Genre-based data selection and classification for Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

The notion of 'communicative purpose' as a primary criterion for genre identification and classification (Swales, 1990) has been criticised and shown to present the analyst with a number of challenges (Askehave, 1999). Similarly, scholars from Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis speak of the 'social activity' linked to each genre (Fairclough, 1992; Kress, 1985/1989); they thus view communicative purpose from a more socially-oriented perspective and make the identification of the social activity taking place central to genre identification. At the same time, researchers aiming to provide guidelines for genre analysis place their focus on how to conduct the analysis of a corpus of texts of the same genre, rather than on the criteria used to compile the corpus – genre identification has been broadly assumed to be accomplished merely based on background knowledge of or about the 'speech community' who is using the genre (Bhatia, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Swales, 1990).

In this paper I examine a small, non-electronic corpus of Greek women's lifestyle magazines and discussing the identification of the genres within the magazines themselves. I argue that in this case genre identification is not a straightforward matter (even for an 'insider') and therefore I focus on the methodological issue of identifying genres within such a multi-genre medium as lifestyle magazines.

I claim that, despite the problems they present, the notions of 'communicative purpose' and social activity are indeed primary for critical research, as they point us towards the ideological functions of genres. I focus my analysis on the texts I have identified as having the broad communicative purpose of 'advice'. Taking into account other parameters for genre identification provided by Swales (1990: 58), such as the participants, the content, the structure and the style of the texts in my data, I propose that texts of quite different structure and/or content can be classified as sub-genres of the same 'advice' genre, providing evidence that these texts share a set of common generic characteristics.

Introduction

This paper draws on my broader research project exploring the manifestation of gender ideologies in Greek lifestyle magazines,[1] with ideology defined as "a shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups" (van Dijk, 1998: 8). Thus, I am adopting a socio-cognitive approach situated within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The specific focus of the paper is methodological and deals with the second phase of data selection. During the first phase, through questionnaires snowballed among Greek subjects, six monthly titles were selected: *Cosmopolitan, Madame Figaro* and *Marie Claire* (women's) and *Nitro, Playboy* and *Status* (men's). I decided to analyse these magazines over a period of three months, randomly selected, namely February-April 2006. This would allow for a certain level of generalisability which would be impossible if only one month's issues were analysed, without resulting in a bulk of data unmanageable for qualitative analysis. However, a second phase was required, since magazines are heterogeneous, comprising of a variety of different kinds of texts, which would require different methods of analysis if they were to be analysed from cover to cover. The questions, then, I am concerned with in this paper are: how can I end up with comparable sample of texts across the 18 volumes? How could this selection be systematic, motivated, and consistent with the overall aim of the project for critical analysis?

Initially I discuss the notion of 'genre' as a criterion for categorising texts for critical analysis. Despite its advantages, certain difficulties are presented with less conventionalised mediated texts - various kinds of texts in magazines do not always belong to clearly identified/identifiable genres. Then I move on to propose a way of facing these difficulties, by adopting categories broader than but related to genre. I am making the theoretical suggestion of viewing texts as overarching speech acts, and suggest classifying texts in 'speech act' categories, further to be divided in 'genre categories' as a method of categorisation. Finally, I demonstrate how I applied this categorisation to my own data and provide 3 texts and evidence from my analysis as illustrative examples.

Approaching genre from a functional perspective

Currently, *genre* as a kind of text is considered to be part of every human social activity, and the functions and extra-textual conventional characteristics of genres are taken into consideration. Swales' (1990: 58) definition of *genre* as

> a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of
> communicative purposes… In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre

> exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience

provides a useful starting point. One would assume that in order to identify the various genres within the magazines, one would have to identify the shared (sets of) communicative purposes, as well as the structure, style, content and intended audience shared by the texts belonging to the same genre. Communicative purpose is privileged as a criterion (Bhatia, 1993: 13; Swales, 1990: 58), at least for a functional approach to discourse, although other elements may be assigned more importance depending on the genre.

The approaches adopted by Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis in relation to genre are compatible with that of Swales and Bhatia, putting more emphasis on the additional dimension of social situation or social activity. Kress's references to participants and to 'functions, purposes and meanings' (Kress, 1985/1989: 19) are related to the notion of 'communicative purpose'. Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis scholars also refer to form, again in line with the common perception that genres are 'types' or 'kinds' of texts, with specific texts being the tokens of these types (Kress, 1985/1989; Wodak, 2001: 66).

The emphasis for CDA lies in the connection of genres to social situations or activities (Fairclough, 2001: 123; Fairclough, 1992: 51-52; 125; Kress, 1985/1989: 19; Wodak, 2001: 66) a connection earlier identified and discussed by Bakhtin (1986: 60). That is, genre is bound to what we may call the 'situational context', which in itself is embedded in the broader historical and socio-political context (see Wodak, 2001: 67; Martin, 1992: Ch. 7). Kress suggests that "the characteristic features and structures of … situations, the purposes of the participants … all have their effects on the form of the texts which are constructed in those situations" (1985/1989: 19). Moreover, he points out that most social situations are conventionalised, to a certain extent, and that "[t]he conventionalised forms of occasions lead to conventionalised forms of texts", genres, which are "deriving from and encoding the functions, purposes and meanings of the social occasions" (ibid.). Fairclough also suggests that genre is "a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity" (1992: 126). Thus, whereas we may not have access to the minds, intentions and purposes of the participants in a communicative event, and we may not be able to read off effects from texts, genres as event schemata are abstractions of how people use language conventionally, in order to achieve conventionally ratified (or even institutionalised) social purposes.

In terms of the methodology of genre identification, the link to specific conventional situations and what people are actually doing with discourse in these situations is in many cases valuable. However, there are still problems. Admittedly not all situations, or the language associated with them, are equally conventional (Fairclough, 1992: 70; Kress, 1985/1989: 19). Most importantly, practically all mediated texts (i.e. written or broadcast) are less bound by a 'context of situation' including a specific setting (time, space) and specific participants. At the same time, by definition communication involves at least two parties (as pointed out in encoding-decoding models of communication since Shannon and Weaver, 1949; cf. also Hall, 1980) and

thus a discursive event (or its communicative purpose) is not realised until the consumption of the text. With written, recorded or mass media texts it is not always possible even to know who is consuming the texts, let alone where, when and how. Of course, some mediated texts, particularly written ones, are more closely linked to specific production, distribution and consumption practices, specific audiences and specific functions (or communicative purposes and effects). Such texts are academic genres like student essays, exam papers, academic journal articles etc., texts used in the areas of law and politics (in the narrow sense) like laws and bills, and generally genres used in specific institutions and organizations such as job applications, or even the Bible.

When it comes to mass media texts, however, even ethnographic observation may not give us the full range of what people do with these texts, and audiences are much more fluid and flexible in their composition and practices. To link with the specific case of magazine genres, the setting, audience and even the effect of the texts are not determining factors for the assignment of the texts to genres, in the way that they are with other, context-bound discursive events. If I decide to discuss my medical problems with my friend, who is a doctor, over a cup of coffee, the interaction will be a hybrid genre between medical consultation and friendly conversation, and the participants will simultaneously occupy the subject positions of doctor/patient and friends – a 'proper' medical consultation would most probably have to take place in a doctor's practice. However, whether I decide to read a magazine at my home, or someone else's home, or in the tube, or in a waiting room does not change the genre of the texts I am reading. And there is nothing to stop a young man, or elderly woman from reading a lifestyle magazine targeting young women, whereas not everybody can have access to exam papers, for example. In addition, the fact that a number of texts are put together in one volume of a magazine, and can therefore be read in exactly the same settings by the same reader, does not mean they all belong to the same genre.

At the same time, texts are clearly restricted by their co-presence in the same medium. There are certain forms, contents and communicative purposes texts can have in order to appear in an academic journal, for instance, or in a lifestyle magazine. In that sense, one can speak of lifestyle magazines as 'super-genres', that is, comprising a number of genres and occupying a position superordinate to genres (see Figure 1 below). Such super-genres do play a role in and are associated with social activity. This is however best discussed in terms of social activity and social context in the broad sense (Wodak, 2001: 67), rather than specific situations. We can still be concerned with what 'communicative purpose' the genres or super-genres in question have, and at least their potential effects, moving on to ideology which, as a social and cognitive structure, occupies a superordinate level to genres (see, e.g. Martin, 1992: 496). It is on that level that Martin discusses a rather different notion of purpose emphasising that "genres are social processes, and their purpose is being interpreted here in social, not psychological terms" (1992: 503). By using the Aristotelian term 'telos' instead of purpose, he alludes to the overall contribution of genres as processes to the organisation and function of any given culture, irrespective of the private purposes of any individual involved in a communicative event. It is in that sense that although we may not have access to the purposes of the author of a text in the lifestyle magazines,

