

**GENDER DISCOURSE DEMOCRATIZATION:
Cosmopolitan and Men's Health**

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Declaration of Academic Integrity

I declare hereby that the present study is a product of my own and no unstated sources have been used.

Jelena Potapeiko

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Abstract

The present investigation lies within the fields of discourse analysis and gender studies. The author of the study aims to monitor the process of gender discourse democratization as manifested in such widely-read life-style magazines as Men's Health and Cosmopolitan. The central ambition of the research is to illustrate the process of gender topic and gender language co-penetration by conducting a critical analysis of a selection of texts taken from the magazines under analysis. As a final result of her research, the author of the study exposes and classifies the evidence of co-penetration between what is known as 'traditional' male and female topics/situations, as well as language choices. The present study represents a rather new approach to gender discourse analysis as, instead of polarizing male and female discourse, it focuses on certain "unisex" discourse features that reflect the ongoing social change in terms of the traditional concepts of femininity and masculinity. Apart from the fields of discourse analysis and linguistics, the results of the study can be used for further research within such disciplines as sociology and media studies.

1. Introduction

The present investigation lies within the domain of discourse analysis and gender discourse studies. One of the vital aspects of context analysis exploited in this paper is the concept of addressee. Quite a number of scholars have put forward the idea of language purposefulness suggesting an obligatory presence of a target addressee in any type of discourse. Following Bakhtin (1981), Verschueren (1999) elaborates on the notion of 'superaddressee' and introduces a term of 'virtual interpreter' to denote a hypothetical addressee to whom a written text is directed. Verschueren (1999) suggests that in terms of written discourse a 'virtual interpreter' is an entity created by the author's imagination, which may or may not match the characteristics of the real addressees the text will encounter. However, 'virtual addressee' comes across as a critical element to demystify while performing discourse analysis as it is the element that defines characteristics of the discourse itself. Goddard and Patterson (2000:108) stress the importance of the relationship between 'narrator' and 'narratee' (author and addressee) in the analysis of written discourse. These researchers suggest that identifying a 'narratee' or 'narratees' of a text is a complex process that would involve identification of at least the following qualities: gender, possible age, colour of skin, linguistic identity, physiological condition, reliability, positive or negative bias and power among the others. The present investigation is particularly focused on gender language and social positions of men and women reflected in language, which automatically places the study within the framework of discourse and gender studies. The role of gender in discourse has been a rather popular field of investigation in discourse analysis, pragmatics and sociolinguistics over the recent decades. Quite a number of researches have pointed out phonological, grammatical and semantic features that male and female discourse can be identified with. Key (1975) has

suggested that the most prominent differences between male and female language in English occur on grammatical and syntactical level, where women's discourse is claimed to be less direct and far more hedged than male discourse. Women are argued to use such features as intensifiers, reduplicated forms, tag questions, and modal constructions more often than men. In terms of vocabulary, women are claimed to employ a great variety of emotionally colored and emphatic adjectives, whilst men tend to opt for the forms that emphasise masculinity, such as: *barbed; bristly; lusty, etc.* (Key, 1975:75).

A great importance has always been attributed to the gender-related stereotypes gradually formed and reinforced by society and projected through mass media. (Fairclough,1995:27). Goddard and Patterson(2000:38) suggest that gender awareness is a socially-constructed term that is being 'taught' to each member of society since the very first moment of interaction with the world. To illustrate, these researchers suggest that media reinforces the socially-accepted ideals of femininity and masculinity by depicting women, for instance, as wives and mothers and men as breadwinners and qualified professionals. Caldas-Coulthard (1992:251) suggests that men are usually addressed in media with factual and analytical information, while female addressees are often associated with 'ideal and emotive novelization of events'. Connell (2001: 142), in his attempt to define modern concept of masculinity, discusses dimensions of male gender stereotyping in mass media. This scholar illustrates the tendencies of depicting men as fearless and risky individuals who are not afraid of drink-driving or playing hard in sports. As far as women representation in mass media is concerned, Marin Arrese (1993:216) argues that women tend to be attributed a whole set of characteristics, such as "powerlessness, domesticity, deviancy, vulnerability, irrationality, and emotional and sexual excess" to name the few of them. In terms of

factors that shape male and female discourse, Lakoff (1975: 55-77) brings about the socially conceived stereotype of “women are ladies”, as well as the idea of “male bonding”, that both result in women’s alienation in society that, in its turn provokes hypercorrectness of female discourse.

Previous research in gender discourse has mainly focused on polarization of male and female linguistic choices, leaving out a rather recent matter of discourse democratization. (C.Caldas-Coulthard,1996). The phenomenon of discourse democratization can generally be explained by the modern social change manifested in merging of former gender-attached roles and reshaping of femininity and masculinity (C.Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; R.W. Connell: 2001).

This paper focuses on a rather recent phenomenon of co-penetration between male and female language choices manifested through the texts of popular male and female lifestyle magazines, namely *Cosmopolitan* and *Men’s Health*, December 2009, March 2010, April 2010 UK issues, as well as their correspondent WebPages. **The hypothesis of the present paper can be stated as follows: there is a certain evidence of co-penetration between what is known as ‘traditional’ male and female topics/situations and language choices in *Men’s Health* and *Cosmopolitan* lifestyle magazines.** The author of the present study expects to find the topic co-penetration in such magazine sections as: Career Tips, Food and Cooking, Body Care and Health, Body and Working Out, Fashion, and Sex. The language co-penetration, in its turn, is expected to be revealed on grammatical, syntactic and semantic levels.

In order to prove the stated hypothesis, **the present study aims** to analyse a selected corpus of texts in order to reveal the spheres of gender language co-penetration on the level of interest areas shared by male and female addressees targeted by *Cosmopolitan* and *Men’s Health* magazines. Further, the study will focus on the

analysis of selected extracts in order to single out the possible instances of gender topic and gender language co-penetration.

As **tools of the analysis** the author of the present paper aims to employ the existing theories of the field, namely: the idea of the changing discourse of masculinity put forward by Connell (2001); the issue of gender-related stereotyping (Goddard and Patterson, 2000, Fairclough, 1995, Lakoff, 1975), the theory of a great shift in the traditional female and male social roles proposed by Holmes (1992), the idea of scientification of male discourse and “beautification” of female discourse in mass media mentioned by Goddard and Patterson (2000); the issue of discourse ‘novelization’ introduced by Caldas-Goulthard, (1991); the idea of gender differences in the use of imperative constructions and vocabulary use advocated by Key (1975) and Lakoff (1975: 55), as well as author’s own observations and unofficial observations left by the participants of the study.

2. Theoretical Background

For the purposes of the present investigation such basic notion of context analysis as *addressee* should be defined as the point of departure. Quite a number of scholars have put forward the idea of language purposefulness suggesting an obligatory presence of a target addressee in any type of discourse. Following Bakhtin(1981), Verschueren(1999) claims that language always possesses the quality of ‘directedness’. Bakhtin (1981) brings up a notion of a ‘superaddressee’ to whom language is directed. As quoted in Verschueren (1999: 87), Bakhtin(1981) defines a ‘superaddressee’ as “a mental model of something or someone able to perfectly understand what one is saying(whether a person, a god, truth itself, or history).” Verschueren (1999) himself elaborates on Bakhtin’s ‘superaddressee’ by coining the term ‘virtual interpreter’ to denote a hypothetical addressee to whom a written text is directed. Verschueren (1999) puts forward the idea of an utterer/author of an oral or written text to be identified with the ‘virtual interpreter’ as the identity of the latter results from the utterer’s imagination, which may or may not match the reality. Bearing in mind the fact that language is always destined for a certain recipient one can conclude that there might be a direct connection between the features of the language and the characteristics of the addressee targeted by this language. Thus, the identification of the target addressee emerges as one of the vital procedures in context analysis.

Goddard and Patterson (2000:108) stress the importance of the relationship between ‘narrator’ and ‘narratee’ (author and addressee) in the analysis of written discourse. These researchers suggest several spheres on which one should focus when aiming to identify the ‘narratee’ of a written text, such as the number of ‘narratees’, gender, possible age, colour of skin, linguistic identity, physiological condition, reliability, positive or negative bias and power among others. Apart from

conceptualizing the direct ‘narratee’ of a text, Goddard and Patterson (2000: 109) emphasize the importance of indirect ‘narratees’ – possible readers of a text who do not feel identified with an idea of a ‘superaddressee’ constructed by the author. Should this be the case, according to G. and P. (2000:108) the reader becomes an observant of the interaction who is constructing his/her picture of a possible ‘narratee’ addressed by the author. This idea has also been widely discussed by Verschueren (1999: 85) in his description of possible interpreters involved in an interaction. Apart from direct addressees, the system developed by Verschueren (1999:85) comprises ‘side participants’, bystanders’ and ‘overhearers’, who all represent different types of indirect addressees. Despite the fact that Verschueren’s system of interpreters has been developed with regard to oral discourse exclusively, we could as well attribute its qualities to written discourse, as written texts tend to have a wide range of interpreters apart from the one originally intended by the author.

Analysing the identity of a hypothetical addressee, the gender of the addressee should be one of the basic aspects to pay attention to. The role of gender in the issue of topicality and language use have been rather popular topics within investigation practice in pragmatics, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis over the recent decades. Fairclough (1995:27) points out that media discourse tends to make use of ‘pre-existing categorization systems of ideologically powerful sort’ in order to practise gender discrimination. This researcher suggests that bias media discourse could be characterized by depicting a woman in terms of her socially determined gender segregated roles as, for example, her husband’s wife, a mother or as a sexual attraction for men. The idea of stereotyping in the domain of male and female social roles is developed in detail by Goddard and Patterson (2000:38), who claim that every member of society shares a pragmatic awareness of generally presupposed male and female

roles, as well as what is implied by the idea of masculinity and femininity. According to these scholars, gender awareness is a socially-constructed term that is being 'taught' to each member of society through linguistic formulas and images since the very first moment of interaction with the world. By analysing the characteristics of toys aimed for boys and girls, G. and P. (2000: 36) came across the striking explicitness of gender stereotyping. To illustrate this concept, boys were expected to be attracted by soldiers, pistols and other war craft imitating gadgets, while girls were supposed to play with little kitchen sets, baby-dolls and decoration kits – toys that are aimed to teach children about the future social roles they will be expected to undertake. Colour-coding is another gender-dependant feature discussed by G. and P. (2000:37) in terms of their analysis. The results of the study have shown that pink and shades of pink were marked as feminine colours, while masculinity would be associated with darker colours or army combat colours. It is worthwhile to notice here, that colour-coding as a tool of gender segregation in society does not end in childhood as quite a number of objects meant for adults are colour-coded as well. A raiser for men, for instance, will never be manufactured in pink colour, while the one aimed for female customers would more likely be pink or any other bright colour. Goddard and Patterson (2000: 38) would agree to the remark above and claim that 'gendered portrayal of sexes' once started in childhood is continuously maintained by society all through the live of an individual, which makes society believe that gender-bound social roles are actually a norm of behaviour. It should be noted here that any type of social behaviour not coinciding with the one socially defined as appropriate for men or women is likely to be considered as a deviation from the norm. Another example that would illustrate the point argued above is the comparative analysis of two advertising campaigns of cosmetics aimed at men and women, conducted by G. and P. (2000: 38). These

researchers have found out that women clients were expected to be attracted by such traditionally feminine concepts as 'delicacy and subtlety ('hint of a tint'), virginity and innocence ('peach blush'), as well as romantic settings while men were supposed to buy the product for the reason of its functionality in problem-solving and science oriented description. Caldas-Coulthard (1992:251) shares this observation and suggests that men are usually addressed in media with factual and analytical information, while female addressees are often associated with 'ideal and emotive novelization of events'. In addition, in her analysis of female lifestyle magazines, this scholar argues that aesthetically unattractive visual information tends to be concealed from the reader or substituted by something fictionalized as a result of 'beautification' discourse constraints.(Caldas-Coulthard,1992:264). However, Tannen (1990: 112) in her analysis of male and female communication styles claims that novelization of events as media technique is gradually becoming popular in both female and male directed press. The example discussed by this scholar in connection with this assumption is an article taken from New York Times "Business" section that tells a story of a quality control inspector giving a whole set of minor personal details from the life of this inspector, including the detailed description of his looks and emotions. Tannen (1990:113) suggests that telling personal details in media, or what used to be defined as "gossiping" and attributed to female readership only, is now becoming one of the leading strategies of reader involvement.

