

**A Pragmatic Study of Media Texts: A Corpus of New  
Age Talks by Osho (on the Basis of Burke's  
Pragmatic Approach to Concordancing)**

**Fulya Erdentuğ**

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Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

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Prof. Dr. Elvan Yılmaz  
Director (a)

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication and Media Studies.

---

Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan  
Chair, Department of Communication and Media Studies

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication and Media Studies.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülşen Musayeva Vefalı  
Supervisor

---

Examining Committee

1. Prof. Dr. Gürkan Doğan

---

2. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülşen Musayeva Vefalı

---

3. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Aliefendioğlu

---

4. Asst. Prof. Dr. Levent Kavas

---

5. Asst. Prof. Dr. Ülfet Kutoğlu

---

## **ABSTRACT**

Examination of the role of persuasive use of language in (re)construction of social realities, specifically, the relation of linguistic choices in media texts to their potential pragmatic effects on the audience has always been among the main concerns of critical language studies. The present research, therefore, explores language and persuasion in a corpus of New Age talks by Osho, the founder of one of the most popular and radical New Age movements. It has been motivated by the apparent persuasive, and thus social impact of Osho's books (compilations of his talks), being the major source of disseminating his ideology to millions of international readers over the past decades. This research exploits a novel methodology integrating corpus methodology (search and processing techniques of frequency words, collocational patterns, and concordances) with Kenneth Burke's critical methodology based on pragmatic approach to concordancing. It aims at revealing the pragmatic function of Osho's rhetoric in a corpus of 133 talks (450.000 words) that appeared in two gender-related books in the early 2000s. The integrated analysis of the pertinent corpus evidence, and its subsequent interpretation in light of the contextual evidence from the literature and studies into New Age and Osho's movement reveal the following. Osho's persuasive rhetoric derives from the strategy of disassociation inducing the audience to alienate themselves from social institutions, the strategy of association influencing them to identify with Osho, an embodiment of a new, perfect being, as well as from the holistic views of the New Age ideology. The main function of Osho's persuasive rhetoric in the corpus under

examination, therefore, seems to be challenging the society's institutions that perpetuate the dichotomous worldview, and persuading the audience to adopt Osho's alternative worldview, emphasizing the compatibility of spiritualism and materialism, spirituality and sexuality, as well as reconciliation of two genders, woman and man. The present research, on the basis of its findings, and limitations offers some suggestions and implications for further research on Burkean, Osho-related and New Age studies.

**Key words:** Pragmatic effect, Burke's critical methodology, Corpus methodology, New Age, Osho's rhetoric, Gender

## ÖZ

İkna edici dil kullanımının toplumsal gerçekliklerin (yeniden) kuruluşundaki rolünün, özel olarak da, medya metinlerindeki dilsel seçimlerin alımlayan(lar) üzerindeki potansiyel pragmatik etkilerinin araştırılması, eleştirel dil incelemelerinin ana ilgi alanlarından biridir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, en popüler ve en radikal Yeni Çağ akımlarından birinin kurucusu olan Osho'nun konuşmalarının oluşturduğu bir bütüncü çerçevesinde dil ve ikna etmeyi araştırıyor. Bu çalışma, geçtiğimiz birkaç onyıl boyunca Osho'nun ideolojisini milyonlarca uluslararası okuyucuya aktaran ana kaynak olan (konuşmalarından derlenmiş) kitapların belirgin ikna edici, dolayısıyla sosyal etkilerinden yola çıkıyor. Bu çalışmada, bütüncü dilbilimi yöntemleri (sözcük sıklığı , tanıklı dizin, eşdizimlilik kalıbı dökümleri gibi bütüncü inceleme ve işleme teknikleri) ile Kenneth Burke'ün tanıklı dizinlemeye pragmatik yaklaşıma dayanan eleştirel yönteminin bütünleştirilmesinden oluşan yeni bir yöntem kullanılmaktadır. Araştırmanın temel amacı, Osho'nun 2000'li yılların başında “Kadın” ve “Erkek” kitaplarında yayımlanmış, 450. 000 kelimelik 133 konuşmadan oluşan bir bütüncedeki retorikinin pragmatik işlevini/işleyişini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bütünleştirilmiş analizden elde edilen bütüncü verilerinin Yeni Çağ ve Osho hareketi ile ilgili çalışmalar ve yazının sağladığı bağlamsal veriler ışığı altında yorumlanması şunları ortaya koymuştur. Osho'nun retorikinin ikna gücü, okuyucuyu sosyal kurumlara yabancılaşmaya yönelten ayırma stratejisi ile yeni ve mükemmel bir varlığın cisimleşmesi olarak Osho ile özdeşleşmeye yönelten birleştirme stratejisinin yanı sıra Yeni Çağ ideolojisinin bütüncül görüşlerinden de kaynaklanmaktadır.

Dolayısıyla, Osho'nun incelenen bütüncedeki ikna edici retorığının ana işlevi, ikili dünya görüşünü sürdüren toplum kurumlarına meydan okumak ve okuyucuyu Osho'nun gerek maneviyatçılık ile maddiyatçılığın, maneviyat ile cinselliğın bağdaşmasını, gerekse kadın ve erkeğın uzlaşmasını vurgulayan alternatif dünya görüşünü benimsemeye ikna etmek gibi gözüküyor. Bulgularına ve kısıtlarına dayanarak, bu araştırma, gelecekte yapılacak Burke, Osho ve Yeni Çağ araştırmalarına bazı öneriler ve çıkarımlar sunmaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Pragmatik etki, Burke'ün eleştirel yöntemi, Bütünce dilbilim yöntemi, Yeni Çağ, Osho'nun retorığı, Toplumsal cinsiyet



# DEDICATION

To the Memory of my Father



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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Language, information and effect is one of the conceptual areas of current applied language studies, examining how linguistic choices are related to effects in persuasive uses of language aimed at indoctrinating or manipulating the audience (Cook, 2003). Language contributes to construal of social realities and “it is not neutral in the part it plays in our perceptions and articulations of our social experiences” (McCarthy, 2001, p. 48). It should be noted that language use by humans and for humans is context-oriented (Mey, 1985); it is “critically determined by the relations of power in society”, with language users being in a “critical position”. It is, therefore, important to critically examine “the social functioning of language and its various manifestations of use” (Mey, 2001, pp. 316-320) through an empirical approach (Stubbs, 2001). In this regard, corpora are viewed as “essentially social artefacts” revealing “the regular, patterned preferences for modes of expression of language users in given contexts” (McCarthy, 2001, p. 63).

The present research explores language and persuasion in a corpus of New Age talks by Osho, the founder of one of the New Age Religious Movements (hereafter NRMs). It exploits a novel methodology integrating corpus methodology (search and processing techniques of frequency words, collocational patterns, and concordances) with Kenneth Burke’s critical methodology based on pragmatic approach to

concordancing. The corpus under examination comprises talks compiled into Osho's gender-related books, "The Book of Woman" and "The Book of Man" published in 2002 and 2004 respectively.

## **1.1 Background to the Study**

New Religious Movements encompassing various religions, sects, or alternative spiritualities emerged and became prominent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Partridge, 2004, p. 20). These movements provided new foundations, introduced new beliefs and practices, "often by reshaping and transforming the purposes of old ones, and act[ing] as catalysts for change within the older religions" (Clarke, 2006, p. xiii). Thus, new, or contemporary religious movements can be regarded as "the products of the continual changes all religions are simultaneously undergoing in their effort to remain relevant to their time and place and the people they serve" (Melton, as cited in Partridge, 2004, p. 11). It is noteworthy that there have been contradictory views about the cause, influence, and scale of contemporary religious movements. However, it is estimated that these movements are now global religions, with millions of followers all over the world (Clarke, 2006).

Of the NRMs, the New Age Movement (hereafter NAM) refers to "a vast array of groups, communities and networks, which everyone recognizes as in some sense distinctive, at least in terms of their objective, the transformation of human consciousness" (Clarke, 2006, p. 26). The New Age thinking is based on the fundamental belief that materialistic and mechanistic orientations (dualistic and reductionistic tendencies) have led the contemporary society to "a state of profound crisis", which can be overcome only by means of a new state of mind, a new consciousness (Hoellinger, 2006, p. 64). It is believed that developing a new holistic

consciousness, called “Christ Consciousness”, will end the old age, “the Age of Pisces”, and bring the New Age, or “the Age of Aquarius”, or “the Age of Light” (Hanegraaff, 1998, pp. 191, 333, 341). In other words, New Age adherents seek for the transformation of the old, non-holistic society through the transformation of the self, through the spiritual development of the individual. This spiritual, or inner development requires re-establishing connection with one’s “Higher Self”, with one’s soul that transcends time and space (Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 211). Therefore, experiencing and celebrating the naturally perfect Self, emphasizing the contaminating effects of modernity on the Self, and providing various activities such as meditation, yoga, “fire-walking, spiritual therapy or sensory deprivation ... [to liberate] the Self from the contaminated ‘outer personality’ (‘ego’ and ‘lower self’)” are identified as the basic characteristics of the New Age Movement (Heelas, 1993, pp. 104-105).

The majority of decentralized New Age movements lack an organizational infrastructure and an official spokesperson. Consequently, regardless of the vast variety of transformation techniques that they offer, the New Age movements disseminate their ideas and teachings through a range of media, as well as “lectures, demonstrations and informal meetings” (Campbell, 1972, as cited in Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 15). Due to negative, “hippy-ish”, connotations associated with the term New Age in media coverage (Sutcliffe, 2003, p. 123), the publishing industry since the mid 1980s has started to use the “value-neutral term mind-body-spirit” (MBS) to refer to materials that promote the New Age ideology (Puttick, 2005, p. 130). With the rapid growth of the interest in self-development, and holistic spirituality among mainstream readership, MBS has become a genre which is “bigger and faster

growing than more popular and high-profile subject areas such as food and drink, history, sport and business” (Puttick, 2005, p. 136). Today the worldwide market for MBS books that promote the growth and diffusion of the holistic spirituality of New Age movements into mainstream culture is worth £5 billion, indicating that the holistic spirituality of the New Age “is no longer a phenomenon limited to a comparatively marginal subculture, but has developed into a type of broad folk religion which appeals to many people at all levels of society” (Hanegraaff, 2000, p. 289).

It is noteworthy that the research to date reveals a significant impact of the New Age ideology on society as it is manifested in a wide use of the New Age concepts of “‘transcendence’, ‘self-realization’, ‘meditation’ and ‘holism’” not only by New Agers but also by people outside the New Age community, as well as appropriation and incorporation of New Age discourse even into political, marketing and health system discourse (Askehave, 2004, pp. 5-29). Thus, the research on the New Age demonstrates that “holistic spirituality is not an ephemeral phenomenon but a highly significant, deep-seated socio-spiritual movement as well as a fast-growing, mainstream publishing genre; it is therefore of milestone importance in the arts and social sciences” (Puttick, 2005, pp. 146-147).

The New Age phenomenon as a whole, as well as individual New Age movements have been examined through a considerable variety of approaches such as historical, philosophical, psychological, sociological, anthropological (Berg, 2008; Dawson, 1998; Driel & Belzen, 1990; Drobin, 1999; Flere & Kirbis, 2009; Hanegraaff, 2000; Heelas, 1993; Höllinger, 2006; Ivakhiv, 2003; Kemp, 2004; Lyon, 1993; Mears &

Ellison, 2000; Puttick, 2005; Urban, 2000; Woodhead, 1993). Many researchers have also adopted a gendered approach to the study of New Age analyzing gender role ambiguities in NRMs (Aidala, 1985); the process of conversion to, and deconversion from NRMs (Jacobs, 1984); deconversion from authoritarian NRMs (Jacobs, 1987); gender role experimentation in NRMs (Howell, 1998; Palmer, 1993) women's position in NRMs (Puttick, 2006); the effects of involuntary movement disintegration on two different groups of women from the Rajneesh and Shiloh Youth Revival Movements (Goldman & Isaacson, 1999); gender and ethnicity in NRMs (Jacobs, 2000); woman's status in Eastern NRMs (Fuller & Martin, 2003).

The Osho / Rajneesh Movement founded by Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh has been subjected to extensive academic research (Carter, 1987; D'Andrea, 2007; Goldman & Isaacson, 1999; Latkin et al., 1987; Latkin, 1990; Latkin et al., 1994; Palmer, 1988; Urban, 1996). It has been considered as "the best-known and most fashionable" (Partridge, 2004, p. 191), "the most controversial and the most radical" (Clarke, 2006, p. 253) New Age movement of the 1970s, due to "more conflict, investigation and media coverage than has any other contemporary American religious activity" (Carter, 1987, p. 149).

The research to date provides significant findings regarding Osho and his movement, including historical overviews of the movement, analyses of the movement's activities from sociological and economic perspectives, demographic and psychological data about the members of the movement, the role of woman and gender in the movement, belief system promoted by Osho in the commune, his

biography and characteristics that have made him a charismatic leader of a New Age movement and the founder of a successful religious corporation.

It should be noted that Osho's works are still popular, with over 350 books attributed to him selling "2.5 million copies ... in 40 languages in 2003 alone" (D' Andrea, 2007, p. 92), thus being the major source of exposure to his ideology by millions of readers. However, an empirical and critical investigation of Osho's rhetoric addressing his "views on all facets of human and cosmic existence" (Carter, 1987, p. 152) has not been undertaken by the research to date.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Language use is not only referential, but also performative / rhetorical in its attempts to affect the situations and people it is addressed to. Texts as products of language use primarily function to "manage the mind of others" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 249), their causal effects being bringing changes in our knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and values about reality, and contributing to shaping identities (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough & Wodak, 2007; Fowler, 1996; Hall, 2002). Any reading (comprehension, perception, and interpretation) of a text is the result of an interface between the textual features that are consciously (in most cases, especially in political, religious, and media texts) chosen and structured by the producer to create an effect, and the interpretation of the audience(s), whose perception is shaped by various social, cultural, educational, ideological, and psychological factors (Fairclough, 1995, p. 9). However, the nature of texts constrains and delimits "the range of potential interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995, as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001). Therefore, even though the process of meaning making determines potential persuasive effects of texts, "one resource that



is necessary for any account of meaning-making is the capacity to analyze texts in order to clarify their contribution” in this regard (Fairclough, 2005, p. 11).

Rhetors use all “the available means of persuasion” (Aristotle, Book 1 – Chapter II) in order to be effective, and maximize the desired persuasive impact on the audience. They plan their discourse, adapt it to their imagined audience, and exploit the motives that lead them to action. In this regard, Palmer (1988) points out the “extraordinary” effect of Osho’s rhetoric on the audience by quoting several sannyasins (disciples) that she interviewed as saying that they “‘fell in love with Bhagwan’ through exposure to his discourses”. Palmer (1988) argues that Osho “‘manifested his charisma through his ‘discourses’ or public lectures, which have been transcribed into several languages in over 350 books and also recorded on videocassette” (pp. 121-122). On the basis of her research findings Puttick (2005) stated that “half of the people who joined” the Osho movement in the 1990s were converted through his books (p. 132).

During a period of thirty years, Osho gave hundreds of thousands of talks, responding to questions asked by different audiences, and thus dedicating each of his talks to a different subject such as religion, politics, love, sex, society, the meaning of life. Today, compilations of Osho’s recorded talks have been repackaged (in the forms of books, audio books, e-books, videos) for the Mind Body Spirit mass market. Totally, the books attributed to him have “sold more than twenty million copies”, indicating the remarkable power of Osho’s rhetoric in attracting people not only in the 1990s, but also in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Puttick, 2005, p. 144).

The related research has collected data through fieldwork, interviews, or questionnaires administered to the participants of the Osho movement, as well as analysis of secondary resources such as newspaper or magazine articles about the movement's activities; however it has not examined Osho's rhetoric appealing to millions of international readers. The present study, therefore, has been motivated by the apparent persuasive impact of Osho's talks comprising the books published in his name, and the scarcity of studies that investigate and account for Osho's powerful rhetoric.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The main purpose of the study is to explore language and persuasion in a corpus of Osho's gender-related talks compiled into two popular books, "The Book of Woman" and "The Book of Man", from the most recent series published by Penguin Books in 2002 and 2004 respectively. Even though more than three hundred books, including the ones under examination, have been attributed to Osho, he never wrote a book. Each of Osho's recorded talks, which was given to a different audience at a different time and setting, has been transcribed and presented either as a separate chapter in the books published in his name, or as a separate audio book. The transcriptions of his recorded talks in English are available in the Osho Online Library on the official website of Osho International, [www.osho.com](http://www.osho.com). Therefore, the corpus of the present study has been constructed from the verbatim transcriptions of Osho's recorded talks in his online library which allows access to the "rhetorical artifact" (Foss, 1996, p. 7), the originals of the compiled talks included into his two gender-related books.

Rhetors achieve the main function of rhetoric, affecting “the giving of decisions”, through reasoning logically and proving the truth of their arguments (logos), giving the audience the right impression of their characters (ethos), and stirring emotions of the audience (pathos) (Aristotle, Book II – Chap. 1). Persuasion requires three means: “proving that our contentions are true, winning over our audience, and inducing their minds to feel any emotion the case may demand” (Cicero, 2001, pp. 153-154). However, in addition to effective manipulation of these three means of persuasion, successful persuasion requires ordering and arranging the arguments and supporting evidence properly, and presenting them in the most effective (correct, clear, distinctive, and appropriate) style.

Therefore, rhetorical discourse is distinguished from other communication types since it is carefully planned, adapted to an imagined audience, shaped by human motives for action, responsive to the situation of its rhetor, and persuasion-seeking (Herrick, 2001, pp. 7-16). Rhetors carefully plan their discourse in terms of the arguments that will be advanced and the evidence that will be exploited to support these arguments (invention); the order and arrangement of the arguments and supporting evidence (arrangement); and finally the most effective style to present these arguments and evidence (style) (Cicero, 2001).

The traditional perspective of rhetorical persuasion has been extended by Kenneth Burke who viewed rhetoric as “the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (1969a, p. 43). Language use secures our understanding of social cohesion; human agents, “the symbol using animals” (Burke, 1966, p. 3), use, abuse or respond to language as a symbolic action

“to form attitudes or induce actions in other human agents” (Burke, 1969a, p. 41). For Burke, any verbal act, symbolic action is “the dancing of an attitude” (1967, p. 9), and it “overlaps upon the symbolic act in life” (1967, p. 119). The motive, “why people do as they do” (Burke, 1937, p. 219), is equated with the structure of a symbolic action, “the structural way in which he [a writer] puts events and values together” (Burke, 1967, p. 20). Thus, understanding of the structure of a symbolic action reveals the structure of the poet’s motive, true attitude.

Burke proposed examination of both literary effects of texts on audiences and readers, and rhetorical effects, “the use of language to effect the situation” (Burke, 1989, p. 13), specifically what texts can do for rhetors and audiences/ readers (Burke, 1967). Burke (1967) introduced a pragmatic approach to “any work of critical or imaginative cast”, “poetry”, (p. 1) since “The poem is designed to ‘do something’ for the poet and its readers, and ... we can make the most relevant observations about its design by considering the poem as the embodiment of this act” (Burke, 1967, p. 89). Discovering “what the poem is doing for the poet” can reveal “a set of generalizations as to what poems do for everybody” (Burke, 1967, p. 73). Thus, a critic may discover the function of the poem both for the poet and for the audience. Burke proposed a critical analysis of rhetorical acts, the “principle of the concordance” (Koptak, 1997) since “the examination of concordances can reveal ‘patterns’ to a degree. On going through all the lines of a poet in which a certain word appears, the reader can often note a common quality distinguishing the lot” (Burke, 1968, p. 159). Examination of key terms/images in their context of use would reveal the symbolic function of images in relation to the literary work (Burke, 1967).

Burke (1967) outlined his critical method on the basis of the following guide lines: “what versus what”, “what equals what”, and “from what through what to what” (pp. 38, 69,71) to discover “why people do as they do” (1984, p. 18) – “why characters act as they do” (1984, p. 32), hence, human motivations that lead to action. Thus, his critical analysis reveals how the rhetor’s/writer’s attitudes to various controversial issues shape persuasive, therefore rhetorical strategies, including human motivations exploited in rhetorical acts to lead the audience to the desired action, and the rhetor’s motive for engaging in a rhetorical act (Foss, 1996, p. 367).

For Burke (1967), the content and form of rhetorical artifacts are selected and designed in accordance with the attitudes and motives of their producers. Effective exploitation of the features of content and form of a rhetorical act, aimed at inducing the rhetor’s motives and attitudes in the audience, can secure its appeal. Careful planning and arrangement of the rhetor’s arguments and supporting evidence, adaptation of the rhetoric to an imagined audience (the rhetoric of identification), and manipulation of the motives that lead the audience to a desired action are the rhetorical strategies exploited in seeking persuasion. The rhetor strategically uses language to influence and persuade the audience, and the critic’s job is to make these rhetorical strategies explicit (Burke, 1966).

The present research exploits a novel methodology, integrating corpus methodology with Burke’s critical methodology, developed for examining a rhetor’s attitudinal view, situation/conflict that has motivated a particular rhetorical act, the motives and rhetorical strategies exploited in this respect, and finally the function / rhetorical effect of this symbolic act. Identification of the rhetor’s key terms is the first step of

the methodology; accordingly, the most frequent and intense content words, woman, man, and their references are selected as the key, ultimate terms of Osho's rhetoric. The following step requires examination of the context of each key term, further, identification of terms clustering around the key terms, and finally discovery of patterns of association, disassociation, progression, and transformation in the clusters. These analytical procedures are conducted through corpus search and processing techniques yielding reliable empirical evidence on frequency of key term occurrences, as well as various collocational patterns. Moreover, the present research relates and interprets the pertinent corpus evidence in light of the contextual evidence from the literature and studies into New Age and Osho's movement. It addresses the following research questions.

How is gender construed in the corpus under examination?

What is the rhetor's motive in engaging in the gender issue?

How are rhetorical strategies exploited to address the gender dichotomy?

What is the rhetorical effect/pragmatic function of Osho's rhetoric in the corpus of New Age talks?

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The main significance of this study is that it has initiated an empirical and critical analysis of a corpus of talks by Osho, one of the founders of New Age religious movements. It can thus contribute to the research to date on New Age and Osho's movement.

The study is also significant in that it exploits a novel methodology which integrates search and processing techniques of corpus methodology with Burke's methodology, developed for a critical analysis of rhetorical acts. The comprehensive methodology,

therefore, enables the present research to explore language and persuasion in Osho's rhetoric on the basis of empirical evidence on the key terms, their related clusters and patterns.

Another significance of this study is that it relates its empirical contextual evidence (co-text and inter-text) (Stubbs, 2001) to discursive evidence, thus revealing the rhetorical effects/pragmatic function of the corpus under investigation. It provides valuable insights into the pragmatic potential of the content and form of Osho's rhetoric promoting the New Age ideology.

## Chapter 2

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

#### **2.1 Language and its Use**

##### **2.1.1 Traditional Rhetoric**

Humans have used language to construct knowledge, truth, and reality (Poulakas, 1995, as cited in Herrick, 2001, p. 38). Rhetoric, the art of persuasive speaking, was developed by the Sophists in the fourth century B. C. in Greece. Rhetoric has traditionally been regarded as the study of the effective use of language to persuade and, thus, to form or change the attitudes or behavior of others. The first masters of rhetoric, Gorgias, Protagoras, and Isocrates who were considered among the most influential sophists in Greece (Lucaites, Condit, & Caudill, 1999) exploited the persuasive power of language that appealed to moral sense (ethos), emotions (pathos), and reason (logos) of audience(s).

However, Plato, a contemporary of the Sophists, viewed rhetoricians' intentions regarding this power as potentially dangerous for society therefore, he attacked rhetoric, especially the sophistic claim that presented truth as a product of discourse. Aristotle, who defined rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (Book I- Chapter 2), argued that the three technical artistic proofs/the three means of persuasion, ethos, pathos, and logos, made rhetoric an art, a method that could be studied and exercised systematically. Ethos which



referred to the character or credibility of the speaker was an important proof of the truthfulness of what the speaker said. However, Aristotle argued that personal credibility had to be attained during the course of speech through practical intelligence, good will, and virtuous character. The good reputation of the speaker in the society could not be taken as an artistic proof, as a means of persuasion. Aristotle also argued that appealing to the emotions of the audiences, “putting the audience into a certain frame of mind” (Book I – Chapter 2), was the second means of persuasion, as emotional and affective appeals might affect judgment of audiences and thus lead them to act in the way desired by the speaker. The final means of persuasion, *logos*, was the logical reasoning of the argument.

In the Roman Republic, rhetoric continued to play a significant role, since persuasive speaking in the Senate, courtroom and public forum was crucial for personal success. The great rhetoricians of the Roman Republic, Cicero, Hermagoras, Quintilian, and Longinus, believed in the effective power of language use to serve the public good. Longinus’s main concern with the analysis of language and rhetorical devices in written texts promoted a shift from spoken to written rhetoric. The rhetorical art was equated with power in the Republic until the foundation of the Roman Empire. The Roman Emperors viewed rhetoric as a threat to their ultimate authority, therefore rhetoric was eventually confined to entertainment and the education of administrators.

The fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of Christianity in Europe in the fifth century caused rhetoric to serve the Church, to teach the Bible to uneducated people. Bishop St. Augustine, a prominent figure in the medieval Europe, emphasized the

necessity of using rhetoric for both teaching and defending “scriptural truth when it was attacked” (Herrick, 2001, p. 126), and also held that it could be used to discover transcendent truth. Augustine (1960) distinguished between words/signs and the things they signify (pp. 358-359). With the emergence of the necessity for keeping records of clerical and commercial matters, rhetoric was also commonly used in writing official letters in a highly hierarchical medieval society. Rhetoric, as the art of effective expression, eventually became the core of university education.

The Renaissance was the most prominent period in the history of rhetoric, since it attached a great importance to studying and writing about rhetoric. An enormous number of books (more than 2500) (Herrick, 2001, p. 147) were produced in this period. The Humanist movement in Europe, with its important figures George of Trebizond, Lorenzo Valla, Francesco Petrarca, Pico della Mirandola, and Juan Luis Vives, was the main factor in promoting rhetoric to a privileged discipline of study that was considered to be primary to philosophy as well. Speaking was regarded as the essence of human beings, and persuasive speaking was associated with power of affecting people’s views about social, cultural, legal, and religious matters. However, towards the end of the Renaissance, Rudolph Agricola and Peter Ramus, who argued that reasoning, thus discovering truth, belonged to the dialectic, rather than rhetoric, treated rhetoric as an art whose only function was to present effectively the truths discovered by other disciplines. This view was further promoted in the Enlightenment period, with the change of attitudes towards the source of knowledge. Experimental knowledge, rather than dialectical or rhetorical truth, was viewed as the absolute knowledge. The use of plain language, that was regarded as objective and,

thus, superior to rhetorical discourse, was encouraged in the expression of scientific and philosophical truths (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990, p. 638).

However, due to the Elocutionary movement, that focused on the delivery, rather than the invention and arrangement of rhetorical arguments, and the Belletristic movement, that dealt with the “reception and appreciation of written and spoken discourse” (Herrick, 2001, p. 178), rhetoric continued to be an important subject studied in universities. While Thomas Sheridan, Hugh Blair, and George Campbell, the most prominent figures of elocutionary and belletristic rhetoric of the Enlightenment period, viewed rhetoric as an art to develop effective self-expression abilities, Richard Whately, an archbishop in Dublin, believed that rhetoric had to be used to defend divine truths provided in the Bible against the attacks of scientific thinking.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, many intellectuals and scholars in the West started to lose their trust in the neutrality of scientific thinking. In this regard, an increasing number of scientists admitted that much of the scientific discourse “was not formulary, clinical, and syllogistic, but decidedly strategic, argumentative, and rhetorical” (Herrick, 2001, p. 196). The reflective approach to language, which views it as a mirror reflecting the true meaning existent in the real world, started to be questioned and widely criticized. The belief in the existence of a transparent language, that reflects reality as it is, was losing its popularity as language philosophers, rhetorical theorists, and linguists were providing evidence showing both the rhetorical nature of all language claimed to be objective, and the power of language in constructing knowledge about reality.

### **2.1.2 Language Studies**

The Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis proposed by B. L. Whorf and E. Sapir in the thirties of the 20th century held that language affected ways of perceiving reality. Language was viewed as “a classification and arrangement of the stream of sensory experience which results in a certain world-order” (Whorf, 1956, p. 55). Therefore, differences between languages lead to differences between the ways of perceiving the world. Regardless of its controversies, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis drew the attention of many philosophers, linguists and researchers to the power of language to construct reality.

L. S. Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist, showed that thoughts came into existence through words (1962). A word was regarded as a generalization reflecting “reality in quite another way than sensation and perception” (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 5). Further, due to the changes that thought undergoes in the process of turning into words, thought finds not only a way of expression, but also “reality and form” (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 126).

Words were regarded as “signs” in the Middle ages, in contrast to “symbol” in the Classical period. Words/signs and the things they signify were distinguished by St. Augustine (Herrick, 2001, p. 128). However, it was C. S. Peirce and F. Saussure in the 20th century, who founded modern Semiotics/Semiology - the science of signs. Peirce (1991) defined sign as an “object which stands for another to some mind” (p. 141), or more precisely, “anything which determines something else (its interpretant) to refer to an object to which itself refers (its object in the same way, the interpretant becoming in turn a sign, and so on as infinitum” (p. 239). Signs are categorized as

icons, indices, and names / symbols. There is an iconic relationship between the sign and the object it signifies, if the sign is connected with the object through a mere relation of reason. The indexical relationship exists if the sign physically resembles the object or some feature of the object. Signs/names/symbols are associated with the object by mind.

F. Saussure (1966) defined language as “a system of signs that express ideas” and referred to “the science that studies the life of signs within society” as semiology (p. 16). A linguistic sign, which is the concrete entity of linguistics, is a combination of a sound-image (signifier) and a concept (signified). There is an arbitrary relationship between the “signifier” and the “signified” (Saussure, 1966, p. 67) in that through using signs which do not carry any meaning in themselves, we give meanings to things that do not have any fixed and universal meanings on their own.

For Saussure (1966), thought cannot be separated from language, “there are no pre-existing ideas, and nothing is distinct before the appearance of language” (p. 112). Language (*langue*) and human speech (*parole*) are distinguished, since *langue* is “a self-contained whole and a principle of classification”, in contrast to *parole*, which is an individual, willful, and intellectual act (1966, pp. 9-14). Whereas the relative stability of language enables it to be studied and treated as the sole object of linguistics, the study of speech, which is an individual, heterogeneous phenomenon, does not belong to the discipline of linguistics. Another important distinction introduced by Saussure is between synchronic (static) and diachronic (evolutionary) linguistics. In Saussure’s view, changes in a language affect some of its elements rather than its whole system; language users confront a “language-state” rather than

an “evolutionary phase”. Furthermore, what matters for the one, that studies facts of a language, is not its successive phases. Saussure therefore argued that “language is a system whose parts can and must all be considered in their synchronic solidarity” (1966, p. 87).

Ogden and Richards (1989, pp. 10-11) proposed a Symbolism theory which emphasized the arbitrary relationship between a symbol (word) and a referent (thing). The nature of the arbitrary relationship among symbol, thought / reference, and referent is presented in a triangular diagram. The theory assumes a direct, causal relationship between symbols and the thoughts they symbolize since

when we speak, the symbolism we employ is caused partly by the reference we are making and partly by social and psychological factors—the purpose for which we are making the reference, the proposed effect of our symbols on other persons, and our own attitude. (Ogden & Richards, 1989, pp. 10-11)

Similarly, symbols cause hearers to make references, and assume attitudes almost similar to those of the producers of symbols. Ogden and Richards noted that both direct and indirect relationships existed between thoughts and referents. However, they believed that the relationship established between a symbol and a referent for grammatical reasons was indirect, “imputed one as opposed to a real, relation” (1989, pp. 11-12).

C. Morris (1938) defined “the process in which something functions as a sign” as semiosis and noted that it had four parts: any sign which acted as a sign was a sign vehicle; what the sign referred to was a “designatum”; the effect of the sign was “interpretant”; and the organism affected by the sign was an “interpreter” (as cited in Schiffrin, 1994, p. 191). Morris, known as the founder of pragmatics, viewed

semiotics as the combination of three branches: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. For Morris, syntax analyzes the relationship between signs, semantics studies the relations between signs and objects to which signs are applied, and pragmatics deals with the relationship between signs and their interpreters (as cited in Levinson, 1983, p. 1).

The common view in the middle of the 1940s was the autonomy of syntax (AUTOSYN). It was believed that syntactic forms and the meanings they held “could and should be described independently” (Newmeyer, 1998, p. 26). The introduction of transformational generative grammar by Chomsky in the 1950s supported the AUTOSYN hypothesis. N. Chomsky emphasized the independence of grammar from meaning and concentrated on syntax to describe whether a sentence was ill or well-formed. His well-known distinction between “competence” (language users’ knowledge of their language) and “performance” (the actual use of language) is similar to Saussure’s distinction between “langue” and “parole”. Chomsky declared that

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly, and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. (as cited in de Beaugrande, 1991, pp. 150-151)

One of the two main approaches to linguistics, formalism, that is associated with Chomsky’s generative grammar school, studies language as a system autonomous from language users and societal factors. Language is viewed as a mental phenomenon, accordingly,

linguistics is a branch of cognitive psychology, ... it can be based on intuitive data and isolated sentences, ... corpus data unrevealing, ... the study of language in use is essentially uninteresting and ... linguistics can be based on

a variant of the Saussurian langue-parole dualism. (as cited in Stubbs, 1998, p. 24)

Thus, the Chomskyan tradition, which focused on analyzing structure rather than meaning, on the basis of isolated sentences invented by the researcher, with the aim of describing grammatical structures in “langue” rather than “parole”, devalued authentic, naturally occurring data for any types of language study.

Another approach, functionalism, which is associated with the Prague school of R. Jakobson, holds that language is a medium for communication and thus, a societal phenomenon. The functionalist approach rejects “characterizing the formal relationships among grammatical elements independently of any characterization of the semantic and pragmatic properties of those elements” (Newmeyer, 1998, pp. 14-15). Formal syntactical deviations that cause the ungrammaticality of sentences can be explained on the basis of semantic and pragmatic effects that language users intend to create. Thus, concentrating only on syntactical forms is very far from providing a clear picture of how language works.

However, the necessity of analyzing formal features for describing how language fulfills different functions cannot be denied either. Language is a rule-governed system that is used for communication. That is why, unless a formal-functional approach, that considers both language internal and external factors, is used neither the formalist nor the functionalist approach to language can provide an adequate description of how an abstract system like language functions successfully to serve communicative needs of human beings.



In view of the significance of language use and users for an interpretation of linguistic phenomena, in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, language philosophers Austin, Strawson, Grice and Searle, started to focus on language use. The emergence of the view that “language structure is not independent (contrary to Chomsky’s well known views) of the uses to which it is put” (Levinson, 1983, p. 40) has led to the conclusion that understanding language use(s) is crucial for understanding language.

Austin (1962) argued that human beings exploited language not only to say something (constative language), but also to do something (performative language). In this regard, three acts are distinguished as follows: locutionary (in which users of language say something), illocutionary (in which language users do something), and perlocutionary (in which by saying something language users create an effect on the addressee) acts. However, “to perform a locutionary act is in general, we may say, also and *eo ipso* to perform an illocutionary act” (Austin, 1962, p. 98). A performative utterance like “I promise to study harder” has a constative element since by saying that, one does not only promise, but also admits not having studied harder until the moment the sentence was uttered. Locutionary acts “will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of the other persons: and it may be done with the design, intention, or purpose of producing them (Austin, 1962, p. 101). Thus, through constatives, through saying something in which we are also doing something, we may create intended and/or unintended performative –perlocutionary-effects.

According to J. R. Searle (1969) language use “is performing speech acts” (making promises, asking questions, and etc.), which are possible only through the use of and in accordance with certain rules (p. 16). However, studying grammatical rules without studying speech acts (language use) does not provide adequate information regarding how language functions since “it would be as if baseball were studied only as a formal system of rules and not as a game” (Searle, 1969, p. 17).

Functionalists believe in the interdependency of context and language (Thompson, 2004). Language use inevitably requires making conscious or unconscious linguistic choices “for language-internal (i.e. structural) and/or language external reasons ... [which] can be situated at any level of linguistic form: phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic” (Verschueren, 1999, pp. 55-56). Form and meaning are related, and “each meaning can be associated with a distinctive formal patterning” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 6). However, regardless of the social view of language and context-dependent investigation of language use, similar to formalists, Austin (1962), Grice (1967), Searle (1969), and Spenser and Wilson (1986) studied language use on the basis of intuitive, invented, rather than authentic-real data (as cited in Stubbs, 1998, p. 30).

De Beaugrande (1996, pp. 503-505) has argued that “the coverage of the language, the convergence among language data discovered and described; and the consensus among linguists about how to formulate the description” are the three “C-tests” that are required for the validity of the scientific study of language. He has criticized the linguistic formalism which disassociates language, its users and context, on the basis of the belief that corpuses of authentic data are inadequate because they are “finite”

and “accidental” collections of utterances” (1996, p. 522). He has contended, therefore, that the formalists “eventually blocked progress in coverage, convergence, and consensus, without which we cannot attain a complete and valid description of any natural language” (Beaugrande, 1996, pp. 510-511).

According to Sinclair (1991, p. 4), “the contrast exposed between the impressions of language detail noted by people, and the evidence compiled objectively from text is huge and systematic”. Data invented on the basis of either researchers’ or native speakers’ intuitions are very far from providing a clear picture of actual language use in respect to lexical, semantic, pragmatic, and grammatical aspects of language. Thus, as long as language is studied on the basis of invented, introspective, rather than the real data, both formalist and functionalist linguistics do not meet the requirements of a valid scientific language research.

Towards the end of the 1980s there has been an increased interest in studying language on the basis of authentic, naturally occurring data. The availability of computers that can store and easily process large amount of real data has promoted the popularity of corpus methodology for language study. Extensive use of electronic corpora in language study has prompted the coinage of the term corpus linguistics which can provide “for the first time in many years, a genuine opportunity to reorganize the pragmatics of doing language science, and its neighbors which depend upon it, on a new and more realistic basis” (Beaugrande, 1996, p. 533). The “radical”, revolutionary role of corpus methodology in modern linguistics is re-emphasized as follows:

Corpus research recasts the linguist: not in the role of the ‘ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its

language perfectly', but in the role of an ordinary speaker-hearer (and writer-reader) in a heterogeneous community, who knows its language only partially and actively seeks access to the knowledge of others. (Beaugrande, 2002)

Analysis of massive authentic data secures the authority of corpus based research findings which can be quantitatively and/or qualitatively verified by other methods, but which again crucially requires the use of authentic data.

### **2.1.3 Corpus Studies**

Corpus has always been used by linguists to refer to “a collection of naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recordings, which have been collected for linguistic study” (Hunston, 2002, p. 2). The corpus methodology (the empirical study of language through real language data use) was exploited even in the pre-Chomskyan period by both field linguists such as Boas and the supporters of structuralism such as Sapir, Newman, Bloomfield and Pike (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 3). However, before the invention of computers, the corpora that were used were very small paper-based collections of texts, and thus were not representative of the intended language or language variety.

The development of computers has enabled linguists to store and process large numbers of real language data that have been collected with a particular research interest. Thus, nowadays, the term corpus is used to refer to “a collection of (1) machine-readable (2) authentic texts (including transcripts of spoken data) which is (3) sampled to be (4) representative of a particular language or language variety” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 5).

The “reliable quantitative” rather than the intuitive data that a corpus can provide is one of the most important advantages of using the corpus methodology (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 52). The available software programs enable researchers to objectively process corpus data in terms of frequency, phraseology, and collocation. Intuition is considered to be “a poor guide to at least four aspects of language: collocation, frequency, prosody, and phraseology” (Hunston, 2002, p. 20). A systematic analysis of large corpora through the use of software programs “allows access to a quality of evidence that has not been available before” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 4).

Stubbs has noted that even though “corpus linguistics is at only a preliminary stage”, the use of computers combined with software programs and large corpora has allowed linguists to observe phenomena and discover previously unsuspected patterns (Stubbs, 1998, pp. 231-232). Sinclair (1991, p. xvii) has strongly emphasized the benefits of using electronic corpora in language studies by stating that “computer processing of texts have revealed quite unsuspected patterns of language”.

Corpus linguistics is currently viewed as “a methodology rather than an independent branch of linguistics in the same sense as phonetics, syntax, semantics, or pragmatics” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 7). However, rather than a method in itself, corpus linguistics is considered to be “an insistence on working only with real language data taken from discourse in a principled way and compiled into a corpus” (Teubert, 2005, p. 4). Corpus linguistics

is not concerned with what happens to occur (at least once): indeed its methods are designed to exclude unique instances, which have no statistical

significance: It is concerned with a much deeper notion: what frequently and typically occurs. (Stubbs, 2001, p. 151)

Widdowson (2001, p. 533) has questioned “what is so deep about this notion”, and proposed that since what is revealed in corpus evidence is “contrary to intuition”, it cannot be representative of first person reality (Widdowson, 2000, p. 6). However, the prominent applied linguist recognizes the achievement of corpus linguistics in descriptive linguistics, in revealing “order in regularities beyond the rules of formal syntax” (Widdowson, 2001, p. 537).

In corpus study “recurrent collocations and repeated co-occurrences of lexis and syntax” are the main topics of analysis on the basis of the belief that these repeated collocations, and lexical and grammatical co-occurrences cannot be due to “performance errors” (Stubbs, 1998, p. 233). The strong tendency for the co-occurrence of “words, words classes, meanings and attitudes” is clearly visible in corpus evidence. Therefore, any language description should be based on the major structural categories of collocation, colligation, semantic preference, semantic prosody, and the inter-relationship between them (Sinclair, 2004, p. 39). Lexical items which can be “compounds, multi-word units, phrases and even idioms”, as well as single words are considered as semantic units/units of meaning (Teubert, 2005, pp. 5-6). The analysis of the context in terms of co-text, “a short span of a few words within one single text”, and inter-text “repeated occurrences, often a very large number, of similar patterns across different independent texts” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 157) is crucial for identifying the semantic, connotative, and prosodic meanings (Orpin, 2005, p. 39) of lexical units.

Corpora are often viewed as a tool, whereas corpora are only “a way of collecting and storing data, and that is the corpus access programs - presenting concordance lines and calculating frequencies - that are the tools” (Hunston, 2002, p. 20). Frequency is a term used in corpus linguistics to refer to “the arithmetic count of a number of linguistic elements (i.e. tokens) within a corpus that belong to each classification (i.e. type) within a particular classification scheme” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 52). Counting each word gives us the number of tokens, whereas counting each repeated token once gives us the number of types in a corpus. A frequency list is “simply a list of all types in a corpus together with the number of occurrences of each type”, and keywords are “significantly more frequent” items identified in frequency evidence (Hunston, 2002, p. 67). It provides “hints and clues to the nature of a text”, however, examination of a frequency list enables the researcher to decide on an objective basis which further information to be acquired, or which lexical items to be analyzed, or make guesses regarding the structure of a given text, thus “focus an investigation” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 31).

Concordance refers to the “collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 32); “a fragment of parole, where a single instance of syntagmatic relations can be observed” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 152). Repeated syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations cannot be observed in a single text, whereas repeated events can be observed in a set of concordance lines, thus both “what frequently occurs syntagmatically, and how much constraint there is on the paradigmatic choices” becomes visible (Stubbs, 2001, p. 152). Therefore, the detailed observation of a particular word-form, combined with “some context from the original source text, will probably remain the ultimate process of verification for

attributing any linguistic feature to that form” (Krishnamurthy, 2006, p. 147). The quality of concordance evidence which can be used to observe the typical, meaning distinctions, meaning-pattern relations, and the detailed behavior of selected keywords (Hunston, 2002, pp. 42-52) is considered to be quite superior to the quality of evidence collected by other methods (Sinclair, 1991, p. 42).

Collocation was first defined as “statements of the habitual or customary places of” a word (Firth, 1968, as cited in McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 82). In contemporary corpus linguistics collocation is “a frequent co-occurrence of words” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 28); “the habitual co-occurrence of two (or more) words” (Stubbs, 1998, p. 176); “the typical lexical combinations” (Beaugrande, 2002); “the tendency of words to be biased in the way they co-occur” (Hunston, 2002, p. 68), “the characteristic co-occurrence patterns of words, i.e., which words typically co-occur in corpus data” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 56).

“The typical grammatical combinations” (Beaugrande, 2002), “the co-occurrence of words with grammatical choices” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 174), the collocations “of a node word with a particular grammatical class of words (e.g. determiners)” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 82) are called colligations. “A particular collocational phenomenon” (Stubbs, 1998, p. 176), a special meaning “which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates” (Louw, 2000, as cited in McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006, p. 83), and which is strongly associated with connotative, pragmatic, and attitudinal meaning (Sinclair, 2003) is called semantic prosody. “The reason why we choose to express ourselves in one way rather than another is coded in prosody” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 174), and as what is expressed with



semantic prosody is close to the function of the lexical item, it is “on the pragmatic side of the semantics/ pragmatics continuum” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 34). Semantic prosody of “a given word or phrase may occur most frequently in the context of other words or phrases which are predominantly positive or negative in their evaluative orientation” (Hunston & Thompson, 2001, p. 38). By using the term “polarity” to refer to “prosody”, Channell (2001) argues that without using intuitive data, evaluative polarities can be analyzed and described in a systematic way through the use of quantitative data of corpus methodology.

Another collocational meaning which is called semantic preference is defined “by a lexical set of frequently occurring collocates (sharing) some semantic feature” (Stubbs, 2002, as cited in McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006, p. 84). Semantic preference is expressed by “the co-occurrence of words with semantic choices,” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 174) by “clear preference for words of a particular meaning” in a phrase’s structure (Sinclair, 2003, p. 178).

Thus, collocational information is used to reveal different meanings of a given word, to give its semantic profile, to provide clues regarding its “dominant phraseology” and semantic field’s profile (Hunston, 2002, pp. 75-79). Use of computerized corpora in the study of collocation is beneficial in that it frees “linguists and lexicographers from an over reliance on intuition... which is a poor guide to collocation” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 83). It is possible to observe collocation informally, however, measuring collocation statistically is more reliable, and requires a corpus (Hunston, 2002, p. 68). “Words occur in characteristic collocations, which show the associations and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions which they

embody” (Stubbs, 1998, p. 172). Using corpus analysis techniques enables researchers to objectively and accurately investigate large corpora since often language users’ intuitive knowledge on “collocations are very inaccurate, and intuitions certainly cannot document such collocations thoroughly” (Stubbs, 1998, p. 172).

