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Gender-specific Features in Lithuanian Parliamentary Discourse: An Interdisciplinary Sociolinguistic and Corpus-based Study

Abstract

The article tackles the questions of whether the general public agrees to the existence of gender-specific linguistic differences in political discourse, what language use is considered by the general public as gender-specific, and whether the methods of corpus linguistics support the indicated differences. Two theoretical and methodological frameworks are used in the study: the framework of a sociolinguistic inquiry and the framework of corpus linguistics. For the sociolinguistic inquiry a questionnaire was prepared and distributed among university students, the current respondents. In the context of corpus linguistics, answers by the respondents were checked quantitatively in two separate corpora of parliamentary debates. The sociolinguistic inquiry has revealed that the majority of the respondents believe that there are differences in the way male and female politicians speak. Nevertheless, when asked to indicate the gender of the politicians from the extracts of their discourse, the respondents have been unsuccessful in more cases than they have succeeded in completing the task. The corpus-based analysis supported some of the respondents' expectations as to the gender-specific language use in political communications and refuted the others. It has shown that the gender-related language variation in political communication does not follow a dichotomous pattern.

1. Introduction

It has been commonly observed in the literature on language and gender that the general public has certain preconceptions of how men and women typically speak or should typically speak. This possibly subconscious stereotypical differentiation is most deeply rooted in the social spheres where traditionally one gender used to prevail or might still prevail over the other. For instance, politics, legal practice, science and academia can be named as traditional male domains, while household work and childcare are traditionally regarded as a woman's realm. Consequently, since the inception of contemporary scholarship in language and gender in the 1970s,

analysts have been intensively engaged in the research on the interconnection between gender and the use of language in the private and in the public domains.

At the end of the 20th century one important social change, namely women's successful integration into the labor market and their growing numbers in authoritative positions, took place, blurring the gender-based patriarchal division of social spheres (see Martín-Rojo 1997; Cameron 1998b). In spite of that, as revealed by Wodak (2005), male dominance of the public persists in more subtle forms. For instance, the general increase of women's participation in the European political institutions does not entail their better representation at the top level: while women constitute nearly half of the employees at the European Commission, in the year 2000 only 5.9% of them assumed the highest positions (Wodak 2005: 98). Moreover, the stereotypes alluding to the different compatibility of men and women with public careers are still widely spread (Cameron 2003; Holmes 2005; Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Lakoff 2000; Lakoff 2003; Shaw 2000; Talbot 2003; Thimm et al. 2003; Walsh 2001; Wodak 2003, 2005). For instance, Walsh (2001) observes that a significant increase of female Labour MPs after the 1997 general election in Britain was accompanied by the media's stereotypic description – 'Blair's babes'. Cameron goes further to suggest that stereotypes not only remain forceful and in most cases empirically unsupported, but can also "become self-fulfilling prophecies" (2003: 463) subconsciously steering people towards a stereotypic behavior. In professional communication, as Thimm et al. remark, gender-related social attitudes and possible stereotyping can have a negative influence on the professionals' "beliefs of self-efficacy" and, as a result, on their professional development and success (2003: 529).

We view reasoning along stereotypic lines as one of the major hindrances to *tolerance* in professional communication, which is among the top virtues in the era of expanding globalization. From a sociolinguistic perspective, increasing social tolerance and mutual understanding can be achieved by dealing with language-related ignorance and prejudice (Janicki 1990; 1999; cf. Bayley 2004; Van Dijk 2002). An attempt at increasing social tolerance and at dealing with the possible language-related stereotyping of gender in political communication is the general aim of the present study. The more specific aims include the investigation of how the general public views the relation between politicians' gender and their

linguistic practices and the investigation if these views of the general public are supported by the corpus linguistic analysis of parliamentary discourse. In order to achieve the indicated aims, the present study is built on two theoretical and methodological frameworks including the framework of a sociolinguistic inquiry and the framework of corpus linguistics. With respect to the sociolinguistic inquiry, the data are obtained with the use of questionnaires distributed among university students, the respondents of the present study. With respect to the corpus linguistics analysis, the data are obtained from the official transcripts of the proceedings of the Lithuanian Parliament.

2. Theoretical considerations on gender and discourse analysis

2.1 From a twofold to a multifaceted understanding of gender

The early interest in gender-specific language use evolved from the feminist discontent with women's discrimination in professional and political careers in the 1970s. Under the influence of the feminist fight against gender-related societal inadequacy, the category of gender was largely geared into the simplified *us* vs. *them* and *private* vs. *public* dichotomies, with *us* i.e. women, being put in the position of the *silent* and the *silenced* in "society's most valued linguistic registers" of politics, law and science (Cameron 1998a: 3) and *them*, i.e. men, holding the position of the dominant gender. In the discipline of gender and discourse analysis, this dichotomous reasoning was firstly, and perhaps unintentionally, promoted in Lakoff's seminal study *Language and Woman's place* (1975). It is by drawing this simplified and over-generalized link between women's linguistic inadequacy and their social inferiority that Lakoff embarked upon her study claiming women to be "systematically denied access to power, on the grounds that they are not capable of holding it as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior" (1975: 7). In her study, Lakoff proposed a theory of a separate women's language with distinctive features at various levels of the language system including vocabulary (e.g., the allegedly female adjectives like *beige* or *lavender*), syntax (e.g., a high proportion of tag questions) and prosodic arrangement (e.g., the use of interrogative intonation in a statement). According to Lakoff, the linguistic features typical of women's

language show women to be overly polite, hesitant and lacking self-confidence. Moreover, as Lakoff also maintained, these features reflect the different expectations of the general public about feminine and masculine interactional styles, starting with the acceptance of "showing temper" by "little boys" and with the anticipation of "docility and resignation" from "little girls" (Lakoff 1975: 11).

Based on exclusively introspective methodology, Lakoff's study triggered some sharp criticism for promoting speculative findings and for placing women's language in the inferior position (see Talbot 2003). At the same time, however, her speculative data served well to inflict a strong eagerness among the scholars in the discipline to test her findings empirically. This eagerness was realized in the successive approaches of *dominance* and *difference.* The former approach argued that the gender-differentiated discourse resulted from men's social domination as it is evidenced by the findings of men's more frequent use of interruptions and overlapping in the cross-gender dyadic interaction (see Zimmerman and West 1975). The latter approach aimed to show that gender-specific linguistic differences should be treated as a cultural rather than a power-based variation into which boys and girls are directed through their different upbringing (see Tannen 1990, 1994). Despite some scholarly input, the *dominance* and *difference* approaches continued with the understanding of gender as a static twofold attribute and in doing so reiterated the flaws of over-generalization and dichotomizing initiated by Lakoff. As a remedy, the currently in progress *performance* approach has introduced important transformations in conceptualizing gender identity. Instead of being treated as a fixed attribute, gender is now regarded as a diverse interactional property, as a feature liable to change, as a category of "ongoing social processes" (Johnson 1997: 22) and in general as "doing" rather than "being" (Coates 1998: 295; cf. McIlvenny 2002; Thorne 2002). Simultaneously, the *performance* approach is a move from a twofold framework of femininity vs. masculinity to the plurality of various femininities and masculinities with a broad inner diversity as highlighted in the following observation by Coates:

> "the 'me' that changes a baby's nappy or mashes a banana for a toddler is a different 'me' from the one who participates in a committee meeting or who poses as life model at the local art school" (1998: 295).