Key (1975) speaks of gender-dependant linguistic differences as divided into three major groups: phonological, grammatical and semantic. Phonological differences between male and female language imply differences in pronunciation and rhythm that male and female speakers possess or expose while talking to the opposite sex. Grammatical differences, according to Key (1975: 76) could further be divided into

grammatical ones and syntactic ones. As to gender differences on a grammatical level in the English language, this researcher mentions the suffix *-ess*, which is designed to coin female terms out of the unmarked male ones (e.g.: actor – actress; poet – poetess; author- authoress; etc.) Goddard and Patterson (2000:1) also evoke this feature in line with the suffix *-ine* that means “like” (e.g.: bovine – like cow; vulpine – like a wolf; Geraldine – like Gerald) as the basic features of female markedness in the English language. Speaking about grammatical differences between male and female language in English, it is vital to mention the standard use of third person masculine in generic sense. The ‘sex-indefinite *he* rule’, according to Coates (1986:23), has been a long disputed matter of sexist attitudes in the English language. Lakoff (1975:45) as quoted in Coates (1986:23) suggests that the abolition of generic use of *he* in English is an enterprise that is bound to fail due to its long-standing use in standard grammar. As to syntactic differences between male and female linguistic forms, Key (1975: 75) points out that women tend to use more intensifiers (e.g.: so, such, quite, etc.); more reduplicated forms (e.g.: teeny-tiny; itsy-bitsy), more modal constructions (e.g.: may; might; should; would, etc.) and tag questions. The latter two aspects are traditionally interpreted as the lack of certainty and definiteness in the female speech. According to Key (1975: 76) the use of imperative constructions is one more feature that indicates male/female speech. This scholar claims that women, as compared to men, try to avoid using direct and abrupt imperatives opting for longer constructions and questions instead. Another grammatical feature that differs in the male and female discourse is the use of vocabulary. Key (1975:75) argues that women have a strong tendency to use emphatic forms, such as, for instance, *adorable, precious, bubbly, exquisite, etc.* Coates (1986:18) paraphrasing Lakoff (1975:53) argues that women give certain preference to extensive use of ‘empty’ adjectives, such as *divine, charming, cute, etc.* Men, on the

contrary, tend to opt for the forms that emphasise masculinity, such as: *barbed; bristly; lusty, etc.* (Key, 1975:75). Another characteristic of exclusively female speech defined by Lakoff (1975:55) is hypercorrectness in terms of grammar and vocabulary. According to this scholar, women tend to use correct standard grammar constructions and standard neutral or even formal vocabulary, whilst men are more likely to use vernacular forms and jargon of a field. Lakoff (1975: 51-56) explains this phenomenon by the general concept of “women are ladies” conceived by our society. The status of a “lady”, as explained by Lakoff (1975: 51-53), implies a certain degree of formality, where a woman is perceived as a certain example of correct social behaviour. However, being an “example” understates a certain degree of alienation of a woman from the male society, where she is not a member of a group and thus, she is not allowed to use the same language as members of the group do. Lakoff (1975:76) illustrates this idea by a common example of a group of men, who change their linguistic forms as soon as a woman joins the conversation. The concept of “women are ladies”, according to Lakoff (1975: 54) influences not only the linguistic forms that men choose to address women, but also, naturally, the linguistic forms that women chose to address men. This scholar claims that female speech in general can be characterized by the lack of assertiveness. Lakoff (1975: 52-56) argues that women tend to speak in italics and use a lot of hedging instead of voicing their opinion clearly and directly. She paraphrases Miller, who analyses female speech according to Grice’s maxims of communication and states that: “(...) a women’s discourse is necessarily indirect, repetitious, meandering, unclear, exaggerated – the antithesis of every one of Grice’s principles – while of course a man’s speech is clear, direct, precise, and to the point.” (Lakoff, 1975: 73).

Speaking of vocabulary used in media to define gender distinctions, Goddard and Patterson (2000: 31) suggest that the image of the ideal man constructed by media

would be described as follows: ‘tall, powerful and charming’, while the image of the ideal woman would be as follows: ‘ slim, long-legged and beautiful’. Needless to say that this vocabulary choice in description of both genders definitely imply certain physical and character traits that are traditionally attributed to men and women in society.

Socially reinforced gender segregation brings about the phenomenon of exclusiveness attributed to certain domains or areas of interest. Goddard and Patterson (2000:38) suggest that cosmetics, for instance, is socially conceptualized as female domain only as it comes in line with the socially-accepted ideals of femininity. On the other hand, Connell (2001: 144) argues that car industry and the traditional concept of masculinity have evolved hand in hand being conventionally associated with each other. In his attempt to define modern concept of masculinity, Connell (2001:142) discusses dimensions of male gender stereotyping in mass media, such as men’s bodies as tools of masculinity expression and several types of ‘divisions’ or tensions that men are depicted to experience in modern press. This researcher argues that the way society: “practices gender in everyday life constantly involves bodily experience; bodily pleasures and the vulnerabilities of bodies.” (Connell, 2001:142). In other words, the ways men and women use their bodies, according to this researcher, conveys gender-dependant information. For instance, such areas of interest as sport, sex or fashion tend to involve body-related practises that receive different treatment in discourse depending on the gender of participants. (Connell, 2001:142). As to the ‘divisions’ mentioned above, Connell argues that there are several tensions that men are portrayed to endure in mass media, namely the tension between sexual desire and social norms of sexual behaviour, as well as the tension between successful careers and social recognition from one side and family life and yearning for emotional security, from the other.

(Connell,2001:142). Connell (2001:146-147) argues that mass media deliberately enhances stereotypical ideals of masculinity, such as, for instance, unconditioned bravery in taking any types of risks, alcohol abuse or ruthlessness in the struggle for a victory in sports. As to female representation in mass media, Marin Arrese (1993:216) points out that women are usually described by means of a whole set of characteristics, such as “powerlessness, domesticity, deviancy, vulnerability, irrationality, and emotional and sexual excess” to name the few of them.

Another constraint that plays important role in shaping male and female discourses has been defined by Lakoff (1975: 77) as “male bonding” in reference to the ideas of anthropologist Tiger and his book *Men in Groups*. This researcher argues that men have historically had more reasons and opportunities to form powerful groups, which results into collective sense of identity that men tend to enjoy nowadays, where the importance of being a good team player is crucial for the construction of male self-esteem. Women, however, are not accepted by men as integral parts of their groups, neither they bond among themselves to create their own powerful units. (Lakoff: 78). Lakoff (1975: 78) quotes Chesler to define the isolated position of a woman in society:

Women, although similar to each other in many ways, are more isolated from each other in terms of groups than men are. Women are not consolidated into either public or powerful groups. Women as mothers are “grouped” with their children (who grow up and leave them), and only temporarily, and superficially with other women: for example in parks, at women’s auxiliary functions, and at heterosexual parties.”

This isolated position of a woman in society, in its turn, provokes uncertainty and hypercorrectness of female speech, where a woman is precautious to hedge her speech so as not to provoke any undesired effect with her interlocutors as representatives of powerful groups to which she does not belong. Tannen (1990: 100), however, argues that female bonding does exist, though not in terms of powerful groups created in order to make decisions, but in terms of women groups formed with the principal goal of

sharing their emotional experiences. This researcher claims that male and female way of perceiving things as well as linguistic forms of expression depend on two basic constraints: status and connection or solidarity. Tannen (1990:36) suggests that men tend to seek status in their hierarchical communication with others, while women are not generally interested in dominating others and are likely to opt for establishing connection in a parallel communication, which results in different communication styles that men and women develop. Thus, according to Tannen (1990:39), men perceive other men as possible alligators for their personal status, whilst women are not viewed as a threat in this sense due to their communication strategies aimed at building solidarity. Further, exactly this style of communication is often perceived by men as lacking power and certainty.

Holmes (1992:220) suggests that the main factor that influences gender discourse is not gender itself, but the social roles and social networks where men and women participate. In this context it is vital to mention the ongoing social change and continuous process of reshaping that the concepts of masculinity and femininity are subjected to. Due to the various political changes that took place over recent decades, as well as feminist movement and the modern reconstruction of masculinity (Connell, 2001) the former clear distinction between male and female roles in society is getting blurred, and so does the formal distinction between the gender-related situations, as well as between gender-bound linguistic features. (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996). Caldas-Coulthard (1996) defines this phenomenon as gender discourse 'democratization' and argues that gender marked forms and patterns in discourse have a tendency to be substituted by unmarked ones and women appear to take active part in prestigious discursive situations.

3. Method and Procedure

3.1. Corpus and Questionnaire

In order to reach the aims of the present investigation, the author of the paper has created a corpus compiled of texts on diverse topics taken from different issues of two lifestyle magazines: Cosmopolitan, December 2009, March 2010, July 2010 UK issues and Men's Health, December 2009, June 2010 issues. A smaller part of the corpus has been taken from the respective Websites of these magazines. For the purpose of present investigation, the texts for the corpus were chosen exclusively from the sections that both magazines under analysis had in common. Further, corpus has been used to create a questionnaire, which served as a basis for a part of the present investigation. The questionnaire comprised twenty separate texts divided into six sections according to the section of magazine these extracts were originally taken from. According to the aims of the research, the original titles of the sections were changed into the ones that would not bear any gender connotation. The sections used in the questionnaire were as follows: Career Tips, Food and Cooking, Body Care and Health, Body and Working Out, Fashion and Sex. The extracts were placed at a random order so that two extracts from the same section would not appear next to each other. This random organization of testing material allowed the author of the present paper to obtain more objective results and eliminate any possible bias as contestants had to concentrate on a topic different from the preceding one each time they read an extract and they could not compare extracts belonging to the same area of interest. The questionnaire aimed to identify the areas of interest shared by men and women, which, presumably, could contain the highest degree of gender language co-penetration. Thus, potential contestants were supposed to answer two multiple choice questions, which are as follows: Who could be interested in the topic of the extract?; Who is this text written

for?. The options for an answer in both cases were: Men, Women, Both, Hard to Decide. The first question of the questionnaire focused mostly on the area of interest one or another extract could be attributed to according to the contestants' point of view, whilst the second question aimed to disclose a potential addressee of each and every extract taking in consideration the topic area of each extract and the language used in each extract, as well as the sensitivity contestants have demonstrated to both topic and language.

3.2. Subjects

The questionnaire has been offered to forty contestants, twenty males and twenty females aged 20 to 55. All contestants either had a proficiency level of English or were native speakers of the language. All participants of the research were employed as language teachers or office workers and claimed to read lifestyle magazines often.

3.3. Procedure

This research represents a mixed cross-sectional research as it monitors a range of texts coming from a variety of different domains. The quantitative procedure of analysing data has given the author of the study an opportunity to create clear picture of results' distribution. Furthermore, the qualitative method of research has permitted to analyse instances of gender language co-penetration without being tightly bound by a fixed procedure, as well as it has enabled the author of the research to attend to specific features of interest each extract under analysis might offer.

The procedure of the research comprised three stages, which are as follows: Stage One, aimed at creating general picture of respondents' performance as to addressee identification applied to the extracts in the questionnaire; Stage Two, dedicated to identification of topic areas with the greatest score of gender-topic co-

penetration and Stage Three, dedicated to the issue of gender-topic and gender language co-penetration on the level of most relevant extracts from the corpus.

On the first stage of the research, the study has analysed the overall result per questionnaire per contestant taking into consideration the second query of the questionnaire only. Further, the analysis focused on the results obtained from the first query of the questionnaire centred on the general issue of topicality on the level of each of six sections in order to reveal the sections that appeared to be complex as to the issue of gender-topic identification and thus, interesting to the present investigation. Thus, the author of the study has obtained the general picture of contestants' performance, as well as a detailed representation of results per each section. Then, the present investigation has focused on some of the extracts previously identified as the most controversial ones in terms of gender discourse democratization as well as on four complete articles coming from the general corpus, which were treated from sociolinguistic, cognitive and pragmatic points of view. Close attention was paid to lexis and syntax, as well as to the social stereotypes of masculinity and femininity in search for suitable explanations for the phenomenon of gender topic and gender language co-penetration. For the analysis of topicality, the author of the study has used the ideas of such scholars as Goddard and Patterson (2000), Connell (2001) and Lakoff (1975). As to linguistic analysis, the author of the present paper employed the existing theories of the field, namely: the idea of scientification of male discourse in mass media mentioned by Goddard and Patterson (2000); the issue of discourse 'novelization' introduced by Caldas-Goulthard, (1991); the idea of gender differences in the use of imperative constructions advocated by Key (1975) and Lakoff (1975), the idea of "hypercorrectness" of female speech as compared to male put forward by Lakoff

(1975) as well as author's own observations and unofficial observations left by the respondents of the questionnaire.

