

# FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND BUSINESS STUDIES Department of Humanities

# The Use of Adjectives in Contemporary Fashion Magazines

A Gender-Based Study

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#### **Abstract**

This essay investigates how adjectives are used in fashion magazines in order to determine if the use differs regarding the targeted gender of the magazines, regarding the gender of the author of the article and regarding the gender of the person featured in the article. The aim is to determine if different types of adjectives are used, and if the frequency of the use of adjectives differs. A close reading of the articles was the method for identifying the adjectives, and the adjectives were classified as positive or negative in the context. In addition, all color terms and adjectives directly describing the person featured were identified separately. The results show that there are differences in terms of frequency. Women tend to use more adjectives than men. However, there are more adjectives included in magazines that target men and magazines featuring men. Men and women use different types of adjectives as well; positive adjectives are frequently used by women and negative by men. However, more negative adjectives are included in magazines targeting women whilst positive adjective are more frequently used in magazines targeting men. Regarding color adjectives, no clear differences are found. Adjectives describing the person featured differ regarding the gender of the author. Women are more frequent users. In addition, more adjectives are used to describe women than men. Women uses the types of adjectives describing the person featured more frequently. Adjectives describing personality are more common. Lastly, some differences between genders and adjectives that are viewed as restricted to women and men can been identified. It is possible to conclude that fashion magazines sustain gender roles in their representations.

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### 1. Introduction

Lakoff (1973) states that the use of language "embodies attitudes as well as referential meaning" (1973: 45) and that these attitudes can be found when investigating communication. This study will investigate communication in fashion magazines since fashion is a popular interest for many. Magazines belong to medial communication, and there is a general assumption that media provides images that are stereotypical in terms of gender. By distinguishing differences in the language by and for men and women, it can be concluded if this is true. There are many features that can be analyzed, but this study regards the use of adjectives. Discussing differences in language among women and men is important, since language reflects attitudes and functions to maintain beliefs on what it means to be a women and what it means to be a man. As Lakoff (1973) states, the female language is based on the attitude that "women are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men" (Lakoff 1973: 45), which is an old-fashioned attitude that generates inequality between genders. The identification and discussion of differences in language can function as a method to make people aware of the differences and thereafter try to change them. The study is based on the idea that gender is a social construction, which is the opinion of Mills & Mullany (2011: 41).

#### 1.1. Aim and Scope

In this essay, adjectives in 12 articles from six contemporary fashion magazines will be investigated. The research will investigate the frequency of adjectives, the use of positive and negative adjectives, the use of color adjectives and the use of adjectives describing the person featured in the articles in the magazines. The aim of this study is to determine whether there are any differences in the use of adjectives across fashion magazines addressing men and women respectively. In addition, the study will take the gender of the author and the gender of the person featured in the articles into account. This allows for a detailed analysis of the role of gender in the use of adjectives in contemporary fashion magazine language.

#### 1.2. Research Questions

This essay will attempt to answer these four questions:

- (1) Are there any differences in the use of adjectives across fashion magazines addressing men and women?
- (2) Are there any differences in terms of the frequency of adjectives used in fashion magazines addressing men and women?
- (3) Are there any differences in the use of adjectives in the magazines depending on the gender of the author of the article?
- (4) Are there any differences in the use of adjectives in the magazines depending on the gender of the person featured in the article?

Based on the results, which will be presented in eight different tables, it will be possible to conclude if there are any frequently used adjectives and if there are any differences depending on the targeted gender of the magazines. In addition, it will be possible to conclude whether there any differences in the use of adjectives depending on whether the articles are featuring men or women, and if the use differs depending on the gender of the author.

#### 1.3. Hypotheses

The hypotheses are that women use adjectives more frequently than men do and that the types of adjectives used are different depending on the gender of the author, target and the person featured. The assumption is that women tend to write in a more positive tone than men. Both men and women will use adjectives referring to colors, but specific colors will be restricted to female authors. There are possibly some differences across the gender of target as well, where the assumption is that adjectives are more frequently used in magazines targeting women. Lastly, different adjectives will be used to describe men and women. When describing women, adjectives describing appearance are commonly used in comparison to men, whilst adjectives describing personality or actions are commonly used when describing men. Possible differences will be shown depending on the gender of the author as well. These assumptions are based on previous research. Based on the results, it will be possible to prove or disprove these hypotheses.

#### 2. Previous Research

This section includes previous research relevant to this essay. The research presented discusses language use in relation to gender. Firstly, one section presents research regarding how women and men use adjectives in magazines and research regarding how adjectives are used to describe male and female characters in literature. Secondly, different use of language regarding adjectives between men and women in general are identified and reasons for differences are explained. Thirdly, gender in relation to power is presented, in order to give further explanations as to why differences in language use between men and women occur. Fourthly, gender in relation to how media represents men and women and sustains stereotypes is presented, in order to understand and explain how women and men are described in magazines. Lastly, language use in fashion contexts is presented. All these aspects are relevant to this essay in order to discuss the results. Based on the previous research, differences and similarities in the results will be discussed and explained.

#### 2.1. Gender-Based Research in Magazines and Literature

In 2009, Sofia Arvidsson published *A Gender Based Adjectival Study of Women's and Men's Magazines*. Arvidsson uses adjectives found in magazines addressing women and magazines addressing men to determine whether the use of adjectives differs depending on which gender the magazines address. Arvidsson investigated adjectives similar to this essay: normalized frequency and specialized color terms (Arvidsson 2009: 9). In addition, Arvidsson (2009) investigated positive and negative adjectives. Examples of identified positive adjectives used more frequently are *great*, *sexy*, *beautiful*, *amazing*, *perfect* and *best* and examples of negative adjectives are *bad*, *offensive* and *difficult*. Examples of colors commonly used are *gold*, *black*, *blue* and *red*. The specialized color terms identified are *silver*, *watery-blue* and *gold*.

The results showed that adjectives were more frequently used in the magazines targeting men (Arvidsson 2009: 10) and that negative adjectives were more frequently used in magazines targeting men (Arvidsson 2009: 14). Regarding specialized color terms, Arvidsson (2009: 15) discovers no clear differences across magazines or between female and male authors and concludes that the language of fashion might be the reason. The results show that although there are some differences in the use of

adjectives across magazines and across authors, the differences are not clear (Arvidsson 2009: 20). Therefore, Arvidsson suggests a wider collection of data for further research, which this essay will include. Whereas Arvidsson uses eight different articles from four different magazines, with two articles with an author of opposite gender than the gender the magazines targeted, this study will, as previously mentioned, present 12 articles from six magazines. From each magazine, one article is written by the same gender as the target readers of the magazine and one article is written by the opposite gender.

Another previous study of interest is "Honorable" or "Highly-Sexed" – Adjectival Descriptions of Male and Female Characters in Victorian and Contemporary Fiction, by Andersdotter Sveen in 2005. In the study, Andersdotter Sveen (2005) investigates adjectives describing male and female characters in Victorian and contemporary fiction for children, in order to establish differences (Andersdotter Sveen 2005: 17). The overall results show that adjectival descriptions are more common in Victorian fiction and when describing men in Victorian fiction and women in contemporary fiction (Andersdotter Sveen 2005: 64). However, there is a greater diversity of descriptions in contemporary fiction, which Andersdotter Sveen (2005: 65) concludes show less stereotypical descriptions compared to Victorian fiction. The most frequently used adjectives in contemporary fiction are old, little, good, pleased, late, small and young when describing women and old, small, little, young and aware when describing men (Andersdotter Sveen 2005: 67). Although the study aims to discover differences between Victorian and contemporary fiction, it is relevant to this essay regarding the adjectives used to describe male and female characters in contemporary literature. The adjectives found can be compared to adjectives used to describe men and women in fashion magazines, in order to conclude if there are any differences or similarities between the results.

#### 2.2.Gender and Language

In Language and Woman's Place, Lakoff (1973) states that the use of language "embodies attitudes as well as referential meaning" (1973: 45). These attitudes and meanings can be found when investigating how women and men speak and in ways women and men are being described. Female language is based on the attitude that "women are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men" (Lakoff 1973: 45). The idea of proper communication by women avoids strong

expression of feelings and favors expression of uncertainty. When communicating about women, it is implied that women are objects with a sexual nature requiring euphemisms, and that the social role depends on their relation to men. Examples of aspects in the English language regarding communication made by women are lexical items, such as color terms, particles and evaluative adjectives. Lakoff (1973: 46) believes that the language women are taught to use, and the general use of language towards women, is discriminating, since both serve to treat women as sexual objects or servants and since certain lexical features can mean one thing when applied to men, but another when applied to women.

Language used by women and men differs in different aspects. One example is shown at different levels of grammar (Lakoff 1973: 49). For instance, one lexical difference can be found when investigating the use of adjectives expressing color. Lakoff (1973) presents the example sentence *the wall is mauve* and relates it to what would happen if stated by a woman or by a man. A man stating *the wall is mauve* might be viewed as a homosexual or as if he is sarcastically imitating a woman. According to Lakoff (1973), women tend to use more precise descriptions of colors than men do. Colors as, for example, *beige*, *aquamarine* and *lavender* are often absent from male language, but would not be viewed as unusual if stated by a woman. Lakoff (1973) explains that the reason might be that men rarely discuss the precise color of an item, since they find it irrelevant or an unworldly topic or unimportant decision.

