

Disney Princesses and the Diachronic Change of Culturally Gendered Language

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This study explored how the Disney princesses in *Snow White* (1937), *The Little Mermaid* (1989), and *Frozen* (2013) use gendered language and portray gender roles. It draws on Robin Lakoff (1975) and uses ratios and quantified lexical features to examine diachronic developments in gender representations, relationships, and the language used by the princesses. In this paper, I tentatively suggest methods of applying the findings to second language pedagogy, particularly in composition exercises.

この研究では、スノーホワイト(1937)、リトル・マーメイド(1989)、アナと雪の女王(2013)など、ディズニーのお姫様がジェンダー言語を使用し、男女の性別による役割を描く方法を、調査した。本論文は、ロビン・レイコフ(1975)の理論を活用し、比率や数値化された語彙特性を使用し、ジェンダー表現、人間関係、お姫様が使う言葉の通時的発展(変化)を検討する。この調査では、暫定的に、第二言語教育、特に作文演習へ、調査結果を適用する方法を提案する。

LANGUAGE BOTH shapes and is shaped by societal views, which are constantly shifting (Krauss & Chiu, 1998). Similarly, the representation of gender and gender roles is changing. *Diachronic change* is the theory that language and culture change over a period of time. According to this theory, culturally gendered language and the representation of gender have diachronically changed over the 20th and 21st centuries. For this investigation I examined diachronic changes in culturally gendered linguistic features and the representation of gender roles as embodied by Disney princesses, namely in *Snow White* (Disney & Hand, 1937), *The Little Mermaid* (Ashman & Musker, 1989), and *Frozen* (Lasseter, 2013). I also suggest how knowledge of these developments can be applied to pedagogic practises. These films were selected because they cover a large time scale in which diachronic changes can be examined, and the differences they exhibit may influence the selection of films in a classroom environment.

In order to appeal to a wide target audience, The Walt Disney Company uses language that is representative of societal views at the time of production. Radical representations of gender, alternative lifestyles, and so forth will likely generate a lower profit than conventional representations, due to the need to appeal to a global audience. Forbes reported that The Walt Disney Company is the world's 14th most valuable brand, with a worldwide reach (World's Most Valuable, 2014). Within this reach, many conservative people will likely scrutinize the language used and the representation of gender. Hence, in order to avoid negative backlash, The Walt Disney Company must chose language and representations appropriate for all audiences.

JALT2014 CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS



When looking for genre models and examples of oral language, many L2 learners may turn to these films, as the films have global dominance (Harmer, 2007). In order to determine the extent to which the language in the selected films is culturally gendered, I will seek to answer three questions while also touching upon how these findings may be applied to second language pedagogy, and in particular second language compositions. These questions are:

1. Does the language of early Disney princesses demonstrate more features of women's language than the language of modern princesses?
2. Have Disney films shown women to be objectified, and if so, has this diachronically changed?
3. Finally, how are women and their cross-gender relationships represented?

Literature Review

Lakoff (1975) argued that, in comparison to men, women use more empty adjectives, which are adjectives that carry little semantic meaning, as well as more tag questions and indirect polite forms. Moreover, she noted how women are frequently objectified. This notion in relation to Disney princesses was highlighted by Miao (cited in Hedenmalm, 2012, p. 3), who stated that *The Little Mermaid* conveys a message that young girls should “shut up and be beautiful.” This is highlighted by the fact that the princess hardly speaks at all throughout the film.

Expanding on Lakoff's ideas, additional research was conducted by Holmes (cited in Montgomery, 2008), who investigated the use and categorisation of tag questions and concluded that women tend to use more facilitating tag questions in comparison to men, who used more speaker-oriented tag questions. However, as Montgomery (2008) acknowledged, identification and classification of some tag questions can be subjective, and classification can rely on contextual usage.