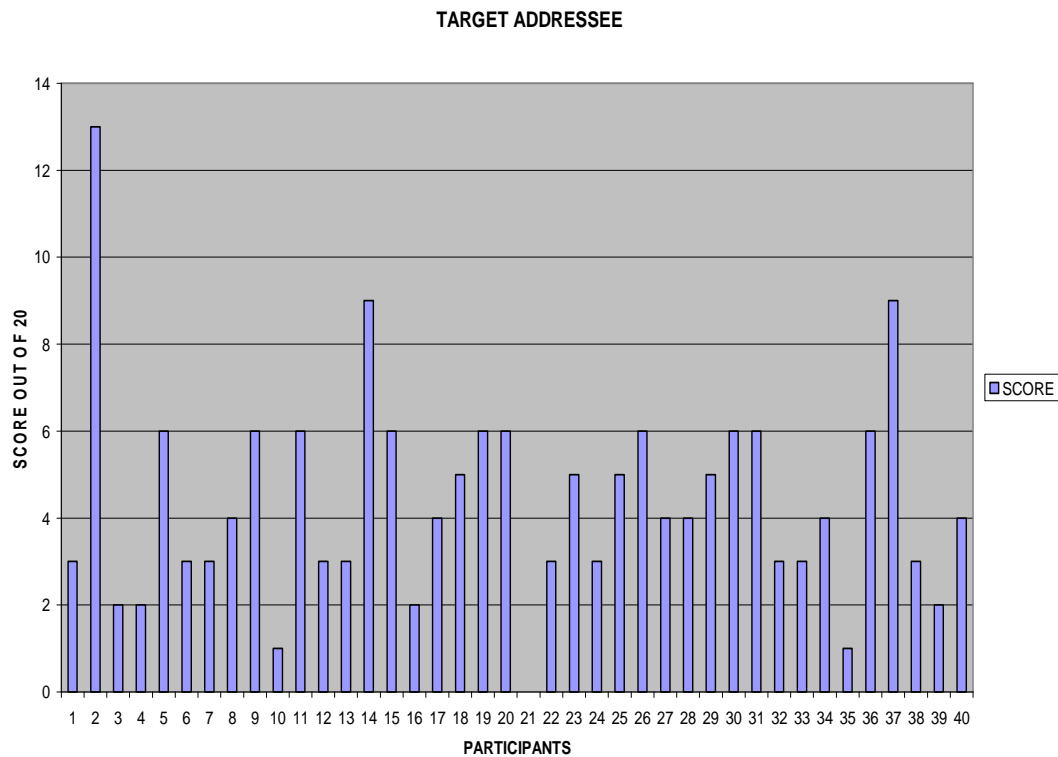
Finally, the results obtained in the course of the three stages of the analysis were contemplated as a whole in the light of discourse democratization with an aim to single out topical and linguistic elements of female and male discourse co-penetration.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Stage One

On stage one of the analysis the author of the present paper discovered that the majority of respondents had a considerable difficulty in identifying the addressee targeted by the magazines under analysis. As we can see from the figure 1 below, the highest score is 13 points out of 20 achieved by one participant out of 40, second highest score is 9 points out of 20 achieved by two participants out of 40, and other 37 participants scored not more than 6 points out of 20, which is 30 % of the total number of scores.

Figure 1. Identifying Addressee: General Picture



The general picture of the scores obtained on the first stage of the present analysis indicate a certain incongruity between the target addressee intended by the lifestyle magazines and the target addressee identified by the contestants of the present study.

These results can be interpreted as a first step on the way to hypothesis proving as the profile of target addressee for both magazines under analysis comes across as rather unclear gender-wise.

4.2. Stage Two

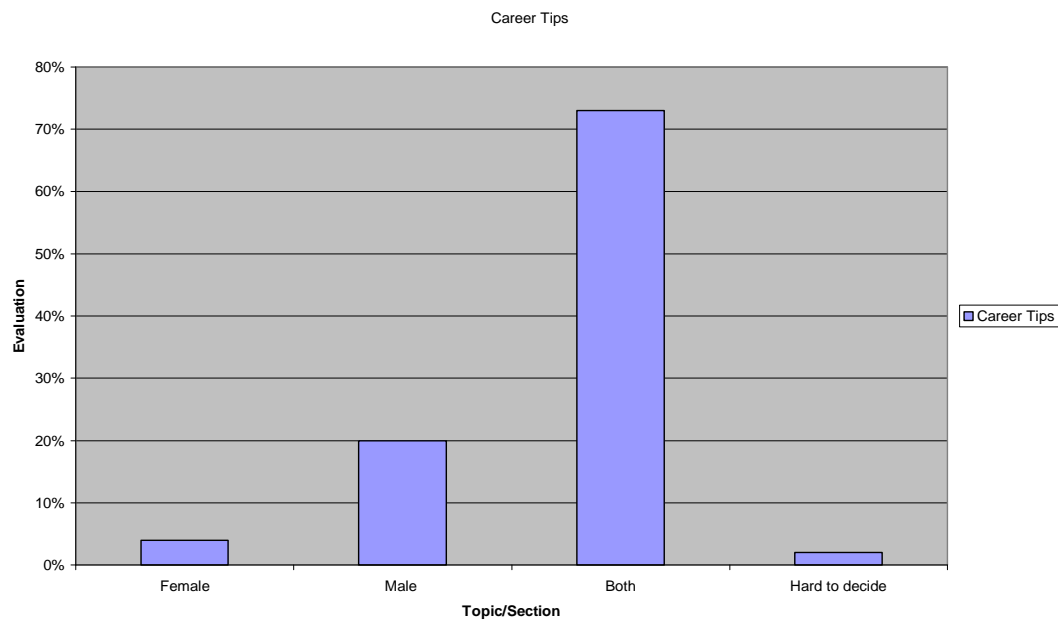
Stage two of the analysis has revealed a number of topics/sections that could be identified as the most representative ones in terms of gender discourse democratization. It is worthwhile to note, that five out of six sections represented in the questionnaire were selected as significant for the analysis, which is a rather high number indicating the effectiveness of the questionnaire as research strategy in the case of the present study. The selected sections are the following: Body Care and Health; Body and working Out; Fashion; Career Tips; Food and Cooking.

The analysis will now proceed to examine each section separately.

Section Title: Career Tips

This section contains three extracts and the longest piece comes from female lifestyle magazine and is targeted to female readers. As it can be seen from the figure 2 below, the highest score was given to the option BOTH (73%), the second highest score was assigned to the option MALE (20%) and only 4% of respondents have identified this section as female area of interest.

Figure 2. Career Tips

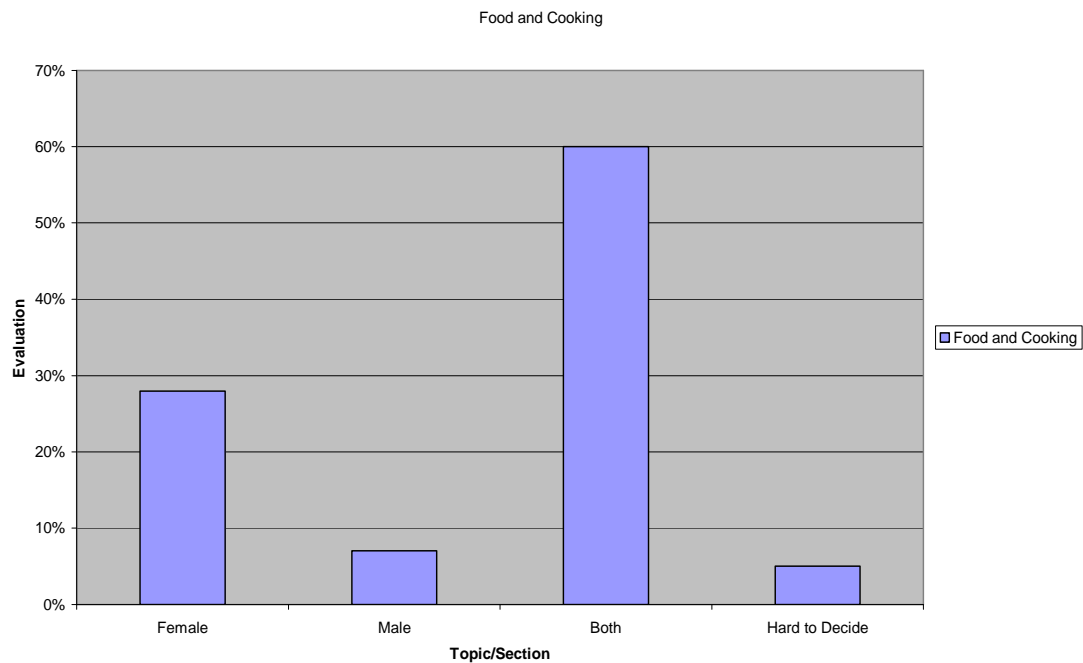


The obtained data indicate the general perception of the interest area dedicated to careers and work domain as the “unisex” one. However, there is still some influence of social gender stereotyping as a considerable part of contestants still consider work and careers to be male topic exclusively. Nevertheless, the overall picture of data gathered by the analysis suggests that there is a significant shift in perception of Career and Work from socially-defined gender-restricted area of interest to the topic relevant for both genders irrespectively.

Section Title: Food and Cooking

This section contains two long men-targeted pieces and two short women-targeted pieces. As it can be seen from the figure 3 below, the majority of contestants consider the topic area of food and cooking to be shared by men and women (60 %), while some part of contestants conceptualize this topic as female one (28%). Only 7% of respondents would attribute this interest area to men exclusively.

Figure 3. Food and Cooking



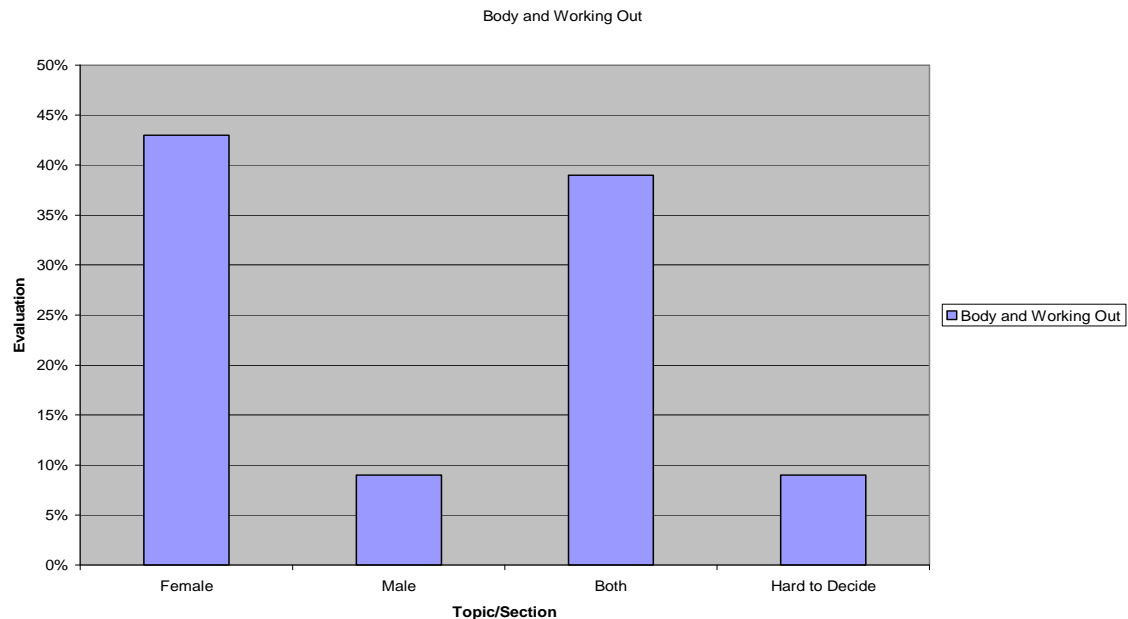
The general picture obtained by the study represents a reflection of the social discourse change where cooking and recipes, despite rather prominent 28% score allotted to females, do not any more represent an exclusively female domain, but a domain relevant for both genders. Furthermore, while two longer extracts of this section were originally targeted to men it is rather surprising to discover that only 7% of contestants identified this section as a male one. In terms of analysis, this phenomenon can be interpreted as clear instance of co-penetration between traditionally male and female interest areas.

Section Title: Body and Working Out

This section consisted of three extracts, one long men-targeted one and two shorter ones aimed at women. The overall results, as shown in figure 4, assign the highest score of respondents' choices to female topic (43%), the second highest score define this

section as both male and female area of interest (39%) and only 9% of respondents conceptualize this area as male area of interest.

