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Female Sexuality and Heteronormativity in American Country Music Lyrics: The Virgin- Temptress Dichotomy

Master's thesis in Language Studies with Teacher Education

Supervisor: Hana Gustafsson

Co-supervisor: Domnhall Mitchell

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Abstract

Expressions of female sexuality have been strongly affected by heteronormative beliefs in Western societies, and among these one of the most influential is the virgin-temptress dichotomy. This is a cultural construct that portrays the virgin as an ideal role model for all women and the temptress as a role to be avoided. The dichotomy is furthermore a factor that influences the way women view themselves in the pursuit of and fulfilment of sexual needs. In this paper, I have investigated to what extent some American country music lyrics – written and performed by women – perpetuate or challenge the heteronormative concepts of the virgin-temptress dichotomy. This is performed through a combination of the frameworks Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) to the four commercially successful country songs “Just Because I’m a Woman” by Dolly Parton (1968), “Wings Upon Your Horn” by Loretta Lynn (1970), “RSVP” by Maren Morris (2019), and “One Night Standards” by Ashley McBryde (2019). The results suggest that each song challenges certain aspects of the virgin and the temptress stereotypes, but all the songs still refer to the traditional dichotomy when doing so. I argue that the need to use these characters as reference points, functions to reinforce the dichotomy.

Sammendrag

Kvinnelig seksualitet i vestlige samfunn har tradisjonelt blitt påvirket av heteronormative konsepter som jomfru-fristerinne-dikotomien. Denne dikotomien er et kulturelt konstrukt som framsetter jomfru-rollen som et ideal og fristerinnen som et moralsk lavpunkt. Dikotomien er i tillegg en faktor som påvirker måten kvinner ser på seg selv i møte med intime relasjoner. I denne teksten har jeg undersøkt i hvor stor grad visse amerikanske country-tekster, skrevet og utgitt av kvinner, stiller spørsmål ved eller forsterker jomfru-fristerinne-dikotomien. Dette har blitt utført gjennom en metode der jeg bruker Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) og Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA). Teksten inneholder en analyse av de fire kommersielt suksessrike låtene "Just Because I'm a Woman" av Dolly Parton (1968), "Wings Upon Your Horn" av Loretta Lynn (1970), "RSVP" av Maren Morris (2019) og "One Night Standards" av Ashley McBryde (2019). Resultatene viser at hver sang utfordrer visse aspekter ved både jomfru-karakteren og fristerinne-karakteren – men alle tekstene inneholder referanser til den tradisjonelle dikotomien for å oppnå dette. Derfor argumenterer jeg for at country-tekstene i analysen forsterker konvensjonen om jomfru-fristerinne-dikotomien.

Preface

The idea for this thesis builds on the work I did in my bachelor's thesis in 2020, where I analyzed how female sexuality was presented in two contemporary country songs performed by women. That is when I first had the idea of applying Critical Discourse Analysis and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis to country music artists. In this thesis, I have extended and deepened the scope of my investigation by applying it to four other singers, over a wider period of time – in order to find out just how powerful this conflict of the virgin/temptress might be.

I would like to thank my supervisors Hana Gustafsson and Domnhall Mitchell for encouragement and guidance while writing this thesis. I would also like to express gratitude to my fellow students, who have always been helpful when debating academic (and non-academic) matters during the process.

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Female Sexuality and Heteronormativity in American Country Music Lyrics: The Virgin-Temptress Dichotomy

Introduction

Country is a music genre originated in the U.S. that has become widely popular across the globe. The genre can be considered conservative, as traditions and authentic narratives are highly valued (Peterson, 1997; Wiggins, 2009). In this paper, I will investigate to what extent country music lyrics about sexual intimacy, written and performed by women reinforce the heteronormative portrayal of the virgin-temptress dichotomy. This will be done by applying Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) combined with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to four different country songs from 1968, 1970, and 2019. The method of combining FCDA and SFL enables me to illustrate how the power structure of gender ideology is realized linguistically in country music lyrics. The results of my analysis indicate that aspects of the virgin-temptress portrayals are challenged through all four songs, but all the lyrics contain references to the traditional dichotomy when doing so. Even though the lyrics tend to question certain aspects of the dichotomy, I argue that the continuous reference to the virgin and the temptress can be interpreted as reinforcing the dichotomy.

Research questions:

Main question: To what extent do some country music lyrics perpetuate or challenge the heteronormative concept of the virgin-temptress dichotomy?

1. Do some songs have clear examples of the virgin portrayal?
2. Do some songs have clear examples of the temptress portrayal?
3. Do some songs have personas that do not resemble clear virgin or clear temptress portrayals, and can they be said to challenge the dichotomy? If so, how?
4. To what extent/in what ways can the FCDA and SFL analytical framework help us capture these portrayals and these differences?

The first chapter will consist of a literature review where I will define the terms *gender ideology*, *gender role*, and *heteronormativity*, while furthermore explaining how these components give rise to the *virgin-temptress dichotomy*. The chapter will thereafter illustrate how female sexuality has been presented through commercially successful country songs in the 20th and 21st centuries. Chapter two presents the songs used as data material in the analysis and I will give reasons for this specific song selection. Chapter three describes the analytical framework of Feministic Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics and how I have benefitted from these while working

with the data material. Limitations of this method will also be discussed here. Chapter four contains the analysis and findings in the data material. Additional schemes that include the numbers and distribution of the different Systemic Functional Linguistics categories can be found in the Appendix. Chapter five contains a discussion of the research questions, while chapter six offers my conclusions.

1 Literature review

1.1 Gender ideology, gender norms, and heteronormativity

There are numerous conflicting definitions of the term gender ideology. I will follow Phillips' (2001) definition where he argues that gender ideologies are culturally contingent beliefs that describe certain ways in which people view women, men, and other gender identities (p. 6016). With this definition, one predicts that gender is a cultural construct that is determined by the society one finds oneself in. The cultural construct is realized through gender roles which assign certain expectations and norms associated to the biological sex one is born with or the gender one ends up identifying oneself with (Tong, 2012, p. 399). In this paper I will investigate the female gender role, more specifically, norms associated with women's sexuality and sexual behaviour expressed in US country music performed by female artists and songwriters.

Gender ideology and beliefs regarding female sexuality can be seen in the light of heteronormativity, which is "a culturally embedded system defining acceptable identities and behaviours in romantic relationships" (Habarth et al., 2020, p. 740). Heteronormative norms do in other words include gender-specific expectations regarding sexuality – and can consequently be viewed as a phenomenon within gender ideologies that effect gender roles.

In heteronormativity it is understood that "normal" romantic relationships are between a man and a woman – and this excludes alternative sexual orientations such as for instance homosexuals, bisexuals, and pansexuals (Harris and White, 2018, p. 335).

Heteronormativity not only marginalizes alternative sexual orientations, but it also places restraints on heterosexual behaviour and romantic relationships. According to heteronormative beliefs, women pursue sexual relations in order to find love, while men do so to fulfil their sexual needs (Jackson, 2006; Motschenbacher, 2017). Moreover, women are expected to act passively in their search for a lifelong monogamous relationship, while men are entitled to actively chase several short-term sexual relations in order to meet their physical needs (Motschenbacher, 2017; Eaton and Matemala, 2014). Heteronormative perceptions consequently paint a highly contrastive image of men and women's expected behaviour in the pursuit of intimate relationships. Men are viewed as highly sexualized creatures who frequently actively engage in physical intimacy, regardless of whether it is inside or outside the frames of a monogamous relationship – whereas women are viewed as passive and monogamous, lusting for love rather than sex. Women who are active like men therefore break the expectation of passivity. The heteronormative perspective thus gives rise to the virgin-temptress dichotomy, which is prominent in country music.

1.2 The virgin-temptress dichotomy

The heteronormative perception of women's sexuality and sexual behaviour has its roots in a well-known role in Western culture, namely the virgin. Similar to the expected behaviours towards women described above, the virgin is expected to save herself and give all her love and affection to one man. This role has religious origins and constitutes

part of the Mary-Eve dichotomy, also known as the Madonna-whore dichotomy. Mary is the symbol of the virgin, while Eve is perceived as the promiscuous whore (Tumanov, 2011). Due to her moral weakness, Eve eats an apple from the tree in the garden of Eden – and is eventually punished (Conrad, 2006, p. 309). The Mary is on the other hand viewed as the pure and innocent virgin, while Eve, also referred to as *the whore*, radiates non-marital sexuality (Conrad, 2006, p. 309).

The virgin-temptress dichotomy has been prominent in country music. This is illustrated by Barbara Sims' (1974) study on feminine masochism in American country music where she claims that this dichotomy is prevalent through the contrastive images of "good" and "bad" girls. The virgin-temptress dichotomy has also been commented on by contemporary country artist Maren Morris (2019):

The stereotype is you've got to be this religious, virginal conservative, or the wronged woman burning the house down [...] People in pop and R&B are confident and sexy and sexual, and they're celebrating it – so why don't we, in country, write these songs? (bbc.com, 12th June 2019).

Country music reinforces the virgin-temptress dichotomy – while other commercial genres such as pop and R&B offer women more freedom, according to Morris.

A typical example of the temptress portrayal is Kitty Wells' (1958) single "She's No Angel", written by Wanda Ballman. Here, the singer warns a man about getting involved with a temptress, as she will only break his heart. The two first verses of the song portray how the man is seduced by the woman's physical appeal:

You see her there
At the bar cross the room
She looks like an angel
With her paint and perfume
You'd like to meet her
Your conscience says no
Obey your conscience
Turn around boy and go
(Wells, 1958).

The woman's "paint" (makeup) is presented as a trap in the lyrics, as this makes her look like an angel. She is however a temptress in disguise and is presented as someone the addressee should try to avoid giving in to by listening to his conscience. This reinforces the belief that the temptress/whore is a bad character who should be avoided – in contrast to the virgin, who according to heteronormative norms is considered an ideal.

Consequently, country lyrics written and performed by women do often convey that the persona has qualities like the virgin. This is for instance prominent in the song and album title "Paper Roses", released in 1973 by Marie Osmond:

I realize the way your eyes deceived me
With tender looks that I mistook for love
So take away the flowers that you gave me
And send the kind that you remind me of
(Osmond, 1973).

Here, the persona describes how the male addressee, who she had been romantically involved with, was not interested in a long-term relationship. She makes it clear that a short-term affair was not what she wanted by saying that he had "tender looks I mistook

for love". She tells him that she is not that kind of girl, thus conveying her association with the virgin-type.

More recent country music also contains references linked to the virgin-temptress dichotomy. This is for instance prominent in "Holding Out for the One", released in 2020 by the Canadian country artist Tenille Townes (Trøen, 2020). As the title conveys, the persona describes how she will not have sexual intercourse before she finds "the one" she intends to stay with. The persona also explicitly distances herself from the temptress character by saying:

I'm not the girl with her high heels in her hand
In last night's little black party dress
Yeah, maybe I'm a little bit different, I guess
(Townes, 2020).