or the various purposes people seek to fulfil by reading a magazine, or the effects of the magazines on specific people, we can still examine how the texts in the magazines link to specific ideologies, and thus of what social activity they are part.[2]
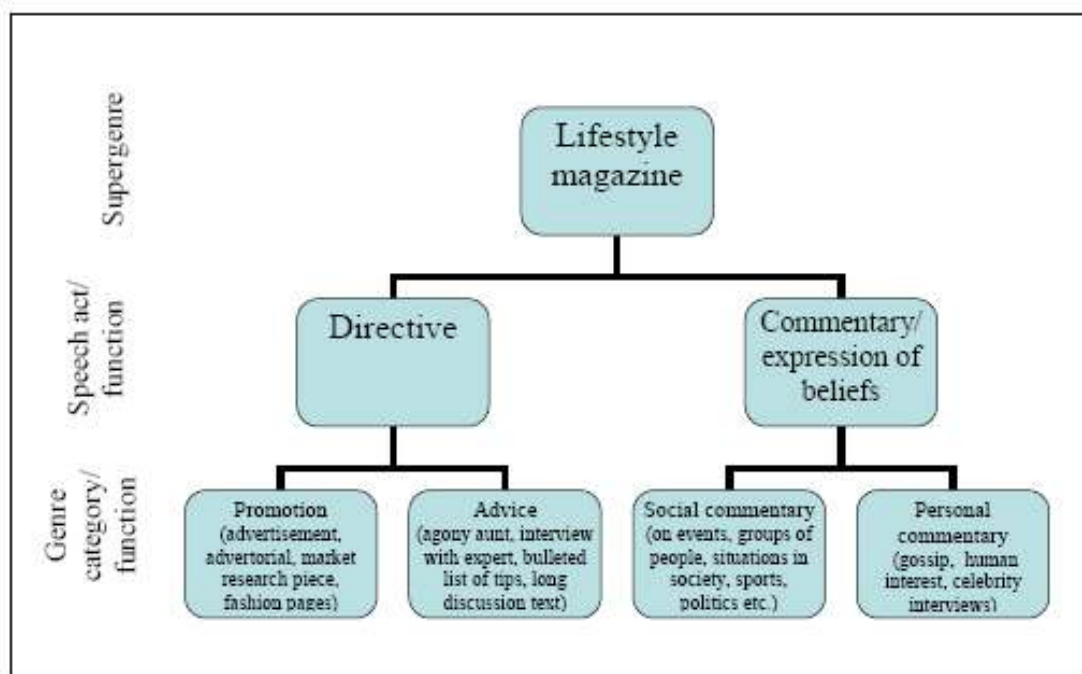

Figure 1- Levels of text classification according to functions

The question then is how to go about distinguishing the number of genres present within a multi-genre medium (or 'super-genre') such as a lifestyle magazine; none of them is strictly bound to a specific situational context while all of them occur simultaneously within the same social context, and address roughly the same audience. Moreover, we cannot have a list of the generic characteristics of the texts in advance to use as criteria for our categorisation.

Andrew Tudor observes this fundamental problem in categorising texts in genres and then discussing their generic characteristics:

> To take a genre such as the 'western', analyse it, and list its principal characteristics, is to beg the question that we must first isolate the body of films which are 'westerns'. But they can only be isolated on the basis of the 'principal characteristics' which can only be discovered from the films themselves after they have been isolated (1974: 135, cited in Gledhill, 1999: 138).

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[2] It should, however, be borne in mind that it is simplistic to assume that 'the cultures as a whole are goal-directed, with some over-riding purpose governing the interaction of social processes' (Martin, 1992: 502), but rather, '[s]ocial processes negotiate with each other and evolve' (ibid.); thus *telos* should not be taken as an essentialist, deterministic 'inherent purpose' in any social activity, but rather as the role of every activity in this (ideological) negotiation of social relations and structures.

In selecting, then, texts belonging to the same genre in order to analyse them, the analyst is faced with the paradox that s/he has to analyse them before s/he can categorise them.

Methodology of categorisation – the two initial stages

Swales (1990: 39) and Bhatia (1993: 23) suggest using one's already existing background knowledge of a genre and the speech community as an additional, extra-textual criterion for genre identification. Thus, I initially relied on my own insights as a member of the Greek society who has come in contact with both men's and women's Greek lifestyle magazines, had informal conversations with other Greeks, as well as non-Greek colleagues who have had experience of lifestyle magazines in their own discursive communities (since often characteristics of lifestyle magazines transcend geographical and cultural boundaries and are as related to the magazine's international 'brand' as to the local social context of its circulation - see Machin and Thornborrow, 2003 and Machin and van Leeuwen, 2005). Despite the value of these insights,[3] the members of the relevant discourse communities do not necessarily have category names for all kinds of texts present in magazines with the exception of the highly conventionalised ones.

This inevitably leads to looking at the texts themselves for elements for their categorisation, and to the paradox identified by Tudor, which applies not only to genre categorisation but to every hermeneutic process. This is also known as the *hermeneutic circle* (Gadamer, 1965), which "implies that the meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this in turn is only accessible from its component parts" (Meyer, 2001: 16). It is thus impossible to approach any category of texts without a preconceived notion of what its members are, and it is impossible to analyse the parts of any text without a previous idea of the function and meaning of the whole text. In order to avoid misled or biased conclusions or categorisations, one cannot rely on first impressions alone and follow a linear 'theory - data selection – analysis' process. Initial insights are valuable but too intuitive and unsystematic, and therefore have to be informed by the data and reformulated accordingly, with the data selection revisited after some preliminary analysis, the resulting dataset followed by more in-depth analysis, and the theory informed by the data and the analysis consequently (Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2001).

Thus, I moved on to the second step, which involved a closer reading of a sample of the data, beginning from the theoretical premise of the primacy of function as a criterion for categorisation. I concentrated on a randomly selected sample, namely the February 2006 issues of all six selected magazines (one-third of the total data). The categories found would presumably also be found in the March and April issues of the

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[3] I am particularly indebted to Costas Gabrielatos and the members of the Gender and Language Research Group of the Linguistics Department of Lancaster University, whose observations have helped significantly with my categorisation. The discussions with them highlighted even more the dimension of function and its importance.

same magazines of the same year. The initial reading of the data (in conjunction with the background knowledge I already had of the texts and the discourse communities involved) provided the first impressions and an initial categorisation of the texts according to function. This was an interpretative first step, relying on the 'overt' (rather than 'hidden') communicative purpose of the texts (cf. Askehave, 1999). Hidden communicative purposes would be the object of the later stage of in-depth analysis (not discussed in this paper).

Hence I came up with a classification of texts on a level superordinate to genre, as it is based on function but does not initially address the issue of the rest of the generic characteristics of the text; these I discuss later on in relation to the function of the text. I suggest that a useful way of looking at texts in relation to the function is seeing them as broad types of speech acts. Thus, the categories used are not genres but 'speech act categories' and/or 'genre categories', based on the overall speech acts performed by the texts. I suggest that two broad kinds of speech acts are performed by the texts in lifestyle magazines, directive speech acts and commentary/ expression of beliefs, further broken down in categories of the genres performing the functions advice or promotion (directives), and social and personal commentary (commentaries). The categorisation has involved cyclical procedures of moving from theory to data and then back to theory again (cf. Wodak, 2001: 70), as well as from the data categorisation to analysis which feeds back into the data categorisation again, before moving on to further more detailed analysis (cf. Meyer, 2001: 16, 18). Below I am elaborating on what I have termed 'speech act categories' and 'genre categories' and how these different levels of categorisation emerged from examining the data.

The four main functions identified through my initial categorisation were: promoting commercial products and services, providing advice to readers, providing commentary on social situations and social groups, and providing information, gossip and evaluation of individuals. At this stage two theoretical observations emerged: first, that these function categories can include texts which can be readily identified as established genres in the discourse community as well as unclassifiable texts with characteristics of form and content too unique or too common to determine genre membership. For instance, expert interviews (e.g. interviews with doctors, cosmetologists or nutritionists) are an established genre performing the function of advice – but so do other texts which are clearly not interviews; for instance, the text in *Marie Claire* (February 2006 issue, pp. 70-73, Text A in Appendix) entitled "One more drink after work… Yes, but are you overdoing it?" (*Ένα ακόμα ποτό μετά το γραφείο... Ναι, αλλά μήπως το παρακάνεις;*) discusses the issues of alcoholism and alcohol abuse and provides relevant advice – it is a long text broken down in sections, which is a very common format of many magazine texts. At the same time, expert interviews perform a very different function to celebrity interviews, although they have exactly the same format (question-answer) and layout (e.g. questions may be in different fonts from the answers, the initials of interviewer and interviewee may precede the questions and answers etc.) – celebrity interviews practically never provide advice (maybe only occasionally), and rather provide to the readers as 'overhearers' of the interview information about the interviewee's work, gossip about their personal lives and in some cases promote the interviewee's recent work (e.g a new album or film). It would

therefore be misleading to consider all interviews as belonging to the same genre or performing the same functions merely because they have the same form and are termed by the discourse community with the same name ('interview'), whereas texts with functions similar to celebrity interviews could be grouped with them (see section on 'commentary' below). Thus, a categorisation on a level superordinate to genre can lead to a more fruitful data classification and selection, since it does not lead to the exclusion of texts with the same function merely on grounds of form or content. The categories at this level are too broad to be considered genres, although the category members do display shared generic characteristics. Indeed Askehave (1999: 22) criticises Bhatia for speaking of 'promotional genres' (1993: 59), because this broad term can include many different kinds of texts belonging to different genres. I would therefore propose to use the term 'genre categories' for categories or groups of genres (and texts of unidentifiable genre) which perform the same function.

