Dynamic Representation of a Female Gender Role as a Part of a Woman’s Image  
(on the Basis of English Proverbs and Anti-proverbs)

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Abstract. The research of gender factor on the basis of English proverbs and anti-proverbs gives a more detailed understanding of nationally specific category of femininity since this approach reveals both traditional system of views and qualifications of female role and modern representation of the image of woman as seen in innovative proverbial texts. In this piece the author examines English traditional proverbs and anti-proverbs in order to discover social changes in the representation of a female image verbalized in paremias. The analysis showed a fairly pronounced gender asymmetry and opposition of the sexes, which is manifested in a predominantly negative assessment of a woman, her character traits, inclinations and actions. In traditional proverbs, a woman is significantly inferior to a man in her position in society, as evidenced by a large number of lexical units positively characterizing a man, representing him as a being of a higher order compared to a woman. The top signs of a woman are her external attractiveness, emotionality, sensuality, and to be the mistress of the house, the owner and manager of material wealth and finances. The linguistic analysis of anti-proverbs showed that negative connotations in the image of woman still prevail in English speaking society, however, the existence of neutral or positive female characteristics is also marked. The research revealed social changes in attribution of originally masculine qualities, they now seem to be “beyond” biological sex or, in other words, intergender. Among these are: competitiveness, equal rights in occupations, posts and in everyday activities (domestic chores, driving a car), access to politics, ability to express one’s own desires and undertake independent actions.

Keywords: proverb, anti-proverb, image, femininity, semantic gender markers, structural gender markers.


Динамическое представление женской гендерной роли как часть образа женщины  
(на материале английских пословиц и антипословиц)

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Аннотация. Исследование гендерного фактора на основе английских пословиц и антипословиц позволяет получить более детальное представление о национально специфической категории «фeminинность», поскольку данный подход выявляет как традиционную систему взглядов и квалификаций женской гендерной роли, так и современное представление об образе женщины. Автор исследует английские традиционные пословицы и антипословицы с целью обнаружить социальные изменения в репрезентации женского образа, вербализованного в паремиях и нео-паремиях. Анализ показал достаточно выраженную гендерную асимметрию и контрадикторность полов, что проявляется
в преимущественно негативной оценке женщины, ее черт характера, склонностей и поступков. В традиционных пословицах женщина значитель но уступает мужчине по своему положению в обществе, о чем свидетельствует большое количество лексических единиц, положительно характеризующих мужчину, представляющих его как существо более высокого порядка по сравнению с женщиной. Вершинными признаками женщины являются ее внешняя привлекательность, эмоциональность, чувственность, хозяйственность, а также подчёркивается ее склонность быть распорядительницей материальных благ и финансов семьи. Лингвистический анализ антипословиц показал, что негативные коннотации в образе женщины по-прежнему преобладают в англоязычном обществе, однако отмечается и наличие нейтральных или положительных женских характеристик. Выявлены социальные дисбалансы в атрибуции женщинам изначально мужских качеств, которые как бы вышли за пределы биологического пола, или стали интергендерными. Среди таких: конкурентоспособность, равноправие в профессиональной деятельности, должностях и в повседневной жизни (домашние дела, вождение автомобиля), вхождение в политическую среду, способность выражать собственные желания и предпринимать самостоятельные действия.

Ключевые слова: пословица, антипословица, образ, категория фемининности, семантические гендерные маркеры, структурные гендерные маркеры


Introduction

The problem of gender asymmetry, fixed and expressed in a language, has been paid attention to by many Russian and foreign researchers. V. N. Telia in her monograph on Russian phraseology devotes a section to the issues of representation of the female image, upon completion of which, the author comes to the following conclusions: 1) in Russian society, a woman is not seen as the weaker sex; 2) the gender role of a woman is often expressed via the stereotype of a woman-housewife; 3) in case of a gastronomic metaphor, a woman is represented as a “tasty morsel”; 4) the chastity of the girl and the loyalty of a wife to her husband are encouraged in Russian culture, while frequent changes of men in a woman’s life are condemned; 5) a woman is characterized by the status of “subhuman” in the everyday sense [Telia, 1996]