The machine-readability quality of a corpus enables researchers to store large bodies of real (authentic), representative language data, which can be processed accurately, objectively and rapidly through the use of corpus access software, and thus, increases the reliability of generalizations made on the basis of the attested, rather than the introspective data. Therefore, the use of electronic corpora in all kinds of language study has become popular. A wide range of contemporary research regarding lexical, grammatical, register and genre variation, dialects and language variety, contrastive and translation, language change, language learning and teaching, semantics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, stylistics, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, critical linguistics, and forensic linguistics have applied corpus analysis.

The availability of various electronic versions of spoken corpora of English such as BASE (British Academic Spoken English), CSLU Speech Corpora (Center for Spoken Language Understanding), Longman Spoken American Corpus, Machine-Readable Spoken English Corpus (MARSEC), London-Lund Corpus (LLC), Reading/Leeds Emotional Speech Corpus, Spoken Corpus of the Survey of English Dialects, Switchboard Corpus (SWB) have enabled researchers to study both written and spoken language. They provide access to spontaneous, naturally occurring transcribed speech data, collected in a wide variety of contexts, including shopping,

work place, telephone conversation, casual talk, interviews, together with the recorded version and the information regarding the age, sex, education of speakers, in addition to the electronic corpora for written English. Pragmatic research, mainly concerned with the analysis of spoken language, has extensively used electronic corpus data (Aijmer, 1987; Arnovick, 2000; Biber, 2004; Drave, 2002; Jacobsson, 2002; Jucker, Smith & Lüdge, 2003; Laforest, 2002; Lenk, 1998; McEnery, Baker & Cheepen, 2002; Svartvik, 1980 as cited in McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006, pp. 104-108).

Corpus methodology enables researchers to observe recurrent lexical items and patterns of association that promote particular ideologies, values, and attitudes. Furthermore, corpus search and processing techniques of frequency lists, collocations, and concordance lines are useful in revealing empirical evidence regarding a language user's style. In other words, corpus methodologies provide empirical evidence on the lexical, syntactical, and stylistic choices made by language users to secure an attitudinal and/or behavioral change in an audience. Therefore, critical studies, investigating rhetorical discourse, relation of linguistic choices and strategies to its rhetorical effects can benefit from the application of corpus methodology.

#### **2.1.4 Communication and Media Studies**

The reflective approach to the role of language in producing meaning views language as a transparent medium that functions as a mirror (Hall, 2002). However, the intentional approach argues for the intentions of language producers as the main and only source of meaning. It is believed that language functions as a transmitter that carries the intentions of language producers to passive language receivers. Unlike the

reflective and intentional approaches to meaning and the role of language in meaning construction, the advocates of the constructionist approach, which has mostly developed on the basis of Saussure's works, hold that meaning is produced through language, through "representational systems" that require associating signs with the "concepts and images formed in our thoughts" (Hall, 2002, p. 17). According to the constructivist approach

It is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others. (Hall, 2002, p. 25)

Therefore, reality cannot be separated from language, from the representational systems that represent, and thus construct reality (Royle, 2000, p. 2).

Language is a "representational system", "a signifying practice" (Hall, 2002, pp. 1-5) and only through representation / language use we can produce meaning. The primary role of human beings is to attach meaning to things by using signs, however, neither things nor signs used to signify these things have meaning in themselves.

It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them- how we represent them- that we give them a meaning. In part, we give objects, people and events meaning by the frameworks of interpretation which we bring to them. (Hall, 2002, p. 3)

Language is defined as "the major instrument in attempts to construct meaning in a world which does not have a meaning in itself" (Verschueren, 1999, p. 8). However, although meaning is constructed through representation systems, meaning can be fixed neither by linguistic elements nor by the text/the writer of the text. Since "perception is a text" (Bennington, 2000, p. 84), meaning construction requires active involvement of both the producer and the receiver of language.

Grice (1968) defined speaker (or writer) meaning “as the speaker’s intention in the making of an utterance to produce an effect in the hearer by means of the hearer’s recognition of the intention to produce that effect” (as cited in Verschueren, 1999, p. 47). All language use is pragmatic, which means that language producers use the language with an intention in their mind. Unless this intention is recognized by the receiver, it cannot be claimed that there is communication between these two language users. Verschueren states that

using language must consist of the continuous making of linguistic choices, consciously or unconsciously, for language-internal (ie. Structural) and/or language-external reasons. These choices can be situated at any level of linguistic form: phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic. (1999, p. 56)

Language users make mostly conscious choices regarding the linguistic resources available to them in order to make their intentions clear to receivers. However, since successful communication depends not only on “the exchange of symbolic expressions, ... [but] rather, the successful interpretation by an addressee of a speaker’s intent in performing a linguistic act” (Green, 1996, p. 1), and since choices are made both in the production and interpretation of an utterance (Verschueren, 1999), both agents in the act of communication (speakers / writers and hearers /readers) are responsible for the success of communication.

It is proposed by the Inferential Model of Communication (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer, & Harnish, 2001, pp. 370-372) that a successful communication depends on the exploitation of a variety of shared presumptions and inferential strategies by language users in their attempts to recognize the meaning of an utterance. Recognizing the speaker’s or writer’s utterance, the operative meaning of the utterance, what the speaker or writer is referring to, the type of communicative act

performed by the speaker or writer, and whether it is contextually appropriate for the speaker and writer to speak literally and directly or not, are the pragmatic, inferential strategies that language users exploit in order to recognize the intentions of language producers.

Media is a power resource and an effective means to convey messages to large masses. The effects of mass communication and its products have always been among the main concerns of communication research and various groups. However, the amount of power attributed to mass media shows variations among communication theories and models.

Communication models developed in the 1950s (Lasswell, 1948; Osgood, 1954; Schramm, 1954; Shannon & Weaver, 1949), and the 'bullet theory' (Schramm, 1971) which is also known as the 'hypodermic-needle' theory (Berlo, 1960), or the 'stimulus-response' theory (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989) ascribe great power to mass media, and view audiences as isolated and passive recipients of symbolic content, mediated through institutions of mass media. On the other hand, in the 'two-step flow' model (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955) audiences are viewed as members of social groups in which some individuals, that are more active in receiving messages conveyed by media, play an important role in influencing the passive ones' perception of media content. Thus it regards mass media as less powerful. The 'Uses and Gratification Approach' (Katz, 1959; Klapper, 1960) similarly attributes limited power to mass communication and considers audiences to be active individuals that selectively expose themselves to media content, that can satisfy their needs, and interpret the messages on the basis of their existing knowledge and beliefs.

The related research has indicated the active role of the audience in interpreting media texts which may result in resistance to messages, and thus lead to very weak direct and immediate effects in terms of attitude and behavior change. The factors that limit the direct and immediate effects of mass communication were defined as “the selective processes (selective perception, selective exposure, and selective retention), group processes and group norms, and opinion leadership” (Klapper, 1960, as cited in Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 298). Hence, since the 1960s the effect studies have viewed mass media as a source of meaning and social reality construction, and thus concentrated on indirect, in other words, long-term effects of exposure to media content.

‘Cultivation’ (Gerbner et al., 1979), ‘Agenda Setting’ (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, 1976), ‘Media Framing’ (Bleske, 1995; Maher, 1995; Shah & Domke, 1995), ‘Spiral of Silence’ (Noelle-Neumann, 1974) are among the theories that view mass media as an important factor that affects an audience’s perception and beliefs about reality. It is believed that by guiding the audience to construct meaning and reality from the perspective of producers of media content, mass media not only tell audiences what to think about, but also how to think.

The most recent effect theories ascribing more power to mass media perceive audiences as active individuals living in groups, whose influence on the group members’ perception of media messages cannot be denied. However, unlike earlier theories that attribute great power to mass communication in terms of leading to behavior or attitude change, the new theories concentrate on the power of media content in constructing / reconstructing meaning and social reality, and framing our

ways of knowing the world (Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 15). Discarding the view of mass communication as the transmission of symbolic content to passive receivers, that are vulnerable to manipulation, these theories regard it as a discursive practice in which audiences are also actively involved through constructing or reconstructing meaning and reality from the media content. Thus, mass communication research has recently shifted its attention to the analysis of media content which has been regarded as “rich in meaning and open to multiple readings” (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes & Sasson, 1992, as cited in Severin & Tankard, 1997, p. 329).

Media content studies, initially, were concerned with the potential (intended and unintended) effects of exposure to information, messages, and symbolic representation of reality, constructed from the perspective that serves the interests of dominant power groups in society. The potential effects of exposure to media content in which violence, pornography, ethnicity etc. were portrayed were among the main interests of such research. However, communication research has recognized that any reading (comprehension, perception, and interpretation) of a text is the result of an interface between the textual features, that are consciously (in most cases, especially, in media texts) chosen and structured by the producer to create an intended effect, and the interpretation of audience(s), whose perception is shaped by various social, cultural, educational, ideological, and psychological factors.

Therefore, they have shifted their focus from the informational content of media texts onto linguistic resources and strategies exploited by both the producers and consumers of media texts. Meaning construction does not only take place in the production of media texts, but also in the consumption as well. Both linguistic



resources and strategies used to guide consumers of media texts to the reality and meaning of their producers, and interpretative resources and strategies used by audiences, play an important role in the construction of meaning from media texts.

The meaning derived from reading a text is the product of interaction between the text and its reader. In this regard, “text-activated, reader-activated, and context-activated” readings are distinguished (Staiger, 1992, as cited in Real, 1996, p. 104). Text-activated reading views text (linguistic signs, codes) as the main determinants of meaning. On the other hand, reader-activated reading emphasizes the role of reader interpretation as the main source of meaning construction. Context-activated reading attributes equal significance to both the text and the reader in producing meaning. It is assumed that the interactions between the text and the reader that exist in particular historical contexts produce meaning.

It has been noted by Hall (1980) that readers may negotiate or oppose the message of texts in the form of “negotiated and oppositional reading”. However, he has admitted that there is always a “preferred reading” encoded into media texts by their producers (as cited in McQuail, 1994, p. 238). Through using linguistic resources and strategies, producers of texts try to direct readers towards their meaning and reality. Hall (1980) has noted that producers of media texts encode their messages “for ideological purposes and manipulate language and media for those ends” (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 146) in the form of “preferred reading”. However, consumers of media texts are active and free to oppose or negotiate the encoded meaning. For Hall, “negotiated reading” which “contains a mixture of acceptance and rejection of the

dominant code and the preferred meaning encoded into the text” (as cited in Real, 1996, p. 107) is the most common way of reading.

Fiske (1989, as cited in Real, 1996, p. 108) has claimed that resistant reading is the most popular form of reading. However, Condit (1991) has noted that opposition takes place in the evaluation of meaning and reality encoded into text, rather than in the perception and interpretation of the preferred meaning of the text (as cited in Real, 1996, p. 108). As stated by McQuail (1994, p. 379) even though no one can deny the power of readers in negotiating the meaning encoded into media texts by their producers, most of the relevant research indicate that “audience ‘readings’ do often follow conventional and predictable lines of interpretation” which is very similar to the preferred reading encoded in media texts.

The research to date indicates that even though there is always a probability that the message may not be interpreted in the way that it has been intended by its producer(s), in other words, it may have different illocutionary and perlocutionary effects than the intended ones, the power of effective use of language in leading listeners and readers to construct and re-construct reality from the perspective encoded into the text cannot be denied either.

### **2.1.5 Critical Studies of Media Texts**

The pragmatic view of the role of language which has been adopted by critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis, semiotics, hermeneutics, cultural studies, and postmodern philosophers enables the related research “to see how meanings are made and remade” (Cronen & Chetro-Szivos, 2001, p. 39). A common perspective in most postmodern thought is that meaning and reality are co-constructed through

negotiation, and that communication is “a process for the negotiation of reality between or among individuals with subjective realities”, hence language is regarded either “as the representation of reality” or “reality such as it exists” (Leonhirth, 2001, pp. 99, 103).

Pragmatic analysis is “concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker [or writer] and interpreted by a listener [or reader]” (Yule, 1996, p. 3). It has been applied in the critical analysis of media texts in order to identify both the linguistic resources used by writers and speakers to accomplish their pragmatic intentions, and the effects of linguistic choices made by producers on receivers (Cheng, 2002; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Coupland & Williams, 2002; Harvey, 2000; Ricento, 2003; Sopory & Dillard, 2002; Weber, 2005; Weltman, 2003). Pragmatic analyses of media products, mostly political and ideological texts, and advertisements have been conducted in order to identify linguistic resources and strategies used by producers in order to create an intended effect on audiences.

Discursive approaches to the analysis of media texts, especially after the 1980s, have been affected by studies in pragmatic linguistics, the psycho-social sciences, and the philosophy of languages (Colombo, 2004). Critical discourse analysis has incorporated pragmatic analysis in examination of ideologies in discourses which have been assumed to be linguistically structured to produce, reproduce, and express the writer’s / speaker’s ideology. In this regard, linguistic choices language users make regarding vocabulary and syntax are “principled and systematic” (Fowler et al., 1979, as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001), and these reflect the ideological intentions of language users.

In media studies, discourse is viewed as “a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about a topic area” (Fiske, 1987, as cited in McQuail, 1994, p. 237). Discourse is regarded as

ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. (Hall, 2002, p. 6)

A similar attitude towards discourse considers it “the production of knowledge through language” (Foucault, as cited in Hall, 2002, p. 44). Discourse constructs meaning and reality through signifying the world (Fairclough, 1994). Van Dijk, one of the most influential critical discourse analysts, emphasizes the importance of discourses in the production, reproduction, acquisition, and expression of ideologies (2006a). Critical discourse analysis has become a popular approach to the analysis of media content, its main focus being on the role of manipulative discourse which involves power abuse or domination (Van Dijk, 2006b).

Critical linguistics which has been based on Halliday’s Systemic Functional linguistics (Wodak & Meyer, 2005, p. 8) plays an important role in the formation of the underlying assumptions of critical discourse analysis. Linguistic criticism analyzes the relationship between lexical units and the “habitual” (uncritical, automatic, uses of “legitimated meanings”) conventional codes, associated with lexical units to reveal the interests of dominant groups. The main aim of linguistic criticism is resisting habitualization through “demystification, demonstration of the practices by which language is used to present partial and slanted concepts as if they were innocent and natural” (Fowler, 1996, pp. 50-51).

It has been proposed by both critical discourse analysts and systemic functional analysts that the linguistic choices made by language users are ideological and thus, through the analysis of discourse it is possible to show “how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes” (Trew, 1979, as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001). Examination of the relationship between language and ideology, “unexamined, unselfcritical, routinized presentations of the world” (Fowler, 1996, p. 269), reveals “the role of language in forming and transmitting assumptions about what the world is and should be like, and the role of language in maintaining (or challenging) existing power relations” (Hunston, 2002, p. 109).

Texts primarily function to “manage the mind of others”, which may lead to the dominance of one group over others, and to “political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender” inequalities (Van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249-254). Fairclough (1995) has stated that the reading of a text / constructing meaning from a text may show variations. However, “the interpretation of texts is a dialectical process resulting from the interface of the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text, and properties of the text itself” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 9). Thus, the nature of a text constrains, delimits “the range of potential interpretations” (Fairclough, 1995, as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001).

Critical approaches to language study hold that linguistic choices of language users convey implicitly coded ideology, specifically, linguistic codes “embody theories of how the world is arranged: world-views or ideologies” (Fowler, 1996, p. 40). At the micro-level various linguistic means such as “intonation, lexical or syntactical style,

rhetorical figures, local semantic structures, turn-taking strategies, politeness phenomena” can reveal “the more subtle and unintentional manifestations of dominance” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 261). Moreover, various lexico-grammatical patterns encode different meanings (Fowler, 1996, p. 31), hence

the study of recurrent wordings is therefore of central importance in the study of language and ideology, and can provide empirical evidence of how the culture is expressed in lexical patterns. The cultural assumptions connoted by such patterns, especially when they are repeated and become habits, are an important component of socialization. (Stubbs, 1998, p. 169)

In this regard, the corpus linguistic methodology, particularly, examination of collocational and syntactic environments (thus associative, connotative, and prosodic meanings of lexical and syntactic choices) can contribute to identification and demonstration of the implicitly encoded ideological stance of language users in critical language studies (Orpin, 2005).

In the past two decades a number of critical studies have applied corpus methodology to investigate the relationship between language and ideology (Baker et al., 2008; Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010; Mautner, 1995; Mautner, 2005; Moore, 2002; Orpin, 2005; Piper, 2000; Stubbs, 1998). Since investigating the role of language in contributing to the existing inequalities between social groups is one of the main concerns of critical language study, a number of studies examined sexism and the role of lexical and syntactical choices in perpetuating gender inequalities in specialized and general corpora (Baranowski, 2002; Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010; Hunston, 2002; Kjellmer, 1986; Romaine, 2000; Sigley & Holmes, 2002; Sotillo & Starace-Nastasi, 1999). The research to date mostly revealed the perpetuation of the stereotypical, sexist construal of woman.

### 2.1.6 Modern Rhetorical Criticism

One of the critical approaches in modern rhetoric holds that language is a form of symbolic action which requires assessment, interpretation of situations and the people interacted with (Burke, 1966). Through use of the infinite means language provides, human beings name, describe, structure, in other words symbolically construct reality (situations, objects, and other people). In Kenneth Burke's view, symbols are at the center of the human experience, they allow us to create and respond to meaning. However, signifiers (symbols) used for naming and describing reality are not signifieds (meaning), they are not identical with the things they refer to. Thus, using symbols in reference to the nonverbal means, naming things with what they are not inevitably requires interpretation, selection, thus acting on reality. In his words, "Even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality" (Burke, 1989, p. 115).

As naming an object or a situation requires it "to be singled out as-such-and-such rather than as something other" (Burke, 1967, p. 4), in our attempts to reflect reality, we develop vocabularies that are selections, thus deflections of reality. Reducing things to what they are not, thus, distorting and transcending reality is intrinsic to symbol use. Hence, through filtering out some perceptions and letting through some others, words (verbal) function as perceptual screens that separate us from reality, from nonverbal. In Burke's view, the instruments used in discovering reality are "structures of terms, and hence must be expected to manifest the nature of terms" (1969b, p. 313). He has argued that we can reveal only such reality that is allowed by

the kind of terminology we use. In other words, according to Burke, by virtue of the terminology used all approaches to describing reality are partial.

Once we acquire language we cannot perceive reality without intervention of perceptual screens, different frameworks, which are not realities but interpretations of reality, and which “will lead to different conclusions as to what reality is” (Burke, 1984, p. 35). Being unable to experience reality without the intervention of language (the instrument we created), thus experiencing only transcended, deflected reality separates us from reality, “not only from things, but from other humans” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 195), and subjects us to the influence of the principles of language - association and disassociation, the negative, and hierarchy through perfection.

According to Burke, positive, dialectical, and ultimate terms that are used for creating order in both the natural and socio-political realms (1969a, p. 183) incorporate the basic principles of language. Positive terms name things, physiological conditions and motions, thus refer to “the order of *motion* and *perception*”. Whereas dialectical, in other words, polar terms refer to “the order of *action* and *idea*” (1969a, p. 184). For instance, a positive term, a table, which does not imply its “logical opposite”, thus, requires the negative for conceiving its opposite, whereas a dialectical term, right, implies its logical opposite- acquires its meaning through its opposite, wrong (Burke, 1970, p. 23). The final, ultimate, level of the symbolic action is different from the dialectical one which leaves the competing ideas or principles in conflict with each other. The unitary principle in the ultimate order requires arranging conflicting principles hierarchically so that the competing “voices would not confront one another as somewhat disrelated



competitors ... rather they would be like successive positions or moments in a single process” (Burke, 1969a, p. 187).

Burke has explained the principle of association and disassociation by saying that “all terminologies must implicitly and explicitly embody choices between the principle of continuity and the principle of discontinuity” (Burke, 1989, pp. 120-121). In other words, terms either put things and people together (associate, identify them with each other), or take things and people apart (disassociate, divide them against one another). We cannot avoid using terms (terministic screens) that direct attention differently through giving “interpretations in terms of either continuity or discontinuity” (Burke, 1966, p. 49). However, even though human beings experience reality through terministic screens that either associate or disassociate things and people, individuals with unique perceptions, thus, with unique worldviews use unique sets of associations, equations to characterize objects and situations, to structure, order their environment and their relationship with others. In other words,

no one’s ‘personal equations’ are quite identical with anyone else’s... each man is ‘necessarily free’ to be his own tyrant, inexorably imposing upon himself the peculiar combination of insights associated with his peculiar combination of experiences. (Burke, 1966, p. 52)

Burke has viewed verbal acts, poetry as “symbolic”, “statistical” acts (Burke, 1967, pp. 8-18), as strategic, stylized answers adopted by the poet to encompass situations that “overlap from individual to individual, or from one historical period to another” (Burke, 1967, p. 1). Since adopting various strategies for the encompassing of situations requires sizing up the situations, naming their structure and their outstanding ingredients, and since selection and deflection of reality is inevitable for naming a situation, these strategies name situations “in modes that embody attitudes”

(Burke, 1967, p. 35). In a symbolic act, words are strategically selected to direct attention to different attributes and attitudes associated with them.

Due to the interaction of naming and attitudinizing (the two major functions that language serves) words have motivational impact/ potency, “an implicit act or command for action” (Heath, 1986, p. 96). With negative and positive attitudes imposed on them, with what the symbol adds to the symbolized, words have the power to influence the judgment and behavior of others. In other words, language is not only referential (used to define situations), but also performative, rhetorical (used to affect situations and the people it is addressed to). Thus understanding what the language does, how it affects the situation and the people to which it is addressed, in other words, its rhetorical effect is crucial for understanding symbolic actions.

The second principle of language, the principle of negativity is explained by Burke on the basis of the qualitative difference between the signifier (symbol) and the signified (symbolized). He has believed that since things (nonverbal) are named with what they are not (verbal), with symbols that transcend reality, using words properly requires the principle of negativity (saying what a thing is through negating, through saying what a thing is not) (Burke, 1970, pp. 16-23). Classification of many situations under one head, association, requires distinguishing them from the other class of situations, disassociation. The use of negative through contrasting (distinguishing / disassociating) the thing from other things, the individual from other individuals, dividing people and things into categories and groups, as well as distinguishing the self from others, is crucial for naming.

Another function of the negative is to moralize human beings. Through the negative individuals learn both the propositional negative of “it is not” and the hortatory negative of “you shall not”. By pointing out the close relationship between the negative and the ethical, Burke has noted that “Action involves character, which involves choice; and the form of choice attains its perfection in the distinction between Yes and No (between thou shalt and thou shalt not)” (1970, p. 41). He has emphasized the primary role of the hortatory negative in establishing ethical standards of society, in protecting “definitions, differentiations and allocations of property” (Burke, 1966, p. 15), thus, in maintaining social order.

if our character is built of our responses (positive or negative) to the thou-shalt-not’s of morality, and if we necessarily approach life from the standpoint of our personalities, will not all experience reflect the genius of this negativity? Laws are essentially negative; ‘mine’ equals ‘not thine’; insofar as property is not protected by the thou-shalt-not’s of either moral or civil law, it is not protected at all. (Burke, 1966, p. 11)

There is an integral relation between the negative, property and personality, as by saying ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to the ‘thou-shalt-not’s’ of moral and civil laws of society, personality turns either towards “the direction of property, status, material resources [or] towards the ideal transcending of the social order by negations” (Burke, 1966, p. 473). Burke has explained the “acceptance” and “rejection” of authority on the basis of our terminologies that single out “certain functions or relationships as either friendly or unfriendly” and thus lead us to act accordingly through welcoming those deemed friendly and rejecting those that are deemed as unfriendly (1937, p. 2). Complying with social norms, accepting authority (hierarchy), eliminates the risk of being punished either by the society or by our consciousness, and thus provides the comfort of being in harmony with others.

However, the symbol-using animal “not only understands a thou-shalt-not; it can carry the principle of the negative a step further, and answer the thou-shalt-not with a disobedient No” (Burke, 1970, pp. 186-187). By being a polar / dialectical term, order implies its opposite disorder (Burke, 1989, p. 292), hence the idea of disorder, disobedience / rejection of authority, of social order is always implicit in any social order. Rejecting the positive and negative commands of the social order results in the feeling of guilt, imposed on the individual by the symbols of authority. Authorities control individuals through assigning guilt to their disobedience. However, controlling individuals, thus achieving social order also requires assistance offered by authorities to those that say “no” to the “thou- shalt” and “thou-shalt-not’s” of social order in expiating the guilt that they have assigned.

Pollution that is due to the rejection of authority / hierarchy leads to the consequent guilt which needs redemption through the curative function of victimage. In Burke’s words “order leads to guilt ... guilt needs redemption ... redemption needs redeemer which is to say, a Victim” (1970, pp. 4-5). Or in other words, “if action, then drama; if drama; then conflict; if conflict, then victimage” (Burke, 1989, p. 280). Accordingly, he has placed great stress on linguistically based “motives of Guilt, Redemption, Hierarchy, and Victimage that supplement and modify men’s purely natural or biological inclinations... [that] ‘perfect’ nature in a purely technical sense” (1984, p. 274).

Burke has defined motives (why people do what they do) as “shorthand words for situations, [that] are assigned with reference to our orientation in general” (1984, p. 31). By being “linguistic devices”, concepts, crucial for understanding and

explaining situations both to ourselves and to others, motives are at the center of dramatic action. Since “differences in our ways of sizing up an objective situation are expressed subjectively as differences in our assignment of motive” (Burke, 1984, p. 35), Burke has equated conscious and unconscious motives for a symbolic act with its rhetor’s situation. He has further equated the situation, the motive of the rhetor with the unique symbolic structure of his/her work, in other words, with sets of equations, associations s/he exploits to characterize objects and situations (1967, p. 20).

The connection between the rhetor’s situation, his motive and the structure of a verbal work is explained by Burke on the basis of the rhetor’s and his potential audience’s deep engrossment in some subjects rather than others. He has noted that a rhetor is deeply engrossed by his/her “burdens”, (1967, p. 17) or the problems and tensions exercised either by himself/herself, or by his/her “potential audience, or mankind in general” (1966, p. 29). Therefore, situations that involve a conflict lead rhetors to a rhetorical action, in other words, they are likely to be used as subject matters of verbal acts.

Furthermore, as confronting the situation “marked by conflict” (Burke, 1966, p. 29) requires the resolution of the tension and the problems it creates, the rhetor’s burdens “become an integral part of his method ... symbolic of his style, and his style symbolic of his burdens” (Burke, 1967, p. 17). The rhetor’s verbal act becomes interwoven (Burke, 1966, p. 29) with the problems that s/he symbolically and strategically resolves. Consequently, these problems / burdens, and the interrelationships among his/her equations can be considered as the motives for the

symbolic action. “Language reflects the ‘personal equations’ by which each person is different from any one else, a unique combination of experiences and judgments” (Burke, 1966, p. 28), thus, the systematic analysis of the unique sets of associational clusters and their functions is at the basis of Burke’s dramaturgic method for studying motives of rhetorical actions.

Finally, for Burke as any type of systematization requires ordering elements according to a hierarchic structure, hierarchy is the source of both linguistic and social orders. Hence,

The hierarchic principle itself is inevitable in systematic thought. It is embodied in the mere process of growth, which is synonymous with the class divisions of youth and age, stronger and weaker, male and female, or the stages of learning, from apprentice to journeyman to master. (Burke, 1969a, p. 141)

However, since it differentiates people into ranks on the basis of “their different modes of living and livelihood” (Burke, 1984, p. 276) as well as differences of sex, age, education, and etc., the hierarchical form of social order is also the cause of different classes and kinds of people’s becoming strange, thus “mysteries” to each other. Humans are not only biologically but also symbolically separated from each others. Entering into the hierarchical symbolic order separates us from others and consequently results in the “hierarchical embarrassment” (Burke, 1984, p. 278) of being different from others. Hence, the principle of hierarchy in social order dictates estrangement /mystification, and the consequent guilt, embarrassment of being different from others as “those ‘Up’ are guilty of not being ‘Down’, those ‘Down’ are certainly guilty of not being ‘Up’” (Burke, 1989, p. 69).

“The social mystery ... is present in hidden symbolic form in all hierarchic schemes whether they are ethnic, religious, political, ideological, or sexual” (Rueckert, 1994, p. 76). Therefore, by experiencing the guilt of their “language-caused” separateness (Stevenson, 1999, p. 200), the guilt of being different from others, humans continually seek to identify, unite, be associated with certain individuals and groups which leads them to be divided, disassociated from certain others.

Furthermore, the principle of hierarchy includes

the entelechial tendency, the treatment of the ‘top’ or ‘culminating’ stage as the ‘image’ that best represents the ‘idea’ ... [and thus] is the principle by which the most distinguished rank in the hierarch enjoys, in the realm of worldly property, its special privileges. (Burke, 1969a, p. 141)

Burke (1989) has believed that human beings move by the principle of perfection, entelechy, which is intrinsic to the nature of symbol systems (language) and which is “central to the nature of language as motive” (pp. 70-71). The symbol-using animal desires to achieve perfection, to identify with the highest / ultimate stage of the hierarchical order. Failure to achieve perfection creates a sense of guilt, and the principle of perfection drives him to strive to transcend lower levels and identify with the higher levels of symbolic hierarchies developed to order his world.

Sharing the same interests, perceptions, attitudes, values, experiences (the same substance), or being persuaded to believe so, cause divided, disassociated human beings to become “substantially one”, “consubstantial”, identified with others (Burke, 1969a, pp. 20-21). Thus, the concept of identification serves as the basis of Burke’s rhetoric. He defines the main function of rhetoric as “the use of language as symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (1969a, p. 43). Human beings move by the principle of perfection

(entelechy), and thus they desire to identify with the highest / ultimate level. Therefore, Burke has argued that the ultimate / hierarchic order of the terms which is charged with symbolic identifications is highly persuasive in leading human beings to strive upward, to identify with the highest / ultimate level, and thus to achieve perfection of its kind.

On the basis of these arguments, Burke (1966) has defined man as

the symbol using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing) animal; inventor of the negative (or moralized by the negative); separated from his condition by instruments of his own making; goaded by the spirit of hierarch (or moved by the sense of order); and rotten with perfection, (p. 16)

and views life as a drama, which involves conflict, resolution and transformation. Burke has believed that dialectic is intrinsic to the polarities of association and its counterpart disassociation, negativity, and transcendence. Terms interact with each other, and the substance of an idea (meaning) is produced by their interaction, in other words by the “transformations produced through” dialectical tensions in verbal works (Heath, 1986, p. 162).

Accordingly, verbal works, which adopt various strategies to encompass situations (Burke, 1967, p. 1), are regarded as “symbolic act[s] of synthesis, (Burke, 1937, p. 25) composed of explicit and implicit sets of equations and agons which interact with each other, and produce dialectical, agonistic tension that can be resolved through dialectical transformation (Burke, 1967). Burke’s methodology enables a critic to identify, analyze, and interpret the structure of a verbal work in terms of “structures of identification, or what goes with what; structures of opposition and polarization, or what versus what; structures of progression, or what follows what; and structures of transformation, or what becomes what” (Rueckert, 1994, p. 235).



Burke has advocated adopting a pragmatic approach to verbal works which are “designed to ‘do something’ for the poet [the rhetor] and his readers” (1967, p. 89). He has believed that such an approach requires consideration of both content and form since a verbal work “gets its form by relation to the question” its producer is answering (1967, p. 92). Thus, a pragmatic approach adopted to the analysis of “the structural way in which ... events and values” are put together in the symbolic act (Burke, 1967, p. 20) reveals not only the rhetor’s attitudes, and motivational forces underlying his/her rhetorical act (the conflict that leads the rhetor to engage in the rhetorical act), but also the rhetorical strategies exploited to secure its appeal to the audience, and potential rhetorical effects of his/her rhetoric.

While trying to explain rhetoric and poetic acts Burke has suggested that

Poetics deals with the exercising of symbolic action in and for itself, rhetoric involves the use of symbolic action to produce effects ‘beyond’ the act, as when exhorting the audience to favor this cause rather than that, this candidate rather than that, this commodity rather than that, or to mend its ways, etc. (as cited in Heath, 1986, pp. 76-77)

However, he has argued that due to a large area commonly shared by the two fields, even though “some works lend themselves more readily to treatment in terms of Rhetoric than in terms of Poetics, or vice versa, even a work of pure science can be shown to have some Rhetorical and Poetic ingredients” (1966, p. 269).

Burke (1937) has defined his cluster analysis as “noting what subjects cluster about other subjects (what images *b*, *c*, *d* the poet introduces whenever he talks with engrossment of subject *a*)” (p. 76). By using the term “images” in reference to “any representation of passions, emotions, actions, and even mood and personality” (1969a, p. 81), Burke has believed that through identification, analysis, and

interpretation of the cluster of images in a verbal work, we can disclose the ideology behind them.

Burke's cluster critical analysis has been applied in studies of political rhetoric (Berthold, 1976), institutional rhetoric (Foss, 1996), and feminist literature (Marston & Rockwell, 1996). Berthold (1976) analyzed John F. Kennedy's presidential speeches using Burke's cluster-agon method, and concluded that the method was "a useful and usable tool" in gaining insights into the rhetoric of a speaker, his/her character and motivations, the way in which his/her key concepts might be perceived by his/her audience, the differences and similarities between the rhetoric of several speakers, and the function of key terms in the rhetoric of social movements (p. 309). Foss (1996) examined the discourse of both Episcopal Church and religious journals that hold unfavorable view of female candidates' ordination to the priesthood. The study revealed that the clustering terms around the key words (Church, priest, male, and female) indicated the Church's attempts "to hold the Church within the context of the hierarchy of Church- priest- male-female" (Foss, 1996, p. 113) as the function of the Church's rhetoric.

Marston and Rockwell (1996) in their study of "The Yellow Wallpaper" by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a well known figure in feminist literature, analyzed the rhetorical function of the text in addition to its ideological function. The scholars argued that the rhetorical function of the associational clusters found in the text under analysis was to encourage the audience's "identification with women's experiences of oppression at the level of attitude and feeling" (p. 78). Thus associational clusters are regarded as a liberating source in feminist literature.

Burke's cluster analysis enables critics to examine the evaluative, attitudinal standpoint of the rhetor, regardless of the nature of texts. Therefore, critical language studies that investigate the role of language in perpetuating social inequalities such as gender, race, politics can benefit from the analysis of associative and agonistic relations established between key terms that represent social groups. Investigation of clustering images between the key terms related to social groups, as well as those that are agonistically associated with these key terms uncovers the rhetor's view of the social groups, in respect to which social group is construed as good, primary, significant, normal, desirable, and etc., and which social group is construed as the other- as the evil, deficient, deviant, abnormal, hence secondary, insignificant, and inferior to the former social group.

Socializing in groups leads to the acquisition of ideologies, however since members of social groups need explanations and reasons to acquire ideologies dominant in group, discourses in which "socially shared representations" (ideologies) have been produced and expressed, either explicitly or implicitly, are crucial for teaching ideology to the members of ideological groups. Learning religious and political ideologies requires explicit instruction reproduced by "ideologues" of various kinds (leaders, experts, teachers, priests, etc.) (Van Dijk, 2006a). Therefore, the application of Burke's methodology to the analysis of the rhetoric of new religious movements can provide useful insights regarding the function(s) of key terms in producing the ideology of a specific movement, the motivation(s) and worldview of its leader, and the potential effect(s) of his/her rhetoric on the audience. Furthermore, the methodology can be useful in revealing how and why the resources of language (the structures of association, disassociation, progression, and transformation, the

negative, the motives of perfection, guilt, redemption, hierarchy, and transcendence) are manipulated in the rhetoric of a new religious movement's leader.

## **2.2 Contemporary Religious Movements**

There have been contradictory views about the cause, influence, and scale of contemporary religious movements which have been defined as religions, sects, or alternative spiritualities “that emerged or rose to prominence during the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (Partridge, 2004, p. 20). These movements have been referred to as ‘cults’ and ‘sects’ by their critics, or ‘New Religious Movements’ (NRMs) and ‘New Spirituality Movements’ (NSMs) by academicians. By introducing reshaped and transformed purposes of old religions as new beliefs and practices, NRMs “provide in each case new foundations for being religious, ... and act as catalysts for change within the older religions” (Clarke, 2006, pp. xii, xiii). Thus, new, or contemporary religious movements are defined as “the products of the continual changes all religions are simultaneously undergoing in their effort to remain relevant to their time and place and the people they serve” (Melton as cited in Partridge, 2004, p. 11).

The newness of NRMs is associated with the emergence of new religious organizations, new religious leaders that present new “spiritual visions” or “new religious syntheses”, the context in which they are functioning, and the audience they address, since most of these movements present traditional religions “in a new context and to a new audience” (Melton, as cited in Partridge, 2004, p. 11). The new in the new religions is also correlated “with their reactions to current ways of life, with their identification of specific tensions in current life, with their specific notion of what constitutes salvation” (Hexham & Poewe, 2000, p. 7).

It has been suggested that the majority of new religions have emerged as a reaction to the Western model of modernity, to European Enlightenment that claimed to emancipate humans from myths and religious dogmas. According to Campbell (2001),

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a process in which first, the rise of science served to undermine people's faith in traditional religion, only second, for the optimism which had been attached to science and technology to be itself undermined. (p. 44)

Campbell argues that it is this process in which people have lost their belief first in traditional religions, then in rational and scientific thinking that has led the Eastern paradigm to become popular in the West. In other words, it has led to the “abandonment of the traditional Western conception of the divine as transcendent and personal and its replacement by a view of the divine as immanent and essentially impersonal” (2001, p. 41).

Secularism used to be considered as one of the most important requirements of modernization. However, the belief in the failure of the Western model of modernization has become popular both within the West and non-Western countries. Thus people, searching for alternative methods of development, have begun to question secularism and Western modernization that have tried to emancipate people from religious norms and beliefs.

As stated by Davis since “secularism in the West is associated with materialism” (as cited in Antoun & Hegland, 1987, p. 148) and since materialism is defined as “conspicuous consumption” (Osborne, 2002, p. 179) and, thus, has been perceived as among the main causes of the current environmental and ecological destruction, the

failure of the Western model of modernization has led to the emergence of suspicions about the necessity of secularism for modernization.

Taylor (1998) has pointed out “an extraordinary revival of traditional religious belief and practice in recent years”, and claimed that although it seems secular, the “twentieth-century culture is haunted by religion” (p. 4). It is difficult to assess

the numbers of those involved in new religions and new types of spirituality movements.... However, reasonable estimates suggest that considerable NRMs ... are now global religions in their own right, with a following that has to be counted in millions. (Clarke, 2006, p. xiii)

Interestingly, in Campbell’s view (1972) the circumstances that have led to the “emergence, not of a secular scientific society, but of a society centered on a blend of mysticism, magic and pseudo-science” have been created by secularization (as cited in York, 1995, p. 254).

Dawson (2006) has viewed NRMs as both “products of, and responses to, the new social pressures to which we are all exposed in late modernity, as well as the age-old spiritual aspirations of humanity” (p. 6). Melton (1993), however, has argued that NRMs that have become prominent since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are “products of the massive diffusion of world’s religions globally” (p. 97). He has associated the rapid growth of Eastern-based new religions in the western world with the ease of transportation and communication after the Second World War. He has stated that the new immigration laws passed by the United States and European countries, combined with the developments in communication technologies, have allowed entry of both Asian (Eastern-based) religious missionaries, adherents, and religious / spiritual beliefs and practices into the West.

A similar argument has been put forward by Hamilton (2002) who has admitted the significant role of developments of immigration laws and communication technologies in the emergence of new religions. However, he has argued that global diffusion of religious, and cultural beliefs and practices due to the globalization and new communication technologies is a two way process leading to the transmission of “Western ideas to the East and Eastern ideas to the West” (p. 254). Hamilton, therefore, has rejected the “Easternisation” thesis, proposed by Campbell, by pointing out the existence of NRMs with their Western esoteric origin, such as transcendentalism, the metaphysical movement, and New Age. According to Hanegraaff (1998), it is the context of Western esotericism combined with the impact of Western secularization process that has led to the emergence of the basic elements of New Age religion.

### **2.2.1 The New Age Movement**

The term New Age refers to “a vast array of groups, communities and networks” which aim at “the transformation of human consciousness” (Clarke, 2006, p. 26).

According to York (1995), New Age is

an umbrella term that includes a great variety of groups and identities – some of which may also consider themselves pagan or Neo-pagan, but it is the expectation of a major and universal change being primarily founded on the individual and collective development of human potential that is what links together the disparate component identities as New Age. (pp. 1-2)

York (1995) has viewed the New Age as an expression of Campbell’s “cultic milieu”, or “cultural underground of society” (pp. 32, 323), which is conducive to generating cults. Campbell (1972) has contrasted the cult with the sect, and argues that cults have the characteristics opposite to those of sects. According to Campbell, with their “fluctuating belief systems” and “undefined boundaries”, cults are “rudimentary organizations” that make “few demands on members”. Furthermore,

they are “individualistic”, “loosely structured”, “tolerant”, “transient”, and “highly ephemeral” (as cited in Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 15). However Campbell has believed that cults exist within the “cultic milieu”

which, if not conducive to the maintenance of individual cults, is clearly highly conducive to the spawning of cults in general ... continually giving birth to new cults, absorbing the debris of the dead ones and creating new generations of cult-prone individuals to maintain the high levels of membership turnover. (as cited in Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 15)

Therefore, according to Campbell (1972) the main organizational form of the “cultic milieu” is “not the cult but the ‘society of seekers’” (as cited in York, 1995, p. 252).

He (1972) has explained the characteristics of the “cultic milieu” as

shar[ing] a common position as heterodox or deviant items in relation to the dominant cultural orthodoxies ... a common consciousness of deviance and the need to justify their own views in the light of the expressed ridicule or hostility of the larger society ... a common cause in attacking orthodoxy and in defending individual liberty of belief and practice ... display[ing] a marked tolerance and receptivity towards each others’ beliefs and practices ... [and having a common underground tradition that] tends to be ecumenical, super-ecclesiastic, syncretistic and tolerant in outlook. (as cited in Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 15)

Another characteristic that secures the unity of the “cultic milieu” is the communication media (“the magazines, periodicals, books, pamphlets, lectures, demonstrations and informal meetings”) that keeps it alive (Campbell, 1972, as cited in Hanegraaff 1998, p. 15).

According to York (1995), the New Age can be viewed as

an attempt to unify to some extent the great diversity and amorphousness which is that milieu and bring its related tenets and activities under a single label and organization; in a word, to bring the “cultic milieu” as a new religious movement. (p. 33)

He has argued that “New Age is a blend of pagan religions, Eastern Philosophies, and occult-psychic phenomena”, and what constitutes the occult underground, or the



“cultic milieu” is “the Euro-American metaphysical tradition and the counterculture of the 1960s” (1995, p. 34).

The connection between the New Age movement and the “cultic milieu” is also pointed out by Hanegraaff (1998) who has emphasized “the absence of generally recognized leaders and organizations, normative doctrines and common practices” as a distinguishing characteristic of New Age movement (p. 14). However, he has also pointed out the existence of highly organized New Age movements, such as the Osho, and Hare Krishna movements, with their leaders, “specific doctrines and practices” (1998, p. 14). In Hanegraaff’s view, this situation can be explained on the basis of Campbell’s notion of the “cultic milieu”. By clearly transcending

the boundaries of a specific religious organization, while leaving room within its own domain for such organizations to develop and disappear ... the New Age is either synonymous with the cultic milieu or that it represents a specific historical stage in the development of it. (Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 16)

Hanegraaff has agreed with the New Age and the “cultic milieu” connection emphasized by York. However, he has argued that the words “organization” and “new religious movement” obscure the unique character of the “cultic milieu”. Therefore, he has contended that “it would be more correct to say that the *New Age is synonymous with the cultic milieu having become conscious itself as constituting a more or less unified ‘movement’* (although not a ‘New Religious Movement’ in the normal sense of the word)” (1998, p. 17).

A different argument has been put forward by Heelas (1993) who has viewed New Age as “a collection of paths playing out (sometimes quite differently) variations on the theme of self religiosity” (p. 105). According to Heelas, experiencing and celebrating the naturally perfect Self; emphasizing the contaminating effects of

modernity on the Self; and providing various activities such as meditation, “fire-walking, spiritual therapy or sensory deprivation ... [to liberate] the Self from the contaminated ‘outer personality’ (‘ego’ and ‘lower self’)” are the basic characteristics of the New Age Movement, or as he has called “self-religiosity” (1993, pp. 104-105).

Sutcliffe (2003, p. 198) has argued that the absence of “a distinctive corporate body, a legislative mechanism, historical consciousness, organizational infrastructure, boundaries, and other indices of membership and belonging, and, crucially, unambiguous self-identity and concrete goals” is what makes the New Age is different from the 1960s new religious movements. He has rejected the use of the word “movement” in reference to the New Age, viewing the late 1960s and 1970s version of New Age as an “apocalyptic”, “discursive” emblem of the seekers of alternative spirituality, and the current version as a “spiritual”, “humanistic” idiom of “contemporary popular religion containing a little bit of just about everything” (2003, p. 30).

The existence of postmodern elements in all New Age religions which criticize “dualistic and reductionistic tendencies in [modern] western culture” (Hanegraaff, 2000, p. 292) is admitted not only by the authors that consider it postmodern (Ivakhiv, 2003; Lyon, 1993; Urban, 1996), but also by the authors that relate the New Age religions to modernity due to their meta-narrative construction (Berg, 2008; Heelas, 1993; Woodhead, 1993). Like postmodernity, which is associated with embracing diversity, pluralism, difference, cultural relativity, with a desire to deconstruct and oppose the universal truths and binary oppositions of Western

thought (Bauman, 1994), the New Age is “viewed as a response to a perceived crisis in modernity” (Lyon, 1993, p. 117).

By pointing out “a pervasive pattern of implicit or explicit culture criticism” in New Age thinking, in which dualism and reductionism are associated with institutionalized religions and rationalist science, Hanegraaff (2000) has noted that what makes New Age different from environmental and feminist movements that criticize western modernity is its emphasis on a third current which is sometimes referred to as esotericism; “the idea is that an inner core of true spirituality lies hidden behind the outer surface of all religious traditions, and that the knowledge of it has been kept alive by secret traditions throughout the ages”, or as gnosis “a universal spirituality based upon the primacy of personal inner experience” (p. 292). However, he has argued that rather than Gnostic currents of early stages of Christianity, the New Age movement originated from a phenomenon called “occultism”, or “secularized esotericism”, and emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which “produced radically innovative mixtures of traditional esoteric and modern rationalist and scientific ideas” (2000, p. 294). Hence, he has contended that not only religious, but with their newly attached religious meanings “non-religious” symbol systems, such as “the symbolism of quantum mechanics, and the theory of relativity, various psychological schools, social theories, and so on” are manipulated by New Age spiritualities (2000, p. 304).

