Exploring Speech in Russian Fairy Tales

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Both because of their prevalence in contemporary culture and because of their ability to affect the acculturation of children, fairy tales are commonly examined from a feminist perspective. Many scholars have begun to ask if the distribution of agency in tales reflects patriarchal values, for example, are princesses nothing more than passive damsels in distress? One way to discuss these types of power relationships is to examine speech. The ability to speak can be viewed as a type of agency that shapes a character's outcome within a narrative; it is through speech that characters bless, curse, and interact with one another. This paper seeks to explore the connections among agency, gender, moral alignment, and speech in Russian fairy tales from the Alexander Afanas′ev collection. As part of this research, the frequency of male and female vocalizations has been measured, as well as different types of silence. This research also examines the patterns of speech that appear in different tale typologies that revolve around a central female character.

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PREFACE

This project would not have been possible without the help of my wonderful mentor, Professor David J. Birnbaum. Professor Birnbaum worked with me extensively throughout the course of this project, teaching me a number of the computational tools I used in my analysis. He has also had a tremendous impact on my academic career and without his guidance and support my experience at the University of Pittsburgh would not have been nearly as successful.

I would also like to thank Professor Ruth Bottigheimer, whose research on the Grimm corpus inspired me and paved the way for my own work. Professor Bottigheimer was also kind enough to participate in my defense and give a guest lecture on her research at the University of Pittsburgh.

The University of Pittsburgh Honors College has supported this project generously, with two Brackenridge Fellowships and tuition funding for the Fall 2011 and Spring 2012 semesters.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Folk fairy tales, like folklore in general, differ from literature in that they lack a specific author and often reflect the beliefs, customs, and cultural practices of the community in which they were created.[1] Because of their simultaneous ability to reflect a culture and perpetuate its values, the study of the messages that fairy tales contain lends itself well to an examination of gender roles. Fairy tales have been both criticized and praised for their depictions of young women and girls. Is the princess a passive object awaiting the salvation of her prince, or an intelligent and kind role model who teaches young girls important life lessons?[2]

These types of questions have become particularly interesting to many writers and scholars not only because of the way in which fairy tales mirror society, but also because of the increasing prevalence of fairy tales in current culture. Because of this, it is often well-known tales that are viewed as culturally relevant and thus become the topic of research and discussion. Feminist scholars may be particularly interested in the most popular tales because they are more likely to affect the acculturation of children.[3]

One way to explore the gender implications of folk fairy tales is to examine the relationship between gender and agency. The allocation of power can be analyzed through the type and amount of speech associated with different male and female characters. It is through

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[1] For an alternative perspective on the creation of folklore, see: Bottigheimer, Ruth B. *Fairy Tales a New History.* Albany, NY: Excelsior Ed., 2009. Print.

[2] For more information on a general feminist critique of popular fairy tales, see: Lieberman, Marcia R. "Some Day My Prince Will Come: Female Acculturation through the Fairy Tale." College English Vol. 34, Dec. 1972, pp. 383-395. Print.

[3] Lieberman, 383-384.

speech that characters curse, bestow blessings, perform magic, and solve riddles. The ability to perform a vocalization, whether it be conversing with magical creatures or singing to enchant a prince, often affects not only a character's outcome within the narrative, but also the reader's perception of the character. Conversely, the inclusion of silence may also confer certain connotations and affect the course of the narrative.

The relationship between speech and gender in fairy tales has been researched in tales from the German, French, and, Italian traditions with mixed results. In her research on tales from the Grimm corpus, Ruth Bottigheimer found a strong correlation between speech and gender.[4] In the tales she studied, both positive male characters and negative female characters speak frequently, while positive female characters are often silent. This trend is not found in comparable tales from the French and English traditions.[5] In addition to the unequal distribution of speech, the allotment of verbs forms a hierarchy in which more active verbs, such as to "ask," are associated with men, while more passive verbs, such as to "answer," are commonly associated with women. Bottigheimer attributes the speech patterns in the Grimm corpus to the valorization of female silence and passivity found in German society during the period in which the tales were being collected.[6] The tales from the Grimm corpus were collected and assembled by the Grimm Brothers in the early nineteenth century. The Russian tales analyzed as part of my research were collected roughly fifty years later. Alexander Afanas′ev, who is commonly

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[4] Bottigheimer, Ruth B. "Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: the 'Fit' Between Fairy Tales and Their Historical Context." Ruth Bottigheimer, ed Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion, and Paradigm. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1986. Print.
[5] Bottigheimer, Ruth B. "Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: the 'Fit' Between Fairy Tales." 125.
[6] Bottigheimer, Ruth B. "Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: the 'Fit' Between Fairy Tales and Their Historical Context." 115-119.

regarded as the Russian counterpart to the Brothers Grimm, released his first collection of Russian fairy tales in 1861.[7]

The primary goal of the research discussed in this paper is to determine the connections between speech and gender in Russian fairy tales and to examine how these connections may differ from those found in other fairy-tale traditions, particularly tales from the Grimm corpus. Some of the questions my research seeks to answer revolve around not only the speech patterns of men and women, but also the speech patterns of positive and negative characters. For example, do witches and other negative female characters speak more often and more forcefully than their male counterparts? Do "good" women—whether heroines or fairy godmothers—speak words of wisdom or are they mostly silent? I am also interested in the relationship between gender and speech in certain tale typologies: Do positive female characters speak differently in "Wicked Stepmother" tales than they do in "Wise Maiden" tales?