My second theoretical observation is the striking similarity of the functions performed by discourse with Austin's notion of speech acts. The proposed genre categories can be seen as directive speech acts (the promotion and advice categories), or as expressions of beliefs (social and personal commentary categories). I suggest that speech act theory can be extended from the study of sentences or clauses, which was it initial focus, and the study of parts of texts (as suggested by van Leeuwen, 1993, 2008) to the study of whole texts. We then end up with a hierarchy of scope when it comes to focussing on function, from the overall kind of speech act performed by a text (which I will call the 'speech act category'), to its genre category, moving down to genre (see Figure 1). I am focussing on these levels in this discussion, although this hierarchy can continue upwards to include lifestyle magazines, then the total of Greek media and their ideological functions, ending up to the total of discourse activity taking place in the Greek society as a whole, and downwards to include parts of texts constituting structural elements of genres (or 'moves', see van Leeuwen, 1993: 195), to smaller units like phrases down to single words.

In the following section I provide a theoretical discussion of the parallels between speech acts and text as belonging to genres and genre categories, and then move on to discuss the third step of my data selection process involving textual analysis as a guide for identifying the genre category membership for the texts in the data, focussing on the 'advice' genre category.

Text types as 'speech act categories' and 'genre categories'

As Martin very aptly puts it, "[g]enres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them" (Martin, 1985: 250). The parallels between genres as a means of achieving communicative purposes, my broad 'genre categories' based on function and speech acts as defined by Austin and Searle, are many. The emphasis in Austin's lectures (see Austin, 1962; 1975 for edited published versions of the lectures) is indeed on the fact that language is not merely used in order to describe states of affairs in the world, but rather in order to perform actions. Due to the multifunctionality of

language, though, even a short phrase can perform more than one action (Austin, 1975: 73) and Searle explicitly states that "the characteristic grammatical form of the illocutionary act [speech act] is the complete sentence" (1969: 16) because words only have meaning as parts of sentences.

The question then arises whether we can speak of whole texts, consisting of a number of sentences, as speech acts, or rather as the accumulation of a number of speech acts, each act performed by each sentence. According to van Leeuwen "the basic unit of generic structure is the speech act" (1993: 195) and the speech act is not necessarily restricted to one sentence but constitutes a part of the structure of a genre which surfaces as a text part of indeterminate length, which can be clauses or sentences. Van Leeuwen points out that the speech act is the minimal linguistic unit which performs some action (ibid.). I would argue that we can concentrate on a higher than the minimal level and focus on the action performed by whole texts as a 'speech act'. That is, whereas every utterance or part of a text performs a certain act (or acts), such as insulting or requesting, a genre as a whole is a resource we use to achieve broader purposes, such as acquiring a job or making a commercial transaction.

Thus, despite the fact that we can isolate sentences of phrases performing speech acts as the basic or minimal units of generic structure, we can also see whole texts as overarching speech acts. Importantly, although Searle speaks of sentences, Austin speaks of utterances, since the term 'sentence' refers to a specific grammatical formulation, whereas utterance refers to language in use (Levinson, 1983: 16 ff.). Levinson in his discussion focuses on comparing sentences with sentence-long utterances, in order to emphasise the context-bound nature of utterances. He does note, however, that an utterance can be a "sentence part, sentence, string of sentences or sentence parts" (Levinson, 1983: 16). Thus, an utterance may consist of more than one sentences and at least in theory it can be of any length - cf. Harris's definition of utterance as "any stretch of talk, by one person, before and after which there is silence on behalf of that person" (Harris, 1951: 14, cited in Lyons, 1977: 26). Arguably a written text of any length can be perceived as the equivalent of a spoken utterance (see e.g. Loos et al. 2004 [4]) – interestingly Bakhtin begins to define genres as 'types of utterances' (1986: 60). In that sense any (spoken) utterance or (written) text as a whole can be seen as performing one (or more) speech acts;[5] Brown and Yule indeed observe that "[f]rom a speaker's point of view several sentences (or syntactic chunks) strung together may constitute a single [speech] act. Thus, a fairly extended utterance may be interpreted as a warning or as an apology" (1983: 233).

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[4] http://www.sil.org/LINGUISTICS/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAnUtterance.htm, last accessed 19/6/2007.

[5] Lyons also extends this definition of utterance to written texts (1977: 26); however, this definition encounters problems when we consider texts as the 'representation of discourse' (Brown and Yule, 1983: 6), where discourse involves dialogue, whether spoken, transcribed or (as is the case in magazines) written questions and answers. In texts like interviews we cannot speak of the utterance of one person but rather of two people taking turns. However, it is presumably one person who writes the text (the journalist – although there may be editing by other persons too), and the interviewees are not involved in the representation of their own speech. As far as the readers are concerned, they never take a turn, and thus we can perhaps still treat an interview as one single text/utterance, with the turns within it constituting different moves/units of structure.

A more interesting consideration is that, to echo Searle's extension from the word to the sentence for the study of meaning, as words have meaning only within sentences, sentences only have meaning in the discourse in which they occur. For instance, we wouldn't be able to identify the expression "don't tell your beloved one 'I love you'"(*Μην πεις στον αγαπημένο σου 'σ'αγαπώ'*, *Madame Figaro,* Feb. 2006, pg. 84) as advice rather than command or request without the co-text. Thomas provides a useful example of how "speakers… 'build up to' the performance of a particular speech act" (1995: 200). She demonstrates how a speaker 'prepares the ground' for a request – in my 'advice' texts the initial stage, where the problem or question is set up and elaborated, is 'preparing the ground' for the advice to be given in relation to the specific problem. Although most of the sentences in the 'problem setting' part can be characterised as statements or rhetorical questions (rather than advice), the actual sentences performing the advising (including often imperatives or expressions such as 'I advise you' and 'I suggest') would make no sense without the 'problem setting' part. Moreover, "the pragmatic force of successive utterances can have a cumulative effect" (Thomas, 1995: 201), so that a succession of the speech acts of advice within the same 'advice' text will contribute towards the overall advising function of the text – one more reason to consider the text as a whole rather than isolating parts of the texts that can strictly be considered 'speech acts' according to Austin and Searle's discussions. Indeed Wunderlich (1980: 293) points out that there is a continuum in the complexity of speech acts according to the length of the unit one is examining: "turn, move, speech act pattern, complex speech unit and discourse type". He discusses the interconnection of speech acts as they appear in larger units of interaction - as turns within a dialogue or as moves in dialogue or monologic text, contributing to moving on towards the final communicative purpose to be achieved. He also argues (1980: 296) that a discourse type "is the most complex unit of speech activity … that can be realised by a whole conversation" (or any text as a whole) and the examples of discourse types he provides roughly correspond to genres ("getting-and-giving direction, instruction, interview, counseling", ibid.). Van Leeuwen demonstrates how generic structure consists of a number of stages, where each stage "consists of one or more of the same speech acts" and "has a specific function in moving the text or communicative event forward towards the realization of its ultimate communicative aim" (2008: 348).

By classifying types of texts according to the overall speech act they perform in 'speech act categories' I recognise the cumulative and joint contribution of the stages and respective speech acts within texts – it should be noted that by speaking of the overall function of a text as an overarching speech act I mean a complex, higher level speech act and do not attempt to reduce the complexity and multifunctionality of texts into one single dimension, but rather to emphasise the role of text as action.

So far I have been speaking of text categories (the 'speech act' categories) as *types* of speech acts. That is, directive speech acts are all kinds of speech acts that dictate a course of action on behalf of the hearer/reader, but can be divided further in 'advice', 'request', 'demand', 'command', and so on. Likewise expressions of beliefs can take place through statements, assertions, explanations etc. (see Searle, 1971/1976 for a suggested typology of speech acts). Likewise, texts performing the functions of promotion and advice belong to the broader *directive* 'speech act type', whereas

personal and social commentary are both *expressions of beliefs* (Searle, 1971/1976: 3). These more specific functions/ speech acts (according to which I assign texts to 'genre categories', as discussed above) are nevertheless still *types* or kinds of texts, just as a number of different utterances can be categorised as 'requests' irrespective of what is requested or the specific phrasing of the request. One can further distinguish between kinds of requests, depending on the way the requests are expressed linguistically e.g. polite and impolite, formal or friendly, expressed in the declarative, interrogative or imperative mood and so on. Thus, 'genre categories' can be further broken down in genres, but members of every category will all share the same primary communicative purpose of advice, promotion etc.

From the above identified genre categories, I decided to select the 'advice' category for the compilation of the final corpus. As directive texts, the members of this category are more reader-oriented and entice action more directly, and from a social perspective they are linked to ideology in that they suggest on a personal(ised) level what (should) constitute problems for modern men and women in Greece and how these problems should be faced.

I then conducted a preliminary analysis of the texts I had originally assigned to the 'advice' category, which either confirmed or refuted my initial, more intuitive categorisation. The preliminary analysis also allowed me to see how (proto)typical of the category each text was, and identify hybrids and marginal members. By means of illustration I am providing in the next section the analysis of 3 texts drawn from the women's magazines (Feb 2006).