According to Heelas (2001, p. 53) “world-rejecting” movements which reject the materialism of the capitalist world and promote “experiencing *the best of the inner world*”; and “world-affirming” movements which reject withdrawal from the world,

on the contrary, promote using your spiritual and mental potential in “experiencing *the best of outer world*” are the two extremes of the New Age Movement. Whereas, the ones that emphasize the possibility of enjoying both the inner and outer worlds are the majority between the two extremes. On the basis of this spectrum, he has classified New Agers as “spiritual purists”, “counter-culturalists”, and “Self- or mainstream-empowerers”. The counter-culturalists believe in the necessity and possibility of liberating the Self from the contaminating effects of modern society (Self-actualization) while living within it. However, self-empowerers reject the idea that the capitalistic mainstream is contaminating the Self, and believe in the compatibility of spiritual growth and material prosperity. For the Self-empowerer, mental, spiritual, and physical potential should be unlocked, and used as a means to achieve material prosperity, to enjoy best of both the inner and outer worlds. Thus, according to Heelas (2001, p. 54), “prosperity seekers adopt an instrumentalised form of spirituality” that is offered by the current popular prosperity courses, seminars, and publications.

For Berg (2008) the New Age philosophy is extensively based on improving the quality of individual’s life. Therefore, “its main ‘product’ is advice for self-improvement and greater happiness” (Berg, 2008, p. 361). On the basis of the findings he obtained through a qualitative content-analysis of New Age books by best-known authors, Berg has argued that representing “eclectic”, “spiritual”, “experiential”, “holistic”, “therapeutic”, and “counter-current” New Age ideology, to “become spiritual”; “be authentic”; “know yourself”; “connect to the world”; “meditate”; “think positively”; “take control”; “live healthily”; “live simply”; and finally “follow your gut feelings” are the main recommendations found in New Age

books that promise happiness (2008, p. 374). Although Berg has recognized beneficial consequences of some recommendations, he has argued that some New Age practices undermine realistic view of reality, they may therefore reduce happiness.

Analyzing the discursive manifestation of New Age ideology in one of the spiritual self-help books, “If Life is a Game – These are the Rules”, Askehave (2004, p. 5) has emphasized that spiritual self-help books that originate from, and promote New Age ideology contribute to the current popularity and wide use of New Age concepts of “‘transcendence’, ‘self-realization’, ‘meditation’ and ‘holism’” not only by New Agers but also by people outside the New Age community.

Due to the negative connotations that the term New Age has acquired “among the mainstream readership ... [the] value-neutral term mind-body-spirit” (MBS) has started to be used in the publishing industry since the mid 1980s (Puttick, 2005, p. 130). The rapid growth of the interest in self- development, holistic spirituality among mainstream readership has caused MBS to become a genre which is “bigger and faster growing than more popular and high-profile subject areas such as food and drink, history, sport and business” (Puttick, 2005, p. 136).

Today the worldwide market for MBS books that promote the growth and diffusion of the holistic spirituality of the New Age movement into mainstream culture is worth £5 billion. Hence, as stated by Hanegraaff (2000, p. 289), the holistic spirituality of New Age “is no longer a phenomenon limited to a comparatively marginal subculture, but has developed into a type of broad folk religion which

appeals to many people at all levels of society”. Or as it is emphasized by Puttick (2005, p. 147), the holistic spirituality of New Age “is not an ephemeral phenomenon but a highly significant, deep-seated socio-spiritual movement as well as a fast-growing, mainstream publishing genre; it is therefore of milestone importance in the arts and social sciences”.

### **2.2.2 The Osho Movement**

Osho / Rajneesh Movement founded by Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh has been described as “the best-known and most fashionable new religion of the 1970s” (Partridge, 2004, p. 191), “the most controversial and the most radical of all the Neo-Hindu movements” (Clarke, 2006, p. 253), and one of the “New Age cults” (Drobin, 1999, p. 231). The leader of the Osho Movement, Rajneesh Chandra Mohan Jain was born in India in 1931, changed his name to Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh in 1972, and took the name of Osho in 1989.

Rajneesh taught philosophy at Jabalpur University until leaving his teaching post in 1966 to become a spiritual teacher. In 1970, Rajneesh started initiating his disciples who were called sannyasins, and he founded an ashram in 1974 in Poona, India. The radical teachings of Osho, and the permissive climate of the ashram in which visitors were introduced to new meditation and therapy techniques attracted many Westerners as well as Indians. He was known as a sex guru, who advocated sexual permissiveness, emphasized transpersonal ties rather than interpersonal ties, thus criticized marriage institution and family, and offered a “solitary sociality” to his disciples that could be practiced in a utopian commune, isolated and free from society’s pressures (Hexham & Poewe, 2000). He strongly criticized social and

religious institutions for keeping individuals under pressure and stress, and challenged the moral codes of society.

As a consequence, he gradually began to experience problems with legal, religious, and social institutions since

not only had his shocking discourses on sexuality and his ruthless satires of famous Indian figures enraged the locals; and not only had his many Western disciples raised controversy because of their practices of drug-dealing and prostitution, but his business dealings had also roused suspicion among Indian authorities. (Urban, 1996, p. 167)

Consequently, due to the “moral, legal, and tax problems” (Carter, 1987, p. 149) that he experienced in 1981, Osho left India, and moved to the United States. Until 1985, he lived in a commune, called Rajneeshpuram, established in Antelope, Oregon. Rajneeshpuram, which was regarded as a “‘New City for the New Man’ with a utopian vision of greening the desert: work as meditation, leading to enlightenment” (Puttick, 2004a, p. 191), was visited by thousands of people from all around the world each year. However, Osho entered into a silence period in the spring of 1981, and left the control of the commune to his personal secretary Ma Anand Sheela. Until 1984, when Osho’s period of silence ended, the commune was governed by Sheela and “female coordinators called ‘moms’ who were in turn directed by a small core of ‘supermom’” (Palmer, 1988, p. 128). The commune had the “facilities of a modern American town, including a hotel, shopping center, airport, dam, sewage reclamation plant, and the third largest public transportation system in the state” (Latkin, Sundberg, Litman, Katsikis, & Hagan, 1994, p. 66).

During Osho’s silence period, the Oregon commune experienced conflicts first with local people

whom they attempted to displace and push out, using terrorist tactics such as dumping animal parts on the lawns of local officials and reportedly distributing salmonella bacteria in local restaurants and grocery stores; and second, with the U.S. government, which undertook an investigation of Rajneeshpuram's claim to both "church" and "city" status and, by extension, its exemption from income tax. (Urban, 2000, p. 287)

Osho did not accept responsibility and blamed Sheela for all these criminal activities, revealing “a series of crimes allegedly carried out by Sheela and her ‘fascist gang’ ... [which] included three poisoning attempts, salmonella food poisoning in The Dalles, wiretapping, bugging rooms, and financial abuse which left the commune \$55,000,000 in debt” (Palmer, 1988, p. 130). At the same time, by announcing the end of his religion, Osho abdicated from the role of a religious guru, and declared himself as a friend to his followers. He and his disciples were charged with serious crimes such as tax evasion, arranging sham marriages, giving false information on his immigration papers, and attempted murder. The Rajneesh commune in Eastern Oregon "produced more conflict, investigation and media coverage than has any other contemporary American religious activity." (Carter, 1987, p. 149) However, even though, Sheela and some of her administrators were arrested, and the dissolution of the commune began, Osho was discharged on condition that he be deported from the USA. He returned to India, to his old ashram in Poona, and continued to conduct discourses there until his death in 1990.

Osho’s teachings based on Eastern and Western philosophies are regarded as “a kind of ‘postmodern pastiche’” of ideas from various sources (Urban, 1996, p. 169). The main goal of the movement is “to ‘de-program’ individuals so that they may behave without reference to norms (oughts or shoulds)” (Carter, 1987, p. 164). Osho’s radical spirituality was mainly based on western version of Tantra, or Neo-Tantrism



the very essence of the liberated, holistic spirituality that characterizes the New Age as a whole - a spirituality that would no longer repress the human body, sexuality, and the desire for material prosperity but integrate them with the need for spiritual nourishment. (Urban, 2000, p. 270)

Osho's philosophy was also influenced by George Ivanovich Gurdjieff (1866 – 1949) who was “one of the founding fathers of non-traditional spirituality in the West” (Puttick, 2004b, p. 327), and whose philosophy is based on the idea that “human beings are asleep” and need to wake up (Clarke, 2006, p. 100). Gurdjieff emphasized the necessity of discovering (remembering) the “True Self” through separating it from the socialized, mechanical self (the ego). Accordingly, Osho viewed man as tortured into a machine by social institutions, and thus argued for “liberation from mechanical patterns of thought and behaviour” (Palmer, 1988, p. 134). Further, under the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844 – 1900) "superman", Osho emphasized the necessity of transcending conventional constraints for the “new human” (Carter, 1987, p. 166).

Osho / Rajneesh Movement has always been the object of extensive media coverage and academic research. Carter (1987) collected data through direct observations, interviews with the residents of the commune, analyzed several books both by and about Osho, and finally performed a systematic analysis of newspaper and magazine articles about the movement. He presented “a balanced documentation of the Rajneesh movement from the point-of-view of a non-involved outsider; and ... [identifying] interpretive and data-access problems which complicate the study of such movements” (1987, p. 149).

Latkin et al. (1987) conducted a survey with the commune members of Rajneeshpuram in August and October, 1983, with the aim of examining the

demographics and psychological well-being of the residents. Their findings indicated that “residents were young, predominantly white, well educated, and from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds ... [and] the presence of healthy self-perceptions: low levels of depression, high social support, and general life satisfaction” (p. 73).

Palmer (1988) applied Wallis’s theory, specifically the model of four responses of a charismatic leader to institutionalization to the seven phases of Osho’s career, and argued for the necessity of adding abdication as a final category to Wallis’s theory for explaining Osho’s case. By drawing “a distinction between two aspects of charisma: the Performer and the Pastor” (p. 119), Palmer concluded that this last strategy (abdication) enabled Osho

to renounce the responsible role of pastor, while retaining the role of performer ... [functioned as] a step to salvage his reputation and protect his personal charisma which Sheela's scandalous behavior threatened to discredit ... served as a sort of shaman's ordeal of initiation, a symbolic death which enabled him to change shape. (p. 135)

Thus, according to Palmer, Osho’s abdication was a transition from “Devotee-type to an Apprentice-type leader ... [thus becoming] an itinerant performer, and ... producing philosophical literature” rather than being in the authoritarian position in his utopian community (1988, p. 136).

Latkin (1990) investigated the self-concept among the members of Rajneeshpuram commune in order to examine the relationship between members’ psychological processes and the belief system emphasized by the commune. A Self-Consciousness scale containing three subscales of Private Self-Consciousness, Public Self-Consciousness, and Social Anxiety; and Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was

administered to 230 members of the commune. The results of the study indicated that the respondents “scored significantly higher than the general population in self-esteem ... high on the Private Self-Consciousness Scale, but low on the Social Anxiety and Public Self-Consciousness Scales”. “The movement's belief that self-exploration is a legitimate and respectable avocation” (Latkin, 1990, p. 91) accounted for the high score of participants on the Private Self-Consciousness Scale, contradicting the stereotypical belief that members of NRMs are brainwashed.

On the basis of data collected through two mail surveys completed by 231 former members of Rajneeshpuram commune in Oregon, Latkin et al. (1994) examined the feelings and perceptions of former members within 16-24 months after their departure from the commune in 1985, and reported that that affiliation of respondents with the movement, and their positive attitudes towards their experience of living in the commune continued.

Urban (1996) investigated the close relationship between Osho's teachings and business practices. He criticized Weber's notion of charisma, and revealed the compatibility of charismatic authority and bureaucratic organization. Urban argued that Osho's charismatic authority was commoditized and marketed to the followers of his teachings, and thus became

the basis for a new kind of bureaucratic organization in Rajneesh's world-wide network of commercial enterprises—an organization characterized by a high degree of fluidity and flexibility, able to adapt itself rapidly to meet the changing demands of its consumer market. (1996, p. 161)

Puttick (2006) adopted a gendered approach to the study of NRMs, including the New Age Movement of Osho, and provided detailed information about the role of woman and gender in the movement on the basis of her 5 years experience within the

Osho commune. According to Puttick, despite the fact that Osho was traditional in his definitions of feminine and masculine attributes, he emphasized the superiority of traditional feminine attributes of receptivity, love, emotion, intuition over male attributes of aggression, rationality, objectivity, and strength. Consistent with the promoted ideology, Osho “advocated an equal opportunities vision of woman freed of the shackles of centuries-old conditioning, reclaiming her power” (Puttick, 2006, p. 231), and put women in charge of running his commune.

Another research adopting the gendered approach to the study of the movement was conducted by Goldman and Isacson (1999) who investigated the enduring effects of involuntary movement departure due to “drastic changes or collapse” (p. 411). They collected the data through interviews with long-term female members of the Osho/Rajneesh and Shiloh Youth Revival Movements 10 years after their departure from these movements. These movements were selected because of their partial or entire collapse within less than a ten year period of their peaks, and presenting gender doctrines that were different from social norms. The study suggested that long-term membership caused women’s changing “the courses of their lives because they conserved the gender doctrine articulated within their movements, for more than a decade after their departures” (Goldman & Isaacson, 1999, p. 411).

D’Andrea (2007) conducted an anthropological study into sannyasin practices in the Osho Meditation Resort in India, specifically cathartic therapies and meditations, and revealed the paradoxical promotion and control of expressive behavior by the organization. Reflecting Osho’s criticism of repressive modern society, visitors to the commune were encouraged to self-express. However,

when these episodes spun out of the therapeutic setting, the organization imposed harsh discipline ... involved admonishing, pathologizing, or expelling the recalcitrant, who could choose to acquiesce or leave the resort. (D' Andrea, 2007, p. 108)

The Osho movement is considered to be a complex movement that attempts to create “a synthesis of Western ideas of gender and Oriental spirituality using a traditional form of Bhakti Yoga as its main vehicle” (Clarke, 2006, p. 254). According to the Hindu Bhakti tradition <sup>ii</sup>, spiritual growth is possible through “receptivity, love and devotion to the guru and God” (Puttick, 2006, p. 232). Osho believed that “if ‘feminine devotion’ to a male god is the primary characteristic of devotional religion, it is easier, more natural, for women to be devotees of a male god- or male master” (Puttick, 2006, p. 232). Osho adapted a traditional view in defining feminine and masculine qualities in that receptivity, trust, love, emotionality and intuitiveness were considered to be feminine qualities as opposed to the masculine qualities of “strength, decisiveness, objectivity, and the intellect itself” (Puttick, 2006, p. 233). Since submissiveness to the master of the religion is a requirement for spiritual growth, and since the relationship between the master and the disciple is to be based on love, an ideal disciple is expected to have the feminine rather than masculine qualities. Thus, the Osho movement is regarded as one of the “reverse sex polarity groups” (Palmer, 1993) that view woman spiritually superior to man.

However, the feminine qualities, which were seen as superior to the masculine qualities in leading the disciple to spiritual growth, are considered to be the qualities that would prevent women, or men with the feminine qualities from becoming teachers and / or masters. Women are given administrative roles in the commune and, in this sense the Osho movement claims to establish gender equality. However,

it was logical to put women in charge of what was in effect a feminized workplace: where decision-making processes were based on intuition rather than empiricism; caring was given a higher value than efficiency; devotion and meditation were higher goals than productivity and profitability; competition was renounced in favor of co-operation. (Puttick, 2006, p. 232)

Furthermore, the role of woman was still confined to the role of a disciple who had no potential to become a master or teacher, unlike a male disciple who could become both an ideal disciple through growing the feminine qualities of love, trust, and receptivity, and a master due to the male qualities of objectivity, decisiveness, and a superior mind.

It is interesting that Osho's teachings incorporating traditional and sexist definition of female and male qualities did still attract women to his movement, even some former members of various feminist movements. Puttick (1993) argued that what led the former members of feminist movements to become attracted by the communal life of the movement was being tired of fighting for gender equality against sexual discrimination, and "wanting also to develop a sense of themselves as women and 'to just do female things'" (as cited in Clarke, 2006, p. 254).

After the death of Osho, the Osho International foundation, which is the copyright owner of all published and unpublished works of Osho, has continued to spread his teachings to an international audience in the form of books, ebooks, audiobooks, magazines, compiled from Osho's original talks, available at the Foundation's website. The increased total annual sales of Osho's books in many languages indicate that the philosophy of the movement still attracts a considerable amount of spiritual seekers from all around the world. The Osho International Foundation has had 2,537 publishing contracts in more than 50 languages with the world's well-known

publishing houses such as Random House, St Martin's Press, Mondadori, and Penguin. Total annual sales of Osho books increased to "2.5 million copies ... in 40 languages in 2003 alone" (D' Andrea, 2007, p. 92), indicating that Osho books are being read by millions of people all around the world. By pointing out the extraordinary effect of Osho's discourses on his followers, Palmer (1988, p. 121) has noted that Rajneesh's charisma is manifested "through his 'discourses' or public lectures, which have been transcribed into several languages in over 350 books and also recorded on videocassette".

## Chapter 3

### **METHODOLOGY**

Language is an integral part of social process, a highly efficient medium in the coding of social categorization (Fowler, 1996, p. 29), significant in reproducing social institutions and ideology (Stubbs, 1998, p. 53). Ways of language use are determined socially and have social effects (Fairclough, 1995). Language thus intervenes in the social world, by sustaining or refuting its stereotypes, norms, and values. Texts as products of language use have causal effects such as bringing changes in our knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and values about reality, and contributing to shaping identities. The role of contextual factors cannot be denied, however. By representing the world from a certain perspective, texts have an important role in the construction of the social world (Fairclough, 2005).

The social effects of texts depend upon processes of meaning-making...they are mediated by meaning-making, or indeed...it is meanings that have social effects rather than texts as such. But one resource that is necessary for any account of meaning-making is the capacity to analyze texts in order to clarify their contribution to processes of meaning-making. (Fairclough, 2005, p. 11)

Investigating the role of language in creating, affirming, or perpetuating the dominant ideology, which serves the interests of dominant groups, and which leads to inequalities between social groups, has always been among the main concerns of the critical approaches to language study. It is believed that “social meanings are firmly coded in language and are usually transmitted in routine, often official,



language in an unthinking way”, and “all language, not just political uses, constantly drifts towards the affirmation, of fixed, and usually prejudicial categories” (Fowler, 1996, pp. 46, 48).

The same thing can be talked about in different ways, and different choices of words and syntactic patterns can systematically be used to encode different points of view, an ideological stance (Stubbs, 1998; Orpin, 2005). Critical analysis of the systematic use of ideologically encoded lexical and grammatical patterns in public language may lead to the identification of the practices that are exploited for the “legitimation” and “habitualization” of meanings that serve the interests of dominant, privileged groups (Fowler, 1996). Thus, critical analysis of public language may lead to defamiliarization of legitimated, habitual encoded meaning which seems natural, and impartial, even though ideologically encoded meaning is one of the main causes of inequalities between social groups (Van Dijk, 1993).

### **3.1 Research Design**

The present research explores language and persuasion in a corpus of New Age talks by Osho, the founder of one of the New Age Religious movements. It exploits a novel methodology integrating corpus methodology (search and processing techniques of frequency words, collocational patterns, and concordances) with Kenneth Burke’s critical methodology based on pragmatic approach to concordancing. The corpus under examination comprises talks compiled into Osho’s gender-related books, “The Book of Woman” and “The Book of Man”, published in 2002 and 2004, respectively. Examination of both literary effects of texts on audiences and readers, and rhetorical effects- “the use of language to effect the situation” (Burke, 1989, p. 13), specifically what texts can do for rhetors and

audiences/ readers (Burke, 1967) requires a critical analysis of rhetorical acts, the “principle of the concordance” (Koptak, 1997).

The present research seeks to reveal the rhetor’s attitudinal view on gender, his motive, and the rhetorical strategies exploited to uncover the intended rhetorical effect(s). It addresses the following research questions:

- 1- How is gender construed in the corpus under examination?
- 2- What is the rhetor’s motive in engaging in the gender issue?
- 3- How are rhetorical strategies exploited to address the gender dichotomy?
- 4- What is the rhetorical effect/pragmatic function of Osho’s rhetoric in the corpus of New Age talks?

It is assumed that the findings of the critical analysis of empirical data would provide insights into persuasive power/pragmatic function, hence account for the social impact of his rhetoric over the past decades.

## **3.2 Data Collection**

### **3.2.1 Corpus Construction**

Examination of rhetorical effects of Osho’s rhetoric required construction of a corpus comprising his talks compiled into “The Book of Woman” and “The Book of Man”, from the most recent series published in the name of Osho, by Penguin Books in 2002 and 2004, respectively. For this purpose, the researcher contacted the president of Osho International to secure his permission to use Osho’s books for the research purposes. Interestingly, the president informed the researcher that the books published in the name of Osho were compilations which were “in some way filtered through the minds (and often the misunderstandings) of some people” (K. Steeg,

personal communication, April 3, 2006). Since these books did not represent Osho's original rhetoric, and thus could not be representative for a critical analysis of Osho's talks, the president of Osho International referred the researcher to Osho's original transcribed talks available in his library on the official website of Osho International.

The library provides access to a complete archive of transcripts from Osho's recorded public lectures (talks) which are about various topics, such as love, courage, life, marriage, gender. Osho gave each of these talks at different places and times in response to his audiences' questions. However, after his death, these talks have been presented as separate chapters in more than 300 books published in the name of Osho. The library allows search of the complete archive of Osho's talks, both in audio and transcribed versions, for selected words and phrases, as well as access to the original talks of Osho that are presented as chapters in the books attributed to him.

Therefore, following the president's suggestion, the corpus for this study has been constructed from the talks in the Osho Library on the osho.com website. However, in order to secure consistency with the contents of "The Book of Woman" and "The Book of Man", only those original gender related talks in Osho's on-line library that are compiled into the two books under investigation have been included into the corpus of the present study.

Further, the required criteria of corpus design, size, content, balance and representativeness, have been taken into account as follows. The first sub-corpus, which has been constructed from the "osho.com.website" texts compiled into "The

Book of Woman”, includes 53 texts with 181,594 words, and 7,822 types. The second sub-corpus, which is constructed from the texts on the same site compiled into “The Book of Man”, comprises 80 texts with 279,744 words, and 10,234 types. The size of the corpus under examination is 450,000 words, which is optimum for the research purposes, as it is recognized in corpus studies that a corpus of this size can yield reliable results (Hunston, 2002, p. 26).

Furthermore, the inadequate size of the corpus evidence on one of the key images in the specialized corpus, the perfect being, Zorba the Buddha, required the research to “trail down” (Burke, 1967, p. 24) Osho’s equations on this imagery further. Therefore, a supplementary corpus of 80 related transcribed talks from the official website of the Osho International has been constructed to enable the research to identify, analyze, and interpret the recurrent equations under examination in all the original talks of the rhetor.

The texts comprising the specialized corpus include only transcriptions of Osho’s public speech, in which he, in the capacity of the leader of the New Age Religious movement, addresses the international audience, gathered in a public setting like a meditation hall, usually his followers and/or those people who were attracted to his teachings. It has been assumed that this religious leader delivered his talks, on a wide range of topics, to instruct and persuade the audience to accept his perspective on various issues. Therefore, the original, recorded and transcribed talks of Osho from the official “osho.com” website have been selected to investigate “a particular type of language” (Hunston, 2002, p. 14), Osho’s persuasive rhetoric.

### 3.3 Corpus Tools

The Frequency program used in this study was designed by Paul Nation and Averil Coxhead, and programmed by Alex Heatley. The program runs on an ASCII text, and enables its users to make both an alphabetical, and a frequency ordered list of all the words in a corpus, in addition to providing information regarding the rank order of the words, their raw frequency and the cumulative percentage frequency. The Frequency program has been used to identify the frequency of selected key terms, “woman”, “man”, and their references. Since the texts included into the corpora are compiled into “The Book of Woman” and “The Book of Man”, it is assumed that the key terms *woman* and *man* and their references are particularly significant in revealing the evaluative attitude of the writer towards both genders.

Further, critical analysis in the present study has required charting the images clustering around the selected key terms, specifically identification of every occurrence of these terms, therefore, the texts in the corpora have been processed by Antconc 3.2.1 concordance program developed by Lawrence Anthony from the School of Science and Engineering of Waseda University in Tokyo. It is a free concordance program which offers Concordance, Concordance Plot, File View, Clusters, N-Grams (part of Clusters), Collocates, Word List, Keyword List analysis tools. Of these tools this study has used the Concordance tool that generates concordance lines, or key word in context (KWIC) lines; File View tool that provides a view of the target file in its original form; and Clusters tool that generates a list of terms clustering around the selected key term.

The Cluster tools allows the researcher to select the number of words in each cluster, the minimum frequency of cluster, and the position of the search term as either on the left or on the right of the cluster, as illustrated below.

**Table 1. The Cluster Tool 1**

	Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Total No. of Cluster Types: 897			Total No. of Cluster Tokens: 940				
Rank	Freq	Cluster					
1	3	woman who makes herself male will enter the					
2	2	woman a slave, the head has kept the					
3	2	woman and jesus christ is a woman. joan					
4	2	woman and the man, and she mothers both					
5	2	woman authentically a woman, not an imitation of					

**Table 2. The Cluster Tool 2**

	Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Total No. of Cluster Types: 897			Total No. of Cluster Tokens: 940				
Rank	Freq	Cluster					
1	3	living spirit resembling you males. for every woman					
2	3	that the greatest creative act of a woman					
3	3	vast difference between a mother and a woman					
4	2	a woman and jesus christ is a woman					
5	2	all the rules of the game, the woman					

The Concordance tool enables the researcher to objectively and accurately identify every occurrence of key terms, as illustrated below, what clusters around key terms, revealing recurrent patterns of equations, oppositions, progressions, and transformations.

**Table 3. The Concordance Tool**

	Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Hit	KWIC						
1	ase comment. Prem Bubula, I have told you that a woman is to be loved, not understood. That is the first						
2	but there is no way to say it. Man is a mystery, woman is a mystery, everything that exists is a mystery						
3	by blocking his retreat. If you want to change a woman's mind, agree with her. If you want to know what						
4	mind, agree with her. If you want to know what a woman really means, look at her – don't listen to her.						
5	an wasn't even looking at you." "Well," said the woman, "isn't that annoying?" The romantic young man t						

Further, since the critical analysis requires a close investigation of the key terms within their linguistic environment, looking “at more co-text that a short concordance line can show” (Hunston, 2002, p. 65), the File View tool makes it possible to refer to larger co-text as well as inter-text.

**Table 4. The File View Tool**

	Concordance	Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Hits	File: The Book of Woman						
<p>Beloved Master,</p> <p>It seems to me that you are truly the first man this planet has ever known who really understands women and accepts them. Please comment.</p> <p>Prem Bubula, I have told you that a woman is to be loved, not understood. That is the first understanding.</p> <p>Life is so mysterious that our hands cannot reach to its heights, our eyes cannot look into its deepest mystery. Understanding any expression of existence – men or women or trees or animals or birds – is the function of science, not of a mystic. ... A point comes when you have to leave logic and rationality and just listen to nature. I call it the ultimate understanding – but not in the ordinary sense of understanding. You know it, you feel it, but there is no way to say it.</p> <p>Man is a mystery, woman is a mystery, everything that exists is a mystery – and all our efforts to figure it out are going to fail.</p> <p>I am reminded of a man who was purchasing in a toy shop a present for his son for Christmas. He was a well-known mathematician, so naturally the shopkeeper brought out a jigsaw puzzle. The mathematician tried...it was a beautiful puzzle. ...</p> <p>The key to happiness: You may speak of love and tenderness and passion, but real ecstasy is</p>							

discovering you haven't lost your keys after all.  
Women begin by resisting a man's advances and end by blocking his retreat.  
If you want to change a woman's mind, agree with her.  
If you want to know what a woman really means, look at her – don't listen to her.  
The lady walked up to the policeman and said, "Officer, that man on the corner is annoying me."  
"I have been watching the whole time," said the cop, "and that man wasn't even looking at you."  
"Well," said the woman, "isn't that annoying?"

Moreover, Simple Concordance Program Version ( S C P ) 4.0.7, developed by Alan Reed, a software tool, has also been exploited to provide expanded concordances for the analysis of the key terms, their typical collocational and syntactic patterns in the co-text and inter-text of the specialized corpus under consideration, as illustrated below.

#### **Table 5. Expanded Concordances Tool**

To love a woman or to love a man, a new kind of being is needed, which can accept the polar opposite. And only with the polar opposite – just as with negative and positive electricity meeting, electricity is born. Just like that, when life electricities meet – man and woman, yin and yang, Shiva and Shakti, when that meeting happens, that merger, that total oblivion, that drunkenness, when they have disappeared as separate entities, separate egos, are no longer there separate but are throbbing as one, two bodies in one soul –

Life is rhythm. When two persons meet, male and female, it becomes a circle: there will be gaps for both. You will be a woman and suddenly there will be a gap and you are no longer a woman, you have become a man. You will be man and woman and man. When these gaps are felt you can feel that you have achieved a circle. This circle is represented in Shiva's symbol-the shivalinga. This circle is represented by the yoni of Devi and linga of Shiva. It is a circle. It is one of the peak phenomena of two high energies meeting.

### **3.4 Methods for Data Analysis**

#### **3.4.1 Kenneth Burke's Critical Methodology**

In Burke's critical methodology a verbal act is viewed as "symbolic action" which is "the dancing of an attitude" (1967, p. 89). It is a strategic, stylized answer that "gets its form by relation to the question" its producer is answering (Burke, 1967, p. 92).



Therefore, approaching a verbal work as “the functioning of a structure”, and analyzing its equational structure through discovering its function(s) enables the critic to reveal features of its content and form securing its appeal (Burke, 1967, p. 74).

Burke’s methodology is designed to identify and analyze the following:

-associational clusters / structures of identifications / what is identified with what;

-agons / structures of oppositions/ what is versus what;

-associational progressions / structure of progression / what follows what;

-symbolic transformations / structure of transformation / what transforms to what.

Thus, the methodology enables a critic to discover the evaluative attitudinal meanings attributed to the selected key terms, the motive for the rhetorical act, and rhetorical strategies exploited to fulfill its rhetorical effect(s) (Burke, 1967).

The main steps of cluster analysis are “identification of key terms in the rhetorical artifact; charting of terms that cluster around the key terms; and discovery of patterns in the clusters around the key terms” (Foss, 1996, p. 65). The key terms of a text are selected on the basis of either frequency or intensity since frequent use of some terms may be an indication of the importance attached to these terms by the producer of a text, in other words, a frequently used term may be not only the key term of a text but also may be “a key term in that person’s thought and rhetoric” (Foss, 1996, p. 65). Intensity refers to a term’s particular significance in a text’s rhetoric in terms of its being “extreme in degree, size, strength, or depth of feeling conveyed” (Foss, 1996, p. 65).

In his analysis Burke (1969a, p. 276) has pointed out the “temptation” in language “to come upon an idea of ‘God’ as the ultimate transcendence”, and consequently he emphasized “ultimate dialectical tendencies, having ‘god’ or a ‘god-term,’ as the completion of linguistic process”. Further, since verbal works deal with conflicts, they require “devil” terms which are placed in dialectic opposition to “god” terms. A “god” term is surrounded by positive terms, representing “the principle or idea behind the positive terminology as a whole” (Burke, 1969a, p. 189). Whereas, with the negative terms clustering around it, a “devil” term represents what is evil for the rhetor. Thus, usually the key words selected for cluster criticism are “God” and “Devil” terms that represent what is good and what is bad for the text producer.

The next step in cluster criticism is charting the “terms”, or “image[s]”, or “metaphor[s]”, (Burke, 1967, p. ix) clustering around the selected key terms. Every occurrence of key terms and the contexts in which they are used are examined with the aim of identifying the images that cluster around these terms. Every writer uses “a set of equations” in other words “associational clusters”, and “you may, by examining his work, find “what goes with what” in these clusters- what kinds of acts and images and personalities and situations go with his notions of heroism, villainy, consolation, despair, etc” (Burke, 1967, p. 20). Charting makes associative, opposing, progressive, and transformative patterns of the rhetoric more visible.

Further, the critical analysis requires discovery of structures of association, opposition, progression, transformation and their interrelationship in the charted clustering images of the key terms since the motive underlying a verbal work “is equated with the structure of interrelationships within the work itself” (Burke, 1967,

p. 267). Statistical analysis of associational clusters, in other words, discovering what images are identified/ associated with the key term in the text under examination is, in a way, revealing “what the term is associated with in the poet’s (or rhetor’s) mind” (Rueckert, 1963, as cited in Foss, 1996 , p.104). Rhetors modify or influence the meaning of key terms through associating them with particular words and images (Foss, 1996). Such a rhetor is like a person with a tic “who spasmodically blinks his eyes when certain subjects are mentioned” (Burke, 1967, p. 20), and the analysis of the subjects that cause him to blink his eyes reveals what the tic symbolizes for that person.

Furthermore, the analysis and interpretation of agons (the images in the opposing clusters, which reveal the oppositions not only in the text, but also in the mind of the rhetor) contribute to the identification of the conflict / situation that motivates the producer of the text to engage in a rhetorical act. Thus, the cluster-agon analysis (the analysis of the images repeatedly used in the same cluster and the images in opposing clusters) helps the critic discover the attitude of the rhetor towards images in associational and disassociational clusters, identify who / what is construed as good, and who /what is construed as evil, in both the text under examination and in the rhetor’s mind (Hart, 1997, pp. 217-218), as well as the motive for the rhetorical act.

The substance of an idea in a verbal work is produced by the interaction of terms, in other words by “transformations produced through tensions among key terms” (Heath, 1986, p. 162). Thus, verbal works are composed of explicit and implicit sets of equations and agons which interact with each other, and produce dialectical,

agonistic tension that can be resolved through dialectical transformation (Burke, 1967). Therefore, in addition to the patterns of identification and opposition, the critic identifies and analyzes the patterns of progression and transformation, hence, the rhetorical strategies that the rhetor exploits to resolve the agonistic tension between the key terms, in other words, the conflict that motivates him/her for the rhetorical act, to ultimately reveal the rhetorical effect of the rhetorical act.

### **3.4.2 Corpus Methodology**

Corpus linguistics examines language from a social perspective (Teubert, 2005, p. 2), “a grammar is a grammar of meanings” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 18). Corpus study reveals relations between lexico-syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and distribution across text-types. It regards context as co-text (a short span of several words within a single text), and inter-text (multiple occurrences of similar patterns across independent texts). Corpus methods, therefore, provide observational evidence of meaning, the slogan being “meaning is use” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 157).

Corpus analysis incorporating search and processing techniques of frequency word-lists, collocation patterns, and concordance lines can provide insights into the pragmatic meaning(s), explicitly or implicitly encoded through various linguistic means, devices and strategies. One of the major premises of corpus linguistics is that typical co-occurrences of lexical and syntactical patterns lead to associative, connotative, and prosodic meanings attributed to lexical items which are not only words but also “compounds, multi-word units, phrases and even idioms” (Teubert, 2005, pp. 5-6).

Accordingly, corpus research generally investigates the function of collocations – “the typical lexical combinations”, colligations – “the typical grammatical combinations” (Beaugrande, 2002), semantic prosodies – “the collocational meaning arising from the interaction between the given node word and its collocates” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 83), and semantic preference - “the co-occurrence of words with semantic choices” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 174). “So strong are the co-occurrence tendencies of words, word classes, meanings and attitudes that we must widen our horizons and expect the units of meaning to be much more extensive and varied than is seen in a single word” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 39).

It is noteworthy that concordancing “bring(s) together many instances of use of a word or phrase, allowing the user to observe regularities in use that tend to remain unobserved when the same words or phrases are met in their normal contexts” (Hunston, 2002, p. 9). Overall, empirical data include frequency and regularities of co-occurrence and usage of the predominantly reiterated lexical patterns, specifically the typical lexical collocates of the key words and their references, semantic preferences and prosodies across the relevant concordances. Corpus evidence is, therefore, significant for deducing the most salient social aspects (Stubbs, 1998).

### **3.4.3 An Integrated Methodology**

Critical approaches to the study of language are particularly interested in investigating the role of language in reflecting the dominant ideology which causes inequalities among social groups. Ideologies are defined as “belief systems”, which are “socially shared”, and which “control and organize other socially shared beliefs” (Van Dijk, 2006a), thus, affect social practices. However, critical studies investigating “critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted,

legitimized ... by language use (discourse)” (Wodak & Meyer, 2005, pp. 2-3) have been criticized for paying little attention to production and interpretation processes of texts (Fairclough, 1994, p. 28), as well as for using qualitative methods and “data fragments” posing “problems of evidence and generalization” (Fowler, 1996, p. 129).

Corpus studies have been criticized for neglecting the “discoursal conditions of its production and reception”, and dealing not with “discourse”, but “its textual trace”, thus trying to discover the ideological stance of texts’ producers only on textual rather than discursive evidence (Widdowson, 2000, pp. 21-22). However, it is a “common dilemma” that studying utterances in their discursive context is possible only with a few sample sentences, thus carrying the risk of being criticized for using limited and unrepresentative data; on the other hand, studying the specific context of each sentence while dealing with large number of sentences is impossible, and it thus carries the risk of being considered superficial (Stubbs, 2001). In other words, both approaches (studying a few sentences in their specific discursive contexts, and studying large numbers of sentences in their textual contexts, namely “co-text” and “inter-text”) have their own limitations and delimitations.

It is noteworthy that in corpus evidence “a short span of a few words to left and right is often enough to disambiguate words or to identify their evaluative connotations” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 157), thus enabling the researcher to disclose the attitudinal point of view encoded into the linguistic choices. Since repeated / systematic use of ideologically encoded lexical and grammatical patterns causes legitimation and habitualization of meanings that serve the interests of dominant groups, a critical

analysis of a few sample sentences or short texts “cannot tackle claims about the ideological implications of textual patterns” (Stubbs, 2001, p. 157).

The present research, therefore, exploits a novel methodology integrating corpus methodology (search and processing techniques of frequency words, collocational patterns, and concordances) with Kenneth Burke’s critical methodology based on pragmatic approach to concordancing. Osho’s gender-related talks in the corpus under examination are approached as strategic answers for encompassing Osho’s situation, as stylized answers that get their “form by relation to the questions” they are answering (Burke, 1967, p. 92). Thus, to collect “the most relevant” data on both their content and form, (Burke, 1967, p. 124) the rhetorical analysis focuses specifically on the structure of Osho’s talks in the specialized corpus.

Analysis of the images, or metaphors, or terms that are repeatedly associated with the selected key terms, “woman”, “man”, and their references reveals the attitudinal meaning of these terms for the rhetor, as these images are not only associated with the key terms in the text, but also in the mind of Osho. Further, the four-part critical methodology enables the researchers to disclose Osho’s motive for the rhetorical act, and rhetorical strategies exploited to realize the pragmatic function in the specialized corpus.

Furthermore, persuasion of the audience requires talking his/her “language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with” his/her (Burke, 1969a, p. 55). Since Osho’s talks seem to be designed to do something for him and his audience, the most relevant observations about their

design can be made through adapting a pragmatic approach and “considering ... [these works] as the embodiment of this act” (Burke, 1967, p. 89). The rhetorical effect of the specialized corpus, therefore, will be analyzed in terms of pragmatic functions of his rhetoric of identification. For this purpose, the corpus data, comprising empirical evidence on frequency of key words and their references, their collocational patterns, and related concordances are analyzed for revealing the principle of identification through:

- unification device (ultimate/hierarchical order; scapegoat; symbolic rebirth);
- principles of language (association and dissociation, the negative, transcendence, and perfection);
- motives (guilt, redemption, hierarchy, victimage).

Since Burke (1967) has emphasized the necessity of comprehensive data for analysis of symbolic acts, the co-textual and inter-textual evidence obtained from the concordances pertinent to gender construal is used as the context in the present study. Moreover, this empirical evidence is complemented by the discursive evidence obtained through the pertinent literature and studies on the New Age ideology and Osho.

Thus, the present study is carried out within the framework of Burke’s critical cluster analysis and corpus analysis. The research applies the integrated approach in order to critically analyze and interpret the empirical evidence comprising the pertinent data on frequency, collocations, and concordances in the specialized corpus. Specifically, comprehensive features of the rhetorical content and form are examined to uncover gender construal, reveal Osho’s evaluative, attitudinal, thus ideological view of



gender, and finally pragmatic/rhetorical effects of his persuasive rhetoric on audiences/readers.

## Chapter 4

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

The present study attempts to identify, analyze and interpret the most salient corpus evidence, comprising frequency, collocation and concordance data in order to reveal Osho's attitudinal view on gender<sup>iii</sup>, his motive for the rhetorical act under analysis, and the rhetorical strategies exploited to uncover its function(s) / rhetorical effect(s). The most frequent and intense content words, woman, man, and their references are selected as the key terms in the corpus of Osho's rhetoric, compiled from two sub-corpora, a collection of 53 talks by Osho comprising "The Book of Woman", and a collection of 80 talks comprising "The Book of Man". The charting of the "images", or "metaphors", or "terms" (Burke, 1967) repeatedly associated with the key terms yields patterned equations clustering around the key terms and their references. The cluster analysis of the images repeatedly associated with woman, man, and their references reveals the meaning of these terms for Osho. Whereas, the agon analysis provides significant insights into the images / qualities which are not seen as part of the attitudinal meaning of the key terms, in both the corpus and Osho's mind. Therefore, the cluster analysis complemented by the agon analysis reveals the conflict that has led Osho to engage in the rhetorical acts under investigation. The identification, analysis and interpretation of the functions of the patterns of progression and transformation, on the other hand, enables the researcher to identify the rhetorical strategies exploited by the rhetor to solve the conflict, to transcend the

agonistic tension between the two genders, and the images and principles associated with them, hence the function (the rhetorical effect of the symbolic act under examination).

#### **4.1 Cluster – Agon Analysis of “The Book of Woman” and “The Book of Man” (“What equals What” – “What versus What”)**

The analysis of the images / terms clustering with the key terms, woman and man, and their related terms in the entire corpus reveals that the two genders are ascribed both positive and negative attributes. *Woman/female* is presented as the possessor of various “tremendous qualities” through the associated attributes of sensitivity, love, patience, serenity, grace, charm, mystery, lack of aggression, non-violence, resistance, trust, sincerity, truthfulness, authenticity, tolerance, strength, intuition, beauty, imagination, receptivity, superiority, strength, naturalness, courage, and completeness (see Appendix A). However, she is also assigned the negative attributes of illogicality, irrationality, unpredictability, revenge, dominance, hatred, greed, irritation, jealousy and bitchiness, specifically in the sub-corpus related to her (see Appendix B). The negative attributes of jealousy and bitchiness are presented as one of the reasons for her being “not yet liberated”:

426 st three decades .... Women never sympathize with *women* because  
they know from their own experience how b(itchy they are)  
427 of that monster." This is one of the reasons why *women* are not yet  
liberated, because they cannot become  
429 their sympathy is not for other women. With other *women* they have a  
relationship only of jealousy – if sh  
847 o they project the same bitchiness on every other *woman*; they never  
sympathize with the woman. They will (always sympathize with the  
man)

Interestingly, in the specialized corpus under examination, the positive attributes of the key term *woman* are assigned to her mainly in relation to the other-*man*:

50 if *man* has the possibility of intelligence, the *woman* has the  
 possibility of love. It does not mean she  
 130 numbers. Women live five years longer than men. *Women* are more  
 patient, more tolerant than *men*. Men are  
 131 men. *Men* are very impatient and very intolerant. *Women* are less  
 violent than men. Women don't commit mur  
 189 e surprised. The *male* mind is a cunning mind. The *woman* is more  
 innocent; she cannot be so strategic, so (political)  
 189 wait a little more. Time settles everything. And *women* are always  
 more perceptive than *men* – if you cann  
 222 r way the woman is far stronger than the *man*. The *woman* lives longer  
 than the man, five to seven years lo  
 222 hings. *Men* are not that capable of imagining, but *women* can really  
 imagine things. Women confessed in the  
 263 only the brutal qualities, animal qualities. The *woman* is more loving.  
 The *man* has not shown greater lov  
 407 cus of the woman is natural, she lives in nature, *she* is more natural  
 than *man*. In India, we have calle

*Woman* is consistently defined in proximity to *man*, this gender category is attributed  
 the content of not being male. Thus, in the entire corpus, by being agonistically  
 associated with *woman*, *man* is ascribed the opposites of both the negative and  
 positive attributes of the female gender. He is identified with cruelty, egoism,  
 jealousy, violence, ugliness, competitiveness, stupidity, impatience, intolerance,  
 restlessness and aggression, but he is also attributed knowledge, logic, rationality,  
 science, inquiry, and culture (see Appendix C).

The multiple positive and negative attributes clustering around the key terms *woman*  
 and *man* develop into the major metaphoric equations of “body ≠ mind”, “heart ≠  
 head”, and “right hemisphere ≠ left hemisphere” in the sub-corpus related to  
 woman, and “breasts ≠ penis”, “heart ≠ head”, and “right hemisphere ≠ left  
 hemisphere” in the sub-corpus related to man, equated with *woman* and *man*  
 respectively. Thus the associated and disassociated clusters of the key terms  
 agonistically construe the female and male genders.

#### 4.1.1 The Body versus Mind and Breasts versus Penis Images

The analysis of the sub-corpus related to woman reveals that a rich cluster of images/terms metaphorically define *woman* as “the living body”, “bodily phenomenon”, “more body” which is her main concern, as opposed to *man*, who is metaphorically defined as “the living mind”:

244 hat's why the mother is a more bodily phenomenon; *women* are more  
body-conscious than men. If they take to  
246 le?" He said, "Two were sitting on the mirror." *Women* are more  
body-conscious, more body, more grounded  
506 so much time in dressing? She is body-conscious. *Man* is more mind,  
*woman* is more body. One famous act  
514 e are the three layers. *Woman* is the living body, *man* is the living  
mind, and beyond the two exists li

Unlike the sub-corpus related to *woman* in which the mind  $\neq$  body binary images are exploited to construe *man* and *woman* in opposition to each other, in the sub-corpus related to man both woman and man are associated with their body parts. While *man* is being identified with his genital organ, penis, *woman* is identified with her breasts rather than her genital organ, vagina:

417 ed to great painters and poets will happen to the *woman* if she can  
melt into her breasts. And this will  
1865 the breasts are there. If man has to do the same *he* will have to do it  
with the sex center, not with (the breasts)  
1867 (He has to) concentrate just at the root of the penis – there *he* has the  
creativity, there he is positive. And rem  
405 mother to himself now. He can feel fulfilled. A *woman* can feel  
fulfilled more easily. Her creativity is (just around the breasts)  
174 round the breasts. That's why all over the world, *women* are concerned  
so much with their breasts – it is

However, both images, “body  $\neq$  mind” and “breasts  $\neq$  penis”, function to associate *woman* with the same contexts, reproduction, sex, family, thus with domestic space as opposed to man who is associated with scientific, cultural, thus external space.