Here, the image is of a woman who is returning home after a one-night stand, a situation that the persona cannot see herself in. Even though this song was released in 2020, the lyrics clearly invoke the virgin-temptress dichotomy (Trøen, 2020).

This is in sharp contrast to the way men's sexuality is presented in country music performed by women. A classic example is the canonical country song "Stand by Your Man" released by Tammy Wynette in 1968. Here, the persona encourages women to stick by their husband even though they are having extramarital affairs. The persona moreover expresses that it is difficult for a woman to be monogamous while the man is untrue:

Sometimes it's hard to be a woman
Giving all your love to just one man
You'll have bad times, and he'll have good times
Doin' things that you don't understand
(Wynette, 1968).

This reinforces the heteronormative perceptions of gendered sexuality, because the woman is encouraged to remain faithful, even while the man is not. This clearly illustrates the contrast between men and women's sexuality expressed in country music.

It is however important to be aware that country is an extensive genre that consists of multiple takes on sexuality. There are country songs where the female persona implicitly or explicitly distances herself from the virgin role by describing behaviour in sexual relationships that is untraditional. An example is Kacey Musgraves' song from 2013, "It Is What It Is" (Trøen, 2020). Here, the protagonist describes a sexual relationship which she engages in, even though she is uncertain about whether it is love or not, which is expressed in the chorus of the song:

But I ain't got no one sleepin' with me
And you ain't got nowhere that you need to be
Maybe I love you
Maybe I'm just kind of bored
(Musgraves, 2013).

Here, the protagonist expresses a willingness to have sex with the addressee – though she emphasizes that she is single. There are in other words songs where the female persona does not invoke the virgin-temptress dichotomy. These songs are however often considered controversial. According to Musgraves herself, her grandma refers to this as the "slut song" (Goricki, 2013). The album on which the song appeared on, *Same Trailer*,

Different Park, included the song "Follow Your Arrow" which was blacklisted by country radio stations as a result of the lyrics' liberal character (Lizano, 2021). The song treats subjects such as same-sex relationships. The blacklisting thus shows how heteronormative beliefs have a strong position in American country music culture.

2 The data material

2.1 Song selection and reasoning

I have decided to conduct the discourse analysis on country music, because the genre can give insight into conventional beliefs regarding gendered sexuality among a great deal of the U.S. population – and the world, as country music has become a popular genre outside America’s borders. In 2020 country was ranked as the fourth most popular genre in North America with a total of 7.1% of all streams in the US, only beaten by R&B, Rock, and Pop (statista.com, 2021). Clearly, the genre has acquired great commercial success, which shows that a high number of people today relate to the music at different levels. Country music lyrics can therefore be viewed as embodying common and current beliefs among its many listeners – while simultaneously being an influencer, reinforcer, or criticizer of certain principles and attitudes.

Distributing music today is done through streaming, which has enabled music to easily cross borders. Since 2015, the streaming service Spotify recorded a 21 % increase in country music streamed outside America – and they show that country is just as popular in Hanoi as in Nashville (newsroom.spotify.com, 2018). American country music has also had a great influence on the Norwegian music scene - with a new genre called *Nordicana*, emerging as a result of inspiration by American country music mixed with Nordic folk (Martin, 2021). Even though my analysis deals with songs originated and produced in the U.S., the great consumption of country music abroad can signify that the beliefs expressed in American country music are also relevant and influential outside of the U.S.

Another aspect which makes country music interesting when exploring gendered expectations in sexual relationships is the perceived authenticity of the genre. Peterson (1997) describes how country music needs to be perceived as authentic in order to be commercially successful. Peterson (1997) furthermore conveys how authenticity is a social entity that changes constantly – and popular country songs must conform to this dynamic image. Wiggins (2009) conducted a study of gender and race in country music performed by women within the time frame 1980-89 and concludes that the changing definitions of authenticity greatly influence female country singers. Wiggins (2009) illustrates this by emphasizing how artists such as Loretta Lynn and Dolly Parton sang lyrics that addressed feministic topics such as birth control and (partly) liberated sexuality in the 1970s, whereas in the 1980s, they changed direction to mirror the conservative beliefs that began to circulate in the political and social environment of this era (p. 7). What is perceived as authentic in commercially successful country music can in other words give insight into current social beliefs and norms.

When choosing songs to include in my analysis, I first tried to look for ones that mainly deal with sexual intimacy, written and performed by women. This narrows down the field quite a bit, as there are surprisingly few songs from a woman’s perspective that solely deal with sexual intimacy. I found that most songs performed and written by female country artists often describe sex as a subordinate matter, often triggered by matters such as love, marriage, or infidelity. Among the songs that I found which treat sexual intimacy as their main subject, I picked the ones that had gained most commercial success, because this ensures that a great number of people have been exposed to

them, and the lyrics have had an impact on the U.S. public. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, this commercial success can provide insight into the current social beliefs that are perceived to be "authentic". However, this is a fluid, social construction that should be viewed diachronically.

To capture the fluidity and development of gendered expectations towards sexuality, I have therefore included commercially successful songs from 1968, 1970, and 2019 – which enables me to compare two songs from the same period, but also view how heteronormative beliefs appear in different historical and socio-political contexts. The diachronic view is also underscored by a chronologically ordered discussion of other commercially successful country songs in the literature review, which will be used for reference and comparison in the analysis.

2.2 Songs in the analysis

"Just Because I'm a Woman" is a song by Dolly Parton which was released in 1968. It was the only single on the album with the same name and reached number 17 on the Billboard Hot Country Singles chart. Parton was only 22 years old when the song was released, and according to sources, it describes a conflict in her marriage. After eight months of marriage, her husband, Carl Dean, asked if she had been with anyone other than him, which she had. Dean was disappointed and upset (songfacts.com, 2022). This is said to have resulted in Parton writing "Just Because I'm a Woman" which deals with the way women's sexual history is considered more shameful than men's history of sexual conquests. The song's historical context is also interesting, as it was written and released during the sexual revolution in the 1960s-70s when contraceptives made it easier for women to avoid pregnancy (Greenwood and Guner, 2010).

"Wings Upon Your Horns", written and performed by Loretta Lynn, was a single on the album with the same name. Lynn was 37 years old when the single was released in 1970. The song reached number 11 on the Billboard Hot Country Singles chart. The lyrics use religious imagery to describe the loss of a woman's virginity - Lynn tells the story of a woman who is "sexually suspect due to a dishonest man" (Jackson, 2018, p. 105). After losing her virginity to a man who supposedly promised marriage, Lynn paints a picture of a devil-like man who has caused harm to a good girl with pure intentions. The lyrics were considered controversial when it was released, as the metaphor "Hung my wings upon your horns" was understood to be a graphic representation of the sexual act itself (Jackson, 2018, p. 106). The title's metaphor could however also indicate that the protagonist ceased to be an angel due to the male addressee's actions. This song was also written and released during the sexual revolution.

"RSVP" by Maren Morris was released in 2019 on her album *Girl*. The album peaked at number four on the US Billboard 200, and was written by Jon Randall, Mark Trussell, Natalie Hemby and Morris herself. Morris was 28 years old at the time of its release. The lyrics describe how the protagonist invites a man to have sex with her, while making use of the French saying: "Répondez s'il vous plait" (RSVP) which means "please respond". Morris herself describes the piece as "a really sexy song, it's about owning your sexuality" (Morris, 2019). The song title is interesting, as it is popularly associated with romantic love; the phrase itself is often printed on wedding invitations, but the protagonist seems to emphasize the physical fulfilment of a marriage rather than marriage itself.

"One Night Standards" by Ashley McBryde is a 2019 single which appeared on the album *Never Will* (2020). The song is co-written by Nicolette Hayford, Shane McAnally, and McBryde herself, who was 35 years old at the time of its release. The song reached number 93 on the Billboard Hot 100 and was nominated at the CMA Awards for Song of the Year. The lyrics describe a woman who makes it clear that she wants a sexual encounter without the intention to form an emotional attachment with the person she has sex with, typically referred to as a "one-night stand". The song's reception has been divided, as the lyrics deal with a controversial topic when one compares it to the prevailing discourse in today's country music – which was addressed by McBryde herself when she stated that "Every night when we play it live, I watch the crowd, because there's going to be a few nods that go from left to right, and there's gonna be a few tongue clicks: 'She shouldn't be singing about this'" (Ladd, 2019).

3 Analytical framework

3.1 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a social analysis of language aimed at detecting unequal power relations in society (Fairclough, 2018, p. 13). These power relations are present in our languages, as reality is “mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems, and texts as sites for both inculcation and the contestation of discourses” (Locke, 2004, p. 2). Power relations that are substantiated through culturally contingent beliefs and norms, are in other words realized through language. These norms and beliefs are continuously negotiated as they are either being reinforced or challenged through discourse.

FCDA is a sub-branch of CDA and contributes a feminist perspective. Within this approach one aims to investigate the ways in which gender ideologies “that entrench power asymmetries become ‘common sense’ in particular communities and discourse contexts, and how they may be challenged” (Lazar, 2017, p. 372). In other words, this approach explores how expectations about people’s behaviour is dependent on one’s gender, which affects people’s way of acting, and how one can eventually fight these gendered conventions.

When describing FCDA, Lazar (2017) emphasizes the principle of viewing gender ideology in interplay with other power structures, such as for instance heteronormativity and neoliberalism (p. 373). In my analysis, I will therefore investigate to what extent heteronormative beliefs are reinforced or challenged – and if and how this reinforces or challenges the virgin-temptress dichotomy.

Within the FCDA-tradition it is crucial to consider gender along the lines of context. Ruth Wodak (2008) more specifically emphasizes how the treatment of gender is dependent on the culture the discourse appears in (p. 197). The American country music culture and its conventional representations of female sexuality are therefore presented in the literature review and will be used as a reference when discussing interpretations of the analysis.

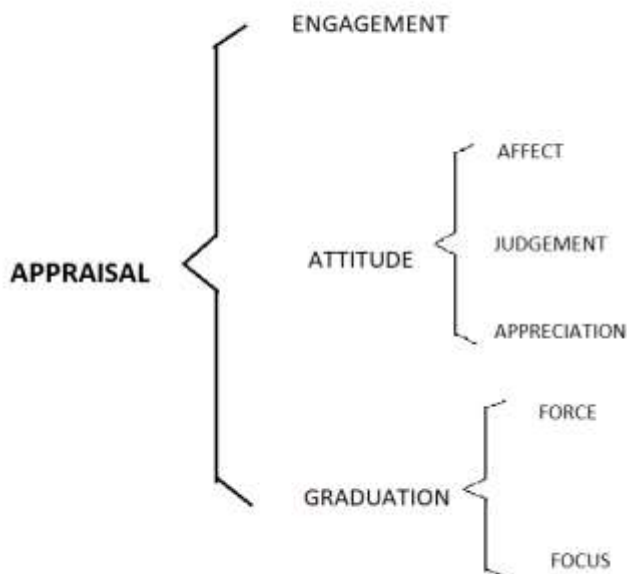
Another principle accentuated in FCDA is studying the development of gendered expectations and identities over time. This is because the social constructions of gender constantly change, as the socio-political context shifts (Wodak, 2008, p. 197). To capture this fluidity, I have included commercially successful songs from 1968, 1970, and 2019 – which enables me to compare two songs from the same period, but also view how heteronormative beliefs appear in different historical and socio-political contexts. The diachronic view is also underscored by a discussion of other commercially successful country songs in the literature review, which will be used for reference and comparison in the analysis. In order to capture the linguistic realizations of attitudes regarding female sexuality, the FCDA framework will be combined with Systemic Functional Linguistics and its system of APPRAISAL.

