EDER EDEBÎ ELEŞTİRİ DERGİSİ

ISSN: 2602-4616

Cilt IV, Sayı II, Ekim 2020

Makale Adı /Article Name

Evlilik Kurumuna Toplumsal Cinsiyet Üzerinden Bakış: Dilsel Görecelilik An Overview on the Marriage Institution in Terms Of Gender: Linguistic Relativity

Yazar

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Yayın Bilgisi

Yayın Türü: Araştırma Makalesi Gönderim Tarihi: 26.02.2020 Kabul Tarihi: 28.03.2020 Yayın Tarihi: 25.10.2020 DOI: 10.31465/eeder.694835 Sayfa Aralığı: 183-205

Kaynak Gösterme

Kara, Gökçen (2020). "An Overview on the Marriage Institution in Terms of Gender: Linguistic Relativity", *Edebî Eleştiri Dergisi*, C IV, S II, s. 183-205.

ÖZ

Dil, kültür ve düşünce arasındaki ilişki, antik çağlardan beri insan toplumunun ve varoluşunun dinamiklerini anlamayı amaç edinen temel tartışma ve araştırma alanlarından birini oluşturmaktadır. Edward Sapir ve öğrencisi Benjamin Lee Whorf, konuştuğumuz dilin yeteneklerimizin ve davranışlarımızın yanı sıra dünyaya dair düşünme biçimimizi büyük ölçüde etkileyebildiği görüşünü bir hipotez olarak yapılandırmışlardır. Bu hipoteze göre dil kişinin gerçeklik algısını ve buna bağlı olarak dünyayı görme biçimini etkiler.

Bu hipotezin dil ve düsünce arasındaki iliskiyi açıklamak için sunulmasının ardından, onunla ilgili olarak bazı varsayımlar yapılmıştır. Bunlardan biri, dilde cinsiyetin anlamsal bir role sahip olduğunu ve cinsiyetin uygulanma şeklinin dillerin farklılık gösterdiği alanlardan biri olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Dil pek çok ideolojide olduğu gibi toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisinde de etkilidir. Türkçede, dilde cinsiyet normları yaygındır ve cinsiyetçi ideoloji onun aracılığıyla sürdürülmektedir. toplumu, katı geleneksel erkek ve kadın davranışlarını ve rollerini önceden belirlemiştir ve dil aracılığıyla kendi kültürü içinde onları merkezi ve kalıcı hale getirmiştir. Bir güç aracı olan dil, erkeklerin elindedir ve kadınlar kendilerini bu dilde bulmaya ve erkeklerden kimlik bağımsız bir oluşturmaya zorlanmaktadırlar.

Bir toplumdaki evlilik kurumu, cinsiyetin açık bir biçimde gözlemlenebileceği yerlerden biridir. Bu tezde, Türk dilinin, konuşmacılarının kavramsal sistemini toplumsal cinsiyet açısından nasıl etkilediği araştırılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, bu tez, Türk evlilik kurumu içindeki dil ve cinsiyet arasındaki ilişkiyi açıklamaya calısmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal cinsiyet, dil, düşünce, algı, evlilik kurumu

ABSTRACT

Since ancient times, the relationship among language, culture and the mind constitutes one of the main areas of discussion and research aimed at understanding the dynamics of human society and existence. Linguist, Edward Sapir, and his student, Benjamin Lee Whorf, hypothesized that the language we speak could control much of the ways we think about the world around us, as well as our abilities and behavior. According to this hypothesis, language affects a person's perception of reality and by extension, the way he or she views the world. After this hypothesis was offered, purporting to explain the relationship between language and thought, some predictions were made in relation to it. One of them postulates that gender in language has a semantic role, and that implementation of gender is one of the ways in which languages differ. Like in most ideologies language is effective on gender ideology. In Turkish, gender norms in language is common and sexist ideology is being perpetuated through it. Turkish society has predetermined strict traditional male and female behaviors and roles and has made them central and permanent within its own culture through language. The language, which is a power tool, is in the hands of men, while women are forced to find themselves in this language and create an identity independent of men.

The marriage institution in a society is one of the places where gender can be observed saliently. In this thesis, how Turkish language affects the conceptual system of its speakers in terms of gender is investigated. In addition, this thesis attempts to demystify the relationship between language and gender within the Turkish marriage institution.

Keywords: Gender, language, thought, perception, marriage institution

1. INTRODUCTION

The inherent drive to organize and share one's thoughts with others is facilitated by an abstract scheme of communication called language, the feature that distinguishes humans from other living things. As Professor Claire Kramsch defines it in Language and Culture, "language is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives, and can therefore be considered a necessity for human society" (2003:3). In this sense, language is an important influence on the way in which people perceive and evaluate the world, as well as a medium for the transmission of cultures and ideologies. For this reason, language cannot be ignored in social studies. "As for pre-human hominids or early anatomically modern humans (AMH) one hundred thousand years ago, we don't know and probably will never know how they

engaged in 'thinking'. But we do know that all hominids, like all animals, communicate. We can also be sure that at some point of the evolution of hominid communicative behavior after some radical innovations, language emerged. I will, therefore, assume that language emerged phylogenetically as a human vehicle of communication" (2002:87). As Bertram F. Malle stated in The Evolution of Language Out of Pre-language. It is generally accepted that there was communication between the ancestors of modern humans before the emergence of conversation, if communication is understood as a form of interaction that can be achieved by behavior or gesture. However, what we call "human language" is a phenomenon that involves much more than communication. It is thought that, before the hominids, communication was established only to seek or offer help, a situation that, over time, fostered unity and the development of society. In this respect, the relation between language and thought in linguistic theory has also been used to explain culture. In this connection, culture emerges as a consequence of cognitive competence. Kramsch refers to the relation between language and culture as follows: "The words people utter refer to common experience. They express facts, ideas or events that are communicable because they refer to a stock of knowledge about the world that other people share. Words also reflect their authors' attitudes and beliefs, their point of view that are also those of others. In both cases, language expresses cultural reality" (Kramsch, ibid).