Another difference in male and female language is the use of adjectives when indicating an admiration for something (Lakoff 1973: 51). Some adjectives are neutral and are used by both men and women, for example, *great, terrific, cool* and *neat*, whilst other adjectives are mostly used by women, for example *adorable, charming, sweet, lovely* and *divine*. Lakoff (1973: 51) states that if a man uses adjectives typically used by women, he might experience damage to his reputation, but women can use both neutral and non-neutral adjectives. However, women cannot use female-coded adjectives without risking damage as well. This depends on the situation. Because the female-coded words are viewed as trivial and unimportant, the use of these words would only be appropriate in situations without importance. In other situations, a woman might use a neutral word when people expect her to use the female-coded. Even though women are free to choose from both neural and non-neutral adjectives, different situations might limit the option. Female restricted words suggest, "that concepts to

which they are applied are not relevant to the real world of (male) influence and power" (Lakoff 1973: 51).

In addition, there are different ways to use grammar in order to indicate the gender of the person being referred to. One indication is the adjectives used to describe the person. Weatherall (2002: 24) states that adjectives such as *charming*, *pretty* and *emotional* tend to be used to describe women, while adjectives such as *stern*, *strong* and *tough* tend to be used to describe men. When describing women using adjectives commonly connected to the male gender, the view of femininity of the described woman is reduced. However, the descriptions of women as *strong* can function to challenge the fact that adjectives are related to a specific gender. Nevertheless, it can also promote that strength as something valued in society.

#### 2.3.Gender and Power

Weatherall (2002) refers to Lakoff's (1973) work and states:

[...] Women are socialised into using linguistic features that connote tentativeness, deference and a lack of authority, because women occupy a marginal and powerless social position. Hence, the way women are expected to speak is a direct reflection of women's subordinate status. Of course, not all women have low status and not all men have high status. Thus, like other work that has focused on gender difference, Lakoff's work tended to over-generalise the characteristics associated with women and men. (Weatherall 2002: 65)

In the quotation above, gender is related to power. The concept of power often occurs when discussing gender differences. Weatherall (2002) proceeds by referring to a study made by O'Barr and Atkins in 1980. They suggest, "[...] a woman's language was not a function of gender at all but a function of power" (Weatherall 2002: 65). In their research, they concluded that, in courtrooms, mainly low-status people, regardless of their gender, used the linguistic features identified by Lakoff (1973). In addition, high-status women avoided the same features. According to Weatherall (2002: 65), the discussion of gender and power is one reason why research on gender differences reaches different results. Furthermore, Weatherall (2002) states that women, who are in powerful positions, may not use a language that is powerless while men in low-status positions may use a language with features related to female language. "People are more likely to think that the way people speak in a particular situation is due to their gender

rather than the context or social role that they are in" (Weatherall 2002: 66). Differences found in research on gender may be perceived as differences between men and women. However, gender might not be the only reason. The differences might be a result of differences in power and social roles, which are held by men and women.

During the late 1960's and 1970's, The Women's Liberation Movement started in the United States and then spread to other parts of the world, for example Europe. The movement was important for cross-cultural research regarding gender ideologies. According to Phillips (2003):

The most general political position of the Women's Liberation Movement that shaped the study of gender ideologies was the view that women are not equal to men in American society. They do not have the same control over their own lives and the lives of others that men have. They are dominated by men in their family life, in the workplace, and in other social domains as well, particularly religion and politics. (Phillips 2003: 254)

It is argued that the domination over women is justified and supported by patriarchal gender ideologies. The term patriarchal is used to refer to the ideologies, which assumes that men are supposed to be dominating women, have authority over women and tell women what to do. The term ideology, in this case, suggests, "[...] that the dominant view was one that served male interest in keeping women subordinated, without women necessarily recognizing that this was the case" (Phillips 2003: 252).

#### 2.4.Gender and Media

In *Gender and Media – Representing, Producing, Consuming*, Krijnen & Bauwel (2015) discuss the relationship between gender and media. By investigating representation, production and reception in mass media in terms of their relation to gender, our view of what message media is attempting to deliver can be understood (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 2). During the 1960s, the second wave feminist movement in the US started and they were interested in three different research fields (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 11). One of these was the stereotypes and social roles regarding gender. Furthermore, they were interested in the representation of women in newspapers, advertising and popular culture. They argued that the representation of women in the media industry was under-represented and stereotypical. As a result, the female

audience lacked positive role models. Krijnen & Bauwel (2015) refers to a study made by Nancy Signorielle in 1997 concerning media representation in the US at the time, which concludes that the under-representation of women was shown in all types of popular media. Only magazines targeting teen girls show a higher representation of women (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 31).

According to Krijnen & Bauwel (2015: 40): "[...] subjectivity – what it means to be a person – is located in language". People are born into this world where language is the main method of communication. When learning to understand words, we learn to attach meanings to the words. Therefore, when using the words *man* or *women*, we start to reflect on what it means to be a man or a woman, from what we know and have experienced. When discussing production of knowledge through conversation or writing, the concept *discourse* is relevant.

Discourse refers to the circulating of meanings in society and includes, next to language, social practices. So, it is not only language that produces the meanings of gender [...]; also, 'what we do' contributes to the production of meaning. We do not only think of ourselves as male of female, but most people also behave as male or female, for example, by wearing the gender appropriate clothes. (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 41)

Communication in media is one important contributor to the meanings of what is viewed as male and what is viewed as female. Media texts present the audience with information on what is masculine and feminine in the time of the publication with their choice of representation (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 42). However:

Meanings are not created by an identifiable author or an individual that consciously creates meanings. Of course material texts are created by one or more individual subjects. However, the subject can only do this with the regime of truth of a particular period and culture. (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 41)

Media presents information to the audience depending on the regime of truth relevant to the time period and culture attention. The mediated gender discourses in texts depends on the subjectivity, in terms of the place of the subject and the place of the reader where the knowledge and meaning make most sense. According to Krijnen & Bauwel (2015), "the reader is subjected to the discourses and its regime of truth and the media text only makes sense if the reader identifies with the position constructed in the discourse"

(2015: 42). The reader will only experience the communication as meaningful if they feel addressed by it. This is related to personal identities, since subjectivity creates identity (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 43).

Since discourse depends on the regime of truth and if the audience can relate to it and identify with it, the representation of gender, which media presents, depends on it as well (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 44). The representation can often be normative and stereotypical, since stereotypes are "[...] usually considered as significant markers of regimes and truths [...]" (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 44).

#### 2.5. Language of Fashion

In *The Language of Fashion*, Barthes (2006) describes that the language used in, for instance, fashion magazines has its own way to communicate what it describes. Barthes (2006) states that fashion is a language and it does not relate to only women:

Now fashion, as we know, is a language: through it, through the system of signs it sets up, no matter how fragile this may seem, our society—and not just that of women—exhibits, communicates its being, says what it thinks of the world [...]. (Barthes 2006: 57)

To exemplify, Barthes (2006: 14) distinguish the signifier and the signified, which gives, for instance, a piece of clothing meaning. Without a signifier or a signified, the item might seem meaningless. Therefore, fashion language attaches function to the item, such as concepts, i.e. what is signified, forms or colors, i.e. signifiers, to create meaning. By giving an item meaning, and linking concepts with forms, clothes can express a specific situation where it should be used, as Barthes (2006) describes:

At the very least I can see that there is meaning between them; it is almost as if the fashion magazine were linking a certain domain (a daytime party, the cool climate of Normandy) with another (warm and light materials, enveloping and elegant forms), using the most elementary of signifying processes. (Barthes 2006: 37-38)

#### 2.1.Summary

In summary, there are differences found in previous research regarding the use of adjectives and gender. Arvidsson (2009) concluded that women more commonly use

adjectives, which is stated by Lakoff (1973) as well. Lakoff (1973) mentions that there are differences in the use of color terms and gender; that women tend to use more precise colors. Andersdotter Sveen (2005) concludes that there are both differences and similarities in which words that are used to describe men and women. Furthermore, Lakoff (1973) states that men and women use different words to describe women and men and Weatherall (2002) states that different adjectives often are used depending on the gender of the person. However, Weatherall (2002) suggests that not all differences depend on gender. In some cases, power and social roles in society are the reasons for differences in language. Though, power is related to gender since men and women sustain the social roles. Phillips (2003) states that men are superior and that the power is justified by patriarchal ideologies. In addition, media is another reason for upholding social roles, as stated by Krijnen & Bauwel (2015). Media presents information of what is viewed as female and what is viewed as male. The information depends on the views of gender society has and can only be true if the audience can relate. Therefore, Krijnen & Bauwel (2015) state that the representation in media often is stereotypical. Lastly, the language use in fashion contexts communicates in its own way and does not depend on gender, which is explained by Barthes (2006).

