

Corpus-Based Analysis of the Representation of Women in Pakistani English Newspapers

Dr. Syed Rizwan Shabbir

Email: rezvan708@gmail.com

Dr. Tabassum Iqbal

Lecturer, University of Gujrat

Email: tabassum.iqbal@uog.edu.pk

Abstract

This investigates the representation of women in Pakistani English daily newspapers using a corpus-based approach. Drawing on data from the Pakistani English daily newspapers corpus, the research explores the collocational patterns and adjectives that frequently modify the noun lemma women. Utilizing the sketch engine, a powerful corpus analysis tool, the study reveals how women are portrayed across various domains of public and private life through distinct grammatical and lexical patterns. The findings highlight underlying ideological tendencies and linguistic choices that shape the depiction of women in English-language media in Pakistan.

1. INTRODUCTION

The structure of Pakistani society, like other civilizations in the world, is erected from numerous elements based on social categories like religion, age, gender, social standing, etc. According to Weatherall and Gallois (2003), among those social categories, psychologists rank gender identity as most significant one in people's life. The clear gender d ascribed at birth that afterward impacts all social connections. Discussing about gender more specially women, Pakistanis have their own views about their role and position in society Women in Pakistani society, from cultural and historical perspective, at were represented as having the power of demanding men for the sake of their honor. Women were represented as having lower position and they were even at the mercy of men. This change is caused by feudalism, which places women as men's status symbol, so that women become their objects, as well as the tradition of Pakistani people such as early marriage, forced marriage, and unilateral divorce, which do not bring benefits to women (Steueurs, 1960; Wiraatmadja, 1980; Marlina, 2006).

In a wider context, the issue of Pakistani women as a part of the issue of other women in the world can be viewed from state gender ideology stated by Blackburn (2004). According to her, the state gender ideology refers to the assumptions about gender on which the state acts and the way it attempts to influence the construction of gender in society. The assumptions reveal what the state believes is appropriate for men and women in that society. The state gender ideology, however, sometimes have been one of the obstacles in empowering women. The Pakistani women's issue has attracted quite many researchers to study it from various perspectives such as literature, history, sociology, and linguistics. More specifically from linguistic perspective, as far as my observation, there has not been a research that examines it from corpus linguistic study using newspaper corpus. The main attraction of corpus linguistic method is its capabilities of managing a large scale of texts and identifying patterns, salience, or frequency in text, which may not be easy to spot via the human eye. Thus, it allows researchers to investigate large samples of the evidence of language use in a society, to automatically search patterns of language use, and to obtain quantitative information of the data. Moreover, the researchers can explain empirically patterns of language use based on their repeated occurrences in a corpus. Furthermore, Baker (2011) argues that corpus linguistic method can contribute to three aspects of gender research. One of the aspects is that it can help to tell us gender representations in society, such as how men or women are talked

or written about in society, means that by employing corpus linguistic method, it allows us to do comparative study between the evidences of language use relating to how Pakistani women are talked or written about and the issues of Pakistani women taken from different studies.

1.1. Research Questions

Q. 1: How are women represented in Pakistani English newspapers?

Q. 2: Which are the most frequent collocations used with the term WOMEN?

1.2 Aims and objectives:

This research aims at investigating the collocational patterns which modify WOMEN in the Pakistani English Newspaper Corpus.

The objectives of this research are:

- a. To investigate that what is the representation of WOMEN in Pakistani English Newspaper Corpus.
- b. To find out which are the most frequent collocations used with the term WOMEN

2. Literature Review

Several studies have been conducted on the representation of gender. These studies have been mainly focusing the representation of masculine gender, giving the feminine gender a marginal space.

Kjellmer (1961) explored the occurrences and division of masculine and feminine pronouns, encompassing the items man/men and woman/women using LOB corpus in 1961. He revealed that the terms denoting masculinity were more recurrent than those denoting feminine items.