Answering these questions involves examining not only the volume of speech, whether measured by the number of speech acts or length of speeches, but also the relative use of direct and indirect speech and the specific verbs of speaking associated with different character types. In order to retrieve this data from a large number of tales, this project has employed a variety of computational tools and methods to collect and manage information. In this sense, the research conducted falls under the umbrella of digital humanities, as the project employed computing tools in order to answer humanities-based research questions.[8]

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[7] Afanas′ev, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, Norbert Guterman, Alexander Alexeieff, and Roman Jakobson. *Russian Fairy Tales.* New York: Random House, 2006. Print.
[8] For examples of Digital Humanities research projects see: Web. 02 Dec. 2011. <http://dh.obdurodon.org/projects.html>.

The tales that I have studied have been encoded using XML, which supports the formal association of specific textual moments with narrative functions.[9] The speeches within each text have been tagged and the speaker has been associated with his or her speech. When a verb of speech occurs in conjunction with a speech act, it is also associated with that act and thus becomes linked with the speaker as well. Additionally, this research has employed a number of ancillary XML-based technologies, including XSLT, which is used to extract, analyze, and display the information tagged in the original documents. These tools were also used to create visualizations and interactive versions of both the tales studied and the results of the research, all of which can be viewed on the project website: http://ft.obdurodon.org/

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[9] For more information on XML see: *W3Schools Online Web Tutorials*. Web. 02 Dec. 2011. <http://www.w3schools.com>.

2.0   METHODOLOGIES

All of the tales examined as part of this research are from the Russian tradition of folk tales. No previous research regarding the relationship between speech and gender in Russian tales has ever been done, and there is very little research available regarding the overall gender connotations and implications of the Russian tradition. Several factors, some textual and some historical, make Russian fairy tales a fitting area of research in terms of exploring the gender associations of fairy tales. The Afanas′ev collection originated not much later than the Grimm collection, making it a relevant point of comparison chronologically. In addition, several tale typologies found in the Russian tradition feature strong gender stereotypes. For example, both "Wise Maiden" and "Bad Wife" tales assume strong intrinsic connections between female speech and female character.

"Wise Maiden" tales are a type not discussed in research on the Grimm Corpus, and initially the nature of these tales seems to diverge from the principle that "good" women in tales are silent. In these tales the heroine assumes a less passive role than in other fairy tales, and manifests her wisdom through prescience, cleverness, and riddles. "Bad Wife" tales, on the other hand, would initially seem to support the preexisting hypothesis that "negative" women speak frequently and with an active voice: bad wives may be nags, scolds, or tyrants. The Afanas′ev collection also features a large number of "Wicked Stepmother" tales. The tales in this genre lend themselves well to a study of gender and power, since they are driven by positive and

negative female characters locked in opposition to one another. For example, one of the most famous "Wicked Stepmother" tales, "Cinderella," has been highlighted as an example of positive females being relatively silent in the Grimm corpus.

Until now, the research done on the connections among speech, power, and gender in fairy tales has been limited to a small sample of texts. Ruth Bottigheimer's study on the use of speech in the Grimm corpus is limited to fifteen tales, six of them falling under the category of "popular" tales, including such titles as "Cinderella" and "Snow White."[10] Bottigheimer's research involved data collection, but individual speeches and verbs were counted by hand. In addition to the limited number of tales, only the five most commonly occurring verbs of speech were studied: speak (sprechen), say (sagen), ask (fragen), answer (antworten), and cry out (rufen).[11]

As part of this research I analyzed the use of speech in a larger sample of thirty-seven tales[12] and examined the seventy-nine verbs of speech that appeared more than once throughout this sample of tales. In order to collect the data from a large number of texts effectively, it was necessary to employ a systematic approach to data collection, which enabled a greater degree of accuracy. It would have been impossible to record thousands of individual speech acts and determine statistical correlations without computational tools. The computational

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[10] Bottigheimer, Ruth B. *Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys.* New Haven: Yale University, 1987. Print.

[11] Bottigheimer, "Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: the 'Fit' Between Fairy Tales and Their Historical Context." 127-126.

[12] Afanas′ev, tales: 75, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 104, 113, 159, 169, 232, 233, 236, 242, 256, 267, 277, 292, 316, 326, 327, 328, 335, 345, 365, 366, 368, 369, 403, 404, 433, 434, 436, 437, 444, and 445. These tales were chosen both because of their typologies and because of their popularity in Russian culture.

methods used to collect and process the information relevant to this research required the creation of digital texts that could be encoded to allow further analysis.

The textual sources for all of the tales used in this project were obtained from The Fundamental Digital Library of Russian Literature and Folklore (FEB).[13] The FEB website functions as a full-text digital resource that accumulates information on Russian folklore and other types of literary and non-literary texts. This source was selected because of its academic nature and accurate representation of materials. All texts in the digital library include the original structure, pagination, orthography, punctuation, and graphics of the source editions.