Gender linguistics issues are also highlighted in the work of A. V. Kirilina, which examines the content of nationally specific stereotypes in the phraseological fund of the Russian and German languages. The analysis of gender stereotypes allows the author to come to the conclusion: 1) androcentrism exists in two compared language cultures, and is manifested in the public orientation towards masculine assessments and definitions; 2) a woman is often likened to inanimate objects, therefore, is perceived as an object; 3) a positive assessment of female qualities is seen in those spheres, which are beneficial for a man [Kirilina, 1999]. Moreover, the monograph of I.V. Zykova is also worth to be noted here, since in this piece of work the author conducts a systematic study of the gender factor, verbalized in English phraseology, which makes it possible to outline the range of problems and tasks to be further considered and solved within the framework of gender linguistics [Zykova, 2003].

When it comes to foreign works, one cannot fail to mention the work by A. T. Litovkina, dedicated to the methods of feminine stereotyping in the texts of English anti-proverbs, which affect the public perception of the female prototype. Furthermore, the work examines and analyzes the moral qualities, manners and style of female behaviour, as well as other qualities of a woman that are included in the category of "femininity" at the present development stage of the English-speaking community [Litovkina, 2019].

The purpose of this work is to trace the dynamic development of a female image using the material of English proverbs and anti-proverbs. Considering this, the following tasks are determined: 1) to conduct a linguistic analysis of traditional proverbs with the subsequent identification
of the most socially demanded feminine gender qualities; 2) to conduct a linguistic analysis of anti-proverbs with the subsequent establishment of the most socially relevant feminine gender characteristics; 3) the synthesis of the obtained data. This research seems to be of current interest since such an approach uncovers two proverbial word pictures: a traditional one and a modern or ultra-modern one, both compared and contrasted to each other. Furthermore, the analysis of gender factor in anti-proverbs compared to traditional proverbs reveals socially determined changes in gender roles assimilation and gives an in-depth understanding of the most socially relevant gender stereotypes and the content of traditional opposition male/ female or “masculinity”/ “femininity”.

Objects and methods of analysis


The linguistic material was collected via existence in the proverb (or anti-proverb) either or both semantic/structural gender markers. Semantic gender marker is distinguished by the presence of an implicit gender marker in the proverbial text with the absence of component words in a proverb structure, directly related to a male or female person, for example, "If a hen does not prate, she will not lay". This proverb is used by members of the English community in relation to a gender role of a wife, who is traditionally attributed to excessive talkativeness, grumpiness and intractability. At the same time, structural gender markedness is characterized by the presence of gender markers in the plane of expression of a proverb such as "Widows are always rich". For conducting the research the author also used the descriptive and analytical method, definitions’ analysis, component analysis, the semantic and structural analysis of linguistic material, comparative analysis, which in their totality wholly reveal the meaning of a proverb and anti-proverb.

For the aims of semantic analysis of proverbs the thematic role of “qualitative” was offered, which represents the quality of the object as a combination of the semantics of proverbial predicate and the corresponding actants in proverbial structure [Abakumova, 2013; Abakumova, Korostenski, 2020; Abakumova, Kiriikhina, 2021].

Results and discussion

An analysis of English proverbs and anti-words gave an opportunity to reveal the dynamics of the development of the category of "femininity" in English proverbial picture of the world. It was revealed gender-role shifts exist in English speaking community, which the distribution of apical feminine traits in traditional and modern proverbial funds. The most common qualitatives, constructing an image of a woman, are: dangerous, talkative, emotional, evasive, wasteful, seductive, attractive, domineering. A specific feature of the English linguocultural space is an image of a woman as a deceiver who tries to trap a man. A common idea of a woman as a dangerous subject for a man is verbalized in many English proverbs, which served as a stimulus for creating an expectation of threat (to a man).

In modern English paremiological picture of the world we can determine a significant decrease in the frequency of assimilation of a woman to inanimate objects what is manifested in the almost complete absence of object metaphors in the structure of English anti-proverbs. This fact is thought to have certain links, first, with the traditional female perception as a free and independent human-being, and second, with the dynamics of femininity category development, which continues to replenish with traditional masculine characteristics: the desire to dominate, the ability to make decisions, being competitive, working, driving, being careful, and having political knowledge.

