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**CONSTRUING PRESTIGE: A CORPUS-ASSISTED DISCOURSE STUDY OF
EIGHT HISTORICALLY GENDERED OCCUPATIONS**

by

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B.A., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

(in English)

The Graduate School

University of Maine at Orono

May, 2021

Advisory Committee:

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Benjamin Markey

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Dylan Dryer

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented
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While research in Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies has focused on collocation and its role in representing gender, little study has been given to how these representations change across registers. Collocations are responsive to register variation and studying their change across registers reveals how gender norms are perpetuated uniquely by different registers. This study investigates whether collocates comprised of historically-gendered occupations represent gendered dimensions of labor and addresses how those representations change across different registers of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (CoCA). This thesis begins with a brief discussion of corpus linguistics before detailing the role of corpus analysis in the study of textual representations of gender. Additionally, this thesis provides a broad overview of the sociological study of professions, specifically Witz's (1992) and Macdonald's (1995) application of social closure theory to the professionalization efforts of occupations throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Collocational analysis of CoCA revealed an abstract character to the labor of superordinate occupations, insofar as the labor was mental and concerned with problems abstracted from individuals and material objects. The labor of subordinate occupations,

conversely, appeared mundane, bodily, and relational. These findings substantiate the historical discussion provided earlier in the thesis.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The accessibility of digital computing technology in the 1970s and 80s afforded linguistic researchers the opportunity to compile and parse large collections of text, termed corpora, in their efforts to study linguistic phenomena such as meaning, lexis, grammar, and register variation. Because parsing and identifying textual patterns by hand across large bodies of text was not a feasible research strategy, linguists before the assistance of digital computing technology relied on intuitive judgements concerning what language is and how we use it. An example of such an intuitive judgement is the common theory of word meaning, in which a word is thought to possess one or more meanings. These intuitive theories are distinct from the empirical assessments of corpus linguists, as corpora are composed of authentic occurrences of language-in-use, not hypothetical examples of language use meant to corroborate the researcher's intuitive theory. The use of corpora in research is taken up in one of two primary ways: corpus-driven and corpus-based research. Corpus-driven research investigates the inductive, patterned emergence of linguistic phenomena from a corpora, while corpus-based research in turn makes use of those already-defined linguistic concepts and investigates their instantiation in a body of texts.

Early corpus-driven linguistic research in the 1980s revealed that language use was marked by a high degree of phraseological patterning. Because the composition of texts was found to proceed through the selection of clustered units of words and not individual words, corpus linguists were prompted to reassess intuitive theories of language that understood meaning to be an intrinsic quality of an individual word. When studied across millions of words of text, word meaning is established and stabilized by co-occurring lexical and grammatical patterns in which those words appear—that is to say that meaning is spread-out across recurring

co-textual patterns (Stubbs, 2002). Collocation, as one type of lexical patterning, sustains the spread-out quality of meaning by allowing researchers to identify knowledge of a word's meaning with knowledge a word's likely collocates.

By recharacterizing meaning this way, researchers gain insight into the ways language use sustains identities and orientations towards the world. Readers know the meaning of a word by its instantiation in collocational patterns that are customary to a community of language users. For researchers, this connection between a word and the co-occurring linguistic patterns evidences a linkage between how a community speaks of and perceives a construct of interest. This means a speaker, using the word 'girl' for example, must position the term within co-occurring characterizations of behavior, disposition, and action of girls that meaningfully recur amongst the community to whom the speaker is addressing. In a 1995 article, Michael Stubbs takes up Baker and Freebody's (1989) corpus analysis of 80,000 words from children's books and, relaying their findings, notes that boys are "*sad, kind and brave*" while girls are "*young and pretty*", that fathers "*paint, drive cars and light fires*" while mothers "*bake cakes and pick flowers*" (p. 382). Stubbs (1995) notes that strong collocational relationships between words make the corresponding features of the world "conceptually salient" such that the associations within the material world appear "constant, shared, and natural" (p. 383). Because the corresponding features that Stubbs refers to—the characteristics of young and pretty—are "conceptually salient" to the understanding of 'girl', these co-occurring features become integral in an understanding of what it means to be a girl. In this way, patterns in language use reveal an orientation toward entities and objects in the world. My inquiry here seeks to both justify the claim that recurring linguistic patterns are a site of transmission of cultural gender norms and values, and investigate those patterns across different registers of text. Ultimately, this study is

concerned with the ways in which textually-sustained gender norms might shape our orientations towards different occupations.

What is a Text?

Because this research is a study of texts, I believe it necessary to provide a definition of what texts are and discuss how they sustain social relations amongst members of communities, organizations, and institutions. A shared understanding of the nature and influence of texts is important because it is through this understanding that the results of studies such as this are made meaningful to a wider audience. The findings of Baker and Freebody's (1989) study of children's books deserve our collective, cultural attention, but there is difficulty in persuasively articulating an exigence for reform when members of a community each work with differing conceptions of what a text is and does. Because language users possess functional but naive theories of language use that are sedimented by individual experience, there are consequently a variety of lay theories that account for what a text is, what words mean, and how language works. These lay theories of language jeopardize the broader acceptance of researcher conclusions by employing unrefined understandings of linguistic concepts that are generated from an individual, and therefore, limited experience.

Readers of children's books, to continue with this example, are being oriented towards the world through a process which shapes their understanding of the representations before them. But how does this occur? Texts do not possess agency insofar as they cannot "have acted otherwise" (Giddens, 1979, p. 56). A text, in fact, cannot act at all. It is a "static product...a set of traces" which result from a social process (Stubbs, 2007, p. 145). My study takes Stubbs's definition as the starting point in its conceptualization of texts.

Stubbs's (2007) definition of a text is tied up in his understanding of discourse as a meaningful and intentional event in the material world. These events—"intentional social interaction[s]" (Stubbs, 2007, p. 145)—that comprise discourse are populated by agents engaged in acts of linguistically mediated social action that generate texts as products of that action. This action, while leaving "traces" (Stubbs, 2007, p. 145) in the resultant texts, nonetheless remains irreducible to such traces. This means that research using corpora is not concerned with reconstituting the intention of actors through an analysis of resultant traces. The dynamic elements of discourse are inaccessible through a study of texts, and remain under the purview of other methodologies and academic disciplines. When researchers investigate texts on the order of hundreds of millions, if not billions of words, the intentionality that guides the social actions of discourse and produces texts disappears. If textual patterns are reproduced across a billion words, thirty years of textual data, and thousands of writers in different domains of activity, there is no viable hypothesis to account for how the reproduction of patterns is intentional or coordinated. This is to say that the patterns revealed through corpus analysis are employed without a writer's consideration of intention and circulate culturally above the threshold of any one writer's awareness.

Meaning and Textually Mediated Communication

This section makes use of the scholarly work of Hanks (1996) and Bazerman (2013) in order to discuss connections among language users, language use, context, and communities. In order to ground the following discussion, I will use discursive representations of historically-gendered occupations as an example through which to discuss more concretely subsequent abstract observations. In doing so, I intend also to account for the viability of those representations as sites worthy of corpus-assisted analysis. Ultimately, this discussion culminates

in the claim that the generation of textual meaning is a co-production of text and reader made possible by a shared orientation to the world.

When we engage with a text that represents doctors as heroic or lawyers as unethical, our understanding of that text is “an active process of interpretance, not a matter of recognition” (Hanks, 1996, p. 146). This means that readers are not matching words against a mental database of meanings in order to understand a text, but are instead dynamically producing meaning through an interpretative process informed by the word and “a background of evaluative ‘glosses’ that actors...apply to any sign” (Hanks, 1996, p. 43). Concretely speaking, the person who understands the phrase ‘shyster lawyer’ does so through attaching to the phrase experiences of socio-cultural representations of unethical behavior—duplicity, mendacity, greed, etc. This background of evaluative glosses is established and sustained by co-occurring representations of qualities and constructs of interest. This textual co-occurrence is termed collocation. Insofar as readers comprehend words by having knowledge of the salient, co-occurring patterns (i.e., collocates), meaning is “interactionally created” (Bazerman, 2013, p. 159) between text and reader.

Audience members are therefore implicated in the construction of meaning. This means that as a communicator, I cannot appeal to a “common possession of a fixed code” (Hanks, 1996, p. 146), so often a central element of lay theories of language, however intuitive it may appear. Readers do not share a coextensive knowledge of a dictionary or grammar book with the text, but are instead “working out [with the text] meanings in context” (Hanks, 1996, p. 146). This labor of “working out” meaning is made possible because readers are co-produced by the texts that they read. Our understanding of a text is evidence that our ideological presuppositions are symmetric with those that inform the composition of that text. Similar assumptions and

perspectives allow readers and texts to hold a congruous orientation “to each other and to their social world” (Hanks, 1996, p. 229). Bazerman (2013) echoes Hanks’s emphasis of the role of context in comprehension, contending that the ways in which texts “express themselves” is “framed by the situation, roles, and actions they are engaged in” (p. 156). This means that readers comprehend representations of historically-gendered occupations from texts because readers are involved in the basic perspectives that guided the composition of the text.

To sum up this discussion so far, readers comprehend texts, not by recognizing and matching lexicographic definitions to words like ‘prescribe,’ ‘administer,’ and ‘uniform,’ but by co-producing with the text a congruent orientation to the world, which in turn allows readers to share in the perspectives projected by the text. We engage in this process below the level of our conscious, intentional awareness, which means we are frequently taking up a perspective on the world without realizing it. This is what Hanks (1996) means when he observes that “verbal practices routinize ways of experiencing” (p. 201). Our orientation to the material world can become so finely enmeshed with our linguistic practices that we can in turn draw upon it to co-construct meaning in a community of similarly oriented language users without knowing what we are actually doing. This process accounts for how a reader engaged with textual representations of historically-gendered occupations can be oriented, for example, to an understanding of ‘nurse’ comprised of a maternal mix of discipline and comfort. The reader’s orientation towards nurses is then drawn upon in future communication to generate meaning, which in turn further routinizes that orientation. It is this point in particular that reveals the shortcomings of lay theories of language use. Because these theories emerge from personal experience, they struggle to account for phenomena that transcend individual experience, such as how recurring representations sustain broader socio-cultural understandings of race and gender.

This and other research that contests lay theories of language accounts for the complexity, ambiguity, and struggle that characterizes the ways our language use shapes and is shaped by our orientation to the world.

Language use is responsive to the world, so far as it corresponds to the elements therein. But language use is also generative and “helps to create [the world] through objectification” (Hanks, 1996, p. 121), assisting communities of language users in making routine sense of objects and phenomena. In this framework, a group “negotiates a communal meaning” (Bazerman, 2013, p. 169) by sedimenting a sense a shared context through recursive instantiation of words in relatively stable linguistic patterns. This means that doctors come to understand ‘nurses’ and ‘charting,’ for example, by consistently using the words within the same collocates. Because meaning is distributed across linguistic patterns, the recurring patterns provide a community of language users shared representations with which to make sense of the world, together. The ways in which meaning is established, taken up, and circulated throughout a community of language users does not enter into the minds of the people who compose these texts. Once published though, these texts unintentionally become one site among many that perpetuate normative forces in society, wherein orientations towards the world are reproduced and inform habituated ways of being.

The study of texts, then, whether they be children’s books, academic articles, or tourist brochures, is meaningful insofar as the texts, in being taken up by actors, come to shape subsequent discourse through the active process of being made meaningful to a community of language users. I have sought to articulate how recurring lexico-grammatical patterns unintentionally sustain and reproduce representations of the world through the seemingly innocuous carryings-on of literate activities. Corpus-assisted research in the fields of linguistics

and communication quantitatively assesses the prevalence and variability of these routine patterns, revealing along the way that meaning is not so much contingent upon the intention of a speaker or writer as it is upon the employment of “recurrent conventional forms that circulate in the social world” (Stubbs, 2007, p. 146). While the “communal meaning” that Bazerman writes of is not observable in any empirical sense, the resultant textual patterns by which readers are oriented towards the world and use to co-construct meaning with a text are.

Hanks (1996) notes that words, as valued objects, “circulate in social groups” (p. 217) and mediate effective communication by constituting one criteria whereby an interpretative community defines itself. Physicians, as an example of a social group, engage in intra-group communication with words, the values of which often fall under the domain of their occupational expertise, thereby impeding effective communication with outsiders. Part of membership in a community of doctors is successfully interpreting the utterance of fellow doctors and producing acceptable utterances yourself in the professional context. Because utterances “projec[t] their speaker’s perspectives” (Hanks, 1996, p. 204) on a situation and communication requires the co-construction of context by interactants, the listener must possess a perspective congruent to the speaker’s projected perspectives. To continue with the example of physicians, interactants are able to co-construct a context through both the shared values of words and embodied repertoire of occupationally-normative gestures, postures, and behaviors. Put simply, intra-group communication amongst physicians constructs an intersubjective perspective of the world shared by physicians. To move out of the example, then, one might say that all intra-group communication amongst members of a social group constructs a shared perspective of how those members view themselves, others, and the world at hand. Thus, the study of co-occurring textual patterns and occupational titles may reveal if and in what ways these embodied repertoires of

norms and values, and the associated notions of prestige they invoke, are entextualized in different domains of American cultural discourse. Such recurring patterns are the site of corpus-assisted research methodologies.

Co-Text

Sinclair (1998) and Stubbs (2002) devised a model for organizing and analyzing the recurring co-textual features of linguistic patterns. Sinclair in particular outlined a more detailed, abstract system of lexical analysis that sought to systematize co-text through an inquiry into 1) collocational and 2) colligational patterns, 3) semantic preference of words, and 4) discourse prosodies. Under this model, semantic value is not tied to a word but spread out across co-occurring grammatical and lexical elements (Stubbs, 2002; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Hunston, 2011). As you consider the following extended example, please observe that these four types of relations are increasingly abstract.

The node word ATTORNEY/S 1) collocates twenty times with the participle representing in a small selection of the Newspaper subcorpora used in this study, meaning that across over the four million words in that selection, ATTORNEY/S and representing co-occur within a four-word span twenty times. Collocation is the least abstract relation in Sinclair and Stubbs's analytical model and is directly observable with the use of digital computing technology. Moving one step up in the analytical model, ATTORNEY/S frequently occurs in a 2) colligational pattern—a pattern of grammatical forms— comprised of a job title, for, and then a noun phrase (*e.g.*, attorneys for one of Bradford's victims). Though one is not employed in this study, researchers frequently make use of part-of-speech taggers that parse through lines of text and visibly designate for each individual word a corresponding grammatical category. Taggers make colligational patterns as visible as collocational patterns, but colligational relationships are

nonetheless still more abstract on account of the fact that grammatical categories are “generalizations about the behavior” (Stubbs, 2002, p. 83) of classes of words.

Other frequently occurring job titles from the 2018 Newspaper section co-occurring in the colligational pattern job title + *for* n are spokeswoman, spokesman, and candidate. This four-word group can be seen as an open-ended lexical set of words that “share some semantic feature” (Stubbs, 2002, p. 83), a group of words Stubbs terms a 3) semantic preference. Though these positions and that of ATTORNEY/S ostensibly have little to do with one another, the positions are all responsible in newspaper discourse for delivering diligently crafted public statements on behalf of represented parties. The words of this semantic preference are job titles that are, then, responsible for speaking in someone else’s stead. Lastly, Stubbs (2002) notes that 4) discourse prosodies are “descriptor[s] of speaker attitude and discourse function” (p. 88). Given that newspaper discourse is comprised of assertive statements corroborated by direct and indirect speech, the colligational pattern noted above (job title + *for* n) is a linguistic unit capable of attributing speech in a discourse which often uses institutionally sanctioned speakers in the construction of newsworthiness (Potts et al., 2015, p. 155).

Stubbs (2002) further developed this model by theorizing ways statistics might be used to describe the nuanced variation in textual patterns. In consequence, the semantic value of extended lexical units could not only be identified through categorical analyses but described through quantitative measures and qualitative assessments. These textual patterns exhibit varying degrees of flexibility— some are quite inflexible insofar as over large bodies of text they exhibit no variation in syntax or word preference while others, conversely, exhibit wide variation. For example, Stubbs (2001) discusses the phrase ‘naked eye,’ noting that it is “almost always” (p. 108) preceded by ‘the.’ The phrase ‘the naked eye’ varies little (hence the unusual phrases ‘a

naked eye' and 'my naked eye'), but the phrase frequently co-occurs in longer patterns that exhibit greater lexical variation (e.g., 'just large enough to see with the naked eye,' 'so small that it couldn't be seen by the naked eye,' etc.). Because of this varying flexibility, meaning is not so much a binary phenomenon (x means y or it does not) as it is established through use, visible in corpora, and measurable through a statistical analysis. The relationships that establish word meaning are, in Stubbs's (2002) terminology, "probabilistic" (p. 88).

Literature Review

In recent years, researchers have brought the corpus-assisted method for analyzing textual patterns to bear on studies in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in an effort to more broadly generalize findings and introduce a higher degree of objectivity to the inquiry. CDA methodology entails "a fine-grained close reading of the texts" (Lorenzo-Dus and Di Cristofaro, 2018, p. 614), often focusing on a narrow type of text (relating to gender or labor: Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Hoey, 1996; Conradie, 2013; Annandale and Hammarstrom, 2010; Samdanis & Lee, 2019), leading to results that are mired in the subjective impressions of the researcher and are often not broadly generalizable. In an effort to remedy these methodological shortcomings, researchers have combined Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Corpus Linguistics (CL) into Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), wherein the size, organization, and impartiality of corpora afford researchers a higher degree of objectivity in textual analyses and their research more generalizable conclusions (Nartey & Mwinlaaru, 2019, p. 215). The broad perspective entailed in the analysis of corpora also obviates any question of writer-intention. Due to the scale of contemporary corpora, the pervasiveness of measurable textual patterns transcends any coordinated, intentional efforts of writers.

There are few studies that investigate lexico-grammatical patterns as a reflection and further concretization of gender norms. Further, what studies there are focus on a relatively narrow set of texts (Formato, 2016; Aull & Brown, 2013; Macalister, 2011). For example, Formato (2016) studied the use of the gendered *magistro* in referring to women cabinet members in Italian newspapers, and observed that articles using the masculine noun form “tend to hide a repositioning of women in the situational public sphere” (p. 373), effectively making the women invisible in language. While the sole use of newspapers or children’s books in CADS research reveals how gender norms and values are reinforced and perpetuated in particular texts, the use of one single text-type hampers the ability to generalize findings to language use at large. Pearce (2008) achieve such generalizability in an investigation of the collocational profile of the different word-forms of *man** and *woman** across the entirety of the British National Corpus (BNC). Because the analyses are broadly informed by the wide array of types of text found in the corpus, the conclusions regarding the representation of gender are comprehensive and can be “extended to ‘British English in general’ with at least some degree of confidence” (p. 6). Unfortunately, Pearce’s analysis does not account for frequency of patterning in different sections of the corpus, so while the study offers broadly generalizable conclusions about language use, it cannot offer insight into whether identified patterns are more frequently instantiated in a specific type of text. Such data is needed in order to show how instantiated textual patterns are responsive to register variation.

Registers, according to Conrad and Biber (2001), are defined by a “particular constellation of situational characteristics” (p. 3) relating to rhetorical concepts such as speaker purpose and the relationship between speaker and audience. Language users adapt their language use to the rhetorical situation at hand and the language that they use varies functionally to meet a

purpose. A common example of this is the increased prevalence of second-person pronouns in spoken registers, interpreted as a recurring linguistic feature that promotes interactivity and sustains conversation. When language varies functionally, it also varies linguistically, meaning that scholars, such as Conrad and Biber (2001), can study the varying functionality of different registers by quantitatively assessing the pervasive linguistic features statistically prevalent in each register. Collocations, as linguistic features, are responsive to register variation. By holistically analyzing the BNC, Pearce (2008) is unable to study how register variation might influence the collocations of *woman** and *man**. By keeping the registers distinct from one another, this study investigates how register variation interacts with co-occurring representations of historically-gendered occupations. Further, this approach reveals if and how different registers are responsible for the perpetuation of gender norms and values.

Pearce's (2008) study provides a useful guiding example of corpus-assisted research into the lexico-grammatical patterns surrounding gendered node words. Unfortunately, this preliminary review of the literature identified no research employing a CADS methodology that inquired into the interaction between such patterning and historically gendered occupations. In that these occupations are historically entangled with gender norms and values, the surrounding lexico-grammatical patterns might index a habituated orientation towards the workers and labor of that occupation. Pearce (2008) found that representation of women established by collocation aligned generally with cultural stereotypes ("co-operative, gentle, dependent, emotional, and sympathetic" (p. 19). If gender was accorded a salient role in the formation of certain professional and paraprofessional occupations, the influence of gender norms and values may result in a textually-evidenced devaluing, erasing, or otherwise undetermined distortion of the labor of which such occupations are constituted. Therefore, this study intends to analyze lexico-

grammatical patterns co-occurring with nouns denoting both historically gendered superordinate and subordinate professions (e.g., lawyer and paralegal) across different sections of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (CoCA) in an effort to discern if and in what textual form gender norms and values shape our use of language in public discussion of labor.