Instead of tallying instances of speech and verb use manually and entering the data into a spreadsheet, I used XML, eXtensible Markup Language, to encode relevant information within the texts. XML allows for the use of descriptive encoding, which ascribes specific and unique meaning to certain aspects and portions of a text. The XML-based approach, which extracts the analytical data directly from the prose text, minimizes the opportunity for error by obviating the need to enter the same information in multiple places. The data collected in this project is hierarchical in nature, which fits perfectly with the tree-based structure of XML. In addition, with XML the same file is being used to create a readable digitized version of a tale, to extract and organize the information about the speech in the tale, and to generate reports, including visualizations, about the entire collection of tales. By using XML, any changes that are made, whether they involve adding a new tale or generating a new report, can be automatically updated simultaneously in all views.

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[13] "FEB-web: The Fundamental Digital Library of Russian Literature & Folklore." *ФЭБ: Фундаментальная электронная библиотека "Русская литература и фольклор"* Web. 02 Dec. 2011. <http://feb-web.ru/indexen.htm>.

The hierarchy created to organize and represent the texts revolves around the connection between a speech act and the speaker and verb associated with it. By connecting speeches and verbs with a speaker, speeches and verbs also become linked with the gender and character attributes of a speaker. The basic model used to encode speech acts can be seen in the following example:

Наутро жена <vb infinitive="говорить">говорит</vb>: <speech speaker="мачеха" verb="говорить">«Поезжай, старик, проведай-ка дочь — что напряла она в ночь?»</speech>[14]

The next morning the wife <vb infinitive="say">says</vb>: <speech speaker="stepmother" verb="say">«Go, old man, visit your daughter, see how much she has spun during the night?»</speech>

This example includes both elements and attributes, two types of markup used to categorize information in the XML hierarchy. Elements typically contain a start tag, an end tag, and content, which is what occurs between the tags. The tags are bound by angle brackets and the end tag contains a forward slash after the initial bracket. Attributes go inside start tags, and contain additional information about the elements with which they are associated. The attribute of the <vb> element is called @infinitive.[15] This attribute contains the lexical infinitive of the verb being tagged by the <vb> element.

This model of markup allows for connections to be made among speeches, verbs, and speakers. Although the verb is tagged separately from the speech, the content of the @infinitive attribute matches that of the @verb attribute in the <speech> element, thus linking verbs with specific speeches and characters. Verbs were also independently tagged so that they could be

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[14] Afanasʹev, tale: 98

[15] For the sake of clarity, all elements will by marked by angled brackets and all attributes will be marked with an atmark.

styled and turned into links within the interactive, digital versions of the tales that were produced. The characters for each tale are listed in a character list at the beginning of the XML document, and each <character> element in that list contains a @gender attribute (m, f, or mx for mixed gender groups) and a unique @id attribute that distinguishes the character from others in the tale. The @speaker attribute within a <speech> element contains the same value as the @id attribute for that person in the character list, which establishes a formal association (amenable to computational processing) among the speech, the verb of speaking, the speaker, and the speaker's gender.

Other attributes that are included in the <character> element are: @number, @role, and @value. The @number attribute specifies whether the character in question is singular (sg) or plural (pl). For example, a character such as "Ivan" would be singular, whereas "geese" would be plural. The value of the @role attribute can be one of seven character types set forth by Vladimir Propp: father, princess, hero, donor, helper, villain, or dispatcher.[16] The role of a specific character is determined by his or her function within the narrative. The @value attribute specifies whether a character is positive or negative. Whether a character is determined to be "good," "bad," "neutral," or "other" depends on his or her role within the text. While whether a character is "good" or "bad" is fairly transparent, some characters did not fit into either of these moral alignments. Rather than force characters into one of these two categories, "neutral" and "other" were developed. Often these characters play a minor role or are simply encountered in passing. Because of the connection among character attributes, speeches, and verbs, many queries can be executed based on the qualities of a given character.

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[16] Propp, Vladimir. *Morphology of the Folktale.* Austin: University of Texas, 1968. Print.

Not all of the speeches within the tales occur in a straightforward form and the preceding model alone does not adequately express the more complex vocalizations within the texts. A series of additional attributes contained within the <speech> element serve to describe further variances within the text. For example, the @type attribute categorizes instances of indirect speech, as in the following:

> Вот девушка хлопочет у печи, а сама горько <vb infinitive="плакать">плачет</vb><speech speaker="девушка" verb="плакать" type="indirect"/>.[17]

> While the girl is busy at the stove, she <vb infinitive="cry">cries</vb><speech speaker="girl" verb="cry" type="indirect"/> bitterly.

In this example, crying is an instance of indirect speech. Indirect speech is reported speech; unlike direct speech, it does not include the vocalized content in the form of a first person quotation. In this case, since the speech does not have any textual content, the indirect speech is tagged with an empty speech element following the verb. Some instances of indirect speech contain content that is demarcated by a start and end tag. This system of encoding direct and indirect speeches is important for analysis, since the presence of direct speech implies a more active voice while the allocation of indirect speech can be seen as a form of silencing.[18]

The tagging of the content within both direct and indirect speeches means that not only can the number of speeches be counted, but the length of a speech can be calculated as well. In addition, the speeches themselves can be pulled from the text. In each of these cases, because of the way they are tagged, the speeches being queried can be chosen based on a number of characteristics. These can include the attributes of the speech itself, such as whether or not a

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[17] Afanas′ev, tale: 102

[18] Bottigheimer, "Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: the 'Fit' Between Fairy Tales and Their Historical Context." 125-127.

speech is direct or indirect, as well as properties associated with the speaker and therefore indirectly (from the perspective of formal markup) with the speech, such as the character's gender or role.

