A Gender Based Adjectival Study of Women's and Men's Magazines

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1. Introduction

The notion of gender differences is something that has been widely discussed throughout the years. The way in which women and men speak, act, dress and think has been under investigation and focus is often put on differences between the genders instead of similarities. The term gender is a very broad concept and especially the terms sex and gender can be difficult to separate. In Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell’s book Language and Gender the difference between gender and sex is explained in the following way: “Sex is biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex” (2005:10). That gender is an essential part of the world image and at the centre of our social world can be seen already in how we raise our children and that blue is still considered a ‘boy color’ and pink a ‘girl color’. However, even though there are biological features that distinguish us as female or male we tend to exaggerate our differences and instead of labeling us as just female or male we also label different behavior as feminine or masculine. Consequently everything in society is now based on gender and even though people in general have reached higher awareness of gender equality there is still a long way to go in order to reach equal opportunities for both men and women.

Since gender is embedded in today’s society a large number of studies have been made on gender differences. One field of gender studies that has been extensively investigated is the connection between gender and language and the way in which women and men use language. In this essay gender issues in language will be in focus. Therefore previous research in this field will be presented first in this study.

1.1 Previous Research

“So a girl is damned if she does, damned if she doesn’t. If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine, if she does learn, she is ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion: in some sense, as less than fully human. These two choices which woman has - to be less than a woman or less than a person – are highly painful.” (Lakoff 1975, as quoted in Bucholtz 2004:41).
These are the words of the well-known linguist Robin Lakoff from her book *Language and Woman’s Place* (1975) and show the general beliefs towards language and gender in the 1970s. Lakoff attempted to state some of the features that she chose to characterize as ‘woman’s language’. Some of the features she mentions are specialized color terms, adjectives and tag questions. In this essay I will focus on adjectives and the results will be presented and discussed in section 3. Lakoff also described women’s language as powerless and she expressed the opinion that women should use more ‘male language’ in order to be empowered. Even though Lakoff’s work received some criticism her results created the basis for further investigations and an awareness of gender differences in language. Since 1975 several different approaches towards this field have emerged.

The different ways of analyzing and looking at the relationship between language and gender have undergone great change throughout the years and the approach most linguist take today is the dynamic approach or the social constructionist approach. The approach called the deficit approach peaked in the 1970s. The main focus of this perspective was the notion of male language being the norm and something women should learn. This was also the approach linguist Robin Lakoff expressed in her contribution to the debate. After this view follows the dominance approach which emphasizes men’s dominance over women. Language was also seen as a way for men to show power. Instead of perceiving men’s language as the norm, as in the deficit approach, both men and women were now considered to be a part of creating power structures. When women no longer accepted being considered a subordinate group a new approach arose. This was in the 1980s and is known as the difference approach. The heart of this viewpoint was that the strengths and characteristics of woman’s language should be recognized and in some way celebrated. This approach took an even greater step away from the claims made by Lakoff about women’s language as something deficient and powerless. However these three approaches towards the linguistic differences between men and women are not used to a great extent by linguists today, especially not the deficit approach which is considered to be outdated (Coates 2004: 5-7).

According to the dynamic approach, which is the most recent one, gender is no longer seen as something we are born with. Instead gender is seen as a social construction. As mentioned in Coates “what has changed is linguists’ sense that gender is not a static, add-on characteristic of speakers, but something that is accomplished in talk every time we speak.” (2004:7). This perspective was in some way mentioned early on by Lakoff when she stated that “It is sometimes claimed that there is a biological basis for this behavior difference, though I don’t believe conclusive evidence exists that the early differences in behavior that
have been observed are not the results of very different treatment of babies of the two sexes from the beginning” (Lakoff 1975, as quoted in Bucholtz 2004:45). In sum, it could be argued that earlier work in the field of language and gender often tended to reproduce sexist stereotypes. Looking at the approach linguists take today one could believe that stereotypical beliefs about language and gender do no longer exist. However, since the dynamic approach and the belief that gender is socially and culturally constructed is now the main focus for most linguists, it is important to look at the most significant cultural tool we have today. Therefore this study will use the dynamic approach as a base when analyzing the use of written language in fashion magazines.

A previous study in this field is written by Caroline Bergsten (2007:10) and called “The language of women’s and men’s magazines a study of gender-based variations”. Her study addresses several linguistic features that are believed to show differences between female and male language. She investigated the language in fashion magazines for men and fashion magazines for women and I will as far as possible compare my results to hers in my study.

1.2 Aim and Scope

The aim of my investigation is to show how adjectives are used in fashion magazines. As mentioned earlier in section 1.1, the media are one of the most important cultural tools of today and therefore I have chosen to focus on the fashion industry and fashion magazines in particular. Do fashion magazines today still describe women and men in a stereotypical manner? As mentioned in Bergsten

“Today the subject of gender based language is widely discussed. Many surveys have been made recently about women’s and men’s language in conversational acts and researchers have looked at same-sex talk and at mixed talk. The results and opinions diverge sometimes, but most often they seem to be in agreement on the fact that men use a more competitive style whereas women use a more collaborative style when conversing” (2007:3).

Will this difference between men and women’s language show in the results of a survey of written language? Are the authors and directors of these magazines aware of the signals they are sending to their readers? These are questions I hope to answer when discussing my results.