The research questions guiding this work are as follows:

1. What are the collocational profiles of nouns denoting historically gendered professions?
2. What semantic preferences saliently collocate with nouns of historically gendered professions?
3. Which patterns are more prevalent in distinct sections of CoCA?

CHAPTER 2: PROFESSIONALIZATION AND GENDER

Given that previous research has turned to recurring textual patterns to study representations of gender (Formato, 2016; Aull & Brown, 2013; Macalister, 2011; Pearce, 2008), textual patterns co-occurring with practitioners of historically gendered occupations provide a viable site of study for an inquiry into if, and in what ways, representations of gender influence representations of labor. This chapter discusses, then, how this inquiry conceptualizes professions, occupations, and gender, and closes with a detailed discussion of the four occupational groupings employed in this study.

The Professionalization of Occupations

In this inquiry, the constructs of interest are occupations historically shaped, however unintentionally, by notions of the masculine and feminine gender. I understand occupation conceptually as a formalized role comprised of an array of explicit responsibilities whose exercise legally merits financial compensation. Moreover, the actions through which these responsibilities are fulfilled, on account of repetition in practice and in media representations, become socially recognizable as constitutive of the corresponding role. Thus, filing a brief on behalf of a represented client is linked to the role of lawyer legally, by constraints on the legal practice of law, and culturally, by those who engage with lawyers or consume media representations of lawyers. The particular combination of responsibilities that is identified with a role is shaped and reinforced by legal requirements (as with that of lawyer who must pass a state BAR exam, acquire state licensure, and abide by ethical codes of practice), organizational stipulations (as with that of an administrative assistant whose responsibilities are set forth by an employer), and cultural perceptions (as with that of a tradesperson, such as a plumber or carpenter, whose is identified as that of a plumber or carpenter by those who purchase their

labor). In practice, these three frames often work in concert. For example, plumbers in many states require licensure and may be employed at a larger plumbing company also employing, say, a secretary and an accountant. This is to say that there are legal, organizational, and cultural frames through which one must analyze the particular constitution of an array of responsibilities that is identified with a particular occupation.

Informed by McDowell (2015), I further understand gender as a “cultural construct imposed on people as result of their biological sex” (p. 274) which in turn constrains and often structures behavioral norms. Culturally assumed as “natural” to biological males or females, particular skills and actions come to comprise the cultural construct of the man and woman gender. This construct is then imposed, to use McDowell’s term, on persons of a particular sex. This means that gendered occupations are those arrays of responsibilities whose fulfillment necessitates skills and actions men and women are “assumed to encompass due to their sex” (McDowell, 2015, p. 274). While the gendered character of the nursing occupation will be elaborated upon later in this chapter, it will serve here briefly as an informative example of a gendered occupation. Per the previous paragraph, that of nurse is a role comprised of an array of responsibilities so defined by legal (e.g., state nursing boards, national exams, etc.), organizational (e.g., hospital, home health services, etc.) and cultural (e.g., media representations) forces. Nursing is a gendered occupation because the array of responsibilities of which it is comprised is historically linked to women’s domestic labors. Nursing was and often continues to be seen as women’s work because the actions required of such labor were identified as those “natural” to those of the biological female sex.

How different historically-gendered occupations are represented and with what recurring textual patterns these constructs of interest co-occur comprise the focus of this study. Because

semantic value and lexico-grammatical form are “two aspects of the same phenomenon” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 99), the recurring formal patterns constitute a site for the concretization and propagation of norms and values (Stubbs, 1995, p. 387), as discussed in the previous chapter. If the language we use to represent historically-gendered occupations is reflexively tied to our understanding of those occupations, then the meaning of our words emerges from and reflexively enforces that same understanding. This chapter intends to account for the historically-gendered character of a number of occupations by discussing the distinction between an occupation and a profession, the gendered strategies by which a collective was denied access to an occupation, and lastly, a further in-depth discussion of the specific occupations that comprise the constructs of interest to this study. The primary scholars used in this chapter, Witz (1992) and Macdonald (1995), take up and elaborate upon both Parkin’s (1979) stratification theory of social closure and Larson’s (1977) articulation of the professional project.

While I do make use of these scholars, and interpret the professional project as an example of social closure, I do so with an asterisk. Parkin’s articulation of social closure emphasizes that exclusion by any principle of stratification is exploitative, yet neither he nor any of the scholars that take him up concern themselves with understanding the nature of intention as it relates to enacting strategies of exclusion. The relationship between the motivations of the groups in pursuing strategies of closure and the effects of those strategies, so far as they are recounted by Parkin, Witz, and Macdonald, certainly *appears* intentional in the scholarship. Of this intentionality I am skeptical. It is not that I think these scholars are incorrect, so much as I am aware of the tendency of broad, abstract, macro-level theories to quietly impute intentionality

between motivations and effects when regarding the historical actions of individuals and groups. In what follows, I do my best to keep my own skepticism textually present.

Both Witz (1992) and Macdonald (1995) argue that sociological attempts to identify characteristics of professions reproduce representations of what professions think they are. Sociological analyses are much better served, the argument goes, by investigating what professions do—that is, the actions whereby they “organized themselves to attain market power” (Larson qtd in Macdonald, 1995, p. 8). For the purposes of this project then, in order to understand what professions do differently than occupations, I make use of what Larson (1977) termed the professional project. Witz (1992) emphasizes the “concrete and historical” nature of professions and conceptualizes professional projects as an array of strategies “which aim for an occupational monopoly over the provision of certain skills and competencies in a market for services” (p. 5). Special emphasis is placed by Witz (1992) and Macdonald (1995) on the interactivity through which an occupation is professionalized and the collectivity engaging in that interaction in order to conceptualize a profession as an ongoing series of interactions among an occupation and adjacent occupations in the labor market.

Knowledge is a resource like any other. While it may differ in materiality from that of livestock, crude oil, or timber, knowledge can nonetheless be converted to financial assets in the marketplace. According to Macdonald (1995) and Witz (1992), occupations engaged in the professional project seek to establish and continually protect the occupation’s ability to convert its expertise into economic gain. Further, occupations strive to link their respective expertise to a sense of prestige in the social world. In pursuing these dual objectives, occupations engage in social closure wherein they “seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles” (Parkin, 1979, 44). It is through such a

pronouncement that problems of intentionality seep in, and I propose the following reconfiguration. Because practitioners of occupations wish to continue the economic opportunities their expertise affords them, they create a standard of practice. This standard of practice intends to exclude those not qualified, but in turn unintentionally concentrates the financial rewards of that practice on those who meet the standard. This is to say, occupations act according to motivations to protect the monetization of their knowledge, and the effects of their action eventually preclude others from access to the market.

The explicit knowledge of an occupation, deployed to successfully render service in the market, is, according to Witz (1992) and Macdonald (1995), monopolized and guarded from horizontal encroachment by similar occupations in the field—an encroachment Parkin (1979) terms usurpation, wherein a subordinated group seeks free access to “the resources and benefits accruing to dominate groups” (p. 74). The monopolized explicit knowledge, according to Wilensky (1964), is constantly being re-assessed and re-identified in an occupation’s efforts to monitor access to their ranks. This process is, essentially, the circumscription of competence, enacted in order to identify initiates who are *incompetent*. Wilensky (1964) summarizes this process of reassessment by noting that occupations “redefin[e] their functions upwards” (p. 144), meaning that essential responsibilities are quantitatively narrowed but qualitatively complexified. Less technical tasks, as an effect of this redefinition, are in turn delegated to contingent professions that require less training.

As an example of the distribution of menial and expert tasks among a division of laborers, consider the visible differentiation of tasks between pharmacists and technicians behind the counter of retail pharmacies. There are one to two technicians responsible for answering phone calls, physically handing the packaged medication to patients, and ringing them up at a

cash register. Slightly away from the customer's perspective, another technician is responsible for taking the medication off the shelf and allocating the amount of medication stipulated by the prescriptions in the order queue. All the while, the one or two pharmacists remain stationary, ensuring the correct medicine is being dispensed as stipulated by the order, answering clinical questions posed by the technicians, and occasionally stepping up to the counter to provide expert counsel to a patient. The technicians perform the mundane, physical tasks required to dispense medication to patients, while pharmacists verify and check orders, a task that draws upon their expertise. In this example, the division of labor emphasizes the separation of dispensing medication into physical and mental activities. Both types of activity are necessary to the outcome of providing medication though the activities are valued differently in terms of societal prestige and financial compensation. Wilensky (1964) observes that occupations with a fairly accessible knowledge base often struggle to professionalize. While one may glimpse the scope of the pharmacist occupation's knowledge base through a cursory survey of pharmacy school curricula, the content of that knowledge base is quite complex. As such, Wilensky would say their knowledge is insulated from lay critique. Conversely, the explicit knowledge base of pharmacy technicians is both accessible and fairly uncomplex. Because their knowledge base is thus open to lay critique, the occupation of pharmacy technician is liable to rapid and unproductive change: they are by nature "anti-traditional, never 'established'" (Wilensky, 1964, p. 149), a characterization that often hampers and impedes the occupation's professionalizing efforts.

According to both Wilensky (1964) and Macdonald (1995), the monopolization of knowledge protects occupational prestige too. Apart from explicit technical knowledge, there is also what Wilensky terms "tacit knowledge", or "acts of understanding complex entities which

we cannot fully report” (1964, p. 149). The tacit character of this knowledge emerges from an occupation’s ability to identify a facet of competence without the ability to discursively account for it— what some might call a ‘feel’ or a ‘gut instinct.’ Unlike explicit knowledge, which is often recorded in books, tacit knowledge is imparted through enculturation, observation, and supervision. These particular modes of transmission further impart to initiates “a repertoire of behaviors and a knowledge of norms and mores appropriate to their occupation” (Macdonald, 1995, p. 51). By observing and being supervised by attorneys, and by engaging with other attorneys in occupational labor, one comes to embody the norms and behaviors of an occupation. Tacit knowledge is imparted to initiates through an enculturation process, inculcating in them a set of behavioral norms with which the prestige of the occupation is maintained. The acquisition and continued maintenance of cultural prestige, along with financial assets, is the goal of a professionalization process ground in social closure.

In the 19th century, many occupations pursuing state backing for the monopoly of expertise sought to project through the embodiment of ‘gentlemanly’ norms and characteristics a sense of worthiness. For example, Macdonald (1995) recounts how accountants in Scotland emphasized “their respectability far more than their education...or usefulness to society” (p. 60) in petitioning the Privy Council for Royal Charters. Members of the state who presided authoritatively over licensure emphasized traditional values that lent status and prestige, arguably because they held themselves similar values. Authorities, in this case, would likely interpret the embodiment of tacit knowledge as a more persuasive sign of competence than the possession of explicit knowledge. Macdonald (1995) sums up occupational representations of prestige by noting manner-of-factly that “gentlemen wished to have their money, their property, their bodies and their souls dealt with by gentlemen” (p. 31).

It is important to note that elements of cultural capital are not always constituted by “gentlemanly” characteristics, norms, and behaviors. If success in a particular organizational field is made more likely by the practice of other behaviors and norms— e.g., obedience, silence, etc.—then it will be those behavioral norms that are inculcated in those seeking to gain entry to the profession. As the occupation of nursing, for example, first engaged with the professionalizing process in the mid-late 19th century, obedience came to constitute the central tenet of the emerging profession’s tacit knowledge base, for a disobedient nurse “could undermine the patient’s confidence in the doctor and thus arrest or retard the healing process” (Gamarnikow, 1974, p. 109). In consequence, the first wave of nursing educators sought to instill in their women students qualities of patience, humility, and endurance, behavioral norms and mores that came to characterize the burgeoning nursing profession.

Gender and Occupations

Witz (1990, 1992) argues that the concept of profession is already a gendered one because “class-privileged, male actors” are the “paradigmatic case” of those engaged in professional projects (Witz, 1990, p. 675). An understanding of particular professions as historically gendered is in fact simply an understanding of the ways in which occupations undertake professional projects. As such, the term ‘historically gendered profession’ wields little descriptive power. With Witz’s pronouncement in mind, the construct of interest to this project is more accurately identified as occupations historically shaped by gendered strategies of exclusionary closure. I have in mind particular occupations that employed closure strategies as “the means of mobilizing male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities” (Witz, 1990, p. 678). Gendered strategies employed by collectives are not sufficient, though, to account for the gendered division of labor present in these occupations—the strategies must still

be enacted within state and institutional structures. The reach and influence of male power emerges not from anything inherent in the male-ness of those collectives, but because they deploy these strategies within structures marked by and conducive to the relational dominance of men over women. This structural array of male dominance Witz (1992) formally defines as patriarchy, or “a societal-wide system of gender relations of male dominance and female subordination...in which male power is institutionalised within different sites of social relations in society” (p. 10). If male power is institutionalized in patriarchal structures as Witz argues, then “gendered actors engaged in professional projects as strategic courses of action will have differential access to the tactical means of achieving their aims” (Witz, 1990, p. 677). This means that, collectively speaking, occupations have quantitatively and qualitatively distinct means, dependent on their collective ability to embody gender identities and mobilize male power, with which to pursue and engage with professionalizing processes.

Gendered strategies of exclusionary closure, such as barring women from entry into university programs (Davies, 1996; Witz, 1990) and teaching hospitals (Witz, 1992), are often informed however purposefully by ideological considerations of behavior natural to different genders. This is not to say that women’s often subordinated position in the professional sphere emerges from their place in the domestic sphere. To state as much would employ an undertheorized conception of gender as ‘already there’ and thereby reproduce “professional men’s gendered construction of self image” (Witz, 1992, p. 2). Instead, as noted above, we must understand gender as a “cultural construct imposed on people as a result of their biological sex” (McDowell, 2015, p. 274). Both Witz (1992) and Gamarnikow (1978), working with materialist theoretical frameworks, push back against the linkage of biology and types of work under the guise of naturalism, labelling it an “ideological operation” (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 99). Both, in

line with McDowell, propose that gender difference be understood as a social, not biological, phenomenon. Davies (1996) similarly dissuades sociology scholars from reducing gender difference to perceived behavioral differences and instead encourages scholarship to see gender as an active, relational process from which emerge “historically and culturally constructed masculinities and femininities” (p. 663). With this understanding, gender is not an essential quality of an individual but a “cultural resource” employed in order to construct identities and “available as image and metaphor in the shaping of organizational and institutional arrangements” (Davies, 1996, p. 665).

Though collectivities employ gendered strategies of exclusionary closure with the intention of protecting the access of members to economic resources via the market, and individuals act in accordance with the dispositional and behavioral norms of their gender (colloquially referred to as performing gender) for a variety of personal reasons, both actions have the effect of reproducing patriarchal structures that reflexively inform the production of those actions. Macdonald (1995) likens these patriarchal structures to a language (p. 125) in light of how seamlessly they integrate into our experiences of day-to-day life. If the institutionalization of male dominance in gender relations means that patriarchal structures are instantiated in the various day-to-day actions that occur amongst institutionalized networks of social relations, we reproduce those structures in our behavior and in our use of language without intending to. Writing on sexually euphemistic language in operating manuals, Sauer (1994) contends that the sexual meaning is part of the language itself and that to argue otherwise “ignores...the cultural construction of language and the nature of meaning culturally diverse contexts” (p. 311). The same could very well be said for the patriarchal structural relations reproduced by language use—such structures are both the means and product of language use.

To touch upon Hanks (1996) yet again, if utterances project our perspectives out into the world, then like the euphemisms of Sauer's (1994) article, patriarchal relations are not 'outside' of the meaning of our words but ingrained in our perspectives that routinize our language use. It is the intent of this study to investigate textual patterns surrounding occupations marked by gendered strategies of exclusionary closure for vestiges of such patriarchal structural properties.

Super- and subordinate Occupations

Super- and subordinate occupations are positioned in relation to each other in an occupation field, and what sets the two strata apart is both the gendered historical formation of the occupations and their respective knowledge bases, both explicit and tacit. Because an occupation's tacit dispositions and activities are frequently gendered, the knowledge base of an occupation informs the gendered character of the occupation's formation. The following four occupational groupings, which emerged intuitively from scholarship on professionalization, are not uniform in the sense that the super- and subordinate occupations do not consistently occupy the same position in an occupational field relative to each other. Nurses and physicians, for example, do not share the same occupational relationship as English teacher and English professors. Furthermore, even when the occupational relationship is more similar, as between nurses and physicians, and paralegals and lawyers, there remain important distinctions between the subordinate occupations, in this case the nursing occupation's long history of largely successful professionalization efforts. The following discussion is not making the claim to uniformity, then, amongst these differing occupation groupings so much as it intends to highlight a salient characteristic shared by these occupational groupings.

Paralegals and Lawyers: Office Affordances and Legal Representation

While the emergence of paralegals in the division of labor of law firms in the 1960s was part of an effort to reduce poverty in the United States by decreasing the cost of and thereby increasing access to legal services (McCabe, 2007, p. 1), much of the work of paralegals today serves to reproduce gendered stratification in the workplace. The role itself evolved from that of an experienced secretary, already a “heavily feminized” space (Malone, 2015, p. 138), into one explicitly subordinate to that of the lawyer and responsible for legal research, assessing and analyzing documents, and reviewing court transcripts (Pierce, 1999, p. 128). Yet while paralegal job descriptions may enumerate these or similar responsibilities, Pierce (1999) in her insightful research on emotional work and law firms found that it was not so much the material or mental tasks that differentiated paralegals from lawyers but what she calls the “socioemotional requirements” of each job—namely, that paralegals are expected “to support and maintain the emotional stability of the lawyers...through deferential treatment and caretaking” (p. 128).

Such work Pierce and others term emotional labor, emphasizing the management of the emotion of all interactants in workplace encounter so as to promote a sense of community, maintain social order, and resolve conflict. A simple example is that of a waiter, who must manage both their and the customers emotion in the provision of service. Guy and Newman (2004) identify emotional work with labor that manages the emotions of interactants in order to “grease the wheels so that people cooperate, stay on task, and work well together” (p. 289) and argue that it is integral to many health services, paraprofessional, and support jobs. Emotional work is devalued though and often goes without monetary compensation for two primary reasons. First, the relational nature of emotional labor is often tangential to the production of a material market good or delivery of professional service, thus it is not measured in the same way

(i.e. per unit or by hour). Secondly, labor that generates feelings of rapport, congeniality, and nurturance is construed as a *natural* activity, and thus circulates outside the bounds of compensated work (Guy and Newman, 2004, p. 290).

Pierce (1999) argues that paralegals undertake emotional labor through deferential treatment and caretaking. Working through Goffman's definition of deference as "symbolic means by which appreciation is regularly conveyed to the recipient" (qtd in Pierce, 1999, p. 130), Pierce's work reveals that paralegals often employ physical deference (i.e. averting the eyes) and emotional deference by restraining their own feelings in order to manage angry outbursts by attorneys or foster their sense of competence. Caretaking, the second pillar of emotional work identified by Pierce (1999), is often achieved by a pleasant demeanor (smiling, being cheerful, speaking optimistically, etc.). Participants in Pierce's (1999) study also reported many of their interactions with attorneys often resembled 'handholding' and therapy, wherein paralegals would listen, respond to, and assuage the anxieties of attorneys. Scholars categorize deference and caretaking as examples of emotional labor because they does not produce a material product but instead "facilitat[e] interaction and...contribut[e] to productivity from the agency's point of view" (Guy and Newman, 2004, p. 290). Such labor is not reflected in the job descriptions of the paralegals who participated in Pierce's study, though many paralegals in Pierce's (1999) study revealed that such labor is compulsory under threat under of severance. Guy and Newman (2004) sum the situation up succinctly, observing that "institutional norms require them to play mom but do not reward them for it—nurturing is simultaneously required and devalued" (p. 293).

Further, the particular emotional labor of paralegals reproduces gender relations in the workplace and further solidifies the "hierarchical nature" (Pierce, 1999, p. 129) of the relationship between lawyers and paralegals by reaffirming each person's place within it. In her

study, Pierce observes differing behavioral norms for men and women working as paralegals: both are expected to give deferential treatment to and take care of attorneys, though only women are expected to be nice or pleasant. Women are thus expected to perform their gender with certain constraints and along certain notions of gender-specific behavior, a performance which in turn reproduces the gender relations that gave rise to the women-specific constraints originally. Individual paralegals, both men and women, engage in these expectations to various degrees, though Pierce (1999) noted even moderate eschewal of norms by women was met with lackluster performance reports and in some cases, termination of employment (p. 136). Nonetheless, the emotional labor of paralegals reproduce the gender relations with attorneys and, by the same stroke, reproduces the paralegal's subordinated position in the workplace, as both deferential treatment and caretaking are not reciprocated by attorneys.