Sigley and Holmes (2002) also analyzed the proportional occurrence of the terms man/men and woman/women in the Brown and LOB corpora along with Wellington Corpus of Written New Zealand English (1986-90) and Freiberg-LOB Corpus of British English (1990-91). As a result of their diachronic research, it was revealed that the feminine terms doubled from 1961 up till 1990. Romaine (2000) illustrated how sexism in language can be communicated through investigating collocational patterns. English has got numerous recognized combinations of gendered terms that exhibit several types of semantic and discursive nonconformities e.g., god and goddess, wizard and witch, master and mistress, bachelor and spinster, governor and governess. Romaine studied the collocations of spinster and bachelor in the BNC, concentrating on one syntactic relation: the adjective modifiers spinster. These are usually negative or pejorative. gutsy, useless, envious, odd, frustrated, curbed, isolated, prudish, coldblooded and reviled are amongst Romaine's examples. She looked at man/woman and boy/girl and found that words with negative connotations are used more frequently with woman/girl than with man/boy.

Similar claims, based on corpus evidence, have been made by others. For example, Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (1999) examined the adjectives collocating with the words man and woman in a corpus of UK newspaper articles, and found that only woman is modified significantly by adjectives referring to physical appearance (e.g., beautiful, pretty and lovely), and only man is modified significantly by adjectives indicating importance (e.g., key, big and main). Collocational patterns such as these can reveal the associations and connotations of words and, therefore, the assumptions they symbolize.

3. Methodology

This research makes use of mixed methodology. The corpus has been used as a tool of investigation. Quantitative approach would reveal the frequency of different collocations and adjectives attached with the term WOMEN while the qualitative approach would be deployed for description of these linguistic phenomena. Sketch Engine was utilized for the analysis of the

Pakistani English newspaper corpus. The study has been delimited to the investigation of collocational and adjectival patterns associated with the term women to portray the representation of women in Pakistani newspaper perspective

3.1. Data Collection:

Pakistani English newspaper corpus has been utilized as data source. The corpus has been compiled using 4 leading English dailies, namely The Dawn, The News, The Daily Times and The Business Recorder. 1 month, Feb 2018, data from the afore-mentioned daily English newspapers has been compiled in the form of a single corpus using Sketch Engine. These are the most widely circulated newspapers so they have been selected for corpus compilation due to their wide spread acceptability and large number of readership.

The corpus comprises 6 million-word tokens with 10505-word types.

Feature	Description
Data Source	Pakistani English Newspapers Corpus
Selected Newspapers	<i>The Dawn, The News, The Daily Times, The Business Recorder</i>
Selection Rationale	These newspapers were selected due to their wide circulation, credibility, and large readership across Pakistan.
Time Period Covered	February 2018 (1 month)
Corpus Compilation Tool	Sketch Engine
Corpus Size (Word Tokens)	6,000,000 (6 million)
Corpus Vocabulary (Word Types)	10,505

3.2. Data Analysis Procedure

The data would be analyzed using Sketch Engine (a highly specialized software for corpus analysis). The collocates have been interpreted in the form of tables. The analysis has been done dividing collocates into following categories:

1. WOMEN as subjects of verbs
2. WOMEN as objects of verbs
3. Representation of WOMEN on social level
4. WOMEN empowerment
5. Appearance

1. WOMEN as subject

WOMEN act as the subject of various verbs in this newspaper corpus. In this section the most frequent verbs presenting WOMEN as subjects would be discussed along with their contexts from the concerned newspaper quotation. This would reveal various patterns of the representation of WOMEN in the Pakistani English Newspaper corpus.

The verb 'have' has been used frequently with the term WOMEN. The newspapers make use of selected lexical items to construct identities. Media is a powerful tool used to build, deconstruct or manipulate images and perceptions about different phenomena. Let us see in which contexts it has

been used and how it helps us to identify the patterns of representation of WOMEN through this corpus.

DOC#4: Business Recorder, Feb 24, 2018

–AFP 'Annihilation': the sci-fi movie women **have** been waiting for Frankie TAGGART Sci-fi blockbuster "Annihilation" has been praised for its stunning, ethereal look-

DOC# 83: Daily Times, Feb 11, 2018.

Saudi women **have** started wearing more colorful abayas in recent years, the light blues and pinks in stark contrast with the traditional black.

DOC# 102: Daily Times, Feb 12, 2018.

Women **have** long played a crucial role in the region's arts scene, but many have faced, and continue to face challenges resulting from gender bias

In the above stated instances of the use of 'have' reveals that the verbs used in presenting WOMEN as subjects (*choose, take, undergo, protect, hold, reserve, start, belong, seek, go, walk*) carry a sense of triviality. Nothing substantive or concrete work has been shown to be done by the feminine gender. This also shows that the exercise of power is not the domain of majority of the women. They are just at the receiver's end even as subjects.