The @sn attribute allows such queries to return the correct count and content of speeches even if some quotations include content that is not part of the speech being quoted. For archeographic reasons I reproduced the texts exactly as they appear in the source. However, the punctuation conventions employed in that source often fail to distinguish speech from descriptions of speech acts. For example:

> <speech speaker="старик" verb="подумать" sn="1">«В избушке</speech>, — <vb infinitive="подумать">подумал</vb>, — <speech speaker="старик" verb="подумать" sn="1">лучше оставить дочь»</speech>.[19]
>
> <speech speaker="old_man " verb="think " sn="1">«The little hut </speech>, — <vb infinitive="think ">he thought</vb>, — <speech speaker="old_man " verb="think " sn="1">is the best place to leave my daughter»</speech>

The preceding excerpt includes "подумал" ("he thought") within the quotation marks, even though it is not part of the quoted text. The quote is tagged as two separate speech acts and the two portions are linked together by a shared speech number @sn attribute. This markup strategy uses the shared @sn attribute value to formalize the fact that the two instances of speech are parts of a single speech act. The quotation marks in the original source erroneously suggest that "подумал" ("he thought") is part of the speech. The model above ensures that when the contents of a speech are retrieved for analysis, descriptive words and phrases are not also returned. Even though the speeches are tagged separately, when speech frequency is calculated the @sn attribute allows the parts of a divided speech to be counted as a single speech act.

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[19] Afanas′ev, tale: 97

The @vl attribute, which is contained within a <speech> element, has a value of negative (ng) and is used to describe instances of silence. Negative speech can take two slightly different forms, the first of which is a direct reference to a character's silence using a non-negated verb: "Она молчала" ("She was silent"). The second implies silence by referring to a specific lack of speech with a negated verb: "Она не говорила" ("She did not speak"). Silence, the opposite of speech, can be viewed as a lack of agency and a removal of power. Given the prominent way in which silence shapes the portrayal of gender within the Grimm corpus[20], the study of silence within the Afanas′ev collection is necessary in order to draw a more complete comparative analysis.

Of the five attributes that can be included in a <speech> element, only the @speaker attribute is mandatory. All vocalizations are performed by a character within the text, but the other attributes describe unique textual situations that are not true of all speeches. For example, not every speech has a verb connected with it:

> Рыбка приплыла к берегу: <speech speaker="рыбка">«Что тебе, старик, надо?»</speech>[21]

> The fish swan to the shore: <speech speaker="рыбка">"What do you need old man?"</speech>

In this example, there is no verb of speaking associated with the fish's question. Because of this, the Relax NG schema that is attached to the XML files specifies that the only attribute required in a <speech> element is a @speaker attribute. The schema further dictates that the value of the @speaker attribute must match the value of an @id attribute associated with one of

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[20] Bottigheimer, "Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: the 'Fit' Between Fairy Tales and Their Historical Context."
[21] Afanas′ev, tale: 075

the characters. In this way, the schema, which contains a blueprint for the model of markup that has been employed, eliminates the potential for certain types of error and inconsistency. The schema also prevents multiple or incorrect values from being entered for the other attributes in the XML.

The only two attributes found in a <speech> element that can contain multiple values are the @speaker and @verb. Multiple characters perform the same utterance occurs in several places throughout the tales:

> Приехали вместе в лес, отыскали ель, <vb infinitive="крикнуть">крикнули</vb>: <speech speaker="отец старший_сын" verb="крикнуть">«Дверцы, дверцы, отворитеся!»</speech>[22]

> They arrived at the forest together, found the fir tree, and <vb infinitive="shout">shouted</vb>: <speech speaker="father older_brother" verb="shout"> "Little door, little door, open!" </speech>

In this example, two unique characters, the father and older brother, are shouting the same speech in unison. Although this is a single speech, it is two concurrent instances of identical male speech by different speakers, and for certain analytical purposes it is appropriate to count the speech twice. If the two speakers were of opposite genders, the example would be understood as containing one male speech and one female speech.