The “woman = living body” equation, combined with the “woman’s body = a natural

device to help the womb” equation leads to another metaphoric association, “woman = womb”:

- 17 t as if in two worlds apart. The woman carries a womb. The very  
word 'woman' comes from 'man with a wom(b)'  
27 their womb. And the whole body exists so that the *womb* can survive  
in it; the whole body is just a natur  
28 e whole body is just a natural device to help the *womb*. Nature is  
interested in the womb because through

Through the “woman = body = womb” equation, *woman* is associated with the images and attributes of home, host, receptivity, patience, nonaggression, reproduction, nature. However, the attributes of non-inquiring, non-questioning, non-doubting, dreaming also cluster around the image of *womb*:

- 24 (The womb has to be a) host, the man will be the guest. Because of  
the womb being a central phenomenon in the feminine body, (the  
whole psychology of woman differs: she is (nonaggressive,  
noninquiring, non-questioning, non-doubting, because all those things  
are part of aggression)  
25 because dreaming is a waiting, it is part of the womb, but they cannot  
be scientists, they cannot be lo(gical – logic is also aggression)

*Woman's* metaphorical identification with host as opposed to *man's* identification with guest makes the agonistic relation between the two genders more prominent, in addition to establishing the “woman = domestic / internal environment” and “man = cultural / external environment” identifications:

- 278 an has a better head – logically, intellectually, *he* can go far in search  
in the outer world – but the  
488 ays interested in the distant, in the journey. A *woman* is more  
interested in the home, in the surroundin

The feminine attributes of receptivity and nonaggression are placed in dramatic opposition to the masculine attribute of aggression which is equated with logic, science, yoga, and methods (see Appendix D). Accordingly, “aggressive *man*” is associated with the scientific world as opposed to *woman's* association with the religious world:

14 of truth has to learn to be a woman. Science is *male*, religion is  
 female. Science is an effort to conq  
 44 for truth. The very phrase 'search for truth' is *male*-oriented. It can be a  
 waiting for the beloved, fo  
 47 womanhood in, and the method is basically for the *male*. If you can  
 understand Buddha's standpoint, Jesu  
 135 is as much a barrier as logic. The logic is the *male* in you, and the  
 heart is the female in you. But t

Therefore, a seemingly positive term, nonaggression, associated with *woman* through  
 the “woman = body = womb” equation, does not provide her with positive content  
 due to the dramatic opposition between the terms of “nonaggression” ≠ “science =  
 inquiry = logic = movement”:

5 cientists, they cannot be logical – logic is also aggression. Women  
 cannot be skeptical and doubting; they can  
 6 s to be so, because to devise methods is again an aggression. Science  
 is an aggression, yoga is also an aggres  
 12 low a totally different path from the man. Man is aggressive, doubts,  
 inquires, goes out of the way to search, (tries to conquer everything)

However, unlike *woman* who is ascribed the attributes confining her role and place  
 to reproduction and domestic space, the “aggression = inquiring = questioning =  
 doubting = scientific = logical” equations associate *man* with the attributes that make  
 him a potential winner in the external, mainly the scientific world:

463 The more distant the goal, the more appealing. *Man* will reach  
 Everest, he will reach the moon, he wi  
 531 he will reach the moon, he will go further ahead; *he* cannot be  
 checked, he cannot be prevented. Whatso  
 465 s the woman – and man has to penetrate and know. *Man* has created  
 science; women can never be scientifi  
 468 w there is no mystery. Unless mystery dissolves, *man* cannot rest at  
 peace. The universe must be demyst  
 609 oubt functions. A man has a positive quality that *he* is in search of  
 rest, and a negative quality that

Even the negative attributes of restlessness, and physiological, hormonal imbalance,  
 equated with inquiry, doubt, movement lead the “restless *man*” to success in the  
 external world:

492 or the impossible, she asks for what is possible. *Man* has something in  
him which always seeks the impos(sible)  
493 fulfilled. Biologists say there is a reason: in *man* there is an imbalance  
physiologically, a hormonal (imbalance)  
495 logical: her hormones, her cells, are balanced. A *man* has a  
restlessness, and that restlessness gives h(im inquiry, doubt,  
movement

However, the metaphorical imagery of *woman* as “a circle”, which is “more complete”, “balanced”, “at ease with herself” further promotes the “woman = natural” equation, in addition to strengthening the “woman = mother” association in the sub-corpus related to her:

34 ning. There are other differences. For example, a *woman* is more  
centered than a man; it starts happening  
487 imbalance physiologically, a hormonal imbalance; *woman* is more  
complete, she is like a circle, balanced.  
417 rested in higher subjects. That is not the point. *She* is at ease with  
herself, so only the surroundings  
319 `mother' many things. But a woman is at ease. If *she* can really  
become a mother she is fulfilled, she

Association of *woman* with motherhood is further reinforced in the sub-corpus related to *man* through the “*woman* = breasts = the whole creativity of the feminine body = motherhood” equation:

46 sensitive parts, and the whole creativity of the *feminine* body is around  
the breasts. That is why Hindus h  
47 delicate configurations. The whole creativity of *feminine* existence is  
rooted in motherhood. That is why wo  
48 ing in them. Then your creativity will arise. The *feminine* creativity  
arises only when the breasts become ac(tive)

Throughout the entire corpus, the content of *woman* inheres in the rich clusters of images such as pregnancy, birth, child, mother, which strongly associate her with motherhood (see Appendix D):

24 nows deep down that the woman is more than he is. *She* can give birth  
to life. Nature has chosen her to  
101 an can do that more easily than a man. After all, *she* is a mother and  
she is always a mother. Even a sm  
292 to them. The greatest problem has been that the *woman* is capable of  
becoming a mother; she is capable o(f giving birth to life)



It is the reproductive function, motherhood that “fulfills” *woman*, it is the motherhood and wifehood through which she becomes more attractive, attains her peak, and “her life is fulfilled”:

379 when she is going to become a mother, because now *she* is at her peak  
– the basic function her body has  
394 That is why Hindus have been saying that unless a *woman* becomes a  
mother she is not fulfilled. The same I  
411 fied husband is nothing. A woman will be happy if *she* can be just a  
deeply contented wife, a mother; th

However, the reproductive role, which makes woman the naturally superior sex, is devalued through the equation with “nothing of much value”, “a simple phenomenon” that any *woman* and animals can do, in the sub-corpus related to her:

19 not much of a creativity – it is just biological. *Animals* are doing it  
perfectly well, so what is great abo  
25 hese are your children – what creativity! All the *animals* are doing it,  
perhaps better than you. I have be  
522 thing – to be a mother is totally different. Any *woman* can give birth to  
a child; that's a very simple p(henomenon)  
618 ry, music, art. Just giving birth to a child, any *woman* can do it; that is  
nothing of much value. To moth

Accordingly, *woman*’s association with motherhood through the “woman = breasts = feminine creativity” equation does not provide her with positive meaning in the sub-corpus related to man:

234 (She) was not willing to give the breast to you because *she* wanted a  
more proportioned body. She wanted her b  
235 you because she wanted a more proportioned body. *She* wanted her  
breasts to be intact and not destroyed (by you)  
237 you. She wanted her breasts to be always young so *she* denied the  
breast to you. Or, there may have been

Moreover, the image of mother is negatively construed through the negative attribute of “selfishness” which leads mother to be more concerned with protecting the beauty of her breasts, rather than breastfeeding her children. The negative image of motherhood is further reinforced through the “man’s fear of woman = the experience with the mother” equation:

- 145 he has to be thrown back. A man who is afraid of *women* shows that he must have had some experience with (the mother which has caused fear)
- 147 rience. Your whole structure of relationship with *women* will be based on that foundation, and that founda(tion is your relationship with your mother)

By being “unhappy”, “frustrated”, “always tired”, “busy” and selfish the *mother* has an immense but negative impact on the child:

- 80 (You wanted to be loved by the mother, as every child wants, but the *mother* was not interested. She was a busy woman. She had
- 129 en become miserable from the very beginning. The *mother's* impact on the children is immense. She is unhap(py, frustrated, always tired)

*Woman's* role in the familial context is further devalued through the image of prostitute placed in the same associational cluster with mother and wife, in the sub-corpus related to her, and through the negative terms, “unnecessary”, “slavery”, “dependency”, clustering around “pregnancy” and “reproduction” in the entire corpus:

- 2 e allowed to make love, and particularly now when *pregnancy* is not necessary. There is the pill – the greatest
- 4 made the woman equal. Pregnancy was her slavery, *pregnancy* was her dependence on the man. But the pill for
- 283 hen children should belong to the society, so the *woman* is not labeled as *mother*, as wife, or as prostitu(te)
- 595 birth control methods and sterilization that the *woman* can free herself from getting *pregnant* unnecessary
- 605 remember, reproduction is not creation. Once the *woman* is freed from the unnecessary burden of reproduct

Man, due to his reproductive incapability, is not provided with a positive meaning in the related context either:

- 25 r does not mean anything. And the institution of *father* is something invented by man; it is not a natural
- 93 man becomes a father he is not fulfilled. To be a *father* is accidental. It may be, it may not be. It is no
- 533 her. But *fatherhood* is an institution invented by *man*; hence it is very difficult to come across a real
- 669 use nature has made the woman to create children. *Man's* function in creating children is negligible. An

504 herey, he is disposable; woman is not disposable. *Man* is not needed so much, that's why you don't find (*fathers* in nature)

It is frequently emphasized in the entire corpus that *man* is neither capable of reproducing life, nor mothering a child:

617 , that he cannot carry an alive life in him, that *he* cannot *reproduce*  
life. To substitute it he paints  
609 e significant to steal a woman than a man because *man* is not so  
*reproductive*; one man is enough to serv  
834 g, constructing. Tantra says that this is because *man* is not a *creator* by  
nature – he remains unfulfill  
835 poetry and other things, as it is impossible for *man* to create a child.  
He cannot become a *mother*, tha

Moreover, it is mainly the *woman's* reproductive attribute that *man* “is jealous of”:

613 painter, this and that? – he is jealous of women: *he* cannot create  
children. He feels impotent. Sigmund  
616 (man) always feels jealous that he cannot mother, that *he* cannot carry  
an alive life in him, that he cannot

However, motherhood, “creativity in reproduction”, is further devalued through being placed in dramatic opposition to “creativity in art, poetry, writing, religion”, in the sub-corpus related to *man*. It is argued that due to being creative in reproducing children, and due to being fully satisfied by becoming a mother, she is not interested in being creative in any other way:

172 ne existence is rooted in motherhood. That is why *women* are not  
interested in any other type of creativity  
314 tivity. Man is a creator; woman is not a creator. *She* has not painted,  
she has not created great poetry  
316 as not painted, she has not created great poetry, *she* has not written big  
books, she has not created gr(eat religions)  
318 big books, she has not created great religions – *she* has not done  
anything really. But man goes on cre

Thus, *woman* does not receive positive meaning through the clusters of the negative forms of the verbs do, create, write in relation to arts, sciences, and religion.

Interestingly, the devalued reproductive creativity of woman is still defined as “the

peak of her creativity”, and “lack of creativity in reproduction” is equated with “any other type of creativity”, such as poetry, writing, painting. However, even in this case, *woman* creators in poetry, painting, are devalued and called “second-rate”:

- 173 ut doing something else. So basically, uncreative *women* will become  
creators – poets and painters – but t(hey will always be second-rate,  
they cannot be first-rate)  
403 lfilled, she is not interested. It is only when a *woman* cannot become a  
mother, cannot love, cannot reall(y come to the peak of her creativity,  
that she will start thinking about doing something else)

Therefore, the devalued reproductive creativity of *woman* is still her only creativity.

However, lack of creativity in reproduction leads *man* to become creative in arts, in invention, in construction, in creating through the “lack of creativity in reproducing children = creativity in arts, in invention, in construction, in creating” equation emphasized in the corpus of New Age talks under examination:

- 620 uce life. To substitute it he paints, he sculpts, *he* writes poetry, he  
composes music; he goes to the  
624 s music; he goes to the moon, he goes to Everest. *He* wants to prove at  
least to his woman that "I can (also do something")  
832 e not interested in any other type of creativity. *Man* is a creator;  
*woman* is not a creator. She has not  
833 religions – *she* has not done anything really. But *man* goes on  
creating, he is mad. He goes on inventing, (creating, making,  
constructing)  
1851 (He wants to) become a mother, *he* wants to become a creator, so *he*  
creates poetry, he creates books, he creates many (things, he will  
'mother' many)

Thus, the seemingly negative attribute construes *man* as active and significant in the external world, and reinforces the “*man* = cultural” association.

Furthermore, due to her body roots, *woman* is metaphorically identified with the tree that provides nourishment, shelter for *man*, who is metaphorically associated with a flying bird:

- 512 g to leave them, they are so deeply rooted in it. *Man* is like a bird,  
flying, and they are like trees, (rooted)
- 513 e nourishment, of course, and whenever a bird – a *man* – wants to rest,  
he has to come in the shade of a (woman, under the tree, to nourished,  
sheltered)

These metaphorical images promote the previously established “*woman* = natural” association, and affirms *woman*’s crucial role in satisfying *man*’s needs. The worth of *woman* is further justified in terms of her role in *man*’s life through the feminine attributes of “surrendering”, “help”, “love”, “rejuvenating”, which lead *woman* to “give joy”, to “serve” her husband:

- 48 (she can) fulfill a man's life immensely. *She* can surround a *man's* life  
in a very soothing, cozy atmosphere. But t
- 52 on, they start taking revenge on each other. The *woman* can be of  
immense help in creating an organic soc
- 62 ove; she has that sensitivity. *She* can rejuvenate *man*, help him relax.  
In the Upanishads there is a ve
- 408 (One) woman can give you a certain kind of joy, another *woman* can  
give you another kind of joy. A third woman w

Being “the living body” causes *woman* to live longer, to be more resistant to diseases and less sick than *man*, thus this metaphoric image seems to give positive content to her. The “*woman* = the living body” equation causes *woman* to be the physiologically stronger / superior sex (see Appendix E). However, it is this claimed superiority that makes her a winner in the natural life, and thus further reinforces the “*woman* = natural” equation established through the “*woman* = reproduction” association:

- 250 the path towards God. In life, in natural life, *women* are the winners.  
But a spiritual life is going ag
- 408 e very nature, the earth, the base of all nature. *She* is more natural; her  
tendencies, her goals, are m
- 502 (because she) is more body-oriented. Nature needs *her* more than man:  
man is just on the periphery, he is disposable; (woman is not)

Interestingly, it is only in natural life that man “is disposable”. The *woman=body* metaphorical association, which makes her a potential winner in natural life, does not

provide her positive content in cultural life, since all that she can do with her “beautiful”, “delicate”, “flexible” body is to become either a dancer or a prostitute (see Appendix F).

The “woman = body = sexual object” equation is reinforced through other sexual images that are placed in the same associational cluster with *woman* and her body (see Appendix F). This equation is intensified through the metaphoric association of her body with a “musical instrument”:

22 t composes poetry, or a musician plays music. The *woman's body*  
should be taken as a musical instrument; I  
117 an's ego. The woman needs a long foreplay so that *her whole body*  
starts tingling with sensuality, but t  
121 pt. A woman is almost like a musical instrument; her whole body has  
immense sensitivity, and that sens

The referral of woman to sexual context is further promoted in the sub-corpus related to man through the “breasts” image identified with her:

189 cannot be ready. Unless the man starts loving the *woman* from the  
*breasts*, the negative pole will not be r(eady)  
81 n was not a part, she was not aroused. That's why *women* have a  
hankering that their lovers should touch t(heir *breasts*, love their  
*breasts*)  
194 e body vibrating. Just by loving the *breasts* of a *woman* she can be  
brought to a deep orgasm because the n

Positivity is attributed to the penis of *man* and the breasts of *woman*, rather than her genital organ, vagina:

8 this way: the vagina is the negative pole in the *feminine* body and the  
breasts are the positive pole. This  
176 e body, ill. But female breasts are positive. If *women* concentrate near  
the breasts, they will feel very  
528 e breasts, the negative pole near the vagina. For *man* the negative pole  
is at the breasts, and the posi(tive pole is t the penis)

Thus, metaphorical identification of *man* with penis and *woman* with breasts, rather than vagina is further strengthened. This identification leads to the “man’s sexuality

= positive" ≠ "woman's sexuality = negative" equations:

354 and our women all have to understand: one is that *man's* sexuality is positive, women's sexuality is neg(ative)

*Man* whose sexuality is positive becomes a "donor", a "giver" in the sexual act, as opposed to *woman* who is the "receiver" of what is provided to her by man:

355 is just indicating the nature of their sexuality. *Man* is the donor and *woman* is the receiver. My own e

535 re is love, then man and woman meet on two poles. *Man* gives to the *woman* and the woman returns it back.

Interestingly, having a positive sexuality, thus, being a "donor, a "giver" construes *man* as sexually "very inferior":

1121 perior. For example, in making love to a *woman*, a *man* is very inferior because he can have only one org

Accordingly, the opposite attributes are ascribed to the two sexes' sexuality in the entire specialized corpus under examination. Thus, *man's* sex / orgasm is "local", "genital", and "tiny" unlike *woman's* sex / orgasm which is "total", "spread all over her body", "very great", and "more sensuality than sexuality" (see Appendix G).

The associated images of *man's* and *woman's* sexuality which cause *man* to have "the capacity for only one orgasm", in contrast to *woman* who has "the capacity for multiple orgasms" construe *woman* superior, however, in the sexual domain:

124 s empty! But the *woman* has a negative sexuality. *She* can have multiple orgasms, because she is not los

260 irstly, *man* has the capacity for only one orgasm; *woman* has the capacity for multiple orgasms. This has c

315 ause the *woman* is capable of multiple orgasms and *man* is finished with one ejaculation. I will not call

1019 e *he* can have only one orgasm at a time while the *woman* can have at least half a dozen, a chain – multipl

In the sub-corpus related to man, *woman's* superiority in the sexual domain is justified by her being a receiver, having a negative sexuality, losing nothing, no energy in sexual act, (see Appendix G). Interestingly sexual superiority of *woman*

does not give her positive meaning as the above mentioned attributes promote her to become a prostitute:

- 79 men are at more of a loss than women. That's why *women* can become prostitutes – because the positive pole  
127 (One prostit)ute can have many customers in one night, because *she* does not lose energy; on the contrary, the more p  
531 and the negative pole is woman. Energy flows from *man* to *woman* but not vice versa. So a woman can be in (twenty or thirty sex acts in one night)

Moreover, the “sexually superior” *woman* is still portrayed as a sufferer of sexual dissatisfaction:

- 94 ep. And the woman – not one woman but millions of *women* are crying tears after *men* have made love to them  
630 he is finished. The *woman* was warming up and the *man* is finished – not that he has attained orgasm; ej  
444 and starts snoring.” When the *man* is snoring the *woman* is crying and has tears, because what kind of lif

Therefore, sexual dissatisfaction causes *woman* to become “a pain in the neck”, “continuously irritated”, “annoyed”, “angry”, and “nagging the man”:

- 107 be satisfied. And she is unsatisfied; that is why *she* is continuously irritated, annoyed, angry, naggin(g the *man*)  
449 en to all kinds of nonsense called sermons. If a *woman* is satisfied, having multiple orgasms, she will n(ever be a pain in the neck)

The cause of *woman's* sexual dissatisfaction, her becoming “a pain in the neck” is *monogamy* equated with all these evils:

- 86 (he should always invite at least fi)ve friends. Then you will see a totally different *woman* in the world – joyous, never nagging, never angry)  
117 sneezes. She should understand her sexuality and *she* should demand. Monogamy is absolutely against nat(ure)

Interestingly, *woman* is equated with monogamy, and *man* is equated with polygamy through the “*man's* love = a physical necessity” and “*woman's* love = a spiritual experience” equations in the sub-corpus related to her:

- 12 (A *m*)an's love is more or less a physical necessity; a *woman's* love is not. It is something greater and higher; (it is a spiritual experience)



13 her; it is a spiritual experience. That's why the *woman* is monogamous  
and *man* is polygamous. The man would  
14 not be satisfied. *His* discontent is infinite. The *woman* can be satisfied  
with one love, utterly fulfilled

However, *woman's* capacity for multiple orgasms is presented as the cause of her  
polygamy. Since no husband can satisfy a *woman* who can have multiple orgasms,  
both genders are psychologically polygamous:

296 done to her is marriage, because neither *man* nor *woman* is  
monogamous; psychologically they are polygamous(s)  
319 (The husband) and cannot satisfy her – no husband can satisfy a *woman*. It  
seems to be a disparity, a fault of nature, t

*Woman* and *man* are forced to live monogamously by the marriage institution which  
does “the greatest harm” to her:

9 and the greatest harm that has been done to her is *marriage*, because  
neither man nor woman is monogamous; psy

Consequently, the monogamous, marriage institution, family, and both genders in the  
familial context receive negative meaning through the images of “ a failure”, “ a  
barrier”, “unnatural”, “the ugliest thing”, “an old idea” “mental sicknesses”,  
“prison”, “hellfire”, “fear”, “problems”, “ugly”, “jealousy”, “nightmare”, and  
“prostitution” clustering around the negative - evil terms, family and marriage, in the  
entire corpus (see Appendix H):

3 not only a question of prostitutes. What are your *marriages*? – a  
permanent institution of prostitution. Reme  
6 in the future. This problem has to be solved; but *marriage* is a barrier,  
religion is a barrier, your rotten  
18 you brought three souls into the ugly world of your family, into the  
nightmare that you are living? Why? Can  
22 men and women? It is very simple to understand. *Marriage* is the  
ugliest institution invented by man. It is  
30 all kinds of psychoses, neuroses, arise out of the *family*. The *family*  
creates a very, very ill human being.  
63 are failures, unsuccessful, inferior to others. *Family* is the base for all  
pathology. I would love a wo

The “*woman* = living body” equation which associates her with the physiologically stronger and sexually superior sex, with the reproducer of life, construes *woman* as a winner, but only in the natural, sexual contexts. Agonistically, through the metaphorical equation “man=the living mind”, he is absorbed in the clusters of the related attributes such as complexity, efficiency, rationality, and logic which construe him as a winner in cultural life:

5       rwhelming the mind. The *mind* can only understand *logically*,  
*rationally* one thing: from where is this sexuali  
8       ga for women. Mind is also different. *Man* thinks *logically*,  
linguistically. The woman is more affected by em  
114     , the Viennese.... The female mind has a grace, the *male mind* has  
*efficiency*. And of course, in the long r  
511     long, but in another way it is easier, because a *woman* is a simple  
phenomenon. Man is very *complex* and h

Moreover, *woman* is not only denied access to the external world, the “*woman* = body = nature” equation makes her a loser in spiritual life. The “spiritual life = going against and beyond nature” equation presents the body-grounded attribute of *woman* as “a problem”, “a hindrance” in the spiritual context:

250     the path towards God. In life, in natural life, *women* are the winners.  
But a spiritual life is going ag(ainst and beyond nature. Then their  
body-groundedness becomes a problem)  
251     (as far as o)rdinary natural life is concerned, it is helpful; *women* are  
the winners there. But when one starts to mov  
447     ale, that she too may become a living spirit.... *She* is a living body and  
the path is longer for her.

However, the established metaphoric “body = trust” equation may lead *woman* to spiritual growth as “once she is in love, in trust, she can take the jump” from body to spirit:

448     reating doubts. A *woman* can take the jump easily: *she* is body-rooted,  
she is trust, she has no doubts.  
451     no doubts. Once a *woman* falls in love with a *man* she can move with  
him to hell, she will not care. Onc  
453     hell, she will not care. Once the trust is there, *she* will follow. That's  
why a woman can never imagine

457 : that is that woman can take a jump easily. Once *she* is in love, in trust, she can take the jump. So t

Yet, she is not construed as adequate for the role of a spiritual master. In this context, *woman's* role is confined to the role of a follower, of a disciple:

252 (T)here have not been many masters from the world of *women*, but  
there have been great disciples. And no *man*  
520 omen, but there have been great disciples. And no *man* can compete  
with *women* as far as great discipleho(od is concerned)

#### 4.1.2 The Heart versus Head Image

The “heart ≠ head” binary image, associated with *woman* and *man*, respectively, further promotes the agonistic construal of the female and male genders:

5 meditation more easily than men. *Man* has a better *head* – logically,  
intellectually, he can go far in sea(rch)...but the *woman* has a better  
*heart*.  
71 then unknowingly his hand will point towards his *head* and *he* will say  
that his *head* is the most importa  
86 is a woman, then maybe she will point towards her *heart* and say that  
the *heart* is the most important. Nei  
186 on that arises because *women* function through the *heart* and *man*  
functions through the *head*. Have you ever  
216 st important. *Men* have emphasized their *heads* and *women* have  
emphasized their *hearts* and the society base  
826 just feeling jealous... nothing courageous. The *woman* is more loving  
because she does not live by logic, (by reason, but by pure emotion  
and *heart*)

Through the “woman = heart”, “man = head” imageries, *woman* is metaphorically identified with an emotional instrument, as opposed to *man* who is identified with a logical instrument:

140 the *head* the logical instrument; you can call the *heart* the emotional  
instrument. Out of the head all the

The female heart and male head cause *woman* and *man* to behave accordingly, in the entire specialized corpus:

222 hings. *Men* are not that capable of imagining, but *women* can really  
imagine things. Women confessed in the  
493 rking of it. *Man* functions with the conscious and *woman* functions  
with the unconscious. So man can accumu

494 (*man* can) accumulate details, but can never be very deep. *Woman*  
cannot accumulate details, but can be very deep i(n a small, simple  
fact)  
500 is very difficult, almost impossible to deceive a *woman* because she  
lives intuitively. You will not be ab  
992 s embarrassed. He may be right logically, but the *woman* does not  
function logically. So if meditation wa  
631 become falsely pregnant. What imagination! When a *woman*  
imagines, she can imagine far-out things. Men are  
946 tween the two. She cannot argue, but she can cry. *She* cannot be  
rational, but she can scream. She cannot be cooperative)

Thus, the metaphoric binary heart vs. head, and “heart = emotional instrument” ≠  
“head = logical instrument” identifications contribute to the construal of woman as  
devoid of rationality, reason, logic, mathematical and scientific knowledge, as  
opposed to man who is associated with the clusters of the related attributes of  
rationality, argumentation, knowledge, and logic (see Appendix I):

5 meditation more easily than men. *Man* has a better head – logically,  
intellectually, he can go far in sea  
45 es through the heart. Science is confined to the *head*, reason, logic.  
The *heart* is confined to feelings (emotions, sensitivities)  
49 t the heart, which is midway. It is possible for *head* to understand a  
little bit of *heart*, because even (the greatest scientist falls in love)  
90 (Regain feeling – less t)hought, more feeling. Live more by *heart*, less  
by *head*. Sometimes, live totally in the body; forget about  
101 nnot love, it cannot feel, it is insensitive. The *heart* cannot be rational,  
reasonable. For the whole pas  
149 d cannot understand the mystery of the *heart*. The *head* is logical,  
rational, mathematical, scientific; t  
184 (The *head* is) logical, rational, mathematical, scientific; the *heart*  
knows nothing of reason, nothing of logic. The he

The agonistic construal of woman and man is further promoted through the explicit  
“the West = head-oriented” ≠ “the East = heart-oriented” equations in the sub-corpus  
related to woman, and through the implicit “man = head = purposive” and “the West  
= thinking in terms of purpose” equations which are placed in dramatic opposition to  
“woman = heart = non-purposive” and “the East = thinking in terms of  
purposelessness” equations, in the sub-corpus related to man:

7        hat you are looking at life through the head. The *head* is purposive.  
 The *heart* is non-purposive. The ver  
 40        becomes businesslike, it cannot be ecstatic. The *West* has been  
 thinking in terms of purpose, but the Ea  
 45        st has been thinking in terms of purpose, but the *East* has been  
 thinking in terms of purposelessness. Th  
 206        e same. The *West* is *head-oriented* and the *East* is *heart-oriented*. It is  
 the same question in different di

Interestingly, the clustering images of agonistically related the *West* and *East* associate *man* with “body”, with the image previously assigned to woman, in addition to further promoting his association with “matter”, “technology”, “machines”, “lust”, “science”, in opposition to woman’s identification with “soul”, “consciousness”, “inner reality”, “inwardness”, “love”, “non-violence”, and “meditation”:

5        ociety cannot condemn it. So the whole genius of *Western* humanity  
 became a servant for creating more comfo(rts for the body, more  
 technology, more machines, more knowledge about matter)  
 6        other way, but the basic problem is the same: the *East* has chosen that  
 you are the soul and the body is (an illusion)  
 10        be completely destroyed, ignored, forgotten. The *West* denied the  
 inner reality of man, his consciousness(s: man is only body- there is  
 no soul)  
 19        Slowly, slowly, the distance became bigger. The *West* became  
 materialist – and the whole responsibility  
 76        elligentsia of the *West* as not worth living. The *East* has chosen  
 consciousness and has condemned matter (and everything material,  
 the body included)

Further, new images, of the *Zorba* and the *Buddha*, are exploited to represent the materialist *West* and the spiritualist *East*, equated with “body” and “soul”, “*man*” and “*woman*”, “masculinity” and “femininity”, respectively:

5        auty, a fuller life. Symbolically, I have chosen *Zorba* for the *body* and  
*Buddha* for the *soul*. Your quest  
 52        others than fathers. They have the quality of the *feminine*. *Buddha* is  
 feminine, so is Mahavira, so is Krishn  
 593        is very symbolic that a buddha took the form of a *woman*. *Buddhas*  
 always take the form of a *woman*. They ma(y be living in a male body,  
 but)

The positive meaning previously attributed to *woman* in the spiritual context through

the “woman = body = trust = spiritual growth” equation is further reinforced through the “woman = heart” imagery, and “woman = heart = the spiritualist East = Buddha” equations that reiterate *woman*’s association with love and trust:

88 s why, whenever a woman has come to listen to me, *she* has heard me  
more deeply, more intimately, more *l(ovingly)*  
22 s nourished on a deeper level than intellect. *Her* heart sings with me,  
beats with me, dances with me. Her  
104 sannyasin. Once she starts meditating, it becomes *her* devotion, a part  
of her *heart* – it is not so with  
107 art sings with me, beats with me, dances with me. *Her* connection is  
not superficial: it is that of *trus(t)*, not of intellectual conviction)

The female heart causes *woman* to be convinced emotionally, as opposed to the male head which requires him to search and be convinced intellectually:

181 oblem is not the same. She is with me not because *she* is intellectually  
convinced by me; she is with me  
183 lectually convinced by me; she is with me because *she* is nourished on  
a deeper level than intellect. He  
256 (her devo)tion, a part of her *heart* – it is not so with the *man*; it  
remains only an intellectual search. There ar

Thus, the “woman=heart” metaphorical equation consolidates the previously created image of an ideal female disciple (sannyasin):

250 than men. And the strangest thing is that once a *woman* becomes a  
sannyasin, she remains a sannyasin. Onc  
591 lieves that just as a *man* has to be born out of a *woman*, so the new  
birth of a disciple is also going to (be out of a woman)

Consequently, in the spiritual context, *man* receives a negative meaning through the “man = intellectually / rationally convinced” and “intellectual conviction = superficial” equations:

83 re are exceptions, but as a rule.... I have seen *men* betraying me but  
not *women*. And the reason is tha  
257 ying me but not women. And the reason is that the *man* is  
intellectually convinced. He is with me... but

Intellectual conviction is presented as a threat to any possible “irrational”, “contradictory” teachings of the religious leader:

13 us to you, to bring it to light. *I* am bound to be *contradictory*. I am not  
 a public man. I am not interested in t  
 19 suits you, do it. Don't be worried about *my* being *contradictory*,  
 because that is my problem. If *I* am *contradictor*  
 28 So tomorrow, *I* may say something with which his *mind* does not  
 agree. And just a small disagreement in  
 29 s not agree. And just a small disagreement in his *mind*, and his path  
 separates from mine. He is with *me* only to the (extent that his intellect  
 is nourished by what I am saying)  
 261 y what I am saying. The moment he feels something *I* am saying is not  
*rational*, he is no more with me.

However, *man* who seems to be disassociated from spiritual enlightenment, is yet  
 assigned a positive image in the related context through the “man = warrior =  
 fighting spirit” equation:

1746 as far as religious experience is concerned. But *he* has one quality and  
 that is of the *warrior*. Once  
 1748 is of the warrior. Once he gets a challenge, then *he* can grow any kind  
 of qualities. Even the feminine  
 1749 y kind of qualities. Even the feminine qualities, *he* can grow better  
 than any woman can. His *fighting* (*spirit* balances things)

“*Man's* fighting spirit” leads him to “grow any kind of qualities”, even the feminine  
 qualities, “better than any *woman* can”. Thus, this equation associates *man* with  
 success not only in the material, but also in the spiritual world.

#### 4.1.3 The Right Hemisphere versus Left Hemisphere Image

The agonistically related right and left hemispheres are other metaphorical images  
 that are strongly identified with *woman* and *man*, respectively:

13 (When on)e nostril, the *left* nostril, is breathing you are *feminine*.  
 When the *right* nostril is breathing you are *male*  
 14 (your r)ight-brain hemisphere functions: the *right* is the *feminine* part.  
 When you are breathing from the right nostr  
 78 complementing each other – the *left* brain and the *right* brain, reason  
 and intuition, the *feminine* and the (*masculine*)  
 24 the right. The *right*-side brain is *feminine*; the *left*-side brain is  
*masculine*. That's why the left hand  
 29 t-side hand is joined to the left-side brain, the *left*-side brain is *male*,  
 so the *right*-side hand has be  
 98 he feminine part. When you are breathing from the *right* nostril your  
*left* brain functions: that is the *ma(le* part)

- 125 al. The same applies to men and women. *Women are right-hemisphere people, men are left-hemisphere people*

Through the “woman = right hemisphere” equation *woman* is absorbed in the clusters of such positive attributes as intuitive, poetic, platonic, imaginative, romantic, mythical, religious, loving, surrendering and trusting:

- 109 ere is joined with the right hand, crosswise. The *right hemisphere* is intuitive, illogical, irrational, p(latonic, imaginative, romantic, mythical, religious)
- 137 hing becomes divine, sacred. Religion is from the *right hemisphere*. A man was sitting with his friend
- 155 c in the pines. Change more and more towards the *right hemisphere*. Become more and more feminine, more a(nd more loving, surrendering, trusting)
- 181 ferences. The *left-side* mind is Aristotelian. The *right-side* mind is intuitive, poetic – inspiration, vis(ion, a priori consciousness, a priori awareness)
- 182 ss: it is simply there. The truth is known by the *right-side* mind. Truth is inferred by the *left-side* *mind*. Inference is just inference, it is not experience)

However, the attributes of illogicality and irrationality are also placed into the same associational cluster with the right hemisphere image. Thus, *woman* is assigned both positive and negative attributes due to the metaphoric equation, “woman= right hemisphere”.

In an agonistic fashion, the “man = left-hemisphere” equation further reinforces the previously established “man = reason = intellect = logic = rationality = mathematics = science = argument = proof” equations:

- 31 (One part of your mind functions as re)ason, intellect, logic, philosophy, science – the *left-side* brain. The *right-side* brain functions as
- 68 effort to reach the one-ness of being through the *left hemisphere*, using logic, mathematics, science and (trying to go beyond)
- 69 (log)ic, argument, proof, syllogism, is the way of the *left hemisphere*. Listen to it. Gosa Hoyen used to sa
- 86 (The mind) is divided in two parts, in two hemispheres. The *left-side hemisphere* is the faculty of reason, logic, discursive thought, analysis,



philosophy, theology...words and words and words and arguments  
and syllogisms and inferences)

The “man = left hemisphere” as opposed to the “woman = right hemisphere” equations function similar to the “man = mind = head” ≠ “woman = body = heart” equations. The “man = mind = head = left hemisphere” equation and its associated attributes of logic, rationality, proof, knowledge, science, intellect, culture are placed in dramatic opposition to the “woman = body = heart = right hemisphere” equation and its associated attributes of emotion, intuition, imagination, love, trust, religion, nature. Thus, the metaphoric binaries and their associated attributes function to reinforce the dramatic alignment between *woman* and *man* by making more prominent that:

517 inferior. I mean that they are unique. *Women* are *women* and *men* are *men*; there is no question of comparis(on)

The repeated identification of the key terms with particular images reveals the attitudinal meaning attributed to two genders, in both the specialized corpus under examination and in the writer’s mind. The agon analysis, examination of the terms that oppose the key terms and the images identified with them provides oppositional patterns - agonistic relationship between the key terms and terms associated with them. Predominantly the images and attributes identified with one sex are agonistically associated with the other sex.

Throughout the entire corpus, the two genders are dichotomously construed through direct opposition, negation, and the agonistic imagery of “*body ≠ mind*”, “*breast ≠ penis*”, “*heart ≠ head*”, and “*right hemisphere ≠ left hemisphere*”. Either gender construal depends on the existence of the other, on the metaphoric binary images, to provide its content. While the multiple emotional attributes naturalize *woman* as

gender, and thus obscure her content, *man* is mostly construed as rational. Thus, the cluster-agon analysis of the corpus evidence reveals the stereotypical construal of both genders which reaffirms *man*'s primary and *woman*'s secondary roles in the external, social, cultural and scientific spheres of life.

#### **4.2 Progression and Transformation Analysis of the Specialized Corpus (“What Follows What”, “What Becomes What”)**

The dramatic alignment in the gender-related corpus is *woman* vs. *man*, construed in dialectic opposition to each other. The “*woman = body = heart = right hemisphere*”, and the “*man = mind = head = left hemisphere*” sets of equations and their associated attributes are exploited to reinforce each of the conflicting principles, (thus establishing an agonistic relationship between the two genders) in the sub-corpus related to *woman*. However, the agonistic relation between *man* and *woman* in the sub-corpus related to *man* is established through the “*woman = breasts = heart = right hemisphere*”, and the “*man = penis = mind = left hemisphere*” sets of equations and their related attributes.

The inner conflict between *heart* and *head*, between *heart* oriented *right hemisphere* and *head* oriented *left hemisphere*, is presented as the main cause of the conflict between *heart, right hemisphere* oriented *woman*, and *head, left hemisphere* oriented *man*, as well as between *heart*-oriented East and *head*-oriented West in the corpus of New Age talks under examination (see Appendix J):

18      culative. These two hemispheres are constantly in *conflict*. The basic  
politics of the world is within you, t  
41      en in conflict. That conflict only represents the *conflict* and struggle  
between *men* and *women*. If you are t  
45      are not at ease. There is a conflict, continuous *conflict* between the  
*head* and the *heart*, between the *man* a(nd the *woman*)

However, in the sub-corpus related to *man*, the conflict, required for making drama, is more prominently associated with the conflict between matter and mind, between materialism and spiritualism, which are equated with the West and East, and represented by the images of the Zorba and the Buddha, respectively:

- 3        n used is to divide you into two enemy camps: the *zorba* and the  
*buddha*, the *materialist* and the *spiritual(ist)*  
19        (The division, the split) that was created) in each man, became a split  
on a wider scale: as *East* and *West*. One great poet has written, "East is  
E  
27        itself either as matter or as mind. So the whole *conflict* between *mind*  
and *matter*, and their followers, is

The conflict between matter and mind, materialism and spiritualism, the West and the East is presented as the extension of the inner conflict between *heart*, *right hemisphere* oriented *woman* and *head*, *left hemisphere* oriented *man*. Accordingly, the materialist Zorba, the West is equated with "body", "matter", "technology", "machines", "purpose", "lust", "science", and placed in dramatic alignment to the spiritualist Buddha, the East which is associated with "soul", "consciousness", "inner reality", "inwardness", "love", "non-violence", "purposelessness", "meditation" (see Appendix K):

- 5        ociety cannot condemn it. So the whole genius of *Western* humanity  
became a servant for creating more comfo(rts for the body, more  
technology, more machines, more knowledge about matter)  
6        other way, but the basic problem is the same: the *East* has chosen that  
you are he soul and the body is (an illusion)  
10       be completely destroyed, ignored, forgotten. The *West* denied the  
inner reality of man, his consciousness(s: man is only body- there is  
no soul)  
66       sible for this situation? The richest man in the *West* is searching for  
his soul and finding himself hol(low, without any love, only lust)

Throughout the entire corpus, the feminine images of *body*, *heart* and *right hemisphere* and their related attributes of love, intuition, imagination are assigned greater value, and presented as superior to the masculine images of *mind*, *head* and *left hemisphere* and their related attributes of logic, doubt, rationality, and aggression

(see Appendix L). Thus, the hierarchical scheme of the specialized corpus construes woman as good, as hierarchically superior to the “inferior”, “evil”, *man*:

26 (Love, trust, beauty, sinc)erity, truthfulness, authenticity – these are all  
*feminine* qualities, and they are far greater than any qual(ities that man  
has)  
32 of a servant – of a soldier at the most. And the *feminine* qualities are  
almost divine. They have a royalty  
60 around me start learning feminine qualities. And *feminine* qualities are  
the only qualities worth having. S  
1044 ities together make the woman weak. In fact, the *woman* has all the  
great qualities in her. And whenever

Through the polarization of the two genders which construes *woman* and *man* as the positive and negative poles, the rhetor explicitly promotes *woman*'s positive features:

40 him. I would like the whole world to be full of *feminine* qualities.  
Then only can wars disappear. Then onl  
44 usy, she has to drop hatred. The *man* has to drop logic and be a little  
more loving. Logic can be used;  
128 (Regain f)eeeling – less thought, more feeling. Live more by *heart*, less  
by *head*. Sometimes, live totally in the bod  
155 c in the pines. Change more and more towards the *right hemisphere*.  
Become more and more *feminine*, more a(nd more loving,  
surrendering, trusting)  
907 nnot hold it anymore and everything falls apart. *Man* has to be taught  
to be more heartfelt because from

However, the unitary principle in the “ultimate”, “mystical”, or “hierarchical” order (Burke, 1969a, p. 189) requires providing even the inferior in the hierarchical order with a chance to reach the ultimate perfection. Through the ultimate treatment of the conflict between *woman* and *man*, through the ultimate / hierarchical vocabulary, in the specialized corpus under consideration, the “inferior”, *man*, is construed as capable of growing feminine qualities “better than any *woman* can”, and thus as capable of moving upward in the ultimate hierarchical order:

37 then he can grow any kind of qualities. Even the *feminine* qualities, he  
can grow better than any woman can.  
1181 it balances things. Women have qualities inborn. *Man* needs only to  
be provoked, given a challenge: the  
1748 is of the warrior. Once he gets a challenge, then *he* can grow any kind  
of qualities. Even the feminine

The analysis of the symbolic structure of the corpus of New Age talks under examination reveals the following devices are exploited to unify *woman* and *man*, to transcend, to resolve the conflict between *heart*, *right hemisphere* oriented *woman* and *head*, *left hemisphere* oriented *man*, as well as the conflict between matter and mind, materialism and spiritualism, the West and the East:

- the ultimate order of the terms that arranges the two genders and their related images hierarchically, as necessary steps in the single process of becoming *being*;
- the projective device of the scapegoat that presents the abstract concepts, old and past as the common enemy of both genders;
- the transcendent force, *meditation*, which leads to symbolic death and rebirth, thus transformation of *woman* and *man*.

#### **4.2.1 The Ultimate Order of the Terms**

The terministic screens in some texts of the specialized corpus emphasize the principle of discontinuity between *woman* and *man*, and thus disassociate the two genders. The structures of identifications and oppositions which are based on the binary imagery of “*body ≠ mind*”, “*heart ≠ head*”, “*right hemisphere ≠ left hemisphere*” in the sub-corpus related to *woman*, and “*breasts ≠ penis*”, “*heart ≠ head*”, “*right hemisphere ≠ left hemisphere*” in the sub-corpus related to *man* construe the two genders agonistically.

However, other texts serve to support the argument that people are neither *heart* nor *head*, and it is the communion of *heart* and *head* that makes a person “more complete and more whole”. Thus, another point of view, which *terminates* the *heart* and *head*, thus, *woman* and *man* opposition, is reinforced:

45 vision of the new man? *Man* is not only *head* and *heart*. There is  
something more than both in him – his b(eing)  
88 t is the most important. Neither the *head* nor the *heart* is the most  
important. Men have emphasized their  
202 d women together it can last for eternity." When *heart* and *head* are  
together, you are more complete and  
203 e together, you are more complete and more whole. *Heart* is a part,  
*head* is a part, but together...if a co  
136 are mechanisms. You are neither the *head* nor the *heart*. You can  
move through the head, you can move thro

*Woman* and *man* are encouraged to be “unidentified” with either *heart* or *head*, as the  
truth which is consciousness is claimed to be “behind”, “above” both:

20 ject and you are the object. You are all that is. *Consciousness* is all.  
When you can expound on this, you will k  
23 red in it. And you close your eyes, and the pure *consciousness*, the  
silence...and God is the silence there. God is  
36 erent consciousness from a man. At the height of consciousness all  
duality disappears. So the best thing that I  
49 involved. It is a question of consciousness, and consciousness is  
neither male nor female. Then on what grounds  
56 non-substantial. The ultimate reality belongs to *consciousness*. In the  
West, development happened in a differen  
62 he truth. The truth is behind both; it is in your consciousness, which is  
neither head nor heart. Just because th  
74 n: Neither of head nor of heart, but of a growing consciousness which  
is above both mind and heart. This is the

Due to the unitary principle behind the ultimate treatment of the conflict between the  
two genders, *woman* and *man*, the conflicting images, are presented as the successive  
positions in the single process of “growing consciousness” which is “neither head  
nor heart”, which is “above both mind and heart”, and which will lead to *being*, the  
ultimate perfection. Therefore, *woman* and *man*, *heart* and *head* are bridged by the  
third term, *being*, “the greatest blissfulness”, “light”, which is associated with “self  
realization”, “self actualization”, “individualism”, “authenticity”, and “purity” (see  
Appendix M):

11 .nowhere to go...one is simply delighted. Just by *being*, one is blissful.  
Just by being, one can dance an  
22 s your original face, your originality, your very *being*. O monks, do  
away with passions. Drop desiring.