Hedenmalm (2012) considered the aforementioned features in an observation of culturally gendered language in selected Disney films. The findings suggested that some Disney films demonstrated more culturally gendered language features than others and showed how various elements of some Disney films demonstrate both language to objectify women and women resisting objectification. However, Hedenmalm's research only analysed four Disney films, namely *Aladdin*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Mulan*, and *The Princess and the Frog*. This paper is an attempt to answer Hedenmalm's call for further research.

Each of the researchers mentioned above worked on the assumption that gender is a binary concept. That is, there are only males and females, with no other gender identities. However, others suggest that gender is a spectrum (Killermann, 2013). Although many propose that gender is not a binary, it is represented as such in Disney films (May, 2011). This hetero-cisnormative representation, that is, a representation that assumes all characters are heterosexual and cisgendered (i.e., that their gender matches their sex), may be due to simplification of the story for a young audience, as well as a wish to avoid infringing upon sensitive political and religious views. The Walt Disney Company must cater to global audiences and thus must consider any potential backlash from creating characters that do not conform to hetero-cisnormative views. Hence, my research upholds a hetero-cisnormative analysis with the aim of developing on the research by Hedenmalm (2012) and applying the findings to second language pedagogy.

Methodology

This study was restricted to thematically linked scenes from three publically available films, *Snow White* (1937), *The Little Mermaid* (1989), and *Frozen* (2013). Apart from representing a sample of language over a long period of time, all films are still distributed globally on a large scale, so the films may also be attractive to L2 teachers as genre models.

Three scenes from each of the films were transcribed (see Appendix G for the conventions used): the *meet cute* scene, in which the lovers meet; the *lovers' kiss* scene, in which the lovers share their first kiss; and the *princess's song*, in which the princess sings as a narrative device with a secondary focus on her characterization (Chow, 2010; Basham, 2011). Lakoff's (1975) features were identified within the transcripts before being quantified and then the numbers were compared. The meet cute and lovers' kiss scenes were separated from the princess's song because the first two scenes demonstrate cross-gender interaction, whereas the songs do not. The songs also contain more language than the meet cute and lovers' kiss scenes. Therefore, the separation of these scenes ensures that the data is not skewed, as the princesses' songs may demonstrate more features of women's language, due to there being more words in the songs than in the other scenes. The data from all three films were placed into two tables, one for the meet cute and lovers' kiss scenes and the other for the princess's songs. These tables will be referred to throughout the paper.

Due to the different number of words in each princess's song, ratios of the number of identified features compared to the total number of words were calculated, and used to compare the three movies. Ratios were not calculated for the meet cute and lovers' kiss scenes because these scenes contained different amounts of cross-gender interaction, which would have skewed the ratios.

I examined the thematically linked scenes from these films and extrapolated qualitative data from them. The films were analysed for different culturally gendered language features. Following this, the pragmatic meanings in relation to gender roles were examined. In order to fully appreciate the context of the films, the entire films were taken into consideration, but particular attention was paid to the thematically linked scenes that were analysed.

Results and Analysis

Snow White

The lack of spoken language (see Table 1) in the meet cute and lovers' kiss scenes in *Snow White* (see Appendix A) is particularly interesting as it emphasizes Miao's (cited in Hedenmalm, 2012, p. 3) view that women were socialized to "shut up and be beautiful." Yet, *Snow White* does use language when alone, as in the song "Whistle While You Work" (the princess's song; see Appendix B). Furthermore, the language used in the princess's song may enforce the notion that the societal view in 1937 was to stay at home and "sweep the room" (see Appendix B, line 3). It appears as though the language used in *Snow White*'s song pertains to domestic work, on which women were stereotypically expected to be experts (Komarovskiy & Philips, 1987). Interestingly, as Table 2 in conjunction with Appendix B shows,

Table 1. Total Culturally Gendered Language Features in the Meet Cute Scene and the Lovers' Kiss Scene

Culturally gendered language features	Character name							
	Snow White	Prince Charming	Ariel	Prince Eric	Scuttle (male seagull)	Anna	Kristoff	Shop keeper (male)
Empty adjectives	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	1
Facilitating tag questions	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Cases of indirect politeness	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

the ratio of women's language features used was 1:44, which will be explored later.

