

**NEW RULES OR NO RULES? A CRITICAL CORPUS ANALYSIS OF GENDER IN  
SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH TELEVISED-SPORT COMMENTARY.**

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Abstract

This research project makes use of multiple linguistic and sociological theories. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (as developed by Fairclough 2001, 2013, Wodak 1995, 1997, and van Dijk 2001), and corpus linguistics (following Baker 2012, Baker et al., 2008 and Xiao & McEnery, 2005 – see Website Reference 4), it attempts to critically discuss the language evident in a corpus constructed from transcribed sport broadcasts televised in South Africa, interrogated with the use of AntConc software, maintaining a particular focus on gender representation. It does this with the help of CMT (Contemporary Metaphor Theory) as developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1993), which allows for the deconstruction and categorisation of metaphorical mappings in the data.

With the help of CMT I describe the cognitive mapping of competition through war terminology and uncover a diligent committal to discourses which support hegemonic masculinity, as well as an underlying ideology that purports that rules are breakable and rule infringement will not be significantly penalised (particularly for men). Special attention is paid to collocating language and the ability of these terms to infuse a subject with an evaluative aura. This involves, in particular: using wordlists to identify pertinent content words in the corpus, addressing collocates to reveal semantic prosodies in the text, and analysing concordance data to see how particular discursive strategies were used in context.

Particular interest is paid to the depictions of masculinity seen in sport as a potential reflection of the views held in competitive sport playing societies at large, and to this end it focuses on language and imagery which is used in the discursive construction of the terms: men, women, champion, and physicality. The ideology of male hegemony is found to be dominant in the corpus data, seen in, among other things: the positioning of women, the inclusion of traditional discourses relating to the performance of masculinity and the construction of the 'new man'. White, heterosexual men are shown to be represented as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity, subordinating both black and homosexual men. Laughter is also seen as affirmation of the naturalised cheekiness of men and boys and their tendency to break rules in order to succeed, and betting is identified as a potentially destructive influence in sport.

*Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), corpus linguistics, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), sportspeak, competition, gender, masculinity, male hegemony.*

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## **1. Introduction**

Following Baker (2012) I provide this following concise definition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by van Dijk.

Critical discourse analysis (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. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (*Van Dijk, 2001: 352*)

Taking an explicit position this research follows an impression of mine that there has been a proportionally large number of reported cases of prominent sportsmen (internationally) being involved in violent and/or criminal behaviour (see for instance Caruso, 2011). Therefore this research project is concerned with critically analysing the discourses which are evident in the language and imagery used in televised sports. It involves the construction and analysis of a corpus of South African English texts of transcribed commentary on rugby and soccer matches, including the advertisements, half-time, and pre- and post-game shows. Its main focus is on discussing the range of gendered identities which are presented and therefore constructed as available to the viewer (as the data is mostly male dominated and oriented, the range of masculinities constructed as available is emphasised). Corpus software (AntConc, Website Reference 1), specifically wordlists, collocation and concordancing, are used to aid the analysis of the language.

Gender relations in South Africa are considered similar to those seen internationally (in the Western world as well as in those countries that have historically been considered to comprise “the East”), with masculinity and men seen to subordinate femininity and women (see for example: Connell, 1995; Harrison et al., 2006; Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012). For many South African men, male identities are still underpinned by “control over gender relations and dominance in sexual relationships” and although these normative views have been challenged they remain entrenched, particularly in rural South African settings (Harrison et al., 2006: 719). This is although “the patriarchal norms that guide men’s sense of self may be shifting” as “younger men... continue to seek ways to shape new masculine

behaviors” (Harrison et al., 2006: 719). Men and women in South Africa attempt to negotiate their performances of sex and gender within the context of a post-colonial society which has historically been marred by deep racial, linguistic and class divides, and levels of violence and rape which have for a long time been multiple times higher than international averages (see Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012) - violence and rape which has been predominantly male perpetrated.

Multiple studies of masculinity (e.g. Kennedy, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Dean, 2013) have also revealed that many men in addition to women are being dominated and subordinated by hegemonic men, in Western society, South Africa (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012; Milani, 2013), and in the East (Hobbs, Pattalung & Chandler, 2011). My research began with an aim to uncover the positioning of men and women in South African televised sports, with the hopes of being able to critically discuss the ways in which narrow definitions of manhood and womanhood are presented in this genre. Upon investigation though it quickly became apparent that the imagery presented in sport broadcasts goes much further than just the development of narrow definitions of manhood and womanhood, and that a lot of the language and imagery detectable in the corpus openly supports the maintenance of the international ideology of hegemonic masculinity and the powers that are associated with it.

An array of unearned advantages has been identified as being enjoyed by men, white people and heterosexuals (McIntosh, 1988): for example white people are never asked to speak for all the people of their racial group and they can also dress in second-hand clothing without ever worrying people will attribute that to the poverty of their race (McIntosh, 1988). Similarly, a package of powers including, for example, the ability to subordinate women and lesser men, is bestowed upon all men who are willing to conform to the current idealized performance of masculinity, and this is in addition to the package of powers all men receive, which includes, for example, the extraordinary privilege of being presumed capable until proven otherwise (the opposite of what women experience). McIntosh (1988) makes a point to highlight the fact that the advantages she reveals are in many cases not to

be interpreted as undue, only unequally distributed between social groups divided by race, sex, sexuality and other groupings.

The discourses supporting the ideologies which enable these powers are constructed and maintained in society and individual lives through everyday interaction and communication between people; interactions and communications which inevitably access and mobilise commonsensical ideas about sex and gender, compounding their effects. Because it is through discourse which reproduces and perpetuates certain ideologies that these powers are enabled, texts can be taken as reflections and perpetuations of ideologies as well as used in the analysis and documentation of power relations: ideology being located in both the structures (textual structures) "which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events", as well as in the events themselves as they help shape their conditioning structures (Fairclough, 2013: 58). The synergistic relationship between corpus linguistics and the critical analysis of discourse (see for example: Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2008; Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010) has only relatively recently been harnessed to do this kind of analysis, with corpus linguistics as a data collection method seen to counter the charges of "cherry picking" data which are frequently levelled against CDA (Bock & Hunt, 2015:144). It is my opinion that a truly thorough investigation of semantic prosody (quite often a focus in critical discourse analysis) requires the use of corpora and corpus techniques.

After this introduction, the report begins with a literature review (2). This section explores the relevant theory for the project; this is both the methodological theory informing the analytical tools I used, as well as the sociolinguistic theory relevant to the subject matter analysed. The next section (3) is the methodology section and it explains how I planned to and eventually did do the analysis, in the process introducing my research questions. After this is the report of my analysis (4); here is where I provide the quantified results of my analysis, as well as qualitative interpretations. The final section (5), the conclusion, is where I report on the findings of this project while addressing my research questions.

## **2. Literature review:**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This analysis makes use of corpus techniques to strengthen a critical analysis of discourse, following Stubbs' (1997) suggestion and Baker et al.'s (2008) example. Because the research is based on language from sport broadcasts, the sports rugby and soccer, as well as the language particular to these sporting codes (sportspeak), are introduced. Following this conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is introduced (Lakoff, 1993), as the corpus text proved to be laden with metaphorical mappings. As it is the main theory informing the research, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) according to Fairclough (2001), van Dijk (2001), and Wodak (1995, 1997) is introduced, this is where I discuss discourse, ideology, and power, as well as how these concepts relate to each other. Corpus Linguistics (Baker et al., 2008) and its techniques are discussed below this. The special relationship corpus linguistics has with semantic prosody, through collocation and statistical measures is given particular attention. Once the research has been properly situated and the theories have been introduced, focus changes to masculinities and the performance of gender. It is necessary to look at this as societal standards of what are and what are not acceptable performances of sex and gender change over time and in different places/cultures, and so they affect the eventual performances of these facets of identity. The concept of hegemony is then introduced as sports is an area known for its use of discourses and allegiance to ideologies which support hegemonic masculinity (Davis, 1997; Connell 1990; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). I then raise some concerns which inspire some important research questions: questions which I reveal in the Methodology section.

This research is partly inspired by an American media studies paper (Messner et al., 2000) in which the researchers find 10 themes in their analysis of national televised-sports commentary, themes which they describe as forming a Televised-Sporting Manhood Formula (TSMF). These themes are all related to the performance of masculinity and/or the gendered power relations evident in sport; themes such as: 'sport is a man's world', 'sport is war', 'women are sexy prizes for successful sporting or consuming achievements', and that men must be brave in the face of pain or danger, they must essentially 'give their bodies for

the team'. The Messner et al. (2000) study is done from a Media Studies perspective, so this research seeks to, among other things, provide some of the relevant Linguistic insights and tools to assess whether any of these, or any other themes exist in SA sport commentary.

## **2.2 Sports and sportspeak**

### **2.2.1 Studying sport**

The media and particularly the sports media tend to "reflect the social conventions of gender-biased language" (Messner et al., 1993:133), which reinforces the biased meanings present in language which contribute to the maintenance of social inequities. It is because of this potential for language to perpetuate ideologies and entrench problematic conceptions of masculinity (among other things) that studies such as this one are so important.

The two sports included in this study are soccer and rugby; they were chosen because in South Africa they are considered stereotypically masculine sports (Pelak, 2005; Nauright, 1996). These two sports have also been seen to embody a historical racial divide in this country, with soccer in recent times being considered a black sport and rugby a white (Afrikaner) sport (Dolby, 2002). Each sporting code also has a different playtime; soccer is two 40 minute halves, rugby two 45 minute halves. Each has a similar length half-time, around 10 - 15 minutes. They also each have their own individual rules, with soccer being considered a non-contact sport and rugby a contact sport (physically tackling a player is permissible under certain constraints in rugby). These differences are significant in light of my research questions which investigate the depiction of masculinity which is, especially in a sporting context, related to toughness and aggression.

Sport and its connections to language is a topic that has received much academic attention over the years. As early as 1945, George Orwell wrote of sport being "mimic warfare" (Orwell, 1968). The trope of metaphorically declaring that sport is war has since received particularly detailed linguistic attention (e.g. Lakoff 1991; Beard 1998; Chapanga 2004).

Recently some researchers have even pointed out that the language of sport and war terminology cannot be divorced at this point without serious changes and difficulty (Bergh, 2011).

Importantly for this study, the international culture of sport also comes with its own extensive lexicon that most sport fans would be familiar with. These are generic items such as 'foul' and all its sub-types (e.g. technical foul, professional foul, flagrant foul, intentional foul) which translate well across sporting codes, as well as sport specific language like 'grubber' (a rugby kick where the uneven ball rolls on the field) or 'header' (a soccer move using the head to strike the ball). This lexicon and its associated conventions has been known as 'sportspeak' (Segrave, 1994; 1997), a term that is employed in this study too. The viewer is also assumed to know this language and the relevant rules of the game beforehand, with only a small chance of a commentator trying to help them understand the proceedings.

The persistent use of metaphor is one of multiple discursive trends which have been identified in sport culture and language. Metaphors from the domains of Violence, Machines, and Sex have been found to be used to describe players and the games (Segrave, 1997). Sport has been documented to be conceptualised and spoken about in terms of non-violent metaphor too, for instance in comparing football to a Voyage or a Building (Lewandowski, 2012). It appears that the reliance on metaphor in sport broadcasting is true in (Western) languages other than English as well (Lewandowski, 2012; Bergh 2011; Semino & Masci, 1996), and although less evident than in English literature it seems metaphor and sport are also closely related in an Eastern language context (De-mei, 2005; Schrag, 2009). There is also evidence that the same or similar metaphors are used across languages, providing evidence that metaphor is interpreted at the conceptual level, not the linguistic. Sport metaphors are commonly used in descriptions of sexual activity, and Segrave (1994: 109) finds that this contributes to a conception of masculinity "that privileges heterosexual over homosexual behavior and one that... is highly competitive, technological, and homophobic." That author says that "the language of sport, when applied to the language

of sexual relations, serves to construct and legitimize conceptions of male superiority and female inferiority, in the end helping to perpetuate” a general oppression of the female sex (Segrave, 1994: 110).

Multiple other discursive trends have been identified in US sports broadcasting, for instance Halbert & Latimer (1994), consolidating and building on the work of numerous other researchers (particularly Messner et al., 1993, but also Eitzen & Zinn, 1993; Nelson, 1991; Richardson, 1993; and Spender, 1980, among others), expose multiple discursive trends employed in their data which serve to minimise women’s sporting performances or ability, and interest or participation. They conclude that “sports commentators construct/reconstruct traditional gender boundaries through asymmetrical gender marking, hierarchical naming, ratio of praise to criticism, type of praise, and character portraits” (Halbert & Latimer, 1994: 306-307); here asymmetrical gender marking refers to the way women’s sports are called ‘women’s’ while the male version of sports are unmarked for gender being considered the norm; hierarchical naming refers to the way men in sport are almost always called ‘man’ whereas women are often degraded and softened by being called ‘lady’ or ‘girl’, and character portraits refers to the “way sports commentators talk about success and failure differently for women and men” (Halbert & Latimer, 1994: 301). In this project I am looking to see whether SA data confirms any of these trends and although my data consists almost completely of the transcribed speech of male characters in discussion of male athletes, the advantages provided through the use of corpus linguistic techniques enable me to finely analyse any mention of a female athlete which does occur and ultimately this means that I can successfully analyse for these trends.

In an investigation of the language used by sports commentators in the coverage of women’s sports in the USA, Eastman & Billings (2000:210) reveal that while ESPN’s commentators tend to trivialize women’s sports by way of comic or sexy coverage, commentators had in general learned to watch what they say, although “tone remains an available tool for slanting coverage”; the example they provide of the use of tone in their data is tonally encoded sarcasm. Interestingly, matters of emotions and age still appear in that research as common stereotypes employed in the depreciation of women’s sports and female players.

### **2.2.2 The Televised Sporting Manhood Formula**

Ten themes are uncovered by Messner et al. (2000) relating to the representation of: gender, race, violence, aggression, bravery and consumerism in US televised sports, which they posit together reveal a formula for manhood. These themes are collectively referred to as the Televised Sporting Manhood Formula or TSMF (Messner et al., 2000). As this project investigates the thematic structure of South African sport broadcasting paying attention to possible similarities or differences to the themes discovered by Messner et al. (2000), those will now be individually presented below. Although they are mostly self-explanatory they will also be accompanied by a brief description.

#### 1. White males are the voices of authority.

White men are seen in that research to dominate the inhabitation of positions of authority. This was identified by the rarity of black male or female voices and the relatively reduced levels of authority that these voices carried when included in the shows, affirming what some authors have explained as black sportsmen being seen but not heard (see Sabo & Jansen, 1994). This theme will be interesting to investigate in the context of South Africa as the original research on the TSMF (Messner et al., 2000) was conducted in the USA where in terms of population sizes white people form the majority and black people the minority, the opposite to the demographic characteristics of South Africa. The roles of setting and changing topics can be linguistic markers of conversational control (see Lauzen, & Dozier, 1999; Van Dijk, 2001) and therefore useful in an investigation of this theme, along with interruptions and drowning-out (speaking over) (see for example Anderson & Leaper, 1998).

#### 2. Sport is a Man's World.

This theme refers to the minimal inclusion women experience in sporting culture and events. It reflects the well documented history of male dominance over sport culture, sporting events and sports reporting (and essentially all things sport related; see: Theberge, 1989; Scraton et al., 1999; Messner et al., 2003). The Messner et al. (2000) research is concerned predominantly with the (lack of) inclusivity of female athletes in sport news and

in the sports news category of their sample a mere 2.9% of the news time was dedicated to women's sports, about half of the 5 to 6% commonly seen in other studies (Duncan & Messner, 1998). As female athletes are so seldom seen or spoken of in sports media (Nicely, S. 2007), documenting each appearance of a woman/girl along with the role she performs is possible.

### 3. Men are foregrounded in commercials.

This theme takes note of the prevalence of advertisements aimed at a male viewer which make use of a male protagonist. The incredibly infrequent appearance of or focus on women and girls in sport shows extends to the advertising seen in those shows, and although women/girls do appear there occasionally it is still infrequent enough for a researcher to be able to document all of those instances along with the roles and position the women play in the adverts; the same strategy applies for identifying point number 4 below.

### 4. Women are sexy props or prizes for men's successful sport performances or consumption choices.

Sport being a man's world, with minimal female inclusion in the games or as part of the commentary staff, the most frequent roles women are seen to portray in the sport broadcasting Messner et al. (2000) studied is as objects of beauty for heterosexual men's viewing pleasure, or as prizes in the form of both their submittal as sexual reward for men's successful consumption choices, and their evocative parading for successful sport performances.

### 5. Whites are foregrounded in commercials.

White people are seen to generally be the focus in commercials, revealing their place as the expected viewer. Similar to the investigations of sex, this theme can be identified in my data by addressing any instances where a black, coloured or Indian person is foregrounded in

commercials, as these are expected to be infrequent enough to make the procedure plausible.

#### 6. Aggressive players get the prize; nice guys finish last.

Rough and aggressive play is expected to be rewarded, while niceness is seen to weaken players which will inevitably lead to losing position in a sport match. Commentators' reactions to acts of aggression and acts of gentleness can betray this theme, as can depictions of people and their successes/failures in commercials.

#### 7. Boys will be (violent) boys.

This theme speaks to the societal expectation that boys and men will be more violent than women and girls, that this expectation begins while boys are still young, and that this condition is considered natural in our species. Similarly to the strategy used in point 6, the reactions commentators have to violence and acts of aggression can betray this theme, as can the depictions of males in commercials.

#### 8. Give up your body for your team

This theme says that in a sporting context and beyond, men must be willing to risk serious injury for the chance of victory. Similarly to the strategies used to identify points 6 and 7, commentators' reactions to injury and dangerous play can betray this theme, as can the depictions seen in commercials.

#### 9. Sport is war

This theme describes an established concern for people who studied the connections between sport and language, sport being constantly conceptualised through metaphorical comparisons to war, as can be seen in the pervasiveness of war terminology in sport language. This theme really requires addressing the personal cognitive conceptualisations

sport players and audience members have in their own minds regarding the games played. Short of being able to do this a researcher is restricted to addressing the lexical evidence which is undoubtedly laden with war imagery, tropes and references, war terminology being ingrained at this point in sport lexicons. From here a researcher must make inferences about the psychological state of a subject and his perception and the amount of influence a war-themed lexicon can have on cognition.

#### 10. Show some guts

This theme describes the conditioning men and boys face with regard to bravery, which can act as an indicator of masculinity and is very closely related to point 8 which demands aspiring men to risk serious injuries playing sport; it can be similarly identified.

All together these ten themes are found to result in a formula for manhood, a formula which Messner et al. (2000: 376-377) summarise in the following message:

What is a Real Man? A Real Man is strong, tough, aggressive, and above all, a winner in what is still a Man's World. To be a winner he has to do what needs to be done. He must be willing to compromise his own long-term health by showing guts in the face of danger, by fighting other men when necessary, and by "playing hurt" when he's injured. He must avoid being soft; he must be the aggressor, both on the "battle fields" of sport and in his consumption choices. Whether he is playing sports or making choices about which snack food or auto products to purchase, his aggressiveness will net him the ultimate prize: the adoring attention of conventionally beautiful women. He will know if and when he has arrived as a Real Man when the Voices of Authority—White Males—say he is a Real Man. But even when he has finally managed to win the big one, he has the good car, the right beer, and surrounded by beautiful women, he will be reminded by these very same Voices of Authority just how fragile this Real Manhood really is: After all, he has to come out and prove himself all over again tomorrow. You're only as good as your last game (or your last purchase).

The analysis Messner et al. (2000) employ to determine thematic profiles is based on a "textual analysis" (2000:370) which accounts for all the time that characters, categorised by

race and sex, are visible (on screen or in audio tracks) over 23 hours of American televised sport coverage. The research also makes use of two analysts and only the interpretations shared by both analysts are included in their findings. Veracity for the claims made is therefore based mostly on accounts of distribution of screen-time and inclusiveness of different sexes, understood incorrectly as a binary division (see 2.7), and other (shared) qualitative interpretations, with no mention made of gender. It appears that a lot of what they consider conditions for being a "real man" are actually just the realisation of dominant discourses relating to the performance of masculinity (see 2.7) and that a "real man" is just a stereotypically masculine man. Because of the glaring absence of some important gender/sex based research in that paper, and the inherent limitations of their method, I am confident that a corpus-assisted linguistic analysis from a critical language studies perspective can help validate their findings and refine their research by recognising, identifying and analysing the linguistic strategies used in the construction of the themes of the TMSF and the discourses which support them.

### **2.3 Metaphor (CMT)**

As discussed above (Section 2.2: Sports and Sportspeak) metaphor is pervasive in sport and therefore this analysis employs Conceptual Metaphor Theory (a.k.a. the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor) to interpret the data. What was originally called Conceptual Metaphor Theory or CMT (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) later evolved into the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor, also known as CTM (Lakoff, 1993). I (generally) use the term CMT to refer to the combined findings and literature of both theories. CMT was chosen because it allows for analysis of the discourse with a view of metaphor as both a linguistic and a conceptual phenomenon.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) reveal that metaphor is integral, not peripheral to language and understanding, and that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life (not just in creative texts). The revelation is that our conceptual system, in terms of which we think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Metaphor, like lexical meanings, presuppositions, implicatures, and coherence, is an aspect of meaning (Fairclough, 2013) and as such it is constantly involved in

human interactions and communication. Ideologically charged metaphors carry with them a set of implications which colour any text which makes use of that metaphor or comparison; metaphors which relate something to a disease, for instance, would necessitate being cured or eliminated, and may position themselves as globally shared interests (Fairclough, 2001). Through focusing on the relationships between charged metaphors an analyst can pick up cues to possible ideologies at play, ideology being located in both the structures (textual structures) “which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events”, as well as in the events themselves as they help shape their conditioning structures (Fairclough, 2013: 58).

Following Lakoff & Johnson (1980) metaphor can be described as a set of correspondences (or a conceptual mapping) “from a source domain (traditional vehicle) to a target domain (traditional tenor)”, with the source being less abstract (i.e. more easily accessible to sense perception) than the target (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Perez Hernandez, 2011:162).

One particular insight that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) expose in their influential work, and an example of a conceptual metaphor, is that ARGUMENT IS WAR; this is that 'argument' (the target domain) is explained and conceived of in terms of 'war' (the source domain). This conceptual metaphor is then later revised to COMPETITION IS WAR which includes under its umbrella the well documented SPORT IS WAR metaphor (Lakoff, 1993). Various other areas of life are equated to or understood through war as well, such as business (Liu & Zhong, 2005) and politics (Ferrari, 2007) among others. The metaphor that says that all of LIFE IS WAR (Semino & Masci, 1996), considered with the COMPETITION IS WAR metaphor results in life becoming conceivable as a perpetual competition, which naturalises both the primacy of competition in life and the concept of war. Sport has also become a source domain for metaphor with multiple target domains understood in terms of Sport (such as politics and life; McEntee-Atalianis, 2013, Johnson, 1983) or in terms of a particular sport such as football (e.g. Semino & Masci, 1996). Perceiving of competition or sport as war has ideological ramifications, for example: by incorporating a lexicon of war terminology into everyday language contexts (sport, business, etc.) war is helped to become naturalised, although of course war is naturalised many other ways as well, from messages civilians receive from participant governments to the depiction of war in films, the inclusion of

military personnel in reality TV shows and more. This naturalisation results in war often appearing as the obvious, natural human instinct or response to large scale problems; it appears commonsensical, a state of discourse warned against by Fairclough (2001). Manifest throughout global societies this condition is surely in part responsible for the ease with which wars seem to be initiated and perpetuated, historically and in the present day.

One could argue that the centrality and pervasiveness of the SPORT IS WAR metaphor helps embed the assumption that aggression and violence are not problems but are rather indicators of manliness, as players are presented as (mostly male) soldiers under this metaphor, vital to the outcome of the match or tournament (the war). Some have even campaigned for the removal of competitive sports (and competition in all forms) from primary school education, based on its pernicious nature as well as the gains shown to result from adopting a noncompetitive ideology in primary school education, the workplace and on the playground (See Kohn, 1992). Other assumptions are embedded into the practice of sport and its discursive construction as well, for instance that sport must be competitive, although co-operative sports do exist and have existed, entertained and provided exercise for over at least a thousand years. Kemari for example (Website Reference 2), a Japanese game from before 700AD has players co-operate to keep a ball in the air, similar to games found in modern western cultures such as footbag and keepie uppie (Website Reference 2). The western variations are not entirely co-operative though with players competing against each other in certain forms of the games and at all times through the practice of setting records. As keepie uppie is played by a single player there is a focus on individual players in keepie uppie but it also involves competition through the keeping of records.

The reverse of the SPORT IS WAR metaphor is possible as well, which leads to the conception that WAR IS SPORT (Shields & Bredemeier, 2011). That study presents this as a potentially destructive phenomenon, arguing along the lines that portraying war as an acceptable, common past-time could distort perceptions of war. It could also, in my mind, be a positive discursive trend which could inspire the revealing of the sport-like and particularly the

business-ended (profit seeking) natures of war, its true motivators, and act against discourses which would promote the fabricated necessity of wars (see Swanson, 2010).

Steen (2011:28), in an attempt to take possession of the tag 'contemporary' argues that Lakoff's (1993) contemporary metaphor theory has resulted in scholars placing too much import on cognition in studies of metaphor saying that "metaphor in language used to come first but was now relegated to second position and regarded as derivative of metaphor in thought". Building on Gibbs (1999) Steen (2011:26) proposes a new model for understanding metaphor (a "new and improved" Contemporary Metaphor Theory) which involves accounting for the communicative function of metaphor use, in addition to the linguistic and cognitive functions.

Gibbs (2011), as well as Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Perez Hernandez (2011) and Steen (2011) among others, reveal that while conceptual metaphor is used to interpret and process many types of verbal metaphor it is not used exclusively or in every case. Under Steen's (2011) CMT, for example, metaphor can serve just a semiotic function and not permeate cognition. This connects to O'Halloran's (2007) warning to not over-interpret linguistic data as metaphorical or assume that metaphor has been lexicalised.

In addition to all this, psycholinguistic studies have also shown that there is no preference in the mind for the literal, and that metaphorical messages are apprehended as automatically as 'ordinary' speech (Glucksberg, 2003). This all results in metaphor and its use in sportspeak, which comes with a captivated mostly male audience, being a potentially powerful conveyor of ideology supporting discourses, and therefore of interest to a critical gaze.

## **2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

### **2.4.1 Introduction**

The interest in the use of metaphor as described above revolves around the aim to use an understanding of the active metaphors (and their potentially resulting cognitive effects) in the data to critically discuss the language used, discourses engaged, and the resulting power structures revealed in the corpus. To this end insights from the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (Baker, 2012; Baker, et al., 2008; Fairclough, 2001, 2013; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak 1995, 1997) are operationalised in this study. To avoid ambiguity I begin by defining a pair of terms which are used in all the descriptions of CDA but which have been defined differently by various authors at different times, namely 'discourse' and 'ideology'. This is followed by an explanation of the concept of 'priming' (2.4.2) which is seen to prepare terms to be used in particular ways. After this the concept of hegemony and the role of power are discussed (2.4.3), followed by the introduction of a particular framework for doing CDA (2.4.4) proposed by van Dijk (2001).

For the purpose of this paper discourse is understood in its broadest sense, as "all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation" (Bloor & Bloor 2013:6), though the alternate meanings the term adopts are noted as well; such as, but not limited to: simply spoken interactions; in contrast to text, the actual written or spoken data; the whole act of communication including both production and comprehension; and the general communication that takes place within specific institutional contexts (Bloor & Bloor, 2013). Ideology is conceptualised as a "set of beliefs or attitudes shared by members of a particular social group" (Bloor & Bloor 2013:10). Being that this research is conducted from a CDA perspective, the way discourse/discourses are conceptualised in that field (as ways of talking about the world which underpin certain ideologies which in turn construct/maintain power relations) is obviously also accepted.

CDA has at various times been defined as "making transparent discourse visible" (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448) through the analysis of "opaque as well as transparent

structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, 1995:204). To do this CDA studies "real, and often extended, instances of social interaction" which take (partially) linguistic form (Wodak, 1997:173). It tends to focus on critiquing the ways in which the discourses which support dominant ideologies may be positioned as natural in order to reinforce or maintain current power relations. Discourses are said to compete with each other in an ideological struggle (realised through linguistic struggles in social institutions, such as sport) whereby one discourse emerges as dominant and the ideology it supports is adopted. This dominant discourse is then subject to a process called "naturalisation", through which it appears to lose its connection to certain ideologies and power interests and becomes a "common-sense" practice of that particular institution or society as a whole (Fairclough 2001: 77). Analysts warn against discourse which has achieved commonsensical status because it then ceases to be considered ideological and is thereby even more powerful (Fairclough, 2001).

