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Gendered Use of Adjectives in Fairy Tales: A Diachronic Study

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Gendered Use of Adjectives in Fairy Tales: A Diachronic Study

Cover Page Footnote

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Gendered Use of Adjectives in Fairy Tales: A Diachronic Study

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The study of fairy tale literature has been understudied as a source of linguistic significance and as an indication of social and cultural norms. In order to add to the research in sociolinguistics, I direct my study towards finding connections between adjectives used to describe female versus male gendered characters, and how the data may reflect and perpetuate cultural gender norms. Research by Robinson (2010) comments significantly on the seven German editions of *Kinder und Haus Märchen* by the Grimm brothers; however, linguistic trends of these texts may not be indicative of gender norms and social constructs of gender in the English-speaking communities, specifically those that exist in the United Kingdom and North America. This study, therefore focuses on the English translations of two stories that appear in the Grimm brothers' work; "Ashputtel," and "Hans in Luck," in order to gather trends and data about the appearance and shift in adjectival use towards males and females. The two particular stories chosen for the study create a corpus where a female protagonist and a male protagonist are the focal point of the story. Characters of relative age, and remain human throughout the entire length of the story where both stories' length ranged from about 2000 to 2500 words. These are the parameters initially used in an attempt to track trends across as even a corpus as possible, whereby minimizing how many factors may influence the change or differences in adjective use for either gender.

1. Previous Research

A question that should first be answered is "what caused the multiple editions of the stories?" along with Bottigheimer's (1988) concern with "what one may infer concerning the relationship between the collection and its intended readership" (McGlathery 192). Some of the causes noted by Bottigheimer (1988) include that the demand for strictly stories increased opposed to the first edition in 1812 where it was a compilation of stories containing annotations, linguistic commentary, and context afterwards. By removing the linguistic commentary, which made up half of the volume, the text was cheaper to print and could be made more accessible to more people (McGlathery 192).

The tales' intended readers and narrative voice are also important features to note when considering the literature's relationship to culture. Bottigheimer (1988) notes that "in only one instance did Wilhelm Grimm publicly celebrate a particular narrative voice; it was the voice of Dorothea Viehmann" (McGlathery 193). This establishes an interesting relationship of male authorship trying to represent an origin of female voice.

Arguably, the "faux-female" narration argues with Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (2013) question of the importance of being present in discourse in order to determine authority in speech and how the contribution may be interpreted (88-89). Gender authenticity has become a point of contention throughout research on the Grimms' tales, and whether the "voice" is truly from rural German roots or from a bourgeois friend of Wilhelm's. However, the intension remains that the narrator's voice be female (Bottigheimer, McGlathery 195). To further complicate the relationship between the presented female gendered narrator, Bottigheimer (1987) presents the fact that

Wilhelm's editing and expansion of the collection to include "gender specific roles, a generally punitive stance toward girls and women, and a coherent world view conducing to stability in the social fabric" (Bottigheimer 19). Illustrating the notion that at least in the German texts, the ideals of female behaviour are meant to appear to be reinforced by a female voice.

Once the stories became a source of international literature, the intended readership becomes trickier to assign. Dollerup (1999) states that "[i]n the process of translation, tales are selected for target cultures" (285). As the stories were translated into American English and first made available in 1826, in the mind of many adults the popular stories "were still far from consider[ed] folktales as a "suitable" literature for young people" (Kemenetsky 232). It therefore becomes a "fuse into an international genre which is primarily considered 'for children' but which is still in a way 'for adults', since the tales are best realized in the context of family togetherness" (Dollerup 285). Evidently there are many gaps in research in analyzing and comparing the translations of these stories as pieces of global literature, and what those variances say about the cultures and societies they are adapted to.

As Grimms' stories have a mixed readership of adults and children of both male and female gender, interpretations and messages regarding gender have the capacity to reach multiple demographics and act as a source of reinforcement of gender roles. Even throughout their translations and edits, Grimms' collection, like many "[c]hildren's books[,] were calculated to improve manners and morals of young ladies and young gentlemen, serving the end of promoting virtue along with propriety and piety" (Kamenetsky 232). This calculation is explicit throughout the German texts while continuing into the English translated versions for the United Kingdom and North America. Considering the continuation of morality, and determining the narrative voice and its gender, other more linguistically technical components such as adjectives' influence may be considered.

1.1 Language and Gender Research

There are many aspects of language and gender research that directly correlate to cultural practices, including the decisions which influence the representation of gender. In Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's second edition of their text *Language and Gender*, they compile a lot of previous research from various sources and present them in an organized manner. They state that "[t]he lexicon is a repository of cultural preoccupations, as a result the link between gender and the lexicon is deep and extensive" (69). It is therefore worthwhile investigating adjectives as the connection they may hold with gender and in the fairy tale context may, in fact, prove to be a deeply rooted relationship. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet continue to note that "[w]hat meanings end up encoded in language depends on [who is] doing what, and how [they are] talking about it" (71). This means that the way female may say things and contribute to conversation and how it is realized in a language may be different that when and how a male does it. With the baseline understanding and background provided by the research Eckert and McConnell-Ginet compile in their text, the gender relationships in the fairy tales may be better understood and interpreted. Clearer inferences can be made due to the understanding of how discourse interacts with gender, and how gender plays a role in lexical, semantic, and pragmatic coordination in the two fairy tales used for this study.