Illustrative analysis and discussion - 'advice' texts from Greek women's magazines

The results of the preliminary analysis of a sample of three women's magazines from my data (the February 2006 issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Marie Claire* and *Madame Figaro*) suggest a number of generic characteristics, all or most of which shared by the texts in this category. The three texts I am using for illustrative purposes show this quite clearly – despite their differences they display a number of the discussed characteristics.

Text A is entitled *Ένα ακόμα ποτό μετά το γραφείο... Ναι, αλλά μήπως το παρακάνεις;* "One more drink after work… Yes, but are you overdoing it?". It is discussing drink-related issues such as alcoholism and alcohol abuse. It is a three page long feature from *Marie Claire* (Feb. 2006, pp. 70-73) separated in sections with a header in each section.

The title of Text B is *her hair* (title in English), and it is a short bulleted list in a coloured frame embedded in a longer text entitled *Τι δείχνουν τα μαλλιά σου για σένα;* "What does your hair show about you?" It is also from *Marie Claire* (*Feb*. 2006, pp. 74-77).

Text C, *σεξουαλικές αποφάσεις 2006*, "sexual resolutions 2006", is the February 2006 part (pg. 62) of a permanent column of *Madame Figaro*, *sex diary*. This text has the

format of numbered paragraphs, shorter then the sections of Text A, but longer than the bullet points of Text B. This is clearly a hybrid, since 'diary' is a clearly demarcated genre in the discourse community, and like all 'autobiographical' genres (autobiographies, diaries, memoirs, blogs) it has the function of self-commentary on one's life and relevant events. However, contrary to 'pure' diaries written for the eyes of the author only, publicised autobiographical texts take into account the presence of an audience and thus always have additional, audience-related functions, like raising awareness of the issues they discuss, or even entertainment. The *sex diary* of *Madame Figaro* could be categorised as 'social commentary', but specifically the *sex diary* of February 2006 can be said to have an advising function, as it displays characteristics similar to the 'advice' Texts A and B, to be discussed below.

In the discussion below I will be using examples from the three illustrative texts translated in English – the original texts are also included in the appendix and the Greek and translated texts have the same line numbers.

Schematic structure

The main characteristic of the texts in the 'advice' genre category, linked to the speech act and communicative purpose of 'advising' is an underlying 'Problem-solution' structure as an underlying 'discourse schema' for the specific category of texts (cf. van Dijk, 1985; 1998: 207). Thus the texts consist of at least two parts, the 'problem' part, occurring at the beginning, followed by the 'solution' part. Both the 'problem' and the 'solution' parts can be followed by 'elaboration' parts, serving various functions. Variations of the simple 'problem-solution' schema include 'problem-solution-problem-solution' (a number of related problems and solutions), 'problem-solution-solution-solution' (one problem and many suggested solutions) or 'problem-problem-problem-solution-solution-solution' (a number of problems followed by a number of solutions). In some texts the problem is not explicitly stated, but implied from the mere fact that advice is given (if there is no problem or issue to be dealt with, advice is not necessary – see discussion on felicity conditions of advice below).

In the examples included in the appendix, Text A deals with drinking-related problems and Text B with the issue of 'how to style one's hair' (constructed as a problem). Text C is not a prototypical advice text in that there is not explicitly stated problem to be dealt with. From the title of the column and the header of this particular piece (sex diary, sexual resolutions), it is clear that the topic of the column is sex life. One can therefore assume that it may deal with the issue 'how one can have a better sex life'. It could also, however, be a mere account of the sex life of one individual (the author of the 'diary') – the advice character can be seen through the characteristics this text nevertheless shares with other advice texts, discussed below.

Lexis

Problem-related lexis indicates that the topic is not merely an issue to be commented on, but a problem. For example at the beginning of Text A we have lexis such as

'overdoing' (l. 1), 'alcohol abuse' (l. 2), 'alcoholism' (l. 2) and 'problem' (l. 3). There are two issues dealt with here: how to know whether one's drinking habits are a problem, and, if yes, how to solve this problem. There are fewer such lexical items in Text C ('dangerous', l. 32, 'careful', l. 32), and none in Text B; Texts C and B employ other devices to set the problem, such as questions (see below).

Participant roles and style

For every interaction involving advice, the prototypical roles are the person providing the advice ('advisor') and the person in need of advice, who receives it ('advisee'). The relationship of the two participants is reflected in the style of the advice texts as a mixture of authority and solidarity; the person providing the advice has more knowledge and therefore the authority to tell the advisee what to do, but at the same time the advice is presumably for the benefit of the advisee, and therefore the advisor should be somebody who cares about and wants to help the advisee. The main characteristics of these two co-existing styles are listed in Table 1.

Authority	Solidarity
Distant	Friendly, familiar
Categorical modality, 'absolute truths' High deontic modality (must, should)	Deontic modality of various degrees (more hedging through expressions such as 'you may want to…')
Scientific or quasi-scientific jargon	Informal vocabulary
Reference to 'people who have the problem' in 3rd person	Addressing the reader (2nd person singular, questions, imperatives)
Authority quoted or exclusive *we*	Inclusive *we*

Table 1 - Styles in advice texts

Syntax

Problems and issues are often presented as questions, as in Text B, which is embedded in the text 'What does your hair show about you?' (l. 1). In the introductory paragraph Text B itself includes another question: 'Do you want to look dynamic/active, modest or sexy?' (l. 8). The issue here is then what hairdo to adopt in order to give a particular impression. Text A also uses questions to set up the problem, e.g. 'When are you led to abuse, when to alcoholism and when are you just a social drinker? How will you realise if you have a problem and who can help you?' (l. 2-4). As shown in the table above, these questions (rhetorical or not) function also as a manifestation of an interactive style, reducing the distance between advisor and advisee.

Imperative clauses are quite a central characteristic of advice texts. They also address the reader directly - more often than not they have a second person singular inflection, which in Greek indicated familiarity and positive politeness (as opposed to the second person plural) e.g. 'observe your behaviour' (Text A, l. 34), 'don't let such

opportunities go unexploited' (Text C, l. 30). Lack of mitigation in these examples also indicates positive politeness rather than impoliteness. [6]

The speech act of advising and felicity conditions

As already mentioned above, the actual part of the text where the speech act of advising takes place is the second part, namely, the 'solution' part. The directive speech act is realised through imperatives (see previous paragraph), but also through more indirect or mitigated expressions, e.g. 'Then it is a good point for you to get in touch with people who have the disease' (Text A, l. 36-37), 'the classic ponytail gives ease and attitude - the ideal hairdo for meeting your boyfriend's parents or to make a presentation for your [manager/ boss]' (Text B, l. 24-26). 'I am… suggesting … not to miss the ones who charm us' (Text C, l. 26-28). These expressions urge the reader to do the respective actions, i.e. get in touch with other alcoholics is they show signs of alcoholism themselves, arranging their hair in a ponytail if they want to make a good impression, and not to miss opportunities with men they find charming.

These kinds of expressions appear more often in the parts of texts written in a friendly and informal style. The advice in the parts of the texts where the style is more authoritative is realised even more indirectly, as there is more emphasis on the distance between the advisor and advisee. Often there are shifts in style from the description of the problem, which may be presented in an authoritative style, to the more informally presented solutions (Text A is a case in point). However, in more elliptical texts, like Text B, only brief and categorical descriptions of states of affairs are presented, e.g. 'The short haircut is considered synonymous of intelligence, honesty and directness' (l. 11-12). Since it has been established earlier on that a woman can influence the impression she makes on others by changing her haircut, it lays upon the reader to infer from this example that if she wants to appear intelligent, honest and direct, she should adopt a short haircut – if not, she shouldn't. The whole Text B practically consists of such impersonal, general statements which apparently should be used by women as a guide for their hairstyle choices. Text C can be seen as functioning in the same way by predominantly using the 1st person singular. That is, although the author/narrator appears to be speaking only about herself, what she says about herself may be taken as applying to the readers as well. The rare occasions where the reader is directly addressed and/or advised, support this explanation – a particularly clear example is her 'resolution' number 2 (l. 25-32). Although at the beginning of the paragraph the resolution is stated as a personal plan ('I will not miss opportunities for sex', l. 25), soon she moves on from 'I' to (inclusive) 'we' and then to 'you' ('I am not suggesting that we go with every random guy, but not to miss the ones who charm us', l. 26-28, 'Don't let such opportunities go unexploited', l. 30, respectively).

The choices of style and various expressions performing the directive speech act are related to Austin's felicity conditions of speech acts (1975, esp. 14-15; 50-51). Austin discusses how for speech acts it makes no sense to speak of truth conditions (i.e. whether the content of a statement is true or false), but rather of felicity conditions

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[6] See Brown and Levinson (1983) on positive and negative politeness.

which, when fulfilled, contribute to the speech act being successfully performed. If one or more of the felicity conditions are not fulfilled, the speech act is performed 'unhappily', it appears out of place. The felicity condition relevant here is that 'the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked' (Austin, 1975: 15). That is, here, the 'appropriate circumstances' are the existence of an issue on which advice is required, a problem to be solved or a situation in which one might not know how to act. The 'appropriate persons' here should be the advisor and the advisee, where the advisor is someone entitled to provide advice by possessing knowledge the advisee lacks, whereas at the same time being concerned about the advisee enough to provide the advice. Thus, a problem-setting part normally has to precede the advice part, in order to justify the act of giving advice, and the styles of authority and solidarity are used to express the position of the advisor as participant, namely, someone who has knowledge and authority, but also a personal interest in the addressees' wellbeing.

