



DIE WELT DER SLAVEN
SAMMELBÄNDE • СБОРНИКИ

59

New Approaches to Gender and Queer Research in Slavonic Studies

Edited by
Dennis Scheller-Boltz

HARRASSOWITZ

New Approaches to Gender and Queer Research in Slavonic Studies

DIE WELT DER SLAVEN SAMMELBÄNDE · СБОРНИКИ

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Dennis Scheller-Boltz

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Queering Power

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The current proceedings contain selected full articles based on presentations that were given at the international conference “Language as a Constitutive Element of a Gendered Society. Developments, Perspectives, and Possibilities in the Slavonic Languages” [Sprache als konstituierendes Element einer gegenderten Gesellschaft. Entwicklungen, Perspektiven und Möglichkeiten in den slawischen Sprachen]. The conference took place at the University of Innsbruck in October 2014. It should be seen in line with previous international conferences on gender linguistics which have tried to advance and promote Slavonic gender linguistics – especially in Slavonic linguistics outside Slavonic-speaking countries – and which, primarily, aimed at gathering different perspectives, approaches, and results concerning the (possibilities of) research on gender and language. One must mention, for example, the conference on gender and gender research in Slavonic Studies at the University of Jena in 2001 (published proceedings: J. van Leeuwen-Turnovcová et al.: *Gender-Forschung in der Slawistik. Beiträge der Konferenz Gender – Sprache – Kommunikation – Kultur*. Wien 2002) as well as the rather recent conference “Doing Gender – Doing the Balkans” at the Humboldt University of Berlin in 2011 (published proceedings: R. Kersten-Pejanić et al.: *Doing Gender – Doing the Balkans. Dynamics and Persistence of Gender Relations in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. Berlin 2012).

There is no denying that these conferences are all separated by long stretches of time. As a consequence, it was not far-fetched to imagine a significant change or, at least, a certain development in the field of Slavonic gender linguistics to have taken place. Not only was it conceivable that a more differentiated and detailed discussion of the general relation between gender and language had evolved, we could also expect a more profound understanding of the phenomenon of *gender* and, especially, of *gender identity*. Why? Because, in recent years, awareness has grown in Slavonic Studies that dealing with men and women as strictly hermetic and uniform concepts is no longer adequate for respectable gender linguistic research. It leads in the wrong direction. Studying gender linguistics or the interconnection between gender and language means much more than focusing exclusively on women or the relation between women and language. It also means more than analysing the constellation of man versus woman. Currently, studying gender linguistics means, first of all, to operate with a concept of gender that is fluent and variable, a concept that can adopt various dimensions and transcends the uniformity of a binary system. Secondly, it means to investigate gender ideology, i.e. the stereotypical belief that gender identities have to appear, have to be, and have to be performed in a special manner. Accordingly, one must look at how certain gender ideologies actually appear in real life and how they are socially reflected.

If one challenges gender and gender identities as fixed entities and if one questions, as a result, their place in a rigid binary system, one cannot avoid directing one’s focus immediately and inevitably on the binary system *per se*. Inevitably, this leads to challenging the system and, particularly, its main feature: its heteronormativity. The criticism of heteronormativity is at the centre of queer studies. Hence, it is not un-

reasonable to consider that the confluence of gender and queer studies will yield a promising and more precise methodological approach for investigating the connection between gender and language, not least because it provides interesting perspectives on this topic and opens up new or hitherto unexplored areas of research.

Last year's gender conference at the University of Innsbruck had its primary focus on Slavonic gender and queer linguistics. In order to widen its scope, I chose to include presentations that dealt with gender and identity from a literary and cultural perspective (see therefore the corresponding conference report of D. Scheller-Boltz/M. Milošević in *Zeitschrift für Slavistik* 1/2015). The objective of the conference was to map innovative approaches. I am confident that its outcomes will be useful for the further development of Slavonic gender linguistics because of the following reasons:

- 1) Seven Slavonic languages were presented at the conference. Not only did this give an insight into gender research in all of the corresponding Slavonic sub-disciplines. This variety also guaranteed an explicit intra-Slavonic comparison and confrontation, which is often missing in Slavonic research, even though it is absolutely necessary.
- 2) There was a mix of gender and queer linguistics that offered the possibility to look at gender topics in more detail – even in Slavonic linguistics – and to include different approaches to investigating the relation between gender and language.
- 3) Including literary and cultural studies in a linguistics conference, i.e. choosing an integrative approach to deal with gender and identity, emphasised the interdisciplinary character of gender research. This comprehensive approach showed that doing justice to gender research requires the inclusion of other disciplines.

These proceedings embody the spirit of last year's conference and, moreover, reflect the essential meaning and the necessity of conferences on Slavonic gender and queer linguistics. The proceedings contain 29 contributions of acclaimed scholars that were presented at the conference. In addition, selected papers have been included in the proceedings to complement and enrich the volume in different ways.

* * *

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Dennis Scheller-Boltz

FROM ISOLATION TO INTEGRATION
Gender and Queer Research in Slavonic Linguistics:
Challenges, Approaches, Perspectives
An Introduction

As a scholar of Slavonic gender linguistics, I am pleased to notice that this linguistic discipline has developed rapidly during the past 25 years. Moreover, it is a pleasure to see that this discipline has evolved to such an extent since the process of the institutionalisation of Slavonic gender research in the 1990s that we can generally speak of a more differentiated gender linguistic research today.

However, scholars of Slavonic gender linguistics currently need to take a closer and, in particular, a more critical look at this research field to intensify the focus on certain issues, to study certain questions and aspects in more detail in the future, and, especially, to shift the research perspective and to widen their approaches as to the investigation of gender linguistic questions. Nowadays, it definitely seems to be more important and, particularly, more promising to combine different approaches in order to analyse gender linguistic issues because new, innovative, and, thus, fruitful research findings can only follow from a merger and combination of different approaches. In this context, one has to keep in mind that gender linguistic issues are always embedded in an interdisciplinary field. As a consequence, a purely linguistic analysis of gender issues is not really possible or the results from a strictly linguistic analysis will be meagre and, hence, not really significant and useful. It is inevitable to integrate other (non-linguistic) disciplines with their corresponding research contexts which, in turn, makes it obviously logical that, for fruitful gender linguistic research, a merger of different approaches is inevitable, too. Furthermore – and with regard to the latter aspect –, Slavonic gender linguistics has to focus more on international gender analyses. It has to consider and – this is even more important – to integrate research findings which have been made and continue to be made in non-Slavonic disciplines (especially with regard to gender-based discourse analyses). Why? Two reasons can be given here: First, the integration of international research findings into Slavonic gender linguistics can only enrich and stimulate its further development. This will provide some innovative suggestions about Slavonic research in future. But it is even more important that we make ourselves familiar with established research methodologies and proven research approaches. These ought to be applied in Slavonic gender linguistic research, too, in order for Slavonic gender linguistics to remain on a par with the international research (standard). Second, an explicit integration of international gender linguistic research might raise the relevance and the standing of Slavonic gender linguistics within the international research arena, since it seems that Slavonic gender linguistics plays up to now not really a relevant role in the international gender arena. One reason might even be the fact that Slavonic gender linguistics has remained self-referential and is, consequently, based on Slavonic perspectives, whereas international research findings are basically ignored.

To substantiate my views, I would like to draw attention to selected concrete aspects as well as to some issues which logically result from the current state of research. In addition, it is my aim to initiate or, at least, to encourage a change of course in Slavonic gender linguistics in the future and to demonstrate that gender linguistic aspects need to be challenged and studied in a wider and, at the same time, more complex frame.

On the variety of Slavonic gender linguistics (both domestically and abroad)

One can get the impression that Slavonic gender linguistics focuses mainly and predominantly on motion suffixes in order to question whether it is possible and, in particular, necessary to make women visible in and throughout language. This is, at least, the message slavists may deduce from the immensely high number of works that are dedicated to this topic. As a logical consequence, the noticeable and extraordinarily “visible” dominance of those works may cause the critical remark that gender linguistics does not only mean to investigate the possibilities of using motion suffixes and to promote ways to make women linguistically visible. At least, one could arrive at the critical conclusion that gender linguistics is not at all limited to the research question of motion suffixes and female person nouns. Rather, one has to understand the wide scope and the high potential of gender linguistics so that the study of gender questions becomes meaningful for a lot of other linguistic disciplines. But if one investigates motion suffixes and the possibilities of their use in language, then, at least, one ought to apply other approaches than the usual ones which means among other things to consider explicitly social circumstances (cf. discourse) as well as the current language use for the corresponding linguistic analysis.

However, the external perception of Slavonic gender linguistics described above does absolutely not correspond to its actual state of research. One definitely has to admit that Slavonic gender linguistics is by no means limited to the analysis of the process of motion and of the use of motion suffixes. Quite the contrary: It offers a great variety of themes and works. Yet, and this is the main point that I want to stress here, the great variety within Slavonic gender linguistics – which, unfortunately, cannot be described to the full extent here – does not reach an international audience and remains restricted mostly to the domestic scientific arena.

In the Slavia, gender linguistic questions have been studied now for many decades. Although the corresponding research area has almost never been named *feminist linguistics* or even *gender linguistics* questions, aspects, and issues that are today challenged, discussed, and investigated in the context of gender and identity as socio-cultural entities have always played a more or less important role and have always been considered in works on Slavonic linguistics to a certain extent. So, issues which are today explicitly related to gender linguistics have been included and discussed mainly in works on morphology and word formation (e.g. Grzegorzczkova 1972, Švedova 1980, Vinogradov 1953ff). The classification and description of morphemes, including especially morphemes that are used or can be used to refer to female individuals and that express, consequently, femininity (*motion suffixes*), have always spurred up debates on the options and, in particular, on the actual need of using motion suffixes in a female context. In other words: a key question has always been and still is: is it really necessary to use female person nouns (with a motion suffix) to refer to a woman or to (a group of) women respectively (cf. Ćorić 2008, Kustec 2009, Stojanović 2006, Vidović Muha

1997)? Yet, the dominant discussion about the (possibilities of the) use or non-use of motion suffixes has constantly been overshadowed by the general and rather pre-fabricated, thereby mostly unproven assumption that motion suffixes are morpho-pragmatically marked and appear mainly in a pejorative context because of their negative connotation. For some Slavonic languages (e.g. Russian), this assumption is still maintained up to now and obviously bequeathed from generation to generation without someone challenging this assumption (e.g. Tafel 1997, cf. also Krongauz in these proceedings). In other languages like Polish, however, we can observe a change in the use of and, consequently, in the assessment of motion suffixes (e.g. Nagórko 2007b, Osadnik 2014, cf. also Waszakowa 2014). The same development can be observed in Slovene or Croatian, too (cf. Doleschal, Kersten-Pejanić, Motschenbacher, and Štumberger in these proceedings). And yet in other Slavonic languages like Czech, the use of motion suffixes seems to be the most natural thing in the world, although there was a time when the use of those morphemes was limited or even impossible (cf. Valdrová in these proceedings).

