value of the proposition she utters.

- (10) A: *Ja vas zaderžala?* 'Did I keep you waiting?'  
 B: <sup>lo pitch</sup>{Net/ nu čto vy gospodi! Menja zaderžali!//}<sup>8</sup>  
 'Oh no, not at all, for God's sake! Me kept waiting!'

A critical rendition of an interlocutor's utterances can be conveyed in women's speech by nasalization. Zemskaja et al. (1990:238) provide the following example of the application of nasalization in such a hostile quote:

- (11) *Raskričalas'/ razrugalas'/* <sup>nasal</sup>{Vo-ot/ začem vy tuda pošli/ ne nado bylo}  
 'She started screaming and yelling, like, why did you go there, you shouldn't have ...'

Aspiration, which otherwise does not occur in Russian, occurs suprasegmentally in female speech to indicate that the speaker has been greatly impressed by the degree of the quality implied:

- (12) *Veď èto že byli* <sup>aspir</sup>{spektakli}! 'But those were (amazing) plays!'

Labialization is used by women suprasegmentally to convey a plaintive stance:

- (13) <sup>lab</sup>{Nu ne nado tak govorit// Èto ne spravedlivo.}  
 'Oh don't say that. That's not fair.'

The most basic intonational difference between the genderlects is the richness of the female inventory of the intonational lexicon, most of it accompanied with sentential stress (Type II intonation).<sup>9</sup> The expressive V-lengthening typical of female speech contributes to intonational variety, since long vowels provide more segmental material for pitch modulation. Inserting a glottal stop in the middle of a lengthened vowel is another typically feminine feature, as in the second and third phrases below:

- (14) F (to her pet parrot Boni): *Nu davaj pogovori-i-m/ davaj pogovor[i:ʔi]m/ pogovor[i:ʔi]m konečno Bonečka//*  
 ‘OK, let’s talk, let’s talk, of course let’s talk, Boni dear.’

Conversations with children and pets belong in Russian to female speech genres. Significantly, however, when men assume female roles and speak with children and pets, they may apply female phonological rules; a male’s affectionate conversation with his tomcat in 15 bears all the features of female phonology.

- (15) *V[i:ʔi]l’ka/ V[i:ʔi]lečka//U nas Vil’ka b[a:]rin// Xor[uo]šij kotik//*  
 ‘Willy, Willy-dear, our Willy is the boss, he’s a good kitty-(tom)cat.’

An interesting minimal pair of intonational contours that differ between men and women is given in 16. The symbols “/” and “\” above the lines stand for rising and falling pitch contours, respectively; they are realized on the vowels above which they appear.

- (16) F: *hi pitch {On tá:kòj simpaticnyj!} lo pitch {Ona tá:kàja protivnaja!}*  
 ‘He’s so nice! She’s so nasty!’  
 M: *... tam takòe òzero/ izumitel’noe ... takàja krasotišča tam ...*  
 ‘There’s such a lake there, an amazing one, such beauty is there ...’

The female contour on exclamatory sentences with “such/so” (*tak-*) is optional; however, when it does occur, the deictic adjective carries a rise-fall curve, and the following noun or adjective has rising pitch on the stressed syllable. In the male intonational realization, “such/so” has a rising pitch contour on the stressed syllable, and the following noun or adjective has a falling one.<sup>10</sup> Although Russian men do use this exclamatory construction, provided the intonation is typically male (as described above), it is generally more common for them to express their evaluation by means of non-exclamatory syntax.<sup>11</sup> Compare the typical male/female contrast in the following exchange:

- (17) F: *Èto tá:kòj fil’m!* ‘It’s such a film!’  
 M: *Dà/ otlíčnaja kartina!* ‘Yeah, an excellent movie.’

### Word formation

Until recently, it was a commonplace that Russian diminutives belong to women’s and children’s language. Zemskaja et al. 1993 convincingly show, however, that the actual picture is more complex. Some diminutives are formed almost exclusively in the female genderlect, such as those generated in interaction with

children and pets, or in conversations about them in their presence. In these contexts, diminutives encode an affectionate attitude toward the child or pet, without reference to size or to the presence or absence of positive evaluative connotations of the actual words to which they are attached.<sup>12</sup> Examples of female diminutives are in 18:<sup>13</sup>

- (18) a. *Vytiraj sam ličiko!* ‘Dry your face-D yourself!’  
 b. *Pej/pej/gorjačen’koe pej//* ‘Drink (it), drink (it) hot-D.’  
 c. *Davaj kušan’kat’!* ‘Let’s eat-D!’  
 d. *Sejčas ja tebe sopel’ki vytru//* ‘I’ll now wipe your snots-D.’  
 e. *Smotri kakoj čemodačnik u djadi doktora//*  
 ‘Look what a suitcase-D (uncle-)doctor has.’  
 f. *Kogda pesoček kladem/ to možno i nedelju ne čistit’ kletočku//*  
 ‘When we put in sand-D, then it’s possible not to clean the cage-D even for a week.’

The data show that this type of diminutive formation is role-based rather than sex-based; consider 15, repeated here:

- (19) *Vil’ka/ Vilečka// U nas Vil’ka barin// Xorošij kotik//*  
 ‘Willy-D, Willy-D, our Willy-D is the boss. He’s a good (tom)cat-D.’

There is also a class of what I will call “self-deprecatory diminutives”: words whose referents are within the speaker’s sphere of interest or control. These diminutives typically belong to male discourse.

- (20) a. *Ja tut statejku nakropal//* ‘I have scribbled an article-D here.’  
 b. *U menja est’ soobražen’ica na ètot sčet//*  
 ‘I have some ideas-D about that.’

Note that the verb in 20a is also self-deprecatory in meaning, although it is not diminutive in form.

In contrast with endearing and self-deprecatory diminutives, other types – food-related diminutives,<sup>14</sup> “doctor’s diminutives,”<sup>15</sup> and honorific diminutives<sup>16</sup> – occur in both genderlects with comparable frequency. The five classes of diminutives just mentioned do not exhaust all possible classes, and research in this area is still in progress.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, it is already clear that the first two classes belong to the female and male genderlects, respectively, with the caveat that the relationship between male/female roles and genderlects needs further study. I will return to other gender-linguistic aspects of word formation below.

### *Parts of speech, lexicon and phraseology*

Interjections have been observed to be considerably more frequent in female speech than in male speech. Specifically, according to Zemskaja et al., some women begin almost every utterance with an all-purpose interjection *Oj!*:

- (21) a. —*Naš otdel zakryvajut//* ‘They’re closing our department.’  
 —*Oj!* ‘Oh no!’  
 b. —*Ja edu v komandirovku v Rim//* ‘I’m going to Rome on business.’  
 —*Oj!* ‘Wow!’  
 c. —*Oj!/ ja kažetsja ne tuda popala!*  
 ‘Oops! I guess I got the wrong number!’

- d. —*Oj! kogo ja včera videla! Ugadaj!*  
 ‘Hey, guess who I saw yesterday!’  
 e. —*Oj net/ ja ne pojdu s nim!* ‘Unh-unh! I’m not going with him!’

Russian men and women tend to talk about different things, just as English-speaking men and women do. Russian men talk more about sports, technology, work, and politics; women talk about fashion, family matters, the weather, health, cooking, and children. This thematic differentiation naturally leads to differences in the frequency of lexical items found in male and female speech. It has been observed, however, that distributional differences in male/female vocabulary are not simply a natural consequence of topic distribution. The most general feature of the male active lexicon is the transfer of professional vocabulary into casual non-professional conversation. Thus the chemist husband in 22 uses highly technical vocabulary in a domestic conversation about pillow-making:

- (22) F: *Nu vot, ja pero vse vysušila na balkone. Teper' by prožarit' ego xorošen'ko. Možet, nad plitaj povestit'?*  
 ‘Well, here, I’ve dried all the feathers on the balcony. It’d be good now to heat them through well. Maybe I should hang it over the stove?’  
 M: *Ty znaeš', ne sovetuju. Tam že ostatki saževyxx častic, uglevodorody. Oni že vozgornajutsja, isparjajutsja, popadajut na xolod, vse tam budet.*  
 ‘You know, I don’t advise it. There are remnants of soot particles there, after all, of carbohydrates. They sublime, evaporate, then get exposed to the cold. All sorts of things will be there.’