- 95 (They don't know what self-realization is, they don't know what self-actualization is, they don't know anything of *being*. Utterly empty they live, utterly empty they die.
- 125 g. Bliss is your self-nature – just discover your *being* and you will find it as a consequence. Jesus say
- 164 (to be) individual, authentically individual. Be your own *being*. The third thing that Tantra says is: First, the
- 187 (They are living in darkness; they haven't seen any) light. They don't have any idea what a conscious *being* is. They don't have any conception, comprehension

The analysis of the terms clustering around the ultimate perfection, *being*, reveals a further equation that identifies *being* with “non-duality”, with “oneness”, with “God”:

- 44 isappeared. You are *one*. This is the beginning of being *one* with existence. First be *one* with yourself. T
- 112 (male will not be male, and female will not be female, their oppositeness will) disappear. And only) then is being complete; then being is free, then being is liberated. Jesus must have told the other par
- 198 ousand and one bifurcations of branches grow. The *being* is just like the trunk of the tree – *one, non-dua(l)*
- 199 of the mind, and below the duality is *oneness* of *being*. If you slip below, underneath the duality, you w(ill find one – call it *God*)
- 358 sites, they are complementary, they belong to *one being*. All opposites belong to *one being*, and it is no

Moreover, the idea of living in the moment, here and now is promoted in the sub-corpus related to *man* through the “being = living in the present” equation:

- 9 (You are just in this moment, absolute)ly *here and now*. A great content arises into your *being*, a tremendous satisfaction arises into your being
- 227 (If you start living *in the present*,...) own life, you are satisfied, satiated. Your whole *being* feels blessed. There is no need for any compensat

Accordingly *being* which is equated with living at present is agonistically associated with the “past” and “future”:

- 4 (You ar)e in the memory of the *past*. That is a way of not *being*, that is not a way of *being*. That is a way of not
- 6 that is not a way of being. That is a way of not *being*. Or you are in the *future* which is impossible, be(cause future is not yet)

7 (The mind either clings with) the *past* or with the *future*. This is a way of not *being*. This is how we miss existence. This is how by an

Another idea that is emphasized through the agonistic relationship established between the ultimate perfection, *being*, and the social roles that individuals are expected to play to function in society in the sub-corpus related to man, is that perfection requires moving beyond the socialized self to reach the “repressed being”, the “natural” self, :

45 (How can you know yourself if you don't accept yourself? You are always repressing your *being*. What has to be done then? When you are sad, ace

116 (You have learnt to play so many roles, that's why you have forgotten the language of *being* just yourself. The second thing you ask: Shouldn

Consequently, society, the world that imposes social roles on *being*, on the self, and the religions that prevent the individual from being his/her “natural self” are construed as the real enemies of individual's *being*:

24 (The world is against individuality. It is against your *being* just your natural self. It wants you just to be

78 one of the problems that every human being) has to face is the world in which he is born. His *being* and the intentions of the world don't go together

169 (Kill the priest in your unconscious) and you will see a great change happening in your *being*. You will be more together. A small beautiful sto

Therefore, rather than following the teachings of the priests, it is moving towards *being* through distancing from both “thinking” and “feeling”, “logic” and “emotion”, from masculine and feminine attributes respectively, that is the ultimate goal, the requirement for being religious:

328 ling, then I can tell you that religion is of the *being*. Religion is neither thinking nor feeling, it is (neither logic nor emotion)

330 But the ultimate goal is to move from feeling to *being*. And if a scientist is capable of using his head

Attaining the ultimate perfection, *being*, is possible for *man* through disassociation



from the *mind*, and for *woman* through disassociation from the *body*, and other related images and attributes. In other words *man* and *woman* are encouraged to cease being *man* and *woman* and become united in *being*:

138 (a disidentification from the *body mind* complex. And in that very disidentification you start c)entering, you start getting grounded in your very *being*. That will bring spontaneousness. It is not a qu

Moreover, the ultimate term, *being*, is equated with the feminine attribute of love in the sub-corpus related to *woman*:

69 lood circulating in your body. *Love* is your very *being*...but that love has become almost impossible. The s  
75 an – it is not a small stream; *love* is your whole *being* – love is your godliness. One should think in ter  
218 n love, the closer they will reach to the being. *Being* is not very far away; it is the deepest part of *l(ove)*

Thus, in the entire corpus, the feminine image, *heart*, which is associated with love, is construed as hierarchically superior to the masculine images, *mind/head*. The hierarchical superiority of the *heart* image, *woman* over the *head* image, *man*, is further justified by *head's*, (*man's*) inability to “jump to the *being* directly”, “to communicate with the *being*”. More importantly, the *heart* is “the shortcut to *being*” (a necessary stage that needs to be passed to reach the ultimate perfection). Thus, woman that is associated with the heart image is construed superior to man (to the head image) in the specialized corpus under examination:

44 eligion is the bridge between *head* and *being*. The *head* cannot jump to the being directly unless it goes (through the *heart*)  
47 e head. I cannot talk about the *being* because the *head* will not be able to communicate with the *being*. F  
48 ot be able to communicate with the *being*. For the *head* there is no being; that's why scientists go on de(nying the soul)  
56 (t)he way to your innermost being is closer from the *heart* than from the mind. Mind is a shortcut if you are (going outward)  
58 (if you are going in)ward, the whole thing changes into its opposite – *heart* is the shortcut to *being*, and *mind* is the *longest*

However, the heart is still a “stopover”, “midway”, “temporary” stage:

50 o knows his being is authentically religious. The *heart* is only a  
 stopover. But you have to understand m  
 51 ying the soul. So I have to talk to you about the *heart*, which is  
 midway. It is possible for head to und  
 53 whole life. That's why I say religion is of the *heart*. That is only a  
 temporary statement. Once I can

Hierarchically arranged conflicting images, *heart* and *head*, are presented as  
 necessary steps to reach the ultimate perfection, *being*:

59 t from the head. First the *man* has to come to the *heart*, and then only  
 he can move towards the *being*. My  
 61 (From the *heart* the *woman* can) immediately move, and the *man* can  
 move towards the *heart* without any difficulty. He has just been  
 wrongly  
 62 (*Man* has) to be taught to be more *heartful* because from the *heart*  
 goes the way to *being*. You cannot bypass the *hear(t)*  
 323 ned to feelings, emotions, sensitivities. But the *being* is beyond both.  
 It is pure silence – no thinking,  
 329 from the *head* to the *heart*, from the *heart* to the *being*. I would like  
 all the scientists to listen to th  
 330 But the ultimate goal is to move from feeling to *being*. And if a  
 scientist is capable of using his head

The hierarchical superiority of the *heart* image associated with *woman* in the gender-  
 related corpus places her at a higher stage in the ultimate order:

31 earn how to love. *Man* has to learn how to let the *heart* be the master  
 and the *mind* be just an obedient se(rvant)  
 54 (her grace, her beauty, her love, her devot)ion can show you the way  
 towards higher realms of *being*, greater spaces of consciousness. A  
 woman is not  
 215 (The *woman* is) in a better position, *she* can go directly towards *being*  
 from the *heart*. But instead of recognizing this I  
 273 dient servant. *Man* has to learn these things. The *woman* brings these  
 things with her, but we condemn all

However, since the *heart* is still a stage to be fulfilled and transcended to move  
 towards the ultimate level, “towards being”, the hierarchically superior *woman*'s  
 situation is not completely different from the hierarchically inferior *man*'s situation.  
 The rhetor explicitly expresses his real preference for *being*. Neither the *heart*  
 (*woman*) nor the *head* (*man*) is at the highest stage of the ultimate/hierarchical order.

Attaching higher value to the *heart*, which is hierarchically superior but still a stage to be passed, is only a strategy to persuade the audience to strive upward, toward *being* which is neither *man* nor *woman*:

218 ch to the seventh, to the ultimate growth in your *being*, you will  
neither be a *man* nor a *woman*; or, both  
328 (Once I can persuade you from thinking into fee)ling, then I can tell  
you that religion is of the *being*. Religion is neither thinking nor  
feeling, it is

Therefore, presenting not only the masculine *head* but also the feminine *heart* as steps in a sequence, treating the conflicting principles as necessary disciplinary steps in the single process of becoming *being*, leads *man* and *woman* to cease to be opposites, and identifies them with each other, in other words, reestablishes the principle of continuity between the two genders.

#### 4.2.2 The Scapegoat - Old and Past

The scapegoat principle - the sacrificial principle of victimage - is one of the major unification sub-devices, exploited to establish the principle of continuity between the divided, disassociated *woman* and *man*. The hierarchical scheme of the entire corpus construes loving, trusting, intuitive, receptive *woman* as superior to logical, doubting, rational, and aggressive *man*. In some texts of the corpus “inferior”, thus, “brutal”, “animalistic”, “chauvinistic”, “ugly” *man* is presented as responsible for the “destruction”, “exploitation”, “enslavement”, “ill treatment” of *woman* (see Appendix N):

14 eceive oneself and to deceive the whole world. So *man* down the ages  
has been destroying the *woman's* gen(ius, talents, capacities)  
153 them. *Man* has been very brutal, very animalistic. *Man* has reduced  
*women* to slaves; even more than that,  
692 mply the ego, it is neither male nor female. But *man* has been very  
inhuman towards *women* for centuries  
698 imprisonment. It seems almost unbelievable what *man* has done to  
*woman* just to get rid of his inferior

However, even though the “ugliness”, “immorality”, “cruelty” and “brutality” of *man*

towards *woman* is admitted, his claimed unconsciousness is presented as a reason for forgiveness:

178 ies than man. *Man* is ugly, immoral, and all that. *Man* has to be  
forgiven for that. So man, down the ag  
234 man is a machine? *Man* is a machine, that's why. *Man* as he is, is  
utterly unconscious. He is nothing b  
345 ity. Past is past, it is no longer there and what *man* has done has been  
done unconsciously. It was not (a conscious conspiracy against  
*women*)

Thus, not only *woman* but also *man* "needs as much liberation as woman":

164 nough is enough. *Man* needs as much *liberation* as *woman*. Both need  
liberation – liberation from the mind.  
227 hat ugly movement called Women's Lib. Not only is *woman* to be  
*liberated*, *man* also has to be liberated. Th  
360 comes back to you in some form or other. Man and *woman* both need  
*liberation* – liberation from the past,

Accordingly, the evils attributed to *man* are gradually disassociated from him and projected on to the scapegoated terms "past" and "old" which are construed as the real enemy of both *woman* and *man*:

132 modern man is suffering from the *past*; the modern *man* is not  
suffering from his own sins as the so-call  
137 ing to do with the modern man as such. The modern *man* is only a  
victim of the whole *past*. And the pries  
371 (then you are not fighting against *men*, you are fighting agains)t the  
*past* – in which you have suffered, in which *man* has suffered, in  
which everybody has suffered.  
372 ybody has suffered. The rebellion is not against *man* as such, the  
rebellion is against the *past* of man

*Man* is disassociated from his sins through the projection device that loads his ills upon an external cause, the common enemy, "past" / "old", which is also shared by *woman*. Furthermore, as sharing the same enemy leads *woman* and *man* to unification, another important function of the scapegoat projection device is to further strengthen the principle of continuity between the two genders.

The negative content of the "past" / "old" is strengthened through the clustering

negative images of “misunderstandings”, “wrong things”, “wrong action”, “mistakes”, “stubborn”, “superstitious”, “nonsense”, “monopoly”, “ugly ideas”, “contamination”, “diseases”, “negativity”, “poisonous” (see Appendix O). “Disconnection from the past”, “discontinuity with the past”, with the old, “getting rid of what is old”, “dying to”, “cutting away”, “disrupting”, “uprooting” from the past are the requirements for the transformation of the old self, for the rebirth, arrival of the new self:

3        ss you are ready to *disconnect* yourself from your *past*, there is going  
to be pain – it is your *past*; it  
30        ew man, a new beginning, a disconnection from the *past*, a  
*discontinuity* from the past. I don't want you  
74        with me – to be in communion. Go on *dying to* the *past*; that's the only  
way to remain alive. So please  
88        needed. You have to become *discontinuous* with the *past*. Rahul  
became Saraha. The legend has it that the  
104       all that you used to be, a *discontinuity* with the *past* – and a rebirth.  
The place where your meditation  
134       us. A new man means *cutting away* totally from the *past*, disrupting,  
uprooting yourself completely from t

Thus, the evil term “old” is placed in the dramatic opposition to “new”:

101       be transformed, transfigured – how to die to the *old* and be born again  
– totally *new*, absolutely *new*,  
166       way you will be absolutely discontinuous with the *old*; you will be  
absolutely *new*. You will love, but  
205       itiveness into a new competitiveness, to drop the *old* and to have  
something *new* again in the same way,  
211       it suddenly explodes in you, transforms you. The *old* man is dead and  
the *new* man has arrived. Big Chi  
218       basic requirement is that you have to die to the *old* and you have to be  
born *anew* – it is a rebirth. ?H  
219       everybody else!" My *new* man means the end of the *old* world. So it  
is not only a question of my being d

However, the other evil term, the “past”, is not placed in dramatic opposition to the “future”:

16       ode of illusions and mirages. Leave this abode of *past* and *future*,  
imagination and memory, of birth and

49 d say: This cake is delicious. Don't think of the *past* and don't think of  
the *future*; they will take care  
51 s the present moment. So think as if there is no *past*, and think as if  
there is no *future*. This moment  
72 live absolutely in the moment, so don't bring the *past* in and don't  
bring the *future* in either. Be with  
92 ssibility now for any bridges for the future. The *past* is gone, the  
*future* does not exist. The past is j

The agonistic relationship is established between the “past” and the “present”, which represents the dramatic alignment between evil and good, respectively:

26 disappear, unless we drop this whole pathological *past* and start anew,  
living in the *present*, with no id  
45 ork through anything else. Don't think much about *past* lives, and  
don't think much about the *future*. The (*present* is enough)  
48 Make things easier. It is going on – from your *past* lives things have a  
continuity, so I don't deny t (...The *present* is more than enough)  
73 (To) be in this moment without any hangovers from the *past*, without  
any dreams about the *future* is the only (way to be with me)  
135 isrupting, uprooting yourself completely from the *past*, dying to the  
*past* and living in the *present*. And  
145 and live each moment without any reference to the *past*, without any  
reference to the *future* either. Live

Furthermore, discontinuing the past, liberation from the past includes “man's and woman's relationship”, dropping “out of old patterns”, and starting “a new way of life, a natural way of life”:

35 as full of mistakes of all kinds. Discontinue the *past*. Start everything  
– *man's* and *woman's* relationship (included)  
31 become a sannyasin. It is time to drop out of all *old* patterns and start a  
new way of life, a natural way of life, a nonrepressive way of life)  
223 sophies are very *old*, our styles of life are very *old*. And I am all for  
the new. We think the old is go  
306 The hindrances just have to be removed. All the *old* structures were  
creating more and more hindrances  
308 ed thing. It is part of the establishment and the *old* rotten society.  
Nonconformists have always existed

Accordingly, other images that are placed into the same cluster with the evil terms “past” and “old” are “family”, “marriage”, “religion”, “politics”:

19 (*marriage*) is a barrier, *religion* is a barrier, your rotten *old* ideas are  
barriers. They are preventing half of h

28 (The *past*) has been created by the *priests*. It is a negative *past* – life-  
denying, anti-life, anti-love, anti-joy, a  
52 Why have the *religions* been life-negative in the *past*? In the name of  
*religion* man has been exploited – (by the *priest* and by the *politician*)  
69 (In the future)e there will be no *marriage* as it has been in the *past*,  
and no divorce as it has been in the past. Life  
71 has come of age and the *family* is a thing of the *past*; it really has no  
future. The commune will be the  
145 ridding divorce. Whatever the suffering, all the *old* stories end up  
with *marriage*, all ancient stories

as well as “reproduction”, “pregnancy” and “children”:

18 s have not yet been made available to man. In the *past* it was difficult,  
because making love meant more (and more *children*)  
76 o be equal to man. Otherwise, she has been in the *past* only a factory  
and man has used her only to creat  
76 eople are there. The point is we should drop the *old* idea that you  
have to produce your *son* yourself  
79 thing, because she was constantly *pregnant* in the *past*. She was  
undernourished, tortured by so many *chil(dren)*  
91 hey should be discarded. We have to discard many *old* conceptions –  
that your *child* has to be your *chil(d)*

Thus, society’s institutions - marriage, religious, political - are construed as the  
materialized forms of the scapegoated terms, “old” and “past”, as responsible for the  
division of *woman* and *man*.

549 dy. The whole past of man has created a *split* in man; *there* is a  
constant civil war in every human bei  
550 different, but the basic rule is the same: divide man, create a *conflict* in  
him so one part starts feel

Consistently, marriage and the burden of the marital and parental roles are associated  
with unhappiness:

2 (This society will never be happy if w)e don't allow people to move  
and not get stuck in *marriages*, not get stuck in their own promises.  
Out of free

Moreover, in addition to religious institutions that believe in the sanctity of family  
and marriage, “family” is presented as the cause of the inner division, “inner  
conflict”:

19 (Your religions, your philosophies, your ideologies have not been  
healing processes, they have been root causes of inner *conflict* and  
war. You have been wounding yourself. Your ri  
24 point by point, in detail, because the problem of *family* is one of the  
most serious problems. The first t  
54 iduality repressed by a personality given by your *family* – you are  
divided into two. You will remain always(s in conflict)

Consequently, the dispersion of the “family” is associated with the death of religious  
institutions, with the disappearance of nations and races:

73 (I) am against the *family*, and I am for the commune. *Family*  
dispersed, the church will die automatically. *Nat(ions* will disappear  
automatically. *Races* will disappear automatically)

The negative content of religious institutions is further reinforced through construing  
them as the cause of not only the inner conflict and the division of *man* and *woman*,  
but also leading the West to become materialist and the East spiritualist:

6 onsibility goes to the Christian *church* – and the *Eastern* humanity  
became more and more *spiritualist*. The d  
19 Slowly, slowly, the distance became bigger. The *West* became  
*materialist* and the whole responsibility (goes to the Christian *church*)  
18 (It is the *church* ...) ill be surprised to know – that has prevented the  
*West* from going in the direction of inwardness. It for(ced *Western*  
humanity to go towards *matter*)

Marriage, which has received negative content through the associated images of  
“failure”, “barrier”, “ugliness”, is gradually construed as redundant for both genders:

8 (to transform the relations)hip between *man* and *woman* and to drop  
the idea of *marriage*, which is absolutely ugly because it is simply a  
16 nge. And change keeps things new, fresh. The day *marriage*  
disappears, the life of both *men* and *women* will b(ecome healthier)  
21 d in happiness forever.” The truth is, after the *marriage* is the deluge,  
after the *marriage* is the hellfire  
33 y ugly. The most ugly institution in the world is *marriage*, because it  
forces people to be phony: they have  
86 me an independent individual. The dissolution of *marriage* will be a  
great, festive event on the earth – and

Accordingly, the progression of “marriage” / “family” from a universally established  
social institution to an obsolete phenomenon is further emphasized through the



associated clusters of the images of “obsession”, “disease”, “monopoly”, “possession”, “past”, “no future”, “disappear”, “finish”, “death”, “nightmare”, “neurosis”, “pathology” (see Appendix P):

18 u brought three souls into the ugly world of your *family*, into the  
nightmare that you are living? Why? Can  
21 ed on family: family is its foundation stone. But *family* is also the  
foundation stone of all neurosis, of  
28 e in families. But for the greater majority, the *family* is an ugly thing.  
You can ask the psychoanalysts  
29 y, 'All kinds of mental diseases arise out of the *family*. All kinds of  
psychoses, neuroses, arise out of t(he family)  
47 aretaker; don't become possessive. But the whole *family* idea is one of  
possession – possess property, pos  
63 are failures, unsuccessful, inferior to others. *Family* is the base for all  
pathology. I would love a wo

“Family” and “marriage” institution are represented in opposition to love:

42 nd to go on dropping the law more and more. In a *family*, love  
disappears sooner or later. In the first pl  
50 world has existed against love up till now. Your *family* is against love,  
your society is against love, yo  
43 d love and saved the security. That is what your *marriage* is – love is  
sacrificed; security is there. Of co

Furthermore, “reproduction”, giving birth to a child, is equated with what keeps *woman* at “home”, in prison, what turns her into “cattle”, into a “farm”, and therefore what prevents her from being creative in art, in writing poetry, or in composing music, in the sub-corpus related to *woman*. In other words, reproduction is associated with an “unnecessary burden” that confines woman’s imagination, woman’s creativity to the home (see Appendix Q):

498 st, a mystic – she could not do anything, because *she* was constantly  
*pregnant* in the past. She was unde  
509 (Once the *woman* is) freed from the unnecessary burden of  
*reproduction* she will be able to create more powerfully than any m  
638 omen can become the best dancers in the world. A *woman* has a great  
imagination, but her imagination has (remained confined to the home)

Therefore, motherhood is placed into the same associational cluster with “problem”, “pathology”, “illness”, “fear”, “garbage”, “poison”, and thus it is not construed in

favor of either *woman* or *man*:

107 they will say the only problem to be solved is the *mother*. The only  
pathology that millions of people are suffering from is the *mother*)  
109 (Everybody's illness) has been given to you, transmitted to you by  
your *mother*. There are people who are afraid of women; and i  
205 hat will hurt you. You have been poisoned by your *mother*. Out of a  
hundred problems and troubles, almost n

Having children may prevent couples from dropping "the old idea of *marriage*", and may cause couples with children, whether married or not, to become a family.

71 ve died." It is the children who are keeping the *family* together,  
because where will the children go? Wha

Hence, it is explicitly conveyed in the sub-corpus related to *man* that "by keeping the family together" children become a threat to the "dissolution of marriage", for the "disappearance of family".

#### 4.2.3 The Transcendent Force - Meditation

Examination of the direction of the specialized corpus reveals that the term "meditation" symbolizes a transition, a crucial point in the ritual of symbolic death and rebirth of *man* and *woman*, by which the two genders are unified, and the everlasting conflict between them is transcended:

2 nd what is its significance for me? Dhyān Amiyo, *meditation* and  
*death* are very similar experiences. In death,  
6 itation, you will not be afraid of *death* either. *Meditation* prepares you  
for *death*. Our whole education is o  
7 hat have existed before or are now in existence. *Meditation* prepares  
you for the other half; it helps you to (know *death* before dying)  
201 rously. Love brings you face to face with *death*. *Meditation* brings  
you face to face with *death*. Coming to a m

Experiencing death before dying, which is equated with the "distancing from the past", accepting the "death of the old", is crucial for "meditation", for being unidentified with either *heart* or *head*, for "transformation" of *woman* and *man*:

5 God is meaningless; don't waste time. Think about *meditation*, think  
about compassion, think about things which (can *transform* you)

64 nd woman can help each other tremendously towards *meditation* and  
 towards the ultimate *transformation* of their (being)  
 91 dangerous reality is: if you want to be deeply in *meditation*, you will  
 have to pass through almost a death – t(he death of the old, the death  
 of all that you used to be, a discontinuity with the past – and a *rebirth*)  
 182 in a violent way. But you are accustomed to it. *Meditation* for me is  
 not a child's play. It is a deep *transf(ormation)*

Thus, reaching the ultimate perfection, *being*, which is neither *woman* nor *man*, is possible only through “meditation”:

3 (In *death*, your ego disappears;) only your pure *being* remains. The  
 same happens in *meditation* too: the disappearance of the ego and the  
 presenc  
 84 nt kind of meditation for *women* than for *men*. But *meditation* is  
 concerned with the very essential core of your (*being*, which cannot be  
 divided into *male* and *female*)  
 112 sense overflowing with bliss, with benediction. *Meditation* is the way  
 from the *head* to the *heart*, from the *h(heart* to the *being*)

“Meditation” which will lead to the distancing from “body and mind”, from “heart and mind”, from “heart and head”, and thus, will naturally cause *heart* and *head*, *woman* and *man* to “melt into each other”, become one. *Being* is given as the solution to the conflict between these agonistically related images:

64 ew people who have been experiencing something of *meditation*,  
 something of awareness, who have experienced in (some way the  
 distance between themselves and their *body* and *mind*)  
 114 e thinks too much, he cannot take any jumps. And *meditation* is a  
 jump: from the *head* to the *heart*, and ultima(tely from the *heart* to the  
*being*)  
 121 ole life, has never heard about meditation. It is *meditation* in which the  
*head* and *heart* lose each other, melt  
 122 eart lose each other, melt into each other. It is *meditation* in which  
*man* and *woman* melt into each other. In  
 145 ont of me." This is what I call the beginning of *meditation*, the  
 beginning of the entry within your *being*. Do

“Meditation” is construed as the transcendent force through the “meditation = solution” and “solution = transcendence of the inner conflict / transcendence of the conflict between the two genders”. Furthermore, “meditation” is equated with death and rebirth, with “death of old”, “death of all that you used to be”, and with “a

discontinuity with the past". Therefore, it is presented as a cure that will not only lead to the unification of *heart* and *head*, thus, *woman* and *man*, in the ultimate perfection, *being*, but it will also solve the problems related to the scapegoated past and old:

161   ve been dominating you. Nisang, get rid of them. *Meditation* is a process of getting rid of the whole *past*, of (getting rid of all diseases, of getting rid of all the pus that has gathered in you)

The healing function of "meditation" is emphasized through the "meditation = medicine" equation:

28   comes more and more meditative. `Medicine' and `meditation' come from the same root. Love as you know it is

"Meditation" is not only equated with the death of the past, death of the old and thus rebirth of the new, but also with a feminine attribute of "love", and interestingly with "orgasmic experience" (see Appendix R):

73   man in love can move into meditation very easily. *Meditation* and *love* are such close phenomena that if you mov  
73   But *orgasm* brings you naturally into a state of *meditation*: time stops, thinking disappears, the ego is no m  
99   t all, nor a question of men; it is a question of meditation and *love*. *Meditation* is the source from which joy  
109   ound by people who had deep *orgasmic experiences*. *Meditation* is a byproduct of *orgasmic experience*. There is n

Therefore, the "meditation = salvation from the inner crisis" and "meditation = orgasmic experience" equations emphasize the crucial role of sexuality in the spiritual growth of the individual. The association of the feminine attribute of love with the transcendent force, "meditation", with a requirement to reach the ultimate perfection of *being*, explains the higher value attached to the loving *heart*, to the loving *woman* throughout the entire corpus:

59   (That's why I am all for *love*.) because from *love* it is very easy to take you to *meditation*,... it is very difficult)t from the *head*. First the *man*

has to come to the *heart*, and then only he can move towards the *being*. My  
60 (My emphasis) is on *love* has a basic spiritual reason. From the *heart* the  
woman can immediately move, and the *man* can move towards the  
*heart* without any difficulty)

Conversely, the masculine image, *mind*, which is placed in dramatic opposition to  
“meditation”, receives negative content:

95 having it. But you cannot have both: the mind and *meditation*. *Mind* is  
a disturbance. *Mind* is nothing but a n  
97 and nobody was doing anything. Understanding what *meditation* is, is  
inviting the master in. *Mind* is a servant.  
165 it is mathematics, it is logic, it is rational. *Meditation* belongs to the  
*heart*, not to the *mind* – it is not

Thus, *woman* is construed as more advantageous, superior to *man* in meditating, in  
growing spiritually and attaining the ultimate perfection:

14 will go crazy – crazy after women. And man finds *meditation* more  
difficult than the *woman*. Experienced mother  
15 g football. He starts kicking here and there. In *meditation* girls can  
enter deeper. On the one hand they can  
18 have been continuously observing – *women* get into *meditation*  
quickly. It comes to them easily. The more medita

The symbolic transformation through symbolic death and rebirth requires replacing  
the old self by a new one. Thus, replacement of the substance of the abandoned  
identity by the substance of a new identity, thus completion of the transformation  
process is achieved through the transcendent force, “meditation”, that causes *woman*  
and *man* to change, to be transformed to the “new man”, “new being”, called “Zorba  
the Buddha”:

6 ance of godliness, the wings of ultimate freedom. *Zorba the Buddha* is  
the *new man*, is the rebel. His rebellion cons  
10 y of awakening. I am using it only as a symbol. "*Zorba the Buddha*  
simply means a new name for a *new human being*, a (new name for a  
new age)  
107 people. I am creating every possibility for the *New Man* – a *man* who  
is not contaminated by the *past*, (who is discontinuous with the *past*)  
117 in a harmonious unity. When I started calling the *new man* that is  
going to come into the world, "*Zorba (the Buddha)*," this was the idea

behind it)

It is the meeting of Zorba and Buddha that is associated with the salvation of “the whole humanity”:

342 ody's life is in danger. The meeting of *Zorba* and *buddha* can save the whole humanity. Their meeting is the

In the specialized corpus under consideration, the “new being”, the unified *Zorba* and *Buddha*, is equated with the transformed form of *woman* and *man*, and presented as “humanity’s future”, “the richest possibility”, “the answer”, as capable of becoming Buddha by remaining Zorba, by not “denying” or “dropping” anything:

5 responsible for this immense crime against man. *Zorba the Buddha* is the answer. It is the synthesis of matter and  
7 able of having both is to be unnecessarily poor. *Zorba the Buddha* is the richest possibility. He will live his natu  
8 ause he divided existence. The new man, my rebel, *Zorba the Buddha*, claims the whole world as his home. All that it  
8 Zorba? And as far as I am concerned, I don't want *Zorba* to become the Buddha by dropping being Zorba. I w  
15 es lies the very hope of humanity's future. Yes, *Zorba the Buddha* is humanity's future. And you all hav  
16 is humanity's future. And you all have to become *Zorba the Buddhas*. Nothing has to be denied, nothing h(... dropped. Everything has to be enjoyed)

The analysis of the images and ideas clustering around the “new man”, “*Zorba the Buddha*” in the supplementary corpus constructed from additional related talks of Osho, reveals that the “new man = Zorba the Budhha” is a recurring equation (see Appendix S), which is associated with the ultimate perfection, *being*, with one, with wholeness:

69 y. Then only is man *whole*. I call that *whole* man, *Zorba the Buddha*. And that is my vision for the future man. The La  
95 should not renounce Zorba. My effort is to make *Zorba* and *Buddha* meet together, be *one*. That is my visi(on of the new man)  
168 ty it has not been possible – the coexistence of *Zorba* and *Buddha* in *one* being. But the difficulty is no  
184 this world and that world *one*, body and soul *one*, *Zorba* and *Buddha one*. Socrates Poisoned Again After 25

“Meditation” is presented as the transcendent force that leads to the meeting of *Zorba* and *Buddha* in other related discourses of the rhetor. Thus, “meditation” solves not only the conflict between *man* and *woman*, but also the conflict between the *Zorba* and the *Buddha*, between matter and mind, between materialism and spiritualism, between the West and the East:

226 to be eternal. *Meditation* is the bridge between *Zorba* and *Buddha*.  
Once the bridge is complete and the b

*Zorba the Buddha* is equated with “the meeting of the East and the West”, with “the meeting of materialism and spiritualism”, and with “the meeting of science and religion”:

1 kes care. That's what I call the meeting of the *East* and the *West*, the  
meeting of *materialism* and *spir(itualism)*. That's my idea of *Zorba the*  
*Buddha*)  
6 new man as *Zorba the Buddha* which is a meeting of *East* and *West*,  
which is a meeting of *science* and *relig(ion)*

Consequently, the *Zorba* is identified with “matter”, “materialism”, “science”, “logic”, “objectivity”, “awareness”, “outer”, and the “West”, as opposed to *Buddha* which is associated with “soul”, “spirit”, “spiritualism”, “religion”, “subjectivity”, “inner“, and the “East”:

125 d calling sannyasin restaurants and their discos, *Zorba the Buddha*.  
*Zorba* represents the outside reality. When I sa  
154 this, I have called the new man *Zorba the Buddha*. *Zorba* represents  
the materialist, objective approach. B  
151 a represents the materialist, objective approach. *Buddha* represents the  
subjective, spiritual approach. T  
310 That's why I call my philosophy *Zorba the Buddha*. *Zorba* enjoyed  
everything of the outer world, but he had  
312 (The West and East shoul)d meet. Matter and spirit should go hand in  
hand. *Zorba* and *Buddha* should dance together. Christianity,

Interestingly, the feminine images of *body* and *heart* and their related attributes of love are also associated with the materialist *Zorba*, in the supplementary corpus evidence.

245 pter #16 The present is the only time you have. *Zorba is love, Buddha*  
is *awareness*. And when you are Zo  
234 nt a resurrection. I have called your *heart* the *Zorba*, and the flight of  
your intelligence – which is n(othing but refined energy of *reason* –  
Gautama the *Buddha*)

Accordingly, a masculine attribute of reason is identified with the Buddha that is previously associated with femininity, with *heart* through the “the East = heart-oriented” equation in the sub-corpus related to *woman*, and the “woman = heart = non-purposive” equation combined with the “the East = thinking in terms of purposelessness” equation in the sub-corpus related to *man*.

The association of both the Zorba and the Buddha with hierarchically superior attributes, with love and awareness, respectively, can be explained on the basis of the ultimate treatment of the conflict between materialism and spiritualism. The unitary principle behind the ultimate treatment of a dramatic conflict requires treating the conflicting images, the Zorba and the Buddha as not antithetical but successive moments in the process of becoming Zorba the Buddha. The Zorba, the lowest, in the ultimate order is associated with love, thus, hierarchically elevated and provided with a chance to be in ultimate communion with the Buddha in the image of the ultimate perfection, *being*, called *Zorba the Buddha*.

130 I concern with anyone. I have chosen my own name: *Zorba the Buddha*. It has meaning, it is not just a name. It is my (whole vision, in which the *lowest* will meet with the *highest*, in which *materialism* and *spiritualism* will not be two separate and antagonistic things)

Hence, Zorba and Buddha, “materialist and spiritualist”, in other words, “two polarities” (see Appendix S) are construed as “complementaries”, rather than in opposition to each other:

68 Chapter #22 .My whole effort is to bring *Zorba* and *Buddha* closer and closer – so close that both (can exist in one human being without any



- contradiction, as *complementaries*)
- 67 er #36 To each his own song I call the new man *Zorba the Buddha*, for the simple reason that to me materialism and (spiritualism are not separate, they are *inseparable*)
- 145 (material)ism and spiritualism are not opposite goals, that *Zorba* and *Buddha* are not moving in different directions

The “synthesis”, “meeting”, “harmonious unity” between *Zorba* and *Buddha*, between The “lowest” and the “highest”, is what leads to the “new human being”, “new age”, “new beginning” (see Appendix S). Therefore, the dichotomy between body and soul, matter and spirit, between material and spiritual, as well as between the West and the East is strongly rejected, and the monistic, holistic views are further and strongly emphasized:

- 30 y believe that they are the real East. Nobody is *East* and nobody is *West*. But the attitudes can be und
- 57 s one who lives as a *whole*, as an organic *whole*. *East* and *West* are irrelevant to *Buddha*-consciousness.
- 65 playboy. Is there something wrong? I call myself *Zorba the Buddha* and that's my whole life effort: to bring *Zorba* a(nd *Buddha* closer. I don't want the dichotomy of the spiritual and the material. I want the spiritual and the material as *one whole*)
- 28 (I am destroying the whole idea of the separation, of a split between matter and mind, body and) soul, materialism and spiritualism. I call myself *Zorba the Buddha*. My restaurants, my discos are all named after me

Thus, being both “spiritualist and materialist”, the “coexistence of *Zorba* and *Buddha* in one being”, through letting the body and soul “be one”, enjoying everything “outside” and “inside”, enjoying both the “body” and “soul” is construed as the perfect ideal for both genders (see Appendix S).

Further, *Buddha* is defined as the “ultimate development”, “ultimate peak of human reach, of human consciousness”:

- 177 He comes first; he is the natural foundation. And *Buddha* is the ultimate development, the ultimate peak of (human reach, of human consciousness)

However, it is Zorba “interested in women and wine and dance and song”, “dancing in disco”, enjoying “everything of the outer world”, “perfect base for Buddha to take over”, and having “the guts to become a Buddha”, who is given priority. By being treated as a way into the Buddha, “the end”, Zorba is defined as the “roots”, “beginning”, “natural foundation”, as “always the Buddha”:

82 Buddha... the Greek... Forgive me, because to me, *Zorba* is always the  
*Buddha*. That is my state. In me Zo  
180 ng. *Zorba* and *Buddha* can exist only together. And *Zorba* has a  
priority. He comes first; he is the natural (foundation)  
281 he buddha. Everybody has to begin from the *Zorba*. *Zorba* is the  
beginning. *Buddha* is the end. These, my pe

The highest value of freedom is associated with “becoming the Zorba” through “going to the disco”. The rhetor explicitly states his preference for the Zorba, who is “free” and who “can always become the Buddha”, over the Buddha who is “confined to his own holiness”:

63 aurants are called *Zorba the Buddha*. First I am a *zorba*, and then I am  
a *buddha*. And remember, if I have  
67 (if I have to) choose between the two, I will choose *Zorba*, not  
*Buddha*, ... because the *Zorba* can always become the Budd(ha)  
69 e the *Zorba* can always become the *Buddha*, but the *Buddha* becomes  
confined to his own holiness. He cannot  
66 oliness. He cannot go to the disco and become the *zorba*. And to me,  
freedom is the highest value; there i(s nothing greater, more precious,  
than freedom)

Accordingly, religions and politics that try to load a sense of guilt on Zorba, that try to repress the *Zorba* in every man are rejected, and presented as threats to the freedom of “living the Zorba” (see Appendix S):

57 n society. The world needs only one kind of man: *Zorba the Buddha*.  
The world is fed up with all your *religions* and (all your *nations*. It is  
fed up with your *priests* and your *politicians*)  
177 ave reasons to call it so. Every man is born as a *Zorba*. Your *religions*  
don't allow you to live the *Zorba*

Hence, being *Zorba the Buddha*, and living “without any guilt, without any conflict, without any choice” requires rebelling against all the constraints, pressures attempted

to be imposed on the new man by religious and political authorities:

- 107 the Buddha"? Maneesha, my *rebel*, my new man, is *Zorba the Buddha*. Mankind has lived believing either in the realit  
109 (the flowers of ecstasy, the fragr)ance of godliness, the wings of ultimate freedom. *Zorba the Buddha* is the new man, is the *rebel*. We can allow man t  
111 ause he divided existence. The new man, my *rebel*, *Zorba the Buddha*, claims the whole world as his home. All that it (contains is for us, and we have to use it in every possible way – without any guilt, without any conflict, without any choice)

Further, an appeal is made for the commune - a new place, a utopian society in which “sannyasins” can live free from religious and political impositions, without sacrificing their bodily pleasures, in the corpus under consideration:

- 12 come to our *commune* and you will find everywhere *buddhas* and *buddhas*... We don't have any other kind, just  
14 just one kind, and you will never find such juicy *buddhas* anywhere – with their girlfriends, smoking ciga(rettes, going to the disco, having all the fun that existence allows you)  
34 f animal into the world. My sannyasins have to be *Zorba the Buddha*. Nothing has to be sacrificed, and everything has (to be experienced. From body to soul, from earth to sky, all is ours)

Both *woman* and *man*, as well as the established institutions of marriage and family associated with them, are believed to “transform” in time, to undergo changes. The commune is construed as the best alternative to family:

- 14 be possible. For me, one alternative style is the *commune* – it is the best. A *commune* means people living (in a liquid family)  
27 a thing of the past; it really has no future. The *commune* will be the thing that can replace the *family*, an  
64 or all pathology. I would love a world where the *family* is replaced by the *commune*. Psychologically it is

The rhetor explicitly conveys his antagonistic attitude towards the family:

- 23 eople. That's what I am going to create here – a *commune*, where all will be friends. Even husbands and wiv  
48 possessiveness is poison. Hence, I am against the *family*. But I am not saying that those who are really ha  
72 what catastrophe has happened? I am against the *family*, and I am for the *commune*. Family dispersed, the

However, there are some requirements for admission to the commune:

28 ly, and it will be far more beneficial. But in a *commune* only  
 29 *meditative* people can be together. Only when  
 30 ve has to be dropped, then only can you live in a *commune*. If you go  
 on carrying your old ideas of monopoly (– that your woman should  
 not hold somebody else's hand and your husband should not laugh  
 with anybody else)  
 30 ngs in your mind then you cannot become part of a *commune*. If your  
 husband is laughing with somebody else,  
 14 it. But I will not tolerate anybody here in the *commune* behaving as if  
 he owns the space. If ever again I

Thus “meditativeness” which is equated with polygamy is required for communal  
 life. The polygamous commune is placed in dramatic opposition to the monogamous  
 family:

24 ave purchased the woman for the whole life. In a *commune* there is no  
 need of *marriage*. Marriage creates th

Accordingly, polygamy, which is equated with “enrichment”, “tasting a little  
 newness”, “getting different kind of joy”, “gaining new insight”, is construed as  
 valuable to encourage both genders:

152 (A *woman* coming into contact with) many friends, a *man* coming into  
 contact with many *women*, should be simply the rule. But it is possible  
 on  
 408 (One) *woman* can give you a certain kind of *joy*, another *woman* can  
 give you another kind of *joy*. A third *woman* will be a surprise)  
 728 (there) is no need to be jealous. *She* is being *enriched*, *she* is tasting a  
 little (a little *newness*—just the way you go sometimes to a Chinese  
 restaurant! It is good)  
 730 (If your wife is being) with some other people, soon *she* will come  
 back to you (*enriched*, with new insight)

Monogamy, and monogamous marriage institution are equated with couples’ desire  
 to possess, to monopolize each others and their children:

16 living in a liquid family. Children belong to the *commune*, they belong  
 to all. There is no personal *property*, no personal ego)  
 17 *commune*. Psychologically it is more healthy to have a *commune*, where  
 children are not *possessed* by the parents,  
 36 yed completely – it is a miracle. My vision of a *commune* is of loving  
 people living together with no antagonism towards each other, with  
 no competition with each other, with love that is fluid, more available,  
 with no jealousy and no *possession*)

Therefore, children should belong not to their parents but to the commune (see appendix T):

6 (*children* should not belong to their parents, they should belong to the *commune*. Then there is no problem. The parents can meet t

Since the commune is responsible for taking care of the children, there will be no need for parents to stay together for their sake:

12 My answer is that *children* should belong to the *commune*. They can  
go to their parents, whether their pare(nts are together or separate)  
17 (The only problem i)n the past was what to do with the *children*. In a  
*commune*, *children* can belong to the *commune*, and that wil  
31 right insemination. The *child* will belong to the *commune*, so you need  
not be worried what will happen to t

Accordingly, the reproductive ability of *woman* which construed her as the superior sex in the corpus of New Age talks under examination is further devalued through the “reproduction = unconscious = sin = ugly” equation:

1 t to reproduce. Even love they change into work – *reproduction*. This  
is just *ugly*! Make love to your *woman* only  
2 ly when you want to reproduce – is she a factory? *Reproduction* – the  
very word is *ugly*. Love is fun! Make love t  
51 act. That's what I mean when I say that sex for *reproduction* is *sinful*;  
the word 'sin' is not used in any mora(... I am simply saying it is sinful  
because it is unconscious)

”Unconscious” reproduction is placed in opposition to “conscious” “meditative” creativity, in the sub-corpus related to *woman*:

8 ve entered into a higher dimension. And remember, *reproduction* is  
not creation. Once the woman is freed from the  
10 reativity. I am all for creativity but remember, *reproduction* is not  
creativity; they are not synonymous. Creat  
11 ot synonymous. Creativity is something conscious, *reproduction* is  
unconscious. Creativity is meditative, reprodu(ction has nothing to do  
with (meditation at all)

Creativity, which is placed into the same associational cluster with meditateness and consciousness, is the only requirement for being accepted to live in the commune. Thus, *woman* who wants to live in the commune should sacrifice not only

raising her own children, but also having/keeping her children. The right of couples for having children is denied and “the medical board of the commune” is admitted as the only authority for deciding which couples can have children, in the sub-corpus related to *man*:

- 25 u have children...you can have *children* only if the *commune* allows you. The *commune* has to take care of the p  
28 can have a *child* only with the permission of the *commune*, and you can have the child only with the permiss(ion of the medical board of the *commune*)

In the entire corpus, *woman* and *man* who want to be conscious, meditative, are encouraged to be “in communion”, to have sex, only “for the sheer joy of it”, not for the sake of reproduction:

- 4 and song and joy – not for reproduction! The word *reproduction* is obscene. Make love out of joy, out of abundant  
604 or any other ends, when to be in communion with a *woman* or a *man* just for the sheer joy of it is enough.

The transformed form of the society, the polygamous communal life is construed as a utopian society in which the new *woman* and *man*, *Zorba the Buddha*, can experience spiritual satisfaction without sacrificing the materialist, bodily pleasures of life, can enjoy sex without being burdened by responsibilities imposed on them by the marriage institution, their marital and parental roles and responsibilities. The communal life also offers the new *woman* and *man*, the new *being*, *Zorba the Buddha* the experience of living in, and enjoying the present by being protected from their common enemy, from the evils of the past and old, as well as the worries of the future. Most importantly, it leads them to unification in the ultimate perfection, *being*, which is neither *heart* nor *head*, in other words, which is neither *woman* nor *man*.

### 4.3 Discussion

It is noteworthy that a drama cannot be made

without the use of some situation marked by conflict, even though you hypothetically began through a sheer love of dramatic exercise, in the course of so exercising you tend to use as your subject matter such tensions or problems as exercise yourself, or your potential audience, or mankind in general. (Burke, 1966, p. 29)

The analysis of the clusters and agons, “structures of identifications, or what goes with what, and structures of opposition and polarization, or what versus what” (Rueckert, 1994, p. 235) in the entire corpus reveals that the binary images of *body* vs. *mind*, *heart* vs. *head*, *right hemisphere* vs. *left hemisphere*, and *breast* vs. *penis*, and their related attributes of love, emotion, intuition, trust, as opposed to reason, intellect, rationality, doubt cluster around *woman* and *man*, respectively (see Appendix U). This corpus evidence suggests that these rhetorical means, associational and disassociational patterns, are exploited to establish an agonistic relationship, to set up a conflict, to emphasize the principle of discontinuity between *woman* and *man*. Moreover, the use of the negative which “is a resource of definition or information” (Burke, 1989, p. 63), and which helps creating definitions “by comparing what a concept means and what it is not” (Heath, 1986, p. 98), further promotes the antithetical construal of the two genders in dramatic opposition to each other. *Woman* and *man* are consistently defined in proximity to each other. Through the use of the negative *woman* is attributed the content of “not being male” (Hart, 1997, p. 48), and *man* is attributed the content of not being female.

Associational and disassociational patterns, construing the gender stereotypes in the corpus under examination can be accounted for by the rhetor’s traditional views on gender (Puttick, 2006). However, the *breast* vs. *penis* images identified with *woman*

and *man* seem to be exploited for Osho's rhetoric of identification - trying to persuade the audience through talking "his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his" (Burke, 1969a, p. 55). "With the countercultural revolution and sexual liberation of the 1960s" (Urban, 2000, p. 280), tantric teachings gained popularity in Western culture. In tantric sexuality, *woman's breasts* and *man's penis*, and *woman's vagina* and *man's breasts* are considered to be the positive and negative polarities of the two sexes, respectively. It is believed that the meeting of the polarities, *woman's vagina* – negative polarity and *man's penis* – positive polarity, leads to an energy circle, a tantric union which is "designed to re-enact the divine union of Shiva and Shakti, the eternal male and female principles of the universe" (Urban, 2001, p. 233). Thus, the breast vs. penis image that ascribes positivity to different body parts of *woman* and *man*, serves both construal of the two genders as opposite principles, opposite poles, and Osho's rhetoric of identification – appealing to his audience through manipulating the Tantric ideology they believe in.