Felicity conditions and presupposition

Austin in his lectures links felicity condition for all speech acts with the phenomenon of presupposition for statements – that is, by performing a speech act it is automatically presupposed that it is appropriate to do so (1975: 50-51). In the case of giving advice, the advisor presupposes that they are providing knowledge they have but the advisee does not have, that the advice is wanted etc. and therefore that they have the authority to provide the advice. This also applies to the felicity conditions provided by Searle specifically for the speech act of advice (1969: 67), in short, that advising refers to future actions of H (the Hearer, or, in this case, the reader), that there is reason to believe that the advice will benefit H, and that it is not obvious that H will do what is advised anyway (i.e. the Speaker (S) provides knowledge H does not already have).

This rather broad view of presupposition in relation to speech acts provides useful insights for the function of the discursive devices used in the genre categories in the data. According to van Dijk, shared knowledge or 'common sense' is presupposed and thus does not need to be asserted (e.g. 1998: 39, 102ff). In the case of the advice given in lifestyle magazines it is not necessarily clear and agreed upon by all readers that the advice is necessary, or that the magazine is the best source for receiving advice. Therefore, a presentation of something as a problem usually has to precede the advice, and often this presentation is elaborate and supported with various evidence, so that it will become clear that this is, indeed, a problem. For example in Text A it is *not* presupposed that readers are aware that their drinking habits may be problematic, and a large part of the text is devoted in explaining how having a drink after work is not as innocent as it may seem, and may be a sign of alcoholism. Additional supportive evidence are the statistics and research results presented in relation to alcoholism in Europe and in Greece (l. 9-15). Appeals to authority are used to indicate that the advice indeed comes from a source entitled to give advice, which could be the magazine itself ('We have the answers', Text A, l. 4), or experts ('the psychiatrist-psychoanalyst Theodosis Christodoulakis, also specialised in addiction issues', Text A, l. 16-17,

'Psychologist Dr. Katrina Case', Text B, l. 8). Text C is anonymous and the author/advisor does not have the credentials of a title or degree – thus, the first paragraph (the 'sexual review', l. 10-17) apart from the diary function of recording events of the past year, also serves to establish the authority of the narrator to provide advice on sexual matters, as she has had such rich sexual experience.

Finally, the elements of friendly style adopted in the texts in question contributes to fulfilling the felicity condition that the advice should be in the benefit of the advisee – since the magazine is the reader's friend, they would surely offer helpful advice. To this end also the 'solutions' of the problems are often elaborated on, as, for example, in Text C, l. 40-45 – the reader is encouraged to travel in order to meet new partners and is assured that she will be successful ('of course', l. 42, 'you will find new *partenairs*' (as opposed to 'you may find new *partenairs*'), l. 42-43) with a number of arguments ('You have the time on your side: Greek women right now are hot and top in the list of the most beautiful women of the world. The Olympics helped, too', l. 43-45).

An additional reason why the felicity conditions of the advice have to surface in the magazines' texts is that to a certain extent magazines may function as 'didactic or initiation discourse (van Dijk, 1998: 39). Many of the readers may be first-time or not regular readers (at least women's magazines do not have a steady readership, Hermes, 2005), and may also be young members of the discourse community who have not been exposed extensively to the relevant gender discourse and ideologies (which are acquired at the stage of late adolescence, van Dijk, 1998: 248). Thus, knowledge about the position and function of the magazine cannot be taken for granted and the magazine has to 'gain' the approval of the new or young reader. Finally, the position of the magazine as an authority and as a friend has to be constantly expressed as a strategy of positive self representation, and similarly even self-evident problems and solutions (which should normally be presupposed) may be topicalised and elaborated upon for emphasis, as in discourse this contributes to the readers' mental model construction and can influence their beliefs (van Dijk, 2000: 63, 65ff). However, very often the felicity conditions of the advice given are indeed presupposed, or surface only minimally, as in Text B. Apparently in this text no lengthy explanation is needed why hairstyle should be a concern – the fact that it 'reveals your personality, but can also pass the message you want' is sufficient. Notably, Text B is embedded in another, longer text where a 'panel of experts' speculates on a number of women's character based on their hairstyle; thus, there is no need to elaborate further on this argument in Text B itself.

Interestingly, despite the devices indicating that the advice provided in the texts is felicitous, it may not be the case in reality. That is, the authors providing the advice may not necessarily have more knowledge that the readers, they may not have the readers' best interests at heart and they may not have sufficient evidence to believe that their suggested solutions will work (there is no guarantee, e.g., that a Greek woman will automatically find a partner by travelling abroad, or that people will indeed think a woman is strong-willed and intelligent by the fact that she has average length hair). They may not even think that what they present as problems are indeed problems – Texts B and C presuppose that women (both authors and readers) see their

hair and their sex lives as issues on which advice is needed, which may not be the case. However, these factors (which cannot be accounted for by textual analysis) do not influence the categorisation - even if the advice is infelicitous, it has nevertheless been given, and thus the speech act of advice has been performed; this holds for all advice-giving texts regardless of the beliefs of the participants.

The social importance of conventionalised types of texts and situations lies in the correspondence of these conventions to (relatively stable) power relations in any given social situation - Fairclough explicitly emphasises the connection between genres and the subject positions available to participants of conventionalised social situations, "which are socially constituted and recognised in relation to the activity type" (1992: 126). Wodak suggests that genre is actually a means of control of social situations, and that "it is often exactly within the genres associated with given social situations that power is exercised or challenged" (2001: 11). In genres with clearly delineated situational contexts and participant roles, one can see how in interactions between doctor and patient or teacher and student, for example, the former party is exercising power and the latter may or may not (try to) challenge this power. In lifestyle magazines, one can make the same observation as Thornton and Thetela in relation to advertisements – in exploring the relationship between power and purpose, they see

> the typical relationship between the writer-in-the-text and the reader-in-the-text as almost the reverse of the real relationship between the advertiser and the reader. That is, in reality the advertiser is in the inferior position of entreating the more powerful reader for help (by buying the product, etc.). However, … the writer-in-the-text almost invariably interacts with the reader-in-the-text as an equal or even from a position of superiority (1995: 111).

Magazines are similar in that, apart from promoting commercial products, they are commercial products themselves, and they need to promote themselves and appeal to readers. Thus, the reader has the power not to buy or not to read the magazine, or to stop reading any time, or to read it but not accept the truth or validity of the beliefs expressed, not to take the advice offered, and not be convinced by the promotional texts. The authors of the magazine texts, as shown above, do address the readers as equals (through a friendly style) or as superiors (through an authoritative style), and this characteristic is most prominent in advice texts (and less so in promotional texts), where there is an attempt to convince the reader to act in specific ways.

Apart from power relations between magazine and reader as participants in an interaction, relations between the represented gendered categories 'man' and 'women', further intersecting with parameters of sexuality, age, social class etc. are also of importance. The position of the magazine in relation to the reader, and its discursive expression, becomes of relevance as a factor in expressing, perpetuating or subverting gender ideologies through discourse. It has also been a factor in my categorisation of texts in genre categories, as there is a difference of emphasis in the position of the magazine as providing knowledge, information and evaluation (in commentary texts) or as providing in addition advice and guidance and therefore having more authority (in directive texts).

Concluding remarks

Texts of the same genre may display certain linguistic characteristics in different degrees – genres as categories have radial structure (Lakoff, 1987; Rosch, 1973), that is, some members which display most of the generic characteristics and thus will be prototypical of the category, and some will display less of these characteristics and thus be more marginal (Bordwell, 1989: 148 ff; Swales, 1990: 49 ff). The members thus display family resemblances to each other (Wittgenstein, 1953), rather than sharing a fixed set of characteristics which constitute necessary and sufficient conditions for category membership. The boundaries of radial categories are fuzzy (Lakoff, 1987), and marginal members may be considered to belong to one category or another. The same holds for genre categories. Often, marginal members which can be considered to belong to either one category or the other are products of genre hybridisation, incorporating elements from more than one genre or genre category. Elements of different genres may be brought together in order to produce certain effects, such as irony, humour, or simply originality via subverting genre norms (Bordwell, 1989; Chandler, 1997; see Unger and Sunderland, 2007 for some examples), or genre hybridisation may be the result of changes in social structures and social activity involved, such British Universities' brochures showing the marketisation of education in Britain (Fairclough, 1992, 1993). In lifestyle magazines genre and genre category hybridisation may be an element of creativity which provides additional interest for the reader, but may also contribute to achieving different functions.