I have chosen to focus entirely on adjectives as the linguistic factor under investigation in this essay and have not added other linguistic features to the study. I decided to leave out other linguistic features in order to create more space for discussion and in order to add a
qualitative part to the essay. Since I am using the study made by Bergsten (2007:10) as a background to my own study I have also chosen to use the same categorization system and terminology as she has used. Although I am using the same categorization system as in the previous study I have also chosen to add two linguistic aspects to my study. An analysis of adjectives in predicative or attributive function and of adjectives with positive or negative connotation will be added in the results and discussion section.

2. Method

2.1 Material

In this study my primary sources are four of the biggest fashion magazines in the world. The magazines are Elle, Marie Claire, GQ and Vogue Hommes International. The names of the magazines used in this investigation will in the rest of the essay be abbreviated as (E) for Elle, (MC) for Marie Claire, and (VHI) for Vogue Hommes International whereas GQ keeps its original name. The first two are magazines addressing female readers and the last two are magazines addressing male readers. I have used two articles from each magazine and they are all from original magazines bought in Sweden. I have chosen to look at the editor’s letter which is a column that occurs in every issue and is written by the magazine editor. I have also chosen one interview with an actor, designer or singer in each of the magazines. The articles are very different in length with the shortest one with 158 words and the longest one with 4181 words. The editor’s letters in each magazine are often shorter in length and the interviews are longer. The interview article in Marie Claire magazine is written by a male author and the interview article in Vogue Hommes International is written by a female author. This is an extra-linguistic variable that will be taken into account in the qualitative section of this study.

2.2 Data

From the material introduced above I have extracted 462 adjectives from the 8 different articles. The articles consist of 9597 words together and vary in length from 158 words to 4181 words. I have gathered adjectives in both attributive and predicative function and in case of doubt of whether the item should be counted as an adjective or not I have followed the

Words that express a feature or quality of a noun or pronoun are known as adjectives (Crystal 2003:166). There are nevertheless some criteria a word has to fulfill in order to be counted as an adjective and here follows an account of these criteria with examples from the articles used in this study:

- An adjective can premodify a noun. A premodifier is the word that appears between the postdeterminer and the noun in the noun phrase. This is known as the attributive function of the adjective and is exemplified in (1).

(1). “You know what? Gordon Brown has my full and total support?” (Jones 29)

In (1) the premodifying adjectives full and total describe the noun support in the noun phrase.

- An adjective can occur alone as a complement and this is known as the predicative function of the adjective and is exemplified in (2).

(2). “Her ambition is solid, unashamed and completely justified”. (O’Riordian 2008: 31)

In (2) the postmodifying adjectives solid, unashamed and justified describe the noun ambition in the noun phrase.

- An adjective can appear in comparative or superlative form. For instance, small, smaller or difficult, more difficult. This is shown in a full sentence in (3).

(3). “What’s the biggest issue facing Britain?” (Naughton 2008: 335)

- Many adjectives can also permit the addition of the suffix –ly in order to form adverbs. An example of this from one of the articles in the primary material can be seen below.

(4) “Joe laughed hysterically, and Anne, in an amazingly deft recovery, said…” (Myers 2008:134).
The classification of adjectives according to their connotations into positive or negative concerns the values that are in general associated with them. In (5) an example of an adjective with positive connotation and in (6) an adjective with negative connotation is exemplified.

(5) “Hats off to my hard-working entertainment team this month for pulling in such an incredible roster of talent for the annual event that has become our music issue” (O’Riordian 2008:31)

(6) “Perhaps another reason we love J.Lo’s personal style is that she never gets boring…” (Myers 2008: 134)

Precise color terms are specific color terms such as beige and navy blue. A specialized color term found in the primary material of this investigation is exemplified in (7).

(7) “Armed with a magnetic personality and watery-blue eyes, this Oxford gent conveys an ideal of SEXY ELEGANCE post Jude Law” (Poirier 2008/2009: 208)

2.3 Method of Analysis
In this study I have methodically gone through the eight different articles and counted every word and then every adjective. The categories that have been used when classifying the adjectives are attributive or predicative function, connotative adjectives vs. neutral adjectives, and color terms. Based on connotative value I have also divided the adjectives into positive connotation or negative connotation. In order to find out which category each adjective belongs to I had to look at the whole sentence and context of the text and therefore some words may have been put in more than one category. In the color term category I have specifically looked at what is called precise color terms since this is one of the features previous work by linguists have pointed out as specific for ‘Woman’s Language’ (Lakoff 1975, as quoted in Bucholtz 2004:43). It is however the results of occurrences of adjectives, connotative vs. neutral adjectives and the specialized color term category that I will compare to the results of Bergsten (2007:10).
2.4 Hypotheses and Overarching Assumptions

As mentioned in section 1.2, I am going to investigate how adjectives are used in fashion magazines and I believe that there will be a difference between the adjectives chosen in the magazines that are targeting women and the magazines targeting men. This assumption I base on the fact that in previous research there are adjectives considered to be more common in ‘women’s language’ and adjectives believed to be used more in ‘male language’. More about this will be presented in section 3.1. The study will focus on the distribution of adjectives in the magazine articles under investigation. These results will be interpreted in the light of the following extra-linguistic factors and circumstances. One of the articles from the magazine addressing women is written by a man and one of the articles from the magazine addressing men is written by a woman. I believe that this extra-linguistic variable will show that the authors and directors of these magazines are very much aware of which gender their magazine is addressing and that they underline the stereotypical beliefs of women and men. The fact that authors have to adjust their language depending on which audience they are addressing is also mentioned in *Language and Gender an Introduction* where Talbot argues that “Producers of mass media discourse have to guess whom they are addressing. They have to construct an implied reader/viewer – an imaginary person in the target audience – and address that one. Their guesswork is very well informed, however. With sophisticated market research at their disposal they are not shooting in the dark by any means” (1998:179). This can be linked to the fact that women and men are seen as different audiences and therefore the language used in the different articles is likely to differ. I intend to address this issue in the qualitative part of my discussion.