Verbal works employ "merger and division to produce drama among characters, and the ideas they represent... Characters embody ideas that clash with one another to produce dramatic effect" (Heath, 1986, p. 178). However, critical and imaginative works are strategic, stylized answers for encompassing situations. Therefore, once the conflict, dramatic effect, which is the indispensable requirement of making a drama, is set between *woman* and *man*, getting being "involved in ways of resolving" (Burke, 1966, p. 29) this conflict is inevitable for the rhetor. A rhetorical work is composed of implicit sets of equations (associational clusters or appositions) and agons (disassociational clusters or oppositions) which interact with each other, and



produce dialectical, agonistic tension that can be resolved through dialectical transformation (what becomes what).

The analysis of the symbolic structure of the specialized corpus under consideration, in terms of the structures of identification and opposition, as well as, the “structures of progression, or what follows what; and structures of transformation, or what becomes what” (Rueckert, 1994, p. 235) reveals the following. The ultimate / hierarchical order of the terms, the scapegoat projective device, and the transcendent force, meditation leading to the symbolic rebirth (transformation) of the two genders are the significant features of the rhetor’s unification device, exploited to solve the conflict between agonistically construed *woman* and *man*. To this end, in addition to these “vital resources for rhetorical action” (Heath, 1986, p. 208) (patterns of association/disassociation, the negative, transcendence, and entelechy), the rhetor successfully exploits the motives of “Guilt, Redemption, Hierarchy, and Victimage” - the major “social”, and “linguistically grounded” motives that pervade all human relations (Burke, 1984, p. 274).

#### **4.3.1 The Ultimate Order**

The established clusters and agons between *woman* and *man*, their construal as opposing principles prepares the ground for making a drama. “Since antithesis is so strong a verbal instrument in both rhetoric and dialectic, we may often find ‘short cuts’ where the extremes of developmental series are presented as harshly antithetical. But we should not judge by this alone” (Burke, 1969a, p. 189). Human beings desire to achieve perfection in social harmony which requires reconciling opposites, transcending their differences, thus resolving the conflict, the tension between opposing principles. Hence, resolution of the conflict between the two

genders necessitates the ultimate treatment - placement of the conflicting woman and man hierarchically, rather than the dialectical treatment which leaves them as opposing principles (Burke, 1969a, p. 187).

In the ultimate order, the opposing principles are graded “with reference to their relative distance from a single norm”, from “a titular term which represents the principle or idea behind the positive terminology as a whole” (Burke, 1969a, pp. 188-189). In other words, conflict requires “a third term that will serve as the ground or medium of communication between opposing terms” (Burke, 1969b, p. 405), a third term that functions as a “linguistic bridge for the other two terms ...[that] transcends the previous two” (Heath, 1986, p. 177). The analysis of the corpus evidence in this study reveals that the most valuable, the “ultimate perfection” of the ultimate order (the transcendent term) that bridges the differences of the two genders is *being*, which is “neither *heart* nor *head*”, which is “above both *heart* and *head*”.

On the grounds of the *heart's* being “the shortcut”, “closer to” the ultimate perfection, *being*, this image and its related attributes associated with *woman* are rated as hierarchically superior to the *head* image and its related attributes, clustered around *man*. Femininity is identified with being “loving”, “trusting”, “surrendering”, “emotionally convinced”, “receptive”, “devoting”, thus with an ideal / perfect disciple. In other words, what makes these feminine attributes superior to the masculine attributes of aggression, doubt, and rationality is their association with the attributes of a perfect disciple. This can be accounted for by the Osho movement’s emphasis on the bhakti tradition of Hinduism which views “devotion to God (bhakti)... [as] the most effective path to the religious goal” (Partridge, 2004, p. 159),

and argues that “if ‘feminine devotion’ to a male god is the primary characteristic of devotional religion, it is easier, more natural, for women to be devotees of a male god – or male master” (Puttick, 2006, p. 232). Thus, in the specialized corpus under examination, consideration of the traditional feminine attributes of love, receptivity, and devotion as crucial for spiritual growth, for becoming a perfect disciple seems to be what leads the rhetor to establish a rhetorical hierarchy which values the loving, receptive, “emotionally convinced” *woman* over the rational, doubting and “intellectually convinced” *man*.

Another motive for the hierarchic principle which elevates the “emotional” *heart - woman* over the “rational” *head - man* can be related to the rhetor’s desire to eliminate any possible rejection of his authority by “rationally convinced” male disciples. By using “paradox to counter the tendency to rationalize spiritual experience [which] often leaves disciples thoroughly confused”, the leader of the movement adopts a teaching style used by Sufi masters (Clarke, 2006, p. 254). The corpus evidence also reveals contradictory arguments regarding the nature of *woman* and *man* (see Appendix V). The paradoxical teaching style of the rhetor requires “emotionally convinced” rather than “rationally/ intellectually convinced” disciples. The feminine devotion to the spiritual leader, in other words, emotional conviction decreases the risk of potential confusion on the part of disciples. Whereas, intellectual conviction (being *man*) increases the risk of contradictory arguments to be regarded as irrational. Therefore, the established hierarchy that values emotionality over rationality seems to be a strategy for securing “acceptance” (Burke, 1937) of, and adherence to Osho’s authority and teachings by his potential audience.

The rhetor's "manipulations of the reader's desires involves his use of what the reader considers desirable" (Burke, 1968, p. 146). The majority of American and European young generation, being attracted by the counter-cultural movements emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, rejected rationalization of society, and strived "for emotional experience, sensitivity, intuition, and spontaneity as a counterweight to rational thinking and planning" (Hoellinger, 2006, p. 65). Accordingly, through emphasizing the superiority of emotionality over rationality, in other words manipulating what is desired by his potential audience, Osho increases the appeal of his rhetoric.

It should also be noted that the countercultural revolution and sexual liberation in the 1960s have led Tantric teachings, the very essence of New Age spirituality, to gain popularity in Western culture. Even though sexual practices had a "minor" and "unsexy" role in authentic Tantric teachings and rituals of Indic traditions, Tantra has come to be identified with "spiritual sex" (Urban, 2001, p. 218), or "spiritualization of sex" (Samuel, 2008, p. 231) in contemporary Western discourse. By using the term "New Age Tantra" to refer to the "distorted", "invented" Western version of Tantra, White (2003, p. xii) argues that the "Tantric" adjective has been abusively appropriated in marketing "Tantric sex" to New Age seekers. As a spiritual path, it is regarded as "a much-needed liberation of the body, femininity and sexuality which will provide the cure to a repressive modern Western world" (Urban, 2001, p. 241). Hence, in the corpus of New Age talks under consideration, valuing emotionality over rationality, emotional *heart* - *woman* over rational *head* - *man*, thus emphasizing Tantrism is very appealing not only to the female but also to the male audience's interests, and can be considered as an effective strategy exploiting

“beliefs and judgments” of the potential audience to create the desired effect (Burke, 1968, p. 161).

The inferior status assigned to *man* in the hierarchical series is further justified through associating the “illnesses” of the society, specifically, discrimination against *woman*, with the man-made cultural institutions which are presented as the consequences of “aggressive”, “destructive”, “violent” man’s efforts to “torture”, “enslave”, “exploit” *woman*, to reduce her to a “nonentity”, to reduce her role to “motherhood”, and “care giving”. Accordingly, familial, marital, and reproductive roles ascribed to *woman* in patriarchal societies are related to *man*’s desire to enslave *woman*, to keep *woman* encaged in the domestic environment.

The hierarchical ordering of *woman* and *man*, differentiating them and their associated images and attributes into ranks, emphasizes not only biological but also social estrangement / mystification of the two genders.

While the mystery of sex relations, which leads to the rhetoric of courtship, is grounded in the communication of beings biologically estranged, it is greatly accentuated by the purely social differentiations which, under the division of human labor, can come to distinguish the ‘typically masculine’ from the ‘typically feminine’. (Burke, 1969a, p. 115)

As people desire to achieve harmony through transcending the differences between themselves and others, mystery requires the rhetoric of courtship, using “suasive devices for transcending of social estrangement” (Burke, 1969a, p. 208). In other words, mystery and the consequent guilt that arise from the estrangement of *woman* and *man* require redemption which will provide catharsis, and which is possible through identification (Burke, 1984, pp. 274-294). As guilt and redemption are among the primary motives that permeate human relations, the guilt of their

biological and “language-caused” separateness (Stevenson, 1999, p. 200), and the need of ending their estrangement seem to be exploited by the rhetor to motivate the two genders to bridge their differences, to identify, unite with each other, thus achieve redemption.

Another motive for action exploited in this respect is the principle of perfection which is “central to the nature of language as a motive” (Burke, 1989, pp. 70-71). The principle of hierarchy includes the entelechial tendency - “the treatment of the ‘top’ or ‘culminating’ stage as the ‘image’ that best represents the ‘idea’” (Burke, 1969a, p. 141). Humans move by the principle of perfection, entelechy, and feel guilty when they fall short of perfection. The desire to achieve perfection and the guilt of being imperfect, therefore, drive human - “the symbol-using animal” (Burke, 1989, p. 56) to strive for transcending lower levels and identifying with the highest / ultimate levels of symbolic hierarchies developed to order human world. Consequently, by offering assistance for expiating the guilt of being imperfect, and the guilt of estrangement / mystification that it has caused, the hierarchical ordering in the specialized corpus is very appealing to both *woman* and *man*, who are motivated by the guilt, and the need for redemption from the guilt, as well as by the desire to achieve perfection.

The entelechial tendency manifests itself in any ultimate / hierarchical order as a “‘guiding idea’ or ‘unitary principle’” (Burke, 1969a, p. 187). Due to the ultimate treatment of the conflict between the two genders, in some texts of the corpus under consideration both feminine *heart* and masculine *head* are treated “as a way into” the ultimate perfection, *being*, as necessary steps in the single process of becoming

*being*. Consequently, the hierarchical arrangement of the conflicting principles, the placement of the feminine *heart* and masculine *head* in a hierarchical order allows each of the conflicting principles to “participate, within the limitations of its nature, in the ultimate perfection (‘finishedness’) of the series” (Burke, 1969a, pp. 189-190). Through moving upward towards the *being*, not only the *heart - woman*, but also the *head - man* is provided with a chance to reach the ultimate perfection. In other words, both genders are offered the chance of transcending their differences, the chance of reunification in the ultimate perfection, *being*, the chance of redemption from the guilt of being estranged - becoming mysteries to each other. Therefore, satisfying woman’s and man’s desire for harmony the hierarchical order of images and attributes associated with the two genders accounts for the persuasive power of Osho’s rhetoric.

Providing *man* with a chance to reach the ultimate perfection of *being* through the ultimate treatment of the conflict between the two genders further promotes the tantric spirituality emphasized in the specialized corpus under examination. Tantra is considered a “spiritual methodology”, a “holistic approach” which believes that “the higher is hidden in the lower, spirituality in sexuality. Therefore, the lower should not be condemned, but transformed from poison into nectar” (Puttick, 2004c, p. 185). In Saiva and Buddhist Tantric traditions in the seventh and eighth centuries, sexual and polluting body substances (semen, sexual fluids, urine, menstrual blood) were consumed as means for attaining spiritual goals. Sexual intercourse was viewed as a meditation technique “to achieve liberating insight” (Samuel, 2008, p. 270). In accordance with Tantrism, rather than condemning the *head - man* for his evils, the ultimate order of the terms in some of the corpus evidence presents the *head* as a

necessary step to be completed in the process of becoming *being*. Thus, the ultimate order of the terms identified with woman and man enables Osho to encompass “conflicting orders of motivation, not by outlawing any order, however, ‘inferior’, but by finding a place for it in a developmental series” (Burke, 1969a, p. 189), as well as to reflect Tantric philosophy, hence increasing the effectiveness of his rhetoric of identification.

In accordance with the ideology exploited by Osho to serve his rhetoric of identification, the ultimate perfection, *being*, is associated with “non-duality”, “oneness”. The observed challenge to dualism and promotion of holism through associating monistic, holistic views with the ultimate perfection in the ultimate order contributes to further promotion of Neo-Tantrism regarded by many authors as “the very essence of the liberated, holistic spirituality that characterizes the New Age as a whole” (Urban, 2000, p. 270). In New Age religions, dualisms, on almost all fronts, the spiritual and the material, the mind and the body, male and female (Berg, 2008; Dawson, 1998; Hanegraaff, 1998; Hanegraaff, 2000; Woodhead, 1993) are rejected or diminished in scope and significance. Therefore, through identifying his interests with the interests of his potential audience, or persuading them “to believe so” (Burke, 1969a, p. 20), Osho secures the appeal of his rhetoric.

Consistent with the promoted, in other words, exploited ideology, the ultimate perfection of *being* is equated with “love”, “self realization”, “self actualization”, “individualism”, “authenticity” which are among other typical New Age ideas. Since one of the major claims of Eastern-based new religions is to “typically seek to experience simple pleasures fully and without guilt in here and now” (Hexham &



Poewe, 2000, p. 124), the ultimate perfection, *being*, is associated with the present, with living at the moment, here and now. Thus, through associating the popular New Age ideas with the ultimate perfection of *being*, the rhetor seems to create a perfect ideal which is very effective in leading the spiritual seekers to “strive upward” (Hart, 1997, p. 274) and to become identified with the highest level of the ultimate order.

“When approached from a certain point of view, A and B are ‘opposites’ ” (Burke, 1989, p. 275). However, “words allow us to reconcile opposites, which when viewed from ‘another point of view ... cease to be opposites’” (Heath, 1986, p. 164). In this regard, the graded vocabulary in some texts of the specialized corpus functions as a “terministic screen” which stresses the difference of degree between *woman* and *man*, between the two genders and the *being*, rather than the difference in kind. Through the graded / ultimate vocabulary, both genders are construed in a way that they represent, in other words they share “in the absolute meaning of the total act” (Burke, 1969a, p. 195); being the same kind, they contribute to the meaning of the ultimate perfection, *being*, to the development of the perfect idea that transcends their difference. Hence, the ultimate treatment of the conflict prepares the ground for the reestablishment of the “principle of continuity” between previously disassociated *woman* and *man*. In other words, the ultimate order of terms promotes the identification of *woman* and *man* with each other, and the identification of both genders and the ultimate perfection, *being* (Burke, 1966, pp. 48-51).

#### **4.3.2 The Scapegoat Projection Device**

Since “men who can unite on nothing else can unite on the basis of a foe shared by all” (Burke, 1967, p. 193), and since “order leads to guilt ... guilt needs redemption ... redemption needs redeemer which is to say, a Victim” (Burke, 1970, pp. 4-5),

another feature of the rhetor's unification device is scapegoating (Burke, 1967, p. 203). The abstract concepts, "past" and "old", are construed as the perfect evil, as the " 'scapegoat', the 'representative' or 'vessel' of certain unwanted evils, the sacrificial animal upon whose back the burden of these evils is ritualistically loaded" (Burke, 1967, pp. 39-40).

Accordingly, the ills of society previously associated with *man* are gradually projected on to cultural institutions, including marriage, religious, scientific, and political institutions, associated with the scapegoated abstract terms, "old" and "past". This can be due to Osho's rhetoric of identification that is based on manipulation of popular New Age ideas for increasing the appeal of his rhetoric. New Age is viewed as reaction to "the mainstream" (Heelas, 1993, p. 106); rejecting authority of mainstream institutions through carrying "the principle of the negative a step further, and answer[ing] the thou-shalt-not[']s of social order] with a disobedient No" (Burke, 1970, p. 187) is a typical characteristic of New Agers. However, rejecting authority creates the feeling of guilt that "calls correspondingly for 'redemption' through victimage" (Burke, 1984, p. 284). By being the actual creators of the feeling of guilt, society's institutions are selected by the rhetor as the perfect "cathartic enemy" whose sacrifice "would bring about a correspondingly thoroughgoing cure" (Burke, 1984, pp. 288-293) for those that reject social authority. Since human beings desire achieving perfection not only in conceiving a perfect God, but also a perfect enemy / evil (Burke, 1966, p. 18), victimizing society's institutions in order to achieve redemption is very appealing to the New Agers who desire to liberate themselves from the contaminating effects of social institutions.

These institutions, the materialized forms of the scapegoated evil terms “old” and “past”, are construed as responsible for the enslavement of not only *woman* but also *man*, as threats to attaining the ultimate perfection of *being*; thus, they are presented as the real enemies of both genders. This should not be surprising since “New Agers usually ascribe dualist and reductionist tendencies in western culture to the influence of a dogmatic, institutionalized Christianity on the one hand, and an over-rationalist science on the other” (Hanegraaff, 2000, p. 292). Therefore through manipulating the beliefs, values, and judgments of the potential audience, Osho increases the appeal of his rhetoric of identification. In accordance with the New Age ideology, Osho views “the distorting socialization or ‘programming’ of cultural institutions” and the meta-narratives they create as the cause of all the suffering of the masses (Urban, 2000, p. 288). According to Urban, Osho believed that “true freedom” requires deconstruction of all “metanarratives”, liberation from “the confining structures of the past”, from the programming of society’s institutions, and more importantly, self-acceptance and self-actualization (2000, p. 289).

The sacralization of the self, and the provision of the means for self-actualization, for liberating the self from the contaminations of cultural institutions, which are the common features of the New Age movements of the 1970s, are related to the counter-cultural movements of the 1960s (Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 516). The counter-cultural movements emerged in the 1960s in the Western world believed that “the bourgeois-capitalist rationalization and bureaucratization” of Western society imposed constraints on the individual (Hoellinger, 2006, p. 65). They viewed human beings as good, and argued that self-awareness and self-expressiveness were the only requirements to lead to good consequences.

Thus, strongly opposing the ideas and values of modern Western culture, New Age religion has become “a manifestation of popular culture criticism” (Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 331). It is believed in world-affirming New Age movements that achieving one’s full potential requires liberation from social inhibitions and roles, requires expressing “the ‘authentic’ self beneath the social façade” (Wallis, 2006, p. 51). Therefore, the common desire of the New Age followers (self-actualization through liberation from cultural restrictions) provides a perfect ground for creating a scapegoat, a common “cathartic enemy” (Burke, 1984, p. 288) for both genders.

Furthermore, the emergence of a large number of affluent spiritual seekers who were emotionally dissatisfied with their interpersonal ties, especially the ones between spouses in the Western societies of the late 1960s and early 1980s, can be considered another reason for construing the marriage institution and its related roles as the materialized forms of the scapegoated concepts, “past” and “old”. A growing realization that wealth does not automatically lead to emotional or spiritual satisfaction, and that it actually weakens interpersonal ties between couples, caused affluent seekers to lose their belief in the “sanctity” of marriage.

However, with the burden of their shallow and fluid interpersonal, especially, romantic ties, these affluent seekers tend to be attracted by the communities “in which their experience of shallow interpersonal ties is affirmed but given a positive meaning” (Hexham & Poewe, 2000, pp. 120-121). As persuasion requires identification of the rhetor’s cause, as well as interest with the interests of the audience (Burke, 1969a, p. 24), associating the institution of marriage, family and their related roles with the scapegoated concepts of past and old, “whose symbolic

sacrifice is designed to afford an audience pleasure” (Burke, 1966, p. 94), can be regarded as another rhetorical strategy for appealing to the needs of the audience in this respect, therefore, consolidating the established “principle of continuity” between the two genders.

Purifying *man*, through disassociating him from the previously attributed ills, hence causing him to be elevated hierarchically, and leading the disassociated *woman* and *man* to associate, merge, reunite against a common enemy are the main functions of the projective device of the scapegoat. Rituals of victimage (Burke, 1984, p. 286), being “the ‘natural’ means for affirming the principle of cohesion above the principle of social division”, are very appealing to both genders who suffer the guilt of becoming mysteries to each other, and who are motivated by the desire to reconcile their differences for achieving redemption. The God term, *being*, and the evil terms “old” and “past” represent the highest and lowest poles of the hierarchy. The graded moments, principles between these two poles, *woman* and *man*, seem to be intended to reunite in attaining the ultimate perfection, *being*, through moving upward and disassociating themselves from the scapegoated evils and the institutions they represent. *Being* represents the perfect ideal, the ultimate perfection that can be attained only through disassociation from the scapegoated evils, and the “principle of perfection”, the “entelechial principle” causes the human being to aim at “the perfection natural to its kind”, (Burke, 1989, p. 71), to strive “endlessly to identify himself with ‘higher’ levels of symbolic hierarchies” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 202). Thus, construing the feminine *heart* and masculine *head* as steps in a hierarchical series is an effective, motivational strategy for encouraging *woman* and *man* to form a new identity.

### 4.3.3 The Transcendent Force - Meditation

The formation of a role, a new identity, involves the transformation of a role which requires “the abandonment of an old self, in symbolic suicide, parricide, or prolicide” (Burke, 1967, p. 38), and which involves “the ideas and imagery of identification. That is: the killing of something is the changing of it, and the statement of the thing’s nature before and after change is an identifying of it” (Burke, 1969a, p. 20). The symbolic transformation, or formation of a new identity through abandoning the old one, is achieved through the transcendent force, *meditation*. It requires the symbolic death of individuals, identified with either *heart* or *head* and, thus, rebirth of the new *being* which is neither *heart* nor *head*, rather the synthesis of *heart* and *head*, *woman* and *man*. Through symbolical death as a *woman (heart)* and as a *man (head)*, and rebirth as the synthesis of both *heart* and *head*, *woman* ceases to be a *woman*, and *man* ceases to be a *man*. They form a new shared identity, which is called *Zorba the Buddha*. Therefore, the image of *Zorba the Buddha* which reconciles their differences, thus symbolically bridges the estrangement of *woman* and *man* is very appealing to both genders who are motivated by the guilt of estrangement and the need of redemption.

It is noteworthy that the world-affirming New Age movements such as the Osho movement view individuals as perfectible.

People possess a potential far beyond their current level of functioning. The key to attaining the level of their potential lies not in modification of the social order or the structure of social opportunity, but in facilitating the transformation of individuals. (Wallis, 2006, p. 48)

Therefore, the transcendent force, meditation, which requires symbolic death and rebirth of the two genders effectively serves the needs and interests of the potential audience. Furthermore, meditation represents “the death of the old”, “a discontinuity

with the past”, thus it offers salvation from cultural institutions, from the materialized forms of the scapegoated terms, “old” and “past”, in other words, from what is predominantly criticized by the New Age movement (Hanegraaff, 1998). Consequently, meditation leading to *being*, to a new identity that transcends the distinction, opposition, between *woman* and *man*, as well as liberating the individuals from the social inhibitions and roles further increases the appeal of Osho’s rhetoric.

Another curative, liberating function of the transcendent force - meditation, which further reflects “Tantric sex” marketed to New Age seekers “as a consumer product” (White, 2003, p. xiii), is emphasized through its equation with “orgasmic experience”. With the desire for sexual liberation in the Western counterculture of the 1960s, “New Age Tantra” (White, 2003, p. xii), or “Neo-Tantrism” (Urban, 2000, p. 276) has started to be treated as the “religious path which combines the physical experience of sexual pleasure with the spiritual experience of liberation” becoming “a key element in the new rhetoric of sexual freedom” (Urban, 2001, pp. 220-241). Osho, one of the most popular self-appointed Tantric gurus, and the leader of a utopian movement, promotes Western version of Tantra, and pushes “societal permissiveness to its utopian limits” through suggestion that “sexuality is the means to a greater spirituality” (Hexham & Poewe, 2000, p. 115). Therefore, with the “meditation = orgasmic experience” equation, the interests of spiritual seekers who may not be willing to sacrifice their bodily pleasures, who believe in the necessity of sexual liberation, Tantrism, in other words, the union of sexuality and spirituality, is highly valued and receives positive content.

Consequently, the dichotomous thinking of Western reason that separates body from

soul, matter from spirit, materialism from spiritualism, science from religion, etc. is strongly rejected. Further, the popular New Age concepts of “light”, “love”, “self-realization”, “meditation”, “awareness”, “transformation of consciousness”, as well as “holism”, “monism” (Clarke, 2006; Hexham & Poewe, 2000; Kemp, 2004) are emphasized in the image of *Zorba the Buddha*, in the “ultimate development”, “ultimate peak of human reach, of human consciousness”. Hanegraaff (1998) associates New Age holism with the ambiguity created by rejecting both the dualism of Christianity and reductionism of scientific rationalism. He argues that by strongly criticizing scientific rationalism, New Age allies itself with religious thinking. However, through fighting against dualistic Christianity, it allies itself with science and reason as well. The need to demarcate itself from both rationalistic and religious thinking leads New Age to affirm a “higher perspective” which “rejects neither religion and spirituality nor science and rationality, but combines them in a higher synthesis” (Hanegraaff, 1998, p. 517).

In accordance with the higher perspective/synthesis affirmed by the New Age movement, Osho construes the new *being*, *Zorba the Buddha*, as the synthesis, the meeting of body and soul, *heart* and *head*, matter and spirit, materialism and spiritualism, sexuality and spirituality, science and religion, logic and love, objectivity and subjectivity, outer and inner, West and East, as well as *woman* and *man*. The pertinent corpus evidence seems to indicate that the rhetor, being “indeed, a ‘medicine man’” (Burke, 1967, p. 64), successfully exploits the New Age ideology not only in creating a perfect enemy and a perfect ideal, but also in offering a perfect medicine – meditation for the solution of the conflict between agonistically construed *woman* and *man*, for transcending their differences, for becoming identified both



with each other and with the ultimate perfection, as well as for liberating them from the scapegoated cultural institutions. A “medicine man” cures diseases through infecting patients with the attenuated dose of poisons, through “transforming poisons into medicines” (Burke, 1967, p. 65). Accordingly, Osho, first infects the audience with the disease, with the burden of the conflict between man and woman, materialism and spiritualism, rationalist and religious thinking, and other terms associated with them. However, through attenuating the dose of these poisons, infecting the audience with the correct dose, with the correct synthesis of these poisons, he provides the “antidote” (Burke, 1967, p. 65) that will cure the audience.

Furthermore, since persuading the audience to strive for the desired end is possible only through identification (Burke, 1969a), the rhetor calls himself *Zorba the Buddha*, and thus identifies himself with the ultimate perfection, with the most valuable image in the hierarchic order. Associating himself with the ultimate perfection, *Zorba the Buddha*, therefore, with the popular New Age concepts is another effective rhetorical strategy exploited by Osho to attract the New Agers of the 1980s.

Moreover, the popular New Age concepts of counterculture ideology which (in the 1960s were restricted to the hippies and their mind-expanding drugs) have now become fully accepted, widely acknowledged and, not least, used by people both inside and outside the New Age community. (Askehave, 2004, p. 5)

Therefore, emphasizing the New Age concepts in the image of the new *being*, *Zorba the Buddha*, identified with the rhetor, can account for the growing interest towards the books published in the name of Osho, even in the 21st Century. Another important factor leading to the current popularity of the rhetor’s talks can be related to the large number of New Agers that

have in fact moved beyond counter-cultural antagonism to the capitalistic mainstream. Instead, they incorporate the creation of prosperity. A basic assumption – shocking for the spiritual purist or the counter-culturalist – is that there is no need for those questing within to withdraw from capitalistic institutions, specifically the world of big business. One can be active and successful in the mainstream while pursuing the goal of Self-sacralization. (Heelas, 2001, p. 55)

Therefore, “with its apparent union of spirituality and sexuality, sacred transcendence and material enjoyment” Western version of Tantrism, which is the essence of the New Age movement that has emerged in the 1970s and fully developed in the 1980s, and which is at the center of the rhetor’s teachings, is considered to be “the ideal religion for late twentieth-century Western consumer culture” (Urban, 2000, p. 270).

The reemergence of Western version of Tantra as a New Age Cult in 1970s has been related to Osho’s Neo-Tantric teachings, and it has been argued that “Rajneesh offered everything Westerners imagined Tantra to be: a free love cult promising enlightenment, an exciting radical community and the opportunity to rise up in the hierarchy” (Urban, 2000, p. 286). Zorba the Buddha, the new *being*, the perfect ideal, representing the union of spiritualism and materialism, as well as spirituality and sexuality, therefore, has been very appealing to the interests of contemporary New Agers. Unlike some religious institutions and new religious movements which associate spiritual growth with renunciation of material wealth and bodily pleasures, Osho encourages spiritual seekers to enjoy both materialism and spiritualism, bodily and spiritual satisfaction. Thus through talking their language, through identifying his interests with the interests of his potential audience, Osho further consolidates the persuasive power of his rhetoric.

Osho, as one of the Tantric gurus, explicitly advocated “American capitalism and consumerism” (Urban, 2000, p. 301), and he provided a perfect example in this respect. The luxurious life of the rhetor, the materialist richness of the spiritual leader (Partridge, 2004, p. 191), therefore, strengthens the argument regarding the possibility of being spiritual by remaining a materialist, however, without sacrificing material pleasures of life. It also provides clues regarding the motives behind Osho’s preference for the Zorba over the Buddha, and his rejection of the dichotomy between materialism and spiritualism. Being a spiritual leader, in spite of being a materialist with 93 Rolls Royces and with a “diamond wristwatch”, requires persuading the audience, the spiritual seekers, that “materialism and spiritualism are not opposite goals”, that materialism is the first requirement, the first step of spiritualism, that becoming a Buddha, being spiritually enlightened, is possible through remaining a Zorba - remaining a materialist.

In accordance with the manipulated ideology, the ultimate perfection, *Zorba the Buddha*, is equated not only metaphorically, but also literally with richness, with being “meditative” while not being “against riches”, with being for “spiritual growth” while not thinking “poverty is spirituality”. Therefore, the Eastern religious belief of the law of Karma, that explains poverty on the basis of one’s past actions, is strongly devalued, rejected, and blamed for causing the Eastern *woman* and *man* to live “under the conditioning of contentment ... in poverty, in slavery, in sickness, in death”. The pertinent corpus evidence seems to indicate that the rhetor identifies his interests not only with the interests of Western, but also with the interests of Eastern spiritual seekers who may feel forced to be content with poverty, who may be in need of material and bodily satisfaction without sacrificing their spiritual needs.

It is noteworthy that “Even ‘naturally unaligned’ groups – rich and poor, black and white, old and young - ... will become motivated to share new identities when their unmet needs are made salient to them” (Burke as cited in Hart, 1997, p. 275). The rhetor makes salient the unmet needs of the Eastern economically disadvantaged and Western affluent audience, material and spiritual satisfaction, respectively, and thus motivates them to share the new identity called *Zorba the Buddha*. Identification of Osho’s interests with the interests of both Western and Eastern audiences, through emphasizing an ideal, a perfect image that may be appealing to spiritual seekers from different socio-economic classes can be considered as another factor that accounts for the rhetorical power and international popularity of the rhetor’s teachings.

“A speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications (Burke, 1969a, p. 46). A is identified with B, made “consubstantial” with B when “their interests are joined” or when they are made to believe so (Burke, 1969a, p. 20). Osho strongly rejects the dichotomy between materialism and spiritualism, the “spirituality = poverty” equation, and accordingly, the renunciation of material and bodily pleasures for the sake of becoming spiritual, and thus identifies his interests with the interests of New Agers living in the consumer society of today’s world.

In its essence communication involves the use of verbal symbols for purposes of appeal. Thus, it splits formally into the three elements of speaker, speech, and spoken to, with the speaker so shaping his speech as to “commune with” the spoken-to. This purely technical pattern is the precondition of all appeal. (Burke, 1969a, p. 271)

Establishment of communion with the audience, or the rhetor’s identification with the audience is further strengthened through the use of the inclusive “we”. Osho exploits it to share the guilt of “behaving like drunkards”, “committing the same kind of misunderstandings continually”, “living in a cowardly way”, becoming

“dishonest”, “living such an ugly life”, “missing existence”, forgetting “how to live a really human life” and making “a wrong society” called “circus” (see Appendix W). By creating the impression that he was one of them, he was one of the individuals that created “a wrong society”, the rhetor reinforces his identification with the audience.

However, by doing so, Osho also provides guidance for the audience to move upward, to reach the ultimate level of the hierarchy, and thus to become identified with Zorba the Buddha, since “An audience will not strive upward without guidance. They must be teased into doing so” (Hart, 1997, p. 274). Using the inclusive “we” to identify with the audience, therefore, can be considered as another strategy to motivate the audience. The belief that the rhetor, the ultimate perfection, was in the past one of them, was imperfect, gives hope to the audience for attaining the perfection, for becoming *Zorba the Buddha*. To this end, Osho attempts to convince the audience that they are capable of gaining “liberation from the zoo... from marriage”, having a “new”, “better” future, transforming the earth “into a beautiful place”, creating, making “a paradise here, on the earth” and that they are very “close to the sunrise” (see Appendix W).

#### **4.4 Concluding Remarks**

“The poet will naturally tend to write about that which most deeply engrosses him – and nothing more deeply engrosses a man than his burdens” (Burke, 1967, p. 17). The analysis of the associative, dissociative, progressive and transformational patterns in the corpus of New Age talks under examination reveals that Osho dreams of a utopian society in which *woman* and *man* enjoy material, spiritual, and sexual satisfaction simultaneously, live polygamously, being liberated from the tension,

stress, and guilt created by society's institutions, by the burden of their social, familial roles. Thus, the dichotomous thinking that represents materialism and spiritualism, sexuality and spirituality, opposed to each other, can be considered as the evil, as the main burden of the rhetor. Accordingly, social institutions that perpetuate the dichotomous view of the world, that prevent self-expressiveness through distinguishing good from evil, right from wrong, moral from immoral, legal from illegal, as well as materialism and sexuality from spiritualism are construed as the scapegoat, as the "symbolic vessel" of his burdens.

It is noteworthy that critical and imaginative works are strategic, stylized "answers to questions posed by the situation in which they arose" (Burke, 1967, p. 1). Osho's situation, leading him to engage in a symbolic act, in other words, his motives are synonymous with the unique symbolic structure of his work - sets of equations, associations exploited to characterize objects and situations (Burke, 1967, p. 20). The pertinent literature and studies on New Age and Osho support the finding of this research, revealing the problems that the rhetor experienced with legal, religious and political authorities in both India and the USA, in other words in both the Eastern and Western worlds.

Osho's strong criticism of social and religious institutions for keeping individuals under pressure and stress, as well as his challenge of the moral codes of Indian society, is reflected in his emphasis on sexuality as a means for spirituality. Consequently, Osho's "shocking discourses on sexuality", "ruthless satires of famous Indian figures", "business dealings", combined with "drug-dealing and prostitution" practices of his many Western disciples (Urban, 1996, p. 167) caused him to

experience “moral, legal, and tax problems” with Indian authorities (Carter, 1987, p. 149). After leaving India in 1981 and taking refuge in the United States, Osho and his disciples established a commune, called Rajneeshpuram, in Oregon. However, within a year, the commune experienced conflicts

first with the local residents of Antelope's peaceful retirement community, whom they attempted to displace and push out, using terrorist tactics such as dumping animal parts on the lawns of local officials and reportedly distributing salmonella bacteria in local restaurants and grocery stores; and second, with the U.S. government, which undertook an investigation of Rajneeshpuram's claim to both "church" and "city" status and, by extension, its exemption from income tax. (Urban, 2000, p. 287)

Thus, Osho and his disciples faced charges of tax evasion, arranged sham marriages, giving false information on his immigration papers, and attempting murder. Even though some of his administrators were arrested, and the dissolution of the commune began, Osho was discharged on condition that he be deported from the USA. Moreover, Osho was refused entry visas by twenty-one countries, including Nepal, Uruguay, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, U.K. West Germany, Holland, Canada, Jamaica, and Spain, and returned to his old ashram in Poona, India, where he died in 1990.

Hence, as the systematic analysis of the symbolic structure of Osho's work clearly manifests it is the rhetor's situation – his problems with institutionalized authorities that served as the “motivating force of ... [his] activity” (Burke, 1966, p. 29), as his main motive for engaging in a symbolic, rhetorical act in which social institutions are victimized to bring redemption for both himself and the audience. By rejecting the dichotomy between *heart* and *head*, *body* and *mind*, *woman* and *man*, the rhetor actually rejects the dichotomy between materialism and spiritualism, between sexuality and spirituality, as well as between the Western and Eastern worlds. Thus,

by establishing the principle of continuity between the two genders, by guiding them to become consubstantial with each other, Osho also establishes the principle of continuity between these stereotypical dichotomies.

It is noteworthy that “Mystery is lessened to the extent that we identify with others, bridging differences by sharing experiences, identities, motives, and god-terms” (Heath, 1986, p. 114). Accordingly, the principles and resources of language (association / disassociation, the negative, transcendence, and entelechy), and the motives of guilt, redemption, hierarchy, and victimage, “the keys to the grand design of all human motivation” (Burke, 1984, p. xxxi), have been exploited to effectively serve Osho’s rhetoric of identification.

Osho’s rhetoric of identification persuades the audiences to identify both with each other and with the spiritual leader. Whereas, his rhetoric of disassociation persuades the audience to disassociate themselves from the norms of the victimized cultural institutions. *Woman* and *man* are placed in a hierarchy and guided to transform their identity, to transcend their difference through moving upward, through forming a new identity called *Zorba the Buddha*. *Zorba the Buddha*, the ultimate perfection which transcends *woman’s* identity as *woman* and *man’s* identity as *man*, bridges *woman* and *man*, identifies them with each other, and with the rhetor.

As human beings are “goaded by the spirit of hierarchy ... and rotten with perfection” (Burke, 1989, p. 70), they desire to see themselves as consubstantial with the highest level of the hierarchical value system. The ultimate treatment of the conflict between the two genders, the hierarchy which treats *woman* and *man* as necessary steps in the



process of becoming *Zorba the Buddha* is effective in reestablishing the principle of continuity between the two genders, as well as in persuading the audience to strive upward and become identified with Osho.

Further, the principle of continuity between *woman* and *man* is ensured through the use of the projective device of the scapegoat. Projecting the ills of society, previously associated with *man*, on the society's institutions brings "purification by disassociation" (Burke, 1967, p. 202), as well as, leading *woman* and *man* to unification against a common enemy. Sharing the same enemy, sharing the same perfect image of *Zorba the Buddha*, and the same goal of dying as a *woman* or as a *man*, and being reborn as *Zorba the Buddha* lessen the mystery between the two genders, cause them merge, unite, and identify with each other and with Osho.

To conclude, Osho's rhetoric seems to derive its persuasive power from effective exploitation of identification, specifically, unification device, language principles and human motives for action, as well as manipulation of the New Age ideology. Apparently, it has appealed and it is still appealing to those individuals who needed to experience a holistic spirituality that "would no longer repress the human body, sexuality, and the desire for material prosperity but integrate them with the need for spiritual nourishment" (Urban, 2000, p. 270).

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The present research explores language and persuasion in a corpus of talks by Osho, the founder of one of the New Age Religious movements. It has been motivated by the apparent persuasive impact of Osho's talks comprising the books published in his name, and the absence of studies that investigate and account for his powerful rhetoric. It is noteworthy that Osho never wrote a book, however, the talks (public lectures) that he gave to different audiences, at different times and settings, have been transcribed, compiled, and presented as separate chapters in the books attributed to him. The specialized corpus under examination has been constructed from talks available in the Osho Library on osho.com website that have been included into his two popular books, "The Book of Woman" and "The Book of Man", published in 2002 and 2004, respectively, as well as a supplementary corpus of Osho's talks related to *a new being*.

The study exploits a novel methodology integrating corpus methodology (search and processing techniques of frequency words, collocational patterns, and concordances) with Kenneth Burke's critical methodology based on pragmatic approach to concordancing. It aims at discovering the features of content and form that might account for the persuasive power, thus the current popularity of the books published

in the name of Osho. The study, therefore, identifies, analyzes, and interprets the structures of identification, opposition, progression and transformation across the pertinent concordances in order to reveal the attitudinal view of the rhetor towards the ultimate terms, woman and man; his motive for the rhetorical act; and the rhetorical strategies to achieve the persuasive effect / function of his rhetoric in the specialized corpus under examination.

Burke has viewed verbal acts as strategic, stylized answers “to questions posed by the situation in which they arose”, and argued that these strategic answers, in other words, symbolic acts get their forms through relation to the questions the rhetor is answering (Burke, 1967, pp. 1-92). On the basis of this argument he has contended that with uniquely joined experiences and judgments, with unique questions posed by their unique situations, people use unique sets of associations, personal equations (Burke, 1966, p. 28), whose interrelations, or the structural way in which events and values are interrelated, are synonymous with the situation, with the motives of their symbolic actions.

Burke has explained the connection between the situation, motive and the structure of a verbal work by noting that the rhetor and the audience tend to be engrossed in some subjects rather than others. By deeply engrossing, and thus leading the rhetor for a rhetorical action, his burdens, or the problems and tensions exercised either by himself or by his potential audience(s) (Burke, 1966, p. 29), in other words, situations that involve conflict, are likely to be used as subject matters of verbal acts.

As confronting situations which involve conflicts (Burke, 1966, p. 29) requires resolution of the tension and the problems they create, the rhetor's burdens "become an integral part of his method ... symbolic of his style, and his style symbolic of his burdens" (Burke, 1967, p. 17). Consequently, his/her verbal act becomes very closely connected (Burke, 1966, p. 29) with the problems symbolically and strategically resolved, these problems or his/her burdens, and the interrelationships among his/her equations are considered as his/her motives for engaging in a symbolic action.

It is noteworthy that language is not only referential (used to define situations), but also performative, rhetorical (used to affect situations and the people it is addressed to). Accordingly, verbal works are designed to do something for the rhetor, and for the audience who participates in a symbolic action. Disclosing the function, in other words what the work is doing for the rhetor may enable the critic to discover generalizations regarding what it does for the audience (Burke, 1967, p. 73), his/her stylistic / symbolic medicine (Burke, 1967, p. 64) for unburdening, or solving the problems experienced either by himself or by the potential audience. Therefore, approaching a verbal work pragmatically as "the *functioning* of a structure", and its structure "as a function of symbolic redemption" (Burke, 1967, pp. 74, 287) enables the critic to disclose its function.

Furthermore, since interpreting a situation, a symbol "by its function as name and definition... provides a terminology of thoughts, actions, emotions, attitudes, for codifying a pattern of experience" (Burke, 1968, p. 154), sizing up and naming situations that are strategically encompassed are done in a mode that embodies an attitude towards them (Burke, 1967, pp. 1-3). Consequently, the statistical analysis of

structures of identification and opposition of a verbal work, and the function of the terms repeatedly associated or opposed to key terms / symbols may provide objective, empirical data (Burke, 1967, pp. 20-21) regarding the meaning and attitudinal view of the rhetor towards these symbols.

On the basis of these arguments, Burke has viewed life as a drama, which involves conflict, resolution and transformation, and verbal works as “symbolic act[s] of synthesis” (Burke, 1937, p. 25), as composed of explicit and implicit sets of equations and agons which interact with each other, and produce dialectical, agonistic tension that can be resolved through dialectical transformation (Burke, 1967). Hence the typical dramatic questions that could be asked by a critic would be “ ‘From what through what, to what does this particular form proceed?’ or ‘What goes with what in this structure of terms?’ or ‘How am I ‘cleansed’ by a tragedy (if I am cleansed)?’ ” (Burke, 1970, p. 39) which could be answered through charting a work’s structure in terms of “what equals what”, “what versus what”, and “from what through what to what” (Burke, 1967, pp. 38, 69, 71).

Burke’s methodology requires examination of concordances (Burke, 1968, p. 159), of all the co-texts in which a given word appears, to identify patterns of equation, opposition, progression, transformation, and their function. Thus, it can benefit from incorporating the corpus analytical procedures which enable the critic to select key terms, identify every occurrence of the selected terms, and discover lexical patterns in related concordance lines which “bring together many instances of use of a word or phrase, allowing the user to observe regularities in use that tend to remain

unobserved when the same words or phrases are met in their normal contexts” (Hunston, 2002, p. 9).

Therefore, the present study incorporates Burke’s methodology and corpus methodology to identify, analyze, and interpret the patterns of association, opposition, progression, and transformation in the specialized corpus of Osho’s New Age talks related to gender. On the basis of the findings obtained from the analysis and interpretation of the pertinent corpus evidence, this research draws major conclusions regarding the language and persuasion in Osho’s rhetoric; specifically, the motive, or the situation of the rhetor for engaging in the rhetorical act under examination; the rhetorical strategies that Osho exploits to confront his motive/situation; and finally the rhetorical / pragmatic effect(s) of the corpus of New Age talks.

### **5.1.1 Gender construal**

The new religious movements offer greatly diverse but rigid, clearly defined and mainly traditional sexual and gender roles to individuals who experienced a gender role crisis due to ambiguities in gender roles in socially and economically changed modern societies of the late 1960s. Three basic approaches to gender ideology have been identified in new religious groups: “biblically-based understandings of patriarchy, bio-mystical specification of complementarity, and subjectivist denial of gender differences” (Aidala, 1985, p. 294). This classification corresponds to Allen’s classification of sex identities into three groups of “sex polarity”, “sex complementarity”, and “sex unity”, developed within the Christian world (Palmer, 1993). Whereas the sex polarity groups promote the segregation of the two sexes viewed as spiritually different, unequal and obstructive to each other’s salvation, the

sex complementarity groups emphasize the marriage, union of the two sexes, and attribute unique, opposing but complementary spiritual qualities, thus leading both sexes towards androgyny. The sex unity groups view a mortal body and its gender as a false identity which obscures “the immortal, asexual spirit” (Palmer, 1993, p. 346).

In the specialized corpus under examination, the analysis of the images clustering around the ultimate terms, woman and man, and their associated/disassociated terms reveals construal of the two genders as polarities through direct opposition, negation, the binary images of *body vs. mind*, *heart vs. head*, *right hemisphere vs. left hemisphere*, and *breast vs. penis*, and their related attributes of love, emotion, intuition, trust, authenticity, receptivity, religion clustering around woman as opposed to reason, intellect, rationality, aggression, doubt, science clustering around *man*. With its emphasis on the superiority of feminine traits, the Osho movement, is referred to the “reverse sex polarity groups” (Palmer, 1993, p. 346). Consistent with the new religious literature, the findings of this study reveal the opposition between unique female and male attributes which construes woman as a spiritually superior sex. Uncovering the terms associated with the key terms in Osho’s mind, the analysis of images, attributes and values (terms) clustering around the ultimate terms, *woman* and *man*, reveals Osho’s attitudinal view, the hierarchical ideology / worldview that he promotes in the corpus of New Age talks.