Nurses and Physicians: Differing Positions in the Provision of Care

Witz (1992) turns to the growing market for medical services in industrial England, precipitated by the growth of a middle class, to account for the gendered division of labor in medicine and nursing. In pre-industrialized England, health services were predominantly offered by women largely operating in "the non-market domestic or community arenas" (Witz, 1992, p. 77). Women practiced medicine *as* wives and mothers, and while Witz notes that it was not unheard of for such community healers to charge for services, often the labor was undertaken in acts of charity. The dire financial reality of many English citizens in the late 18th century precluded a market engagement with medical practitioners. This changed as industrialization promoted the growth of a middle class that both needed medical services *and* had the means of payment. This expanding demand for medical services fundamentally restructured the market from the largely gendered service within the domestic and community sphere to one in which

medical services entered the market like any other commodity. This restructuring “severed gender specific routes of access to and involvement in the market-oriented activities of the family business” (Witz, 1992, p. 81). Due to the decentralized approach entailed in domestic and community healing, women healers lacked the organizational means to mobilize, strategize, and adapt to the changing economic circumstances (Witz, 1992, p. 81). This meant when a woman entered the market as a provider of medical services, she did so on her own without any formal occupational backing.

The shift to a market arena spurred medical practitioners to begin professionalization efforts, efforts that entailed gendered tactics that further interfered with the commodification of women’s healing practice. Witz (1992) observes that the medical occupation, with the intention to appear more specialized, purposefully reconfigured the conception of medical practice to exclude allusions to historically similar conceptions of trade or craft in an effort to represent the occupation as one untainted by sentiments of business (pp. 80-81). Medical men managed this transition by foregrounding the occupation’s specialized expertise and emphasizing training and educational credentialing. This was in contradistinction to women’s healing practice whose knowledge base was informal and transmitted through observation and experience (Witz, 1992, pp. 77-78). Further, women were barred from matriculating in medical credentialing institutions like universities and teaching hospitals.

In seeking to refine their occupational image and increase societal prestige, the community of medical practitioners effectively reconstrued the knowledge base of women healers as an unacknowledged form of expertise. Practitioners also barred women healers from pursuing respectable medical practice through newly indicated credentialing paths by prohibiting them from enrolling at teaching hospitals. The latter, though an explicit gendered exclusionary

strategy, was not ostensibly enacted to protect access to economic resources, the effect scholarship frequently attributes to professional projects, but instead was taken up by institutions to preserve socially constructed standards of decorum and obscenity. Witz (1992) discusses the controversies surrounding Elizabeth Garrett, the first woman to add her name to the medical register in 1865. Fellow medical students were disquieted by the presence of an unmarried woman in the lecture hall and especially the operating theater, an environment which washed her of “those sentiments of respect and admiration with which the opposite sex is regarded by all right-minded men, such feelings being a mark of civilization and refinement” (qtd in Witz, 1992, p. 85). Thus, to protect their own self-image the medical men that staffed these institutions barred women from entry, a strategy whose effects reverberated much farther than the doors of the hospital.

The restructuring of the market for medical services and the professionalization efforts by physicians culminated in the 1858 Medical Registration Act, which set forth the legal definition of a qualified medical practitioner. While the law made no mention of barring women explicitly from medical practice, it did specify that physicians must be credentialed through one of nineteen institutions, all of which excluded women from enrollment and examination (Witz, 1992, p. 73). Two years later, Florence Nightingale founded the first nursing school and while physicians were wary of this emerging women’s occupation (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 111) of “potentially independent quasi-medical practitioners” (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 104), their anxieties over their newly acquired monopoly on diagnosis soon dissipated as nursing, and Nightingale in particular, taught a form of nursing care “which subordinated nursing to medicine in all matters defined as ‘medical’ by medicine itself” (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 105). The responsibility of identifying the patient as a patient through the act of diagnosis is the point at

which medical practice begins; it is, consequently, an act invested with significant symbolic and epistemological power (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 106). All subsequent responsibilities that proliferate from the pronouncement of diagnosis are contingent upon and subordinated to that act of technical competence.

In order to refrain from usurping the physician's authority, nurses were taught to be disciplined, patient, humble, and a variety of other embodied values culturally inscribed in the conception of a 'good woman' in the late 19th century. "It was *character* that mattered; and character was intimately linked with femininity" (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 115). This emphasis on femininity "ideologically reformulated" (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 110) the division of care between doctor and nurse as male-female, mimicking a family structure. This ideological slight-of-hand then afforded men and powerful institutions to perspective to draw "analogies between such *apparently* biologically determined activities as motherhood and particular types of work" (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 98, emphasis mine), in this case, the hygienic and domestic qualities of nursing work. Thus, the masculinity or femininity of a task is not intrinsic to the work itself, "but in the ideological identical and distribution of tasks" (Gamarnikow, 1978, p. 101).

Social Worker and Psychologist: Locale and Arrangement of Care

The gendered quality of social work emerges from occupational responsibilities of care (Macdonald, 1995; Christie, 1998; Husso & Hirvonen, 2012), though Witz's (1992) charge for scholarly work to understand gender as both socially structured and structuring bears repeating (p. 3). This means we must recognize efforts to impute femininity into care work as evidence of an ideological slight-of-hand that obscures the socially constructed image-complex of women's biological sex *as* caring and nurturing. If one is to accept the construal of care work as 'women's work,' it is only because the socio-cultural understanding femininity has been constructed around

themes of motherhood, care, and nurturing. Such dispositional and behavioral constraints that emerge from a socio-cultural understanding are not like those laws of the physical universe, though their supporters will often frame them as such. This means that persons in encounters perform their genders along a spectrum of behaviors and can therefore shape, challenge, and support the norms that come to reflexively inform their understanding of their gender.

Narrowing the scope of this discussion to social work, the “assessing, monitoring, and arranging for the care of service users” (Christie, 1998, p. 499) that comprises the present-day labor of the social work occupation is gendered because those occupational responsibilities “express historically what we understand as femininity” (Husso & Hirvonen, 2012, p. 33). Therefore, when women social workers engage with the responsibilities of their work, they are, either intentionally or without thought, performing their gender by embodying to varying degrees the ideologically informed conceptions of femininity. The socially structured understanding of femininity is further sedimented or challenged by these acts of performance, while the labor itself is further feminized or de-feminized by that sedimentation — gender here is both socially structured and structuring.

Historically, social work as an occupation emerged from the practices of charitable organizations in the late 19th century, which sent middle class women into the domestic space of poor families in order to instruct them in the morally ‘right’ ways of living (Ehrenreich, 1985, p. 55). By the 1920s, this moral instruction has transitioned into one of practical know-how seeking to foster housekeeping, child-rearing, and other domestic tasks. On account of its involvement with lower classes in their domestic space, social work was historically a low status job that paid very little. Further, the delivery of such service to impoverished individuals was seen as a feminine activity because such labor was “easily assumable to a ‘social motherhood’ vision of

women's roles" (Ehrenreich, 1985, p. 57). As social work emerged in the Progressive Era as a viable occupation for women, it was simultaneously responsible for the enactment and enforcement of progressive policies emerging from state financed social-welfare apparatus. These new responsibilities circulated in a space between the law and the professionalized workforce of teachers, doctors, and lawyers, and transformed social work into a "key mediator" (Ehrenreich, 1985, p. 9) between bureaucratic institutions and the populace. This relational characterization of social work is corroborated by Christie (1998), who situates social work within an "intermediate zone" (p. 501) that straddles both public and private domains. Historically, both intermediate zone work and relational work, as the previous section detailing the gendered labor of paralegals noted, are valued less in terms of prestige and compensation.

Composition Teacher and Literature Professor: Inspirations and Ambiguous Writers

The gendered division between teachers of composition and professors of literature took shape amongst efforts by universities, in response to rapidly rising literacy rates in the 19th century, to develop a sense of literature as markedly distinct from popular culture. Because Antebellum education emphasized the benefits of literacy and successfully cast itself "as a means to progress through refinement" (Miller, 2011, p. 121), literacy rates across the country rose throughout the Antebellum and Reconstruction era. In an effort to protect the prestige of those who engaged with an oratorical or belletristic conception of literature from the popular tastes of the burgeoning literate masses, members of the English discipline markedly refined their sense of literature and conceptions of disciplinary identity into one of "studied impracticality" (Miller, 2011, p. 123). Conversely, efforts by instructors to spread literacy amongst rural and working-class populations strenuously emphasized the utilitarian character and practical applicability of the subject matter. Such a distinction served to temporarily heighten and further preserve the

prestige of professors by distancing them from the popular currents and literacy, refining the work of the discipline upwards and away from any responsibility for the teaching of literacy. In consequence, successful efforts to link status with the explication and analysis of the aesthetic components of literature inherently devalued as a menial concern the teaching of reading and writing to the uneducated.

Contemporary narratives conceptually linking teaching to republican motherhood, in conjunction with a workforce predominantly staffed by woman (>60% in the Antebellum period; >75% during Reconstruction) reciprocally informed the belief that teaching was women's work and further served to justify the distance the English discipline strove to put between themselves and the teaching of literacy (Miller, 2011, p. 122). Such distance was primarily achieved through the construction of self-assured narratives establishing the prestigious purpose of the English discipline and by "download[ing] onerous responsibilities" (Miller, 2001, p. 126), such as teaching, to the subordinated class of paraprofessionals. The profession of teaching, then, was devalued along three fronts: the gender make-up of its workforce, the construal of its work as gendered work, and the actual subordination of its labor to superordinate research efforts. This devaluation was further exacerbated by women's exclusion from credentialing institutions that could serve to substantiate claims of expertise and status.

While Miller goes on to argue these efforts by the English discipline effectively severed it from its base of social power, ultimately undercutting the discipline's power longitudinally, these efforts had lasting effects on the occupation of teaching as well. In conjunction with women's lack of access to higher education, the discipline's fetishization of research effectively framed teaching as an occupation that required little to no specialized expertise (Miller, 2001, p. 127). This made it difficult for teachers to claim professional status, for, as mentioned in a previous

section, “the public does not or can not associate professional competence with a field of work in which everyone is already an expert” (Miller, 2001, p. 127). The teaching of literacy was also linked to notions of republican motherhood, limiting aspiring women who sought in teaching independent financial means to reproducing systemic conceptions of motherhood and femininity. Lastly, teaching was further framed as a classless profession which “made poor working conditions into opportunities to self-sacrifice” (Miller, 2001, p. 97), demanding of a selflessness especially suited to women. This served to further emphasize the gendered dimension of the labor and, in conjunction with refusal by the public to see the occupation as a site for specialized knowledge, transformed debates surrounding educational funding into continual appraisal of the occupation.

General Trend across the Four Occupational Groupings

The labor of these subordinate occupations, taken collectively, has historically been characterized as work “natural” to women and the feminization of the work in each of these occupations is guided by gendered conceptions of motherhood. The nursing occupation was initially responsible for domestic tasks, such as cleaning and laundering, and directly subordinated to the practice of medicine. The work of paralegals, too, is gendered insofar as it is relational in character, and aims to support workplace cohesion through the management of lawyers’ emotions. Whereas paralegals are responsible for inter-occupational cohesion, social workers are responsible for inter-institutional cohesion, and assist others in navigating the interstitial spaces among educational, medical, and judicial institutions. Lastly, teachers of literacy were charged with the practical task of instructing students in reading and writing. Distinct from English professors who sought to distance themselves from mundane activities of instructing pupils, teachers were framed as selfless instructors responsible for inculcating civic

and moral norms in students. The above discussion demonstrates the ways in which these labors, comprised of giving care and reassurance, managing of tasks, instructing others in behavioral norms, are ideologically associated with socially constructed gender norms.

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The Corpus of Contemporary American English (CoCA) contains nearly 963 million words spread out across eight registers, hereafter referred to subcorpora, of varying mediums of English and types of text. This study does not make use of CoCA's Other Websites subcorpus, for reasons enumerated below. The seven subcorpora used in this study are included in Table 3.1, along with both the total number of words (tokens) and total number of different words (types) per subcorpus. As shown in Table 3.1, the CoCA's token count is divided with relative equivalency among the seven subcorpora. Further, all but one section is balanced by year, meaning that in six of the seven sections, the total word count is further equally divided by year, with each year from 1990 to 2019 contributing a relatively equal number of words to the sum total of the section. Lastly, where possible, sections are further balanced by topic such that each section adequately represents the respective mediums or text types. For example, the Fiction subcorpus includes text from movie scripts, children's books, and first chapters from first edition books printed after 1990. Academic, Newspaper, and Magazine, and Spoken constitute the remaining topically balanced subcorpora. CoCA, then, is large, composed of recent instances of English use, and balanced across sections, years, and topics.

The Spoken, TV/Movies, and Blog subcorpora are each unique in regards to the methods whereby they were constructed. As the name indicates, the Spoken subcorpus does not contain published texts, but is instead comprised of transcripts of unscripted conversations from television and radio programs. It is balanced, as noted above, insofar as the speech originates in a wide spectrum of programming, ranging from "The Jerry Springer Show" to NPR's "All Things Considered."

Table 3.1 Token Counts Across the Corpus

Subcorpus	Year(s)	Type	Token
Fiction (fic)	1990-2019	385,530	114,618,994
Academic (acad)	1990-2019	588,711	113,391,400
Newspaper (news)	1990-2019	419,514	116,718,943
Magazine (mag)	1990-2019	512,744	121,278,723
Spoken (spk)	1990-2019	218,497	126,243,844
TV/Movies (tv/m)	1900-2019	386,569	124,209,354
Blog (blog)	-	461,122	121,378,344
Total:			837,839,602

Table 3.1: *Subcorpora, Type and Token Count*

The TV/Movies subcorpus is composed of subtitles, not scripts, which themselves partially constitute the Fiction subcorpus. Specially, the text of the TV/Movies subcorpus comes from Open Subtitles, an online, public, multilingual database at which members can upload user-created subtitles, in a wide variety of languages, for various films and television shows.

Lastly, the construction of the Blog subcorpus is linked to that of Other Websites, the CoCA subcorpus left out from this study. Both subcorpora are comprised of selections from another of Davies's corpora, the Global Web-based English Corpus (GloWbE). To construct GloWbE, researchers performed a Google search of high frequency *n*-grams (high frequency as specified by instantiation in remaining CoCA subcorpora) and thereby culled a large set of diverse websites. Google search parameters allowed researchers to only include in their queried results websites identified as a blog according to Google's definition, though they were disallowed from a similarly narrowed search of not-blogs. In consequence, the Other Websites subcorpus overlaps with that of Blogs, while the Blog subcorpus does not contain any other types of websites. It was with this content-overlap in mind that a decision was made to exclude the

Other Websites subcorpus. As a brief side-note, this method of subcorpus construction also accounts for the lack of specification as to when a text was published online in a blog, as researchers were unable to ascertain the year in which the website text was created.

With its diverse sections, CoCA covers a wide array of both spoken and written texts and digital and non-digital formats and represents a very high degree of all consumable media and intellectual material available to professionals, academics, and laypersons. It therefore affords this project the opportunity to investigate lexico-grammatical patterns across an array of diverse text types and modalities that constitutes a considerable share of our public language consumption.

Node Words

The search terms of this study are grouped into node words for ease of reference and represent the constructs of interest in the corpus. For example, Table 3.2.1 lists a super- and subordinate pair of node words, ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S and ENGLISH TEACHER/S and the corresponding strings of text to which the node word refers. In both the body of this inquiry and examples of concordance lines, node words are written in SMALL CAPS. Unifying search terms into slightly more abstract node words affords the subsequent discussion of findings to proceed fluently and remain attentive to the constructs of interests germane to this inquiry. As this study is concerned neither with the differences in textual patterns co-occurring alongside plural versus singular forms of specific occupational titles nor with similar differences between such titles as English teacher and writing teacher, but instead with differences between super- and subordinate occupational groupings more broadly, the use of node words offers this study a form of abstract grouping with which discussion can remain attentive to the appropriate constructs of interest.

Table 3.2.1: Node Words: Educational Set

<u>Superordinate</u>	<u>Subordinate</u>	
ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S	ENGLISH TEACHER/S	Thus, the use of node words in the body of this inquiry allows for a multidimensional interpretation of the sentence in which they occur. Take, for example, the following sentence from later in this thesis: Like ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, ENGLISH TEACHER/S are represented as
english professor english professors	english teacher english teachers	
literature professor literature professors	writing teacher writing teachers	
professor of literature professors of literature	writing instructor writing instructors	
professor of english literature professors of english literature		

authoring texts. The node words of this sentence at once refer to the super- or subordinate occupations, and represent the corresponding strings of text. The remaining node words for the super-and subordinate array of occupations are contained in Tables 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. Further discussion of node words is continued in the Appendix.

Table 3.2.2: Remaining Node Words for Superordinate Array

PHYSICIAN/S	DOCTOR/S	LAWYER/S	ATTORNEY/S	THERAPIST/S	SOCIOLOGIST/S	PSYCHOLOGIST/S
physician physicians	doctor doctors	lawyer lawyers	attorney attorneys	therapist therapists	sociologist sociologist/s	psychologist psychologists

Table 3.2.3: Remaining Node Words for Subordinate Array

PARALEGAL/S	NURSE/S	SOCIAL WORKER/S
paralegal paralegals	nurse nurses	social worker social workers

Table 3.3 contains the token count for each node word, organized by subcorpus. The four occupational groupings will hereafter be

broadly referred to as occupational sets. When referred to specifically, each occupational set will be identified by a corresponding area of practice. Thus LAWYER/S, ATTORNEY/S, and PARALEGAL/S comprise the legal set of occupations, NURSE/S, DOCTOR/S, and PHYSICIAN/S the

medical set, SOCIOLOGIST/S, PSYCHOLOGIST/S, THERAPIST/S and SOCIAL WORKER/S the psychosocial set, and lastly ENGLISH TEACHER/S and ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S the educational set.

Table 3.3: Token Count of each Node Word Across Corpus

<u>Legal Set</u>	acad	blog	fic	mag	news	spk	tv/m	TOTAL
LAWYER/S	11,118	7,000	7,060	9,609	19,583	16,674	11,530	82,574
ATTORNEY/S	5,102	6,790	2,769	7,854	23,505	24,506	5,636	76,162
PARALEGAL/S	91	107	155	103	158	57	116	787
<u>Medical Set</u>								
DOCTOR/S	5,832	15,097	21,380	25,222	17,925	28,237	30,753	144,446
PHYSICIAN/S	8,404	3,312	1,322	7,767	4,657	3,175	853	29,490
NURSE/S	9,586	3,134	9,098	4,621	4,860	3,812	5,822	40,933
<u>Psychosocial Set</u>								
PSYCHOLOGIST/S	5,616	1,054	787	4,247	1,908	1,903	523	16,038
SOCIOLOGIST/S	502	236	106	192	605	45	16	1,702
THERAPIST/S	1,787	1,153	1,254	2,567	1,263	1,457	1,652	11,133
SOCIAL WORKER/S	7,212	107	487	883	1,150	701	401	10,941
<u>Educational Set</u>								
ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S	132	74	95	109	194	65	45	714
ENGLISH TEACHER/S	331	246	297	188	302	124	164	1,652

An Account of Methods

Collocational analysis of COCA was performed using AntConc v. 3.5.8 and proceeded occupational set by occupational set. For each occupational set, search terms comprising each node words were queried subcorpus by subcorpus, producing concordance lines of 50 characters each and a list of collocates. As a statistical measure, collocational analyses used Mutual Information scores, a value expressing the degree of stickiness of the collocate type. Given this

study's attention to the influence collocations exert in sustaining identity, MI as a statistical value is useful because it affords insight into the relational bond shared by the words comprising the collocate. AntConc's collocate tool (Figure 3.1) calculates MI and derives a particular score by measuring the frequency at which the two words appear together against the frequency that each appears apart. For example, in one year of text from the Newspaper subcorpus, the word state occurs 6,286 times, while ATTORNEY/S occurs 1,595 times. As Figure 3.1, shows these two words appear together in a span of four words 101 times, resulting in an MI of 5.63. Compare

Figure 3.1: Collocate List of ATTORNEY/S from Newspaper Subcorpus

The screenshot displays the AntConc Collocate tool interface. On the left, the 'Corpus Files' pane shows 'text_news_2018.txt'. The main window has tabs for 'Concordanc', 'Concordance Plc', 'File Vie', 'Clusters/N-Gran', 'Collocate', 'Word Li', and 'Keyword Li'. The 'Collocate' tab is active, showing a table of collocates for the search term 'attorney'. The table has columns for Rank, Freq, Freq(L), Freq(R), Stat, and Collocate. Below the table are search options: 'Search Term' (Words checked, Case and Regex unchecked), 'Window Span' (Same unchecked, From... 4L, To... 4R), 'Min. Collocate Frequency' (4), and 'Sort by' (Sort by Freq checked, Invert Order unchecked). A 'Clone Results' button is at the bottom right. The bottom left corner shows 'Total No. 1 Files Processed'.