3. Results and Discussion

In this section of the essay the results of the investigation will be presented. There will be six tables, one for each linguistic feature. In section 3.3 there will be two tables, one for adjectives with positive connotation and one for adjectives with negative connotation and in section 3.5 there will also be a figure presenting the results. After each table the results will be discussed. The figures of *adjectives* are given as occurrences per 100 words and the figures of *connotative vs. neutral, positive vs. negative, specialized color terms* and *attributive vs. predicative* will be presented as the percentage of the total number of adjectives, connotative adjectives and color terms. The magazines with a female audience will be presented in the left
column in each table and the magazines with a male audience will be presented in the right column.

3.1 Adjectives

The following table shows the occurrences of adjectives per 100 words in the articles. Bold font indicates the highest and lowest normalized scores.

Table 1 Occurrences of adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of adjectives</th>
<th>Normalized score</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of adjectives</th>
<th>Normalized score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (E)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>Editors letter(GQ)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shining(E)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.23</td>
<td>Spy Harder(GQ)</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>4.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter(MC)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>Editor(VHI)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyonce Knowles(MC)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td><strong>3.82</strong></td>
<td>Interview Hugh Dancy(VHI)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.38</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.21</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1 we can see that the highest normalized score is in “Edito” (VHI) and the lowest normalized score is in “Beyonce Knowles” (MC). The mean scores follow the highest and lowest normalized scores with the higher mean score in the right column and the lowest in the left column. The article with the highest normalized score is however the shortest article and the article with the lowest normalized score is one of the longer articles. These results are similar to the results in the study made by Bergsten where “…, the lowest and highest normalized scores follow the mean score” (2007:15). However if we were to disregard the highest and the lowest normalized scores the highest and lowest normalized score would instead both show in the left column where the magazines with mostly female readers are placed. This shows that there is a greater difference between the normalized scores in the women’s magazines than in the magazines addressing men. Therefore if we would take away the highest and the lowest score the results of my investigation would not follow the results by Bergsten (2007).

As mentioned in section 1.1 the linguist Robin Lakoff early on attempted to establish some features which distinguished women’s language from men’s language. One of the linguistic features was what Lakoff refers to as so called ‘empty adjectives’. ‘Empty adjectives’ are affective adjectives that express feelings with no significant meaning. Lakoff
listed a selection of adjectives divided into two groups, one neutral and one considered to be restricted to women’s language.

Neutral

great
terrific
cool

Women only

adorable
charming
sweet
lovely
divine

(Lakoff 1975, as quoted in Bucholtz 2004:45)

‘Empty adjectives’ are one of the features believed to be characteristic of ‘women’s language’ and therefore I was expecting to find a more frequent use of them in the magazines addressing women than in the magazines addressing men. Since four of the articles I have investigated were interviews with famous actors, singers or designers I assumed that the adjectives used to describe the interviewee would differ. Examples 8-11 show how the interviewees were described by the interviewer in each article. The adjectives used are italicized in the examples.

(8) “It’s pissing rain at the moment,” says a lithe rosy-cheeked Temperley … (Brazilian 2008:324)

(9) “Of course she’s beautiful and, in the vernacular, the girl’s got ‘back’… (Harvey 2008:136)

(10) “…, Britain’s biggest movie star is looking pretty Vegas[…] Not quite as pumped up, by his own choice, as he was in Casino Royale, but still a fine advertisement for 40” (Naughton 2008:278)

(11) “Armed with a magnetic personality and watery blue eyes, this Oxford gent conveys an ideal of SEXY ELEGANCE, post-Jude Law” (Poirier 2008:208)

Example (8) and (9) are from (E) and (MC) magazine and example (10) and (11) are from (GQ) and (VHI). The adjectives used in the magazines addressing female readers were lithe, rosy-cheeked and beautiful and even though these adjectives do not follow the pattern to count as an ‘empty adjective’, they can be considered stereotypical female adjectives. The adjectives used in (GQ) and (VHI) were biggest, fine, magnetic, watery blue and sexy. These adjectives chosen to describe male actors do not describe any stereotypical male characteristics or cannot be described as ‘empty adjectives’. What is most surprising about
these different ways of portraying the interviewees in the different articles is that the male interviewees are described with what can be considered neutral adjectives. *Biggest, fine* and *magnetic* are three examples of this. Neutral adjectives can be used when describing both women and men. The adjectives used to describe female interviewees are adjectives that are associated with female characteristics. Of course a man can be described as *lithe, rosy-cheeked* and *beautiful* but then it would almost be to emphasize female characteristics within a man. Another way of dividing adjectives into subgroups is to look at adjectives with connotation, which are adjectives that are associated with positive or negative values. Section 3.2 will address this specific feature of the investigation.