In such cases I tried to focus on primary communicative purpose/function for the data selection, but hybrid elements will have to be taken into account in the further, in-depth analysis of every individual text. Notably, hybrids can be marginal members of more than one category, but cannot be prototypical members of any category (Bordwell, 1989: 148 ff) – Text C is neither prototypical advice nor a prototypical diary. Hybrid texts or non-prototypical members are by no means rare in the data – however, these phenomena need to be accounted for on an individual basis for every text through the stage of in-depth analysis rather than in the stages of data selection, not only due to the inherent fluidity of hybrids, but also due the lack of conventionalisation of lifestyle magazine texts and the creativity and entertainment value motivating this hybridisation and heterogeneity. Thus, possible patterns of similarity among apparently unique texts would have to be discovered through the stage of in-depth analysis – the 'genre categories' provide a matrix for identifying at least an 'overt' function in most of the texts, and against which we can decide whether and how prototypical or marginal particular texts are, or whether they are hybrids, and to what extent.

Moreover, the differing functions and consequent discursive characteristics of the texts in the magazines are a matter of degree rather than clear-cut differentiation, not only because of the radial structure of the categories, but also because they all belong to the broader super-genre 'lifestyle magazine'. They all have to comply with the overall character of the brand of the magazine, their inclusion has to be decided upon by the same editorial board, and there are certain functions shared by all of them.

Entertainment is one shared function which surfaces for instance in humorous elements in texts irrespective of their other functions. Providing a light reading for passing the time is another, which places restrictions on the length of the texts, and influences the inclusion and kind of visual elements accompanying the texts and possibly the complexity of the language used (as they have to be easy to pick up and put down any time, as Hermes (1995) has demonstrated in relation to women's magazines). Arguably, then, even commentary texts have an element of advice (David Machin, personal communication, May 2006), as they provide evaluation of what is praiseworthy and desirable, and thus should presumably be imitated, and of what is to be criticised and condemned, and thus should be avoided. Vice versa, one cannot claim that only commentary texts express beliefs, because both factual and evaluative beliefs are expressed in the advice texts, in order to represent something as a problem or in order to justify why the suggested solution is indeed the best one. Thus, readers of these texts, even if they do not need or do not follow the advice provided, are at the same time presented with knowledge and evaluation which they may decide to adopt or not. The functional categorisation I have adopted is concerned with the primary function of texts, which, without refuting these secondary functions, or the common elements of texts as belonging to the same super-genre, provides a reliable means of distinction of text categories which, taken together and with a different contribution each, synthesise the total of the magazine.

There are, obviously, a number of issues pertaining to the analysis of genre in relation to Critical Discourse Analysis, including 'hidden' communicative purposes, which are beyond the scope of this paper. I hope, however, to have made explicit the regressive methodology applicable to CDA and functional approaches in general. The emphasis especially on CDA stems from the broader research question of examining ideologies, as opposed to conventions and functions in the narrow context. Although, as we saw, the issue of genre identification has been a sore methodological point for scholars from a number of disciplines (from linguistic genre analysis to literary criticism and film studies), CDA has been more widely criticised for lack of methodological rigour and imposition of the analysts' interpretation on the data (Widdowson, 1995, 1998 – see also O'Halloran, 2003: 30-31). Whereas we cannot overlook, indeed must rely on intuition from the discourse community for tasks such as genre identification and analysis, it is also imperative to be reflexive and explicit about our methodology, for CDA perhaps more so if we are to be not only valid, but also self-critical. Thus, it may not necessarily be the case that genre identification has to go painstakingly through all the stages detailed here, down to the actual analysis. The discussion and analysis here may well be, however, a more explicit demonstration of a course taken less formally and more or less consciously by an analyst when dealing with the slippery notion of 'genre'.

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APPENDIX

Text A, *Marie Claire,* Feb. 2006, pp. 70-73

1   Ένα ακόμα ποτό μετά το γραφείο... Ναι, αλλά μήπως το παρακάνεις;

2   Πότε οδηγείσαι στην κατάχρηση, πότε στον αλκοολισμό και πότε είσαι απλά
3   κοινωνικός πότης; Πώς θα καταλάβεις αν έχεις πρόβλημα και ποιοι μπορούν να σε
4   βοηθήσουν; Έχουμε τις απαντήσεις. Από τη Βάλυ Βαϊμάκη.

5   Μπορεί να είναι, απλώς, ένα ποτό μετά το γραφείο. Μπορεί να είναι ο γάμος
6   της κολλητής σου, ένα πάρτι, μια μπαρότσαρκα – όλες το έχουμε κάνει και...
7   παρακάνει κάποιες φορές. ... Το ουίσκυ ή η βότκα... καταγράφεται στον κατάλογο με
8   τα ευχάριστα της μέρας...

9   Αλλά μήπως το έχουμε παρακάνει; Οι αλκοολικοί παγκοσμίως αποτελούν το 10%
10   του πληθυσμού, ενώ στην Ευρώπη φτάνουν τα 84 εκατομμύρια. Η Ελλάδα
11   κατέχει τη $10^η$ θέση στον αλκοολισμό σε πανευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο. Από το 1970 μέχρι
12   το 2002 έχουμε αύξηση 51% σε αντίθεση με τις οινοπαραγωγές χώρες,
13   όπως η Ισπανία, η Γαλλία, η Ιταλία, που παρουσιάζουν μείωση, αποκαλύπτουν τα
14   στοιχεία του Παγκόσμιου Οργανισμού Υγείας και του Ευρωπαϊκού
15   Παρατηρητηρίου για τα ναρκωτικά. ...

16   ... ο ψυχίατρος – ψυχαναλυτής Θεοδόσης Χριστοδουλάκης, ειδικευμένος και σε
17   θέματα εξαρτήσεων.

18   Κατάχρηση και εξάρτηση

19   Πριν αρχίσεις να ανησυχείς, ας κάνουμε μερικούς απαραίτητους
20   διαχωρισμούς. Πότε μιλάμε για κατάχρηση αλκοόλ και πότε για εξάρτηση,
21   δηλαδή για αλκοολισμό; Κατάχρηση κάνει αυτός ή αυτή που καταναλώνει συχνά
22   μεγάλες ποσότητες αλκοόλ ... Αυτό σημαίνει ότι το άτομο μπορεί να το
23   περιορίσει όταν θέλει ... Αντίθετα, αυτός που πάσχει από εξάρτηση, ακόμα και
24   όταν θέλει, δεν μπορεί να περιορίσει ούτε την ποσότητα ούτε τη συχνότητα.

25   Γιατί κάποιοι γίνονται αλκοολικοί και άλλοι όχι;

26   Όταν το ποτό γίνεται αυτοθεραπεία

27   Το ποτό, το «φάρμακό» μας. Το «ηρεμιστικό» μας – νόμιμο, ελεύθερο και
28   διαχρονικά στη μόδα. Το βρίσκεις παντού, σου διώχνει την ένταση μιας πιεστικής
29   μέρας, σε βοηθάει να φλερτάρεις, να γίνεις το επίκεντρο της παρέας, να διώξεις τις
30   αναστολές σου.

31   Γιατί οι γυναίκες πίνουν όλο και περισσότερο;

     [Προβλήματα που προκαλεί το αλκοόλ στις γυναίκες και τους νέους]

32   Τι μπορείς να κάνεις;

33 Όπως έχει δείξει η ιστορία, κάθε είδους (ποτο)απαγόρευση οδηγεί μάλλον στα
34 αντίθετα αποτελέσματα. Παρατήρησε, λοιπόν, τη συμπεριφορά σου. Αν, για
35 παράδειγμα, αυξάνεις σταθερά τη συχνότητα και τις ποσότητες, έχεις έναν πρώτο
36 λόγο να ανησυχήσεις. «Τότε είναι καλό σημείο για να έρθεις σε επαφή με
37 ανθρώπους που έχουν την αρρώστια, είναι σε ανάρρωση ή με χώρους
38 ενημέρωσης για να σου συζητήσουν πράγματα και να δεις αν ταυτίζεσαι με αυτά. Να
39 δεις αν τα πρόδρομα συμπτώματα σου είναι συμπτώματα της ασθένειας του
40 αλκοολισμού ή όχι», λέει ο κ. Χριστοδουλάκης.
41 Οι θεραπείες των εξαρτήσεων παντού στον κόσμο είναι θεραπείες ομάδας...
42 Μια από αυτές παγκοσμίως είναι η αδελφότητα των Α.Α., με πολύ καλά
43 αποτελέσματα, κατά τις εκτιμήσεις των ειδικών. …

Alexandra Polyzou

Text A, *Marie Claire,* Feb. 2006, pp. 70-73, English translation

1   One more drink after work… Yes, but are <u>you</u> <u>overdoing</u> it?

2   <u>When are you led to abuse, when to alcoholism and when are you just</u>
3   <u>a social drinker?</u> <u>How</u> will <u>you</u> realise if <u>you</u> have a <u>problem</u> and <u>who can</u>
4   <u>help you?</u> <u>We</u> have the <u>answers</u>. By Valy Vaimaki.

