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Attitudes Toward Homosexuality

A Quantitative Study of Evaluative Adjectives in Digital Newspaper
Articles

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Abstract

In this study, societal attitudes toward sexual minorities are investigated through analyzing journalists' use of evaluative adjectives in newspaper articles regarding famous homosexual couples compared to famous heterosexual couples. In this study, differences in attitudes between male and female journalists are also investigated. The aim is to investigate evaluative adjectives and how often they occur in order to find patterns that could indicate societal attitudes toward sexual minorities. The method used for this research was a close reading of the articles chosen and determining whether the evaluative adjectives were positive or negative in each specific context. The results were then normalized for the purpose of comparison between articles. The results of the study indicate that female journalists use more adjectives in general compared to male journalists. The results also indicate that journalists use more positive adjectives when writing about famous heterosexual couples, compared to famous homosexual couples. Also, male homosexual couples are portrayed more positively than female homosexual couples.

Keywords: Adjectives, evaluative adjectives, heteronormativity, hegemonic values, masculinity, gender studies, heterosexuality, homosexuality

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1. Introduction

Sexuality is a topic which people tend to have extensive opinions on for different reasons. Due to these opinions, homosexuality is prohibited in many countries worldwide and in some countries, it is even considered criminal and is therefore punishable by a sentence, or even death in some countries. For example, according to Ndoye & Onekekou (2019, pp. 89-90), homosexuality is prohibited by the Islamic Sharia law and is, thereby, criminalized and the death penalty is applied in some cases. According to Amnesty International, homosexuality is a crime in 70 countries and in 10 countries it is possible to get the death penalty for being homosexual. Amnesty International also claims that according to article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to express themselves freely and, thereby, love whom they want and be who they are in terms of sexuality and gender identity.

One way to impact people's attitudes toward homosexuality is by media coverage. Whether a newspaper writes about sexual minorities as a crime or as something natural and beautiful, it will most likely impact the way the reader sees sexual minorities to some extent. As a reader, it is easy to discover attitudes toward a topic if a journalist writes, for example, about a human right as a crime. However, journalists' attitudes toward a topic can be disguised in non-controversial topics, but can be discovered through, for example, analyzing the adjectival usage.

This study will investigate multiple journalists' use of adjectives in different articles published by the Daily Mail. The Daily Mail is a British company, but most of the journalists used for this study are based in the United States. Since same-sex marriage is legal in both England and state-wide in the United States, articles that suggest that homosexuality is a crime most likely will not be found, however, possible attitudes toward homosexuals may still be discovered through their use of adjectives.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this essay is to research what adjectives are used in newspaper articles published by the Daily Mail regarding famous homosexual couples compared to famous heterosexual couples. 32 articles in total will be analyzed, and the adjectives detected will be divided into groups of positive and negative in order to determine whether the journalists portray homosexuals and heterosexuals differently in terms of their usage of positive and/or negative adjectives. The aim, therefore, is also to research attitudes toward sexual minorities and find coherences and disparities between attitudes concerning

homosexuality and heterosexuality. The hypothesis for this research is that famous homosexual couples are portrayed more negatively than famous heterosexual couples in articles published by the Daily Mail, and that this can be uncovered through the journalists' usage of adjectives. The research questions that will be answered in this essay are:

- Do male or female journalists use more evaluative adjectives in newspaper articles regarding famous heterosexual couples, and in newspaper articles regarding famous homosexual couples?
- Are famous homosexual couples portrayed more or less positively in newspaper articles published by the Daily Mail compared to famous heterosexual couples?
- Are there any difference in the use of positive or negative adjectives between articles regarding female homosexual couples vs. male homosexual couples?

2. Previous Research

In this section, previous research relevant to this essay will be presented as well as a definition of adjectives and how adjectives will be used in this research. The previous research focuses on six areas. The first is heteronormativity and hegemonic values in relation to this study. The second area consists of a distinction of women's language use. Third, public discourses of gay men will be discussed. Fourth, evaluative adjectives will be defined. Fifth, a historical and present overview of how sexual minorities have been presented in media, and sixth, what effect media has on society and, thereby, societal attitudes toward sexual minorities. All the previous research presented are relevant in order to discuss the results from this research, which will be presented in section 4.