As long as the various femininities and masculinities are, among other ways, achievable and expressible through linguistic means, in order to study the difference that gender makes in the use of language, one has to "think practically and look locally" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998: 486; cf. McElhinny 2003). That is to say, the men and women whose discourse is under scrutiny need to be associated by some common properties of their social life like a similar occupation, education or social background, but, most importantly, they need to be integrated through shared activities. Such shared activities, or "mutual engagement in some common endeavor" make people belong to the same *community of practice,* as, for instance, "people working together in a factory, regulars in a bar, a neighborhood play group, a nuclear family, police partners and their ethnographer, the Supreme Court", etc. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998: 490, cf. 2003). In accordance with these guidelines, the present study analyzes the discourse of Lithuanian male and female MPs where the Parliament operates as a *community of practice* with a parliamentary session as an arena for mutual engagement and shared activities.

2.2   From stereotypes to the actual language use in professional communication

The increasing gender competition in public domains has promoted a fast-growing investigation of gender in professional communication (Holmes 2005; Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Martín-Rojo and Gómez Esteban 2005; Thimm et al. 2003; Wodak 2003, 2005). The aims of this investigation have been strongly influenced by two closely interrelated hypotheses. The first one called by Thimm et al. (2003: 531) as the "sex-dialect hypothesis" assumes that the gender-specific language use actually exists and that these existing differences determine the judgments about how men and women speak. In the second one, which is called "the sex-stereotype hypothesis" (ibid), the existence of the actual gender-specific language use is thought as not at all necessary to decide that men and women speak differently. In that second case, thus, the assumptions of gender-specific language use could be seen as linguistic prejudice and stereotypic expectations.

In testing the two hypotheses, i.e. the extent to which the expectations of the general public are based on linguistic evidence, the scholars start with pointing out what characteristics of female or male interactional styles

these expectations traditionally entail. In doing so, the scholars primarily refer to the dichotomous features of gender-specific interactional styles from the *dominance* and the *difference* approaches. For instance, Holmes and Stubbe propose the following classification of what they call *the widely cited features* of male and female interactional styles:

Feminine	**Masculine**
indirect	direct
conciliatory	confrontational
facilitative	competitive
collaborative	autonomous
minor contribution (in public)	dominates (public) talking time
supportive feedback	aggressive interruptions
person/process oriented	task/outcome-oriented
affectively oriented	referentially oriented

(Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 574)

For Holmes and Stubbe, these features might not be empirically true but are still important inasmuch as they reflect what "people typically have in mind" when speaking about gender-specific interactional styles (2003: 575). With respect to professional communication, Holmes and Stubbe also add small talk, digression from agenda and a rare use of humor as purportedly more feminine although not supported by their own research. In Tannen (1994), one finds a general tendency of overdoing apologies and thanks as a marker of a female style with teasing and mocking more related to men's use. Finally, Mills highlights politeness as a traditionally assumed "gendered, classed and raced" linguistic phenomenon, which has even been turned into "a signature of middle class white femininity" (Mills 2002: 73; cf. Mills 2003; Tannen 1990, 1994).

Largely following the two hypotheses above, Thimm et al. (2003) carry out a study of the verbal strategies of *competence*, *cooperation* and *conflict* among male and female professionals including kindergarten teachers, journalists, computer consultants and other occupations. In the first half of their sociolinguistic investigation, Thimm et al. examine the expectations that their participants see as associated with gender in professional communication. In their analysis, the strategies of *competence*

and *cooperation* are seen as used with much of similarity in the discourse of male and female professionals, whereas the strategy of *conflict* management is marked by a more significant gender-related variation. Among female professionals the strategies of being 'cooperative' (25%) and especially 'avoiding confrontation' (35%) are regarded as the preferred ways of *conflict* management (Thimm et al. 2003: 535). Meanwhile, 'problem solving' (32%) and 'aggression' (32%) are indicated as the primary choice among men in professional communication (2003: 536). Nevertheless, the quantitative differences among these *conflict* strategies are not very large so that 'problem solving' also scores high in female use (22%) as well as being 'cooperative' and 'avoiding confrontation' (12%) in male use. Similar results are reached after examining how the participants actually use some of the traditionally gender-specific linguistic categories such as 'hedges', 'intensifiers', 'softeners', etc. (Thimm et al. 2003: 537). Among the findings there are such results as a higher frequency of indirect requests in the female discourse and the more frequent use of various softeners and forms of politeness among their male participants. Given that these interactional features are traditionally associated with a female use, the former finding could be seen as somewhat 'expected' with the latter accurately described by Thimm et al. as "a clear, but unexpected, result" (2003: 540). Consequently, the attitudes of the participants as well as the empirical analysis of their actual language use concur to some extent with the traditional beliefs about male and female interactional styles but, importantly, do not cluster into a dichotomous pattern.

Along the lines set by Thimm et al. (2003), in the present study we, firstly, examine the attitudes of the respondents, as representatives of the general public, about how men and women use language in political communication. We further proceed with the investigation of the actual language use by Lithuanian male and female parliamentarians to explore if the expectations of the respondents receive any linguistic support.

With these observations in mind, the present study is focused on the following research questions:

1. How do respondents view the existence of gender-specific linguistic variation in political discourse?

2. To what extent can respondents determine from a given sample of parliamentary discourse whether it was produced by a male or a female politician?

3. What linguistic criteria do the respondents indicate as markers of male/female styles in the samples of parliamentary discourse? To what extent do the answers of the respondents reflect a set of features of gendered linguistic styles (Holmes and Stubbe 2003)?

4. Do the answers to questions 1, 2 and 3 depend on the gender of the respondents?

5. How do the results of corpus linguistics correspond to the tendencies in gender-specific language use as indicated by the respondents?

3. Methodology

To yield the most plausible answers to the earlier indicated research questions, two theoretical and methodological frameworks have been applied. Firstly, a sociolinguistic inquiry is carried out using a questionnaire as a conventional method for obtaining the "language-attitude information" (Johnstone 2000: 113). Thus a questionnaire has been chosen as a method to elicit the opinion of the general public on the gender-specific language use in political communication, more specifically parliamentary discourse. Secondly, the framework of corpus linguistics is applied to quantitatively test the results obtained from the sociolinguistic inquiry.

This combination of methodologies is projected to avoid some failings, which have occasionally occurred in the studies of language and gender in different times. One of the earlier problems in a quantitative sociolinguistic framework was related to the choice of data with groups of men and women impossible to be directly compared, as, for instance, "street gangs" of men and "small, intimate groups of women" (Cameron 1992: 53). In a discourse analytic approach, problems have emerged from too much reliance on qualitative methodology, when analysis of separate speech events evolved into far-reaching generalizations about gender-specific language use (cf. Tannen 1990, 1994). In consequence of both inadequacies, gender-specific features of interactional styles have been often stereotyped rather than empirically studied (cf. Talbot 2003).

