

# Gender stereotyping in *Indlela Yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*: A Corpus Linguistics approach

Lungile Mncwango 1, Jacomien van Niekerk 2, Elsabé Taljard 3

1 and 3 Department of African Languages, University of Pretoria, South Africa

2 Department of Afrikaans, University of Pretoria, South Africa

Correspondence: lungile.mncwango@up.ac.za

## Abstract

In this article, we employ Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis to examine gender stereotyping in two isiZulu novels, namely *Indlela Yababi* (1946) (The path of the wicked) by R.R.R. Dhlomo, *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg, 1961) by C.L.S. Nyembezi and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* (2002) (Who deserves to be forgiven?) by N.G. Sibiyi. Our investigation regarding *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* however, failed to deliver significant results, therefore our analysis is centered around the other two novels. Our focus is on the ways in which the body parts of female and male characters are used and described in the chosen texts; The article focuses on the following body parts: *Isandla* and *izandla* (hand and hands), *amehlo* (eyes), *ikhanda* (head) and *ubuso* (face) and investigates whether the ways in which female and male characters use their body parts and the ways in which they are described represent male and female characters stereotypically and whether they reveal aspects of power relations between men and women. Our study is carried out within the theoretical framework of gender studies. The results reveal that female characters are depicted as caring and supportive, emotional and beautiful, whereas male characters are depicted as courageous, in control of their emotions, aggressive and dangerous.

## Introduction

The three aforementioned novels represent three eras relevant to the socio-political context of South Africa, namely the pre-apartheid era, apartheid era and the post-apartheid era. The texts were chosen randomly, but the novels by Dhlomo and Nyembezi

are considered seminal isiZulu texts; the novel by Sibiya was randomly selected from amongst recent isiZulu novels. Focusing on these three eras lends a diachronic aspect to this study, of which the aim is to compare the uses and descriptions of male and female characters' body parts in isiZulu novels over time. It is important to note that the results obtained through our corpus-based analysis cannot be generalised to indicate a trend in isiZulu literature. Our results are, therefore, preliminary and the corpus of texts would need to be expanded considerably to enable us to identify emergent trends. In order to contextualise our analysis, a brief summary of the contents of each of the novels is provided.

*Indlela Yababi* is a social novel that warns against the evils of the city life, immorality and crime. The story begins at Siyamu, a rural area near Pietermaritzburg where the main character Delsie Moya is brought up in a Christian home and grows up to obtain her Diploma in Teaching. She later gets a teaching post at Amanzimtoti where she falls in love with Reverend Gwebu. To avoid getting into trouble with the community which they serve, both Delsie and Rev. Gwebu elope to the big city Johannesburg where they are free from Christian limitations and enjoy their new life. In Johannesburg they experience a completely different environment from that of Siyamu. They come across different people with different intentions and personalities and others with corrupt influences. Delsie falls in love with multiple men simultaneously and she seems to betray her Christian values. In the midst of all this, Rev. Gwebu loses his life because of Delsie's behaviour. Delsie gets a chance to repent and return back home although she has a grudge against her parents.

*Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg; 1961) is a comic classic novel that deals with fraud. The novel begins by describing Nyanyadu, a rural area distant from the cities and towns which makes it difficult for travellers to get there and for residents to receive their mail. One day a letter arrives for Mkhwanazi from a man unknown to him, signed "CC Ndebenkulu, Esq." In the letter Ndebenkulu announces that he will be arriving at Mkhwanazi's home by train to come and help the people "get rich." Ndebenkulu finally arrives after preparations for his arrival have been made. Ndebenkulu asks Mkhwanazi to arrange a meeting with the men of the community so he could state the purpose of his visit. Mkhwanazi does that and summons the men of Nyanyadu to a

meeting with Ndebenkulu. Ndebenkulu poses as a man who is well connected with butchery owners and claims to have held huge amounts of money in his hands and goes on to manipulate the men that if they try to sell the cows themselves, they will not get much whereas if they sell the cows through him, they will get a substantial amount. Mkhwanazi is the one who is most taken by all this and because he is a well-respected man in the community, he manages to convince some of the men to give their cows to Ndebenkulu. Mkhwanazi's son Themba and his friend Diliza see right through Ndebenkulu on the day he has to travel with the cows and they give him a hard time on the way to the station. When Ndebenkulu arrives at the station a woman who was his victim in another area identifies him and he is arrested by the police and the cows are saved.

*Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* focuses on HIV/AIDS. The main character Shumi is married to Lethiwe and they have a good life together but Shumi starts an affair with an old love, Nozipho. This is where a series of crises begin. Nozipho feels obliged to confess her affair with Shumi to her husband Khumbulani since she has contracted HIV. Khumbulani is furious and chases Nozipho away. On her way to Durban her car breaks down and she is raped. On that very same night she contracts pneumonia and she loses her unborn baby. She gets admitted to hospital and later dies. After her death, Shumi confesses his infidelity with Nozipho to his wife Lethiwe and she chases him away from their house. Lethiwe loses her mother in a car accident when both her parents were driving to go look for Shumi in order to confront him about what he did to their daughter. Lethiwe's brother Sabelo falls ill because of drug abuse, she finds out that he is HIV positive, he contracted the virus from Nozipho when they raped her. Lethiwe decides to forgive her husband Shumi after finding out that he is not HIV positive and they reconcile.

### **Methodological and theoretical contextualisation**

In deciding to choose the selected isiZulu novels, we had not seen thoroughly what the texts contained as we had not read the novels before. This point is worth making since one of the criticisms levelled at Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is that a particular text may be chosen for its capacity to allow the analyst to make a particular point. The combination of the two, Corpus Linguistics (CL) and CDA, helps to make up for the

limitations within the respective methods and as a result making their combination a stronger methodological approach (Nartey and Mwinlaaru 2019). Furthermore, integrating the qualitative theory of CDA with quantitative CL methods generates qualitative and quantitative data (Baroiant, 2015). In fact, Mahlberg (2010) is of the opinion that only when connected to qualitative analysis can quantitative research produce valuable insights.

Jaworska and Hunt (2017) are of the opinion that word associations that are retrieved using corpus software, e.g. by drawing up concordance lines, are often not merely about an individual's choice of words, but represent existing practices and how societies view and evaluate people and their actions. Therefore, in this article, the aim is to identify to what extent the linguistic items that co-occur with the selected male and female characters' body parts mirror society's conceptions within the framework of CDA. An attempt is made to show whether the ways in which male and female characters use their body parts and the ways in which they are described, are likely to be stereotypical. For the purposes of this article, it is not relevant whether issues around gender stereotyping are overtly present in the texts; our interest lies in what a Corpus Linguistics analysis reveals about the representation of gender on a word and sentence level irrespective of the theme of a particular novel.

This study broadly falls within the framework of gender studies, an interdisciplinary field that has a fairly recent history. According to Halapchuck-Tarnayska and Semenyuk (2013: 2), studies on gender and language focus on three aspects, i.e. documenting empirical differences between women's and men's speech, describing women's speech, and identifying the role of language not only in reflecting the societal inequalities between women and men, but also maintaining and strengthening these gender-based inequalities. Worth noting is that "Language does not merely reflect a pre-existing sexist world; instead, it actively constructs gender asymmetries within specific socio-cultural contexts' (Halapchuck-Tarnayska and Semenyuk (2013: 5).

Gender stereotypes are defined as beliefs about attributes that differentiate men and women according to the claims made by society: 'Gender stereotypes are consensual and exist as ideology that is socially built and shared' (Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015: 1103). Gender stereotyping is perceived as a problem because stereotypical representations of

men and women may suggest that men have power over women. Gender stereotyping often leads to inequality between the male and female genders, the very kind of issues that CDA is concerned with (Kwatsha 2009; Ndimande-Hlongwa & Rushubirwa 2014). Examples include stereotypical depictions that often portray women within the domestic sphere (supportive and/or caring wife/sister), dependent on men's protection, incapable of controlling their emotions, soft; while men are portrayed as independent, courageous and as decision makers (Heathy 2020: 46). Moreover, women are most often portrayed as emotional, weak, inferior and with occupations such as teacher, nurse, or waitress while men are portrayed as authoritative, brilliant, successful, strong, and in occupations that allow them to be the bread winner (Mncube 2007; Nkosi 2013). As stated by Puri (2011) quoted by Nkosi (2013: 133), other examples include:

the gender pay gap, occupational segregation, denial of promotions to leadership, glass ceiling in different professions, increased casualization of women workers and feminisation of poverty, trafficking, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, honor killings, violence against women in domestic spheres, work place and public spaces, and lower levels of education and work opportunities.