The inclusion of multiple values in the @verb attribute is slightly more complex, and can take two different forms. In the first, two different verbs refer to the same speech act:

> <speech speaker="мать" verb="говорить приказывать" sn="1">« Дочка, дочка!</speech> — <vb infinitive="говорить"> говорила </vb> мать. — <speech speaker="мать" verb="говорить приказывать" sn="1">Мы пойдем на работу, принесем тебе булочку, сошьем платьице, купим платочек; будь умна, береги

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[22] Afanas′ev, tale: 346

братца, не ходи со двора»</speech>. Старшие ушли, а дочка забыла, что ей <vb infinitive="приказывать">приказывали</vb>…[23]

<speech speaker="mother " verb="say order" sn="1">«Daughter! daughter!</speech> — <vb infinitive="say ">said</vb> the mother. — <speech speaker="mother " verb="say order" sn="1">We are going to work, we shall bring you back a bun, sew you a dress, and buy you a kerchief. Be careful, watch over your little brother, and do not leave the yard.»</speech>. The parents left, and the girl forgot what they had <vb infinitive="order ">ordered </vb>…

In this example, both the verb "say" and the verb "order" are associated with the mother's speech, but she is nonetheless a single character who utters this speech only once. For this reason it would be incorrect to tag the example as if it contained two speeches by the mother, one associated with each verb. It would also be incorrect to associate only one of the two verbs with the speech, since each verb has its own connotations with respect to agency and neither is more relevant than the other in the terms of my analysis.

The second way in which multiple verbs can connect back to the same speech involves instances of the same verb referring back to a single instance of speech multiple times. For example:

Девушка пошла за водой, сидит у колодца и <vb infinitive="плакать">плачет</vb><speech speaker="дочь" verb="плакать" type="indirect"/>; рыбка выплыла наверх и <vb infinitive="спрашивать">спрашивает</vb> ее: <speech speaker="рыбка" verb="спрашивать">«Об чем ты, красная девица, <vb infinitive="плакать">плачешь</vb>…</speech>[24]

The girl went to fetch water, sits at the well and<vb infinitive="cry ">cries</vb><speech speaker="girl " verb="cry " type="indirect"/>; the fish swam up to the surface and <vb infinitive="ask">asks </vb> her: <speech speaker="fish " verb="ask ">«Why, pretty girl, are you <vb infinitive="cry ">crying</vb>…</speech>

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[23] Afanas′ev, tale: 113
[24] Afanas′ev, tale: 292

Here, the same verb "cry" is associated with the same speech act two separate times in the narrative. Since the speech act itself, which in this case is indirect, occurs only once, it should not be tagged as if it occurred twice. However, in this case the verbs in question do not have different connotations and the verb to "cry" is not associated with the girl twice because the girl was crying on two separate occasions. Rather, it is associated with her once and the fish references the girl's indirect speech act. Because of this, the verb is only included once as a value for the @verb attribute. However, each instance of the verb is still tagged as a <vb> element.

In addition to its attributes, a <speech> element may also contain a nested <speech> element. This often occurs when a character mentions another character's vocalization:

> <speech speaker="мама" verb="спрашивать">«Что ты, дитятко, <vb infinitive="плакать">плачешь</vb><speech speaker="дурак" verb="плакать" type="indirect"/>?»</speech>[25]

> <speech speaker="mother" verb="ask">«Why are you <vb infinitive="cry">crying</vb><speech speaker="fool" verb="cry" type="indirect"/> my child?"</speech>

Unlike the fish's referral to the little girl's act of crying in the previous example from tale 292, here the mother is mentioning a vocalization that is not referenced earlier in the tale. This is the first and only reference to this instance of crying. The creation of an embedded <speech> element captures the complexity of this type of speech. Because of the markup, all of the text spoken by the mother is categorized as such, including her reference to the fool's vocalization. Additionally, the fool's act of crying is tagged as an indirect speech in which the fool is the speaker.

The purpose of this complex network of elements and attributes is to render a thorough, consistent, and descriptive structure that allows connections to be made among all of

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[25] Afanasʹev, tale: 403

the aspects relevant to the analysis. This structure is made accessible by a combination of XML-related technologies. This research has primarily utilized XPath to traverse the XML hierarchy and XSLT, EXtensible Stylesheet Language, to gather, analyze, and display data. The following snippet of code is an example of the way in which these technologies have been used to answer the research questions presented earlier.

```
<xsl:variable name="speeches"
select="//speech[not(@sn/data(.)
= preceding::speech/@sn/data(.))]"/>
```

The preceding XSLT expression creates a variable that stores information that can be used to calculate the number of speeches in a tale. The first line of code specifies that the name of the variable being created is speeches. The second and third line of code contain an XPath expression and dictate that the variable speeches represents all of the <speech> elements that contain a @sn attribute that is not equal to a preceding @sn attribute. This ensures that the <speech> elements that are connected by the same @sn attribute are counted as one speech, as opposed to two separate vocalizations. This snippet of code finds all of the speeches within a tale and additional qualifiers can be added to search for speeches that are associated with a specific gender or type of character.

3.0   FINDINGS

In several ways the findings from this study depart from the initial expectations concerning speech in the corpus, particularly in relation to the frequency of speech by positive and negative female characters, and the speech patterns found in different tale typologies. In the entire corpus of 37 tales there are 1210 speech acts. Male speech acts are more numerous: 480, or 39.67% of the speeches are associated with a female speaker, while 713, or 58.93% are associated with males. A small percentage of the speeches are associated with speakers of "mixed" gender (that is mixed groups, such as "townsfolk"): 17, or 1.40%. The frequency of vocalizations alone however, is not enough to determine a complete picture of the relationship between gender and speech; if loquacity is being portrayed as either a positive or negative trait for either gender, it seems logical that other features of speech, such as length and type, might be significant. Since it was possible that although women are speaking, their speeches might be significantly shorter than those associated with the male characters, speech length was examined. The length of speeches was determined by examining the number of words spoken by males and females. Words were defined as strings of text separated by a space. The average number of words in both male and female speeches is virtually the same as the frequency count: female characters spoke 3822, or 40.42%, of the words while male characters spoke 5543, or 58.62% of the words. This result does not indicate a strong difference between the overall length of male and female speech acts.