### 3.2 Connotative vs. ‘Neutral Adjectives’

In Table 2 you can see the percentage of connotative adjectives in comparison with the total number of adjectives that was found in all of the articles. I have chosen to label the adjectives with no connotative value as ‘neutral adjectives’. The adjectives with connotation include both positive and negative connotation. The numbers written in bold font show the highest and lowest normalized scores and the mean score in each column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of adjectives</th>
<th>Percentage connotative adjectives</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of adjectives</th>
<th>Percentage connotative adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (E)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42.31</td>
<td>Editors letter(GQ)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>20.00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shining(E)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>Spy Harder(GQ)</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter(MC)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td><strong>55.56</strong></td>
<td>Edito(VHI)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyonce Knowles(MC)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>34.74</td>
<td>Interview Hugh Dancy(VHI)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>32.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>44.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>40.65</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>70.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>33.19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the use of connotative adjectives you can see that the mean score of the adjectives with connotation is higher in the left column. The mean score also follows the highest and lowest scores in the articles with the highest score of adjectives with connotation in the left column and the lowest in the right column. The lowest score is from the “Editors letter” (GQ) with a 20 percent use of adjectives with connotation. In the previous study made by Bergsten
(2007) the highest score of connotative adjectives and the highest mean score were also found in magazines with a female target group. However, in the study made by Bergsten (2007) we could also see an article where no connotative adjectives were found. This was in one of the articles from the magazines with a male target group whereas in this study all of the articles contained connotative adjectives. I have chosen to investigate the use of connotative adjectives further and therefore the next section will contain a table and discussion of the use of adjectives with positive and negative connotation.

### 3.2.1 Positive vs. Negative Connotation

In Table 3 you can see the percentage of adjectives with positive connotation in relation to all the connotative adjectives that were found in the articles. The numbers written in bold font show the highest and lowest normalized scores and the mean score in each column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of connotative adjectives</th>
<th>Percentage positive connotation</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of connotative adjectives</th>
<th>Percentage positive connotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (E)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90.91</td>
<td>Editors letter (GQ)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shining (E)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>91.67</td>
<td>Spy Harder (GQ)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>67.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (MC)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>Edito (VHI)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyonce Knowles (MC)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>75.76</td>
<td>Interview Hugh Dancy (VHI)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>78.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>16.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>87.09</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>26.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>78.39</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 3 the percentage of adjectives with positive connotation is shown and as you can see the mean score is higher in the left column than in the right. Although the highest mean score is in the left column the highest normalized score from all of the articles is in the right column and there you also find the lowest normalized score. The highest normalized score is from the “Editors letter” in (GQ) and as mentioned in section 3.2 this was also the article with the lowest percentage of connotative adjectives in relation to all the adjectives. The highest score in this table can therefore be misleading. If the score from “Editors letter” in (GQ) was taken out of the results the highest score would instead be found in the left column, more precisely in the article “The Shining” (E). Consequently the mean score would follow the highest and lowest normalized scores. What is most interesting about investigating positive vs. negative connotation in the articles is of course to compare these two linguistic features and therefore a
table of adjectives with negative connotation will be the next step in this investigation.

In Table 4 you can see the percentage of adjectives with negative connotation in relation to all the connotative adjectives that was found in the articles. The numbers written in bold font show the highest and lowest normalized scores and the mean score in each column.

Table 4 Percentage of adjectives with negative connotation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of connotative adjectives</th>
<th>Percentage negative connotation</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of connotative adjectives</th>
<th>Percentage negative connotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (E)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>Editors letter (GQ)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shining (E)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>Spy Harder (GQ)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>32.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (MC)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>Edito (VHI)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyonce Knowles (MC)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>Interview Hugh Dancy (VHI)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>12.91</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>21.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in Table 4 the mean score is a great deal higher in the right column where the magazines addressing male readers are placed. In this column you also find the highest and lowest percentages of adjectives with negative connotation. The lowest percentage is found in the “Editors letter” (GQ) and the highest percentage is found in “Edito” from (VHI). As mentioned in section 3.2 and when discussing the results of adjectives with positive connotation the “Editors letter” from (GQ) is the article with the lowest percentage of connotative adjectives in relation to all adjectives in the article. Therefore it is interesting to leave out this score in this table as well and look at the results without the score from this article. When leaving the lowest score out we can see that for the rest of the articles in the right column the normalized figures are in general a great deal higher than the normalized scores in the left column. The only exception from this is the article from (MC) magazine “Beyonce Knowles” where the score is in the same range as the scores in the right column.

Strangely enough we can see from these results that all of the articles showed a higher percentage in Table 3 were adjectives with positive connotation was presented than in Table 4 were adjectives with negative connotation was presented. I had expected that at least one of the articles would contain more negatively charged adjectives. This assumption is only based on my own prejudices; I believed the articles addressing male readers to be ruthless and insensitive and therefore the use of negatively charged adjectives would be greater than the use of adjectives with positive connotation. However, even though the scores were higher in Table 3 in comparison to Table 4 in all the articles, the difference in scores between the
magazines with female audience and male audience is very noticeable. There are a higher number of adjectives with negative connotation in the magazines with mostly male readers than in the magazines addressing female readers.

