

example, it is evident that in the relation "persons of opposite sex living together and not married" versus "persons of opposite sex living together and married", the mark associated with the first term is changing. For an older member of our community it may carry one mark (namely 'living in sin') while for some younger members it may carry another mark ('rejection of marriage as an institution', 'irrelevance of marriage', or 'trial run'). The markedness relation between the two choices is the same, but the opposition itself, since it is defined by the mark, may indeed be changing. It remains to be seen if the markedness relation itself may actually be reversed over time.

In fact, reversals of markedness are possible not only over time, but also across cultures or, more interestingly, within one culture. Markedness values are always context-sensitive, where the context may be a given culture (and so the markedness of a given opposition may be different from one culture to another) or a given subpart of the culture (in which case there is a reversal of markedness within a culture). (See my remarks above on the markedness reversal for the perfective ~ imperfective in Russian.) In our culture, for example, in the "female" ~ "male" opposition, "female" is marked when found in the context of a professor or doctor, but "male" is marked when found in the context of a nurse or a secretary. The "wearing of clothes" on social occasions is unmarked, whereas the "wearing of clothes" in a nudist colony or in the shower is marked. "Speaking in a normal tone of voice" is unmarked except in such special circumstances as in a library, in a church, etc., where it becomes marked. The "having of children" is unmarked in the situation of a marriage but is marked in the situation of being single. It is, then, an abstraction to say, for example, that "fertility" is unmarked while "barrenness" is marked in a given culture, for "barrenness" may, in some circumstances (say, for certain religious sects or for those in a culture who are unmated for a variety of reasons) be unmarked. In what has preceded and what will follow, markedness relations are understood as being relevant given particular contexts.

An example from the Cornell University Staff Directory

The potential for the unmarked term to have both a zero-interpretation and a minus-interpretation and the dynamic dialectic that creates in the system is one that may be (subliminally) played with and used effectively by the encoders and decoders of any given cultural system. A listing from the Staff Phone Directory of Cornell University provides a telling example, especially because interwoven here is linguistic and nonlinguistic

culture — the decoding of the phone directory as well as the recognition of the marked and unmarked categories depends on one's knowing the multiplicity of intersecting codes (including codes peculiar to the Cornell community):

Physical Education and Athletics, Department of

Richard Schultz, Director of Athletics, Teagle Hall, 6-7265, 6-7266
 Harold G. Hall, Business Manager, Teagle Hall, 6-5220
 Patrick J. Filley, Director of Operations, Teagle Hall, 6-7440
 Al Gantert, Director of Men's Physical Education, Teagle Hall, 6-4286
 Mrs. Martha Arnett, Director of Women's Physical Education, Helen Newman Hall, 6-5134
 Al Gantert, Director, Intramural Sports, Grumman Squash Courts, 6-2315
 Athletic Public Affairs, Schoelkopf House, 6-3752
 Baseball Office, Schoelkopf Hall, 6-4398
 Basketball Office, Teagle Hall, 6-7331
 Bowling Office, Helen Newman Hall, 6-4200
 Collyer Boathouse, 6-4074
 Doctor's Office, Schoelkopf Hall, 6-4237
 Fencing Office, Teagle Hall, 6-2368
 Football Office, Schoelkopf Hall, 6-4391, 6-4386
 150-Lb. Football Office, Schoelkopf Hall, 6-3610
 Golf Course, Warren Road, 6-3361
 Gymnastics Office, Teagle Hall, 6-3953
 Hockey Office, Lynah Rink, 6-3791

Intramural Office, Grumman Squash Courts, 6-2315

Lacrosse Office, Teagle Hall, 6-7332
 Locker Room, Teagle Hall, 6-4157.

Lynah Rink, 6-3793

Lynah Rink Skating Schedule, 6-2312

Moakley House, Warren Road, 6-4197

Oxley Polo Arena (Route 366) 6-3625

Physical Education Office, Teagle Hall, 6-4286

Publicity, Schoelkopf House, 6-3752

Soccer Office, Barton Hall, 6-4615

Sports Information, Schoelkopf House, 6-3752

Squash Reservations, Teagle Hall, 6-4157

Stockroom, Schoelkopf Hall, 6-4115

Swimming Pool, Teagle Hall, 6-4065

Tennis Courts (Cascadilla), 6-3653

Ticket Office, Teagle Hall, 6-7333

Track Office, Schoelkopf Hall, 6-3475

Wrestling Office, Teagle Hall, 6-7307

Women's Physical Education, Helen Newman Hall

Director, 6-5134

Main Office, 6-5133

Bowling, 6-4200

Dance Office, 6-2360

Issue Room, 6-4261

Swimming Office, 6-4151