This means that any discourses related to gender performance which reach commonsensical status will affect the social perception of the legitimacy of the different ways for men and women to perform their gender. This is true in that if sport discourse constructs a particular image of masculinity and represents certain behaviour as being either an essential step or a barrier towards attaining this masculinity, then people may be coerced into striving to attain components of the image by, among other things, adopting or avoiding that behaviour (Lippi-Green, 1997). This is language reflecting and perpetuating ideology.

#### **2.4.2 Lexical Priming**

Priming is a psychological concept which later evolved into Lexical Priming as a concept of interest to both psychologists and linguists: the recall of words from memory has proven to be hastened or improved after priming with an item or items from the same semantic category (Pace-Sigge, 2013). "Lexical items are collocationally and grammatically primed" (Hoey, 2004, see Website Reference 3), by their habitual usage among collocating words to be used in particular ways, for instance to co-occur with other particular words or with a particular semantic association. Lexical priming has helped explain, for example, why 'set in'

is seen to co-locate with unfavourable events, and to a lesser extent so is 'happen' (Partington, 1998); this is the sort of knowledge of language use which gives an analyst clues to the ideological leanings of a text producer.

Hoey (2004) proposes that far from doing nothing but reveal patterns in language, collocation is an integral element of language production and its acquisition, with lexical priming, through repeated usage, preparing terms (from the time of acquisition) to be used in certain ways. This repeated usage acts to prime a person's mind to make automatic connections, invoking the recall of associated lexis or semantic domains; as such it is an individual concern, different people having different primings in different contexts. Hoey (2004) hypothesises that at the time that we acquire a lexical item it becomes primed for collocation, grammatical category, semantic associations and colligation, and is not properly acquired unless it has all these primings. Through repeated co-occurrence, priming can provide for sets of actions, or, in the lexical field, sets of words, so, for example, "a listener, hearing the word bread will recognise words like baker, butter, knife more quickly than unrelated words like doctor, mortar, radiator" (Pace-Sigge, 2013: 151). This has significance to this research because it illustrates the powerful reach of language in discourse to affect individual cognition, as well as the connections priming has to collocation and corpus linguistics (see chapter 2.5 below). It also means that individual lexical items which are repeatedly used to reference particular metaphors become primed for use in those metaphorical constructions and therefore invoke the recall from memory of them. The process works both ways with metaphors providing for the recall of lexical items (with any evaluative chargings that these may carry) and lexical items inspiring the recall of metaphors.

### **2.4.3 Hegemony and Power**

Hegemony, a term attributed to Gramsci, and hegemonic masculinity, a term made famous by Connell (1987), are concepts which almost inevitably become part of a critical analysis of gender representation, in the descriptions of domination and its reproduction.

Hegemony, according to Gramsci, "implies a situation where a historical bloc of ruling-class factions exercise social authority and leadership over the subordinate classes through a combination of force and, more importantly consent." (Barker 2000: 59). The process of making, maintaining, and reproducing authoritative sets of meanings and practices (through discourse) is what is considered responsible for reproducing hegemony (Barker 2000). The concept has found extensive use in critical studies which aim to reveal and discuss ideologies and power, including those that do so in regard to gender relations.

Fairclough focuses on "ideological/discoursal power" which exists alongside "economic and political power" and can usually be expected to be "held in conjunction with them" (2013:43). Van Dijk takes a broader view of power and includes what Fairclough would consider status (relating to relationships between subjects in interactions), as can be seen in the quote below:

Different types of power may be distinguished according to the various resources employed to exercise such power: the coercive power of the military and of violent men will rather be based on force, the rich will have power because of their money, whereas the more or less persuasive power of parents, professors, or journalists may be based on knowledge, information, or authority. (van Dijk 2001:355)

This analysis looks specifically for evidence of hegemony and representations relating to hegemonic masculinity (see 2.7.2) in the language used in the televised-sports investigated, maintaining a focus on the role of power in that data (considered in both theoretical terms discussed above).

#### **2.4.4 Van Dijk's framework**

Van Dijk (2001) proposes a general framework for doing CDA which involves bridging the gap between micro and macro approaches (for which he provides various strategies), defining social power in terms of control, and analyzing the control of public discourses. He recommends analysis of the control over public discourses in terms of, among other things, who controls the topic and topic changes in discursive interactions. Here the control over

the dynamics of an interaction is equally as relevant, with sport broadcasting tending to favour one-way communication (depriving audience members of a voice). The final step of the framework involves relating control over public discourses to the control of people's minds by way of the "structures of text and talk" (the linguistic choices available to interlocutors or text producers) as well as its context (words and their execution can convey different meanings in specific contexts and therefore context is restricting) (van Dijk, 2001: 357). This procedure provides an analyst with a general picture of how "discourse is involved in dominance (power abuse) and in the production and reproduction of social inequality" (van Dijk, 2001: 358).

Following van Dijk's (2001) framework I consider an analysis of the discourses contained in utterances of individuals (in their place as members of social groups and institutions) and in advertisements, as reflective of the discourses which are active in sport and society as a whole (bridging micro and macro approaches), and the representations seen there as having the potential to affect individual performances of identity (among other things). This is because the social acts of group members form part of "group actions and social processes" (van Dijk, 2001:354), which are constrained by social structure (in both local and global contexts) and affect personal and social cognition. In the case of this research a social act of group members (e.g. the production of authoritative commentary on individual games) can be seen to be forming part of a social process (that of commentating on sport) which is constrained by social structure, in the local context in terms of what can and what cannot be said currently on local television, and in the global context in terms of what is and what is not an appropriate subject for discussion in society. As language users have both personal and social cognition, through "personal memories, knowledge and opinions, as well as those shared with members of the group or society as a whole" (van Dijk, 2001: 354), both of which influence individual members interactions and discourse, the depictions seen in the corpus (of masculinity for example) are considered to have the ability to affect individual and group understandings (in this case of the performance of masculinity), potentially supporting the construction or maintenance of "shared social representations" (van Dijk, 2001: 354) which are said to govern the collective actions of a group.

Van Dijk's (2001) framework describes how control over public discourse can lead to control over individual minds, in terms of the possible interpretations available to their comprehension, something which is largely dependant on contextual features, repetition<sup>1</sup> and authoritative sources. It helps display how discourse is involved in the support and dispersal of ideologies and how the smallest linguistic choices a speaker makes can support discourses which may affect individual minds and help maintain ideologies which support unequal power relations. Some have argued though that CDA (this framework obviously included) neglects to properly address context (Blommaert, 2005) and time (Carvalho, 2008). In this research, time constraints restrict how far I can consider historical context. In this situation Carvalho (2008:173) recommends to "analyse some periods exhaustively and then focus on 'critical discourse moments'", the analysis of which "allows for the identification of discursive turns and/or continued lines of argumentation at particularly important times in the social construction of an issue". I think Carvalho's (2008) recommendation could be usefully applied in analysis of smaller units of discourse as well, when constrained by time, such as those analysed in this project. As van Dijk's (2001) framework only briefly mentions the need to consider context and provides no further explanation of the various types of context to consider, I found that addressing additional literature was necessary (e.g.: Blommaert, 2005; Carvalho, 2008; Ferrari, 2007; Wodak & Meyer, 2006; Wodak, 2008).

Despite its age and the critiques it has suffered, van Dijk's (2001) framework remains a powerful way to explore the various ways discourses which enable unequal relations of power permeate through texts while still remaining hidden from plain sight. It also corresponds well with the claim that a "focus on discursive practices and the relationships between discursive practices" is known to be good protocol in CDA (Fairclough, 2013:130), and as such it serves as a good theoretical match, with the starting point in this study being the predominant discursive patterns. These sorts of specific foci are made possible in large bodies of data through the use of corpus linguistic tools.

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<sup>1</sup> Repetition which helps to prime language users to use words in specific ways (Hoey, 2004).

## **2.5 Corpus linguistics**

### **2.5.1 Introduction**

Corpus linguistic methods and CDA have been shown to provide methodological synergy, with the qualitative leanings of CDA being bolstered by the quantitative data and results accessible through corpus techniques (Baker et al., 2008).

In this study, corpus techniques are used, particularly wordlists, concordancing, and most significantly collocation (Baker 2012), to interrogate the data and identify:

- the use of conceptual metaphor,
- the development of prosody,
- discursive evidence of hegemony,
- as well as other linguistic elements which are of interest to a critical gaze (particularly those relating to gender).

### **2.5.2 Collocation**

Collocation is a term used to "describe the way in which words group together in their normal use in texts" (Barnbrook, Mason & Krishnamurthy 2013: 3). The word is also used to describe the analytical tool used in corpus linguistics to "explore this grouping of words and to assess its significance and implications"; this is possible because collocation "occupies a central role in the identification of the meanings of words in use in their real contexts" (Barnbrook et al., 2013: 3; 51). There is also a usage the word acquires in discussion about language production, particularly Sinclair's Idiom principle in which he suggests that more often than not we use "pre-fabricated chunks of language" to communicate (Barnbrook et al., 2013: 3). Collocating words have been known to imbue each other with an evaluative charging; for example Zappavigna (2011:804), combining corpus linguistic theory with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL; see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013) and APPRAISAL theory (Martin & White, 2005), highlights the fact

that "couplings of ideational and evaluative meanings"<sup>2</sup> can invite a reader/listener to adopt the values presented. These chargings are then intended to both signal stance as well as persuade listeners to align with that stance. As will be discussed below collocation is also intimately connected to the maintenance of semantic prosodies.

### **2.5.3 Semantic Prosody**

Semantic prosody has been conceptualised as a subset of semantic preference: the two are related concepts that can be difficult to distinguish between. The concept of 'semantic prosody', first identified by Sinclair (1987) and then developed by Louw (1993) can be equated to the "connotations" of a lexical item (Bednarek, 2008:130). It is an aspect of evaluative meaning and indicates the stance of a speaker or writer, or in short it carries an "indication that something is good or bad" (Partington, 2004). Louw (1993:157) refers to semantic prosody as instantiated by "a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates": that the habitual collocates of a term (or form) are capable of colouring it so that it "can no longer be seen in isolation from its semantic prosody" (Louw, 1993: 157). As semantic prosody is established through "semantic consistency of a forms subjects" (Louw 1993, 159), significant collocation between terms can therefore be used as an indicator of the potential existence of semantic prosodies.

Semantic preference refers to the "collocational patterning" (Bednarek, 2008:130) identifiable in regard to both positive/negative lexical items and to agreement with items from specific semantic subsets. It is related to the concept of lexical priming discussed above, in that speakers are primed to use words in certain collocations or within specific semantic domains and tend to create texts which end up patterning that way in corpus studies (Pace-Sigge, 2013). Complicating the matter even further, "semantic preference is also related to the concept of discourse prosody where patterns in discourse can be found between a word, phrase or lemma and a set of related words that suggest a discourse" (Baker, 2006: 87), and as Stubbs (2001:66) says the distinction between the two "is not

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<sup>2</sup> "ideational meanings are those to do with the representation of experience" (Haig, 2011:19)

entirely clear-cut". Stubbs suggests that it is "partly a matter of how open ended the list of collocates is" (Baker, 2006: 87), so that when you are able to list all the collocates of a term then you have a semantic preference but when the category is more open-ended then it is a discourse prosody.

In this study these insights help to explain the evidence of positively evaluated terms seen crossing sporting codes. As the "process of collocation produces meaning by giving us access to the functions of lexical items" (Barnbrook, Mason & Krishnamurthy, 2013:164) it helps direct this study, which progresses from significant collocates of metaphorical language to concordance lines of these terms, in so revealing discursive trends and the prevailing discourses and ideologies which these enable.

## **2.6 Legitimation Code Theory (LCT)**

Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) as developed by Karl Maton (2013a, 2013b) can help to interpret patterns of meaning and to determine how prosodies (identified through analysis of a corpus) are being used to position particular entities.

In LCT analysis the main goal is to explain processes of knowledge production, or how our knowledge comes to be organised in the ways in which it is. This involves identifying the separation between knowledges and knowers, and describing how knowledges are constructed and knowers positioned. These fields (knowledges and knowers) can be understood as underpinned by axiological, and at times epistemological, cosmologies: here the term axiological is used to convey that there has been a moral charging of stances. A cosmology is the basis on which ideas can be considered appealing or not, and the degree to which cosmologies are epistemic or axiological turns on the degree to which they emphasise epistemic (concerned with knowledge) relations to objects and/or social relations to subjects.

Internally, constellations (which are conceived of as clustering into cosmologies) are generated through the clustering of stances and actors, and externally these constellations are positively and negatively charged through a process of axiological condensation. Axiological condensation is the process of taking various constellations of associated meanings and charging each of these constellations with a particular moral evaluation; these moral evaluations are then condensed into a single term which can then be attached to a person or group of people (Siebörger, 2012). In my data this can be seen as constellations of clustered stances (for example one relating masculinity to courage, one relating masculinity to size, and one involving heterosexuality) which condense into the single term 'real man'. This term can then be attached to a person or group of people inscribing them with all of the constituent evaluations (as seen in their various constellations).

LCT helps in this research by exposing how patterns of meaning (represented by complementary constellations) are condensed into single terms (such as 'real man') which are then used to represent successful masculine and feminine identities. It is used in this research project, together with CDA, CMT, and Corpus linguistics, as a tool to help interpret my data and help answer my research questions.

## **2.7 Sex and Gender**

### **2.7.1. Introduction**

Sex and gender are two words which have often been "used interchangeably" (Defrancisco, Palczewski & McGeough, 2013:10), a mistake exacerbated by a number of reasons, including the incorrect usage of the terms in society as well as in academic literature and the inherent difficulties in studying social constructs. Sex refers to the biological designation as male, female or intersex, the last of which refers to "a person who has ambiguous sex features at birth, meaning the person has both female and male sex characteristics (genitalia, chromosomes)" (Defrancisco et al., 2013:14). Intersex is a biological classification that has in modern times mostly been omitted from public discourse through a history of presenting a binary understanding of sex; this is despite the fact that a recent American study found that intersex babies may account for as many as 2% of live births (Greenberg, 2012:7), and

around the world and through time the range of cultural responses to intersex has varied enormously (Armstrong, 2003).

Gender on the other hand refers to the social designation as feminine, masculine, or somewhere along a continuum between the two. Transgender is the term used to refer to "individuals whose gender expression and behavior do not match the usual expectations associated with the male-female binary system" (Defrancisco et al., 2013:13). Gender is a concept which appeared in the late 1970s (Unger, 1979) in research identifying attributes of women and men; before then most people believed sex determined behavior (Defrancisco et al., 2013). People have been found to generally inhabit a space somewhere on a continuum between masculine and feminine and rather than perfectly performing one or the other gender, we tend to display varying degrees of masculinity and femininity at the same time. Gender is generally understood to imply expected attributes (despite these stereotypes being contested by many people over the years; see Talbot, 2008), for example in the case of masculinity to be: "rational, independent, tough, aggressive, [and] comfortably dressed", or in the case of femininity to be: "emotional, a caretaker, sensitive, compassionate, [and] revealingly dressed" (Defrancisco et al., 2013:11). Despite many men and women working hard over the past few decades to dispel these stereotypes (e.g. Hogg & Turner, 1987; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Trautner et al., 2005), they remain largely popular in cultures and societies around the world.

Gender is a facet of a person's identity and although it was once believed to be biologically determined it is now generally understood from the post-structuralist perspective as being a performance (Butler, 1999; Milani, 2014). This "performance turn has led many language and gender scholars to question familiar gender categories like woman and man and to explore the variety of ways in which linguistic performances relate to constructing both conventional gendered identities and identities that in one way or another challenge conventional gender norms" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003:4). These authors summarise perfectly a few important points, namely: that gender is best understood as an individual performance, that this performance is (at least in part) a linguistic one, that resistance to

social pressure to conform to gender stereotypes is also (at least in part) a linguistic matter, and that gender stereotypes are so naturalised in our cultures that they can otherwise be described as norms. My project focuses on representations of gender rather than its performance, but it does this with a view that these representations have the ability to influence eventual performances.

The sexual orientations people exhibit is an aspect of their sexuality which is another facet of identity that is often confused with sex and gender. "Sexual orientation has to do with whether one is physically and romantically attracted to or has sex with persons of the same sex, the other sex, or both" (DeFrancisco et al., 2013:15). These authors point out the problems with use of the term "other sex" as there are at least five viable human sexes, though this is not central to the concerns of my research and so I am confining the research to heteronormative views of binary categories of sex and gender. Many studies of hegemonic man have described heterosexuality as a cornerstone of hegemonic masculinity, but in an investigation into the depiction of masculinities and race in South African televised advertisements (Luyt, 2012) homophobia even features as a norm in a list of six norms of masculinity, along with sexuality, status, responsibility, independence, and toughness. This takes the matter further than just representing gay men as another type of non-ideal man, it then means that in order to be the ideal man (a 'real' man as they are sometimes referred to) a man is required to be sickened by homosexual men, even disturbed by them.

Mulvey (2003) hypothesises about scopophilia in cinema, a concept describing circumstances when the act of looking is itself pleasurable. Mulvey attributes development of the concept to Freud who she says associates it with "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze" (Freud in Mulvey, 2003: 59). This gaze is often colluded with though by targets of this gaze with independent agency - agency which should not be discounted (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

According to critical language theories any discourses related to masculinity and/or femininity which reach commonsensical status will affect social perception of the legitimacy

of the different ways for people to perform their gender. In a South African context, where there is a well-documented scourge of male perpetrated violence and sexual assaults (Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Jewkes et al., 2010), the representations of masculinity seen in the media should be considered a very important concern. An account of the representations of masculinities may even help provide some insight into what has been described as a necessary sociology of ruling-class men (Donaldson, 1993).

A rich feminist tradition of studying the interplay of language and the construction of femininity, see for example Lakoff (1975), Spender (1980), Maltz & Borker (1982), Tannen (1991), Lakoff & Bucholtz (2004) and others, has opened the way for investigations into the linguistic construction of masculinities. For instance, in an investigation of the differing adjectival premodification strategies employed by two groups of British newspapers (broadsheets and tabloids) in respect to sex and gender, Caldas-Coulthard & Moon (2010:99) find that “their lexical choices produce differential judgmental stances that have social effects”. In that research the term ‘curvy’ is seen to describe women and cars, suggesting a sexiness in both these bodies; the term ‘hunky’ is seen in that study to be a gendered pairing counterpart to ‘curvy’, being used predominantly to describe male bodies (particularly those considered masculine by stereotypical indicators). Both terms ‘curvy’ and ‘hunky’ (and ‘kinky’ as the research continues) sexualise the subjects they describe, and this I interpret as the media following its agenda to sell sex (as everyone knows ‘sex sells’) and in doing so promoting sexuality.

In a study focusing on the language used in American televised-sports, Messner et al. (1993: 130) find that male coaches are described as “yelling” at their teams while female coaches are seen “screaming” at their players. Messner et al. (1993: 130) interpret this as potentially implying an element of “powerlessness, even hysteria” in the female coaches. Also in that study, in an investigation of the language used in the broadcasts of tennis matches those authors reveal that the word ‘confidence’ is used relatively often as a positive description of a female player but hardly ever for a male player, which they interpret as the text producers assuming that the confidence of the male players is not questionable while the confidence

of the female players is unlikely and therefore noteworthy. These sorts of assumptions are encoded in a speaker's language use and betray allegiance to particular gender ideologies.

In an investigation of a Carling Black Label beer commercial, Milani & Shaikjee (2013:134) show how the text producers use a "gendered discourse which ties beer consumption to men, and at the same time obscures or even erases women." That advert includes a detailed description of the various strategies the company has used to sell beer over the many years since it expanded to South Africa from Canada; these include depiction of the male protagonist as a cowboy, worker, or most recently as a winner. These depictions align perfectly with the development and depiction of ideal masculinity over the years, which reveals some of the intimate connection between gender representations and commerce.

As outlined in chapter 2.2 on sport and sportspeak, the TSMF (Messner et al., 2000) reveals how closely the representation of masculinity seen in a sporting context matches the globally shared ideals for masculine identity which are set out by hegemonic man through institutions such as sport, politics, business and other institutions which he has control over. As such the media, particularly sports media, tends to "reflect the social conventions of gender-biased language", and in doing so "they reinforce the biased meanings built into language and, thus, contribute to the re-construction of social inequities" (Messner et al., 1993:133).

### **2.7.2 Hegemonic Masculinity**

Hegemonic masculinity is the "culturally idealized form of masculine character" which connects "masculinity to toughness and competitiveness" as well as to the subordination of women and marginalisation of gay men (Connell, 1990: 83). It is "a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance" (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985, in Donaldson 1993: 655). Initially developed by Connell (1987) this term has become a key phrase in gender studies. It is known to benefit most men with control over

women; some men are even granted control over other men as well. This is why Donaldson (1993: 655) says that "the crucial difference between hegemonic masculinity and other masculinities is not the control of women, but the control of men". As these terms fundamentally relate to control and domination, power is a central concern; one could consider hegemonic institutions as those expressing power over groups of people, or hegemonic men as those expressing power over women and other men. White men have also been seen to be "represented as more successful in accomplishing traditional masculinity than black men" in South African televised advertisements revealing their positioning as "exemplars of hegemonic masculinity" (Luyt, 2012:48).

When first applying the concept of hegemony to South African masculinity, Morrell (1994) had proposed a situation where there are at least three different masculinities which hold hegemonic power simultaneously, a white masculinity (with hegemony seen in their political and economic dominance), an African masculinity (with hegemony seen in their indigenous institutions and laws), and a black masculinity (with hegemony seen in the context of urbanization among men in townships) (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012). This uncustomary application of the concept of hegemonic masculinity highlights the need to consider race in any research on gender relations in South Africa, a country which has developed around years of racially based restrictions and privileges, some of which have been encoded in laws. All other facets of identity should be included as well, especially sexuality as the act of defining sexes in research implicates sexuality, man/woman being constructed as complementary and opposite.

Trujillo (1991: 290), combining insights from other researchers, outlines five distinguishing features of hegemonic masculinity (congruent with Luyt's, 2012, norms of masculinity). He proposes that masculinity is hegemonic when:

- (1) power is defined by physical force and control, which is one of the ways that Connell (1983) says male superiority and the subordination of women becomes naturalised.
- (2) it is defined through occupational achievement, as work itself can become defined along gender lines, socially defining tasks as either men's work or women's work,

- (3) it is related to patriarchy where "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family" (Trujillo, 1991: 291) is seen to extend to male dominance over women in society in general.
- (4) it is symbolised as daring frontiersmanship or in more modern times as the outdoorsman. These both relate to a Promethean attitude (Dryzek, 2013) which can be defined for this research as the belief in the human (particularly male) ability to overcome any technical or practical challenge, and the ability to reduce any undesirable situation into a practical challenge to solve. Dryzek (2013), approaching from a political science position, uses the concept of a Promethean discourse to help explain the attitudes prevalent internationally with regards to what people think is the appropriate response to environmental issues, critiquing the complacent attitude seen in people towards the alarming, recorded environmental trends and forecasts, an attitude that he claims stems from a deep-seated belief in the power of human ingenuity and problem solving.
- or (5) heterosexually defined; i.e. when "good", "normal" and "natural" sexuality is defined as "heterosexual, marital, monogamous, reproductive, and non-commercial" (Trujillo, 1991: 291). This hegemonic male sexuality is said to be manifest in society by adult males through exclusively social relationships with men and primarily sexual relationships with women (Trujillo, 1991: 291).

In *Hegemonic Masculinity: rethinking the concept*, Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) attempt to revise the concept, in so doing reminding us that "hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity (e.g., professional sports stars), symbols that have authority despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them" (2005:846). Among various reformulations and suggestions they make they also stress that analysts should not discount the agency of women in studies of male hegemony, as they say "women are central in many of the processes constructing masculinities—as mothers; as schoolmates; as girlfriends, sexual partners, and wives; as workers in the gender division of labor; and so forth" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:848): one could surely also extend that recommendation then to include subordinated men, a group whose own agency is often discounted. Connell & Messerschmidt's (2005) suggestion makes the point that emphasised

femininity, the culturally idealised form of femininity, is also implicated in upholding institutionalized patriarchy. Milani's (2013: 624) definition of hegemonic masculinity (following Connell, 1995) as "the most valued form of masculinity in a particular context" which "typically goes hand in hand with the subjugation of women and the vilification of homosexual men", recognises the inevitable existence of many different hegemonic masculinities in different contexts. Even within the general context of professional sport there are foreseeably different hegemonic masculinities present across the different sporting codes, and this will be explored in the following chapters.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This research project makes use of multiple theories and frameworks and this literature review introduces each of them above. The first insight I present is that sport has an intimate relationship with language and can be seen around the world influencing languages and perception; the term sportspeak has been adopted to refer to sports language and its unique features and lexis. The tendency in sportspeak to rely on metaphorical language and imagery necessitates the incorporation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993). CDA which forms the foundation of the analysis is then introduced along with the theories of priming and hegemony. This is followed by corpus linguistic techniques and their use in tracking the development of semantic prosody, as they are crucial to this project, helping explain how patterns seen in the corpus contribute to creating meanings which are involved in maintaining or transforming power relations; collocation is explained here as well. This is followed by a brief description of Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) because I used this theory to develop an initial interpretation of my data. At this point the discussion turns to the understanding of sex and gender and their performance, and then revisits the concept of hegemony as enshrined in 'hegemonic man'. Finally I provide this conclusion, pointing forward to my research questions in the following section.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

I begin here by providing the reader with my research questions, questions I felt would go some way towards fulfilling my research aim of understanding how it is that men (and women) are positioned in and by televised sport and its associated shows and advertisements; seeing this as reflective of how they are positioned in South African society to accept the dominant discourses associated with gender performance (among other things). To that end I have analysed the language used in televised SA sport (specifically soccer and rugby) and asked the following questions:

- (1) What kinds of values concerning gender, race, aggression, violence, consumerism and sexuality are expressed linguistically in South African televised sports programmes and the advertisements which accompany these?
- (2) Is there evidence of a South African TSMF in the televised sport corpus?
- (3) Is there variation in the representation of masculinity between the two sport types?
- (4) What are the dominant ideologies which are supported or contested with regard to gender and sex in the televised sports corpus?
- (5) What additional critical observations can be made from analysis of the corpus?

The first question was included to develop a general understanding of the themes in the corpus, and to see to what extent the traditional tropes identified by other research exist in a South African context. It involved a number of different elements which each required individual assessment by means of analysing concordance lines of pertinent language.

The second question, about a South African TSMF, was included to interrogate the corpus for any similarities with the findings of Messner et al. (2000) as well as to identify any possible differences with the discursive construction of masculinity in a South African sporting context. I

planned to answer it by finding evidence for the ten themes of the TSMF in the corpus using wordlists, collocates and concordance lines.

The third question allowed me to analyse the sports individually in order to determine how closely the language used in each one conformed to themes discovered in previous research, and what differences existed between the sports, especially in regard to the representations of gender. I planned to and did answer it by addressing keywordlists made from each of my corpora against a large SAE general reference corpus.

The fourth question involved identifying dominant ideologies, and the discourses which supported these, specifically those in regard to the performance of sex and gender. It was an important one as sex and gender are heavily contested, ideologically charged concepts. It was answered by combining insights acquired in investigations regarding the previous questions, as well as consulting the notes taken during corpus construction and using concordance lines to reveal relevant discursive strategies.

The final question, question number five was included to make sure that no interesting but potentially unanticipated discourse was missed. I answered it by maintaining a critical gaze throughout the project, from corpus construction to analysis, taking detailed notes of ideologically relevant language and imagery, and using a bit of extratextual knowledge.

The research is a blend of qualitative and quantitative analysis, with the quantitative data reinforcing conclusions from qualitative analysis, and qualitative interpretations of data guiding the research to new areas for more quantitative investigation. It is not always possible for an analyst to anticipate all avenues of inquiry, or to see all the patterns which develop in large bodies of language, and therefore statistical measures and computer assisted research procedures are very useful in revealing otherwise unseen areas of interest. A potential disadvantage of using mixed research methods though is the potential for increasing the scope

of the research so much that additional time, money and/or researchers may be required to complete the project.

In the design of a corpus representativeness is a very important concern (Biber, 1993). It allows the eventual corpus sampling to reflect the greater population being investigated. It is a matter of including the full range of both text types and linguistic distributions in the population (Biber, 1993). In this project the inclusion of associated shows and advertisements helped with representativeness as they widened the range of text types collected. To be representative of the English language used in South African televised sport broadcasts a selection of other sports would need to be sampled, as such the corpus I constructed is only representative of the English used in televised soccer and rugby matches in SA. To be truly representative the corpus would actually require transcriptions of many additional recorded matches, but this does not cause problems as this research can be taken as a case study where one can expect to find the features common to the sample to be common to the genre.