Therefore, for any tentative generalization in gender and discourse analysis it is necessary to combine qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.1   The sociolinguistic approach to inquiry

A two-part questionnaire (see Appendix) was prepared in the Lithuanian language for a sociolinguistic inquiry among Lithuanian respondents. In the first part of the questionnaire, the respondents are asked to give their opinion on the existence of gender-specific language use in political communication:

I. 1. *Kaip Jūs manote, ar politikoje vyrai ir moterys vartoja kalbą vienodai?*
    In your opinion, do female and male politicians use language in the same way?

Further, comments on the answer to the first question are requested:

   2. *Kokius žodžius arba pasakymus Jūs galėtumėte paminėti kaip būdingus moterims politikėms/ vyrams politikams?*
   What words or phrases would you indicate as typical of female politicians/ male politicians?

The second part of the questionnaire contains 11 short extracts from the discourse of Lithuanian parliamentarians produced at various parliamentary sessions of the Lithuanian Parliament. The respondents are requested to determine the gender of politicians who produced the given extracts by underlying a 'man' or a 'woman' alternative:

II. 1. *Kokia, Jūsų nuomone, šių ištraukų autorių lytis?*
    What is the gender of the authors of the given extracts?

The respondents are also asked to underline the words or phrases that have influenced their choice of the authors' gender and further to supply with a comment on their choice:

   2. *Kokie žodžiai ar pasakymai, Jūsų manymu, atspindi šių ištraukų autorių lytį (pabraukite juos ir pakomentuokite kodėl)?*
   What words or phrases, in your opinion, reflect the gender of the authors of the given extracts (underline these words or phrases and explain why)?

The questionnaires were distributed among the students of Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania. In total, 89 questionnaires (52 from female respondents and 37 from male respondents) have been received and used for the present analysis.

3.2   The corpus linguistics approach to inquiry

3.2.1 Features of spoken language corpora

Findings of the sociolinguistic inquiry are further tested using a corpus-based analysis. The source data for the spoken language corpus consists of stenographs of the Lithuanian Parliament, which are routinely produced by professional stenographers and published for public investigation.

Spoken language corpora differ from written language corpora in several important ways. It is commonly accepted that the underlying principle for the construction of large general corpora is that "the unit of study must be whole texts" (Stubbs 1993: 11). However, spoken language corpora differ from written language corpora in the way that the unit of study is an utterance rather than a text. Therefore, in spoken language corpora a researcher may analyze a group or groups of selected utterances according to some specified criteria (e.g. speakers' age, gender, social class, etc.), which can be extracted from one or more texts. In the present study the analyzed corpora have been constructed by grouping up utterances according to speakers' gender.

Additionally, many spoken language corpora try to preserve specific features of the spoken language (e.g. pauses, stress, phonetic peculiarities, etc.) employing various transcription standards and markup. The choice and complexity of transcription standards usually depend on the research questions to be answered. Due to a complicated and time consuming process of recording and transcription of spoken language data, the spoken language corpora are usually much smaller in size than written language corpora. As a result, spoken language corpora are representative only of more frequent language phenomena (as for example, the use of pronouns).

It must be noted, however, that the analyzed corpus does not contain all features of spoken language corpora because no phonetic information is typically preserved in stenographs. Moreover, stenographs are usually post-

edited, so that the information which is not necessary for public purposes, such as repetitions, grammatical/pronunciation mistakes, colloquialisms and others, is removed.

3.2.2 Description of the analyzed data

200 stenographs of the Lithuanian Parliament debates have been randomly selected from the available data, wherefrom two corpora have been compiled: one for male and one for female politicians. The stenographs are in plain text format, i.e. they do not contain any annotation except a speaker's name. As Lithuanian inflections of surnames allow for distinguishing the gender of a person, a semi-automatic procedure has been applied to separate utterances of male and female politicians.

The frequency analysis of the initial corpus (2.38m running words in size) has shown that the number of speakers roughly reflects the proportion of female and male parliamentarians [96 (16%) female politicians vs. 487 (84%) male politicians], which were elected to the Lithuanian Parliament throughout the years of 1990–2004 [94 (13%) female politicians vs. 611 (87%) male politicians]. However, the data has also shown that an average male parliamentarian speaks more frequently (44 vs. 29 utterances) and produces more words than an average female parliamentarian (4321 vs. 2909 words). This interactional pattern of Lithuanian politicians supports one of Holmes and Stubbe's (2003) widely cited features of male and female interactional styles, namely the minor female contribution and the male predominance in the public talking time (see section 2.2).

As the male politicians dominate the parliament (84% of all speakers), the compiled corpora have turned out to be very unequal in size (0.28m words vs. 2.10m words). Therefore, it has been decided to produce two separate corpora of equal size, so that the corpus of female politicians includes speeches of all 96 women that spoke in the debates, while the corpus of male politicians only includes speeches of 96 randomly selected men. The size of each corpus is approximately 279000 words. The general characteristics of the two subcorpora are given in Table 1 below.

	Female corpus	Male corpus	Total
Number of speakers	96	96	192
Number of words	279,246	278,360	557,606
Average number of utterances per speaker	28,5	26,5	27,5

Table 1. General characteristics of the female and male subcorpora

Various possibly stereotypical phrases and words that have been reported by the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry as gender-specific have been counted in the two subcorpora. The counting of the phrases has been performed by the program called "WordSmith Tools" (Scott 1996). The program allows users to generate KWIC (Key Word In Context) concordances based on the rather complex search syntax:

– a search word/phrase may include wildcards (*, ?, /, ^);
– a concordance search may be restricted by specifying a context word which either *must* or *may not* be present within a certain number of words of a search word.

These functionalities of the program enabled capturing the necessary phrases regardless of different inflections or intervening words.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 The sociolinguistic analysis

4.1.1 The attitudes about gender-specific language use in political communication

The results of the first part of the questionnaire, namely the respondents' opinion on the gender-specific linguistic differences in parliamentary discourse, are presented in Table 2. The majority of the respondents of both genders (57.3%) express their belief in the existence of some variation in how male and female politicians use language. A much smaller number of the respondents (9%) consider the interactional styles of male and female politicians to be the same. About a third of the questionnaires (33.7%)

provide no answer to this question and have been slotted into the 'missing data' category. Although the questionnaires have been differentiated with respect to the respondents' gender, as shown in Table 2, the answers of male and female respondents to this question are distributed equally.

	Yes, in the same way	No, not in the same way	missing data	total
Female respondents	3 (5.8%)	31 (59.6%)	18 (34.6%)	52 (100%)
Male respondents	5 (13.5%)	20 (54.1%)	12 (32.4%)	37 (100%)
All respondents	8 (9%)	51 (57.3%)	30 (33.7 %)	89 (100%)

Table 2. Do female and male politicians use language in the same way?