Thus, the modern English cultural community is marked by a tendency to level the boundaries of the masculine and feminine spheres, which is manifested in the attribution of archetypal masculine qualities to a female referent.
The term “gender” is the central notion of linguistic genderology and is understood as “a set of social and cultural norms that society prescribes for people to fulfill, depending on their biological sex” [Denisova, 2002, p. 14]. Gender goes through the processes of institutionalization and is implemented into the collective consciousness via the entry into society of each individual and, subsequently, is actualized through the gender display [Hoffman, 1994], which is “a variant of the identity display, socially determined diversity of the gender manifestation at the level of interpersonal communication; the main mechanism for creating gender in the process of face-to-face interaction” [Denisova, 2002, p. 56]. With each communicative act, there is a basic identification of the communicative partner based on his or her gender, the process of which is characterized as an arbitrary, unconscious background of social interaction. As a result, gender “develops the exact characteristics of the male and female, which at the same time create the rationale for the different attitudes of the society towards men and women” [Kirilina, 1999, p. 6]. The sociocultural nature of gender, as well as the mechanisms of its ritualization and institutionalization, point to the need to study gender stereotypes in culture and how they are reflected in language. A gender stereotype is defined in this article as “generalized ideas (beliefs) formed in culture about how men and women really behave” [Denisova, 2002, p. 50]. The concept of a gender stereotype is closely related to the concept of a gender role, but differs from the latter in that a gender stereotype describes the qualities and characteristics that are relevant and actually existing at a particular moment in the development of society, attributed to male and/or female persons, while gender a role is “one of the types of social roles, a set of expected patterns of behaviour (or norms) for men and women” [Denisova, 2002, p. 49].

Proverbs, in turn, form a very interesting linguistic material, which, along with phraseological units, is widely used to study "masculinity" and "femininity", the oppositional categories of gender linguistics. Since this work analyzes the image of a woman, which forms the core of the category "femininity", then under this category, following I. V. Zykova, it is proposed to understand: "the operational term of gender linguistics, which is formed from the sum of ideas about the most diverse hypostases of a woman and about everything, what can directly or indirectly relate to her; is a collective image of everything “feminine” / female” [Zykova, 2003, p. 213]. In other words, the category of femininity encompasses “the characteristic forms of behaviour expected from a woman in a society”.

Proverbs that include popular observation, naming, interpretation, evaluation, as well as knowledge and ideas about the world as a whole, are a real treasure trove of culturally loaded information about the way of life and the system of assessments fixed in a particular linguistic community. Many Russian and foreign researchers drew attention to the ambiguous nature of the proverb. V. N. Telia, who names proverbs as literary texts "emerged from the people", believes that proverbs and sayings, being a separate genre class, belong to the heritage of folk linguistic creativity, containing wise remarks and conclusions of people based on their value system [Telia, 1996]. The outstanding paremologist G. L. Permyakov also drew attention to the threefold nature of the proverb, since it is “on the one hand, the phenomenon of language, similar to ordinary phraseological units; on the other, logical units (judgments, inferences); on the third, artistic miniatures reflecting the facts of reality in a vividly chased form” [Permyakov, 1979, p. 8]. In this work, it is proposed to understand a proverb as O. B. Abakumova interprets it: “a phraseological unit with a sentence structure, most complicated language sign with textual characteristics and pragmatic functions, contains practical evaluative judgment, potential indirect speech act, more often of a directive type, in an actualized mode is used as tactical means of implementing the speaker’s communicative strategy” [Abakumova, 2013].