3.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL): The system of APPRAISAL

SFL is a framework aimed at investigating discourse and was created by Michael Halliday in the early 1960s (Flowerdew, 2008, p. 199). This approach accentuates that “social contexts are realized as texts which are realized as sequences of clauses” (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 4). Expectations, norms, and beliefs within social contexts are in other words viewed as being expressed in linguistic realizations.

In this project, I am interested in the attitudes which express evaluations of people’s behaviour and character in sexual relationships – and I will therefore examine what is described as the *interpersonal metafunction* of the lyrics (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 7). The interpersonal metafunction deals with the speakers’ evaluation of concepts, things, and people – which additionally function as attitudes used to develop and maintain social relationships with the addressees – thus explaining the term *interpersonal* (Coffin and O’Halloran, 2012, p. 84). Within the system of SFL, the interpersonal function of a text is analyzed through the system of *APPRAISAL*¹ (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 47).

APPRAISAL consists of three categories such as *ATTITUDE*, *ENGAGEMENT* and *GRADUATION*. These classifications are used to address evaluations and feelings in the text that are expressed as attitudes creating interpersonal relations (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 59). All the categories mentioned are used in my analysis.



Model reproduced after Martin and Rose (2007, p. 59).

ATTITUDE includes three different subcategories that acknowledge different ways of conveying attitudes in a text. The first, *JUDGEMENT*, is used to identify evaluations of people’s character and their actions; *APPRECIATION* deals with attitudes concerning different things or phenomena; *AFFECT* treats emotions that are expressed and triggered by interpersonal relations (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 59). Such evaluations can carry a negative or positive value, depending on the semantic meaning of the phrase. All three

¹ When discussing categories and subcategories within *APPRAISAL* I will use capital letters.

subcategories of ATTITUDE can be presented either implicitly or explicitly in the discourse (Coffin and O'Halloran, 2012, p. 84).

The attitudes expressed in a text can be adjusted through the category of *GRADUATION*, which is realized through the FOCUS or the FORCE of an utterance (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 43). To adjust the FOCUS of the attitude expressed, one can for instance use words such as 'precisely' or 'almost' (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 47). FORCE is used to increase the intensity of an attitude, for example by intensifiers, swearing, metaphors, phrases used for comparison, or lexemes that have inherent graduated attitudes (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 43-44). The last one mentioned is referred to as *attitudinal lexis*, which include verbs like 'love' and 'hate', and adjectives like 'terrific' and 'horrible' (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 44).

The third category of APPRAISAL, namely *ENGAGEMENT*, helps us detect attitudes coming from others than the speaker herself. The *ENGAGEMENT* of external voices that are relevant in my analysis are realized through the subcategories *PROJECTION*, *CONCESSION* and *MODALITY*. *PROJECTION* is realized through direct quotations or reports of what someone says, thinks or feels (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 49). When the singers project their own thoughts, for instance through verbs like "want" and "think", I do however *not* categorize it as *ENGAGEMENT*. Different voices can include explicit quotations of other people's words, but also contain external implicit expectations or thoughts conveyed by the persona. *CONCESSION* occurs when external voices are presented through counterexpectancy, for instance through conjunctions like 'but' or the adverb 'even' (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 56). This way of projecting external voices will play a significant part in my analysis, as the protagonists - especially the protagonist in "One Night Standards" - tend to challenge common expectations and attitudes toward female sexuality. The last category of expressing external voices is that of *MODALITY*. Through *MODALITY* one "sets up a semantic space between 'yes' and 'no'" (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 53). This can be expressed through modal auxiliaries such as 'could' and 'should'. In my analysis I also include negative polarity expressed through negation as a way of conveying *MODALITY*, as seen in Martin and Rose's (2007) presentation of the APPRAISAL framework.

By defining and counting the different subcategories of APPRAISAL in lyrics, the intention is to find the prosody expressed through the attitudes of the text. Martin and Rose (2007) consider the attitudes to create a prosodic pattern

that swells and diminishes, in the manner of a musical prosody. The prosodic pattern of appraisal choices constructs the 'stance' or 'voice' of the appraiser, and this stance or voice defines the kind of community that is being set up around shared values (Martin and Rose, 2007, p. 59).

The prosody of the text is what reveals the appraiser's thoughts and feelings towards a certain subject - while it simultaneously contributes to defining the group of people who supposedly share these attitudes. As the country songs in my analysis deal with female sexuality, the distribution of APPRAISAL subcategories - and the prosody of these attitudes - is evaluated to see whether gendered expectations towards women pursuing or enacting sexual intimacy can be discovered.

3.3 SFL as a tool to conduct FCDA

SFL is an effective tool when performing FCDA, because it provides a precise metalanguage that facilitates the examination of utterances at the clause level - which

makes it easier to describe how different expressions challenge or reinforce a certain ideology or social norm. The fusion of the CDA and SFL is a frequently used method in sociolinguistics and praised for its ability to detect power structures in language (Max and Zamruddin, 2020; Coffin and O'Halloran, 2012; Zhang and Pan, 2015; Bloor and Bloor, 2018; Flowerdew, 2008). For instance, this combined method has been applied by Coffin and O'Halloran (2012) to illustrate the way journalists use a specific type of wording to influence the reader along certain socio-political lines. The combination of SFL and FCDA facilitates a method that conveys the linguistic realization of social structures and beliefs with an established and precise metalanguage.

The established framework and metalanguage can additionally increase the credibility of the study. Qualitative studies are contingent on the researcher's subjective interpretations of the data, which need to be exposed and systematically explained in order to promote the research's credibility (Friedman, 2012, p. 194). This is simplified thanks to SFL, an established framework that gives clear insight into my interpretations of the different APPRAISAL categories by specifying how I define the data material to belong to each of these.

This openness and close description of my interpretations also facilitates the questioning and criticism of the categories and my understandings. This can be viewed as a factor that increases the reliability of the study. This factor is uttered by Friedman (2012) comments on this when he states that a detailed description and multiple examples of the phenomenon discussed enable others to "evaluate the robustness of the coding categories" (p. 194).

In my analysis I use a specific framework of CDA and SFL, inspired by Coffin and O'Halloran (2012), which will be explained in detail in the next subsection of this chapter. The presentation of the data material aims to give the reader a clear overview of the distribution of the different categories and where they can be found in the lyrics.

3.4 Analytical procedure

The abbreviations and markers used in the analysis of the lyrics are explained in Appendix 1. The rest of the appendices contain the full lyrics of the songs with analytical markers and schemes explaining the distribution of APPRAISAL categories in the texts. The lyrics are chronologically ordered, and each line of the songs' lyrics are numbered at the left side of the page.

The presentation and framework of the data material is borrowed from and inspired by Coffin and O'Halloran (2012). Since using the framework during the writing on my BA thesis (Trøen, 2020), I have made some minor adjustments to make the representations of the categories more suitable for realizations in song lyrics.

In the lyrics in the appendixes, I have marked the category of JUDGEMENT with single underlining, APPRECIATION with double underlining, and AFFECT with waved underlining. If the attitudes are modified or strengthened by GRADUATION, these are marked with bold letters. The markings of the different attitudes are furthermore followed by brackets that specify whether the attitude expressed is negative or positive. These brackets are also used to convey whether the attitude is implicit. If it is not marked as implicit, I consider the attitude to be explicit.

Words that indicate ENGAGEMENT are marked with cursive writing and followed by brackets which specify whether the ENGAGEMENT is realized through PROJECTION,

CONCESSION, or MODALITY. The engaged line that follows the word that indicates ENGAGEMENT is marked in blue. This colour is used to emphasize that the attitude expressed here originates from someone other than the main appraiser (protagonist) of the lyrics.

At the end of each song lyrics, I have included tables that contain information about the distribution and location of each APPRAISAL category realized in each text. The findings of each category in each song will be further illustrated and discussed in the Analysis chapter.

The realizations of the different categories can occur as entire clauses or just as noun phrases. When I include entire clauses, it is because they function as the expression of one attitude. For instance, in Dolly Parton's "Just Because I'm a Woman", the clause "He'll ruin her reputation" functions as a unit that belongs to the category JUDGEMENT. This is because the entire clause is an expression of a negative JUDGEMENT of the man's behaviour. While in "Wings Upon Your Horns" by Loretta Lynn, in the clause "He looks for an angel", I only mark the noun phrase "an angel" as the phrase itself is a positive JUDGEMENT of the ideal woman he is searching for.

4 Analysis and findings

This chapter will contain a diachronically ordered analysis of each individual song. The songs will be discussed with regards to the categories of APPRAISAL presented in the former chapter. Each song has its own section that contains subsections dealing with the AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION, and ENGAGEMENT that were prominent in the text – in that order.

4.1 “Just Because I’m a Woman” by Dolly Parton (1968)

4.1.1 ATTITUDE: AFFECT

AFFECT realized in the lyrics is used to express the man’s sadness and disappointment after being informed about the woman’s sexual history before she met him. This is for instance apparent in line 1: “I can see you’re disappointed by the way you look at me”. The negative AFFECT clearly illustrates how the virgin-portrayal is perceived as an ideal – especially through the male gaze in the lyrics. The projection of his perceptions will be further discussed under the section of ENGAGEMENT.

Negative AFFECT is also used to reinforce how women who have sex before marriage are associated with feelings of shame. This appears in line 11: “Just think of all the shame you might have brought somebody else.” Here, the protagonist suggests that the man might also have had sexual relations with a woman before her - and consequently put this previous lover in the same situation as the protagonist. Women who engage in sexual activity are therefore associated with the negative feeling of shame. The negative feelings connected to female sexual behaviour before marriage function as a reinforcement of the virgin ideal.

However, the woman also expresses negative AFFECT in responding to the man’s reaction to her sexual history. This is present in line 3 and 4: “And I’m sorry that I’m not the woman you thought I’d be”. If one considers this sentence in the overall context of the lyrics, which deal with men’s double standards regarding men’s and women’s sexual behaviour, one can read the negative AFFECT as a reaction to the man’s conservative perception of women’s sexuality. This attitude is also strengthened in line 9 and 10: “So when you look at me, don’t feel sorry for yourself”. This indicates that the woman is not as troubled with her sexual history/former relationships as with her current lover’s prejudice towards her. The negative AFFECT expressed towards the man’s disappointment can in other words be perceived as challenging the heteronormative perception of the woman as a shy and reticent virgin in romantic relationships.