A blend of micro and macro analysis was also useful for showing how the smallest linguistic choices made by individuals connect to much larger discursive trends that entrench certain ideologies which influence the lives of people everywhere. This relates to what van Dijk says about the social acts of group members forming part of "group actions and social processes" (2001:354), which are constrained by social structure.

In the following sections I introduce the methods of analysis used in this research project. I start by explaining the procedure I followed for collecting my data and then go on to explain how I analysed this data; data collection and data analysis. The data collection involved four steps: recording, note-taking, transcribing/annotation, and error-checking. Data analysis was accomplished by using AntConc corpus software, combining insights from critical language studies (Baker 2012; Baker et al., 2008; Fairclough 2001, 2013; van Dijk, 1993, 2001) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Steen, 2011).

### **3.2 Method of Data collection**

The data for this research was collected by recording footage from rugby and soccer matches - samples from five matches of each were included - from the Super Rugby and the Absa Premier Soccer League leagues which aired on Super Sport channels (1 and 4) on DSTV (2014/2015), including in the recordings the half-time, pre-game and post-game shows (see Appendix A). Any relevant information or non-linguistic imagery was documented in additional notes for each sample. The recordings were then transcribed in MS notepad, and saved in an ANSI encoded .txt file. Each sample was then split between its in-game parts and out-game parts, to record all the samples of in-game language in a series together, and the same for all the out-game language. On-screen text was transcribed and included in the corpus. Notes were taken and particularly pertinent ones were sometimes imbedded in the corpus for the purpose of reminding the researcher.

Using Jefferson's (2004) conversation analysis transcription conventions as a template I developed a reduced and altered set of conventions (Appendix B) suited to this project. This involved the use of many angled brackets as the AntConc software is able to disregard comments found between these. The annotations served multiple functions, including: time-stamping to help when visual verification/assistance was needed; leaving landmarks to indicate areas of interest for later reference; the initials of speakers; and leaving small notes about the visual semiotic elements in play. In conversation a hyphen was used to indicate an abrupt end to speech, most often when one speaker was cut-off by another, dialogue in capital letters indicated shouting, and forward and back slashes were used to indicate rising and falling pitch respectively. Square brackets were used to indicate overlapping speech. Finally the .txt files were run through MS Word spell checking software to make sure there were minimum spelling errors in the corpus. This was possible because I used orthographic forms to transcribe words not spelling which reflected pronunciation (when relevant pronunciation was included in comments). These processes of recording, transcribing, and annotating formed the method of corpus building.

The corpus software reveals that together the two sport corpora contain 109 778 tokens of 6295 types, with an additional 4430 tokens of annotations and embedded notes (the text between angled brackets). Of this the rugby corpus contributed 55 603 tokens of 4063 types and the soccer corpus an almost equal 54 175 tokens and 4285 types. This result fell slightly short of the estimated 10 000 words per hour, with 12 hours of footage producing just under 110 000 words. The 120 000 words predicted was based on 12 hours of conversation, whereas advertisements and other inserts reduced the hours of actual conversation (adverts for instance make use of periods of silence/music with no dialogue; periods of silence appeared in some soccer matches as well).

As can be seen in the breakdown of the sampling frame used (Appendix A), the two sport corpora differ somewhat in their construction: although they both include around 100 minutes of transcribed pregame speech, the differing amounts of post-game and half-time language captured (which was caused by the differing natures of those broadcasts) resulted in the rugby corpus only including 161.649 minutes of pre-game/post-game/half-time speech (or 25 885 tokens of 2824 types) while the same category in the soccer corpus accounted for 207.984 minutes of the total (46.335 minutes more, with 40 198 tokens of 3742 types). This discrepancy was mirrored in the fact that the in-game category in the rugby corpus included 49.034 more minutes of transcribed broadcast time than the same category in the soccer corpus; this affected the ratios, with 44.76% of the rugby corpus being constituted by associated shows, 13.27% less than the 58.03% seen for the same category in the soccer corpus. This all resulted in the need to normalise frequencies (to number of occurrences per 10 000 words) when making any claims about any perceived differences in language use between the various sampling categories or corpora. Despite all these complications the two corpora were still generally comparable with the rugby corpus totaling 361.117 minutes, just 2.7 minutes more than the soccer corpus at 358.417 minutes.

### **3.3 Method of Data analysis**

#### **3.3.1 Legitimation Code Theory**

In a preliminary investigation of a sample of my data (roughly 20 000 words) through the lens of Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2013a, 2013b), I determined that almost all utterances made by people on sport shows (including the women, commentators, players, fans and characters in commercials) and in a sporting context in some way signal masculinity (of self and/or others). They also most often include evaluations of masculinities which can be encoded in the changes of pitch and/or volume of a speaker.

Through a constellation analysis which followed the method which Maton (2010) provides in his "how to guide" to doing constellation analysis, I had identified men as the most often evaluated entities making them the initial target signifier; the contrastive signifier was determined to be non-men (this category includes women, but also includes homosexual men and 'weak' men who for some or other reason do not fit the mold of a 'real man'). These two signifiers formed two binary oppositional constellations with two gravitational signifiers. The associative signifiers were determined by accounting for the associated terms (what was in the gravitational field of the target meaning and its oppositions), which involved consulting the corpus data to see what evaluations were repeatedly made in regard to the signifiers. These associative signifiers contain certain moral evaluations, and once they have condensed into a single term, this can be used to represent the ideal man or non-man. Assessing which constellations were charged with positive values and which were charged with negative ones provided insight into the model of an ideal man underpinning the axiological cosmology presented in the data (discourse analysis techniques were consulted here to determine the degree to which cosmologies were epistemological and/or axiological). This initial investigation of a sample of my data helped me to focus my gaze on the dominant messages being promoted regarding masculinity.

### **3.3.2 Contemporary Metaphor Theory (CMT)**

To apply Contemporary Metaphor Theory I first needed to identify and pair source domains and target domains, to determine the various types of metaphor being employed in the data, remembering that the source domain is less abstract (i.e. “more accessible to sense perception”) than the target (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Perez Hernandez, 2011:162).

“Conceptual metaphors are evidenced by systematic and recurring source-target mappings in natural language” (Low, 2003:232), and that is where I looked for them. From the stage of data collection and during the multiple passes I made through my data, I had been taking notes of any use of metaphor (in the words conventional understanding) as well as any conceptual metaphors which seemed relevant to the project: this process allowed me to identify systematic and recurring source-target mappings. Boers (2003) warns about over interpreting data as conceptual metaphor, as does Low (2003:241) who uses “descriptive” and “operationalized models” to describe metaphor used in his research (a language teaching context), where the “descriptive model” refers to a “set of metaphors that the researcher finds useful as a way of accounting for data” and the “operationalized model” refers to “a set that speakers or learners use to help them do something”. This sort of categorisation strategy applied equally well to my data, with the descriptive model (the looser construct) describing the metaphors that I as an analyst used to describe my data, and the operationalised model describing those used to facilitate cognition in individual players, commentators or other subjects. The second of those models (the operationalised model) is obviously a significantly harder thing to prove, its proof requiring things like psychological tests, experimentation, and possibly even neural imaging. As Low says, “to claim that a metaphor is actually used... requires evidence that the users have a structured mental model, and that they can and do compute relations and implications on the basis of it” (Low, 2003:241).

### **3.3.3 Corpus analysis**

When using corpus linguistics to critically analyse discourse it is useful to remember Fairclough's (2001) recommendation to employ a three stage approach to analysis: Description ("concerned with the formal properties of texts"), Interpretation ("situating the text as discourse"), and Explanation ("situating the discourse in relation to social processes at the institutional and societal level"; Verschueren, 2001:68). Following Hunt & Hubbard (2015) and Qiu (2013) I chose to combine these stages, evaluating for all three simultaneously and at all times. I used AntConc corpus software to interrogate my data, combining insights from critical language studies (Baker 2012; Fairclough 2001, 2013; Van Dijk, 1993, 2001; Wodak, 1995, 1997) and CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1991; Lakoff, 1993; Steen, 2011).

Following Baker, 2012, I attempted approaching the corpus data in a relatively "naive way" (2012: 248), before trying to answer my somewhat leading research questions. This meant ignoring what I had been expecting to discover from previous research into sports media (e.g. Messner et al., 2000; Bergh, 2011), a lot of which I had indeed already discovered in the initial phases, and allowing the identification of "frequent and salient linguistic patterns" (identified through wordlists, concordance lines and collocates) in the corpus to direct my investigation (Baker 2012:248). This is important because as analysts working in the field of CDA which has so often been criticised for accommodating the cherry picking of data (Bock & Hunt, 2014), we would like to guard against such accusations by investigating only (or predominantly) the statistically relevant instances of language usage by addressing linguistic theory and statistical measures. This process allows the data to direct the course of the investigation, taking away some of the potential for following subjective impressions and thereby reducing the influence of personal beliefs, effectively countering the cherry picking claim.

I chose to make concordance lines with a search window size of 75, sorted one word to the left (1L) of the search term (e.g. 'battle'), one word to its right (1R), and two words to its right (2R). Occasionally these were done on 'regex' setting allowing for viewing of the simple form of a word along with its derivated forms (see for example Appendix C of *danger*).

Collocation, the corpus linguistic tool used to explore the "grouping of words and to assess its significance and implications" (Barnbrook, Mason & Krishnamurthy, 2013: 3) also has various settings one can use (in AntConc). I chose to generate collocation lists by the Mutual Information (MI) statistical score, with window span 5L to 5R (a range 1L/R broader than Sinclair, 1991, declares as the outer range of collocational interest; Stubbs, 1995) and a minimum collocate frequency of 2 (because terms which co-occur only once in a dataset do not prove much about collocational strength); I would generally sort these by stat (MI score). I also chose to construct graphs of collocates (Brezina et al., 2015) from a span of five words left and right, with a minimum statistical measure of 3.84 MI (and therefore statistical significance), and a collocating frequency of at least 3.

I chose the MI statistical measure because it tends to favour low frequency words (Gries, 2010; Bollegala, Weir & Carroll, 2011), and as grammatical (function) words are generally frequent in texts the Mutual Information statistical measure can be said to generally favour content words. This is a good thing because as Baker (2006: 100) has pointed out, function words do "not always reveal much of interest" in terms of ideological stance. A MI score of 3.0 or higher is said to constitute evidence that two items collocate significantly (Website Reference 4). MI scores can be misleading on small datasets though (such as the one used in this research) as small quantities of data result in low frequencies for individual lexical items and that is when Dunning's objection comes into play; Dunning's (1993) objection is that Mutual Information "fails to accurately represent probabilities when counts are low (where 'low' is generally taken as less than five)" (Kilgarrif, 2005:267). The test also tends to find words which only occur together, such as names and surnames, or fixed expressions, to collocate overly significantly (Vechtomova & Robertson, 2000). As such concordance lines always had to be read to make sure collocates were appearing together systematically and not co-incidentally or because of their inclusion in fixed expressions. Mutual information is also said to be better suited to "identifying associations (similarities)" whereas the t-score focuses more on subtle distinctions (differences) (Church et al., 1991: 167). Those authors also discovered that it can be difficult to make negative statements using a MI test for significance (Church et al., 1991). These are all concerns that were considered in this research.

Using a cyclic procedure, starting by consulting wordlists and collocations which led to analysing concordances of metaphorical language, I was able to develop a detailed understanding of my data and the metaphorical constructs therein. For example, consultation of wordlists revealed high frequency tokens systematically used in regard to specific metaphorical domains, which led to uncovering multiple metaphorical mappings as well as revealing the most prominent ones.

With a 4.8 million word general corpus of South African English made from transcribed articles from local newspapers published in June 2011 as reference (see Hunt & Hubbard, 2015), I constructed keywordlists for each of my corpora which revealed items that were key in my data; these key items are lexical items which were seen to be statistically characteristic of the corpus, as compared with a general corpus. In keyword analysis the choice of an applicable reference corpus can be an issue (Culpeper, 2009), but luckily 4.8 million words is considered to be a large enough reference corpus (Tribble, 1999; Xiao & McEnery, 2005), and the fact that it is a general corpus of South African English means that it is representative of my data. The keyness score is a log likelihood measure of how characteristic a particular word is of a corpus, in other words whether a word occurs more frequently there than in an applicable reference corpus. A log-likelihood score greater than 3.84 (1 d.f.) indicates 95% or higher confidence of statistical significance (Xiao & McEnery, 2005). In this research this means that a keyness score of above 3.84 indicates that a word occurs in the corpus investigated significantly more frequently than in the reference corpus (which serves to mimic general SAE). As I was analysing the entirety of my data no threshold was used. Keywords can be very useful in uncovering “elements in texts that are unusually frequent (or infrequent), helping to remove researcher bias and paving the way for more complex analyses of linguistic phenomena” (Baker, 2004:348). Scott (in Baker, 2004:347), identifies three typical types of keywords: proper nouns and indicators of the “aboutness” and “style” of a text.

My research process would often lead me from investigation of particular units of lexis to prosodies that they were/are involved in and then to the relations of power which these help enable. For instance: an examination of the unusual term 'physicality' and its place in a positive semantic prosody revealed an array of terms used to signify it in the corpus; these were terms relating to strength, aggression and domination (control and power). From here corpus software helped to reveal collocates (significant by Mutual Information statistical scores) which indicated the directions the prosodies were flowing as well as revealed which subjects were advantaged/disadvantaged by the discourses.

The final step of the framework used involved relating control over social discourses to the control of people's minds by way of "structures of text and talk" as well its "context" (van Dijk, 2001:358). The method of my research included an analysis of the control over discourse (among other things in terms of control over topic and topic change) as well as an attempt to describe the active discourse which says that the rules (in games as well as life) are bendable, predominantly for men. Finally, my research questions were revisited.

Limitations in this method are that only one analyst was involved in collecting, transcribing, analysing and interpreting the data, where ideally the research warranted more, and the corpus was also only marked for the most exaggerated usages of pitch and volume. The scope of the project also calls for a broader investigation, taking account of more text types across differing media and even perhaps in different languages. In conclusion this method worked really well, although it may possibly have worked even better had I included the following additional elements: marking the corpus more accurately for changing intonation and volume, acquiring assistance with interpretation of the data, and building the corpus to a larger scale. Van Dijk's theoretical framework used in conjunction with other critical language insights and corpus techniques has succeeded in allowing me to "critically relate discourse, cognition and society" (van Dijk, 2001:354), and to visualise how discourse is involved in dominance (power abuse) and in the production and reproduction of social inequality.

## **4. Analysis**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This report of the analysis of my data is divided into thematic sections covering the patterns identified in the data, combining the stages of analysis recommended by Fairclough (2001): Description, Interpretation and Explanation. After this introduction it begins with a section of contextual information (4.2) about the sports investigated and impressions gained during construction of the corpus on the nature of the language used in these sports (sportspeak). Then (4.3) I report on the ideology of competition and its centrality in our culture, in doing so revealing the dominant metaphor used in the corpus (COMPETITION IS WAR). Leading on from the ideology of competition I investigate the concept of physicality (4.4) and the positive semantic prosody it is seen attached to, which connects to the depiction of sport events as battles or wars and to male hegemony. This leads to describing hegemonic masculinity as it appears in the data (4.5), starting with the depiction in the data of femininity (4.5.2), followed by masculinity (4.5.3); here I discuss male dominance over sport (4.5.3.1), the use of white men as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity (4.5.3.2), and the construction of 'the new man' (4.5.3.3). The general disregard for rules (and/or laws) seen in sport culture, matches, society and multiple places in the corpus is accounted for in next section (4.6), which also covers male aggression and violence. At this point I reveal the dominant positioning men are subjected to in the advertisements which are included in the corpus (4.7), as well as the quiet support a thriving sports-betting industry receives and the support sports receive from inclusion in schools and universities. I then provide a summary of the findings of the chapter (including the interpretations made) (4.8), which leads to the conclusion (5).

## **4.2 Contextual information.**

Wordlists for both the in-game and pre-game/post-game/half-time language were consulted from each sport and this gave a few early clues as to the discursive strategies used and their effects. In this regard a small selection of data is displayed below (see tables 1 & 2); the words chosen are pertinent function words from various semantic domains which serve to represent the dominant interests encoded in the data. One of the early clues which I followed was the high frequency of words referring to men, and the lack of any referring to women, specifically the high usage of the male pronoun *he*. Although this was to be expected as the sports in my corpus were from male only sport leagues, the lack of mention of any female sporting personalities outside of the adverts (while male celebrity sport stars from different sporting codes were mentioned frequently) still revealed the well noted and theorised phenomenon of sports being a male dominated institution.

Pre-game / Post-game / Half-time					
Soccer			Rugby		
Rank	Freq	Word	Rank	Freq	Word
23	243	<i>he</i>	21	157	<i>he</i>
49	125	<i>game</i>	28	129	<i>game</i>
50	124	<i>sundowns</i>	37	102	<i>bulls</i>
54	117	<i>team</i>	45	90	<i>sharks</i>
67	99	<i>players</i>	51	82	<i>against</i>
83	79	<i>coach</i>	54	80	<i>cheetahs</i>
93	73	<i>mamelodi</i>	57	79	<i>stormers</i>
94	72	<i>supersport</i>	76	65	<i>rugby</i>
101	67	<i>chippa</i>	87	51	<i>team</i>
103	67	<i>stadium</i>	98	44	<i>win</i>
109	65	<i>football</i>	149	28	<i>supersport</i>
116	60	<i>champions</i>	190	22	<i>performance</i>
121	58	<i>amazulu</i>	203	20	<i>champions</i>
125	57	<i>win</i>	208	20	<i>pollard</i>
126	56	<i>absa</i>	229	17	<i>captain</i>
138	52	<i>games</i>	233	17	<i>pietersen</i>
143	50	<i>chiefs</i>	251	15	<i>kriel</i>
144	49	<i>diski</i>	253	15	<i>matfield</i>
157	45	<i>teams</i>	259	15	<i>winning</i>
199	31	<i>kaizer</i>	260	14	<i>beer</i>
340	16	<i>gentlemen</i>	269	14	<i>power</i>
401	13	<i>middendorp</i>	285	13	<i>defence</i>
600	8	<i>jameson</i>	369	10	<i>castle</i>
1578	3	<b><i>injured</i></b>	387	9	<i>cricket</i>
1579	2	<b><i>injuries</i></b>	458	8	<b><i>injury</i></b>
1580	3	<b><i>injury</i></b>	807	4	<b><i>injured</i></b>

Table 1: Extracts from pre-game/post-game/half-time wordlists sorted by frequency.

In-game					
Soccer			Rugby		
Rank	Freq	Word	Rank	Freq	Word
12	173	<i>he</i>	8	548	<i>he</i>
31	70	<i>ball</i>	17	218	<i>ball</i>
38	61	<i>sundowns</i>	21	194	<i>sharks</i>
45	54	<i>game</i>	26	165	<i>bulls</i>
50	50	<i>amazulu</i>	40	121	<i>cheetahs</i>
55	44	<i>goal</i>	41	116	<i>game</i>
63	38	<i>against</i>	50	95	<i>pollard</i>
69	34	<i>chiefs</i>	67	73	<i>lambie</i>
70	34	<i>chippa</i>	76	63	<i>man</i>
79	30	<i>dlamini</i>	123	42	<i>rugby</i>
88	27	<i>team</i>	127	41	<i>matfield</i>
123	18	<i>coach</i>	128	41	<i>team</i>
126	18	<i>modise</i>	129	41	<i>toit</i>
131	17	<i>billiat</i>	135	39	<i>against</i>
135	17	<i>heerden</i>	137	39	<i>player</i>
138	17	<i>nkhatha</i>	140	38	<i>coetzee</i>
139	17	<i>players</i>	143	37	<i>hougaard</i>
145	16	<i>ajax</i>	146	36	<i>pietersen</i>
147	16	<i>mashaba</i>	153	35	<i>steph</i>
182	12	<i>defensive</i>	157	34	<i>defence</i>
236	10	<i>possession</i>	163	34	<i>stegmann</i>
269	8	<i>champions</i>	177	30	<i>attack</i>
283	8	<i>middendorp</i>	365	12	<i>captain</i>
359	6	<b><i>injury</i></b>	1117	7	<b><i>injury</i></b>
1311	1	<b><i>hurting</i></b>	1967	1	<b><i>injured</i></b>
1324	1	<b><i>injuries</i></b>	1968	1	<b><i>injuries</i></b>

Table 2: Extracts from in-game wordlists sorted by frequency.

The wordlists suggest that in both corpora (rugby and soccer) and across both sub-corpora (in-game and pre-game/post-game/half-time) competition is a primary concern with terms such as *game*, *against*, *win*, *defence*, *possession*, and *champions* found frequent and key in most of them (as the table below displays). The keywordlist was generated using the 4.8 million token SAE general corpus as a reference corpus. A log-likelihood based keyness score of 3.84 or higher indicates 95% or higher confidence in the statistical significance of the frequency of a word in a corpus (Xiao & McEnery, 2005), and all of the scores in the table greater than this number are shown in bold typeface.

Keywordlist extracts (keyness / freq.)				
	Rugby shows	Soccer shows	Rugby in-game	Soccer in-game
<i>game</i>	<b>422.441</b> / 129	<b>303.629</b> / 125	<b>328.96</b> / 116	<b>148.988</b> / 53
<i>against</i>	<b>79.918</b> / 82	<b>31.411</b> / 79	3.26 / 39	<b>29.441</b> / 38
<i>win</i>	<b>63.643</b> / 44	<b>66.666</b> / 57	0.002 / 11	<b>6.311</b> / 12
<i>defence</i>	<b>11.783</b> / 13	<b>6.45</b> / 14	<b>73.741</b> / 34	2.465 / 5
<i>possession</i>	<b>4.073</b> / 4	0.609 / 3	1.287 / 3	<b>35.894</b> / 10
<i>champions</i>	<b>50.428</b> / 20	<b>218.959</b> / 60	0 / 0	<b>16.184</b> / 8

Table 3: Comparison of keywords from sub-corpora.

The half-time, pre-game and post-game shows differ significantly between rugby and soccer, and this is reflected in the corpus in, among other things, the increased visibility of women in the soccer data (see 4.5.2). In the associated shows in rugby the speakers were always concerned with the match at hand or general statistics from the sport or for the related players, generally presented in a studio panel/debate genre. The associated shows in soccer tended to include other genres of news, such as coverage of community projects or other social phenomena with some sort of connection to the game, players or other associated personalities or locations. This difference affected the language used and therefore the makeup of the two corpora. As evidence of this I have provided examples in the following extracts of text from the rugby and the soccer pre-game/post-game/half-time corpora. The last example (from Dr. Precious Moloi-Motsepe) shows not only the difference in language usage but also the representation of a woman as a successful business personality (*have become successful in life*) and elements of ethical living (*to be able to share this, it's a duty*

*it's an obligation*), two things that never happen in the rugby corpus, further differentiating the two corpora.

### **Rugby**

Warren Brosnihan in conversation with Gcobani Bobo:

<WB> *Yes certainly um Handre Pollard immense talent, beaten the All-Blacks scored two tries in that game before his twenty-first, birthday.*

<GB> *Ya junior-player of the year last season.*

<WB> *This man Trevor Nyakane he's certainly made an impact already.*

### **Soccer**

Carol Tshabalala:

<CT> *Coming up on this holiday's edition of the show, we catch up with Clinton Larsen on his return as head-coach, we put a spot-light on security matters on match days, and as we say goodbye to twenty-fourteen, we look back at some of the highlights of the year.*

Young male customer:

<1?> *Well Club Neh is ah place a hang-out spot, where everyone from Alexandra basically hang-out here. After gym I come here to eat, have a, have a chill time you know...*

Dr. Precious Moloji-Motsepe:

<PM> *You know I grew up in this setting in this setting in this township, um with many challenges here and to be able to share now that I have grown and um have become successful in life, to to be able to share this, it's a duty it's an obligation...*

A prevalent feature seen across both corpora is the strategy of focusing predominantly on individual men (seen in the frequency of both the male pronoun *he* and men's names), or their teams. A high frequency of tokens relating to alcohol and banking/finance brands (e.g. *absa*, *castle* and *jameson*) is visible in the pre-game/post-game/half-time language as well (these entities used different marketing strategies during play). Additionally the wordlists reveal that injury was spoken about in-game and in the associated shows in both sports (bold type is used in tables 1 & 2 to reveal this semantic domain); this gives a clue as to how commonly injury is spoken about in these sports, which is a reflection of how often injury occurs in these sports. The term *gentlemen* as used in the soccer pre-game/post-game/half-time corpus reveals a dimension of the construction of masculinity seen in that corpus. A higher frequency of the word *coach* (also *middendorp*) in the soccer corpus reflects the involvement expected of that position in soccer, which is mirrored by the term *captain* in the rugby data; these men are seen as the ones responsible for all the decision making on the field and are positioned as directly competing with their opponents in the same role. *Captain* and *defensive*, along with *soldier*, *war*, *battle*, *fight* and *guns*, among many other terms also reveal some of the militaristic lexicon of sport (see 4.3).

Through comparison of keywordlists (see 3.3.3 above) made from each corpus using a 4.8 million word general corpus of South African English as reference (see Hunt & Hubbard, 2015), some of the claims made above about the differences between the corpora can be verified. As can be seen in table 4 below some of the teams (e.g. *sharks* and *sundowns*, but also *cheetahs*, *stormers*, *kaizer*, and *chiefs*) are the most key terms that appear in both of my corpora (meaning they are statistically characteristic of the corpus, as compared with a general corpus; see 3.3.3). The term *he* also appears key in both corpora (although more so in the rugby corpus) supporting the claims made above that the sports included are dominated by men and that the players are the main focus in the data. The data on *gentlemen* suggests that the gentleman construct is used as a discursive strategy more than twice as frequently in soccer than it is in rugby, although the term is key in both corpora. Also visible is the fact that in the rugby corpus the token *captain* achieves a far higher keyness score (46) than the token *coach* (4), and inversely in the soccer corpus the token *coach* receives a higher score (216) than *captain* which scores so low that it is not even a

significant keyword (0.12). This evidence verifies the claim that the coach receives more focus than the captain in soccer and that the captain receives more focus than the coach in rugby. Despite these minor differences both corpora reflect the exclusion of women and show signs of the militaristic, war-based language of sport.

<u>Rugby</u>				<u>Soccer</u>			
Rank	Freq	keyness	Word	Rank	Freq	keyness	Word
2	284	1294	<i>sharks</i>	4	185	1221	<i>sundowns</i>
34	705	336	<i>he</i>	50	97	216	<i>coach</i>
315	29	46	<i>captain</i>	111	16	105	<i>gentlemen</i>
361	7	37	<i>gentlemen</i>	344	416	31	<i>he</i>
1165	7	4	<i>coach</i>	2699	7	0.12	<i>captain</i>

*Table 4: extracts from keywordlists sorted by keyness; terms were chosen to illustrate points made above.*

Plain frequency scores can indicate the 'aboutness' of a text or corpus (Hutchins, 1977) with high frequency words revealing dominant concerns or trends. In this research the frequent terms (which were often used to reference individuals and teams as well as competition and masculinity) suggest that my televised-sport corpus is predominantly concerned with men and the competitions they partake in (see tables 1 & 2).

In sportspeak the evaluative semiotic component of an utterance is often encoded in changes of pitch or volume, rather than in lexis; for example when the intensity of the game increases the commentators volume tends to increase and when dangerous play is either expected or seen to increase then the pitch tends to lower. As the corpus was transcribed with only the cases of exaggerated emphasis indicated it was therefore not always fully useful in tracking these evaluations; when necessary, footage was manually analysed (watched/listened to again) in these cases. For instance, the use of sarcasm described below was not initially transcribed to include the shifts in pitch (as they were rather subtle) which

betray its sarcastic nature and only after analysing the corpus and suspecting sarcasm did I go back to the footage and re-evaluate the text.

Evaluations of the players were often seen to be presented as evaluations of the game or the team. In sport possession is constantly tracked, and this possession of the ball fulfills one of the main objectives of the team and so imbues a player with a positive evaluation. The commentators also tend to use a discursive strategy whereby they produce a string of names to indicate the possession and flow of possession in the game; this strategy inevitably (while possession is maintained) imbues the involved players with a positive evaluation. It is during these successive outbursts of names that volume encoded evaluation became most obvious, as often already positively evaluated players had their evaluation boosted by inclusion in these strings of names and then boosted again through increased volume, as can be seen with regard to Pietersen in the following example:

*...but it sets up perfectly for Ndungane to Patrick Lambie JP Pietersen, on the inside PIETERSEN, gets a pass to Ndungane...*

Volume was used similarly in the soccer data, as visible in the example below:

*Ndoro nice little COMBINATION HERE AND NDORO ALMOST SCORED from a, RIDICULOUS ANGLE that would have been special he has scored though, from that type of angle before.*

In the first example the intensity increased because Pietersen appeared to be in a position from which to potentially score points, which grants him an intense positive evaluation as a *dangerous* player (*danger* and *dangerous*, as explained below, are used most often in the data and in sport to refer to the potential for a team or player to score points). The most obvious pitch signaled evaluations were those to do with actual dangerous play or other extreme displays of force, as seen in the example below.