Interestingly, the superiority of the feminine attributes is justified in relation to the attributes of a perfect disciple. Specifically, association of the feminine attributes of love, emotion, receptivity, devotion, and surrender with the attributes of a perfect disciple is what makes these attributes superior to the masculine attributes of

aggression, doubt, logic, therefore, revealing the actual meaning of the two genders for the rhetor. Thus, this research argues that rather than challenging the patriarchal ideology which justifies discrimination against *woman* in all the domains of social life on the basis of her emotionality, thus incapability of thinking and functioning rationally, Osho's praises of the feminine qualities of receptivity, devotion, love serve the rhetor's interest in protecting his hierarchical authority.

As the leader of the movement, the one that should be devoted, loved, and obeyed as the ultimate authority, as the ultimate perfection, Osho expects his disciples to be ready to accept, and surrender to his authority. Therefore, in order to eliminate the potential risk of disobedience, or resistance, or rejection of his authority by aggressive, doubting, and rational male disciples, he values feminine qualities of love, receptivity, devotion, and encourages his male disciples to develop these superior qualities of an ideal disciple.

Furthermore, the present study suggests an overlap with the sex complementarity group since meeting, merger, unity of polar opposites, unique beings (woman and man), even though not through a formal marriage, are emphasized in the concordance evidence. Another overlap is observed with the sex unity group in that woman and man are motivated to form a new holistic gender identity, with a consciousness that is neither man nor woman in the specialized corpus, which is in line with the New Age ideology in which dualisms, on almost all fronts, the spiritual and the material, the mind and the body, male and female are rejected or diminished in scope and significance (Dawson, 1998, p. 139).



Thus, in the corpus of New Age talks, Osho promotes a hierarchical gender ideology which is based on the superiority of feminine traits, and which encourages obedience and surrender of the disciples, as well as the New Age gender ideology in which the gender dichotomy is rejected, however a “state of being beyond sex” (Clarke, 2006, p. 254), “androgyny, a balance and integration between the qualities so misleadingly termed feminine and masculine,” is highly recommended (Puttick, 2006, p. 233).

### **5.1.2 The Motive of the Rhetor**

Adopting Burke’s perspective, the present research considers the verbal act under consideration as a strategic, stylized answer to Osho’s situation which is assumed to be equal both to his burden, or the problems he or his potential audience experiences, and the motive for this rhetorical act. Furthermore, it is also assumed that the analysis of the functions of structure of interrelationships within Osho’s verbal act would disclose his situation, or his burden, thus the motive of the act.

The analysis of the associative and disassociative patterns reveals the dialectical, agonistic tension between the two genders, and the images and ideas clustering around them, produced by the interaction between explicit and implicit sets of equations and agons. Through the “*woman = body = heart = right hemisphere*”, and the “*man = mind = head = left hemisphere*” sets of equations *woman* is identified with sensitivity, love, patience, lack of aggression, non-violence, trust, sincerity, authenticity, tolerance, intuition, beauty, imagination, receptivity, naturalness, and completeness, whereas *man* is identified with cruelty, egoism, jealousy, violence, ugliness, competitiveness, impatience, intolerance, restlessness, aggression, knowledge, logic, rationality, science, inquiry, and culture. These two sets of equation, that are placed in dramatic opposition to each other, develop into further

sets of equations of the East vs. West, spiritualism vs. materialism, spirituality vs. sexuality reinforcing opposing principles (Burke, 1967, p. 69).

Thus, the cluster – agon analysis in the specialized corpus under examination seems to indicate that the burden of the rhetor, or what deeply engrosses him is the conflict / agonistic tension between the two genders, and the images and ideas associated with them. In other words, what motivates Osho for the rhetorical act, his motive, is the problems that he and his potential audience experience due to the dichotomous thinking that represents man and woman, head and heart, body and mind, science and religion, sexuality and spirituality, as well as materialism and spiritualism as opposed to each other.

### **5.1.3 Rhetorical Strategies**

The analysis of the structures of identification, opposition, progression, and transformation in the corpus of New Age talks reveals that the ultimate / hierarchical order of the ultimate/key terms and their clustering images and attributes; the scapegoat projective device; and the transcendent force (meditation) that leads to the symbolic rebirth (transformation) of woman and man are the significant features of the Osho's unification device, exploited to solve the conflict between the agonistically construed genders, and other related binaries.

By differentiating *woman* and *man* and their associated images and attributes into ranks, the ultimate / hierarchical order inevitably maintains mystery which leads to guilt, and which needs redemption through victimage (Burke, 1970, pp. 4-5). Therefore, exploitation of the motives of “Guilt, Redemption, Hierarchy, and Victimage”, the major, social, and linguistically based motives that pervade all

human relations (Burke, 1984, p. 274), accounts for the rhetorical strength of Osho's unification device.

Furthermore, the rhetor's manipulations of the audience's desires should take into account what is regarded as desirable by the audience (Burke, 1968, p. 146), in other words, persuasion is possible only through talking the language of your audience, through "identifying your ways with his" (Burke, 1969a, p. 55). Accordingly, Osho exploits the holistic, and monistic views of the popular New Age ideology and Tantrism, in other words "beliefs and judgments" of his potential audience to create the desired effect (Burke, 1968, p. 161). Hence, in addition to his effective unification device based on the exploitation of the principles of association/disassociation, the negative, transcendence, and entelechy, the research findings suggest manipulation of the New Age ideology and Tantrism in the specialized corpus.

As required in the ultimate order, the ultimate/key terms woman and man, and their associated images and attributes are graded in terms of their relative distance from a third, "titular term which represents the principle or idea behind the positive terminology as a whole" (Burke, 1969a, pp. 188-189). In the corpus under consideration, the term *being* functioning as the third term which linguistically bridges, and transcends the other opposing terms (Heath, 1986, p. 177) represents the ultimate perfection of the ultimate order.

*Being*, which is neither *woman* nor *man*, neither *heart* nor *head*, is at the top level of the hierarchy established by Osho. The feminine image is identified with love, an

attribute associated with the ultimate perfection, *being*, and with meditation, the transcendent force leading to the symbolic death and rebirth of *man* and *woman* as a transformed *being*. Thus, *woman* is placed into the second level of the hierarchical order. The fact that man is placed into the lowest level in this hierarchy is justified not only through his identification with the devalued images of head, mind, and the negative attribute of aggression, but also through associating the “illnesses” of society, specifically, discrimination against *woman*, with the man-made social institutions.

Accordingly, throughout the entire corpus, the feminine images of *body*, *heart* and *right hemisphere* and their related attributes of love, trust, patience, receptivity, intuition, imagination, nature are assigned greater value, and presented as superior to the masculine images of *mind*, *head* and *left hemisphere* and their related attributes of logic, doubt, aggression, rationality, and culture. Hence, the analysis of the images and attributes clustering around the key terms woman and man suggests the higher value attached to the traditional, and unique attributes associated with woman, supporting the finding of Osho’s view emphasizing the superiority of woman over man in the hierarchical order.

The hierarchy of *being* – *woman* – *man*, the higher value attached to the images and attributes associated with *woman* rather than those associated with *man*, seems to challenge the patriarchal hierarchy, and thus accounts for the popularity of Osho’s teachings mostly among female audience (Palmer, 1993; Puttick, 2005). However, appealing to male spiritual seekers requires an ultimate order in which conflicting principles (orders of motivation) are encompassed through placing every order of

motivation (even the inferior ones) in a hierarchical series (Burke, 1969a, p. 189). Accordingly, both the superior feminine heart, spirituality, Buddha, and the inferior masculine head, materialism, sexuality, Zorba are treated as crucial steps, as ways towards the ultimate perfection-*being*, called Zorba the Buddha. Thus, in the specialized corpus, the ultimate order allows key and their associated terms to participate in the ultimate perfection within the constraints of their nature, and consequently share the meaning of the total developmental act. Therefore, the ultimate order symbolically leads to unification of *woman* and *man*, and other competing orders of motivation (Burke, 1969a, pp. 189-190).

The motive of perfection which causes each kind of being to strive for perfection (Burke, 1969a, p. 333), and the motive of guilt which needs redemption through bridging differences and identifying with others, increase the strength of the ultimate order in motivating woman and man to transcend the lower levels, and to identify with the higher and, ultimately, with the highest / ultimate level of the symbolic hierarchy developed by Osho.

Furthermore, since human beings desire achieving perfection not only by conceiving a perfect God, but also a perfect enemy / evil (Burke, 1966, p. 18), and since nothing can unite the disassociated human beings more than sharing a foe (Burke, 1967, p. 193), Osho further increases the appeal of his rhetoric through another rhetorical strategy, scapegoating. The evils previously associated with man are projected on to the abstract terms, “old” and “past”, which are identified with society’s institutions, including marriage, religious, scientific, and political institutions. Sacralization of the self, and providing means for self-actualization, for liberating the self from the

contaminations of cultural institutions, in other word, the common desire of the New Age movements that emerged in the 1970s seems to provide a perfect ground for creating a perfect enemy, an acceptable scapegoat that Osho's potential audience would be willing to sacrifice.

The efficiency of Osho's unification device derives also from its producing catharsis for *woman* and *man* who are motivated by the guilt of becoming mysterious to each other, and who are in the need of redemption, in the need of cancelling their guilt through imposing victimage on an external factor. Hence, "the 'guilt' intrinsic to the hierarchical order (the only kind of 'organizational' order we have ever known) calls correspondingly for 'redemption' through victimage" (Burke, 1984, p. 284). Therefore, in addition to creating a perfect God term, which is very motivational in leading the hierarchically placed woman and man to strive upward, and become identified both with each other and the ultimate level of the hierarchy, Osho seems to create a perfect scapegoat, a perfect enemy whose symbolic sacrifice would bring purification, and thus would be cathartic for the two genders that suffer the guilt of estrangement.

Moreover, the symbolic transformation, formation of a new identity through abandoning the old one, is achieved through the transcendent force, *meditation*, which enables symbolic death of individuals, identified with either *heart* or *head* and other associated images and ideas, and rebirth of the new *being* which is the synthesis of all. Through symbolic death and rebirth, in other words, through forming a new shared identity, which is called *Zorba the Buddha*, *woman* ceases to be *woman*, and *man* ceases to be *man*. The rhetorical appeal of the image of Zorba the

Buddha in motivating the audience to strive upward, and feel consubstantial with this new being is increased through its association with “non-duality”, “oneness”, “love”, “self realization”, “self actualization”, “individualism”, “authenticity”, “living at the moment, here and now”, “meditation”, “awareness”, “transformation of consciousness”, “liberation from the norms and rules of cultural institutions”, with the synthesis of materialism and spiritualism, with the union of spirituality and sexuality, in other words with the popular New Age ideology, and Tantrism.

Thus, the analysis of the pertinent evidence on the patterns of identification, opposition, progression, and transformation in the corpus of New Age talks reveals that the conflict that Osho and his potential audience experience due to the dichotomous view, emphasizing the incompatibility of woman and man, materialism and spiritualism, spirituality and sexuality, seems to be what motivates the rhetor for engaging in a rhetorical act in which he symbolically, and strategically transcends the differences between these principles, unites them in the imagery of a holistic gender identity, thus provides a symbolic solution for this conflict. Accordingly, the ultimate treatment of the conflict between the two genders and their related terms, the scapegoat projective device, and the transcendent force (meditation) that leads to the symbolic rebirth (transformation) of woman and man are the significant features of the Osho’s unification device, exploited to solve the conflict between the agonistically construed genders, and other related binaries.

#### **5.1.4 The Rhetorical Effect**

Since the main function of rhetoric is to form appropriate attitudes that lead to corresponding acts (Burke, 1966), understanding the true nature of verbal works requires understanding what they do for their producers and consumers - their

function, or rhetorical effect. Approaching the rhetorical act under consideration as a strategy for confronting the situation of Osho marked by a conflict, and his style as “symbolic of his burdens” (Burke, 1967, p. 17), the analysis of the patterns of association and opposition in the specialized corpus seems to indicate the conflict that motivates the rhetor for the rhetorical act. However, a verbal work is a “symbolic act of synthesis” (Burke, 1937, p. 25), thus understanding its structure requires realization of its redemptive function (Burke, 1967, p. 289).

The analysis and interpretation of the functions of the work’s structure, in terms of “the development from what through what to what” (Burke, 1967, pp. 70-71) reveals that Osho, as a “medicine man”, seems to provide a stylistic / symbolic medicine, cure for resolution of the conflict that motivates him for the rhetorical act (Burke, 1967, p. 64). Resolution of the agonistic tension, conflict between woman and man, and the images and ideas clustering around them is achieved through the dialectical transformation of the conflicting principles, and thus the formation of a new identity, called Zorba the Buddha. The imagery of Zorba the Buddha is equated with the meeting, synthesis of the East and the West, materialism and spiritualism, spirituality and sexuality, science and religion, head and heart, as well as the meeting of the two genders, functioning as “a third term” (Burke, 1969b, p. 405) which linguistically bridges, transcends the difference of the conflicting terms, as the synthesis of the competing principles.

Furthermore, the cure, the medicine Osho offers for unburdening, for resolving the dichotomous conflict requires not only identification with Zorba the Buddha, with the union of binary opposites, but also disassociation from the cultural institutions



that perpetuate the dichotomous view of the world through distinguishing good from evil, right from wrong, moral from immoral, legal from illegal, as well as materialist and bodily satisfaction from spiritual satisfaction. Thus, the religious, political, legal, and marriage institutions are construed as responsible for the division of woman and man, heart and head, for the destruction of a previously existed union, for creating a split, a conflict between *heart* oriented *right hemisphere* and *head* oriented *left hemisphere*. This construal makes the structure of Osho's rhetoric, centered around the opposition between disunity / conflict associated with the cultural institutions, and unity / cure associated with the imagery of Zorba the Buddha, more prominent.

It is noteworthy that people yearn, desire for unity and tend to turn their dislike for disunity against the ones that name it (Burke, 1967, pp. 205-206). Osho, therefore, seems to exploit for his rhetoric of disassociation and identification the audience's dislike for disunity, the related images and ideas such as split, conflict, division clustering around the victimized cultural institutions, as well as the audience's desire for unity, the related images and ideas such as oneness, wholeness, unification clustering around the God term, Zorba the Buddha. The two genders are motivated to disassociate / alienate themselves from the cultural institutions, from the causes of conflict and disunity, and feel identified with Zorba the Buddha, with the unity of *woman* and *man*, *heart* and *head*, spiritualism and materialism, spirituality and sexuality.

Accordingly, the main rhetorical function of the corpus of New Age talks seems to be challenging in the mind of the audience the authority of the society's institutions that maintain the dichotomous worldview, and inducing the audience to adopt Osho's

alternative worldview, emphasizing the compatibility of materialism and spiritualism, spirituality and sexuality, as well as the two genders, hence androgyny. Therefore, the integrated analysis of the specialized corpus seems to indicate that what it does is as follows: first leading the audience who participates in the symbolic act to experience a feeling of disease, and then providing catharsis, relief from the tension, conflict, disease created by the dichotomous view that emphasizes the incompatibility of woman and man, and other related images and ideas. The compatibility of different images, principles, or different orders of motivation is shown through a holistic gender identity that represents the union of principles claimed to be incompatible by the society's institutions. Thus, proving the compatibility of these principles requires a new incompatibility between the holistic new identity and the social institutions. In other words, social harmony through resolving the tension created by the dichotomous view is achieved at the expense of another disharmony, another tension between the New Agers that reject, and the people that accept the authority of the social institutions.

## **5.2 Persuasive Power of the Corpus of Osho's New Age talks**

The findings of the present research seem to indicate that the persuasive power, and thus the current popularity of Osho's books on woman and man may be due to his exploitation of the New Age concepts such as "transcendence", "self-realization", "meditation" and "holism" that have been used widely by the people not only inside but also outside the New Age community (Askehave, 2004, p. 5). The rhetor strongly rejects the dichotomy between man and woman, as well as materialism and spiritualism, sexuality and spirituality, in other words, renunciation of material and bodily pleasures for the sake of becoming spiritual. Moreover, Osho emphasizes the primary role of transcendence, meditation, and self-actualization in spiritual growth,

thus he identifies his interests with the interests of New Agers living in the consumer society of today's world. Since manipulation of the audience's shared beliefs increases their adherence to the promoted view of reality, promotion of the New Age ideology and Neo-Tantric beliefs seems to account for the current popularity of Osho's gender-related books.

Another factor that seems to explain the persuasive power of Osho's rhetoric is his successful exploitation of the patterns of association/ disassociation, the negative, transcendence, and entelechy, as well as the motives of guilt, redemption, hierarchy, and victimage (Burke, 1984, p. 274) in the unification device whose main features are ultimate hierarchical ordering of the ultimate/key terms and their clustering terms, the scapegoat projective device, and symbolic rebirth.

However, the present research argues that none of these factors on their own, rather Osho's integration of the popular New Age beliefs and concepts into his unification device accounts for the rhetorical strength and the current popularity of the rhetor's books on gender. Through manipulation of shared beliefs and values of his potential audience, Osho creates a perfect God term, Zorba the Buddha, a holistic gender identity that bridges the opposition of woman and man, and other binaries associated with them; and a perfect enemy that the potential New Age audience is already willing to sacrifice; moreover, the audience is already persuaded to believe in the necessity of alienating themselves from the society's institutions that perpetuate the dichotomous worldview. Interestingly, the holistic spirituality of New Age "has developed into a type of broad folk religion which appeals to many people at all levels of society" (Hanegraaff, 2000, p. 289). To conclude, Osho incorporates the

New Age ideology into his unification device, whereby he increases the adherence of not only New Agers, but also those people who are attracted by the popular New Age beliefs to the ideology that he promotes in the specialized corpus under examination.

### **5.3 Limitations and Delimitations**

The present research is not without its limitations. The study is limited in that it analyzes Osho's rhetoric within the framework of Burke's methodology, specifically the patterns of association/ disassociation, the negative, transcendence, entelechy, and the motives of "Guilt, Redemption, Hierarchy, and Victimage" (Burke, 1984, p. 274). Osho frequently uses such rhetorical devices as epistrophe, climax, rhetorical questions and others to increase the formal appeal of his rhetoric. It should be noted that the functions of these rhetorical devices in securing the persuasive power of Osho's rhetoric are not investigated in the present study. However, examination of the pertinent concordances across their inter-texts reveals Osho's selection and arrangement of various linguistic means, hence his style in the gender related rhetoric. Compiling a specialized corpus from Osho's talks appearing in two books, "The Book of Woman" and "The Book of Man", might be considered as another limitation.

However, one of the delimitations of the present research is that the corpus of New Age talks has been constructed from the transcriptions of Osho's original recorded talks available in the Osho Library on the official website of Osho International. Another delimitation of the study is that it also examined a supplementary corpus constructed from the same source in order to examine the image of a new being, Zorba the Buddha in other works of the rhetor (Burke, 1967, p. 24), specifically the equations clustering around this new imagery. The osho.com website refers to 80

texts, various chapters from the different discourses of the rhetor, for the search of the key word, *Zorba the Buddha*, thus enabling the researcher to identify, analyze, and interpret the recurrent equations under examination in all the original talks of the rhetor.

A further delimitation of the present study is related to its novel methodology integrating corpus and Burke's methods for analysis of the corpus of New Age talks. Burke's four-part methodology requires identification, examination, and interpretation of key terms and their recurrent associations each time they appear in the text under consideration. Thus, its application to a large body of texts is difficult and time consuming. However, integration of the corpus analysis techniques, specifically, concordancing has enabled the researcher to objectively and accurately identify every instance of the selected key terms, their recurrent clusters, and thus to discover the patterns of association, opposition, progression, and transformation in the entire corpus.

Finally, in the present study, the concordance evidence of the context, comprising co-text and inter-text, has been complemented by the discursive evidence from the broader context, and a supplementary corpus from the related talks by Osho. Therefore, introducing available contextual evidence from the literature and studies into New Age and Osho's movement, as well as the supplementary corpus evidence, revealing how the terms within Osho's gender related talks link up with his personal and social problems (Burke, 1966) can be considered another delimitation of the study.

## **5.4 Suggestions and Implications for Further Research**

The present research, on the basis of its findings, limitations and delimitations offers some suggestions and implications for further research on Burke, as well as Osho-related and New Age studies.

The findings obtained through the analysis of the associative and opposing terms in the contexts surrounding the ultimate/key terms woman and man reveals an agonistic construal of the two genders through the direct opposition, negation, and binary images and attributes, hence seem to indicate the gender stereotype in the corpus under investigation. However, the analysis of the progressive and transformation structures and their functions suggests Osho's promotion of a holistic gender identity that transcends the traditional differences of woman and man. Despite the effectiveness of the cluster-agon analysis in disclosing the motivational forces underlying the rhetor's act, on its own it may be inadequate for identifying the rhetor's attitudinal worldview. Therefore, prospective research envisaging application of Burke's cluster-agon analysis can consider complementing it with analysis of patterns of progression and transformation. Further, Burkean studies may also benefit from the use of corpus methodology which provides empirical evidence regarding the context (co-text and inter-text) surrounding the key terms, enabling researchers objectively, accurately, and efficiently to identify patterns of identification, opposition, progression, and transformation related to key terms in a large body of text.

Furthermore, taking into account the main limitation of the present study, the size of the specialized corpus of the texts compiled into "The Book of Woman" and "The

Book of Man”, prospective studies need to consider examining the construal of woman and man, and attitudinal worldview of Osho in his other discourses. Osho-related studies can also benefit from integrated, Burke’s and corpus methodologies in revealing the motive of Osho in engaging in rhetorical acts about various issues in other books attributed to him, as well as disclosing the function(s) of these books, and the rhetorical strategies exploited by the rhetor to create desired effect(s). The present study has investigated language and persuasion of Osho’s rhetoric within the framework of Burke’s critical analysis. Prospective studies on Osho may consider applying different methodologies for a rhetorical analysis such as a feminist critique, in order to provide different insights regarding gender construal in Osho’s discourses.

Finally, the present research has investigated the specialized corpus of the texts produced by the leader of one of the New Age movements. A follow-up study envisaging application of the same methodologies to analysis of texts or books produced by other popular New Age movement leaders can provide valuable insights into factors that may account for the persuasive power of their works in terms of both content and form. Prospective New Age studies can also benefit from using corpus methodology in the application of generic criticism to various New Age texts, which would provide significant insights regarding potential “situational, substantive and stylistic elements” (Foss, 1996, p. 233) common to all.

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## **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX A: Concordances on positive clusters of “woman”**

### **TBW**

11 ented differences. One difference I see is that a woman is more capable of love than a man is. A man's lo

23 cateness, she can fulfill a man's life immensely. She can surround man's life in a very soothing, cozy

28 er death you want to possess her. You are afraid. She is beautiful, and when you are gone, who knows? S

46 e left allows the right to have its way. Then the feminine part, the receptive part, gives you an idea. If y

50 chance to develop it. But love she is born with –she has more compassion, more kindness, more understa

53 equal. She is as equal to a man as any other man. She has talents of her own which are absolutely neede

54 has the capacity to change any house into a home. She can fill it with love; she has that sensitivity.

56 can fill it with love; she has that sensitivity. She can rejuvenate man, help him relax. In the Upani

56 owards the right hemisphere. Become more and more feminine, more and more loving, surrendering, trusting, mo

60 you have never dreamed of. And she asks nothing. She simply wants your love, which is her basic right.

87 eceived, and again they are going to be deceived. Women trust. Trust is easy for them; love comes easier

120 come really a woman, because much depends on her. She is far more important than man because she carrie

136 els. Man is dirty, boys are boys – but the woman? She is divine. Man has put woman on a high pedestal;

368 nine body, the whole psychology of woman differs: she is nonaggressive, noninquiring, non-questioning,

372 I not take the initiative, she simply waits – and she can wait infinitely. This waiting has to be reme

375 mother: she becomes more beautiful, because when she waits she flowers. She attains a different type o

476 If you can understand then something can be done. Woman remains the mysterious, and once a woman enters i

508 If everything is taken into account exactly, then woman is the stronger sex than man: she lives longer, s

638 omen can become the best dancers in the world. A woman has a great imagination, but her imagination has

352 and still the decision will be there. That's why women are very patient in their love affairs; they can

218 to penetrate and know. Man has created science; women can never be scientific, because the basic aggres

## TBM

26 (Love, trust, beauty, sinc)erity, truthfulness, authenticity – these are all  
feminine qualities, and they are far greater than any qual  
50 but they are very imaginary, more imaginary than men. So if I work with ten  
women and ten men, nine wo  
54 e, so is Mahavira, so is Krishna. You can see the feminine grace, the feminine  
roundness, you can see the fe  
55 o is Krishna. You can see the feminine grace, the feminine roundness, you  
can see the feminine beauty. You c  
97 dred girls will be left. Girls don't die easily. Women don't commit suicide as  
much as men; men's suicid  
100 almost twenty times more; a woman, very rarely. Women go mad less than  
men. Again, the proportion is th  
293 (That was the beginning of th)e feeling of inferiority – that nature depends on  
woman, not on man. Moreover, he has found that she is  
500 is very difficult, almost impossible to deceive a woman because she lives  
intuitively. You will not be ab  
71 t he should love the mother. He likes her because she is so helpful, so useful;  
without her he cannot e  
228 not. Man is deep down aware of the fact that the woman has something  
which he does not have. In the firs  
229 ng which he does not have. In the first place the woman is attractive to him,  
she looks beautiful. He fal  
354 icult. This difference has to be understood. The woman is on the receptive  
end – she has to be, because  
197 beautiful; ... she is beautiful not only to him – she is beautiful to whomever  
looks at her, to whomeve  
202 age is five years more than the man's. That means she has more resistance,  
more stamina. Women are sick  
212 n woman, not on man. Moreover, he has found that she is in many ways  
stronger than him. For example,  
262 ities together make the woman weak. In fact, the woman has all the great  
qualities in her. And whenever  
121 woman can. His fighting spirit balances things. Women have qualities  
inborn. Man needs only to be provo  
118 s an unconscious reasoning, because the man feels women are beautiful –  
perhaps if he also takes away the  
520 regnant. What imagination! When a woman imagines, she can imagine far-  
out things. Men are not that capa

## **APPENDIX B: Concordances on negative clusters of “woman”**

### **TBW**

- 127 an too, in very subtle ways; her ways are subtle. She will not fight with you directly; her fight will
- 128 her fight will be indirect, it will be feminine. She will cry and weep. She will not hit you, she will
- 147 – so biology has no problem; but psychology has. Women are more irritable, nagging, bitchy, and the reas
- 215 healing: she will not be bitchy towards you, and she will not nag you, because all the energy that bec
- 233 ne into it because it was her duty; and deep down she has hated her husband because he is just like an
- 392 ysterious, and once a woman enters into your life she starts dominating you. And her domination is so s
- 395 she comes, she starts to dominate everything. And she wants your total attention: she would not like Go
- 399 a competitor; she will not allow any competitor, she is jealous. So if somebody is to seek, it is bett
- 402 ifficult to find any logic in a woman's behavior. She jumps from one point to another, there are gaps, (she is unpredictable)
- 834 – more impossible than it is from the head. The woman has to drop jealousy, she has to drop hatred. Th
- 849 ip with other women is of jealousy. But if every woman is jealous of every other woman, then naturally t
- 811 ing away. But she does not run too fast, either. She goes on looking back, to see whether that fellow
- 812 ellow is coming or not. If he is left far behind, she waits. When he comes again close, she starts runn(ing)
- 887 ou. That you enjoy, that he is chasing you. Every woman enjoys that. It is ugly; you are not aware of its
- 983 s been always trying to be game. She attracts the man, she tries in every way to attract him by her bea
- 985 er makeup ... She attracts the man, and once the man is attracted then she starts running away. But s

### **TBM**

- 132 uns away from you. She does not want to run away; she waits for you to come closer, and then she starts
- 406 ight, hypnotized. And when you start approaching, she starts to run away – that is part of the game. Th
- 498 ious and woman functions with the unconscious. So man can accumulate details, but can never be very dee

## **APPENDIX C: Concordances on clusters of “man”**

### **TBW**

218 to penetrate and know. Man has created science; women can never be  
scientific, because the basic aggres  
54 en burned this way for the simple reason that the man is jealous that after he  
is gone, what guarantee  
55 e has to keep herself hidden from people's eyes. Man is very egoistic. That's  
why I call him male chau  
176 he was divine; she had more divine qualities than man. Man is ugly, immoral,  
and all that. Man has to b  
409 ral; her tendencies, her goals, are more natural. She never asks for the  
impossible, she asks for what (is possible)  
460 to follow a totally different path from the man. Man is aggressive, doubts,  
inquires, goes out of the  
485 not capable of that life. The whole focus of the woman is natural, she lives in  
nature, she is more natu  
495 logical: her hormones, her cells, are balanced. A man has a restlessness, and  
that restlessness gives h  
503 re body-oriented. Nature needs her more than man: man is just on the  
periphery, he is disposable; woman  
504 hery, he is disposable; woman is not disposable. Man is not needed so much,  
that's why you don't find  
991 ferent. Man thinks logically, linguistically. The woman is more affected by  
emotions, sentiments, which a  
1678 is more powerful in man: he can force the woman. He is more cruel, he is  
more violent, and he has for

### **TBM**

334 ll over the world with the same conditions." But man is ugly, has become  
ugly, and he is hiding all hi  
370 topography; now there is nothing to explore. And man is by nature an  
explorer, a hunter, an adventurer  
372 ul house surrounded with a beautiful garden. But man basically is a nomad.  
That nomadness comes from h  
373 t; there was no need to go around the world. But man is a nomad. Woman is  
not. In Hindi we have a wor  
387 ul woman, your energy can make you graceful. But man is more stupid than  
woman. The whole of history h  
497 ow it functions, you know the very working of it. Man functions with the  
conscious and woman functions  
499 ls, but can be very deep in a small, simple fact. Man can attain to knowledge,  
much knowledge, but not  
694 ther; she is capable of giving birth to life, and man is not. That was the  
beginning of the feeling of  
695 nferiority – that nature depends on woman, not on man. Moreover, he has  
found that she is in many ways  
832 e not interested in any other type of creativity. Man is a creator; woman is not  
a creator. She has not



833 religions – she has not done anything really. But man goes on creating, he is  
mad. He goes on inventing  
888 and he is hiding all his ugliness in clothes. And he is jealous – he is forcing  
the woman also to cove

## **APPENDIX D: Concordances on “woman = motherhood”**

### **TBW**

7 nces can be counted very easily. One is that the woman is capable of producing life; man is not. In that

36 he is afraid because he knows deep down that the woman is more than he is. She can give birth to life. N

58 ght to the modern psychology. A woman, whatsoever she is, is basically a mother. A father is an invente

122 rries in her womb both the woman and the man, and she mothers both, the boy and the girl; she nourishes

224 s clitoral – and that is a totally separate part. She can reproduce children without knowing any orgasm

227 That means that for her whole sexual life, while she is capable of giving birth to life, she becomes p

228 fe, while she is capable of giving birth to life, she becomes pregnant again and again; and pregnancy i

374 mother, a woman who is just about to be a mother: she becomes more beautiful, because when she waits sh

378 fferent type of grace, an aura surrounds her when she is going to become a mother, because now she is a

385 part of it – the mother is also born. Before that she was an ordinary woman; through the birth she beco(mes a mother)

388 portant. A child is born, a new life has entered: she becomes a mother. That's why husbands are always

390 ome a mother can never be an ordinary wife again. She has become a mother, you cannot do anything about

731 man has to be a little fat because for nature the woman is a mother. A mother needs extra fat for the chi

### **TBM**

354 icult. This difference has to be understood. The woman is on the receptive end – she has to be, because (she has to become a mother)

171 ere to call. So men marry women to get wives, and women marry men to become mothers – not to get husbands

307 been saying that unless a woman becomes a mother she is not fulfilled. The same is not true for men

395 out being a father without losing anything. But a woman will lose something because her whole creativity,

12 refully. A grace has arisen in her because she is pregnant. She is no longer alone – her body has become a t

10 hat comes to the face of a woman when she becomes pregnant? Her face is luminous, hopeful, throbbing with ne

## **APPENDIX E: Concordances on “woman = superior sex”**

### **TBW**

222 r way the woman is far stronger than the man. The woman lives longer than the man, five to seven years lo

223 ger than the man, five to seven years longer. The woman suffers less through diseases, illnesses, than th

224 – ten boys have disappeared down the drain. The woman has more resistance to illnesses and diseases of

225 . In every possible way except the muscular, the woman is far superior. But to have muscular strength is

305 just a plastic syringe, use it and throw it out. Women are more resistant to diseases. From the very beg

500 ance, more stamina. Women are sick less than men. Women, even if they are sick, heal themselves more quic

508 If everything is taken into account exactly, then woman is the stronger sex than man: she lives longer, s

561 That is ugly. I cannot give my support to it. The woman is the superior sex; she need not prove it. Why

644 ht with sickness, it creates fifteen extras. The woman lives longer than the man – five years longer – i

646 survives. Man cannot survive as much suffering as woman manages to. So don't be worried about your energi

### **TBM**

253 he woman is powerful. Everywhere in the world the woman lives five years longer than the man; her average

95 That means she has more resistance, more stamina. Women are sick less than men. Women, even if they are s

96 ance, more stamina. Women are sick less than men. Women, even if they are sick, heal themselves more quic

100 almost twenty times more; a woman, very rarely. Women go mad less than men. Again, the proportion is th

128 a certain stamina. Women fall sick less than men. Women commit suicide less than men – although they talk

129 Men commit suicide in almost double the numbers. Women live five years longer than men. Women are more

131 men. Men are very impatient and very intolerant. Women are less violent than men. Women don't commit mur

132 very intolerant. Women are less violent than men. Women don't commit murders; it is the man who commits m

## APPENDIX F: Concordances on “woman= sexuality”

### TBW

3 is total, not confined to the genitals. Her whole body is sexual, and she can have a beautiful orgasmic

6 is orgasm should come at the end when the woman's orgasm has reached to the peak. It is a simple question

10 with no curves. And those curves were making her body a beautiful phenomenon –they were really a tremen

25 acy. The fallacy was that the woman has a vaginal orgasm, which has not been found to be true; she does no

26 een found to be true; she does not have a vaginal orgasm at all. In fact, the woman's vagina is absolutel

28 The woman needs a long foreplay so that her whole body starts tingling with sensuality, but then there i

31 o is going crazy. She has to go crazy – her whole body is in a totally different space. She cannot remai

95 a woman has a more delicate body, a more flexible body. She can become a better dancer than any man can

192 thing else to attract people by; she has only her body. Man has not allowed her to have other dimensions

193 autiful thing has passed. Woman is left only the body by man, so she is so much concerned with the body

194 body by man, so she is so much concerned with the body that it creates clinging, possessiveness, fear th

201 y in surrender, in deep trust. Hence the feminine body is so beautiful, so round. There is a deep trust

205 mmodity; you have to pay and buy her time and her body. Because of marriage it was very difficult to fin

208 ore sensuality than sexuality, it is all over her body. Unless her whole body participates, she will not

209 uality, it is all over her body. Unless her whole body participates, she will not experience the orgasmi

267 nt. Her sexuality is all over her body. Her whole body is sensitive, is erotic. Because man's sexuality

213 tute. All that she knows is that she can sell her body. She has nothing else to sell. Naturally she was

## **APPENDIX G: Concordances on woman and man's sexuality**

### **TBW**

7 bered. Firstly, man has the capacity for only one orgasm; woman has the capacity for multiple orgasms. Thi  
10 away from her the conception that she can have an orgasm. Secondly, man's sex is local, genital. The same  
15 ty is concerned –he can have only one orgasm. The woman is infinitely superior –she can have multiple org  
16 's orgasm is local, confined to his genitals. The woman's orgasm is total, not confined to the genitals  
27 is absolutely insensitive, it feels nothing. Her orgasm is clitoral – and that is a totally separate part  
31 to a new dimension they have never explored. The woman has the capacity for multiple orgasms, so the man  
32 lationship. He should be very relaxed so that the woman can have multiple orgasms. His orgasm should come  
260 irstly, man has the capacity for only one orgasm; woman has the capacity for multiple orgasms. This has c  
263 is local, genital. The same is not the case with woman. Her sexuality, her sensuality is spread all over  
285 s a donor, he loses energy while making love. The woman does not lose energy while making love – on the c  
950 o dance. There is a difference between man's and woman's sexuality. Man's sex is local, it is genital. W  
951 n's sexuality. Man's sex is local, it is genital. Woman's sexuality is more sensuality than sexuality, it  
1027 Because man's sexuality is local, it is tiny. The woman's sexuality is something very great. Man is finis

### **TBM**

42 erstand: one is that man's sexuality is positive, women's sexuality is negative. Negative is not a condem  
50 le mind is concentrated on the genitals. But the woman's sexuality is not local, it is all over her body  
51 live together, are going to love each other. The woman is far richer as far as sexual energy is concerne  
98 e nature of their sexuality. Man is the donor and woman is the receiver. My own experience of old-style  
310 the care of her body. The reason is biological. Man's sexuality is local; it is confined to his genit  
312 rates, every cell of her body dances. And because man has only a genital sexuality his whole body, as f(ar as sex is concerned, is just dead)  
313 e.They cannot criticize what I'm saying. Because man's sexuality is only genital, while making love he  
353 ifferent quality. You should understand that the woman is capable of multiple orgasms, because she does  
354 and our women all have to understand: one is that man's sexuality is positive, women's sexuality is neg(ative)

355     an's sexuality is local, like local anesthesia. A woman's body is sexual all  
over, and unless her whole b  
356     s collect has a very limited capacity. That's why man can have only one  
orgasm at a time: just one shot  
617     perior. For example, in making love to a woman, a man is very inferior  
because he can have only one org  
619     ng; on the contrary, she is more thirsty. But the man is spent. So the most  
cunning way is not to let t  
625     too. Something significant has to be understood: Man's sexuality is local, it is  
confined to the genit  
626     . Her whole body is sensitive, is erotic. Because man's sexuality is local, it is  
tiny. The woman's sex  
627     y. The woman's sexuality is something very great. Man is finished within a  
few seconds; the woman is no  
628     n a few seconds; the woman is not even warmed up. Man is in such a hurry –  
as if he is doing some duty  
785     (the *woman* is capable of multip)le orgasms, because she does not lose any  
energy. Man is capable of only one orgasm and he loses energy  
786     orgasm has a totally different way of happening. Man's sexuality is local,  
like local anesthesia. A wo  
867     not really as competent sexually as the woman. A man can have only one  
orgasm. For the second orgasm h  
868     used, just like any commodity. It hurts. And the man is finished within two  
minutes – at the most thre  
869     woman has not even started to get into it and the man is out! Naturally she  
hates it. Naturally she go  
440     sm he will have to wait according to his age. The woman is capable at any  
age of having multiple orgasms.  
872     en is she happy. Seeing this disparity, that the man can have only one orgasm  
and the woman is capable  
873     the woman is capable of having multiple orgasms, man simply dropped the  
idea, because multiple orgasm

## APPENDIX H: Concordances on “marriage”

TBW

5        problem. There would not have been any problem if marriage and monogamy had not been imposed on them; it see

7        Men and women should not be in a contract, like marriage. They should be in love – but they should retain

8        hip between man and woman and to drop the idea of marriage, which is absolutely ugly because it is simply a

10       ated prostitutes. Prostitutes are a by-product of marriage. And this ugly institution of prostitution will

11       titution will not disappear from the world unless marriage disappears. It is its shadow – because man does n

13       fact – that prostitution came into existence with marriage. Now the women's liberation movement is trying t

20       . But the zoo animals are not real animals; and a marriage makes everybody a zoo animal – confined, chained

21       the zoo. That's what is needed – liberation from marriage. And if the woman grows in her natural wildness,

23       you can talk with a chair, you must be a chair. Marriage is against nature. You can be certain only of th

24       Man has outgrown the family. The utility of the family is finished; it has lived too long. It is one of

28       cause there is no need to get rid of each other. Marriage creates the need to get rid of each other, becaus

28       e in families. But for the greater majority, the family is an ugly thing. You can ask the psychoanalysts

29       y, 'All kinds of mental diseases arise out of the family. All kinds of psychoses, neuroses, arise out of t

33       will not be addicted to one or two persons. The family creates an obsession in you, and the obsession is

37       f conflict with society, with other families. The family demands monopoly. It asks you to be for it and ag

40       ting for the name and the fame of the family. The family teaches you ambition, conflict, aggression. In a

53       ere and now. The barriers have to be removed. The family is one of the greatest barriers. From Death to D

50       world has existed against love up till now. Your family is against love, your society is against love, yo

73       fabric. The feeling of jealousy is a byproduct of marriage. In the world of animals, birds, there is no jea

74       ealousy and burn your heart with your own hands. Marriage is an invented institution, it is not natural; he

85       far as the present and the future are concerned, marriage is absolutely irrelevant, inconsistent with human

94       is no marriage. Jealousy will persist as long as marriage remains the basic foundation of society. Just gi

## TBM

10     en what Machiavelli suggests to the politicians – marriage is politics too. Machiavelli suggests that the be  
21     d in happiness forever.” The truth is, after the marriage is the deluge, after the marriage is the hellfire  
21     ed on family: family is its foundation stone. But family is also the foundation stone of all neurosis, of (all kinds of mental sicknesses, of all kinds of social problems)  
24     point by point, in detail, because the problem of family is one of the most serious problems. The first t  
25     the most serious problems. The first thing.... The family is a prison, it wants to keep control of the chil  
29     ess. You relate, but you don't create a marriage. Marriage is out of fear, relatedness is out of love. You  
30     doors open, keep alternatives open. I am against marriage. It is marriage that creates problems. It is marr  
31     alternatives open. I am against marriage. It is marriage that creates problems. It is marriage that has be  
32     , it does not allow you to live joyously. And the family is the root, because obviously the programming st  
32     iage. It is marriage that creates problems. It is marriage that has become very ugly. The most ugly institut  
33     y ugly. The most ugly institution in the world is marriage, because it forces people to be phony: they have  
38     n write anything you want on the child, and every family commits the crime: they destroy the individual an  
39     nly begotten son of God.” All wars depend on the family. It has been a tradition in many nations in the p  
42     ies, because of races. They all depend on family. Family is the root cause of mankind's thousands of wound  
43     d love and saved the security. That is what your marriage is – love is sacrificed; security is there. Of co  
68     ies. And both get tired, it is simply human. The family is inhuman. It forces you to live with a woman yo



## APPENDIX I: Concordances on “heart=woman”, “head=man”

### TBW

43 ys there against it. A woman decides through the heart. It is not a parliamentary decision, it is total.

45 I can see – I have been continuously observing – women get into meditation quickly. It comes to them eas

50 r. Johnson, trying to keep the woman silent.... The heart is feminine. You miss much in your life because

50 , if man has the possibility of intelligence, the woman has the possibility of love. It does not mean she

93 more like a child, more full of wonder than man. Man is always after knowledge – and what is knowledge

101 nnot love, it cannot feel, it is insensitive. The heart cannot be rational, reasonable. For the whole pas

106 bed as that of the heart, but it is not true. The heart will give you all kinds of imaginings, hallucinat

115 : love, beauty, grace. The head is barbarous. The heart is far more civilized, far more innocent. A cons

190 y are very much concerned with the immediate. The man always thinks of strategies, tactics, what will h

218 to penetrate and know. Man has created science; women can never be scientific, because the basic aggres

247 can go far in search in the outer world – but the woman has a better heart. She's more introvert; she can

252 n can enter into meditation more easily than men. Man has a better head – logically, intellectually, he

495 (Man can attain to kn)owledge, much knowledge, but not to intense love. Woman can attain to intense love, but not to much knowl(edge)

219 hey cannot be logical – logic is also aggression. Women cannot be skeptical and doubting; they can trust,

638 omen can become the best dancers in the world. A woman has a great imagination, but her imagination has

691 e the husband decides from the intellect, and the woman decides from the heart. And the quality of the de

816 is a deep trust and a deep harmony with nature. A woman lives in deep surrender; a man is constantly figh

829 ety is created according to reason and logic. The woman wants a world of the heart. In the society creat

844 restige – for anything he can sacrifice love. The woman cannot sacrifice love for anything; everything is

999 mpossible to come to a fair decision, because the woman functions through the heart. She jumps from one t

1045 only the brutal qualities, animal qualities. The woman is more loving. The man has not shown greater lov

**TBM**

45 I can see – I have been continuously observing – women get into meditation quickly. It comes to them eas  
47 rt and the being. I have said religion is of the heart, because religion is the bridge between head and  
48 to the being directly unless it goes through the heart. Science is confined to the head, reason, logic.  
49 ience is confined to the head, reason, logic. The heart is confined to feelings, emotions, sensitivities.  
72 I point towards his head and he will say that his head is the most important. Or, if it is a woman, then  
86 is a woman, then maybe she will point towards her heart and say that the heart is the most important. Nei  
263 only the brutal qualities, animal qualities. The woman is more loving. The man has not shown greater lov  
500 is very difficult, almost impossible to deceive a woman because she lives intuitively. You will not be ab  
189 wait a little more. Time settles everything. And women are always more perceptive than men – if you cann  
222 hings. Men are not that capable of imagining, but women can really imagine things. Women confessed in the

## **APPENDIX J: Concordances on the conflict between sexes**

### **TBW**

18      culative. These two hemispheres are constantly in conflict. The basic politics  
of the world is within you, t  
20      change; deep down the same conflict remains. The conflict is in man. Unless  
it is resolved there, it cannot (be resolved anywhere else. The politics is within you, it  
is between your two parts of the *mind*)  
22      ot-like thing. Because of this there is constant conflict between man and  
woman. They cannot remain separat  
23      he relationship settles and you relax, your inner conflict bubbles up and starts  
being mirrored in your rela  
27      nge, is lost. If you choose challenge, then comes conflict, because the real  
problem is somewhere within you  
36      en in conflict. That conflict only represents the conflict and struggle between  
men and women. If you are t  
45      are not at ease. There is a conflict, continuous conflict between the head and  
the heart, between the man a(nd the woman)  
47      (Once your eyes) are clear and your head and heart are no more in conflict,  
everything starts becoming mysterious. Then you  
129     esolved your inner fight between the left and the right hemispheres, you will  
never be able to be peacefu

### **TBM**

5      put you against yourself: it is a way of creating conflict within you, and  
whenever a man is in conflict wit  
18      the basic rule is the same: divide man, create a conflict in him so one part  
starts feeling higher, becomes  
19      ng processes, they have been root causes of inner conflict and war. You have  
been wounding yourself. Your ri  
24      ution of your father. And there is no need of any conflict between you,  
because you are man and woman togeth  
27      itself either as matter or as mind. So the whole conflict between mind and  
matter, and their followers, is  
29      u are divided into two. You will remain always in conflict, fighting within  
yourself, with yourself. You wil  
37      er and soul. It is a declaration that there is no conflict between matter and  
consciousness, that we can be

## APPENDIX K: Concordances on the “East” and “West”

### TBM

9 right hand; both your hands become wounded. The West finally chose to go with the zorba. There was no

8 it is better to drop the idea of the other. The East says that the body is illusory, it is only an appearance, a shadow, it has no reality)

13 air roses, but the fragrance was so much that the East tried to look inside, and found that the soul is (far more real. The body is just an appearance)

14 Perhaps God may be alive, but matter is dead. The East has moved inwards and found that the body, matter (is relatively non-substantial. The ultimate reality belongs to consciousness)

7 whole Eastern consciousness moves inwards and the Western consciousness moves outwards – how could they meet

6 responsibility goes to the Christian church – and the Eastern humanity became more and more spiritualist. The d

8 in that big mansion. This shows that somehow the Western mind has not grown towards inwardness, towards love, towards non-violence)

9 ence. Perhaps, because for thousands of years the eastern genius has been consistently in search of the soul)

43 ated a certain atmosphere. If you meditate in the East, it seems as if everything helps: the trees, the (earth, the air)

45 (The West) has been thinking in terms of purpose, but the East has been thinking in terms of purposelessness. Th

46 as been thinking in terms of purposelessness. The East says life is not a business, it is a play. And a

47 e is ultimate. Life as it is, is accepted in the East. It is not moving towards some end, because if t

63 balance is your joy, your song, your dance. The West has chosen to listen to the body, and has become (deaf as far as the reality of consciousness is concerned. The ultimate result is great science, great technology, an affluent society, a richness of things mundane, worldly)

67 there is no question of even thinking twice. The West has lost its soul, its interiority. Surrounded by

76 intelligentsia of the West as not worth living. The East has chosen consciousness and has condemned matter (and everything material, the body included)

## APPENDIX L: Concordances on differences between sexes

### TBW

16 e independent. It is a subtle trick. And the male mind is cunning and the male mind is succeeding. And n

21 pion agreed. "It is not logic, it is my nature." Logic is one thing, life is totally another. My concern

22 , life is totally another. My concern here is not logic but life. My statements may not be logical – they .