In addition to its role as the most important means of communication, however, language has been used to manage and control people's thoughts and beliefs on occasions throughout history. Power holders in a society are able to exert pressure on language in order to encourage the adoption of their own ideas. In this sense, language is a source of great power for certain cultures and ideologies. George Orwell's novel 1984 offers an example of the ways in which language can be politically manipulated. The book features a language called Newspeak, a variation of English developed by the repressive party that, through its limited vocabulary, is intended to narrow the range of possible thought in order to prevent independent or rebellious thinking. As Orwell explains in the novel: "Its vocabulary was so constructed as to give exact and often very subtle expression to every meaning that a Party member could properly wish to express, while excluding all other meanings and also the possibility of arriving at them by indirect methods. (...) To give a simple example, the word "free" still existed in Newspeak, but it could only be used in such statements as "The dog is free from lice." It could not be used in its old sense of "politically free" or "intellectually free," since political and intellectual freedom no longer existed even as concepts, and were therefore of necessity nameless" (1949:344).

It can be seen from the above extract that language controls thought. This control derives largely from the absence of words that indicate a particular concept. In other words, language can restrict what a person is able to say. For example, during the Nazi regime, the German Press Office issued language directives mandating which words could and could not be used; by so doing, the Nazis were attempting to control the thoughts of the populace through language. It can be seen, therefore, that people's thoughts can be controlled by direct manipulation of

language. Through language they try to change or determine the point of view of society.

The origin of this theory lies in the early 20th century, with anthropologist Franz Boas's assertion that every language reflects different realities. In a similar vein, in 1930 American linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf postulated what is now known as the "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis" Influenced by his mentor, Edward Sapir, Whorf hypothesized that the language we speak shapes the ways in which we think about the world around us. According to this hypothesis, the way in which individuals perceive reality differs because language, and particularly one's mother language, has an influence that determines one's thinking and perceptions of the world. According to Edward Sapir: "The "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. (...) The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. (...) We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation" (1966:69).

Sapir Whorf hypothesis has attracted widespread attention, from the point of its introduction onward, and led to scholarly claims that all political movements exist by means of language. Every political view, class struggle, and social action creates its own discourse through the language. As Celia Roberts, Evelyn Davies and Tom Jupp stated, "language is never neutral, but always embodies ideologies which are themselves the fabric of power relations and social struggle" (2014:77). Language is the most powerful weapon of politicians, and power holders.

Language mediates the thoughts and behaviors of individuals and provides the link between an individual's world knowledge and social relations. Language is an indicator how people perceive cultural norms and express themselves as members of society. As Paul Simpson stated, ''language will be inevitably and inextricably tied up with the socio-political context in which it functions'' (1993:5). As seen in Newspeak, language is a means of creating cultural identity and used as an ideological tool in the society. In a sense, every ideology is produced through its own language. As such, groups that are socially powerful can use language to adopt their ideologies.

Whorf's assumption has been tested several times in the context of power structures in which the language is used politically. *The Languages of Pao* by Jack Vance is another example for the Sapir Whorf hypothesis. In this novel, people are classified as tradesmen, farmers, soldiers and scientists and are allowed to learn and speak the language that was created for them. As can be seen in the examples of 1984 and The Languages of Pao, language can be used as an ideological tool. "Because we are discussing the most general ideas. Each language is a special tool, with a particular capability. It is more than a means of communication, it is a system of thought. Do you understand what I mean?... Think of a language as the contour of a watershed, stopping flow in certain directions, channeling it into others. Language controls the mechanism of your mind. When people speak different languages, their minds work differently and they act differently (Vance, 2004:70).

2. LANGUAGE and GENDER

Thus far language has been considered intertwined with ideology. The role of language in representing the gender ideology does also need to be mentioned. In all societies, there are a set of ideologies. Gender ideology which means appropriate roles, rights and responsibilities of men and women in society, is one of the power dynamics in a society. Language manifests itself in gender role norms that are some of the most powerful social rules taught to individuals. Men and women have been moulded into the being that the society wants them to be. Gender ideologies impose verbal behaviors. These are often at the subconscious level that the speakers and interlocutors are completely unaware of the prejudices that affect their behavior and have existed since childhood. "Language can be used to create ideology and direct the way people think (1999:39). As Peccei claims language teaches social norms and expectations for both genders. For example, a common idea in a male-dominated society is that childcare is a woman's job. In this instance, it is emphasized that the main priority of women is childcare and housework. This ideology is so often used in communication that it is seen natural by women. As Whorf stated "Language is not neutral. It is not merely a vehicle which carries ideas. It is itself a shaper of ideas. It is the programme for mental activity" (1976: 272).

By examining the language, it is possible to observe gender roles, power distribution and prejudices of a society. For example, idioms and proverbs create an important resource in this sense. Places where societies have put up different sexes since very early times can be clearly seen in the idioms. Phrases like "crying like a woman" refer to emotional weakness of women. Similar phrases have been spoken for years and shaped the gender roles and perceptions. Proverbs like "Kadını evinden, erkeği pirinden sorarlar" (They ask the woman from her home, man from his master) "Kadını eve bağlayan altın şıkırtısı değil beşik gıcırtısıdır" (It's not the gold's but cradle's juggling that confines woman to home) are so common in Turkish society that women believe their basic duties are housework and childcare. In other words, language plays an important role in determining the boundaries of women's world.

Gender is a universal category in language, which can exist in two forms. In the first group of languages, language possesses a sexist grammar system (nouns are split into masculine and feminine forms). In the second group, there are languages that have a sexist form (languages that are sexist semantically). Languages with masculine and feminine words are in the first category. This is because the features of an object are likened to a woman or a man. For example, in some languages, a toaster is thought of as masculine because of its hard, heavy, and jagged materials; on the other hand, in some languages the toaster is feminine because it is hot, and it makes toast. The word key is masculine in German, but it is feminine in Spanish. The word bridge, on the other hand, is feminine in German and masculine in Spanish. In How Gender Shapes the World, Aleksandra ÎUr'evna Aĭkhenval'd states "According to German speakers, bridges are beautiful, elegant, and fragile, while Spanish speakers term them big, long, and dangerous" (2016:132). Mark Twain noted in his work A Tramp Abroad that "In German, a young lady has no sex, while a turnip has" (Twain, n.d.: 39)

In most world languages with gender, the gender of a noun is indicated by the associated article. German and French are typical examples of the languages in this group. For example, the third person pronouns in English he, she, and it, and the

German der, die, das, and the French le and la are often examples of linguistic sexism. However, sexism in language is not limited to gender-specific pronouns, as it exists in languages without grammatical gender, such as Japanese, Persian, and Turkish. In these languages, there are certainly sexist words.