*The Sharks, front-foot, playing through the contact points as they turned it over, Chadwick out wide to Bothma, Bothma \straight in /and he's got numbers on the outside.*

In that example Bothma ran the ball straight into an opposition group of players starting the formation of a ruck (a strategic formation in rugby whereby an informal scrum is formed over the collapsed body of a player who carried the ball). This sort of potentially dangerous show of force and bravery is what was seen to accompany most uses of falling pitch, although some of the uses of falling pitch were related to successful performances, particularly of masculinity. As visible below commentators used a lower pitch voice at times when they wished to positively evaluate the manliness of something, an act which is a much a display of the speaker's own masculinity, in their ability to correctly identify manly traits (in this case a quality kick), as it is a description of the masculinity of someone else.

*<ON> Handre Pollard to level the scores. It's a \solid kick /and the flags go up. Scores are level here*

Rising pitch was used most often in cases of sarcasm, as the example below shows.

*<SB> I think the front-row club that meet in those dark and dingy places away from all of us Bros.*

*<WB> Ja we don't know /anything \about that do we?*

Sportspeak also tends to make frequent use of a large amount of metaphorical language, euphemisms and other fixed expressions. The euphemistic language often seems to be used to protect the positive image of the sport, as in the case of *danger* and *dangerous* (see examples later in this section). In another case from the soccer data a commentator refers to soccer player George Labese's legal trouble (he was charged with assault and malicious damage to property for attacking his girlfriend/her car; see Website Reference 5) as *other distractions*, shying away from any discussion on his alleged crimes (see extract below).

*George Labese not making the trip he has got **other distractions**, ah so to speak, okay so that's what's*

With full awareness of the violent behaviour, and an only slightly covert appreciation for it, commentary using euphemisms is also seen to represent violent behaviour on the sport field as playful or natural for males. This can be seen in the rugby data where a fist fight (Appendix D) is referred to as: *reintroducing themselves to each other, temporarily suspending friendships, a little scuffle, stuff like that, an attempted open-handed punch that skid off the face*, evidence of *the frustration* he felt and also as proof that the prediction that the game would have *a lot of needle* was correct. These terms serve to either emphasise an apparent friendship between the players (*reintroducing themselves to each other; temporarily suspending friendships; a little scuffle*), attribute the event to the emotional state of the attacker (*frustration*), diminish the attack (*a little scuffle*), represent it ambiguously (*stuff like that*) or represent the event as a positive display (*a lot of needle*). Together these functions were interpreted as either painting the event as playful or natural for males (through a 'boys will be boys' attitude), or misrepresenting the event through ambiguity or a positive evaluation.

Terms which usually carry a negative expressive value in English due to their frequent collocation with charged or charging language are also often recontextualised in sportspeak. This is evident in the corpus, for example in the term *monster*. The term, as used in the extract below, instead of denoting a dangerous creature, invokes the metaphor of MAN IS A BEAST to positively describe a player. This relates metaphorically to their ability to be a *danger* on the field or a *dangerous* player (two more positively recontextualised words) and is connected to the speaker's use of *so big* to describe the player's hands as unnaturally large.

<WB> *Ja I remember a couple of years ago when the Sharks signed him, spoke to a couple of the coaches and they told me about this guy, Pieter-Steph du Toit, they said he was an absolute **monster**, they said his hands are **so big** they didn't fit inside the dumbbells at the gym.*

*Danger* and *dangerous* are appropriated and used in the corpora most often to refer to the possibility that someone might score points, or the condition in which someone is in the position to potentially score points; except for one instance in the soccer corpus where a safety official is interviewed and another one each from rugby and soccer commentary, the words *danger* and *dangerous* are not used literally (see below and Appendix C for concordance lines of *danger*). Like almost everything else they are infused with a positive aura of evaluation (in constructs such as *danger-man* and *this is dangerous*). These concordance lines show that *danger* as used in the sample of sportspeak I investigate most often refers to players being a *danger* to their opponent's score or in *danger* of being scored against, and much less often to a literal *danger* to the health of players and/or other people (only 3 of the 17 instances refer to literal danger). The concordance lines of *danger* below show some of the common uses of the word as well as an uncommon mention of actual *dangerous* play.

*The warning signs from this man, Tendai Ndoro. Without a doubt the **danger-man**, in this Aces side. Five goals and fourteen starts for him this*

*oro again. <MT> This time hands down except for Mathoho didn't realise the **danger** with the goalkeeper out, he did what was just for a defender to*

*Modise <crowd owws/awws; pushed to the ground>, well that's a little **dangerous** from ah, Akoriko. Now have a look at this <slow-mo replay*

In the final concordance line it is noteworthy that the uncommon critique and literal use of the word *dangerous* is still softened by the use of the modifier *little* and reading past the boundaries of the concordance line shows that the offending player was not penalised and that the commentators disagreed with this decision. This is relevant because it shows that although the commentators disagreed with the referee's leniency, they were still not willing to declare the behaviour as outright illegal (the commentator's use of *little* here betrays the fact that some danger is expected and will be tolerated in physical competition).

In this section on contextual information the dominant focus in the data is exposed – men and the competitions they engage in. A few differences are noted between rugby and soccer, differences which influence the makeup of the corpora, including a different level of inclusion of women (with a greater level seen in soccer) and a higher keyness score for the token *gentlemen* in the soccer data which suggests a different performance of masculinity is evident there. Some of the communicative strategies common to sportspeak are also revealed, such as the use of metaphors and recontextualised words which protect the image of sport, as well as the encoding of evaluations of players in volume and pitch. The recontextualisation of the words *Danger* and *dangerous* is highlighted and *injury*, which is shown to be mentioned consistently in the shows investigated, betrays its salience to sport. Some of the borrowed war terminology of sportspeak is presented and the tendency to portray violence and aggression as inevitable male characteristics is shown as well. This section serves to lay the groundwork for more detailed discussions of all these points in the sections that follow, starting with the ideology of competition.

### **4.3 Competition**

There is an ideology which supports the idea that competition (of various types) in society, when embraced, is the best and most natural way to adjudicate the distribution of resources. This is that competition is able to and does fairly judge performance and/or worth and that it is an appropriate, even natural, mechanism to enable fair but often uneven distribution of resources. It can also be seen associated with discourses to do with evolution, people often using the concept of ‘survival of the fittest’ to describe competitive environments, as well as with discourses to do with democracy, capitalism, free market economics (here an ‘invisible hand’ of competition is considered to direct the market) and more. In many cases naturalisation of these discourses and this ideology has already occurred, with many people (in Western society at least) holding that these concepts and the role of competition in their creation are commonsensical.

Focusing on identifying the relevant discursive practices, as well as the relationships existing between these discursive practices revealed the terms *champion*, *champions*, and *championship* as high frequency words (which correlates with the qualitative impression that competition is paramount) which lead me to interrogate the corpus for their use and for the use of related terms. I chose to normalise frequencies to occurrences per 10 000 words, and the tokens below are supplied with raw and normalised frequencies (NF). *Champions* is used in the television channel slogan *Supersport, your world of champions* and as such, of the total 88 tokens of the word it appears frequently (53 times) in that construction. 8 of the tokens of *champions* are from the in-game soccer corpus (NF 5.5), 20 are from the rugby associated shows corpus (NF 7.4), and 60 come from the associated shows in the soccer corpus (NF 14.6); these frequencies are all significantly higher than the average number of times per 10 000 words the token appears in the reference corpus (NF 0.9). *Champions* is also used in mentions of the *UEFA Champions League* and the *CAF Champions League* (19 times). *Champions* also appears 8 times in Supersport's *S Champions* campaign which honours various younger sports players through brief mention of their achievements, the same frequency as it is used to talk about teams and men who have achieved victory (8 times), two examples of which are visible in the concordance lines of *champions* supplied below:

*this will be their biggest test yet, **champions** two years ago the Chiefs and Sonny Bill Williams back*

*Ama Champions, they're meeting Ama Potential **Champions**. So far I'm really happy about Sundown*

The singular *champion* is not used as often as *champions*, with only 8 tokens in the corpus (see concordance lines below; sometimes the same advert is repeated in different programme segments, which is the case for concordance lines 3 and 4 and the reason why line 4 has been excluded). There is evidence of its use both as a noun and as an adjective in the corpus, with the adjectival use seen in concordance lines 1, 2, 6 and 7 of the term below, specifically modifying the terms *beer*, *men* and *man*. As is visible in the concordance list, many of the uses of *champion* come from adverts, particularly alcohol advertisements, which reveals an extended focus on positioning male viewers as competitive and promoting the idea that they do/should aspire to

dominate/win; this also reinforces an already constructed connection between sport, men and alcohol (beer particularly). In addition to textual uses the concept of championship is invoked in visual elements like gold trophies or the roar of an impassioned crowd, often activating the discourse of the champion to sell products without using the word *champion* or any of its associated lexis.

1 *the age of 18. Refreshing Unmatched in Gold Award winning Real beer taste Champion Men deserve **Champion** beer Carling Black label Beer The Chevy Sonic, engineered to be forever young.*

2 *second-half we will join our commentary team after this. SUPER DISKI When you taste the **champion** beer you will know. It is refreshing. It is unmatched in gold. It has an award*

3 *it's not about the championship, it's about knowing what it means to act like a **champion**. Being a Bull is not about the glory, it's about being part of something that'*

5 *with a taste for life. Bidvest Bank Your money, our business. Bet.co.za The lightweight **champion** Leon Maynard, goes up against his fierce rival, Don Madge. EFC 37, Saturday twenty one*

6 *refreshing. It is unmatched in gold. It has an award winning real beer taste, that a **champion** man deserves. Carling, Black Label. Castle Enjoy responsibly. Not for sale to persons und*

7 *persons under the age of 18. Refreshing Unmatched in Gold Award winning Real beer taste **Champion** Men deserve Champion beer Carling Black label Beer The Chevy Sonic, engineered to be*

8 *sixty propelled him to his second career tour win. Can he defend or will a new **champion** rise? FedExCup PGA Tour.com Six Nation Millions of Hearts RBS Nations Ireland vs England*

An extended focus on competition is further seen in the frequency of the following lexical items presented with raw frequency (and with frequency normalised across both sub-corpora to tokens per 10 000 words): *competition*: 14 (NF 1.3), *competitive*: 3 (NF 0.3), *compete*: (NF 0.7), *competing*: 8 (NF 0.7), *against*: 238 (NF 21.7), *win*: 128 (NF 11.7), *lose*: 14 (NF 1.3), *trophy*: 15 (NF 1.4) and *gold*: 7 (NF 0.6); see Appendix E for full displays of the concordance lines of these terms. Of the 14 tokens of *competition* 4 are used in reference to the Miss Mamelodi Sundowns beauty pageant revealing both the positioning of women as objects of beauty, as well as the inclusion of women in the ideology of competition. The word *against* which appears 238 times in the corpus shows the tendency to depict teams and players in their capacity as rivals to other players or teams, as seen below:

*Big moment for Torsten van Jaarsveld he's up **against** ah Adriaan Strauss his former captain who's ah now*

The concordance line of *against* shown below also shows the practice of competing against statistics or *odds* used as a marketing strategy; men (especially those in a sporting context) are expected to be competing at all times.

*Here's a good one: Braai hard, an individual who braais **against** all odds. Help make party South Africa's twelfth official language*

*Competitive* (3 tokens), *compete* (8 tokens) and *competing* (8 tokens) are used exclusively in positive evaluations of players or teams, although *competing* is also used for a negative evaluation once by way of qualifying it as *never really competing*; all of which is visible in the extracts below.

*a kicking masterclass, even the kick-offs have been outstanding every time **competitive**. Prop-take by Marco Wentzel, Deysel, big large, and loves to be*  
*look at this Ajax team they are a team that wants to **compete** and play good football, so hopefully we can see that tonight. How*  
*good stand-out tackle from, Jesse Kriel and then at the end **competing** hard in that breakdown, just gave them a lot of advantage, this*  
*big hits, you saw when the Stormers were over here never really **competing** in the breakdown, they had whole full width and they were*

*Win* (see example concordance lines below) is used 124 times in the corpus, mostly to account for victors in matches and possible victory in the future. In addition to being used in discussion of victors, it is also often used to refer to players winning the ball or a penalty and it is used in promotion of competitions which viewers can enter as well.

*City. Then on Sunday, Chelsea look to increase their lead with a **win** against the Saints. The race for fourth heats up when United hosts*

*with Super Diski. Surprise surprise, SiyaWina Mzala. To **win** a prize this Summer simply watch your phone to **win** airtime, data*

Teams losing is not spoken about very often (only 2 of the 14 tokens of *lose* are in reference to a match), *lose* is rather used in regard to a team losing a player (see example concordance line of *lose* below) or a player losing the *ball* or a *shoulder*. This along with the relatively low total tokens of *lose* (compared to the much more frequent term *win* which appears 128 times) reflects a tendency to remain positive.

*Of some concern to Stuart Baxter, won't want to **lose** him, not too many options for Kaizer Chiefs at*

Winning is at times spoken about in terms of taking or claiming a trophy (see examples below and appendix E). Both *claims* and *take* betray the competitive nature of the games and implied defeat of an opponent, and relate to being a champion (receiving what is rightfully that of a champion). Acting as metaphors they both also imply the acquisition of a valuable object while depriving someone else of it and show an arrogant belief in the certainty of victory. This sureness of reward connects to a discourse of reward which says that winners must/will be rewarded, even if it is at the expense of other people/groups, which is considered acceptable because the reward discourse is an element of the overarching ideology of competition. The acquisition of an item of value while depriving another of the same item is a thread which appears throughout this research (see for example the discussion of the Amstel advert in 4.5.2).

*oldest knock-out competition; and the king of play **claims** the **trophy** number ten in Paris. In May IAAF  
Diamond League, FA Cup final*

*Commonwealth Cup in Russia. We went there to **take** the **trophy** cause we know what we want in life,  
so we want to make*

Winning is also spoken about through reference to *gold* (see examples below and appendix E). Of the 7 mentions of *gold* one is a surname, one is used to refer to winning and the other five are used in alcohol advertisements to covertly access and profit off the champion

discourse (see examples below and appendix E). In that regard the beer/alcohol is positioned as champion over other alcohol brands, and the people (men) drinking it are positioned as champions over other customers (men).

*sale to persons under the age of 18. Refreshing Unmatched in **Gold** Award winning Real beer taste  
Champion Men deserve Champion beer Carli*

*defend well and still get the goals necessary to win them **gold**, that's why they have got Arwuah to help  
them defensive, they'*

*some that don't. Until all that's left, is the heart of **gold**, the purest essence of our brandy, that matured,  
to be full bodied,*

In the following paragraphs of this section I present certain nouns which reveal a connection to war (see table 4), as well as a few clusters which do the same. I then present and discuss a set of war-related terms without the use of which it would be difficult to accomplish successful sports commentary (see table 5). Hereafter I reveal a selection of words which serve to represent the semantic domains of Aggression and Danger in the data (see table 6). Finally a selection of terms are analysed which betray the aggressive, war-based language of sport and the inherent danger in the games but are all used to build positive expressive value: this includes an investigation of the terms *needles* and *hits*.

A particularly militaristic attitude is revealed by the nouns which are presented in the table below with their raw and normalised frequencies (normalised across both corpora), suggesting the COMPETITION IS WAR metaphor is active in the data. These are nouns which in their conventional usage all refer to aspects of war or the people involved in it, but are used here to refer to players or athletes and aspects of the competition that their sport involves them in.

Token	Raw Frequency	Normalised Frequency (occurrences/10 000 words)
<i>squad</i>	25	2.2
<i>battle</i>	19	1.7
<i>bodies</i>	6	0.5
<i>stronghold</i>	1	0.1
<i>troops</i>	1	0.1
<i>soldiers</i>	1	0.1
<i>war</i>	1	0.1

Table 5: War-related nouns.

Here it is possible to see how players can be referred to as *soldiers* or *troops* who engage in *war*, and although they are not referred to this way excessively, continued reference to their sport as a *battle* and a unit of players as a *squad* maintains this image. Visible here is how, although their individual frequencies are often small, these words (and others) work together as a semantic set to build a discourse prosody which suggests a discourse: in this case one which associates sport with war. In addition to the words above, the following expressions, which each appear once only in the corpus (NF 0.1), provide further evidence for the metaphor COMPETITION IS WAR being pervasive in the corpus and in the last three examples the metaphor is even seen extended to psychological warfare:

*very difficult, they won't be able to **penetrate** Chippa ah **defences**, but that's why for  
we have to work on on on our **striking force** you know, um we've been working  
there more than just getting the result a **physical battle** ? Yes um, especially in the mid-fi  
very strong at home, is it important to **unsettle them** and get a foothold early in this  
He instigated it completely. But he's been **getting into their heads** though, that's experience  
which is good for them cause they're **getting underneath their skin**. Now the Sharks are*

The evidence for conceiving of and speaking about sport (and all forms of competition) through terminology relating to warfare is overwhelming though in the corpus. The following table contains certain terms (supplied with and ordered by their raw and normalised frequencies) that are all found in the corpus, serving here to represent a group of militaristic words, without the use of which it would be hard to imagine sport commentary being effective (Bergh, 2011):

Token	Raw Frequency	Normalised Frequency (occurrences/10 000 words)
<i>attack</i>	54	4.7
<i>victory</i>	35	3.1
<i>defensive</i>	32	2.8
<i>shot</i>	21	1.8
<i>defend</i>	13	1.1
<i>defeat</i>	6	0.5
<i>battling</i>	5	0.4
<i>strikes</i>	3	0.3
<i>offensive</i>	1	0.1

Table 6: Military terminology crucial to sports reporting.

These are terms which all have to do with battle or its outcome. Sorted as they are in order of descending frequency also reveals how the commentators in the sport shows investigated tend to foreground *victory* rather than *defeat* (*victory* appears almost six times as frequently), as well as players/teams who *attack* rather than those who *defend* (*attack* appears more than four times as frequently); this is more evidence of a tendency towards positivity. This mirrors what is

seen with regard to *win* and *lose* (discussed above) where the token *win* appears almost nine times as frequently as *lose*. *Shot* and *strikes* are both used to discuss attempts at goal in soccer (*strikes* is also used for descriptions of kicks in rugby) but both also carry with them connections to armed conflict.

The following table contains a selection of example tokens from the corpora which betray the aggressive language of sport and the inherent danger in the games. These terms are presented with their raw and normalised frequencies, grouped by the semantic domains Aggression and Danger, and ordered by frequency (they were selected by addressing a wordlist to extract appropriate examples):

Token	Raw Frequency	Normalised Frequency (occurrences/10 000 words)
AGGRESSION		
<i>clash</i>	20	1.8
<i>hit</i>	15	1.3
<i>charge</i>	14	1.2
<i>fight</i>	9	0.8
<i>fighting</i>	6	0.5
<i>fought</i>	5	0.4
DANGER		
<i>impact</i>	21	1.8
<i>dominate</i>	8	0.7
<i>collision</i>	5	0.4
<i>smash</i>	3	0.3

Table 7: Terms which betray aggression and danger in the corpus.

Although belonging to an aggressive, war-based language, all of these terms are used to build positive expressive value (see example concordance lines below), and of all occurrences only one token each of *collision* and *clash* (visible below) could be considered to hold negative expressive value, used in both cases to describe accidents where players had knocked their heads, although in this study these are considered neutral or positive (there are discourses which proclaim that risking injury for others, e.g. fans, teammates, coaches, can be a valiant display of masculinity; see 4.4 below). The token *dominate* is included in the Danger domain because it is used in the rugby corpus to describe the dominating of *collisions* and *scrums*, and in that context where men with a mass of less than 100 kilograms are considered remarkable (see 4.4 below), there is a lot of undeclared physical danger involved in any domination by one of the players.

*one neh. Against Chiefs. Now this was the **shot** from earlier on, that is a goal baby.  
that go over the line. Sheesh what a **shot** from Ngubane. No Ngoma I think it was.  
Well the defender is Jenniker. Shia, Akpabio **SHOT**, saved by Jaakkola. Second time now the keep  
mid-field here IS PARKER, that's a **shot** right there. Unfortunately, not enough power  
years old. Ja didn't you love the **clash** between him and Marcell van der Merwe, the  
Stars have a mammoth task when they **clash** against the mighty Pirates in their league  
to stop play, I think it was a **clash** of heads. Let's have a look while  
importance, he keeps his head down, he **strikes** it cleanly, scores are level. Fantastic  
big attempts there to make a really smashing **hit** on Patrick Lambie's co-actor Hadebe, cause  
the park. You happy with the Beast's **hit** out there Rob? <RK> Yeah solid enough performance  
into and get into the mix and try stop that **charge**. And you wouldn't want that dog to wag its tail.  
five football, but now they are in a **fight** for their lives, knowing every point counts  
the fact that ah you've got the **fight** now in the beautiful game on three fronts  
will be bringing all their guns to the **fight** with hopes to bag the Buccaneers, on  
this game Chippa United are they gonna, **fight** their way back, get the two goals that  
eighteen beautiful contestants prepare to **fight** for the crown Mamelodi Sundowns the sky  
by Francois Hougaard. Paige, Labuschagne **fighting** for that extra meter. Little box kick  
Akorikio with typical **fighting** spirit of his, winning ah possession*

*country proud, it wasn't easy but we **fought** and we came back with a trophy.  
 final whistle and very very hard forwi- hard **fought** two points if Tuks are able to maintain  
 only been on for a minute his first **impact** is a positive one, and wins his team the  
 come back we'll talk about the key **impact** players on both sides, we'll also talk about  
 to go backwards . Jacques du Plessis, huge **impact**, and collisions taking place at the moment  
 Now listen if the Sharks manage **dominate**, ah the scrums in the way they manage to dominate  
 Nine times out of ten he manages to **dominate** the **collision**, young Serfontein here. I tell  
 Ja it all comes down to who dominates that **collision** is it the attacker that manages to break through  
 Mpumalanga Black Aces. Well there's a **collision** there between two players and the referee will have to  
 Look at this here came the first attempted **smash**, then came the tackle, and ah an attempt to  
 Springbok center Serfontein. The next two men managed to **smash** him down and look at this, it was  
 on strike and ah no need to run when you can **smash** the fours and sixes. Ya I was a little bit surprised*

As already mentioned the fight seen between Bismarck and Matfield in the rugby data is never referred to as a fight; in fact (and as is visible in the concordance lines above) all the uses of *fight*, *fighting* and *fought* refer to the hard work and determination shown by players or contestants in attempting to achieve victory. Two terms which do actually betray the real or imagined physicality of the games though are *needle* and *hits*. Only two of the total nine tokens of the term *hits* are used to refer to a ball being hit or hitting something (and these both appear in the soccer data), the other seven are all used (in the rugby data) to discuss *big hits* (4), *huge hits* (1), *hits in the ruck* (1) or *defensive hits and tackles* (1), all things that are positively evaluated (visible in the concordance lines supplied below). These *hits* tend to be tackles or other sorts of planned high speed collisions. *Needle* is used three times in the rugby data to refer to aggression, equated in the text with *emotion* and *intensity* and used to describe a particularly violent rugby match (all of which is also visible in the concordance lines below).

*full width and they were making the big **hits**, and they taking them back and not giving that  
 playing the Sharks they come in tryna make big **hits** around us to try and drive the Stormers drive  
 because they're quite eager to make the big **hits**, so if the Sharks are gonna do that they  
 so they can come up and make those big **hits**, you saw when the Stormers were over here never*

*the ball on the ground to make his defensive, **hits** and tackles that he needs to. Bulls searching for the players, there's certainly an amount of huge **hits** going in particularly this one Pieter-Steph in the line-out from him, and maybe some **hits** in the ruck but not much more he can*

*UNC written this game had a lot of **needle**, a lot of intensity. Rivalry between two South African union play foul, play. <WB> There was always gonna be a lot of **needle** in this game. <GB> Ah.*

*What a game of rugby, it had a lot of **needle** it had a lot of emotion, there's gonna be a lot said*

*Needle* as used in the corpus data is particularly interesting as the commentators use the word in a way which betrays their presumption that I, as a sports viewer, understand it (when in reality at first I did not). Although I was never able to uncover a definition for the word as used in sports commentary, I did find it used online in the discussion of various sports and players (see Website Reference 6). This exercise led me to the following understanding of the word: *needle* is the rhetorical encouragement of aggression (e.g. the provocation between boxers that occurs at a buildup show for a boxing match) as well as (possibly only in a SA context though) the resulting aggressive/violent actions. Essentially the perceived amount of *needle* is the level to which players are seen to emotionally invest themselves in the games they play (including the rivalries between players/teams); it is the amount of determination and aggression players bring to the process of using their highly conditioned bodies to physically defeat their opponents. It is worth talking about because this sport specific use of the word shows the promotion and glorification of aggression and violence, used each time positively and enthusiastically. This is especially visible in the final example above, where a rugby match (the one in which the fight occurred) is positively evaluated (*What a game*) and the amount of *needle it had* is provided as a factor contributing towards this.

I refer to the real or imagined physicality of the games because although in rugby there is plenty of real physicality, some of it involves a bit of acting and in soccer, like other non-contact sports such as cricket, players can act the physicality by exaggerating their injuries. This is because injuries are a necessary part of the show, they are what a good deal of the

audience is interested in with regard to sports media consumption (Orchard, 2002) being interpreted by most viewers as extreme indications of physicality and masculinity. As professional athletes are celebrities working in a branch of the entertainment industry, the injuries they suffer are unfortunately just part of that entertainment (Orchard, 2002). Additionally, this exaggeration of injury (as well as sport itself) is not an artifact of our human need to sublimate 'our natural urge' for violence (as other authors have proposed, e.g. Kuiper 2007), which would ratify the assumption that humans/men are naturally violent beings; in this research all human violence is considered learnt behaviour, as is the appreciation spectators show for viewing the violence and/or injuries which occur on the field.

The levels of violence seen in some sports (e.g. rugby) far exceed those conventionally considered acceptable and many of the actions, if seen outside of the sanctioned arena of sport, would be considered at a minimum antisocial. Similar depictions of violence and real long-term injury would require any other event to carry a prescribed viewing age, what in the US is called a rating, to be broadcast on national television or attended by minors (despite its violence sport is generally considered a family-friendly event; Orchard, 2002). This means that society is aware of the dangers involved in presenting and glorifying acts of physical violence, especially with regard to juvenile spectators; dangers such as the potential viewers have for learning violent behaviour, becoming violent, or being otherwise adversely affected by exposure to the violence.

## **4.4 Physicality**

The ability/willingness to be rough (physicality) is central to the construction of masculinity, and it is considered by some to be the last true indicator of masculinity (i.e. a trait that women, due to biological restrictions, cannot replicate; see Messner, 1988 and Luyt 2003). This is seen in, among other places, Tagg's (2008) study of the masculinities evident in male netball players where men playing a 'soft' 'female' sport like netball were often considered gay or effeminate due to the lack of physicality in the game. Men who perform a somewhat feminine styled gender are often presumed to be homosexual, while these distinctions are actually independent elements of identity.

The word physicality, according to the Oxford Dictionary (2010: 1101), refers to "the quality of being physical rather than emotional or spiritual", but in sport it collects additional sets of meanings relating to masculinity and a willingness/ability to exert physical force (especially on others) in a void left by constant use of euphemism and recontextualised words. The term carries the ability to reference masculinity, by the belief that men are more likely to turn to physical force to solve problems, as well as the belief that women cannot display the same levels of physicality, biologically, because they are naturally weaker and less able to endure physical stress. Essentially it becomes a marker of masculinity, especially in competitions, which are themselves believed to be arenas for men. Risking personal injury for another (person or team) is a glorified trait of masculinity (consider the 'damsel in distress' discourse), and as Messner et al. (2000) point out, men in sport are expected to risk injury and give their body for the team.