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
17	101	95	6	5.63254	state
18	98	7	91	4.49874	who
19	93	58	35	1.57251	of
20	72	23	49	2.91487	is
21	70	27	43	2.34887	that
22	69	60	9	3.72600	by
23	68	39	29	2.89150	with
24	62	61	1	8.72308	assistant
25	53	48	5	6.04521	former
26	52	50	2	8.85390	deputy
27	50	5	45	8.51843	jeff
28	50	47	3	7.01694	defense
29	49	36	13	2.76674	as
30	47	17	30	2.25193	was
31	46	4	42	9.30203	sessions
32	45	14	31	2.03349	on
33	42	2	40	5.52719	told
34	42	9	33	2.04018	he
35	42	12	30	3.22011	has

these frequencies and MI value to the collocate of and ATTORNEY/S. Of occurs in the same year of text 96,544 times, and alongside ATTORNEY/S in span of four words 93 times. The number of co-occurrences is fairly equivalent between the two collocates, but as Figure 1.3 shows, the MI

value of the second collocate is significantly lower than the first, at 1.57. This lower MI value is explained by the fact that *of* occurs much more frequently apart from ATTORNEY/S compared to how frequently *state* appears apart from ATTORNEY/S.

MI gives researchers a sense of the likelihood of the co-occurrence of two words, but it is especially sensitive to infrequently occurring words such as proper names. This is to say that MI admirably accounts for the likelihood of co-occurrence, but can mislead inattentive researchers who interpret the measure as one of effect size. Attentive to this sensitivity, collocational analysis of the corpus accepted as viable only collocates that surpassed a minimum threshold of occurrences. This means that all collocates discussed in the data analysis chapter occurred at minimum four times, unless otherwise noted.

Further, the collocational analyses for each occupation were performed within a four-word window to the left and right of the node word—henceforth I employ the verb ‘co-occur’ to designate the recurring appearance of particular words within this eight-word window surrounding the node word. For example, the sentence ‘*accountants* co-occurs with LAWYER/S over 25 times in each subcorpus’ should be read as ‘*accountants* occurs within a four-word span to the right or left of LAWYER/S 25 times in each subcorpus.’ For each occupation within a set, analysis proceeded by studying collocate lists sorted by MI scores, frequency of occurrence to the left of the node word, and frequency to right. Further investigation of collocates of note was taken up in a study of concordance lines that were used to contextualize the particular collocate and ascertain its pattern of use. Concordance lines (Figure. 3.2) for each node word were also employed to generate occupation-specific lemma lists. Lemmas are headwords that represent all morphological variations of their base forms. For example, the lemma *drive** represents the following morphological variations: *drive*, *driven*, *drives*, *driving*, and *drove*. The occupation

Figure 3.2: Concordance Lines of ATTORNEY/S from Newspaper Subcorpus

The screenshot displays a concordance tool interface. On the left, a 'Corpus Files' panel lists 'text_news_2018.txt'. The main window shows 'Concordance Hits' for 1305 occurrences of the search term 'attorney'. The results are presented in a table with three columns: 'Hit' (line numbers 104-126), 'KWIC' (keyword-in-context snippets), and 'File' (all pointing to 'text_news_20'). The KWIC snippets show various contexts where 'attorney' is used, such as 'Attorney Bryan Brock called the out...', 'attorney, but he indicated he was...', 'attorney by former Prince George...', 'attorney called a "word salad"', 'attorney called me to say that Cop...', 'attorney called the allegations', 'attorney called the allegations', 'attorney can join two advisory sub...', 'attorney, Casey Rundquist, argue...', 'attorney) Celia Washington. He w...', 'attorney Charles Kearney cut in as...', 'Attorney Charles Monnett III, who...', 'attorney Charles Wycoff insist the...', 'attorney, Chiege Okwara, asked:', 'attorney Chris Anglin filed at the la...', 'attorney Chris Buckley. <p> Accu...', 'attorney Chris Davis of Davis Law...', 'Attorney Christopher Gallo said pr...', 'attorney, Christopher Grohman, s...', 'attorney-client confidential, but to...', 'attorney-client privilege and not m...', 'attorney-client privilege has come...', and 'attorney-client privilege in respon...'. Below the table, a search control panel includes options for 'Search Term' (Words, Case, Regex), 'Search Window Size' (50), 'Show Every Nth Row' (1), and 'Kwic Sort' (Level 1 1R, Level 2 2R, Level 3 3R). A 'Clone Results' button is also present.

specific lemma lists reveal what lemmas are most frequently associated with each occupation and further inform the investigation of the concordance lines. For each occupational set, analysis proceeded subcorpora by subcorpora as I compared collocate lists generated from queries of node words. Every collocate search of each node word generated three lists, each sorted by one of three parameters: MI values, frequency of occurrence to the left of the node word, and frequency to the right. I would then directly compare the three collocate lists of one node word to the three lists of the other node words in the same occupational set (e.g., ATTORNEY/S, LAWYER/S, and PARALEGAL/S). The work of comparing identically sorted collocate lists side by side was taken up with the intention to make sense of the differences in co-occurring patterns

recurring with the node words. Differences in frequency and MI score were noted scrolling through the first two-hundred collocates, sorted by the same parameter, of LAWYER/S, ATTORNEY/S, and PARALEGAL/S, to continue with the example. I did not set numerical thresholds to qualify a difference as meaningful, but proceeded by noting patterns in the differences amongst lists. For example, in the collocate lists of LAWYER/S and ATTORNEY/S specifically, it was of minimal interest to me that doctors collocates much more strongly with LAWYER/S than with ATTORNEY/S (MI: 9.59 and 4.94, respectively), or similarly, that the frequency of collocation was much higher with LAWYER/S than ATTORNEY/S (140 and 8, respectively). Instead, what appeared a more salient finding, was that doctors was only one collocate in a persistent collocational pattern of LAWYER/S with other middle class professions, a pattern that was not reproduced in the collocate list of ATTORNEY/S. This investigation of collocate lists did not precede through inquiries into the presence of collocates in one occupation and absolute absence of those same collocates in another, but it did proceed through investigating the largest discrepancies apparent in the collocate lists. Subsequent analyses of frequencies and MI's that compared relatively similar values were carried out in attempts to account for such discrepancies. As analysis progressed, certain lemmas, such as practice* and work*, emerged as potentially salient and would in turn inform an explanatory hypothesis accounting for the discernable patterns of linguistic phenomenon. Corroborating these hypotheses necessitated, then, a recursive reassessment of the data that would then inform further investigation and hypotheses.

This cycle of analysis was not able to accommodate multi-word node words, such as SOCIAL WORKER/S, due to uncertainty surrounding the formula by which AntConc computed MI scores for multi-word search terms. While calculating MI scores for two words at once, such as nurses and nurse, returned values within expected ranges, the addition of linguistically elaborate

search terms, such as social workers or professors of english literature resulted in seemingly aberrant MI values. As I could not confirm exactly how such numbers were being calculated, I lacked confidence in my ability to interpret the MI values of a multi-word collocational analysis. This lack of confidence informed my decision to disregard the MI scores of SOCIAL WORKER/S, ENGLISH TEACHER/S, and ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, and use the count of instances of co-occurrence produced by a collocational analysis of the concordance lines of each occupational set as data to calculate frequencies relative to total token count of a particular node word. As an imagined example for the purpose of illustrating this point, suppose the adjective licensed appeared 350 in the concordance lines generated from a search of the node word SOCIAL WORKER/S. When those same concordance lines were run through the collocater tool, it was found that licensed co-occurred 225 to the left of the node word. As Table 3.3 indicates, that node word occurs 10,941 times in the corpus, meaning that licensed co-occurs as prenominal modifier of SOCIAL WORKER/S 2.06% of times the node word occurs. The particular qualification of frequency I use in this study is what I term “times per 1,000 occurrences of the node word” (ptnw). This particular qualification allows me to make statements such as: “for every 1000 occurrences of SOCIAL WORKER/S, the prenominal modifier licensed co-occurs 20.56 times to the left of the node word.” Such a measure of frequency offers quite different information to the researcher compared to that of Mutual Information, essentially accounting for the frequency of co-occurrence that MI overlooks in its prioritization of collocational strength. Attentive to the fact that comparing MI and frequencies provides no useful information to the researcher, statistical comparisons among occupations make use of such frequencies when least one occupation designated by a multi-word node word is involved. Thus, while a comparison of

THERAPIST/S and PSYCHOLOGIST/S makes use of MI scores, one between SOCIAL WORKER/S and THERAPIST/S does not, and relies on frequencies in the form of ptnw to substantiate claims.

At moments in the analysis where a collection of lemmas emerges as a semantic preference of the node word, I group those lemmas into what Hoey (2005) terms a superordinate. This grouping of co-hyponyms into a superordinate is meant to establish the “relationship of instance to general” (p. 64), and serves to group semantically distinct words under a cogent understanding of an abstract concept that each share. Because the term ‘superordinate’ has already been taken up by this study to modify an array of occupations favorably marked by historical strategies of gendered closure, I employ the term ‘hypernym’ as a stand-in for Hoey’s understanding of the superordinate, altering the concept in name only.

A Note on Textual Formatting

The following section of data analysis makes use of a number of textual formats, noted in Table 3.4, in order to distinguish among distinct types of text and linguistic phenomena. That these formatting choices are ultimately made with the intention to sustain reader fluency necessitates a cursory overview of the various formats and corresponding textual phenomenon each format designates. I also brief note here that numbers especially germane to the discussion are bolded in the tables of the following chapter.

Table 3.4: Textual Formats and Corresponding Designations

Calibri	When exhibiting a corpus-derived text string, this sans serif fonts designates those words as originating from the corpus. e.g., my clinical experience as a THERAPIST has shown me that
Calibri*	At times, references are made to particular lemmas. To distinguish a lemma from a text string, an asterisks is added immediately following the word. e.g., prescribe* contains the following verb forms: prescribe, prescribed, prescribes, prescribing.
SMALL CAPS	Small caps, as noted in the preceding section, designates node words. e.g., DOCTOR
SMALL CAPS- BOLDED	Bolded small caps designate what I in a preceding section termed hypernyms. e.g., ORGANIZE (organize*, facilitate*, support*, plan*, provide*, arrange*)
<i>italics</i>	In parenthetical examples, the use of italics serves to further distinguish my text from concordance lines in Calibri font. e.g., (organize* and facilitate*)

CHAPTER 4 : DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis identified the abstract character of the superordinate array's knowledge base as the predominant distinction between the occupations of the super- and subordinate arrays. This abstract character manifests itself differently according to occupational set and is in some sets less prevalent than others. Especially those occupations that work cooperatively in the same domain of activity, such as those comprising the medical and legal sets, the abstract knowledge of the superordinate array and the practical knowledge of the subordinate array complement each other in relation to the object and outcome of that domain. For example, the abstract knowledge of DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S is operationalized through acts of diagnosis and prescription which set the course of treatment to be enacted by NURSE/S. Similarly, PARALEGAL/S operate an inexpensive form of document service that directly supports the work of ATTORNEY/S and LAWYER/S, while simultaneously being managed and directed by those same occupations it supports. Compare this to the psychosocial set, in which SOCIAL WORKER/S do not work under or receive explicit direction from any of the immediate superordinate occupations but instead take up the abstract knowledge of the superordinate occupations and operationalize it according to their own direction. Despite these differences, the degree of abstraction inherent in the character of each array's content knowledge emerged throughout analysis as a key distinction that influenced an occupation's position in either array.

Providing a broad overview of both subcorpora difference and collocate variation between super- and subordinate arrays, Table 4.1 contains the ten most frequent collocates of each array with an MI value greater than 6.00. Because Table 4.1 means to provide a snapshot of the strongest collocates for the arrays in each subcorpus, I also set a minimum threshold of one-hundred occurrences for each collocate. This means that the terms in Table 4.1 each occur a

minimum of one-hundred times in the respective subcorpus and have an MI value greater than 6.00. When a collocate was duplicated in both arrays within the same subcorpus, the collocate was deleted from each list and replaced with the next most frequent collocate with an MI above 6.00 from the respective array. This was done in order to foreground the difference between

Table 4.1: DOCTOR/S are a Strong Presence in Subordinate Array

	Acad	News	Mag	Spk	Blog	Fic	TV/M
Legal & Medical Set of Superordinate Array	a an and are by for general or to with	a and for in of said that the to who	a an and as for the to with who your	a as defense for general his the was who with	a and for I in is of that the to	assistant defense district dr general lawyer lawyers medical nurses office	defense district doctors general hospital lawyer office patient says state
Psychosocial & Edu. Set of Superordinate Array	american association clinical counselors educational educators music sport teachers training	clinical family help marriage professor says social university who york	at author clinical family phd professor says sex university who	a and I in is of that the to you	a by my	a an she who	a as her in my see she with
Subordinate Array	care health nurses physicians practice registered should work worker workers	care doctors health hospital school teacher teachers registered worker workers	doctors registered teacher worker workers	doctors hospital registered teacher worker workers	care doctors health her registered school she teacher worker workers	nurse station teacher worker workers	nurse teacher worker

Table 4.1: *Collocates of Super- and Subordinate Arrays with Frequencies of Occurrence > 100 and MI Values > 6.00*

super- and subordinate arrays. When an entry has less than ten collocates (e.g., subordinate array in TV/M), that means the subcorpus, when queried for that array of search terms, does not have ten collocates occurring more than one-hundred times with an MI value greater than 6.00.

Bolded collocates have MI values about 7.00. Lastly, I was compelled to break analysis of the

superordinate array in two parts, as the program struggled to analyze such a large number of search terms at once.

An Analysis of Occupational Sets

The following analyses of each occupational set elaborate upon the abstract character, noted above, of the superordinate array's knowledge base by focusing on what each occupation is represented as doing. In other words, an occupation's knowledge base is brought to bear in the types of activities the occupation routinely undertakes. Thus, an analysis of verbs and pre-nominal modifiers that co-occur with the node words affords us the understanding of what different occupations do. The following discussions take up other topics as well that emerge from differences in register, besides that of an occupation's knowledge base.

Legal Set: Office Affordances and Legal Representation

Across the corpus, the distinction between *LAWYER/S* and *ATTORNEY/S* is significantly marked by positions and preferred terms within the American justice system. Many of the strongest and most frequent collocations of *ATTORNEY/S* are words denoting some element of either federal or state justice departments: general, assistant, deputy, office, district, county, etc. Certainly *LAWYER/S* variously collocates with office and assistant, but the co-occurring patterns are different (*e.g. from mag*: Rehnquist took a job as an assistant *ATTORNEY* general in the Justice Department *versus* the chemistry between the aging *LAWYER* and his young, aggressive assistant). This distinction entails a subsequent divide in occupational responsibility between the practice of law within and outside of the justice system, namely, who is responsible for prosecuting crimes. Across the corpus, prosecuting is one of the most consistently strong collocations of *ATTORNEY/S*, with MI scores ranging from 10.06 in the Spoken subcorpora up to 14.43 in Fiction. Further, while the collocate prosecuting *ATTORNEY/S* is not as frequently instantiated as

others, it not infrequent, occurring a high of 78 times in the Spoken subcorpus and a low of 23 in Magazines. Prosecuting rarely collocates with LAWYER/S across the corpus—when it did, concordance lines revealed the noun phrase prosecuting LAWYER/S did not occur above the minimal threshold of four tokens. Further substantiating this divide in occupational responsibility between ATTORNEY/S and LAWYER/S is the differing frequencies at which verb forms of the lemma prosecute* co-occur with each node word. Prosecute* occurs 968 times in the concordance lines of ATTORNEY/S, and co-occurs 12.71 times per thousand occurrences of the node word. Conversely, the same lemma occurs 91 times in the concordance lines of LAWYER/S and co-occurs 1.1 times per thousand occurrences of the node word.

Analysis revealed LAWYER/S enmeshed in a different, broader semantic network that includes the professional dimension of the occupation. Though the extent of this network varied across subcorpora, LAWYER/S were much more likely to co-occur in sentences that included mention of other professions such as doctor/s, dentists/s, accountant/s, engineer/s, etc. relative to ATTORNEY/S. Such associations among professionals were largely neutral or positive (*e.g.*, *from blog*: doctors, dentists, car mechanics, and LAWYERS “make their own market”). Doctor/s was inarguably the most frequently co-occurring professional occupation, perhaps explained by each occupation’s relatively long history of professionalization, coupled with an overlap of norms and values vis-à-vis their clientele (doctor-patient confidentiality and attorney-client privilege). Regardless, while there are no remarkable distinctions between the specialized subfields of law (divorce, corporate, estate, criminal defense, etc.) practiced by ATTORNEY/S and LAWYER/S, the latter is without question the preferred term for the individual engaged in the professionalized dimension of the practice itself, broadly speaking.

Because LAWYER/S are instantiated in the broad professional dimension of the practice of law, linguistic markers are deployed to distinguish this dimension from the mundane, day-to-day practice of law. Hence, while Fiction and TV/Movies contain very few collocations of practicing with either LAWYER/S and ATTORNEY/S, the Academic, Newspaper, and Spoken subcorpora each reveal a stronger collocation between practicing LAWYER/S than practicing ATTORNEY/S. In each of these three subcorpora, the MI score of practicing ATTORNEY/S is high (>6.5), but it is still 1.3 to 3 points lower than MI scores for practicing LAWYER/S. Across these three subcorpora, practicing collocates more frequently with LAWYER/S on both the left and right side relative to ATTORNEY/S (*e.g. from spk*: people who were practicing their profession as LAWYERS *and from acad*: the region before was the availability of ATTORNEYS practicing full-time in the public-interest). The right-hand frequency and MI scores of practicing and law within a collocate window of zero words to the left and one to the right are recorded in Table 4.2. Like practicing medicine and practicing catholic, practicing law appears to be the phrase of choice meant to reference the mundane, everyday dimension of the doing of a particular identity.

Table 4.2: Practice* law as the Labor of Legal Professionals

	(R) Freq	MI Score
Academic	65	5.85
Spoken	69	7.53
Newspaper	79	7.17

Table 4.2: (R) Freq and MI of law and practicing

the day-to-day work of lawyer-ing.

Similarly, the pre-nominal modifier trial is used to distinguish between courtroom and non-courtroom lawyers. Across the corpus, trial collocates with LAWYER/S more frequently and

That reference is made more frequently to practicing LAWYER/S and LAWYER/S practicing and that the two words are stickier relative to ATTORNEY/S and practicing might suggest that care is taken in texts to negotiate the professional image of lawyers, evidenced by co-occurrence alongside other professionalized occupations, and distinguish it from

strongly relative to ATTORNEY/S. Analyses were run with a significantly tighter collocation window (0 to the left, 1 to the right) in the Spoken, Magazine, and Newspaper subcorpora in order to ascertain the strength and frequency of the noun phrase itself.

Table 4.3: Courtroom Work Implied by ATTORNEY/S

	LAWYER/S		ATTORNEY/S	
Magazine	309	9.86	23	5.87
Newspaper	350	8.15	58	4.69
Spoken	394	8.52	127	5.38

Table 4.3: *Right Hand Collocational Frequency and MI of LAWYER/S and ATTORNEY/S with trial*

Though trial LAWYER/S may not statistically qualify for anything resembling an invariable phrase, the values recorded Table 4.3 indicate fairly routine designation of LAWYER/S as trial LAWYER/S. Many of the values associated with ATTORNEY/S suggest a degree of routine use of the

phrase trial ATTORNEY/S, but relative to trial LAWYER/S, it less customarily used. My interpretation of these data points is not terribly distant from the one tenuously put forth to explain practicing above. As LAWYER/S is consistently enmeshed in this networked of professionalized occupations, the modifier trial on the one hand serves to fruitfully distinguish professional image from occupational responsibility. On the other hand, given that many lawyers are in fact not trial lawyers, marking LAWYER/S with such a pre-nominal modifier may indicate an awareness of a lawyer's scope of practice, one that to a certain degree, may go without saying for ATTORNEY/S due to its semantic attachment to the justice system. Granted, the opposite might be argued—namely, that such pre-nominal marking might evidence a larger misunderstanding amongst the public as to what it is exactly that lawyers actually do. The repeated pre-nominal modification across the corpus of LAWYER/S by scope of practice frequently practiced outside the courtroom, such as divorce, real estate, corporate, and estate, diminishes the persuasiveness of this second argument, though admittedly such evidence does not wholly refute the counter-hypothesis.