Table 2. Culturally Gendered Language Features in the Princess's Songs

Culturally gendered language features	Character name			
	Snow White	Ariel	Anna	Elsa
Empty adjectives	2	4	5	2
Facilitating tag questions	0	1	0	0
Cases of indirect politeness	0	0	0	0

Despite the lack of spoken language in the two scenes from *Snow White*, body language seems to serve as a communicative device. Snow White's body language in the meet cute scene suggests that she has some romantic interest in the prince. However, the prince assuming consent when he kissed the princess could be interpreted as representing women as submissive sexual objects. This may suggest that due to the prince acting upon Snow White's lack of communication, she is being objectified through *silencing*, which is the treatment of a person as if they lack the capability for language (Langton, 2009). Moreover, Nussbaum (cited in Papadaki, 2010) argued that this may show the princess being objectified through

Instrumentality: the treatment of a person as a tool for the objectifier's purposes . . . *violability*: the treatment of a person as lacking in boundary-integrity . . . [and] *denial of subjectivity*: the treatment of a person as something whose experiences and feelings (if any) need not be taken into account. (p. 1)

Snow White's passivity seems to condone the idea that men are unfettered by laws concerning sexual misconduct. As Reep (1982) suggested, "When a man rescues a woman in popular literature, whether from physical danger or a dilemma, the reward for his bravery or his wisdom is the woman he has just rescued—a prize" (p. 89). This scene illustrates the stereotypical gender roles in society at the time the film was released: A male's reward for rescuing a female is sexual, romantic, or both. Yet, a man "winning" a princess through taking advantage of her unconscious state not only further objectifies women but also glorifies the concept that men gain sexual and romantic gratification with minimal effort. Thus, this nonconsensual kiss illustrates the differences in how males and females were represented and the sexual objectification women faced in the 1930s, which appears to have diachronically changed, as will be shown presently.

The Little Mermaid

The two scenes in *The Little Mermaid* also contain a lack of cross-gender spoken interaction. After Ariel saves the prince's life, she lies down next to him before saying: "He's so beautiful (2) [while turning his head] what would I give to live where you are" (see Appendix C). *Beautiful* is the one empty adjective used by Ariel. Very few of the women's language features laid out by Lakoff (1975) are present in the meet cute or lovers' kiss scenes of *The Little Mermaid*. The choice of adjective here is very interesting, as stereotypically men are viewed as *handsome* and women as *beautiful* (Feldman, MacCulloch, Mellor, & Pinschof, 1966). Therefore, there is a subtle suggestion that using effeminate language to describe men was socially acceptable at the time. This in turn may suggest a development in gender roles, through highlighting that princes do not need to be the epitome of masculinity. The suggestion that a prince can be beautiful instead of handsome may suggest a diachronic development in the way language is used to represent males and that gender roles had changed from previous societal views.

A shift in societal views can also be observed when Ariel appears to have gender-neutral fascinations, as opposed to stereotypical female interests. In Ariel's princess's song (see Appendix D), Ariel expresses her interests by stating, "Look at this stuff isn't it neat?" in relation to man-made objects, a gender-neutral topic. This could suggest a move away from the subservient representation of women being associated with housework, as seen in *Snow White*. Yet, the gender-neutral topic is introduced with an empty adjective (*neat*), although the ratio of women's language features, 1:49, is slightly less than in *Snow White*. Thus, it is possible to infer that although there have been some developments in the representation of gender, some elements of culturally gendered language still remain but at a lower frequency. Ariel's interest in a culturally gender-neutral field and her use of fewer women's language features may suggest that the representation of women has shifted when compared to the society in which *Snow White* was created.