## 3. Methodology

This section describes the method of the research regarding the choice of material, how adjectives were identified and classified, how the gender in the material was defined and how the data was collected and calculated.

#### 3.1.Material

The primary sources in this research are 12 different articles from six magazines. The magazines used are *Elle*, *Vogue* and *In Style*, which address women, and *Essential*, *GQ Style* and *Cool America*, which address men. All magazines were found in a mobile app called *Issuu*, which collects and publishes a various number of magazines from all over the world. The magazines mentioned are published in the United States. The reason for this is to avoid regional variation. All 12 magazines include both male and female authors, which was an important aspect since one aim of this study is to investigate gender differences across authors, not only differences depending on the target readers.

Additionally, all magazines have been recently published where the two oldest issues were published in 2016. This is to eliminate difference regarding time. The reason for not only limiting the articles to 2017 was due to the desire that each magazine included both male and female authors.

When choosing the articles to collect adjectives from, it was important that the article described a man or a woman. Therefore, this aspect was taken into account whilst selecting articles. When first choosing the articles, there was no requirement as regards the subject of the article. During the process, it became clear that almost all chosen articles featured specific persons, for instance designers or celebrities. Therefore, when choosing the remaining articles, this aspect was considered in order to draw a conclusion if the usage of adjectives differs in terms of the gender of the person featured in the article. However, one article from *Cool America* only describes the male gender role in general and not a specific person. Therefore, this article was eliminated in the discussion regarding the gender of the person featured. The text in the other selected article from *Cool America* included an interview where the answers were direct quotes from the person being interview. This part of the text was excluded, since the words from the author are of interest in this research. Before the interview, the article started with an introduction and only this introduction has been included in the analysis.

#### 3.2. Adjectives

#### 3.2.1. Definition of Adjectives

The Online Cambridge Grammar (Cambridge University Press 2017) has a part restricted to grammar, where rules of the English grammar are explained. The definition of adjectives is words used to give more information, since they modify or describe features or qualities of people, animals and things, i.e. nouns and pronouns. For example, as seen in article 10 which was used in this study:

#### (1) His colorful pictures elicit thoughtful pauses (Glass 2016: 115).

The adjective *colorful* describes a feature of the pictures and *thoughtful* describes the pauses. In the example above, both adjectives are attributive, since they occur before the noun they are modifying. Adjectives can either be attributive or predicative. Predicative

adjectives occur after the described noun, and often after verbs, such as *be, become* and *seem*. For example, from article 4:

(2) Life is upended (Plattner 2017: 227).

The adjective *upended* occurs after the noun and the verb, but describes the noun *life*.

#### 3.2.2. How to identify adjectives

One way of identifying adjectives is by finding the noun in the sentence and investigating possible modifying words. If it is not obvious whether the modifying words are adjectives, or belong to another word class, the form of the words can be investigated. According to the Online Cambridge Grammar (Cambridge University Press 2017), adjectives are derived from nouns or verbs formed by the addition of an adjectival suffix, for example *-able*, *-al/-ial*, *-ful*, *-ic*, *-ish*, *-ive*, *-less*, *-ous*, or *-y*. In the sentence, from article 8:

(3) Dolce & Gabbana knows how to appeal to the new, fearless generation [...] (Mine 2017: 76).

The noun *generation* is modified by the adjective *fearless*, which is based on the noun *fear*, but formed into an adjective with the suffix *-less*. Some adjectives are formed with prefixes, for example *un-*, *in-*, *in-*, *im-* and *il-*. The prefixes are used to change the meaning of the adjectives into a negative form, for example from article 6:

(4) In a new, infamous example (Wilson 2017: 408).

However, not all adjectives are formed this way. In the previous example, the word *new* modifies the noun as well, but does not have a suffix or prefix. The way to decide if a word without suffixes or prefixes is an adjective is testing whether it is comparable. According to the Online Cambridge Grammar (Cambridge University Press 2017), most adjectives can be compared. Using the words *more* or *most* before the adjective or adding the suffixes -er or -est illustrates this. In the example above, the word *new* can be compared by adding suffixes, which creates the words *newer* and *newest*.

Some adjectives look like participle verbs since they end in *-ed* or *-ing*. One way to decide whether these are verbs or adjectives can be achieved by placing the word *very* before it, since the Online Cambridge Grammar (Cambridge University Press 2017) explains that most adjectives can be graded. This is shown in this example, from article 1:

#### (5) And when he showed his first glittering collection (Mower 2017: 117).

The word *glittering* is an adjective that modifies *collection*, and by using *very*, which will turn the phrase into *very glittering*, it is possible to conclude that it is an adjective. Sometimes, these adjectives occur after the verb *be*, as seen in (2). To reliably identify whether it is an adjective the word *is* can be replaced with other verbs used before adjectives, for example *seem*. If the sentence allows the substitution, the word is an adjective. In this example the phrase would be *life seems upended*, which allows the substitution. Another example is, from article 7:

#### (6) He's appearing onstage (McCloskey 2017: 52).

In this example, the alternative *he seems appearing onstage* is indeterminate. The other mentioned test in order to determine if the word is an adjective does not work either, since *he is very appearing* shows that *appearing* is a verb.

#### 3.2.1. Method of Identifying Adjectives

When the articles had been selected the search for adjectives started. This was done by a close reading of the articles, and by using the description of adjectives above, the adjectives could be identified. Firstly, all articles were placed in a Word-document, in order to count how many words each article contained. The heading of the articles was excluded at this stage, meaning that only the body of the texts has been analyzed. In addition, all quotes were eliminated from the word count, since only the text from the author is relevant and not the utterances from the person featured. Secondly, all adjectives in an article were marked, in order to distinguish them in the text. The adjectives referring to characteristics of the person being featured were marked differently in order to keep them apart from adjectives referring to other people or to

objects. Adjectives in direct quotations from the person featured in the articles were excluded, since they are not relevant to the discussion in this research.

When identifying the adjectives in the text, each sentence was read closely. The first step was to identify the nouns and pronouns in the sentences, since adjectives describe, modify and classify nouns and pronouns. The words modifying the nouns and pronouns were investigated in order to conclude whether they were adjectives or not. This was done as illustrated in the examples above, first by determining if the word had commonly used adjectival prefixes or suffixes. If the modifying words had no suffixes or prefixes, the tests of whether the word was comparable, gradable or allows change from *be* to *seem* were conducted. Some words were hard to determine, even when applying the tests, and in these cases the words were looked up in the Online Cambridge Dictionary (Cambridge University Press 2017) to understand the different functions of the words in a sentence. One example was the word *celebrated*, from article 11:

(7) Stripes, metallic, white and denim were all tremendously celebrated (Igah 2016: 76).

The dictionary classified the word as an adjective. However, the word *celebrated* does not always function as an adjective. In this example, *celebrated* functions as an adjective since it is modified by the adverb *tremendously*. Another example was the word *nominated*, from article 3:

(8) She became, at 20, the third-youngest person ever to be nominated (Waterman 2017: 233).

According to the dictionary, the word *nominated* functioned as a verb.

#### 3.2.1. Method of Distinguishing Adjectives

All adjectives found were categorized in terms of positive or negative connotation. Adjectives not being either positive of negative are not presented in the study, since it is connotation that is of interest. Arvidsson (2009) divided adjectives into positives and negatives as well. The method was firstly to determine whether an adjective was neutral or not. Adjectives classified as non-neutral were stereotypical adjectives used to describe the gender of the person being featured in the article. For example, describing a

woman as *beautiful*. Adjectives that were neutral in their context were classified as non-stereotypical, for example, *big* and *fine* (Arvidsson 2009: 11). All non-neutral adjectives were categorized as either positive or negative. The context of the sentence was examined in order to determine the connotation of the adjectives. This is not explained in detail, but Arvidsson (2009) included lists of all adjectives in the appendices. For example, *honest* was categorized as positive and *shy* as negative (Arvidsson 2009: 26).

In this study, the categorization was established by a close reading of the sentence in which the adjectives were used in order to understand the context, as in the study completed by Arvidsson (2009). However, only adjectives with connotation are presented, since it was of more interest than discussing differences across neutral and non-neutral adjectives. Therefore, whether an adjective is stereotypical for the gender being described or not is excluded from when discussing differences regarding positive and negative words, as it was in the study by Arvidsson (2009).

Examples of categorized adjectives are shown in examples (9) - (11) and are from article 2:

- (9) Eventually, a furtive, passionate affair (Guiducci 2017: 168).
- (10) He's sharper than actors twice his age (Guiducci 2017: 168).
- (11) Chalamet, whose first break was as the bad-news boyfriend (Guiducci 2017: 168).