This article spans sociological concepts such as gender stereotypes and gender inequality, employs methods from linguistics and sociolinguistics (CDA and CL), and contributes to South African literary studies by scrutinising an aspect of gender as it manifests in Zulu literary texts. In this article, we firstly provide a short overview of relevant studies that employ CL and/or CDA, as well as existing studies on the role of gender in Zulu (literary) texts. We then motivate our decision to use CL and CDA for our analysis of the selected novels before briefly explaining how the data for the study was collected. Then we present the results of our analysis and draw a few preliminary conclusions while emphasizing the limited nature of this study.

### **Studies on gender stereotyping utilising CDA**

Previous studies on the topic at hand have examined gender stereotypes mostly in newspapers and magazines. Wang (2009) adopted CDA to examine the gender stereotypes held regarding female and male artists in Taiwanese tabloids. In their study, Shaikh et al. (2015) use CDA to analyse twelve different advertisements aired on Pakistani TV channels and the internet to focus on how men and women are represented

in order to serve gender inequality and power relations. Sriwimon and Zilli (2017) demonstrate how CDA can be applied as a conceptual framework for investigating gender stereotypes in politics in Thailand newspapers. With the aid of CDA, Heathy (2020) investigates the stereotypical representations of women in print advertising.

A study which has employed the same methodology (synergy of CL and CDA) towards the investigation of body parts is one by Hunt (2015). She analyses the body parts of male and female characters in three books of the *Harry Potter* series to explore how agency (the state of being in action or exerting power) is 'constructed' along gender lines. She discovered that the way male and female characters use their bodies is gendered and exemplifies power (or the lack thereof). For example, females click or snap their fingers to attract the attention of others while males clap their hands. The action of females is silent while that of males is loud. Both males and females use their hands to hold or carry things, however male hands carry important objects in the story line and females carry objects which are not central to the plot. Male heads, faces, arms and fingers get involved in danger and are injured and female faces, fingers, and heads come into contact with danger but are not injured (Hunt 2015: 284-290). She found that females in the world of *Harry Potter* are systematically excluded from acting on the world in powerful or meaningful ways and thus the message is clear that agency is not for girls (Hunt 2015: 293-294). Even though there are of course many differences between youth literature and novels written for adults, in this study we nevertheless chose to scrutinise body parts with regard to gender stereotypes in two 'adult' Zulu novels.

The few corpus-based studies that have been conducted in the indigenous languages of South Africa focus on linguistic research such as a case study on Northern-Sotho adjectives (Taljard 2006); an analysis of twelve Zulu translations of the book of Matthew (Masubelele 2007); and a corpus linguistics analysis of gender sensitive language in isiZulu (Mabuya 2018).

Many studies have been conducted on isiZulu literature including the selected novels, however, there is no existing research on the representation of female and male character's body parts as possible indicator or marker of gender stereotypes. Research conducted by scholars who have worked on isiZulu literature, including the selected novels, has analysed theme, plot, characterisation, style and narration (Ntuli 1998;

Ndebele 2007; Groenewald 2012). Researchers have investigated stereotypical images related to gender in primary school books, such as, *UVulindlela* by Z. Ndlela and T. Mkhize, *IsiZulu Sempela* by Z.A. Ziqubu, *Making Sense* by Liz Stewart, *Nuwe Afrikaans Sonder Grense* by Mari Utti and Sonia Gouws (Buthelezi 2003); gender stereotypes in isiZulu terminology (Buthelezi 2004); gender stereotypes in secondary school literary texts, namely, *Kwake kwaba nje* by C. Nxaba, *Ingwijikhwebu* by L. Molefe, *Ngaze ngazenza* by M.M. Masondo, *Kungasa ngifile* by E.D.M. Sibiya (Nkosi 2013); and they have examined intrinsic gender oppressive practices prevalent in Zulu culture with a key focus around language, gender and power as reflected in literary works (Masuku 2005; Zuma 2009; Zondi 2013; Gumede & Mathonsi 2019). This study's contribution lies in the use of CL to computationally analyse a large amount of data, and in the very specific focus on the use and description of male and female characters' body parts as opposed to merely tracing themes in the novels that are overtly about gender. Our approach therefore adds a quantitative layer to the analysis of the data.

### **Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis**

CL can be defined as a method in which computer-readable texts are analysed by computer software (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 1). It examines language based on natural samples of speech and 'these samples are stored electronically in what is called a corpus' (2012: 1). For example, corpora may be made up of texts from newspapers, textbooks, leaflets, essays written by language learners, transcriptions of spoken language from casual conversations, radio broadcasts, television shows and lectures (Mahlberg, 2010: 292). The use of CL in the analysis of prose texts, such as novels, is fairly new. In this study, each of the selected isiZulu novels represents a special purpose corpus, i.e., a corpus compiled for a specific purpose as these texts were digitized to render them machine-readable in order to find linguistic patterns pertaining to the body parts of male and female characters as displayed by the corpus software.