1.2 Female and Male Gender Presence

As adjectives often appear directly beside the nouns they modify, whether in dialogue or in narrative description, they provide significant support to the development and description of characters. Active voice and participation from characters through dialogue changes the dynamic in which the reader interprets and interacts with the text. The presence of active voice and the type of adjectives present in “Ashputtel” and “Hans in Luck” shows that there is a connection between active voice and adjectives. Adjectives that modify the subject or direct object, specifically here referring to other human characters, are found when the sentence is using active voice. A large difference between the texts is that in “Hans in Luck,” the passive voice is used to facilitate adjective phrases, where “Ashputtel” does not use adjective phrases.

Specifically regarding the “Ashputtel” story, Bottigheimer (1988) observes that “the shifts are subtle and evident within the language of the text rather than in alterations of the plot” (McGlathery 197); whereby providing merit to my study’s concern of lexical and semantic shift and variation. Bottigheimer (1988) even notes that the active voice of Ashputtel is removed and has direct correlation to the gender ideals laid out for females. In versions after 1819, “[Ashputtel] hardly speaks at all, while the wicked stepmother gives vent to the most horrid pronouncements in set of shifts which equate female verbosity with wickedness” (McGlathery 197). This removal of the protagonist’s active voice demonstrates the reduction in opportunity for female voice and therefore fewer opportunities for females to actively describe other female or male characters. Which represents prescribed cultural ideals about the female gender and the appropriateness of her level of conversational contribution. Ashputtel is a prime example of the female voice diminishing as versions of the story progress throughout time, ultimately equating that “if [women] have no voice in literary gatherings, the reader can infer a historical silencing”(Bottigheimer 52). However, and Bottigheimer (1987) identifies this, it is not just the silencing of female voice but the pattern of discourse within *Grimms’ Tales* that produces functionally silent heroines (53). The direct speech that females initially had in dialogues was given to male characters. From this phenomenon, “discourse can be understood as a form of domination, and speech use as an index of social values and the distribution of power within society”(Bottigheimer 51). Discourse is dominated by the male voice and by antagonistic females, and therefore creates an opportunity for adjectives within their discourse to have a larger presence and dominant effect. It in turn translates to allowing negative evaluation of females by other females to be a normal practice and the evaluation of a female’s appearance to be more meaningful when delivered by males.

Within the German editions by the Grimm brothers, Robinson (2010) observes that there was an asymmetry in the way females and males are described using adjectives. He notices that the “descript[ion of] social traits: *gut* (‘good’) (when helping animals; [...] *gut* is best translated as ‘good-hearted’ when describing male characters)” (97). He also found that “judging from other adjectives associated with them it would seem to be purity for the girls [...], and generosity for boys” (97) are the more prevalent ways to describe the two genders. Robinson’s observations about the German texts and their trends regarding gender will serve as a good baseline knowledge of how the adjectives within male-centric and female-centric texts appear.

Based on some of the unusual syntactic constructions and unconventional adjectives that appear in the texts like *stranger* a lot of consideration had to be made regarding the methodological approach for analysis. Several programs were considered, however, context provides a considerable amount of information about adjectival use and cannot be readily interpreted by a program. Furthermore, several texts were only available in hard copy and could not undergo

program processing. Predominantly context and syntactic structure were the deciding factors in the selected methodology for this study.

2. Methodology:

English translations of Grimms' narratives: "Ashputtel" and "Hans in Luck" from the 1820s to the 2000s were collected from an online database and several hardcopy versions, cross-referenced by hand to ensure each version did not differ in plot and were of similar word count. The online texts from 1823 to 1922 were converted to plain text and transferred into a single document in order to systematize adjectival extraction while the hardcopy versions from 1949 to 2005 were scanned where I analyzed and extracted adjectives by hand.

2.1 Procedure

A total of 28 texts were used for this study; 14 "Ashputtel" and 14 "Hans in Luck" (varying titles of both texts can be found in the Notes section following the References at the end of this paper) in order to track trends across 20 decades from the 1820s to the 2000s.