Two adjectives were identified in (9), *furtive* and *passionate*, which both refers to *affair*. In the context, *furtive* suggests that the affair was secret and was categorized as a negative adjective because of the word *affair*, which is generally viewed as something negative. However, *passionate* was categorizes as a positive adjective, since it suggests that there was passion between the couple having the affair. In (10), the adjective *sharper* was identified and was in this context categorized as positive, since the person being described is compared to other actors as being sharper than them. This implies that he is better, which is positive. In (11) a character is described as *a bad-news boyfriend*. The adjective includes *bad* and it was categorized as negative since being bad in the context in (11) is not positive.

Furthermore, all color term adjectives were distinguished. The adjectives referring to a color were divided into a separate table in order to distinguish them from the whole list of adjectives.

As mentioned, the adjectives describing the person featured in the article were marked differently in order to distinguish them from adjectives that described things or other people. The collected adjectives were divided into five groups: the appearance of the person, the personality of the person, how the person acts and the age and origin of the person. The choice of these categories was made from an overview of how the persons in the articles were described and what the adjectives referred to. Without an exact calculation, it was nevertheless clear that personality followed by adjectives referring to appearance, age and origin were used often. Therefore, these categories were chosen. Some adjectives did not readily fit into the four categories, which lead to the choice of including action as a category.

Adjectives that followed the name or the pronoun of the person were easy to determine, for example, from Text 3:

(12) Instead, her tough, squirrel-skinning, heartbreaking turn (Waterman 2017: 233).

The adjectives directly follow the pronoun *her*, and describe how the person is acting. Other words were harder to classify as descriptions of the featured person, since they did not follow the name or the pronoun. For example, from Text 9:

(13) Once a professional basketball player (Michault 2016: 109).

No name or pronoun is mentioned. However, by understanding the context, it is possible to conclude that the person described is referred to as a basketball player. *Professional* was categorized as a description of personality.

#### 3.3.Gender

According to Mills & Mullany (2011: 41), sex and gender are two different terms, whereas sex refers to biology and gender to socially constructed categories. Gender is viewed as something one does rather than has (Mills & Mullany 2011: 41). One person alone does not construct their gender; it is constructed through interactions and performances within a context. However, the acts might differ in different contexts,

since "evaluations of gender performativity are context- and culture-dependent" (Mills & Mullany 2011: 42).

The articles were chosen with the aspect of gender. However, this study is based on the binary genders, meaning that only men and women were taken into account. Non-binary genders are excluded in this research since the normative gender roles are of interest. The authors and the people being interviewed in the articles have been Google-searched, in order to conclude that the name of the person matched the gender of interest. Identifying the gender of the person featured was done by the same method.

When searching for magazines, it was important that some magazines addressed only women and some addressed only men. To determine the targeted gender in fashion magazines can be simple, since the gender is sometimes included in the title, as in the magazine *Essential Homme*. The other two chosen magazines that are target men, *GQ Style* and *Cool America*, do not include the name in the title. However, *Cool America* mentions *men's fashion* on the front page. *GQ Style* does not, and does not mention the gender anywhere. However, their website does. The magazines targeting women, *Elle*, *Vogue* and *In Style*, do not mention their target in the magazines or on their websites. However, they all publish articles about fashion and beauty that are normative for women, such as women-coded clothing and make-up. There are no men either mentioned or viewed in these sections. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that they are addressing women.

#### 3.4. Method of the Data Compilation

When all adjectives were identified, they were collected into a table. The total number of adjectives found in the 12 articles is 431. Duplicate adjectives are included in the counting, since the frequency of adjectives used are of interest and not the number of different adjectives used. The frequency of the use in each magazine was counted by a normalized score to establish the frequency of adjectives used per 1000 words. This was calculated by dividing the number of adjectives in the article with the number of words in the article. Thereafter, the quotient was multiplied by 1000, and the product is the normalized frequency. The choice to calculate the use per 1000 words was based on the number of words used in the articles. The total number of words in the articles is 5434, with the shortest being 137 and the longest 1037. Therefore, the normalized frequency will give an accurate overview and it will be possible to discover and analyze

differences. The results were collected into a second table. After the first two tables were completed, the normalized frequencies across magazines, across gender of the target, the author and of the person featured in the articles were calculated and collected into individual tables.

Thereafter, all 431 adjectives were divided into two separate tables, depending on whether they were positive or negative in the context they were used. When all adjectives were divided into tables, the normalized score was calculated in order to establish the frequency they were used. In this calculation, the frequencies are presented in percentage. In addition, the frequency was calculated across magazines, across gender of the target, the author and of the person featured. Lastly, all color adjectives were collected in a separate table and calculated and presented along the same process.

The adjectives identified as descriptions of the featured person were placed into a separate table in order to count them. The number of adjectives describing the person featured is 75 and the total number of adjectives used in the eleven magazines is 394, since one article is excluded from the calculation. Thereafter, the adjectives were categorized depending on what the adjectives were classifying. The categories chosen are appearance, personality, action, age and origin. Once categorized, the frequency of each category was calculated in the same manner as previous calculations. The frequencies are presented in use per 100 adjectives and, firstly, calculated across articles, secondly, across magazines and lastly across gender of the target, the author and of the person featured.

#### 4. Results

In this section, the results regarding frequencies of adjectives used in the 12 magazines, different types of adjectives and adjectives used to describe the person featured are presented in eight different tables. All results are related to the targeted gender of the magazines, the gender of the author of the articles and the gender of the person featured in the articles.

#### 4.1. Frequency of Adjectives Used

				Gender of			
Text		Gender of	Gender of	Person	Raw	Number	Normalized
ID	Magazine	Target	Author	Featured	Frequency	of Words	Frequency
Text1	Vogue	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	26	373	69.7
Text2	Vogue	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	33	302	109.3
Text3	Elle	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	49	629	77.9
Text4	Elle	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	46	592	77.7
Text5	In Style	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	13	208	62.5
Text6	In Style	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	61	1037	58.8
Text7	GQ Style	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	52	674	77.2
Text8	GQ Style	MALE	MALE	MALE	25	301	83.1
Text9	Essential Homme	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	43	533	80.7
Text10	Essential Homme	MALE	MALE	MALE	33	397	83.1
Text11	Cool America	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	37	251	147.4
Text12	Cool America	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	13	137	94.9

The first section presents the results regarding frequency in use of adjectives in each article, across magazines and frequencies in relation to target, author and person featured. These frequencies are normalized by use per 1000 words.

In Table 1, the frequency of adjectives used in each article is presented.

#### Table 1. Frequency in articles

According to the normalized frequency, Text11, from *Cool America*, which targets male readers, is written by a man and features a woman, has the highest frequency. Text6, from *In Style*, which targets female readers, is written by a man and features a man, has the lowest. The normalized frequency of adjectives used in each magazine illustrates that the use of adjectives is highest in *Cool America*, where the normalized frequency is 128.9 per 1000 words, and lowest in *In Style*, were the normalized frequency is 59.4. In addition, the normalized frequency between the targeted genders of all magazines show that the use is higher in magazines targeting men, 88.5 per 1000 words compared to 72.6. However, when calculating the normalized frequency regarding the gender of the

author in the magazines, the results show that female authors have a higher normalized frequency, 82.5 per 1000 words compared to 76.3. When women write in magazines targeting men, the normalized frequency is highest, 90.5.

The normalized frequency regarding the person featured show that when men are featured, the frequency is higher, 80.1 compared to 77.3. As illustrated in Table 2, the highest normalized frequency is when women write articles featuring men and the lowest when women write articles featuring other women. Male writers show the same pattern, where the normalized frequency is higher when men write articles featuring women.

**Table 2. Author in Relation to Person Featured** 

	Person	Raw	Number of	Normalized
Author	Featured	Frequency	words	Frequency
FEMALE	FEMALE	62	837	74.1
MALE	FEMALE	59	729	80.9
FEMALE	MALE	158	1831	86.3
MALE	MALE	152	2037	74.6

Table 2 illustrates that when the person featured is of same gender as the author, the normalized frequency is lower. The results when calculating the normalized frequency regarding the person featured in the article in relation to the gender of the target in the magazine show the same pattern, which is illustrated in Table 3. When women are featured in magazines targeting women, the frequency of adjectives is lower than when women are featured in magazines targeting men.

**Table 3. Person Featured in Relation to Target** 

Person			Number of	Normalized
Featured	Target	Raw Frequency	Words	Frequency
FEMALE	FEMALE	108	1429	75.6
MALE	FEMALE	120	1712	70.1
FEMALE	MALE	13	137	94.9
MALE	MALE	190	2156	88.1

#### 4.2. Different Adjectives

The second section presents the results regarding different types of adjectives that were identified. Firstly, positive and negative adjectives, secondly, color adjectives and lastly, adjectives used to describe the person featured. The results are presented in percentage. In addition, examples of used adjectives will be illustrated.

#### 4.2.1. Positive and Negative Adjectives

The frequencies of positive adjectives in the articles are shown in Table 4.