There is no grammatical gender in many world languages. Language families without gender categories are as follows: the Sino-Tibetan languages, the Uralic languages, the Altaic languages, Kartvelian languages, and most languages of the Americas. Language families with gender categories include the Niger-Congo languages, the Afro-asiatic languages, some Austronesian languages, most Indo-European languages, the Dravidian languages, and some languages of the Americas (such as the Algonquin).

Turkish can be thought in the second group of languages, as it is known, Turkish does not have masculine and feminine structures, but we can find other ways that words communicate gender domination. For example, "human" is seen as "male" and the word "adam" which means man, is used in many idioms that emphasize the existence of man and prevents the visibility of the woman. The most common expressions that express men in Turkish are as follows:

Adam olmak :be a man

Adam gibi :decently, properly
Adam yerine koymak :give consequence to
Adama dönmek :look presentable
Adamdan saymak : treat with respect

David Graddol and Joan Swann refer to gender-related categories and emphasize that women are always shown as "the specified category" (Graddol, 1989: 99). As an example, they discussed the suffixes that indicate women. For example when the doctor is a man, only the word "doctor" is used, when the doctor is a woman, it is said "woman doctor". Graddol and Swann, however, argue that Turkish is a sexist language because some words refer only to men even if they are neutral. Güray König from the linguistics department at Hacettepe University, also pointed out that in many of the world languages, words and expressions related to women have caused negative connotations for women and, gives examples from Turkish. "In Turkish there are many words such as 'eksik etek', 'kadana', 'kahpe', and 'evde kalmış'. These humiliating words are not used for men. On the other hand, expressions like 'like woman', 'effeminate' are used to humiliate a man'' (König, 1992: 26).

In Turkish negative attitude is found toward women. Words used when talking about women often have negative associations, but not many such words exist for men. In Turkish, many humiliating words for women are found, such as eksik etek (woman) and evde kalmış (spinster), but there are no equivalents for these words for men. On the other hand, words such as kadın gibi (like a woman) and efemine (nancy boy) are used to humiliate men.

Misogyny has been embedded in the Turkish language for many years through many proverbs and expressions. Words used for women bear many negative connotations. According to the dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution (TDK), one of the meanings of the word for "dirty" is a woman with menstrual

bleeding. The TDK dictionary also defined the word "müsait" as referring to a woman who is "available" or "ready to flirt".

As in most languages, in Turkish the word "masculine" is associated with phrases such as "having responsibility" and "having power," whereas on the other hand "feminine" suggests sexual connotations. Cultural conceptualizations of gender can be seen in many expressions in the Turkish language. While "man-like woman" means strong woman, "woman-like man" means powerless man. While carrying out the study reported in this study, I observed that in many parts of Anatolia, people used the sexual organs of their sons as a symbol of power and they boasted about them. On the other hand, the physical characteristics of women have always been portrayed as shameful. There are also regional phrases such as "saçı uzun aklı kısa (the ones who have long hair are foolish)", "saç bırakıp annene benzeyeceğine bıyık bırak da babana benze (Don't grow your hair and resemble your mother, grow a moustache and resemble your father)". Such regional expressions show that physical features associated with women are thought of as a source of shame and embarrassment. In her book Rethinking Gender in Early Childhood Education, Glenda MacNaughton states that "Turkish people don't like their boys to play with the dolls" (2000:216). While carrying out this study, I witnessed that toys are divided by gender as boy's toys and girl's toys. This patriarchal gender role starts from a very young age, and much of it is enacted through the language.

Do social roles require the use of appropriate language for gender roles or is language a vehicle for shaping these roles? This question has brought a flurry of research and debate. Three basic views purport to explain the dilemma. The first view has stated that language reflects only social divisions and inequalities. Jennifer Coates has argued, for example, that linguistic differences are only a reflection of social differences. If society continues to see women and men as unequal, differences in language pertaining to men and women will continue. Thus, language is a symptom of social inequality rather than a cause. Language usage differs between the sexes as men and women have varying societal experiences. Moreover, language is not limited by an individual's thoughts. New words are added to the language according to social and cognitive needs. Thus, language constantly evolves in order to meet the communication needs of its users. This approach has been endorsed by most researchers in the linguistics field (Graddol and Swann, 1989). Research on Native American languages is based on the ways in which gender differences shape the use of languages. Sapir (1929) found that in the American Indian language Yana, most words have masculine and feminine forms. Sapir also found that masculine forms were used by men when talking to men and feminine forms were used by women when talking to women.

The second view, referred to as Sapir Whorf theory, claims that language actually produces sexual discrimination. This view suggests that language is not a mirror reflecting the structure of society. On the contrary, it plays an active role in the creation of social inequalities and division. While individuals are aware of the different language usages, they also observe sex-based differences in the cultures and communities in which they live. Therefore, individual experiences are shaped by language. For example, sexist language exists within social institutions such as the media and oral folk traditions effectively define male and female societal roles. Therefore, language has played an active role in sexual disparity.

Finally, the third view is that there is a mutual relationship between language and social structure. Thus, language not only reflects societal roles but plays an important part in their creation. Beginning in the 1970s, studies pertaining to language and gender placed an emphasis on language and the conditioning of social behaviors (Christian-Smith, 1989). The media provides several examples. For example, women have often been defined by media as the consumer. They also want to make themselves beautiful for men. In this way, a woman prepares herself to become a wife and a mother. While women are defined by their sensitivity, men are generally established as dominant, aggressive, and capable of coping with difficult situations. The statuses that emerge from these perceived differences delineate the social roles of men and women.

Ann Oakley, one of the seminal writers on women and gender used the term "gender" for the first time in 1972 in her book *Sex, Gender, and Society*. In sociology, the term gender refers to the unequal social division between masculinity and femininity. Oakley claimed that gender is a cultural element that extends beyond biological sex assignment, and it explains the social classifications of masculinity and femininity. Oakley wrote: "Everybody knows that men and women are different. But behind this knowledge lies a certain uneasiness: how different are they? What is the extent of the difference? What significance does it have for the way male and female behave and are treated in society? While the first questions are factual ones, the last is a question of value. In practice, of course, fact and value are not always separated, and the confusion between them has been crucial in the debate about sex differences. This debate has been carried on much more keenly during some historical periods than others. It seems to be revived at times when the existing roles and statuses of male and female are changing... (2005:7).