Furthermore, scholars have paid attention to gender aspects within Slavonic sociolinguistics, although they very often lack a profound research approach and show, mostly, a quite superficial perspective on this topic based on stereotypes and generalisations from the outset. Nevertheless, it has always been a research interest in sociolinguistics to study how men and women speak and how the way of talking and interacting differs depending on (male and female) gender (e.g. Archangel's'ka 2007, Baur 2005, Bešter 1997, Kavinkina 2007, Krejdlín 2005, Nagórko 2007a, Thielemann 2010, Zemskaja et al. 1993). Recently, the concept of *doing gender* has entered this research field (cf. Graf in these proceedings).

Despite the remarkably high standing of gender research within morphology and word formation and despite the interest in sociolinguistic analyses, one has to admit that there are a lot of other publications today which investigate gender in other linguistic contexts and look at gender relations from other perspectives. One can find works on lexicological and phraseological questions (e.g. Bochenek 2010, Bogetić 2013, Koval'čuk 2009, Skuza 2012, Tafel 1997, cf. also Kovačević/Opašić and Majnusz-Stadnik in these proceedings). These works are closely linked to studies on sexist and discriminatory language as well as political correctness which enter the focus of research increasingly (e.g. Archangel'skaja 2011, Filipović 2011, Kozmik/Jeram 1995, Stabej 1997, cf. also Ohnheiser, Posch, and Rajilić in these proceedings). Furthermore, scholars investigate the concept of gender in lexicography. This research field addresses, amongst other things, the question whether and to what extent female person nouns are recorded in dictionaries, to what extent the concepts of masculinity and femininity are lexicographically considered, and, especially, how the concept of femininity is included in dictionaries of any kind (e.g. Goroško 2001, Humar 2011, Laskova 2013). In a wider sense, the study of the relation between gender and lexicography is anchored in an ideological context based on the general questions as to the extent to which dictionaries contain ideological ideas and as to what these ideological ideas look like (Scheller-Boltz 2016). An upcoming research interest which is closely linked to the relation between gender and lexicography is the investigation of didactic materials, like work-, text-, and schoolbooks from a gender perspective (e.g. Valdrová 2005). Moreover, the constantly growing interest in discourse analyses becomes noticeable. In this context, scholars

study the process of constructing gender and identity in and throughout discourse and they challenge the ideas of man and woman or masculinity and femininity respectively which, on the one hand, emerge from different discourses and, on the other hand, shape the general meaning on what it means to be a man and a woman (e.g. Baj 2015, Stan-ković 2013, cf. also Blum, Engel, Kegyes, Kirilina, Klingseis, Leeuwen-Turnovcová, Levčenko, and Pirs'ka in these proceedings). Last but not least, some scholars focus on semantic and pragmatic features (e.g. Lazović 2009, Savić 1983) and, often in addition, on psycholinguistic aspects and study identity and gender constellations from a cognitive point of view looking at association patterns, stereotypes, and gender ideas.

I have outlined briefly and definitely not to the full extent the current state of research in Slavonic gender linguistics or, to be more precise, the main linguistic disciplines in which the impact of gender is highly noticeable as well as some important linguistic tasks which come up when one intends to investigate the relation between language and gender. And although this overview is not complete at all, it delivers quite clearly some insight into the variety of gender research.

However, this variety of themes is not as obvious and easily accessible as it seems. A lot of contributions on gender are often published in local journals. A lot of books are published by local companies which are, first of all, not well-known and established internationally and, secondly, not always easy to obtain. As a consequence, it is difficult and sometimes even impossible to include important contributions into the general gender research, especially outside non-Slavonic countries. The same applies to doctoral and habilitation theses the number of which grows as time elapses, but, unfortunately, most theses remain unpublished and/or hidden from international audiences. In this context, I would like to emphasise that it was quite unexpected for me to note at the previous International Congress of Slavists in Minsk in 2013 that the traditional book exhibition which aims at presenting the latest state of Slavonic research in different countries contained – as far as I have seen – only two books on Slavonic gender linguistics. Yet, we must be conscious of the fact that those conferences give us the opportunities and conditions which we need to present our domestic research areas and interests. In logical addition, those platforms bring research together and, as a positive consequence, offer some useful synergy effects. With regard to Slavonic gender linguistics, those opportunities have to be more expanded and exploited in future.

Hence, it is of great importance today to appeal to scholars of Slavonic gender linguistics to promote the existing variety in the field of gender linguistics on an international level in order to counter the impression of one-sided Slavonic gender linguistics. It has to be the mission of Slavonic gender linguistics to gather the research findings and to carry them in the international arena in order to present the state of research and the tendencies in gender linguistics. Accordingly, this will help the Slavonic Studies in non-Slavonic countries to get an updated picture of Slavonic gender research and to include up to now unknown, but relevant literature and research findings in the general Slavonic gender research which, in turn, will explore new research approaches and fields.

On research connections and integrative research approaches

Obviously, gender linguistic research is not developed to the same degree in every Slavonic discipline. While one can find some Russian works on how men and women

speak this kind of research focus is less noticeable in Polish. While one can find works in Czech gender linguistics that analyse didactic material from a gender perspective, Polish gender linguistics lacks this research aspect. And while Slovene, Russian, and Ukrainian linguistics register a growing number of doctoral and habilitation theses that deal with gender and identity, the number of gender theses dealing with this topic in Czech linguistics is very small in comparison. This divergence of the state of research within the Slavia is quite negligible. Due to different research traditions, interests, and possibilities, one does not have the permission, however, to judge the respective current state of research. It is only possible and even necessary to encourage scholars to intensify the research on gender linguistic questions in the future.

Yet, what must be critically mentioned is the way how scholars of Slavonic gender linguistics actually approach gender topics and how they study the relation between gender and language. Very often, one gets the impression that gender linguistic research takes place in a kind of isolation which leads from time to time to the alleged re-invention of the “gender wheel”. Scholars seem to do their own research by concentrating mainly on research findings and approaches that emerge from their own discipline. What is needed instead is an integrative approach that will help to expand one’s view beyond one’s own discipline, to consider research results from bordering disciplines, and, finally, to include them in one’s own research.

Detailed overviews of individual languages are without doubt necessary to illustrate typical structures and linguistic means of the corresponding language with regard to gender and identity. Having considered this, however, it is justified to say that overviews are more efficient and helpful in an international context, as it is presented by Hellinger/Bußmann and Hellinger/Motschenbacher in their series on *Gender Across Languages* (2015, 2003, 2002, 2001). However, when one challenges a concrete phenomenon or focuses on special aspects and issues, a comparative, i.e. integrative approach to the corresponding phenomenon seems to be more promising. And for Slavonic languages, this is an even more appropriate method as they all have a similar language structure and are endowed with similar linguistic means which means that they face, in general, similar difficulties and challenges with regard to the impact of gender and identity on language and linguistic phenomena.

With regard to research methods, an intra-Slavonic comparison and an explicit integration of research findings for other Slavonic languages can stimulate adequate approaches for investigating the corresponding linguistic phenomenon in another Slavonic language. A comparison makes it possible to adopt approved research approaches and methods. Moreover, the consideration of studies on Slavonic languages clearly exposes linguistic analogies and produces, as a consequence, research analogies, too. Last but not least, it must be said that one can only characterise and legitimise linguistic phenomena as typical and characteristic for a language when one compares it to other languages. In this context, please, let me draw your attention one more time to a – quite typical – example: If one concludes for the Russian language that the use of motion suffixes is restricted in Russian and, hence, is not typical for Russian, one must additionally take into account the growing tendency to use motion suffixes in, e.g. Czech, Polish, and/or Slovene and allude to the question why the use of motion suffixes is possible and wide-spread in these languages. Such a comparison reveals not only social and (socio-)political circumstances which have an enormous influence on this kind of

language change, but it shows also the direct interconnection between society and language. And only such an approach makes it possible and legitimate to derive what is typical for – in my case – the Russian language.

As I have shown above, the use of an intra-Slavonic comparison is not limited to analyses in grammar or word formation. Any study of a linguistic phenomenon seems to supply more adequate findings by confronting languages or, at least, by taking other languages with their socio-cultural context into account. Consequently, the approach of confronting languages is not less effective for sociolinguistics, discursive analyses, and other linguistic sub-disciplines.

I would like to add here that scholars of Slavonic gender linguistics do not only have to rely more on other Slavonic analyses and research results. It is also necessary to integrate profound and approved approaches, methods, and scientific findings from other, i.e. non-Slavonic disciplines. One has to admit that the leading works on gender and identity emerge, primarily, from the US-American, Canadian, and British area as well as from Western Europe in general. However, we still observe that international research and international research findings are considered and integrated only conditionally in Slavonic linguistics. After some scholars have tried to integrate “Western” research approaches and to deal with terms like *poststructuralism*, *postmodernism*, and *post-gender* (cf. Kirilina in these proceedings), most Slavonic studies have either ignored those methodological approaches or they have applied them only superficially by dropping the corresponding terms occasionally, whereas the investigations themselves actually got stuck in traditional, mostly structuralist research approaches. The international research on gender and language has produced relevant and fruitful findings with regard to the interconnection of gender and language and it would be useful and necessary to integrate these approaches and results into Slavonic gender linguistics, too.

It is of great importance today to appeal to scholars of Slavonic gender linguistics to look more beyond their own research area and to integrate increasingly research findings and research approaches which can be found in other Slavonic and non-Slavonic disciplines. This will help to apply appropriate research methods, such as a post-structuralist perspective, and to benefit from meaningful findings which can be made fruitful for the Slavonic gender linguistics in general. It is especially the gender linguistic research which depends on international research approaches and relies on research findings that were and are made in other disciplines. An isolated research is only of limited use and reveals exclusively conditional findings.