In CL, the use of computer software renders linguistic and contextual information to the researcher which would take weeks or months to uncover manually. It therefore permits large-scale grammatical and interpretative analyses to be conducted. Furthermore, it provides the researcher with examples of real language usage within

context. Computational processing allows for the identification of patterns of language use, which often escapes manual data analysis. Processing data computationally is an important complementary method to the manual, introspection-based perusal of data, which is time consuming, as well as being prone to human error. It could take a lifetime to analyse a long novel in close stylistic detail without the aid of computer software (Mahlberg, 2010: 295). According to Van Dijk (2001: 352), CDA is a 'type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.'

CDA aims to challenge negative aspects in society, namely injustice, inequality, unfairness and a lack of democracy (Bhatia et al., 2008: 11). Since CDA is concerned with relations of power, dominance, unfairness and inequality in society, it is a fitting framework within which to examine whether the ways in which male and female characters use their body parts and whether the ways in which they are described are stereotypical.

Using CDA as the interpretative framework for an analysis of the selected isiZulu texts seemed to be most suited for the purpose of this study as South Africa is known for its high levels of inequality, particularly race and gender inequality, which results from the impact of apartheid that remains evident to this day. Among other consequences of apartheid, such as discrimination, injustice and unequal power relations, particular interest is taken in gender in this study as 'gender stereotypes play a role in social inequality' (Kwatsha, 2009: 130). Even though there was a change of power in South Africa in 1994, issues of gender inequality and the oppression of women are still addressed. This is due to the patriarchal nature of South Africa where black and white women still battle to be recognised as being equal to their male counterparts.

### **Data collection**

For the purpose of this investigation, three special purpose corpora were compiled, consisting of the electronic versions in .txt format of each of the three novels. In terms of general corpus size, these corpora are small, but due to the nature of the study, normal

features of corpora such as size, balance and representativeness are irrelevant. Compare Table 1 for corpus sizes.

**Table 1:** Corpus size

Built corpus	Tokens
<i>Indlela Yababi</i> Corpus	22 559
<i>Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu</i> Corpus	45 379
<i>Kuxolelwa Abanjani?</i> Corpus	67 825

This study mainly uses the Concord function of *WordSmith Tools*. Scott (2013: 5) defines a concordancer as a 'program which makes a concordance using plain text or web text files.' When using it, the text file is selected, for example, *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* and a search word is specified, for example, *isandla* within that selected text file. The concordancer will quickly seek and present the results in a concordance display, and give access to information about collocates of the search word. In CL, a concordance or key word in context (KWIC) shows the search word with several occurrences to its left and right. A concordance can be sorted in various ways to examine any repetitions that help identify patterns of language use or of the same word (Mahlberg, 2010: 293).

The body parts that were selected for analysis were *isandla* (hand) and *izandla* (hands), *amehlo* (eyes), *ikhanda* (head) and *ubuso* (face). Derivations, such as *nesandla* (and the hand) or *ngesandla* (with the hand), and in the case of *amehlo* (eyes), the singular form *ihlo* (eye) was not included. Only the plural form was investigated. A first manual clean-up of the data consisted of working through the KWIC lines and disregarding examples where the search nodes were used in a figurative or non-literal sense, for example, the expression *ukubeka isandla* literally means 'to lay the hand', but figuratively, it refers to hitting someone. Cases where the search node could not be linked to a male or female character were also discarded, which left a manageable amount of data. The corpus software *WordSmith Tools 7.0* was used to retrieve concordance lines for each search node. From the concordance lines, words were identified that appeared more than twice to the left and to the right of the search node. The concordance lines

below are sorted to the first word on the left and to the first word on the right of the node *isandla* (hand).