**Table 4. Frequency of Positive Adjectives** 

				Gender of			
		Gender of	Gender of	Person	Raw	Adjectives	
Text ID	Magazine	Target	Author	Featured	Frequency	in Article	Percentage
Text1	Vogue	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	13	26	50.0
Text2	Vogue	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	10	33	30.3
Text3	Elle	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	17	49	34.7
Text4	Elle	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	16	46	34.8
Text5	In Style	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	8	13	61.5
Text6	In Style	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	12	61	19.7
Text7	GQ Style	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	17	52	32.7
Text8	GQ Style	MALE	MALE	MALE	16	25	64.0
Text9	Essential Homme	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	22	43	51.2
Text10	Essential Homme	MALE	MALE	MALE	18	33	54.5
Text11	Cool America	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	28	37	75.7
Text12	Cool America	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	11	13	84.6

Text12, from *Cool America*, has the highest percentage and Text2, from *Vogue*, has the lowest. Five articles are represented with less than 50%. When calculating the percentage of total use in the 6 magazines, all magazines targeting women score below 50 and one of the magazines targeting men, *GQ Style*, scores below 50. The percentages amongst authors are 47.7 for female authors and 39.3 for male authors.

One example of when positive adjectives are used to describe the personality of the person featured is illustrated in (14), and one example of adjectives used to describe objects is illustrated in (15). Both personality and objects are the most commonly described with positive adjectives.

- (14) An unabashed young ambassador (Vogue, Text1)
- (15) Which means sweet-smelling perfume (Essential Homme, Text9)

Although most adjectives were different, some positive adjectives occur more than once, for example *young/younger*, *emotional*, *tough* and *beautiful*.

The frequencies of use of negative adjectives in the articles are illustrated in Table 5.

**TABLE 5. Frequency of Negative Adjectives** 

				Gender of			
		Gender of	Gender of	Person	Raw	Adjectives	
Text ID	Magazine	Target	Author	Featured	Frequency	in Article	Percentage
Text1	Vogue	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	2	26	7.7
Text2	Vogue	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	3	33	9.1
Text3	Elle	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	13	49	26.5
Text4	Elle	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	11	46	23.9
Text5	In Style	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	0	13	0
Text6	In Style	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	19	61	31.1
Text7	GQ Style	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	8	52	15.4
Text8	GQ Style	MALE	MALE	MALE	2	25	8.0
Text9	Essential Homme	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	4	43	9.3
Text10	Essential Homme	MALE	MALE	MALE	3	33	9.1
Text11	Cool America	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	0	37	0
Text12	Cool America	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	1	13	7.7

Three articles diverge from the others. The first one is Text6, which has the highest percentage. The article, published in *In Style*, is written by a man and features a man. The other two are Text3, where the percentage is 26.5, and Text4, where the percentage

is 23.9. Both articles are published in *Elle* and feature women. The other article published in *In Style* use 0 negative adjectives, as do Text11, published in *Cool America*. Negative adjectives used in magazines targeting women score 21.1 whilst magazines targeting men 8.9. The percentage of negative adjectives amongst the author varies slightly. Male authors use negative adjectives more frequently than female authors (18.5 vs. 12.3).

One example of when negative adjectives are used is illustrated in (16), and refers to the person featured. Negative adjectives are mostly used when describing the person featured and, in such cases, often with negatives, such as *not* in order to describe how the person is not, which is illustrated in (17). However, there are some used to describe objects, which example (18) illustrates.

- (16) The *controversy-prone* designer compounded the crime by becoming *defensive* (*In Style*, Text6)
- (17) There is a defined self-assurance to the candlemaker that is *palpable* but *not* off-putting (Essential Homme, Text9)
- (18) In the form of *slouchy* sweaters and *overdyed* plaids (*In Style*, Text6)

The negative adjectives found were mostly different. However, four adjectives occurred two times: *heartbreaking*, *mysterious*, *offensive* and *hard*.

#### 4.2.2. Color Adjectives

Below, Table 6 illustrates the normalized frequency of color adjectives in each article.

**Table 6. Frequency of Color Adjectives** 

				Gender of			
		Gender of	Gender of	Person	Raw	Adjectives	
Text ID	Magazine	Target	Author	Featured	Frequency	in Article	Percentage
Text1	Vogue	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	4	26	15.4
Text2	Vogue	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	0	33	0
Text3	Elle	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	0	49	0
Text4	Elle	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	3	46	6.5
Text5	In Style	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	0	13	0

Text6	In Style	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	8	61	13.1
Text7	GQ Style	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	2	52	3.8
Text8	GQ Style	MALE	MALE	MALE	0	25	0
Text9	Essential Homme	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	2	43	4.7
Text10	Essential Homme	MALE	MALE	MALE	0	33	0
Text11	Cool America	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	2	37	5.4
Text12	Cool America	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	0	13	0

There are in total 12 color adjectives used in the 12 articles. Two articles, Text1, *Vogue*, and Text6, *In Style*, have the highest percentage. Half of the articles include no colors. However, when calculating across magazines, all magazines include at least 2 color adjectives. *In Style* has the highest percentage, 18.8. Between male and female authors, the percentage differs slightly, 5.2 among male authors compared to 4.5 among female authors.

The color adjectives most frequently used in the articles are *black*, *white*, *silver* and *gold*. Other color adjectives only occurred once, such as *red* and *blonde*. There were some color terms that were more specific, for instance *candy-colored*, *rainbow-colored*, *pastel*. According to the percentages in use across the gender of authors, the score did not differ widely. However, the types of colors used by men and women show some differences. Text1 includes four adjectives referring to colors: *glittering*, *silver-sequenced*, *turquoise* and *neon-yellow*. Text7 includes two colors, *silver* and *candy-colored*. In articles written by men, two articles include colors. Text4 includes three, *red*, *blonde* and *black*. Text6 includes *black*, *white*, *gold*, *pastel* and *rainbow-colored*. The colors *black* and *white* are used in articles written by women as well, both in Text9 and Text11.

#### 4.3. Adjectives Describing the Person Featured

The normalized frequency of adjectives used to describe the person featured is presented in Table 7. Here, only 11 magazines are presented, since Text11 does not describe a specific person.

Table 7. Frequency of Adjectives describing the Person Featured

				Gender of			
		Gender of	Gender of	Person	Raw	Adjectives	
TextID	Magazine	Target	Author	Featured	Frequency	in Article	Percentage
Text1	Vogue	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	6	26	23.1
Text2	Vogue	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	7	33	21.2
Text3	Elle	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	18	49	36.7
Text4	Elle	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	9	46	19.6
Text5	In Style	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	3	13	23.1
Text6	In Style	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	5	61	8.2
Text7	GQ Style	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	12	52	23.1
Text8	GQ Style	MALE	MALE	MALE	0	25	0
Text9	Essential Homme	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	7	43	16.3
Text10	Essential Homme	MALE	MALE	MALE	1	33	3.0
Text12	Cool America	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	7	13	53.8

Table 7 illustrates that the use of adjectives describing the person featured between the 11 articles vary slightly. Text12, from *Cool America*, has a higher percentage than the other and is the only article with a percentage above 50. Text10 has the lowest percentage and Text 8 included no adjectives describing the person featured. When calculating across magazines, it is shown that Text12, *Cool America*, has the highest percentage, at 53.8, and *In Style*, at 10.8, and *Essential Homme*, at 10.5, the lowest. Adjectives describing the person featured are frequently used when describing women. The percentages of adjectives are 30.6 when women are described and 13.9 when men are described. Regarding adjectives describing the person featured in relation to the

target audience of the magazine and the author of the article, the same pattern is shown. The percentage is higher in magazines targeting women, 21.1 compared to 16.3, and more used by female authors, 27.0 compared to 11.1. Articles featuring women include the highest percentage of adjectives, both when the author of the article is female, 33.8 and a male, 27.1. The percentage in articles featuring men is 20.7 when written by women and 8.6 when written by men.

Adjectives used to describe the person featured are in these 11 articles, as mentioned, most frequently used when describing women. Examples of adjectives are illustrated in (19) and (20). Adjectives describing men are illustrated in (21) and (22).

- (19) She's become the most *bankable* and *beloved* movie star on Planet Earth (*Elle*, Text3)
- (20) Her *positive* energy felt *real* and not *forced* (*Cool America*, Text12)
- (21) Dafoe has always been *comfortable* disappearing (*GQ Style*, Text7)
- (22) His *curious* fascination (*Essential Homme*, Text10)

#### 4.3.1. Categorization of Adjectives

Table 8 illustrates the adjectives describing the person featured, divided into five categories. The categories are appearance, personality, action, age and origin.

**Table 8. Categories** 

		Gender of						
	Gender of	Person						Number of
Text ID	Author	Featured	Appearance	Personality	Action	Age	Origin	Adjectives
Text1	FEMALE	MALE	0	3	0	2	1	6
Text2	MALE	MALE	0	1	1	1	4	7
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	0	11	4	2	1	18
Text4	MALE	FEMALE	1	7	0	0	1	9
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	0	1	0	1	1	3
Text6	MALE	MALE	0	5	0	0	0	5
Text7	FEMALE	MALE	4	7	0	0	1	12
Text8	MALE	MALE	0	0	0	0	0	0
Text9	FEMALE	MALE	0	7	0	0	0	7

Text10	MALE	MALE	0	1	0	0	0	1
Text12	MALE	FEMALE	2	3	0	0	2	7

Adjectives describing appearance are used in three articles, Text4, *Elle*, Text7, *GQ Style* and Text12, *Cool Magazine*. Adjectives describing personality are used in all articles, except for Text8, *GQ Style*. Action and age adjectives are used in two articles, which are both magazines targeting women. Adjectives describing origin are used in 7 of the 11 articles. When calculating the percentage regarding the gender of the person featured, it is shown that adjectives describing action are the highest when females are described. All other categories show higher percentage when men are featured.