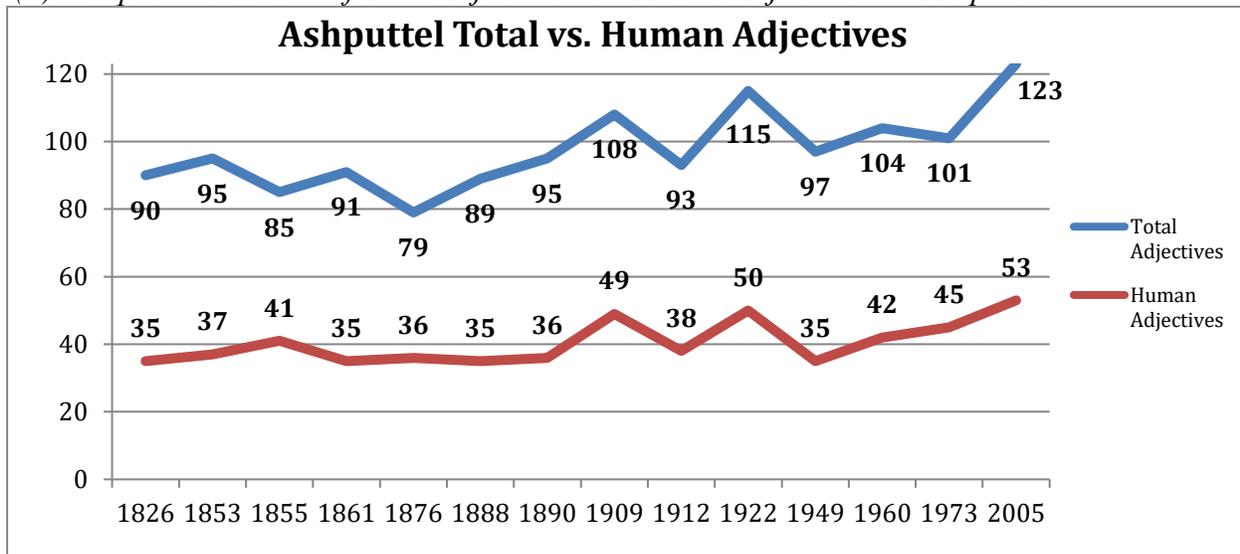
The versions that were convertible to plain text were split into two documents; one containing the chronological plain text versions of "Ashputtel," and the other containing chronological plain text versions of "Hans in Luck". Versions that were only obtainable by hardcopy were scanned and converted to .pdf documents so that annotations and highlights could be made. As there was not a suitable program that was accessible or software to use to extract adjectives from the documents while gathering the context and semantics, I manually went through them. All adjectives throughout the texts were initially identified, highlighted; then separated to identify only the ones that pertained to humans and human-related nouns (ie: *feet*).

All of the human adjectives were then compiled into charts in order to gauge their frequency over time, and throughout each version. The overall frequency percentages of human adjectives were gathered from each version so that trends could be tracked regarding any fluctuations throughout the two centuries.

3. Results

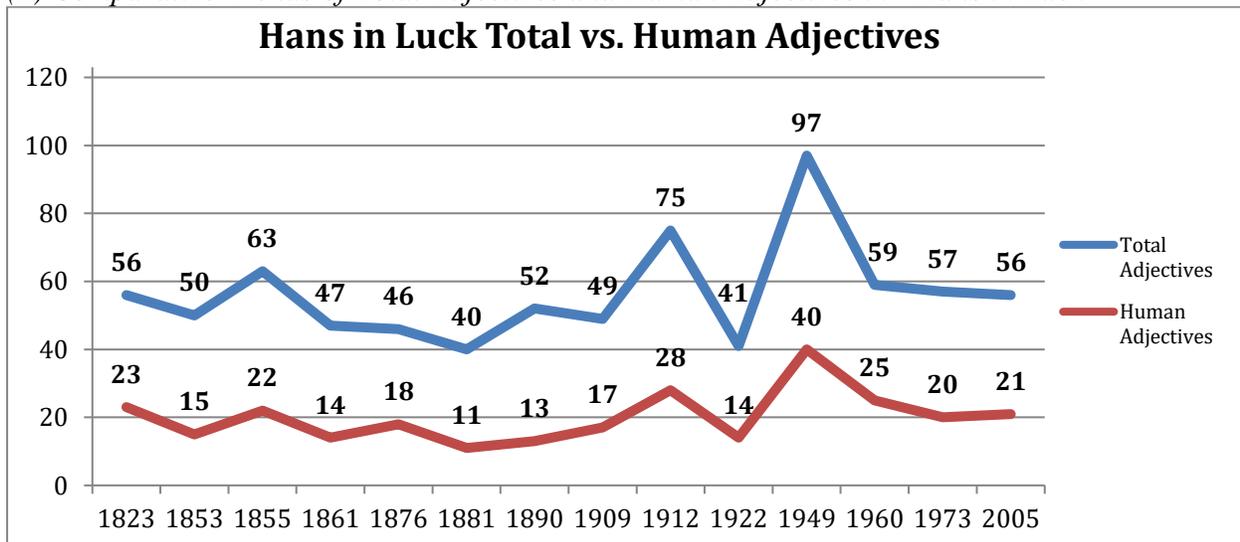
The results represent trends gathered from all 28 texts spanning over the 19th to 21st century. The findings are presented as graphs and tables in Figures 1 through 7, and Appendix A. Graphs that show multiple dates for one set of data entries do so because there were no accessible texts from the particular decade that contained both "Ashputtel" and "Hans in Luck" in the same publication. It is noted in the References that when different sources had to be used for a particular decade, I attempted to use texts by the same translator to avoid differences in translational decisions they might have made.

(1) Comparative Trends of Total Adjectives and Human Adjectives in “Ashputtel”



The first graph demonstrates the trend differences between the total adjectives found in “Ashputtel” and those that specifically refer to humans. The data from 1826 to 2005 shows that the amount of adjectives that pertain to humans corresponds to the fluctuations in total adjectives. Human adjectives make up close to half of the total adjectives to appear in the texts consistently throughout the data from both centuries, with a minimum of 35 human adjectives (out of a total of 90) and maximum of 53 (out of a total of 123). Both the total adjectives and total human adjectives demonstrate an upwards trend across the centuries; indicating an increase in adjectives appearing in the English versions of “Ashputtel”.