Although this tendency is most prominent in male speech, it has also, interestingly, been noted in the speech of professionally successful women.

In general, Russian men do not verbalize emotions that are “unworthy of men,” such as fear, pity, or worry. Women, on the contrary, do not hesitate to voice them, and they even tend to choose exaggerated expressions when they do so:

- (23) a. *Ja žutko pereživala!* ‘I was absolutely going nuts!’  
 b. *Bo-o-že/ ja prjam perepugalas!* ‘God, I really got scared!’  
 c. *Oj/ kak že mne ego žalko!* ‘Oh, I’m so sorry for him!’

In terms of semantic fields, researchers note that women use a large set of positive adjectives synonymous with the basic adjective *xorošij* ‘good’: *čudnyj* ‘wonderful’, *prelestnyj* ‘charming’, *velikolepnyj* ‘splendid’, *zamečatel'nyj* ‘remarkable’, *divnyj* ‘marvelous’, *prevosxodnyj* ‘superb’. They also use adjectives with different primary meanings as synonyms of ‘good’, e.g. *udivitel'nyj* ‘amazing’ and *potrjasajuščij* ‘fantastic’. Intensifiers and exaggerations, too, are observed more frequently in female speech – adjectives like *neverojatnyj* ‘incredible’, or *kolossal'nyj* ‘colossal’, adverbs like *žutko* ‘horribly’, *strašno* ‘frighteningly’, or *užasno* ‘terribly’, and quantifiers like *massa* ‘mass’. Men, by contrast, are more reserved in their positive evaluations, and they choose stronger words for negative evaluations and to show surprise. The following contrasts are typical:

- (24) a. M: *Mne ponravilos'* ‘I liked it.’  
 F: *Ėto takaja voobšč'e velikolepnaja vešč'!*  
 ‘It’s just such a magnificent thing!’



- b. (in response to a third party reporting on a stage production):  
 M: *Ni fīga sebe!* 'I'll be damned!'  
 F: *Vot ja tože udivilas'!* // 'Yeah, I was also surprised.'

A specifically male trait consists in the use of negatively evaluative and generally crude vocabulary in order to express positive feelings of affection and admiration:

- (25) a. (referring to a rare make of car):  
*Do čego ž xoroša/ zaraza!* 'Oh what class, the bitch (lit. 'infection')'  
 b. (referring to his little daughter):  
*Poedu v "Detskij mir"/ devke party pokupat'!*  
 'I'll go to the "Child's World" to buy some duds (male word for 'pants') for the gal.'<sup>18</sup>

The male/female contrast is particularly obvious in the following two utterances by a man and his wife to their beloved dog while walking:

- (26) M: *Ax ty stervec! Begat' ne xočeš'? Nu idi/ idi!*  
 'Hey you scoundrel! You don't want to run, eh? OK, go, go!'  
 F: *Nu/ idi/ krasavec/ idi!* // 'OK, go, sweetie (lit., 'beauty'), go.'

Certain phrases have been noted to be gender-specific. Among exclusively female phrases are various phatic or qualifying expressions and hedges like *prjam ne znaju* 'I really don't know', *ty sebe predstavit' ne možeš* 'You can't imagine', *ja tebe peredat' ne mogu* 'I can't describe it to you', and various acknowledgments used to register the reception of information,<sup>19</sup> like *Košmar!* '(What a nightmare!)', *Užas!* '(What a horror!)', *S uma sojti!* 'I could go crazy!', *Sdoxnut!* 'I could croak!' Regarding specific lexical items, Zemskaja et al. 1993 mention that the informal usage of the verb *pereživat'* 'to go crazy about something' is exclusively female.

Almost exclusively male, by contrast, are expressions that pass judgment by using noun phrases in the order N-modifier,<sup>20</sup> where the noun is a generic classifier like *delo* 'business', *vešč'* 'thing' or *štuka* 'stuff'. Examples are *Nu, delo drjan* 'Well, things look shabby', *Èto štuka složnaja* 'This is hairy business', or *Čto ž, vešč' xorošaja* 'Well, it's good stuff.'

Russian slang, vulgarities, and profanities show a complex pattern of distribution. Moderately vulgar expressions are used by men in mixed company, and by women in female-only groups. As expressions increase in vulgarity, their usage by men is reported to become more restricted in the presence of women, while their usage by women diminishes in overall frequency. The most vulgar profanities are used by men in men-only groups and are not used by women at all. Throughout all these semantic classes, the tendency is for younger women's speech to approximate male speech. The vulgar language produced by women is still perceived as play, as if said in quotation marks; in the vernacular of the female intelligentsia, these expressions remain an "embedded" voice.

In addition to established lexical items, Russian slang is also characterized by productive word formation processes involving slangy suffixation, e.g. by adding suffixes like *-jug(-a)* or *-anu-*:

- (27) a. M: (about methods of scientific research):  
*Štuka èta dovol'no složnaja// i formaljuga neprostaja//*  
 'It's pretty hairy stuff, and the formula is not simple.'
- b. M: *Odin raz ja tam zdorovo plutanul.*  
 'Once I got badly lost there.'

The word *formaljuga* for 'formula' in 27a is a spontaneous formation achieved by adding the slangy and somewhat derogatory nominal suffix *-jug(-a)* to a variant form of *formula* (note also the split usage of *štuka ... složnaja* 'hairy stuff', discussed above). The word *plutanul* in 27b is formed by adding the slangy verbal semelfactive suffix *-anu-* to the verb *plutat'* 'wander around being lost'.

Other characteristics associated with female use of the lexicon are discussed below.

### *Syntax*

Zemskaja et al. 1993 do not comment on syntactic features particular to one genderlect or the other. It should be noted, however, that certain forms of commands appear to be gender-specific. Exclusively male are commands addressed to plural addressees but employing singular forms of the imperative:

- (28) *R:az:ojdis'!* 'Break it up!' (lit. 'Disperse-SG. IMPER.')

Although this particular verb, by virtue of its lexical semantics, cannot be addressed to a single person, it is not the case that lexical semantics renders the plural form redundant. A singular imperative of other verbs can also be addressed to plural addressees – e.g., *Spasajsja!* 'Run/Hide!' (lit., 'Save-sg-yourself!'). This type of command has the ring of military or police orders, and it is commonly used when addressing crowds. Native speakers perceive it as male language. It remains to be verified whether this syntax is ever used by female prison guards, or by other women in positions of military or police power.

Somewhat less gender-specific is the command expressed by an infinitive. This form, though generally more masculine than feminine, may be used by tough or haughty female teachers and other females in authority. It is therefore clearly role-based; it is the role that is perceived by speakers to be more masculine than feminine.<sup>21</sup>

- (29) *Vstat'!* 'Stand up!' (inf.)

### *Cognitive differences*

Certain distinctions in male and female speech are more global and go beyond the narrowly grammatical or lexical. Such distinctions in the ways men and women structure their sentences – including the interaction of their lexicon and syntax, as well as their use of figures of speech – may shed light on the cognitive universes of the sexes. Zemskaja et al. 1993 examine metaphors and the degree of specificity of general sentential structures; they conclude that the differences found show distinct cognitive orientations of Russian men and women.

*Metaphors.* Women's metaphors are taken from general encyclopedic spheres of cognition, such as nature, the animal kingdom, and daily life. Men's typically involve the semantic fields of technology, sports, military affairs, hunting, and the speakers' professions. Significantly, these distinctions do not seem to depend on the educational background or the professions of the speakers, but solely on their sex. This apparently fundamental contrast is illustrated in 30, involving a father who is a technician, and his daughter, who is a technology student.

- (30) F: *Nu vot/ kak na èkzamen uxodit'/ i golova zarabotala//*  
 'Just when it's time to go to the exam, my brain started to work.'  
 M: *Progreslja dvigatel'*. 'The engine got warmed up.'