The Fiction and TV/Movies subcorpora contain the most varied and inarguably negative pre-nominal adjectives employed in describing lawyers. Positive modifiers range from the arguably tongue-in-cheek hotshot and bigshot, and to the commendatory successful, fancy, high-priced, brilliant, and expensive. Concordance lines from TV/Movies reveal that hotshot is not used derisively or hyperbolically, and may not map particularly well onto the commonly expected negative-positive spectrum of prosodies (*e.g., from tv/m: Must be nice having hotshot LAWYERS get you off everytime and Any hotshot LAWYER could explain away that entire notebook*). Negative modifiers include shyster, scumbag, slick, prick, and others disparaging epithets. It is worthy of remark that across the entire corpus, ATTORNEY/S remains largely free of instantiation in negative semantic prosodies sustained by strong and frequent collocation with negative evaluative pre-nominal adjectives.

As expected, other subcorpora contain use of pre-nominal evaluative adjectives—it is only that these adjectives are markedly less sensational and may be of use in some discourse function. For example, the Spoken subcorpus, composed partly by unscripted news and media broadcasts, makes relatively frequent use of famed: it collocates to the left of ATTORNEY 25 times. Reviewing the concordance lines, there were references to famed ATTORNEY Johnny Cochran, Alan Dershowitz, or Gloria Allred alongside references to famed attorneys that are not household names despite their professional success (*e.g., from spk: our old favorite, the famed defense ATTORNEY, Mark Geragos*). Given the types of communicative acts comprising the Spoken subcorpora, such use of famed may very well establish both individual as an authority worth listening to and the particular piece of media worthy of consumption. The Newspaper subcorpus uses the pre-nominal adjective former in a similar way. Occurring 640 times to the left of attorney and 221 to the left of lawyer (both with MI scores > 6.3), it is a more measured

description of experience and, thereby, authority (*e.g., from news*: board hired Grant Woods, a former Arizona ATTORNEY general, to conduct the investigation). Former collocates three times with paralegal (with an MI of 5.57) though it is not used to construct authority to speak on a subject or act with a charge. Instead the use of former designates the occupation of a particular individual who made the news for other, non-occupational related reasons (*e.g., from news*: The case of Regina Turner, a former PARALEGAL who lived in St. Ann). Lastly, the Academic subcorpus uses prominent, which offers an insightful alternate to famed insofar as prominent carefully obviates any subjective interpretation of fame (a relationship the construct of interest shares with us, the populace) and modifies the noun by its prominence relative to other constructs of the same type (prominent amongst lawyers, amongst attorneys, amongst paralegals, etc.). Prominent effectually acknowledges the occupational success of the individual without opening itself to claims of prejudice or bias (*e.g., from acad*: to quote the works of prominent international LAWYERS of the past and contemporary Europe).

Comparatively speaking, PARALEGAL/S co-occurs alongside much less varied lexico-grammatical patterns. In all but the Newspaper subcorpus, which had eleven collocate tokens of said and PARALEGAL/S, work* is the only non-linking verb lemma collocating three times or more with the construct of interest. The labor comprising the occupational responsibilities of a paralegal is not modified or elaborated upon—admittedly, with only these findings in hand, it would be challenging to instruct an individual, ignorant of the job responsibilities of paralegals, in what it is exactly a paralegal does beyond, broadly speaking, work. While there are fairly illustrative examples throughout the corpus of what is its paralegals actually do (*e.g., from blog*: we sip coffee as a PARALEGAL prepares pens and paperwork), one can largely only work as a PARALEGAL compared to those who can work, serve, speak, train, and practice as a LAWYER or

ATTORNEY. Further, common lemmas across the corpus collocating with LAWYER/S and ATTORNEY/S (*file**, *represent**, *sue**, *say**, *advise**, *argue**, *specialized**, *practice**) do not appear to associate with PARALEGAL/S. Broadly speaking, the corpus indicates the textual beingness of a paralegal is nearly wholly coextensive with the sphere of work. PARALEGAL/S are represented as working (*e.g., from spk*: She spends her days working as a PARALEGAL), having worked (*e.g., from fic*: Valdo worked as a PARALEGAL), and engaged with work (*e.g., from tv/m*: he's buried me in PARALEGAL work). There are instances in the concordance lines in which paralegals do something other than work, (*e.g., from mag*: Lynn, a thirty-two-year-old PARALEGAL, speaks for many of us), but these are largely anomalous and only in the Newspaper subcorpus occur four or more times. While the historical discussion of the paralegal occupation provided in Chapter 2 accounts for both the explicit and tacit knowledge base of the occupation, both the document services and the gendered relational work PARALEGAL/S provide in the office-space are non-existent in text.

Smaller patterns, though, emerge from the truncated collocational network of PARALEGAL/S. In the Academic, Fiction, and Newspaper subcorpora, PARALEGAL/S collocates strongly with LAWYER/S, ATTORNEY/S, and secretaries. Fiction also contains collocations of table and PARALEGAL/S and while the frequency is low, PARALEGAL/S are represented as being seated or around a table. In the TV/Movie subcorpus, PARALEGAL/S collocates with my (*I'll have my PARALEGALS put together some material*). In the Blog subcorpus, PARALEGAL/S collocates more strongly than either ATTORNEY/S or LAWYER/S to job, salary, and paying and while these collocations are not frequently instantiated, they wield considerable semantic influence in the subcorpus due to the low token count of PARALEGAL/S.

Holistically interpreting the data pulled from the corpus, individuals engage with a largely undifferentiated sense of work in the paralegal occupation, work that does not reflexively form the basis of any sort of authoritative action or actors. Lawyers and attorneys often reference their profession (*e.g., from blog*: as an ATTORNEY who negotiates these sales I can tell you), or have their professions referenced by others, in order to construct or substantiate claims to authority. Paralegals, conversely, engage in the labor of paralegal work throughout the corpus without that work itself becoming the basis for any form of authority to speak, do, or be.

Medical Set: Differing Positions in the Provision of Care

Recurring textual patterns surrounding NURSE/S reflect the professional dynamism of the nursing occupation, meaning that a concept such as practice is caught up not just in the practice of nursing, but in the practice of three frequently occurring credentialed specializations of the nursing occupation: midwives (CNMs), nurse practitioners (NPs), and nurse anesthetists (CNRAs)—collectively referred to here after as Advanced Practice Nurses (APRNs). Credentialing as an APRN requires experience in critical care nursing, a Bachelor’s degree in Nursing, and graduate level course work in the area of specialization, among other things. APRNs are compensated for their specialized knowledge in healthcare settings with prescriber status, higher salaries, and much greater autonomy of practice compared to an RN. This is all to say that the casual distinction between doctors and nurses is, unsurprisingly, much more complex when viewed closely. This complexity is evidenced in the corpus by markedly frequent and strong recurrences of NURSE practitioner/s, NURSE midwife/s, advanced practice NURSE/S, and to a much less frequent extent, NURSE anesthetist/s. Parsing these instances out from those of registered NURSE/S (RNs) is a practice in diligence—when there is a no occupational specialization noted, NURSE/S refers to RNs specifically, not the occupation more generally.

The word NURSE is commonly modified, by a specialization (like those noted above), scope of practice (e.g., oncology, pediatric, icu, emergency, scrub) or administrative authority (charge, manager, head, admitting). The most extensive network of modification occurs in the Academic subcorpus which adds to clinical scope of practice such areas as nephrology and rheumatology. Across the corpus, NURSE is repeatedly pre-modified by registered, perhaps an indication of a broader awareness of the differentiation of the occupation emerging with the rise of APRNs. This specific pre-nominal modifier is least frequent in the TV/Movies and Fiction subcorpora. Nurses and APRNs are frequently represented in working in ward/s or office/s, or at station/s in hospital/s. Unsurprisingly, NURSE/S collocates frequently with doctor/s (*e.g., from mag: ask doctors and NURSES to clean their stethoscopes and from news: in the emergency room, doctors and NURSES administered blood transfusions*). It was perhaps worth noting that doctors and NURSE/S occurs much more frequently across the corpus than NURSE/S and doctors. NURSE/S are also textually associated with a variety of occupations and participants in healthcare (pharmacists, aides, patients) and, in both the Newspaper and Spoken subcorpora, teacher/s (*e.g., from spk: paying an effective tax rate lower than what NURSES or school teachers are paying and from news: six months of free apartment rent to NURSES or teachers accepting their first position*).

In terms of what NURSE/S do, they are variously represented as:

- Working in shifts
 - A new intensive care unit NURSE, Samantha, is working the evening shift (acad)
- Providing care
 - People had to bribe the doctors and NURSES for decent care (spk)
- Telling others information

- The NURSE tells me I have another ten minutes (fic)
- One who brings something
 - I love this pretty white NURSE who brings me cigarettes (fic)
- Responding with nods
 - The NURSE nods, hands him the chart, and goes (fic)
- Being aware
 - It is vital that practice NURSES are away of their needs (acad)

This is, admittedly, an abbreviated list, but already textual representations of members of the occupation echo both Gamarnikow's (1978) account of the genesis of the nursing occupation, specifically the occupation's purposeful subordination to physicians, and Guy and Newman's (2004) explication of emotional work as work which entails the management of other's emotions.

Practice appears to consistently designate the general field of occupational activity in which both APRNs and nurses participate. It is not a word used to designate the day-to-day tasks of nursing — such responsibilities do or would belong in the list above. Instead, practice designates more broadly the doing of either advanced or registered nursing work.

- recommended that all states allow NURSE to practice to the full extent (news)
- Yvonne Findley is a NURSE who practices in Miami (mag)
- we would like to see NURSE midwives and NURSE practitioners expand their practice (spk)

These examples show that not only is the doing of nursing denoted textually identified as practice, but that this sphere of activity is site of occupational negotiation and conflict amongst members of these and other healthcare occupations.

The Academic subcorpus contains strong, fairly frequent of NURSE/S with distress (*e.g.*, the experience of moral distress in clinical NURSES is generally believed), spurned (*e.g.*, the adverse effects of being spurned on NURSES' self-perceptions) and verbal (*e.g.*, NURSES accept verbal abuse from all sources). These collocations indicate a particular psychological toll the practice of nursing takes on its practitioners. Mentions of verbal abuse notwithstanding, it is difficult to ascertain whether these stressors are identified with particular responsibilities that fall under the scope of nursing practice, or whether such distress is the consequence of sustained disdain or disrespect shown by others (patients, doctors, etc.) for the practice itself. This aspect of the nursing occupation is not replicated in any other subcorpora.

The Fiction and TV/Movies subcorpora contain pre-nominal modification patterns that sexualize the dress and practitioners of the nursing occupation. Both subcorpora contain recurrences of pre-nominal modifiers sexy and naughty. Modification by hair color (*e.g.*, blonde, redhead) was not uncommon. NURSE/S are also represented as wearing uniforms (*e.g.*, *from tv/m*: she was wearing this bubblegum pink cotton NURSE'S uniform *and from fic*: she looked beautiful in her NURSE'S uniform, her white starched cap). In the Fiction subcorpus, scrubs collocates less frequently with NURSE/S relative to uniform, though the MI is significantly higher, while TV/Movies contains less than four instances of scrubs occurring in a four-word span from NURSE/S. Granted, while I can identify these lines by publication date, it is difficult to ascertain the temporal settings of such media; some of these books and movies may very well be historical in nature, or the uniform itself may be characterized as out-of-date. In such cases, the use of uniform may very well be appropriate.

The remaining subcorpora do not present much evidence for either side of this debate. Blogs does not mention either designations of dress. The Magazine subcorpora contains a

handful of instances of uniform/s, but apart from a few which explicitly represent it as a costume or artifact (*e.g.*, stores holds muskets, coffins and blood-stained NURSE'S uniforms), it is hard form a conclusion as to how the word is being used. The Academic subcorpus, too, contains fives co-occurrences of NURSE'S uniform, but in many of the instances it is apparent that the author is referring to some unspecified piece of media (*e.g.*, hence her earlier appearance in her NURSE'S uniform, which is synecdoche). Most importantly, out of the 70+ collocations across the corpus of NURSE/S and uniform, only one is explicitly in reference to a man nurse. The overrepresentations of women in NURSE'S uniforms compared to men may, though perhaps historically appropriate at times, gesture towards a focus on and fetishization of women's sartorial appearance.

Table 4.4 documents the frequencies and MI scores of collocations involving DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S, and various forms of two salient lemmas, *diagnose** and *prescribe**. While the Table notes discrepancies between the two occupational titles, such as the near absence of physician collocate types in the Fiction and TV/Movie subcorpora, these discrepancies are more likely the result of differing token counts of DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S in the subcorpora than any preference for one title over another when representing acts of prescription or diagnosis. The inclusion of this table is not with the intention of drawing any distinction between the representations of DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S, but to instead gesture towards a fairly impermeable scope of practice relative to that of NURSE/S. Other than one instance in the Blog subcorpus, only Academic subcorpus contains greater than four collocate tokens of any of the verb forms noted in Table 4.4 and NURSE/S. While this may be a fairly obvious finding, it is worthy of remark nonetheless, for in answer to the inquiry as to the constitution of the practice of medicine, the data here reveal such practice is comprised of mundane acts of prescription and

Table 4.4: Medical Men Monopolize Prescription and Diagnosis

	Acad	News	Mag	Spk	Blog	Fic	TV/M
DOCTOR/S	prescribe	34, 10.91	20, 11.67	52, 11.03	9, 11.41	15, 11.88	-
	prescribes	-	-	-	-	-	-
	prescribing	41, 10.72	12, 11.32	20, 10.77	9, 12.47	14, 12.3	-
PHYSICIAN/S	prescribed	28, 8.48	12, 9.56	22, 8.79	10, 10.49	12, 10.01	5, 12.48
	diagnose	7, 8.52	-	17, 9.43	-	5, 10.03	-
	diagnosed	34, 8.59	8, 7.67	22, 7.74	-	7, 7.58	-
DOCTOR/S	prescribe	19, 10.54	105, 11.96	231, 11.91	86, 11.69	52, 11.87	13, 9.88
	prescribes	7, 10.67	8, 10.44	29, 11.41	10, 11.54	8, 11.44	6, 10.68
	prescribing	17, 9.92	49, 11.25	53, 10.90	50, 11.44	24, 11.27	-
PHYSICIAN/S	prescribed	29, 9.04	75, 10.10	121, 10.27	96, 11.78	75, 10.85	42, 9.67
	diagnose	5, 8.6	18, 10.04	60, 9.98	17, 9.73	18, 10.07	7, 8.97
	diagnosed	32, 8.97	68, 8.66	85, 8.42	51, 8.51	31, 8.41	28, 8.66
							20, 7.29

Table 4.4: Total Frequencies and MI Values of diagnose* and prescribe* with DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S

diagnosis. While the data also reveals more nebulous elements of practice, such as treating illness (*e.g., from acad: using preferred drug lists for DOCTOR/S treating medicaid patients and from news: DOCTORS are prescribing these drugs to treat depression*) and providing care (*e.g., from mag:*

a team of DOCTORS administering his care), it appears, evident even in the examples provided, that such vague notions are largely reducible to acts of diagnosis and prescription.

Table 4.5: NURSE/S prescribe* in Academic Texts

prescribe*	Freq (L, R)	MI
prescribing	47, 37	11.23
prescribe	0, 11	8.76
prescribed	03, 01	5.19
prescriber	06, 24	12.62
prescribers	04, 35	12.54

Table 4.5 *Frequency and MI of NURSE/S and lemma prescribe* in Academic Subcorpus*

The Academic subcorpus contained the most frequent instantiations of various types of APRNs. The co-occurrence alongside pre- and post-nominal modifiers, participles, and verbs representing acts of prescription reflect their prescriber status noted above. The Academic subcorpus was the only subcorpus to contain mention of a NURSE prescriber (e.g., recommend how the role of the

NURSE prescriber could be expanded further), which, given mentions in the concordance lines of the National Health Service (NHS) and the Nursing and Midwifery Council (NWC) register, lead me to conclude that NURSE prescriber is preferred term for advanced practice nurses in England.

As the discussion in Chapter 2 noted, nurses and physicians, despite differing scopes of practice, share a common goal in providing care to the patient. With the frequencies and MI scores from Table 4.4 in mind, the data here corroborates the claim made in the earlier historical discussion that physicians successfully monopolized the acts of diagnosis and prescription. The use of the term NURSE prescriber in the Academic subcorpus suggests that the scope of practice of DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S is, despite the long-standing monopoly, nonetheless a site of negotiation wherein adjacent occupations make claims to tasks and responsibilities in the domain of activity. Such textually evidenced negotiation is important to this study, given the linkage among these elements of practice, textual indications of expertise, and the degree of prestige implicated in such practice and expertise.

The representation of expertise of PHYSICIAN/S and DOCTOR/S is multiform:

- PHYSICIAN/S and DOCTOR/S undergo training
 - PHYSICIANS are trained in their residency (spk)
 - Support for every new resident—a student DOCTOR getting on-the-job training (news)
 - The careful supervision of a trained DOCTOR (news)
- They are engaged with practice
 - The administration of any therapeutic agent by PHYSICIANS legally qualified to practice medicine (blog)
 - Called “defensive medicine practices” in which DOCTORS order unnecessary medical tests to protect themselves (news)
- The steps necessary to working in the occupation are construed as a becoming
 - Get real educated and become a DOCTOR or something (tv/m)
 - The long road to becoming a PHYSICIAN (blog)

Such representations of expertise are not much different than those of nursing expertise.

Similarly, NURSE/S are trained or undergo training, they are engaged with the practice of nursing, and the credentialing and licensing process is frequently construed as a loose reconfiguration of the person’s being— like DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S, one does not ‘try to work as a nurse’ or ‘work as nurse’ so much as become a NURSE and be* a NURSE.

Despite these similar textual representations of expertise, the ways in which the expertise of NURSE/S, and DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S is textually taken up in broader ranges of action is quite distinct. Thus, phrases such as DOCTOR’s visit and PHYSICIAN’s appointment have no analog in the scope of nursing practice, at least so far as documented in the recurring co-occurring textual patterns surrounding NURSE/S. Similarly, DOCTOR/S and PHYSICIAN/S are often sought in order to consult them regarding some issue (*e.g., from fic*: was reluctant to consult a DOCTOR about the persistent, shameless smarting *and from acad*: self monitor for symptoms and

consult their DOCTOR, if needed) while NURSE/S are very infrequently sought in consultation (<10 occurrences across the corpus). On the rare occasion they are, their clinical expertise is absent (*e.g., from fic*: consult with the charge NURSE), ambiguously represented (*e.g., from acad*: medications to school and consult the school NURSE if problems arise during the school), or they are positioned as the subject — the ones consulting, not being consulted (*e.g., from mag*: NURSES who consult with patients by phone). Despite the relatively prevalent instantiation of the collocation of NURSE/S and prescribe* in the Academic subcorpus, there are less than 25 instances in which an Academic concordance line mentions of consulting a nurse for clinical reasons. This data point perhaps speaks most authoritatively to the relationship between prescribing and diagnosing—namely, that while both appear across the corpus to constitute a fairly impermeable scope of practice, the act of diagnosing exerts more influence over perceptions of expertise than that of prescribing.

I argue that the practitioner's expertise also lends itself to the phrases PHYSICIAN- or DOCTOR- patient privilege or confidentiality. It is because those who practice medicine are experts that they have access to privileged or confidential information. NURSE/S and many other clinical and non-clinical occupations working within a healthcare environment are legally bound from publishing or spreading, even amongst themselves, the private health information that could publicly identify patients. Yet all are bound by an array of cascading responsibilities that emanate from the act of diagnosis. NURSE/S bring, tell, and provide (as noted above), and while these three occupations are textually evidenced as all treating patients, that treatment is markedly different in its textual representation between these sub- and superordinate occupations. Because the act of diagnosis, however tentative, is logically prior to any course of treatment, the expertise that lends itself to that act is crystallized in the above phrases.