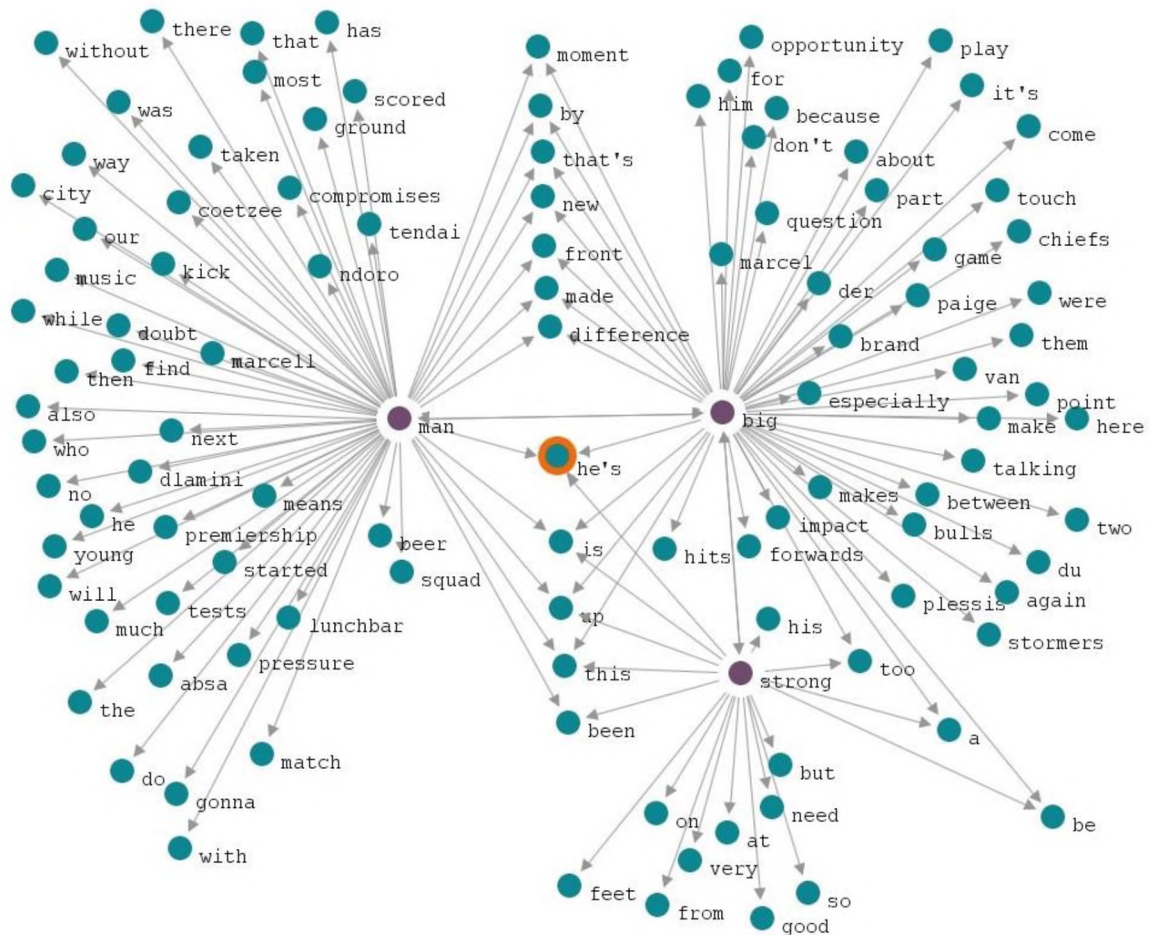
In the following paragraphs I discuss how physicality is presented and embraced in the corpus data. Firstly, I reveal a few collocates commonly used in sportspeak which reveal a tendency to remark on size and strength of men (here I also identify the problem that the use of multiple synonymous alternatives in language can cause for corpus studies). Secondly I show how the positive semantic prosody attached to the physicality collocates successfully manages to cross over to the reporting of a non-contact sport, soccer. Finally, I discuss the

use of mass as an indicator of physicality. The close connections that the terms, discourses and metaphors employed maintain with terminology and imagery of warfare is focused on throughout.

The patterning of lexical choices such as the war terminology and *physicality* collocates (revealed below), considered with the use of pitch and volume in indications of approval/enthusiasm, reveals positive semantic prosodies relating to violence/dangerous behaviour (physicality) and competition (war). Importantly for this study the positive semantic prosody attached to lexis of physicality is seen extended to the lexis of masculinity.

Relationships of significant collocation (a 3.84 MI score reflects a 95% confidence level) are seen in the data between *big* and: *man* (6.16 MI) and *strong* (6.97 MI). This is visually represented in GraphColl graphical collocation representation software (Brezina et al., 2015; now part of LancsBox software suite), as is shown below (Graph 1). Also visible in the graph is the contraction of 'he is' (*he's*) collocating with *big* (4.57 MI), *strong* (5.29 MI) and *man* (4.33 MI), which reveals the tendency to describe male players as big, strong men. *Big* can also be seen collocating with *hits* (8.61 MI), which is due to commentators often talking about *big hits and tackles*; *big* is predominantly used to talk about male bodies or the displays of force performed by these bodies. *Man* can also be seen significantly collocating with *beer* (7.16 MI), which reveals a dominant discursive trend of associating beer with men, and with *squad* (6.23 MI) which betrays an allegiance to militaristic terminology. The graph is drawn with collocates from a span of five words left and right, which have a statistical measure of 3.84 or higher MI (and are therefore significant), and a collocating frequency of at least 3 (as this arrangement creates the most readable while still informative graph). Many other interesting and statistically significant collocates intersect with these terms as well, but appear in these collocations less frequently or only collocate within a wider span and so are left off the graph. The term *kilograms* for example collocates significantly with *big* (8.02 MI) but only within a span of 6L/R; *threatening* and *hitters* also collocate significantly with *big* (both with a score of 9.82 MI) but are left off the graph due to not meeting the collocate frequency requirement (which is 3). In addition to this *physical*, *impact* and *battle* each collocate significantly with both *big* and *man* (each with a MI score of

above 6.0) but not always as frequently, and so were also on occasion excluded from the graph. These terms which collocate less frequently often include synonymous alternatives to key collocates which helps to reveal the discourse strategies of the text producers; for example *big* also collocates significantly with *fellas* (9.82 MI) and *guy* (6.02 MI), two synonyms of *man*, and similarly *strong* collocates with *powerful* (10.09 MI), a synonym of itself.



Graph 1: Collocates of 'big', 'strong' and 'man'.

Most of the language used has a wide range of synonyms which when combined with a small corpus sometimes makes it difficult to show how frequently these concepts are invoked; *kilograms* for example is a term which is at times referred to using another word for the same concept, namely *KGs*. The following less frequent collocates (terms which have a collocate

frequency of less than 3) all collocate significantly with *big: hitters* (9.82 MI), *threatening* (9.82 MI), *kilograms* (8.02 MI), *powerful* (7.24 MI), *physical* (7.02 MI), *impact* (7.02 MI) and *battle* (6.58 MI). This betrays a connection between a player's size (*big* and *kilogram*), strength (*strong* and *powerful*) and his ability to be a big hitter (*threatening* and *physical*) or take *big hits* (*impact* and *battle*). These terms, which all relate to the concept of physicality, describe a man who rules by force which is the first of the five distinguishing features of hegemonic masculinity described by Trujillo (1991).

Assessing the soccer corpus alone for use of these terms reveals that the positive semantic prosody attached to physicality and seen building up around these terms in the rugby corpus (visible in the concordance lines of *physicality* from the rugby corpus supplied in Appendix F), translates across sporting codes. Although there are fewer tokens of this terminology in the soccer corpus, what is there is still used in the same way and positively (extracts of two examples of this are supplied below).

<MW> Two very **strong** players **aggressive** and all **competing** for the same ball but Massa seems to walk away with it. Actually now without any form of ah, **injury**. But this time ah James there's no time for Cele to be taken out there's not enough time, he's got to get up and ah **soldier** on.

<KM> And in terms of the game, a very **physical** one was it ah a **battle** there more than just getting the result a **physical battle**?

The extracts (above) show two instances from the soccer corpus where Mark Willemse and Kamza Mbatha can be seen to use war terminology and the physicality terms, as well as a mention of potential or expected injury. This highlights the adherence sports and sport media have to the mold of presenting sport using the SPORT IS WAR metaphor with real or imagined physicality, as well as the ability of the concept of *physicality*, through its associated terminology to translate across sporting codes and into a non-contact sport, maintaining its positive aura.

The physicality of a player, conceived of in terms of his potential for physical domination, his potential for inflicting and receiving physical force, is considered to be measurable in mass and is therefore measured and presented in kilograms. In rugby mass, as a team aggregate, is considered a good indicator or predictor of the odds a team has against their rivals, especially with regard to the *tight-five* or *scrummaging* players. There is therefore a distinct focus on size and mass of players in the rugby data.

Concordance lines of the term *kilograms* in AntConc (see below) reveal a recurring positive evaluation (in rugby) of heavier men (over 100kgs) and a connection of that mass with physicality. The positive evaluation of mass is especially visible in the second concordance line of *kilograms* below, where Ntubeni's mass is considered noteworthy because it is *only a hundred kilograms* (this is a relatively high mass for a healthy adult male but through the use of *only* it is presented as lower than expected for a *scrummager of his ability*, which betrays the perceived connection between the mass of a player and his ability to be effective in a scrum). The connection of mass to perceived levels of physicality is particularly visible in concordance lines 3, 4 and 7 below, where in addition to the mass of players being connected to their size and strength, it is connected to being a *beast* (a metaphor which implies a primal/naturally violent nature), and to the size (*big*) and physicality (*physical*) of a seemingly inevitable *battle*. In the rugby data, *big* and *strong* collocate (7.05MI), and *big* and *kilograms* collocate (6.45 MI). These terms are commonly used in some form of the sequence *big, strong, [number] kilograms*, examples from MAN IS A BEAST and/or from COMPETITION IS WAR metaphors (see concordance lines of *kilograms* below). In this way individual body sizes can be connected to group chance to achieve victory; as competition is seen as war players are metaphorically seen as soldiers whose size and strength determines the likelihood that they will be able to win battles and wars (sport matches). This is so because as their strength and size increases so does their potential to exert and survive physical forces, their physicality, and this is connected to their group's chance of victory.

- 1) *the likes of Hika Elliot hundred and fifteen **kilograms** very experienced but ah, but Ben*
- 2) *Ntubeni you know he's only a hundred **kilograms**, but ah his ability to as a scrummager*
- 3) *big and strong at a hundred-and-nineteen **kilograms**. Stegmann. Will the Bulls go for*
- 4) *front-row Tameifuna, hundred and thirty **kilograms** he's a big beast of a man,*
- 5) *Tameifuna the giant a hundred and thirty **kilograms** of him. Matt Symonds English born*
- 6) *rly Giant Mtyanda, a hundred and twenty **kilograms**. <WB> It's an element of the*
- 7) *hundred and six KGs a hundred and two **kilograms**, it's gonna be a big physical battle*

In a similar way to how the term *danger* is primed for usage with negatively interpreted events in general English (see 4.2), the word *intent*, due to its common collocates, is attached to a negative evaluative aura, as is visible in the extract below; visible too is commentator Mark Gleeson's awareness of this aura (he amplifies it himself) hence his abrupt clarification. He is clearly aware that to talk about a player's *intent* without qualification in that context would quite likely be interpreted by his audience as the as 'the intent to do grievous bodily harm' as this is a well-known fixed expression, unless it was explicitly qualified as the *intent to win the ball*. This is because he had inadvertently (or perhaps momentarily forgetting sports reporting protocol) primed his audience to make that association.

<MG> *Down goes Billiat! And the foul committed by John Arwuah. Well we know Arwuah's reputation for ah, some really vicious tackles at times, I'm not sure if it's his personality, the maliciousness of it, but it's the timing and ah just the **intent, to win the ball**, as opposed to the **intent to hurt**, but still, a foul never the less.*

This commentator seems to suggest that he will be willing to accept *vicious, malicious* tackles as long as they are done with the *intent to win the ball*, not the *intent to hurt*. This passage is taken as evidence of a tendency towards positivity commonly seen in sport, because sport media is ultimately a product and the commentators and other figures try to maintain positivity at all

times in order to promote consumption. It also shows that the goal of the game is to win, not to hurt, even though there is a lot of that as a by-product.

In summary, physicality (which is closely associated with the mass of players and teams) is the willingness and ability to use physical force to defeat competitors. It can be referenced in sports commentary through the use of a lowered pitch (possibly exemplifying male vocal characteristics) but is otherwise signaled through reference to the mass, size and strength of players by way of: words such as *big*, *strong*, *powerful* and *KGs*, reference to certain metaphors, or by mention of a player's ability to deliver and withstand *hits*. It is ideologically significant as it connects to the perceived aggressive nature of men and is considered by many to be the last true indicator of manliness.

## **4.5 Gender/Sex**

### **4.5.1 Introduction**

As explained above, South Africans watching locally broadcast sport programmes are exposed to a male centric world. The values in this world are that masculinity is supreme, competition is the most important guiding principle, and that everything feminine exists to increase male comfort and pleasure (in a supportive role; see for example Messner, Duncan, & Cooky, 2003, or Gantz & Wenner, 1991). Competitiveness, which has been conceived of as a combination of the calculative and the combative (perceived) nature of men, is institutionalised in business and is central to hegemonic masculinity (Donaldson, 1993). Essentially the discourses evident in sport appear to champion overt hegemonic masculinity and male hegemony.

I have chosen to discuss issues of gender using the binary pair, femininity and masculinity, as this reflects the perspective taken in the data, although I am aware that in reality the concept is far more fluid and varied than that construction implies. The same thing applies to discussion of issues of sex using the binary pair male and female. The following table

shows the predominance of men and minimal inclusion of women seen in the sport shows investigated (as the rugby corpus is 1427 tokens larger than the soccer corpus or 2.63 %, these raw frequencies are also followed by frequencies normalised to occurrences per 10 000 words in *Italics*):

	Soccer	Rugby	Total
<i>He</i>	417 / 74.9	705 / 120.5	1122
<i>His</i>	161 / 28.9	220 / 37.6	381
<i>She</i>	18 / 3.2	2 / 0.3	20
<i>Her</i>	3 / 0.5	0 / 0	3
<i>Man</i>	64 / 11.5	98 / 16.8	162
<i>Men</i>	14 / 2.5	7 / 1.2	27
<i>Woman</i>	0 / 0	2 / 0.3	2
<i>Women</i>	2 / 0.4	0 / 0	2

*Table 8: Nouns and pronouns referring to men and women.*

Interrogating the corpus data through AntConc the word *he* appears 1122 times and *his* 381 times, while there are only 20 tokens of *she* and 3 tokens of *her* (the corpus is constructed from coverage of male only sports and features only male players though, which would contribute to this dominance of male pronouns). Similarly 162 tokens of *man* and 27 tokens of *men*, compared to 2 each of *woman* and *women* reveals the dominance of maleness in sport broadcasting. The fact that no women speak outside of the commercials in the rugby corpus provides further evidence of this theme. A large proportion, 8 of the total 20 tokens or 40%, of the uses of *she* are from one of the soccer post-game samples which includes coverage of the Miss Mamelodi Sundowns beauty pageant, which when considered along with the rugby cheerleaders reveals that women are most discursively present in that role in the data.

Remembering to follow Connell & Messerschmidt's (2005) suggestion to not discount the agency of women in the construction and maintenance of male hegemony, I will address the depiction of femininity in the corpus first.

### **4.5.2 Femininity**

The dominant message promoted with regard to femininity is that it is secondary or auxiliary to masculinity, as seen in the absence of women in the words of the corpus but their inclusion in the visual imagery. Further than that there is a strong theme of women being objects of beauty for heterosexual male viewing pleasure (seen in both corpora in the advertisements, the inclusion of female cheerleaders, as well as the tendency of the cameras to hone in on women in the stadium, of which the latter two are shown in the example pictures below). This correlates with what Mulvey (2003: 59) hypothesises about scopophilia in cinema, "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze". It also implies that not only are all the players male, but it is assumed that the viewers are heterosexual males and that women clad in tightfitting clothing would be appealing to them.



Messner et al. (2000: 372) find that in US sports broadcasts “women are sexy props or prizes for men's successful sport performances or consumption choices”. While this theme does emerge, the fact is that the two sporting codes investigated in this study contrast with each other in terms of the images of sex and gender they present. In the case of rugby, the cheerleaders can be considered sexy props, with no mention of their identities, life or achievements, or as a prize for successful sporting achievements as they will dance for you if you score. This confirms the representation of women as seen in the Messner et al., 2000 data: women being represented by young, skinny, revealingly dressed women who are predominantly white. Other than them there are no women involved in this corpus, and minimal mentions; for instance both uses of the token *she* in that corpus are from one mention of a commentator's wife who was at home in Cape Town during the 2015 Cape Town fire. However this piece of text indicates more about the male speaker's sexuality, status and wealth than it describes or includes his wife.

An investigation of the soccer corpus reveals that women are more broadly defined (through a more realistic range of roles) in soccer programming. While still far from encoding a broad definition, in this corpus at least women occasionally have voice and are somewhat visible (see frequencies of terms referring to women in table 9 below). Various women fulfilling traditional support roles, such as cooks and low-level security officers (giving body and bag searches) are seen in that corpus (see Appendix G). In one case a soccer player being interviewed in a post-game show also takes the time to thank and share the spotlight with his fiancé *Ethel*. This behaviour is interpreted as part of the slightly different dominant form of masculinity that is seen in the soccer corpus (see 4.5.3.3 below), one which includes notions of being a gentleman and ethical living.

	Soccer	Rugby
Woman/women	0/1	2/0
Ladies	4	0
Her	3	0
She	18	2
Girl	2	0
Misses	2	0

Table 9: Words referring to women in the corpus.

Although better than in the rugby data, in no way can the representation of femininity and women in the soccer matches investigated be considered progressive, with women still mainly featuring as objects of beauty, wives, *vendors*, and in one case as a presenter. The Miss Mamelodi Sundowns beauty pageant is presented as a competition and as an opportunity to become a working celebrity model, the winners being employed as *brand ambassadors*. A still image I was able to take of a contestant (provided below) shows a glaring similarity with the image above of the Vodacom Bulls cheerleaders; they are using the same low angled shot to focus on the legs and the crotch region of the women which at times even obscures their faces. This is clear evidence of scopophilia, taking these women as objects and objecting them to a curious gaze, eclipsing the person, her personality, accomplishments and goals. Also noteworthy is that although the racial makeup of the spectators at the matches and protagonists in the advertisements was roughly predictable considering the historical racial divide evident in these sports (i.e. more black and coloured people were seen in the soccer broadcasts and more white people in the rugby ones), the Miss Mamelodi Sundowns beauty pageant featured an equal amount of white contestants and these women were given more time on the screen. This betrays the tendency towards presenting whiteness as an ideal to aspire to in the quest for beauty.



The practice of having the cameras single out pairs or groups of women, during completely unrelated sports commentary and for no apparent reason was documented across both sporting codes. Below is an image of a young woman who while watching the rugby with a goofy smile on her face realises she is being objectified by the cameras and so quickly closes her mouth, composes herself and then eventually tries to ignore the camera's gaze. Interestingly this black/coloured woman that the cameras are so interested in has long, straight hair and red stained lips, which suggests that this woman has adopted a standard of beauty which has connections to whiteness. Men were almost never singled out like this, even when sitting with a smiling woman. The only times this does happen seems to be when the male subjects are young, (generally white) boys. In one frame, from a soccer sample, a man is seen physically disturbed by the intrusion of the camera, which focuses on him as he walks with his party, presumably his daughters and wife. The man was clearly disturbed by this sort of unwarranted and uninvited attention, and the way that he conceives of his identity is possibly based on the fact that he would be the one who would protect those women. As he would have been conditioned his entire life to strive to attain hegemonic male characteristics he will most likely also have adopted the leader and protector role that

hegemonic masculinity supporting discourse dictates he should (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001).



In the advertisements across both sport types women were often used as potential prizes for correct consumption choices. For example, in one commercial (from the rugby corpus; Appendix H: (i)), a man is apparently given energy from a chocolate bar which he then uses to perform an exotic dance for a woman, ultimately being rewarded by her smiling at him/for him. This dance incorporated the theft of a homeless man's crutches which also reveals the tacit support men are given for breaking/bending the rules to achieve their goals (see 4.6.1), by defeating their opponent. In this case the woman is the opponent to be defeated and dominated; the opponent and the prize.

In another commercial (from the soccer corpus; Appendix H: (ii)) a beer flies out of a crate and through a window, rolls across the floor of a corridor and knocks on a door. A woman answers the knock and picks up the beer, a man walking in the corridor then notices her. He then quickly grabs a nearby flower out of a vase and presents it to her as if he had also provided the beer; neither the beer nor flower were things he actually owned and could

therefore legally give her, but this was not apparently given a thought which supports the idea that there is an ideology that men can break rules when necessary to achieve their goals. The man in the commercial created a rare opportunity by being cunning and quick to get into that woman's house to spend some time with her: this is seen as men achieving goals by being aggressive and bending rules (see 4.6). It also displays the general heterosexual expectation prevalent in culture and especially sport culture, women being represented as passive and targets of conquest by men is visible as well. The product in this advert is *Amstel lite* beer and the message is that they are light beers that woman can drink without putting on weight, weight which would likely make them less sexually appealing to their heterosexual suitors. The fact that the woman in the advert came to the door without pants on betrays the depiction of her (a traditionally beautiful European woman) as a sexual goal for the enterprising male protagonist who has a general disregard for rules which would constrain his behaviour. The conquest of women, success in which is one of the central distinguishing factors of hegemonic masculinity (Trujillo, 1991), can be conceived of as an extension of the conditioning of men to act competitively. This advertisement also serves as another example of the reward discourse (identified in 4.3) which is often presented as depriving someone else of a reward. This is visible in the first few seconds of the advertisement when the man first sees the woman and breaks away from his all-male friend group to pursue her; here he deprives his friends of the chance to do the same.

Apart from the very infrequent references to women in the commentary, which I discuss above, there are only a total of 6 advertisements which include a significant female character, and of these characters 3 are sexy women representing objects of desire in the narrative, 1 is a toddler, 1 is a wife/dependent, both of which represent male responsibility, and 1 is a witchdoctor. A third example commercial which features women is visible in Appendix H (iii): it is about a woman going to see a black, female witchdoctor who she then asks for help from in communicating with her dead husband. She then progresses to berate the deceased for not having had life insurance, climaxing in a complaint that she has now had to wash her own car. This advert illustrates the tropes of depicting women as wives and dependant on men (husbands or fathers), and men as financially responsible for their families. This depiction of masculinity as patriarchy – "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and

children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general" (Lerner 1986, in Trujillo, 1991) is one of Trujillo's (1991:2) five Distinguishing Features of Hegemonic Masculinity, representations of which can be considered to support male hegemony and female subordination. The other four distinguishing features are also all overtly visible in the corpus (see 4.5.3.1 below).

In summary, the only women seen in the rugby corpus were either: acting as cheerleaders, in the commercials as a part of male life, being singled out by the cameras, or in one occasion mentioned by her husband. In other words they were always represented in relation to a heterosexual male; for viewing pleasure, to persuade men to consume products, or as an object in a display of masculinity and status. The soccer corpus saw women included in many more roles than in the rugby one, including cooks, "ambassadors" (beauty queens), security officers and Carol Tshabalala – seemingly the exception to the rule that sport is a man's world by being a fully realised, respected SuperSport personality. It seems however that Carol's femaleness perhaps precludes her from ever participating fully in the revolving-door structure of sport and Super Sport, in that she probably won't ever become considered as an expert in the studio, or have the opportunity to coach her own team. The soccer corpus also included a lengthy monologue by Dr. Precious Moloi-Motsepe, who was portrayed as a successful female businesswoman and philanthropist.

Remembering not to discount the agency of the women in the maintenance of male hegemony, as discussed above, I could point to the cheerleaders and models and their capitulation to hegemonic man's desires for them to become objects of beauty to be enjoyed by heterosexual men. I think I would only be imposing another bind though (Hobbs, Pattalung & Chandler, 2011) on these women to say that they cannot use their sexuality to make money; the bind being that women should be financially independent from the proceeds of their own efforts, while not capitalising on the willingness of men to give them money to dance, this in a male dominated work/career environment where prospective employers may demand that their employees be attractive/sexual.

Not recorded and therefore not included in the corpus, but witnessed by the researcher and noted in the notes, during a soccer post-game show there was an account of about five to ten minutes of a South African female soccer team performing admirably. Incidentally a piece included in the corpus from later that day, which referred back to this women's soccer game (included below) shows how the speaker struggles to call the *ladies* in the team *players* like men in a team would be called. This may be a case where he had been primed to associate the term *players* with men; it may also be a case of not wanting to insult the women, thinking that they need to be put on a pedestal so to speak and only spoken of with the utmost reverence to their femininity. In almost all cases (except for Dr. Precious Moloi-Motsepe's monologue) women were supporting characters though to the main show/focus, that of men and their goals. This penchant for casting women as auxiliary characters to men I interpret as connected to a slightly different form of masculinity presented in the soccer corpus, one where the male viewer is expected to embrace female inclusion and behave in a gentlemanly fashion (see 4.5.3.3); this form still supports male hegemony though, through patriarchy and strict heterosexuality.

*<KK> ... in the end we've never received any complaints, so that's why as well the the dedication shows in the ah current ah provincial league, the goals they score the wins they have, they haven't had one loss throughout this season, so it shows the **player ah the ladies** have very disciplined very very dedicated, and ah it shows.*

### **4.5.3 Masculinity**

#### **4.5.3.1 Sport is hegemonic man's world**

Above, in 4.4 and 4.5.2 I identify two of Trujillo's (1991) five Distinguishing Features of Hegemonic Masculinity in the corpus; features (1), physical force and control and (3) familial patriarchy. The other three features - defining masculinity through: (2) occupational achievement, (4) frontiersmanship (essentially a Promethean attitude) or (5) heterosexuality (Trujillo, 1991:2) - are all evident as well. Some, such as (1) defining masculinity through

physical force and control, are more visible than others, e.g. (2) defining masculinity through occupational achievement.

In one advert (provided below) SuperSport details a list of sporting events that would be occurring over the next three months around the world. None of these events are exclusively for female sporting leagues and only the Diamond league (athletics), Roland Garros (tennis), and Cape Epic (cycling) include female participants (which makes a 3/12 ratio, or 25% female inclusivity in this advert). These events (notice the lack of physicality needed in all of them) also tend to treat the women's races/matches as less prestigious than the men's: this is due to the media failing to completely view women as athletes not bodies (Higgs, Weiller & Martin, 2003). The lack of prestige for female sporting events is not easily identified in the corpus, mainly because it does not include any of the commentary from those sports, but if read closely the slight differences in the description of events in the advert below suggests the lack of prestige is evident. The description of the *Roland Garros* event in *May*, for example, is that *the king of play claims the trophy number ten in Paris*, a description which omits any reference to the event's inclusion of female players. In addition to this the athletes from the 3 female inclusive events were referred to as *riders* only once (*the Cape Epic*), the other times focus was shifted onto the *athletics* not the athletes (*Diamond League*) or onto an unnamed male competitor (*Roland Garros*): this is while the men in the male sports were referred to as *drivers*, *our boys*, *log-leaders*, and *the big hitters*.

*This March, on SuperSport: it's all systems go in F1 as the drivers pull out all the stops to gain the edge; there are no easy routes as riders battle the rugged beauty of the Cape Epic; and watch our boys get fired up at the World Cup. In March F1, Absa Cape Epic, Cricket World Cup, Oosthuizen versus Liebenberg, Hong Kong Sevens and Vodacom Super Rugby. In April: log leaders Chiefs will be out to show everyone who's boss in the Absa Premiership; Tune in for all the magic of the Masters from the Augusta National: and the big hitters are back to put on a show in the IPL. In April, Absa Premiership, the Masters, and the IPL. In May: world class athletics returns in the new Diamond League season; who will earn their place in the history books of footballs oldest knock-out competition; and the king of play claims the trophy number ten in Paris. In May IAAF Diamond League, FA Cup final, and Roland Garros. Live on SuperSport.*

This little bit of evidence shows what is a very real and well documented concern for minimal female inclusion in sports programmes (e.g. Kane & Parks, 1992; Messner et al., 1993). The extract above also provides evidence of how sport discourse is international. Besides events where there is international touring (such as the *Cricket World Cup* and *The Hong Kong Sevens*, a tournament that is part of the Sevens World Series), there is also coverage of foreign sports as well (such as basketball and Formula 1). Sports media appears to be involved in the construction and maintenance of discourses relating to globally shared ideas about masculinity (among other things), and suggests that men and the sports they play, internationally, are of more interest than sports played by women locally or globally.

This research confirms Messner et al.'s (2000: 371) determination that "sport is a man's world". Those scholars reach that conclusion after accounting for all the time spent over hours of multiple sports broadcasts. Their method takes account of the time dedicated to female sports/athletes, as well as the amount of time women are visibly involved in broadcasting the games and in the sports shows. As the rugby and soccer matches included in the corpus are played in male only leagues, this study could not reproduce their findings using the same measures. Other than in the tally of the use of different nouns and pronouns as discussed above, the blatant lack of a female voices in one corpus, and the adherence to Trujillo's (1991) Distinguishing Features of Hegemonic Masculinity, another place where this theme does make itself visible in my data is in the advertisements (such as the one for sporting events discussed above and the Hennessy advert below, among many others).