Whether they are humanists or scientists, men tend to use "masculine" metaphors, and women, "feminine" ones. Zemskaja et al. find evidence here that the male and female cognitive universes are fundamentally different:

- (31) a. M (humanist to a restless child):  
*Čto ty kak pograničnaja zastava!* 'How come you're like a border patrol!'  
 b. M (scientist, on lack of action on the part of a politician):  
*Nu/ on poka šašku točit.* 'Well, he's sharpening his saber so far.'  
 c. F (humanist):  
*Mne včera xudo sovsem bylo// Znaeš' kak belym medvedjam na juže//*  
 'I felt really bad yesterday, you know, like polar bears (feel) in the south.'  
 d. F (scientist, joking about not being able to leave):  
*Ja prisosalas' k vam kak pijavka// Nu ešče nemnogo popijavlju i ujdu//*  
 'I got stuck to you like a leech. OK, I'll leech a bit more and go.'

*Specificity of expression.* Another difference noted by Zemskaja et al. lies in the ways men and women structure their sentences. Men tend to use precise, specific expressions, and semantically full lexical items. Women, on the contrary, use expressions that are lexically unspecified and vaguely deictic, and that acquire meaning only in context and/or by implication:

- (32) (discussing a photograph):  
 F: *I komnata takaja bol'saja/ razmery kak-to smeščajutsja//*  
 'And the room is so big, the dimensions somehow get displaced.'  
 M: *Nu èto estestvenno/ optika// Fokusirovka takaja//*  
 'Well, it's natural, it's optics. That's what the focus was.'

Notice that the man in 32 uses more precise technical words like *optika* 'optics' and *fokusirovka* 'focus(-finding)', and that he uses the etymologically deictic word *takaja* in its original deictic/anaphoric function, as 'such, that kind.' The woman, by contrast, uses the word *takaja* 'so' as a synonym of "very", and she also uses the indefinitizing adverb *kak-to* 'somehow'. The use of the word *takaja* instead of the lexically more explicit *očen'* 'very' is typically female, since men generally avoid constructions with *takoj* (cf. 17 above).

Typically female too are exclamations with question words, in which the adjective specifying the quality is often deleted:<sup>22</sup>

- (33) *Kakoj sup!* 'What a soup!'

Men would instead state more explicitly that the soup is, for example, “tasty.” Similarly, men would use more specific expressions where women typically use adverbial exclamations with *kak* ‘how’:

(34) *Ustala kak ne znaju kto* ‘I’m tired like I don’t know who.’

### *Generating the genderlects*

*The issues.* The Russian genderlect data outlined above raise several problems that need to be addressed in pragmalinguistic theory. The most interesting is the fact that most of the Russian genderlect features are restricted to the SID mode. Among the linguistic rules examined above, only the V-lengthening rule in women’s speech and the C-lengthening rule in men’s speech are said to occur in both the SID and the LID modes. For all the other linguistic rules, the relationship between SID and the genderlects is implicational: The presence of SID implies the accessibility of the genderlect rules. “Plugging in” all but the V-/C-lengthening rules can thus be seen as a form of code-switching conditioned by SID. Significantly, this condition is not universal: In Japanese, for example, male and female codes remain distinct in both the formal and the familiar registers. Pragmalinguistic theory must then explain how this particular codeswitch occurs in Russian, but not in some other languages.

Another fact that needs to be accounted for is the variability in the application of the genderlect rules. For some of these rules – such as the feminine phonetic rules, and those involving diminutive word formation in conversation with children and pets – the data are already unambiguous: Men apply these otherwise female genderlect rules when they assume female roles by engaging in female conversational genres. Other cases are inconclusive because of the absence of relevant data: for example, whether female prison guards may use male-type imperative syntax agreement. Likewise, we have no examples of women using self-deprecatory diminutives, although in principle there should be occasions when women may show deference to their superiors by using such forms. Perhaps these represent cases in which women have yet to identify with the social roles that sanction such linguistic usages. The fact is that only exceptionally successful professional women (not just women who are simply employed in their fields or have a particular background) tend to carry their professional lexicon over to casual conversation; and this points to the role of self-image in the use of language. Apparently, only women whose occupation is an integral part of their identity use their professional lexicon in a SID environment.

Most Russian genderlect features seem clearly to be attached to one or the other genderlect, with no evidence of crossing of gender lines. These features include all the phonetic and prosodic rules (except for V-/C-lengthening), and most of the particulars of lexical and phraseological usage. Violations of the gender specificity of these rules occur only in acting; they are especially well

known through the performances of male comedians, who exhibit all the female linguistic features when they assume female roles on stage. It is precisely the fact that these features belong so clearly to female genderlects that renders, for example, diphthongs like [uo] so comical coming from the mouths of male artists. To be able to apply female genderlect rules so effectively, the comedians must not only be aware of them but must also be able to switch into this code at will, just as some speakers can switch into other dialects.

The genderlect data can also be viewed diachronically. A change in progress, for example, involves generational differences in the use of slang, vulgarities, and profanities by women. These are more frequent in the speech of younger women, and in this respect they resemble certain referential expressions discussed below. There is an important difference between the ways slang and vulgarities are used by men and by younger women. Men use these features to create a stylistic clash (recall the clash between stem and suffix in 27a above), as part of the linguistic play typical of SID situations. For women, this is instead “embedded speech,” a temporary adoption of masculine identity. No specific male social roles (analogous to the female caretaker roles that men adopt when talking to children or pets) are associated with this shift. This distinguishes the use of vulgar language by younger women from other cases that involve crossing genderlect lines.<sup>23</sup> What is needed, then, is a discourse model that has at least the following features:

- (35) a. It is sensitive to the speaker’s image of him/herself and of the addressee.  
 b. It is sensitive to speaker/addressee interrelationship as perceived by the speaker, i.e. to the speaker’s assessment of either SID or LID.  
 c. It can accommodate role-playing.  
 d. It is culture-sensitive.  
 e. It can correlate all the factors to which it is sensitive with rule application.

If we assume a broadly generative position (whereby a set of rules is applied to a set of forms in order to generate a perceptible output), it is a considerable challenge to generate utterances whose syntactic, morphological, and phonological form is controlled by pragmatic factors of the sort described. I suggest that the features just outlined are present in the TDM (Yokoyama 1987a, 1988), which I now briefly present.

*The Transactional Discourse Model (TDM).* In Figure 1, A and B represent the knowledge sets of two interlocutors, and  $C_a$  and  $C_b$  represent their respective sets of current concern. The intersection of  $C_a$  and  $C_b$  is labeled  $C_{ab}$ ; in the figure,  $C_b$  is a subset of  $C_a$  and equals  $C_{ab}$ .<sup>24</sup> The discourse situation  $D_0$  immediately precedes A’s discourse-initial utterance “I lost my green sweater”.

The propositional knowledge that A is about to verbalize in  $D_0$  is located in  $C_{a1}$  ( $= C_a - B$ ), i.e. in that part of A’s set of current concern that is not shared with B. For a knowledge transaction to take place,  $C_a$  and  $C_b$  must, prototypically, have

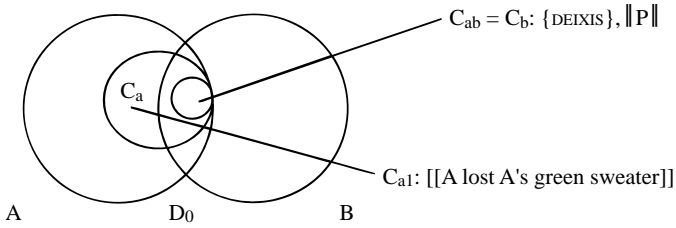


FIGURE 1: Discourse situation immediately before A's utterance.

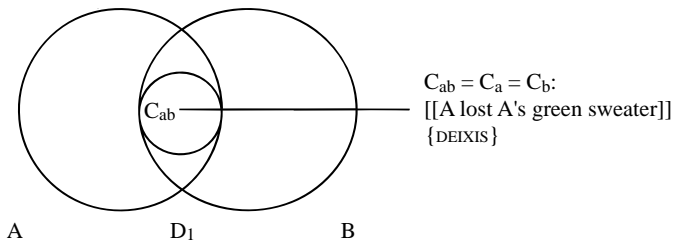


FIGURE 2: Discourse situation immediately after A's utterance.

an intersection ( $C_{ab}$ ) no later than immediately preceding A's utterance. The content of  $C_{ab}$  in the moment shown in Fig. 1 is limited to two knowledge items, {DEIXIS} and  $\|P\|$ . Here {DEIXIS} is a shorthand notation for {I, you, here, now}, and  $\|P\|$  is predicational knowledge, i.e. the knowledge that an abstract predicate is about to be specified by the proposition verbalized in A's forthcoming utterance.