These distinctions in scopes of practice and expertise matter because, as argued above, there is a sense of prestige that accompanies being consulted. These distinctions are also important for material reasons though, as they factor into legal definitions of provider status and ultimately inform the authority to bill for services. While the Academic, Fiction, Magazine, and TV/Movies subcorpora contain little to no mention of reimbursement/s for DOCTOR/S or PHYSICIAN/S, the remaining subcorpora (Blog, Newspaper, Spoken) contain strong and fairly frequent instantiations of the collocate varying collocate types, with MI scores above 8.00 and occurring anywhere from 10 to 25 times in each (*e.g., from news*: medicare reimbursements for DOCTORS *and from blog*: endorsed the idea of setting mandatory PHYSICIAN and hospital reimbursement rates). In none of the subcorpora does NURSE/S collocate with reimbursement/s greater than four times, textual evidence that reflects the legal reality that nurses cannot bill insurance companies for services. Who and who does not possess the authority to bill for services and procedures emerges from the above articulated distinctions in how patients interact with expertise, not vice versa.

Psychosocial Set: Locale and Arrangement of Care

It is necessary to preface analysis of the co-occurring textual patterns in which SOCIOLOGIST/S recurs with the observation that the TV/Movies subcorpora contains only sixteen instances of the word in its singular and plural forms, an incredible low token count that precludes any form of substantive analysis or informed conclusions. Both the Spoken and Fiction subcorpora contain relatively low token counts as well, and will be dealt with separately at the end of this section. Consequently, when I refer to ‘the majority of subcorpora’ I am specifically referring to the Academic, Newspaper, Blog, and Magazine subcorpora.

In the majority of subcorpora, SOCIOLOGIST/S frequently co-occur alongside members of various disciplines in the social sciences (*e.g.*, historians, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, psychologists *and, to a lesser extent*, philosophers). This disciplinary network is, unsurprisingly, most developed in the Academic subcorpus. The extent of this network, and the ways in which scholars of different disciplines within the social sciences are situated alongside each other, gives rise to an implicit appeal to interdisciplinarity. There are, of course, a litany of distinctions in method, constructs of interest, and theoretical foundations, that separate these disciplines from one another (*e.g., from acad:* it is perceived differently by psychologists, SOCIOLOGISTS, legal practitioners, and religionists). Yet there was evidence of disciplinary overlap as well. Members of different disciplines

- come to similar conclusions
 - anthropologists and SOCIOLOGISTS have taught us that lives are structured (acad)
 - historians, philosophers, and SOCIOLOGISTS of science have demonstrated that (acad)
 - Political scientists, economists, SOCIOLOGISTS, and psychologists have long noted (news)
- Sometimes use similar methods
 - studies conducted by economists, SOCIOLOGISTS, and others employing quantitative (acad)
- research similar domains of human activity
 - providing valuable information to historians, SOCIOLOGISTS, economists, and many other disciplines (mag)
- are influenced by the same scholars
 - has become the obligatory reference for French SOCIOLOGISTS and historians (acad)
- take umbrage with similar things
 - criticized by historians, anthropologists, and SOCIOLOGISTS alike (acad)

- anthropologists, psychologists, and SOCIOLOGISTS critiquing the use of culturally-biased tests (acad)
- are effected by similar circumstances
 - economists, politicians, corporate executives, SOCIOLOGISTS and medical researchers are waking up to (mag)

These strings of scholars from various disciplines are different from strings of middle class professions insofar as the academics enumerated in a list are all oriented to the work of academia while middle class professions are not grouped together on account of their work, but their middle class status. More comprehensive analysis of this corpus evidence might be used to substantiate a call for interdisciplinarity in social sciences on account of more intimate similarities in theory, method, and research exigence—similarities over and above a broadly shared interest in social organization and human activity.

The majority of subcorpora present a surprisingly refined picture of what it is exactly sociologists do. Most prominently, SOCIOLOGIST/S either study or present studies.

- Lewis Walker, a Western Michigan University SOCIOLOGIST who studies policing trends (news)
- according to a new study from SOCIOLOGISTS at Rice University (mag)
- recently SOCIOLOGIST Mark Regnerus published a study showing (blog)

These studies subsequently culminate in writing.

- the well known Soviet SOCIOLOGIST, Raisa Gorbachev, wrote her doctoral thesis (mag)
- I think what I and most other SOCIOLOGISTS of religion wrote in the 1960s (mag)

This writing is comprised of a variety of linguistic modes of presentation (*e.g.*, argued, described, called, noted) but these linguistic modes are not deployed similarly across the majority of subcorpora. Take, for example, these sentences from the Academic and Magazine subcorpora:

- the American political SOCIOLOGIST Ronald Inglehardt, who argued that ecocentrism (acad)

- The main problem, argues Brooklyn College SOCIOLOGIST Egon Mayer, is intermarriage (mag)

The most apparent difference, that of the differing tenses of the verb, does not indicate whether these arguments are on-going but instead may reveal a particular register difference between subcorpora. The collocation of SOCIOLOGIST/S and argued, noted, and described evidence the feature of academic writing in Humanities and Social Sciences to situate ideas alongside each other. These instances in the Academic subcorpus are part of a more general writerly effort to describe relevant arguments within the discourse community in order to respond to them. Such efforts need not take place in Magazines or Newspapers, who instead are concerned with reporting, at least in this case, the current ideas or arguments of individuals in order to substantiate a narrative. Somewhat humorously though, the majority of subcorpora contain evidence of identical usage of call*, namely, to attribute the use of sociological jargon to someone other than the author.

- they constituted what military SOCIOLOGISTS call a “latent ideology” (acad)
- the land is racked by what SOCIOLOGISTS call religious tribalism (news)
- SOCIOLOGISTS call it social capital (mag)

SOCIOLOGIST/S rarely collocate with any evaluative pre-nominal modifiers. The Academic subcorpus contains the most varied use of modifiers (noted, leading, famous, prominent), though no modifier occurs less than seven times. Such low usage is unsurprising for academic writing, but that it is the most varied across the majority of subcorpora indicates the employment of a different modification pattern in Newspapers, Magazines, and Blogs. In each of these (and Academic, as well), sociologists are repeatedly modified by the sub-disciplinary specialty (SOCIOLOGIST of religion, military SOCIOLOGIST, sports SOCIOLOGIST) and the university at which they are employed. This usage across the majority of subcorpora suggests that 1) an indication of sub-disciplinary focus and university employment is sufficient to establish

expertise for lay readers and 2) that a recognition of scholarly prominence entails, at minimum, a cursory knowledge of the disciplinary field, knowledge that only participants in those fields (i.e. academics) are likely to possess.

The Spoken subcorpora presents evidence of similar patterns to those found within Newspapers, albeit to a more limited degree. Thus, SOCIOLOGIST/S collocates with both says and say in patterns that report on their advice or observations. Again, SOCIOLOGIST/S commonly collocate with university quite strongly and infrequently are represented as studying a topic. In the Fiction subcorpus, SOCIOLOGIST/S are rarely narrative subjects and many of the instances appear, crudely, as toss-offs, ranging from the banal (*e.g.*, asked a SOCIOLOGIST named Glenda) to the fantastic (*e.g.*, he had skeptically demanded to know what a SOCIOLOGIST might be doing in Paleozoic time). Beyond very superficial observations that SOCIOLOGIST/S occasionally make statements in the form of that-clauses (*e.g.*, SOCIOLOGISTS estimate that in another two generations), Fiction presents little to bolster knowledge of textual patterns this superordinate occupation.

SOCIAL WORKER/S are repeatedly represented as working with teams comprised of members from other occupations.

- In sites of medical intervention, evidenced by > 100 occurrences across the corpus of the phrase hospital SOCIAL WORKER/S and concordance lines such as:
 - nurse practitioners and a SOCIAL WORKER at the People’s Community Clinic (acad)
 - Must include a physician, a nurse, and SOCIAL WORKERS (blog)
 - Compassionate set of doctors and nurses and SOCIAL WORKERS (fic)
- In sites of psychosocial intervention
 - We are joined by a psychologist and a SOCIAL WORKER (spk)
 - At least five clinical psychiatrists and SOCIAL WORKER knew about the affair (fic)

- Psychologists, psychiatrists, and SOCIAL WORKERS who evaluated Miriam (mag)
- In education settings, evidenced by > 50 occurrences across the corpus of the phrase school SOCIAL WORKER/S and concordance lines such as:
 - The board agrees to commit to hire nurses, SOCIAL WORKERS, and school counselors (blog)
 - Several teachers and a SOCIAL WORKER seated around a table in the school (blog)
- And occasionally alongside law-enforcement
 - Police officer, a sheriff's deputy, and a SOCIAL WORKER from a local addiction treatment center (spk)
 - Police and SOCIAL WORKERS interviewed neighbors (news)
 - All cops and SOCIAL WORKERS in the area had Zambo stories (fic)

There are other environments in which SOCIAL WORKER/S appear, namely non-profits and state bureaucratic institutions, yet leaving aside sites of psychosocial intervention, which will be touched upon shortly, the remaining three domains of activity are not ones primarily associated with social work. Participation in multiple domains of activity suggests that the occupational responsibilities of social work supplement the activities and goals of that domain with specific, though non-localized expertise without influencing the scope or direction of the activity itself.

SOCIAL WORKER/S also work* with varying subsets of the population, as seen in the following examples.

- I'm a medical SOCIAL WORKER, and I work with terminally ill patients (spk)
- County officials began sending SOCIAL WORKERS to work with parents (spk)
- A SOCIAL WORKER who works with burn patients (acad)

The lemma work* occurs a total of 776 times in the concordances lines, while the lemma-preposition pair work* with occurs times. Thus, the preposition with follows the verb forms of the lemma work* 19.58% of the times when co-occurring alongside SOCIAL WORKER/S. Such representations of shared labor compliment the decentralized, collaborative character of social

work that emerged above by foregrounding the assistive nature of the work of SOCIAL WORKER/S. While there remains a distinction between shared labor and collaboration—specifically, that the former connotes a shared task while the latter a shared goal—this difference does not meaningfully disrupt the fairly unified representation of SOCIAL WORKER/S as assistive supplements that emerges from the concordance lines.

SOCIAL WORKER/S, further, engage in verbal identifications of work that I have grouped under the hyponym **ORGANIZE** (organize*, facilitate*, support*, plan*, provide*, arrange*).

- A SOCIAL WORKER who arranges meetings between egg donors (news)
- The SOCIAL WORKER provided a vital link (acad)
- Early comprehensive discharge planning by a SOCIAL WORKER (acad)
- The SOCIAL WORKER could have organized a gradual transition (acad)

SOCIAL WORKER/S' responsibilities to **ORGANIZE** actions and events is at times mirrored negatively in the subcorpora where SOCIAL WORKER/S are represented as glorified “paper-pushers” (*e.g., from fic*: She’s a typical SOCIAL WORKER, who assumes reality can be shuffled about *and from spk*: those thousands of pieces of paper that SOCIAL WORKERS were pushing about).

Social worker/s also **INTERVENE** (visit*, interview*, call*, meet*, drop-in*, come*). As the italicized verbs imply, interventions can vary in the degree to which they disrupt the routinized elements of private life.

- Or we do a home visit by a SOCIAL WORKER to strengthen the family (spk)
- Charlayne Woodard as a SOCIAL WORKER who pays a visit (news)
- A SOCIAL WORKER who came to the house (news)
- In an interview with SOCIAL WORKER, Mr. DeShaney denied abusing his son (mag)
- The SOCIAL WORKER is coming to make sure (tv/m)

Table 4.6: SOCIAL WORKER/S
ORGANIZE

		Left	Right
provide*	provide	16	74
	provides	18	4
	provided	27	20
	providing	7	19
facilitate*	facilitate	1	18
organize*	organize	2	3
	organized	2	3
arrange*	arrange	1	3
	arranged	1	5

Table 4.6: *Salient Lemmas, Verb Forms, and Frequencies of ORGANIZE*Table 4.7: SOCIAL WORKER/S
INTERVENE

		Left	Right
visit*	visit	9	13
	visits	17	8
	visiting	4	6
	visited	2	10
interview*	interview	9	6
	interviews	11	3
	interviewed	3	5
call*	call	29	10
	calls	10	3
	calling	5	19
	called	12	15
meet*	meet	11	5
come*	come	7	27
	comes	1	9
	coming	2	9
	came	6	28

Table 4.7: *Salient Lemmas, Verb Forms, and Frequencies of INTERVENE*

Between their efforts to **ORGANIZE** and **INTERVENE**, SOCIAL WORKER/S are represented simultaneously as capable actors in the interstitial spaces among domains of activity and boundary-crossers who possess the authority, at times, to cross into private spheres of activity typically barred to public figures.

Such interventions are distinct from those practiced by NURSE/S, PHYSICIAN/S, and DOCTOR/S, whose medical interventions are, barring public accidents, undertaken in clearly demarcated locales such as hospitals and clinics. Social work, conversely, as evidenced by the representations of working teams, shared labor, **ORGANIZE**, and **INTERVENE**, do work within clearly demarcated locales — their labor is interpolated within different organizations, domains, and spheres of activity. The social workers authority to intervene in private life is construed

negatively in the Fiction subcorpus, in which SOCIAL WORKER/S are represented as individuals who have the power to take things away.

- Ruthie who screamed when the SOCIAL WORKERS dragged her away (fic)
- The SOCIAL WORKERS took me about that dreadful afternoon (fic)
- A SOCIAL WORKER was coming and that SOCIAL WORKER was going to take me away (fic)
- SOCIAL WORKER took my baby (fic)
- No damn SOCIAL WORKER 's gonna get 'hold of my... (fic)

Like SOCIAL WORKER/S, PSYCHOLOGIST/S are textually represented as individuals who work* with those in need of help.

- clinical PSYCHOLOGIST who works primarily with sexual offenders (spk)
- PSYCHOLOGIST George Batch works with bullies and their victims (spk)

Table 4.8 contains the five most frequent, unique (in that they are not variations of the same lemma), right-hand non-linking verbs in each subcorpus. Occasionally, verb forms of the same lemma would occur five unique variations were found. The variation in verb form is noted in the table by the, indented, parenthetical entries. Lastly, in compiling this list, I passed over all verbs that had an MI score less than 3.00.

Table 4.8: Knowing, Calling, Working: The Labor of PSYCHOLOGIST/S

<u>acad</u>	<u>news</u>	<u>mag</u>	<u>spk</u>	<u>blog</u>	<u>fic</u>	<u>tv/m</u>
work	said	call	say	call	said	know
(working)	(say)	says	(says)	working	(say)	think
need	(says)	(say)	(said)	spent	told	said
use	told	found	call	specializing	knew	(say)
provide	call	help	works	(specializes)	(knew)	tell
help	worked	study	(worked)	know	called	look
	(works)		specializes		(call)	
	studied		joining		want	

Table 4.8: *Five most frequent, right hand verb lemmas with PSYCHOLOGIST/S*

While this table gestures towards preferred verbs in certain subcorpora (e.g., joining, in Spoken), it also reveals the ways in which the expertise of PSYCHOLOGIST/S is called upon to

identify phenomena, make assessments, provide advice. Like SOCIOLOGIST/S, the knowledge of PSYCHOLOGIST/S is called upon to help explain events and relationships in the material world, as evidenced by the following examples of call*.

- A PSYCHOLOGIST would call Goosen's calm explanations denial (news)
- Bush has consistently exhibited what PSYCHOLOGIST/S call the "Tolstoy syndrome" (blog)
- The almost total lack of what PSYCHOLOGIST/S called "affect" (fic)

Tell*, as distinct from say* frames in an imperative aspect the information being communicated, and lends the speaker a small degree of expertise. These verbs also suggest a pattern in which the employment of help*, study*, and work* to represent PSYCHOLOGIST/S in the informative, non-fictional subcorpora is transformed in the self-sponsored, imaginative subcorpora into PSYCHOLOGIST/S as individuals who know* and think* things. What follows are a small batch of concordance lines in which help*, study*, and work* occur.

- work*
 - Schools provide one opportunity for PSYCHOLOGISTS to work with children (acad)
 - PSYCHOLOGISTS have been working on vocational preference tests (blog)
 - PSYCHOLOGIST Edith King works with the survivors (spk)
- study*
 - a PSYCHOLOGIST who has studied divorced families for 20 years (news)
 - Tooby and Santa Barbara PSYCHOLOGIST Leda Cosmides study what they call (mag)
 - a clinical PSYCHOLOGIST who has studied dress behavior (news)
- help*
 - actions PSYCHOLOGISTS can take to help in ending homelessness (acad)
 - Louis should see a PSYCHOLOGIST to help him " face " his deafness (mag)
 - in order for PSYCHOLOGISTS to help support the emerging paradigm (acad)

PSYCHOLOGIST/S are represented by these verb lemmas as variously working with clients and populations in need and also as engaging with research at the university level. Given the distinction between abstract and practical knowledge that emerges across the super- and subordinate arrays, this varying representation complicates epistemic divide. Unlike SOCIAL

WORKER/S though, PSYCHOLOGIST/S are represented as individuals with specialized knowledge and there no indication in the collocate lists or concordance that PSYCHOLOGIST/S are mobile to any degree whatsoever.

While PSYCHOLOGIST/S work with individuals in need of assistance, they have also specialized* (specialize, specialized, specializes, specializing) in certain subfields and areas of expertise. Through an investigation of the thirteen SOCIAL WORKER/S concordance lines in which that lemma appears, only three explicitly tie SOCIAL WORKER/S to a specialized body of knowledge (*e.g., from acad*: The central role of a SOCIAL WORKER with specialized training in gerontology *or* Nurses, and SOCIAL WORKERS who specialize in geriatric care). The remaining instances of the lemma do not occur in the same sentence, do not apply to SOCIAL WORKER/S (*e.g., from acad*: to psychologists specializing in abuse issues, SOCIAL WORKERS, and vocational training centers *or* the model can guide SOCIAL WORKERS in specialized settings), refer to specialized labor (*e.g., from acad*: SOCIAL WORKERS' abilities to deliver specialized assistance), or note a dearth of specialization (*e.g., from acad*: nurses tended to specialize more often than SOCIAL WORKERS in pediatric discharge planning).

By indirectly foregrounding the immobility of the individual therapist, recurring textual patterns co-occurring with THERAPIST/S are insightfully distinct from those of SOCIAL WORKER/S, despite similarities in how the work of each occupation is represented. Though the corpus contains a wide spectrum of scopes of practice, ranging from marriage THERAPIST/S and family THERAPIST/S to music THERAPIST/S, THERAPIST/S are not represented as dropping-in or visiting patients and clients. THERAPIST/S work in medical and educational settings, similar to and often alongside SOCIAL WORKER/S, the difference being that THERAPIST/S are sought out for medical or psychosocial assistance (hence their textually represented immobility) whereas

SOCIAL WORKER/S are more likely to be represented as agentive forces in acts of intervention.

Note the distinctions in mobility and agentive seeing in the following sentences:

- The SOCIAL WORKER is coming to make sure (tv/m)
- I've been seeing a THERAPIST about our marriage (tv/m)

The distinction is not so much that SOCIAL WORKER occupies the subject position of the first sentence—THERAPIST/S often occupy subject positions, as subsequent examples will demonstrate—but that their agency as subject is directed to both movement and sight, in conjunction. Broadly put, SOCIAL WORKER/S move to see, whereas THERAPIST/S are largely immobile and are seen. Table 4.9 contains the number of the total token count in the corpus of both occupational constructs of interest, the number of times the lemma *see** (saw, see, seeing, seen, sees) occurs within concordance lines (50-character string default) containing each construct of interest, and the corresponding rate of occurrence per 1,000 words.

Table 4.9: THERAPIST/S Are Sought for Consultation

	Total Token	<i>see*</i>	Per thousand
THERAPIST/S	11,133	781	70.15
SOCIAL WORKER/S	10,941	213	19.47

Table 4.9: *Frequencies of see* and THERAPIST/S and SOCIAL WORKER/S*

The MI score for the collocate pair seeing and THERAPIST/S is also consistently high across the corpus, ranging from 6.83 in the Academic subcorpus to 8.63

in the Newspaper subcorpus. Textual patterns containing this collocate invariably position THERAPIST/S in the predicate position as individuals sought out for expertise and assistance.

Initially, the work of THERAPIST/S and SOCIAL WORKER/S appears similar insofar as both types of labor are textually represented through the lemma and preposition pair *work** with.

THERAPIST/S *work** with clients and patients as seen in the following examples:

- A THERAPIST who specializes in working with kids (mag)
- The best places to look would include THERAPIST/S that work with foster and adoptive homes (blog)

Yet whereas SOCIAL WORKER/S were identified as co-laboring through actions grouped under the hypernym **ORGANIZE**, THERAPIST/S instead **HELP**. This labor is difficult to verbally denote consistently, but can be interpreted in the following the sentences:

- With my THERAPIST I have come to discover (blog)
- I am working with my THERAPIST to come to term with this all (blog)
- The THERAPIST helped me stop confusing issues with my mom (tv/m)
- They say the THERAPIST helped them learn how to share (news)
- Why don't you find some friendly THERAPIST and work some of that hostility out (fic)

In each example, THERAPIST/S are working alongside a client or patient, helping or assisting the individual (re)gain a sense of psychosocial equilibrium. While a byproduct of such labor may be less tumultuous, more rewarding engagement with social relations, the work of THERAPIST/S, as evidenced by the sentences above, seeks to establish psychosocial equilibrium through the reflexive, emotional management of those relations through sustainable, individual practices. Comparatively, SOCIAL WORKER/S facilitate this equilibrium because they **ORGANIZE** others' navigation through bureaucratic institutions.