It is also interesting to observe the difference in assumed consent, as Ariel does not take sexual advantage of Eric in his unconscious state. Ariel may be modelling the ethical considerations of consent and objectification, through acknowledging Eric's denial of subjectivity and his silenced state (Langton, 2009; Nussbaum, cited in Papadaki, 2010). And by not kissing the prince, Ariel is diverging from what was acceptable for the prince to do in *Snow White*. The Walt Disney Company may be representing women as deviating from masculine traits.

Frozen

The language in *Frozen* differs from both *Snow White* and *The Little Mermaid*. Anna's speech (see Table 1) has more features of women's language. She uses four empty adjectives, whereas Kristoff (her love interest) uses none at all. However, this could be due to the greater amount of speech Anna has in contrast to her male counterpart. Interestingly, the use of a stereotypical woman's language feature (an indirect question) by her love interest, Kristoff, may indicate

shifting requirements of masculinity in Disney princes. Thus, there are interesting differences in culturally gendered language features of men and women in comparison to both *Snow White* and *The Little Mermaid*. Furthermore, some of Anna's lexical choices, such as "actual real live people," are relatively colloquial, suggesting that Anna is not "talking like a Lady" (Lakoff, 1973, p. 49), although she would be expected to uphold a stereotypical portrayal of a princess and speak formally.

Although the features Lakoff (1975) and Hedenmalm (2012) suggested are relatively absent in these scenes, there is a shift in the topic of the princess's song to the gender-neutral topic of wanting to go to a party and meet people (see Appendix F lines 5-8). This can be seen as Anna being more relatable to a wider audience, which demonstrates how the representation of women has changed. Anna does not specialise in a field that has been viewed as stereotypically feminine, such as wifehood. There has been a diachronic shift from women using language associated with housework to using language associated with gender-neutral topics.

In comparison to both *Snow White* and *The Little Mermaid*, *Frozen* appears, at first, to contain a higher number of women's language features in the princess's song (see Appendix F). But as there is more language used in the song, the culturally gendered language features within *Frozen* occur at a ratio of 1:54. This reduced frequency of culturally gendered language features may suggest that the representation of women has changed and that women are being represented as more linguistically similar to men and are therefore gaining ground in the fight for linguistic equality.

The kiss scene in *Frozen* (see Appendix E) appears to differ significantly from both *Snow White* and *The Little Mermaid*. Kristoff explicitly asks: "I mean may we?" This could suggest a development in the representation of women, in comparison to *Snow White*, as the kiss is consensual, which suggests that women have gained more of an equal opportunity to accept or reject opposite-gender advances. This development may have occurred because both parties are

conscious, unlike in *Snow White* or *The Little Mermaid*, and able to respond to these cross-gender advances. However, by acknowledging Anna has a choice, Kristoff does not silence her.

Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications

Composition

In advanced L2 composition classes, students could create monologues as though they are princesses. Teachers could encourage that the subject content of these monologues pertain to a gender-neutral topic, as seen in *The Little Mermaid* and *Frozen*. Furthermore, as in *Frozen* all participants, regardless of gender, used spoken language in order to communicate with each other, a focus should be placed on incorporating cross-gender spoken interaction.

In comparison to *Snow White*, both *The Little Mermaid* and *Frozen* have less silencing of women. Although these features of the representation of women are nonverbal, they are equally important when viewing the pieces in a diachronic manner and considering language choices. Hence, importance should still be placed on the gender liberation *Frozen* highlights in comparison to *Snow White*. Another suggestion is to ask students to add words to scenes that lack language in *Snow White* and *The Little Mermaid*.

The differences in the selected scenes allows students a chance to create additional material for both *Snow White* and the *Little Mermaid*—what they would say after the scene—using both the representation from the society in which they were produced and a modern society. When teaching western representations of women to L2 learners, the diachronic shift should be considered, and more modern texts should be used to highlight present cultural norms. Therefore, teachers are able to offer new material on the representation of women and how it has changed, using these scenes to exemplify the differences.