Among the scarce reasons for not giving a response to the first question there are such comments as not being much interested in politics or in the way politicians speak. The few respondents who maintain that men and women politicians do not differ linguistically support their opinion by providing other criteria for linguistic variation in political communication including the personal degree of education or differences in communicative competence. Some of these respondents also add that the language use of male and female politicians does not differ because, in their opinion, all politicians equally tend to use incomprehensible language regardless of their gender. One of the female respondents makes still another proposition, which is rather divergent from the prevailing tendencies in the questionnaire comments:

> *Šiais laikais, kai vyro ir moters teisės tampa daugelyje sričių vienodos, tai ir politikoje kalba vienodėja tarp lyčių.*
> (Nowadays, as the rights of men and women become equal in different spheres, the gender-specific linguistic practices are getting similar in politics as well.)

This comment closely echoes the social change discussed in the introduction, namely women's increasing role in corporate organizations and political institutions.

The broadest spectrum of comments, indeed, appears in the answers of those numerous respondents who agree to a certain gender-specific variation in political discourse. In their argumentation, these respondents, first of all, draw on the very abstract features of interactional styles. For instance, most frequently both male and female respondents claim that female politicians speak *softer*, *more polite* and *in a more diplomatic manner* whereas male politicians are described as *more linguistically strict, exact* and *critical* as well as *more ironic* and *sarcastic*. In conformity with *the widely cited features* selected by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574), the respondents of both genders tend to frame female and male political discourse in traditional dichotomies such as women are *emotional* or *affectively oriented* while men are *rational* or *referentially oriented;* as well as women are *indirect* or *allusive* while men are *more straightforward.* Female linguistic indirectness, which in the scholarship of gender and discourse analysis was initially associated with private spheres (cf. Lakoff 1975), is especially accentuated by the male respondents, e.g., *aplinkiniais keliais* ('in a roundabout way') or *plepa plepa, kol galiausiai prieina prie reikalo* ('chatter and chatter before they finally come to the point'). The female respondents, on the other hand, highlight the vividness and liveliness of a female style in political communication by attributing such descriptions of linguistic behavior as *skurdesnė* ('poorer'), *grubesnė* ('harsher') or *dažniau nesivaldo* ('more frequently intemperate') to the use of male politicians. In that way, a female style in political discourse is described with a more negative slant by the male respondents, while a male style gets more negative remarks from the female respondents. Consequently, the gender of the respondents appears to have a certain influence on their attitudes towards the linguistic behavior of men and women in political communication.

The respondents' answers, however, reveal some contradictory judgments about gender-specific linguistic features. For instance, both genders ascribe the quality of *being logical* and the concept of *logic* itself to male politicians. Moreover, the concept of *logic* also seems to significantly influence the respondents' answers in the second part of the questionnaire where they have to decide about the gender of the politicians, the authors of the 11 extracts. Most of the answers with the choice of 'male' as the author's gender have the words *logical* or *logic* underlined as well. In spite of that, we have also found *being illogical* among the

comments of the female respondents on the language use by male politicians, for example, *kartais su įvairiais neloginiais nukrypimais* ('sometimes with various illogical digressions'). Interestingly, Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 576) classify *digression from the agenda*, or the lack of logic, as a traditional female feature in institutional discourse which they, in fact, find absent from the actual use by the female managers in their study. As the result, such examples of somewhat contradictory expectations among the respondents add to the presumption that the gender-specific linguistic features, which they see in political discourse, may be stereotypically judged and may have no linguistic support.

4.1.2 The indication of the politicians' gender from the given extracts

In the second part of the questionnaire the respondents are requested to indicate the gender of politicians from the given extracts of their parliamentary discourse. The results are presented in Table 3 (for all respondents) and Table 4 (Part 1 for female respondents and Part 2 for male respondents). In both tables, the answers are classified into 'successful' (i.e. the gender of the politician is indicated correctly), 'unsuccessful' (i.e. the gender is indicated incorrectly), 'either gender' (i.e. the possibility of both genders is indicated) or 'missing data' (i.e. no answer is given). In the first columns of the two parts of Table 4, the gender of the politicians, i.e. the authors of the given extracts, is presented. Table 4 also displays the distribution of answers with respect to all eleven extracts.

All respondents			
successful	unsuccessful	either gender	missing data
36.5%	56.8%	2.6%	4.2%

Table 3. Indication of gender from the given extracts

Table 3 shows that the number of unsuccessful guesses of the politicians' gender (56.8%) is noticeably larger than the number of successful guesses (36.5%) in the answers of all respondents. The results of male and female answers, calculated separately, maintain a similar pattern (Table 4).

Gender of politicians	Female respondents					
	successful		unsuccessful		either gender	
1.Female	9	(17%)	43	(83%)		
2.Male	17	(33%)	35	(67%)		
3.Male	14	(27%)	38	(73%)		
4.Female	31	(60%)	21	(40%)		
5.Female	6	(12%)	46	(88%)		
6.Male	29	(56%)	23	(44%)		
7.Female	22	(42%)	30	(58%)		
8.Male	36	(69%)	16	(31%)		
9.Male	20	(38%)	32	(62%)		
10.Male	28	(54%)	24	(46%)		
11.Female	13	(25%)	37	(71%)		2
		225		345		2
total	39.4%		60.3%		0.3%	

Table 4a. Indication of gender from the given extracts: respondents by gender – The answers of the female respondents
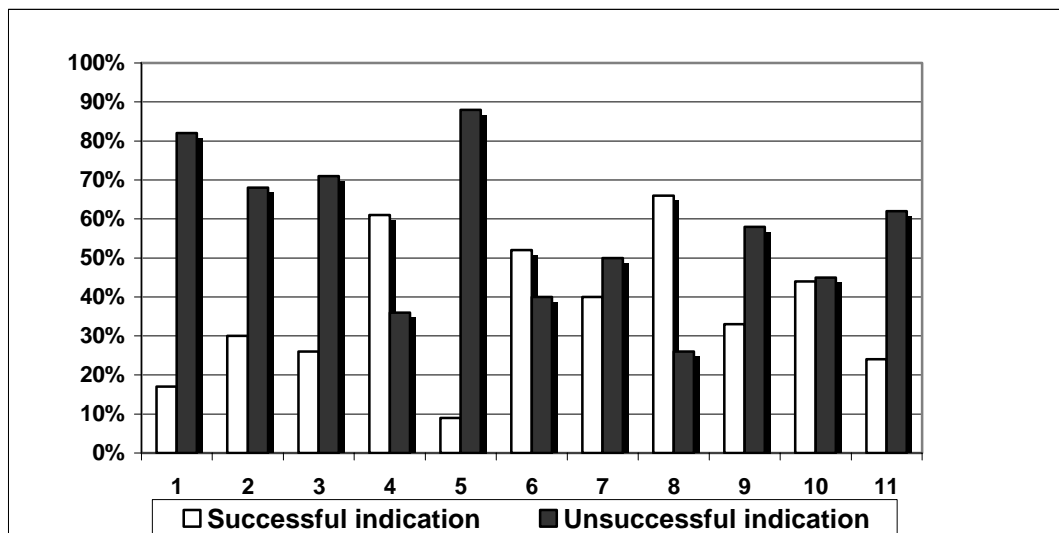
Gender of politicians	Male respondents					
	successful		unsuccessful		either gender	missing data
1.Female	6	(16%)	30	(81%)	1	
2.Male	10	(27%)	25	(67%)	1	1
3.Male	9	(24%)	25	(68%)	1	2
4.Female	23	(62%)	11	(30%)	2	1
5.Female	2	(5%)	32	(86%)	2	1
6.Male	17	(46%)	13	(35%)	1	6
7.Female	14	(38%)	14	(38%)	3	6
8.Male	23	(62%)	7	(19%)	1	6
9.Male	9	(24%)	20	(54%)	2	6
10.Male	11	(30%)	16	(43%)	4	6
11.Female	8	(22%)	18	(49%)	5	6
		132		211	23	41
total	32.4%		51.8%		5.7%	10.1%