4.1.2 ATTITUDE: JUDGEMENT

Negative JUDGEMENT is used to evaluate the woman’s own choices prior to her meeting the man she addresses in the song. This is for instance achieved by repeated references to the protagonist’s lovers as “mistakes” – which can be interpreted as a reinforcement of the virgin ideal that the protagonist has failed to follow. However, her “mistakes” are compared to the man’s previous sexual encounters in line 7: “My mistakes are no worse than yours, just because I’m a woman”. Here the protagonist makes use of GRADUATION in the phrase “no worse” to ease the negative JUDGEMENT of her sexual history by

comparing it to the man's previous sexual encounters. This can be perceived as resistance to the virgin-portrayal as a gendered ideal – as she claims that her former sexual encounters should not be considered any differently. Negative JUDGEMENT is in other words both realized as a reinforcement of the virgin portrayal, but also used to question the gendered aspect of sexual agency.

Negative JUDGEMENT is also extensively used to criticize men's behaviour when engaging in sexual intimacy when they have no intentions of marrying. This appears in line 21: "He'll just walk off and leave her". Here the protagonist expresses implicit negative JUDGEMENT of the man as being irresponsible and cynical when inviting a woman into bed with him – as she presumably believes the relationship will be long-term and result in marriage, in the true virgin spirit. This consequently paints a picture of the man as a cunning deceiver who takes advantage of a naïve woman.

The woman as a naïve victim with "pure intentions" such as thoughts of marriage is also realized through positive JUDGEMENT of her character, as in line 28: "I was just a victim of a man that let me down". The protagonist distances herself from an interest in sexual intimacy itself – she was lured into bed as she believed the relationship would result in lifelong monogamy after marriage. The JUDGEMENT is therefore used to emphasize the man as the active agent with sexual desire in contrast to the woman who solely seem to have been interested in a lifelong relationship. This reinforces the idealization of virgin-like values – and creates distance from the temptress, who is considered a sexual being. A similar tendency occurs in Lynn's song which will be investigated in the next section.

Positive JUDGEMENT is extensively used to evaluate the virgin in the lyrics, as in line 18: "Now a man will take a good girl ...". Here, the virgin is positively evaluated as a person with good morals – which can be claimed to reinforce the image of the virgin-role as an ideal. This positive JUDGEMENT of the virgin also appears in line 24: "While he looks for an angel...". Here, the biblical metaphor and attitudinal lexis "angel" strengthens the positive attitude towards the virgin portrayal in the lyrics. The semantic groove of positive evaluation in the lyrics consequently describes the virgin as the ultimate ideal for a woman.

4.1.3 ATTITUDE: APPRECIATION

I found no APPRECIATION in the lyrics, as the protagonist evaluates people and their behaviour and characteristics rather than things and concepts.

4.1.4 ENGAGEMENT

Even though the lyrics seem to reinforce virgin-like qualities as an ideal, the protagonist's use of ENGAGEMENT is used to counter these expectations towards her as a woman. This is realized through the protagonist's countering of the man's expectations, as is apparent in line 26 and 27: "Now I know that I'm no angel if that's what you thought you'd found". Here, the protagonist uses CONCESSION with the determiner "no" inserted to counter his expectations of her being an "angel", which as previously discussed meant the same as virgin. This is combined with PROJECTION in line 27 when the protagonist explicitly addresses what she believes to be the man's expectations through the verb "thought". In short, the woman uses CONCESSION to distance herself from the virgin-portrayal.

ENGAGEMENT is additionally used to question why this virgin ideal only pertains to women and their reputation and not men. This is apparent in lines 34 and 35: "No, my mistakes are no worse than yours just because I'm a woman." Here she counters the

belief that women who have sex before marriage are worse than men doing the same. This is done through CONCESSION through the convention “no” at the beginning of the sentence, and through the concessive determiner “no” before “worse”. By looking at the ENGAGEMENT in the lyrics one consequently finds resistance towards the gendered aspect of the virgin portrayal. Even though the lyrics seem to retain reticence and sexual celibacy before marriage as an ideal, the lyrics question why this only applies to women.

4.2 “Wings Upon Your Horns” by Loretta Lynn (1970)

4.2.1 Attitude: AFFECT

The AFFECT realized in the lyrics is positive and expresses how the protagonist claims to have fallen in love with the person she addresses through the song – the man who “hung her wings upon her horns.” This is also expressed through AFFECT in line 9: “there’s a little thing called love and that’s what changed me. From an innocent country girl to a woman of the world”. Here she uses GRADUATION to ironically understate the attitudinal lexis “love” which increases the force of the attitude. This indicates that the protagonist had strong feelings towards the man addressed in the lyrics.

The AFFECT also conveys how the woman associates sexual intimacy with love. This happens in line 1 where she describes how the addressee “made love to me”, a phrase which suggests that sexual intercourse is something she engages in when there are feelings involved. The act of engaging in sexual intimacy is in other words not painted as a purely physical need in the protagonist’s eyes – but rather an expression of love for the addressee. This resembles qualities closer to the virgin character than the temptress – even though the woman lost her virginity during the encounter she describes in the chorus of the songs. Like Parton’s “Just Because I’m a Woman”, the persona in Lynn’s song distances herself from being a purely sexual being, which might create associations to the temptress. How this relates the dichotomous divide of female sexuality will be discussed in RQ 3.

4.2.2 Attitude: JUDGEMENT

There is an extensive use of negative JUDGEMENT in the protagonist’s thoughts about herself after having lost her virginity to the addressee. This takes place in lines 7 and 8: “Don’t tell me that I’m no saint. I’m the first to know I ain’t”. Here the protagonist expresses a negative evaluation of her own character by referring to and distancing herself from the biblical image of a saint. This type of negative JUDGEMENT also occurs in the chorus in lines 15 and 21: “And turned me into a woman I can’t stand”. By studying the negative JUDGEMENT expressed by the protagonist of the song, one can clearly see how she negatively evaluates her own character after having lost her virginity.

This is in contrast to the way she uses positive JUDGEMENT towards the woman she was before her loss of innocence – which creates a positive evaluation of her character with virgin-like characteristics. This is realized in the song title and in lines 6, 12, 13, 18, 19, and 24 as the protagonist refers to “my wings” which can be read as an implicit positive JUDGEMENT of her old self. Wings are associated with angels, which are a common metaphor for a person who is kind and good. The destruction of her wings can therefore be read as meaning that she no longer has these positive characteristics. They disappeared the moment she let the man “hang her wings upon her horns”. The contrast between the woman she has become and the woman she was before is also accentuated

in lines 14 and 20 in the chorus: "And turned my halo into thorns". Here she implicitly praises her virgin-like characteristics by referring to her halo, also associated with saints and angels, implying a positive JUDGEMENT. The contrast created by positive JUDGEMENT of the woman as a virgin and the negative JUDGEMENT of the woman who has had sex is an essential part of the lyrics, as it is placed in the chorus and is emphasized by being repeated twice. However, the protagonist does not use negative JUDGEMENT solely to criticize her own character.

Negative JUDGEMENT is also used to evaluate the man's behaviour. This is realized by using religious imagery associated with the devil – which is again in sharp contrast to the saintly characteristics of the virgin. This is done in the song title and the chorus, which was also discussed in the previous paragraph: "You hung my wings upon your horns". By referring to the horns, traditionally associated with the devil, she creates a metaphor whereby the man is seen as evil and predatory. Negative JUDGEMENT of the man's behaviour and characteristics is also realized in the verses, as in line 3: "And after that I saw the devil in your eyes". Here the sentence contains GRADUATION as the protagonist uses the attitudinal lexis "devil" which increases the force of her negative attitude towards the man.

The extensive negative JUDGEMENT of the male categorizes him as the one who actively harmed the protagonist's reputation and feelings - which by contrast presents the woman as a passive and innocent victim. This tendency to present the male as the active pursuer and the woman as passive can also be found in the verbs in lines 1 and 15: "Before you first made love to me" and "You hung my wings upon your horns". In both sentences, the man is the agent while the woman is acted upon. The woman's passivity and fragility as these are presented in the lyrics in contrast to the man consequently link the protagonist with the virgin ideal.

4.2.3 Attitude: APPRECIATION

There is no APPRECIATION in the lyrics, as the protagonist mainly evaluates personal characteristics and behaviour rather than things and concepts.

4.2.4 ENGAGEMENT

Voices other than that of the protagonist herself are expressed through MODALITY and reflect social expectations of the woman's behaviour. In lines 7 and 8, the protagonist sings "I'm the first to know I ain't" (a saint) – a metaphor that makes use of the religious image, invoking a person who represents an ideal of Christian living. The protagonist makes use of modality through negation and consequently counters the social expectation of her behaving as a perfect Christian – which presumably involves how she should still be a virgin. By using MODALITY, more specifically negation, the protagonist counters the expectation of virginity – which illustrates how her character does not meet society's expectations. This both challenges and repeats the female ideal of virginity.

ENGAGEMENT through MODALITY also takes place in the chorus in lines 17 and 23: "... make me fall in love and then not take me." Like the former example, this represents the social expectation of marrying the woman after being romantically and sexually involved with her. This is countered by MODALITY through negation, which functions as a justification of the woman's choice – she thought the encounter would lead to marriage. In this manner the protagonist distances herself from the temptress/whore portrayal and tries to associate herself with characteristics of the virgin – namely a woman who saves herself for a man that she loves and sees herself marrying.

4.3 "RSVP" by Maren Morris (2019)

4.3.1 Attitude: APPRECIATION

The APPRECIATION realized in "RSVP" is mainly used to express positive a evaluation of sex, well-illustrated in line 8 by the phrase "more than your eyes on me". Here, the GRADUATION determiner "more" implies something better than just looking at her – touching. Positive APPRECIATION is also realized in line 24, "Watch the sweat fall like confetti", which appears to describe a scene of intense physical intimacy. The cheerful simile "like confetti" communicates positive associations towards sex. The imagery simultaneously creates associations to a wedding, as confetti is often used to throw over married couples at weddings. Weddings are normally considered a pleasurable event which consequently emphasizes the positive APPRECIATION. It is however unknown whether the protagonist intends to marry the addressee after having had sex with him.

The positive semantic groove continues to be realized through APPRECIATION in line 25 "Wake up in my big Cali king". Here, the protagonist positively evaluates the conditions the addressee will be met with if he chooses to accept her invitation and have sex. The sum of the positive APPRECIATION in the lyrics is used to present a positive image of the aftermath of sexual intercourse: he need not feel guilt or shame.