This research also confirms Messner et al.'s (2000: 372) finding that "men are foregrounded in commercials". This theme was expected though as sport is man's world, where there is a known predominance of male viewers, and in this research the corpus was made of male-only sporting leagues. The tag <AD> was used on all the advertisements and when consulted they all focused on men, such as this one which uses visuals of a man's face and the silhouette of his body to sell brandy (see below):

*When will I stop? Once the world has heard me. When everyone knows my name. Or when I've opened more doors for others. I'll never stop, when there's still so much to do. Hennessy, never stop never settle.*

This advertisement serves as an example of the tendency to depict men as naturally needing to achieve, so that they can improve the world, which relates to their Promethean attitude. It also reveals another need men are depicted as having as well, the sort of pay-off for being so capable - the obligation to lead and help others. The discourse supporting this leader and protector role connects to and reinforces another that says that they are the natural voice of authority. All of these discourses are elements of the ideology of male hegemony.

#### **4.5.3.2 White men are the Voice of Authority**

As sport is a man's world and there are discourses which proclaim men as the natural voice of authority (as discussed above) all authoritative voices are male, but white men are seen to take a dominant position. This theme, which Messner et al. (2000) and others have discovered in American sports broadcasts, becomes evident in the corpus in assessment of the racial make-up of the referees and their staff, as well as the coaches; i.e. the people who are given the most authority in sport, over the game and the individual teams respectively. Two additional places evidence of this theme is found is in the speech of the commentators and in the advertisements. Ultimately the two sporting codes investigated are found to have large differences in the racial division of authority, and as such they are analysed separately.

To see if this theme appears in a South African sporting context the corpus was consulted and as each voice has been given its own short tag (generally two or three letters of initials), the number of speech turns each speaker takes was easily counted (see Appendix I). The SuperSport website (Website Reference 7) also provides details of their commentators and presenters which often helped in racial classification. Although racial identity, like gender, is a socially constructed and maintained category (a self-classification), it remains such a salient element of South African identity that invoking these apartheid era classifications is justifiable.

## (a) RUGBY:

In the rugby corpus there are only slightly more white speakers than black ones. In this corpus there are 7 white, 1 coloured and 5 black commentators/presenters. Overall though (see Appendix J1), all of the speakers in this corpus who are not white are commentators or presenters and none of the coaches or referees (who spoke) nor any of the visible, extended refereeing staff are black or coloured. This is clear evidence in favour of the claim that white men are the voice of authority. Notably, unlike in the soccer matches, the rugby referees are mic'ed up and could therefore contribute to the corpus in-game, which they did often. Also, as can be seen in Appendix J1, Allister Coetzee is the only coach of a 2015 South African Super Rugby team who is not white.

Although the proportion of black commentators seems roughly equitable (see Appendix J1), the fact is that these speakers always take a secondary role to the white lead commentator. This can be seen by the number of turns taken (633-white; 39-Coloured; 297-black), by the average number of turns per speaker (90-white, 39-coloured, 59-black), length of these turns (rugby is fast-paced and there is not much time for long turns in dialogue, but when long pieces of dialogue do appear they are usually from a white man), and kinds of topics covered; the more important parts of the commentary are reserved for the lead white male commentator who generally appears on screen sitting to the left. These include setting and changing of conversational topic, as well as providing the running commentary during high intensity plays such as runs on the try line or shots on goal. All the black people on the field (besides the players) are cameramen in the rugby matches which are included in the corpus.

## (b) SOCCER:

In the soccer corpus there is far more diversity in the status of speakers. Essentially in the soccer corpus more people are given a voice. This can be seen in the higher number of speakers identified in that corpus across the racial categories (Appendix J2). It also extends

though to both more mentions of women than in the rugby corpus, as well as the fact that, unlike in its rugby counterpart, women speak in this corpus.

The referees in soccer are not as visible as in rugby but they were all deemed to be black or coloured males from the footage of the matches. These referees are also never interviewed and do not get microphones like the rugby referees do, and so never contribute to the corpus. The coaches get a significant amount of screen-time in soccer, and the ones who spoke in the corpus include five white, one coloured and two black men. While all of the authorities of all types are male, the racial division of authority appears to be more varied: with more white men in charge of the teams but only black men presented as authorities in regard to the matches.

Although the racial make-up of the commentary team at first appears to be skewed in favour of black men (see Appendix J2), by using the number of turns, length of turns and content method as used above, I find further evidence of white men being the voice of authority. In this case it amounts to 109 white turns, 29 coloured turns, and 185 black turns, or an average of 36 turns per white speaker, 29 turns per coloured speaker, and 37 turns per black speaker. This may at first appear reasonably equitable but when considered with the facts that the length of these turns are often more than 600% different (in favour of the white commentator) and that the white lead commentator will most often take the role of providing the more important parts of the broadcast, such as introducing the players and providing the running commentary for shots on goal, then the evidence for a white voice of authority is detectable. Further evidence is seen in how white commentators are more likely to interrupt in commentary and more likely to disagree with the official decisions. Examples of these two phenomena are visible in the extract below, where the white lead commentator Mark Gleeson is seen disagreeing with the official decision and multiple times interrupting his colleague, black commentator, William Shongwe, who is trying to persuade him that the potential for injuries in sport should be taken seriously. It appears that in a similar fashion to how conversational interruptions can reveal unequal relations of power between different sexes (see for example: Zimmerman & West, 1996; Anderson & Leaper,

1998; Roger and Schumacher, 1983; Roger and Nesshoever, 1987), they can also be used to identify unequal power relations existing between people of different races.

<MG> ...And there's no real need for AmaZulu to stop here, they can continue playing as Sundowns could have a little bit earlier as well. So now it's all even up, let's get the message down there William, next time just play on.

<WS> Well it depends on the nature of the injury, I mean that one looked a bit serious, if you see a player-

<MG> -No, that's not serious. Just a little bit of a tap in the face.

<WS> If you see a player holding his head-

<MG> -No, come on.

<WS> You've got question marks about whether to go on, or not.

<MG> It's so serious that the man goes onto the edge of the field, and he's straight back on the UNC<Tark> again.

<WS> Well, when it happens, you're not too sure, as a player, and you think, you think to yourself, they just gave that ball away, for us to be able to get our players right, and maybe let me return that favour.

With the utterance *no real need for AmaZulu to stop here* Mark Gleeson begins to disagree with the official decision which in this case is not that of a referee but that of a player: a player who had kicked the ball out of play causing a stoppage in play which the other team could then exploit in order for their player to recover. In his view this sort of display of sportsmanship which is reasonably common in SA soccer is unnecessary as it causes breaks in the flow of the match and players rarely end up being significantly injured (*It's so serious that the man goes onto the edge of the field, and he's straight back on*). He then tries to recruit William Shongwe to this point of view saying *let's get the message down there William next time just play on*, and when William is resistant to adopt this stance begins to interrupt and argue with him. William Shongwe's comment about how seeing *a player holding his head* after a collision in soccer raises questions as to the sensibility of continuing play (*question marks about whether to go on or not*) displays recognition of the potential for serious injury in that competition, recognition which has traditionally been largely missing in sport (e.g. rugby, soccer, Formula 1 and boxing). Due to two

interruptions by Mark Gleeson (*-No, that's not serious; -No, come on*) it takes three attempts for William to complete his sentence, a sentence which Mark refutes three times. The above extract also serves as an example of the discourse of 'the new man' discussed below (in 4.5.3.3), seen in the actions of the players as well as William's talk of returning favours (*maybe let me return that favour*).

Although soccer is definitely more inclusive than rugby, the tendency for white men to be the voice of authority seems evident in soccer as well. Although black men are seen to have authority over the matches, these black referees are never given voice, in-game or out, like the white referees in rugby are seen to be. Black men are at least visible though, unlike non-heterosexual men: overt homosexuality is eclipsed even more successfully than women in the corpus.

Finally, across both corpora, the tendency to depict white men as the voice of authority is also identifiable in the commercials. For instance, in one advertisement (quoting my embedded notes from the corpus) a "*<tall white man tests the beer while shorter men, black men, and women wait for confirmation, then he nods to them>*", he signals the authenticity of that beer. In another advertisement recorded in the corpus a "*<white man tests the two black women's white teeth with a flashlight, then a graphic is shown of two sets of teeth and a gauge>*". In that advertisement a white man is represented as someone of some sort of medical/scientific persuasion and the appropriate judge of these women's teeth. Incidentally, although both of these women's teeth are the same shade of perfect white, practically identical, in the advert they receive different scores on the visual scale. This betrays the maintenance of unrealistic beauty standards as well as the tendency to depict women as always needing to be concerned with their appearance.

It must be mentioned that of the 178 advertisements documented none represent a black/coloured person or a woman as a stereotypical authority figure, although one advertisement includes a black businesswoman in a montage of different South African characters serviced by Old Mutual. This woman is presented in a "limbo setting" though, rushing

somewhere with a cup of coffee, with "no discernable location or time frame" (Ferrante, Haynes & Kingsley, 1988: 235-236). This these authors say is possibly due to advertisers moving away from overwhelmingly representing women in stereotypically female spaces while still avoiding representing them in traditionally male locations and roles.

All of this is seen as proof that hegemonic masculinity is white, male and heterosexual (as Luyt, 2012, declares it is). This makes that character the ideal man whose image is used to represent masculinity and its supposed characteristics, and towards whom the male spectators are invited to aspire. This is despite the fact that racial features and sexuality are actually inalienable characteristics and therefore homosexual (or bisexual) people and those who do not classify themselves as white can never achieve these ideals. This leaves white, heterosexual men as the hegemonic form and positions them above black, coloured and non-heterosexual men, and women, with all the social ramifications that this entails: ramifications such as white men and heterosexual men being privileged in society (in ways that range from the experience of service delivery to salary and career advancement), black and coloured men experiencing a lifetime of mistrust and infantilisation by white people (for example, through reference to adult domestic staff as 'boys' and 'girls') and women and homosexual men being essentially barred from the highest positions.

#### **4.5.3.3 The new man**

As has already been mentioned the two sporting codes included in this investigation reveal significant differences with respect to the inclusion of women. This visible difference though is an effect of a different attitude towards women, which is part of a different general attitude towards people. Rugby culture can be said to regard size, strength, success and physicality as indicators of masculinity, whereas in soccer culture there appears to be a lot more regard for ethics, humbleness, spirituality and talent; the soccer corpus also shows more gratitude and politeness, as can be seen in the concordance lines of *thank* discussed at the end of this section and the polite way that Phumlani Msibi addresses Carol Tshabalala (her nickname is *Simply Carol*) in the extract below (for instance with the use of *Thank you so much, welcome, and compliments of the season*).

<PM> *Thank you so much Simply Carol, welcome and compliments of the season...*

This results in an alternate masculinity being constructed in the soccer data, one which relates to the idea of 'the new man' that other authors have identified (see for instance Milani & Shaikjee, 2013), a more sensitive, gentle and polite construction of masculinity; this mirrors the concept of emerging masculinities which Inhorn (2012) identifies in new, popular performances of masculinity in the Middle East. The *minute of applause for Cape Town fire and emergency services vehicle and rescue teams*, where 500 of the workers were allowed to stand on the sidelines is actually the only charitable and *gentlemanly* action seen in the rugby corpus; the sort of actions which are almost common in the soccer corpus (as seen in the extract below). It is also rushed to a hasty conclusion (instead of being a minute long the event lasts for just 35 seconds) the match getting underway while people were still walking off the field.

<MG> *Which is what they've done, and now the **ball is returned** by Sundowns to AmaZulu **it's also correct**, so all being done very **gentlemanly** and very **sportingly** so far by these two teams.*

The above extract, where a Sundowns team player returns the ball to AmaZulu due to their player potentially being injured reveals the tendency to place ethics and good sportsmanship above competition in soccer. This is part of the emphasis on 'the new man' form of masculinity in the soccer corpus, which results in a pattern of players being more likely to thank their *God* and their coaches, including the support staff (as is visible in the first two example concordance lines of *thank* and *thanks* below), and act sportingly on the field and humbly in interviews. Also visible (in the third concordance line of *thank* below) is the process of thanking *supporters*, something sporting celebrities often neglect to do, which the player follows by dedicating the game to the *kit man* (a lower member of the coaching staff) who was at that time *in the hospital through heart attack*. This sort of show of concern and gratitude for a less significant member of his team is taken as further evidence of the discourse of 'the new man'. The soccer corpus also includes far more negativity towards bad sportsmanship (including rule breaking) and dangerous play than is seen in the rugby data.

*you see that game? <Ei> Well first of all I want to say **thanks** to God and to my teammates and our coach  
for giving me the opportunity*

*in hospital and um ja um first things first I just wanna say **thank** you to the coach for giving me  
opportunity you know, um ja you*

*um, but we came through as a team, and I would like to **thank** um, the supporters and I would like to  
dedicate this game to Mister*

Other than two instances from the rugby in-game data (one from a use of the expression ‘thank God’ in a positive evaluation of a player and one where a referee thanks his colleague for helping him make a decision) all tokens of *thank* are from the two associated shows corpora, where the data shows that the token *thank* appears an average of 2.7 times over 10 000 words in rugby and an average of 3.0 times per 10 000 words in soccer: although soccer shows use the word only slightly more frequently than rugby ones, the nature of the thanks is visibly more sincere with the use of modifiers *so much* and *very much* common. This provides evidence of increased politeness in soccer.

In conclusion, I have identified multiple differences between the sporting codes investigated in regard to the construction of masculinity. Some differences which may have at first appeared unrelated to representations of masculinity, e.g. the attitude towards and treatment of women, can also be ascribed to competing discourses of masculinity which involves construction of ‘the new man’ (as identified through the soccer data). This ‘new man’ construct appears to be active internationally (Inhorn, 2002) with more and more men resisting the positioning that the traditional discourses of hegemonic masculinity attempts to impose on them.

## **4.6 Rules can be broken or bent**

### **4.6.1 Introduction**

One of the most alarming ideologies to emerge from the corpus is that breaking the rules does not really matter. Obviously in both of the sports I investigated there are specific rules to the game, which carry predetermined types of penalties, but these do not necessarily prevent infringement. Sometimes they hardly even seem to dissuade it. The one fight highlighted in the rugby data for instance, between Matfield and Bismarck, was only penalised with a change of possession and the foul that provoked the fight was ignored (see Appendix D), quite possibly being written off as male cheekiness. Extra-textually this disregard for the rules can be seen mirrored in the 2015 FIFA corruption scandal where some of the international soccer organisation's top executives were charged with racketeering, wire fraud and money laundering (Website Reference 8). An analogous situation is further seen in regard to business and banking. Barclays Bank, for instance, the owner and operator of Absa Bank in South Africa which is the primary sponsor of the Absa Premier Soccer League, has been found guilty of multiple cases of financial market manipulation (O'Brien, 2013). Unfortunately though the penalties they received (fines) are not large enough really to act as a disincentive to their malfeasances (which is incredibly profitable). I believe it would be ignorant to think that institutions which are so prone to corruption at the highest levels, with all the power that a sports/media/advertising complex provides, engaged in a genre well-known for high levels of crime and corruption, are not conveying discourses which may be considered undesirable to society as a whole for their own purposes.

In the corpus the attitude of disregard for rules can be seen in-game and in the advertisements. In-game, besides the lax and non-existent penalties for violent and dangerous behaviour, and general rule breaking, there is one incident which particularly sticks out regarding the electricity. As the leagues of both sports were played in South Africa in the 2014/2015 season, the corpus makes frequent reference to *load-shedding* (the phrase appears 10 times in the corpus). In one passage (extract supplied below) from the pre-game section of the soccer corpus, in a match played at the AmaTuks Stadium, presenters Kamza Mbatha and Carol Tshabalala can be seen discussing the national electricity shortage and the fact that a man had spoken to *the*

*municipality* and so, even though everything around them was *in darkness*, the stadium would still have power.

*<KM> But what's very interesting is because considering the situation it is the year of load shedding, and some places are being load shedded, we've been assured here by Jaco Erasmus who is the the electrician for the university, that he's spoken to the municipality, and we're up and running our lights are standing strong even though, everything around us is in darkness that is the unbelievable part he's made sure that we at least can have a game here this evening.*

Even though this circumventing of the rules, which are designed to make the electricity shortage in the country equitable for everyone, potentially affects a lot of people, the audience is expected to positively evaluate this situation. This is because *Jaco Erasmus*, a man, had spoken to the municipality (most likely a man at the municipality) and they had used natural male problem solving to overcome the technical problem of having planned to play the match in a location which was scheduled to be load-shed at the time. The fact that this involved an element of rule breaking/bending only increased the intensity of the positive evaluation, as *Jaco Erasmus* would have had to have been pretty well connected to organise such an *unbelievable* feat. The positivity of the statement is evident because of the regular use of the term *unbelievable* in the sporting context with a positive evaluation of players and plays (it was used this way 5 times in the corpus). It attracts this positive evaluation though because it displays the hegemonic masculinity trait of a Promethean attitude and, as has been mentioned, the corpus has proven to be pro-hegemonic man. The *unbelievable* feat also allows the competition (the overarching concern in this world) to take place, which allows all the other derivative competitions (between betters and book-makers) to take place as well, many of the audience presumably being influenced in that regard.

As a side note, a piece of Kamza Mbatha's utterance from just before that extract (which was from a pre-game show), supplied below, mentions a full car park but that the people had just not come in yet. This, one can speculate, reflects the tradition of 'car barring' people engage in when attending events. Drinking alcohol in public (outside of sanctioned areas) and being drunk in public are two crimes in South Africa which ex-Judge Poswa, in his judgement on the matter

of *Motsei v Minister of Safety and Security 2006* (see Website Reference 9), identifies as petty crimes and says are sometimes associated with other more serious crimes but are otherwise not worth prosecuting; despite this they are still laws which men and women can be seen to break. Incidentally, Judge Poswa was later disgraced after claiming that 99.9% confident DNA results assigning him paternity over a child of a lover of his were not conclusive and that he would only recognise his paternity if the tests were 100% conclusive (see Website Reference 10). It appears even men in such distinguished positions as Judge of a High Court of South Africa are liable to break and bend rules when it suits them.

*<KM> Good evening Carol, I think they are cause if you look outside of the stadium there are **plenty cars that are at the pitch, they're just not inside yet** so I think they're waiting for time to get closer to kick-off and then they'll make their way in.*

The spectators (men and women) who I believe are drinking alcohol in the parking lot/their cars are of course just reacting to the high prices they are subjected to by the alcohol companies though, and the fact that they have been conditioned to associate sport with alcohol consumption (Neal et al., 2005) and would not be allowed to bring their own supply into the stadium. Advertisements and other media (television shows and movies for example) help to reinforce the association of sport with alcohol, as does the fact that matches are commonly screened at bars and in pubs. Research has shown that adolescents, from multiple countries, who are involved in sports are more likely to abuse alcohol and other drugs (Lorente et al., 2004; Moore & Chudley, 2005). This is because alcohol, like sport, is seen as an interest of an adult man and therefore teenage interest in and use of it provides them with early access to adulthood (usually requiring them to break rules/laws to acquire the drug, which is not always a problem for teenagers, especially the male ones, having at this point already been exposed to the rule-breaking ideology for years).

The naturalisation of this discourse of rule breaking seems to start at young age, as does the representation of boys (as opposed to girls) as the likely candidates to succeed in rule breaking activities. Right from boyhood this behaviour is encouraged, interpreted in most cases as a delightful cheekiness. This can be seen in an advertisement for Lays chips where a child manages

to distract SA cricketer AB de Villiers and then, while he is distracted, eat his chips. It shows the characteristic of being able to break and bend rules, usually associated with men, being extended onto boys and so training young male viewers about the norms of masculine behaviour. Often (as in the Lays commercial discussed above) this ideology is presented as connected to a jovial nature and a drive to have fun which is also presented as natural to find in men. This sort of representation of men is seen in other commercials as well, for instance one where a man is seen stealing a homeless man's crutches in order to perform a dance to impress a woman (See 4.5.2 above and Appendix H(i)).

Cheekiness (at times in regard to rule breaking) is visibly supported in the corpus through the affirmation of laughter. As laughter had been included in the transcriptions and/or embedded notes these could be assessed for ideological significance and this ultimately revealed that full laughter (seen in concordance lines of *ha ha* and transcribed as a *laugh* in the notes) was transcribed 53 times and that most of these uses were in response to jokes, often cheeky jokes about poor performance at sport or of masculinity. The cheekiness of these jokes lies in how they are made by people who everyone involved knows cannot perform either a more “ideal” version of masculinity themselves or as well in a physical competition (both due to not being in such a prime physical condition), and yet they insult otherwise highly respected teams and men. Anything less than a full *laugh* was transcribed as a *chuckle* (there are 9 of these), and they were almost all in response to, or otherwise related to, poor sport performances. 1 token of *chuckle* however was in response to a clear example of male cheekiness towards rule breaking (see the extract below), betraying the affirmation that this behaviour is given.

<SB> <whistle> *Off-side.*

<ON> Coenie Oosthuizen <*chuckle*>, questioning Stuart Berry <the referee>. 'You sure it's me?', that was a good solid scrum, from the Bulls.

The two examples below show laughter betraying the cheeky insults of otherwise highly respected teams and men (discussed above). The second example below also shows the cheekiness (the tendency towards rule breaking that is often interpreted as endearing), of the

male speaker (MW) who, in order to insult a player who did not manage to score a goal interrupts his colleague (WS) compounding the effect: he is breaking conversational rules here in order to signal his refusal to consider his colleague's point of view, an act which instead of being interpreted as jovial cheekiness (because he is old and serious) will present him as a no-nonsense, hegemonic man but otherwise receives the same affirmation through laughter as the jovial cheekiness would have if he were younger and accomplishes the same effect, the validation of the behaviour.

*<NB> Ja but it's absolutely fantastic to see a back-line player actually embarrass forwards <all laugh>.*

*<WS> That's another way to look at it but what he did there, there was nothing wrong with that it's just that he got it-*

*<MW> -He didn't score the goal.*

*<KM> Ha ha ha. Okay, there we go. Thank you William and Mister Williams*

Although these examples are not particularly incriminating on their own, they must be considered as a persistent ideology which says that in all aspects of life rules can break or bend. That is that rules can break or bend predominantly for men, because of their strength and physicality, and what I and others have identified as a Promethean attitude (Dryzek, 2013; Sabo & Jansen, 1998; Baerg, 2007). The combination of a belief in the constructive power of competition, along with a depiction of masculinity as connected to achieving no matter the cost, above all else winning, almost compels players/men to cheat. The acceptance of instances of male rule breaking as a harmless cases of natural male cheekiness exacerbates this issue. As Pitso Mosimane, Head coach of Mamelodi Sundowns says (in the corpus) after an important victory, *we know how to play dirty, we know how to play nice, tonight it was not about all dirty see*. This utterance helps display the (usually tacit) approval of playing *dirty* and breaking rules, and the general Promethean attitude towards men achieving goals no matter what it takes.

#### **4.6.2 Male aggression and violence**

The corpus data suggests that as well as naturally competitive and naturally in need of the glory of success, men are naturally violent. Aggression is seen represented as a positive and natural male trait in the corpus, and violence, while not technically permissible in sport, is not punished much either seemingly being considered the natural outcome of multiple aggressive men competing. This can be seen, for instance, when the referee in the Bismarck Matfield fight (Appendix D) tells the players to *keep it off the field*; there he is responding to the naturalised state of that idea: that violence in competition is against the rules but that violence between men in society is just natural.

Other authors seem to agree that the faux warfare character of sport is due to the human instinct towards sublimation, that seeing real or acted acts of violence fulfills urges that could otherwise become dangerous in society (e.g. Segrave 1997). I disagree with this completely as it is built on an assumption that men (and humans) are naturally, psychologically and biologically violent beings. Rather in this research the SPORT IS WAR metaphor, like the physicality of players, is seen as the fulfillment of a constructed expectation sports viewers have for seeing displays of ultra-masculinity in the form of physicality (the style of play that could cause injuries). Westerman & Tamborini (2010:332), investigating violence in sports, show that violent sports are enjoyed more than non-violent sports when not scripted, and suggest that "there may be something about nonscripted violence that is inherently appealing". Again this appeal was not interpreted as 'inherent to human males' but rather as 'inherent to socially conditioned people'.

The positive attitude seen towards aggression in the corpus is seen as supporting Messner et al.'s (2000: 373) theme that "aggressive players get the prize; nice guys finish last" in sport. This discourse is only somewhat active in my data though (the aggression providing results part), for example:

*Well that kind of tackle from Gyimah came with a **statement** to say to ah to, Masango, **you get any closer than that**, and you know, will get into some kind of trouble and **you see how Masango jumped away**.*

*<MN> ...They **intimidate** you you see they're **making this sign** where they're **going to kill you** and all this things. And those things only happen outside of the pitch. And if you get those things in your head, you're going to have bad game, cause it's so **intimidating**...*

The above extracts are both from the non-contact sport soccer, showing the general tendency (in sport) to purposely depict players as rough, tough men with physicality, the sort of men whose physical threats are taken seriously. The tokens *aggressive* and *aggressively* are also used (once each) in the soccer corpus as positive evaluations of a player and a team. Explicit evidence for the part of the claim that states that niceness leads to failure is however not evident in the corpus.

Aggression as seen in the corpus is generally appreciated (it is positively recontextualised) and the connections built, through collocation, between the words **big** and: *man* (6.16 MI), *strong* (5.29 MI), and *physical* (6.97 MI), and **his** and physicality (7.44 MI) ultimately connect male size to strength and toughness, and all of these things to potential for violence; all of which are identity traits which (from the perspective of LCT) are ordered by an underlying axiological cosmology which charges them all positively. There also seems to be a silent law that all mentions of violent behaviour be euphemistic, perhaps by editorial policy of the broadcasters who would wish to maintain the status quo and not provide any potentials for criticism. In one sample of a rugby match (Appendix D) Victor Matfield (Springbok Captain) fouled Springbok colleague Bismarck du Plessis who proceeded to punch him. This fight which invoked repeats in both in-game and post-game highlights, and which was discussed in the studio, was never called a fight, rather it was referred to by a number of metaphors and euphemisms (see 4.2 and below), one of which involved a prediction that the game would have *a lot of needle*. *A lot of needle* is a sportspeak-specific euphemism for high level of aggression/violence, which notably

carries a positive charging which would not be possible in say for example "this game was always going to have a lot of injuries/fist-fights/aggression/violence".

Euphemism and metaphor are used to protect the friendly image of sport (for example: the fight between two Springbok players in the rugby data is described as *reintroducing themselves to each other, temporarily suspending friendships or a little scuffle*, among other non-violent things, see 4.2, and sport is represented as war with the players as valiant soldiers, see 4.3). This protection even extends to mentions of criminal behaviour of the players, as seen in the extract below where the criminal charges against George Lebesse (assault and malicious damage to property; Website Reference 5) are referred to as *distractions*. Notably the assault he was charged with apparently involved a female victim (his girlfriend), which follows the dominant patterns seen in this country.

<MT> *Excellent stuff, Simply Carol there at the Freestate Stadium ah we will be back with her just to get all the team news but ah no surprise to hear that George Labese not making the trip **he has got other distractions**, ah so to speak, okay so that's what's happening, out in Bloemfontein*

This protection that the use of euphemism and metaphor provides also often helps soften the severity of mentions of injuries as well, e.g. *he had an injury cloud over him; hope he avoids too many of those staying tackles*. This appears to me to be the protocol because in the business of declaring winners and losers (competition) there could be plenty to be negative about so the text producers need to stay positive (focusing on the winners only with minimal mentions of failure or injury) if they are to pass the channel off as *your world of champions* and all the men on the field as ideal men. This means no graphic descriptions of potentially long-term injuries can be allowed. The text producers also use the metaphorical representations of injuries to allow for access to metaphorical ideas about healing: for example, use of the metaphor MAN IS A MACHINE (seen in concordance line of *engine* below, as well as other terms and phrases such as *gear, turbo, in the tank, switch/switching off, foot off the pedal*) suggests a coach could repair his players as if they were his car. This metaphor is the only one which appears to me to be in danger of falling

under the operationalised model category of metaphors, where players could perhaps get so used to the idea of the body as a machine that they accept the idea of getting repairs done before returning to the game, essentially discounting the negative, long-term effects of their activity on their bodies.

*man that we talked about that's got that sort of ah engine, and obviously last thing, he gets himself sort of into that striking*

"Sports are considered to be contexts of sanctioned violence by some scholars" (Westerman & Tamborini, 2010:322-323) and some sports even include mandated violence. Those authors use the example of ice hockey to relate how violence may be against the formal rules of a sport but still be part of that sport's code, occurring commonly and for specific desired effects. Aggression, whether interpreted literally or in its sporting sense (recontextualised as enthusiasm), can lead to violence which can cause injury. Injuries are caused by multiple other factors as well, such as general wear-and-tear on the body, excessive or incorrect training, or the strain a player is put under in a match. The rules that are apparently so easily broken are often actually designed to minimise these resulting injuries, at least the externally inflicted ones.