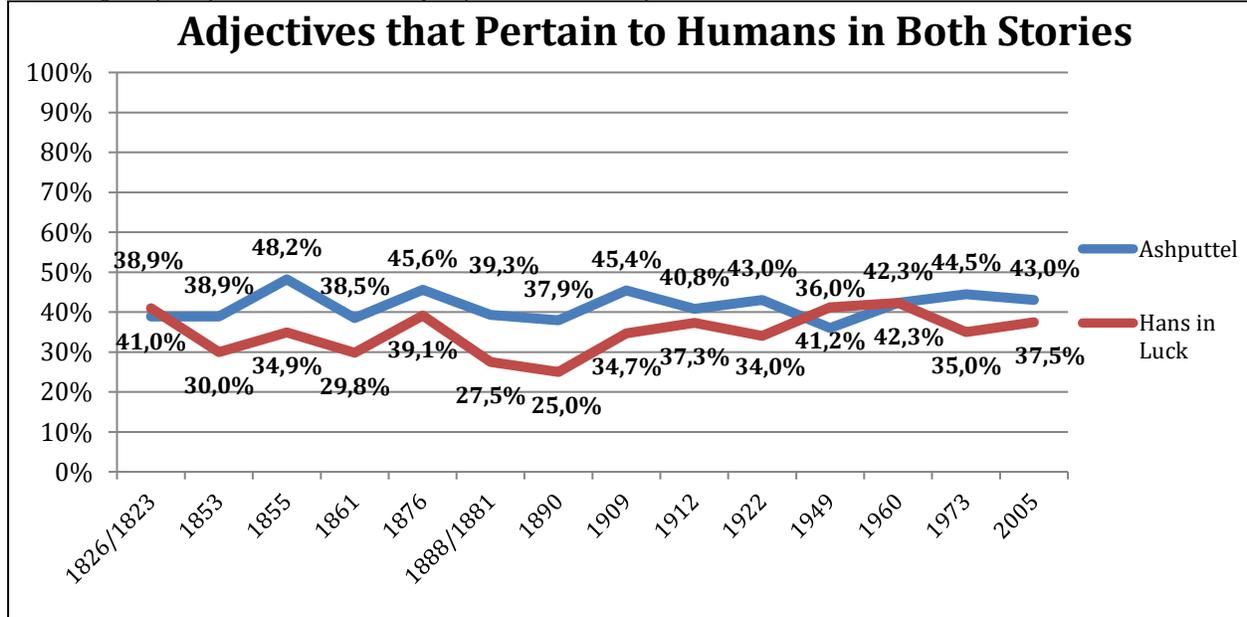
(2) Comparative Trends of Total Adjectives and Human Adjectives in “Hans in Luck”



The second graph shows the trend differences between the total adjectives found in “Hans in Luck” and ones that pertain to humans. The data from 1823 to 2005 illustrate fluctuations in the amount of adjectives for humans and amount of total adjectives. Human adjective totals consistently make up a third of the total adjectives found in these texts across the two centuries. There is a minimum

of 11 human adjectives (out of a total of 40) and a maximum of 40 (out of a total of 97). Although there is a spike in adjectives present in the data from 1949, the subsequent decades shows the data returns to similar levels that are exhibited from previous decades' adjectival occurrences. This shows a different trend in a male-centric text than a female-centric text across the same length of time.

(3) Graph of Adjective Percentages from Total Adjectives that Pertain to Humans



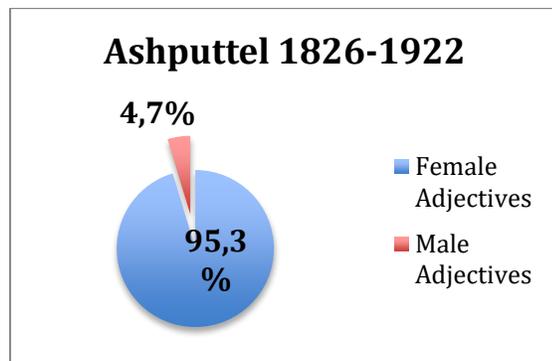
Figures 1 and 2 provide a basic understanding of the trends for the individual stories, but to better illustrate how that data corresponds to one another, Figure 3 demonstrates the overlap of human adjective trends in both texts, over both centuries. The versions from 1826 and 1823 show an overlap in the amount of adjectives in the stories where “Hans in Luck” has 41 percent and “Ashputtel” has 38.9 percent. From that point onwards, the percentages do not converge again until 1949 and 1960. In only five of the fourteen versions do the percentages of human adjectives converge towards each other, while in all other versions the data from both stories trend in the same directions. For the majority of these results, there is a 15 to 20 percent of separation in which “Ashputtel” averages around 40 to 45 percent of total adjectives that describe humans. “Hans in Luck” on the other hand is more volatile where the nineteenth century data averages to around 30 percent, and in the twentieth century increases to an average around 35 percent. The overall amount of human adjectives present in each story demonstrate a trend toward equal percentages in the twentieth century, however, further graphs will demonstrate the breakdown of gender representation.