The tales in the Grimm corpus showed a strong correlation between gender and speech type. Indirect speeches, which do not convey as much agency as direct speeches, were often allocated to female characters, and can be viewed as a type of narrative silencing.[26] The tales studied from the Afanas′ev collection did not follow this trend; of the speeches in the corpus, 332 were indirect, comprising 27.47 % of the total number of speeches. Of these indirect speeches, 194, 58.4%, had a male speaker, and 133, 40.1%, had a female speaker. Not only do male characters perform more indirect utterances overall, the percentages of both male and female speeches that are indirect are almost identical: 27.7% of female speeches are indirect and 27.2% of male speeches are indirect. Similarly, direct references to silence are approximately equal for male and female characters; of the 27 occurrences of silence, 13, 48.1%, are associated with females and 14, 51.9%, are associated with males. Thus, in the Afanas′ev tales studied, there does not appear to be a relationship between gender and these two types of silencing, indirect speech and direct references to silence. This contradicts the associations between silence and gender that were found in the Grimm corpus.

I also examined the distribution of verbs speech. Of the verbs of speech within the corpus, 79 appear more than once. The 7 most frequently occurring verbs are: говорить (speak), сказать (tell), спрашивать (ask), отвечать (answer), думать (think), рассказать (recount), and велеть (order). The following chart shows how frequently each of these verbs is associated with the speech acts of male and female characters.

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[26] Bottigheimer, "Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys."

Table 1. Verbs of speech

Verbs	Female Count	Female Pct	Male Count	Male Pct	Total
Говорить (Speak)	68	36.36%	119	63.64%	187
Сказать (Tell)	50	61.73%	31	38.27%	81
Спрашивать (Ask)	20	36.36%	35	63.64%	55
Отвечать (Asnwer)	20	45.45%	24	54.55%	44
Думать (Think)	6	17.65%	28	82.35%	34
Велеть (Order)	9	29.03%	31	70.97%	31
Рассказать (Recount)	7	33.33%	14	66.67%	21

"Думать" (think) and "велеть" (order) are the verbs that display the most uneven distribution between genders in this table. Some verbs are associated only with men or only with women, but none of those verbs appear more than 4 times in the corpus. Even though their sample size is much smaller, the verbs with meanings similar to думать (think) and to велеть (order) display a corresponding trend:

Table 2. Verbs that mean "to think"

Verb	Female Count	Female Pct	Male Count	Male Pct	Total
Думать (Think)	6	17.65%	28	82.35%	34
Подумать (Think)	0	0%	4	100%	4
Задуматься (Muse)	0	0%	2	100%	2

Table 3. Verbs that mean "to order"

Verb	Female Count	Female Pct	Male Count	Male Pct	Total
Велеть (Order)	9	29.03	22	70.97%	31
Приказ (Order)	3	42.86	4	57.14%	7
Приказывать (Order)	4	57.14%	3	42.86	5
Приказать (Order)	3	16.67	15	83.33%	18

If the 3 verbs in the first column are added together, 34 of the 40 occurrences, 85%, of the verbs that mean to "think" are associated with a male speaker. In the second table, 44 of the 61 occurrences, 72.01%, of verbs meaning to "order" are connected with a male character. By looking at groups of verbs with similar meanings, it becomes evident that certain types of verbs of speaking are consistently associated with a specific gender.

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Perhaps even more indicative of the relationship between gender and verbs of speech are the instances in which verbs defy their typical associations. For example, both the bad wife in "Золотая рыбка" (The Gold Fish) and the warrior queen in "Марья Моревна" (Marya Morevna) are associated with verbs that mean "to order." Both of the characters exhibit masculine behavior, the bad wife assumes control over her husband, eventually becomes queen, and orders her husband to be beaten. The warrior queen, Марья (Marya), slays an entire army before proposing to her future spouse. While the fact that the women who are associated with these verbs behave in a masculine way strengthens the correlation between specific verbs and gender, the fact that this correlation has nothing to do with whether a character is positive or negative seems contrary to the correlations among verbs, gender, and a character's moral value found in the Grimm corpus. However, this is not to say that these tales are exceptionally progressive in their portrayal of powerful women; the character Марья (Marya) is ultimately rescued by her husband, and at no point in the corpus do similarly active female heroines attempt to usurp male authority in the same way that female villains do.

The amount of speech in each of the 37 tales was also researched in relation to tale typology. I focused on 4 typologies in particular, because of the way in which they prominently feature different types of female characters. "Bad Wife," "Wicked Stepmother," "Wise Maiden," and "Witch" tales feature interactions between male and female characters and, as their names suggest, include female characters that are central to the narrative. Different patterns of speech emerged for each of these typologies. "Bad Wife" and "Witch" tales feature female villains who usually attempt to displace male authority and are ultimately punished for their behavior. In the Grimm corpus, such characters spoke frequently, which furthered the connection between

negative women and speech. Conversely, the "Bad Wife" and "Witch" tales studied in the Afanasʹev collection are not dominated by frequent occurrences of female speech.