On the meaning of gender, identity, and diversity – and the need of queer research

It is common knowledge even in Slavonic gender linguistics that there are three different concepts of *gender* which have to be strictly differentiated. So, *genus* refers to the grammatical gender of a word; *sexus* means the biological gender of a person; *gender* or *gender identity*, in contrast, alludes to the personality of a person and refers to their gender that is constructed and performed by, for, and within a society. In this context, one speaks of a cultural, social, or socio-cultural gender or, respectively, of a gender identity and a gender role within a society. Obviously, one notices the difference between the *sexus* of a person who is, let’s say, male, and the *gender (identity)* of even this person which may absolutely not correspond with the general assumptions that are linked to (male) masculinity within the corresponding society.

Although Slavonic gender linguistics is familiar with all three – and obviously different – concepts – *genus*, *sexus*, *gender (identity)* – one occasionally gets the impression that the actual use of the two terms *sexus* and *gender (identity)* as well as the actual application of both concepts for the sake of research purposes do not differ at all. Rather, one gets the impression that it just seems to be *de rigueur* now to avoid the use of *sexus (biological gender)* and to use the terms *gender* and *gender identity* instead. However, this seems hardly more than a change of labels because a closer analysis reveals that the term *gender* often still refers to the biological sex of a person or that the term is used with the rigid and invariant categories in mind which are associated with the biological man and the biological woman. Consequently, in a lot of cases, the term *gender* only replaces the term *sexus* so that the concept of *sexus* seems to be equal to and synonymous with the concept of *gender*. However, it must be emphasised that there is a big difference between the *sex* of a person and their *gender*. And this very difference has inevitably an essential effect on the way how we approach and analyse gender issues and, more generally speaking, on what we can actually expect from gender linguistic research (cf. Łaziński in these proceedings). After all, gender linguistic research does not mean to analyse linguistic issues with regard to the sex of a person or of persons respectively.

How have I arrived at this very critical conclusion? First of all, I have noticed that studies in Slavonic gender linguistics are mostly based on two hermetic categories, namely the hermetic category of woman and the hermetic category of man. It does not matter whether a study is dedicated to grammar, word formation, language use, socio-linguistic questions, or discursive analyses: the two entities *man* and *woman* form the basis for the respective analysis. Both concepts are not only characterised by traditional ideas and stereotypical generalisations, but man and woman are also and mainly distinguished by their heterosexual orientation (cf. Ključko/Štileva in these proceedings). That means Slavonic gender linguistic studies do not primarily question how gender identity is constructed. They rather start with the assumption that there are only two genders, namely man and woman who are heterosexual and endowed with gender-typical features from the outset: a woman has a female look, a feminine attitude and she behaves, thinks, and speaks like a woman because she is female; a man has a male look, a masculine attitude and he behaves, thinks, and speaks like a man because he is male. Consequently, most gender research is based on the idea that gender identity is a natural given and a biologically determined category *per se* so that all corresponding characteristics and patterns of behaviour which are linked to and associated with the respective *gender identity* and, even more, with the respective *sexus* are naturally given and biologically determined, too.

For purposes of gender linguistic research, this kind of approach is quite problematic:

If an identity is linked to a (biological) gender from the outset and this identity already contains the corresponding characteristics and patterns of behaviour – because those are the characteristics and the patterns of behaviour that one expects from and associates with the respective gender – then gender research does not intend to challenge trivial gender stereotypes and overhasty gender generalisations. Rather it fuels stereotypes and affirms generalisations that exist in society and have been passed on in the course of time. For linguistic analyses, such a prejudiced attitude towards gender and identity causes an uncritical approach to study the relation between gender identities

and language and, consequently, seldom leads to perspective and fruitful findings; in contrast, an uncritical approach to gender and identity makes findings measurable, predictable, and expectable. This becomes especially evident in sociolinguistic research as well as in text and discourse analyses or in studies that concentrate on the relation between gender and pragmatics.

If scholars of gender linguistics focus too much on women – something which they do frequently in Slavonic gender linguistics – one can get the impression that gender linguistics is a kind of “women’s linguistics”. Looking at current Slavonic gender linguistics, it seems to be the primary aim to deal with the question of how women can be made visible in and throughout language. Although the use of motion suffixes and of person nouns in the feminine form respectively is a really important question and although it is indeed necessary to look at some linguistic questions and phenomena from a feminine perspective, one should not forget that gender linguistics is neither a research area of or for women nor is it a discipline to favour or to privilege women. The exclusive focus on women is in parts necessary and useful, yet, gender linguistics does not mean to focus only on women and to ignore other gender concepts. It is always useful to confront the idea of the (“traditional”) woman with her male counterpart, with “other” female identities and/or with her social environment in general, considering social, political, and socio-cultural aspects. Moreover, it must be said that scholars most often lump all women together. As a logical consequence, the concept of the woman is extremely generalised and highly stereotyped in linguistic research. Dealing with women means dealing with the traditional idea of women in all its stereotypical consistence. Yet, even in linguistic studies, one has to keep in mind that there is not only one, i.e. not a uniform concept of women that can be applied for linguistic research. A more differentiated approach to the linguistic investigation of women is necessary and, in particular, desirable to avoid overgeneralised and prefabricated ideas and to guarantee, as a consequence, adequate research findings. The concept of gender which is constructed and performed due to socio-cultural circumstances as well as the assumption of identity diversity has an essential influence on how we study and interpret, e.g. grammatical structures or word formation processes (see the “*x-theory*” presented by Hornscheidt 2008 and later in 2014 in the media¹). In particular, this more critical and differentiated approach has an enormous impact on analyses within pragmatics, sociolinguistics, text linguistics, and discourse linguistics because these disciplines are not interested in how uniformity and homogeneity are constructed and maintained. They focus on differences and heterogeneity and, consequently, on ways how the gender binarity is and/or can be deconstructed.

If one divides the concept of gender into two rigid categories: man and woman, following, hence, a structuralist and binarity-based approach for investigating identity, one does not intend or, at least, one is not able to take into account identities that exist outside the traditional gender frame. As a logical consequence, those identities are auto-

¹ Cf. www.welt.de/kultur/article127502626/Professx-statt-Professor-So-irre-ist-das-nicht.html; www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/wunderbar/gendertheorie-studierx-lann-hornscheidt-ueber-gerechte-sprache-a-965843.html; www.zeit.de/kultur/2014-11/lann-hornscheidt-feminismus-gender-maenner-polemik; www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/profx-als-geschlechtergerechte-sprache-fuer-professoren-13268220.html [last accessed 01.09.2015]; cf. also the webside of lann hornscheidt at www.lannhornscheidt.com/professorx [last accessed 21.09.2015].

matically kept outside the frame of gender research, too. To consider exclusively man and woman – as these terms are typically understood – means to ignore “intermediate” identities, i.e. non-heteronormative identities, e.g. if the *sexus* of a person is not definitely male or female, if the gender identity or the gender role of a person does not correspond with their *sexus*, or if the identity of a person contradicts heterosexual or heteronormative patterns (cf. Zink in these proceedings). In Russian gender linguistics, Kirilina (e.g. in these proceedings), indeed, appeals to take poststructuralist approaches more into account and stresses the necessity to consider and to include other gender concepts (e.g. *postgender*) in research. Yet, Russian gender linguistics is mainly based on heteronormative assumptions. This is absolutely not surprising looking at the current socio-political circumstances in the Russian Federation. However, the research situation does not differ significantly when one takes a look at other Slavonic areas, i.e. when one takes into account Slavonic gender linguistics in general. All in all, it seems to be difficult and somehow protracted to establish the discipline of queer linguistics in the Slavia which is currently completely underdeveloped and, consequently, hardly visible neither on a national level nor in the international arena, although queer linguistics is, in general, a very popular and contemporary issue which is internationally well-known and constantly growing (e.g. Cameron/Kulick 2003, Livia 1997, Motschenbacher 2010). As I have mentioned above, it is probably justified to say that queer linguistic questions are not easy to study in Russia or Belarus. Consequently, approaches to Russian and Belorussian queer linguistic research must be commenced in countries outside these countries (cf. Baer, Scheller-Boltz, and Scheller-Boltz/Althaler in these proceedings). The same concerns other Slavonic countries in which the necessary socio-political circumstances and research possibilities are given in order to smooth the way for queer linguistics to catch up with the international gender and queer research in the long run (cf. Bogetić 2013 as well as Sobolczyk in these proceedings).

Last year’s conference on Slavonic gender and queer linguistics at the University of Innsbruck aimed at assuming and, in particular, at overcoming all of the above mentioned critical remarks in order to provide a needed platform of integration, innovation, diversity, internationality, and exchange.

First of all, it was the aim to present a variety: a variety of Slavonic languages as well as a variety of topics and research interests which exist today within Slavonic gender (and queer) linguistics. The conference made obvious that the field of motion, motion suffixes and female person nouns still plays a very important role for Slavonic languages today. These research interests seem to be the prototype of Slavonic gender linguistic research. Nevertheless, there were other presentations which made clear that the focus has already shifted to other gender themes like, e.g. discourse analyses, gender and identity models, differentiated sociolinguistic analyses, and queer research. The variety of languages and the variety of research areas did not only bring together different Slavonic languages but also illuminated that there are different research interests, approaches, and findings within Slavonic gender linguistics which can be used and, indeed, are used for comparative linguistic studies. Furthermore, the integrative character of this conference was enriched by including non-Slavonic disciplines and by considering non-linguistic disciplines which gave additional and prospective impulses and illustrated the interdependency of language and culture.

In addition, the conference illustrated that Slavonic gender linguistics is neither feminist linguistics nor women's linguistics. It rather made clear that the field has taken a step forward and focuses more on both gender diversity and identity diversity, taking consequently into account the existence of queerness and non-heteronormative identities. Slavonic gender linguistics is aware of a more differentiated approach to gender and identity because only a more differentiated look on the relation between gender, identity, and language leads to a more differentiated linguistic analysis.

Last but not least, it was the aim of the conference to carry research findings within Slavonic gender and queer linguistics into an international arena to promote current approaches and to demonstrate that Slavonic gender and queer linguistics possesses research findings which can be brought to an international arena.

The current proceedings contain selected full papers of the presentations which were given at the conference. In addition, contributions are included in this volume because they could not be presented at the conference or they can enrich the content of these proceedings to a certain degree now. All the articles in these proceedings contribute to the variety of Slavonic gender and queer linguistics and make obvious that a more integrative approach may only enrich research in the future.

General overviews

Alla Kirilina focuses on the semiotics of gender representation in post-Soviet Russia. She analyses ideologies which enter the Russian discourse and influence the general perception of gender and identity in Russia accordingly. The paper highlights particularly two contrary tendencies: first, the construction and perception of gender and gender ideas according to global identities showing a fluid gender continuum which is, moreover, based on a rejection of former Soviet values; and second, the reestablishment and maintenance of old patriarchal stereotypes which become more and more dominant in the current Russian discourse.