The positive APPRECIATION realized in the lyrics can therefore create associations with the temptress. The protagonist paints an appealing picture of them in the bedroom in the attempt to seduce him, and she paints a picture of herself as a sexy and playful creature. This part of the discourse can consequently be interpreted as a reinforcement of the temptress character. The APPRECIATION realized in the lyrics is mainly intended to tempt the addressee, but also to put him at ease.

4.3.2 Attitude: AFFECT

The APPRAISAL system does not indicate any AFFECT in the lyrics. Though it is possible that the expressions "love" and "loving" can be put into this category, I would argue that they belong in the category of JUDGEMENT, as it is the protagonist's way to refer to the addressee's sexual actions. It does not express the protagonist's feelings towards the addressee – but rather the positive evaluation of this specific person's actions. Phrases containing these words will therefore be discussed in the next paragraph on JUDGEMENT.

4.3.3 Attitude: JUDGEMENT

The JUDGEMENT in the lyrics is used to positively evaluate the addressee as a sexual being. This is expressed by using the attitudinal lexis "love" and "loving" in lines 11, 16, 27, and 32. The positively laded lexis consequently contributes to a positive JUDGEMENT of the addressee's qualities as a lover. However, it can also be read as a general APPRECIATION of sexual intimacy – as the protagonist consistently refers to sex as "loving". I chose to read it as a positive JUDGEMENT of the character's sexual repertoire because the attitudinal lexis always occurs after the personal determiner "your" which indicates that it is specifically the addressee's sexual attractiveness she describes. The positive evaluation of the addressee also occurs in line 51 when she addresses him as "baby" – a term of endearment. The positive JUDGEMENT expressed towards the addressee clearly conveys that this is someone the protagonist is sexually attracted to. It remains unknown whether the attraction is purely sexual or whether it also has an emotional element.

It is striking how the description of the addressee's sexual actions and desire in this song contrast with how they are described in Lynn's song. While Morris uses positive JUDGEMENT to describe the man's sexual desire and actions, Lynn expresses purely negative attitudes towards the man's libido and sexual behaviour, using strong metaphors that create images of the devil. The condemnation of male sexuality in Lynn's song consequently conveys the plight of the former virgin who was wronged by a man – and who is bitter about it. Morris' positive evaluation of the addressee's sexuality on the other hand creates associations to the temptress – who acknowledges and appreciates the addressee's sexual desire.

To seduce the addressee, the protagonist also uses positive JUDGEMENT to emphasize her own qualities. This takes place in line 15: "I'm a fun party". Here, she uses the metaphor "fun party" to describe her own character – presumably when engaging in sexual intimacy. Her use of imagery continues in line 20: "I'm a glass of good whiskey". By using adjectives that positively graduate metaphors that are already appealing, the protagonist aims to tempt the addressee to join her in the bedroom. This also resembles temptress-like behaviour. It is however debatable if the woman's strong sexual agency can be viewed as a challenge to heteronormative beliefs that posit the shy and reticent virgin as an ideal. This will be further discussed in the following chapter.

4.3.4 ENGAGEMENT

The protagonist uses ENGAGEMENT to convince the addressee to join her in the bedroom. This is especially prevalent in the first verse of the song – for instance in line 1: "Don't tell me that you got better plans". Here, the protagonist uses MODALITY through negation to express her wish for him to join her instead of doing something else. Something similar takes place in line 4: "Don't tell me that you're not a little curious". The protagonist expresses ENGAGEMENT through negation to wake the addressee's curiosity.

The actual voice of the addressee is however not represented in the lyrics, and this can be interpreted as strengthening the protagonist's agency. She actively pursues an intimate relationship and engages in conversation regardless of the addressee's confirmation and/or intentions. This can consequently be perceived as an image of a woman taking control of meeting her sexual needs – in contrast to the shy and reticent virgin who waits for a man's intervention. It is nevertheless uncertain whether the omission of the male's voice through acceptance in direct or reported speech is a conscious move by the protagonist to emphasize her agency.

4.4 "One Night Standards" by Ashley McBryde (2019)

4.4.1 Attitude: APPRECIATION

The APPRECIATION expressed in the lyrics is ambiguous and can be interpreted as both positive, negative, or simply neutral. This is prevalent in line 14 of the chorus, "There's no king bed covered in roses", where the protagonist uses negation to reject the idyllic image of a king bed covered in roses. On the face of it, this seems like a negative evaluation of the situation, as one would assume that the average person would enjoy a king bed covered in roses. However, the metaphor can also be read as something pompous and exaggerated – which in that manner can be perceived as a positive evaluation when the protagonist reports its absence in line 14.

A similar realization of APPRECIATION follows in line 15, "Just a room without a view", which initially and in isolation seems like a negative evaluation (because one usually prefers a nice view when booking a hotel room). The simplicity of the room is also accentuated through the adverb "just", which implies that the room could have been more extravagant. However, a room without a view can also be a metaphor for a short and abrupt relation with no future or "view" – which seems to be what the protagonist wants. The statement can additionally be interpreted as a simple and neutral, or even positive, evaluation of the situation.

Ambiguous APPRECIATION is also apparent in the song title and the last phrase of the chorus, first uttered in the noun phrase in line 18: "one night standards". This phrase is also ambiguous, which is why I chose to label it as -/+APPRECIATION, like the phrases discussed in the former paragraphs. It seems negative if one interprets one-night stands (and standards) as cheap and unappealing - but the lyrics present this as something the protagonist desires, as she only wishes to engage in a short-term physical relation. The phrase can consequently be labelled as a positive APPRECIATION or simply a neutral description of what she needs.

The APPRECIATION realized in the lyrics is in other words ambiguous, but it does describe something the protagonist desires – which as mentioned is a one-night stand with no strings attached. The APPRECIATION in the lyrics does therefore paint an untraditional picture of female sexuality. She distances herself both from the virgin and the temptress. The protagonist describes what she needs and does not try to tempt the addressee by using positive APPRECIATION of sexual intimacy, as in "RSVP". The APPRECIATION in other words does not reinforce stereotypical beliefs regarding female sexuality in McBryde's song.

4.4.2 Attitude: AFFECT

AFFECT is used to express negative emotions that the protagonist may feel if the addressee wishes to stick around after having had sex. This is expressed in line 6: "I don't wanna worry 'bout space you take up". That is to say, the protagonist wants the addressee to leave shortly afterwards, which underscores her pragmatic view of sexual intimacy. She views the one-night stand as a transaction where both parts receive something they need, but nothing more. This consequently distances the protagonist from heteronormative beliefs regarding female sexuality.

AFFECT is also realized as a negative emotion one risks experiencing if one becomes romantically involved with someone. This occurs in line 24: "Ain't nobody gonna hurt nobody". Here the protagonist uses negation to exclude the possibility of someone hurting the other – if they ensure a clean break and no emotional attachment. The suggestion is that she has gone through some heartbreaks in the past, as referred to in line 5, which presumably has led to the association of hurt with romantic relationships. The negative emotions expressed here and the unwillingness to consider anything other than a transactional view of sex also challenges the idealization of the virgin-character.

4.4.3 ATTITUDE: JUDGEMENT

Negative JUDGEMENT appears in line 23: "Lonely makes a heart ruthless". Here, the protagonist admits that she has had short term sexual affairs before, when acknowledging that her loneliness has made her "ruthless". This attitudinal lexis consequently represents a negative evaluation of her sexual history. Even though large parts of the APPRAISAL in the lyrics describe a liberal and even controversial enactment

of female sexuality, there are traces of moral restrictions in the song. Like the JUDGEMENT in “Wings Upon Your Horns” and “Just Because I’m a Woman, non-committal sex is also considered negative, or at least as morally questionable behaviour in “One Night Standards”. However, the protagonist counters the JUDGEMENT discussed in this paragraph in the following line (line 25), where she states “Ain’t nothing wrong with needing somebody”, which I have categorized as positive JUDGEMENT of her own behaviour. The protagonist simply arranges erotic satisfaction and has no further intentions. This line can also be discussed with regards to ENGAGEMENT, as the protagonist uses negation to counter the belief that casual sex is a morally bad thing for a woman. It is in other words clear that the protagonist feels the need to justify her choice. One can discuss whether this contributes to the reinforcement of virgin-like behaviour as an ideal, or the opposite. In the first line, the protagonist criticizes her way of living, whereas in the next line, she seeks to justify it by saying that everyone needs intimacy.

4.4.4 ENGAGEMENT

ENGAGEMENT is prevalent in the lyrics, as it is also regularly used to counter expected behaviour in romantic relationships. This is evident in the first verse, lines 1-2: “I ain’t gonna stay for the weekend, I ain’t gonna jump off the deep end”. Here, the protagonist uses MODALITY expressed through negation to counter conventional scenarios where she would want to sustain the relationship or react extremely to a break. The protagonist uses ENGAGEMENT to convey that she is not looking for a relationship or emotional attachment: all she wants is sexual fulfilment.

The fact that she needs so explicitly to counter these expectations signifies that the protagonist’s behaviour is considered “abnormal” for a woman. In other words, this can be viewed as a reinforcement of the virgin ideal. If the protagonist had expressed desires directly and without repeating and countering the traditional narratives of female sexuality, it would perhaps have expressed a stronger resistance to convention. As mentioned earlier, social concepts and structures are reinforced when they are uttered in language. The need to negate traditional expectations regarding female sexuality can in short be seen as reinforcing these beliefs.

5 Discussion of the research questions (RQs)

Main question: To what extent do some country music lyrics perpetuate or challenge the heteronormative concept of the virgin-temptress dichotomy?

5.1 Do some songs have clear examples of the virgin portrayal?

All the songs included in the analysis do to some extent contain traces of the virgin character - which indicates that the female country artists discussed feel the need to define their sexuality with reference to at least some qualities of the virgin ideal. This more broadly illustrates how gender ideology affects the way women express and possibly also enact their sexuality. Women's sexual behaviour realized through language in country music does in other words seem to be affected by gendered expectations of heteronormativity such as the character of the virgin.

"Just Because I'm a Woman"

The cultural ideal of female virginity is clearly expressed in "Just Because I'm a Woman". Women in the lyrics are characterised by virgin-like qualities such as devotion and commitment to one man - and they are presented as creatures who engage in sexual intimacy solely to find eternal love. Loss of virginity leads to a moral fall for the female protagonist - but not for the man. The virgin portrayal is in other words presented as gender specific. Women's sexual desire is not mentioned but seems to have been merged with the incentive to find love - which also resembles qualities associated with the virgin.

However, the lyrics challenge the gendered notion of the virgin character, asserting that they should remain as an ideal for the woman - but also for the man. The persona challenges the gendered aspect of the virgin ideal in the chorus of the song: "My mistakes are no worse than yours just because I'm a woman". Engaging in short-term sexual relations is still considered morally questionable, but the makes it clear that there should be no difference in the application of this norm for men and women in romantic relationships. The lyrics consequently reinforce the virgin ideal but challenge its gendered notion. This message may have been triggered by the sexual revolution of the 1960s when contraceptives gave women greater freedom of choice over reproduction.

