

MALE CHAUVINIST, FEMINIST, SEXIST, AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT: DIFFERENT TRAJECTORIES IN FEMINIST LINGUISTIC INNOVATION

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ABSTRACT: The usage of the term *male chauvinist*, commonly thought to have arisen in the late 1960s, is tracked in the *New York Times* from 1851 to 1999 using the ProQuest Historical Newspapers online archive, along with *feminist*, another revived word, and the new coinages *sexist* and *sexual harassment*. *Male chauvinist* reveals the characteristic pattern of a vogue word in its relatively swift rise and slower decline, while the other words, once introduced or reintroduced, have a more sustained trajectory. A comparison through survey research of *male chauvinist* with *sexist* reveals greater cross-class and cross-race usage of *male chauvinist*.

THIS ANALYSIS USES the ProQuest Historical Newspapers electronic archive¹ of the *New York Times* since 1851 to investigate the origins of the term *male chauvinist*, commonly thought to have originated in the late 1960s in the second wave of the feminist movement. A comparison with the word *groovy* suggests that *male chauvinist* illustrates a pattern of rise and fall characteristic of a trendy phrase or vogue word. A comparison with the terms *feminist* and *sexist* indicates that these “feminist linguistic innovations” (Ehrlich and King 1994), also revived or introduced by the second wave of the feminist movement between 1968 and 1970, have had a longer staying power than *male chauvinist*. So has the institutionally embedded new phrasal coinage, *sexual harassment*. Yet although *sexist* has been sustained at a higher level over time in the *New York Times* and has a broader reach in its meaning, the phrase *male chauvinist*, in some ways a synonym for *sexist*, was at one point more likely to have been used by more women, of all classes and races.

THE SECOND WAVE OF FEMINISM

The first wave of feminism achieved woman suffrage through the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. After that achievement, gender issues faded to some degree from public interest, reemerging in the 1960s.

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In December 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed an executive order establishing the President's Commission on the Status of Women. Over the next few years, Congress passed two influential pieces of legislation that held great implications for combating sex discrimination: the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) became the "first feminist group in the twentieth century to combat sex discrimination in all spheres of life: social, political, economic, psychological" (Hole and Levine 1971, 82).

Many date the second wave of the feminist movement from 1968, when, within two years of the creation of NOW, the younger or more radical branch of the women's movement surged forward in thousands of small collectives, consciousness-raising groups, and umbrella organizations throughout the country (Freeman 1975). Organizations such as D.C. Women's Liberation (begun in 1968), and New York's Redstockings, Boston's Bread and Roses, and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (all begun in 1969) brought the civil rights and Vietnam War generation into feminist activism. By 1969 the second wave of the women's movement had become publicly recognized as a movement (Hole and Levine 1971, 135). The first issue of *off our backs* appeared in 1970; the first issue of *Ms.* magazine, in 1971. The National Black Feminist Organization formed in 1973.

This younger branch of the movement quickly learned and proclaimed that "the personal is political" (Hanisch 1970), asserting defiantly that what happens in the personal realm—for example, between husband and wife or between a woman and her boyfriend—has as much political import as what happens in the state. As feminists made the everyday territory of the kitchen and bedroom a political arena, the term *male chauvinist* caught on and flourished for a time. Other previously existing words and phrases, such as *feminist*, surged in their usage in the critical years between 1968 and 1975, as did new coinages, such as *sexism* and *sexual harassment*, which had an institutionally embedded function.

METHODOLOGY

The ProQuest Historical Newspapers archive contains the first online full-text database of every *New York Times* issue, dating from its launch in 1851 to the present. The release of this archive creates an important resource in the field of digital lexicology research. Among other uses, it facilitates tracking the rise and decline of a word or phrase over time and allows searches to go back earlier and more fully than other databases, such as JSTOR (Shapiro 1998).

The database is made up of scanned images of the *New York Times* newspaper, with a search function allowing one to search for individual words or combinations of words within the full text of all pages. To avoid distortions possibly produced by the frequent use of a word or phrase within one article, we used as a measure not the number of times a term appeared but the number of articles in which a term appeared within a given year.

We began with the search term *chauvinis_* (an underscore indicates the inclusion of all the suffix variants, such as *chauvinist*, *chauvinism*, *chauvinistic*, and *chauvinistically*)² as well as *male chauvinis_* and *male chauvinist pig*. For comparison, we also searched the terms *feminis_*, *sexis_*, *sexual harassment*, *women's movement*, *women's liberation movement*, and, to test for the pattern of a trendy phrase, *groovy*. Specifying each year since 1851 as a time frame, we limited our search to articles only, excluding classifieds, advertisements, and tables of contents.

As we investigated the earlier roots of the phrase *male chauvinist*, we soon found that we could not rely fully on a computer search to produce the results we needed. To distinguish the 'national' meaning of *chauvinist* from the later meanings of *white chauvinist* and *male chauvinist*, for example, we originally used the Boolean search function, asking for *chauvinis_* WITHOUT the combined terms *white chauvinis_* or *male chauvinis_*. It appeared, however, that the term *chauvinist* had considerable versatility. After 1888, phrasal coinages using this root started to appear, denoting literary, linguistic, and regional chauvinisms. In a reverse pattern, some of the articles after 1968 used the word *chauvinism* alone to mean *male chauvinism* (labeled "implied" *male chauvinism* in figures 1–3). Accounting for these alternate usages required actually reading through all of the *chauvinis_* results in order to sort out the different forms of chauvinism.³

In this analysis, we report only the raw numbers of articles containing the search term. The reader should keep in mind that the *New York Times* gradually increased the number of articles in each issue—from 63 in 1865 to 108 in 1875 and 244 in 1915, with a sudden rise to a peak of more than 518 from 1935, then back down again slowly to 248 in 1995. These numbers appear at the bottom of all the figures in this analysis.⁴ For several reasons we decided not to divide the number of mentions of *chauvinist* by the number of articles in the paper. First, this procedure would generate a percentage with less intuitive meaning than the raw numbers. Second, because the pattern of increase and decrease in the numbers of articles in each issue does not parallel the pattern of increase and decrease in the use of any of the words we searched, it does not seem that the pattern of usage can be explained by the number of articles in each issue. Third, and perhaps most important for our decision, the increases and decreases in the numbers of articles in

each issue sometimes came in new sections (e.g., “Sports” and “Business News”) that would not have been likely to use any of the terms we searched. Because the character of the newspaper itself changed over time, there is no fully appropriate common denominator for the articles that mentioned our search terms.