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The proverbial picture of the world as a fragment of the linguistic picture of the world has the ability to reflect the objective reality through the linguistic consciousness of a particular people. Moreover, as noted by N. F. Alefirenko, “the language picture of the world is a transformative force, which forms the idea of the world around people through the language as an “intermediate world” for the native speakers of this language” [Alefirenko, 2019, p. 11]. The researcher notes that the linguistic image is only a reflection of reality in a person's consciousness, but not reality itself. It is through the images, through the metaphors that represent them in phraseology and paremiology, culturally significant characteristics and assessments of the phenomena of reality, a person and his behavior in typical situations within the framework of their culture are transmitted. Moreover, it is a matter of fact that the images are structural units of linguoculture. In accordance with a reasonable remark of M. L. Kovshova and P. A. Dronov: “images are read in the codes of culture (somatic, zoomorphic, phytomorphic, spatial, anthropic, artifact); cultural connotations arising in the course of this reading are woven into the semantics of an idiom” [Dronov, Kovshova, 2019, p. 191]. For example, the image of the proverb “Better wed over the mixen than over the more” is interpreted in the spatial code and correlates with the archetypal opposition far / close. This proverb contains a communicative implication and a culturally specific prescription “it is better to choose a bride from your close environment, who has a similar social status”.

Folklore researchers, referring proverbs to texts, believe that their semantics consists of a theme (idea), image and syntactic construction (structure) (see the works of Caño, Kuusi, Grigas, etc.), but the leading part, according to K. Grigas [Grigas, 1996], is played by nuclear image associated with metaphor. The "conceptual and metaphorical hypothesis" of the analysis of the nature of imagery is associated with the works of R. Gibbs, J. Lakoff, M. Johnson and others [Lakoff, Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1990;] and boils down to the fact that the figurative motivation of idioms is not based on specific visual representations provoked by a literal reading of the corresponding idiom, but on rather abstract ways of interpreting some entities in the terms of others. For example, "Consciousness is a place to live," "Rage is a heat," "Love is a journey" [Lakoff, Johnson, 1980]. These methods of interpretation are fixed in the language and are part of the worldview of this linguistic and cultural community. R. Gibbs calls them, following G. Lakoff, "conceptual metaphors" [Lakoff, Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1990].

In addition, this article uses the term anti-proverb and scientific literature gives various terms to denote such anti-proverbs: alteration, parody, transformation, variation, sarcastic remark, deliberate proverb innovation, mutation, etc. [Litovkina, 2017, p. 15]. In this article the authors understand the term “anti-proverb” as suggested by W. Mider and A. T. Litovkina as an innovation formed on the basis of a traditional proverb modifying its meaning [Mider, Litovkina, 2002]. The specificity of the genre of anti-proverbs as innovative proverbial transformations is characterized by the desire of one or another linguo-cultural community to revise the system of values and assessments that exist at one time or another in the history of sex role relations, which are reflected within the proverbial picture of the world. It is believed that anti-proverbs convey a more relevant content of cultural codes, national gender stereotypes, sex-role expectations, as well as the content of the categories of masculinity and femininity of a particular linguo-cultural community.

The study of the semantics of English proverbs showed that the image of a woman is most often evaluated through the following qualifying: *externally attractive, but excessively emotional, overly expressive, illogical, lacking intellect, morally unstable, deceptive, and evasive*. The most relevant types of conceptual metaphor distinguished in the article are: orientational metaphor of “far/near” type, (A woman’s place is in the home – qualitative of private space), ontological metaphors with their subtypes: an object metaphor (A woman and a glass are ever in danger – qualitative of fragility, instability), a container metaphor (Women are the devil’s net – qualitative of danger), a zoomorphic metaphor (Women are like wasps in their anger – qualitative of aggressiveness), a botanic metaphor (The fairest rose at last is withered – qualitative of
ephemerality of beauty), a gastronomic metaphor (A fair woman without virtue is like palled wine – qualitative of satiety, surfeit). The consideration of the female archetype in English linguo-culture serves as a direct stimulus for generation of various gender stereotypes, among which the core ideas are: 1) female mind is inferior in its cognitive capabilities to the male; 2) a woman is an overly talkative, chatty creature; 3) natural emotional incontinence of a woman makes her follow her feelings and intuition; 4) the metaphor "woman is a tidbit" illustrates the seductiveness and external attractiveness associated with the characteristics of the object of sale, value of various kinds. The gender role of women is associated with a lower social status compared to men, limited space of activity, and the role of a housewife. Moreover, in English culture, the role of a woman as a wife is assessed rather negatively, as a desire to dominate, to subjugate her power, to use her husband's material resources uncontrollably [Abakumova, Kiriukhina, 2021, p. 288-290].