2.1 Heteronormativity and hegemonic values

Two aspects of dominance that are of relevance for this study are heteronormativity and hegemonic values. These two aspects correlate in terms of their supremacy over the deviating norm, which in this study refers to sexual minorities being oppressed compared to heterosexuals and media as the hegemony controlling society.

Yolanda Dreyer (2007) from the University of Pretoria writes about homophobia caused by heteronormativity. She describes heteronormativity as a senseless disapproval of sexual minorities, which results in oppression in terms of viciousness, abandonment, and separation (2007, p. 5). She also defines the term homophobia as a phenomenon where

people are terrified of the feeling surrounding the love between members of the same sex which contributed to a hatred of those people (Dreyer, 2007, p. 6). She also claims that heteronormativity stems from homophobia and heterosexism, which she describes as the belief that heterosexuality is an inherited superiority and has the right to dominance.

Dreyer (2007, p. 9) also refers to various studies conducted by Herek and states that research has shown that a person's experience with homosexuality is likely to affect their attitudes. She writes that a person with less experience is more likely to be more homophobic. Also, homophobic people are less likely to seek contact with homosexuals but if they do, they are more likely to have a negative experience. The level of experience of homosexuality is therefore an important factor in terms of homophobia.

Another aspect that affects homophobia is gender. Cullen et al. (2002, p. 130) claim that women tend to be less likely to be homophobic compared to men. They state, in accordance with other researchers, that characteristics such as acting tough, successful, independent, and aggressive is embodied with being a heterosexual man and that these characteristics may be enhanced by expressing prejudicial opinions regarding homosexuality. Another reason why men tend to be more homophobic than women is that positive attitudes toward homosexuality may interfere with their masculinity and their own sexuality may be questioned. It is therefore possible that heterosexual men's homophobia stems from the need to affirm their heterosexuality (Cullen et al., 2002, p. 130). Women can also be homophobic, but their homophobia does not typically stem from insecurities regarding their own sexuality, but due to ideological issues such as religious beliefs (Cullen et al., 2002, p. 130).

The other aspect of dominance relevant to the study is the idea of hegemony, or hegemonic values. Hegemony is a widely used word that can be applied in many different situations and settings. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the word *hegemony* means "the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others" (Cambridge Dictionary I). Savas Çoban (2018) has a similar description of the word. He writes that the word originates from the Greek word 'hegemonia' and that it suggests an element in a system that is dominant or superior to others (2018, pp. 90–91). He further relates to Antonio Gramsci's work which focuses on the power held the superior class with the approval of the others. He writes: "Hegemony, which is not a forced regime, is mostly understood as a cultural and ideological method that operates based on bourgeois values" (Çoban, 2018, pp. 90–91). Çoban also points out that

hegemony occurs in every sphere where political power exists and that this political power exists everywhere where humans exist in society (2018, p. 91)

Hegemonic values can be noticed in terms of sexuality, and thereby heteronormativity. Haywood et al. (2018, p. 99) describe heteronormativity and the hegemonic values surrounding the concept as follows:

Heteronormativity is often used as a theoretical concept in Gender Studies and in studies on men and masculinities. Although heteronormativity theoretically focuses on and problematizes the dominant position of heterosexuality in society, it sometimes seems to create a certain confusion when applied to individuals' lives and choices. [...] In terms of masculinity, heteronormativity often tends to imply certain masculine ideals in general and specific forms of masculine power in particular. The concept thus often implies how a specific hegemonic heterosexual masculinity is being positioned against, and even established through, the Othering of gay men or, sometimes, men striving for gender equality

Heteronormativity is, thereby, often the ruling hegemony which includes white, heterosexual males with non-queer values. This type of masculinity tends to be privileged and taken for granted and is therefore normalized and neutralized (Haywood et al., 2018, p. 102). The values and notions of the normative white, heterosexual male are not only tied to perceptions and opinions, but also viewed as fundamental structures in society. Therefore, sexuality and gender oppression are rooted in societal structures (Haywood et al., 2018, pp. 102–103).