THE RISE AND FALL OF *MALE CHAUVINISM*

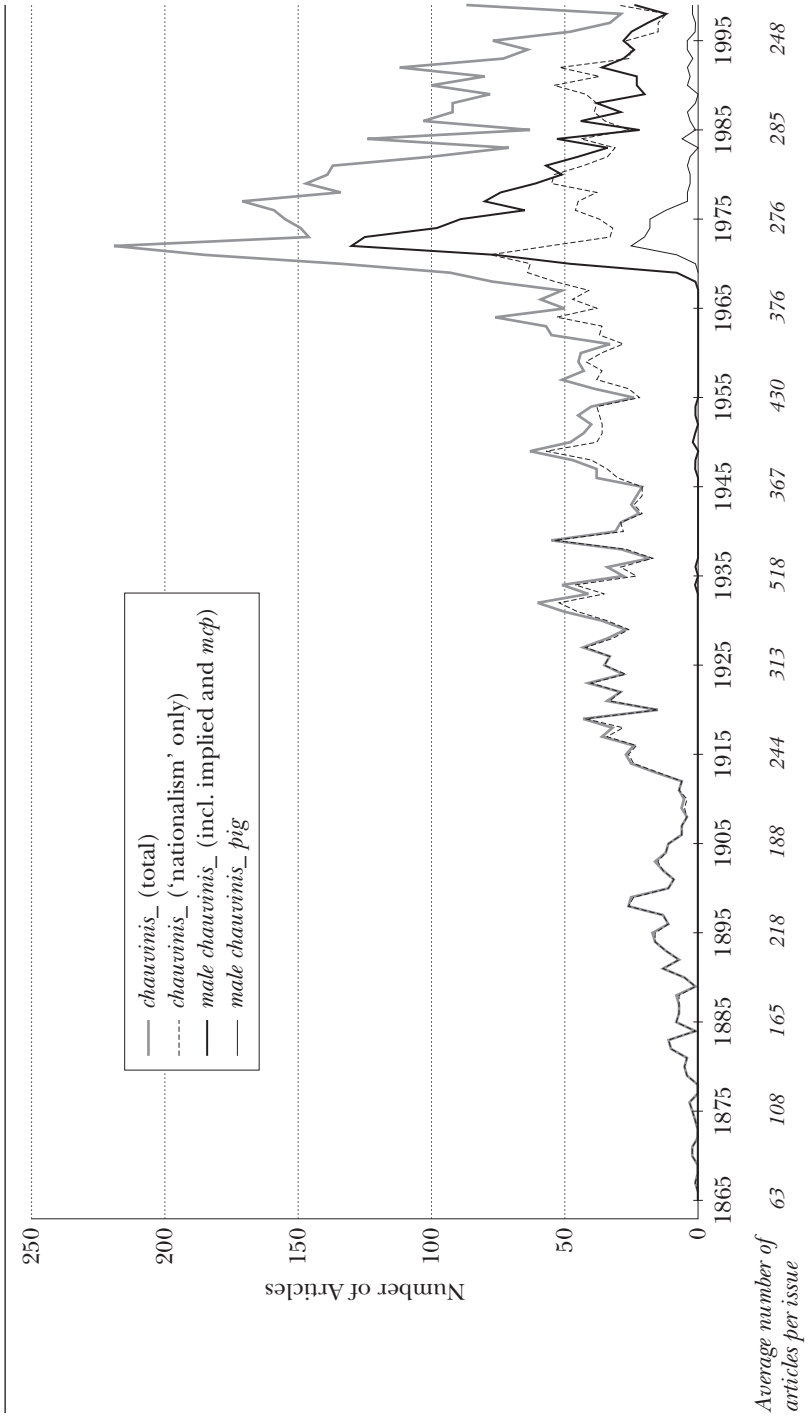
Originally coined in France around 1830, the word *chauvinist* ridiculed anyone whose views resembled those of Nicolas Chauvin, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars whose extreme patriotism and idolatrous admiration for the emperor had made him a laughingstock. By the late nineteenth century in European intellectual circles, *chauvinist* had come to describe derogatorily any intensely nationalistic person.⁵

Our search of the *New York Times* through the ProQuest Historical Newspapers gives 1867 as the first mention of *chauvinist* or *chauvinism* in that newspaper. This is three years before the first citation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED2 1989).⁶ Over the next 12 years, the term showed up sporadically: twice each in 1870 and 1871, once in 1874, twice in 1875, and three times in 1876. By 1879 the term was beginning to be used at least once a year. The frequency rose slowly, to about 6 articles a year in the decade of the 1880s, about 12 a year from 1890 to 1910, about 20 a year in the 1910s, and about 30 to 40 a year in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. See figure 1, “*chauvinis_* (total).”

Two decades after the first appearance of *chauvinism*, the term began to evolve. In 1888 the first use of the term to mean something more than pure nationalism appeared, when a witty article about a statue of Shakespeare, paid for by an Englishman but erected in Paris, commented on the improbability in France of a “sudden and complete revulsion from literary Chauvinism” (“An Englishman to Do It,” July 9, 1888, 2/2). From this date on, variations such as *literary chauvinism* make up a slowly increasing but small percentage of the whole—indicated in figure 1 by the gap between “*chauvinis_* (total)” and “*chauvinis_* (‘nationalism’ only).”

At some point in the late nineteenth century, the international Communist Party (CP) adopted the term *chauvinist* to describe the nationalism that it considered inimical to the interests of the workers. Later, the experience of trying to recruit extensively among Negro Americans in the United States led the CP to adopt two new phrasal terms, *race chauvinism* and *white chauvinism*, to derogate the conviction of whites that they were better than black people.⁷ In the *New York Times* record, the term *race chauvinism* appears

FIGURE 1
Number of Articles in the *New York Times* from 1865 to 1999 Containing *chauvinism* and Its Variants



first in 1903, next in 1914, and then at least once a year from 1927 through 1932, when the CP waged what one historian has called the major “antichauvinism campaign of the early 1930s” (Solomon 1998, 144).⁸ *White chauvinism* appears in the *New York Times* record first in 1931, twice in 1932, once in 1933, and not again until 1949. By 1933 the “fever” of the antichauvinism campaign had “subsided.”⁹

In this era, inspired by the CP’s struggle against racism, women in the CP coined the term *male chauvinism*, in a parallel with *white chauvinism*, to derogate the conviction of men that they were better than women. The phrase *male sex chauvinism* appears first in the *New York Times* record in 1934, in a book review by John Chamberlain (Jan. 17, 17). In 1935, Clifford Odets’s play, “Till the Day I Die,” was performed in New York City, with a young woman commenting wryly to her boyfriend (a central figure in the Berlin anti-Nazi resistance movement): “You and your male chauvinism!” (Odets 1939, 111; quoted in Putz 1989, 360–61).¹⁰ After 1935, the phrase *male chauvinism* or a variant appears in the *New York Times* record in less than one article every three years before 1968.¹¹ Its usage seems to have remained almost entirely within the dwindling ranks of the CP.