The social perception of gender roles fosters many aspects of gender inequality. The losers are almost always women, particularly within traditional societies. Under a linguistics lens, Deborah Cameron (2005) examines the ways in which two British newspapers share the same story about rape. The language style utilized by both journalists is sexist.

A man who suffered head injuries when attacked by two men who broke into his house in Beckenharn. Kent, early yesterday. was pinned down on the bed by intruders who took it in turns to rape his wife (Daily Telegraph, in Cameron, 2005:11).

A terrified 19 stone husband was forced to lie next to his wife as two men raped her yesterday (The Sun, in Cameron, 2005:11).

In these reports, it is emphasized how this man is affected by this event. As Cameron proposes "the act of rape is being represented as a crime against a man rather than a woman" (2005:12). Sexist language is used in these news reports. Cameron went on to argue that: "The interpretation I have just outlined is supported by several features of the language. In both reports, the experience of the man is foregrounded. He is the theme, the first person to be mentioned, and the grammatical subject of the main clause. He is also the subject of the verbs suffered and was forced. The woman by contrast always referred to as 'his wife' — only appears at the end of a long, complex sentence. Her rape is mentioned in a dependent clause. In the first report it is third in order of importance, behind the man's head injuries and the violation of 'his home' (not hers, apparently). In the second report a similar ordering

of events gives the impression that the really appalling thing was less the rape per se than the fact that the man was forced to witness it (2005:12).

As can be seen from these reports, language is not just a vehicle by which we communicate with people. It has a dynamic structure. This structure can be examined by looking at written texts and the social practices that these texts reflect, to determine how the meaning is conveyed through language.

2.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Gender perspectives impact family life. Gender perspectives not only determine the thoughts and behaviors of an individual, but they also define individual roles within the family. The familial tasks of a woman typically include childcare and housework. This means that women are ignored in social areas. According to data collected in the Turkish Family Structure Survey in 2011, tasks such as cooking, ironing, washing, cleaning, and shopping are performed mostly by women. In contrast, men are interested in tasks such as maintenance-repair and reviewing the monthly bills. Within the same survey, childcare is stated to be a woman's duty. Alongside childcare, 58.6 percent of respondents indicated that a woman's primary duty should include housework. This perception of traditional roles prevents women from participating in active lives outside of the home.

According to Inglehart and Norris's Gender Equality Scale, Turkey ranked 48th among the 60 countries included. This ranking suggested that Turkey has a poor level of gender equality compared to other countries. Many women do not participate in the workforce, and politics and incentives promoting such participation is weak. According to Yilmaz Esmer (2012), 80 percent of the Turkish population believed that "a child who is not school-aged in Turkey is harmed if her mother works". In Denmark, this belief was shared by only nine percent of the population, followed by 20 percent in Sweden and Norway, and 50 percent in Germany. Similarly, 60 percent of the Turkish population agreed that "priority should be given to a man if there is unemployment in a country." In contrast, about two percent of the population in Denmark, 15 percent in Germany, and 33 percent in Greece agreed with this statement. Thus, the Turkish population has been in support of perpetuating traditional gender roles.

While the institution of marriage is a small unit within society, it largely shapes the structure of the surrounding community. Family plays an active role in human socialization, as the process of socialization is first experienced within the family. Family is also the first place where gender is taught. As such, it is necessary to examine the institution of marriage in order to reveal gendered language.

As an introduction to gender and language, this thesis includes ideas from different fields and examines some of the major research studies on this subject. In order to arrive at valid conclusions, it focuses on the characteristics of women's and men's speech and displays the gender in conversations. I used speech analysis which is structured by Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson and led by Harvey Sacks. This is a method that provides very important data about the speech process. In the late 1960s, conversations became easier to record with the development of recording devices. The trend that focused on how speech should be was rejected by Sacks and his colleagues. They focused instead on how recorded speeches were made.

2.2. METHODOLOGY

Speech analysis plays an important role in research-oriented researchers such as Jennifer Coates who make gender-related performance visible. Her study, an introduction to the field of gender and language, provides a framework for the principal works on this subject and focuses on the characteristics of married couples' conversations and display of gender in their speeches. In order to make evaluations about the chat process, a total of ten conversations were held with five different married couples. During these meetings conversations were recorded, and during the examination of the speech process, the written recording of the method of speech analysis was started. In order to be able to make evaluations about the speaking process, many conversations with women and men took place in different regions. The conversations of women and men were recorded, and these records were examined. Inspired by Deborah Jones' women's speech categories, I tried to gather the issues that emerged in women's speech. In this study, variables included gender and language tentativeness, which was coded from the participants' conversation. I concluded that women and men exhibited different gender roles while talking about such topics as domestic issues, childcare, women's economic freedom and issues about other family members. The topics given to them for discussion were from everyday life, so that I could get maximum natural data. In this work, I will focus on the different roles of women and men in the society and how these roles are reflected in the way they speak.

Participants are asked to define the roles of men and women in the institution of marriage. In order to determine the general characteristics of female and male conversation, the recorded speech processes are analyzed. The speech analysis method reveals how married couples start the conversation. Jennifer Coates's book Women, Men and Everyday Talk is used for reference.

In this research Coates' transcription markers were used. However, some of these methods have been adjusted because it is the same person who analyzes records and takes notes. Taken from Coates, the transcription markers used in this research are:

1.a slash (/) indicates the end of a tone group or chunk of talk.

2.a question mark indicates the end of a chunk of talk.

3.a hyphen indicates an incomplete word or utterance.

4. pauses are indicated by a full stop

5.a horizontal line marks the beginning of a stave and indicates that the lines enclosed by the lines are to be read simultaneously.

6.an extended square bracket indicates the start of overlap between utterances 7.an equals sign at the end of one speaker's utterance and at the start of the next utterance indicates the absence of a discernible gap

8.double round parentheses indicate that there is doubt about the accuracy of the transcription

9.where material is impossible to make out, it is represented as follows, ((xx)), e.g.:you're ((xx)) – you're prejudiced/

10.angled brackets give clarificatory information about underlined material.