DOC# 495: Daily Times, Feb 06, 2018.

Many women **chose** to speak out after watching fellow survivors deliver their statements in court.

DOC# 228: Daily Times, Feb 19, 2018.

And to top it all, women have **taken** a leading role in every facet of the revolution.

DOC# 509: Daily Times, Feb 08, 2018.

As more data on the extent of FGM become available the estimate of the total number of girls and women who have **undergone** the practice increases.

DOC# 683: The Dawn, Feb 06, 2018.

'We have many young girls and women **come** here because we provide them with a safe environment.

DOC# 791: The Dawn, Feb 14, 2018

Senior officials of the district administration and police told Dawn that seven more women had **come** forward to record their statements against a gang of five people who had scammed dozens of women in Gujranwala

DOC# 1198: The News, Feb 20, 2018.

I have seen a shift in this trend and now women are **coming** in saying that they want to be strong and they want to learn how to fight to protect them.

For instance, on examining the context of the verb *come* which modifies WOMEN exhibits that the nature of the issues connoted through *come* are of trivial and minor in tone. Out of 16 occurrences of *come*, only four convey the literal meaning, rest have been used idiomatically. It roughly equals the meaning of start or begin. This also represents the frailty of WOMEN because the concordance of the terms indicate that women face issues of insecurity and become victims of molestation. **DOC# 125: Daily Times, Feb 14, 2018.**

Women who **want** to conceive sometimes walk under a hanging lantern and pray for a child.

DOC# 683: Dawn Feb 06, 2018.

No one cares about what a woman **wants** or about her dreams and ambitions. It's just about marriage, the kitchen, and reproduction,' she says.

DOC# 125: Daily Times, Feb 14, 2018.

*A massive shift in societal and cultural values in India, where women **want** to be more in control of who they choose to be with, is attributed to them taking the more 'bolder' first step.*

DOC#28: Business Recorder, Feb 11, 2018.

*Saudi women **need** not wear abaya: senior cleric RIYADH*

DOC#271: Daily Times, Feb 18, 2018.

*Addressing the girls in the audience, Kaur further stressed that women **needed** to ensure that they speak to their children in their mother tongue, and enable them to learn their history and tradition.*

DOC# 779: Dawn, Feb 13, 2018

I once walked into her office with a woman who **needed** legal assistance.

The verbs want and need are examples exhibiting WOMEN as subject. The concordances of the verbs indicate that the wants and needs of women have been confined to the issues of gender discrimination, identity and basic human rights. They are not shown to crave for luxurious and rich life style. The analysis of the verbs *want* and *need* shows that requisites related to WOMEN are restricted to commodities and issues of low importance which have no significant impact.

Table 1: The verbs in which women is used as subject.

Verb	Freq.	Verb	Freq.	Verb	Freq.	Verb	Freq.
Wear	18	want	13	Give	8	Use	6
Suffer	8	Reserve	9	Hold	4	Die	9
Face	22	Work	15	Make	10	Join	8
Accuse	13	Tend	8	Have	149	Find	9
Need	18	Live	9	Be	350	Lose	5
Decide	4	Sit	4	Say	9	Undergo	6
Seek	4	do	28	Take	18	Choose	6
Go	7	Belong	7	Play	7	Come	16
Walk	5	Drive	5	Start	5	Devised	9

2. WOMEN as Object

Following table present the verbs which collocate WOMEN as object.

Table 2: The verbs in which women is used as an object.

verb	Freq.	verb	Freq.	verb	Freq.	verb	Freq.
Empower	38	Harass	6	Be	350	See	17
Educate	10	Kill	33	Get	4	Use	6
Encourage	8	Injure	4	Give	6	Work	17
Rape	14	Murder	6	Have	10	Allow	25
Abduct	8	Include	72	Say	54	Protect	13
Need	6	Allow	25	Show	4	Support	7
Marry	8	Help	13	Represent	5	Treat	6
Sentence		Age	6	Portray	6	Affect	7
Die		Engage	6	Involve	5		
Respect		Assault	7				

Women are also the victims of violence. WOMEN has been predominantly presented as the victim of *rape and harassment*. It could be attributed to the element that rape is a criminal offence at the hands of which WOMEN are the affected prodigiously. Some more verbs associated particularly

using WOMEN as object, portray WOMEN as the receivers of undesirable acts (occasionally as the sufferers of male sexual hostility), for instance, *abduct, abuse, assault, murder, affect and die*. Here die is not connotated as natural death because in this corpus the verb die is used with WOMEN in the following concordances/ contexts:

DOC#690: The Dawn Feb 9, 2018.