"Wings Upon Your Horns"

The virgin ideal is also prominent in Lynn's song. Like the lyrics in "Just Because I'm a Woman", the protagonist describes herself as a woman who was ready to fully commit to marriage with the male addressee. The protagonist uses positive evaluations when describing the virgin she was before she lost her innocence and negative evaluation to refer to herself after. The positive APPRAISAL of the virgin character is for instance realized through metaphors that create angelic associations, like in Parton's song. This consequently reinforces the virgin as an ideal for women to aspire in romantic relationships.

Similarly to Parton's song, the virgin portrayal is also reinforced by the way women's pursuit for intimacy is merged with the aim to find love. The protagonist's sexual desire is not mentioned in the lyrics, and the woman's passivity is stressed as she states that that

"I let you hang my wings upon your horns." It does in other words seem like it was the man who took the initiative, whereas she merely "let him". Her passive character and non-expression of sexual desire is consequently an additional element that brings associations to the virgin.

Even though the virgin ideal is reinforced in the song, the lyrics still appear controversial as they challenge the gendered notion of the virgin character – which resembles the message put forward in Parton's song. This is achieved through the negative evaluation of the man's promiscuous behaviour and non-virgin-like qualities. The negative evaluation of his sexual escapades is realized through metaphors that create associations with the devil, which consequently creates a sharp contrast to the saintly virgin and the metaphors used to describe her. The virgin portrayal is in short prominent in the song, as it is promoted as an ideal – both for men and women.

"RSVP"

The protagonist in "RSVP" does not have the characteristics of the virgin ideal – at least not on the face of it. However, the woman seems to hold the addressee dearly, which can be interpreted as one quality that the virgin inherits. This is realized through positive evaluation of the addressee and attitudinal lexis such as "loving". In other words, she is physically intimate with someone she is fond of, perhaps even in love with. Her affection for the addressee can consequently be interpreted as a quality associated with the virgin type. But I will argue that Morris' lyrics create a more prominent picture of the temptress than the virgin – which will be further discussed with relation to RQ 2.

"One Night Standards"

As illustrated in the analysis, the persona in "One Night Standards" expresses a sexuality very distant from the virgin. However, by constantly using negation to deny expected behaviour - which is virgin-like – she also reinforces the portrayal of the virgin as the ideal. By countering the norm through negation, she continuously foregrounds this "standard" behaviour. The virgin portrayal is therefore implicitly present in the lyrics.

Even though the lyrics implicitly contain a portrayal of the virgin, the persona characterizes herself differently from both the virgin and the temptress. This can consequently be perceived as a challenge of the virgin-temptress dichotomy. This will be further discussed under RQ 3.

The idealization of the virgin is significantly more prominent in the older songs "Just Because I'm a Woman" and "Wings Upon Your Horns". This can however not be used as evidence of a diachronically weakened belief in the virgin ideal, because the songs in the analysis only represent a small amount of the recent country produced in the US. As mentioned in the literature review, there are also modern country songs that contain significant positive evaluations of the virgin, for instance "Holding Out for the One" by Tenille Townes (Trøen, 2020).

5.2 Do some songs have clear examples of the temptress portrayal?

The temptress portrayal is prominent in "RSVP" as the protagonist invites the addressee into her bedroom and is open about her sexual desire. Positive evaluation of herself and sexual intercourse is furthermore used to attract the addressee. This is reminiscent of Wells' (1958) portrayal of the temptress in the song "No Angel", who sits in the bar

looking good for the man who walks in. The persona in "RSVP" is thus a character whose aim to seduce the man links her to the temptress figure.

However, the traditional portrayal of the temptress is often through negative evaluation, but this is not the case in Morris' song. The persona solely uses positive evaluation of herself and her sexual behaviour. As illustrated in the literature review, this differs from the traditional portrayal of the temptress where her promiscuity is eventually gets punished and/or she is continually categorized as a "bad" character. The negative JUDGEMENT of the temptress is thus not fulfilled in Morris' lyrics. This can be perceived as constituting resistance against the traditional type of the temptress – which can be interpreted as an intentional move by the artist and co-writer herself. As mentioned in the literature review, Morris (2019) criticised the country music genre for restricting women to two roles, namely the dichotomy of the virginal character and the "wronged woman burning the house down" (bbc.com, 12th June 2019), and "RSVP" clearly expresses the artist's awareness of the gendered roles of female sexuality in country music.

The positive evaluation of her own promiscuity can be perceived as challenging towards the temptress role. The protagonist takes charge of her physical needs and actively pursues an intimate relation with the addressee. This does not mean that the protagonist is immoral. The traditional convention of the virgin as the good girl and the temptress as the bad girl is in other words abandoned in the lyrics of "RSVP".

I also want to argue that the temptress portrayal is implicitly present in "Just Because I'm a Woman" and "Wings Upon Your Horns". The personae in the lyrics distance themselves from and negatively evaluate the temptress type – which consequently can be interpreted as reinforcing the idea of the temptress as sinful and suspect. The positive APPRAISAL of the non-sexual virgin and the negative APPRAISAL of sexual desire, which is characteristic of the temptress, can consequently be read as expressing the protagonists' fear of being labelled as temptresses. By downplaying qualities associated with the temptress and ignoring their own physical desire, the personae in "Wings Upon Your Horns" and "Just Because I'm a Woman" clearly reflect the continuing force of the temptress image.

The fear of being labelled as a temptress/whore and the need to justify their actions by highlighting their virgin-like behaviour can in other words function to reinforce the polarized roles of female sexuality. Women hide their sexual desire in order to conform to the socially sanctioned good character, who has been conventionalised as the virgin. As discussed in the literature review, this was also apparent in the more recent country song "Holdin' Out For the One" by Tenille Townes (Trøen, 2020). The need to associate with the virgin and distance themselves from the temptress, illustrates how heteronormative beliefs such as the virgin-temptress dichotomy still mediate the way women describe their own sexuality in country music lyrics.

5.3 Do some songs have voices that do not resemble clear virgin or clear temptress portrayals, and can they be said to challenge the dichotomy? If so, how?

"One Night Standards" stands out in the analysis as a song that resembles neither a clear virgin nor a clear temptress type. The lyrics present a female persona who enacts her sexuality outside these roles. She solely engages in short-term physical relations to

gratify an erotic need. The protagonist furthermore conveys that she does not want any emotional bond with the addressee that object of her sexual desire. This is in clear contrast to the characteristics of the virgin whose sexuality is merged with the wish to find a loving relationship. The persona also differs from the temptress, whose intention is to seduce a man, as in "RSVP", and by making promises she does not intend to keep.

The way the protagonist distances herself from both the virgin and the temptress can consequently be perceived as challenging the dichotomous representation of female sexuality. It reflects the fact that there are women who seek sexual satisfaction outside the frames of a monogamous relationship - without associating themselves with a temptress or a whore. In this manner, the lyrics can be seen as challenging the virgin-temptress dichotomy. However, as mentioned previously, the protagonist in "One Night Standards" uses ENGAGEMENT to counter the virgin-portrayal. The song still carries traces of the archaic role of the virgin. I still want to argue that the song challenges the dichotomy - as the protagonist distances herself from both roles. This is different from the other songs in the analysis, where the personae exhibit strong characteristics of either the temptress or the virgin.

5.4 To what extent/in what ways can the FCDA and SFL analytical framework help us capture these portrayals and these differences?

CDA is a tool that enables us to investigate the patriarchal structures that come into play in country music lyrics. Combined with a feministic perspective, it makes gender more visible as a cultural construct. By additionally using SFL to shed light on these culturally constructed phenomena, one is able to detect concrete linguistics elements which reflect how gendered notions of sexuality permeate country lyrics.

Based on SFL, and more specifically the system of APPRAISAL, I have illustrated how attitudes in the lyrics are used to evaluate female (and male) behaviour in romantic relationships. In Parton's and Lynn's songs, for instance, it is significant how virgin-like behaviour is positively evaluated, while temptress-like actions are negatively evaluated. This has helped us understand that virgin-like behaviour is more socially acceptable for women than temptress-like behaviour - which as mentioned can be interpreted as a reinforcement of the virgin-temptress dichotomy. Temptress-like behaviour is however not negatively evaluated in the more recent country song "RSVP". In this manner, the system of APPRAISAL lets us know that there seems to be a more liberal perception of female sexuality in the Morris-song from 2019, than in Lynn's and Parton's song from the late 60s/70. SFL can consequently yield a greater understanding of which roles and behaviours are considered good or bad at a specific time and context.

The representation of voices through ENGAGEMENT in SFL has moreover helped us understand which social norms the protagonists in the lyrics refer to if they are to counter some expectations. This was for instance prominent in "One Night Standards" where the protagonist used negation to resist the conventional expectations of pursuing a long-term loving relationship. This consequently signifies a powerful rejection of the "virgin-like" demand of life-long devotion to one man. The countering of norms through ENGAGEMENT illustrates how the lyrics question traditional portrayals of female sexuality.

However, the traditional portrayal is also implicitly repeated through ENGAGEMENT, which can be interpreted as reinforcing the virgin as a social norm - even though the protagonist intends the opposite. Elements within SFL can in other words be used to illustrate this paradoxical tendency in "One Night Standards". This enables us to see how heteronormative portrayals of female sexuality still impact on the way women view their own sexuality - even though the lyrics on the face of it appear to challenge convention. I therefore argue that SFL is a powerful tool for bringing implicit attitudes to the surface. It gives a more insight into how the lyrics convey traditional portrayals of the virgin and the temptress, both explicitly and implicitly.

Nevertheless, the song lyrics in the analysis often contain metaphors and descriptions that can be considered ambiguous. This complicates the process of placing them within the rigid system of APPRAISAL in SFL. In order to compensate for this, I make explicit how I have interpreted the metaphors and ambiguous descriptions - and why I have placed them in the specific SFL categories. As this is qualitative studies based upon subjective interpretations, I consider it important to be open and offer the reader detailed reports of my interpretations and how I have handled the data. SFL offers an established metalanguage which enables me to present these interpretations and draw the reader's attention to ambiguities and areas of difficulty.

The complexity of the SFL-system has been accused of being unnecessary for CDA practitioners who wish to investigate social aspects and inequalities. This is the claim of linguist Van Dijk (2008) who argues that SFL consists of "too much linguistic (lexicosyntactic) sentence grammar" (p. 29-30). According to this view, the use of SFL is considered excessive if one wishes to emphasize sociological contexts such as power relations and gross inequalities. Bloor and Bloor (2018) acknowledge that SFL may not be the most suitable method for all CDA research - however, they argue that power structures visible in discourse moreover mirror social aspects and inequalities (p. 154). Another argument that can be used against Van Dijk's statement, is that language can also be viewed as "an active agent construing reality" (Christie, 2002, p. 16). Our way of perceiving reality is in other words affected by language and its realizations. The sentence grammar that is investigated through SFL can consequently determine or form our images of the world - and furthermore impact on the way we behave and treat certain social categories.