### 3.3 Specialized Color Terms

Table 5 shows the percentage of specialized color terms in relation to all the color terms that were found in the articles. The numbers written in bold font show the highest and lowest normalized scores and the mean score in each column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of color terms</th>
<th>Percentage of specialized color terms</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of color terms</th>
<th>Percentage of specialized color terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (E)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>Editors letter(GQ)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shining(E)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>Spy Harder(GQ)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter(MC)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>Edito(VHI)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyonce Knowles(MC)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>Interview Hugh Dancy(VHI)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.25</strong></td>
<td><strong>50.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of specialized color terms is interesting since it is seen as a typical female linguistic feature. However as we can see in Table 5 the results of my study contradicts previous research where specialized color terms is seen as a linguistic feature representative of ‘woman’s language’. (Lakoff 1975, as quoted in Bucholtz 2004:43). Lakoff explains that “Women, then, make far more precise discriminations in naming colours than do men; words like beige, ecru, aquamarine, lavender and so on are unremarkable in a woman’s active vocabulary, but absent from that of most men” (2004:43). On the other hand in the articles were the normalized score is 100 % only one color term was found and in the only article in the left column were color terms were found the number of color terms was no higher than 5. Because of the low overall frequencies it is difficult to draw any conclusions. One explanation for why the use of specialized color terms was greater in number in the right column is that these magazines are addressing issues where it is not considered female to use such words. When writing about fashion or acting one could think that it is much more accepted to use specialized color terms than in for example magazines addressing more “masculine” issues.
3.4 Attributive vs. Predicative

In Table 6 and Figure 1 you can see the percentage of adjectives with attributive and predicative function in relation to all the adjectives in the articles. In Table 6 you can see the highest and lowest scores from all of the 8 articles, which are in bold font.

Table 6 Percentage of adjectives in attributive and predicative function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of adjectives</th>
<th>Perc Attr.</th>
<th>Perc Pred.</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Total number of adjectives</th>
<th>Perc Attr.</th>
<th>Perc Pred.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter (E)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>92.31</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>Editors letter(GQ)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shining(E)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>Spy Harder(GQ)</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>62.56</td>
<td>47.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editors letter(MC)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72.22</td>
<td>22.22</td>
<td>Editor(VHI)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>73.33</td>
<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyonce Knowles(MC)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>52.63</td>
<td>47.37</td>
<td>Interview Hugh Dancy(VHI)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>89.66</td>
<td>5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>44.75</td>
<td>76.17</td>
<td>22.45</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>70.75</td>
<td>76.39</td>
<td>23.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Sveen’s analysis adjectival descriptions of male and female characters in Victorian and contemporary children’s fiction, she states that “It was shown that the use of attributive versus predicative function in the domains varied to a greater extent between male and female characters in the contemporary than in the Victorian material. Attributive function was more common with female than male characters and predicative function more common with male than female characters in all domains in the contemporary material except two” (2005:134). Even though this previous study is based on children’s fiction books it is interesting to see that a difference in the use of attributive and predicative function has been found in previous research.

What is interesting about this feature in my study is whether we can see any differences between the magazines addressing women and the magazines addressing men with the use of adjectives in attributive and predicative function. As shown in Table 6 we can see that the highest and lowest normalized scores of the adjectives in attributive function are both in the left column of the table and that the highest and lowest scores of the adjectives in predicative function are both in the right column. Still the highest normalized score is also found in the left column. From these scores we can draw the conclusion that the variation within the
magazines addressing women and the magazines addressing men is greater than the variation between the magazines addressing different genders. A general observation is that the use of adjectives in attributive function is higher than predicative function. The smallest difference between the syntactical functions can be seen in “Beyonce Knowles” (MC) where 47, 37% of the adjectives had predicative function and 52, 63% had attributive function. The largest difference can be seen in “Interview with Hugh Dancy” (VHI). These two articles are also the only articles with an author of the opposite gender. In order to get a better overview of the results of this linguistic feature I present the distribution of attributive and predicative function below.

3.5 Qualitative Discussion

This section of the essay will focus on an analysis of the interview with Beyonce Knowles in (MC) magazine and the interview with Hugh Dancy in (VHI). The reason for choosing these two articles for my qualitative discussion is that the interview in (MC) magazine has a male author and the interview in (VHI) has a female author. First I will address whether there is any noticeable differences between these articles compared to the other articles. Then an analysis of one specific paragraph in each article will follow.

The main difference between the Beyonce Knowles interview, the Hugh Dancy
interview and the rest of the articles addressing the same gender can be seen in Tables 1, 3, 4 and 5. However as mentioned in section 3.3 the data for the feature in Table 5 were so few in number that any conclusions drawn would be deficient. In Table 1 we can see that “Beyonce Knowles” (MC) had the lowest normalized frequency of adjectives of all articles and the lowest score in the left column with 3.82% of occurrences of adjectives per 100 words. The Interview with Hugh Dancy had the second highest score in the right column with 6.12% of occurrences of adjectives per 100 words. Linking back to previous research where women are said to use adjectives more frequently and be more descriptive these articles demonstrate the authors’ gender very well (Lakoff 1975, as quoted in Bocholt 2004:45). The question of whether the authors change their use of language in order to fit the readers cannot be said to be supported in this case.

Another example of where one could say that the gender of the authors is mirrored in the text is in the first paragraph of each article. Both these articles have an introductory paragraph where the person interviewed is being presented. In both articles these paragraphs are printed and give the reader the first impression of what angle the article is going to take. Example (12) is the opening paragraph in “Beyonce Knowles” (MC) and (13) is the introductory paragraph in the interview with Hugh Dancy (VHI). The specific words and sentences that will be discussed are given in the examples.