The rugby corpus displays a lot more aggression and violence than the soccer one; the token *physicality* only appears in that corpus, the cluster *a lot of needle* as well. That is not to say that aggression is not seen in the soccer corpus, there it is just in a non-contact setting and as such a lot of it is more theatrical. Linguistically it is realised more often in metaphorical reference to war and the already mentioned tendency to present the players as having physicality through the collocation seen in terms such as *big*, *strong*, and *physical*. This does not imply that soccer athletes do not brave serious injury in their sport though, because they do, with high speed collisions seen often a lot of which result in concussion and other injuries, as seen below:

<KM> All the best and ah sorry about that **injury** on your ankle, how's that?

<FC> It's cool it's cool.

<KM> Part of the game?

<FC> Ja.

This extract betrays the fact that even in non-contact sports like soccer injuries are seen and expected. It also shows the relaxed attitude the player has towards his injury (*It's cool it's cool*) which may suggest he has been influenced by discourses supporting the MAN IS A MACHINE metaphor and believes his body can easily be repaired to its original condition.

#### **4.7 The Sports/Media/Commercial/Betting complex**

Jhally (1984) points out the commercial and ideological symbiosis between institutions of sport and the mass media and calls it the sports/media complex, from which Messner et al., (2000) develop the concept of the sports/media/commercial complex. The commercials and advertising seen in sport broadcasting play a vital role as the tickets to professional sporting events are usually relatively cheap and the spectacle so costly, the economic viability of sport relies on sponsorship and advertising money. This symbiosis makes an interesting area for investigation.

In the corpus, words from various categories such as finance and alcohol appear frequently in the advertisements. The token *bank* for instance is recorded 12 times from multiple adverts from different banks (roughly 1.75 times per 10 000 words) in the associated shows corpus, and the token *beer* appears 19 times in that corpus (2.78 times every 10 000 words). These statistics do not reveal the true extent of the promotion that the various companies engage in though as the advertisements screened between shows and during breaks are just a small element of their promotion strategies. This can be seen in for instance Absa Bank's sponsorship of the soccer league which explains the token *absa* appearing 66 times in the

associated shows corpora, or 9.65 times per 10 000 words, far more often than mentions of *bank* of all varieties (as mentioned above). One in-game soccer sample investigated (16 minutes long) also shows that the boards around the field which carry the logos of the sponsors tend to favour the same categories of advertisement as the commercials do. Here 110 instances of the Absa bank logo being visible dwarfs the 59 times the Spar stores logo is visible, the 11 times the Castle Lager logo appears, the 1 sighting of the Jameson logo and the 3 of the Addidas logo. For the purpose of comparison these figures were also normalised to occurrences per hour (in the corpus in question an hour equates to an average of 7492.1 words), which allows for estimation of exposure: my calculations are that a South African soccer viewer can reasonably expect to encounter the logo of an alcohol company at least 60 times over the course of a soccer match and the logo of a bank at least 550 times.

The most frequent advertisements seen in the corpus (by concordance of the marker tag <AD>) are, in order of descending frequencies, from the domains of: **Finance** – banking, investment, insurance (especially life insurance); **Alcohol** – beer, vodka, brandy, whisky; **Media and Communications** – SuperSport, MTN, Vodacom, Telkom; and **Lifestyle** – cars (and vehicle services), shops, restaurants, shoes and male fragrances.

This is an interesting dispersal of products because they are all targeted at men in this known to be male dominated genre. In the US white men are foregrounded in the commercials which accompany sport broadcasting (Messner et al., 2000). This analysis reveals that men are foregrounded, but not necessarily white men (although this is the case for the rugby data when considered on its own). Across corpora however, particularly in the advertisements, white men appear more successful at performing masculinity than black men (by factors for the performance of masculinity provided by Trujillo, 1991, and Luyt, 2012).

The **Finance domain** advertisements indicate the general expectation that men can and must head a household by taking care of financial matters especially the investment of money. The high frequency of insurance adverts reveals the expectation that men be

responsible for the general well-being of the family unit (see extract below). This is seen best in the density of life-insurance adverts, one of which (mentioned in 4.5.2) centers around the fact that a bereaved wife would now have to cancel all her children's extra-mural activities, forgo all the products and pampering that make her beautiful, and wash her own car (See Appendix H: (iii) Hollard insurance). Funeral plans are also included in this category.

*Yes. Yes. **Daddy** also thinks **baby**. Is the best. And that's how much **fun** staying **healthy** can be. So SMS us today and see how we are there when you need us, and more importantly, when you don't. Best Med **medical scheme**, better living better life.*

The **Alcohol domain** is not presented as particularly excluding of femininity, with many adverts including women in groups of multi-racial men and women having fun at parties and watching sport. The Amstel Lite advertisement discussed above in 4.5.2 (Appendix H: (ii) Amstel Lite) also reveals a discourse that says that women like to drink beer, but they should not drink big manly beers, they should have smaller, light beers which will not make them pick up too much weight. This connects to a heteronormative view of sexuality which positions women as passive and in the need to attract the attention of a potential male mate. The connection of masculinity to alcohol (beer particularly) is seen extensively in the corpus.

*When you taste the **champion** beer you will know. It is refreshing. It is **unmatched in gold**. It has an award winning real beer taste, that a **champion man** deserves. Carling, Black Label.*

In the extract above the tendency to present the idea of being a champion (which is indicated in the corpus through terms such as *gold*, and *champion* among others, see 4.3 above) is seen connected to men and alcohol (*beer*): *unmatched in gold* compounds the discourse positioning *Carling Black Label* as *champion* among champions. The extract below shows how this particular discursive strategy is not limited to *beer*, being used for the marketing of *brandy* in this case. Here the text producer also uses another gendered term to activate the champion discourse, *mastered*, which positions the company as a champion of brandy making, reinforced by multiple mentions of *gold*.

*At Klipdrift, we've **mastered the art** of distillation. Carefully separating the drops that matter, from the drops that don't. Until all that's left, is the heart of **gold**, the purest essence of our brandy, that matured, to be full bodied, with a distinctly smooth finish. Klipdrift, there's **gold** in every drop.*

The **Media/Communication** domain includes advertising and sponsorship from media and telecommunications companies which rather ironically for a field so religious about the sanctity of competition, are in positions of monopoly or near monopoly in South Africa and the rest of the continent (e.g. Supersport, Telkom, MTN, and Vodacom). In this day with so many more options in the way of media consumption, sport appears to be the carrier network's (DSTV) main selling point as its SuperSport channels are the only televised access to some soccer and all rugby matches in this country and probably on this continent. The reach of these companies and the monopolistic nature of these industries can be seen, for example, in the reference to *SuperSport Blitz* being *Africa's premier sports news channel* (see extract below). As the advertisements are directed at an expected male viewer, this one which offers its service *twenty-four-seven, three hundred and sixty five days a year* positions men to be forever competing, and to compound the competition by betting on the outcome of matches and in so taking on risk and putting themselves in competition with bookies and other betters.

The **Lifestyle domain** is seen to be dominated by reference to cars and car services, this corresponds with the general idea that men are responsible for the family (supporting male hegemony through patriarchy). Another area potentially linguistically and socially significant is the use of what I termed 'barrier boards'. All around the stadium advertising is accomplished through the use of iconic logos, a lot of which are plastered onto the objects that demarcate field of play from spectator area (the barrier boards). Interestingly the use of this iconic logo form of advertising most often tended to be the strategy enacted by the potentially monopolistic banking, investment, media and tele-communications companies. These companies, I posit, advertise less for getting new customers in the door and more to cement themselves as truly South African institutions, which enables them to capitalize on some of the group/nationalistic attitude evident in sport culture. The news media, for

example, has already been recognized as a political institution in the USA (see Schudson, 2002).

Another critique that can be made is that there is a huge betting dimension to sport which is largely unspoken of in sports broadcasting. As pwc.co.za reports on the SA gambling industry: "Sports betting and horse racing gross gambling revenue totalled R2.6 billion in 2012, the second-largest category [of total gambling revenues] behind casinos" (Website Reference 11). Considering this I interpret the "sports/media/commercial complex" (Messner et al., 2000: 391) as rather a sports/media/commercial/betting complex. The size of this sports betting industry presents possible motives for a lot of the corruption and other malfeasance which has been seen in sport culture. SuperSport seems to ratify sports betting as well, as seen in the advert below for *SuperSport Blitz*, a product which would essentially keep a person up to date enough to potentially be a successful bettor; it is *brought to you by... bet dot C O dot Z A*.

*Super Sport Blitz on channel two-hundred brings you the latest sports news twenty-four-seven, three hundred and sixty five days a year. Stay up to date with the latest news as events unfold locally and right across the globe. Stay informed with the latest results covering multiple sporting codes. Stay intrigued with live updates from our journalists on the ground. Stay ahead with fixtures logs and broadcast times for every major sporting event across the sporting world. Stay in touch and be part of the conversation by joining our ever expanding Twitter community. The latest sports news and information, twenty-four hours a day every day on Africa's premier sports news channel. SuperSport Blitz, where sports news lives. Proudly brought to you by Engen, Spur Steak Ranches, Bidvest Bank and **Bet dot C O dot Z A**.*

The diligent and frequent evaluation of odds by commentators and the process of requesting predictions from all the experts in the studio as well as sometimes from other sporting personalities, ex-players, and even random fans is also seen as tacitly supporting this industry (see Appendix K). Another element of tacit support exists between academia and sport culture, with sporting institutions existing within academic institutions, seen in the data through the inclusion of *AmaTuks* (the University of Pretoria's soccer team), and *Bidvest Wits* (the University of Witwatersrand's team), in the *Absa Premier Soccer League*. Universities provide support in the form of ratifying the activity; this helps legitimate both the behaviour seen on and off the field as well as sport's place in our culture. This presumably has an influence on sports place in

schools. Motions like *Tries for Teachers*, where *Vodacom* can be seen offering charity to schools (in the soccer corpus), reveals some more of this relationship. The commercial/betting side of the sports/media/commercial/betting complex identified in sports broadcasts suggests that the hegemonic male traits enforced through repeated representation in the discussion of sport and in culture in general, are being used to sell men products (through claiming to provide access to those traits and reinforcing the idea that lacking in those traits calls doubt into a person's manhood) or position them to take personal risk placing bets on matches/games.

#### **4.8 Summary**

A persistent usage of metaphors, most of which collocate strongly (4-10 MI) with *physicality* and the various terminology that this word is attached to, reveals the maintenance of an already positively charged semantic prosody attached to the size and strength of men, which even carries through to aggression and fighting. *Danger* and *dangerous* are recontextualised in the data (part of the dedication to positivity) being used to indicate positive evaluation of players instead of potential harm to these players. Injuries are seen to be metaphorically concealed in the data, as are any other undesirable mentions such as those of malfeasance (e.g. violence and/or criminal behaviour).

Women are almost always represented in the corpora as auxiliary to men, in support roles. The soccer data is not as bad as the rugby in this regard, women are included to a degree, but in the rugby data women are non-existent unless as objects of beauty for heterosexual male viewing pleasure. The soccer data tends to support the representation of women as connected to heteronormative ideas of family and lifestyle. Men (overall) are represented as strong, fearless *warriors*, although in the soccer data they are also elements of the construction of 'the new man' discourse with men at times represented as calm, thoughtful and humble. In the advertisements, from both corpora, men are depicted in stereotypical authoritarian and business roles, whereas women are depicted in stereotypical female roles (doing women's work) such as cooks, wives, dependents or as beauty objects, when depicted at all.

All of the themes of the TSMF are visible, although three of the ten are in truncated/partial form. These truncated forms are mostly due to the alternative form of masculinity seen represented in the soccer data, one which correlates strongly with soccer's more inclusive nature (particularly of women), as well as a more equal distribution of authority (particularly between races) seen in that game. The alternative form of masculinity (the 'new man') is identified by its discourses. It is a modern performance of masculinity which aims to contest some of the positioning that discourses of hegemonic masculinity have traditionally tried to impose on men. The themes 'sport is a man's world' and 'sport is war' are represented particularly strongly in the corpora, as is the depiction of women as 'sexy props or prizes for men's successful sport performances or consumption choices', as women are most visible in that role. At all times a heteronormative world view is adopted and represented.

Representation of men as able to, and sometimes needing to, break or bend rules is visible throughout the data in both corpora, and it is focused on due to its potential to be an ideology responsible for injustice and inequality. Here evidence is found in: the relaxed attitudes towards rule-breaking/injuries seen in the corpus; the speech of players, coaches and commentators; the advertisements; and extratextually in the reported criminal activities of associated and far-removed sport personalities and institutions. An utterance by Pitso Mosimane helps display the (usually tacit) approval of playing 'dirty' (breaking rules), and the general Promethean attitude towards men achieving goals no matter what it takes: *we know how to play dirty, we know how to play nice, tonight it was not about all dirty see.*

An unmistakable edge of consumerism is evident in the data in the form of saturation of text and video advertisements. This is old knowledge, sport being known for its connections to advertising and promotion (e.g. Messner et al., 1993), but when categorised by domain these adverts betray the ideal (male) viewer as: a middle-aged, most likely white man with a family to support and assets to insure. This ideal viewer and the committal to a heteronormative view of sexuality in society, as well as the many representations of families in the advertisements, all compound the representation of a traditional nuclear family. It must not be overlooked that the

commentators, presenters, cameramen, and editors main objective is to sell the viewers the sports media product, to profit the owners/share holders and the affiliated advertising clients. This helps explain the construction of and focus on physicality and its signifying terminology, and on the resulting injuries or acts of aggression (the audience is generally expecting and pleased by this behaviour; Orchard, 2002).

A huge betting industry connected to televised sport events means that another hardly ever spoken of, powerful influence exists in sport (money is a form of power). This could possibly explain the otherwise inexplicably slow adoption rate sport has had with regard to technology that could help adjudicate matches accurately, which would make matches fairer and players less likely to break rules: of course this would most likely make the show a less desirable product to the viewer, as rule breaking like injuries and physicality, is something the audience expects. The debates that happen between fans over rulings, like the insulting of referees which results from a perceived bad call, are standard and appreciated activities for sports viewers.

In the data hegemony is seen in the support of the ideologies and discourses traditionally associated with male hegemony, as well as in the advertising which usually aims to benefit large (potentially monopolistic) corporations. Ideologies and discourses traditionally associated with male hegemony include those which depict men: in a leader and protector role which supports the idea that they are the natural voice of authority and thereby disadvantages women, or as responsible for the family (which supports male hegemony through patriarchy).

## **5. Conclusion**

The main aim of the critical approach to discourse is the understanding of social inequalities and injustices (Van Dijk, 1993). As a critical study of discourse this research project seeks to reveal elements of the ways in which men and women, of different races and with potentially different sexualities, who engage in sports media and its consumption, are positioned by groups that have more power. The inequalities and injustices identified include the lack of female voices in the coverage of the sports investigated, the related lack of female occupation of positions of power, the narrow definitions of masculinity and femininity presented to viewers (particularly with regard to sexuality) and the manipulation of individual minds by corporations which stand to profit from the public's acceptance of the representations they produce. These are seen as effects of the support and commercialisation of hegemonic masculinity.

Revisiting my research questions, the results of my analysis show that people are exposed to the following values in sport broadcasting: competitiveness, aggression, disregard for rules and laws, independence, community and family, but also (through changing perceptions of sex and gender which have resulted in 'the new man' performance of masculinity) gentleness, charity, respect and humility. An example of this 'new man' can be seen when an unknown player in the soccer corpus says *we must forever strive towards humility*. These values are in addition to the general glorification of patriarchy and heteronormative ideals, which include the objectification of women.

The dominant ideologies regarding gender and sex that are seen in the corpus are those which support male hegemony and hegemonic masculinity. Here male hegemony is presented as natural and positive, while hegemonic man is represented as the ideal performance of masculinity (there is identifiable enthusiasm for the dominance of hegemonic masculinity and its related discourses). Femininity is almost always represented as auxiliary to masculinity but otherwise it is constrained by its own rules; women, as seen in the scopophilia documented earlier, are predominantly positioned as objects of beauty for the viewing pleasure of dominant, heterosexual men. Additionally: white men are represented as having more authority than other races; aggression and violence are seen to be permissible as long as they are within sanctioned

degrees; and masculinity is depicted as achievable through consuming the correct products. With this condition it is clear how hegemonic man controls "lesser" men. The analysis also identifies clear evidence of the TSMF, as well as a South African version of it. The biggest variation seen between the two sporting codes is in the performances of masculinity: the soccer data reveals an alternate construction of masculinity, one which still benefits from hegemony (through patriarchy and the family unit), but appears even more socially acceptable than the construction of masculinity seen in rugby (which is also still evident in the soccer data) which emphasises force and control. Just as masculinity is the only performance of gender presented as acceptable for a man in the data, heterosexuality is also the only sexuality presented as available to him; the option of anything otherwise is not even considered. Male hegemony, as Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) point out, works partly through the production of exemplars of masculinity, and as the exemplars produced are all white heterosexual men, black men and homosexual men are seen to be placed beneath them in the social hierarchy, with all the consequences which that entails: such as white men and heterosexual men being privileged in society, black and coloured men experiencing a lifetime of mistrust and infantilisation by white people and women and homosexual men being essentially barred from the highest positions.

Additional critical observations which can be made from analysis of the corpus are that sports betting is a highly active and well financed, but hardly mentioned, phenomenon, and that schools and academia are involved in the support of sports' place in our culture by the legitimizing effect they provide through the broad inclusion of sport in their programmes. Whannel (1992) in Eastman & Riggs (1994:252) suggests that televised spectator sports "license viewers to gaze at powerful male bodies, the shared cultural ideal of masculinity", while the instant replays and slow-motion help to create a "ritual space where viewers can find pleasure in human action". Slow-motion, zoomed in images of men in physical contact are seen in the corpus allowing viewers to find pleasure in human action, but as they never become still images the male viewers are never guilty of enjoying a picture of a muscular man and as they eventually end in physical impact, that impact can be considered the culmination of their enjoyment and the source of their pleasure, not the muscular men. This allows for a conception of masculinity which is homophobic in nature (Segrave, 1994; Luyt, 2012) to continue to exist undisturbed.

Limitations of this study include that I analysed just twelve hours of footage from the sports included, whereas prosodies develop across entire texts (Coffin & O'Halloran, 2006) and interconnected texts should therefore be analysed in their entirety. As such, an analysis of the language from a complete collection of the footage broadcast in both leagues (and more) could potentially reveal things undiscoverable in lesser samples such as the one collected for this study. For instance, the positive prosody attached to physicality and violence may be contested by additional opposing discourses, like the one found relating to sportsmanship and morals in the soccer data (the new man).

Other limitations include that, while I did manage interpretation and critique of linguistic patterns, and engaged social context (Baker & Levon, 2015), I could not address historical context far beyond the corpus. Also, the use of non-ideal corpus transcription methods reveals what Lapadat & Lindsey (1999: 81) describe as a need for "flexible approaches to transcription" and possibly the incorporation of transcription as a step in the methodology which could allow for feedback from this process. Focusing on the tokens *strong* and *man* I also reveal a limitation inherent to corpus linguistic studies, the fact that there are often synonymous alternatives to key collocates (in this case *powerful* and *guy*) which help obscure the actual frequencies at which concepts are invoked.

The corpus data tends to emphasise competition but there also appears to be a blind belief in the sanctity of this competition, potentially with not enough oversight. This is part of an unjustified societal belief in the organising power of competition which may also be somewhat responsible for a generally discounted value of co-operation seen in society, and a silence seen globally in regard to peace. The enterprise of winning is life-consuming (Donaldson, 1993) and this form of competitiveness is "an inward turned competitiveness, focused on the self" (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985: 655). This sort of social conditioning therefore makes marketing products simple, and these insights help explain some of the adverts and their depictions of men/women. An ideology also appears in the data that says that men can and will break or bend rules to achieve victory. Sometimes this is even legitimised by way of a discourse of "natural", male cheekiness which is identifiable

throughout the corpus by way of transcribed laughter. From the violence international sportsmen have been seen to perform on the field (e.g. Mike Tyson), off the field (e.g. Oscar Pistorius), as well as the corruption seen evident in the genre at all levels (e.g. Hansie Cronje in 2000; FIFA scandal of 2015), the other recorded criminal activities (e.g. Tiger Woods), as well as the general propensity towards rule breaking seen with international sportsmen (e.g. Lance Armstrong), this ideology appears systemic in sport culture. In the data this ideology is seen in multiple places across both corpora and it emerges linguistically in among other things, references to the Bismarck Matfield fight, reaction to constant rule infringements (the relaxed attitude commentators and referees had to these), the speech of players and coaches, and the discursive strategies employed in the advertisements.

Sport is a haven for discourses relating to male hegemony, a lot of which may be perceived as antisocial in normal society. Data taken from rugby broadcasts indicates a dominant view of masculinity as relating to size, strength and physicality, and a support for dated ideas of the family and gender relations. In addition to that the advertisements betray their audience as predominantly middle-aged men with families to support, who therefore deserve what they desire, quite likely alcohol and sports media (perhaps smiling women too), and require assistance with the management and insurance of their assets.

The soccer data emphasises a slightly different image of masculinity, one which, while still including all the traditional tropes found in the rugby corpus, also includes good morals and behaviour in its construction; even a willingness to engage in traditionally 'female' activities such as child-rearing and cooking. It appears that, in soccer culture, the discourses involved in the construction of this image are in competition with the ones supporting the dominant image of masculinity (the one seen in the rugby data). This competition is realised by the commentators' continual use of war terminology and tokens of physicality to describe the players, while those players are themselves always careful to perform the humble, grateful and sporting version of their masculinity on the field and in interviews. Considering extratextual features one could say though, that off the field more of the physicality version of man is

evident/reported on than the gentlemanly version (the new man). This research also exposes the trope of considering men as naturally inclined towards violence.

The sports/media/commercial complex that Messner et al. (2000) describe can possibly be considered to be manifesting itself in South Africa as a sports/media/commercial/betting complex, with significant ties to international finance, communication, and alcohol sectors. This is a concern because of the power that these structures wield, especially when acting in synergy with each other, potentially controlling a whole segment of the sport viewers' cognitive experience of reality. Sports, as Sabo & Runfola (1980: 334-335) state, a statement which is supported by evidence from the corpus, "encourage men to forever compete with one another" and "to regard women as frail underlings who are far removed from the panoply of patriarchal pugnacity and privilege".

My data supports/corroborates Luyt's (2012) claim that in SA televised advertising "white men are frequently represented as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity whereas black men are often marginalised" (Luyt, 2012:48), and I agree with the interpretation that this repeated reproduction of a white and middle-class hegemonic masculinity "contributes toward the preservation of white men's 'internal hegemony' over black men" (Luyt; 2012:49). In the corpus this is seen in among other things the division of authority in regard to the game and in the advertisements. The 'new man' seen inhabiting spaces traditionally reserved for women, or doing women's work, should also not be considered progressive as he "remains complicit with the hegemonic project" (Luyt, 2012:48).

The data also supports the idea that the construction of hegemonic masculinity in discourse by hegemonic man is, at least in part, to do with controlling the minds of men to persuade them to become customers. This idea finds further support with Milani & Shaikjee (2013) who investigated an advertisement for Carling Black Label Beer and revealed the various strategies that the company (SAB) has used in its promotion over the many years since the beer was introduced to this country. These strategies which over time have progressed from depicting the male protagonist as a cowboy to a worker to an entrepreneur to the new man, a more multi-

dimensional man who is exemplified by the winner, interestingly seem to mirror the progression of exemplars of hegemonic man over the years.

Much of this project involves the use of a single corpus and therefore it is forced to overcome some of the weaknesses of a singular corpus approach to discourse analysis (Baker & Levon, 2015). It does this by successfully using a corpus (the SA televised sports corpus) to strengthen a critique of the evident discourses. It avoids becoming a purely descriptive analysis by attempting to offer interpretation, critique and explanation for the patterns identified, and to engage with the wider social and historical contexts beyond the corpus. It reveals that whether through force or successful performance of 'the new man' construction of masculinity men can embody a hegemonic form of masculinity, women are thus positioned beneath them, along with other non-ideal men such as homosexual, black or coloured men. It also exposes the active discourse that promotes the idea that boys and men can and will break rules and laws, and that this is at least somewhat acceptable because it is considered natural for them. This discourse has the effect of conditioning boys and men to develop a disregard for rules/laws, in its perpetuation and reflection of the ideologies of hegemonic masculinity and male hegemony.

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## Appendices:

### Appendix A: sampling frame.

RUGBY	pre-game		in-game		post-game		half-time		Description		
	sample	min	s	min	s	min	s	min		s	
RA1		14	35	80	88					Sharks v Bulls	
RA2		5	22			9	10			Sharks v Bulls	
RA3								12	45	Sharks v Bulls	
RB1		30	2							Sharks v Stormers	
RB2		7	42	12	18					Sharks v Stormers	
RB3		9	19	14	5	6	35			Cheetahs v Bulls	
RB5		5	18	43	17			11	25	Cheetahs v Bulls	
RF3		27	50							Stormers v Chiefs	
RF5				48	20	3	57	3	55	Cheetahs v Sharks	
RF6						13	44			Cheetahs v Sharks	
		100.133		199.467		33.433		28.083		Rugby minutes subtotal:	361.1167
SOCCER											
SA1		12	44	16	14					AmaZulu v Mamelodi Sundowns	
SA2				25	8			3	51	AmaZulu v Mamelodi Sundowns	
SA3				1	29			11	27	AmaZulu v Mamelodi Sundowns	
SA4				14	9					AmaZulu v Mamelodi Sundowns	
SA5						2	18			AmaZulu v Mamelodi Sundowns	

SB2			28	59			Chiefs v Black Aces		
SC1			10	35	18	24	University of Pretoria v Chippa United		
SC3					6	30	Siwelele Show		
SC4					2	4	post-game talks.		
SC5	3	59			25	0	post-game/pre-game talks.		
SC6			12	30			Kaizer Chiefs v Celtic		
SD1	28	59					pre-game Ajax v Chippa United		
SD2			23	13	5	46	Ajax v Chippa United		
SD3					28	59	post-game Ajax v Chippa United		
SE1	28	59					Highlights/ Sundowns Show		
SE2	28	59					Sundowns Show/ Pre- AmaTuks v Chippa		
SE3			18	9			AmaTuks v Chippa		
	103.667		150.433		89.017	15.3	Soccer minutes subtotal:		358.4167
	203.8		349.9		122.45	43.383	Corpus total minutes:		719.5333

## Appendix B: Transcription conventions

Angled brackets	< >	used to exclude text from the corpus
Braces	[ ]	used to indicate overlaps in the speech turns of speakers
Hyphen	-	used after a word to indicate speaker was cut-off; used before a word to indicate when a speaker is cutting another speaker off
Slashes	/ \	forward for rising or backward for falling pitch
Capital letters	'MAN'	used to indicate increased volume or other emphasis
Unclear	UNC	used to indicate unclear speech followed by nonsense syllables in angled brackets, to give an indication as to the phonetic features of the un-gotten material
comma	,	used for small pause (0.5 – 1s)
full-stop	.	used for longer pause (1 – 2s)
full-stop + 2 spaces	'.' '	used for even longer pause (2 – 5s)

Any pauses longer than 5 seconds were noted in angled brackets as a break in conversation.

## Appendix C: Concordance lines of *danger* (regex)

- 1 know AmaZulu you know, we've written them off,[] but that's a **dangerous** thing to do. So from a consistency point of view Mack was a SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 2 United are due for a win. <KM> There we go it is a **dangerous** time is as far as both teams are concerned but with three points SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 3 giving up in the middle of the pack and rather cheaply here. <NT> And **dangerous** situations as well. <PM> Ja very **dangerous** situations, so it's SA - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 4 about all UNC<dirty> see change the game, take one goal, they are **dangerous**. <CT> That's right and we also spoke about um, your squad rotation SA - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 5 items, so if your team is on the losing train, it could be **dangerous** if you must UNC<sufficient> everyone to bring some items into th SC - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 6 we will have to see, we we we respect them, ah Bongi is **dangerous**, Ntuli our player of course, eh Ndulula is a national team strike SA - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 7 Modise <crowd owws/awws; pushed to the ground>, well that's a little **dangerous** from ah, Akoriko. Now have a look at this <slow-mo replay SA - in-game.txt
- 8 you did, yes, question is whether it's high, question is it's **dangerous** keep it lower. <WB> Very clear the explanation from Jaco van Heer RA - in-game.txt
- 9 go. The warning signs from this man, Tendai Ndoro. Without a doubt the **danger-** man, in this Aces side. Five goals and fourteen starts for him this SB - in-game.txt
- 10 go. The warning signs from this man, Tendai Ndoro. Without a doubt the **danger-** man, in this Aces side. Five goals and fourteen starts for him this SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 11 he pulls the trigger, two blue shirts closed him down that's the **danger** of course with ah UNC<eighties> pushing forward, it opens that UNC<? SB - in-game.txt
- 12 oro again. <MT> This time hands down except for Mathoho didn't realise the **danger** with the goalkeeper out, he did what was just for a defender to SB - in-game.txt
- 13 in front and to the right of you where you are is the **danger** zone for them cause I mean if the Bulls brake there they could RB - in-game.txt
- 14 get across there and cover for the team. <ON> Willie le Roux, the **dangerous** position of first receiver but, kicks up-field. Francois Hougaard RB - in-game.txt
- 15 , and so desperate, we need the points, and it's a very, very **dangerous** game, for both of us; no-one wants to lose, but everybody wants SA - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 16 d rather cheaply here. <NT> And dangerous situations as well. <PM> Ja very **dangerous** situations, so it's just that you know ah their defensive level i

SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

17 the moment they're on the back foot and they are living very  
Sundowns side with all it's exquisite talent, is kn

**dangerously** in this eh,  
SA - in-game.txt

## Appendix D: The Bismarck Matfield fight transcript

*Warren Brosnihan in conversation with Gcobani Bobo and Robbie Kemp; referee Jaco van Heerden consults with Television Match Official (TMO) Johan Greef.*

<WB> Ball taken quickly Victor Matfield, controls it, Labuschagne comes in to rip it. <crowd makes noise at fight/scuffle> Bismarck du Plessis and Victor Matfield reintroducing themselves to each other.