Another aspect of hegemony relevant to the study is its correlation with media. Çoban (2018, p. 2) points out Gramsci's definition of hegemony in relation to media's role in society. He writes:

Gramsci's works on hegemony and defining the media's role within this context were important progresses. He, who put forward the notion that hegemony can not only be obtained by coercion but also through public consent, brought another perspective to the subject by putting a spotlight on how newspapers are used to aggravate public opinion.

Çoban continues and states that the ruling class controls the public through media, and that media is a socialization device that is important to create public crowds (2018, p. 2).

Also, he claims that media is the main source of information for many people and the relation between media and power relationships becoming increasingly important. Similarly, he claims that media is the tool used for ideological hegemony and propaganda since the societal supremacy need to spread their ideology in order to sustain their power. Otherwise, others will challenge this supremacy and new ideological hegemonies will take over (Çoban, 2018, p. 103). Therefore, media is used to impose hegemonic values by the leaders onto the lower and less influential classes.

This study focuses on how famous homosexual couples are portrayed in newspaper articles compared to heterosexual couples, written by both male and female journalists. The concept of heteronormativity is, therefore, of interest since possible patterns within the two categories may indicate that heteronormativity is present even in newspaper articles that do not focus on sexuality, but famous couples that happen to be either homo- or heterosexual. In accordance with Dreyer (2007) and Haywood et al. (2018, pp. 102–103), heteronormativity can cause homophobia and, following Çoban's (2018, p. 2) idea of media being controlled by the superiors, this would indicate that possible attitudes noticed in newspaper articles stem from the societal supremacy and, therefore, that the societal supremacy cause homophobia through heteronormativity.

2.2 Women's language

Lakoff (2004) has studied gender differences within language usage. One major difference between male and female language use is that women tend to give more precise descriptions, of, for example, colors. Lakoff gives an example that it is considered 'normal' for a woman to say "The wall is mauve" (2004, p. 43), but if a man said the same sentence it could be concluded that he was either making fun of a woman, was gay, or had a profession that is considered female. Lakoff explains that the reason for this could be that "men tend to relegate to women things that are not of concern to them, or do not involve their egos. [...] Since women are not expected to make decisions on important matters, such as what kind of job to hold, they are relegated to noncrucial decisions as a sop" (2004, p. 43). Lakoff thereby claims that the reason for variation between male and female language usage stems from gender and social inequality.

Lakoff (2004) also states that there is a difference in the usage of adjectives between men and women. Lakoff (2004) gives a list of so-called neutral adjectives, including the words *great*, *terrific*, *cool*, *neat*, and she also gives a list of adjectives that are confined to women's speech. This list includes the words *adorable*, *charming*, *sweet*, *lovely*, and

divine (Lakoff 2004, p. 45). Lakoff explains that if a man were to use the adjectives listed that are typically considered 'female', it could damage his reputation. Although women have a choice between 'neutral' and 'female' words, the choice of word may cause others to view her personality differently. For example, whether a woman says "What a terrific idea!" or "What a divine idea!" (Lakoff 2004, p. 46) can cause others to view her differently. The use of the word 'terrific' is considered more appropriate, while the use of the word 'divine' is more restricted. Lakoff (2004, p. 47) gives an example and says that if a woman would use these two words at an advertising conference, she would likely get the others' approval if she used the word 'terrific' than if she used the word 'divine' and that if she used the word 'divine', the others may even be judgmental of her sex in relation to her career.

2.3 Public Discourses of Gay Men

Baker (2005) aims to analyze how homosexual men are talked about in different settings, for example in newspapers. In the introductory chapter of the book, Baker states that "corpus linguistics has not tended to focus on sexuality/gender" (2005, p. 5). He further describes how this specific work aims to bridge corpus linguistics and sexuality/gender together "by showing that each has something to offer the other and that by working in tangent, they can produce illuminating research outcomes." (Baker 2005, p. 5).