(12) “With the music, a movie career, perfume and endorsement galore, we already know Beyonce is a one-woman industry. But what’s behind the multi-million-dollar smile and will she ever speak about her marriage to hip-hop mogul Jay-Z?”(Harvey 2008:135)

(13) “Decidedly on the rise. Alternating between costume dramas and more muscle-flexing roles, Hugh Dancy is certainly turning heads. Armed with a magnetic personality and watery-blue eyes, this Oxford gent conveys an ideal of SEXY ELEGANCE, post-Jude Law “(Porrier 2008:208)

As already mentioned these paragraphs guide the reader’s first impression of the interviews and this is also one of the reasons I have chosen to use them for my qualitative discussion. Another reason for choosing these specific pieces of the text was that when I read them I instantly got the feeling of how different the use of language was. As displayed in (12) the focus in the paragraph is put on Beyonce’s previous accomplishments and the only reference to her looks is in the sentence “But what’s behind the multi-million-dollar smile”. You immediately get the impression that this article will focus on Beyonce as a ‘business woman’ and not model, singer or actress. This is even more emphasized in the description of Beyonce
as a “one-woman industry”. This description gives the impression of a strong independent woman, characteristics not stereotypically associated with women.

Moving on to example (13) the first impression of the interview with actor Hugh Dancy is almost the total opposite. Even though his previous accomplishments are mentioned when saying that he is “Alternating between costume dramas and more muscle-flexing roles,” the fact that his roles are ‘muscle-flexing’ gives the sense of him being a muscular, masculine man. To further stress his ability to attract the opposite sex he is described as someone who is “turning heads” and more images of his looks are being put into the text. He has a “magnetic personality” and “watery-blue eyes”. What is most interesting about this section however is the fact that he is described as a man with “SEXY ELEGANCE, post- Jude Law”. These words are even more stressed since they are capitalized and the eye of the reader is immediately drawn there.

Beyonce is a “one-woman industry” and Hugh Dancy is “turning heads” with his “sexy elegance”. Neither of these descriptions falls into the stereotypical descriptions we are used to associating with men and women. The fact that focus is put on achievement in (MC) magazine and focus is put on physical appearance in (VHI) goes against the stereotypical descriptions of men and women we are used to read in these kinds of magazines. Referring back to the research question in section 1.2 of whether the authors and editors of these magazines are aware of the signals they are sending to their readers, these two examples illustrate the reverse. Here the female author has used more stereotypical female features in language despite the fact that she is writing for a ‘men’s magazine’. For example in Table 5 we can see that the interview with Hugh Dancy was one of the two articles where ‘specialized color terms’ were found. Even though the male author for (MC) does not use ‘typical’ features for ‘women’s language’ it is the focus of the text that differentiates it from the other articles in the same magazine.

It is of course difficult to draw the conclusion that the authors do not adjust their language according to which audience they are addressing only by looking at these two paragraphs. However when investigating media and gender roles it has been stated that “Women’s magazines are, of course, all about the social construction of womanhood today (just as men’s lifestyle magazines, as we have seen, are all about the social construction of men” (Gauntlett 2004:187). It may be that there is a reason for the author to choose this kind of language. The interview with Beyonce Knowles (MC) is an article where the focus is put on her as a strong independent woman. This also permeates the rest of the interview. Since
typical ‘woman’s language’ can be considered powerless the use of more male language can be a tool used to create a more powerful image of her.

4. Summary and Conclusion

The aim of my investigation was to show how adjectives were used in fashion magazines and whether fashion magazines today still describe women and men in a stereotypical manner. I also wanted to see if the gender of the author had any impact on the language used in the articles. I believed that there would be no notable difference between articles written by a man or woman with the opposite sex as target group. In other words, since previous research has shown that the authors adjust their language according to the gender they are writing to I believed this would be the fact for my study as well.

To sum up the results we can see that in the adjective section no clear difference was found in the results between the magazines addressing men and women. The findings did not match previous research findings either where women are said to be more descriptive than men. The stereotypical ‘female’ adjectives were used in descriptions in the magazines addressing women but in the magazines addressing men the adjectives used in descriptions were more neutral. No signs of wider use of ‘empty’ adjectives were found in the women’s magazines. Adjectives with connotation were used more frequently in the articles addressing women and we could also see that the use of positive connotation were overall higher in the magazines addressing women. The findings in section 3.4 show that the use of adjectives in attributive function was higher than the adjectives in predicative function in all the articles in this investigation. The two articles with the greatest and smallest difference, respectively between the use of attributive and predicative function were the articles written by an author of the opposite sex. These two articles followed the pattern for what can be seen as typical ‘women’s’ and ‘men’s language’ more than the other articles addressing the same gender. This was very surprising to me since I believed that the author would change their use of language considering the audience. For this reason I also believed that the editor would have changed the language in order to fit the audience.

Bergsten writes “I have also noticed that the gender of the implied reader does not matter sometimes when it comes to men writing for women’s magazines” (2007: 10). The results of my study also showed that the author’s gender did have some impact on the
language used. The article from a women’s magazine with a male author and the article from a men’s magazine with a female author stood out in comparison to the other articles with the same gender as target group in almost all linguistic features. A difference could also be seen in example (11) and (12), where the authors are using features typical of their gender instead of features typical of the implied reader. One conclusion that could be drawn from this is that the authors are starting to get more free hands when it comes to the language they use. On the other hand it could be quite the opposite; it all depends on the message the magazine wants to give to their reader. If the message is that Beyoncé Knowles is just as good as any man then the use of more masculine language could be easily justified. The same could be said about the interview with Hugh Dancy where the purpose of the article could be to describe him as a ‘metro sexual man’ and therefore the female author is allowed to use more ‘feminine language’.