Before we elaborate further, let us consider the completion of the knowledge transaction begun in  $D_0$ . Figure 2 shows the discourse situation  $D_1$ , the one at the moment immediately following A's utterance "I lost my green sweater".

For the brief moment shown in Fig. 2,  $C_a$  and  $C_b$  have overlapped: the propositional knowledge  $[[A \text{ lost A's green sweater}]]$  has been relocated from  $C_1$  into  $C_{ab}$ . Now B, too, knows that A has lost her sweater.

What is important for our purposes is {DEIXIS}, which represents referential knowledge of the interlocutors and of the time and place of the speech event. There is independent evidence that each of the referential items in {DEIXIS} – each of {I}, {you}, {here}, and {now} – correlates with a non-null proposition set. Here are some informal approximations of proposition sets that may correlate with {I} and {you} at a given moment:

(36) {I} CORRELATES WITH, E.G.,	{you} CORRELATES WITH, E.G.,
[[I am a customer]]	[[You are a salesman]]
[[I am your patient]]	[[You are my doctor]]
[[I am your mother]]	[[You are my son]]
[[I am 30]]	[[You are also 30]]
[[I am a woman]]	[[You are a man]]
[[I have a headache]]	[[You look tired]]
[[I am attractive]]	[[You value attractive people]]
[[I am your superior]]	[[You are my inferior]]
[[I am African American]]	[[You are White American]]
[[I don't speak English]]	[[You speak English]]
[[I feel close to you]]	[[You feel close to me]]

The proposition sets follow certain constraints, among which are the following:

- (37) a. The proposition sets associated with a given referent do not contain mutually exclusive members; if they do, all but the first are roles.
- b. The total sets activated in a given context are situationally triggered; i.e., one's set of current concern would not include [[I am Bill's mother]] when "I" is presenting a report at an executive board meeting.<sup>25</sup>
- c. The proposition sets correlated with {I} and {you} are contrastive, parallel, or relational; compare the right and left columns in 36.
- d. Activation of some proposition sets implies activation of some others; e.g. [[I feel close to you]] may imply [[I am a woman]] but not [[I am your customer]].
- e. The implicational relationship of 37d is culture-dependent; e.g. the combination of [[I am a woman]] and [[you are a man]] may in some (but not all) cultures imply [[I am your inferior]] and [[you are my superior]].

These guarantee that the TDM possesses the first four of the five capabilities listed in 35.

{DEIXIS} and the linguistic output. There is plenty of evidence that the TDM also has the fifth, and empirically the most important, of the capacities listed in 35. This is borne out by the fact that the linguistic output is clearly affected by which of the sets correlated with {DEIXIS} are activated in a given discourse situation. For example, if {DEIXIS} is currently correlated with the combination of 38a–b, then 38e would be unacceptable because it violates the Relevance Requirement;<sup>26</sup> but with the combination of 38c–d, 38e is fully acceptable.

(38) a. [[I am your doctor]]	b. [[you are my patient]]
c. [[I am your patient/wife]]	d. [[you are my doctor/husband]]
e. I have a headache.	

Zaitseva 1995 shows how the propositional knowledge sets that are correlated with the speaker's {I} shape the speaker's utterances down to the choice of discourse particles; this suggests that these propositions have considerable power in shaping linguistic output. I will adduce one more example of the role of {DEIXIS} in linguistic output; this case involves culture-specific discourse rules. Consider the set phrases used by a hostess when she presents a guest with a dish she has made, in cultures where it is obligatory to deprecate such a dish (e.g. in Japan). The relevant proposition set associated with {I} (the hostess) and {you} (the guest) must be something like this:<sup>27</sup>

- (39)    {I} CORRELATES WITH, E.G.,                    {you} CORRELATES WITH, E.G.,  
 a.    [[I am Japanese]]  
 b.    [[I am a woman]]  
 c.    [[I am your hostess]]                    [[You are my guest]]  
 d.    [[I am your inferior]]                    [[You are my superior]]  
 e.    [[I do not take you for granted]]  
 f.    [[I am a humble person]]

First, there is an implicational relationship among the propositions within this proposition set: The presence of 39c implies 39d–e, which in turn imply 39f. With these propositions in place, the presence of 39a–b “plugs in” the female genderlect, and the presence of 39d plugs in the honorific system. Now that the code is in place, the presence of 39f induces the speaker to deny her achievements, skills, and value. This stance colors her discourse throughout the meal ritual, as well as in the rest of the conversation. Notably, in a culture where these implicational relationships do not hold, the hostess may actually praise her dish instead.

Before returning more specifically to Russian genderlects, let us first observe how the LID/SID distinction would operate in this model. As an example, consider the low-level phonological rule of Russian that deletes voiced consonants intervocally under certain ill-specified conditions. This rule operates in SID but not in LID, and it applies to forms like /búd’ot/ ‘it will be’ and /nəpr’im’ér/ ‘for example’ deleting /d’/ and /m’/ and generating [búit] and [nəpr’iér].<sup>28</sup> Let us informally call this the “C-deletion rule.” If the rule does not apply, the LID outputs for these forms are [búd’it] and [nəpr’im’ér], respectively. The application of the C-deletion rule is conditioned by the presence of some propositions that reflect the speaker’s SID stance, such as [[I feel close to you]] and [[you feel close to me]], or [[you and I are *svoj*]]. If these propositions are not correlated with the {DEIXIS}, then the rules of Literary Normative Russian apply, and the C-deletion rule is blocked.

Let us assume that, for Russian, the presence of propositions like [[you and I are *svoj*]] implies the presence of propositions like [[I am a man/woman]] and [[you are a man/woman]], and that these latter propositions introduce the genderlect rules. Then we can account in a natural way for the fact that genderlect rules in Russian operate almost exclusively in SID. This assumption would allow us to access the largest group of genderlect rules that seem to be confined to one or the other genderlect, with no evidence of crossing the gender lines (excluding professional acting), such as the female mid-vowel diphthongization rule (ó/é → uo/ie).<sup>29</sup> Metaphors would be explained along the same lines: When the speaker accesses the genderlect rules, s/he concurrently accesses the corresponding gender-specific lexicon and associative fields.

Notice that the TDM can thus account for cultural differences in linguistic behavior – for example, for the fact that genderlects are obligatory in Japanese, whereas Russian genderlects depend on the speaker’s perception of interlocutor closeness. The informal representation in 39 of the propositional knowledge set associated with {DEIXIS} captures at least one major cultural peculiarity of Jap-



anese: The presence of the propositions [[I am a man/woman]] is obligatorily correlated with {DEIXIS}. In Russian, by contrast, it is induced by the presence of SID, i.e. by an implicational relationship with [[you and I are *svoj*]]. One might extend this to suggest that, in Japanese, speakers' awareness of their sex is fundamental to their cognitive/linguistic universe; but in Russian, the primary task of the speaker is to determine the degree of "*svoj*-ness," i.e. the degree of distance between the self and the addressee. Constraint 37e thus guarantees the power of the model to capture cultural distinctions.

What remain to be explained are the other Russian genderlect phenomena, which are somewhat less straightforward. Female phonology and word formation in the speech of men addressing pets or small children is perhaps the easiest non-prototypical case among them. This can be captured by including a proposition like [[I am a woman]] into the proposition set correlated with the male speaker's {I}. The set already contains the proposition [[I am a man]], introduced earlier by SID; and according to 37a, no contradictory sets can be correlated with {I}. Therefore, the second proposition must reflect a role that is assumed for a limited period of time. Female genderlect rules are nevertheless introduced while the proposition [[I am a woman]] is involved. The same procedure, of course, accounts for the generation of genderlects in acting, impersonating, and other kinds of role-playing.

The inclusion of professional vocabulary in the lexicons of both typical Russian men and professionally successful women can be accounted for by the stable presence of propositions like [[I am a geologist/linguist . . . ]] in the list of correlated propositions. Since the tendency to use professional vocabulary even in nonprofessional contexts occurs in both the LID and the SID modes, the professional lexicon must be accessed regardless of the presence of the proposition that establishes SID. A stable position of [[I am a geologist/linguist . . . ]] on the list reflects the more fundamental importance of professional identification within the self-images of Russian men and of successful professional Russian women. The situation is parallel to the way that [[I am a man/woman]] is fundamental to speakers of Japanese. Russian women for whom propositions like [[I am a geologist]] are more fundamental than [[you and I are *svoj*]] thus deviate from the Russian female prototype; for Russian men, however, the importance of propositions like [[I am a geologist]] is the rule rather than the exception.