Table 4b. Indication of gender from the given extracts: respondents by gender – The answers of the male respondents

As shown in Table 4, the percentage in the category of 'either gender' is very low in the answers of female respondents (0.3%) and is slightly higher in the answers of men (5.7%). No cases of 'missing data' are found within the female answers; while in the answers of the male respondents 'missing data' comprise 10.1%. The influence of the respondents' gender is most significant in extracts 7 and 10. In extract 7, the female unsuccessful answers exceed their successful ones (42% to 58%), while the male

respondents score equal numbers in both categories (38%). In extract 10, the female respondents succeed more than they fail (54% to 46%), whereas the opposite outcome is observed for the male respondents (30% to 43%). In other extracts the patterns of successful and unsuccessful indications are similar for the respondents of both genders.

Chart 1. Indication of gender from the given extracts: all respondents

Importantly, as presented in Chart 1, the successful and the unsuccessful indication of the politicians' gender differ for all of the eleven extracts. The amount of successful indication of gender exceeds the number of unsuccessful indication only in extracts 4, 6 and 8. In extracts 7 and 10, the difference in favor of the unsuccessful answers is rather negligible; while in the other extracts this difference is quite noticeable, especially in extract 5. As long as the respondents were asked to underline gender-specific words and phrases in the extracts and to comment on their choice, possible motives for such distribution of the results could be examined. For instance, the successful indication of a female author of extract 4 appears to have been determined by the general linguistic softness and politeness and largely by the so-called female topic, namely drug abuse, prevention of Aids and health problems in general. Other 'female' topics, as assumed by the respondents, are social matters, national issues, honor and humanism. In the meantime, business, economics, security, oil industry, statistics and using force are regarded as 'male' topics. The topic of church is equally ascribed to male and female discourse.

Correct answers also dominate extract 8 produced by a male politician. As their motivation, the respondents mostly underlined a phrase *baikim juokus* ('let's stop joking') and in some cases *ir prašau priimti įstatymą* ('and I request to pass the bill'). The respondents regard such usage as linguistic strictness, plainness, exactness, confrontation, and determination. In other words, the respondents show much reliance on *the widely cited features* of a male style (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 574) and succeed in ascribing this extract to a male politician. However, this strategy does not always serve the purpose. For example, extract 5 received the largest number of unsuccessful choices. They were mostly accompanied by the phrases *logiškas* ('logical'), *dar kartą pabrėžiu* ('I accentuate again'), *iš esmės* ('essentially') and the emphasis on the topic of oil industry. In accordance with the traditional gender-specific dichotomy, many respondents incorrectly point to a male politician.

4.2   The corpus-based analysis

As mentioned above, the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry provided a number of phrases that they thought are characteristic to one of the genders. The corpus analysis has been intended to answer the question, whether corpus data confirms that the stereotypic phrases identified by the respondents as gender-specific are in fact gender-specific.

All the phrases reported by the respondents can be classified into four groups:

–   phrases of politeness (more typical to female politicians);
–   polite forms of address (more typical to female politicians);
–   words and phrases of logic and essence (more typical to male politicians);
–   personal phrases (more typical to male politicians).

The phrases have been counted across the two corpora and the results compared with the results of the sociolinguistic inquiry. The small size of the corpus has only allowed the consideration of frequent phrases, while rare ones have been left out. Only phrases that have occurred more than ten times have been included in the analysis. Although the size of the corpus does not permit making any far-reaching conclusions, it is big enough to

highlight certain tendencies that are connected to the study of gender-specific language features.

4.2.1 Phrases of politeness

Five phrases of politeness have been analyzed in the corpora: greeting phrases (*laba diena, labas rytas, labas vakaras*), 'thank-you' phrases (*dėkoju, dėkui, ačiū*), 'please' phrases (*prašom, prašau, prašyčiau*), and 'sorry' phrases (*atsiprašau*). Table 5 shows the number of times each phrase of politeness has been used in the discourse of female and male politicians. The percentage denotes the difference between the numbers. The last column presents the viewpoint of the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry towards these phrases: *F* means that the respondents regarded the phrase as more characteristic of female politicians, *M* as more characteristic of male politicians, and *F/M* that there has been no clear agreement among the respondents.

Phrases of politeness	English	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
laba(s) diena/rytas/ vakaras	'good day/ morning/ 'evening'	32	67	52% (M)	F
dėkoju/ dėkui	'thanks'	117	159	26% (M)	F
ačiū	'thank you'	615	808	24% (M)	F
prašom/prašau/ prašyčiau	'please'	253	163	-55% (F)	F
atsiprašau/- yčiau/-yti/-om	'sorry'	65	62	-5% (F)	F
TOTAL		1082	1259	14% (M)	

Table 5. Phrases of politeness

The numbers indicate that most of the polite phrases that have been classed by the respondents as typical of female politicians are in fact used more frequently by male politicians in the Lithuanian Parliament. The exception is the 'please' phrases that are used much more frequently by women. The excusatory phrases appear with a more or less equal frequency in the discourse of both genders. The analysis has shown that female politicians

in the parliamentary debates do not use the phrases of politeness more frequently than male politicians. Clearly, the results contradict the general stereotype that female politicians are more polite than their male counterparts.

4.2.2 Polite forms of address

In the sociolinguistic inquiry, the respondents have considered *a form of address* to be an important gender-specific feature. Nevertheless, in most cases the respondents have not agreed on whether the phrases are more typical of female or male politicians (designated as F/M in the most right column in Table 6). The respondents have agreed only on the usage of the address forms 'mister' and 'dear colleagues', which they have classed as being more characteristic of female politicians. Interestingly, the address forms *pone/ponai* ('mister/gentlemen') can indeed be considered as gender-specific as the results of the present corpus analysis reveal. Contrary to the expectations of our respondents though, this form of address is used considerably more often by male politicians than by the female ones. This finding shows that the respondents rely on a quite misleading stereotype about the usage of address forms, which has little to do with the actual language use. In fact, we have discovered that almost all polite forms of address, which have been reported by the respondents, are more frequently used by male politicians, except for the phrases *gerbiamieji kolegos* ('dear colleagues') and *gerbiamoji* ('honorable'), which are more frequent in female use.