In both the "Bade Wife" and "Witch" tales approximately 50% of the speeches were spoken by positive male characters, while less than 30% of the speeches were spoken by the negative female characters.[27] In 6 of the 8 "Bad Wife" tales examined a male character speaks more frequently than the bad wife.[28] In 5 of these 6 tales it is the husband, a positive male character, who speaks most frequently.[29] In the other tale the young man who assists the husband speaks the most frequently.[30] Similarly in the 5 "Witch" tales studied the witch character never speaks the most frequently[31], and in 4 of the 5 tales a positive male character has the highest speech frequency.[32] While the behavior and fate of these women might further the idea that certain types of powerful females are undesirable, it does not appear that the allocation of speech in these tales is directly furthering the idea that evil women are talkative.

Despite their name, "Wise Maiden" tales show a distribution of speech similar to that in "Bad Wife" and "Witch" tales: positive males speak more often than women. Of the 474 speeches, positive male characters speak 249 times, 52.53%. Positive women on the other hand, including the wise maidens themselves, speak only 121 of the speeches, 25.53%. In 7 of the 8 "Wise Maiden" tales studied a male character speaks more frequently than any single female

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[27] In "Bad Wife" tales 51.83% of the speeches were associated with positive males while 28.27% were associated with negative females. In "Witch" tales 48.53% of the speeches were associated with positive males while 14.71% were associated with negative females.
[28] Afanasʹev, tales 75, 256, 433, 434, 436, 437, 444, 445
[29] Afanasʹev, tales 256, 433, 434, 436, 444
[30] Afanasʹev, tale 437
[31] Afanasʹev, tales 328, 365, 366, 368, 369
[32] Afanasʹev, tales 328, 365, 366, 368

character,[33] and in several of the tales the frequency of female speech is negligible compared to that of male speech. Given the titles of these tales, the infrequency of female speech is surprising. Each of the 8 titles refers directly to the wise maiden and 4 of the titles reference the heroine by her name.[34] In "Мудрая девица и семь разбойников" ("The Wise Maiden and the Seven Robbers")[35] the wise maiden speaks significantly less often than her father, neighbor, and the male villains. The wise maiden only performs 7 of the 106 speeches, 6.6% of the speeches within the tale. In 6 of the 8 tales, the total count of male speeches is greater than the total count of female speeches.[36].

Interestingly, the only "Wise Maiden" tale that features a female character that speaks more frequently than any single male character is "Василиса поповна" ("Vasilisa the Priest's daughter").[37] The verbs used to describe Vasilisa's speech are also the ones most typically associated with male characters: велеть (to order) and наказ (order). In this tale, the heroine cross-dresses and presents herself as a male throughout the course of the narrative. This suggests that in addition to being associated with male behavior, such as drinking vodka and shooting, Vasilisa the Priest's daughter is associated with the speech patterns commonly linked with males. Unlike some of the other tales with active heroines, Vasilisa does not marry at the end of the tale. She maintains her masculine identity, but is still treated as a positive character. The existence of this tale is perhaps the strongest indication that the relationship among gender, speech, and character value in the Russian tales studied does not mirror that found in the Grimm corpus. The existence of an independent female character that both asks and speaks in a typically

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[33] Afanas′ev, tales 159, 169, 232, 233, 236, 316, 327, 345
[34] Afanas′ev, tales 159, 169, 236, 316
[35] Afanas′ev, tale 345
[36] Afanas′ev, tales 159, 169, 233, 236, 327, 345
[37] Afanas′ev, tale 316

masculine way, yet is still treated as a heroine, defies the idea that talkative, powerful women are evil.

While the speech patterns in these 3 typologies might suggest that women never speak as often as positive men, the 7 "Wicked Stepmother" tales studied show an considerable amount of female speech. Positive women are associated with 118 of the 226 speeches in "Wicked Stepmother" tales, 52.21%, while positive men are associated with only 34 speeches, 15.04%. Positive women also speak almost twice as often as negative women, who are associated with 60 speeches, 26.55%. Even though each of these 7 tales includes at least one male character, the character that speaks the most often is always female. The fact that these positive female characters speak not only more often than their male counterparts, but also more than the female villains, defies the connections between a female's moral value and her speech frequency that was found in the Grimm corpus. The single highest instance of female speech in all 37 tales occurs is the Russian version of "Cinderella," "Василиса Прекрасная."[38] In this tale the heroine Vasilisa speaks 25 times, which amounts to 32.50% of the speech in the tale. Vasilisa speaks more often than any other single character within the tale. This directly contradicts the speech allocation found in the Grimm version of Cinderella, in which the heroine is associated with only 18% of the speeches while the prince, who speaks the most frequently, is associated with 31%.[39] In 3 of the 7 "Wicked Stepmother" tales examined, the heroine speaks the most frequently.[40] In

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[38] Tale 104
[39] Bottigheimer, "Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys."
[40] Tales 104, 101, 292

an additional 3 tales the character who speaks most frequently is the villainous stepmother,[41] and in 1 of the 7 tales it is the fairy godmother character, Baba Yaga.[42]