The following information refers to the first figure found in Appendix A which shows the human adjective type and token data across all of the versions of “Ashputtel”. The adjective with the highest token count appears first in the columns and is bolded in black. Among the types of adjectives to appear, the adjective *good*, highlighted in blue, consistently remains among the top five frequent adjectives for every version of “Ashputtel”. This relatively positive adjective is then contrasted against the adjective *poor*, highlighted in green. Although it has a lower token value than other adjectives, it is consistently presented as a means to describe Ashputtel in the story. This prompts the reader to ascribe sympathy towards this female protagonist. To further illustrate the

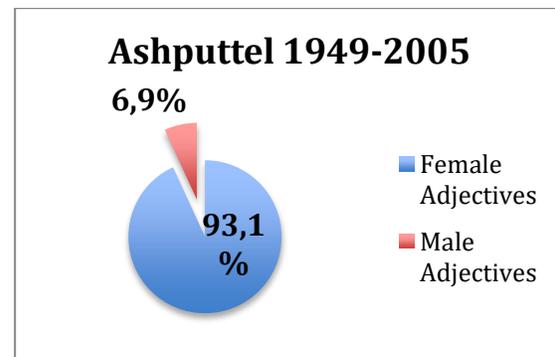
dynamic between adjectives and their connotative values, adjectives with a negative connotation that are used to describe Ashputtel through dialogue with other characters. The minimum number of pejorative adjectives spoken to or about Ashputtel is 1 while the maximum is 4. In the nineteenth century there is an alternation between 1 and 2 negative adjectives spoken towards Ashputtel and increase in the twentieth century ranging from 2 to 4 appearing in each version.

The second figure that appears in Appendix A is laid out in the same framework as the previous table, displaying the type and token data for “Hans in Luck”. As there are no instances of dialogue between characters where negative adjectives are used, there are consequently no cells that are highlighted pink. Similarly to the “Ashputtel” texts, the adjective *good* consistently appears among the most frequent token adjectives. A major difference between *good*’s appearance in “Ashputtel” versus “Hans in Luck” lies in that it appears as the most frequent adjective in “Hans in Luck” within eight of the fourteen texts, while *good* never appears as the most frequent adjective out of the fourteen texts. The adjective *poor* consistently appears once in eleven of the fourteen texts, similarly to the way it appears in “Ashputtel”. A large difference between the two stories can be seen in the two tables in Appendix A in that “Ashputtel” has a much higher type counts that “Hans in Luck” texts, and “Hans in Luck” texts are the only instances where adjectives phrases are used to describe humans. It is also visible that in the twentieth century, the types of adjectives increases by almost double compared to the type totals in the nineteenth century.

The following two pie charts present a breakdown of gender percentages in “Ashputtel”. Of the human adjectives that occur in the female-centric story, females are represented in blue, while males are represented by red. The data is split into a time frame from 1826 to 1922, and 1949 to 2005 due to the nature of collection methods. The earlier century’s data came from electronic sources while the second century’s data are from hard copy collections. There is an increase of adjectives for males from 4.7 percent to 6.9 percent. It is clear that in this female-centric story adjectives describe females more than males. Although this may not be surprising data, it does show that even though adjectives describe female characters more frequently than males, the narrator (unknown gender but presumably male due to Wilhelm Grimm’s authorship) and males have more voice and presence in describing females than females do.



(4) Chart of Adjectives Split by Gender in “Ashputtel” from 1826-1922

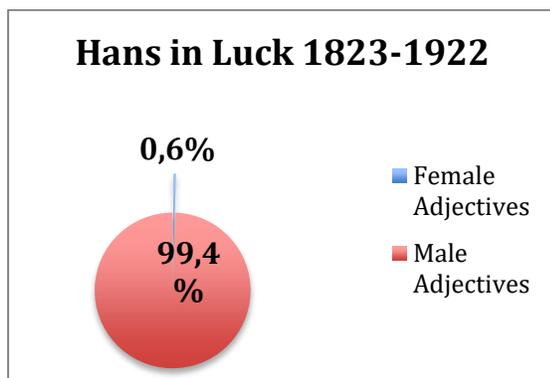


(5) Chart of Adjectives Split by Gender in “Ashputtel” from 1949-2005

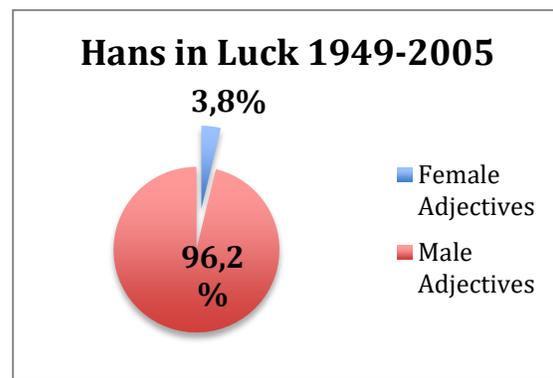
The final *Figures 6 and 7* illustrate the same information as *figures 4 and 5* but involve the results pertaining to “Hans in Luck.” Female adjectives are once again represented in blue while male adjectives are represented in red. There is a large majority of the human adjectives pertaining to males in a male-centric story. The 0.6 percent in the data from 1823 to 1922 is representative of one instance of the protagonist’s mother being described with the adjective *poor*. The 3.8 percent

female adjectives from 1949 to 2005 shows a significant increase of 3.2 percent. In total, the 3.8 percent accounts for four instances of the protagonist's mother being described across three of the four versions collected for the second century's data.