Heiko Motschenbacher points at the necessity to align structuralist gender linguistic research with poststructuralist research methodologies since both approaches promise meaningful results when one investigates the relation between language, gender, and identity. His paper illustrates that analyses of linguistic structures and poststructuralist approaches to investigate gender linguistic issues are by no means mutually exclusive. By giving examples from Croatian, English, and German, he confronts selected linguistic structures in these languages and emphasises that gendered linguistic structures are socio-culturally and, hence, discursively constructed.

Jiřina van Leeuwen-Turnovcová analyses gender and gender roles according to the social stratification as well as to the code of behaviour which seems to be socially, culturally, and mentalistically specific also in a gender context. She argues that gender ideas and roles were and are determined not only by the concept of gender but also with regard to the social stratum, the possible access to education, and the chance of social advancement. However, it is mentioned that Central and Eastern Europe differ significantly in the way they have developed. Hence, the paper highlights the discrepancy with regard to the self-view of both the Central and Eastern European societies.

South Slavonic languages

Ursula Doleschal delivers an interesting and very meaningful insight into gender linguistic research in Slovene studies. After a quite detailed draft of the current state of Slovene gender linguistic research, she focuses on grammatical structures and the use of motion suffixes to make women visible in language as well as on the linguistic representation of men and women in Slovene in general. It will be shown that the Slovene language has little possibilities to guarantee gender-neutrality. The use of gender-specific constructions, however, has been increased rapidly in Slovene during the past few decades. For this reason, Slovene has to be considered as unique among the Slavonic languages. In addition, an analysis of both a talk show and a newspaper provides interesting and, in particular, significant scientific findings which illuminate the practical application of gender-specific structures in Slovene and, moreover, the awareness of anti-discriminatory language use.

Saška Štumberger ties in with the previous article and complements the current state of research in Slovene gender linguistics by focussing on a special gender related issue. She analyses neologisms and neosemantisms in the *Slovar novejšega besedja slovenskega jezika*, published in 2013, which reflect the changing social position of women in Slovenia and testifies to the change of the Slovenian society in general. By analysing nouns of professions and lexemes that are motivated by physical characteristics it becomes evident that the (semantic) meaning and the (pragmatic-emotive) assessment of motion suffixes has changed so that feminine nouns of any kind can be used in Slovene today to neutrally refer to a woman or a female individual respectively.

Simone Rajilić complements the overview of research in South Slavonic gender linguistics by presenting a detailed outline of the development of feminist and gender linguistics in Serbia since the 1980s. She primarily draws attention to discriminatory and sexist language use in Serbian and provides, in addition, alternatives that guarantee a non-discriminatory, hence, non-sexist language. In this context, a few guidelines and recommendations for a non-discriminatory and non-sexist Serbian language are provided and critically discussed. This leads her to several suggestions as to how the Serbian language needs to be changed in the future in order to not discriminate women.

Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić allows an insight into some currently meaningful issues within Croatian gender linguistics. She focuses on the so-called *androcentric* or *false* generics and challenges the alleged neutrality of these linguistic forms. According to the theories of Iann Hornscheidt and by critically discussing current approaches to neutrally assess and categorise generic forms she highlights the necessity of using nouns in a feminine form to refer to women or a group of women which is today not at all a usual practice in Croatian. Critical remarks on some discriminatory gender linguistic aspects as well as suggestions concerning a language use which guarantees gender neutrality enrich this paper noticeably.

Josipa Kovačević and **Maja Opašić** complete the South Slavonic section with a paper on gender ideas in lexicography. In their confrontative analysis, they investigate selected examples of gender-marked phrasemes in the Croatian and English language mainly based on a corpus made up of different general and phraseological monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. The phrasemes, then, are compared and analysed considering the aspect of whether they relate to a person's appearance, feature, condition, or to other certain phenomena. As a result, one can gather similarities and differences between

Croatian and English gender-marked phrasemes while also interpreting the phrasemes' background.

East Slavonic languages

Maksim Krongauz familiarises his readers with the gender paradigm in the Russian language which currently provides the opportunities to refer to women and men. Following a strictly structuralist approach, he discusses the assumed possibilities and non-possibilities of using motion suffixes in contemporary Russian. In the end, the argument of semantic restrictions is provided that seems to be the reason for the limited use of motion suffixes in general. Furthermore, one will see that the use of motion suffixes in Russian remains unusual, and is generally considered as unnecessary to this date.

Brian Baer, in sharp contrast, turns away from traditional values and heteronormative identities and, hence, makes a meaningful and absolutely necessary contribution to Russian gender and queer linguistic research. He focuses on the Russian discourse on sex and sexuality and analyses, primarily, the development of the discourse on homosexuality in Russia from 1993 till 2013 when the so-called *anti-gay-law* was passed. He draws attention to lexical items which are used in discourse. In this context, he demonstrates how the frequency of the words which he collected for his corpus has changed in language use over the years, what kind of neologisms have appeared in Russian language, and how the semantic meaning and pragmatic values of some words have changed.

Dennis Scheller-Boltz and **Mathias Althaler** tie in with the previous article and emphasise the necessity of investigating the construction and perception of non-heteronormative identities and, especially, of gay men and of implementing queer linguistic research since this research area has been mainly ignored in Russian linguistics. Their analysis of a Russian talk show from 2013 illuminates the passive construction and the active perception of homosexual male identity after the Federal ban of propaganda of so-called *non-traditional sexual lifestyles* in Russia. The discussion about the anti-gay-propaganda will demonstrate that the law is not only meant to prevent the spreading of a so-called *non-traditional lifestyle* but that it also aims at promoting a unique Russian identity which is based on a set of traditional moral values and gender roles.

Dennis Scheller-Boltz' paper takes up the topic of the previous article and focuses on another special moment in the Russian media discourse on non-heteronormativity. The victory of Conchita Wurst at the Eurovision Song Contest in 2014 spurred up the debates on gender ideas and gender roles in Russia and fuelled the dominant discourse with material that gives an insight into how gender identities are categorised and instrumentalised for special purposes. An analysis of readers' comments will make clear that the appeal to heteronormativity is not only a homophobic strategy to adhere to traditional values, classical gender ideas and patriarchal social structures, but it is also geared towards the re-establishment of patriotism and the maintenance of the Russian nation.

Katharina Klingseis approaches the construction and perception of identity in Russia from another perspective. In her article, she analyses the relevance of clothing, outward appearance, and work in a gender context and illustrates how these factors influence the construction and perception of a person's identity. After a theoretical introduction into the relation between clothing and gender from a feminist and, especially,

cultural linguistic point of view, it will be described by using interviews how big the impact of dress codes and dress styles on the construction and, in particular, the self-assessment of identity really is. Discursively shaped perceptions and opinions enrich the paper and provide additional material which has to be critically discussed in future.

Olena Levčenko dedicates her article to the use of gender-based similes in the Ukrainian fiction discourse. Her study of similes as the verbalisation of the cognitive operation of comparison based on the experience of a person's communication with the world will guide to the conceptual and linguistic picture of the world of modern men and women. Analysing prose fiction by female and male authors the paper draws preliminary conclusions about the differences in linguistic pictures of the world of modern men and women, studies axiological orientations, and determines the degree of linguistic creativity in a binarily gendered society.

Christina Pirs'ka analyses metaphors in modern Ukrainian literary discourse and focuses, in particular, on their national, cultural, and gender peculiarities. Looking at metaphorical principles as well as at structural semantic models she will make clear that male and female writers use different metaphors in modern Ukrainian literature.

West Slavonic languages

Jana Valdová dedicates her paper to the question of whether one can speak of feminist linguistics in Czech. After an outline of the development of feminist linguistics in Czech – the outline describes the difficulties Czech feminist linguistics encountered on its way to acceptance as well as at the current lack of orientation that can be observed within scientific research – she addresses gender stereotypes and gender ideas in greater detail which are established and produced in both society and language. On the basis of different linguistic experiments about association and cognition, she illustrates how deep those gender stereotypes are rooted in the Czech society and how they influence and regulate the (cognitive) perception which may imply social discrimination and marginalisation.

Marek Łaziński demonstrates how the word *gender* entered the Polish discourse and how the stance on the concept of gender has changed over the years pointing at its contrary assessment within Polish society. In this context, he draws attention to the semantic content and the pragmatic specifics of the word *gender* and analyses how it is recorded in dictionaries. This encourages him to present his own thoughts concerning a lexicographical recording of *gender* so that one can find a proposal for a possible dictionary entry at the end of the paper.

Mariola Majnusz-Stadnik deals with the concept of woman and femininity in Polish phrasemes. She illustrates how female stereotypes are reflected in phraseology by analysing phraseological units which contain the lexemes *kobieta*, *baba*, *dziewka*, *dziewczyna*, *dama*, *niewiasta*, and *białogłowa*. Among other aspects, she directs a focus on the congruencies between meaning and phraseological representation which reveals some contrary questions.

Cross-linguistic studies

Ingeborg Ohnheiser picks up on the current debate on the so-called *ÖNORM* in Austria which has been fuelling controversial discussions about the use of explicit feminine nouns and, especially, about the actual necessity of a gendered language use.

Using the Austrian context as a starting point, the topic on a gender-specific and non-discriminatory language use will be expanded to encompass the current situation in Czech, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian. It will become clear that these languages face similar linguistic and extralinguistic strategies which suggest either the acceptance or the rejection of gender-specific language. Moreover, one will come to know that, in some cases, national identity plays a meaningful role in this context since national discourses may contain mechanisms of demarcation in order to distance one nation with its specific identity from other nations and national identities respectively.

Claudia Posch complements the previous statements on the Austrian ÖNORM. She focuses on argumentation strategies that are used in the Austrian discourse by critics of gender-specific and non-discriminatory language to rant, in particular, against the so-called *Binnen-I* 'interior I'. Her detailed analysis of the structure of the produced arguments gives insight into how the corresponding arguments have to be interpreted, what the intention of the arguments is supposed to be, and what kind of function absurd and contradictory arguments actually fulfil.

Elena Graf enriches the Slavonic gender linguistics with some sociolinguistic research findings. She looks at the dynamics of gender stereotypes in Polish and Russian and analyses their impact on the construction of femininity and masculinity in conversation. On the example of Polish and Russian advertisements, it will be shown how gender stereotypes are currently (re)produced and used and how this may lead to sexist and discriminatory acts. Her evaluation of selected programmes on Polish and Russian television demonstrates that a gender specific behaviour and performance appears mainly in a natural situation.