Personality adjectives are, as mentioned, most frequently used when describing the person featured. Examples of personality adjectives are shown in examples (19) – (22). An example of an adjective used to describe appearance about a woman featured is shown in (23) and about a man featured in (24).

- (23) Not only was she a *beautiful* person on the outside (*Cool America*, Text12)
- (24) His eyes are as *bright* as a baby's (*GQ Style*, Text7)

#### 5. Discussion

This section includes a discussion of the results compared to the previous research in order to prove or disprove the hypotheses.

According to the results, some differences regarding the frequency of adjectives used in general can be identified. Firstly, more adjectives are used in magazines addressing men, as illustrated in Table 1. The same conclusion was drawn in the research made by Arvidsson (2009). However, women show the highest use of adjectives in magazines addressing men and used more adjectives overall, as illustrated in Table 3. The results from Arvidsson (2009) did not show any clear differences regarding the gender of the author. The reason for this was explained by not having enough material to analyze. This essay includes more articles, which might be the reason for finding a clear difference. Secondly, when women and men are featured in articles, there are more adjectives used in articles featuring men and female authors use the most adjectives, as illustrated in Table 2. That women are more frequent users of adjectives agrees with the

hypothesis. However, it is important to keep in mind that the material used in this study is somewhat limited, making general conclusions about the use of adjectives across genders hard to draw.

Differences regarding the use of different types of adjectives can be identified. For instance, positive adjectives are more frequently used in magazines targeting men, as illustrated in Table 4, and negative adjectives are more frequently used in magazines targeting women, as illustrated in Table 5. This does not agree with the results from Arvidsson (2009), where the opposite occurred. Additionally, it does not agree with the hypotheses. As mentioned, one possible explanation for this can be that the material covered in this study is limited. The magazines covered in this study compared to the magazines used by Arvidsson (2009) could be a reason as well, i.e. that the writing styles the magazines use are different. However, both studies investigated *Vogue*, *Elle* and *GQ Style*, which might make this explanation less credible. Again, this study included more magazines than Arvidsson (2009), which could be a possible explanation for the result. Although this study covers limited data as well, it covers 12 magazines instead of four. Therefore, the results in this study might show a higher accuracy to how adjectives are used in fashion magazines. A future study that includes more magazines should give a more accurate result.

Positive adjectives are used more than negative in magazines regardless of the targeted gender, which is not surprising since one assumption about magazines is that they want to communicate positive feelings in order to generate good sales. However, the percentage of positive adjectives is higher in magazines addressing men. This does not relate to Arvidsson (2009), where the magazines targeting women included a higher frequency of positive adjectives compared to magazines targeting men. The possible explanation might be related to the data used in the studies, either because of the magazines used or because of the date of the publishing. Regarding the authors, it is shown that female authors have a higher use of positive adjectives and male authors a higher use of negative adjectives, which proves the hypotheses. This can be explained by what Lakoff (1973: 45) stated, that the idea of proper communication by women is when women avoid using strong expression of feelings. Adjectives with a negative connotation can be considered to be examples of strong expression. Since Lakoff (1973: 45) mentions that language is used to express attitudes, it is possible to conclude that the authors in these articles express attitudes, which differ depending on their gender. Men are shown to use more negative adjectives than women and might therefore express an

attitude that is straightforward and tough, which are stereotypical characteristics for men. The female authors used more positive adjectives than male authors. Therefore, they might express an attitude that is pleasant, which is a stereotypical characteristic for women. The representation in media is often stereotypical, as stated by Krijnen & Bauwel (2015: 11) and both men and women sustain social gender roles (Weatherall 2002: 66). Therefore, this can be one way to understand the different use of connotation, i.e. that the authors sustain stereotypical gender roles in their expressions. However, men used mostly positive adjectives as well, which might be explained by the purpose of the communication, i.e. to sell magazines.

The most frequently used adjectives with positive connotation are *young/younger*, emotional, tough and beautiful. Beautiful was often used in the articles analyzed by Arvidsson (2009) as well. The authors of these examples, except for beautiful, were women. Beautiful was used two times in an article written by a man, and younger was used by a man one out of six times. *Tough* can be assumed to be an adjective frequently used by men and beautiful frequently used by women. However, both these were used to describe the person featured in the articles. Therefore, it is relevant to include this in the discussion as well. Whilst beautiful was used by a man (Text12, Cool America), it was used to describe a woman. Weatherall (2002: 24) mentioned that often-used adjectives to describe women include *charming*, pretty and emotional, and beautiful might as well be included, since it refers to how a person looks as well as *pretty* does. Emotional was used in the articles as well, once when a woman was featured and twice when a man was featured. At a first glance, the results do not correspond to Weatherall (2002). However, emotional was only used to describe the person featured when it was a woman (Text3, Elle). When the men were featured, emotional referred to values (Text7, GO Style) and imprints (Text9, Essential Homme). Therefore, the use of the word might correspond with what Weatherall (2002) states and it might be possible to conclude that the use maintains views on gender roles. In addition, Weatherall (2002) states that *tough* often is used to describe men. However, the word *tough* occurred twice (Text3, Elle) and referred to a woman. Although tough is considered a male-coded adjective, Weatherall (2002) suggest that it can occur when describing women in order to challenge gender roles. Or, as Weatherall (2002) further suggests, promoting that strength is valued in society. Lakoff (1973: 51) describes that society has male influence and power, which could support Weatherall's (2002) explanation and be a reason for why male-coded words are applied to women. On the other hand, restricting adjectives

to a specific gender might have eased since 2002. However, *beautiful*, for instance, was not used to describe a man in any of these articles which could support Weatherall (2002) and Lakoff (1973), since adjectives viewed as male-coded are applied to women but female-coded are not applied to men.

Negative adjectives identified by Arvidsson (2009) include *bad, offensive* and *difficult*, which corresponds to the results in this essay since *offensive* occurred twice, in Text6, *In Style* and Text7, *GQ Style*, and *bad* twice, in Text2, *Vogue* and Text3, *Elle*. Text6, *In Style*, had the highest number of negative adjectives describing the person featured. In the other articles, the use is more frequent when describing objects, such as *tiny apartment* (Text1, Vogue). The reason for this might be that the purpose of the communication is to sell magazines and to advertise products. A high frequency of negative words might be viewed as off-putting and thus have a negative impact on sales. In Text6, *In Style*, a male author describes a male designer, which might be one explanation why this article has the highest percentage of negative adjectives. As stated above, men use negative adjectives more frequently than women. Otherwise, the explanation can be supported by the content in this specific article. The article describes the designer and includes passages on negative events he has been involved in and negative utterances he has made. Therefore, it is not surprising that negative adjectives occur.

Lakoff (1973: 46) states that language directed at women sometimes serves to treat women as sexual objects. This is one example of when a language is sexist. There were not many adjectives related to sex in the 12 articles. However, the word *sexy* occurs twice, with one example in a magazine targeting men, with a male author. Although it did not directly describe the women featured, but rather the underwear she was wearing (Text12, *Cool America*) it nevertheless can provide an image that women are supposed to act sexy. In the same article the word *seductive* occurred in the same manner. Therefore, the example can be viewed as sexist. The other time *sexy* was used was in the other article from *Cool America*, but with the female author. Although *urban-sexy* was used to describe a clothing style, it implies that men might are supposed to be sexy as well. In addition, Lakoff (1973: 46) states that certain lexical features can mean one thing when applied to men, but another when applied to women. Therefore, the meaning of sexy may not be the same when applied to men as for women. As Lakoff (1973) states, language towards women can treat women as sexual objects, which might be the effect in this case. The statement does not suggest that language treats men as sexual

objects, although that might occur as well. Another explanation for this is what Phillips (2003) states, that it is argued that men have dominance over women because of patriarchal structures. To use a language that treats women as objects or that discriminates women can be a way to show power and that women are subordinated.

Regarding color adjectives, there is no great difference in the frequency regarding the gender of the author. When analyzing the different colors used, the results show that both men and women use common colors such as *black* and *white*. The result from Arvidsson (2009) shows that *black* is one of the most commonly used as well. In addition, both men and women used specific colors in both studies. This does not relate to the hypotheses. More precise colors, according to Lakoff (1973: 49), are mostly used by women. However, both men and women show a use of precise colors. Therefore, this can correspond to Barthes (2005) view on fashion and language since Barthes (2005) suggests that fashion is a language of its own. Fashion magazines are, for instance, mediating fashion-related objects such as clothes. Therefore, fashion might be described specifically, probably in order to sell the products. That both women and men use specific colors in fashion magazines is not surprising from the aspect that fashion has its own language. In a future study, but with magazines other than fashion magazines, the results might be different.