When genderlect lines are crossed – e.g., by younger women with respect to vulgarisms, or by professionally involved women with respect to professional vocabulary – it is the lexicon that crosses the line, rather than other, more rule-like features. This is consistent with the generally fluid and penetrable nature of the lexicon, as evidenced also by the frequency of lexical cross-linguistic borrowings. These identity-motivated crossings apparently represent a separate case from crossings in which, for example, males borrow female discourse genres, female phonology, or female patterns of word formation.

The female and male rules of emphatic V-/C-lengthening cannot be accommodated by the TDM. Both have been documented in public lectures (cf. 6c),

which normally assume LID. Since these rules do not depend on the presence of [[you and I are *svoj*]], but are nevertheless gender-specific, we have a problem for which, at the moment, I do not have a solution.<sup>30</sup>

#### GENDER MARKEDNESS IN RUSSIAN REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS

Most articles on Russian gender linguistics are concerned with occupational/agentive referential terms, and with the relationship between grammatical and referential gender and agreement. There is a considerable literature, mostly in Russian publications, that describes various types of agentive and feminizing suffixation (e.g. Janko-Trinickaja 1966; Protčenko 1961, 1964, 1975; Zemskaja 1981, 1992, 1997; Comrie et al. 1996). The question of subject-verb agreement (and, to a lesser degree, of noun-adjective agreement) has occupied linguists both in Russia and abroad (Mučnik 1963, Kitajgorodskaja 1976, Rothstein 1973, Corbett 1983, Comrie et al. 1996). Here I will consider a third topic: the pragmatics of gender reference in Russian.

#### *The equipollence of lexical gender in Colloquial Russian*

Jakobson 1971 argued that the masculine gender of Russian nouns is unmarked, in that masculine nouns like *vrač* 'physician' can refer to both males and females, while feminine nouns in non-expressive language have exclusively female sexual reference. However, Zemskaja 1981, 1983 has observed that, in CR, the grammatical/morphological gender of the agentive noun must correspond to the sex of the referent. When a speaker refers in the third person to a female dean, the feminine noun *dekanša* is used – rather than the masculine noun *dekan*, which can refer to either females or males, as Jakobson's claim of Russian gender markedness would predict. In CR, masculine nouns denoting persons are thus no less marked than are feminine nouns. These data led Zemskaja to state (1983:108) that CR exhibits referentially equipollent gender opposition, as opposed to the referentially privative opposition in Literary Normative Russian.<sup>31</sup>

Now recall that CR is the SID mode of literary Russian, while Literary Normative Russian is its LID mode. It was proposed above that, in the SID mode, the set of propositions correlated with {DEIXIS} must include a proposition [[I and you are *svoj*]], as well as the proposition [[I am a man/woman]]. A similar set of implicationally related propositions can generate the equipollent forms in the SID mode. Before we do that, however, we must introduce a crucial modification of Zemskaja's claim concerning the equipollent nature of personal nouns in CR. Consider the following two consecutive CR utterances, produced by the same speaker:

(40) *Travniki na leto iz Moskvy uežajut// No teper' už skoro moja travnica priedet//* (Zemskaja 1983:108)

'The herbalists (M) leave Moscow for the summer. But by now my herbalist (F) will soon be back here.'

The word ‘herbalists’ in the first sentence obviously refers to a generic set of mixed sex and is non-specific; a masculine plural form is used. It is only in the second sentence, where the feminine noun refers to a specific woman, that a feminine noun is used. Equipollence, then, is a requirement only for specific referential terms, not just for any agentive noun.

This is a critical point. In the TDM, it is specific noun phrases that are associated with referential knowledge and correlate with a non-null set of propositions. The modification just made on the basis of 40 then makes it possible to account for morphological feminization by extending the algorithm that generates genderlect phenomena. Just as, in the SID mode, {I} obligatorily correlates with [[I am a woman]], plugging in female genderlect rules such as the low-level diphthongization rule, so I suggest that the specific referential expression {my herbalist} in the second SID utterance in 40 obligatorily correlates with the proposition [[my herbalist is a woman]]. The presence of this proposition among the set of associated knowledge plugs in the feminizing word formation.

Since the proposition specifying the sex of the referent is absent from the set of associated propositions in the LID mode, we would expect the unmarked masculine noun in Literary Normative Russian, even when its referent is a woman. This is in fact what we get:

- (41) a. *Vysokoj nagrody byla udostoena takže O. I. Petrova, zaslužennyj prepodavatel'/\*zaslužennaja prepodavatel'nica 57-ov Moskovskoj školy.*  
 ‘High honors were also bestowed on O. I. Petrova (F), a distinguished-M instructor-M (\*-F \*-F) of Moscow School 57.’  
 b. *Ja — junyj pioner/\*junaja pionerka Sovetskogo Sojuza, pered licom svoix tovarišcej toržestvenno obeščaju [...]*  
 ‘I, a young-M pioneer-M (\*-F \*-F) of the Soviet Union, in the presence of my comrades solemnly promise [...].’

Equipollent feminine forms would never occur in formal LID contexts like those in 41. The distribution of feminine forms can be captured by the presence or absence of the proposition [[X is a woman]] in the set of propositions correlated with the referential knowledge of X:

- (42) a. {DEIXIS} CORRELATES WITH, E.G., [[I and you are *svoj*]] (SID)  
 [[I am a man/woman]]  
 c. {Petrova} CORRELATES WITH, E.G., [[Petrova is a woman]]  
 [[Petrova is a teacher]]  
 b. {DEIXIS} CORRELATES WITH, E.G., [[I and you are not *svoj*]] (LID)  
 d. {Petrova} CORRELATES WITH, E.G., [[Petrova is a teacher]]

Just as the presence of [[I and you are *svoj*]] in 42a implies [[I am a man/woman]], which plugs in the bundle of linguistic features that constitute the Russian genderlects, so it implies [[Petrova is a woman]] in 42c – which, in turn, plugs in the feminine suffixation that produces the appropriate form of the noun for ‘teacher’. In the LID mode, as in 42b and 42d, no propositions of the form [[X is a man/woman]] are correlated with referential knowledge, and consequently, neither the genderlects nor the gendered suffixation become involved.<sup>32</sup>

*The connotations of referential terms in CR*

*Feminine agentives.* Connors wrote that, in modern Russian (and Hebrew), feminine agentives “seem to enjoy great productivity, unblocked by . . . any strong tendency toward facetious connotations” (1971:598). Mučnik 1971, too, perhaps led by the political correctness of his time, argued that whatever differences exist between masculine and feminine referential terms, they do not cancel the complete equality of the sexes that exists in Soviet society. It is now abundantly clear, however, that neither Connors’s claim (598) that “there are no apparent psychological reasons for avoiding feminine derivation,” nor Mučnik’s appeal to an idealized social order, reflects the actual situation in Russian. First, feminine derivation is constrained by the SID/LID mode distinction. Moreover, not just a facetious connotation but even a pejorative one for many of these nouns are by now well known.

The situation is complex, because we are apparently dealing with a gradation of pejorativeness. Feminine forms in 41 would be impossible, even though *pionerka* ‘girl-pioneer’ and *prepodavatel’nica* ‘F teacher’ do not really have any pejorative connotation. Nevertheless, they do not sound serious enough, and they are insufficiently prestigious, to be used in their respective contexts in 41. This is not the case with feminine forms like *poètessa* ‘poetess’, *xirurginja* ‘F surgeon’, *vračixa* ‘F physician’, or *dekanša* ‘F dean’ – which range from considerably slighting, to facetious, to derogatory. As noted by Zemskaja (1981:109), some nouns denoting females are acceptable in both Literary Normative Russian and in CR; but among those female designations restricted to CR, different degrees of “derogativity” can be distinguished. Zemskaja et al. (1993:126) note, however, that MOST of the feminine nouns denoting occupations have a slighting if not altogether derogatory ring to them, and they provide these examples:

- (43) a. —*Kto u vas zavkafedroj?* ‘Who is your department chair?’  
 —*Zavša? Ej let 50! Germanistka odna!*  
 ‘Our chair? She’s about 50, a Germanistess.’  
 b. *Nu/ èto titanka mysli/ korifejka nauki!*  
 ‘Oh well, she’s a titaness of thought, a luminaress of science!’