*A woman **died** in mysterious circumstances in Shah Faisal Colony on Monday. Hameeda Bibi, 28, sustained a critical bullet wound inside her house in Natha Khan Goth.*

DOC# 712: The Dawn, Feb 3, 2018.

*One in three women **die** from complications in childbirth while 53 per cent of children do not survive beyond age five, says Jeff Walkes, the Bishkek-based director of NGO Crosslink Development International.*

DOC# 1366: The News, Feb 10, 2018

*Around 40,000 women **die** of breast cancer as many of them are not financially sound to afford the expensive medicines required for the treatment.*

In this newspaper corpus, only 1 out of 9 instances of the verb *die*, connotes a natural death.

DOC # 1240: The News, Feb 10, 2018.

*A woman from Jangelkhel was brought to the hospital after she suffered a cardiac arrest and later **died**.*

One more explanation can be given for the justification of the above data that only unnatural deaths are reported in the newspaper because otherwise the information passed does not qualify the definition of a news. But keeping aside this aspect of the newspapers, the newspaper also shows data the women mostly die due to revenge or health hazards.

Even if WOMEN are placed as the recipients of constructive acts, most of the verbs supporting WOMEN in this grouping appear to suggest a kind of frailty, deficiency or inadequacy on behalf of the recipient (e.g., *advise, encourage, join, choose* etc.)

DOC#1316: The News, Feb 18, 2018.

*A political party shall **encourage** women to become its members.*

DOC#1343: The News, Feb 20, 2018.

*The result was a mix of emotional outpouring - their words confirming the fact that she was a loving and caring person who always cheered up those who were feeling low; **encouraged** women to be strong and cared for the underprivileged.*

Table 3: Modifiers Representing WOMEN on social level

Adjective	Freq.	Adjective	Freq.	Adjective	Freq.	Adjective	Freq.
Muslim	29	Wonder	13	Indian	5	Only	5
Hindu	10	British	4	Local	4	Other	29
Christian	5	Pakistani	31	Brave	13	Single	9
Young	60	Saudi	20	Rural	16	Tribal	5
Old	6	Kashmiri	9	Many	31	Thari	7
Pregnant	23	American	8	Few	5	More	28
Great	4	Poor	16	Pious	7	Deceased	7
Elderly	6	Injured	7	Most	10	Vulnerable	8
Likely	5	Such	7	Married	8	Turkish	10

So far as attributive adjectives are concerned, women are more *vulnerable* and *disadvantaged*, and only women are *abused, pregnant*. all traits related to dearth of social status and authority WOMEN also collocates exclusively as object with verb. Nevertheless, 'simple' natural variances cannot make up the reality that, in this corpus, the instances of WOMEN modified by

married (n = 8) and MAN (n =10) is almost equal in frequency but in the context of WOMEN, married has been used in the newspapers corpus in the following contexts:

DOC# 186 Daily Times, Feb 11, 2018s

*Acid victims, women forcefully **married** off or killed for marrying someone of their choice Bilawal has never wavered from his stance.*

DOC# 743, The Dawn, Feb 18, 2018

*Under vani, families **marry** their women off to the men of their rivals to settle blood feuds*

DOC# 1245, The News, Feb 11, 2018

*"Probably they know they can **marry** another woman, and in case they use irreversible method, they will have no chance of more children with the second wife."*

These above-mentioned instances of the verb 'marry' indicate the hateful tradition of forceful marriages in some underdeveloped parts of Pakistan. Hence it also shows that the delightful event of marriage is not blissful for some population of women. They are merely used as a bribe to settle disputes and other issues. They are presented here like a property having no will of its own. Only WOMEN have been modified through adjectives *vulnerable*, *likely* and *such*.