When deciding on genre models for composition exercises, teachers should consider the diachronic differences in gender and

the language used. This paper has highlighted the different ways in which women have used language and were silenced. Modern representations appear to not silence women, something teachers may highlight to L2 learners during composition exercises.

Debates

The representation of nonconsensual kissing allows students an opportunity to discuss changes in the representation of women in movies and their views on the portrayal of sexual misconduct. This representation of how men were formerly allowed to treat women—as sexual objects—could be debated and compared to the society that the learners are familiar with. This difference allows learners to debate why people may be upset at the representation of women in *Snow White* and why they think the representation of women is better or worse in *Frozen*. These debates could be done in groups and students allowed a set amount of time to research different ideas and put forward their arguments.

The differences observed through diachronic observations also demonstrate an opportunity for debates on feminism and the representation of gender, as well as allowing a chance to highlight typical gendered adjective usage and language use depending on gender and social positions. The difference in language used by the princesses in these animated films could be compared to clips of human princesses and the differences noted, which might lead to a new line of discussion among students about which they prefer.

Lexical Choices

Words such as *beautiful* were used to describe men in *The Little Mermaid*. In relation to L2 teaching, this culturally gendered adjectival usage may highlight how in some cases *beautiful* is a suitable replacement for *handsome* when describing a man. This difference demonstrates the flexibility of adjectives when used towards different genders. For an activity, teachers could ask students to list 10

adjectives which could be used to describe Eric in *The Little Mermaid* and see if any match the script, giving students a chance to explore why *beautiful* was chosen over the adjectives they selected.

Conclusion

There appears to have been a diachronic shift in the culturally gendered language features used by Disney princesses, as well as their representations. This diachronic shift may demonstrate that modern women are more linguistically equal to men, in comparison to 1937. Furthermore, the princesses displayed a diachronic shift in their interests, from being an expert on housework to wanting to meet people. Additionally, it appears as though the methods of gaining and assuming consent have also diachronically changed: from no consent sought to consent being explicitly requested. The differences in the representation of women within Disney films should be remembered when selecting films, and these differences can be integrated into L2 pedagogy when using composition exercises, when using debates, and when making lexical choices.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This investigation was restricted to three thematically linked scenes in three Disney films. Although the choice of a film produced between 1960 and 1970 would have been preferable to *The Little Mermaid*, as such a film would have served as an exact midpoint between *Snow White* and *Frozen*, no animated Disney princesses were created in this time period and so *The Little Mermaid* was used instead. Disney animated films have depicted an increasing number of princesses over the years, suggesting that the inclusion of other films may have yielded different results. However, within the parameters of this investigation, this depth of cross-analysis was unfeasible. Therefore, although this investigation has observed diachronic changes in the representations of gender in thematically linked sections of three Disney films, more research is possible. Ad-

ditionally, only a few pedagogical practices have been touched upon. There are a wide range of applications for this research in pedagogical practices, particularly when selecting genre models from the fairy tale genre. However, awareness should be drawn to how gender has previously been represented and how modern society portrays gender.

Bio Data

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Appendix A

Snow White

Meet Cute Scene

1. 5.12: Snow White (S.W.): I'm wishing
2. 5.13: Echo: I'm wishing
3. 5.15: S.W.: for the one I love (1.5) to find me
4. 5.20: Echo: To find me
5. 5.22: S.W.: Today
6. 5.25 Prince Charming (P.C.): Today
7. 5.27: S.W.: Oh
8. 5.28: P.C.: Hello
9. 5.28: S.W.: Oh
10. 5.29: P.C.: Did I frighten you? [S.W. runs away] wait wait please don't run away
11. [S.W. shuts and locks the door] now that I found you, hear what I have to say