Then came the second wave of the women’s movement. Particularly in the younger branch of the movement, the children of former CP members who had picked up the term *male chauvinist* from their parents began using it in active feminist circles.¹² The term caught on. In 1968, 1 article appeared in the *New York Times* using the word. The next year, 8 articles appeared. Then 48 articles the next year, and 76 the next. In 1972 the number soared to 130. After 1972, the number began to decrease, but relatively slowly, so that three decades later, an average of 26 or 27 articles per year still mentioned some form of *male chauvinism*. See figure 1, “*male chauvinis_* (incl. implied and *mcp*).”

In a dynamic that probably facilitated the spread of the phrase, early in the second wave the two words *male chauvinist* acquired a third—the word *pig*.¹³ In the *New York Times* the full phrase *male chauvinist pig* occurs first in 1970 (also cited in the *OED2*). In 1971, 8 articles mentioned *male chauvinist pig*, and in 1972, 25 articles. The year 1972 saw the height of *male chauvinist pig* as well as *male chauvinist*. Then *male chauvinist pig* began a decline parallel to that of *male chauvinist*, leveling off to an average of a little more than 2 articles a year between 1978 and 2001 (see figure 1).

The addition of *pig* to *male chauvinist* may have given the phrase greater popular appeal, first by helping someone who did not know what *chauvinist* meant guess at the meaning of the phrase and second by allowing the phrase to pass as a joke. *Male chauvinist pig* had just the right tone of improbability to lighten the criticism as a teasing term, expressed in fun, in a way that the

more serious *male chauvinist* could not. For example, a secretary reported that when a coworker “put down women,” “I just chucklingly would tell him that he was a male chauvinist pig” (interview with Mansbridge, Dec. 19, 1994).¹⁴

Male chauvinist pig eventually penetrated quite deeply. In 1992 and 1993, the Northwestern Survey Laboratory’s Chicago Area Survey asked a representative sample of Chicago area residents, “Have you ever referred to someone as a ‘male chauvinist,’ either while speaking directly to that person or in describing that person to someone else?” Both in 1992 and 1993, 63% of the women in the metropolitan area sample said that they had used the phrase *male chauvinist* to describe someone they knew.¹⁵ The reach of this phrase was also relatively broad. Although the phrase derives from the feminist movement, 58% of the 644 women who did not describe themselves as “feminist” in this sample said they had called someone a male chauvinist. Although the phrase promoted a progressive change, 56% of the 489 women who called themselves “conservative” on a liberal-conservative scale said they had used it. Although one might expect its use to be restricted to people interested in politics, 60% of the 181 women who were not registered to vote said they had used it. Although one might expect more educated people to be more likely than the less educated to use a new word that originated in cosmopolitan circles, 54% of the 176 women with only a high-school education said they had used it. And although the feminist activists who appeared on television were usually primarily white, 54% of the 274 African American women said they had called someone a male chauvinist. In short, the phrase *male chauvinist* extended to large numbers of women—far beyond the usual circles of educated liberals who promote progressive ideas.

In-depth interviews from 1991 to 1992 with 51 low-income women, black and white, also reveal many reporting using *male chauvinist* to describe and sometimes try to change the disrespect that they encountered from certain men. An African American woman receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) spontaneously introduced the term: “This one man is really touched, and I don’t mean by God. He’s gone. He is a chauvinist pig. He is a chauvinist! ... He really thinks he’s the only rooster in the hen house [and] ... when he clucks everybody’s supposed to cringe” (interview with Mansbridge, Nov. 5, 1991). A young white woman (also receiving AFDC) reported, “It’s like, he’s—I’m supposed to be his. To me that’s a male chauvinist, okay... He—this is a good example of him, okay? He’d be coming in the house, okay. First thing he does is flop on the couch. ‘Get me this, get me that, get me this.’ ... And, you know, I just turn around and ... call him a male chauvinist, you know, and he looks at me and he’s like, ‘Why did you call me that?’” (interview with Mansbridge, Nov. 6, 1991).