SFL has also been criticized for not considering the speaker's mental model. Intentions and thoughts can sometimes differ from their expression in language (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 58-61). SFL can consequently be viewed as consisting of subjective interpretations of the speaker's attitudes - which constantly differ from researcher to researcher. Subjective interpretation is especially apparent in SFL analysis of song lyrics, as the texts often contain implicit language such as imagery. A factor that can be viewed as compensating for or rectifying the subjective interpretations, is that the established framework makes the researcher's interpretations clear and assessable to the reader. Precise metalanguage and categories therefore facilitate discussion and criticism of interpretations in studies performed with SFL, as briefly discussed in this chapter at a previous point.

Researchers working within the CDA approach have been criticized for disregarding a discourse of resistance. This is the view of Martin (1999) who suggests that the one-sided focus on the oppressing discourse in CDA fails to view progressive discourse that can be employed constructively to inspire movement towards social change (p. 52). To facilitate social change, as I emphasized is one of the goals of FCDA, one must try to

consider the ways that oppressed groups use discourse to resist. In this analysis, I have decided to use country songs performed and written by women to discover traces of resistance towards patriarchal structures such as heteronormativity. However, as the country music tradition is a genre with roots from the conservative South - and distributed through a male-dominated industry heavily influenced by commercial interests - it can simultaneously reinforce heteronormative beliefs. By employing FCDA and SFL on country music lyrics and its female singer-songwriters, I am better able to view material that contains both resistance and reinforcement of the prevailing beliefs about female sexuality.

A common problem articulated within the FCDA tradition, is the concern to view the cultural construct of gender in isolation (Wodak, 2008, p. 193). Wodak (2008) emphasizes that FCDA researchers need to consider gender together with additional social categories such as for instance socioeconomic status and ethnicity. In this study, it is therefore important to acknowledge that women performing American country music are typically white, heterosexual, Western, and often economically privileged (if they are successful, as the women in my analysis are). Their way of portraying gendered expectations towards female sexuality consequently needs to be considered along with these lines of multiple identity markers. Female sexuality and its expressions are fluid and will differ in other contexts and with other actors. In other words, one cannot claim the female sexuality - interpreted and presented in this analysis - to be representative. We do however know that a large group of people has been exposed to and welcomed the songs discussed, which indicates that the portrayals of female sexuality conveyed in the lyrics have influenced large parts of the American population.

6 Conclusion

So, to what extent do some country music lyrics perpetuate or challenge the heteronormative concept of the virgin-temptress dichotomy?

I want to argue that all four songs challenge certain aspects of both the virgin and the temptress portrayals. This is because the lyrics either explicitly question certain characteristics of one of the conventional characteristics, or implicitly leave out or add certain qualities that are unusual among the traditional portrayals of female sexuality.

"Just Because I'm a Woman" and "Wings Upon Your Horns" for instance reinforce the virgin as an ideal but challenge the gendered notion of the character. This is done by using negative evaluation when describing the man and his actions, and positive evaluation when presenting the woman with virgin-like values and behaviour. This contrast in the two songs is moreover accentuated by attitudinal lexis through metaphors. Metaphors with angelic associations are used to describe the virgin and metaphors suggesting of the devil are used to define the man. In Parton's song it is even stated explicitly that "My mistakes are no worse than yours, just because I'm a woman". The questioning of the gendered notion of the virgin character could have been triggered by the historical context of the songs, as the sexual revolution and better contraceptives made it easier for women to void the risk of pregnancy.

Morris' "RSVP" presents a persona that appears similar to the temptress – but she does not negatively evaluate herself or her sexual desire, as is common within the virgin-temptress dichotomy. The temptress is usually described as evil and cynical, set on deceiving the poor man that she seduces. On the other hand, the persona in "RSVP" only uses positive evaluation to describe herself, her sexual desire, and having sex. Even though the lyrics reinforce the temptress character, they also challenge the aspect of categorising the temptress as a bad character. Some would perhaps even argue that this trait distances the persona from the temptress character entirely.

Compared to the other songs in the analysis, "One Night Standards" contains the expressions that most strongly challenge both the virgin character and the temptress character. The persona engages in casual sex in order to fill her physical (or emotional) needs. In this manner, she distances herself from the reticent and devoted virgin. She also distances herself from the temptress, as she does not try to seduce the addressee or break his heart. McBryde's song presents a woman who acts outside the boundaries of the conventional categories for women in intimate relations. The lyrics consequently challenge the virgin-temptress dichotomy.

However, even though all four songs contain at least some resistance towards one or both portrayals, they still contain references to either the virgin or the temptress when describing sexual behaviour. This is realized through the countering of expected heteronormative behaviour or the distancing from certain characteristics that are associated with the temptress. Even though the traditional virgin or temptress portrayal are countered, they are still invoked as reference points. This is prevalent in "One Night Standards", where the protagonist consistently uses ENGAGEMENT and negation to counter the expected virgin-like behaviour after sex, namely, to pursue a long-term romantic relationship with the lucky one.

As I illustrated in the analysis, the dichotomy is more prominent in the songs released in the previous century, than the two produced in 2019. This could be interpreted as an indication that the dichotomy is losing its grip in the country music tradition. However, the data material is too small to make this kind of conclusion. As mentioned in the literature review, there are also more recent examples of country music that carry strong traces of the virgin-temptress dichotomy, such as the 2020 single "Holding Out for the One" by Tenille Townes (Trøen, 2020).

By using FCDA and SFL I have illustrated how gender ideology is realized in country music lyrics written and released by American female country artists in the late 1960s, the beginning of the 70s, and today. That the conventionalized roles of either the temptress or the virgin is still used to describe women's sexual behaviour, illustrates how deeply rooted the virgin-temptress dichotomy is in the country music tradition. This furthermore indicates that culturally contingent norms - such as the virgin-temptress dichotomy discussed in this paper - affect the way women view and enact their sexuality. Even though some songs seem to challenge certain aspects of the dichotomy, the virgin and the temptress remain reference points in country music when discussing women's sexual behaviour. All four songs can consequently, at least to some extent, be considered to reinforce the virgin-temptress dichotomy.

As mentioned previously, this analysis is a qualitative study based on subjective interpretations. Further research could have aimed to gain more representative data, for instance by adding a quantitative aspect with methods containing corpora. This could have given richer insights into how gendered notions have developed over time. The reliability of the study could additionally have been improved by using more raters of the different APPRAISAL categories. Further research should also focus on the way non-heterosexuals portray their sexuality and to what extent these can be claimed to be affected by heteronormative portrayals. One could also have considered how the reinforcement of heteronormative beliefs can be viewed as a side effect of neoliberalist forces where demand and supply determine the type of country lyrics that are being produced and become commercially successful. Another suggestion is to study lyrics from different music genres and investigate differences with regards to gendered expectations among these.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Markers and abbreviations in the analysis

Appendix 2: "Just Because I'm a Woman" by Dolly Parton (1968)

Appendix 3: "Wings Upon Your Horns" by Loretta Lynn (1970)

Appendix 4: "RSVP" by Maren Morris (2019)

Appendix 5: "One Night Standards" by Ashley McBryde (2019)

Appendix 6: Relevance to the teaching profession

Appendix 1: Markers and abbreviations in the analysis

Markers and its categories:

Single underlining = JUDGEMENT

Double underlining = APPRECIATION

Bold = GRADUATION

Waved underlining = AFFECT

Cursive = word that introduces ENGAGEMENT

Blue marker = engaged voice other than the protagonist

Abbreviations:

JUD. = JUDGEMENT

APP. = APPRECIATION

AFF. = AFFECT

ENG. = ENGAGEMENT

MOD. = MODALITY

PRO = PROJECTION

CONC = CONCESSION

+ve = positive

-ve = negative

-ve/+ve = ambiguous

Appendix 2: "Just Because I'm a Woman" by Dolly Parton (1968)

- 1 I can see you're disappointed (-ve AFF.)
2 By the way you look (ENG. through Projection) at me (-ve JUD.)
3 And I'm sorry (-ve AFF.) that I'm *not* (ENG. through MOD.)
4 The woman you thought (ENG. through Projection) I'd be
5 Yes, I've made my mistakes (-ve JUD.)
6 But (ENG. through CONC.) listen and understand
7 My mistakes (-ve JUD.) are no worse than yours (+ve JUD.)
8 Just because I'm a woman
- 9 So when you look at me
10 Don't (ENG. through MOD.) feel sorry for yourself (-ve AFF.)
11 Just think of all the shame (-ve AFF.)
12 You might have (ENG. through MOD.) brought somebody else (-ve JUD.)
- 13 Just let me tell you this
14 Then we'll (ENG. through MOD.) both know (ENG. through Projection) where we
15 stand
16 My mistakes (-ve JUD.) are no worse than yours (+ve JUD.)
17 Just because I'm a woman
- 18 Now a man *will* (ENG. through MOD.) take a good girl (+ve JUD.)
19 And he'll (ENG. through MOD.) ruin her reputation (-ve JUD.)
20 But (ENG. through CONC.) when he wants (ENG. through Projection) to marry
21 Well, that's a different situation
- 22 He'll (ENG. through MOD.) just walk off and leave her (-ve implicit JUD.)
23 To do the best she can (+ve implicit JUD.)
24 While he looks (ENG. through PRO.) for an angel (+ve JUD.)
25 To wear his wedding band
- 26 Now I know that I'm no (ENG. through MOD.) angel (-ve implicit JUD.)
27 If that's what you *thought* (ENG. through PRO.) you'd found
28 I was just the victim (+ve implicit JUD.) of
29 A man that let me down (-ve JUD.)
- 30 Yes, I've made my mistakes (-ve JUD.)
31 But (ENG. through CONC.) listen and understand
32 My mistakes (-ve JUD.) are no worse than yours (+ve JUD.)
33 Just because I'm a woman
- 34 No (ENG. through MOD.), my mistakes (-ve JUD.) are no worse than yours
(+ve JUD.)
35 Just because I'm a woman

Attitudes expressed in the lyrics:

"Just Because I'm a Woman"			
Category	Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
AFFECT	AFF. -ve	1, 3, 10, 11	4
	AFF. +ve	-	-
JUDGEMENT	JUD. -ve	2, 5, 7, 15, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29, 30, 32, 34	11
	JUD. + ve	7, 15, 17, 22, 27, 31, 33	8
APPRECIATION	APP. -ve	-	-
	APP. +ve	-	-

Voices other than the protagonist's expressed through ENGAGEMENT:

"Just Because I'm a Woman"		
Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
PROJECTION	2, 4, 14, 24, 27	5
CONCESSION	6, 20, 31, 34	4
MODALITY	3, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 22, 26, 34	9

Appendix 3: "Wings Upon Your Horns" by Loretta Lynn (1970)

- 1 Before you first made **love** (+ve AFF.) to me
- 2 You *called* (ENG. through PRO.) **me, your wife-to-be** (+ve JUD.)
- 3 And after that, I saw **the devil in your eyes** (-ve implicit JUD.)
- 4 With your sweet smooth talkin' ways (-ve/+ve implicit JUD.)
- 5 You turned a flame into a blaze
- 6 The night I let you hang my wings (+ve implicit JUD.) upon your horns (-ve implicit JUD.)