Educational Set: Inspirations and Ambiguous Writers

Similar to PSYCHOLOGIST/S and SOCIOLOGIST/S, ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S are textually represented as engaged in the labor of studying and writing things. Table 4.10 contains the rate, per 1,000 occurrences of the particular node word, at which verb forms of the lemmas write* and study* co-occur with PSYCHOLOGIST/S, SOCIOLOGIST/S, or ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S. As noted above in the analysis of the psychosocial set of occupations, PSYCHOLOGIST/S are occasionally pronominally modified by research, a tendency which may explain the higher frequency of study*, as at this level of abstraction it is difficult to discern without great time investment the degree to which the lemma list conflates the noun and the verb study*.

Table 4.10: ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S Do Not Study*

LEMMA	study*		write*	
	Total	per 1,000 occurrences	Total	per 1,000 occurrences
Co-occurrence with node word PSYCHOLOGIST/S	315	19.64	117	7.30
SOCIOLOGIST/S	53	31.14	56	32.90
ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S	9	12.61	11	15.41

Table 4.10: *Co-Occurrence and Rates of study* and write* with University professionals*

ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S are not pronominally modified by specialty (e.g., Renaissance literature professor), nor are they textually represented as specializing in formalized areas of knowledge—the verb lemma specialized* (specializing,

specializes) occurs twice in the concordance lines. The two predominant trends of adjectival modification co-occurring with ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S are the designation of university of employment and faculty status (*e.g.* retired, assistant, tenured, *etc.*). University occurs 41 times to the left of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S while Table 4.11 contains the token counts of the top ten pronominal modifiers, including those conveying faculty status. The modifier literature was not included in Table 4.11 as it partially comprises a search term under the node word ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S.

Three one-off specialized focuses were noted:

- An American ENGLISH PROFESSOR who studied a group of romance (acad)
- A Duke University ENGLISH PROFESSOR known for his study of Victorian (news).
- PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE in Medieval History at Weimar (tv/m)

While areas of focus such as Victorian or romance literature may appear routine to those working in English departments, they are not observed in the corpus to a degree of formalized

and invariable recurrence seen with child PSYCHOLOGIST/S or military SOCIOLOGIST/S.

Table 4.11: ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S Modified Only by Faculty Status

In an effort to gain insight into what ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S write, the concordance lines were queried for any recurring nouns denoting a type of text that might co-occur alongside both ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S and the verb lemma write*. No nominal designation of text co-occurred four or more times, though book occurred twice to the left of the lemma and once to right. A manual study of concordance lines reveals ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S engaged in various acts of text production, including:

<u>Pre-nominal modifier</u>	<u>Tokens</u>
my	17
college	16
retired	16
former	13
old	12
her	9
his	8
assistant	8
tenured	6
distinguished	6

Table 4.11: *Prenominal modifiers and of* ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S

- generalized representations of writing, such as:
 - A UC Riverside comparative-LITERATURE PROFESSOR who has written extensively on... (news)
 - Days of Grace, written with Princeton PROFESSOR OF LITERATURE Arnold Rampersad (mag)
 - A Colorado State University ENGLISH PROFESSOR and a nature writer (news)
- writing novels
 - Caryl Phillips, an ENGLISH PROFESSOR whose own novels tackle slavery (news)
 - quiet lives as ENGLISH PROFESSORS and writers of critically acclaimed novels (news)
 - Michael Douglas stars as a novelist and ENGLISH PROFESSOR who finds his personal and professional lives (spk)
- authoring books
 - A serious book, written by a PROFESSOR OF LITERATURE (news)
 - Matthew Brucoli, an ENGLISH PROFESSOR and author of books about 20th- (acad)
- composing poetry
 - a poem written by ENGLISH PROFESSOR Dr. Mary Bruce (blog)
 - Phillips, who is also a poet and ENGLISH PROFESSOR, will read a poem (spk)

While the lemma write* does not meaningfully collocate with any type of text, the concordance lines reveal various representations of texts produced by ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S. Yet

nonetheless, when compared to two insightful collocates of write* (discussed subsequently) in the concordance lines of SOCIOLOGIST/S, the wealth and variation of the above lines belies a fairly undifferentiated representation of the types of texts and writerly practices ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S produce and engage in.

The word about occurs seventeen times to the right of write* in the SOCIOLOGIST/S concordance lines, a data point which, while not providing further elaboration on what types of texts SOCIOLOGIST/S are composing, does nonetheless gesture towards a degree of topic variation not found in the concordance lines of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S. Further, the word that occurs fourteen times to the right of write* in the concordance lines of SOCIOLOGIST/S, suggesting that whatever it is that SOCIOLOGIST/S are writing, it merits at minimum a cursory gloss for readers. Without the repeated co-occurrence of either that or about in the concordance lines of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, the texts composed by members of that superordinate occupation and any implicated writing practices remain static and without description. Controlling for higher prevalence of write* in the concordance lines of SOCIOLOGIST/S, a prevalence noted in Table 5.10 above, does not alter this undifferentiated representation of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S. Write* co-occurs with SOCIOLOGIST/S 56 times in the concordance lines, while about and that, co-occurring with write* seventeen and fourteen times, produce rates of co-occurrence of 30.3% and 25%, respectively. The rates of co-occurrence for about and that and write* in the concordance lines of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S are below those of SOCIOLOGIST/S, at 18% for about and 9% for that. Granted, the numbers producing these rates are quite small, meaning that one more occurrence of a lemma or collocate token would greatly affect the outcome. Nonetheless, these small numbers are produced by analyzing a nearly 850 million word corpus.

The generalized representation of the text production of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S effectually ambiguates the relationship between the labor of writing and the ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S who write. ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S are the only university-centered employees of this study whose writerly interests and noteworthy actions (e.g., writing a book) overlap with their area of study—namely, books (literature and poetry) and text production. A PSYCHOLOGIST, for example, may enjoy writing poetry on the side, but that hobby or casual practice is not associated with their area of study. It is not an occupational or professional exercise. Returning to ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, that distinction between casual practice and occupational labor appears much more ambiguous. While the pursuit of this inquiry necessitates a larger data set, I would like to suggest that it is this ambiguity that provides fodder for the following negative representations of ENGLISH PROFESSORS in the TV/Movie subcorpus as individuals who are compelled to teach because they cannot make a living writing.

- all the washed-up hacks turned ENGLISH PROFESSORS can wax poetic
- Sean Townsend, an abusive failed novelists and ENGLISH PROFESSOR

Lastly, the corpus contains representations of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S as possessing expertise in an unrefined and crude field of ‘words.’

- Then an ENGLISH PROFESSOR circled the offending word (fic)
- Surely an ENGLISH PROFESSOR could find a more accurate term (fic)
- You don’t have to be an ENGLISH PROFESSOR to know the grammar (blog)
- The disgust of an ENGLISH PROFESSOR being asked to spell cat (mag)

Like ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, ENGLISH TEACHER/S are represented as authoring texts (*e.g.*, *from acad*: Susan Shapiro, a Manhattan WRITING TEACHER, is the author), but they are also represented alongside student/s much for frequently. In the concordance lines of ENGLISH TEACHER/S, for every 1,000 instances of node word, student/s occurs 59.92 times while in the concordance lines of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, for every 1,000 instances of the node word,

student/s occurs 25.21 times. More so than authoring text themselves, ENGLISH TEACHER/S are represented as involved in the composing practices of students. There is, unfortunately, no group of collocates that can statistically substantiate this claim, as the patterns in which verb forms of write* are instantiated vary widely.

- My ENGLISH TEACHER is having us write a prompt (fic)
- what my 7th grade ENGLISH TEACHER told me to do (blog)
- when my ENGLISH TEACHER suggested that I write about The Wasteland (blog)
- ENGLISH TEACHER expects me to write my life story (tv/m)
- An ENGLISH TEACHER encouraged her to write (mag)

In regards to the connection to the writing of students, the work of ENGLISH TEACHER/S is at times possessive of a relational character as they seek to FOSTER (nurture*, praise*, inspire*, give*, help*, encourage*, work* with) students' talents. Table 4.12 contains salient hypernyms that co-occur with ENGLISH TEACHER/S. The relational dimension of the labor of ENGLISH TEACHER/S can also be seen in the following examples:

- The ENGLISH TEACHERS at the school hoped to nurture (acad)
- As a WRITING TEACHER, I've consoled many a writer (blog)
- hugest impact on me was my ENGLISH TEACHER in my senior year (acad)
- His creative WRITING TEACHER, Mrs. Axt, applied the necessary spark (blog)
- An ENGLISH TEACHER encouraged her to write (mag)
- Thought I owe much to a wonderful ENGLISH TEACHER who gave me the confidence (news)

Distinct from this inspirational dimension of their work, ENGLISH TEACHER/S also impose axiomatic rules on student's writerly activities. While the first three of subsequent examples are likely the most explicit representation of the inculcation of axiomatic prescriptions, the remaining examples nonetheless gesture towards similarly stringent representations.

- Our ENGLISH TEACHER taught us that contractions should never be (blog)
- Like a good ENGLISH TEACHER, I tell my students, you must define (fic)
- My ENGLISH TEACHER taught me, when writing anything, first consider (blog)
- Mama was an ENGLISH TEACHER and "couldn't cotton to poor grammar." (fic)

- Mom was an ENGLISH TEACHER and never without a red pen (fic)
- Your elementary ENGLISH TEACHER taught you, there are rules (blog)

Table 4.12: ENGLISH
TEACHER/S FOSTER

<u>Lemmas</u>	<u>Frequencies</u>	The inspirational and prescriptive dimensions of labor are
give*	17	not necessarily in opposition to one another, for the latter seems to
encourage*	11	represent the doing-of-teaching (though we might disagree on the
help*	6	particular strategies) while the former are comprised of
inspire*	5	representations of the effects of teachers on students. In spite of the
work* with	4	axiomatic quality of the prescriptive dimension of labor, there are

Table 4.12: FOSTER: *co-occurring lemmas and frequencies*

no recurring representations of stifling or cloying ENGLISH

TEACHER/S who stymie their students' aspiration instead of fostering them. Taken together, I interpret these inspirational and prescriptive dimensions as constituting the doing of teaching, similar to the practicing of law.

Lastly, ENGLISH TEACHER/S are represented as possessing a deep appreciation for what I will for now vaguely term 'the printed word.' The lemma love* occurs 24 times in the concordance lines of ENGLISH TEACHER/S and members of that occupation are represented as emotionally invested in physical books, words, the act of reading, etc. as seen in the following examples:

- She writes that "like ENGLISH TEACHERS everywhere, I love words and books" (fic)
- Like ENGLISH TEACHERS, I have always loved words (blog)
- Who left wall street to become an ENGLISH TEACHER, simply because he loves books (mag)
- As you can imagine, we ENGLISH TEACHERS love our literature (spk)

A similar representation of emotional investment is, at times, evoked without the use of love*, as seen in the following examples:

- For everyone who's had an ENGLISH TEACHER who told us books are magic carpets (spk)
- He's an ENGLISH TEACHER, he'll appreciate the poetic justice (tv/m)

- A high school ENGLISH TEACHER in San Francisco who reads regularly (news)

I cautiously suggest that representations such as these play some part in the representations of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S as variously successful writers, for while any person who has made their way through the primary and secondary school system will have encountered a number of ENGLISH TEACHER/S, even those who have made it through the university system have likely only encountered one or two ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S. If representations such as these noted above are part and parcel of how individuals make sense of the motivations of their ENGLISH TEACHER/S, how can one meaningfully distinguish between ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S and ENGLISH TEACHER/S except by understanding the former as those persons who possess the greater love of reading and writing? If the representations (or lack thereof) of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S are indication, the answer to that question is: confusedly, and not very well.

Analysis of Subcorpora

Over the course of data analysis, particular subcorpora exhibited evidence of quite distinct patterns in pre-nominal modifiers. This section provides examples of these modification patterns and offers hypotheses to account for their instantiation in the respective subcorpora. The first subsection discusses the negative, disparaging pre-nominal modifiers of LAWYER/S in the TV/Movie and Fiction subcorpora, referred to collectively as the Subcorpora of Imaginative Texts. The second subsection examines the fairly extensive network of pre-nominal modifiers in the Academic subcorpus and tracks if and to what degree that network is sustained across the remaining six subcorpora.

Modifying Trends in Subcorpora of Imaginative Texts

Of the seven subcorpora analyzed in this study, Television/Movies and Fiction exclusively comprise a collection of texts whose contents fictionally represent the goings-on of

the non-fictional world. This distinction between these two and the remaining subcorpora did not preclude any sensible connection between the two categories of subcorpora but instead seems to gesture towards the ways in which fictional genres take up and make use of textually patterned, non-fictional representations. Established by co-occurring textual features in the five subcorpora of non-fictional texts, many of the representations of members of both the superordinate and subordinate occupations arguably inform the common tropes that circulate throughout the subcorpora of fictional texts and with which many are likely familiar to academic and layperson alike (e.g., the cruel social worker, the heroic doctor, the sleazy lawyer, the inspiring teacher, etc.). This is not to argue that there are no sleazy lawyers or inspiring teachers out in the world overcharging clients or instilling students with hope, only that the recurring textual patterns through which the practitioners of these occupations are non-fictionally represented appear to correspond with a curious elision of the human actor in the subcorpora of nonfictional texts that results in the occupation itself having imminent qualities of heroism, sleaziness, etc. This transference of the qualities of human action to the abstract role is a general phenomenon occurring across both super- and subordinate arrays, generating positive and negative prosodies irrespective of the occupation's position in the arrays.

Table. 4.13 contains derogatory pre-nominal modifiers, overrepresented in the Fiction and TV/Movies subcorpora, that co-occur with LAWYER/S and ATTORNEY/S. A selection of concordance lines containing those modifiers are presented alongside Table 4.13.

- From Fiction
 - Some shyster LAWYER tries to palm off some lies
 - They died and some slick LAWYER stole all the money
 - A slick LAWYER got him off

Table 4.13: Derogatory Modifiers in Subcorpora of Imaginative Texts

Node Word	Imaginative Subcorpora				Non-Fictional Subcorpora	
	ATTORNEY/S		LAWYER/S		ATTORNEY/S	LAWYER/S
	Freq (L/R)	MI	Freq (L/R)	MI	Freq (L/R)	Freq (L/R)
shyster	-	-	12/1	13.10	2/2	-
scumbag	-	-	7/2	9.31	-	-
fancy	-	-	47/7	8.70	-	6/0
crooked	-	-	8/0	7.50	-	9/1
jew	-	-	15/4	8.56	-	-
slick	-	-	11/2	7.96	-	22/3
expensive	-	-	29/10	8.20	16/6	40/12
priced	5/0	8.73	21/2	11.74	13/0	37/2
hotshot	6/0	8.59	24/1	11.45	4/0	-

Table 5.13: *Extreme modifiers of LAWYER/S in Fiction and TV/M*

- From TV/Movies
 - It's the moneygrubbing shyster LAWYER that I'm worried about
 - It took six very expensive LAWYERS to weasel us out of it
 - Knocking off those scumbag LAWYERS, letting all these guilty men go free
 - You got scumbag LAWYERS that are keeping the meter running
 - Better make sure that Jew LAWYER of yours earns his money

The numbers of Table 4.13 and these concordance lines together suggest that the negative prosodies surrounding LAWYER/S in the imaginative subcorpora emerge from representations of morally disingenuous practices, many of which involve money. While the trope of the sleazy lawyer is sustained through imaginative representations such as those above, it is worthwhile to

question why these particular negative images coalesced into a cultural trope around LAWYER/S and not, say, DOCTOR/S. In pursuing this inquiry, I looked to the remaining five non-fiction subcorpora and, parsing through the collocate lists generated by LAWYER/S, identified any and all collocate types that explicitly pertained to money or duty. For an idea of what I mean, collocates from the Academic and Blog subcorpora, the first two I investigated, included ethics, ethical, conduct, malpractice, money, estate, bankruptcy, and pay. There is, admittedly, a degree of subjectivity to this list, but I exercised strict discretion in selecting only words that explicitly pertained to money and duty. I went through the remaining three non-fictional subcorpora and filtered out all money-centric and duty-centric collocates that did not occur in *each* non-fictional subcorpora a minimum of twenty times and with an MI of 3.00. This served to filter out any outlying words potentially overrepresented in a particular subcorpus and provide a fairly consistent representation across all five non-fiction subcorpora. The six collocate types that met these standards of selection, and their frequencies and MI values, are recorded in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: LAWYER/S, Accountants, and Bankers Stick Together

	acad	news	mag	spk	blog	acad	news	mag	spk	blog
accountants	10.64	11.02	11.94	11.48	12.78	26	102	75	34	61
bankers	10.07	8.75	9.96	9.04	9.03	21	63	51	20	21
fees	8.58	6.47	7.87	8.14	8.06	40	56	45	23	28
tax	6.97	5.02	5.70	4.45	5.95	33	92	40	38	59
money	5.88	3.97	4.56	4.83	5.03	35	86	50	115	70
paid	6.66	5.28	5.90	5.58	5.96	28	63	33	33	33

Table 5.14: *Financial Collocate Types with LAWYER/S: MI and Total Freq (>=20 freq, 3.00 MI)*

While an investigation of concordance lines for the top three rows of collocate tokens reveals the co-occurrence of LAWYER/S, bankers, and accountants within longer strings of

middle-class professions (*e.g., from blog*: compensation for our expertise, just as doctors, LAWYER/S, and accountants do), there are repeated representations across all non-fictional subcorpora, both of the costs of hiring a LAWYER and shared occupational responsibilities with accountants and bankers. What follows is a small selection of the represented associations among LAWYER/S, their fees, and the work they engage in alongside accountants and bankers.

- an avalanche of class-action lawsuits against LAWYERS, accountants, bankers (news)
- Wall Street bankers, accountants and LAWYERS have invented a variety of techniques (news)
- large businesses have plenty of LAWYERS and accountants to keep them in compliance (spk)
- While top LAWYERS and accountants plot head-spinning tax avoidance (acad)
- Banks had the most sophisticated accountants and LAWYERS to draft their loan agreements (mag)
- extraordinary tax losses because of how bankers and LAWYERS structured these securities (blog)
- attract the city's emerging class of LAWYERS and bankers with marbled lobbies (mag)
- new homes, new cars, accountants, bankers LAWYERS, and millions of dollars (spk)
- doctors and professors, who in turn bring LAWYERS, bankers, and insurance brokers to the town (acad)
- offered him \$100,000 (less than \$50,000 after LAWYERS' fees and taxes) (blog)
- LAWYERS' fees at \$200 an hour can cost you (spk)
- once she can save the money for LAWYER's fees (mag)
- Five months and \$10,000 in LAWYERS' fees later, Lovato got his money back (news)

Clearly, not all of these representations are negative. These lines are only a small handful culled from a much larger set found occurring within the corpus and I strove to provide a balanced set of lines that does justice to the spectrum of representations across the non-fiction subcorpora.

This is to say that the neutral representations above do not exhaust those found within the corpus. Similarly, there are other negative representations not included here, and more intensely negative ones as well.

Regardless, these nonfictional representations of LAWYER/S working alongside bankers and accountants, in domains of activity and with expertise that is fairly impermeable to lay assessment, coupled with fact that, like doctors and other professionals who charge for their expertise, the services of LAWYER/S can be quite costly, portray a divide between the work of LAWYER/S and the perception of the average citizen—that the minutiae of the work is itself complex and opaque without proper training, and that the cost of entry into that domain of activity is quite high. By investigating these nonfictional representations, I am suggesting that these representations sustain a degree meaningfulness within the fictional tropes that have gained cultural saliency by repeated instantiation in imaginative texts. These representations provide, for lack of a better term, a sort of cultural sub-text by which consumers of fictional media can make sense of representations contained therein. I do not mean for this to be a comment on the sedimentation of character tropes—certainly they are sustained most explicitly by their employment in fictional media and the history of a tropes formation, I imagine, reaches back into history much farther than 1990, the earliest publication date of the texts in this corpus. Recalling the theoretical work discussed at the start of this work, if the co-construction of meaning between text and reader sediments a particular orientation towards objects in the world, readers are through the routine, mundane engagement with non-fictional texts becoming habituated to make sense of lawyers in a particular way, a habitual way of engaging with an entity in the world that is then taken up and sensationalized for entertainment by fictional media.