Lastly, differences in adjectives describing the person featured can be identified. When women are described, more adjectives are used compared to when men are described, regardless of the author. In addition, women use more adjectives to describe the person featured as opposed to men. This proves the hypotheses. The same results are shown regarding the target readers of the magazines. This is illustrated in Table 7. The results from Andersdotter Sveen (2005) show that old, little, good, pleased, late, small and young were common when describing women and old, small, little, young and aware were common when describing men in contemporary literature. Young was found in this study as well and was used to describe a man twice (Text1, Vogue) and women three times, but in different forms, younger (Text5, In Style), second-youngest and third-youngest (Text3, Elle). These were the only adjectives used to describe the age of the person featured. One reason for this might be that being young might be viewed as a positive feature. Therefore, it is used whilst being old is not mentioned. Adjectives referring to personality were most commonly used when describing both men and women, as illustrated in Table 8. The personalities of the men and women described were somewhat related to stereotypes. For example, men were described as *sharper* 

(Text2, Vogue) defensive, frustrated (Text6, In Style) and professional (Text9, Essential Homme). Women were described as beloved (Text3, Elle) and positive (Text12, Cool Magazine). These examples can be viewed as stereotypical representations and can be explained with maintenance of given gender roles. However, there were many examples of non-stereotypical words, for instance rare (Text1, Vogue), artistic, bankable (Text3, Elle), spunky (Text4, Elle), vegan, famous (Text7, GQ Style) and curious (Text10, Essential Homme). Therefore, the conclusion is that some representations relate to gender roles, but others do not.

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

To summarize, there are differences in the use of adjectives depending on the targeted gender of the magazines studied, depending on the gender of the author and depending on the person featured. The frequencies of adjectives depending on gender are different as well. These are somewhat similar to the previous studies by Arvidsson (2009) and Andersdotter Sveen (2005). Media is said to express and sustain gender roles, according to Krijnen & Bauwel (2015: 42), which might be one explanation of differences regarding the language use by men and women as well as descriptions of the genders. Because of stereotypical representations, women might lack positive role models (Krijnen & Beuwel 2015: 11). The same would be possible to conclude for men. However, as Krijnen & Bauwel (2015: 42) states, media only includes representations that by society can be viewed as truth. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that views about gender roles travel in circles; media presents a picture that is true as to how women and men generally act in order to make the target audience identify and the audience continue to react according to the roles. Society and media contribute to maintain stereotypical gender roles. Since there are not only examples of stereotypical descriptions in the articles in this study, it might be possible to conclude that media today presents less stereotypical expressions compared to previous studies, for example, Lakoff (1973). This is what Andersdotter Sveen (2005) concluded in the study on literature as well.

Some hypotheses are proven and some not. This study shows that women use adjectives more frequently than men do and women tend to write in a positive tone. Regarding colors, both men and women use color adjectives but the assumption that women use more precise colors is disproved, since men used them as well. The

differences in frequency are not significant. The assumption that adjectives are more frequently used in magazines targeting women is disproved in this study as well, since the results show the opposite. When describing men and women, the assumption was that men are described based on their personality or their actions and women are described based on their appearance. Descriptions of appearance only occurred when women were featured, which proves the hypothesis. However, it was not the most common category. Personality was used mostly when describing both men and women. Descriptions of action only occurred when women were featured as well, which disproves that hypothesis. However, this research does not include a large collection of data. Because of this aspect, it is not possible to make a general conclusion. Suggestions for further research would be to include a larger collection of data. In terms of discussing gender differences, it might be possible to distinguish more differences in magazines other than fashion magazines.

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## Appendices

Appendix 1. All Identified Adjectives

Text   Gender of   Gender of   Featured   Adjective   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   likely   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   unabashed   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   young   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   bedazzled   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   bedazzled   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   sequenced   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   small   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   small   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   small   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   long   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   american   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   dirity   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   dirity   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   dirity   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   anti-gloom   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   turquoise   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   anti-gloom   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   anti-gloom   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   anti-gloom   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   silver-sequined   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   major   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   major   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   major   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   dazzling   Text1   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   best   Text2   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   mechanical   Text3   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   mechanical   Text4   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   mechanical   Text2   FEMALE   FEMALE   MALE   mechanical   Text2   FEMALE   MALE   MALE   minimal   Text2   FEMALE   MALE   MAL	Appe	endix 1. Ali	Identified Ad		
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	Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	-
	Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	half-French
	Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	native

Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	atmospheric
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	natural
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	longtime
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	Italian
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	English
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	seductive
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	borderless
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	younger sharper
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	bad-news
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	solo
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	directional
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	latest
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	upcoming
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	caramel
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	double-breasted
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	French
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	Italian
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	emotional
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	indie
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	biggest
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	third-youngest
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	new
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	breakthrough
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	adored
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	Ozark
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	missing
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	Kentucky-bred
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	older
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	several
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	tough
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	squirrel-skinning
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	heartbreaking
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	tough
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	bow-hunting
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	heartbreaking
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	second-youngest
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	volatile
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	young
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	militant
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	shape-shifting
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	young
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	beset
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	mysterious
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	compelling
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Text4FEMALEMALEFEMALEoh-so-funText4FEMALEMALEFEMALEclassic	Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
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Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	posh-and-proper
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	emotional
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	direct
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	inaugural
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	next
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	neo-noir
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	eerie
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	future
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	dystopian
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	blond
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	black
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	poor
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	disgraced
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	public
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	done
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	literal
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	triple
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	half-dozen
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	next
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	modern-day
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	full
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	favorite
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	younger
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	current
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	typical
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	cropped
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	slouchy
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	natural
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	opposed
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	well-dressed
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	exuberant
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	next
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	malleable
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	latest
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	rainbow-colored
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	little
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	bright
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	American
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	enormous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	constant
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	taken
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	boundary-blurring
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	infamous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	distinctive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	madcap
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	pastel
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	cultural

Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	white
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	positive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	transgender
Text6	MALE	MALE	MALE	controversy-prone
Text6	MALE	MALE	MALE	defensive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	regrettable
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	black
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	political
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	huge
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	barest
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	great
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	disconcerting
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	hurt
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	shearling-lined
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	oversize
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	heavy
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	gold
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	enormous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	frustrated
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	distracted
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	social
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	deliberate
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	gold
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	last
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	gold
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	longtime
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	four-part
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	early
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	smiley
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	disastrous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	slouchy
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	overdyed
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	different
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	last
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	underlying
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	modern
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	large
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	big
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	counter
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	empowered
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	offensive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	past
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	hard
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	right
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	worth
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	rainbow
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	brocaded

Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	tasseled
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	late
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	magic-hour
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	fresh
				silver
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	possible
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	common
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	cautious
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	curious
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	early
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	experimental
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	adopted
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	grown
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	former
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	married
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	wiry
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	daily
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	vegan
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	bright
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	gravelly
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	self-described
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	Midwestern
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	nasal
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	ready
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	several
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	Japanese
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	same
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	dystopian
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	through
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	strong
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	preliminary
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	roving
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	candy-colored
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	small-time
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	economic
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	emotional
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	brutal
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	non-professional
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	beleaguered
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	famous
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	intoxicating
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	phony
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	ridiculous
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	offensive
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	true
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	gone
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	comfortable
I CAL/	MALE	TEMALE	WIALL	Communation

Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	Harvard-educated
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	next
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	upcoming
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	quick
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	savvy
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	hyper-exclusive
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	über-opulent
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	committed
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	exotic
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	Italian
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	annual
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	maximalist
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	recent
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	woven
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	pointed
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	mainlined
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	immersive
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	sensory
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	new
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	fearless
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	one-of-a-kind
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	personal
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	bespoke
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	required
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	fit
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	wealthiest
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	discerning
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	exhaustive
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	hidden
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	simple
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	intimate
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	exact
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	online
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	perfumed
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	personal
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	shorthand
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	old
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	English
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	sweet-smelling
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	professional
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	different
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	Indian
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	half-Scottish
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	half-French
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	Canadian
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	nomadic
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	peripatetic

Тоти	MALE	EEMALE	MALE	vo seti sus 1
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	vocational
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	unfamiliar
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	respected
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	auspicious
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	high-quality
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	raw
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	renowned
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	powerful
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	olfactory
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	remarkable
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	endearing
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	fragrant
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	atypical
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	mindful
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	intimate
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	defined
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	palpable
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	off-putting
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	chaste
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	black
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	white
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	zen-like
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	visual
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	emotional
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	hard
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	colorful
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	thoughtful
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	directional
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	top
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	posh
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	almost-extraterrestrial
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	obscured
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	intimate
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	inescapable
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	super-saturated
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	witty
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	visual
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	often-missed
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	sunlit
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	particular
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	glamorous
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	super-gloomed
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	glossier
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	cultural
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	curious
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	usual
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	preoccupied
Textio	MALE	MALE	MIATE	preoccupied

Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	face-sized
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	behind-the-scenes
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	last
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	lingering
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	intended
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	palpable
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	in-your-finger
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	personal
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	public
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	new
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	unchanged
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	soft
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	glam
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	layered
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	clear
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	metallic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	white
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	celebrated
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	notable
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	American
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	matured
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	elegant
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	classic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	casual
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	chic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	sparkle
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	cool
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	favorite
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	urban-edgy
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	sexy-quirky
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	minimalist
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	chic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	artsy
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	detailing
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	oversized
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	abstract
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	top
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	younger
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	younger
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	growing
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	millennial
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	comfortable
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	big
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	masculine
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	feminine
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	androgynous
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	pajama-esque

Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	floral
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	American
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	talented
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	seductive
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	sexy
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	set
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	beautiful
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	beautiful
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	positive
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	real
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	forced
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	great
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	right
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	American

Appendix 2. Positive Adjectives

Text	Gender of	Gender of	Gender of	
ID	Target	Author	Person Featured	Adjective
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	unabashed
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	young
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	bedazzled
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	rare
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	glittering
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	counterintuitive
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	anti-gloom
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	major
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	young
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	high-flying
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	mechanical
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	posh
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	best
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	breakout
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	inclined
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	rakish
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	passionate
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	atmospheric
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	natural
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	seductive
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	borderless
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	younger
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	sharper
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	emotional
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	biggest
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	third-youngest
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	adored
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	tough

Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	squirrel-skinning
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	tough
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	second-youngest
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	compelling
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	unfailingly
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	witty
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	<del>                                     </del>
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	zany sought-after
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	artistic
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	bankable
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	beloved
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	wrapped
Text3	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	leading
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	healthy
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	glamorous
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	only
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	intrepid
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	sensitive
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	conscious
	FEMALE	MALE		spunky self-reliant
Text4 Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE FEMALE	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	refreshing oh-so-fun
Text4 Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	posh-and-proper blond
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	literal
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	triple half-dozen
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	favorite
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	younger
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	current
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	typical natural
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	opposed well-dressed
Text5	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	exuberant
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	malleable
	FEMALE	MALE		
Text6			MALE	bright
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	enormous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	constant
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	houndary blurring
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	boundary-blurring
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	distinctive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	positive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	huge
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	great
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	enormous

Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	empowered
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	magic-hour
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	fresh
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	possible
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	curious
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	wiry
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	bright
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	gravelly
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	self-described
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	strong
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	economic
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	emotional
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	famous
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	intoxicating
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	true
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	gone
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	comfortable
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	Harvard-educated
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	savvy
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	hyper-exclusive
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	über-opulent
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	committed
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	maximalist
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	immersive
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	sensory
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	new
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	fearless
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	one-of-a-kind
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	personal
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	bespoke
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	required
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	fit
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	wealthiest
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	discerning
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	intimate
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	exact
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	personal
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	sweet-smelling
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	professional
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	different
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	vocational
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	respected
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	auspicious
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	high-quality
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	renowned
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	powerful
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	remarkable

Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	endearing
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	mindful
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	intimate
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	defined
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	palpable
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	chaste
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	zen-like
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	visual
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	emotional
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	colorful
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	thoughtful
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	directional
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	top
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	posh
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	almost-extraterrestrial
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	intimate
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	super-saturated
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	witty
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	visual
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	glamorous
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	super-gloomed
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	glossier
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	curious
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	lingering
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	intended
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	palpable
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	in-your-finger
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	soft
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	glam
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	celebrated
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	notable
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	American
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	matured
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	elegant
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	classic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	casual
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	chic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	sparkle
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	cool
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	favorite
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	urban-edgy
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	sexy-quirky
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	minimalist
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	chic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	artsy
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	top
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	younger

Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	younger
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	growing
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	millennial
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	comfortable
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	big
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	masculine
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	feminine
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	androgynous
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	American
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	talented
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	seductive
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	sexy
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	beautiful
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	beautiful
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	positive
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	real
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	great
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	right
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	American

Appendix 3. Negative Adjectives

Text	Gender of	Gender of	Gender of Person	
ID	Target	Author	Featured	Adjective
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	tiny
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	complete
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	initial
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	furtive
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	bad-news
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	missing
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	heartbreaking
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	heartbreaking
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	volatile
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	militant
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	shape-shifting
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	beset
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	mysterious
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	fallen
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	political
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	corruption-fighting
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	nonprofit
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	bad
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	notorious
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	upended
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	mysterious
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	short-lived

Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	flipped-out
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	emotional
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	eerie
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	black
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	poor
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	disgraced
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	done
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	little
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	infamous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	madcap
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	controversy-prone
Text6	MALE	MALE	MALE	defensive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	regrettable
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	barest
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	disconcerting hurt
	FEMALE			
Text6		MALE	MALE	frustrated
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	distracted
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	deliberate
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	disastrous
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	slouchy
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	overdyed
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	underlying
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	counter
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	offensive
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	hard
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	cautious
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	brutal
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	non-professional
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	beleaguered
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	phony
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	ridiculous
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	offensive
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	quick
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	exhaustive
Text8	MALE	MALE	MALE	hidden
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	unfamiliar
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	atypical
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	off-putting
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	hard
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	obscured
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	often-missed
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	preoccupied
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	forced

Appendix 4. Color Adjectives

Text	Gender of	Gender of	Gender of Person	
ID	Target	Author	Featured	Adjective
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	glittering
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	turquoise
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	neon-yellow
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	silver-sequined
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	red
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	blonde
Text4	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	black
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	rainbow-colored
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	pastel
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	white
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	black
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	gold
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	gold
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	gold
Text6	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	rainbow
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	silver
Text7	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	candy-colored
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	black
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	white
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	metallic
Text11	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	white

Appendix 5. Adjectives Describing the Person Featured

Text	Gender of	Gender of	Gender of		
ID	Target	Author	Person Featured	Adjective	Classification
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	unabashed	personality
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	young	age
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	rare	personality
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	American	origin
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	complete	personality
Text1	FEMALE	FEMALE	MALE	young	age
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	breakout	action
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	half-French	origin
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	native	origin
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	younger	age
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	sharper	personality
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	French	origin
Text2	FEMALE	MALE	MALE	Italian	origin
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	emotional	personality
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	indie	personality
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	biggest	personality
Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	third-youngest	age

Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sender origin  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sequirrel-skinning action  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sequirrel-skinning action  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sequirrel-skinning action  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Second-youngest age  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Second-youngest age  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Unfailingly personality  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Unfailingly personality  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Witty personality  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Leading personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Interplet personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Interplet personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text5 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text6 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text7 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text6 MALE MALE FEMALE Sought-after personality  Text7 FEMALE FEMALE MALE Sought-after personality  Text7 MALE FEMALE MALE S						
Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE squirrel-skinning action Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE squirrel-skinning action Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE squirrel-skinning action Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE second-youngest age Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE compelling personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE unfailingly personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE witty personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE witty personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE sought-after personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE sought-after personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE bankable personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE bankable personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE beloved personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE wrapped personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Wrapped personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE Aussie origin Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE leading personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE only personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE inner personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE inner personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE interpid personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE interpid personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE self-reliant personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE self-reliant personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE self-reliant personality Text5 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE wounger age Text5 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE wounger age Text5 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE personality Text6 MALE MALE MALE fEMALE personality Text6 MALE MALE MALE fEMALE personality Text6 MALE MALE MALE matried personality Text6 MALE MALE MALE matried personality Text7 MALE FEMALE MALE female personality Text8 FEMALE MALE MALE matried personality Text7 MALE FEMALE MALE matried personality Text7 MALE FEMAL	Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	breakthrough	action
Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE squirrel-skinning action Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE second-youngest age Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE second-youngest age Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE compelling personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE unfailingly personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE witty personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE witty personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE sought-after personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE artistic personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE artistic personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE beloved personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE beloved personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE wrapped personality Text3 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE wrapped personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE leading personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE only personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE inner personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE inner personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE interpid personality Text4 FEMALE MALE FEMALE self-reliant personality Text5 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE modern-day origin Text5 FEMALE FEMALE FEMALE personality Text6 MALE FEMALE FEMALE personality Text6 MALE MALE FEMALE personality Text6 MALE MALE FEMALE promate personality Text6 MALE MALE MALE fEMALE personality Text6 MALE MALE MALE fEMALE personality Text7 MALE FEMALE MALE female personality Text8 MALE MALE MALE married personality Text9 MALE FEMALE MALE married personality Text7 MALE FEMALE MALE professional personality Text7 MALE FEMALE MALE	Text3	FEMALE	FEMALE	FEMALE	Kentucky-bred	origin
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Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	defined	personality
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	palpable	personality
Text9	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	off-putting	personality
Text10	MALE	MALE	MALE	curious	personality
Text12	MALE	MALE	MALE	American	origin
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	beautiful	appearance
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	beautiful	appearance
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	positive	personality
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	real	personality
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	forced	personality
Text12	MALE	MALE	FEMALE	American	origin