Lovers' Kiss Scene

1. 80.19: [P.C. walks up to the coffin]
2. 80.40: [he kisses S.W.]
3. 81.27: [P.C. carries S.W. off to his horse]

Appendix B

Snow White Princess's Song

1. 18.24 S.W.: Just whistle while you work (4) and cheerfully together we can tidy
2. up the place (1) so hum a merry tune [hums] (3) It won't take long when there's

3. a song to help you set the pace (1) and as you sweep the room (1) imagine that
4. the broom is someone that you love and soon you'll find you're dancing to the
5. tune (2) [The animals are licking the plates] oh, no, no, no, no! Put them in the
6. tub [Animals correct their mistake] (2) When hearts are high the time will fly so
7. whistle while you work (10) a,a,a,ah. Not under the rug
4. [The kiss fades to a picture of them kissing at their wedding]

Appendix C

The Little Mermaid

Meet Cute Scene

1. 24.28: [Ariel saves Eric]
2. 24.56: [Ariel lays him on the shore]
3. 25.03: Ariel: is he dead?
4. 25.05: Scuttle: it's hard to say [he checks Eric's pulse using his foot] (2.5) Oh I can't make out a heart beat
5. 25.15 Ariel: No look (1.5) he's breathing (1) he's so beautiful (2)
6. what would I give to live where you are (2) what would I pay to stay beside
7. you (1) what would I give to see you (1) smiling at me (2) where would we run (.) if
8. we could stay all day in the sun just you and me (1) and I could be part of your world

Lovers' Kiss Scene

1. [Eric washes up on shore and Ariel is granted legs]
2. 76.35: [Ariel walks out of the sea to Eric]
3. 76.38: [Ariel and Eric Kiss]

Appendix D

The Little Mermaid Princess's Song

1. 15.07: Ariel: Look at this stuff isn't it neat? (1) wouldn't you think my collection's
2. complete? (1) wouldn't you think I'm the girl? the girl who has everything (3) look at
3. this trove treasures untold how many wonders can one cavern hold? (1) looking
4. around here you think (1) sure she's got everything (2) I've got gadgets and
5. gizmos a-plenty (1) I've got whozits and whatzits galore (1) you want thingamabobs?
6. (1) I've got twenty (2) but who cares? (1) No big deal (2) I want more (2) I wanna be
7. where the people are (1) I wanna see wanna see them dancin' walking around on
8. those (1) what do you call 'em? (1) Oh feet (1) flippin' your fins you don't get too far
9. legs are required for jumping dancing (2) strolling along down a (1) what's that word
10. again? (1.5) Street (2) up where they walk up where they run up where they stay all
11. day in the sun wanderin' free (1) wish I could be part of that world (1) What would I
12. give if I could live out of these waters? what would I pay to spend a day warm on the
13. sand? bet'cha on land (1) they understand (1) that they don't reprimand their

14. daughters bright young women sick of swimmin' ready to stand and ready to know
15. what the people know (1) ask 'em my questions and get some answers what's a fire
16. and why does it what's the word burn? When's it my turn? Wouldn't I love love to
17. explore that world up above? (1) Out of the sea (3) wish I could be (2) part of that
18. world

Appendix E

Frozen

Meet Cute Scene

1. 36.40: Anna: oh um I was just wondering has another young woman the queen
2. perhaps? I dunno passed through here?
3. 36.47: Shop keeper: only one crazy enough to be out in this storm is you dear
4. [Kristoff enters the shop] You and this fellow yu-hu big summer blow out
5. [Kristoff approaches Anna]
6. 37.06: Kristoff: Carrots
7. 37.07: Anna: huh? [he leans towards her]
8. 37.09: Kristoff: behind you
9. 37.10: Anna: Oh right! 'scuse me
10. [Anna steps aside]
11. 37.13: [Kristoff returns to shopping]