DOC# 764, The Dawn, Feb 12, 2018

*a raucous party whose free-wheeling atmosphere leaves women particularly **vulnerable** to unwanted sexual contact.*

DOC# 985, The News, Feb 12, 2018

*And most significantly, if we look at statistics in Pakistan, we see that women are twice as **likely** to suffer from depression than men and this is the story of Tehmina, portrayed brilliantly by Sanam (Saeed)."*

DOC# 531 Daily Times, Feb 08, 2018

*Yet, if anyone tries to talk about issues related to women **such** as equal wages, gender discrimination and sexual abuse and assault most of the population becomes infuriated.*

The use of these adjectives with WOMEN shows the plight of feminine gender in the society.

The concordance analysis reveals that the women are particularly prone to face morbidities and they also grapple with gender bias in every field of life.

Likewise, may be supposed about issues of identity at national, religious, ethnic and class levels. For instance, the term WOMEN is particularly or especially collocated by adjectives of nationality (*American, British, Indian, Pakistani, Turkish, and Saudi*); religion (*Hindu, Christian and Muslim*); ethnicity (*, Arab, thari, tribal, local*); and class (*poor, rich*) or having attributes like single, pious, brave and

Two things should be explained here. Firstly, as far the adjectives interpreting matrimonial status and nationality, ethnicity and others are significant in jargon of women in social interaction. Secondly, the distinction of utilization of such adjectives could also be linked to the element that women are meant in this domain of connotation. Some of adjectives used to denotate religion nationality or ethnicity might be consumed as nouns, but if the adjective is not gender-marked clearly (as in *British, Muslim Arab, American* etc.) the sexual category of the person mentioned is almost 'meant' to be a male.

Table 4: Modifiers Representing Women Empowerment

Modifier	Freq.	Modifier	Freq.	Modifier	Freq.	Modifier	Freq.
Empowerment	36	Journalist	13	Teacher	6	Director	5
Entrepreneur	27	Voter	10	Artist	6	Title	7
Seats	51	Rights	31	Legislator	4	Activist	6
Workers	26	Participation	7	Lawmaker	5	Role	9
Activists	7	Professional	7	Player	8		

Lawyers	5	Wing	6	Team	6		
Writer	16	Workforce	4	President	8		

Occupations which have been found linked with WOMEN contain: *artist, legislator, law-maker, jockey, journalist, lawyer, director, player, teacher, priest, president.*

In South Asian countries especially in Pakistan the WOMEN are supposed to be assigned some stereotypical domestic roles in the society. But the current newspaper corpus investigation has toppled this view about WOMEN. Apart from the above-mentioned occupations, the sense of political awakening or empowerment can be seen through the use of modifiers like *rights, voters, activists, empowerment, participation, workforce, wing, team and role.*

The WOMEN have been represented in almost all races of life in the newspapers of Pakistan, thus shattering the image of Pakistan as a conservative state usurping the basic rights of women. Some examples encompassing the collocational modifiers implying WOMEN empowerment in this newspaper corpus are as following:

DOC# 523: Daily Times, Feb 18, 2018.

Ahad Nazir said that the major challenges of women entrepreneurs include the conflict between work and family and financial insecurities.

In these instances, the eminence of a female possessing these roles is shown by the use of WOMAN as a noun modifier because in Pakistani society the women have been assigned duties in the household or domestic domain, their holding public offices or doing business is an unusual event but the newspaper corpus contains 27 occurrences of women entrepreneur which is a significant count in this small sized corpus.

DOC# 473: Daily Times, Feb 05, 2018.

*Similarly giving women equal **rights** as citizens is not a violation of this centrality.*

DOC# 716: Dawn, Feb 08, 2018.

*Abbas Khattak, who is a former state minister, and ex-MPA Shagufta Malik filed nomination papers for general seats and women **seats** respectively.*

DOC# 137: Daily Times, Feb 13, 2018.

*All-rounder Ellyse Perry won her second Belinda Clark Award for the best woman **player** and Warner was named top one-day player for the second year in succession.*

DOC# 03: Business Recorder, Feb 17, 2018.