The conclusions that were drawn from this study cannot be generalized since this is a very small study with little primary material and data. Suggestions for further research could first of all be to collect more primary material, especially to collect more articles with authors of the opposite sex from the reader. Then it would be possible to see whether the results from this study are coincidental or if we can see a pattern in the use of language in men and women’s magazines.

Since gender is embedded into everything in today’s society “Researchers now analyze spoken and written data with the aim of understanding how gender is constructed in everyday life and of assessing the role of language in creation and maintenance of contemporary masculinities and femininities” (Coates 2004: 221). Since the media are such an important tool in today’s society it is important to keep questioning the message they are sending to their readers. To analyze this kind of written material is also a way of discovering whether the language of women and men are socially constructed with the help of media and the different strategies authors and editors uses. This automatically links back to the dynamic approach mentioned in section 1.1 where the different approaches towards language and gender were presented. However to completely erase stereotypical beliefs about women and men’s use of language and other differences in their behavior can be seen as almost impossible. However the fact that this issue is now brought to the surface and questioned is a good start. My study is just a small input to the debate but as it is said one person cannot do it all but all of us can do something.
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Myers, R. 2008. “This Time It’s Personal” Elle Number, 134
Naughton, C. 2008. “Spy Harder” GQ November, 277-283, 334-335
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Poirier, A.C. 2008/2009. Interview with Actor Hugh Dancy Vogue Hommes International Issue 08 Fall/Winter, 208-216

Secondary Sources

Appendix: Adjectives Included in the Study

1. Elle

Editors Letter
Words: 670
Adjectives: 26
1. Personal
2. Eloquent
3. Deft
4. Ineffable
5. Brief
6. Eponymous
7. Regular
8. Rumpled.
9. Great
10. Surprising
11. Individual
12. Insistent
13. Plunging-necked
14. Sexiest
15. Favorite
16. Boring
17. Short
18. Dark
19. Big
20. Little
21. Tasteful
22. Thorough
23. Personal
24. Freudian
25. Insightful
26. Preppy

Connotative: 11 (42, 30%)
Positive
1. Eloquent
2. Deft
3. Ineffable
4. Great
5. Surprising
6. Individual
7. Sexiest
8. Favorite
9. Tasteful
10. Insightful

Negative
1. Boring

Color terms: 0
Specialized color terms: 0 (0%)

The Shining
Words: 553
Adjectives: 40
1. Big
2. Eccentric
3. Sexy
4. Converted
5. Lithe
6. Rosy-cheeked
7. Giant
8. Old-fashioned-looking

Connotative: 12 (30%)
Positive
1. Sexy
2. Lithe
3. Eye-catching
4. Bold
5. Flamboyant
6. Popular
7. Famous
8. Skin-nourishing
9. Brisk
10. Fresh
11. Healthy

Negative
1. Dowdy

Color terms: 5
1. Gold
2. Black onyx
3. Gold-foil
4. Black
5. Red

Specialized color terms: 2 (40%)
2. Marie Claire

Editors Letter
Words: 273
Adjectives: 18
1. Hard-working
2. Incredible
3. Annual
4. Home-grown
5. Great
6. Easy
7. Musical
8. Strange
9. Exceptional
10. Bad

Connotative: 10 (55, 5%)
Positive
1. Hard-working
2. Incredible
3. Great
4. Exceptional
5. Great
6. Larger-than-life
7. Solid
8. Unashamed
9. Good

Negative
1. Bad

Color terms: 0
Specialized color terms: 0 (0%)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Honest</td>
<td>1. Shy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Beautiful</td>
<td>2. Strange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Warm</td>
<td>3. Difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Friendly</td>
<td>4. Angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. True</td>
<td>5. Crass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Honeyed</td>
<td>6. Cruellest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Good</td>
<td>7. Inappropriate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Likable</td>
<td>8. Scary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Great</td>
<td>10. Nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Incredible</td>
<td>11. Hilarious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Romantic</td>
<td>15. Fearless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Strong</td>
<td>17. Hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Strong</td>
<td>18. Inappropriate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Talented</td>
<td>20. Difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Fearless</td>
<td>22. Hilarious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Amazing</td>
<td>23. Inappropriate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Connotative:** 33 (34, 7%)
24. Nice
25. Fabulous

**Color terms:** 3
1. Brown
2. Black
3. Black

**Specialized color terms:** 0 (0%)

3. GQ

**Editors Letter**

**Words:** 329

**Adjectives:** 15

1. Off-colour
2. Indiscreet
3. Anecdote-heavy
4. Extraordinary
5. Delightful
6. New
7. Fascinating
8. New
9. Perceptive
10. Political
11. Funny
12. Sincere
13. Easy
14. Full
15. Total