Gender research in cultural studies, literature, and sociology

Ol'ga Ključko and **Ljubov' Štyleva** intend to make the essential meaning of traditional values in Russia accessible. In this context, they draw attention to the important role of traditional gender values for and in education which will form the basis for a lifestyle according to the traditional ideas of gender, identity, and, consequently, society. Considering the current situation in Russia and Russian society under the enormous influence of a globalising lifestyle which leads immediately to a reduction of gender ideas, both authors emphasise that only a traditional, i.e. heteronormative gender socialisation with strictly divided gender roles, may guarantee the start of a family.

Piotr Sobolczyk analyses the current stance of the Polish Catholic Church on homosexuality and non-heteronormative identities. His analysis of the Catholic journal *Więzi* [Cohesions, Ties] as well as of handbooks on reparative therapy and of some articles mainly from the *Newsweek Polska* intends to show the reaction of the Catholic Church on the current gay movement. Moreover, he refers to the queer community in order to illustrate the reactions of LGBTQ members. In the end, one sees how homosexuality oscillate in the tension between Church and society as well as between acceptance and non-acceptance and how this contrary situation determines the lifestyle of both heteronormative and non-heteronormative people in Poland.

Piotr Sobolczyk presents in his second paper an up to now non-described form of camp which functions as a local phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe in the time of communism. His text focuses on the discussion about high and low camp as well as on naïve and conscious camp. On the basis of texts by Miron Białoszewski, Grzegorz

Musiał, and Michał Witkowski he demonstrates the enmeshment of camp forms in a capitalist economy which stand in striking contrast to their status in socialist times.

Andrea Zink delivers an insight into the queer male world in the novel *Mertvyje duši* [Dead Souls] by Nikolaj Gogol'. She points at the mechanisms by which the novelist deconstructs his gender-marked subjects and overcomes, as it follows, the obligatory norm of heterosexuality. The queer approach to analyse the male characters in the chosen novel, based on the theory of Judith Butler, reveals not only the fragility of heteronormativity but it also shows the fluid and absolutely blurred boundaries between heteronormativity and non-heteronormativity in general so that the paper contains significant aspects which can be integrated into queer linguistic research, too.

Bianca Blum analyses selected Russian handbooks on etiquette, decency, and education for women which were mainly published in the 19th century in order to describe the general and prevalent idea of femininity in the Russian aristocratic society in the 19th century. She illuminates the mechanisms and strategies which are used in the handbooks to construct the appropriate and required idea of femininity. In the end, it will be shown how these ideas of femininity were applied and transformed in literature.

Christine Engel delivers a paper which is mainly situated in cinematography and film analysis but which may be no less located at the interface and intersection of cultural studies, sociology, and gender studies. Her analysis of the film *Orda* [The Horde] reveals interesting facts about the discursive formation in contemporary Russia. With regard to gender ideas and gender roles, she makes evident how deep the traditional idea of femininity and the perception of traditional gender roles are rooted in the Russian society and to what extent this kind of perception and construction of gender has entered the film. A comparison to the book *Roza Mira* [Roza Mira] provides additional material that reveals the strategies used to construct pure and traditional femininity. In the end, it becomes obvious that there are tight parallels between the plot and the current socio-political situation in Russia with regard to gender norms and gender ideas which throws inevitably a critical light on the social and socio-political situation in Russia today.

Erika Kegyes takes on the so-called *Soviet Model of Femininity*. She analyses, first of all, how the ideal of the Soviet-socialist femininity influenced the Hungarian society and the Hungarian idea of women between the 1950s and 1970s and outlines its sharp change which could be observed from around 1980 until the collapse of communism in 1990. It will be shown how the Russian-socialist idea of femininity entered Hungarian feminist journals and shaped the discourse on femininity and gender ideals in Hungary over the past decades. The investigation of how the wide-spread idea of womanhood was formed and destroyed in and by the Hungarian language draws interesting conclusions from the dominance of the Soviet femininity which currently seems to be as up to date as it ever was.

All contributors do their part to support and to promote the further development of the Slavonic gender and queer studies as well as the linguistic research on gender and queer issues in particular. In the end, all individual papers form a coherent whole and result in a rounded overall picture of the current state of Slavonic gender and queer linguistics. This is where I would like to express my gratitude towards all contributors to this book!

Last but not least, it has to be mentioned that these proceedings have undergone peer review and critical proof-reading. Nonetheless, it is inevitable that mistakes remain. Every contributor assumes responsibility for all remaining mistakes, for possibly missing or incorrect references, and for potential equivocality contained in their paper.

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СЕМИОТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ ГЕНДЕРНЫХ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИЙ В ПОСТСОВЕТСКОЙ РОССИИ

Abstract

The current paper deals with the semiotics of gender representation in post-Soviet Russia. Their forms and constructions are connected with the complex play of global and local flows. Two main ideologies can be observed in the public discourse: 1) the ideology of global identity which does not make any difference between masculinity and femininity or minimises it; 2) the ideology of anti-Sovietism which rejects any Soviet values; Soviet gender norms are also condemned or discursively ignored. In compliance with these ideologies, two main discourse tendencies are discussed:

1) *The trend to eliminate gender asymmetry*: Its expressions are: a gender expertise of socially significant texts and documents; splitting into male and female in the verbal and non-verbal representation of human beings; a symmetric and proportional presentation of verbal predicates with the male and female subjects etc. An important component of this trend is the institutional fixation of new norms in texts of laws, in the public discourse and on the Internet, in identity cards and other personal documentation: since 2011 a dash is possible in the birth certificate's column "mother". Important semiotic changes in the model of child and childhood are also a sign of the new gender construction. One more specific feature of modern gender construction in Russian medial discourse is the strengthening of gender differences through linguistic loan translation (*calque*) from Global English and the replacement of some Russian gender neutral words and expressions through split constructions, like *мужчины и женщины* (loan translation of *men and women*) instead of *люди* 'people'.

2) *The trend to the reanimation and strengthening of old patriarchal stereotypes*. Its expressions are, e.g., the rise of pseudo-scientific texts with misogynistic content; the medial representation of women as consumer and sexual object; the deheroisation of Soviet women etc. An important role, in this process, plays the rising propaganda of religion and religious thinking.

Key words: gender, discourse, social cognition, post-Soviet period

Постсоветский период, начавшийся в 90-е годы, обнаруживает изменения в содержании гендерных репрезентаций, для создания которых в основном используются имеющиеся языковые средства, видеосоставляющая (существенно усилившаяся с конца XX века – Пойманова 1997) и возможности новых цифровых технологий.

О специфике репрезентации гендера в 90-е годы XX века мы писали ранее (Кирилина 2002), установив, что в начале постсоветского периода в СМИ наблюдалась ярко выраженная тенденция к усилению гендерной асимметрии, к эротизации женщин и представлению их в качестве сексуального объекта. В 2000-е годы эта тенденция трансформировалась: в массовых СМИ она сохранилась, но несколько ослабла – возможно, по той причине, что новые цифровые технологии позволили диверсифицировать коммуникативное пространство и создать в интернете поля общения для различных фокус-групп. В дискурсивном конструировании гендера происходит, по сравнению с 90-ми годами XX века, дифференциация по предпочтениям, интересам и вследствие этого – дробление дискурсов, их кластеризация в электронной коммуникации.

Общий социальный контекст в этот период отмечен также фактором глобализации, усложнившим картину. Начало XXI века характеризуется, таким образом, многообразием гендерных представлений, которые обсуждаются в статье на осно-

вании следующих данных: нами проведен анализ СМИ (*Комсомольская правда*, *Литературная газета*, *Московский комсомолец* 2010-2014 гг. и произведена выборка материалов, касающихся гендерных отношений), а также школьных принадлежностей. Частично использован лексический материал, полученный в 2010-2014 гг. из комментариев читателей к текстам СМИ при выполнении проекта Российского государственного научного фонда «Лингвистическая диагностика межнациональной напряженности в интернет-коммуникации» (грант № 13-14-77006). Для определения динамики частотности лексических единиц использованы данные Национального корпуса русского языка (НКРЯ) и *Google Books Ngram Viewer*.

Вторым источником материала стала повседневность автора статьи – интроспективно фиксировались случаи с эффектом новизны, «задевающие», вызывающие эмоциональную реакцию. Этот метод считается обоснованным в эпоху ускоренной динамики развития языка и коммуникации (Николаева 2010, Coupland 2010) позволяет в определенной мере преодолеть статичность модели язык/речь (Blommaert 2010), а также зафиксировать новые явления.

Современное конструирование гендера характеризуется множественностью тенденций и совершается при помощи вербального и невербального кода (их синхронизация имеет место далеко не всегда). Для систематизации многообразия применена модель гендеризма Гоффмана (Goffman 1977), основными движущими силами которой Гоффман назвал *институционализацию и ритуализацию пола*.

С некоторой долей условности мы выделили две наиболее яркие тенденции противоположной направленности:

- 1) глобальная тенденция к семиотической минимизации/устранению гендерных различий;
- 2) тенденция к усилению гендерной дифференциации и гендерной асимметрии.

Тенденция к устранению гендерной асимметрии (выражается предварительным проведением гендерной экспертизы текстов (*Гендерная экспертиза* 2005, Черных 2012); параллельным изображением или вербальным выражением мужских и женских персонажей; пропорциональной представленностью глагольных предикатов различной степени агентивности (Гриценко 2005); отсутствием противоречий в вербальной и видеосоставляющей текстов и др.); деконструированием дихотомии через умножение гендерных ролей и усиление внимания к описанию различного рода особенностей сексуального поведения индивидов, дискурсивное перемещение этих особенностей из категории девиации в категорию нормы.

Эта область представляет собой поле бурных дискуссий, а также отражает целый ряд моментов, описываемых термином *постгендеризм* и связанных с формированием новой – плюралистической – модели человека. Для глобального дрейфа к постгендеризму¹ характерен демонтаж прежних норм институционализации и ритуализации гендера, в том числе устранение визуальных различий в гендерных репрезентациях.

Институциональная составляющая тенденции. Один из важных аспектов реализации ослабления различий и концептуализации гендера как автономного от биологической принадлежности человека к тому или иному полу – языковое

¹ Определения *постгендеризма* пока не встретились нам в академических изданиях, но присутствуют в Википедии: «индивид в обществе не сводится к гендерной роли, а является просто представителем человеческого рода, которого характеризуют (если в этом вообще есть необходимость) лишь его собственные поступки» (<https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/постгендеризм>).