*Germanistka* in 43a is less pejorative than *zavša*, and both are less pejorative than the obviously sarcastic *titanka* and *korifejka* in 43b. None of the four forms could have been used in the presence of the referent. Zemskaja 1981 attempts to explain this by differences in frequency. It is pointed out that the word *vračixa* ‘F physician’ is more frequently used, and hence less rude, than *dekanixa* ‘F dean’,<sup>33</sup> while the words *portnixa* ‘F tailor’ and *dvorničixa* ‘F custodian’ are not rude at all – indeed, they are the usual terms used to refer to these occupations. I suggest that the critical factor is not so much synchronic frequency as diachrony.

If we examine different classes of feminine personal nouns, an interesting interplay between linguistic diachrony and social changes emerges as a key factor in the slighting connotation of feminine personal nouns. The semantic classes of

female designators that have no slighting connotation in Modern Russian include the following:

- (44) Kinship terms: *mat* 'mother', *sestra* 'sister', *žena* 'wife'  
 Human condition: *devuška* 'maiden', *ženščina* 'woman'  
 Pupils: *pjatklassnica* 'fifth grader-F', *škol'nica* 'schoolgirl'  
 Social status: *krest'janka* 'peasant-F', *angličanka* 'Englishwoman'  
 Wives: *knjaginja* 'princess', *monarxinja* 'monarch's wife'  
 Ecclesiastic status: *monaxinja/inokinja* 'nun', *žrica* 'pagan priestess'  
 Canonization status: *proročica* 'prophetess', *mučenica* 'martyr-F'  
 Occupations: *gubernantka* 'governess', *tkačixa* 'weaver-F', *direktrisa* 'headmistress of a pre-Revolutionary girls' school'

Equipollent kinship terms and words denoting the human condition, most of which are formed from different roots for males and females, are no more derogatory or slighting for females than for males. The absence of a derivational relationship between the male and the female counterparts in these older words suggests that the male and the female concepts have long been independent, with no "unisex" category at the core of the concept. Thus 'brother' and 'sister' are not analyzable into 'male + sibling' and 'female + sibling', respectively,<sup>34</sup> but are independent equipollent entities.<sup>35</sup> An absence of derivational relationship is not, however, a prerequisite for the lack of a slighting connotation: In most other cases in 44, the female forms are related to corresponding male forms that share the root or the stem (e.g. *tkač/tkačixa* 'M/F weaver', *mučenik/mučenica* 'M/F martyr'). The female terms in 44 do not receive a slighting connotation in either the LID or the SID mode.

With respect to other feminine personal nouns, the two modes exhibit differences. In the classes including those in 45, no slighting is felt in the SID mode, but in LID contexts, these words imply that the referents are not taken with sufficient seriousness and must be replaced with masculine forms, as seen above in 41.

- (45) Academic: *učitel'nica* 'teacher-F', *prepodavatel'nica* 'instructor-F', *matematička* 'mathematician-F', *docentka* 'assistant professor-F', *aspirantka* 'graduate student-F', *germanistka* 'Germanist-F', *šekspirovedka* 'Shakespeare scholar-F'  
 Job ranks: *zavedujuščaja* 'manager-F', *zamestitel'nica* 'vice-F'  
 Some jobs: *vaxterša* 'door guard-F', *prodavščica* 'saleswoman'  
 Artists: *xudožnica* 'artist/painter-F', *pianistka* 'pianist-F'  
 Sports: *figuristka* 'figure skater-F', *lyžnica* 'skier-F'  
 Political: *pionerka* 'Soviet girl scout', *partizanka* 'partisan (soldier)-F'

There is a change in progress with respect to certain more recent terms, as shown by a generational discrepancy in the evaluation of words like *aspirantka* 'graduate student-F'. This word is still widely used to refer to the speaker, as well as to a second or third person in the presence of the referent; but some younger female graduate students feel that they are not taken seriously when referred to this way, and they prefer its masculine counterpart *aspirant*.<sup>36</sup> As seems usually to be the case, the slighting is first felt mostly by those who bear the designation in question.<sup>37</sup>

A third group of feminine forms consists of words that never fail to exhibit pejorative connotations:

- (46) Wives: *doktorša* 'doctor's wife', *general' ša* 'general's wife'  
 Professions: *diktorša* 'TV/radio announcer-F', *xirurginja* 'surgeon-F', *filologinja* 'philologist-F', *kompozitorša* 'composer-F', *vračixa* 'physician-F', *agronomša* 'agronomist-F'  
 Ranks: *dekanša* 'dean-F', *zavša* 'department chair-F', *direktrisa* 'headmistress of a contemporary school'

Interestingly, the words with the meaning "the wife of X" (e.g. *doktorša* 'doctor's wife') acquired ironic connotations only in the twentieth century and are attested without them throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Similarly, *direktrisa* 'headmistress of a pre-Revolutionary girls' school' in 44, while a homophone of *direktrisa* in 46, did not have a slighting connotation. But the rest of the words in 46 seem never to have been free of pejorative or ironic connotations. They designate the most recent stratum of female occupational terms.<sup>38</sup> This last group is in some ways the most striking. The feminine forms for these occupations have negative connotations even in the SID mode, and in this mode the feminizing word formation rules are obligatorily plugged in for referential expressions; hence, the speaker in this mode is not granted the option of avoiding the slighting nuance of the female term when speaking, e.g., about a female dean. Although forms like those in 46 are more frequently produced by men than by women (Zemskaja et al. 1993:126), they are documented across the genderlects. In the SID mode of communication, then, regardless of the sex of the speaker, the slighting of female deans (*dekanša*) or female surgeons (*xirurginja*) is the unmarked discourse situation in contemporary CR.

The gradations among the groups in 44–46 clearly reflect the influence of socio-historical factors on linguistic connotations. The inherent female sex roles and the occupations in 44 carry no negative connotation. Notably, these roles are not contestable by men: Only women can be mothers and sisters, or nuns and girls' governesses; spinning and weaving, too, have been women's occupations since antiquity. Even in those cases where there is a corresponding male role, like a monk or a schoolboy, the sexes are still not competing for these roles, because they are guaranteed equal access. With the more recent social roles in 45, the language community seems to have come to terms with women in these roles, while still retaining a sense of novelty about seeing women in them: Women have only relatively recently gained entry into these occupations. The feminine forms in 46 are those for social roles that are still perceived as generally male; the feminine nouns in this category are clearly the most recent and the most pejorative of all. The pejorative connotation of feminine agentive referential terms diminishes in proportion to the degree to which the occupations and roles in question are open to women.

*Crossing gender lines.* Referential terms in CR exhibit another pragmatically controlled peculiarity: using masculine forms to refer to women, and fem-

inine forms to refer to men. The first type of switching, at least at first glance, may seem to be accounted for by Jakobson's thesis about the more inclusive ("unmarked") nature of masculine gender in Russian. The second clearly violates the traditional claims regarding gender markedness.<sup>39</sup> Here are some examples of male forms used with reference to females:

- (47) a. To a female: *Nu čto, poel/goloden?*  
 'Have you eaten-M / Are you hungry-M?'  
 b. A man to his female lover: *Moj ljubimyj!* 'My beloved-M!'  
 c. A woman to her male lover: *\*Moja ljubimaja!* 'My beloved-F!'  
 d. Female speaker about herself: *Ponjal!* 'Got-M it!'  
 e. To a group of women: *Bratcy!* 'Brothers!' / *Rebjata!* 'Guys!'