The image of a woman, verbalized through gender-marked proverbs in the English language, has both positive and negative assessments and shades of meaning. The gender role of a woman is often viewed in the following negative qualitatives: 1) excessively talkative and emotional: "Three women make a market" "Deeds are males, and words are females", "A woman's tongue wags like a lamb's tail", "A sieve will hold water better than a woman's mouth's secret", "A deaf husband and a blind wife are always a happy couple"; 2) foolish, illogical: "Women in state affairs are like monkeys in glass shops"; "Women have long hair and short brains", "A woman cuts her wisdom teeth when she is dead"; 3) dangerous, fatal, deathly: "No war without a woman", "Women are the devil's net", "You may ding the devil into a wife, but you'll never ding him out of her", 4) deceitful and feigned: "Women naturally deceive, weep and spin", "It is no more pity to see a woman weep, than to see a goose go barefoot", "Women are saints in church, angels in the street, and devils at home"; 5) greedy, selfish, wasteful: "Wife and children are bills of charges", "Women and wine, game and deceit, make the wealth small, and the wants great", "Mills and wives are ever wanting"; 6) cunning, evasive: "A woman needs but look on her apron-string to find an excuse", "Women will say anything", "A woman's strength is in her tongue", "Find a woman without an excuse, and find a hard without a meuse"; 7) undesirable for a man, burdensome: "Better hand loose than in an ill tethering", "Marry your son when you will, your daughter when you can". It is noteworthy that the comparison of a woman with a man has a pronounced contradictory and value asymmetry, where a woman is attributed a lower social status: "A man of straw is worth a woman of gold", "A bad woman is worse than a bad man". In English proverbs, the gender stereotype is also enshrined in the wife - the head of the family, who acts as the mistress of not only the hearth, but commands all family members.

Among the positive qualitatives correlated with a female referent, the English society emphasizes her as being: 1) wise: "An ounce of mother wit is worth a pound of learning", "Women in mischief are wiser than men", "An ounce of mother is worth a ton of priest"; 2) economic: "Men make houses, women make homes", "Men get wealth and women keep it", "The wife is a key to the house"; 3) kind, necessary for a man: "A good wife is a goodly prize, saith Solomon the wise", "Wives must be had, be they good or bad", "He that does not love a woman, sucked a sow"; 4) meek, modest: "Silence is a woman’s best garment", "It is a good horse that never stumbles, and a good wife that never grumbles", "Maidens must be mild and meek, swift to hear and slow to speak".

Most of the anti-proverbs of the English language convey negative connotation of the image of a woman, which is manifested by the same set of assessments, explicitly and implicitly expressed through proverbial innovations. The modern image of a woman still retains the following characteristics: stupid, talkative, dangerous, a burden and a hindrance for a man, deceitful, deceitful, loving to command her husband, materialistic and corrupt, loving money of a man / husband. However, we can highlight some qualities and characteristics that have found their expression in anti-proverbs in connection with the realities of the life of English society. Many anti-proverbs still present women as a sexual object: “Behind every good moan – there’s a wom-
an” (qualitative of sexually demanded) (Compare “Behind every great man there’s a great woman”). A woman who thinks the way to a man’s heart is through his stomach is aiming a little too high”(qualitative of sexually demanded) (Compare “The way to a man’s heart is through his stomach”). The involvement of a modern woman in traditionally masculine spheres such as profession, work, politics, driving a car is reflected in the language, which is demonstrated by the presence of the following anti-proverbs: “Old female lawyers never die; they just lose their appeals” (qualitative of being involved into the working sphere) (Compare “Old soldiers never die (, they simply fade away”), “A woman’s place is in the House .... and in the Senate” (qualitative of being involved into political issues) (Compare “A women’s place is in the home”), “Hell hath no fury like a woman driver”(qualitative of an inexperienced, bad driver), (Compare “Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned”), “Among women drivers, one bad turn deserves another” (qualitative of an inexperienced, bad driver) (Compare “One good turn deserves another”). The active participation of women in traditionally masculine areas could not but affect the gender role of a woman-mother, if earlier everyday life for a woman consisted of taking care of children, her husband and home, today this list has expanded significantly, and therefore the loss of an extremely positive assessment of the mother’s image is recorded: “Lots of babies must be rocking themselves nowadays” (qualitative of not caring) (Compare ”The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world”), “Behind every great mother stands a man who prodded her along” (qualitative of not caring) (Compare “Behind every great man there is a woman”).