Polite forms of address	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
pone/ponai	'mister/gentlemen'	63	215	71% (M)	F
gerbiamasis posėdžio pirmininke	'honorable chair'	123	241	49% (M)	F/M
gerbiamasis minister	'honorable minister'	36	65	45% (M)	F/M
gerbiamasis	'honorable (masc.)'	478	728	34% (M)	F/M
gerbiamieji kolegos	'honorable colleagues'	328	469	30% (M)	F/M
gerbiamieji	'honorable (pl.)'	540	692	22% (M)	F/M
mieli/mielieji kolegos	'dear colleagues'	21	13	-62% (F)	F
gerbiamoji	'honorable (fem.)'	52	41	-27% (F)	F/M
TOTAL		1634	2458	34% (M)	

Table 6. Polite forms of address

Consequently, the corpus analysis of the phrases of politeness and the polite forms of address suggests that the popular stereotype about female politeness is not supported in the context of Lithuanian parliamentary debates. Table 6 shows that 96 male politicians have used over 800 times more of the above-mentioned phrases than their 96 female counterparts.

4.2.3 Phrases of logic and essence

The third group of phrases is classed as the phrases of logic and essence. The group includes the word *logika* ('logic') and all its lemmata, the words *esmė* ('essence'), the phrase *iš esmės* ('in essence'), and the word *logiškas* ('logical') and all its lemmata. The majority of the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry indicated that these expressions are more typical of male politicians. Corpus counts support the expectation of the respondents (see Table 7) that male politicians use the words 'logic', 'essence', and 'in essence' more often. However, the adverb 'logically' is used more frequently by female politicians. The conclusion may be drawn that the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry have shown correct intuitions about the phrases of logic and essence, or, in other words, their

expectations of 'logic' and 'essence' being gender-specific are grounded in actual language use.

Phrases of logic and essence	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
logika	'logic'	13	49	73% (M)	M
esmė	'essence'	56	83	33% (M)	M
iš esmės	'in essence'	278	334	17% (M)	M
logiškas	'logically'	41	26	-58% (F)	M
TOTAL		388	492	21% (M)	

Table 7. Phrases of logic and essence

4.2.4 Personal phrases

The last category to be tested for a possibly stereotypic use has been named as *personal phrases*. The underlying idea behind this category is that with the use of the first person singular pronoun 'I' or phrases such as 'in my opinion', the speaker takes a personal responsibility of what is being said. As Wilson (1990) puts it, the choice of the first person singular pronoun 'I' is the most direct way of self-reference, i.e. a marker of the *deictic centre*. Thus, the use of 'I' expresses the highest "degree of personal involvement" and commitment to the matters under discussion (Wilson 1990: 48). Meanwhile, 'we' could be interpreted as an explicit reference to the collective responsibility, or, in Wilson's terms, as a step distancing oneself from the *deictic centre*. In Biber, phrases like 'in my opinion' and 'I think' are said to convey explicit attribution of stance, i.e. they "mark the extent to which stance is attributed to the speaker/writer" (1999: 976).

As revealed by the sociolinguistic inquiry, some of the respondents believe that male politicians use phrases such as *aš manau* ('I think') and *mano nuomone* ('in my opinion') more frequently and relate this usage to the male politicians' linguistic strictness and confidence (see section 4.1.1). The corpus analysis suggests that the expectations of our respondents about the use of the phrases *aš manau* ('I think') and *mano nuomone* ('in my opinion') are quite correct as these phrases are indeed considerably more frequent in the use of male politicians (see Table 8).

Personal phrases	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
mano nuomone	'in my opinion'	18	31	42% (M)	M
(aš) manau	'I think'	502	741	32% (M)	M
TOTAL		520	772	33%	M

Table 8. Personal Phrases

Other respondents, however, have expressed a contrary opinion by claiming that female politicians use more of the first person singular pronoun *aš* ('I'), whereas their male colleagues prefer the first person plural form *mes* ('we'). The question arises then whether there is any gender-related preference for the choice of the first person pronoun in singular or plural? Because of the grammar system, personal pronouns are often omitted in Lithuanian and their function is performed by the inflection of the verb, i.e. person is grammatically marked on the verb. Therefore, not only the occurrences of personal pronouns have been counted, but also the occurrences of verbs in the first person singular and plural, where personal pronouns are implied (see Tables 9 and 10 below).

Personal phrases	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
mano	'my'	420	485	13% (M)	M
aš (all cases)	'I'	2614	2855	12% (M)	F
(aš)	implied 'I'	3125	3155	1%(M)	-
TOTAL		6159	6495	5%(M)	

Table 9. First person singular use

Personal phrases	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
mūsų	'our'	844	804	5% (F)	-
mes (all cases)	'we'	2187	2368	9% (M)	M
(mes)	implied 'we'	1445	1246	14%(F)	-
TOTAL		4476	4418	1%(F)	

Table 10. First person plural use

The total numbers show that there is a slight tendency for male politicians to use the explicit form of the first person singular pronoun *aš* ('I') more frequently (5%) than their female counterparts do. By contrast, female politicians tend to use the explicit form of the first person plural pronoun *mes* ('we') with a slightly higher frequency (1%). What is of most interest though is the gender-specific variation in the choice of the explicit or the implicit form of personal pronouns. While both forms of 'I' are used more frequently by male politicians (12% and 1%), the use of the plural forms diverges. The implied 'we' is considerably more typical of women (14%), whereas male politicians prefer the explicit usage of the pronoun 'we' (9%). This finding adds some support to the assumption of men being more straightforward and women being more indirect, which is among the gender-specific linguistic features indicated by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574) and the respondents of the present study.

4.2.5 Gender-specific topics

The respondents have also supplied a number of topics, which in their opinion are gender-specific:

–   masculine topics: business, economics, security, force, oil, statistics, church;
–   feminine topics: abstract, social matters, health, medicine, church.

Counts of the most frequent nouns in the two corpora have confirmed that certain topics are indeed gender-specific. Although the respondents have successfully identified most of the gender-specific topics, the corpus analysis has revealed a more detailed view. Female politicians are more likely to talk about children, family, health, and social matters, while men prefer to debate on governance, legal matters and money. Talking about children, family and health stands out as being exceptionally feminine in the Lithuanian parliamentary discourse.

5. Conclusions

In the present study we have focused on gender-specific features in parliamentary discourse from a combined sociolinguistic and corpus-

linguistic methodological perspective. On the one hand, we have used questionnaires to examine the respondents' attitudes and expectations as to how male and female parliamentarians speak. With the help of the questionnaires, we have also studied if these expectations of gender-specific linguistic variation enable the respondents to successfully indicate the politicians' gender from a given piece of their discourse. On the other hand, in the corpus linguistic analysis, we have studied the extent to which some of these expectations of our respondents are corroborated through the evidence from the actual language use by the members of the Lithuanian Parliament. It should be noted that in this study the corpus-based analysis has only been a test bed for the sociolinguistic inquiry and, therefore, it has not answered more general questions concerning the language of female and male politicians. A more ambitious corpus-driven study is necessary for this task, which would analyze the language by male and female politicians at different levels of discourse.

The sociolinguistic analysis has shown that the majority of the respondents believe in the existence of gender-specific linguistic styles in political communication, in other words, they see differences in how male and female politicians speak. While commenting on their answers, those respondents largely draw on the traditional dichotomous qualities of male and female linguistic styles or the so-called *widely cited features* (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 574), as, for instance, the linguistic softness, politeness and indirectness of female politicians as well as the linguistic straightforwardness and rationality of men. There are fewer respondents who do not think that male and female politicians could differ linguistically. These respondents accentuate other criteria for linguistic differences in political communication like the level of education or professional competence, but not the gender of the political figures. The gender of the respondents themselves does not appear to have influenced the derived answers in this part of the questionnaire to the extent that male and female respondents have presented similar attitudes.