Though the amount of male and female speech varies in each of these 4 typologies, the amount of speech by a single gender of positive characters remains relatively constant, as can be seen in the bar chart below. Approximately 50% of the speeches in "Bad Wife," "Witch," and "Wise Maiden" tales are spoken by positive male characters (light blue), while approximately 50% of the speeches in "Wicked Stepmother" tales are spoken by positive women (light red).[43] In the case of "Bad Wife," "Witch," and "Wicked Stepmother" tales, this seems to indicate that speech patterns are dependent on which characters are the protagonists. The "Bad Wife" and "Witch" tales contain only 1 positive female character; the central protagonist for each of these tales is male. Conversely, the central protagonist in the "Wicked Stepmother" tales is always female. However, the "Wise Maiden" tales studied include an equal number of positive male and female characters.[44] It is possible that the distribution of speech in "Wise Maiden" tales is a reflection on the narrative importance of the positive female characters. For example, in "Мудрая девица и семь разбойников" ("The Wise Maiden and the Seven Robbers") there is a female protagonist, but she is not part of the narrative until the second half of the tale. This suggests that while "Wise Maiden" tales are often named after the protagonists, the tales are typically about the adventures of a male protagonist.

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[41] Tales 96, 97, 98

[42] Tale 102. The character Baba Yaga plays different roles in different tales. Sometimes she is a villainous witch and sometimes she is a positive donor. Because of this, she is said to have functional ambiguity.

[43] Positive men are represented by light blue, negative men by dark blue, positive women by light red, and negative women by dark red. Characters with a value of "neutral" or "other" are not represented in this chart. This graph is one of the visualizations generated through XSLT and can be found on the project website.

[44] The 7 "Wise Maiden" tales studied include 23 positive female and 23 positive male characters.
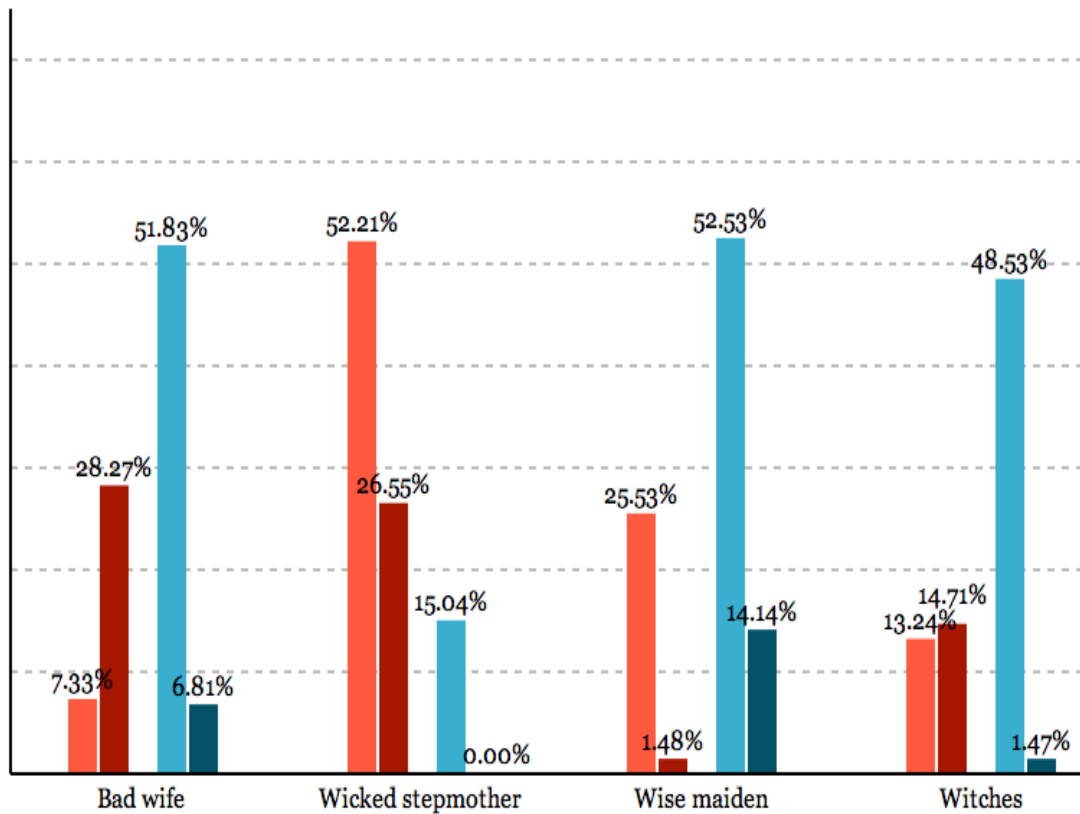
Figure 1. Speech in typologies

Overall, the results from this research indicate that the tales studied defy the findings in the Grimm corpus in a number of ways, most significantly in their absence of a consistent hierarchy of positive and negative gendered speech. There are however some clear speech patterns that have been identified that both correlate with gender, such as the verbs of speech mentioned, and with tale type. Ultimately, the patterns and the correlations between gender and speech have more to do with narrative than with an overarching emphasis on the value on female silence.

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