оформление персональной документации лица², которая служит его самоидентификации, отражает отношения с обществом, в первую очередь – с ближайшими родственниками, а среди них – с матерью. Значимость этой связи доказывается, в частности, тем, что слово *мать* относится к основному лексическому ядру; практически неизменно находится в окружении положительно коннотированных или нейтральных лексических единиц и не обнаруживает негативной стереотипизации, присущей слову *женщина* (Кирилина 2000:192 и след.).

В 2011 г., однако, пресса сообщает о появлении новой институциональной нормы – регистрации ребенка как рожденного без материнского участия:

Отец в одиночку

Женщин можно вычеркнуть не только из жизни, но и из документов своих детей. Нужна ли в семье... мама? Оказывается, ответ на этот, казалось бы, риторический вопрос не для всех однозначен. В последнее время в России появилась новая тенденция: мужчины сознательно обзаводятся детьми без участия жен. Многие обеспеченные господа боятся женщин как огня, видя в них, и подчас не без оснований, угрозу своему материальному благополучию и душевному покою. Особенно в случае развода. Дошло до того, что на днях столичный загс обнародовал удивительный факт; впервые в Москве зарегистрирован ребенок, у которого в графе «мама» свидетельства о рождении стоит... прочерк. «МК» узнал подробности жизни необычного отца-одиночки: 50-летний Максим, отец мальчика с прочерком вместо мамы, далеко не единственный, кто «родил» себе ребенка сам. На сегодня у нас в стране таких самостоятельных, независимых от женщин семей уже более сорока, причем подавляющее большинство их живет в столице. Но только Максим довел дело до логического завершения, добившись документального признания того, что матери у его сына нет. Для этого ему пришлось обратиться в Бабушкинский районный суд Москвы, который и вынес беспрецедентное решение.
(www.mk.ru/social/article/2010/10/22/538730-otets-v-odinokhu.html)

Еще одна инновация в институциональном построении гендера – выбор пола в документах, удостоверяющих личность самим индивидом и притом не из двух, а из трех (и более) вариантов.

Так, лицу, желающему записаться на прием в Австрийское посольство в России на сайте посольства, предлагается заполнить анкету и сделать выбор пола из четырех возможных вариантов – *male, female, not applicable, unknown* (Рис. 1).

Скриншот веб-страницы посольства Австрии в Москве, посвященной записи на прием. В верхней части страницы виден адрес сайта и название посольства. Основная часть – анкета с полями для ввода данных: количество мест (1), время начала (10.10.2014 11:20), фамилия, имя, дата рождения (с календарем), номер паспорта, пол (выбран 'Not Applicable'), номер телефона. В поле 'Пол' открыто выпадающее меню с вариантами: Female, Male, Not Applicable, Unknown.

Рис. 1: Скриншот страницы посольства Австрии с анкетой для записи на прием

СМИ и интернет регулярно информируют читателей о подобных процессах в других странах и об институциональных инновациях (регистрации однополых

² В первую очередь, это «документы о статусе частного лица (паспорт, свидетельства о рождении, браке, смерти, документы об образовании, удостоверение личности, сберегательная книжка, водительские права и т.п.)» (Мечковская 2004:251-252).

браков, усыновлении детей однополыми парами, признание родительства трех и более человек и т.п.). Приведем типичные примеры:

В Австралии появились «бесполое паспорта»
Неопределенный пол будет обозначаться буквой «икс»

В Австралии появились «бесполое паспорта»

Иван ЮРЧЕНКО — 15.09.2011 09:59

Любопытное нововведение появилось в австралийской паспортной системе. Помимо женского и мужского, жители страны получили право указывать и третий пол, «неопределенный». Новая половая принадлежность будет обозначаться в документе буквой «X» («икс»).

Однако самовольно сменить пол у желающих не получится: каждому будет необходимо получить специальную разрешающую справку от врача. Таким образом, власти значительно упростили процедуру получения «бесполого» паспорта. Раньше документ можно было получить, только если владелец удостоверения личности перенес самую настоящую операцию по смене пола, передает Associated Press.

Кстати, паспорт в Австралии является второстепенным документом. Для идентификации личности служит свидетельство о рождении, где изменить запись о половой принадлежности можно лишь после операции.

(www.kp.ru/online/news/977463/ – дата обращения: 15.03.2010)

В мире зарегистрирован первый бесполой человек

Им стал житель Австралии Норри Мэй-Уэлби

Первым бесполом человеком в мире официально признан житель Австралии Норри Мэй-Уэлби (Norrie May-Welby). Его пол в документах значится как неопределенный (not specified), сообщает британская газета The Daily Telegraph.

Норри Уэлби родился мальчиком в Шотландии. В возрасте семи лет он вместе с родителями переехал в Австралию. В 1990 году, когда Норри было 28, он сделал операцию по перемене пола и стал женщиной. Однако быть слабым полом ему быстро надоело, и вскоре Мэй-Уэлби прекратил принимать гормональные препараты, заявив, что больше не считает себя ни мужчиной, ни женщиной.

Сейчас Уэлби 48 и он считает любое указание своего пола в официальных документах недопустимой ложью. По этой причине бесполой человек обратился к властям австралийского штата Новый Южный Уэльс с просьбой внести соответствующие изменения в его документы. Австралиец дополнил свою просьбу справками от врачей, которые не смогли определить пол этого человека, и власти пошли Уэлби навстречу.

В конце прошлого года права не принадлежать ни к мужскому, ни к женскому полу добились индийские внуки, сообщает lenta.ru Тем не менее, в официальных документах они обладают полом, который указывается как «другой» (other).

(http://news.mail.ru/society/3513874/ – дата обращения: 15.03.2010)

В 2014 году Facebook предлагает различать более 50 видов гендера. Этот факт интенсивно комментируется в СМИ:

Это вам не набившие оскомину «андрогин», «интерсексуал», «гендерквир», «транссексуал», «гермафродит», «трансгендер», «транссексуал». Тут – новизна и креатив: «Bigender» – двуполой, «Agender» – бесполой, «Gender Fluid» – пол меняется в зависимости от ситуации, или «Two-spirit» – носители смешанного пола; а «Cisgender» (состояние, при котором биологический, социальный и психологический пол человека совпадают) подразделяется на целых десять разновидностей.» (http://ria.ru/analytics/20140214/994923109.html#ixzz2tUcCPRzE – дата обращения: 15.03.2010)

Число в 58 гендеров, выделенных экспертами для акции «Фейсбука», условно. Их, согласно гендерной теории, может быть и больше. Выделять их можно, по сути, бесконечно, придумывая микроскопические различия. Например, самые распространённые – те, для обозначения которых используют аббревиатуру ЛГБТ: её буквы обозначают гомосексуальные гендеры (лесбиянки, геи, бисексуалы) и **трансгендеры** – это те, кто недоволен своим биологическим полом. Их много: **транссексуалы** стремятся сменить пол хирургически, транссвеститы просто переодеваются в одежду противоположного пола, **андрогины** сочетают в себе мужские и женские черты и поведение, у гермафродитов есть мужские и женские половые органы, **бигендеры** меняют половое поведение в зависимости от обстоятельств, **агендеры** отрицают любой пол. Список можно продолжать, как это и сделали в «Фейсбуке». В кулуарах обсуждается введение новых гендеров, в основе которых лежат инцест и педофилия. (www.aif.ru/society/people/1114643 – дата обращения: 28.02.2014)

Анализируя средства языка, используемые для инноваций в институционализации гендера, мы наблюдали появление новой лексики, связанной с более детальным обозначением лица в зависимости от его сексуальных предпочтений, а также ревизию «стандартных» языковых форм представления гендера. Она реализуется как частотное калькирование англоязычных форм при игнорировании лексических и морфологических возможностей русского языка, что может вести и нередко ведет к противоположному результату – *усилению гендерной асимметрии* (она выражается прежде всего в смещении от метагендерного к гендерному уровню описания; в игнорировании неодинаковой степени андроцентричности языков при переводе с английского языка на русский или калькировании). Так, под влиянием калькированного перевода английских официальных формул, отражающих политкорректность, повышается частотность имен существительных с семантикой пола: *мужчины и женщины* (несомненная калька с *men and women* – выражения, заменившего неpolitкорректное *men*). Ранее в подобном контексте встретилось бы слово *люди*. По этой же причине появляются сочетания вроде *права человека-женщины*. Там, где ранее несомненно было бы слово *человек*, ныне нередко встречается слово с более четким обозначением принадлежности по полу:

Вспомним теперь Аристотеля. Это был мужчина с незабываемо гибким умом. Великий грек. (*Литературная газета* 2008/8:5)

Сам факт роста частотности подобных лексических единиц говорит о подавлении отмечавшейся нами ранее (Кирилина 1999:80) неравной степени андроцентризма языков и культур и о переносе иноязычных моделей, касающихся гендера. Так, к концу XX века в триаде *женщина – мужчина – человек* наибольший сочетаемостный потенциал имело слово *человек*, а наименьший – слово *мужчина* и наметилась тенденция к снижению частотности слова *мужчина* и увеличению частотности слова *мужик* (Кирилина 2000:173). Аналогичные данные получены психолингвистами и культурологами. Так, Шабурова в конце 90-х гг. фиксирует появление в российском неформальном дискурсе положительно коннотированного типа *мужик* (Шабурова 2002).

Таким образом, не исключено, что глобальная экспансия английского языка оказывает воздействие на тенденции развития гендерно значимой русской лексики (подробнее о масштабе заимствований см. Маринова 2008).

Другой стороной этого процесса можно считать заметное повышение частотности имен существительных, отражающих исключительно семантику пола и возраста, а не пола и профессии, пола и деятельности, как это было ранее (динамику частотности см. ниже на Рис. 19-24).

Ритуализация пола затрагивает преимущественно визуальные образы, и обнаруживает смешение привычных черт обоих полов, как например, на обложке блокнота, изображающей супермена (Рис. 2).

Еще один прием обновления ритуализации связан с открытием окон Овертона – в данном случае это внесение в семиотику городской среды образов, разрушающих привычные гендерные представления (Рис. 3).

К этой же группе мы отнесем эпатажные образы, вносимые в городское пространство (Рис. 4 и 5).



Рис. 2: Блокнот «Супермен(ша?)»