11.capital letters are used for words/syllables uttered with emphasis:

12. the symbol % encloses words or phrases that are spoken very quietly,

13.the symbol. hh indicates that the speaker takes a sharp intake of breath:

14.the symbol [...] indicates that material has been omitted (Coates, 2016:xiii)

It is necessary to look at how the conversations are set up so that they can give an opinion on the general structure of the conversations of married couples. In this context, in the speech process, the structure of the expressions, the repetitions, the questions, the minimal responses, the indirect responses and the smile is very important.

In the research, group conversation of 10 married couples were recorded. All of the people who make up these groups are the people in the close vicinity of the researcher. The main reason for such a choice is that I think that the conversations of people in my own environment will provide enough material for this research. These ten groups, whose conversations were recorded, are naturally existing groups. Such a preference has been made in view of the fact that research is aimed at examining naturally developing conversations.

Group Number	Name	Age	Job	The way the group comes
1		4.4	11 'C	together
1.group	Ayşe	44	Housewife	
	Kemal	48	Teacher	
	Yasemin	43	Housewife	Friendship
	Aykut	45	Bank employer	
2.group	Zeynep	35	Housewife	
	Tolga	36	Teacher	
	Burcu	34	Secretary	Friendship
	Fatih	37	Teacher	
3.group	Pınar	33	Teacher	
	Selçuk	33	Engineer	
	Arzu	41	Company employee	Friendship
	Orhan	45	Company employee	
4.group	Şadiye	51	Housewife	
	Osman	55	Shopkeeper	Kinship
	Ülkü	49	Housewife	
	Halil	51	Shopkeeper	
5.group	İlker	35	Company employee	
	Seda	33	Housewife	Kinship
	Abdullah	30	Company employee	_
	Sema	28	Teacher	

Recording Place and Recording Process

All of these conversations took place in Maltepe district of Istanbul and at participants' homes. All of these conversations took place in the afternoon and accompanied by tea and coffee. The reason for this is to record the conversations in the most natural environment of the participants. Each conversation took around one hour depending on the time spent by the participants. The place where the conversations took place is the living room of the house. Observation notes were recorded on the same day following each conversation so that the data can be evaluated in a healthy way. A total of 540 minutes of conversation with five groups of married couples was used to determine the necessary sections for the speech

analysis and a total of 45 minutes were used in written form, while the other part provided data on the flow of subjects and the exhibition of gender through language.

2.3. FINDINGS

One of the main issues in the speeches is misogyny which presents an entirely negative view of women. As a sociological reflection, it is possible to see many examples of the use of words from a biased perspective of masculine society.

(Group 1, on the roles of husband and wife in marriage)

The Speaker: What do you think about the role of men and women in marriage?

Ayşe: Women have much more responsibilities in marriage=

Kemal: WOMEN...hh...make everything COMPLICATED

Ayşe: Dear % you're exaggerating% I THINK our capabilities are different-

DIFFERENT

Kemal: TO PUT IT SIMPLY A WOMAN'S PLACE AT HOME

Yasemin: Yes but!!! Is it possible in these ...hh...hard times...?

Kemal: Ladies, you're not working, but our conditions are very good. I don't think that women need to work!!!

Aykut: A woman should not neglect HER housework even if she works. There are some suitable jobs for women. A woman should work in jobs that don't make herself tired.

Ayşe: MY MOTHER IN LAW always said if a woman gets a minimum wage and becomes like a SERVANT outside, she should stay at home and become the SERVANT of her home. She is right to a certain extent. There is an invisible workload in women's life!!! I AM the worrier, organizer, rememberer, and attention-payer!!! A WIFE IS SEEN A SERVANT IN THE MARRIAGE

Yasemin: As your mother in law said <smile>

Ayşe: anyway Kemal THINKS SO

Aykut: Let's get back to the subject and answer to Ms. Gökçen's question. Ayşe: Oh BEA!!! WHAT A NICE CHAT we have. It is so nice to speak with you/

Kemal: Anyway your job is to chat **Aykut**: Women never stop talking

Misogyny is clearly seen in the above section of the speech. The woman's working outside is opposed by both men and family elders, and the housework is seen as the only responsibility of a woman. In addition, male participants are intolerant of women's speech.

(Group 4, on Ülkü's daughter)

The Speaker: Does your daughter study or work?

Ülkü: She- Nurgül graduated from HIGH SCHOOL/ but %did not want% to go to university. Actually I am AGAINST to women's working outside. I think she should %find a husband% and MARRY =

Şadiye: = Being a teacher is a good job for LADIES but Nurgül didn't go to university /As her aunt, I support her MARRIAGE < smile>

Halil: My daughter didn't want to go to university, so we didn't insist/ Everyone doesn't have to go to university anyway. My daughter has always been A GOOD GIRL, and when she gets married, she will become a good wife LIKE HER MOTHER <smile> In fact, I don't approve of her working outside. If she works, she will be among a lot of men, and men will look at her. I think "if a woman's hand gets in the purse, luck will leave"

Osman: IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO BRING HOME THE BACON-Women should not work.

Ülkü: MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH YOU!!! Our husbands are good men <laughter>

.....

I was 21 when I gave birth to my son. I always helped my mother-in-law at home during this period<smile> I always got up before my husband and prepared the breakfast for him.

Halil: You are a very DILIGENT woman. Nurgül is also very diligent <smile>like her mother. NO GOOD CAN COME FROM THE MILLET SAWED AFTER AUGUST OR THE WOMAN WHO WAKES UP AFTER HER HUSBAND

Şadiye: Nurgül's friends always go out 'alone as a girl'. Nurgül never goes out after 6 pm.

......

Şadiye and Ülkü are the sisters. The speech suddenly focuses on 19-year-old Nurgül. As can be seen from this section, Nurgül is appreciated by her family for helping her mother in household work and for not going out with her friends. The word 'alone as a girl' is remarkable. It means that girls need protection from the men. This word is an example of misogyny. Halil's sentence "If a woman's hand gets in the purse, luck will leave" is another example of misogyny. As we can see in the conversation section above, the negative words are always used for women.

The social effects of women's pregnancy and childbirth are remarkable in terms of the way gender is displayed. Motherhood is a new period in which women redefine their values, review their roles and shape their priorities according to the baby. Motherhood has an important place in women's gender perceptions. It is therefore not surprising that at one place of the conversation women talk about issues such as child-rearing, childbirth and pregnancy. At this point, there is a widespread view that motherhood is a sacred duty for women and that it is the most fundamental responsibility of women. It is noteworthy that the participants always talk about their children and always give examples from their children, regardless of the subject.