A closer look at the data suggests that crossing gender lines in either direction is value-laden in non-trivial ways. First, as was noted already by Jakobson,<sup>40</sup> referring to a man with the feminine form *dura* 'fool' exacerbates the injury. Conversely, Zemskaja et al. (1993:127) note that the masculine forms in 47a–b carry a particularly affectionate connotation. They are used with reference to female addressees by their male lovers – and with reference to daughters (for the most part) by their mothers. Significantly, the reversal in the other direction is impossible, as seen from the unacceptability of 47c.<sup>41</sup> Forms like 47d–e, however, are used mainly among younger women and evoke a sense of camaraderie rather than affection.<sup>42</sup>

We must conclude, then, that cross-gender reference in Russian is asymmetrical in terms of connotation: Crossing the gender line in the direction of masculine nouns, with reference to women, produces positive connotations; but crossing it in the direction of feminine nouns, with reference to men, produces negative connotations. Note that when a man addresses a woman with the masculine form *durak* 'fool', the effect is not merely neutral but affectionate. Similarly in 47b, it is as if the speaker is stressing a suprasexual bond with the lover, thus elevating the woman from the level of lover to that of lover AND friend. Both crossings are thus affected by the same cultural opposition that deems masculine more positive than feminine.

Can this reality be accommodated by the TDM? In 39, I suggested a set of propositions that correlate with {DEIXIS} and allow us to generate culture-specific output. This can now be extended by a further set of context-appropriate propositions that enables us to generate the culture-specific connotations of the referential expressions in 46. The following composition of this set in the SID mode would include a proposition stating that being a woman and holding a position from 46 is inappropriate:

- (48) {Petrova} CORRELATES WITH, E.G.,  
 a. [[Petrova is a dean]]  
 b. [[Petrova is a woman]]  
 c. [[Proposition (a) and proposition (b) are incompatible]]

The presence of 48c triggers the pejorative feminizing word formation.<sup>43</sup>

Terms like those in 45 are also generated in the SID mode, but without a proposition like 48c: They are triggered by the presence of 48b. Those in 44 are fundamentally different from those in 45–46; they are generated not only in the SID mode, but also in the LID mode, which does not imply propositions like 48b. They apparently do not depend on the presence of such propositions to be generated as feminine nouns. This presents no problem, of course, for non-derived feminine nouns like ‘mother’ and ‘sister’. To generate feminine nouns that are ostensibly derived from their male counterparts, like ‘schoolgirl’ and ‘prophetess’, we would have to access them in the lexicon as they stand. At the moment, there is no independent evidence that they are non-derived; so, for the time being, a diacritic needs to be attached to those words in 44 that share their stems with corresponding masculine words.

Last, the cross-gender reference in 47 is triggered, I suggest, by the presence of the proposition [[You are male]] for 47a–b, and [[We are male(s)]] for 47d–e. These propositions coexist with the contradictory propositions [[You are female]] and [[We are female(s)]]; and they create an identity-based role-playing situation, just as in other role-playing phenomena mentioned above.

#### CONCLUSION

In the first section of this article, I presented an overview of the structural genderlect features of Contemporary Russian, based primarily on the work of Zemskaja et al. My main goal was to show that there is a great deal of interesting data to consider, and that much remains to be done if the data are to contribute to the cross-linguistic or cross-cultural theory of gender linguistics. The Russian data are particularly interesting because Russian culture, though generally European, is sufficiently different with respect to gender to serve as a potential testing ground – e.g., for theories addressing such questions as the relationship of social roles and status to gendered language, or the validity of claims about differences between the male and female cognitive universes.

In the second section, I examined the pragmalinguistics of referential terms in Colloquial Russian. I considered the equipollence of referential expressions, the problem of positive and negative connotations of various referential expressions, and the problem of cross-gender reference. This part of the article was based on my own research. Whatever the mechanism of language production may be, pragmalinguistic theory must ultimately account for the fact that male and female speakers of one and the same language produce linguistic output that differs in such a structurally basic area as phonology. Uniting the two parts of this article, I have proposed a discourse model for handling this fact – one that allows us to capture the implicational relationship between the speaker’s perception of his or her relationship with the addressee and his or her gendered perception of the self, and to apply rules that generate distinct gender-based surface structures. The model is potentially universal, in that it can account for cultural differences in



gendered behavior and for diachronic changes in the cultural values of a given society. Thus it can account for the different status of genderlects in Russian, as opposed to Japanese – or, in the case of Russian referential terms, it can relate culturally conditioned views on women who hold certain occupations to a scale of negativity of connotation, as well as to the relatively recent phenomenon of using male referential terms with reference to women. Since this cross-gender usage has also been noted in such diverse languages as Modern Hebrew, English, and Japanese, further comparative analysis is needed to test the universality of the model.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>I suggest in Yokoyama 1994 that one of the basic historical oppositions in Slavic culture, that of *svoj* ‘one’s own’ vs. *čужoj* ‘somebody else’s’ (cf. Ivanov & Toporov 1965), is still operative in Russian culture today – where it manifests itself, among other ways, in the existence of these two modes of communication.

<sup>2</sup>“Vowel reduction” is the traditional term in Russian phonology that refers to the neutralization process leading to the surface manifestation of unstressed vowels in Standard Literary Russian.

<sup>3</sup>For the surface realization of /o/ and /a/ in the first pretonic position after nonpalatalized consonants, I follow the literary norm as described by Bryzgunova 1980:76 ff.; [ʌ] is also posited in this environment by Zemskaja et al. 1990:232. Other Russian phoneticians have suggested that the normative pronunciation of these phonemes in this position is lower and more centralized than [ʌ]; lengthening is not normative in this position.

<sup>4</sup>When the diachrony of *akan’e* is taken into consideration, the picture is complicated still further. The low open [a] that is now a distinctive feature of the female genderlect used to be the Old Moscow prestigious literary norm, and it was present in the pronunciation of both sexes – notably, as recently as in the speech of the poet Boris Pasternak (1890–1960). It has since ceased to be normative and prestigious, but remains in women’s speech as a genderlect feature (Zemskaja et al. 1990:232).

<sup>5</sup>Trubetzkoy (1939:21) noted part of this rule, namely /o/ → [uo], already in his *Grundzüge*, referring to it as a trait of coquettish female speech.

<sup>6</sup>Note that V-lengthening occurs in both male and female speech when it carries other semantic functions, e.g. when reciting lists: ... *b*[e:]*lka*, *dve* *k*[o:]*ški*, *čerep*[a:]*xa*, ‘a squirrel, two cats, a tortoise.’

<sup>7</sup>In addition, this change results in an unusual sound that does not otherwise occur in Literary Normative Russian – i.e. a palatalized (soft) [š’].

<sup>8</sup>Note the adversative 3pl. form *zaderžali* in 10 (lit. ‘they kept [me] waiting’); this indicates that what the speaker annuls by generating the sentence in low pitch is her own would-be complaint, rather than the addressee’s preceding utterance.

<sup>9</sup>Following Yokoyama 1987a,b, two basic utterance intonation types are distinguished here: Type I without sentential stress, and Type II with it.

<sup>10</sup>The same male/female distinction appears to exist in English. See note 22 on another typically female Russian intonational contour.

<sup>11</sup>Jespersen (1922:250) noted the frequency of *so* in the speech of English women, as in *It’s so lovely!*, and ascribed this to an alleged tendency of women to break off without finishing their sentences.

<sup>12</sup>Russian diminutives are formed by adding diminutive suffixes to stems. Various semantic nuances are created, depending on the nature (and number) of the suffixes added to a stem; see Stanekiewicz 1968, Volek 1987, and references therein.

<sup>13</sup>Words with diminutive suffixes are marked with “-D” in the glosses.

<sup>14</sup>E. g. *seledočka* ‘herring-D’, *jaički* ‘eggs-D’.

<sup>15</sup>This is a phenomenon similar in spirit to so-called “doctor’s we” (“And how are we feeling today, Mrs. Jones?”), which also occurs in Russian. Typical “doctor’s diminutives” would be *temperaturka* ‘temperature-D’, *jazyčok* ‘tongue-D’.

<sup>16</sup>In this type – not identified as such by Zemskaja et al. or other writers – a diminutive suffix is attached to a noun denoting a thing or person in the sphere of the addressee's influence or interest, e.g. *Čemodančik sjudā, požalujsta* '(Give me your) suitcase-n here, please.'

<sup>17</sup>There is some evidence, for example, that adjectival and adverbial diminutives belong to the female genderlect, while diminutives of larger time units like "week" or "year" (as opposed to "second" or "minute") are part of the male genderlect; see Yokoyama 1999.