Figure 4. Body and Working Out



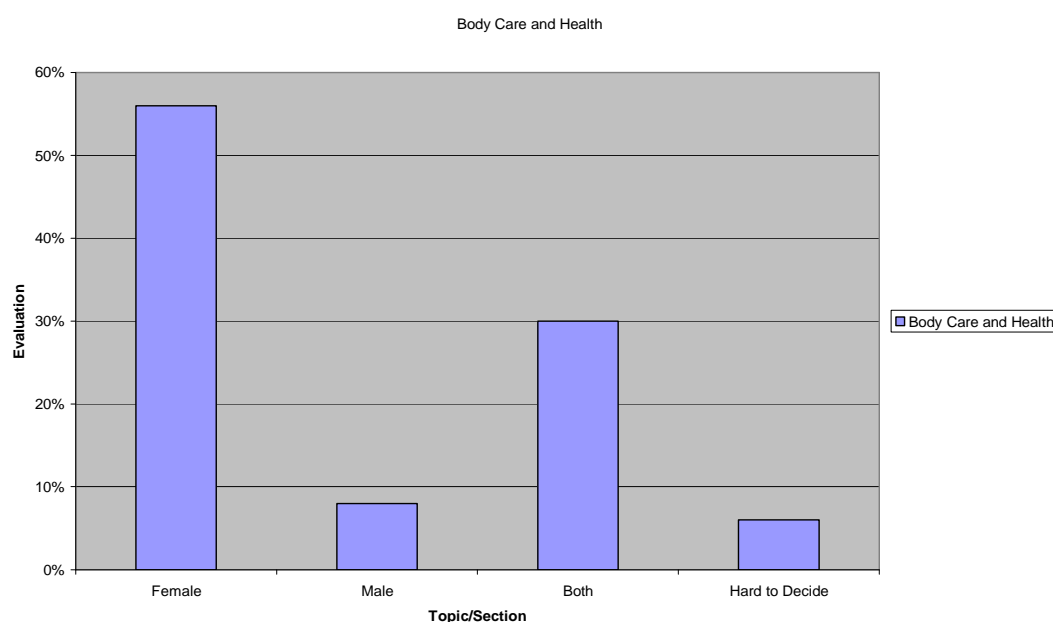
The final picture obtained by the analysis proposes rather revolutionary data. While working out has traditionally been considered as a predominantly male issue, the results indicate that potential readers of the magazines under analysis have a strong tendency to attribute this area of interest to female readers (the highest score) or to both female and male readers (second highest score), but never to male readers (the score for the option of male area of interest is equal to the score given to the option Hard to Decide.) These results definitely indicate a change in social discourse and topicality, where male and female areas of interest co-penetrate.

Section Title: Body Care and Health

This section comprised four short women-targeted extracts and one longer men-targeted one. As one can witness from the figure 5 below, the results obtained by the analysis of data generally attribute this area of interest to female domain (56%).

Further, as it has been seen in the analysis of other sections exposed above, a rather significant score identifies this section as both male and female area of interest (30%). A rather low range of contestants' choices is divided between two other possible options stated in the questionnaire, such as: MALE topic (8%) and HARD TO DECIDE (6%).

Figure 5. Body Care and Health

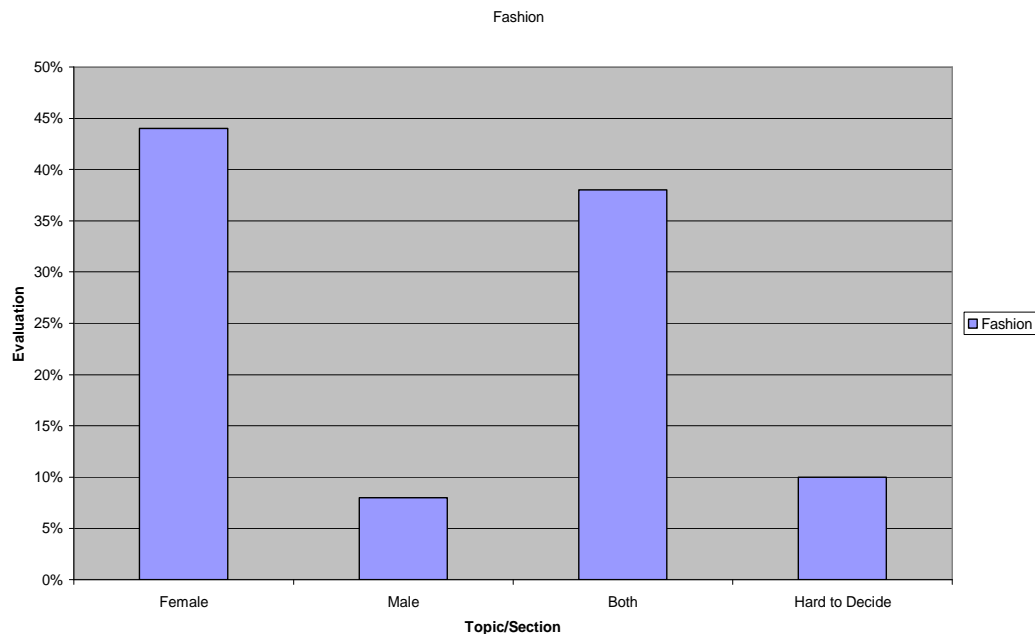


This section represents a special interest to the present study as it counts with a rather impressive score attributing it to the area of interest shared by men and women, which illustrates a considerable breakthrough in the issue of gender-bound topicality. Despite the highest scores still define Body care and Health as female topic, the second highest score places this section in the focus of gender discourse democratization. The lowest scores obtained by the analysis are also telling, especially in the case of respondents who hesitated to define the area of interest once so clear and gender-segregated (HARD TO DECIDE scores:6 %).

Section Title: Fashion

This section comprised two extracts, both of them men-targeting ones. The results, as shown in the figure 6 below indicate that the majority of respondents consider Fashion to be a female area of interest (43%). However, 38% of respondents claim this section to be both male and female oriented. The percentage of hesitating respondents is the highest here in respect to all other sections under analysis (10%) surpassing the score defining Fashion as male area of interest.

Figure 6. Fashion



This section is of much interest to the present research as it illustrates an obvious mismatch between the intended topical relevance presupposed by the magazine under analysis and the identification of interest area proposed by the potential readers of the magazine. Despite the fact that both extracts of this section were taken from male lifestyle magazine, the topic area was generally identified as female one, or, with a small difference, unisex one. A rather high percentage of hesitating respondents indicate the difficulty in identifying the potential “gender” of fashion as an area of

interest. This incongruity demonstrates, first of all, the active process of social change and reshaping of masculinity where the self-image and fashion becomes relevant for both men and women as opposed to the social stereotype of men taking no particular interest in their looks and outfit.

4.3. Stage Three

On the stage three of the analysis the author of the present paper has treated in detail several extracts of the questionnaire, as well as those taken from the general corpus that appeared to be interesting in terms of gender discourse democratization.

The first extract provided for detailed analysis has been taken from Body and Health section; the text of the extract is provided below in example (1).

(1) Bright-Eyed Beans

Long nights, early mornings and a lack of sunlight take their toll on the fatigue- frosted windows to your soul. The combination of thin skin and hundreds of miniscule blood capillaries make the area under your yes prone to inflammation, leaving you carrying the bag for those late_evenings. Caffeine is the answer to sleepy eyes. The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition found it contains more antioxidants per serving than blueberries. When applied to the skin, the antioxidants protect you from ageing free radicals and, more crucially for the morning mirror, the stimulation of caffeine causes near-instant narrowing to the tiny blood vessels underneath your eyes. This reduces blood flow and limits the swelling that so obviously tell tales on you. Opt for a caffeine-rich eye cream and store it in the fridge. (Men's Health Magazine, December, 2009)

The extract in the example (1) has been aimed at male readership. Nevertheless, results obtained by the study indicate that according to the respondents this extract has been written for women (63%) or for both men and women (35%). Only one respondent out of forty has indicated that a potential addressee for this extract could be a man. As far as the issue of topicality is concerned, the results have shown that 56% of respondents

consider the domain of Body and Health Care to be a female area of interest, while 30% consider it to be the area of interest shared by both men and women. This extract represents a clear case of gender discourse democratization as the data show that the majority of respondents had a difficulty in identifying the intended target addressee. Needless to say that even the fact that the extract deals with a typically male problem (bags under the eyes provoked by sleepless nights) did not aid respondents in the process of identifying the target addressee. Summing up some conclusions driven from the analysis of this particular extract one should focus on three major features: 1) a stereotypically female area of interest has penetrated into male discourse; 2) contestants' addressee identification process has been influenced by gender stereotypes; 3) contestants see this extract as appropriate for female readership. As a result, it is important to note that the findings provided above suggest that modern male readers are interested in skin care and are concerned about their physical appearance, which is a clear example of an ongoing social change and reshaping of masculinity, claimed as a new era phenomenon by Connell (2001: 141). Connell's idea finds confirmation in the very text of one of the articles in Men's Health Grooming section, chosen from the general corpus. The fragment reads as follows: "In Simpler times, men scraped by each morning with soap, shampoo and shaving cream. But we've evolved, and so has our routine. The majority of men spend 20 to 30 minutes a day in john, trying to look better." (Men's Health, June 2010, UK issue). The two underlined phrases suggest that a man who did not give great importance to his looks belongs to the past, whilst the new, modern male is the one who takes a good care of his skin. Due to the ideas mentioned above, the extract (1) could be considered as a rather clear example of gender-topic co-penetration, where a traditionally female area of interest is now shared by men.

Further, the present analysis turns towards the linguistic objective of the study as the extract contains quite a number of linguistics evidence for gender-language co-penetration, which are analyzed in detail below.

1. “Bright – Eyed Beans” (the title itself); “Long nights, early mornings and a lack of sunlight take their toll on the fatigue-frosted windows to your soul. (...) leaving you carrying the bag for those late evenings.” – this is an example of “ideal and emotive novelization” of media discourse, claimed by Caldas-Gouthard (1992:251) to be one of the typical features in the texts targeted at female readership as opposed to “factuality” and “analytical forms of reporting” that are characteristic of men-targeted discourse.

2. “fatigue-frosted windows to your soul”; “morning mirror”; “tell tales on you” – these are clear examples of euphemistic reference to the imperfections of body. This feature could be considered as typical of female ‘beautification’ discourse on a linguistic level of the notion, where aesthetically unattractive information is omitted or substituted by something fictionalized (Caldas-Coulthard, 1992: 264).

Before continuing with the analysis of the next extract, it would be interesting to single out some typical features of male discourse that appear in this extract for the purpose of later tracing the penetration of these features in the women-oriented extracts. The detailed analysis of the male features of the extract (1) is exposed below.

1. “The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition (...)” – this is a clear example of reference to authority, which is a very popular feature in men-targeted media texts as identified by the author of this study all throughout the corpus.

2. “(...) hundreds of miniscule blood capillaries (...); “(...) antioxidants protect you from ageing free radicals (...); “tiny blood vessels” – these are the examples that illustrate the typical technicality of male language. Texts oriented on male readerships would often employ technical terms to explain certain processes as it has been spotted

out by the author of this paper all through the corpus. This feature can also be interpreted as an example of science-oriented discourse, claimed by Goddard and Patterson (2000:38) to be a distinctive feature of men targeting cosmetic advertisements.

The next extract selected for the present analysis comes from the same section of Body Care and Health. The complete text of the extract is given below in the example (2).

(2) Drinking with Friends

Japanese researchers have recently found that drinking with your friends is healthier for your heart than drinking alone. It seems that the stress relief you get from laughing and joking decreases your risk of heart disease and a stroke. Just don't go overboard or you'll cancel out those healthy benefits. (Cosmopolitan, December 2009)

Example (2) has been aimed at female readers. However, the majority of respondents have identified it as an extract written for both men and women (50%). The second highest score (37%) indicated that respondents believed this extract to target male readers and only 0,8% of respondents claimed the potential addressee to be a woman. The area of interest itself, as states in the analysis of example (1) has been identified as mainly female one (56%) or as the one shared by men and women (30%). Taking in consideration the tendency to consider Body and Health to be a female or gender independent (high scores for the option BOTH) area of interest, it is rather striking to encounter a high score indicating that this particular extracts targeted men. The explanation to this phenomenon could be the issue of drinking alcohol tackled in this extract. Drinking alcohol with friends is a rather stereotypical pass-time attributed generally to men. However, nowadays women also indulge in the same practice; the analysis has demonstrated that respondents are rather influenced by the gender-related stereotypes. Needless to say that the penetration of male domain into female discourse

has been explicitly acknowledged by respondents as the highest scores still place this extracts within the BOTH category. Finally, it is worthwhile to mention that once a typically female feature of discourse, namely “Just don’t go overboard (...)” present in the text has not been taken by respondents as an imminent signifier of female addressee. The explanation to that, again, lies within the ongoing change of social realia where exposing emotionally exaggerated behavior (“going overboard”) is not anymore considered a female feature exclusively.

In terms of gender language co-penetration, the extract makes use of certain features that could be characterized as male ones. The detailed explanation of these features is presented below:

1. “Japanese researchers have recently found (...)” – an example of reference to authority as a typical feature of male discourse.
2. “(...) joking decreases your risk of heart disease and a stroke (...)” – a slight tendency to scientific explanation of the processes, typical of male discourse.