There is also a change in the type of adjectives used towards this female character. From 1823 to 1922 the only adjective used was *poor* while the versions from 1949 to 2005 use *poor* (1949), *happy* (1949), *glad* (1973), and *delighted* (2005). The increase in female adjectives is not only quantitative but qualitative as the three additional adjectives have a happy emotional connotation. This demonstrates a difference between female-centric texts and male-centric ones in the type of adjectives to describe females. A difference between female protagonists having adjectives that reflect their appearances, while minor female characters in a male-centric story have adjectives that describe their emotional states.



(6) Chart of Adjectives Split by Gender in "Hans in Luck" from 1823-1922



(7) Chart of Adjectives Split by Gender in "Hans in Luck" from 1949-2005

4. Discussion and Conclusion

In order to determine if there is a relationship between cultural and social ideologies regarding gender and the fairy tale literature, this study examines the use and change of adjectives referring to characters in the Grimm brothers' stories "Ashputtel" and "Hans in Luck". The selection of results that have been gathered show some clear asymmetries between the female and male genders, and the appropriateness of adjectives used to describe them. Much of the theoretical and observational work referred to in the introduction of this paper, such as Bottigheimer's historical research on the Grimm brothers and their stories, and Robinson's extensive analysis and linguistic analysis of Grimms' German versions are evidently present in these two stories. The adjectival trends shown in the results perpetuate gender ideologies that Bottigheimer and Robinson identify in their studies which look at the stories on larger, more general scale, and as a direct study of the German tales as they were written in German.

From the first figure in Appendix A compared with the second figure in Appendix A, it is visible that the female-centric text describes their characters, which consists mostly of females, frequently with the use of adjectives while the male-centric text uses fewer adjectives; and of those adjectives are adjective phrases to describe its characters. This trend not only continues throughout both centuries' data, there is an increasing trend to use adjective phrases to describe male characters in "Hans in Luck". Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that the total adjective counts and human

adjective counts in “Ashputtel” have a steady upward trend from the 1940s onwards, while total adjectives and human adjective counts remain in the same rough numbers across both centuries.

Based on the information shown in the figures found in Appendix A, I can infer and agree with Bottigheimer’s (1987) observations that “fairy tales consistently depict role constraints in the relationship between the sexes and they offer the growing child behavioral models including a regularly encoded gender antagonism”(20-21). The adjectives used in the female-centric narrative describe the females’ physical appearance: like *beautiful* and *fair*, or negative aspects about characters: like *stunted* and *stupid* for example. As the adjectives highlighted in pink in Appendix A, figure 1 show, the negative adjectives are only presented through character-to-character dialogue. Such a presentation contributes to the relationship that female characters have with others, in that the most prevalent and important means of describing a female is based on her appearance and negative things about them. This occurring in literature which is presented to children acts as a behavioral model that suggests young females be described based on their appearance or in a way that identifies that they do not meet social standards: like intelligence (again referring to the use of *stupid*), or lacking in general (referring once again to *stunted*), as physical appearance descriptions penalize the female characters with negative adjectives. A large difference lies in how male characters and males in the “Hans in Luck” remain free from this type of moral scrutiny. Rather, the adjectives used to describe male characters consistently refer to the characters’ happiness levels: like *happy* and *merry*, or socially and morally evaluated qualities in a positive manner like: *good*, *faithful*, and *honest*. Although adjectives such as *honest*, *wise*, *faithful*, which denote moral evaluation, they are only presented in a positive way, with the exception of one instance where *dubious* is used to describe a minor male character’s actions when conversing with Hans. Both when being described by the narrator and in dialogue with other characters, no negative adjectives are used to describe or quantify a character’s feelings or actions.

The frequency at which adjectives quantifying beauty appear in “Ashputtel” is staggering compared to that in “Hans in Luck”. In fact, quite similarly to Robinson’s (2010) claim that “[f]or the boy-words, physical beauty is clearly not as important” (93), the same ideological view of how to describe males in the English translations exists.

These observations directly correlate with Eckert and McConnell-Ginet’s (2013) conception of complimenting practices denoting what a culture deems important to comment on (125-130). The majority of human adjectives, however, found in “Hans in Luck” are positive ones in both male-to-male dialogue and the narrator’s description of characters. This differs significantly from Eckert and McConnell-Ginet’s (2013) statement that “[f]or men, making others feel good is not so highlighted” as it is for women (131). This could be a particular tendency of fairy tale literature or a difference of cultural gender norms that does not translate from literature to norms and ideologies. These instances of compliments from one male character to another on their mannerism or state of being, like: *free from every burden* or *free from all his troubles*, denote appropriate ways to compliment males. In contrast to the males in “Ashputtel”, males in that story are not described outside of their status and state of being, such as: *rich* and *old*. The fact there are no other adjectives used to describe them, leaving the data without much overlap in types of adjectives to describe females versus males.