Рис. 3: Транссексуал – лидер «Evdokimov-show» стал лицом сайта компании MARC JACOBS



Рис. 4: Реклама салона красоты «МОНЕ» Конец осени – зима 2011. Москва, городские афиши



Рис. 5: Тиражирование непристойности. Афиша на улице, Москва, зима 2009
(В 2010 году заменена: исполнители идут, держась за руки)

В данном случае наблюдаема первая стадия окна Овертона – перевод из категории «немыслимое» в категорию «радикальное». Этот процесс многими гражданами России как норма не воспринимается и часто вызывает негативную реакцию, о чем свидетельствуют комментарии читателей, ставшие доступными для наблюдения благодаря интернету (см. также статью Шеллера-Болтца о восприятии Кончиты Вурст в этом сборнике). В городской среде представлена и борьба дискурсов (Рис. 6 и 7).



Рис. 6: Митинг протеста против институционального поощрения гомосексуальности³



Рис. 7: Митинг за институциональное признание однополых отношений и против закона о пропаганде гомосексуализма⁴

³ www.chaskor.ru/article/ooo_23549 [дата обращения: 29.05.2011].

Принятие закона 135-ФЗ *О внесении изменений в статью 5 Федерального закона «О защите детей от информации, причиняющей вред их здоровью и развитию»* от 29 июня 2013 г. и отдельные законодательные акты Российской Федерации в целях защиты детей от информации, пропагандирующей отрицание традиционных семейных ценностей, также вызвали неоднозначную общественную реакцию. Наконец, в ряде предвыборных агитационных материалов маскулинность использована как ресурс при создании имиджа президента Путина (подробнее см. Riabov/Riabova 2014).

Ритуализация гендера в рамках дискурсивной практики педагогизации пола ребенка (Фуко 1996) касается сексуализации детства (она сосуществует с законом о борьбе против педофилии). Эту тенденцию, ярко проявившуюся в семиотике товаров, видимо, тоже правомерно назвать глобальной, поскольку детские вещи сегодня производятся для многих стран (игрушки, школьные принадлежности и т.п.) и тиражируют образы по всему миру, например, куклы *Bratz* (см. Рис. 8), внешность которых акцентирует сексуальность: чрезмерно крупные губы, броская косметика, сексапильная одежда.



Рис. 8: Одна из четырех кукол серии *Bratz*

Распространение сексуальных образов касается и школьных принадлежностей (Рис. 9 и 10).



Рис. 9: Дневник школьный для девочек



Рис. 10: Дневник школьный для девочек

⁴ <http://sobesednik.ru/politika/20141112-zachem-patriarh-postavil-lesbiyanok-i-geev-v-primer-hristian> [дата обращения: 29.06.2015].

Содержание текстов, представленных в дневнике (наряду со стандартным расписанием и другие стандартными составляющими – подпись родителей, подпись классного руководителя и под.) открывает весьма ригидные гендерные стереотипы – представление женщины как сексуального объекта (в данном случае – это стимулирование ранней сексуальности), навязывание определенного стиля, ритуализация пола семиотикой наряда, розовым цветом и т.д.).

Из форзаца и выходных данных следует, что дневник относится к стилю *Гламур*, выраженному по-английски словом *Glamour*. Внутри дневника почти на каждом развороте, окантованном «типично женским» розовым цветом, находится текст, посвященный той или иной стороне гламура, а также пропаганде потребления (Рис. 10).

Содержание текстов отсылает к моде, уходу за собой, стилю *Барби* и формирует идеал модной потребительницы в буквальном смысле со школьной скамьи. Обсуждаемый дневник выпущен в 2010 г. В этом же году (29.12.2010) принят Федеральный закон N 436-ФЗ «О защите детей от информации, причиняющей вред их здоровью и развитию», который вступил в действие в 2012 г., после чего семиотика школьных принадлежностей стала несколько сдержаннее, но усиленная гендеризация сохранилась.

Названные тенденции в значительной мере отражают распространение глобализационного конструирования гендера.

Отечественные⁵ гендерные репрезентации также многообразны, но сводимы к идее дискурсивного усиления гендерных различий. Это выражается в заметном увеличении присутствия в общественном дискурсе текстов различных типов, пафос которых – «естественное предназначение» полов; критика феминизма и т.п.

Тенденция к усилению гендерной дифференциации и гендерной асимметрии выражается прежде всего в смещении от метагендерного к гендерному уровню описания. Происходит дифференциация адресованности по полу адресата в случаях, когда ранее это не имело места. Так например, школьные принадлежности по содержанию и визуальному оформлению в большинстве случаев подразделяются на гендерные группы. В научно-популярном дискурсе обнаруживаются даже мизогинические тенденции (ср. название книги *Конец феминизма. Чем женщина отличается от человека*, Никонов 2005). Фармацевтический дискурс в рекламе медикаментов для женщин воспроизводит практику истеризации и медиализации женского организма, практически полностью отсутствовавшую в советский период.

Обе эти тенденции в той или иной мере игнорируют сложившиеся в советское время гендерные репрезентации. Те, однако, не исчезли полностью, а переместились в интернет-коммуникацию, например, стереотип «советская женщина» обнаруживает явно положительные характеристики в целом ряде блогов: это сайты и блоги с высокой посещаемостью (*zina-korzina*, *uborshizzza* и др.), полностью или в значительной мере посвященные советскому периоду истории и отнюдь не сводящие его исключительно к репрессиям. Среди материалов такого рода отметим заметность и востребованность советских плакатов, посвященных женщинам и представляющих их в первую очередь как граждан, как носителей общественно значимых профессий (см. Рис. 11).

⁵ Мы не пользуемся термином *локальные*, чтобы избежать ассоциаций с общепринятым в глобалистике понятием *локализация глобального*, поскольку рассматриваем обсуждаемые тенденции как специфику страны, а не как специфику укоренения в ней глобалистских трендов, хотя ряд моментов, например, следствия миграции, несомненно, находится в пограничной зоне.

Особую роль играет постсоветский всплеск религиозной активности и расширение сферы влияния церкви, а также массово привносимые и потому очень заметные традиционные поведенческие модели гендерной культуры мигрантов, в частности, весьма гендеризованная семиотика исламского поведения, подразумевающая раздельное пребывание в пространстве, сокрытие женского лица, драпировку фигуры и т.п. (Рис. 12 и 13). Все это вследствие мощной миграции переносится в города и регионы страны, в которых исламская семиотика пола не была столь масштабной, и у многих граждан ее стремительная экспансия ассоциируется с подавлением свободы и прав женщин, а также с представлениями, обсуждение которых выходит за рамки гендерной проблематики.

Усиление православия также способствует гендеризации общества (Рис. 14).



Рис. 11: Советский плакат «Врач – друг народа!»⁶



Рис. 12: Фестиваль исламской моды в Москве на выставке Халяль

⁶ <http://uborshizzza.livejournal.com/3435082.html> [дата обращения: 06.04.2015].



Рис. 13: Мусульмане-мужчины у соборной мечети в Москве 4 октября 2014 г. отмечают праздник Курбан-байрам⁷



Рис. 14: Сайт магазина православной одежды для женщин

Изменения в сторону более ярко выраженной гендеризации отмечаются и в моделировании детства. Происходит дифференциация адресованности по полу адресата в случаях, когда ранее это не имело места или было не столь ярко выражено. Игрушки, школьные принадлежности по содержанию и визуальному оформлению подразделяются на гендерные группы: легко определяемые тетради, дневники и другие предметы для девочек: они, как правило, розового цвета и несут на себе изображения принцесс, цветов, мягких игрушек, домашних животных.

Школьные принадлежности для мальчиков имеют более широкий спектр изображений и более разнообразную цветовую палитру. Цвета, однако, не столь ярки. На Рис. 15 представлен дневник для мальчиков.

⁷ <http://runews24.ru/religion/04102014-musulmane-otmechayut-kurban-bajram.html> [дата обращения: 04.10.2014].



Рис. 15

Этот тип дневника выдержан в неярких, приглушенных тонах, изображает типичного героя комиксов с вытянутой вперед и сжатой в кулак рукой, готового нанести удар (этот жест широко представлен и в других образах). Силуэт летучей мыши напоминает героя американского фильма *Бэтман*, оборот дневника содержит повторение силуэта и надпись на английском языке *The dark knight*.

Гендерная идентичность девочки конструируется даже в таком ранее гендерно нейтральном материале, как прописи. Мы обнаруживаем «Прописи для девочек» (Рис. 16 и 17), стиль которых также гендерно стереотипизирован – розовый цвет окантовки, цветочный орнамент, изображение принцессы в розовом платье.

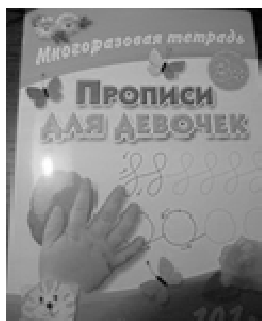


Рис. 16



Рис. 17

Существуют и простые прописи, без вербальной гендерной маркированности, однако их видеокomпонент несимметричен вербальному и изображает лишь ученика-мальчика, задавая тем самым образ прототипического школьника (Рис. 18).

Не все школьные принадлежности обнаруживают гендерную адресованность, но доля гендеризованных велика, ярка и первой бросается в глаза при посещении соответствующих магазинов или отделов.

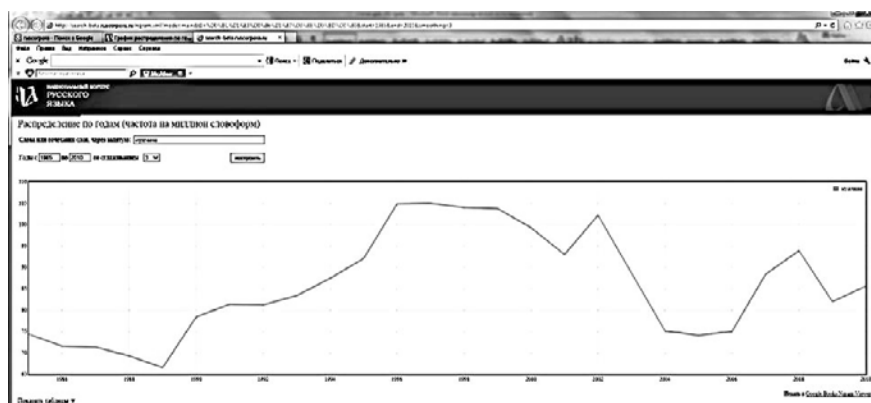
Новая отечественная гендерно специфичная лексика представлена, на наш взгляд, слабо, в официальном общественном дискурсе, как правило, не присутствует. Если заимствования и кальки чаще отражают сферу сексуального поведения (*бигендер*, *агендер* и т.п.), то лексика, созданная из материала русского языка, в значительной степени принадлежит к семантической группе «межнациональные отношения». Она отражает специфику миграционных потоков и отношение к ним: *носорог*, *ликан* и т.п. (названия кавказцев), *свинорылый*, *ватник* (названия русского), *чернильница* (девушка или молодая женщина, имеющая сексуальную

связь с выходцем с Кавказа), *хиджабнутая*, *замоташка* (мусульманка, носящая хиджаб⁸). Как правило, такая лексика обозначает лицо по возрасту, полу и национальной или религиозной принадлежности и имеет негативные коннотации.