Prevalence of Academic Modifiers in Other Subcorpora

The Academic subcorpus routinely exhibited the most varied network of pre-nominal modifiers across. With this in mind, I assessed the PSYCHOLOGIST/S collocate list from each

subcorpora with the intention of investigating how the pattern of pre-nominal modification, established in Academic subcorpus, might change across the remaining subcorpora. The left column of Table 4.15 contains all pre-nominal modifiers co-occurring twenty or more times to the left of PSYCHOLOGIST/S in the Academic subcorpus, while the cells in each row contain the number of left-hand co-occurrences and, in

Table 4.15: Academic Modifiers Are Nearly Reproduced in Magazines

	acad	news	mag	spk	blog	fic	tv/m
clinical	154 (8.20)	121 (12.53)	322 (12.61)	187 (13.50)	59 (12.27)	-	16 (13.21)
research	61 (4.65)	23 (6.48)	62 (7.65)	7 (6.07)	13 (7.14)	-	-
school	2719 (9.37)	51 (5.59)	37 (6.67)	30 (6.06)	34 (7.33)	5 (4.30)	26 (7.46)
professional	60 (6.80)	-	11 (7.15)	-	4 (6.29)	5 (7.37)	4 (8.12)
licensed	39 (9.98)	10 (9.65)	35 (11.63)	7 (10.33)	16 (11.39)	-	5 (12.13)
certified	33 (9.16)	-	-	-	-	-	-
social	138 (5.79)	44 (8.06)	107 (9.07)	48 (8.25)	40 (8.16)	4 (6.80)	-
evolutionary	38 (8.42)	-	87 (11.85)	5 (10.45)	11 (10.41)	-	-
developmental	52 (7.86)	16 (10.99)	55 (12.39)	19 (12.00)	9 (11.45)	-	-
educational	124 (7.17)	5 (9.06)	19 (9.06)	-	-	-	-
child	36 (5.05)	59 (7.71)	121 (8.60)	88 (7.92)	17 (7.12)	5 (4.65)	31 (8.84)
cognitive	77 (7.53)	5 (9.99)	23 (10.31)	-	17 (11.35)	-	-
sports	201 (8.82)	66 (7.82)	71 (9.23)	14 (7.36)	12 (8.11)	-	4 (8.44)

Table 4.15: *Modifiers Co-occurring with PSYCHOLOGIST/S >20 Freq (L) in Academic Subcorpus*

parentheses, the MI score. The prenominal modifiers fell into one of two loose groups: modifiers that designate variations of professional status and modifiers that designate a focused

specialization of knowledge or practice. The two groups are separated by an empty row in Table 4.15.

The noticeable absence in the Fiction and TV/Movies subcorpora of many of the prenominal modifiers designating specialization of knowledge suggests that the patterns of prenominal modification in imaginative texts tend to hide the complexity of this occupation. Whether this is because these imaginative texts again employ pre-nominal modifiers not present in other corpora (as seen in Table 4.13 with *LAWYER/S*) requires further research.

Also of interest is the fairly high token count in the Magazine subcorpus of many of the modifiers in the second group. These high token counts, relative to those of the Newspaper subcorpus, might suggest a salient difference between the two registers and evidence a niche readership and longform article format that affords for a degree of precision and complexity in representing constructs of interest that, while not surpassing that of the Academic subcorpus, comes close. Apart from three modifiers—educational, certified, and professional—the token count in the Magazine subcorpus manages to fulfill the baseline requirement set for collection of modifiers from the Academic subcorpus. In many cases, collocates from the Magazine subcorpus have higher MI values as well, though this may very well be evidence of the likely fact that those words more frequently modify other constructs of interest in Academic text. Regarding the Newspaper subcorpus, the corresponding token counts meet the minimum threshold six times and similar to that of Magazine, exhibit fairly high MI scores relative to that of the Academic subcorpus. Token counts from the Spoken subcorpus meet the minimum threshold four times. Across these three subcorpora comprised of informative nonfiction texts for a lay audience, there is a decreasing degree of clausal specificity compared to the standard set by the Academic

subcorpus. This decreasing specificity appears to effect representations of both variations of professional status and areas of expertise.

Curious whether a similar pattern would present itself in the modifiers of practitioners of a subordinate occupation, I went through the Academic NURSE/S collocates list and identified the top fifteen pre-nominal modifiers. Unlike the above table noting frequent modifiers of PSYCHOLOGIST/S, which was compiled by recording all prenominal modifiers that co-occur more than twenty times with the node word, the following table instead took the top fifteen pre-nominal modifier collocates. To abide by the same standard used in Table 4.15 for Table 4.16 would result in an unwieldy number of collocates. As with PSYCHOLOGIST/S, the pre-nominal modifiers of NURSE/S were grouped into categories. The first is quite similar to the first group above, and designates professional status. The second, while not containing the similar degree of granularity as with PSYCHOLOGIST/S, still designate a scope of refined practice. Two of the top fifteen pre-nominal modifiers of NURSE/S in the Academic subcorpus did not cleanly fall into either group and were grouped in a third, miscellaneous collection.

As seen in Table 4.15, the absence in the Fiction and TV/Movies subcorpora of many pre-nominal modifiers designating specialized knowledge has the effect portraying a clinically unrefined image of the occupation. As discussed in Chapter 2, when the public perceives an occupation as possessing a specialized and refined knowledge base, that occupation is met with less impediments in the professionalizing process. NURSE/S, compared with the remaining three subordinate occupations, have met with the most success in their professional project. Yet as

Table 4.16: Academic Texts Modify NURSE/S with Clinical Specialty

	acad	news	mag	spk	blog	fic	tv/m
registered	319 (11.38)	263 (11.73)	144 (11.52)	119 (12.14)	99 (11.64)	28 (8.38)	31 (9.32)
professional	90 (6.91)	12 (5.91)	12 (6.10)	5 (5.92)	8 (6.57)	-	-
clinical	82 (7.44)	10 (8.78)	12 (7.09)	11 (8.70)	10 (9.75)	4 (7.26)	4 (8.04)
hospital	72 (7.91)	69 (8.57)	47 (8.16)	43 (8.51)	44 (10.02)	78 (7.50)	29 (7.00)
general	58 (5.46)	-	-	-	-	-	-
community	71 (4.75)	13 (4.54)	9 (4.08)	4 (4.26)	12 (5.73)	-	-
school	251 (5.47)	141 (6.65)	49 (5.47)	24 (5.12)	43 (6.71)	59 (4.53)	75 (5.69)
staff	173 (7.97)	19 (6.27)	18 (7.09)	9 (6.32)	13 (8.23)	19 (6.40)	-
student	133 (5.48)	15 (5.53)	8 (5.09)	11 (6.04)	8 (6.25)	23 (5.88)	15 (6.34)
orthopaedic	89 (11.72)	-	-	-	-	-	-
psychiatric	62 (9.00)	20 (9.59)	20 (9.77)	13 (9.78)	11 (11.07)	-	4 (7.38)
advanced	60 (7.58)	18 (7.68)	5 (5.79)	-	14 (8.48)	-	-
specialist	65 (9.35)	-	-	-	-	-	-
good	87 (5.65)	7 (2.60)	9 (2.83)	22 (3.51)	13 (3.82)	60 (3.57)	85 (3.45)
female	71 (6.34)	11 (7.18)	22 (6.57)	11 (7.18)	10 (7.03)	17 (5.71)	10 (5.84)

Table 4.16: *Top 15 Prenominal Modifiers with NURSE/S in Academic subcorpus and frequency in remaining subcorpora*

noted above in the discussion on the medical set, the prescriber status of APRNs suggests that the boundaries of occupational responsibility are always under negotiation. These imaginative representations of NURSE/S as lacking a refined knowledge base may very well, then, hamper the occupation's ability to further professionalize.

Given the preceding discussion of the Magazine token counts, it is of note in Table 4.16 that when the construct of interest is NURSE/S, Magazine text do not as consistently reproduce the

academically favored pre-nominal modifiers. With PSYCHOLOGIST/S, the pre-nominal modifier token count Magazine subcorpus either surpassed that of the Academic subcorpus or fell less than 50% below the Academic token count six of thirteen times. When the construct of interest is NURSE/S, though, this same standard is met only once of fifteen times.

With prenominal modifiers of PSYCHOLOGIST/S, the token count of an academically favored modifiers in the Newspaper subcorpus only surpasses the Magazine count once (school), and falls within 50% once as well (sports). When regarding frequent academic prenominal modifiers of NURSE/S, though, the Newspaper subcorpus matches or surpasses that of Magazines. Aside from the three modifiers that occur less than four times in each of the two subcorpora (general, orthopaedic, specialist), the remaining thirteen token counts from the Newspaper subcorpus surpass or fall well within 50% of the Magazine token counts. Given that the total token count of NURSE/S is roughly the same between the two subcorpora, this discrepancy is suggestive of an erasure of nursing practice and specialization in long form, niche media.

Wrap-Up

In the introduction to the preceding data analysis, I highlighted the abstract character of the labor of superordinate occupations as the primary distinction between work in the superordinate and subordinate arrays. Though the responsibilities of each occupation shape the performance and presentation of this abstract labor, occupations in the superordinate array, broadly speaking, are attentive to disembodied problems, issues, and constructs of interest. SOCIOLOGIST/S and PSYCHOLOGIST/S research and write of societal and psychosocial issues that are present or affect the people with whom SOCIAL WORKER/S come into contact. ATTORNEY/S and LAWYER/S represent the interests of clients and ensure regulatory compliance of employers,

while PARALEGAL/S provide document services and assist in sustaining textually mediated relationships between clients and LAWYER/S, and LAWYER/S and courts. Thus, whereas PARALEGAL/S are concerned with provision of necessary texts, LAWYER/S and ATTORNEY/S are concerned with the arguments made by those texts and how those arguments relate to clients/employers and laws germane to the issue at hand. PHYSICIAN/S and DOCTOR/S diagnose medical conditions afflicting human bodies—they specialize by studying organs (e.g., cardiologist), strains of affliction (e.g., rheumatologist), and methods of assessment (e.g., radiologist). Their work of diagnosis and prescription is extended by the work of NURSE/S, who take up the medical prescriptions and care for the body itself through timely administration of medications and specialized hygienic treatment. In each of these cases, as our perspective shifts from the superordinate to subordinate array, there is a concretization of the object of labor into a material form. The only occupational set that does not follow this pattern, the educational, does so on account of the unrefined representations of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S, and its outlier status should not be interpreted as reflecting the actual work of English scholars.

The labor of the subordinate array of occupations (including the educational set) broadly echoes the historical discussion provided in Chapter 2. The work in which these occupations are engaged is characterized in representations as supportive, relational, and nurturing. Their responsibilities directly inform or respond to that of a superordinate occupation with which they share a domain of activity (Medical and Legal set), ensure congeniality and facilitate the navigation of social services (Legal and Psychosocial set), and foster growth and mental well-being of others (Legal, Psychosocial, and Educational set).

CHAPTER 5 : IMPLICATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

There are immediate social implications to the division of expertise into, on the one hand, an intellectual possession characterized by abstract knowledge, and on the other, embodied knowledge of mundane occupational tasks. Given the prestige granted to the former and generally withheld from the latter, there is an apparent limit to the social stature of practitioners of subordinate occupations that operates without regard to individual efforts at proficiency and socio-economic history, meaning that it does not account for either individual acumen or the material conditions from which such individuals emerge and continue to act. Instead, this bifurcation of expertise and the resultant asymmetry in prestige is a cultural formation sustained by collocations in the texts we, as Americans, consume daily.

Given the theoretical arguments of this work laid out in Chapter 1 in which readers are co-produced by the texts they consume, our inclusion in a cultural collective is sustained by our reproduction and sufficient interpretation of salient collocates. In the scope of this study, such reproduction and interpretation of collocates sediments an understanding of subordinate professions in which practitioners are not viable recipients for social status, prestige, and consequently, respect. Consequently, in the course of our typical language practices, we as users of American English persistently reproduce, through our employment of salient collocations, an understanding of particular occupations that conceptually preclude those same occupations as potential recipients of social prestige. This preclusion likely informs, for example, the embarrassing persistence of both the gender pay-gap and the despairingly low minimum wage. I am not attributing to our language practices the influence of economic factors that themselves inform degrees of monetary compensation for labor, but instead I note that we tacitly form and

sustain explanatory cultural formations of unjust and unsustainable labor practices through repeated instantiation of particularly salient collocates in our language use.

While data analysis identified the collocational patterns of both TV/Movies and Fiction as potential sites of reform, the fragmented character of the subordinate array of occupations provides an obstacle to collective action. As noted in the analysis of the Legal Set, superordinate occupations often collocate with one another. These collocations evidence a conceptual cohesion to our understanding of middle-class professions—that despite distinct domains of activities and occupational responsibilities, there is a common element shared by each occupation that affords American English speakers the perspective to understand them in concert. Conversely, the subordinate occupations rarely collocate with one another. When they do, such as with NURSE/S, SOCIAL WORKER/S, and ENGLISH TEACHER/S, the collocations are often instantiated against the backdrop of a shared institutional space (e.g., the school). Given that occupations of the subordinate array were more likely to collocate with corresponding occupations of the superordinate array than with each other, one must question the degree to which, given current language practices, collective action on behalf or in the name of subordinate occupations might gain social traction.

Occupations of the subordinate array are not associated with each other vis-à-vis a shared character of labor, perhaps because subordinated labor, as this study shows, compliments and concretizes the abstract labor of the superordinate array. Subordinate labor can be understood, then, to relate almost exclusively to superordinate labor and not to other forms of subordinate labor. The prospect of collective action by or on behalf of subordinate labor remains contingent upon an identification by subordinate occupations of their relational status to superordinate occupations as the essential character of its group status. Such a move may seem counter-

intuitive in light of the longer-term goal of organizational or institutional reform, but a consolidation of group identity around a shared position in the labor process remains a key step in the mobilization of collective resources. From this position, education and awareness efforts can then engage in the slow process of changing the way the public at large perceives subordinate occupations and the people who work them, many of which are undoubtedly experts in their occupational practice.

Further Research

As mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 4, the abstract character of the labor of the superordinate array is the predominant distinction between the labor of the two arrays. This distinction can be further explored through a number of avenues. Given that this study focused exclusively on occupational arrays that mapped fairly seamlessly onto the binary gender distinction between male and female, it is worth investigating whether such patterns in the correlating areas of knowledge and scopes of practice persist across non-gendered super- and subordinate occupational pairs. Similarly, given that the occupational sets of this inquiry are two-tiered, or binary, it is also worthy of further investigation how this top-loading of abstract knowledge in superordinate occupations is achieved in three-tiered occupational relationships, such as among doctors, nurses, and nurse assistants, where nurse, in this case, occupy an inter-ordinate position between the other two occupations.

Studies more granularly focused on the textual relationships that help sustain the institutions in which these occupations meet responsibilities may provide further insight into the power dynamics between these two arrays and the prestige generally afforded to those occupations in superordinate array. Specifically, institutional analyses investigating the

entextualization of this abstract knowledge and its subsequent textual circulation amongst adjacent domains of activity might further illuminate the perpetuation of institutionalized relationships marked by asymmetric power dynamics vis-à-vis who is actually responsible for doing the writing. For SOCIAL WORKER/S and THERAPIST/S who consistently work with and alongside humans dealing with psychosocial issues, studies into the types of documents produced by the social actions of those occupations and how those documents textually differ from those of occupations that more abstractly study the problems the THERAPIST/S and SOCIAL WORKER/S labor to resolve might further illuminate how abstract knowledge comes to be generically entextualized. While not concerned with gendered super- and subordinate occupations, Karlsson and Nikolaidou (2016) investigated how occupational incident reports unintentionally positioned workers in relation to their “work objects” (p. 289) in such a way that rendered workers invisible as agents. Such research might guide further inquiries into the ways in which occupational templates distort or obscure the labor and experiential knowledge of particular occupations.

To further study the ways in which texts might mediate the relation between abstract knowledge and prestige, the interaction between physicians and advanced practice nurses may serve as a viable site of study. As this study revealed, physicians and doctors are the primary actors responsible for acts of diagnosis and prescription, though as the Academic subcorpus indicates, APRN’s are encroaching on this monopoly. How doctors and physicians textually respond to this encroachment, in the form of self-representations in professional periodicals and contemporary educational texts, and how Nurse Practitioners, Nurse Midwives, and Nurse Anesthetists do the same might reveal how texts mediate occupational self-image in relation to inter-occupational struggles over responsibility, regulation, and consequently, public prestige.

As revealed in the analysis of SOCIAL WORKER/S, there are tenuous suggestions of a link between occupational mobility and negative prosodies. Further research is needed to study the interplay between occupational mobility and domain of activity, especially as it relates to evaluative prosodies. While THERAPIST/S, SOCIAL WORKER/S, and to some extent PSYCHOLOGIST/S work with, assist, and provide support to individuals in need of psychosocial intervention, SOCIAL WORKER/S are textually represented as highly mobile and lack an authoritative influence in one single domain of activity, instead being interspersed across medical, educational, and legal environments. While this study tenuously gestures towards a conflict between mobility and private domains, more rigorous studies investigating the influence of both the mobility and diffusion across different domains on representations of SOCIAL WORKER/S is necessary.

The low token counts of PARALEGAL/S, ENGLISH TEACHERS, and ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S casts doubt on the viability of future research into the constructs of interests using CoCA. At the level of text and text production, educational materials employed by paralegal programs might provide insight into what kinds of knowledge and skills are valued by the occupation, and perhaps more importantly, the funding sources of those programs. Angeli (2014), for example, foregrounds the collaborative nature of paramedics' textual practices, and positions such exercises in collaborative memory as a supplement to textbook knowledge. Studies into how the textbook knowledge of paralegals integrates with tacit, on-the-job knowledge may reveal further gendered dynamics of the occupation. For the work of English and Writing teachers, Dryer's (2019) corpus analysis of the polysemous character of keywords in Writing Studies journals provides insight into how researchers make sense of and experience their scholarly efforts. Speaking of the three occupations more broadly, ethnographic studies making use of observation

and interviews might provide insight into what practitioners in each believe they are doing, as well.

Regarding the register differences touched upon at the conclusion of this study, more research is necessary to further understand the connection between the sensationalized representations of entities and occupations in the subcorpora of imaginative texts (Fiction and TV/Movies) and any muted analogues in texts of the non-fictional subcorpora, a number of archival studies into the historical textual formation and maintenance of occupational tropes is necessary. Other studies might more fully account for any fairly unique or noticeably intensified representations of practitioners of other occupations not positioned in a super- and subordinate relationships and trace those representations back to non-fiction texts. Also, future studies are needed to identify what sort of constructs of interest are routinely taken upon in longform magazine articles and the ways in which the genre conventions of the register afford a more complex, rich picture of the constructs of interest, especially in comparison to that of newspapers.

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APPENDIX: NOTES ON NODE WORDS AND SEARCH TERMS

In efforts to identify productive search terms, I identified very modest token counts for both *legal assistant/s* and *writing professor/s* across the entire corpus (<80 for each). The textual absence of *writing professor/s*, in particular, might gesture towards a cultural assumption that text production merits neither formal expertise nor research. The fairly unremarkable representations of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S arguably corroborate this hypothesis. Keeping in mind Miller's (2001) observation that the English discipline has historically engaged in efforts to distance itself from practical matters relating to literacy, the ambiguous representation of the labor of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S might indicate a cultural perception that literacy as an object of study merits little formal expertise. In other words, lay theories of language that thrive in response to the English discipline's historical hesitancy to concern itself to practical, mundane endeavors may partially account for the absence of *writing professor/s* and ambiguous representations of ENGLISH PROFESSOR/S.

I wrote earlier (p. 38) that node words at once refer to the super- or subordinate occupations, and represent the corresponding strings of text. I note here that this understanding of node words as both referring to an occupation and representing a string of text seems initially complicated by the use of small caps in concordance lines such as the following from the Magazine subcorpus: I once had a WRITING INSTRUCTOR who told me to write stories. The words from this line in small caps are search terms, as noted in Table 3.2.1, and their appearance in small caps here seems incongruous with my explication of node words. But if we remember that node words are functionally responsible for two actions, that the use of small caps refers to the constructs of interest (occupations) while the use of Calibri font designates textual strings from the corpus, this complication, while perhaps not dissolved, at least becomes manageable.

The words of corpus, formatted in small caps, may not literally represent the string ‘english teacher’, but the small caps are gesturing towards the slightly abstracted concept of ENGLISH TEACHER/S that is informed by varying textual strings that largely refer to the same, extra-textual phenomenon.

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