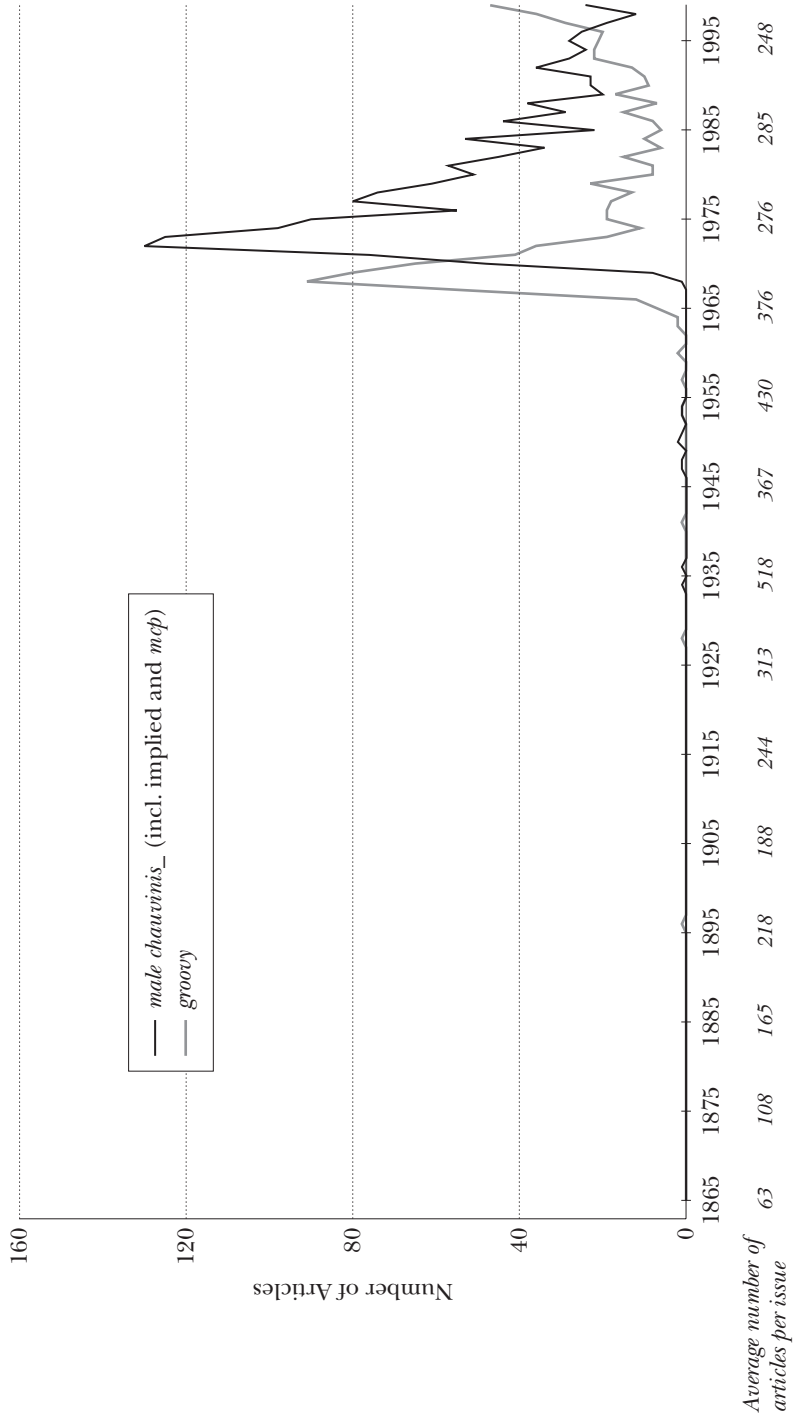
Male chauvinist sometimes even triggered a rethinking of views on the part of the person to whom it was addressed. In a series of open-ended questions asked on the telephone in 1994 of self-described “conservative” women who had reported on the earlier Chicago survey that they had used the term *male chauvinist*, several women said that calling their bosses, friends, boyfriends, or husbands a male chauvinist had made the men think and sometimes change. As one college-educated white woman put it, “I remember him being surprised and then saying that he didn’t think he was, but as he thought about it he guessed he was a little. It never occurred to him that he was male chauvinist before I said it.” When asked if the man, her husband, had taken her words “as a criticism,” she replied, “Yes. I don’t think he wanted to be that way—especially since he values my intelligence and that is why he married me. I think he has improved; I am looking back a couple of years, and he is better now” (interview with Mansbridge, Dec. 22, 1994).

Men also called other men *male chauvinists*. In the 1992 and 1993 Chicago surveys, an average of 43% of the male respondents reported that they had called someone a male chauvinist. While the term was still on its upward trajectory, on October 15, 1971, President Richard Nixon used it while discussing with his attorney general, John Mitchell, how to get Chief Justice Warren Burger to accept an appointment of a woman to the Supreme Court. Recorded on tape without realizing it, Nixon told Mitchell to assure Burger that appointing a woman to the court was “a painful thing” for Nixon as well. He then joked, “Who the hell thought of education for women anyway?” Mitchell continued the banter, laughing that schools used to teach women “domestic science. That ought to be the full extent of it!” At that point, Nixon teasingly replied, “You know, you’re a male chauvinist pig.” Allowing that the charge was true, Mitchell continued more seriously: “But I recognize what the change is and [if] they’re treated differently [from men], they don’t like it. And I’m not talking about the bra-burners and all the rest of them. I’m talking about the average housewife” (Dean 2001, 184).

COMPARISONS

MALE CHAUVINIST AND GROOVY. The trajectory of the use of *male chauvinist* in the *New York Times* reveals a sharp surge followed by a slower decline. A comparison with the similar trajectory for the word *groovy* (fig. 2) suggests that *male chauvinist* may have had some of the characteristics of a vogue word, catching on because of some intrinsic interest or temporary usefulness but losing its cachet over time.¹⁶ The pattern may be one of a fad or fashion.¹⁷ One reason for this trajectory of rapid rise and consequent fall may be that

FIGURE 2
The Trajectory of Two Vogue Words, *male chauvinist* and *groovy*, in the *New York Times* from 1865 to 1999



the very characteristics of newness and humor that originally helped make the phrase attractive wore off quickly, diminishing the attraction.

SEXIST. The word *sexist* first appears in the *New York Times* in 1969, only a year later than the revived *male chauvinis_*. The terms *sexist* and *sexism* then had an upward trajectory almost identical to that of *male chauvinis_*, peaked in 1991, with appearances in 270 articles (see fig. 3), and have been used at a level a little higher than the peak of *male chauvinis_* since that time. *Sexist* and *sexism* have far broader applicability than *male chauvinist* and *male chauvinism*, because these words can be applied to things as well as people (*sexist language, sexist institution*). Yet in spite of this broader applicability and in spite of the higher peak and staying power of *sexist* and *sexism* in the *New York Times*, *sexist* did not have as broad and deep a usage, describing individuals, as *male chauvinist*, at least early in its career. Whereas 63% of a representative sample of women in the Chicago area in 1993 reported having called someone a male chauvinist, only 35% of the same women reported having called someone sexist. The gap among women with a high-school education was even greater, with 55% reporting having called someone a *male chauvinist* and only 21% reporting *sexist*. Among black women in that year, 52% reported having called someone *male chauvinist*, but only 27% a *sexist*.¹⁸ *Male chauvinist* thus seems, at least for a while, to have played a greater role in the everyday activism of individual women challenging the patterns of gender disrespect that they experienced in their lives.

FEMINIST. The words *feminism* and *feminist* had a longer trajectory. In 1872, Alexandre Dumas used the term *féministe* derogatorily, speaking of it as a “neologism” and thus suggesting a recent coinage. Ten years later, we find the French suffrage advocate Hubertine Aubert using the term positively in her suffrage newspaper. After 1891, when the Fédération française des sociétés féministes was formed, the word began to enter general usage in France, replacing the word *féminine*, which women’s rights groups had earlier used to describe themselves.¹⁹ In 1896 the word *feministe* first appeared in the *New York Times* as a French word, and two years later as an English word without the final *e*. Although in English the word originally appeared primarily in a derogatory context,²⁰ this was a decade of extremely rapid change in women’s thinking. As mainstream and conservative women increasingly joined the campaign for women’s suffrage, advanced thinkers moved left.