5   It may just be a drink after work. It may be <u>your best friend's</u>
6   <u>wedding, a party, a bar crawl</u> – <u>we</u> have all done it and…
7   overdone it some times. … The whiskey or vodka… is registered in the list
8   with the pleasant [things] of the day…

9   But <u>have we maybe overdone it</u>? Alcoholics universally comprise <u>10%</u>
10   of the population, whereas in Europe they reach <u>84 million</u>. Greece
11   holds the <u>10th position</u> in alcoholism in European level. From 1970
12   to 2002 we have a <u>51% increase</u>, contrary to the wine producing countries,
13   such as Spain, France, Italy, which demonstrate decrease, as the
14   evidence of the <u>World Health Organisation</u> and <u>European</u>
15   <u>Monitoring Center for Drugs [and Drug Abuse]</u> reveal. …

16   … the <u>psychiatrist-psychoanalyst</u> Theodosis Christodoulakis, also <u>specialised</u> in
17   addiction issues.

18   <u>Abuse</u> and <u>addiction</u>

19   Before <u>you</u> start to worry, let's make some necessary
20   distinctions. When are we talking about alcohol abuse and when about addiction,
21   i.e. alcoholism? Abuse is done by <u>the person</u> who consumes often
22   large quantities of alcohol … This means that <u>the person</u> can
23   restrict it when they want … On the contrary, <u>the person who suffers from addiction,</u>
     even
24   when he or she wants to, they cannot restrict the quantity nor the frequency.

25   Why do some people become alcoholics and some don't?

26   When drinking becomes self-therapy

27   Drinking, <u>our</u> "medicine". <u>Our</u> "tranquiliser" – legal, unrestricted and
28   timelessly in fashion. You find it everywhere, it helps you get rid of the tension of a
     pressing
29   day, it helps you flirt, get the limelight, get rid of
30   your inhibitions.

31   Why do women drink more and more?

     [Problems alcohol causes to women and young people]

32   <u>What can you do</u>?

33   As history has shown, every kind of prohibition rather leads to the
34   opposite results. So, <u>observe your behaviour</u>. If, for
35   example, you are steadily increasing the frequency and the quantities, <u>you have a first</u>
36   <u>reason to worry</u>. "<u>Then it is a good point for you to get in touch</u> with
37   people who have the <u>disease</u>, are recovering, or with places
38   for information in order for them to discuss things with you and for you to see if you
       are identifying with them.
39   To see if these preliminary symptoms of yours are symptoms of the disease of
40   alcoholism or not", says <u>Mr Christodoulakis</u>.
41   <u>Addiction therapies everywhere in the world are group therapies…</u>
42   <u>One of these [groups] globally is the [association] of AA, with very good</u>
43   <u>results, according to the specialists' estimations</u>. …

Text B, *Marie Claire,* Feb. 2006, pp. 74-77

1   Τι δείχνουν τα μαλλιά σου για σένα;

2   Ποια από εμάς ύστερα από ένα χωρισμό δεν έχει καταφύγει στο κομμωτήριο
3   για να ανανεωθεί; Έχεις αναρωτηθεί τι σημαίνει για σένα η επιλογή της κόμμωσής
4   σου και τι εντύπωση δημιουργεί στους άλλους; Ένας hair stylist, μία ψυχολόγος
5   και ένας άνδρας δίνουν τη δική τους ερμηνεία. Πόσο μέσα έπεσαν; Από τις Νίκη
6   Πηλείδου, Ανδριάνα Σακκά. Φωτογραφίες: Νίκος Οικονομόπουλος.

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7   Her hair

[text 'embedded' in the text]

8   Θέλεις να δείχνεις δυναμική, σεμνή ή σέξι; Η ψυχολόγος δρ Κατρίνα Κέις λέει ότι
9   ο τρόπος που χτενίζεσαι αποκαλύπτει την προσωπικότητά σου, αλλά και μπορεί να
10   περάσει το μήνυμα που θέλεις…

11   ❖   Το κοντό κούρεμα θεωρείται συνώνυμο εξυπνάδας, ειλικρίνειας και
12   ευθύτητας. Γενικά, τα κοντά μαλλιά κάνουν τις νεότερες γυναίκες να
13   μοιάζουν πιο ώριμες και σοφιστικέ.
14   ❖   Τα μεσαίου μήκους μαλλιά δίνουν την εντύπωση μιας γυναίκας κομψής και με
15   ισχυρή θέληση. Πρόκειται για άτομο δυναμικό, που συνδυάζει την ομορφιά με
16   την εξυπνάδα.
17   ❖   Τα μακριά, περιποιημένα μαλλιά δείχνουν αυτοπεποίθηση και αισθησιασμό.
18   Ωστόσο, τα ατημέλητα μακριά μαλλιά στέλνουν ένα τελείως διαφορετικό
19   μήνυμα: ότι το άτομο προσπαθεί να κρύψει κάποια σημεία του προσώπου ή του
20   σώματος που θεωρεί προβληματικά.
21   ❖   Τα κυματιστά μαλλιά δίνουν ένα παιχνιδιάρικο και ανέμελο αέρα στην
22   εμφάνιση. Τα ίσια μαλλιά, από την άλλη, δείχνουν αυτοκυριαρχία, στιλ και
23   φινέτσα.
24   ❖   Η κλασική αλογοουρά χαρίζει άνεση και αέρα – το ιδανικό χτένισμα για να
25   γνωρίσεις τους γονείς του φίλου σου ή να κάνεις μια παρουσίαση στον
26   προϊστάμενό σου. Η αλογοουρά ψηλά στο κεφάλι σε κάνει να δείχνεις πιο χαλαρή
27   και δραστήρια.

Text B, *Marie Claire,* Feb. 2006, pp. 74-77, English translation

1 <u>What does your hair show about you</u>?

2 <u>Which one of us</u>, after a break-up, has not resorted to the hair salon
3 in order to refresh herself? Have <u>you</u> wondered what the choice of your hairstyle
    means for you
4 and what impression it creates to others? <u>A hair stylist, a psychologist</u>
5 <u>and a man</u> give their own interpretation. How spot-on were they? By Niki
6 Pileidou, Andriana Sakka. Photos: Nikos Oikonomopoulos.

   Pg. 77

7 Her hair

   [text 'embedded' in the text]

8 Do <u>you</u> want to look dynamic/active, modest or sexy? <u>Psychologist Dr. Katrina
   Case says that</u>
9 the way you do your hair reveals your personality, but can also
10 pass the message you want…

11 ❖   The short haircut <u>is considered</u> synonymous of intelligence, honesty and
12 directness<u>. In general</u>, short hair <u>makes</u> younger women seem more mature and
13 sophisticated.
14 ❖   Hair of average length <u>gives</u> the impression of a woman elegant and with
15 strong will. It is about a dynamic/ active <u>person</u>, who combines beauty with
16 intelligence.
17 ❖   Long, groomed hair <u>shows</u> self-confidence and sensuality.
18 However, unkempt long hair sends a completely different
19 message: that <u>the person</u> is trying to hide certain points of the face or the
20 body [she/he] considers problematic.
21 ❖   Wavy hair <u>gives</u> a playful and carefree air to
22 the appearance. Straight hair, on the other hand, <u>shows</u> self-control, style and
23 finesse.
24 ❖   The classic ponytail <u>gives</u> ease and attitude - the <u>ideal</u> hairdo for
25 meeting <u>your</u> boyfriend's parents or to make a presentation for
26 <u>your</u> [manager/ boss]. The ponytail high on the head makes you look more relaxed
27 and active.

Text C, *Madame Figaro*, February 2006, pg. 62

1   sex diary

2   σεξουαλικές αποφάσεις 2006
3   Είμαστε ακόμα στην αρχή. Ώρα να βάλουμε σε εφαρμογή τις sexolutions της νέας
4   χρονιάς.

5   Θέλω φέτος να ξεκινήσω τη σεξουαλική μου ζωή από την αρχή, με μια δόση
6   ωριμότητας και σωφροσύνης, που μου ορίζουν οι μέχρι στιγμής σεξουαλικές μου
7   εμπειρίες, και με μια μεζούρα χιούμορ και ελαφρότητας, για να πηδάω σαν την
8   πεταλούδα από το ένα λουλούδι στο άλλο. Μια ολοκαίνουργια χρονιά – φρέσκια
9   και δροσερή σαν την πρωινή αυγή -, με πολύ σεξ, αγάπη και έρωτα. Πριν σας
10 ανακοινώσω τα σχέδιά μου θα κάνω μια μικρή σεξουαλική ανασκόπηση:
11 Ξεκίνησα την περσινή χρονιά σινγκλ και η φετινή πάλι μόνη με βρίσκει. Είχα
12 πολλά φλερτ, πήρα και έδωσα χυλόπιτες, ερωτεύτηκα ταυτοχρόνως δυο άντρες,
13 έκανα το πρώτο μου ερωτικό τρίγωνο, φιλήθηκα με πολύ κόσμο, ντύθηκα
14 μαθητριούλα για έναν εραστή και νοσοκόμα για κάποιον άλλον, έκανα cybersex
15 και μπήκα στον πειρασμό να το κάνω με μια γυναίκα. Βέβαια, όσο εξωτικά και
16 περιπετειώδη κι αν ακούγονται όλα αυτά, υπήρξαν και πολλές μοναχικές νύχτες.
17 Βάσει αυτών, τα sexolutions μου για το 2006 είναι τα ακόλουθα:

18   1. Θα μείνω κι άλλο σινγκλ. Ενώ όλοι ταυτίστηκαν με τη σειρά στο Mega και
19 ψάχνουν εναγωνίως να βρουν το «ταιριαστό» ταίρι τους, εγώ προσπαθώ να
20 ανακαλύπτω τρόπους και τεχνάσματα να μείνω μόνη. Η μοναξιά μπορεί να είναι
21 δημιουργική και απελευθερωτική. Μου αρέσει η ελευθερία να κάνω ό,τι θέλω,
22 χωρίς να δεσμεύομαι από τα «πρέπει» μιας σχέσης. Θέλω να βγαίνω και να κάνω
23 σεξ με όποιον μου αρέσει και όπως μου αρέσει. Το ότι έχω περάσει τα τριάντα
24 και σκέφτομαι αργά ή γρήγορα να κάνω παιδί, δε μου απαγορεύει τις περιπέτειες.