During interviews with married couples, it was observed that one of the most commonly used words was 'respect'. However, this word is used by men as a task that women have to fulfill.

(Group 1 on pregnancy)

Ayşe: I couldn't go to my father's house after six months of PREGNANCY. I was so ashamed. I hid my belly in loose-fitting dresses before 6 months. It was as if my father and brothers found out that I was pregnant, he'd feel like I was doing something wrong to them. I felt the same thing in all of my three pregnancies.

Kemal: There was a sense of EMBARRASSMENT in the past, but the girls are very comfortable. It's not a good thing that they behave in a relaxed manner. **Aykut:** It's because of the mothers. BECAUSE THEY DON'T HAVE AUTHORITY OVER THEIR DAUGHTER/They release their daughters too much because they were raised under pressure.

Ayşe: Taking the child on the lap was considered disrespectful. We couldn't hold our child near our father-in-law or father, and even if the child cried, we could not breast-feed.

Yasemin: I think this is a very EXTREME and OPPRESSIVE expectation/We %women% give birth and keep the family name alive. This should be considered a source of pride

Aykut: Ladies, we mention about the RESPECT

In the above section of the speech, the participants constantly emphasize the word 'respect'. The woman conceals her belly because she is pregnant. Interestingly this behavior is appreciated by her husband. The other male participant appreciates this woman's behavior and complains that women do not behave like this today. He interrupts his wife and criticizes her because she doesn't agree with him. Ayş's story points to a certain performance of femininity. This performance is 'being a woman who respects and obeys social norms.

One of the most important points that can be observed in these conversations is grumbling. It is the most common type of speech, wherein men complain about women. Grumbling emerges as a reaction to the restricted role of women (Jones, 1990:246-248).

(Group 2, on the roles of men and women in marriage)

Zeynep: The roles of men and women should be equal. The woman has a lot of duties, which is very unfair. It is the woman who takes care of the child, who cooks and who works. Women make money like men.

Tolga: If women can manage to KEEEP QUIET and TALK LESS men can do anything < laughter>

Burcu: Our baby, Ada, woke up the other night at 3.00 a.m. Fatih did not care and continued to sleep. For God's sake, GET UP for once AND play with Ada. I'm sick of going to work every day without sleep.

Fatih: Being a mother is difficult <smile>

Tolga: <smile> There is something I don't understand, girls, why are you

complaining about everything?

Fatih: Because they like TALKING!!!

Burcu: < laughter>

Tolga: Women like grumbling

(Group 1)

Aykut: Here we go!!!LADIES first (smiling)

Yasemin: OH!!! Respect is very important. The spouses must be respectful to

each other

Aykut: the roles of WOMEN and MEN are DIFFERENT in marriage <smile> because they are different. They are created differently. Men should bring home the bacon. Women should OBEY their husbands. A HUSBAND must be a leader of his home

Kemal: OBEY, this is the keyword/ God created ADAM FIRST and then Eve= **Ayşe:** = WHAT IS THE

CONNECTION < smile>

Spouses must respect to each other men and women have different duties

Aykut: There won't be a problem if the women don't NAG at us

Yasemin: NAG? if men fulfill their responsibilities women do not have to talk too much

Aykut: So you accept that you are nagging?

Ayşe: Ah... HONEY...WE are NOT nagging...hh.... %you don't understand

us%

Yasemin: YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND US

Aykut: WOMEN <smile> are DIFFICULT to understand

YASEMİN: <smile>

In this section of the speech, it is seen that men complain about women's grumbling. It is interesting that men say, "don't nag" for everything women complain about. It seems that men want women to remain silent and obey everything men say.

In the second half of the 20th century, the middle class expanded in Western capitalist societies. As part of the middle-class lifestyle, some of the women's conversations began to take place in a more organized manner called the visiting day, which was a formal women's meeting. These days constitute an important dimension of their lives. Considering that the establishment and maintenance of women's friendship is an important act in the lives of women, the role of conversations is becoming more prominent. In conversations, women talk about their experiences and establish a relationship between them and others, as well as conversations over people who are not in the place where the conversation takes place. Undoubtedly, gossip serves to create an environment that entertains women. The fact that gossip is considered to be fun, but was used as a means to discuss the behavior of people who were not present, is of course problematic. It seems to prove the maintenance of some norms in that society, and indicates the presence of moral

control and inter-personal policing. Gossip is considered as a form of women's speech and will be covered in detail.

Gossip was derived from the Anglo-Saxon word 'God-sibb' and used in the sense of being close to God. However, over time, the word has shown an accurate historical development in terms of neighborliness, depending on the fact that women come together to witness birth. Today, it means "talk about others". It has two functions: first, talking about a person who is thought to have no right to speak and finding expression of moral values, and critiquing disapproved of behavior. Gossip is a social event. In gossip, the criterion of truth is purely social: what is true, is what the social agreement accepts as true. It would be appropriate to refer to Deborah Jones's article, "Gossip: Notes on Women's Oral Culture" Jones describes gossip as follows: 'I will initially define gossip as a way of talking between women in their roles as women, intimate in style, personal and domestic in topic and setting, a female cultural event which springs from and perpetuates the restrictions of the female role, but also gives the comfort of validation' (Jones, 1990:243).

Another important issue of female conversations is the conversation that develops on other women. As in many traditional societies, women are under pressure in Turkish society, so social rules are extremely important in their lives. Women generally like to talk about other women who do not fulfill the social roles expected from them.

(on gender roles in marriage group 5)

Seda: A woman should be a good mother. She should take good care of her children.

Sema: You're right, honey. Your brother's wife doesn't care for her children, does she?

Seda: Yeah, she leaves the kids to us and sleeps till the evening. She pretends as if she were sick.

Sema: What does your brother say? **Seda:** He's upset about it, poor man.

Abdullah: your job is gossip **İlker:** Yeah, but really

(on another woman Şadiye and Ülkü)

Ülkü: / The newly married couple on the 4th floor is getting divorced.

Şadiye: hımmm

Ülkü: The woman was jealous. They're divorcing because of her jealousy. /

Şadiye: she cannot be a good wife, a good mother. =

Ülkü: = The man is doing well by divorcing him.

Sadive: poor man/

Ülkü: I was never jealous of my husband. I always trusted in him.