By 1913, *Feminism* with a capital *F* had been embraced by the more radical women in the movement. The goal for them, as distinct from mere suffrage, was, as one young woman put it, “a complete social revolution,” in which women could express themselves freely, were bound no longer to the

sexual double standard, and faced no psychological or structural handicaps to their self-expression or professional and civic opportunity (Kentin 1914; quoted in Cott 1987, 15). Another exulted, “We have grown accustomed . . . to something or other known as the Woman Movement. That has an old sound—it *is* old. But Feminism!” (Cooley 1913; quoted in Cott 1987, 15). Randolph Bourne described these young feminists delightedly in 1913 as “emancipated and advanced” creatures who “shock you constantly,” and are full of “wisdom and youthfulness, of humor and ability, and innocence and self-reliance . . . all self-supporting and independent,” enjoying “the adventure of life” in a “full, reliant, and audacious way” (letter to Prudence Winterrowd, Apr. 28 [Bourne Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia Univ.]; quoted in Cott 1987, 34–35).²¹ Capturing this moment of enthusiasm, the words *feminist* and *feminism* in the *New York Times* rise to a peak in 1914 (see fig. 3).

After the suffragists won the vote in 1920, however, feminism—both the term and the movement—saw a decline. The first wave of the women’s movement divided into its sometimes conflicting component groups, some promoting disarmament, some protective labor legislation, some birth control, some socialism, some good government—not always mutually compatible causes (see, e.g., Cott 1987; Rupp and Taylor 1987; Sears and Huddy 1990; and Offen 2000, esp. 282). On the political right, the Red Scare activated by World War I linked prominent feminists to “the Socialist-Pacifist movement” and frightened away many adherents. On the political left, Lenin in 1920 declared feminism to be “a dangerous right-wing deviation concocted by misguided members of the bourgeoisie” (Brownmiller 1999, 47; see also Wiegand 2001, 7).²² The goal of many progressive women became helping women “make their contribution as *human beings* and as *workers*, and not only as women” (Sara Fredegant, interview by Alice Hoffman, June 2, 1976 [The Twentieth-Century Trade Union Women: Vehicle for Social Change Oral History Project, Univ. of Michigan and Wayne State University]; quoted in Cott 1987, 278). In 1938, Virginia Woolf herself proposed, at least rhetorically, discarding the word *feminist* as “an old word, a vicious and corrupt word that has done much harm in its day and is now obsolete” (1938, 101; quoted in Offen 2000, 283). Only two years earlier, Ray Strachey had written sadly, “Modern young women know amazingly little of what life was like before the [present], and show a strong hostility to the word ‘feminism’ and all which they imagine it to connote. They are, nevertheless, themselves products of the women’s movement” (1936, 10; quoted in Offen 2000, 282).

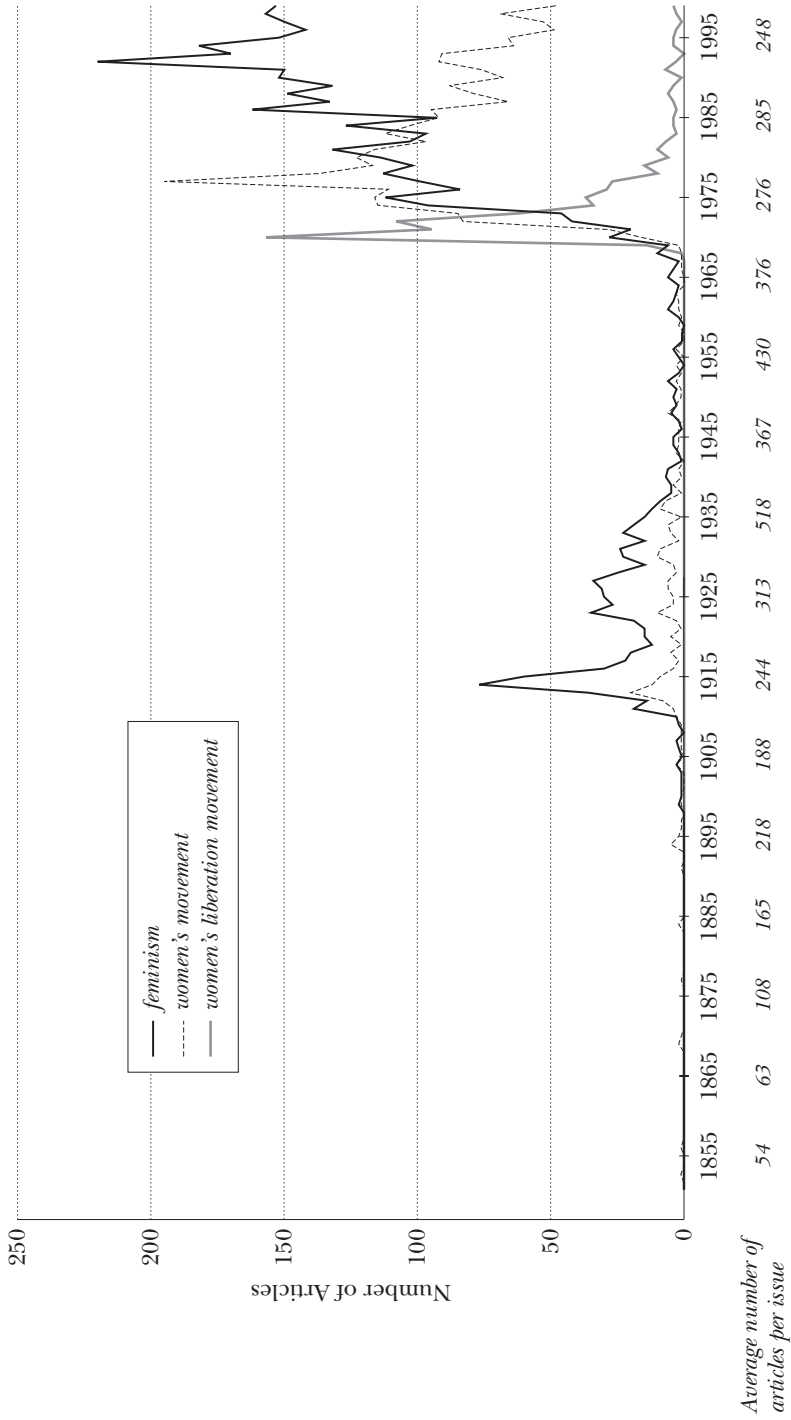
Sixty years later, in the second wave, the women who brought the word *feminism* back into currency understood well the negative as well as positive connotations it carried from the earlier era. Shulamith Firestone wrote in