Despite the respondents' broad support to the gender-specific linguistic variation in political communication, in most cases the respondents have been unable to successfully indicate politicians' gender from the given extracts of political discourse. The number of the respondents' incorrect answers in the indication of politicians' gender highly exceeds the number of the successful ones. A conclusion could be

drawn that the gender-specific features, proposed by the respondents in this study, are either non-existent or simply inadequate to categorize a particular piece of political discourse as gender-specific. As far as the respondents' gender is concerned, it does not seem to have had much influence on their answers. The only tendency that has been detected is a weak tendency to give a little more negative interpretation for the language use of the opposite gender. This tendency could be accounted for as a hint at a certain kind of 'gender solidarity', on the one hand, as well as 'gender suspicion', on the other. That is to say, the respondents not only tend to see political communication gender-specific, which might not be empirically supported, but they also, in some cases, tend to make judgements about the linguistic practices of politicians on the bases of the politicians' gender.

Corpus analysis has shown that not all gender-specific features that have been supplied by the respondents can be classed as gender-specific. Although the expectations of the respondents concerning gender-specific *topics*, *personal phrases* and *phrases of logic and essence* have been more or less supported, their attitudes towards the gender-specific use of phrases *of politeness* have been found as not empirically grounded. The results may suggest that in political discourse the phenomenon of politeness works contrary to the expectations of the respondents. The general findings of the present study echo the perspective of Thimm et al. (2003: 530) on gender in professional and workplace communication: "gender differences will be salient in some, but not necessarily in all situations". Thus, given the findings of the corpus analysis, we regard the salience of gender in political communication as somewhat overestimated in the answers of our respondents, although not completely without basis. The overestimation of gender could be, firstly, seen as a result of reasoning along the dichotomous axes as suggested by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574), i.e. considering 'all men' to be different from 'all women'. Secondly, it could be seen as a result of the disregard for the genre of political communication which appears to level out gender differences to a certain extent.

Appendix

The questionnaire in the Lithuanian language

Kaip Jūs manote, ar politikoje vyrai ir moterys vartoja kalba vienodai? Kokius žodžius arba pasakymus Jūs galėtumete paminėti kaip būdingus moterims politikėms/ vyrams politikams?

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Toliau anketoje pateikiamos trumpos LR Seimo narių pasisakimų ištraukos. Prašyčiau nurodyti:

1) **kokia, Jūsų nuomone, šių ištraukų autorių lytis (pabraukite: pvz., MOTERIS VYRAS),**
2) **kokie žodžiai ar pasakymai, Jūsų manymu, atspindi šių ištraukų autorių lytį (pabraukite juos ir pakomentuokite kodėl).**

1. Gerbiamieji kolegos, čia yra pataisa, skirta tiems dalykams, apie kuriuos kalbėjo ir ponas A.Baura ir man teko kalbėti. Čia kalbama apie natūralius vaisių ir uogų vynus, kurių gamyba iš esmės buvo nuslopinta, jeigu galima taip pasakyti, arba prislopinta po 1999 m. spalio mėnesį dar pirmosios R.Pakso Vyriausybės pateiktų Akcizų įstatymo pataisų. Mano tvirtu įsitikinimu, čia kaip tik yra perspektyva "Anykščių vynui", Lietuvai įstojus į Europos Sąjungą, tai yra gero produkto gamybos skatinimas.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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2. Laba diena. Žinoma, labai gaila, kad Lietuvoje vienintelė pramonės šaka, kuri dar gerai gyvuoja, yra alkoholio pramonė. Mes čia, matyt, dėl to ir mušimės. Bet keletas tokių pastabų, kurių gal kiti neišsakė. Pirma yra tai, kad kai nagrinėjame tų akcizų įstatymus, mes visą laiką akcentuojame tik ekonominius dalykus: pelną ir t.t. Antras dalykas vis dėlto yra pati sveikata. Būtent reikia skatinti silpnų alkoholinių gėrimų vartojimą, nes silpnesni ne taip greitai žmogų padaro alkoholiku.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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3. Gerbiamasis ministre, aš gerai suprantu tą džiaugsmą, kurį jums suteikė proga pristatyti medicinos problemas čia, Seime. Bet aš vis dėlto norėčiau truputį paatvirauti, kaip sakoma, ir paklausti. Kaip jums atrodo, kas skatino, kas lėmė tą aplinkybę, kad ekonomikos profesorius vis dėlto iš visų sričių, kurios turi problemų tiek pat, kaip ir jūsų, pasirinko būtent mediciną? Ačiū.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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4. Gerbiamasis ministre, ačiū už labai išsamius atsakymus. Regis, daugelis Seimo narių pastebės, kad vis dėlto per tuos 3–4 mėnesius turbūt kažin ko sveikatos apsaugoje negalima atlikti ir žymių poslinkių negalima pamatyti. Aš norėčiau jūsų paklausti, kokį dėmesį jūs, dirbdamas ministru, nuo pradžių ir ateityje žadate skirti narkomanijos ir AIDS prevencijai Lietuvoje?

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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5. Taigi dabar mes priimame sprendimą, kuris iš tikrųjų yra logiškas. Bet šiuo sprendimu, dar kartą pabrėžiu, mes negalim kompensuoti ir iš esmės pakeisti situacijos, susidariusios 1999 m. dėl susitarimų su strateginiu investuotoju. Norisi tikėti, kad šis įstatymas, sudarantis prielaidas įsitraukti… naftos tiekėjo, investuotojo vaidmeniu, sudarys realias prielaidas įvairiais aspektais gerinti "Mažeikių naftos" situaciją ir kartu didinti bendrą jos rezultatą valstybės naudai.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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6. Pone posėdžio pirmininke, gerbiamieji kolegos. Žinoma, šis dokumentas nėra toks svarbus, kad čia mes galėtume plačiai kalbėti, bet yra liaudies patarlė: "Nuo adatėlės galima prieiti prie kumelėlės". Kad toks kelias nebūtų pasirinktas valdančiosios kairiosios daugumos, mes norėtume pasakyti porą perspėjimų.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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7. Antras momentas. Atimam iš Sveikatos apsaugos ministerijos. Atleiskit, bet mes pakeliam jos statusą į nežinybinį, mes pakeliam jos statusą į nepriklausomą lygmenį, jinai tampa Vyriausybės institucija, kaip ir visos kitos. Kodėl maisto, veterinarijos sritį kontroliuoja nepriklausoma institucija, o būtent sveikatos paslaugų sritį turi kontroliuoti žinybinė institucija? Kur logika? Ar šuniukų sveikata svarbiau už žmogaus sveikatą?