25 he whole matter of it, you will be surprised. The male mind is a cunning mind. The woman is more innocen

30 so burglars. There is no way to reach God through logic or reason or accepted society, culture, civilizat

31 s there any logical way to get out of this chest? Logic simply fails, reason is of no use. What can you t

52 sanity rarely happens. The more a society becomes head-oriented, the more insanity. It is as if in a 11

66 o philosophical research. Truth is so simple; the head makes it so complex. Down the centuries philosoph

86 (The heart has) all feminine qualities: love, beauty, grace. The head is barbarous. The heart is far more civilized, fa

155 ny reasoning. Your heart is both higher than your head and deeper than your head. The woman can be a poe

109 ill follow later on. First, you are the body. The body is your basic truth, so never be against the body

110 ery infertile; you cannot get anything out of the head as far as truth is concerned, because truth needs

111 be against the body. Whenever you are against the body, you are going against God. Whenever you are disr

112 n seeking and searching for the truth through the head. None of them has found anything, but they have c

112 ainst God. Whenever you are disrespectful to your body you are losing contact with reality, because your

119 respect for the body, gratitude for the body. The body is marvelous, it is the greatest of mysteries. B

133 om the beginning. The body is your beginning. The body has to be purified of many repressions. A great c

163 thing: Be loving towards your body, befriend your body, revere your body, respect your body, take care o(f your body. It is God's gift: treat it well)

198 t?" "No," she whispered, "he pinches." The male mind goes on pinching, creating trouble. Troublemakers

199 discipline. They are all troublemakers. The male mind is a trouble-making phenomenon, hence it overpowe

202 and miles away with the logical mind. The logical mind is like a glass, too dirty, too much covered with

206 use the only hope for humanity is the softness of woman, not the hardness of man. We have suffered enough

208 at man should become more like woman, rather than woman becoming more like man. Nietzsche is right when

208 of love. No logic can be higher than love, and no mind can be higher than the  
heart. But the mind can be  
210 he heart. But the mind can be very murderous; the mind can be very violent,  
and that's what the mind has (done for centuries)  
900 ciety created by man there is no place for heart. Man has to learn to be more  
heartful because reason h(as led the whole humanity towards a global suicide)  
1159 nature as a gift. Man has to learn how to love. Man has to learn how to let  
the heart be the master a

### **TBM**

3 heart. But because we are not aware even of the heart, we are not even  
aware of our interiority. Our wh  
13 (I)t is so superficial. It has not arisen out of the heart, it is a mind  
phenomenon. Maybe she looks like an  
15 It is something far beyond the reaches of reason. Logic is a very ordinary  
game; anybody who has a little  
30 extension of the mind – it is mathematics, it is logic, it is rational.  
Meditation belongs to the heart  
31 belongs to the heart, not to the mind – it is not logic; it is closer to love. It is  
not like other scie  
56 I would like all the scientists to listen to the heart. That will change the very  
character of science.  
11 authentic human beings. Love your body, live your body to its totality. Love  
your instincts, your desire  
9 universe. The universe is his manifestation. Your body is the manifestation of  
your soul. In the past,  
12 secrets are handed over to you. If you love your body, sooner or later you  
will become aware of the sou  
113 back into your senses. I teach you the body: the body is beautiful, divine.  
Come back to the body, let  
35 ve what has happened. We have a deep respect for feminine qualities and  
those qualities prohibit many thing  
36 should keep her separateness, should save all her feminine qualities and  
purify them. In this way she is goi  
55 o is Krishna. You can see the feminine grace, the feminine roundness, you  
can see the feminine beauty. You c  
60 so be, but then he will have to become very, very feminine. A woman is  
already, she has already those quality

## **APPENDIX M: Concordances on “being”**

### **TBW**

29 ego and the presence only of pure isness, of your being. The similarity is so deep that just as people ar  
34 sily, very easily, to the innermost center of her being. Self-knowledge, enlightenment, will be far easi  
54 ion can show you the way towards higher realms of being, greater spaces of consciousness. A woman is not  
66 nship any more, when love becomes a state of your being, the lotus opens totally and great perfume is rel  
68 ed, where love is no more an idea but simply your being, then only will you know its freedom. Then love i  
69 lood circulating in your body. Love is your very being...but that love has become almost impossible. The s  
75 an – it is not a small stream; love is your whole being – love is your godliness. One should think in ter  
76 (The wider spread are the) wings of your love, the bigger is the sky of your being. Anand Tosha, you have lived under a common fall  
87 ness possible to human beings – because your very being is blissful. After being in tune with your alone  
89 ... Once you have entered your innermost core of being, you cannot believe your own eyes: you were carry(ing so much joy, so many blessings, so much love)  
90 f happiness. First meditate, first feel your own being, first pray. First grow into love; otherwise what  
197 ails. You are here – you have learned the art.”” Being is one, the world is many, and between the two is  
209 ation. Yoga is an effort to reach the one-ness of being through the left hemisphere, using logic, mathema  
211 far as I am concerned, the way to your innermost being is closer from the heart than from the mind. Mind  
212 nges into its opposite – heart is the shortcut to being, and mind is the longest way you can think of. T  
213 the heart, and then only he can move towards the being. My emphasis on love has a basic spiritual reaso  
214 e heartfelt because from the heart goes the way to being. You cannot bypass the heart. The woman is in a b  
215 in a better position, she can go directly towards being from the heart. But instead of recognizing this i  
217 (the deeper the)y move in love, the closer they will reach to the being. Being is not very far away; it is the deepest p  
280 is concerned with the very essential core of your being, which cannot be divided into male and female. Co

### **TBM**

7 the past or with the future. This is a way of not being. This is how we miss existence. This is how by an  
11 .nowhere to go...one is simply delighted. Just by being, one is blissful. Just by being, one can dance an

18 making something out of it. The reality of your being is within you. You just  
need a little silent mind  
19 I man nor an immoral man. He will simply be. That being, that be-ness, is  
purity. That's what I call prim  
21 waken. Enlightenment is your nature, is your very being. From the very  
beginning it has been there. It is  
22 s your original face, your originality, your very being. O monks, do away  
with passions. Drop desiring.  
50 st as the trees and animals and birds...accept your being as you are, and a  
great silence arises. How can i  
91 , honesty is beauty, truthfulness is beauty. Just being yourself is being  
beautiful. And to me there is  
92 y, truthfulness is beauty. Just being yourself is being beautiful. And to me  
there is no other religion  
116 es, that's why you have forgotten the language of being just yourself. The  
second thing you ask: Shouldn  
125 g. Bliss is your self-nature – just discover your being and you will find it as a  
consequence. Jesus say  
138 entering, you start getting grounded in your very being. That will bring  
spontaneousness. It is not a qu  
165 f. Now another world of orgasm, inner orgasm, of being with oneself, arises.  
But that arises only throug  
231 ects only your life. It is like a mirror. Your being is eternal. That's why  
even the learned are afrai  
235 iness you feel the being for the first time. That being is eternal. No death can  
happen to it. Only that  
248 , slowly you start becoming aware of your eternal being. Then the idea of  
attention simply disappears. A  
354 you but you had never knocked on it – the door of being, the door of eternity.  
Zen, the very word 'Zen'



## **APPENDIX N: Concordances on woman's enslavement**

### **TBW**

14 receive oneself and to deceive the whole world. So man down the ages has been destroying the woman's gen

15 ths or more absolutely vulnerable, dependent on a man. Men have exploited this in a very ugly way. And

16 The psychology of the woman is corrupted by the man telling her things which are not true, making her

52 his inferiority has created the greatest problem –man started cutting the woman's wings. He started in (every way reducing her, condemning her)

53 the ultimate insult –that the woman has no soul. Man has deprived woman of education, of financial ind(ependence)

56 goistic. That's why I call him male chauvinistic. Man has created this society, and in this society the(re s no place for the woman)

14 ill be surprised to know that even though all the men have misbehaved with women, the women have manage(d to keep all that is beautiful)

21 rested in it, he has never been interested in it. He has used the woman as a sex machine just to relie(ve his own sexual tension)

50 at he could at least believe that he is superior. He has treated women as cattle –even worse. In Chin

275 ren, and they died. They were used by biology and man, just like factories, producing children. In the

317 lived just like factories, reproducing children. Man has used them as factories, not as human beings –

605 wise, she has been in the past only a factory and man has used her only to create more children. Having

645 on has nothing to do with meditation at all. But man has just been using the woman almost like cattle.

647 on, this is a consolation. Beware of such tricks. Man has exploited woman in every possible way and it

909 and that's what the mind has done for centuries. Man has been beating women, repressing women, condemn

949 see why she should not be, there is every reason. Man has crippled the woman, has prevented her from ed

946 s we have lived it up to now is mostly managed by man. It is a man-made society; it has no place for wo(man)

1052 have the right. In the same way, in every field, man has cut the woman's freedom. In most countries, i

### **TBM**

19 ote one thing: there are beauty contests only for women, because it is a male chauvinist society. Why are

93 he egoist, male chauvinist mind. He has done with women what Machiavelli suggests to the politicians – ma

94 ep. And the woman – not one woman but millions of women are crying tears after men have made love to them

125 or female. But man has been very inhuman towards women for centuries, continuously. And the strange thin

134 e right to destroy it. So in China, thousands of women were killed by their  
husbands. But the husbands c  
157 the world, cultures have enforced in the minds of women that they are not  
supposed even to enjoy or move  
165 ari. Ye sab taran ke adhikari. He is categorizing women with drums – dhol  
means drum, ganwar means idiots  
166 u don't beat it. So for thousands of years Indian women have been beaten. It  
has been taken for granted,  
167 ve. But particularly people in India go on using women as if they are just  
servants. Their whole work co  
220 ush them, they do anything ugly that they can do. Women have been  
molested, raped. And these are the grea  
639 d that is the only thing that is more powerful in man: he can force the woman.  
He is more cruel, he is  
675 that women go on tolerating, him because it is a man's society and he  
develops ideas and enforces them  
693 , continuously. And the strange thing is that the *man* has been so cruel and  
inhuman towards women becau  
703 irtuous life while for the man there was freedom. Man created prostitutes for  
his freedom. And this po

## APPENDIX O: Concordances on “old” and “past”

### TBW

6 s painful. He was saying, "Get rid of all that is old; only then will you be reborn. Trust only in that

9 it is difficult to understand each other. And the past has been full of misunderstandings, but that is n

13 liberated. The woman has to be liberated from her past, and the man has to be liberated from his past. W

34 err is human, and to forgive is more human. The past was full of mistakes of all kinds. Discontinue th

36 without all the ugliness that has happened in the past. Don't repeat it again. It is simply the movemen

37 ome to an understanding. They have to forgive the past and forget it. And they have to start anew with t

38 woman both need liberation – liberation from the past, liberation from all the mistakes, all the ugly i

39 from all the mistakes, all the ugly ideas of the past. And they have to create a new world, a new man,

40 s it. Their love should give more freedom. In the past it has been giving more slavery. There is a trem

41 assion, even for those who have harmed you in the past out of their unconsciousness – it was not intenti

42 ighting against men, you are fighting against the past – in which you have suffered, in which man has su

43 against man as such, the rebellion is against the past of man and woman both. And then this rebellion wi

59 ation can you be together, can you be loving. The old nonsense of monopolizing love has to be dropped,

60 you live in a commune. If you go on carrying your old ideas of monopoly – that your woman should not ho

62 e. Man cannot be happy without freedom, and your old family structure destroyed freedom. And because i

66 moving with other people. The only problem in the past was what to do with the children. In a commune, c

84 to be ready to fight for the present against the past. My sannyasins have to be rebels against the pas

85 ast. My sannyasins have to be rebels against the past – for a new present, for a new future. We are ver

96 he New Man – a man who is not contaminated by the past, who is discontinuous with the past. It is a diff

107 er than any qualities that man has. But the whole past has been dominated by man and his qualities. Nat

108 ed from our animal inheritance. It belongs to the past, which is gone, and the feminine qualities belong

147 al: I am forcing them into situations where their old mind cannot function. That is the root cause of a

148 cause of anger. They simply feel impotent, their old mind cannot function, they cannot make anything o

161 ... But all this is possible only if we drop the old idea of marriage. More than friendship is unnatur

### **TBM**

5 simply doesn't happen. You cannot be in the past. Past is no more. How can you be in the past? But more  
7 the past? But more or less you are always in the past. You are in the memory of the past. That is a way  
8 always in the past. You are in the memory of the past. That is a way of not being, that is not a way of  
9 e are the real miracles. He goes on living in the past which is no more, and he starts living in the fut  
10 man who is dead. The mind either clings with the past or with the future. This is a way of not being. T  
12 cannot be in the future and you cannot be in the past. He has lived his whole life and he has been frus  
14 ou are resurrecting. Each moment goes on becoming past, and past is nothing but another name of the dead  
18 drop the conditioning, because that is your whole past, your mind, your ego, all that you are. But if yo  
21 whole past. The modern man is suffering from the past; the modern man is not suffering from his own sin  
23 uch. The modern man is only a victim of the whole past. And the priests go on saying that something is w  
24 with the modern man, and they go on praising the past. The modern man is a by-product of the whole pas  
43 s and demolishes all your traditions and all your past, then it deserves to be destroyed! You are befool  
44 and the deaf. Knowing that they are burdened with past and have not the courage even to understand me, y  
46 lean. And who are the unclean? Understanding the past and the religions that it created...it is a treme  
54 s been the whole teaching of the religions in the past, this has contaminated man's being, poisoned man.  
55 an tremendously out of it. These religions of the past were death-oriented, not life-oriented. What I a  
59 e other form. It cannot leave you – it is just an old habit of unconscious mind. The political situati  
63 ar to find it out, it is in everybody. The whole past of man has created a split in man; there is a con  
65 er than any qualities that man has. But the whole past has been dominated by man and his qualities. Nat  
66 ed from our animal inheritance. It belongs to the past, which is gone, and the feminine qualities belong  
66 conditionings. Those who react according to their old conditionings miss the point. Those who don't rea  
80 is is a sheer waste of time. Never repent for the past! Live in the moment. If you had forgotten, so wha

81     ey are just simple means to undo the wrong of the past. Once you have  
thrown out of your system all that  
84     ly find there is no mind. Mind is the accumulated past of all incomplete  
actions. You wanted to love a  
85     . He simply goes ahead. His eyes are clear of the past, his vision is not  
clouded. In that clarity one c  
86     w names?" To drop the old identity, to forget the past, not to be any more in  
any attachment with the pa  
87     st, not to be any more in any attachment with the past, a clean break is  
needed. You have to become disc  
93     The past is gone, the future does not exist. The past is just memory and the  
future is nothing but hope  
94     st memory and the future is nothing but hope. The past is just a reference and  
the future is just a drea  
95     to be annihilated. The mind will hanker for the past, the identity, the clarity  
– where you are, who y  
96     you are in God. The old religions were sad. The old religions were serious.  
My religion is that of pl  
102    nker for it. And remember, if you hanker for the past, you hanker for the  
future. Your future is nothin  
103    ur future is nothing but your modified, renovated past. What you desire in the  
future is nothing but all  
105    happy. Your future is nothing but your repainted past – closer to the heart's  
desire, the painful accid  
106    d and the pleasant exaggerated. Once you drop the past you drop the future  
also because it is nothing el  
112    ditation is a process of getting rid of the whole past, of getting rid of all  
diseases, of getting rid o  
119    ocean. The whole past pulls backwards. The whole past says, "Wait! You  
will be lost forever. You will n  
120    devil to tempt you; it is your own mind, your own past experiences. Your  
whole loaded past tries to pull  
121    ind, your own past experiences. Your whole loaded past tries to pull you  
backwards, but now nothing can  
135    its psychology. You have the choice to change the old habits, to create trouble  
but drop old habits. Ev  
146    hat their eyes are no longer full of dust, of the past... A tremendous clarity  
and transparency and they  
152    cannot love freely, you cannot dance freely – the past has crippled you in  
every possible way. The burde  
153    pled you in every possible way. The burden of the past is so heavy that  
everybody is crushed under it. T  
154    d under it. The rebel simply says good-bye to the past. It is a constant  
process; hence, to be a rebel  
159    s his prisons. The rebel simply moves out of the past and never allows the  
past to dominate him. It is  
163    nations, all races – because they are all rotten, past, hindering the progress of  
human evolution. They

164 e. These are the people who go on clinging to the past, clinging to corpses,  
clinging to rotten principl  
165 of the soul. You can divide the humanity of the past into the spiritualists and  
the materialists. But  
185 nas, Buddhists. It is just to undo the centuries' old harm that has been done to  
you. But remember, th  
186 remain in a primal therapy group? Back in the same old society again, you will  
have to repress; you cann  
197 metimes, "Why do you give new names?" To drop the old identity, to forget  
the past, not to be any more  
201 ecause they will have to destroy and demolish the old. So when Saraha bows  
down first before starting  
204 you to see the facticity of your being. So good, old bridges are broken and  
there seems to be no path,  
222 rd – and our religions, our philosophies are very old, our styles of life are  
very old. And I am all fo  
224 very old. And I am all for the new. We think the old is gold – and I say the  
old is just junk! I agree  
303 The rebel is simply beyond conceivability to the old establishment, the rotten  
society and the dead hu

## APPENDIX P: Concordances on “marriage” and “family”

TBW

1 king in the man for her father. That's why every marriage is a failure: you  
cannot find your mother. The wo  
6 in the future. This problem has to be solved; but marriage is a barrier, religion  
is a barrier, your rotten  
7 Men and women should not be in a contract, like marriage. They should be  
in love – but they should retain  
8 hip between man and woman and to drop the idea of marriage, which is  
absolutely ugly because it is simply a  
10 ated prostitutes. Prostitutes are a by-product of marriage. And this ugly  
institution of prostitution will  
18 onship is between long life and marriage. Because marriage is a kind of going  
against the changing life, it  
20 . But the zoo animals are not real animals; and a marriage makes everybody a  
zoo animal – confined, chained  
21 the zoo. That's what is needed – liberation from marriage. And if the woman  
grows in her natural wildness,  
22 men and women? It is very simple to understand. Marriage is the ugliest  
institution invented by man. It is  
23 you can talk with a chair, you must be a chair. Marriage is against nature.  
You can be certain only of th  
24 Man has outgrown the family. The utility of the family is finished; it has  
lived too long. It is one of  
25 ke time for others to recognize the fact that the family is dead. It has done its  
work. It is no longer r  
28 e in families. But for the greater majority, the family is an ugly thing. You  
can ask the psychoanalysts  
28 cause there is no need to get rid of each other. Marriage creates the need to  
get rid of each other, becaus  
29 y, 'All kinds of mental diseases arise out of the family. All kinds of  
psychoses, neuroses, arise out of t  
30 ll kinds of psychoses, neuroses, arise out of the family. The family creates a  
very, very ill human being.  
33 will not be addicted to one or two persons. The family creates an obsession  
in you, and the obsession is  
36 y sources. You will feel that life is loving. The family teaches you a kind of  
conflict with society, with  
37 f conflict with society, with other families. The family demands monopoly. It  
asks you to be for it and ag  
40 ting for the name and the fame of the family. The family teaches you  
ambition, conflict, aggression. In a  
43 thing is needed now. Man has come of age and the family is a thing of the  
past; it really has no future.  
45 Man cannot be happy without freedom, and your old family structure  
destroyed freedom. And because it destr  
46 d far more important. There is no future for the family, not in the sense that it  
has been understood up

47     aretaker; don't become possessive. But the whole family idea is one of  
possession – possess property, pos  
48     possessiveness is poison. Hence, I am against the family. But I am not saying  
that those who are really ha  
64     k other partners. In the future there will be no marriage as it has been in the  
past, and no divorce as it  
74     ealously and burn your heart with your own hands. Marriage is an invented  
institution, it is not natural; he  
85     far as the present and the future are concerned, marriage is absolutely  
irrelevant, inconsistent with human  
86     me an independent individual. The dissolution of marriage will be a great,  
festive event on the earth – and  
87     s together, nobody is preventing you. Withdrawing marriage is simply giving  
you your individuality back. Now  
94     is no marriage. Jealousy will persist as long as marriage remains the basic  
foundation of society. Just gi  
95     this is possible only if we drop the old idea of marriage. More than  
friendship is unnatural. And if marria

### **TBM**

7       that has created the father, that has created the family, that has created the  
ownership of the woman by t  
11     ties. Then only can wars disappear. Then only can marriage disappear. Then  
only can nations disappear. Then  
14     institution is not a very great experience. Your marriage is an institution,  
although the newer generation  
15     g the situation, that living in institutions – of marriage, community, society,  
Lions Club, Rotary Club – yo  
17     oing to disturb them. But there is no need of any marriage and there is no  
need of any divorce. Love should  
25     he commune, and in a commune there is no need for marriage. You love a  
woman, you live with her. Love disapp  
25     the most serious problems. The first thing.... The family is a prison, it wants  
to keep control of the chil  
26     the whole life. In a commune there is no need of marriage. Marriage creates  
the family. People should be to  
29     ess. You relate, but you don't create a marriage. Marriage is out of fear,  
relatedness is out of love. You  
30     doors open, keep alternatives open. I am against marriage. It is marriage that  
creates problems. It is marr  
30     was such that they could not grow within it. The family is programming  
every child according to its preju  
32     iage. It is marriage that creates problems. It is marriage that has become very  
ugly. The most ugly institut  
32     , it does not allow you to live joyously. And the family is the root, because  
obviously the programming st  
33     y ugly. The most ugly institution in the world is marriage, because it forces  
people to be phony: they have



38     n write anything you want on the child, and every family commits the crime:  
they destroy the individual an  
39     nly begotten son of God.” All wars depend on the family. It has been a  
tradition in many nations in the p  
42     ies, because of races. They all depend on family. Family is the root cause of  
mankind’s thousands of wound  
44     of logic and its implications? And because every family is in conflict – the  
husband and wife are continu  
46     ng in a battlefield, not in a family. There is no family anywhere; these are  
simply battlegrounds, where t  
48     earch, in exploration. It is against truth. Every family stands against truth.  
Every family stands against  
49     t truth. Every family stands against truth. Every *family* stands against  
enlightenment. That’s why I say,  
53     ople who need psychiatric help. And because every family teaches you  
hypocrisy, you become schizophrenic.  
54     iduality repressed by a personality given by your family – you are divided  
into two. You will remain alway  
66     they sleep with this family, sometimes with that family. In my commune  
every child belongs to everybody;  
67     del. She has also become a sannyasin. I want the family to be replaced by the  
commune, and in a commune t  
71     ve died.” It is the children who are keeping the family together, because  
where will the children go? Wha  
73     am against the family, and I am for the commune. Family dispersed, the  
church will die automatically. Nat

## APPENDIX Q: Concordances on “reproduction”

### TBW

94 . Nine months she suffers, the birth of the child she suffers, and what does the man do? As far as the

103 the birth of the child is almost the death of the woman. And she is not even free of one pregnancy and th

104 ady to make her pregnant again. It seems that the woman's only function is to be a factory to produce cro

228 fe, while she is capable of giving birth to life, she becomes pregnant again and again; and pregnancy i(s a suffering)

577 n able to keep the woman in slavery, because if a woman goes on giving birth to children, where is the ti(me for her to paint (...to create music poetry)

490 nt. One child takes nine months of her life, then she has to raise the child. And when the child is not

491 d. And when the child is not even six months old, she is again pregnant. It is like chain-smoking. And

578 a? So on the one hand they have been forcing the woman to remain continually pregnant. Just a hundred ye

579 inually pregnant. Just a hundred years ago, every woman around the world was continually pregnant. One ch

595 irth control methods and sterilization that the woman can free herself from getting pregnant unnecessar

610 ditation at all. But man has just been using the woman almost like cattle. He has been using the woman t(o raise his children)

612 oman to raise his children; he has been using the woman just as a farm. That's exactly the meaning of the

499 because she was constantly pregnant in the past. She was undernourished, tortured by so many children,

500 ldren, dozens of children, always pregnant, sick. She had not yet lived totally – she had not time enou

504 n are freed totally from giving birth to children she may be able to create greater buddhas. Why? – bec

511 ecause if she can give birth to a child why can't she give birth to beautiful music? But it has not bee

513 ning pregnant. and once her energies are released she will be able to be creative. But I think man is a

514 ive. But I think man is afraid of her creativity. she can certainly surpass man's creativity; naturally (she is more endowed with creativity)

523 r whole life is wasted. Either she is pregnant or she is raising the children. And when the child is no

524 n. And when the child is not even six months old, she is pregnant again. She is doing a double job. I

## **APPENDIX R: Concordances on “meditation”**

### **TBW**

19 (it is the orgasmic experience of bliss that) has given humanity in the early days the idea of meditation, of looking for something better, more intense, m  
23 (you can enter into) orgasmic joy on your own. I call this authentic meditation. So you have to stop going into hibernation, stop  
31 truth. Let your love move through the process of meditation. Watch it: watch the cunning ways of your mind, watch  
39 tion: working it out in your loneliness. Love and meditation – these are the two paths. Feel which will suit you  
70 ain and again: Love needs as a basic foundation, meditation. Only in the heart of meditation roses of love can  
71 sic foundation, meditation. Only in the heart of meditation roses of love can grow. That is the right soil; the  
72 letion." A woman and a man in love can move into meditation very easily. Meditation and love are such close partners  
108 y looking outside, your real treasure is within. Meditation has been found by people who had deep orgasmic experiences  
111 . But orgasm brings you naturally into a state of meditation: time stops, thinking disappears, the ego is no more  
112 cs can deliver to you? This search led man toward meditation. It was a simple insight into the orgasmic experience  
114 hout a woman, without a man. To be exactly true, meditation is non-sexual orgasm. But half of humanity has no  
74 ve are such close phenomena that if you move into meditation, your love energies start overflowing. If you realize  
107 rtunately, that's why I say may way is the way of meditation: Neither of head nor of heart, but of a growing consciousness which is above both mind and heart  
114 hout a woman, without a man. To be exactly true, meditation is non-sexual orgasm. But half of humanity has no  
115 blind, it is the heart that has no eyes. As your meditation becomes deeper, as your identification with the head and the heart starts falling, you find yourself becoming a triangle. And your reality is in the third force in you: the consciousness  
119 on in terms. They meet in meditation, because in meditation the head is empty and the heart is empty: the head is empty of thoughts and the heart is empty of feelings. there are two emptinesses you cannot keep them separate)

### **TBM**

54 e madness; the tantric orgasm is a deep, relaxing meditation. Then there is no question of how often one should  
60 them. Shiva's story makes it clear that a man of meditation will be a man of immense love. He will not be inhibited  
65 – which is a natural phenomenon! In lovemaking, meditation happens naturally. But it doesn't happen. And the  
66 se only deep love will give you first glimpses of meditation and will release your prayer. Drop all the taboos  
99 t all, nor a question of men; it is a question of meditation and love. Meditation is the source from which joy

102    ething to do with meditation and the flowering of meditation in love, in joy,  
in blissfulness. First meditate  
101    woman. The real problem has something to do with meditation and the  
flowering of meditation in love, in joy,  
121    auna bath. He has looked into it through love and meditation and he has  
found that it is there, the treasure i  
122    nnot destroy it. This he has come to feel through meditation, love, prayer.  
This he has come to feel inside hi  
127    , catches hold of it – you are no longer herenow. Meditation is for its own  
sake as love is for its own sake.  
165    it is mathematics, it is logic, it is rational. Meditation belongs to the heart,  
not to the mind – it is not

## APPENDIX S: Concordances on “Zorba the Buddha”

14 who he is. His whole consciousness moves inward. Zorba is interested in women and wine and dance and son

18 closer – to become one. My sannyasin has to be " Zorba the Buddha." Bring earth and heaven closer; let G(od and his world be joined together. Let your body and your soul be one)

23 (Don't be a spiritualist) and don't be a materialist: be both. Don't be a Zorba and don't be a Buddha; be both: Zorba the Buddha.

27 ole effort here, Raju, to create a bridge between Zorba and Buddha – to create a bridge, a golden bridge,

43 human, natural, ordinary. That's what I mean by Zorba the Buddha. That is my name for the new man. Fr

48 My effort is not to create a division between Zorba and Buddha, but to create a bridge. Perhaps in t

74 (I) am making an effort to create a synthesis between Zorba and Buddha ; they may feel offended. But that doe

85 am here. I want them to become complete, whole – Zorba the Buddha. I will not leave you unless you become complete

96 sonality, with no garbage about guilt, sin, God. Zorba the Buddha will not go to any temple, to any mosque, to any gurudwara to worship, to pray)

107 ating it, then point by point I will discuss it. Zorba the Buddha is something totally new in the world.

108 (From the root to the flower, from the West to the East, from Zorba the Buddha, it is one phenomenon. All the religio

121 ament, Vol. 3 Chapter #11 . My effort is to bring Zorba and Buddha together. So here you will find Zorbas (dancing in the disco, and the same *Zorbas* in the morning doing meditation)

125 (that is) my conception of the new man, the new humanity – Zorba the Buddha. Q:\* Sheela essentially ran this com

140 dership and the end of their so-called religions. Zorba the Buddha is the end of all religions. It is the

141 ause there is no other God than existence itself. Zorba the Buddha, on the one hand, is the end of the old man – his religions, his politics, his nations, his racial discriminations, and all kinds of stupidities)

142 and all kinds of stupidities. On the other hand, Zorba the Buddha is the beginning of a new man – a man (totally free to be himself)

144 g hand in hand, dancing together, you have become Zorba the Buddha. Then you can enjoy everything of this (life, everything that is outside you, and you can also enjoy everything that is within you)

145 he whole man, and I want you to be the whole man: Zorba the Buddha. The concept of reincarnation, hitherto dismis

153 (Spirituality) means splitting things into matter and spirit, Zorba and Buddha, body and soul. That has been the way (of all the religions up to now. But it is basically wrong, because existence is not dual; it is oneness, it is one organic

157 er being are concerned. And there is no conflict. Zorba can become a perfect base for Buddha to take over (to take off)

167 e conditionings; hence specifically I have chosen Zorba and Buddha, two polarities, and have put them together. And I want the New Man to live both together, without any contradiction)

168 ty it has not been possible – the coexistence of Zorba and Buddha in one being. But the difficulty is no  
169 Buddha in one being. But the difficulty is not in Zorba and Buddha, in being a materialist and a spiritual(list simultaneously: the difficulty is in our idea of what is spiritual and what is material)  
192 am here. I want them to become complete, whole – Zorba the Buddha. I will not leave you unless you becom  
214 osophy is to bring a harmonious unity between the zorba and the buddha within every human being. But the  
245 pter #16 The present is the only time you have. Zorba is love, Buddha is awareness. And when you are Zo  
258 responsible for this immense crime against man. Zorba the Buddha is the answer. It is the synthesis of (matter and soul)  
266 y of awakening. I am using it only as a symbol. “Zorba the Buddha simply means a new name for a new huma(n being, a new name for a new age, a new name for a new beginning.)  
269 I have been using one expression, and that is " Zorba the Buddha." The body has to be enjoyed as much a(s your soul. Matter has its own beauty, its own power, just as consciousness has its own world, its own silence, its own peace, its own ecstasy)  
311 he whole man, and I want you to be the whole man: Zorba the Buddha. The concept of reincarnation, hither  
312 d meet. Matter and spirit should go hand in hand. Zorba and Buddha should dance together. Christianity,  
316 ss I want Zorba and Buddha to meet together. Zorba alone is hollow. His dance has not an eternal sig

## **APPENDIX T: Concordances on “commune”**

### **TBW**

7 (child)ren are not dependent on them, they belong to the commune. And it will destroy many psychological problems.

8 oman, any man. But if the children belong to the commune, they will come in contact with so many uncles an(d so many aunts)

10 is disappointment. And children belonging to the commune will learn much, will be more friendly, will be m

11 ifferent kinds of beauty. If a child moves in the commune, naturally he will be far richer. And he will hav

13 avery, it is freedom. And they should move in the commune, tasting, enjoying different qualities of differe(nt people)

15 rnative style is the commune – it is the best. A commune means people living in a liquid family. Children

19 ormation. If a hundred people live together in a commune there will be many male members, many female memb

18 hildren. In a commune, children can belong to the commune, and that will be far better. They will have more

20 omething new, but you don't have any image. In a commune a child will have a richer soul. He will know man

21 er. This is the learning of an unjust life. In a commune you will not be attached too much to one family –

22 (The family) teaches you ambition, conflict, aggression. In a commune you will be less aggressive, you will be more at

25 e badges of their family. They will belong to the commune; the commune will take care of them. This will b

33 commune, a small commune. And of course a bigger commune will be far better, with more possibilities, more

34 oppress them, and they have nowhere to go. In a commune they will have many places to go. They will have

35 gressive. Children never see love happening. In a commune there will be more possibilities. Love should com

39 ically, because families belong to churches. In a commune, there will be all kinds of people, all kinds of

### **TBM**

16 love a world where the family is replaced by the commune. Psychologically it is more healthy to have a com

17 une. Psychologically it is more healthy to have a commune, where children are not possessed by the parents,

18 not possessed by the parents, they belong to the commune; where children are not given the imprint of the

19 her and father only, they have many uncles in the commune, many aunts in the commune. Sometimes they sleep

21 h this family, sometimes with that family. In my commune every child belongs to everybody; he does not hav

22 nnyasin. I want the family to be replaced by the commune, and in a commune there is no need for marriage.

24     ave purchased the woman for the whole life. In a commune there is no need  
of marriage. Marriage creates th  
25     u have children...you can have children only if the commune allows you. The  
commune has to take care of the p  
26     have children only if the commune allows you. The commune has to take  
care of the population; the commune i  
27     e commune has to take care of the population; the commune is responsible  
not to expand the population so mu  
29     y with the permission of the medical board of the commune. If the medical  
board suggests that your child w  
30     n is needed. Just as there are blood banks, every commune should have semen  
banks. And medical experts shou  
31     right insemination. The child will belong to the commune, so you need not  
be worried what will happen to t  
32     dren go? What will happen to the children? If the commune takes  
responsibility for the children... From the  
33     he very beginning the children should move to the commune's hostel. On  
holidays they can come to be with th  
34     pened? I am against the family, and I am for the commune. Family  
dispersed, the church will die automatic



## APPENDIX U: The list of terms clustering around woman and man

### The terms clustering around woman

Heart  
Body  
Right hemisphere  
Breast  
Passive  
Receptive  
Host  
Not initiative  
Nonaggressive  
Mother  
Unscientific  
Unconscious  
Unpredictable  
Illogical  
Nonquestioning  
Noninquiring  
Love  
Faithful  
Disciple  
Innocent  
Soft  
Introvert  
Jealous  
Restful  
Nature  
Trees / Rooted  
Winner in spiritual, scientific  
and cultural life

### The terms clustering around man

Head  
Mind  
Left hemisphere  
Penis  
Active  
Penetrating  
Guest  
Initiative  
Aggressive  
Father  
Scientific  
Conscious  
Predictable  
Logical  
Questioning  
Inquiring  
Truth, knowledge  
Faithless  
Leader  
Cunning  
Hard  
Extrovert  
  
Restless  
Culture  
Birds / Flying  
Winner in natural and  
spiritual life

## APPENDIX V: Concordances on Osho's contradictory arguments

6 mality. That's what I meant when I said sex for reproduction is sinful. One:  
now the earth needs no more peopl

8 ve entered into a higher dimension. And remember, reproduction is not  
creation. Once the woman is freed from the

116 s great under-standing. You are creating a human being – that is the greatest  
creation! A painter paints

289 be freed now, almost completely freed. Only a few women should be allowed  
to have children; then we can h(ave a better humanity)

559 lly coming out of his inferiority. He can see the woman and her immense  
power of creating life. He create(s a dead statue)

13 her; it is a spiritual experience. That's why the woman is monogamous and  
man is polygamous. The man woul(d like to have all the world's *women*)

14 ot be satisfied. His discontent is infinite. The woman can be satisfied with  
one love, utterly fulfilled

296 done to her is marriage, because neither man nor woman is monogamous;  
psychologically they are polygamous(s)

93 t to give birth to a child is one thing – to be a mother is totally different. Any  
woman can give birth to (a child; that's a very simple phenomenon)

178 a vast difference between a mother and a woman. A mother is one who  
paints, creates poetry, music, art. Ju(st giving birth to a child, any woman can do it;  
that is nothing of much value)

530 difficult. To be a mother is easier because each woman is born intrinsically to  
be a mother. But fatherh

8 ve entered into a higher dimension. And remember, reproduction is not  
creation. Once the woman is freed from the (unnecessary burden of reproduction she  
will be able to create more powerfully than any man, because if she can give birth to  
a child why can't she give birth to beautiful music?)

173 ut doing something else. So basically, uncreative women will become  
creators – poets and painters – but t

582 (But if you want to create poetry, music and dance, you will have to deprive  
yourself of) love. You will have to be in the same space where man is: feeling  
inferior and then finding substitutes (for creativity. That is ugly. I cannot give my  
support to it)

255 ple on the earth. That is one of the reasons why women are not great painters  
and great poets – they nee(d not be: they can be great mothers)

277 mpose music, it is perfectly good. In fact, many women should do that,  
because the earth is so overpopul(ated. You will be a great help if you divert your  
creativity from children to paintings, because paintings don't need food)

5 This has been my observation, that people who are sexually repressed  
become unintelligent. Only very, very (sexually alive people are intelligent people)

51 tfulness means unawareness, unconsciousness. The sex act in itself is so  
animal that for centuries we (have been hiding it, repressing it, covering it in every  
possible way)

21     hough all the men have misbehaved with women, the women have managed to keep all that is beautiful. There

147     – so biology has no problem; but psychology has. Women are more irritable, nagging, bitchy, and the reas

215     is a man. And they should remain man and woman. A woman should remain interested in the home, because onc(e she stops being interested in the home she will stop being interested in the womb, in the child)

638     omen can become the best dancers in the world. A woman has a great imagination, but her imagination has (remained confined to the home. The reason was children – children kept her in the home).

152     ever. I would like the woman to become really a woman, because much depends on her. She is far more imp

213     in terms of equality or inequality. A woman is a woman, a man is a man. And they should remain man and w(oman)

520     ll become like woman, then opposites dissolve. A woman will have to transform her unconscious into consc(ious, her irrationality into reasonableness, her faith into an inquiry, her waiting into a movement)

524     to an inquiry, her waiting into a movement. And a man will have to do exactly the opposite: he will hav(e to make his movement into a rest, his restlessness into a tranquillity, into a stillness, his doubt into trust; and he will have to dissolve his reason into the irrational)

525     being is born. From both sides they have to move: man has to move from his manhood, woman has to move f(rom her womanhood)

## APPENDIX W: Concordances on “we”

### TBW

14 s the softness of woman, not the hardness of man. We have suffered enough from the hardness of man. Wh

19 rtunate because it rarely happens on its own. But we are so unconscious – do you see your unconscious

21 We are behaving like drunkards, not knowing what we are doing, not knowing what is happening to us, w(hy it is happening to us))

23 even when we are very close to something great – we go on missing. Just be a little more alert, a li

24 gies that it was discovered that for a millennium we have lived under a fallacy. The fallacy was that

29 at all, which is the simplest thing to do – that we drop being zoo animals, we can gain liberation fr(om the zoo. That's what is needed – liberation from marriage)

69 Okay," said Doctor Goldberg, "you are ugly too." We are all committing the same kinds of misunderstand(dings continually)

80 pest core, to the very ground of your being. But we go on deceiving ourselves. We think we love. And

100 w!" Life has become phony because of us, because we are living in a very cowardly way. We are not liv(ing arduously)

102 a very cowardly way. We are not living arduously. We are not trying to climb new mountains, new peaks.

107 Out of fear we have become dishonest, out of fear we have become false. Out of fear we follow the crow(d and become phony)

109 we follow the crowd and become phony. Out of fear we wear masks so that we look like everybody else –

112 Everybody is unique; nobody is like anybody else. We have fallen below the animals as far as honesty i(s concerned)

132 (Only a f)ew women should be allowed to have children; then we can have a better humanity. And as far as childre

146 Iture and religion are seven thousand years old. We are living in the past as far as our psychology i(s concerned)

151 t the past – for a new present, for a new future. We are very close to the sunrise. Just a little effo(rt and the earth can be transformed, totally transformed into a beautiful place )

178 rds. We protect our territory. We don't touch and we don't allow others to touch; we don't hold hands,

181 hers to touch; we don't hold hands, we don't hug. We don't enjoy each other's being. Go to the tree,

184 it is one ocean. All divisions are there because we are divided inside; our divisions inside are proj(ected onto the outside, and things look divided)

194 nreal. Because our individualities are not there, we are phony, then whatsoever we do with those phony

196 n you will understand what was happening to him. We are living such an ugly life – and for no reason (at all, except that we have been brought up in that way)

207 ich is not possible. What we are trying to do is: we are trying to be happy by pretending happiness, w

209 (we) are trying to be loving by pretending lovingness, we are trying to be holy by pretending holiness. We

210 we are trying to be holy by pretending holiness. We are trying to paint our  
faces and wear masks – to (know our original face. This is impossible)  
249 be right. Because we don't know what we are, who we are, we are nothing  
but the public opinion...and  
273 t, remember – it had better have numbers on it!" We have created this circus  
instead of a culture. It  
274 r neighbors... you should understand that somehow we have made a wrong  
society, a society which is not (according to human nature)  
328 ive these qualities, the day is not far away when we can transform this world  
into a paradise. Again,  
329 r. Then only can nations disappear. Then only can we have one world: a  
loving, a peaceful, a silent an

### **TBM**

1 e future. This is a way of not being. This is how we miss existence. This is  
how by and by we become p  
2 s is how we miss existence. This is how by and by we become phantoms,  
shadows, ghosts. Watch yourself.  
187 meditation process? The question arises because we go on  
misunderstanding. Your sex act and the tant  
206 e in India. It is a great existential experiment: we are creating a future here, a  
new kind of man wit  
207 ere, a new kind of man with a new responsibility. We are laying the  
foundation stones of a new day, of (a new sunrise)  
211 his hand away, we create guilt in the child. Now we have started destroying  
his natural sexuality. No  
213 the original source of his joy, of his being. Now we are creating hypocrisy in  
him, he will become a d  
266 ate. But our ways of thinking are utterly wrong. We have forgotten how to  
live a really human life –  
303 spontaneous awareness to respond to reality. And we go on failing because  
our response is not spontan(eous)  
308 be able to function totally, one hundred percent. We can really create a  
paradise here, on this earth.  
349 e mechanical, automatic. We function like robots. We are not men yet; we are  
machines. That's what Ge  
397 n life in the past five thousand years is because we have placed all our  
emphasis either on the mind o(r on the heart)  
497 Why only in the past? Again the ego is involved. We are too attached with  
the past – "our past", "our  
531 atsoever you are doing, you may not be sensitive. We have become  
insensitive because in insensitivity  
550 s one of the significant problems because the way we have lived up to now  
has been unnatural, unpsycho  
551 ou become obsessed with the same life. Up to now, we have not allowed man  
to live a non-obsessional li  
554 If it is there, we will get hold of it, but first we have to make a paradise here  
on the earth; that w

570   o conflict between matter and consciousness, that we can be rich on both  
sides. We can have everything  
571   consciousness, that we can be rich on both sides. We can have everything that  
the world can provide, t  
573   physics and its researches: existence is energy. We can allow man to have  
both the worlds together. H

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<sup>i</sup> Tantra emerged within Indic religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism) in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century as a form of religious practice which consisted of “a body of techniques for the control of multiple, often female, beings, both for one’s own benefit and as tools to use against others” (White, 2003, p. 13). It regards sexual practice, sensual pleasure as means for spiritual liberation, as “techniques for the reshaping of human consciousness towards some kind of higher goal” (Samuel, 2008, p. 2). However, since the 1960s, in the Western world, Tantra has come to be identified with “spiritual sex” (Urban, 2001, p. 218), or “spiritualization of sex” (Samuel, 2008, p. 231). Thus, the Western version of Tantra, New Age Tantra, has been associated with “ritualization of sex” rather than “sexualization of ritual” in contemporary Western discourse (White, 2003, p. xii).

<sup>ii</sup> In Hindu Bhakti tradition, devotion, surrender to Bhakti (God), or to the guru, and/or to a chosen deity is considered to be the most effective path to the religious goal. Worshipping deities, which show variations from one village to another, is common to all forms of Hinduism. Even though Hindus worship different deities in different ways, through observing different festivals and reading different sacred texts, at temples and sacred sites, they all believe in reincarnation and karma. Further, Hindu worshippers regard clearing karma and thus, achieving “moksha” (liberation from the continuous process of birth and rebirth) as the ultimate goal of religious practice. Bhakti tradition emphasized the notion that regardless of one’s caste (social status inherited at birth), moksha can be achieved through love and devotion to gods (Partridge, 2004).

<sup>iii</sup> “General term imported from the social sciences for the sex or sexuality of human beings” (Matthews, 1997, p. 142).