1968 that although *feminism* brought to mind images of a “granite-faced spinster obsessed with the vote,” its radical reputation only made her more eager to rehabilitate the term (433; see Echols 1989, 54). In the summer of 1969, a New York radical group named itself The Feminists, and that fall a spin-off group gave itself the name New York Radical Feminists—although a member reminisced later that she had disliked the term *feminist* at first because it seemed “unfeminine” (Ann Forer, interview in Echols 1989, 54; see also pp. 169–97).²³

Despite the negative baggage of political radicalism, single-minded obsession, antimale spinsterism, insufficient socialism, and general lack of femininity that it carried from an earlier era, the word *feminism* grew in popularity from 1970 on, and by 1974 had replaced *the women’s liberation movement* as the more common term (see fig. 4). *The women’s movement*, which had a much longer historical trajectory, began its rise in the late 1960s, a year later than *women’s liberation movement*, peaked 7 years later, and began its decline shortly thereafter.²⁴ In *off our backs*, an early and long-continuing feminist publication, the words *feminist* and *feminism* began to appear in 1970 and increased sharply in use after that date, while *women’s movement* and *women’s liberation movement* declined.²⁵ Similarly, within a few years after 1970, the *New York Times* and major U.S. news magazines were using the word *feminism* four times more often than the word *women’s movement* (Huddy 1996, table 1).²⁶ The phrase *women’s liberation movement* almost disappeared (see fig. 4). Linguistic convenience probably exerted some pressure in this process. As a noun to describe an adherent of the women’s movement, *women’s libber* was derogatory and *advocate of the women’s liberation movement* deadeningly cumbersome. As an adjective, *feminist* was easier to use than *women’s liberationist*, or *espoused by members of the women’s movement*.²⁷

SEXUAL HARASSMENT. Only five years after the reintroduction of the word *feminism* in 1970, a new term, *sexual harassment*, was coined to describe a form of sex discrimination that involves unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. An African American woman had tried to argue that such conduct was sexual discrimination as early as 1972, but her complaint was rejected.²⁸ The term first appeared in the *New York Times* in 1975 (see fig. 3). In 1977, when the first cases were won in the appellate courts, the term became firmly established. Catharine MacKinnon’s groundbreaking book, *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination*, appeared in 1979. In 1991, as Anita Hill’s challenge to the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court brought the concept of sexual harassment to national public attention, the number of mentions in the *New York Times* soared.²⁹ From 1990 to

FIGURE 4
Use of *Feminism* and Its Alternatives in the *New York Times* from 1865 to 1999



1996, the number of complaints of sexual harassment filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission increased by 280%, from 6,127 in 1990 to 15,549 in 1995 (EEOC 2005).³⁰ The concept was here to stay.

CONCLUSION

The 20 years that began around 1968 with the second wave of the women's movement brought about massive changes in the United States. In this short period national legislation and courts eliminated almost all the formal forms of discrimination that women had faced before this time. Sex-based quotas for colleges, universities, and professional schools were swept away. Women were no longer automatically exempted from jury duty, a process that had generated primarily male juries. Married women gained the right to go into business for themselves and have the same retirement benefits as men. The newspaper practice of classifying all jobs under the headings "Male" and "Female" was outlawed. Laws against abortion were declared unconstitutional. The honorific *Ms.* was coined to avoid identifying women by their marital status (even conservative William Safire judged it a worthy usage in 1982). Newspapers, popular magazines, academic journals, and other media began using gender-neutral language. Women began to wear trousers to work. Men began to change diapers.

One survey question captured this shift in attitudes. In 1937 only 33% of a representative sample of the U.S. population had said they would vote for "a qualified woman" for president if their party nominated her. By 1955, 52%—a bare majority—reported that they would vote for such a woman. That percentage wavered up and down between 53% and 57% during the next decade and a half. But in 1971, 66% reported they would vote for such a woman. By 1983, the rate had reached 80%, and by 1999, 92%, with a small drop in 2003 to 87%.³¹

Linguistic innovation accompanied this social change. Along with the reintroduction of *male chauvinist* in 1968, the early second wave saw the revivification of the term *feminist* and the introduction of *sexist* in 1969, and the introduction of *sexual harassment* in 1975. Of these "feminist linguistic innovations," the first two were revivals rather than innovations. It was less that these terms could "encode phenomena that [had] previously gone unnamed" (Ehrlich and King 1994, 61) than that fewer people had earlier availed themselves of the previously existing names. *Sexual harassment*, by contrast, along with *date rape* and *reproductive rights*, was a conscious political coinage of second-wave activists.

While most of the linguistic revivals or innovations of this highly creative

moment were sustained at a relatively high level, *male chauvinist* followed the trajectory of a vogue word and receded in popularity, its usage acquiring a somewhat dated cast. Yet each of these terms played its role in facilitating new ways of thinking and acting, just as each provoked its own backlash and thus served as a site of linguistic contest (Ehrlich and King 1992, 1994).

Greater study would be required to examine the mechanisms by which each of the words or phrases in this analysis spread or declined. Yet the ProQuest Historical Newspapers serves as a good database for beginning to track the rise and fall of a particular word or phrase. It frequently identifies usages earlier than does the *OED2*. Although it reflects the particular concerns of both a newspaper and an educated public, when combined with in-depth interviews and with survey research to measure the penetration of a word or phrase, it has the potential to help illuminate the role of linguistic innovation in social movements.

NOTES

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Women's Leadership Board of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, as well as the capable research assistance of Roshni Sampath.

1. The ProQuest Historical Newspapers is a growing online collection of searchable digital reproductions of the *New York Times* (1851–2001), *Wall Street Journal* (1889–1987), *Washington Post* (1877–1988), *Christian Science Monitor* (1908–91), *Los Angeles Times* (1881–1984), and *Chicago Tribune* (1849–) and will soon be adding the *Atlanta Constitution* and *Boston Globe*.
2. ProQuest's search program uses an asterisk as a right-handed "truncation character." For example, to do a search for *economy* as well as *economic*, *economical*, and all its other suffixed forms, the researcher enters *econom** into the search field.
3. Because the ProQuest's *New York Times* database comprises scanned images of the newspapers, one cannot use the "find" function on the interface to locate a specific term within the selected article text. Occasional errors in the scanning function and the possibility of a word being used in a context that did not meet our needs led us not only to check every article for *male chauvinist* but also, for words other than *male chauvinist*, to check every article in the early years until we ascertained that the word was being used consistently as it is reported here. (Some early entries for *sexist*, for example, scanned as mentions but did not in fact appear in the articles. *Groovy* was also the name of a racehorse, making it necessary to exclude race listings and articles about horses.) The database is differentially reliable for different words. Moreover, because ProQuest is continually updating its database and trying to improve its scanning function, numbers occasionally vary significantly between searches conducted a year or

more apart. Most words produced no problem, but the 2004 ProQuest program inexplicably picked up many fewer articles with the command *chauvinis_* than did the 2002 program, and a few more with *male chauvinis_*. In each case we adopted the larger number, as each was independently verified by reading the article itself. We had a similar problem with *women's movement*.