**Figure 1:** An illustration of concordance lines with the search node *isandla* (hand)

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word	#	Sent.	Para.	Para.	Head	Head	Sect.	Sect.	File
20	izinyembezi. Kwaqhubeka eside iskhathi <b>esibambile isandla sikaNozopho</b> , esafunga nangenhiziyo ukuthi				55	798	6	5	0	55	0	55	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
21	nto mina," nguShumi enikina ikhanda, <b>esibambisisa isandla sikaLcthiwe</b> . Nampayana bcdabula				66	937	7	10	0	66	0	66	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
22	egujwayo namuhla." kubalisa uDoly <b>esibambisisa isandla sikaThushu</b> . "Siyaxolisa zintokazi, sekusuke				4	894	488	12	0	4	0	4	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
23	. Eskhundleni sokuba kuphume iskhathi <b>esibulalayo, isandla esimyamakazi</b> sale ndoda sabuya				15	165	1	6	0	15	0	15	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
24	Azibone uNozopho bakthi lezo zingalo zibambe <b>esinye isandla, hhayi</b> esakhe, alizw lelo phimbo,				6	026	624	8	0	6	0	6	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
25	Washo wakhalala futhi, wazama ukusibambisisa <b>futhi isandla sikaNozopho</b> esasesithwshikile				55	905	6	7	0	55	0	55	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
26	nenkinga." Washo la mazwi waselula <b>futhi isandla uShumi</b> , wasbamba esikaNozopho				41	985	4	6	0	41	0	41	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
27	, ishaya izandla, iphakama embhedeni, yelula <b>I isandla ikhipha</b> ugwayi iwuxumeka emlonyeni,				9	221	1	14	0	9	0	9	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
28	wezinkomo," isho iphuthaza emabeleni <b>inkosikazi, isandla sibuya</b> neskhwanyana, isivula lunguza				59	989	7	9	0	59	0	59	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
29	. Yakhangeza futhi indoda. Seluleka <b>kancane isandla sikaSabelo</b> , sawukhipha ukhiye ephaketheni				30	006	3	3	0	30	0	30	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
30	lagquma ikhehla elinguGumede, <b>lankonkoshela isandla sikaShumi</b> , bangena endlini. "Senimangele				15	825	1	19	0	15	0	15	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
31	uShumi ezama ukubeka phansi uZuzie, <b>ngesinye isandla ephulula</b> uNzuzo emahlombe. Zamthibela				50	179	5	10	0	50	0	50	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
32	: Flight Of The Fish Eagle. Sandiza <b>njengokhozi isandla sakhe</b> ngenkathi elthi hwi ibhodlela, ebuthela				14	048	1	3	0	14	0	14	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
33	wanxapha kakhulu. <b>Njengokujwayeleki isandla sakhe</b> sasijjime saya endlebeni, phakathi				21	649	2	2	0	21	0	21	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
34	uyakhala...hhayi bo, wathamba <b>...sadedeleka isandla sikaShumi</b> . Wo, wabona engengane				55	875	6	9	0	55	0	55	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
35	nje. Wasondela bandla, welula isandla, <b>vvasibamba isandla sikaNozopho</b> esasiqanda mo, singenampilo.				41	705	4	6	0	41	0	41	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
36	nje. Thina siyobona ngezcnzo kuphela," <b>vvayelule isandla uLethiwe</b> , wayibamba ingane yakvavabo				40	516	4	6	0	40	0	40	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
37	Emva kwesikhashana waphakama kancane, <b>wafaka isandla ephaketheni</b> lejakhethe, wakhipha				54	587	6	6	0	54	0	54	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
38	. Ngisho ukuba amnake uThushu. Wavele <b>wafaka isandla ephaketheni</b> leyembe elalkebukile lapha				24	066	2	3	0	24	0	24	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
39	uShabalala, wabagona, phathaphatha, <b>wafaka isandla ephaketheni</b> , sabuya namaswidi,				58	873	6	7	0	58	0	58	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
40	yokucumbazwa yizandla ezingakholwa. <b>Walula isandla, walinika</b> unina owayesalokhu enkemile nje.				11	518	1	2	0	11	0	11	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
41	akasiyo le mpatha abase bembiza ngayo. <b>Walula isandla, wawemukela</b> umthunzi wczinkuku				17	557	1	2	0	17	0	17	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
42	elempatha uSabco, wathamba kancane. <b>Waselula isandla, czitshela</b> ukuthi uzokwenza njc ukuze				17	536	1	2	0	17	0	17	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
43	, wajulukwa, wazphoqa wamamatheka, <b>wasibamba isandla sikaDolly</b> owayesenamathck wathi ne				13	969	1	14	0	13	0	13	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt
44	ngelanga nje waba nje. <b>Wasibambisisa isandla sakhe</b> esasiqanda mo, zathi wohlo futhi				55	786	6	1	0	55	0	55	Kuxolelwa abanjani_1.txt

Table 2 below shows the words that were identified from each corpus, which repeatedly co-occurred to the left and to the right of the selected body parts. These co-occurrences are referred to as collocates. The collocates that are greyed out refer to the raw hits while the collocates that are not greyed out refer to the relevant hits. In the analysis below, expanded versions of the concordance lines which contain the relevant hits will be provided in order to give strongly affirmed results. In Table 2 below, it is evident that the three corpora do not share many commonalities.