Among the positive and neutral feminine characteristics in anti-proverbs stand out: 1) the independence of decisions and the independence of a woman, taking into account her desires and ambitions: “A woman’s place is every place” (qualitative of being free, independent), “A woman’s place is in the house....or anywhere else she wants to be” (qualitative of being free, independent) (Compare “A woman’s place is in the home”); 2) competitiveness, rivalry with a man in the professional field: “Behind every successful man there’s a woman-competing for his job” (qualitative of being competitive, striving), “Behind every great woman there’s a man who tried to stop her” (qualitative of being competitive, striving) (Compare “Behind every great man there is a woman”); 3) qualitative of choosy, careful: “It’s not easy for a beautiful girl to believe that love is blind” (Compare “Love is blind”), 4) seeking to marry or meet a man: “Husband-seeking women: Too many looks spoil the broth”(qualitative of needing a man) (Compare Too many cooks spoil the broth ”).

Conclusion

The study of the semantics of the considered proverbs in the considered linguoculture showed that the image of a woman is most often evaluated in terms of excessive emotional expressiveness, illogicality, inconsistency, lack of intelligence. Such consideration of the female archetype serves as a direct stimulus for the generation of various gender stereotypes, among which the notions stand out: 1) about the female mind as inferior in its cognitive capabilities to the male; 2) about a woman as an overly talkative, chatty creature; 3) about the natural emotional restraint of a woman who tends to obey feelings and trust intuition more than reason; 4) the metaphor “a woman is a tidbit” illustrates the seductiveness and external attractiveness associated with the characteristics of the object of sale, values of various kinds.

The carried out linguistic analysis also showed that, in contrast to traditional proverbs opposing the spheres of human life according to sex, anti-proverbs allow to fix a decrease in the level of contradictory spheres of the masculine and feminine, which is confirmed by the expansion of the circle of participation of women in various areas of human social life, previously traditionally correlated with masculinity, namely, professional competence, driving a car, participation in politics. In addition, the present anti-proverbs tend to note that traditionally masculine qualities are attributed to a female referent, among which are competitiveness, independence of desires, independence of actions and decisions, prudence, caution.
Nevertheless, the proverbial fund of the English language is still characterized by a tendency towards androcentrism, which is manifested in the greater activity of feminine lexemes in proverbial texts. This fact testifies to the greater interest of society (more precisely, men) in assessing and characterizing women, their life, actions, value and moral attitudes and personal qualities from the standpoint of their value and necessity for a man. Thus, the assessment of the gender feminine role occurs either through determining the relationship of a woman to a man, or through determining the value and necessity of a woman for a man. This fact testifies to the androcentricity of the studied linguoculture, in which the linguocultural representation of a woman is directly influenced by the centres of accentuation of the sets of certain feminine gender stereotypes and expectations developed on the basis of the male world view.

A specific feature of the English linguocultural space is the image of a woman - a deceiver, setting up her nets for a man whom she plans to trap. The stereotypical idea of a woman as a subject of increased danger to a male partner is reproduced in many English proverbs. In this regard, the English language clearly formed the expectation of a threat associated with an encroachment on the personal space and material resources of a man, which led to a reluctance to tie the knot, since the English proverbial picture of the world ascribes to a woman the desire to dominate a man/husband.

A further prospect of the study may be to conduct a similar linguistic procedure in order to detect the dynamics of the development of the masculine image.

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