4. The number of total articles was generated by using the search term *the*.
5. *Brewer's Dictionary* (1981, 224) and *Merriam-Webster's Biographical Dictionary* (1995, 208) report the first appearance of the Chauvin character in a vaudeville play, *La Cocarde Tricolore*, by the brothers Cogniard in 1831 (Paris: Didot). At least three later plays by other authors also featured Chauvin.
6. The *OED2* takes its first citation for *Chauvinism* (capitalized) from the English *Pall Mall Gazette* (Sept. 17, 1870, 10), its second (lowercased) from the English *Spectator* (Sept. 16, 1882, 1186), and its third (capitalized) from the U.S. *American* (7 [1883]: 156). For *chauvinism* (first definition), it gives "Exaggerated patriotism of a bellicose sort." The term was less frequently used in England, which produced the equally derogatory *jingoism* to denote a similar form of mindless hypernationalism. (*Jingoism* derives from the British music-hall song of 1877: "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do, we've got the men, we've got the ships, we've got the money too!" [*Encyclopædia Britannica* 1910–11 (quoted in *Brewer's Dictionary* 1999, 635)].)
7. See "The Communist International Resolution on the Negro Question in the U.S." (1928; repr. Foner and Allen 1987, 189–96), especially the section entitled "White Chauvinism Evidenced in the American Party," in which the term *white chauvinism* appears six times in only three paragraphs. In Foner and Allen's collected documents on the Negro question in the CP, the term *white chauvinism* does not appear before the 1928 meeting of the Sixth Congress that produced this resolution. On the subsequent struggle against white chauvinism in the CP, see other documents in Foner and Allen (1987) and Foner and Shapiro (1991), especially the section "Against White Chauvinism," as well as Klehr and Haynes (1992), Naison (1983), Solomon (1998), Weigand (2001).
8. Within the CP in the era of the antichauvinism campaign, the word *chauvinist* without a modifier meant *white chauvinist* (Herbert Aptheker, interview with Mansbridge, Jan. 5, 2001). For example, the "Resolution of the District Bureau, C.P.U.S.A., District 2, On the Struggle Against Chauvinism," *Daily Worker* (Feb. 19, 1939) uses *chauvinism* and *white chauvinism* interchangeably.
9. A second major campaign against white chauvinism would emerge in the years 1949 to 1953 (Starobin 1972, 198–202).
10. Odets, who belonged to the CPUSA at the time of writing this play, wrote for and in the United States. The Berlin setting of his play, however, indicates that he thought the term had currency in Europe as well. Biographical data are from Garraty (1981, 583–84).
11. These mentions of the phrase *male chauvinism* in the *New York Times* come many years before the *OED2*'s first citation of 1970 from *Time* magazine or its 1968 citation of *chauvinism* from the *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement* in a context that means 'male chauvinism'.

12. For more on the history of *male chauvinist* within the CP, see Weigand (2001). In interviews, early women's movement activists Linda Gordon and Rosalyn Baxandall recall their parents' use of the phrase *male chauvinist* (Weigand 2001, 149).
13. This addition may have been influenced in part by the late sixties usage of *pig* to describe the police. See *OED2* for citations from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries using this definition of *pig*, as well as the revival of the usage in 1967. *Capitalist pig* appears first in the *New York Times* record in 1969 and again in 1970, suggesting a contemporary coinage.
14. For more interviews using the term, see Mansbridge (2005). Redfern (1989, 207) suggests that borrowing foreign words (*chauvinist*), compounding words (*male chauvinist pig*), and making words from acronyms (*mcp*) are among the most common methods of creating neologisms. Sometimes "the very imprecision of the alien term ... gives it prestige" (211), while humor also "is a prime mover behind much linguistic creation" (225). Many commentators have pointed out that new social movements generate new ideas that often require new words for their expression; see, e.g., Ehrlich and King (1992) and citations therein for the feminist movement. It is also true, as with *male chauvinist*, that a term may have already been in existence for a while before being picked up and widely used. Thus, although it is not strictly speaking correct that "the language [did not] have any term, during most of this century, for prejudice and discrimination based on sex" (Miller and Swift 1976, 141) before the second wave of the feminist movement, few seem to have wanted to use the term *male chauvinism*.
15. The Northwestern University Chicago Area Survey, a direct-digit-dial telephone survey of about one thousand English-speaking respondents, taps a sample intended to be representative, except in ethnicity, of the Chicago metropolitan area. Getting exactly the same percentage two years in a row is a matter of chance but does suggest that the percentage in the population from which the sample is drawn is not far from the reported number. The area surveyed has a socioeconomic distribution much like that of the United States, but is urban and suburban, making the use of *male chauvinist* more likely than in small towns and rural areas. As Bailey, Tillery, and Winkle (1997, 22) point out, "Most work on linguistic diffusion has assumed that innovations emerge first in large cities and then spread down the urban hierarchy, moving to progressively smaller towns until they reach rural areas." Although their own work indicates that some traditional locutions can spread up the urban hierarchy in a process of "counterhierarchical" diffusion when linked with a sense of local identity, a nontraditional term like *male chauvinist* is more likely to follow the usual pattern. For uses of survey research to measure usage, see, e.g., Bailey (1991), Bailey et al. (1993), Bailey, Tillery, and Winkle (1997), and Tillery (1997, 2000). For the reliability and validity of self-reports of language use on surveys, see Tillery (2000).
16. For the characteristics of a vogue word, or as Safire would have it, "voguedword," see Wilson (1993) and Safire (2002). We have not found any work that tracks the characteristic rise and fall of a catchy phrase or vogue word. Most works on the

incidence of phrases (e.g., Jaeger 1999, Moon 1998, and others in or referenced in Cowie 1998 or collocations in Smajda 1993) have no temporal dimension. Cavelli-Sforza and Feldman (1981) have a temporal dimension but no data on the evolution of particular words. Writers on memes stress the characteristics of a meme's fitness for selection (Dawkins 1976, 1982, 110; Heylighen 1998, 2001) but focus on the rising curve of the "self-propagating idea" (Lynch 1996, 2; Best 2000, 29) rather than its fall. As political scientists, we welcome information on this subject from scholars in the field of linguistics.