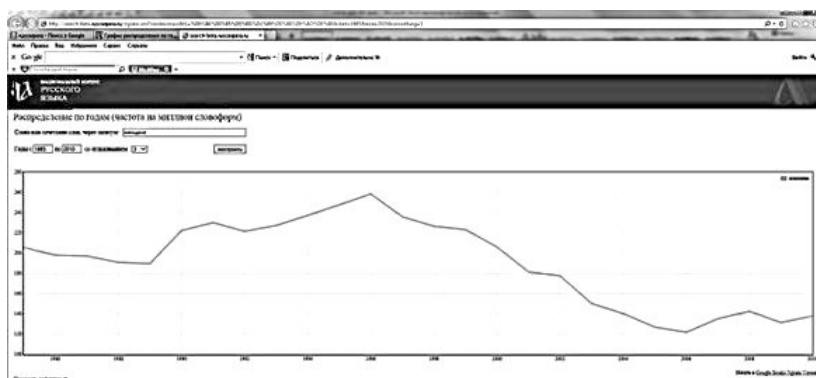
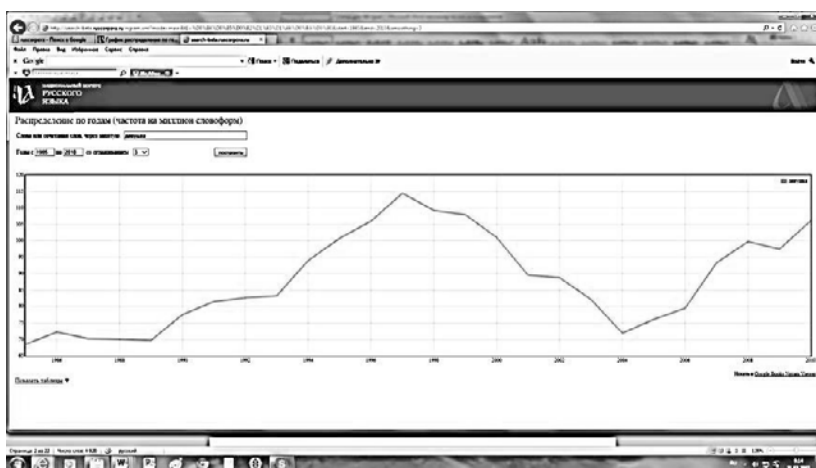


Рис. 18

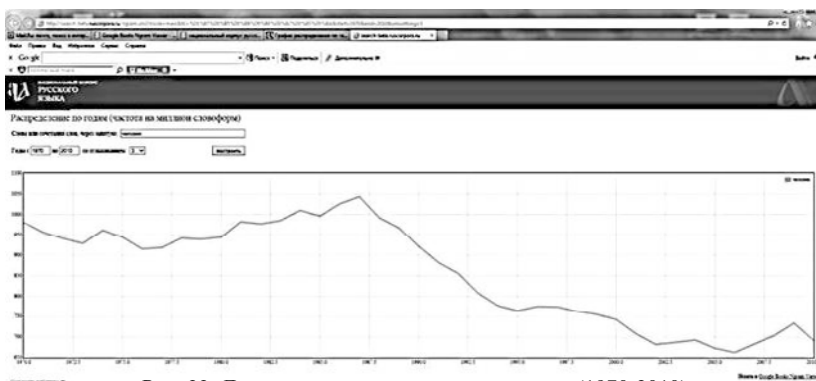
Отметим также возрастание частотности лексем, обозначающих лицо по возрасту и полу: *мужчина*, *женщина*, *девушка*. Рост их употребительности заметен в повседневности, а также фиксируется при обращении к статистическим возможностям корпусов: на Рис. 19 представлена динамика частотности слова *мужчина* по данным НКРЯ с 1985 по 2010 годы. Рис. 20 и 21 отражают динамику частотности слов *женщина*, *девушка*.

Рис. 19: Динамика частотности слова *мужчина* (1985-2010)

⁸ В блогах обнаружено и другое определение: «Замоташки — так в Астрахани называют девочек, вдруг надевших хиджаб. Национальный состав очень разношерстный: татарки, казашки, русские, узбечки, аварки. С каждым годом их все больше. Только по официальным данным, сейчас 60 из них — жены боевиков. Одних находят живыми, о судьбе других родные узнают, когда эти молодые мусульманки, ушедшие в бандформирования, погибают за "правое дело"» (<http://blog.fontanka.ru/posts/147948> – дата обращения: 30.12.2013).

Рис. 20: Динамика частотности слова *женщина* (1985-2010)Рис. 21: Динамика частотности слова *девушка* (1985-2010)

Одновременно несколько сокращается частотность употребления слова *человек*, в большинстве контекстов относящегося к метагендерному уровню (Рис. 22).

Рис. 22: Динамика частотности слова *человек* (1970-2010)

Пики, приходящиеся на середину 90-х гг., и последующие спады частотности объясняются, на наш взгляд, распространением электронной коммуникации: некоторые специфические области, присутствовавшие в СМИ в 90-е годы, ушли в интернет-коммуникацию, не вполне пока отраженную в НКРЯ. В пользу этого аргумента говорят и данные *Google books Ngram Viewer* (Рис. 23), отражающие книжные публикации, в которых актуальные тенденции диверсификации в интернет-общении не учитываются.

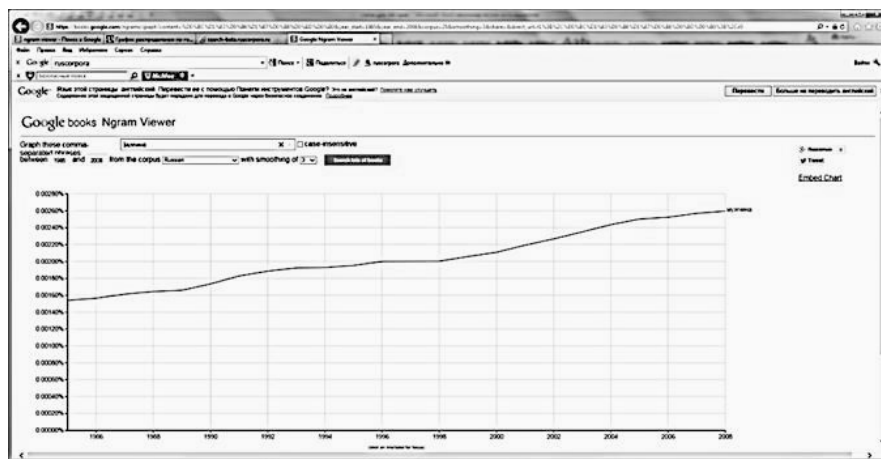


Рис. 23: Динамика частотности слова *мужчина* по данным Google books Ngram Viewer (1985-2008)

Слово же *мужик*, частотность которого росла в 90-е годы, обнаруживает сегодня меньшую употребительность (Рис. 24).

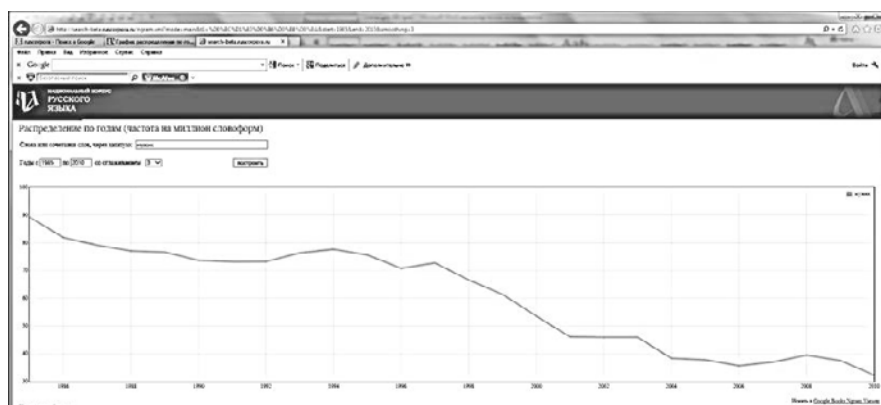


Рис. 24: Динамика частотности слова *мужик* (1985-2010)⁹

Выводы

Названные факты позволяют охарактеризовать современную гендерную модель в России как плюралистическую. Во всем многообразии репрезентаций четко выделяются глобальная тенденция к устранению гендерных различий, а также к

⁹ График отражает рост частотности в 90-е годы и ее спад – в первом десятилетии XXI в.

сексуализации образа ребенка, что, на наш взгляд, представляет собой некоторое противоречие и нуждается в дальнейшем изучении и объяснении.

Отечественная тенденция к сохранению и усилению гендерных различий также не лишена противоречивости и в общих чертах сводится к следующему:

- 1) Усиление патриархатного фундаментализма.
- 2) «Уход в тень» советской модели гендера в общественном дискурсе и пространстве при (частичном) сохранении ее в частной зоне (интернет-)общения; обособленное и положительно коннотированное понятие *советская женщина*; апелляции к советским гендерным моделям при обсуждении современных проблем («...а наши девушки знали, что такое легированная сталь!»).

Оживление и «параллельное» существование этнизированных и/или конфессиональных моделей гендера. Религиозные гендерные модели, прежде всего исламские, нередко встречают негативное отношение.

- 1) Использование гендера как политического ресурса.
- 2) Гендеризация детства.

Названные тенденции – симптом изменения общей модели человека. Факт же их противоположной направленности говорит, на наш взгляд, о борьбе глобалистов и традиционалистов-фундаменталистов за право определять содержание понятия *человек* в современном общественном дискурсе. Те и другие тенденции насаждаются весьма интенсивно и нередко грубо игнорируют ценности, настроения и ожидания людей, что ведет к социальным и личным протестам разного рода и также должно стать объектом научной рефлексии. Постсоветские семиотические репрезентации гендера подтверждают отмечаемое также социологами (Свадьбина/Немова/Пакина 2014) резкое снижение статуса женщины.

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