As seen above, two women praise themselves when criticizing another woman. Talking about other women and criticizing them is an important characteristic of women speech.

Overlapping speech is one of the most prominent elements of female talk. In the conversation, women start to speak without waiting for the speaker to finish.

(Group 1 Ayşe and Yasemin about women's working)

Ayşe: My daughter works, and she has

Yasemin: a 1-year-old child

Ayşe: She should wait untill her child becomes five years old/

Yasemin:YES/

Kemal: Ladies, Ladies

Ayşe: One more thing she doesn't like her job

Yasemin: because she works late!!!

In the conversation, women start simultaneously, without waiting for the person talking to finish their word. Women do not have a problem with another person being involved in the conversation while their conversations continue. In this respect, there is a collective mode in women's conversations.

(on drinking tea)

Kemal: I am drinking weak tea/

Ayşe: because strong tea filters out iron-iron in the blood =

Yasemin: = filters yes

Ayşe: but. In that way/

Yasemin:? Would you like some sugar?

Aykut: YES

Ayşe: sugar spoils the taste of tea/

Yasemin is spoilt/

Ayşe: Sugar spoils the taste of tea and it is very harmful.

When someone is talking, asking a question causes a different kind of overlapping conversation to occur.

[previous speech about tea continues]

Ayşe: According to experts = tea should not be drunk immediately

Yasemin: = after the meal

Aykut: how much you've talked about tea, ladies <guttural>

Kemal: Let's pour another cup of tea=

In the example given above, it is seen that the expressions have been completed by another woman. The key to this use is that the women are following each other very carefully, and in the middle of the statement or anywhere in the statement they are participating in talking with a complementary element. Coates points out that this feature is seen effectively in women's speeches. In the above section of the speech, it is seen that men do not participate in the conversation very much, but they interrupted women frequently.

Another point which is noteworthy in women's speeches is that women open another issue without ending a topic, then go back to the previous topic and continue forward with the conversation. This feature of female conversation is also discredited by men. Women often use small responses and repetitions that prompt indication that their conversation is being followed, bearing in mind that friendship is important for women. Instead of criticizing each other with absolute judgments, women use soft words. On the other hand, men use direct statements to indicate their positions.

According to Lakoff women feel insecurity and hesitancy so they use tag questions and questions with declarative functions. "Women are more apt than men to use a question when there is a choice for this reason: a woman has traditionally gained reassurance in this culture from presenting herself as concerned about her acceptance as well as unsure of the correctness of what she's saying... a woman, believing that a hesitant style will win her acceptance, will adopt it and phrase her opinions... deferentially.... The single greatest problem women are going to have in achieving parity is surely this pervasive tendency toward hesitancy, linguistic and otherwise" (1979: 143).

(Group 3 on gender roles)

Pinar: Spouses must respect each other and share responsibilities

Selçuk: I think everyone should have a different responsibility rather than sharing responsibilities

Arzu: For example, while the woman is cooking, the man can prepare the table, right?

Selçuk: Yeah, things like that. It could be a division of labor at home.

Orhan: I help my wife, but not always. I usually help when I'm not tired

Arzu: You'il help when you want, but your wife will do anything even if she's tired?

Pinar: Why am I so tired? / That's why I'm tired/

.....

Arzu: wouldn't it be nice if our husbands could see how tired we are? /

Repetitions are an important element in the co-establishment of a conversation in women's conversations. It is common for the speaker to repeat certain elements in her speech. However, it is also observed that listeners often repeat things in a way that indicates they have listened or approved.

(Seda and Sema, on Seda's brother's wife)

Seda: She always sends the children to my mother's home claiming that she is sick.

Sema: what if your mother doesn't want?

Seda: It is not possible= **Sema**: =It is not possible

Seda: the poor woman <65 years old> and still looking after the children /

Sema: POOR woman

In this section it is seen that Sema repeats some of the words of Seda. It is an indication that the SEMA is listening carefully.

Şadiye: Our children are our lives / we live for our children /

Ülkü: Certainly – Certainly /

Ülkü: we live for our children /

After repeating her own expression (certainly) twice in order to emphasize her support for Şadiye, Ülkü preferred to set up a comment. "Repetition seems to us to serve two functions. First, it means that talk is textually cohesive through the repetition of words and phrases, participants bind their turns together" (Coates, 2016:264). As Coates States, women's conversations, which are formed on a shared basis, are at the core of the active involvement of women in the conversation process.

In this research, which aims to determine the elements used by women and men in the speech process and to find out how gender is displayed in this process, a framework was tried to be formed based on the performance approach that emerged following the dominance and diversity approaches in feminist language criticism. In order to define the basis for this thesis study, social linguistics studies which influenced the emergence of feminist language criticism were studied, and in order to clarify the perspective of feminist language intervention on gender and language relationship, these studies were considered. However, it has been observed that there is a limited number of studies carried out in Turkey at the intersection of gender and language. The topics covered in this thesis match the characteristics in Turkish society.

It is important to observe a natural flow of conversations, so conversations have been conducted with middle-class women and men from a restricted area. However, it was seen that these conversations developed in the home environment exhibited elements identified in middle class women and men even in their speeches on different subjects. Despite its limitations on reflecting different gender

representations, the monitoring of gender elements in the speeches provided data on the gender representation of the middle class.

In order to provide a general framework for conversations with elements of structuring and progress of the conversation, it was also necessary to examine the topics in these conversations. It was possible to follow the flow of topics from women's conversations with the division of Deborah Jones's verbal functional distinction. The first element of this distinction is domestic matters. In these conversations, women praised each other because of certain domestic skills, and that they made their own work visible through the conversations. This is a process in which women demonstrate their conformity to the model of femininity expected from them. It can be seen that the stereotypes clearly influence and shape the way middle-class women think. In women's conversations, it has been observed that there is a sexist attitude that condemns and vilifies some of the characteristics of other women, revealing their characteristics that they think are appropriate to social roles.

It has been observed that these indiscriminate conversations with women from a limited number of middle-class in the living room offer striking features about the elements of women's speech. Women exhibited a sexist attitude in parallel with the stereotypes of the class they belonged to. With this research, a limited amount of information has been collected on the structure, elements and what is being discussed by ordinary women from middle class in Turkey.