- 7 *Don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **tell me that I'm no saint** (-ve JUD.)
- 8 I'm the first to know I *ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) (-ve JUD.)
- 9 There's a **little** thing called **love** (+ve AFF.)
- 10 And that's what changed me
- 11 From an innocent country girl (+ve implicit JUD.) to a woman of the world (-ve/+ve implicit JUD.)
- 12 The night I let you hang my wings (+ve implicit JUD.) upon your horns (-ve implicit JUD.)

- 13 You hung my wings (+ve implicit JUD.) upon your horns (-ve implicit JUD.)
- 14 And turned my halo (+ve implicit JUD.) **into thorns** (-ve implicit JUD.)
- 15 And turned me into a woman I can't stand (-ve JUD.)
- 16 You're the first to ever make me
- 17 Fall in **love** (+ve AFF) and then *not* (ENG. through MOD.) **take me**
- 18 The night I let you hang my wings (+ve implicit JUD.) upon your horns (-ve implicit JUD.)

- 19 You hung my wings (+ve implicit JUD.) upon your horns (-ve implicit JUD.)
- 20 And turned my halo (+ve implicit JUD.) **into thorns** (-ve implicit JUD.)
- 21 And turned me into a woman I can't stand (-ve JUD.)
- 22 You're the first to ever make me
- 23 Fall in **love** (+ve AFF.) and then *not* (ENG. through MOD.) **take me**
- 24 The night I let you hang my wings (+ve implicit JUD.) upon your horns (-ve implicit JUD.)

Attitudes expressed in the lyrics:

"Wings Upon Your Horns"			
Category	Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
AFFECT	AFF. -ve	-	-
	AFF. +ve	1, 9	2
JUDGEMENT	JUD. -ve	3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24	15
	JUD. +ve	2, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 24	12
	JUD. +ve/-ve	4	1
APPRECIATION	APP. -ve	-	-
	APP. +ve	-	-

Voices other than the protagonist's uttered through ENGAGEMENT:

"Wings Upon Your Horns"		
Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
PROJECTION	2	1
CONCESSION	-	-
MODALITY	7, 8, 17, 23	4

Appendix 4: "RSVP" by Maren Morris (2019)

- 1 *Don't* (ENG. through MOD.) tell me (ENG. through PRO.) that you got better
2 plans (+ve APP.)
3 For those velvet hands (+ve JUD.), they're in demand (+ve JUD.)
4 *Don't* (ENG. through MOD.) tell me (ENG. through PRO) that you're not (ENG.
5 through MOD,) a little curious (+ve JUD.)
6 *Don't* (ENG. through MOD.) be so serious (-ve JUD), *it can be* (ENG. through
7 MOD.) only us (+ve implicit APP.)
- 8 *If* (ENG. through MOD.) you want more than your eyes on me, yeah (+ve
9 APP.)
10 You can let me know privately
- 10 RSVP
11 Bring your love (+ve JUD.) to me, yeah
12 It's an open invitation to an all-night situation
13 If I'm where you wanna be
14 RSVP
15 I'm a fun party, yeah (+ve JUD.)
16 All you gotta bring, your loving (+ve JUD.)
17 'Cause *I ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) wearing nothing (+ve implicit APP.)
18 Nothing you can't take off me
19 RSVP
- 20 I'm a glass of good whiskey (+ve JUD.) with your name on it
21 Looking for your lips and your fingerprints
22 This floor is waiting for my black dress to fall
23 Somewhere in the hall, so don't take too long
- 24 Watch the sweat fall like confetti, yeah (+ve implicit APP.)
25 Wake up in my big Cali king (+ve APP.)
- 26 RSVP
27 Bring your love (+ve JUD.) to me, yeah
28 It's an open invitation to an all-night situation
29 If I'm where you wanna be
30 RSVP
31 I'm a fun party, yeah (+ve JUD.)
32 All you gotta bring, your loving (+ve JUD.)
33 'Cause *I ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) wearing nothing (+ve implicit APP.)
34 Nothing you can't take off me
35 RSVP
- 36 Répondez s'il vous plait, baby, baby (+ve JUD.)
37 You know the time and place, baby, baby (+ve. JUD)
38 Répondez s'il vous plait, baby, baby (+ve JUD.)
39 So come on, don't be late
- 40 RSVP
41 Bring your love (+ve JUD.) to me, yeah
42 It's an open invitation to an all-night situation

- 43 If I'm where you wanna be
 44 RSVP
 45 I'm a fun party, yeah (+ve JUD.)
 46 All you gots to bring, your loving (+ve JUD.)
 47 'Cause *I ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) wearing nothing (+ve implicit APP.)
 48 Nothing you can't take off me
 49 RSVP
 50 RSVP
 51 So come on, don't be late, baby, baby (+ve JUD.)

Attitudes expressed in the lyrics:

"RSVP"			
Category	Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
AFFECT	AFF. -ve	-	-
	AFF. +ve	-	-
JUDGEMENT	JUD. -ve	6	1
	JUD. + ve	3, 5, 11, 15, 16, 20, 27, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 41, 45, 46, 51	17
APPRECIATION	APP. -ve	-	-
	APP. +ve	2, 7, 8, 17, 24, 25, 33, 47	8

Voices other than the protagonist's uttered through ENGAGEMENT:

"RSVP"		
Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
PROJECTION	1, 4	2
CONCESSION	-	-
MODALITY	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 33, 47	9

Appendix 5: "One Night Standards" by Ashley McBryde (2019)

- 1 I *ain't gonna* (ENG. through MOD.) **stay for the weekend**
2 I *ain't gonna* (ENG. through MOD.) **jump off the deep end**
3 I *ain't gonna* (ENG. through MOD.) **ask where your ring is**
4 Thing is, we all got secrets
- 5 You *don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **wanna** (ENG. through PRO) **hear about my last**
6 **break up**
7 I *don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **wanna worry** (-ve AFF.) **'bout space you take up**
8 I *don't* (ENG. through *even* (ENG. through CONC.) **care** (-ve/+ve AFF.) **if you're**
9 **here when I wake up**
- 10 It's just a room key
11 You *ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) **gotta lie** (ENG. through PRO.) **to me**
12 *Can't* (ENG. through MOD.) **you just use me like I'm using you?** (-ve implicit JUD.)
13 How it goes is, bar closes
14 *There's no* (ENG. through MOD.) **king bed covered in roses** (-ve/+ve APP.)
15 Just a room without a view (-ve/+ve APP.)
- 16 I *don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **want a number, you ain't gonna** (ENG. through
17 MOD.) **answer**
18 Let's just stick to the one night standards (-ve/+ve APP.)
- 19 Well, I *ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) **Cinderella** (-ve JUD.), **but** (ENG. through CONC.)
20 **who is?**
21 Call me what you want if the shoe fits
22 I *ain't gonna* (ENG. through MOD.) **say I never do this**, 'cause **truth** is
23 Lonely (-ve AFF) makes a heart **ruthless** (-ve implicit JUD.)
- 24 *Ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) **nobody gonna hurt** (-ve) **nobody**
25 *Ain't* (ENG. through MOD.) **nothing wrong with needing somebody** (+ve JUD.)
26 You can leave all that
27 Down in the lobby
- 28 It's just a room key
29 You *ain't gotta* (ENG. through MOD.) **lie** (ENG. through PRO.) **to me**
30 *Can't* (ENG. through MOD.) **you just use me like I'm using you?**
31 How it goes is, bar closes
32 *There's no* (ENG. through MOD.) **king bed covered in roses** (-ve/+ve APP.)
33 Just a room without a view (-ve/+ve APP.)
- 34 No, I *don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **want a number**, you *ain't gonna* (ENG. through
35 MOD.) **answer**
36 Let's just stick to the one night standards (-ve/+ve APP.)
- 37 *But* (ENG. through CONC.) **how it goes is, bar closes**
38 *There's no* (ENG. through MOD.) **king bed covered in roses** (-ve/+ve APP.)
39 Just a room without a view (-ve/+ve APP.)
- 40 No, I *don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **give a damn** (-ve/+ve AFF.) **about the morning**
41 **after**
42 Bottles on the floor, *don't* (ENG. through MOD.) **even** (ENG. through CONC.)
43 **matter**

- 44 I *don't want* (ENG. through MOD.) **a number, you ain't gonna** (ENG. through
 45 MOD.) **answer**
 46 Let's just stick to the one night standards (-ve/+ve APP.)
 47 The one night standards (-ve/+ve APP.)
 48 The one night standards (-ve/+ve APP.)

Attitudes expressed in the lyrics:

"One Night Standards"			
Category	Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
AFFECT	AFF. -ve	7, 23	2
	AFF. -ve/+ve	8, 40	2
	AFF. +ve	-	-
JUDGEMENT	JUD. -ve	12, 19, 23	3
	JUD. + ve	25	1
APPRECIATION	APP. -ve	-	-
	APP. -ve/+ve	14, 15, 18, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39, 46, 47, 48	11
	APP. +ve	-	-

Voices other than the protagonist's uttered through ENGAGEMENT:

"One Night Standards"		
Subcategory	Appears in line:	Frequency of occurrence:
PROJECTION	5, 11, 29	3
CONCESSION	8, 19, 37, 42	4
MODALITY	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45	24

Appendix 6: Relevance to the teaching profession

When working with my thesis, I have used SFL and FCDA to critically examine expressions of female sexuality - which is relevant with regards to the core value of "Critical thinking and ethical awareness" in LK20:

the teaching and training shall give the pupils understanding of critical and scientific thinking. Critical and scientific thinking means applying reason in an inquisitive and systematic way when working with specific practical challenges, phenomena, expressions and forms of knowledge" (Utdanningsdirektoratet, n.d.).

By applying SFL and FCDA, I have gained insight into the process of using established frameworks to systematically present a critical assessment of stereotypical expressions of women's sexuality in the American country genre. The extensive use of critical thinking and application of scientific frameworks has consequently given me valuable experiences that will help me find other relevant materials in the future for encouraging critical thinking among my students.

Moreover, the work with country music lyrics has influenced my understanding of cultural assumptions as these are realized in creative texts, presenting American values and thoughts about women's romantic relationships and sexuality. This is relevant with regards to the core element of the English subject in the curricula, "Working with texts", which is described thus: "[...] develop the pupils' knowledge and experience of linguistic and cultural diversity, as well as their insight into ways of living, ways of thinking" (Utdanningsdirektoratet, n.d.). My thesis has shed light on American cultural expressions in lyrics, which resembles the core element of working with texts in the English.