25   2. Δε θα χάνω ευκαιρίες για σεξ. Δε θα σκέφτομαι «πρέπει να το κάνω στο
26 δεύτερο ραντεβού» ή «δεν πρέπει να απατήσω τον άλλον». Δεν προτείνω να
27 πηγαίνουμε με τον κάθε τυχόντα, αλλά να μη χάνουμε εκείνους που μας
28 γοητεύουν. Για παράδειγμα, πέρσι είχα την ευκαιρία να κάνω σεξ μ'ένα σταρ του
29 Χόλιγουντ, αλλά επειδή ήμουν με ένα αγόρι υπερίσχυσε η ηθική (δες τεύχος
30 Νοεμβρίου). Μην αφήνεις τέτοιες ευκαιρίες να περνούν ανεκμετάλλευτες. Θα
31 μπορούσα τώρα να ζω στο Λος Άντζελες. Ο συντηρητισμός μπορεί να είναι
32 επικίνδυνος, πρόσεχε.

33   3. Δεν θα είμαι τόσο επιλεκτική με τον «τύπο» μου. Το λέω ξανά, για όλες
34 εκείνες που ψάχνουν ακόμα τον πρίγκιπά τους. Που ο ένας τούς «μυρίζει» κι ο
35 άλλος τους «ξινίζει». Κάποτε ήμουν κι εγώ λίγο σνομπ. Έψαχνα τον
36 ιντελεκτουέλ, τον μποέμ, το ζωγράφο ή οποιονδήποτε με καλλιτεχνικές
37 ικανότητες. Είναι ωραίο να ανοίγεις τον εαυτό σου σε καινούριους ανθρώπους
38 και κόσμους. Μ'ενοχλούν τα άτομα που κατηγοριοποιούν τους άλλους και
39 σκέφτονται με στερεότυπα.

40   4. Θα συνδυάσω το σεξ με τον τουρισμό. Ψάξε στην ατζέντα σου και βρες

41 πρώην αγαπημένους σε διάφορες πόλεις του κόσμου: Νέα Υόρκη, Λονδίνο,
42 Βερολίνο, Τόκιο. Και, φυσικά, μόλις βρεθείς στην αλλοδαπή, θα βρεις
43 καινούριους παρτενέρ. Έχεις την εποχή με το μέρος σου: Οι Ελληνίδες αυτή τη
44 στιγμή είναι χοτ και τοπ στη λίστα των ωραιότερων γυναικών του κόσμου.
45 Βοήθησαν και οι Ολυμπιακοί.

46   5. Θα δοκιμάσω κάτι που δεν έχω ξανακάνει. Δεν πρέπει να έχει κανείς
47 ερωτικά απωθημένα. Γι'αυτό θέλω να δοκιμάσω νέα πράγματα ή να εκπληρώσω
48 ανεκπλήρωτες φαντασιώσεις. Παρότι έχω πολλές σεξουαλικές συνευρέσεις, δεν
49 πάει να πει ότι τα έχω κάνει όλα. Ακόμη με προκαλεί το καινούριο, το
50 διαφορετικό και η αίσθηση ότι ξεπερνάω τα όριά μου.

51   6. Θα εκτιμήσω άλλες μορφές ερωτισμού πέρα από το σεξ. Ακόμη νιώθω
52 πεταλούδες στο στομάχι όταν γνωρίζω έναν καινούριο άντρα. Αναστατώνομαι
53 όταν οι φίλοι μου μού στέλνουν ερωτικά mails με ακατάλληλες φωτογραφίες.
54 Ανάβω όταν χορεύω ανατολίτικο χορό με μια Περσίδα από το Ιράν, όταν τα
55 σώματά μας έρχονται επικίνδυνα κοντά και οι άντρες της παρέας μας κοιτάζουν
56 φιλήδονα. Ένα μαύρο εφαρμοστό φόρεμα Moschino ακόμη μου φτιάχνει την
57 ερωτική διάθεση και ανεβάζει τη λίμπιντό μου. Φέτος θα το φοράω πιο συχνά.

58 Άγιε Βαλεντίνε, σου' ρχομαι!

59 Virgin Mary

Text C, *Madame Figaro*, February 2006, pg. 62, English translation

1   sex diary

2   sexual resolutions 2006

3   <u>We are</u> still at the beginning. <u>Time [for us] to put in practice</u> the sexolutions of the new

4   year.

5   <u>I</u> want this year to begin my sexual life from scratch, with a dosage

6   of maturity and prudence, which is defined by my sexual

7   experiences so far, and with a nip of humour and lightness, so that I will jump like a

8   butterfly from one flower to the other. A brand new year – fresh

9   and cool like the morning dawn -, with a lot of sex, love and romance. <u>Before</u>

10   <u>I announce to you my plans</u>, I will make a short sexual <u>review</u>:

11   I started last year single and this year again finds me alone. I had

12   many flirts, I got and gave the push, I fell in love with two men at the same time,

13   I had my first love triangle, I kissed and was kissed by a lot of people, I dressed up as

14   a schoolgirl for a lover and as a nurse for another, I had cybersex

15   and I got tempted to do it with a woman. Of course, no matter how exotic and

16   adventurous all this sounds, there have also been many lonely nights.

17   Based on the above, my sexolutions for 2006 are the following:

18   1. I will stay single longer. While everyone identified themselves with the series in Mega [Channel][7] and

19   are frantically looking to find their "suitable" mate, I am trying to

20   discover ways and schemes to stay alone. Loneliness <u>can be</u>

21   <u>creative and liberating</u>. I like the freedom to do whatever I want,

22   without being restricted by the "musts" of a relationship. I want to go out and have

23   sex with whoever I like and however I like. The fact that I am above thirty

24   and am thinking sooner or later of having a child does not prohibit me from adventures.

25   2. I will not miss opportunities for sex. I will not think "I have to do it on

26   the second date" or "I must not cheat on the other". I am not <u>suggesting</u> that

27   <u>we go</u> with every random guy, but <u>not to miss</u> the ones who

28   charm us. For example, last year I had the opportunity to have sex with a Hollywood

29   star, but because I was with a boy morality prevailed (see November

30   issue). <u>Don't let such opportunities go unexploited</u>. I could

31   now live in Los Angeles. <u>Conservatism can be</u>

32   <u>dangerous, be careful</u>.

33   3. I will not be so selective with my "type". I say it again, <u>for all</u>

34   <u>those who are still looking for their prince</u>. Who find that one [guy] 'stinks' to them and the

35   other 'is sour' for them[8]. Once I used to be a little snobbish too. I was looking for

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[7] Greek sitcom entitled 'Singles'

36   the *intelectuel*, the boheme, the painter or whoever with artistic
37   abilities. It is nice to <u>open up yourself</u> to new people
38   and worlds. I am annoyed by the people who categorise others and
39   think in stereotypes.

40   4. I will combine sex with tourism. <u>Look</u> in your address book and <u>find</u> former
41   beloved ones in various cities of the world: New York, London,
42   Berlin, Tokyo. And, of course, as soon as <u>you find yourself abroad, you will find</u>
43   <u>new *partenairs*</u>. <u>You have the time on your side</u>: Greek women right
44   now are hot and top in the list of the most beautiful women of the world.
45   The Olympics helped, too.

46   5. I will try something I have never done before. <u>One must not have</u>
47   repressed sexual desires. So I want to try new things or fulfil
48   unfulfilled fantasies. Although I have many sexual encounters, it doesn't
49   mean that I have done everything. I am still provoked/ challenged by the new, the
50   different and the sense that I am crossing my limits.

51   6. I will appreciate other forms of eroticism apart from sex. I still feel
52   butterflies in my stomach when I meet a new man. I get excited
53   when my friends send me erotic e-mails with x-rated photos.
54   I get turned on when I dance an oriental dance with a Persian woman from Iran, when
55   our bodies come dangerously close and the men of the [group] look at us
56   sensually . A black closely fitting Moschino dress still makes my
57   erotic mood and raises my libido. This year I will be wearing it more often.

58   St Valentine, here I come!

59   Virgin Mary

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[8] Conventional informal Greek expression to indicate that they are not happy with anything, they are difficult.