<sup>18</sup>The eloquent testimony of an anecdote concerning a highly educated Russian male philologist (age sixty), reported by Zemskaja et al. (1993:131), suggests that Russian men feel inhibited about verbalizing positive excitement in positive language. When the philologist finally found himself freely walking alone, unsupervised by the Soviet authorities, in a western European city he had always wanted to visit but where he had never been allowed before, his wild excitement came out as a torrent of four-letter words – otherwise extremely unusual for this highly educated gentleman. He explained this himself by the fact that he was "bursting with emotion."

<sup>19</sup>See Yokoyama 1987a for the role of acknowledgments in discourse.

<sup>20</sup>The unmarked order in Russian is Adj-N.

<sup>21</sup>Given the well-established status of tag questions in the English gender-linguistics literature, it should be noted that tag questions are neither as grammaticalized nor as frequent in Russian as they are in English. Their most critical feature in Russian is that they belong to LID, and correspond rather to the English formal "Isn't that so?" or "Wouldn't you say so?" As noted by Parrott 1997 (chap. 4), English tag questions often correspond in Russian to the discourse particle *že*.

<sup>22</sup>This sort of exclamation is typically uttered in female speech with a very high tone on the noun – another common female intonation contour (IK-6 in Bryzgunova's 1980 classification of intonational contours). See Yokoyama 1992 for more on gender-specific intonation in Russian.

<sup>23</sup>I must leave aside certain important theoretical problems surrounding the application of rules that produce homonymous outputs with different functions. For example, the V-lengthening rule occurs in the female genderlect in emphatic or expressive meaning; but it also occurs in both genderlects (in both SID and LID modes) in other functions, e.g. lists. Similarly, the diminutive formation rule (cf. above) operates in both SID and LID modes, and in both genderlects, in categories involving food or honorific objects, and in "doctor's" speech – but not for child-/pet-oriented discourse or for self-deprecatory formations, where it operates only in the SID mode, and is likely to be gender-role-specific. It remains to be determined precisely how a relatively simple rule of V-lengthening, or standard word formation rules involving diminutive suffixes, operate under such complex semantic and pragmatic constraints. But this is a task that goes far beyond genderlects per se, and it cannot be pursued here.

<sup>24</sup>This is so because, at the moment immediately preceding A's discourse-initial informational utterance, an agreement is assumed to have been reached (e.g. by greeting conventions) that A has the floor. As soon as this agreement is reached, B becomes "all attention," which means that for the moment, no knowledge that is not known to A is in C<sub>b</sub>. For more details on the operation of the TDM, see Yokoyama 1987a; for synopses, see Yokoyama 1991 or Růžička 1992.

<sup>25</sup>This can be handled by relating the proposition sets correlated with {now} and {here} to those correlated with {I} and {you}.

<sup>26</sup>See Yokoyama's modification (1987a:28) of Grice's Maxim of Relevance.

<sup>27</sup>The presence of particular propositions at any given moment of discourse needs to be established independently. The informal set given in 38 remains to be verified.

<sup>28</sup>For each of these forms, I present only one of several possible phonemic representations; the choice of phonemic representation, which depends on many complex assumptions about Russian phonology, is inconsequential for our purposes.

<sup>29</sup>This algorithm can be viewed as a formalization of earlier observations, in gender linguistics more generally, concerning structural male/female differences. Thus Key suggests that "these differences may not occur when speakers are in roles other than the sex role" (1972:29). The presence of [[I am a man/woman]] in the set of propositions correlated with {I} is equivalent to the speaker's "being in a sex role."

<sup>30</sup>Additional data are needed in order to determine the precise mode in which the public lectures were delivered. Given the recent frequent contact with the West, concomitant with democratization, it is becoming increasingly possible for Russian scholars to deliver scholarly lectures in a mild variant of SID. Perhaps these cases of emphatic gender-specific phonology occur precisely in such innovative lecture environments. If so, the methods of establishing the SID/LID relationship in Russian will

need to be revised, with no change in the implicational relationships of [[you and I are *svoj*]], [[I am a man/woman]], and the genderlects.

<sup>31</sup>On the privative nature of gender oppositions in standard Russian, Zemskaja here follows Panov (1962:23–25), who in turn echoes Jakobson.

<sup>32</sup>When a proposition like [[X is a woman]] is correlated with referential knowledge, the effect on plugging in the CODE (i.e. linguistic rules and processes) is as described. The situation is different when an item of propositional knowledge itself asserts that [[X is a woman]]. A proposition of this sort may well be part of an information transaction in LID mode (e.g. in court deliberations where the sex of the victim is discussed), and will have no bearing on the CODE.

<sup>33</sup>Note that there are two feminine formations for ‘dean’, namely *dekanša* and *dekanixa*; the former is labeled “low style,” and the latter “rude” by Zemskaja (1981:109).

<sup>34</sup>In fact, there is no word for ‘sibling’ in Russian. Note also that German *Geschwister* ‘siblings’ is derived from *Schwester* ‘sister’, despite Jakobson (I owe this last comment to one of my anonymous reviewers).

<sup>35</sup>There may be some historical basis for this in Indo-European languages, given the well-developed kinship terminology of Proto-Indo-European. The more general “unisex” terms like ‘parent’ or ‘sibling’ apparently represent a later development.

<sup>36</sup>Zemskaja et al. (1993:126) point out that regional differences may exist in such cases, citing Saratov as a city where the feminine terms *aspirantka* ‘graduate student-F’, *studentka* ‘undergraduate student-F’ and *dissertantka* ‘doctoral student-F’ are perceived as slighting.

<sup>37</sup>A similar process can be reconstructed for the word *poëtessa* ‘poetess’. The word did not imply slighting in the nineteenth century, when women poets were rare and unprofessional; it began to sound derogatory in the beginning of this century, first of all to emerging young professional female poets like Anna Axmatova and Marina Cvetaeva.

<sup>38</sup>There is also a class of personal nouns that do not have female forms even in the SID mode. These include obsolete male professions like *lakej* ‘lackey’, highly prestigious modern occupations like *ministr* ‘(cabinet) minister’ or *akademik* ‘academician’, and occupations still closed to women in Russia, e.g. *episkop* ‘bishop’, or *svjaščennik* ‘priest’. The Russian rendering of terms referring to Protestant missionaries, and to Episcopal female priests and bishops anointed in the last decade, is as yet unattested. Note in this connection Janko-Trinickaja’s testimony (1966:174) that the need to report Western reality in the Russian press at the turn of the century forced onto the Russian language some choices relating to feminization.

<sup>39</sup>Jakobson mentions that “the feminine gender signals that the given noun cannot designate a male human being, unless in expressive, particularly pejorative language” (1971:184); but he does not pursue this point. This does not detract from his claims regarding the marked nature of feminines.

<sup>40</sup>The example is often cited in the oral tradition of Jakobson’s students; Catherine Chvany, for example, testifies (p.c.) that she heard Jakobson discuss it in his Harvard lectures in 1962–66.

<sup>41</sup>The situation in the Russian gay community remains to be examined; cf. the English gay use of feminine pronouns in two opposite situations – endearingly with reference to one’s male lover, and pejoratively with reference to older effeminate gay men (p.c. 1997).

<sup>42</sup>The phenomenon is not restricted to Russian. Girls-only groups in American English can be addressed with “Hey, guys!,” and Japanese girls in their upper teens have been using the male first person pronoun *boku* for more than two decades. Cross-gender reference is found in Modern Hebrew as well (Yishai Tobin, p.c.). One of my anonymous reviewers mentions the 1940s American college girls’ exclamation “Aw, fellas!” in touched acknowledgment of a gift.

<sup>43</sup>Propositions that state the incompatibility of (a) and (b) must be capable of reflecting the degree of impropriety, so as to account for the difference in the level of derogation of, e.g., *vračixa* ‘F physician’ (less derogatory) and *dekanixa* ‘F dean’ (more derogatory), on the one hand, and *dekanša* ‘F dean’ (less derogatory) and *dekanixa* ‘F dean’ (more derogatory and hostile), on the other. Instead of being correlated with referential knowledge {Petrova}, they may be listed in the CODE and accessed by an association rule when both 50a and 50b are correlated with {Petrova}.

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