*Asma Jahangir who served two terms as chair of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan and was the first woman **president** of the Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan breathed her last in Lahore on 11th February.*

Table 5: Modifiers Representing Appearance of WOMEN

Modifier	Freq.	Modifier	Freq.
Blonde	13	Hijab	18
Beautiful	11	Sandals	10
Color	9	Mehndi	7
Complexion	10	lipstick	4
Long hair	3	Makeup	6
Fat	1	Obese	3
Bulgy	1	Naqab	7
Attractive	4	Pretty	9

The adjectives associated exceptionally with WOMEN pertain restricted array of physical categories, figures and entities. Some refer to weight and size (fat, obese, bulgy). WOMEN is modified with colorful modifiers like blonde and blonde-haired, fair complexion, makeup, lipstick, color. Among these colorful attributes, a gist of eastern traditions has also been blended through use of modifiers like *mehndi*, *hijab*, *niqab*, *sandals* and *long hair*. WOMEN patterns more strongly with *attractive*, *beautiful*, and exclusively with *pretty*,

DOC# 981, The News, Feb 11, 2018

Don't forget to accent the punchy hues with a bit of shimmer, black winged eyeliner, pale pink lipstick and rosy cheeks.

DOC#83: Daily Times, Feb 11, 2018.

Sheikh Abdullah al-Mutlaq, a member of the Council of Senior Scholars, said Muslim women should dress modestly, but this did not necessitate wearing the abaya.

DOC#496: Daily Times, Feb 07, 2018.

She was set with flowers in her long auburn hair, covered in ochre embroidered strings, scintillating in her red dupatta.

DOC#310: Daily Times, Feb 22, 2018

She kept her makeup bare and minimal.

All the above-mentioned modifiers represent the appearance of WOMEN as presented through collocational patterns found in this newspaper corpus. It shows different traits of women's appearance including their bodily features and attires.

Conclusion and Findings

a. Among all the 5 major areas of presentation discussed in the research paper, the collocations of WOMEN appear stereotypical in representing WOMEN as a gender. These stereotypes, as well-organized and socially common views regarding the different traits of WOMEN, including info regarding physical features, behavior and inclinations, thinking preferences, societal interactions and professions (Golombok, 1994). Physical inadequateness and subjugation are obvious to the degree to which WOMEN are presented as affected by social and domestic violence (exhibited by the verbs such as *assault* and *rape*) and receivers of forceful acts of others (e.g., *injured* and *harassed*). Gender is constructed by society, accomplished and replicated through discourse (Bradley, 2007). As discourse is in the backdrop of texts, production, the investigation of gendered elements in a large corpus is guaranteed to expose socially-dominant forms of representation. The current study has been conducted utilizing a limited sized corpus due to the time and space limitations but it has also outlined the representation of WOMEN in the context of Pakistani society as it has been portrayed through collocational patterns used in renowned daily English newspapers. The study of collocates also points towards a 'social' discourse; hence, women have been represented as the entities of sociological research in a discourse that would recognize relegated status and endeavors to compensate it. This is also the answer to the first research question of this dissertation.

b. The most frequent collocates used with WOMEN are *be* (freq. 350), *have* (freq.133), *young* (freq.78), *do* (179), *empower* (freq. 66), *kill* (freq.72), *girl* (freq.98), *poor* (81), *harass* (58), *minority* (freq. 43), *seat* (freq. 60) and *include* (freq.31). The most frequent collocate of WOMEN is 'be' which has been used to present WOMEN in passive form construing that WOMEN are receivers of action mostly and not the agents or doers.

REFERENCES

Baker, P. (2005). *Public discourses of gay men*. London: Routledge.

- Bradley, H. (2007). *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. and R. Moon. (1999). 'Curvy, hunky, kinky: Using Corpora as tools in critical analysis', paper presented at the Critical Discourse Analysis Symposium, University of Birmingham,
- Golombok, S. (1994). *Gender development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holmes, J. (1994). 'Inferring language change from computer corpora: some methodological problems', *ICAME Journal* (18).
- Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kjellmer, G.(1986). "The lesser man": observations on the role of women in modern English writings' in *J. Aarts and W. Meijs (eds) Corpus Linguistics II*, pp. 163–76. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Romaine, S. (2000). *Language in society: An introduction to sociolinguistics* (second edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sigley, R. and J. Holmes. (2002). 'Girl-watching in corpora of English', *Journal of English Linguistics* 30 (2).