The following extract belongs to the same section of Body and Health and it has been taken from the general corpus of the study in order to illustrate once again the use of such typical to male discourse features as reference to authority and scientification of discourse in female oriented texts commented upon in the analysis of the previous extract. The whole text of the extract is presented below as an example (3).

(3) Body and Health

“It’s official – snacks are good for us. Yes! By eating often and at regular intervals, we keep our energy levels up, our metabolism revved, and our blood sugar level consistent. The trick, says nutritionist Anita Bean, author of *Food for Fitness*, is to be savvy about the snacks you choose. “Go for foods that are rich in fibre and nutrients, but low in terms of calories”, she explains.

By steering clear of processed snacks that are high in fat, sugar and salt (biscuits, crisps, and chocolate bars – you know who you are) and option for

our more body-friendly options, you'll stay healthy and trim. (...)" (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK edition)

As it can be seen from the extract (3) above, the text makes a very active use of terminology of the field of nutrition (e.g.: *metabolism, fibre, nutrients, calories*), as well as it offers a pseudo-scientific explanation of the effects that eating snacks can produce, as it can be seen in the following phrase: "By eating often and at regular intervals, we keep our energy levels up, our metabolism revved, and our blood sugar level consistent".

Another feature to pay attention to in this extract is a clear example of reference to authority, typical to male-targeted speech. This feature can be observed in following phrase: "The trick, says nutritionist Anita Bean, author of *Food for Fitness*,(...)".

The present study shall proceed with the next extract, which has been taken from the section Body and Work Out. The full text of the extract is present in example (4) below.

(4) Swiss-ball exercise

The Swiss have the best of both worlds: their chocolate is the best bar none-albeit with a calorie quotient that sits uneasily with your weight loss regime. Fortunately, they've also come up with an antidote: the Swiss ball. Battle that all-too-predictable festive chocolate binge by lying on your back with your lower legs on a Swiss ball.

1. Extend your arms to your sides, palm up. Raise your hips so your body is straight from shoulder to knees.
2. Pull your heels in, bringing the ball towards your glutes.
3. Pause 1 second and reverse the motion. Lower your hips to the floor and repeat. (Men's Health, December 2009)

Despite the fact that this extract has been targeted to male readers only, respondents have defined it as mainly women-targeted one (80%). There were absolutely no respondents that suggested that this piece had been written for men. As to the area of interest, Body and Working Out was defined as female domain by 43% of respondents

and as the topic relevant for both genders by 38% of respondents. This extract demonstrates the case of influence stereotypical thinking exercises over the choices the respondents have made. A Swiss ball originally entered the area of fitness as a tool aimed for female aerobics exclusively. However, the idea of exploiting Swiss ball in work out practices in a gym environment has evolved since then and Swiss Ball nowadays is widely used by both men and women. The findings obtained by the analysis of this extract suggest a rather similar picture as those driven from the analysis of example (1): 1) a stereotypically female area of interest has penetrated into male discourse; 2) contestants' addressee identification process has been influenced by gender stereotypes; 3) contestants see this extract as appropriate for female readership. As to linguistic features of the extract, the following ones should be singled out as relevant to the present analysis:

1) The first paragraph of the extract offers a rather discursive introduction to the forthcoming instructions, which, in certain extent, can be identified as a weak example of novelization of discourse, mentioned above in the study as a traditionally female feature of language use.

2) The extract contains typically male features of language, such as scientification of discourse, for instance: *reverse the motion*; *glutes* (Goddard and Patterson, 2000:38).

The study will now proceed with the analysis of the extract taken from Career Tips section. The full text of the extract is provided below in the example (5).

(5) Office party strategies

- A) Don't be the last to leave. It makes you look like you haven't had a night out in months.
- B) Do mingle with other departments as well as having a laugh with your usual colleague. It shows you're both popular and a team player.

- C) Do follow the one waiter for one alcoholic drink rule. You won't look like a square for not drinking but you'll be sober enough to stay in control.
- D) Do hang by the bar or buffet. It's great way to schmooze with head honchos you wouldn't normally get the chance to speak to. People usually go up there alone, so they will be free to talk.
- E) Don't talk business. This isn't the place to boast about a deal you're working on or ask for a promotion. Instead, start conversation by asking your seniors a question, like what their weekend plans are. (Cosmopolitan, December 2009)

This extract had been targeted at female readership only. However, respondents have identified it as a text appropriate for both male and female readership (60%) or even as a text written exclusively for men (30%). Only two respondents out of 40 have claimed this extract targeted women. The topic area itself has been conceptualized as a gender-independent one (73%) or male (20%), while only 4 % of respondents suggested it was a female topic exclusively. This extract represents a rather vivid example of gender discourse democratization where male and female readership seems to share same interest in the domain of job and career. However, there is still some degree of influence caused by gender-related stereotyping (the “MALE” scores).

In terms of linguistic instances of gender-discourse democratization, these are commented upon in detail below:

1. The general tone of the extract is directive as every piece of advice given starts with an imperative (e.g: *Do...*, *Don't...*). Thus, it can be deduced that the extract aims at being perceived as a practical piece of information presented in a laconic and concise way without any unnecessary details. This way of information presentation has traditionally been attributed to men as strategic thinking and the tendency to eliminate any unnecessary detail has generally been viewed proper to men, not women (Lakoff, 1975).
2. Such examples of office jargon as “*to schmooze*” or “*head honchos*” found in the extract are more proper to male talk in the office than to female one

according to the studies of Lakoff (1975). Lakoff (1975) claimed that women tend to use standard expressions, whilst slang and jargon ones remain reserved for men.

3. The allusion to importance for women to be a good team player that appears in the extract could also be considered as an instance of gender-discourse democratization as according to Lakoff (1975), playing as a team and any type of bonding is a purely male feature, while women are characterized by their independence.

Before moving to the next subject of the analysis it would be important to note that all three features commented above illustrate once again a certain process of democratization of social practices that trigger democratization of the sphere of interest and, consequently, the democratization of lexical and grammatical features of the language. Another idea to mention here is the constancy of career-oriented articles in women-targeting magazines, as, for example, every single issue under analysis (Cosmopolitan December 2009, March 2010, July 2010 UK issues) counts with an article dedicated to the improvement of professional skills and ways of obtaining promotion. The consistent presence of this type of articles indicates that women readers nowadays are ambitious profession-wise, which is a quality traditionally attributed to men.

Next extract for the present analysis comes from the section Fashion. The full text of the extract can be found below in the example (6).

(6) Fashion

Casual Fridays can be tricky. "If you don't dress properly, your credibility will be undermined, even on casual days," says XXX, an executive search firm in New York City. "Your boss may not admonish you, but he'll make a mental note that may cost you a promotion." Here's how to keep your style and

professional image intact.
Don't confuse casual workdays with Saturday night. "You want to look just as put together and professional as if you were wearing a XXX," says XXX, fashion director for XXX at Saks Fifth Avenue. So avoid holes, frays, and distressing.
Do . . . stick to a dark wash with a straight, medium-to-slim fit. It's universally flattering and not overly casual, says stylist Marcy Carmack, the creator of chicwardrobesolutions.com. "Go for simple," says Carmack. "Some designer jeans look too 'fashiony.'" (Men's Health, December 2009)

Despite the fact that this extract has been targeted at men, the majority of respondents identified it as either a "unisex" one (47%) or a women-targeting one (35%). Only 1.3% of respondents suggested that this extract might be written for men and the remaining 0,5% of respondents hesitated in defining the potential addressee. The section itself was mainly considered to be a female area of interest (43 %) or a gender-independent one (38%). This extract, as those discussed above (examples (1); (3); (4).) suggests an idea of traditionally female area of interest penetrating into the male domain. There is still a certain degree of stereotype influence, but the overall picture suggests that fashion and self-image creation constitute the domain shared by both genders irrespectively. This phenomenon, in its turn, is manifested in the discourse that has become indistinctive of gender-related features of topicality. This idea can be proved by the difficulty that respondents of the present study had in defining the target addressee originally intended by the magazines under analysis. It is worthwhile to pay closer attention at some ideas manifested in this extract that actually demonstrate the ongoing social change and reshaping of traditional concept of masculinity. First of all, this extract shows that men nowadays attribute a great importance to their looks and even acknowledge that inadequate clothing or absence of style can cost them a promotion. This idea may be seen as a revolutionary one since fashion and looks have traditionally been considered as female domains that had no connection to success in

one's career, where such purely male matters as professionalism and intelligence were the only ones that mattered.

In terms of linguistic matters to comment upon in this extract as far as gender-language co-penetration is concerned, one could single out certain instances of fashion-related vocabulary that used to be proper to female talk only (Lakoff, 1975). These vocabulary items are as follows: “*tricky*” (when talking about clothes), “*medium-to-slim fit*”, “*flattering*” (when talking about clothes), “*overly casual*”, “*chicwardrobesolutions.com*”, “*fashiony*”.

Another issue to pay attention here in terms of linguistic analysis is the tone of the extract, which, same as the extract (5), is directive due to the abundance of imperatives (*e.g.*: *Do...*, *Don't...*). As it has already been mentioned before, the laconic and concise form of expression is considered to be typical to male speech. (Lakoff, 1975). However, it should be noted here that despite the imperatives, the extract does not seem so direct and up to the point as it would be expected from male-directed text due to its “used to be female” vocabulary, as it has already been commented above. Thus, possibly exactly this feature of the extract has misled those multiple contestants of the questionnaire who attributed the extract to female readers.

Another extract for the present analysis comes from the general corpus of the study and it has been chosen to reinforce the ideas presented above in terms of fashion as male area of interest. The full text of the extract is presented below in the example (7).

(7) Fashion

(...)That's also why Wick dresses the way he does. “Style indicates who you are. You have to project an image of your life and how you live,” he says.” It's

important when you first meet someone to look put together and to look like you have a point of view – but that does not have to mean suit.”

So his wardrobe is like his design style: understated, masculine, and sophisticated. If he dresses too loudly, clients might wonder if he'd drown out their ideas. So when Wick meets a new client, he might be wearing a sleek suit from Paul Smith, Dolce & Gabbana or Giorgio Armani, and skip the tie. When he is working with an exiting client, he'll set a more relaxed and familiar tone with a pair of John Varvatos jeans, a Ralph Loran RRL button-front shirt, and flip-flops.

Simple, confident, but not close minded: It is the message of the perfect wardrobe, and a savvy businessman. (...) (Men's Health, June, 2010, UK issue)

As it can be observed from the text given above, extract (7), just like the extract (6) expose style and fashion as a vital ingredient for professional success. As far as the extract (7) is concerned, it would be very interesting to pay special attention to the linguistic matters of the text. A detailed linguistic analysis is exposed below.

1. The phrase “Style indicates who you are. You have to project an image of your life and how you live” clearly shows the attitude men are suggested to develop to their dressing style. The first sentence suggests that style does, actually, stand for a person. So, one could suppose if a man does not have any style in clothes he has got less personality to project in society.
2. The phrase: “It's important (...) to look put together and to look like you have a point of view”, lets one believe that by means of right clothes only one can demonstrate certain personal qualities, such as decisiveness and autonomous thinking. This idea is very new in male perception of style and clothes, as it shows a direct link between dressing style and personal qualities, which traditionally has never been the case.
3. The phrase “(...) he'll set a more relaxed and familiar tone with a pair of John Varvatos jeans, a Ralph Loran RRL button-front shirt, and flip-flops” actually

suggests that a tone in business communication can be set by clothes, which is a quite revolutionary idea in male society, where clothing has always been regarded as a simple matter of social etiquette, and definitely not a tool for tone setting. The eternal preoccupation of what to wear in different occasions in order to be received adequately has traditionally been attributed to women. (Lakoff, 1975).

4. The final sentence of the extract, which read as follows: “Simple, confident, but not close minded: It is the message of the perfect wardrobe, and a savvy businessman” suggests that a perfect wardrobe and the perfect businessman can be placed within the same category and can, actually, stand for each other. This idea suggests once again that a modern man regards his clothing style as a vital part of his personality and a very important tool in his professional career – features that have traditionally been attributed exclusively to women.
5. Finally, the extract (7) same as the extract (6) offers some interesting vocabulary to be analysed in terms of gender-language democratization. This vocabulary is basically connected to the topic of fashion, such as: *“to dress loudly”* or *“to have a sophisticated”*, *“understated”* and *“not close-minded”* style. All this adjectives are generally used to describe people and the use of these adjectives in reference to a dressing style is more typical to women and fashion designers, than to men.

The next two extracts delimited for the present analysis come from the section Food and Cooking. The two extracts chosen for the detailed analysis will be discussed parallelly as together they represent a certain pattern. Example (8) has been taken from Men’s Health magazine and example (9) comes from Cosmopolitan. Both extracts

represent recipes. The full texts of the extracts are given below in the example (8) and example (9) respectively.