Lovers' Kiss Scene

1. 90.17: Anna: [Dragging a blindfolded Kistoff] come on come on |come on come on
2. come on come on come on come on come on come on|
3. 90.18: Kristoff: [okay (1) okay okay] [Kristoff walks into a pole] pole
4. 90.21: Anna: whoop sorry (3) ok ok here we are oh [Anna pulls off Kristoff's
5. blindfold] I owe you a sled
6. 90.33: Kristoff: (5) Are you serious?
7. 90.35: Anna: Yes and it's the latest model
8. 90.37: Kristoff: no I I can't accept this
9. 90.38: Anna: you have to no returns no exchanges Queen's orders she's named you
10. the official Arendel Ice master and deliverer
11. 90.45: Krisoff: What? that's not a thing
12. 90.47: Anna: Oh sure it is and it even has a cup holder (2) do you like it?
13. 90.51: Kristoff: Like it? I love it ha ha ha (2) I could kiss you (3) I could I mean I'd like to
14. I may I we me I mean may we? wait what
15. 91.03: Anna: (1) we may
16. [They kiss]

Appendix F

Frozen Princesses' Song

1. 13.23: Anna: It's coronation day (2) it's coronation day (4) the window's open so's
2. that door I didn't know they did that anymore who knew we owned eight thousand
3. salad plates? (3) for years I've roamed these empty halls (2) why have a ball room
4. with no balls? (2) finally we're opening up the gates (3) there'll be actual real live
5. people it'll be totally strange (2) wow am I so ready for this change (2) 'cause for the
6. first time in forever there'll be music there'll be light (2) for the first time in forever
7. I'll be dancing through the night (3) don't know if I'm elated or gassy but I'm
8. somewhere in that zone 'cause for the first time in forever (2) I won't be alone (2) I
9. can't wait to meet everyone (1) what if I meet the one (2) to-night imagine me gown
10. and all fetchingly draped against the wall the picture of sophisticated grace I
11. suddenly see him standing there a beautiful stranger tall and fair I wanna stuff some
12. chocolate in my face but then we laugh and talk all evening which is totally bizzare
13. nothing like the life I've lead so far (2) for the first time in forever there'll be magic
14. there'll be fun (2) for the first time in forever I could be noticed by someone (2) and I
15. know it's totally crazy to dream I'd find romance (2) but for the first time in
16. ↑ forever ↑ at least I have a chance
17. 15.43 Elsa: don't let them in (2) don't let them see (2) be the good girl you always
18. have to be (3) conceal (1.5) don't feel (2) put on a show make one wrong move any
19. everyone will know (2) but it's only or |today|
20. 16.07: Anna : |It's only for today|
21. 16.08: Elsa: ||It's agony to wait||
22. 16.09: Anna: ||It's agony to wait||
23. 16.11: Elsa: tell the guards to open up (2) the |gate|
24. 16.17: Anna: |The gate| for the first time in |forever|
25. 16.22: Elsa: |Don't let them in| |don't let them see|
26. 16.24: Anna: |I'm getting what I'm| dreaming |of|
27. 16.27: Elsa: |Be the good girl you always| have to |be|
28. 16.29: Anna: |A chance| to change my lonely |world|
29. 16.33: Elsa: |Conceal|
30. 16.35: Anna: A chance to find true |love|
31. 16.37: Elsa: |Conceal don't feel| don't let them |know|
32. 16.40: Anna: |I know| it all ends tomorrow so it has to be today (2) 'cause for the
33. first time in forever for the first time in forever (2) nothing's in my way

Appendix G

Conventions Used in Transcripts

- 0.0: the time in at which the language occurs within the film.
This is represented as (minutes. seconds).
- [] indicates supplementary information.
- (1) indicates a pause. The number inside indicates how many seconds long the pause is.
- || signifies overlaps.
- ||| when multiple overlaps occur, double lines have been used.
- ///
signifies an interruption.