**Table 2:** Collocates of the selected body parts of female and male characters

<b><i>Indlela Yababi</i></b>		<b><i>Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu</i></b>		<b><i>Kuxolelwa Abanjani?</i></b>	
Female hand <i>sakhe, -beka</i>	Male hand <i>sakhe</i>	Female hand	Male hand <i>-elula, -phakamisa, -xhawula</i>	Female hand <i>-faka, -elula, -esikhwameni, -bamba</i>	Male hand <i>-xhawula, ephaketheni, -bamba/- bambisisa, -faka</i>
Female hands	Male hands	Female hands	Male hands <i>-eneka</i>	Female hands <i>-qhaqhazela</i>	Male hands <i>-qhaqhazela, -eneka, -ncenga</i>
Female eyes <i>akhe, -khulu, -bakaza, -khanya</i>	Male eyes <i>akhe, -mnene, -bomvu</i>	Female eyes	Male eyes <i>akhe, -phakamisa, -bheka</i>	Female eyes <i>akhe, -bomvu</i>	Male eyes <i>akhe, izinyembezi, -gcwala, -bomvu</i>
Female head	Male head	Female head	Male head <i>-nikina</i>	Female head <i>-phakamisa, -nikina</i>	Male head <i>-phakamisa, -nikina</i>
Female face <i>bakhe</i>	Male face <i>bakhe</i>	Female face	Male face	Female face	Male face <i>-mboza</i>

### Data analysis

As mentioned previously, the aim of this study was to analyse the selected body parts, namely *isandla, izandla, amehlo, ikhanda* and *ubuso*. However, the analysis was limited to two body parts, namely, *isandla* and *amehlo* as the other body parts selected did not yield any meaningful results. Moreover, as shown in Table 2 above, the focus was on words of action (verbs) and descriptive words (adjectives/relatives) as we are investigating the ways in which male and female characters use their body parts and the ways in which their body parts are described as stereotypical. Thus, we focus on verbs that are suggestive of gender stereotypes and power relations. Only the most recent

novel, *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* provided results that could be meaningfully analysed with regard to gender stereotypes with regard to hands. Regarding the eyes, the novels *Indlela yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* both provided results. There were no meaningful results that could be analysed in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*.

In the *Kuxolelwa Abanjani* corpus, there are 20 occurrences of *-bamba/-bambisisa* (hold/hold firm). This verb co-occurred with the male characters' hand 15 times and with the female characters' hand 5 times. Analysis of the concordance lines suggests that the way in which the action word *-bamba/-bambisisa* is used in the context of the novel portrays male and female characters stereotypically. The female characters are portrayed as being frightened easily (see Extract 1) and emotional (see Extract 2). Therefore, the act of the male character holding the female character's hand suggests that the male characters are in a position of power over the female characters. It portrays male characters as being courageous, in control of their emotions and as being protectors, thereby suggesting that strength is not a feature associated with female characters when they are confronted with fear and overcome by emotions.

(1) *Hawu, sengethukile baba, ngibona sekuthe nya, kusho uMaMtshali esondela. Ubusuthi sengibalekile yini nkosikazi? ebuza ehleka ebamba isandla somkakhe.*

'Oh, I was frightened my husband, seeing that it is dead quiet, says MaMtshali, coming closer. Did you think I had run away my wife? asking this while laughing and holding his wife's hand.'

(2) *Ubaba yena bakithi unjani? nguLethiwe ebuza ngezinyembezi. Hhayi kakukubi kubaba. Awu kwangcono madoda. NguSabelo ebambisisa isandla sikaLethiwe.*

'How is father? that is Lethiwe asking in tears. No, father's condition is not bad. Oh man that is better. That is Sabelo holding Lethiwe's hand tight.'

Conversely, the act of the female character, Lethiwe, holding her father's hand in hospital (see Extract 3) and again holding her brother's hand (see Extract 4) portrays her stereotypically as caring and supportive of these male characters in their moments of weakness.

(3) *Wanele wabona indodakazi yakhe wazama ukumamatheka kancane, welula isandla. Yasibamba isandla indodakazi, yamanga esiphongweni uyise.*

'Immediately he saw his daughter, he tried to smile a little, and he extended his hand. The daughter held the hand and kissed her father on the forehead.'