(8) Fillet a Deux

(...) ingredients omitted as not relevant to the study.

1. To make dressing, cut each tomato in a half and squeeze out the seeds. Finely chop the flesh and place in a large bowl. Add the rest of the ingredients, except for the herbs, and mix well. Season well with salt and pepper, then cover with cling film and chill for at least 20 minutes.
2. Heat the oven to 200 C/Gas 6 and preheat a roasting pan. Trim any fat or sinew from the fillet of beef and season all over with salt and pepper. Heat a not/stick frying pan with a little olive oil. When it is smoking hot, add the beef and sear for 1 to 2 minutes on each side until evenly browned all over.
3. Lightly oil the hot roasting pan. Transfer the beef to the roasting pan and place in the oven. Roast for 25 minutes for medium rare beef- it should feel a little springy when lightly pressed. Cooking's done! Now, transfer the fillet to the warm serving plate and leave to rest for 10 minutes.
4. Serve the beef warm or at a room temperature. Slice it thickly and overlap the slices on a serving platter. Pile the rocket into the centre. Stir the chopped herbs into the tomato tarragon dressing and spoon over the beef. Why not serve with a few buttered new potatoes? (Men's Health, December, 2009)

(9) Quick Carbonara

Always thought spaghetti carbonara would be way too complicated? Not with this recipe...

Start to finish: 12 minutes

(...) ingredients omitted as not relevant to the study

1. Cook spaghetti. Drain and set aside.
2. Fry the bacon in a large non-stick frying pan for 2-3 minutes. Remove and set aside.
3. Beat the eggs with the cream and Parmesan. Season.
4. Melt the butter in the frying pan and add the egg mixture. Stir over a moderate heat until just started to thicken. Add bacon and spaghetti and toss to mix well. Serve immediately. (Cosmopolitan, December, 2009)

While the extract in the example (8) has been targeted at men, the majority of respondents have identified it as a recipe written for women (53%). The second highest score showed that respondents attributed this text to both male and female readership (40%). Only 0,75% of responses were given to the option MEN in the questionnaire. As to the extract (9), the majority of respondents has identified this text as women-aimed

one (46%), while 33% considered that it was a text written for both men and women. Only 20% claimed that this recipe was targeted at male readership.

As the domain of food and cooking was generally identified as a gender-independent one (60% of scores on the issue of topicality were given to the option BOTH) one cannot claim that the controversial results obtained after analyzing the target addressee of these two particular extracts have been enhanced by gender stereotypes. Thus, in attempt to interpret the controversial data obtained after analyzing the questionnaire, the author of the study would take as a point of departure the idea expressed as a side observation by some respondents.

Some of the respondents indicated that the recipe in example (9) was short and represented a very functional set of instructions that characterized it as a male-targeted piece of writing. According to Key (1975: 76) men, indeed, prefer more functional instructions and less details for men equals functionality and brevity mentioned above. Example (8), in contrast, represents a rather extensive description of cooking process, employing complex syntax and an extensive number of verbs belonging to the semantic field of cooking and food. (e.g.: *season, trim, sear, slice, stir, chop.*) The instructions are lengthy and the verbs denoting commands are often accompanied by a modifier to mitigate the effect of an order and to specify the action. (e.g.: *finely chop, season well; lightly oil; mix well.*) According to Key (1975:76) the tendency to avoid ‘straightforward’ and ‘abrupt’ imperative constructions is a feature of the female discourse. The last paragraph of the recipe in the example (8) represents, again, a lengthy instruction of how to serve the prepared meal, which implies placing food on the plate in a certain decorative way. The rhetorical question in the end of the recipe can be interpreted as one more instance of command mitigation, typical to female discourse according to Key (1975:76). All the features discussed above could have

exercised a certain influence on the choices of respondents when categorizing this recipe as women-targeted one.

As to example (9), it is a very short and laconic account of actions that one has to take in order to prepare pasta. The recipe stresses the idea of quick and effortless cooking and gives clear-cut steps to follow. The syntax is much simpler than in the example (9) as one can observe the predominance of two-member sentences (e.g.: cook spaghetti.; Serve immediately.), some of them contain nothing but imperative verbs, even without any object. (e.g.: Drain and set aside. ; Remove and set aside.; Season.) The vocabulary used in the recipe is limited to the basic verbs of the category (e.g.: *cook, fry, remove, beat, serve.*) Needless to say that no adverbs of manner are used in the example (9) to specify the steps to be taken and no extra ideas of serving the ready meal are given. All of the features mentioned above enhance the impression of brevity and functional usefulness that the language in the example (9) creates, which, most likely, has influenced the respondents of the study to define this extract as men-targeted one.

Moreover, as far as cooking recipes are concerned, some of the most typical features of male discourse have been adopted by female-targeted recipes. The next two examples have been taken from the general corpus of the study in order to illustrate the presence of such feature as scientification of discourse in women-oriented recipes. Just like in the example (1), the following recipes make an extensive use of specific terms, this time related to the field of nutrition, in order to transmit a certain credit of reliability of information that they provide to the readers. The full texts of these recipes are provided below in the examples (10) and (11).

(10) Food and Cooking

Low-fat Cheese on Wholegrain Crackers

Cheese used to be considered a weight-loss enemy and diets warned you away – not any more! Try wholegrain crackers with a slice of low-fat cheese of a combination of protein and carbs that will keep you full for longer.

(Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue)

(11) Food and Cooking

For Something that Travels Well...Nuts.

Nuts are high in fat – the monosaturated kind that’s good for your heart. Plus your body will burn energy to digest the protein. Limit your daily intake to a quarter cup of raw, unsalted nuts. (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue)

As it has been mentioned above, these two extracts are principally interesting due to the use of specific terms of the field of nutrition, such as, for example, the following: “*reduced-fat*”, “*combination of protein and carbs*”, “*monosaturated fat*”, “*daily intake*”. The use of specific vocabulary in a non-scientific article, or a scientification of discourse, is a rather typical feature of men-targeting texts (Goddard and Patterson, 2000:38) as it has already been demonstrated in the example (1).

Next extract for analysis comes from the same section of Food and Cooking. However, this extract has been chosen for the present analysis mainly due to the evidence of gender discourse co-penetration on the level of topicality. This example represents a rather peculiar incongruity between the hypothetical addressee originally constructed by the magazine it comes from and the hypothetical addressee identified by the respondents of the questionnaire. The complete text of the extract is present below in the example (12).

(12) Household Gadgets & Cooking Tips

Save yourself some time and effort by investing in a potato ricer. While pounding a pan of warm potatoes may be therapeutic, the end result can be lumpy, unevenly cooked mash and a sore arm. Instead, bake your potato in a microwave for five minutes then squeeze the fleshy middle through the machine holes. The squeezing action forces air into your mash, meaning you get light, fluffy, lump-free mash with very little effort. Because the end result is finer, you

don't have to add as much butter or milk to improve the consistency, so you'll save on calories, too. (Men's Health, December 2009)

First of all, it is important to note that this extract has been included in the section of Food and Cooking for the reason of dealing with the same topic area. However, the rest of the extracts in the section are coking recipes, while this text represents a sort of advice-advert for a household gadget. This piece had originally been targeted at men, while the majority of respondents identified it as a women-targeted one (65%). Other scores obtained are not relevant to the present study and will not be discussed here. The results of the analysis can be motivated by the high influence of gender-related stereotype that defines women as the only possible addressees for texts about kitchen appliances and cooking tools. Having said that, it is relevant to remember that the whole section of Food and Cooking was clearly defined by respondents as a gender-independent one (60% of respondents have chosen the option BOTH). It is also rather important to specify here that out of four recipes in the section, the two shorter and relatively simpler ones in terms of instructions have been defined as men-targeting and the other two longer and more elaborate ones were claimed to aim at women, while originally it was just the opposite. The relevant conclusion to draw after having considered this data is that a rather wide social acceptance of cooking as a domain relevant to both male and female readership does not imply the same wide acceptance of topics related to cooking tools and household appliances. Kitchen as a physical space is still socially assigned to women who are supposed to manage it, while men are associated either to a creative role of a cook or to an independent male who is able to prepare his own meals.

In terms of linguistic features important for the present analysis, this extract disposes of an instance of pseudo-scientific talk that is widely considered one of the

attributes of male language (Goddard and Patterson, 2000) (e.g.: “*The squeezing action forces air into your mash, meaning you get light, fluffy, lump-free mash with very little effort.*”). However, the respondents of the questionnaire were not sensitive to this traditional feature of male talk, which once again demonstrates the ongoing social change and the reshaping of standard ideas of what implies femininity and masculinity. On the other hand, the fact that the idea of saving on calories is mentioned in the extract might have inclined the contestants’ decisions in favor of a female addressee as keeping shape and calorie management is still regarded as predominantly female area despite the fact that the amount of calories per serving is mentioned in male-targeted recipes far more often than in female-targeted ones.

The next item of analysis stands, in a way, apart from the general dynamics of the study as it deals with a complete article taken from the general corpus. However, the aim of the author of the present study stays the same – the identification of explicit instances of gender-discourse co-penetration on linguistic level, as well as on the level of topicality. The following article comes from Men’s Health magazine and represents a True Story genre, which has generally been considered as female genre found very often in female magazines, not in male-targeted ones (Caldas-Coulthard, 1992: 252). The reason for this genre to be long considered a female one is that it deals extensively with the private matters of a certain person, a hero of a story, and that it usually represents a rather idealized account of events. Thus, such quality as being interested in private problems of others, or, “gossiping” about somebody’s private matters has always been defined as a pure feminine quality (Tannen, 1990:96). Some researchers, however, have tried to prove the opposite, like, for example, Johnson and Finlay (2004, 130-144) in their analysis of football talk on television. In addition, the True Story genre involves telling the life story of a certain person in an emotive way providing

details about the feelings of that person and, in a majority of instances, leading the story to a positive ending. These features of media discourse have been referred to by Caldas-Coulthard (1994:251) as “novelization” of discourse – a typical distinctive feature of female-targeted True Stories according to this scholar. It is worthwhile to mention that this researcher claims that while women tend to be offered “novelized” True Stories, men are usually addressed with exact and factual information. The present paper, on the contrary, demonstrates that men can also be addressed by “novelized” texts. Finally, before starting a detailed analysis of the article, it is important to comment that the text under analysis was supported by two photos of the hero of the story: one photo showing his state “before” losing weight and another photo showing his state “after” losing weight, where he looked considerably better. The “before” and “after” photos are rather typical to female discourse as they add to the emotive function of the story, helping the reader to visualize the information given in a written text (Caldas-Coulthard, 1992:254). The article itself, as well as the detailed analysis of its contents is presented below.

(13) A True Story

Belly Off! Club.

Jason Hisaw Changed from Texas-sized to Downsized

“My weight was holding me back from my success”

Paragraph 1

The Setback

I’ve always loved good food and good wine. So after college, I scored a job as a restaurant manager.(...) I ate throughout my shifts, and after we closed the restaurant, my colleagues and I would go out and eat bar food. By the time I reached 277 pounds, I knew something had to change: (...) It was embarrassing, and I was having a hard time doing my job.

Paragraph 2

The Wake-up Call

It’s seriously tough to become a master wine steward, and one of the steps is passing the advance sommelier test. When I took the exam in Dallas in October

2008, I felt tremendous pressure. (...) I knew the answers but just didn't have the confidence to trust my instincts. My weight was part of the problem: It sapped me of self assurance. From then on, I resolved to change.

Paragraph 3

The Food

Not long after I failed my test, my mom visited me. She looked noticeably thinner, and she said she'd lost 11 pounds just by controlling her meal portions. So I tried that strategy. It was very helpful - and easier than I thought. (...) I've also skipped the late night bar food with my friends. (...) I don't need to eat to have fun- but now my first priority is to manage my weight so I can succeed at my dream.

Paragraph 4

The Fitness

I used to cope with the stressful restaurant environment by eating – but now I channel the stress into exercise. (...)

Paragraph 5

The Reward

I flew to California last April to try the advanced sommelier test. I was 50 pounds lighter – the change was more than enough to give me the confidence boost I needed. Before the exam, I went for a 3-mile run, stretched and took a shower. I felt so refreshed and sure of myself. And this time, I passed and earned my certification. (...) The success validated all my hard work (...). (Men's Health magazine, June 2010, UK issue).

In order to reveal the features of female discourse present in the article above (example (13)), it has been compared to other three articles of True Story genre taken from the Cosmopolitan issues under analysis. The full text of these articles, same as the scanned copy of the articles in the example (13) can be found in the Appendix 2 of the present paper.