**Spy Harder**

**Words:** 4181

**Adjectives:** 195

**Connotative:** 3 (20%)

**Positive**

1. Extraordinary
2. Delightful
3. Fascinating

**Color terms:** 2
1. Brown
2. Black

**Specialized color terms:** 0 (0%)

1. Breathtaking
2. Sky-high
3. New
4. Big
5. Perfect
6. Former
7. Short
8. Similar
9. Short
10. New
11. New
12. New
13. Critical
14. New
15. New
16. Record-breaking
17. The best
18. Difficult
19. Crazy
20. Crazy
21. Accident prone
22. Crazy
23. Interchangeable
24. Far-flung
25. Serious
26. Gravest
27. Possible
28. Wrong
29. Tiny
30. Biggest
31. Fine
32. Plenty
33. Intense
34. International
35. Bigger
36. Confident
37. Decent
38. Good
39. Interesting
40. Deceitful
41. Unsurprised
42. Beautiful
43. Stunning
44. Former
45. Amorous
46. Complex
47. New
48. New
49. Classic
50. New
51. Obvious
52. Rested
53. Higher
54. Faster
55. Stronger
56. Higher
57. Spectacular
58. Aerial
59. Exciting
60. Faster
61. Stronger
62. Different
63. Hard
64. Different
65. Strong
66. Different
67. Different
68. Only
69. Strong
70. Emotional
71. Complicated
72. Amazing
73. Sexual
74. Interesting
75. Simple
76. Emotional
77. Deep
78. Amazing
79. Human
80. Plastic
81. Total
82. Remarkable
83. Bad
84. Every
85. Happy
86. Offensive
87. Honest
88. Offensive
89. The best
90. Every
91. Horrendous
92. Better
93. Only
94. Offensive
95. Frosty
96. Written-off
97. Obscene
98. Early
99. Wet
100. Fine
101. Chilean
102. Local
103. Every
104. Bad
105. Ludicrous
106. Different
107. Little
108. Normal
109. Full
110. Full
111. Full
112. Red
113. Stupid
114. Obsessive
115. Ridiculous
116. Fat
117. Old
118. Confident
119. Comfortable
120. Secure
121. Straight
122. Straight
123. Funny
124. Cynical
125. Ambitious
126. Private
127. Famous
128. Blue
129. Fucking
130. Highest
131. Testosterone heavy
132. Competitive
133. Big
134. Ultra-emphatic
135. Physical
136. Every
137. Undivided
138. Inspired
139. Meat-headed
140. Fickle
141. Unpredictable
142. Simple
143. Possible
144. Simple
145. Testing
146. Different
147. Long
148. Difficult
149. Majestic
150. Beautiful
151. Ridiculous
152. Great
153. Fantastic
154. Whiny
155. Inevitable
156. Fine
157. Big
158. Confident
159. Better
160. Emotional
161. Red
162. White
163. Red
164. Different
165. Profound
166. Easy
167. Entire
168. Obsessed
169. Addictive
170. Real
171. Great
172. Best-dressed
173. Nice
174. Easier
175. Nice
176. Good

177. New
178. Wrong
179. Skinny
180. Cool
181. New
182. Nice
183. Every
184. Biggest
185. Cultural
186. Political
187. Proper
188. Hot
189. Interesting
190. Only
191. New
192. Important
193. Scared
194. Freaked out
195. Conservative

Connotative: 78 (40%)
Positive

1. Perfect

Negative

1. Accident-prone
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Interesting</td>
</tr>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Beautiful</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Stunning</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Amorous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Stronger</td>
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<td>Exciting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Amazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Possible</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Majestic</td>
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<td>18.</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Fantastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Amazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Remarkable</td>
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<td>24.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Scared</td>
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Color terms: 5
1. Red
2. Blue
3. Red
4. White
5. Red

Specialized color terms: 0 (0%)

3. Vogue Hommes International

Edito
Words: 158
Adjectives: 15
1. Latest
2. Attention-grabbing
3. Everyday
4. in-your-face
5. Less life-threatening
6. Instant
7. Fearful
8. Resplendent
9. Silver
10. Exclusive
11. Young
12. Next
13. Murky
14. Favorite
15. Dark

Connotative: 6 (40%)
Positive
1. Less life-threatening
2. Resplendent
3. Exclusive
4. Favorite
Negative
1. Fearful
2. Murky

Color terms: 1
1. Silver

Specialized color terms: 1(100%)

Interview Hugh Dancy
Words: 947
Adjectives: 58
1. Muscle-flexing
2. Magnetic
3. Watery-blue
4. Sexy
5. New
6. Frizzy
7. Young
8. Idealistic
9. Dashing
10. Californian
11. Intellectual
12. Young
13. Female
14. Unfolding
15. Numerous
16. Enviable
17. Unruly
18. Perfect
19. Exciting
20. Real
21. Big
22. High-prestige
23. Regional
24. Traditional
25. Lucky
26. Popular
27. Full–costume
28. Literary
29. Authentic
30. Starchy
31. British
32. Handsome
33. Young
34. Romantic
35. British
36. Classy
37. Enjoyable
38. Big
39. British
40. Difficult
41. British
42. British
43. Impressive
44. Good
45. American
46. British
47. European
48. Recent
49. Real-life
50. Small
51. Independent
52. Young
53. Animated
54. French
55. Francophile
56. Interesting
57. Hard
**Connotative:** 19 (32, 76 %)

**Positive**

1. Magnetic
2. Idealistic
3. Dashing
4. Intellectual
5. Enviable
6. Perfect
7. Exciting
8. Lovelier
9. Lucky
10. Popular
11. Handsome
12. Romantic
13. Classy
14. Enjoyable
15. Impressive
16. Good
17. Interesting

**Negative**

1. Unruly
2. Difficult

**Color terms:** 1

1. Watery-blue

**Specialized color terms:** 1 (100%)