3. CONCLUSION

By its simplest definition, language is the most important, most comprehensive tool that provides communication between people. So, language, thought, and the mind are so interconnected that they cannot be easily separated. Language reflects the facts. Thus, the interaction between the mind and language is reciprocal. There are people everywhere where there is language; there is language everywhere where there is man. Since we are born into language, language is a habit we acquire without being aware of. The most common and accepted thesis on the nature of language is that man mimics natural and animal sounds. People who repeat the sounds hear and begin to make sense of them over time, slowly forming their language. Then it is not wrong to say, "language is shaped by experience". For example, in a region where elephants don't live, there will be no imitation of an elephant's voice. However, in the regions where elephants live, the sounds and movements of elephants will inspire people and thus the differences will occur. With different experiences of societies and seeing the world from different angles, each society's own concepts will emerge. Thus, the concepts, language-thoughtexperience are intertwined and inseparable.

The fact that language is intertwined with thought can also explain the difference between societies. The society we're born into teaches us how to see the world. Our native language, which we have been exposed to since our birth, allows us to perceive certain concepts and to create our thoughts through these concepts. Our first experiences are formed by hearing the words conceptualized by the society

we are born in. Language begins to prepare the human's view of the world from birth. This is best summarized by Wittgenstein's statement, "The boundaries of my language are the boundaries of my world." Since language has spoken of everything that enters the world of man in a way, it emphasizes that language and reality are almost the same. In this case, our native language is the most important tool for looking at the world.

Language and reality cannot be considered independent of each other. Change in one affects the other; so to control language means to control thoughts. According to Sapir and Whorf's linguistic relativity theory, language does not only reveal reality, but it also affects the process of thought. In a sense, language draws a framework for our thoughts, and it is impossible to think outside this framework. According to Whorf, people do not only use language to communicate, but also the structures in language contribute to the consciousness of people. The language can then be used to create an ideology and to direct the way people think. The language of each society is the product of its own ideology. With that language, the law, perceptions, judgments of that society; that is, the whole perception of reality, is determined. For this reason, language is a very important element for all societies. All social movements take place by taking advantage of the power of language. That is why every ideology has its own discourse.

Language is socially constructed and used as a powerful means of repression, and language has an important place in the struggle of male/female classes, which is the biggest class struggle. Since gender is an ideology, its language is constructed both in separate societies and universally.

Historically, the transition to patriarchal order and the emergence of language coincide. Therefore, patriarchy and language are two closely linked phenomena. When the male was socially involved in the outside world, it was also his job to see the outside world and to describe it. The people who need rules, laws and order in the external world have made arrangements in the public domain based on the male. Since the lawmakers are the men who carry out all kinds of tasks in the public and those who express them, the language has become their instrument and they have used this tool as they wish. When the culture began to be masculine, the language became masculine too.

Before women entered the field of writing, authors were naturally perceived as male, and they know that the mass of readers were men. Man has expressed the world he sees and perceives with his own words. The man who adopts himself as a norm, became the "subject" in all vital activities. The woman, however, remained (remains) an object. When a man is defined as a norm, defining a woman as the "other" is seen as a natural condition. So, language is not a neutral phenomenon, it is a tool that is equipped with the meanings of the dominant ideology and plays an important role in its sustenance.

Since the dominant ideology was patriarchal, the woman remained within the framework of the discourse determined by patriarchy. This patriarchal society

makes the language, the object of man. This order that makes women passive takes them under the dominance of a language that is shaped by men. Based on this determination, feminists pointed out that women had to live in a language that was produced by men, which prevented them from expressing themselves. Because language is such a strong and deep structure that even when women start to take part in the public arena, she has to do it through a male dominant language.

Throughout history, patriarchal language defined women with concepts such as naturalism, tradition, weakness, magic, seduction, motherhood. Women who are born into these concepts also believe that these are their roles. In light of these facts, it was thought that the masculine language brought by the patriarchal order was the language of the father. For example, Freud believed that such a masculine language is natural, because according to him, the woman is already biologically deficient. For this reason, it is normal for men to be active, women to be passive, and this is reflected in the language. Thus, it is an appropriate process for women to be defined by such adjectives as "passive, calm, adaptable" and men by such adjectives as "active, aggressive". For the girl who learns the superiority of the father/man against his own deficiency, his every behavior is the behavior to be modeled. This includes language. Thus the language acquisition process is connected to biological differences in psychoanalytical theory. These views of Freud later became the basis of feminist critique. Because, according to psychoanalytic theory, language gives an advantage to man and prevents woman from creating her own worldview. Man takes over the actions like writing, reading, knowing, talking; and accordingly, the woman's world and therefore her language, is limited. As long as sexist language is used, the difference between women and men is reproduced. Since language is the tool of men, it reflects his experiences, order and worldview. This prevents women from voicing their views. For example, the existence of only men in some social areas will be reflected in the form of such concepts as businessman, man of science, chairman. In such words, it is not easy for a woman to show her own existence. Language, thought, reality, and power, are related concepts.

When women are placed in certain molds through language, another dimension of sexism emerges. Woman loses her self-esteem when she struggles to express herself in her own language. Men, on the other hand, feel comfortable in this area with the assurance of a masculine language. This has revealed differences in male-female speech, which are another aspect of sexism in language. It is a subject that has been mentioned many times by researchers, that there are significant differences between the speech of men and women. Women's lack of language to express themselves makes them hesitant to use language. Therefore, because of this sense of insecurity, they speak more hesitantly and are prone to suggestions. Women's more gentle speech is an extension of their expected social role. The woman should pay attention to her behavior and her words. Women speak to express their feelings because the public sphere and intellectual discourse are dominated by men so women will talk about themselves and their feelings. As a result, the woman who tries to find a place in a masculine language under the pressure of the patriarchy

will only speak in the manner permitted by the man, and will also form her linguistic behavior under his influence. It can be said that gender is often culturally established by traditional methods. The control and auto-control systems established within the traditions of language remain under different names and hinder developments in the field of gender equality.

Language serves ideological purposes, and sexism in language is parallel to sexism in society. It has been stated since the beginning of this thesis that language has influenced social perception. Language affects gender roles and perspectives. The culture of the society in which an individual lives determines the characteristics of how a man and a woman behave, how they think, and how they act. In this research, I tried to find out how gender in language affects the marriage institution (and vice versa). Speech analysis is conducted to see how gender is displayed through language.

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