<GB> He's really getting into their nerves now Victor Matfield, this is what they were trying to avoid not to UNC<kick on hips> so they can set up that driving maul. But it's a little scuffle at the end, here's Bismarck being taken out, playing the man without the ball, Bismarck felt aggrieved about that. And he's tryna- because he played him without the ball, Bismarck was going for the touch look at where Victor Matfield is and look at the frustration coming from his Bok teammate. Robbie K. Open-hand?

<RK> Ah he's going to explain that he was falling over trying to protect himself but ja. I think there's quite a conclusive evidence right there that he perhaps he struck.

<GB> Mm

<RK> But considering the last pass wasn't forward I can't wait to find out what happens here.

<GB> Ha ha ha.

<WB> Johan Greef the man in the hot-box that's got to make the decision.

<JvH> Are you also looking at this Greef? I see the action is an attempted punch, the question is whether or not it connects.

<JG> Yes it was open-hand and it-

<JvH> Alright Greef as our discussion have been, we see the attempted punch the question is whether or not there was a contact to the face, UNC<> advised on that.

<JG> Jaco, yes it was a open-hand punch, ah it did make contact although it skid off the face, so I would go with a penalty only.

<JvH> Quite right, and Johan just get us our mark over there. Captains please <whistle>, captains Pierre, Bissy. Alright this game can be a cracker, but with stuff like that it will definitely not, you make sure it is out of the game and you too you take the discipline I'll sort the foul-play out. It's a penalty against you <Bismarck> for attempted punch.

<WB> Discipline is so important in games such as this.

<RK> I just can't understand why Victor Matfield hasn't been given a warning of sorts.

<GB> He's been going at them the whole time, he took a man without the ball there.

<RK> He instigated it completely.

<GB> But he's been getting into their heads though, that's experience from-

<RK> Right result I think, penalty.

<WB> Ya it is the right result, and Victor was in the off-side position during that as well. And Bismarck <chuckles>, can you can you read the lips? <fuck you>

<RK> With all that experience he's not an untouchable and I think the referee should note that.

<GB> Nah he was saying that he doesn't want to play foul, play.

<WB> There was always gonna be a lot of needle in this game.

<GB> Ah.

**Appendix E: Concordance lines for competition ideology****-Competition**

- 1 't think that for the Bulls he can go slowly into this **competition**, and hope that the  
World Cup is gonna come round; he's RA - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 2 earn their place in the history books of footballs oldest knock-out **competition** ;  
and the king of play claims the trophy number ten in Paris. RB - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 3 earn their place in the history books of footballs oldest knock-out **competition** ;  
and the king of play claims the trophy number ten in Paris. SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 4 have played that competition, can help the team get further in that **competition**,  
because we have experience this little where you go and give y SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 5 and I think us coming from that side and have played that **competition**, can help  
the team get further in that competition, because we SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 6 -thousand and fifteen season so far the top points scorer in the **competition**, coming  
into this weekend with fifty-eight points to the season RB - in-game.txt
- 7 in, it was uplifting for everyone. If you had doubts about this **competition** if you  
were feeling down today, whatever was happening in your SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 8 two years ago and it was absolutely fantastic, the standard of the **competition** is very  
very high. I grew up doing pageants so when I SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 9 very high. I grew up doing pageants so when I see a **competition** like this of this  
caliber I get very very excited that, you SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 10 moment in the league Chiefs and Sundowns all involved in African Cup **competition**  
matches at the weekend. Chance for AmaZulu at the back post.  
SA - in-game.txt
- 11 and Bradley city who have taken out Chelsea in the same cup **competition**, they've  
got another chance ah to brush aside a a tears RB - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 12 in a row? One of three unbeaten teams so far in the **competition** they're at home  
they take on the most successful, franchise in RB - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 13 myself currently everything you know. Um um they there's lot of **competition** they  
there's lot of, there is one team there that one SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 14 Mamelodi Sundowns 2nd Princess 2014 Means the world to me, I mean the  
**competition** was very tough. I didn't think I was gonna make it SE - prg.pg.ht.txt

## -Competitive

- 1 Free State home, come back to Joburg and start playing ah, a **competitive** development league. So I got here looking for Sundowns, maybe SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 2 got in their minds is just winning, winning, winning. Three, two very **competitive** players Siyanda Zwane and Hlanti, are going at one another. I SA - in-game.txt
- 3 a kicking masterclass, even the kick-offs have been outstanding every time **competitive**. Prop-take by Marco Wentzel, Deysel, big large, and loves to b RA - in-game.txt

## -Compete

- 1 interesting contest between Marcell Coetzee and Deon Stegmann both like to **compete** for the ball on the ground. Ya, and that you put on RA - in-game.txt
- 2 , I think that UNC are bringing Ryan Kankowski so that he can **compete** in those line-outs, cause we know what the Bulls wanna play RA - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 3 well be the Springbok locks come World Cup time how will they **compete** against each other? Well no contest, on the throw to Pieter-Steph RB - in-game.txt
- 4 far as being able to slow that ball down for the Sharks, **compete**, maybe win a penalty like he just did now, he has an RF - in-game.txt
- 5 Raymond Rhule. Pressure once again on the Cheetahs. Ryan Kankowski will **compete** on the front for the Sharks. Renaldo Bothma, Bothma to the line RF - in-game.txt
- 6 short passing game in the middle and UNC helps because he can **compete** he's big, and hopefully any loose balls the likes of Mbenyane SC - in-game.txt
- 7 succeeding. While we are rivals we can work together, to win we **compete** on the field, but after ninety minutes and before ninety minutes, w SC - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 8 look at this Ajax team they are a team that wants to **compete** and play good football, so hopefully we can see that tonight. How SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

## -Competing

- 1 to ah for the team, to get they league belongs, you know **competing** and getting ah ah better position in the league, ah not to SC - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 2 James Okwuosa's gone down. Two very strong players aggressive and all **competing** for the same ball but Massa seems to walk away with it. SC - in-game.txt
- 3 bracket which is not easy to do, and we wanna see ourselves **competing** for that ah so there's a lot of hard work ahead SC - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 4 good stand-out tackle from, Jesse Kriel and then at the end **competing** hard in that breakdown, just gave them a lot of advantage, this RA - in-game.txt
- 5 big hits, you saw when the Stormers were over here never really **competing** in the break-down, they had whole full width and they were RA - in-game.txt
- 6 up from the start, UNC the options, kicking to the backs and **competing**, never climbing never on-side. Just out of the game I guess RA - in-game.txt
- 7 drive the Bulls and then he went on the ruck, two mans **competing** on the breakdown that's that's the intensity that the Sharks RA - in-game.txt
- 8 look at this hit from, Mtyanda and du Plessis, and they're **competing** on the ground. What the Bulls are doing they're getting over RA - in-game.txt

## -Against

- 1 uprights, almost called it before it happened. Ja when you're defending **against** a team that's starting to dominate the collisions which is exactly RB - in-game.txt
- 2 - No Nick, no Nick let's agree that whenever the Lions win **against** a team in Blue it can't be incredible for Naas , needless RB - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 3 to play with a pack of forwards, but you know they up **against** a very strong one here and there's been a change, Tian RB - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 4 es await the Buccaneers get their CAF Confederations Cup campaign underway **against** a Ugandan side, U R A at the Orlando Stadium, for amaKhosi RF - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 5 so far. It has, it has, that's they're also playing **against** a very experienced Sam Cane ah a international player Liam Messam p RF - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 6 out-played, eh they they they lacked direction and they were up **against** a Sharks team who last weekend was out-played by the Stormers RF - prg.pg.ht.txt

- 7 game. Don't think it's going to be as easy here, **against** a determined AmaZulu side.  
Van Heerden with a challenge from behind SA - in-game.txt
- 8 thrown into the fire , ah as it were. But with a debut **against** a side of the quality of  
Sundowns, see how long who lasts, SA - in-game.txt
- 9 in the top eight and it's Ajax Cape Town at home, **against** a former neighbour in Chippa  
United. As you see there the famous SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 10 as three... ...also because you got that point, but you going up **against** a stubborn  
Ajax team that wanna make sure, they also get in SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 11 points even if it's one point I mean they're playing **against** a side they has to win at all  
cost, that's why SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 12 too much into into from the cup game I mean nine nil **against** a, no disrespect but a  
lower-division team ah it was what SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 13 Baxter: Head Coach Kaizer Chiefs Yeah yeah, I think look you play **against** a team that  
plays youth football like Aces they wanna play through SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 14 experience for them, just to try and you know peg their levels **against** a some of the  
best players in Europe. Hmm and so important SE - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 15 , but ah looking at tomorrows game, the University of Pretoria's action **against** Aces  
Pirates host Polokwane City Maritzburg United will welcome Fre  
SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 16 G) Bulls:879 Cheetahs:898 Big contest up front, Torsten van Jaarsveld **against**,  
Adriaan Strauss, he sat bench for, Strauss for a number of seasons  
RB - in-game.txt
- 17 the long run. Big moment for Torsten van Jaarsveld he's up **against** ah Adriaan Strauss  
his former captain who's ah now with the RB - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 18 of the season. His ah, only league goal in this campaign coming **against** ah, Moroka  
Swallows, in August, so it has been a while, since SA - in-game.txt
- 19 's struggling a little bit with that ah knee problem picked up **against** ah Orlando Pirates.  
You're hundred percent right, you can see his SA - in-game.txt
- 20 that can be achieved you know we've got two difficult games **against** ah Black Aces,  
who under Clive Barker are are doing very well, SC - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 21 of goals, coming into this one I'm sure confidence is high, **against** ah ah a team  
that hasn't been finding goal as William SD - prg.pg.ht.txt
- 22 home-side Ajax Cape Town managing to make it a good sweep **against** ah Chippa  
United four points out of the two times they've SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

23 , they work hard they they have... ... Because we came from a defeat, **against** Ajax and we wanted to bounce back and Swallows is the kind SE - prg.pg.ht.txt

24 need to improve their home form only one one win at home **against** Ajax but you have mentioned these draws against Pirates, Sundowns a SE - prg.pg.ht.txt

25 lgate Total protects against germs for twelve hours, it also helps protect **against** all these problems plaque build-up Germ build-up Gum redness Tooth  
RA - prg.pg.ht.txt

26 people. Here's a good one: Braai hard, an individual who braais **against** all odds. Help make party South Africa's twelfth official languag RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

...

...

237 as well. If you look at the incumbent in and um, up **against** you know the up and coming Kriel , the stats shows that Willie RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

238 new club, and against scoring your first goal for your new club **against** your former club. That's a good ball now Mngoma's in SB - in-game.txt

## -Win

1 their way all of eighty eighty-five meters, to get down field, **win** a penalty or get a score of any sort, to win the RA - in-game.txt

2 world, and ah he he managed to get a a penalty and **win** a free-kick. I thought his performance was excellent and ah and RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

3 being able to slow that ball down for the Sharks, compete, maybe **win** a penalty like he just did now, he has an impact on RF - in-game.txt

4 exit their twenty-two. Have the Sharks got what it takes, to **win** a tight-head. Ah solid platform by the home-team the Cheetahs. RF - in-game.txt

5 y with Super Diski. SUPER DISKI Surprise surprise, SiyaWina Mzala. To **win** a prize this Summer simply watch your phone to win airtime, data

SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

6 e, accidental off-side. Well the Cheetahs search for their second **win** against the Bulls, the start is deep well secured by Deon Basson. RB - in-game.txt

7 , rather- No Nick, no Nick let's agree that whenever the Lions **win** against a team in Blue it can't be incredible for Naas , RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

8 City. Then on Sunday, Chelsea look to increase their lead with a **win** against the Saints. The race for fourth heats up when United hosts RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

...

...

123 , that remains to be seen. Ja sure and there was an away **win** yesterday for the Highlanders over the Chiefs as well so that makes RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

124 , and they've lost two away games, remember now we always say, **win** your home games and three away games and you should be in RF - prg.pg.ht.txt

## -Lose

1 center it's a little bit crowded and its easy to to **lose** a ball, and the and the Moses Mabidah, ah the pitch is SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

2 but like I'd just like to say that, you can't **lose** balls at the wrong area because otherwise you are gonna get punished. SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

3 the chances are they can't come to me, because if we **lose** balls in front of our goals we could get punished. From a SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

4 very, very dangerous game, for both of us; no-one wants to **lose**, but everybody wants to win, um, we have to be very careful. SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

5 , you only have fifty-seconds to redeem your prize. You snooze, you **lose**. Get your surprise on the new Alcatel Pixi 2 for only five-seventy- SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

6 , you only have fifty-seconds to redeem your prize. You snooze, you **lose**. Get your surprise on the new Alcatel Pixl 2 for only five-seventy- SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

7 , you only have fifty-seconds to redeem your prize. You snooze, you **lose**. Get your surprise on the new Alcatel Pixi 2 for only five-seventy- SE - prg.pg.ht.txt

8 Ugandan defender. Of some concern to Stuart Baxter, won't want to **lose** him, not too many options for Kaizer Chiefs at center-forward, ah SB - in-game.txt

9 you're number eight in the scrum and you detach, and you **lose** that shoulder contact, the same result. Cheetahs breath a sigh of r RF - in-game.txt

10 is, protect that man in the air. Okay? If he's gonna **lose** the contest, don't contest. Very clear from Stuart Berry. Well the RB - in-game.txt

11 back, they're not able also to when whenever the mid-fielder **lose** the ball, they're able to press the speakers, ah as possible. SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

12 the top three teams, they're gonna drop away completely if they **lose** this game. Is it a sign of desperation um Naas ah Gary RF - prg.pg.ht.txt

13 we deserved a whole lot more sh- should they go on to **lose** this game, maybe a draw ah wh- you think to yourself, will SC - in-game.txt

14 , what a Legend. Toyota Lead the Way The Vodacom Blue Bulls seldom **lose** three home matches in a row. The last time this happened was RA - prg.pg.ht.txt

## -Trophy

1 placed to challenge for more silverware in the near future. Winning a **trophy** and also finishing as high as fifth, ah you know has has SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

2 , we're also all looking forward to the final where this beautiful **trophy** can be won by a team, they can also book themselves a SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

3 in the Commonwealth Cup in Russia. We went there to take the **trophy** cause we know what we want in life, so we want to SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

4 in the Commonwealth Cup in Russia. We went there to take the **trophy** cause we know what we want in life, so we want to SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

5 in the Commonwealth Cup in Russia. We went there to take the **trophy** cause we know what we want in life, so we want to SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

6 in the Commonwealth Cup in Russia. We went there to take the **trophy** cause we know what we want in life, so we want to SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

7 in the Commonwealth Cup in Russia. We went there to take the **trophy** cause we know what we want in life, so we want to SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

8 Netherlands. I think that's quite interesting. You've seen the coveted **trophy**, now one question remains, who will walk away with the first prize? SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

9 footballs oldest knock-out competition ; and the king of play claims the **trophy** number ten in Paris. In May IAAF Diamond League, FA Cup final, RB - prg.pg.ht.txt

10 footballs oldest knock-out competition ; and the king of play claims the **trophy** number ten in Paris. In May IAAF Diamond League, FA Cup final SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

11 is spot on, and the football dream was cemented by the coveted **trophy** revealed on SuperSport Thursday Night Live. We have the semi-finals SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

12 wasn't easy but we fought and we came back with a **trophy**. With fourteen of the squad having played in the Multichoice Diski C SC - prg.pg.ht.txt

13 wasn't easy but we fought and we came back with a **trophy**. With fourteen of the squad having played in the Multichoice Diski C SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

14 wasn't easy but we fought and we came back with a **trophy**. With fourteen of the squad having played in the Multichoice Diski C SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

15 wasn't easy but we fought and we came back with a **trophy**. With fourteen of the squad having played in the Multichoice Diski C SD - prg.pg.ht.txt

## -Gold

1 . Not for sale to persons under the age of 18. Refreshing Unmatched in **Gold** Award winning Real beer taste Champion Men deserve Champion beer Carli SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

2 this game. Is it a sign of desperation um Naas ah Gary **Gold** changing that front-row after what we saw in the scrum, Bismarck RF - prg.pg.ht.txt

3 , to be full bodied, with a distinctly smooth finish. Klipdrift, there's **gold** in every drop. Not for sale to person under the age of 18. SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

4 every drop. Not for sale to person under the age of 18. Klipdrift **Gold** in every drop We asked Judas why he switched to Outsurance Life. SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

5 champion beer you will know. It is refreshing. It is unmatched in **gold**. It has an award winning real beer taste, that a champion man SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

6 to defend well and still get the goals necessary to win them **gold**, that's why they have got Arwuah to help them defensive, they' SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

7 that don't. Until all that's left, is the heart of **gold**, the purest essence of our brandy, that matured, to be full bodied, SA - prg.pg.ht.txt

## Appendix F: Concordance lines of *physicality*

1           with ease, he's big and strong but doesn't only use his **physicality**, so very exciting prospect, and we know about Sonny Bill Willia

RF - prg.pg.ht.txt

2           learned a lot from Victor Matfield, and ah you know in terms of **physicality** in terms of athleticism in terms of the power to hit and defend

RA - prg.pg.ht.txt

3           he has a good game and ah manages to play with his similar **physicality**, they're gonna be fine. <AW> Duane Vermeulen's been the rock bu

RF - prg.pg.ht.txt

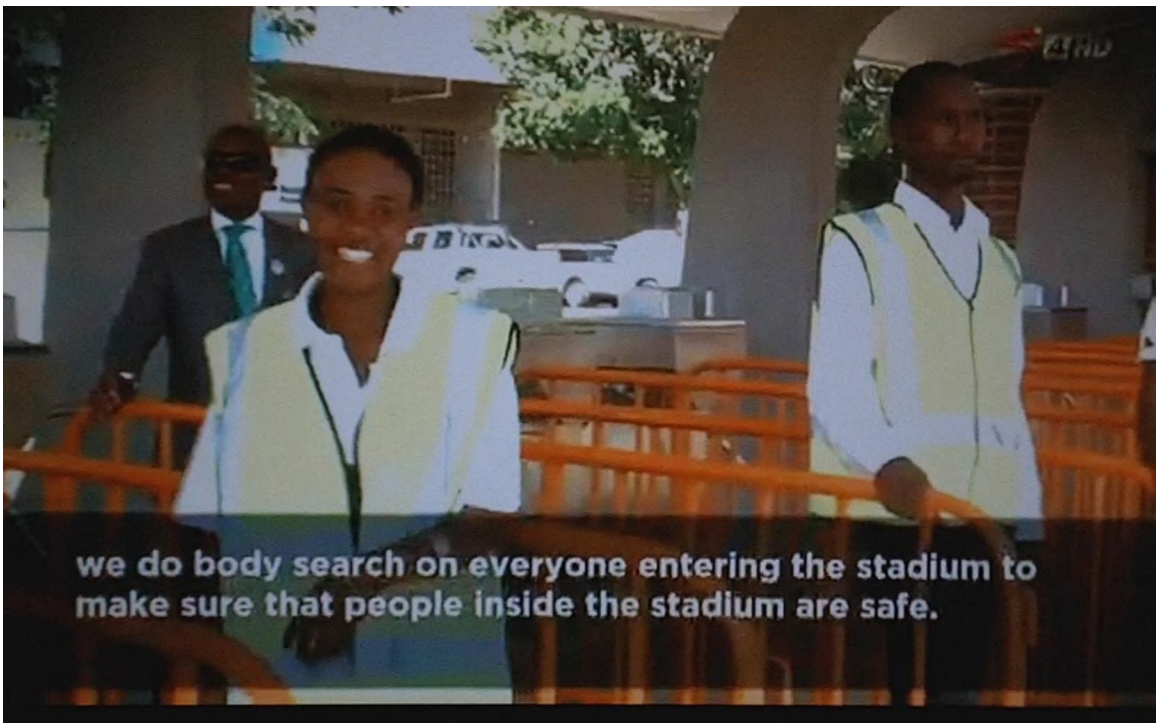
4           what I was impressed with was the patience they showed on attack, the **physicality** this was very physical <replay of try> here from Pollard but we

RB - in-game.txt

5           Renaldo Bothma. <KN> Daniel du Preez one of his great attributes just the **physicality** at such a tender age. <RK> He's got his father's mind

RF - in-game.txt

## Appendix G: female inclusion



## Appendix H: Advertisements which position women

(i): Lunchbar

<AD> <man starts dancing in front of an intigued-ish woman, steals a homeless man's crutches incorporating them in his dance, she smiles and then he starts breakdancing> <old man:> Lunchbar <young man> oviaas. <tx> Lunchbar Much, Much More

(ii): Amstel Lite

<AD>

<TX> Not for sale to persons under the age of 18. Drink responsibly. Amstel Lite <jpg> Make your play

(iii): Hollard insurance

<AD>

<woman at gypsy caravan>

<W> I'd like to speak to my husband please.

<G> Hmm, I can feel him, he's here, you may speak my dear.

<W> Vusi, Vusi can you hear me? You left us WITH NOTHING, no more ballet for Tjoko, and NO more piano for Siphon, and who's gonna pay for their varsity fees? <to gypsy> Is he still here? Oh and another thing, this <gestures to self> DOESN'T COME CHEAP. I HAVE TO WASH MY OWN CAR VUSI!

<TX> Ensure your family love you forever Hollard home car business life investments

**Appendix I: Commentator/presenter speech turns**

## RUGBY

Nick Mallet: 55	Ashwin Willemse: 39	Xola Ntshinga: 38
Warren Brosnihan: 295		Gcobani Bobo: 125
Bob Skinstad: 66		Hanyani Shimange: 7
Robbie Kempson : 135		Kaunda Ntunja: 88
Mathew Pearce: 25		Owen Nkunane: 77
Joel Stransky: 13		
Naas Botha: 44		

## SOCCER

Mark Gleeson: 61	Mark Williams: 29	William Shongwe: 60
<J1>: 20		Kamza Mbatha: 62
Niel Tovey: 8		Phumlani Msibi: 11
		Carol Tshabalala: 66
		Mister T: 6

*\*It must be noted that there were 266 instances, including the advertisements, where the speaker was not identified. In these cases a simple <1> / <2> notation was used to indicate who's turn it was in that piece of dialogue. A lot of these were believed to be Mister T and Carol Tshabalala although other commentators were also unidentified. The difference seen in total speech turns between sporting codes (soccer commentary tended to have less) was attributed to the length of some of the turns in soccer commentary.*

**Appendix J1: Racial division of authority - Rugby**WhiteColouredBlack

RUGBY:

(referees)

Jaco van Heerden (JvH)

Jaco Peyper (JP)

Johan Greef (JG)

Chris Pollock (CP)

Stuart Barry (SB)

(coaches)

Cheetahs: Naka Drotske (ND)

Sharks: Gary Gold (x)

Stormers: Allister Coetzee (x)

Bulls: Frans Ludeke (FL)

(commentators)

Nick Mallet (NM)

Xola Ntshinga (XN)

Warren Brosnihan (WB)

Gcobani Bobo (GB)

Bob Skinstad (BS)

Hanyani Shimange (HS)

Robbie Kempson (RK)

Kaunda Ntunja (KN)

Matthew Pearce (MP)

Owen Nkunane (ON)

Joel Stransky (JS)

Naas Botha (NB)

(presenters)

Ashwin Willemse (AW)

(players)

Marcell Coetzee (MC)

Bismarck du Plessis (BdP)

Francois Uys (FU)

(other)

Cricketer (MM)

Cricketer (WP)

Cricketer (AP)

**Appendix J2: Racial division of authority - Soccer**

White	Coloured	Black
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SOCCER:

(referees)

?

(coaches)

Roger De Sa (RdS)

Clinton Larsen (CL)

Pitso Mosimane (PM)

Clive Barker (CB)

Roger Sikhakhane (RS)

Ernst Middendorp (EM)

Stuart Baxter (SB)

Gordon Igesund (GI)

(commentators)

Mark Gleeson (MG)

William Shongwe (WS)

Niel Tovey (NT)

Mister T. (MT)

Kestel Assmah (KA)

(presenters)

Mark Williams (MW)

Carol Tshabalala (CT)

Kamza Mbatha (KM)

Phumlani Msibi (PM)

(players)

Erwin Isaacs (EI)

Franklin Cale (FC)

Bevan Fransman (BF)

Bongani Zungu (BZ)

Levy Mokgothu (LM)

Mame Niang (MN)

Mbuyiselo Sambu (MS)

Simon Gopane (SG)

Toriq Losper (TL)

Bogang Manyama (BM)

Mame Niang (MN)

George Akpabio (GA)

Mpho Makola (MM)

Tjivita Talu (TT)

Pubamalu (P)

(other)

Chairman Pirates (IK)

same insert (KM)

same insert (GM)(BM)

Coaching staff (SG)

Policeman (CK)

Ex-player (TM)

Ex-player (ZM)

Lucas Radebe (LR)

Bloem Celtic CEO (KK)

Farouk Khan (FK)

Miss Mamelodi Sundowns contestants:

(BM) (DB) (DM) (KG) (SF) (KS) (LP) (LS) (NF) (PD) (RH) (TM)

## Appendix K: Predictions

### From soccer data (SA – prg.pg.ht.txt): studio predictions

<KM> It's an uphill battle if you think **you can predict** which way it's going to go, go to www.supersport.com and you could stand a chance to win that beautiful timepiece, that Victorinox ah timepiece, just **give us a prediction**, as these gentlemen are going to do now. Kestel which way is it going to go?

<KA > Two-one Sundowns.

<KM> Two-one Sundowns, um.

<MW> I'm going for a draw, because just as we were talking about it is a long time to get AmaZulu, ah Sundowns, ah AmaZulu a draw.

<KM> Quick one coach?

<FK> One nil to Sundowns.

<KM> Okay, it sounds as if the **odds** are stacked quite heavily against the home team. When we return, we will join our commentary team at the Moses Mabhida stadium.

### From soccer data (SD – prg.pg.ht.txt): studio predictions

<KM> Well that's the problem isn't it William they've been drawing too much so let's maybe talk on that and **have your prediction** as far as how this one is gonna turn **give me a score prediction** you say they're gonna win.

<WS> I'm not gonna give you a score prediction, but I'm saying saying I think Chippa will walk away with all three points today, the worst will be a draw.

**From rugby data (RF – prg.pg.ht.txt): studio predictions**

<XN> Well guys **if you had to call it** very quickly one word.

<NM> Stormers.

<NB> Then the Chiefs and the All-Blacks ah confidence today Peter.

<AW> Stormers Stormers Stormers.

**From rugby data (RB – prg.pg.ht.txt): Interview with national cricket players**

<XN> Well a slight change as we **have some predictions** from the Proteas, Aaron Phangiso, Morne Morkel, and Wayne Parnell, what their take is on this afternoon.

<AP> Ah, Blue Bulls and Cheetahs, I haven't watched a lot of rugby but ah since I'm from Pretoria, I'm gonna go with the Bulls, they've never disappointed me. Twenty-seven, eighteen, I think.

<MM> Ah Bulls Cheetahs, nou die blou, Blue Bulls are definitely going to take that one um, Stormers Sharks, massive Sharks supporter but living in Cape Town now it's a tough one to call, but I just think the Sharks are looking good for this season so I'm gonna back them.

<WP> Ah we've got the Bulls and the Cheetahs, um I'm tipping the Bulls to win there, and in the other South African derby, ah Stormers and Sharks I'm definitely going for the Stormers, it's nice to see Siya Kolisi back ah on the field playing after his his injury, and also scoring the winning try last week so I'm going to go with, Stormers to win, Bulls to win, Orlando Pirates to win, and Manchester United.