(4) *Thina siyobona ngezenzo kuphela, wayelule isandla uLethiwe, wayibamba ingane yakwabo eyiqinisekisa ukuthi yayingeke ibanjelwe amagqubu ngamaphutha nobuthakathaka bayo.*

'We will only see by your actions, Lethiwe had extended her hand, she held her brother, assuring him that they would not hold any grudges against him for his mistakes and weaknesses.'

Other aspects of stereotypical portrayals of male and female characters are perceived in the ways that eyes are described. In the *Indlela Yababi* corpus, there are 7 instances of *-khulu* (big). This adjective only co-occurred with the female character's eyes. The concordance lines show that this is a physical characteristic which is stereotypically associated with beauty. This shapes the ideology that for a woman to be regarded as beautiful, she must have certain features.

(5) *Into eyayikuthatha kuqala ebuhleni bakhe amehlo akhe amakhulu, athambileyo.*  
'The first thing that attracted you to her beauty are her big gentle eyes.'

A female character's big eyes are additionally associated with nervousness in the presence of male characters. The word *-bakaza* (move the eyes timorously, looking about nervously, particularly in the presence of a superior) represents the female character as inferior and the male characters as superior (see Extracts 6 and 7).

(6) *Uyangicasula-ke manje uma uzode ukhuluma imbude nje, kusho uJohn. Asondele kuye futhi uDelsie. Azinameke kuye; amehlo akhe amakhulu abakaze.*

'You are now making me angry if you continue speaking nonsense, says John. Delsie comes closer to him again. She snuggles into him; her big eyes look about nervously.'

(7) *Ngangizimisele impela ukuthi indaba yothando kayisoze ingene enhliziyweni yami naphakade, ngithi ngangizimisele nje ngoba namhlanje sengehlulekile. Uwena ongahlulile Nkosazana Moya. Ethuke uDelsie lapho ezwa lokho; amehlo akhe amakhulu abakaze. Aphefumulele phezulu.*

'I was so determined that love would never ever enter into my heart, I am saying I was so determined because today I have failed. It is you who defeated me Miss Moya. Delsie gets frightened when she hears that. Her big eyes look about nervously. Then she breathes heavily.'

Moreover, a female character's big eyes are associated with tears. This reinforces the stereotype that women are emotional characters (see Extracts 8 and 9).

(8) **Amehlo akhe amakhulu ehla imvula yezinyembezi.** Athi: *Mama uyayazi into eyelwa ubaba eManzimtoti? Uyangibona lapho ngilele khona manje, lapho ngiphonswe khona ubaba!*

'A rain of tears flows from her big eyes. She says: Mom, do you know why dad went to Manzimtoti? You see where I am sleeping right now, where dad threw me!'

(9) *Pho yini uphole sengathi kawujabuli? kubuza intombazane iphukula umlomo. Intombazane eseyejwayela izindlela zothando ezingahloniphiyo imithetho kaNkulunkulu. Uma uthokoza yini ungabonakalisi ukuthi uyangithanda? **Amehlo ayo amakhulu agcwala izinyembezi.***

'Then why are you relaxed as if you are not happy? asked the girl, pouting her lips. A girl who is now used to the ways of love that are disrespectful to God's laws. If you are happy, why don't you show that you love me? The girl's big eyes got filled with tears.'

On the contrary, male characters' eyes co-occurred with the relative *-bomvu* (red) 3 times in the *Indlela Yababi* corpus, denoting a temporal state of the eyes associated with anger (see Extracts 10 - 13). The analysis of the concordance lines suggests that this description of the eyes depicts male characters as being dangerous and behaving aggressively.

(10) **Amehlo akhe asebehe ababomvu ulaka.** *Kayazi nento ayithukuthelele ngaphandle kokuthi uhlushwa ukubona intombi yakhe ibuzwa imibuzo sengathi iyisiboshwa.*

'His eyes are now red because of anger. He doesn't even know why he is angry, except that he is bothered by seeing his girlfriend being questioned like a prisoner.'

(11) *Azizwe uBen esethi,inja leya!*

*Ethuke uLizzie ngoba phela ubengasazi ukuthi uhlezi noBen yonke imicabango kaBen isingakuDelsie. Abuze. Ubaniinja Ben?*

*Ngisho lowa muntu osehlezi ecaleni kukaNkosazana Moya, asho **amehlo akhe esebheje ebomvu.***

'Ben hears himself say, That dog!

Lizzie gets startled because she had forgotten that she is sitting next to Ben.

All of Ben's thoughts are on Delsie. She asks, who is a dog Ben?