The first feature to focus on while performing a comparative analysis between the three women-targeted True Stories and a male-targeted one is definitely the overall structure of the article. All four articles have shown a rather similar structure, which is presented in figure 7 below:

Figure 7

Presentation of a Problem	General description of a problem and some background information about how the hero arrived to having this problem.
Turning Point	The moment when hero realizes that he/she has to do something about the problem.
Means/ People/ Ideals that help to resolve the problem	The stage when a hero meets someone/tries a new technique/ Realizes something very important that becomes a way to resolve The problem
Happy Ending	The stage when a hero resolves the problem and enjoy the result Of his/her struggle.

In terms of female-targeted True Stories under analysis (Appendix 2), the beginning of narration is often represented by flashbacks or hero's quotes and these features are rather common for the ending of the stories as well. However, the general development of the stories complied with the overall structure exposed in the figure 7. As to the True Story aimed at male readership, it is considerably shorter than female-targeted ones and the structure follows exactly the stages shown in the figure 7, which can easily be seen by the titles of every stage of the article: **The Setback = Description of the problem; The Wake-up call = Turning Point; The Food and The Fitness = Means to Reach Success; The Reward = Happy Ending.**

Another point of comparison between female-targeted and male-targeted True Stories is the catch phrase that is supposed to attract the reader. The figure 8 below shows the four catch-phrases coming from the articles under analysis.

Figure 8.

Men's Health Magazine	Cosmopolitan Magazine
"My weight was holding me back from my success"	"Modelling drove me to drugs" (July, 2010, UK issue)
	"Bulimia rotted holes in my mouth" (March, 2010, UK issue)
	"My Anorexia Fightback – two years ago I weighed just over 4 st." (December, 2009, UK issue)

As it can be seen from the figure 8, the catch phrases in all four articles under analysis represent direct quotes from the narrator and they all are rather dramatized, which is quite typical as far as female-targeted stories are concerned.

As far as the texts of the stories are concerned, all four stories use first person narration and abundance of direct quotations with the aim to create the feeling of authenticity of the story. Another feature used in all four articles under analysis in order to induce authenticity is informal vocabulary as shown in the figure 9 below, which is aimed to show that the hero of the story is "one of us" and can be identified with the targeted readers.

Figure 9

Men's Health Magazine	Cosmopolitan Magazine
<p>Tough, to score a job,</p> <p>I bombed on the first part of the test; etc.</p> <p>(June 2010, UK issue)</p>	<p>The hardest-hitting conversation; to be picky with food; the work piled up; etc.</p> <p>(December, 2009, UK issue)</p> <p>To hit the self-distruct button;</p> <p>the screwed-up relationship, in the nick of time, to shrink to a size 10; etc.</p> <p>(March 2010, UK issue)</p> <p>A fix of heroin; bitchy girls; to take its toll;</p> <p>To offer a line; celebs; to wind down; etc.</p> <p>(July 2010, UK edition)</p>

Finally, it would interesting to mention for the purpose of the present study that the male-targeted True Story (Example (13)), apart from belonging to a traditional feminine genre and possessing several qualities of that genre, also brings across a rather new message as far as the discourse of masculinity is concerned. That is, a general concern about the shapes of one's body and looks has always been a female topic and only recently it has started to interest men, as the analysis of the extracts (1); (4); (6); (7) earlier in this paper showed. Moreover, the direct relationship between the looks (in this case, body weight), the feeling of self-esteem and professional success has traditionally been a core idea for female-oriented discourse, and never for the male one (Lakoff, 1975). The idea of extra weight being a reason for emotional instability of the hero and, consequently, the reason for his professional failure can be traced all through the article in the example (13). To illustrate this claim, several phrases from the

example (13) have been taken out for detailed analysis (underlined in the complete text of the article in example (13)). These phrases are presented below:

1. “It was embarrassing, and I was having a hard time doing my job.” It can be seen here that the hero’s emotional state and professional life were affected by his extra weight – a sensitivity that is not really common for male-discourse. (Lakoff, 1975).
2. “I felt tremendous pressure (...)” Just like in the point 1 above, the hero’s emotional world is affected by his physical shape; a hint to a certain inferiority complex.
3. “I knew the answers but just didn’t have the confidence to trust my instincts. My weight was part of the problem: It sapped me of self assurance.” Here the hero directly claims that his body weight stopped him from passing the test.
4. “(...) my first priority is to manage my weight so I can succeed at my dream.” Here one can observe how the body weight becomes one of the most important (if not the only important) pre-requisite for achieving his dream.
5. “I was 50 pounds lighter – the change was more than enough to give me the confidence boost I needed.” This phrase gives a direct confirmation of the idea that hero’s confidence depended on his body weight.
6. “I felt so refreshed and sure of myself. And this time, I passed and earned my certification.” The phrase expressing the happy ending of the True Story where the hero reached his goal.

As it can be seen from the detailed analysis of the male-targeted True Story above (example (13)), men readership nowadays is developing a new type of sensitivity where

preoccupation about one's body shape and looks in general can affect directly such qualities as self-esteem and professional ambition, which can be denominated as a new quality of reshaping modern masculinity (Connell, 2001:143). The extra confirmation of this idea can be found in the analysis of the extracts (1), (4), (6) and (7) above in the present paper.

5. Conclusion

The scores discussed on the first stage of the Analysis and Discussion chapter suggest that the identity of the target addressee constructed by the magazines under analysis as clearly masculine or feminine one does not manifest itself to the potential readers of the magazines with the same clarity. The general tendency among the respondents was to attribute the extracts of the questionnaire to both male and female readers indistinctively.

Stage two of the analysis has revealed two basic tendencies prevailing in the process of interest area identification, which are as follows: social gender stereotyping and overall acknowledgement of social change. Body Care and Health, Fashion and Body Care and Working Out were generally identified as female areas of interest, which can be explained by the influence of social gender-bound stereotypes. However, such sections as Sex , Food and Cooking and Career Tips were identified by the majority of respondents as oriented at both men and women, which suggests that there is a significant shift in perception of these domains from socially-defined gender-restricted areas of interest to the topics relevant for both genders irrespectively.

On the third stage of analysis the author of the study has managed to identify certain instances of gender-topic and gender-language co-penetration. The detailed analysis of some extracts from the questionnaire has made a rather significant contribution to the idea of stereotype influence over the issue of topicality mentioned above. All extracts analysed demonstrated that respondents tended to attribute female topicality to such traditionally female domains as cooking and kitchen equipment, fashion, skin care, beauty and aerobics while such areas as work, career, and consuming alcohol were considered men-oriented ones. These data can also be interpreted in the light of gender-discourse democratization as the clear instance of active co-penetration

between male and female interest areas. Furthermore, this process of co-penetration can be characterized as a rather smooth one given that potential readers of the magazines has demonstrated to experience difficulties in identifying men-targeting extracts within stereotypically female areas of interest (e.g. a kitchen appliance tip aimed at men) and women-targeting extracts in stereotypically male areas of interest (e.g. career tips aimed at women). Another rather significant finding of the analysis is the appearance of the absolutely new type of sensitivity in male readership as witnessed in male –targeted fashion advice and True Stories, where the direct relationship between men’s physical shape, his self-esteem and his profession success can be traced. The schematic representation of topic and situations that have been defined as “democratized” ones can be found in the figures 10 and 11 below:

Figure 10. “Democratization” of Traditionally Male Areas of Interest

Traditionally Male Topic	Example (Male-targeted Text)	Discourse Democratization Example (Female-targeted Text)
Professional Success (Lakoff, 1975; Goddard and Patterson, 2000)	“Hammer Out a Better Business Deal.” “You can earn a third more simply by being thought of as “charismatic”. (Men’s Health, December 2009, UK issue)	“Cosmo’s Cash & Careers clinic: From the boardroom to your bank balance, get on top.” (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue) “Cosmo’s Cash and Career Clinic: 5 Reasons You’re not Getting Promoted.” (Cosmopolitan, March 2010 UK issue)
Importance of Bonding (Lakoff, 1975).	“(…) what would chaps in the bar say about her?” (Men’s Health, December 2009, UK issue)	“Do mingle with other departments as well as having a laugh with your usual colleague. It shows you’re both popular and a team player.” (Cosmopolitan, December 2009, UK issue)

Figure 11. “Democratization” of Traditionally Female Areas of Interest

Traditionally Female Topic	Example (Female-targeted Text)	Discourse Democratization Example (Male-targeted Text)
Skincare and beauty products (Goddard and Patterson, 2000:42)	Pretty gorgeous! Everything you need to make this month you most beautiful yet! (Cosmopolitan, March 2010 UK issue)	“Long nights, early mornings and a lack of sunlight take their toll on the fatigue-frosted windows to your soul. (...)Caffeine is the answer to sleepy eyes.(...) Opt for a caffeine-rich eye cream and store it in the fridge. (Men’s Health, December 2009, UK issue)
Fashion and Style (Lakoff, 1975)	“399 dresses, shoes, tops and bags to make this Christmas your hottest ever!” (Cosmopolitan, December 2009, UK issue) “Treat yourself to a great Fashion accessory” (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue)	“Simple, confident, but not close minded: It is the message of the perfect wardrobe, and a savvy businessman. (...)” (Men’s Health, June, 2010, UK issue)”
Body Care Importance of good figure (Lakoff, 1975)	“Struggling with your weight? Dieting? Often hungry? Still eating too much? XXX can help by controlling your hunger so that you eat less and snack less.” Cosmopolitan, December 2009, UK issue)	“I was 50 pounds lighter – the change was more than enough to give me the confidence boost I needed.” (Men’s Health, June 2010, UK issue)
Emotional World (Caldas-Coulhard, 1992:252)	“At first I was <u>horrified</u> and <u>was convinced</u> there was no way I’d do something like this. But soon, <u>the pressure of loosing weight, combined with my lack of confidence</u> , took its toll.” (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue).	“It was <u>embarrassing</u> ”; “I felt so <u>refreshed and sure of myself</u> ”. (Men’s Health, June 2010, UK issue)
True Story as a Genre	“From model to homeless	Jason Hisaw Changed

Gossiping (Lakoff, 1975)	addict...To me! Sasha Webb knows all about throwing your life away. She did exactly that and has only just got it back..." (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue.)	from Texas-sized to Downsized "My weight was holding me back from my success" (True Story found in Men's Health, June 2010, UK issue)
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As to gender-language co-penetration, the linguistic analysis was done on grammatical and syntactic levels and the features of discourse democratization found are as follows: discourse novelization and an extensive use of euphemisms attributed to beautification discourse in men-targeted texts, as well as weak manifestations of reference to authority and scientification of discourse in women-oriented texts. The study has also revealed a certain pattern in the use of imperative constructions in men/women-targeted cooking recipes. Recipes aimed at male readership tended to expose such traditionally female features of language as lengthy sentences, covert imperatives and abundance of manner adverbs. Recipes oriented at women, in contrast, were generally much shorter and more straightforward in the use of instructions using overt imperative forms such as one or two member sentences containing a verb in imperative mood. One might conclude that women-targeted recipes were written to be functional, practical and exact – features that have usually been attributed to male discourse. Another remarkable instantiation of gender-discourse co-penetration that has been revealed on the stage three of the present study is the presence of True Story or Gossip genre in men-targeted magazines under analysis as this genre has always been considered proper to female-oriented magazines. As the comparative analysis between magazines has shown, the men-oriented True stories follow the same structure as the female-oriented ones, as well as they use first person narration and informal vocabulary, just as the ones written for women. One of the most distinctive features of female discourse widely represented in male true story under analysis is fictionalization of events and novelization of

discourse. A schematic treatment of instances of gender discourse democratization is exposed in figures 12 and 13 below:

Figure 12. Gender-language Co-penetration. Male Discourse Features.

Traditionally Male Feature	Example (Male-targeted Text)	Discourse Democratization Example (Female-targeted Text)
Reference to authority (author of the study)	“The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition found (...)” (Men’s Health December 2009, UK issue).	“Japanese researchers have recently found (...)” (Cosmopolitan, December 2009, UK issue)
Scientification of discourse (Goddard-Patterson, 2000-38)	“(…) hundreds of miniscule <u>blood capillaries</u> (...); “(…) <u>antioxidants</u> protect you from ageing <u>free radicals</u> (...); “tiny <u>blood vessels</u> ” (Men;s Health, December 2009, UK issue)	Nuts are high in <u>fat</u> – the <u>monosaturated</u> kind that’s good for your heart. Plus <u>your body will burn energy to digest the protein</u> . Limit your <u>daily intake</u> (...)” (Cosmopolitan, July 2010, UK issue)
Brevity and functionality Of instruction/information (Key, 1975:76)	“Lose your gut and Sculpt your body!” (Men’s Heath, June 2010, UK issue)	“Cook spaghetti. Drain and set aside.” (Cosmopolitan, December 2009, UK issue)
Non-standard forms Informal vocabulary (Lakoff, 1975)	I <u>bombed on</u> the first part of the test; etc. (Men’s Health, June 2010, UK issue)	“It’s great way to <u>schmooze</u> with <u>head honchos</u> (...)” (Cosmopolitan December 2009, UK issue)

Figure 13. Gender-language Co-penetration. Female-discourse Features.