Now, observing the data surround the adjective *good*, an asymmetry between frequencies arise. There is a rise in frequency in both texts from 1823/1826, 1876, and 1912, the male protagonist Hans (“Hans in Luck”) is described as *good* twice as frequently as the female protagonist Ashputtel (“Ashputtel”). In the subsequent versions from the 20th century onward, Ashputtel shows an increase in the token numbers of *good*, however, Hans does as well. Whereby continuing the trend and making clear that this data corresponds to Robinson’s (2010) findings of

“a notable asymmetry in the types and numbers of adjectives applied to girl-words and boy-words in the *KHM*” (Robinson 92). This reveals that adjectives are a notable source of gender asymmetries and ideals of the time period and cultures and how the asymmetry between describing a male and a female as *good* remains an unequal, though mutual, descriptor.

Finally, the data in *Figure 6* and *Figure 7* demonstrate the dominant power of males compared to females. Comparatively, from 1823 to 2005, adjectives to describe males makes up 9.1 percent of the total adjectives to describe humans in a female-centric story, while adjectives to describe females in a male-centric story make up 7 percent of the total human adjectives. Although the percentages are small, the presence of females by use of adjectives in “Hans in Luck” remains lower throughout all versions collected whereas the male presence totals 2.1 percent more in “Ashputtel”. This serves as evidence to support the existence of male dominance in a patriarchal culture and that that patriarchal dominance is perpetuated through the English fairy tale tradition. Even though they are small amounts, the female percentage from “Hans in Luck” does not come from female presence but actually from the male protagonist mentioning his mother for a total of five times across 14 versions. While conversely, the male percentage in “Ashputtel” occurs through actual male character presence and in male dialogue; reiterating once again the importance of being part of the conversation as a means of conveying dominance and power.

This study opens up the opportunity for further research in adjectives found in fairy tales and their social and cultural meaning by variance and selection. The data has shown that females lack presence in dialogue, similarly to how women have less power in conversation. When they are present in dialogue, it is generally negative comments and descriptive judgements of other females. Males on the other hand, express their thoughts in dialogue far more frequently and do not judge other males negatively, as seen in female characters’. While human adjectives remain relatively stable throughout the 19th century, the later part of the 20th century and into the 21st century, show that in a female-centric story there is a steady increase in adjectives. Such results confirm my hypothesis that females, or at very least female-centric fairy tales, use more adjectives to describe females than males. Findings that were not hypothesized but found included the overwhelming amount of negatively directed adjectives towards female characters from other female and other male characters. Continued research on other fairy tale stories to see whether this trend continues with adjectives for females would provide further evidence to suggest that there is a connection between cultural and societal views of how to interact and communicate with the male and female gender, perpetuated in literature that is aimed towards young audiences learning such norms.

Considering my design for this study, it ultimately serves its cause. However, it involved laborious tasks such as total word counts and manual data entry into graphs and charts in order to identify trends which could have been more efficiently completed by using software designed to parse documents and compute frequencies. Finding a piece of technology in time for this study’s deadlines would have likely proven useful and allowed for a more thorough analysis of two centuries’ versions of texts.

Further directions to take my research include analyzing more of the Grimm brothers’ texts with single female or male protagonists in order to make more significant generalizations, and eventually collecting data from more multi-dimensional tales like “Hansel and Gretel” or “Snow-White and Rose-Red” where there are multiple protagonists which may complicate or perpetuate gender norms while considering the struggle for agency between characters.

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Appendix A:

(1)

Ashputtel Type and Token Data														
1826	1853	1855	1861	1876	1888	1890	1909	1912	1922	1949	1960	1973	2005	
little 5	beautiful 6	beautiful 4	beautiful 5	little 5	little 5	beautiful 5	beautiful 5	little 5	beautiful 4	beautiful 5	right 6	beautiful 4	beautiful 6	
beautiful 3	pious 2	right 4	pious 2	beautiful 4	beautiful 3	proud 2	dirty 3	beautiful 3	dirty 3	little 4	beautiful 4	true 4	good 4	
dirty 3	good 2	eldest 3	good 2	dirty 3	good 2	dirty 2	false 3	good 2	false 3	dirty 3	false 3	dirty 3	rightful 4	
good 2	proud 2	good 2	proud 2	good 2	dirty 2	strange 2	pious 2	dirty 2	good 2	good 2	devout 2	good 2	dirty 3	
unknown 2	dirty 2	kind 2	dirty 2	unknown 2	unknown 2	false 2	good 2	first 2	pious 2	unknown 2	good 2	pious 2	eldest 3	
right 2	strange 2	dirty 2	strange 2	right 2	right 2	right 2	proud 2	unknown 2	proud 2	right 2	dirty 2	proud 2	false 3	
true 2	false 2	unknown 2	false 2	kind 1	kind 1	dear 1	dusty 2	right 2	dusty 2	true 2	foreign 2	dusty 2	little 2	
kind 1	right 2	dear 1	right 2	new 1	new 1	pious 1	other 2	kind 1	delighted 2	kind 1	elder 2	unknown 2	godly 2	
fair 1	dear 1	fair 1	dear 1	fair 1	fair 1	good 1	stranger 2	new 1	other 2	new 1	younger 2	false 2	proud 2	
foul 1	fair 1	poor 1	fair 1	foul 1	foul 1	fair 1	true 2	fair 1	stranger 2	fair 1	pretty 2	dear 1	dusty 2	
poor 1	treacherous 1	silly 1	treacherous 1	poor 1	poor 1	treacherous 1	elder 2	foul 1	elder 2	poor 1	dear 1	fair 1	strange 2	
dusty 1	wicked 1	proud 1	wicked 1	good-for-nothing 1	dusty 1	wicked 1	younger 2	poor 1	true 2	poor 1	fair 1	vile 1	right 2	
strange 1	poor 1	fine 1	poor 1	dusty 1	good-for-nothing 1	poor 1	dear 1	good-for-nothing 1	younger 2	good-for-nothing 1	ugly 1	black 1	youngest 2	
fine 1	stupid 1	dusty 1	stupid 1	strange 1	strange 1	stupid 1	vile 1	dusty 1	dear 1	dusty 1	black 1	poor 1	dear 1	
eldest 1	foreign 1	merry 1	foreign 1	fine 1	eldest 1	foreign 1	black 1	second 1	vile 1	fine 1	poor 1	stupid 1	fair 1	
silly 1	elder 1	haughty 1	elder 1	eldest 1	silly 1	elder 1	poor 1	overjoyed 1	black 1	strange 1	stupid 1	young 1	mean 1	
false 1	rightful 1	small 1	other 1	eldest 1	false 1	rightful 1	stupid 1	strange 1	poor 1	false 1	scullery 1	happy 1	black 1	
other 1	other 1	decietful 1	little 1	other 1	other 1	other 1	young 1	fine 1	stupid 1	eldest 1	proud 1	foreign 1	poor 1	
first 1	little 1	deceased 1	deceased 1	true 1	true 1	little 1	delighted 1	eldest 1	foreign 1	silly 1	dusty 1	delighted 1	silly 1	
	deceased 1	stunted 1	true 1	past 1	first 1	deceased 1	foreign 1	silly 1	pretty 1		haughty 1	pretty 1	delighted 1	
		late 1					late 1	pretty 1	elder 1		little 1	elder 1	other 1	
		false 1					elder 1	other 1	right 1		misshapen 1	other 1	grubby 1	
		younger 1					little 1	true 1	little 1		late 1	right 1	late 1	
		youngest 1					late 1		stunted 1		pale 1	late 1	pale 1	
									late 1			little 1		
												pale 1		
Type: 19	20	24	20	20	20	20	24	23	25	19	24	26	24	