I am referring to that person who is sitting next to Miss Moya, he says with his eyes red.'

(12) *UDick usephenduke isilwanyana. **Amehlo asebomvu klubhu.** Umlomo lo sewuvevezela nje. Ubuso sebumnyama bhuqe. Usehluleka nokukhuluma.*

'Dick has turned into a monster. His eyes are extremely red. His lips are trembling. His face, pitch black. He can't even speak.'

- (13) **Amehlo ebomvu klebhu** ekhanya inzondo nobubi bodwa. Amehlo esabeka. Manje ayeseyaluza ulaka. Ayenjalo ale nsizwa uDick Mthakathi lowo ebesesizwile ngaye ethi uDelsie uyamesaba.  
'His extremely red eyes illuminated hatred and evil. His eyes were scary. And now they were full of anger. That is how Dick Mthakathi's eyes were, the one whom we had heard that Delsie is afraid of.'

Alternatively, in the *Kuxolelwa Abanjani* corpus, the female characters' eyes collocate with the relative *-bomvu* (red) 2 times, denoting a temporal state of the eyes associated with tears. Once again, this reinforces the stereotype that women are emotional characters and that they are fragile (see Extracts 14 and 15).

- (14) **Amehlo akhe ayebomvu** kubonakala nje ukuthi umuntu lona kade Kusile ekhala, ekhaliswa ngukushona kukanina nokuphoxwa nguShumi.  
'Her eyes were red, indicating that she had been crying for some time, because of her mother's death and for being disappointed by Shumi.'

- (15) *Kwabuya usizi owalufica lubhalwe ebusweni bukaLethiwe ngenkathi ethi umvakashele ngesonto eledlule kanti uzomfica edabukisa, amehlo ebomvu ngenxa yokukhala izinyembezi.*  
'She remembered the sorrow she had seen on Lethiwe's face when she visited her last week and found her with sad, red eyes because she had been crying.'

To summarise, our corpus-based analysis revealed that the ways in which male and female characters use their body parts and the ways in which they are described reveal stereotypical representations in *Indleda yababi* and *Kuxoxelwa Abanjani*? By examining expanded concordance lines of *isandla* (hand) and *amehlo* (eyes), we were able to attest that the way female characters used their hands depicted them as being caring and supportive. On the other hand, the way male characters used their hands depicted them as being protectors, suggesting that they are courageous. These results are consistent with literature demonstrating that care and relational roles are congruent with women while power and leadership roles are congruent with men (Tartaglia & Rollero 2015: 1103). The way in which female characters' eyes are described depicts them as being beautiful and emotional, while the way male characters' eyes are described depicts them as being aggressive and dangerous. Contrary to our expectations regarding diachronic change in the way reference to body parts stereotypically define male and female characters, no significant differences were observed between the 1931 novel and the

2002 novel. It would be interesting to see whether extension of the time frame would deliver significant results.

## **Conclusion**

In this article, we provided a short overview of CL and CDA and the combination of the two approaches before briefly explaining the ways in which the data for this study was generated by using the concordance function of Wordsmith tools. We then analysed the three corpora with regard to gender stereotypes that can be identified based on the collocates of *isandla* (hand) and *amehlo* (eyes). The other body parts that were selected didn't yield any definitive results which is why we were limited to two body parts. A corpus-based approach was useful in quickly identifying the collocates of these body parts while CDA was useful in helping to provide an analysis that considers the social context of the data. Although the current study's data is limited in scope and, therefore, prevents any strong conclusion, particularly on diachronic change, the data analysis procedure clearly shows the potential of implementing CL methods in CDA to reveal the ways in which male and female characters use their body parts and the ways in which they are described depicts male and female characters stereotypically. Also, due to the small number of texts selected for analysis, we can only claim that the ways in which male and female characters use their body parts and the ways in which they are described depicts them stereotypically in two of the three selected texts, we cannot generalise too widely. Thus, further work on the analysis of body parts could be carried out on a much bigger scale for more comprehensive insight.

Our article contributes to the body of work on gender studies, a discipline that is only now making inroads in African language research. Using a combination of CDA and CL in a literary study represents a unique contribution to the study of gender in isiZulu literature. Although our investigation is of limited extent, it can pave the way for more extensive use of CL in literary analysis. The limitations of the study can, however, provide directions for future research. Corpus-based CDA studies are not common in African languages; this approach could be employed to examine other text types to see whether the ways male and female characters use their body parts and the ways they are described are generalizable across different text types in African languages.

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