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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8. Dėkoju, gerbiamasis posėdžio pirmininke. Gerbiamieji kolegos, aš, kaip kolega J. Razma, irgi šį kartą pasakysiu – nesupratau, ką gerbiamasis kolega A.Klišonis norėjo pasakyti sugretindamas šikšnosparnius su vartotojais – ar norėjo pasijuokti iš vartotojų, ar iš vargšų šikšnosparnių. Kolega J. Raistenskis teisingai paminėjo, kad medikui reikėtų žinoti, jog visa, kas mus supa, yra susieta su mumis, ir jeigu bus gyvi šikšnosparniai, būsim gyvi ir mes. Baikim juokus ir prašau priimti įstatymą. Ačiū.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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9. Labai ačiū, Pirmininke. Labai sunku kalbėti, kai Vyriausybė nepritaria ir Seimo nariai neklauso. Bet aš vis tiek bandysiu agituoti ir prašyti, nes turime tikrai neeilinį dalyką – paminklinę Prisikėlimo bažnyčią, kuriai ši Seimo salė kiekvienais metais biudžete vis rasdavo galimybių. Atstatyti tautos paminklą vien aukotojų lėšomis yra be galo sudėtinga, juoba kad ponas P.Gražulis, svarstant biudžeto projektą, taip pat to prašė, bet nebuvo rasta šaltinio. Šaltinis dabar lyg ir atsirado, aš prašyčiau visų Seimo narių pritarti. Ačiū

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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10. Gerbiamieji kolegos, aš tikrai nenoriu trukdyti jūsų laiko, bet yra vienas principinis dalykas. Mes, opozicija, galėtume džiūgauti: kokia bloga pozicija, kokie blogi socialdemokratai ir socialliberalai. Bet aš noriu atkreipti dėmesį – visi eidami į rinkimus kalbėjome, kad ginsime Lietuvos žmonių interesus. Kaip mes juos giname? Man atrodo, kad šiandien tiems, kurie balsavo prieš šį įstatymą, paprasčiausiai turėtų būti gėda savo rinkėjų. Man atrodo, priimti tokius įstatymus, kurie eina prieš Lietuvos žmones, tokius, kurie blogina žmonių gyvenimą, iš tikrųjų yra negarbė Seimui.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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11. Esmė yra ta, kad ten, kur yra didelis nedarbas, t.y. jeigu jis yra 25% didesnis už vidurkį, ir jeigu ten steigiamos, veiklą pradeda mažosios įmonės, t.y. mikroįmonės, reikia taikyti nulinį pelno mokesčio tarifą.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

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Jūsų lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Nuoširdžiai dėkoju už atsakymus

The English translation of the questionnaire

In your opinion, do female and male politicians use language in the same way? What words or phrases would you indicate as typical of female politicians/ male politicians?

_____

_____

Further in the questionnaire you are given extracts from the discourse of Lithuanian Parliamentarians.

Could you please answer the following questions:

1)   **what is the gender of the authors of the given extracts? (Underline as shown: FEMALE MALE),**
2)   **what words or phrases, in your opinion, reflect the gender of the authors of the given extracts ? (Underline these words or phrases and explain why).**

1. Honorable colleagues, this is an amendment to those things which mister Baura has talked about and I have also had a chance to talk about. The amendment is about the natural fruit and berry wine, the production of which was in principle suppressed, if it is possible to say so, or reduced after the introduction of the amendment to the excise duty by the first Paksas Government in October, 1999. I strongly believe, there is a good future for the wine producing company "Anykščių vynas" after Lithuania has entered the European Union; it is a promotion of the high quality production.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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2. Good morning. Indeed, it is very sad that the only industry that still prospers in Lithuania is the industry of alcohol. This is perhaps what we are fighting over here. But there are some remarks that others might have not made. First of all, when we are discussing these laws of the excise duty, we are always concentrating solely on economical criteria: profit and so on. Another thing, however, is the human health itself. Namely, it is necessary to promote the consumption of light alcoholic drinks because these do not turn a person into an alcohol-addict so quickly.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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3. Honorable minister, I understand very well your happiness about the possibility you have to introduce the problems of health service here, in Parliament. But still I would like to put it a little candidly, so to say, and to ask you. What do you think, what has inspired, what has determined those circumstances that a professor of economics has chosen namely health service from all the spheres which have the same number of problems as this one? Thank you.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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4. Honorable minister, thank you for the very exhaustive answers. It seems that most of the MPs will notice that not much could be done in the sphere of health service over 3–4 months and significant progress could not be seen. I would like to ask you, starting from now and in the future, how much attention, as a minister, are you going to pay to the prevention of drug use and AIDS in Lithuania?

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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5. So now we are making a decision which is truly logical. But by making this decision, I accentuate again, we can not compensate and in principle change the situation that occurred in 1999 because of the agreements with the strategic investor. I would like to believe that this law, which presupposes the involvement of an oil supplier in the role of an investor, will open up real possibilities to improve the situation of "Mažeikių nafta" in various ways and will concomitantly increase the benefit to the state.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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6. Mister speaker, honorable colleagues. Of course, this document is not so important that we could broadly generalize about it. But there is a folk proverb which says that big problems can develop out of small details. For such a route not to be taken by the governing left majority, we would like to make a few warnings.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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7. The second moment. We take it away from the Ministry of Public Health. Sorry, but we lift its status up to a non-departmental level, we lift its status up to an independent level, it becomes a Governmental institution as the other ones. Why is food and veterinary control assumed by an independent institution, while namely the health service should be controlled by a departmental institution? Where is the logic? Is the health of doggies more important than human health?

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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8. I am grateful, honorable speaker. Honorable colleagues, like the colleague Razma, this time I will also say — I don't understand what the honorable colleague Klišonis wanted to tell us by making a comparison between bats and consumers. Did he want to mock at the consumers or at the poor bats? The colleague Raistenskis accurately pointed out, that a medical doctor should know that everything surrounding us is related to us and if bats live, we will also survive. Let's stop joking and I request to pass the act of law. Thank you.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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9. Thank you very much, mister speaker. It is difficult to talk when the Government shows disagreement and the members of Parliament do not listen. But I will nevertheless try to agitate and to make requests because we are dealing with a really extraordinary thing, that is, a monumental church of "Prisikėlimas". Every year this Parliament has made budget allocations for its support. It is extremely complicated to rebuild this national shrine merely on private contributions. Moreover, mister Gražulis requested the same when the budget was under discussion; but the resources for the church were not found. Now the resources appear to have been found; I would kindly ask all the members to agree on that. Thank you.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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10. Honorable colleagues, I am really not eager to disturb your time, but there is one essential point to be made. We, opposition, could rejoice: how bad is the majority in the Parliament; how bad are the social democrats and social liberals. But I would like to draw your attention to the fact that during the pre-election campaign all of us were promising to Lithuanian people to work in their interests. How are we doing this now? It seems to me that today those, who voted against this law, simply ought to be ashamed of themselves in front of their electorate. It seems to me that passing the laws which are against the interests of Lithuanian people and which make peoples' lives worse is really a disgrace to the Parliament.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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11. The essence is that in those regions where the level of unemployment is high, i.e. if it is by 25% higher than the average, and if small businesses, i.e. micro-businesses, are being started there, a zero rate of corporation tax has to be applied

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

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Your gender: FEMALE MALE
My sincere gratitude for your cooperation

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