17. Lieberson (2000) discusses the dynamics of fashion. The surge in popularity of the phrase *male chauvinist* may have produced what might be called a "positive linguistic externality" in facilitating a substantial number of joint coinages (such as *West Side chauvinism*) with neither a strict 'nationalism' nor 'male chauvinism' meaning. In figure 1, see the growing gap after 1969 between *chauvinis_* (total) and *chauvinis_* ('nationalism' only), even after subtracting *male chauvinis_*. These joint coinages in turn may have helped keep the term *male chauvinist* alive.
18. These numbers for *male chauvinist* from 1993 differ slightly from the numbers on p. 9, which report the years 1992 and 1993 combined. The question on *sexist* was not asked in 1992.
19. Offen (1988b, 47) reports in depth on Dumas, Auclert, and the process by which "from 1892 on the terms *féminisme* and *féministe* entered common usage in French—not only in France but also in Belgium and Switzerland." (See also Offen 1988a, 126; 2000, 19, 183–84.)
20. For example, the *New York Times* gave the headline "Feminists Fight at Paris" to its report on the 1900 Feminist Congress in France, commenting that the congress had "brought together over 300 feminists, matrons of a curiously masculine type and complexion" (Oct. 14, 1900, 16). Even the first recorded mention within the U.S. women's movement, a 1909 article in the *American Suffragette*, attacked "feminism" as a "perverse" theory embodying the "animosity of one sex against the other" (cited in Cott 1987, 15). In the *OED2*, not a single citation from this era is positive (see Cott 1987, 14).
21. Cott (1987, 35) describes these young women as generally "advantaged by bourgeois backgrounds," but "identified more with labor than with capital," hoping for "the elimination of exploitation by capital," and considering themselves "socialists or progressives leaning toward socialism."
22. On the European right, Italian and German fascism also made feminism one of their foci of attack (Offen 2000, 283–310).
23. In an interview with Echols (1989, 54), 1960s activist Amy Kesselman remembered that feminism "was one of those discredited terms," because in the 1960s radical women wanted to disassociate themselves from the earlier suffrage generation, which they saw as reformist and bourgeois. Brownmiller (1999, 47) remembers the early years of the second wave in New York: "In 1968 it was impossible to hold a women's meeting in radical circles without a representative of the anti-imperialist clique on hand to proclaim, 'Let's make this clear once and for all—we aren't feminists, we are radical women.'" Progressives in the United States were

influenced not only by the Communist Party's denigration of feminism but also by their association of the term with the National Women's Party of Alice Paul, a group of older, relatively rich women, who campaigned for an Equal Rights Amendment and against the protective labor legislation for women that the Left saw as the first step in getting protection for all workers (Rupp and Taylor 1987).

24. The term *women's movement* was probably in use before 1851, as the first mention of this term in the *New York Times* occurs in 1853, shortly after the newspaper began. This term had a slight increase in usage at the same time that feminism became popular in the early 1900s, but it waned in usage to an average of less than twice a year from 1940 to 1965. In 1968, *women's liberation movement* appeared for the first time. In 1969, *women's movement* began its rise, reaching almost 200 articles in 1977 before it declined, to an average of 57 articles a year, between 1995 and 1999.
25. The first use of *feminist* in *off our backs* was "feminist sociology" (vol. 1.2, Mar. 19, 1970) and the next a report on the New York group, "The Feminists" (vol. 1.3, Apr. 11, 1970). As in the *New York Times*, the data from *off our backs* show a falling use of *women's liberation* after a high in 1970 and 1971, with a steadier but lower use of *women's movement*. We thank Dara Strolevich for doing, and Leonie Huddy for helping inspire and fund, the research on early women's liberation journals that produced these calculations.
26. Huddy's (1996) data are grouped in periods running from 1970–74 to 1990–93. The four-to-one ratio has not changed greatly over time.
27. The women active on women's issues in the Communist Party, which had condemned feminism, faced the same linguistic problem. Party member Susan B. Anthony II (grandniece of the nineteenth-century suffragist) wrote to a friend in the party that "we are going to have to coin a word" to describe their position. The CP women needed, she continued, "a good descriptive word for those of us who believe that the ending of discrimination against women is fully as vital a problem today as the ending of discrimination against Negroes, foreign born and Jews" (letter to Mary Inman, n.d., Inman Papers, Schlesinger Library; quoted in Weigand 2001, 8). With *feminism* ruled out by the CP, however, no other word emerged to fill the linguistic need.
28. Marshall (2001) reconstructs the bottom-up process that helped establish the concept of sexual harassment in the courts. The term *sexual harassment* itself seems to have been introduced in a "Speak-out on Sexual Harassment" in May 1975, held by the Working Women United Institute and the Human Affairs Program at Cornell University (Silverman 1976–77, 15). The *New York Times*'s first mention, on Aug. 19, 1975, quotes Lin Farley, Director of the Cornell program.
29. Rochon (1998) also investigates the rise of the term *sexual harassment*. He reports that in a Gallup poll taken right after the Hill-Thomas hearings, "86% of the American public said they had watched at least part of the proceedings on television. The median length of viewership was two to four hours" (74).

30. These numbers then remained at a steady state until 2001, the year after the Bush administration entered office, when they began to decrease by about 1,000 a year. See also Rochon (1998, 76).
31. Data are from AIPO/Gallup and GSS/National Opinion Research Center (see Davis 1982 and citations therein for data before 1982 and the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research for data after 1982). The standard question is worded, "If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?" (The wording in 2003, which also saw a small drop in support, changed slightly to "Between now and the 2004 political conventions, there will be discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates—their education, age, religion, race, and so on. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be [Jewish] [Black] [Catholic] [a woman], would you vote for that person?" Not only was "woman" paired with other groups in this question, Gallup analysts also speculated that Republicans might be saying no to a woman candidate because they wanted President George W. Bush to be renominated (see Moore 2003, 2–4). No other survey question has this extensive a time series. The only other question asked in the early days of survey research—"Do you approve or disapprove of a married women earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?"—saw an equally dramatic rise, from 22% "approve" in 1940 to 64% in 1970, but with no intervening data points. Questions explicitly designed to measure attitudes toward the women's movement were not asked until 1970, making earlier comparisons impossible (data from AIPO and GSS; see Davis 1982 and the Roper Center). The very first question on the women's movement—"There has been much talk recently about changing women's status in society today. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today?"—saw a rapid rise from 42% "favor" in 1970, to 48% in 1975, 59% in 1977, and 64% in 1980 (data from Louis Harris surveys, Louis Harris and Associates/Harris Interactive).

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