Traditionally Female Feature	Example (Female-targeted Text)	Discourse Democratization Example (Male-Targeted Text)
Beautification of Discourse (Caldas-Coulthard, 1992:264)	“ Treat for <u>winter hands</u> ”; “ <u>Months of cold weather taking its toll on your skin</u> ? For extra hydration, try (...)” (Cosmopolitan, March 2010 UK issue).	“ <u>fatigue-frosted windows to your soul</u> ” (= wrinkled eyes)” (Men’s Health, December 2009, UK issue)
Novelization of Discourse (Fiction-like representation	“It all started when I was 17 I became aware of boys, and	“I’ve always loved good food and good wine.

of reality) (Caldas-Coulhard, 1992:251)	of my body. Compared to the other stunning women in my family – including my mum, who was a former model – I felt clumsy and chubby. So I decided to slim down.” (Cosmopolitan, March 2010 UK issue).	So after college, I scored a job as a restaurant manager. But my ultimate goal was to become a master sommelier, so many days consisted of studying all morning and working all night. I ate throughout my shifts, and after we closed the restaurant, my colleagues and I would go out and eat bar food. By the time I reached 277 pounds, I knew something had to change(...)” (Men’s Health, June 2010, UK issue)
Indirectness of Expression Mitigation of Commands (Key, 1975:76)	“Choose an empire-line dress or top to emphasise you cleavage. <u>If you need even more ooph, go for a padded bra – none need ever know!</u> Layering up your top half <u>is great for creating shape and giving the illusion of a more curvaceous figure(...)</u> I’d wear it as it is with some cute heeled sandals.” (Cosmopolitan, March 2010 UK issue).	“Stir the chopped herbs into the tomato tarragon dressing and spoon over the beef. <u>Why not serve with a few buttered new potatoes?</u> (Men’s Health, December 2009, UK issue)
Abundance of Descriptive Adjectives and comparisons (Lakoff, 1975)	“Opening with a burst of sweet apples and white peaches, the subtle heart of the fragrance is then composed of white flowers, plums and sweet orange blossom, with a hint of vanilla for a sensual and delicate scent that perfectly encapsulates the feeling of spontaneity and passion” (Cosmopolitan, March 2010 UK issue).	“So his wardrobe is like his design style: understated, masculine, and sophisticated. If he dresses too loudly, clients might wonder if he’d drown out their ideas.” (Men’s Health, July 2010, UK issue)

The results obtained by the present study allow the author to claim that the hypothesis of the study has been proved as the analysis has revealed certain instances of co-penetration between what is known as ‘traditional’ male and female topics/situations and language choices in Men’s Health and Cosmopolitan lifestyle magazines.

6. Limitations of the Study

The major limitation of the present study is the size of the corpus. In case further research in the area of gender discourse democratization should be undertaken, a larger corpus comprising extracts from more than two types of lifestyle magazines should be taken as a basis. In case further study opts for using questionnaire to delimitate the spheres of interest shared by both genders, a larger corpus would definitely imply using a greater number of respondents.

From a sociological point of view, gender discourse democratization could be a rather promising area of investigation as the reasons for the major shift in the traditional concepts of femininity and masculinity must be numerous.

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Appendix

The Questionnaire Used for the Study

SEX: MALE/FEMALE
AGE: 20-25; 26-35; 36-45; 46-55

READ THE EXTRACTS AND UNDERLINE THE ANSWER THAT SEEMS
APPROPRIATE TO YOU

Extract 1
Career Tips: Your talent

It helps to have talent, of course. (...), talent alone is meaningless. "There are a lot of people I think are really talented, and I can see that they are not going to make it because they don't work hard enough." The universe only conspires to help you when you work for your goal. (...) Over time talent and work become indistinguishable. You put the effort in to become better at something, to learn all the ins and outs, to acquire all the necessary skills. Then, when you are successful, people compliment you on your talent.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 2
Food & Cooking

Fillet a Deux

(...) ingredients omitted as not relevant to the study.

5. To make dressing, cut each tomato in a half and squeeze out the seeds. Finely chop the flesh and place in a large bowl. Add the rest of the ingredients, except for the herbs, and mix well. Season well with salt and pepper, then cover with cling film and chill for at least 20 minutes.
6. Heat the oven to 200 C/Gas 6 and preheat a roasting pan. Trim any fat or sinew from the fillet of beef and season all over with salt and pepper. Heat a not/stick frying pan with a little olive oil. When it is smoking hot, add the beef and sear for 1 to 2 minutes on each side until evenly browned all over.
7. Lightly oil the hot roasting pan. Transfer the beef to the roasting pan and place in the oven. Roast for 25 minutes for medium rare beef- it should feel a little springy when lightly pressed. Cooking's done! Now, transfer the fillet to the warm serving plate and leave to rest for 10 minutes.
8. Serve the beef warm or at a room temperature. Slice it thickly and overlap the slices on a serving platter. Pile the rocket into the centre. Stir the chopped herbs into the tomato tarragon dressing and spoon over the beef. Why not serve with a few buttered new potatoes?

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 3

Body care & Health

Tea Break

Drink white tea and banish wrinkles. Researchers from Kingston University London discovered that white tea prevents the activity of enzymes which break down elastin and collagen leading to wrinkles.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 4

Food & cooking

Quick and easy meals for a crazy time of the year

Pasta shapes with rocket, prawns and feta

(...) ingredients omitted as not relevant for the study

1. Cook pasta according to the packet instructions. Drain and keep warm.
2. Meanwhile, heat the oil in a large wok or frying pan and add garlic, spring onions and pepper. Stir-fry for 3-4 minutes, then add the prawns, feta and rocket. Cook for 1-3 minutes more, then add the pasta, tossing well. Remove from the heat and season. Serve immediately.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 5

Body & Working out

Swiss-ball exercise

The Swiss have the best of both worlds: their chocolate is the best bar none-albeit with a calorie quotient that sits uneasily with your weight loss regime. Fortunately, they've also come up with an antidote: the Swiss ball. Battle that all-too-predictable festive chocolate binge by lying on your back with your lower legs on a Swiss ball.

1. Extend your arms to your sides, palm up. Raise your hips so your body is straight from shoulder to knees.
2. Pull your hills in, bringing the ball towards your glutes.
3. Pause 1 second and reverse the motion. Lower your hips to the floor and repeat.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 6

Body care & Health

Struggling with your weight?
Dieting?
Often hungry?
Still eating too much?

XXX can help by controlling your hunger so that you eat less and snack less. It's been shown to assist weight loss at a healthy rate of around two pounds per week. It can also be used successfully with other weight loss programmes. XXX patented formulation contains extracts from three South American plant, yerba mate, guarana and damiana. Three plants also have a mild stimulatory effect to help keep you active.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 7

Food & cooking

Quick Carbonara
Always thought spaghetti carbonara would be way too complicated? Not with this recipe!
Start to finish: 12 minutes

(...) ingredients omitted as not relevant to the study

5. Cook spaghetti. Drain and set aside.
6. Fry the bacon in a large non-stick frying pan for 2-3 minutes. Remove and set aside.
7. Beat the eggs with the cream and Parmesan. Season.
8. Melt the butter in the frying pan and add the egg mixture. Stir over a moderate heat until just started to thicken. Add bacon and spaghetti and toss to mix well. Serve immediately.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 8

Fashion

Looking to buy British? The online retailer XXX has introduced a born-in-Blightly collection featuring home grown favorites such as XXX, XXX, and XXX of London. The tradition has all the tradition of cream tea and scones, with XXX, XXX, and XXX vying for your wallet's affections. We particularly liked the range of XXX bags by XXX (...)

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 9

Fashion

Casual Fridays can be tricky. "If you don't dress properly, your credibility will be undermined, even on casual days," says XXX, an executive search firm in New York City. "Your boss may not admonish you, but he'll make a mental note that may cost you a promotion." Here's how to keep your style and professional image intact.

Don't confuse casual workdays with Saturday night. "You want to look just as put together and professional as if you were wearing a XXX," says XXX, fashion director for XXX at Saks Fifth Avenue. So avoid holes, frays, and distressing.

Do . . . stick to a dark wash with a straight, medium-to-slim fit. It's universally flattering and not overly casual, says stylist Marcy Carmack, the creator of chicwardrobesolutions.com. "Go for simple," says Carmack. "Some designer jeans look too 'fashiony.'"

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 10

Body & Working out

Arms

1. Stand a meter away from the wall and place your hands on it at shoulder height.
2. Keep your hands a little wider than your shoulders, then bend at the elbows and lean forwards until your forehead touches the wall. Hold your tummy at the same time to make sure your body is straight.
3. Straighten your arms so you are back at the starting position.
4. Two sets of 15 will pay off.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 11

Sex

Nothing heats you up faster than someone else's body heat, according to university of Illinois studies. "Plus, skin to skin contact boosts the level of (...) - women's feel-good hormone, so acts as an aphrodisiac." says XXX. (...)

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 12

Household Gadgets & Cooking Tips

Save yourself some time and effort by investing in a potato ricer. While pounding a pan of warm potatoes may be therapeutic, the end result can be lumpy, unevenly cooked mash and a sore arm. Instead, bake your potato in a microwave for five minutes then squeeze the fleshy middle through the machine holes. The squeezing action forces air into your mash, meaning you get light, fluffy, lump-free mash with very little effort. Because the end result is finer, you don't have to add as much butter or milk to improve the consistency, so you'll save on calories, too.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 13

Body care & Health

Bright-Eyed Beans

Long nights, early mornings and a lack of sunlight take their toll on the fatigue-frosted windows to your soul. The combination of thin skin and hundreds of miniscule blood capillaries make the area under your eyes prone to inflammation, leaving you carrying the bag for those late evenings. Caffeine is the answer to sleepy eyes. The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition found it contains more antioxidants per serving than blueberries. When applied to the skin, the antioxidants protect you from ageing free radicals and, more crucially for the morning mirror, the stimulation of caffeine causes near-instant narrowing to the tiny blood vessels underneath your eyes. This reduces blood flow and limits the swelling that so obviously tell tales on you. Opt for a caffeine-rich eye cream and store it in the fridge.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 14

Career Tips

1. Be an active listener. Convince the other party that you are listening by paying attention and then repeating some of what she/he says back. If she/he believes that you are listening to her/his point of view he /she will be more likely to appreciate yours.
2. Foster calm. Negotiations are often about repairing a negative situation. Allow the other party to blow off some steam before you try striking the deal you're after.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 15
Body care & Health

Japanese researchers have recently found that drinking with your friends is healthier for your heart than drinking alone. It seems that the stress relief you get from laughing and joking decreases your risk of heart disease and a stroke. Just don't go overboard or you'll cancel out those healthy benefits.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 16
Sex

"Your home is an extension of you", says XXX. "So inviting her/him in feels very revealing. While it can be a turn-on, prepping your space ensures you can (subtly) stimulate him/her." Turn your home into a sense-fest, suggests XXX. "A faux-fur thrown on the sofa. Sexy but cool music. (...) Perfume the bed sheets; (...) And if you haven't cleaned for weeks? Hint that you're intrigued by her/his place. (...)

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 17
Body care & Health

Harnessing the intense power of the ocean in your bathtub can help firm your skin, reduce cellulite, ease insomnia and boost your immune and digestive systems.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 18
Body & Working out

Shoulders

1. From a horizontal position, bend your knees but keep your feet flat on the floor.
2. Hold a dumbbell or a big bottle of water in each hand, push your arms up together until they're straight, then bring your elbows back to the floor.
3. Do two sets of 15 every day.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 19

Career Tips: Office party strategies

- F) Don't be the last to leave. It makes you look like you haven't had a night out in months.
- G) Do mingle with other departments as well as having a laugh with your usual colleague. It shows you're both popular and a team player.
- H) Do follow the one waiter for one alcoholic drink rule. You won't look like a square for not drinking but you'll be sober enough to stay in control.
- I) Do hang by the bar or buffet. It's great way to schmooze with head honchos you wouldn't normally get the chance to speak to. People usually go up there alone, so they will be free to talk.
- J) Don't talk business. This isn't the place to boast about a deal you're working on or ask for a promotion. Instead, start conversation by asking your seniors a question, like what their weekend plans are.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE

Extract 20

Sex

Advice and sex are similar – no, really. Sometimes you need it to be long and thoughtful; other times, the faster, the better. Here, XXX gives it to you as direct as possible.

TOPIC:	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE
WRITTEN FOR:	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH	HARD TO DECIDE