(2)

Hans in Luck Type and Token Data														
1823	1853	1855	1861	1876	1881	1890	1909	1912	1922	1949	1960	1973	2005	
good 4	lucky 2	good 2	lucky 2	good 4	light-hearted 2	lucky 1	good 3	good 4	lucky 3	good 6	good 4	lucky 2	good 3	
lucky 3	honest 1	fortunate 2	honest 1	lucky 3	lucky 1	fine 1	free 2	happy 3	good 2	lucky 4	with joy 2	delighted 2	delighted 2	
happy 3	wise 1	delighted 2	wise 1	merry 2	good 1	delighted 1	delighted 1	lucky 2	merry 2	happy 4	fresh 1	good 1	fresh 1	
merry 2	merry 1	young 2	satisfied 1	light-hearted 2	merry 1	wise 1	bold 1	poor 2	luckiest 2	kind 4	gay 1	clumsy 1	cheerful 1	
light 2	satisfied 1	free 2	poor 1	delighted 1	weary 1	poor 1	merry 1	merry 2	poor 2	light-hearted 2	fully happy 1	angry 1	clumsy 1	
f.f.a.h.t. 1	f.f.e.b. 1	f.f.e.b. 1	f.f.e.b. 1	faithful 1	r.f.e.b. 1	f.f.e.b. 1	f.f.e.b. 1	light-hearted 2	glad 1	poor 2	clumsy 1	greatest 1	free 1	
faithful 1	light-hearted 1	dubious 1	fine 1	poor 1	well 1	true 1	real 1	f.f.a.h.t. 1	void of care 1	merry 2	awkward 1	kind 1	easy 1	
delighted 1	delighted 1	poor 1	luckiest 1	master 1	happiest 1	luckiest 1	luckiest 1	easy 1		delighted 1	old 1	poor 1	cross 1	
hot 1	poor 1	great 1	light-hearted 1	happiest 1	satisfied 1	contented 1	delighted 1	delighted 1		faithful 1	kind 1	terrified 1	true 1	
parched 1	ened of cares 1	merry 1	happy 1	happy 1	light-hearted 1	fortunate 1	noble 1	no care and no sorrow 1		well off 1	from care 1	luckiest 1	luckiest 1	
poor 1		wise 1			honest 1	ht-hearted 1	fat 1			neighbour 1	merry 1	luckiest 1	fearful 1	
happiest 1		happiest 1					gay 1			vexed 1	real 1	nted-heart 1	gracious 1	
		joyful 1					worthy 1			noble-hearted 1	luckiest 1	merry 1	lucky 1	
		awkward 1					master 1			free from care 1	frightened 1	real 1	ght of heart 1	
							happiest 1			worthy 1	his worries 1	nt-hearted 1	ery burden 1	
							kind 1			well off 1	greatest 1	t to hinder 1	in his heart 1	
							faithful 1			frightened 1	lucky 1	nother care in the world 1		
										free from all his troubles 1	ht-hearted 1	id of his burden of cares 1		
										happiest 1	ery burden 1			
										rich 1				
Type: 12	10	14	9	10	8	11	11	17	7	20	19	18	18	