In Baker's (2005) work, he also gives an explanation of homosexual discourses in British newspapers along with an analysis of two popular tabloid newspapers, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Mirror*. Baker (2005, p. 60) begins chapter three by giving an example of how the tabloid newspaper the *Sunday Mirror* published an article called 'How to Spot a Possible Homo' in 1963. He goes on to argue that articles like the one just mentioned were more common before the decriminalization of homosexuality in the United Kingdom which took place in 1967 (Baker 2005, p. 60). Baker writes:

It could be argued that, since decriminalization, and particularly over the last ten years, social attitudes toward homosexuality have changed, and it is unlikely that mainstream newspapers today would consider printing this kind of story (Baker, 2005, p. 60)

Although newspapers like the Daily Mail and/or the Mirror do not publish articles that discriminate homosexuals, they still "produce discourses of homosexuality which are often negative" (Baker 2005, p. 60). Baker gives an example of articles published by various tabloid newspapers regarding Peter Mandelson, a former government minister of

Labour who is gay (2005, p. 60). He suggests that these articles were discriminating against Mandelson, but in a more subtle way compared to articles about homosexuals in the 1960s (Baker 2005, pp. 60–61). Baker also points out an important aspect regarding the example of the discourses surrounding Mandelson, he writes:

[B]y writing about a particular gay man, rather than gay men en masse, it becomes more difficult for complaints of discrimination to be leveled at a newspaper. For example, it could be argued that the media's negative treatment of Peter Mandelson is restricted to Peter Mandelson, not about gay men in general. (Baker, 2005, p. 61).

Baker also states that even though attitudes are not prevailed as obviously today compared to the 1960s, newspapers still impact the readers' opinions. Baker (2005, p. 61) points out that people read newspapers every day and that the concealed attitude of the newspaper has a cumulative effect.

Newspapers are therefore ideal sites where the incremental effect of discourse can take place. A negative or ambiguous word, phrase or association may not amount to much on its own, but if similar sentiments appear on a regular basis, then the discourse will become more powerful, penetrating into society's subconscious as the given way of thinking. (Baker, 2005, pp. 61–62).

In other words, attitudes in newspaper articles may not be as obvious today as during the 1960s, for example, but the way homosexuals are talked about will affect the reader, which makes the newspaper's representation of homosexuals very important.

2.4 Sexual Minorities in Media

In a study presented by Gibson (2004, p. 90), the results confirm that articles published before the 1960s were highly critical of sexual minorities. However, attitudes toward sexual minorities in mass media changed and became more accepting through the increased media coverage regarding sexual minorities due to the 1970s gay rights movement and the AIDS pandemic during the 1980s (Gibson, 2004, p. 90). Also, according to Gibson (2004, p. 90), in August 2002, the New York Times announced that they would begin publishing same-sex commitment reports in their Sunday Styles section along with heterosexual wedding announcements.

In an article published in 2000, Hart (2000, pp. 4–5) claims that sexual minorities have been portrayed as mentally ill, but that there is a change in attitudes and in the way sexual minorities are portrayed, even though they are usually portrayed stereotypically. Hart (2000, p. 12) also suggests that if sexual minorities are represented in the media at all, they are usually presented as promiscuous or as men who are infected with HIV.

According to Poole (2014, pp. 279–280), heteronormative identities and ideals dominate the media coverage and media tend to stereotype sexual minorities which have negative consequences for those who do not fit into these norms. Through various studies, Birch et al. (2017, p. 2) conclude that media “in a large part, is driven by heterosexuality and its dominance in society, which can engender homophobia in society”. Birch et al. (2017, p. 2) further explain that media has the power to construct a reader’s reality which in turn “sustains unequal power within the social world”.

2.5 Media’s Effect on Society

If language determines someone’s surroundings, media plays an important role in how things are seen by society, and therefore, media can have a huge impact on how sexual minorities are perceived. According to Pirus et al. (2016, p. 66), media controls and shapes all individuals, and, although most individuals do not solely rely on media, they are still affected by it remarkably. This is something that other sources also support. Gonta et al. (2017, p. 22) claim that previous research shows that media exposure significantly determines individuals’ attitudes toward the content, meaning that if media portrays homosexuals positively, individuals are more likely to have a positive attitude toward homosexuals as well, but if media portrays homosexuals negatively, individuals are more likely to have a negative attitude toward them. Also, for most people, media is the main source of information which further proves that its attitudes toward different topics can have a huge impact on individuals’ attitudes, especially for those who only have access to information provided by the media (Gonta et al., 2017, p. 22). This is something that Hart also claims. Hart (2000, p. 76) writes as follows:

Negative media representations of gay men can contribute to decreased levels of social tolerance for homosexuality in American society as well as increased levels of homophobia. They also contribute to the vision of a society in which differences are devalued and in which hostility toward gay men may not be perceived as intolerable. In contrast, positive representations of gay men retain significant ability

to influence the beliefs associated with gay males and with members of other sexually marginalized groups

Another issue regarding the media exposure of homosexuality is that it tends to be silenced since it is a controversial topic and peoples first-hand experiences may, thereby, be limited. This is something that Gross (1991, p. 22) discusses. She writes that “the contributions of the mass media are likely to be especially powerful in cultivating images of groups and phenomena about which there is little first-hand opportunity for learning; particularly when such images are not contradicted by other established beliefs and ideologies.” (Gross, 1991, p. 22).

2.6 Evaluative adjectives

In a study conducted by Stojanovic (2015), evaluative adjectives are described. Stojanovic (2015, p. 138) explains that her interpretation of evaluative adjectives is multidimensional, not simply semantic or pragmatic. In her study, she aims to categorize evaluative adjectives such as “good”, “horrible” and “beautiful”, but also explain that ordinary adjectives, such as “intense” or “insane” can be used evaluatively depending on the context.

One aspect of evaluative adjectives that Stojanovic mentions is that they need to be gradable. She claims that gradability is the most basic characteristic of an evaluative adjective (Stojanovic 2015, pp. 138–139). She writes:

In order for a gradable adjective to truthfully apply to some individual, it is typically not enough that the property in question be held to just any degree; rather, it must be held to a degree that passes a certain *threshold*. The choice of threshold typically depends on a contextually-determined comparison class [...]. (2015, p. 139).

Stojanovic mentions that semanticists and philosophers have showed an increased interest in PPT, predicates of personal taste, which consist of adjectives such as “tasty” and “fun” (2015, p. 138). Words such as “tasty” and “fun” are both gradable but depending on the context and the reader’s personal taste, the interpretation of the words may differ between different readers and different contexts. This is something that Stojanovic also arise, and she says that differences in interpretation may cause disagreement regarding an adjective’s evaluation (2015, p. 193).

In another study, conducted by Gryzhak (2018), evaluation is explained as “an essential and crucial feature of human categorization of the objective reality” (2018, p. 86). Humans are social beings and evaluation and categorization is, therefore, a subjective critical attitude of various things, such as objects, people, and phenomena. Similarly to Stojanovic’s interpretation of evaluative adjectives, Gryzhak (2018, p. 86) also claims that the evaluative meaning of an adjective depends on the context but Gryzhak also suggests that the evaluation can be implicit and explicit. Gryzhak writes as follows:

Explicit evaluation straightforwardly states the person’s judgement or attitude towards somebody or something (*e.g. gorgeous, horrible*). On the other hand, implicit evaluation may be realized in two ways: a) when a neutral language item occurs in such a contextual setting that it acquires an evaluative meaning [...], and b) an apparently positive lexeme may be used to denote the opposite concept or vice-versa. [...] Generally speaking, evaluation is explicit when a language unit is used in context in its primary denotative meaning and implicit evaluation happens when a language entity acquires some additional connotative meaning in the context. (Gryzhak, 2018, pp. 86–87).

Both Stojanovic’s and Gryzhak’s definition of evaluative adjectives, i.e., gradability and the idea of explicit and implicit evaluation, will be of interest throughout this study. This will be further described in section 3.2.1.

In section 2 where previous research is presented, studies focusing on evaluative adjectives and linguistics that regard gender related speech have been presented. Also, previous research focusing on sociological aspects, such as how homosexuals have been presented in media is discussed, along with a description of heteronormativity and hegemonic values. In the following section, the methods used in this study are presented together with an account of the data.

3. Method

This section will describe the methods used in this research regarding the choice of material, how adjectives are distinguished and categorized, how the data was selected, along with other necessary information regarding the methods used for this research. This section will also contain a brief description of the Daily Mail, which is the major primary source used for this research since all the articles that will be analyzed are published by the Daily Mail. The aim of this research, as mentioned in section 1.1, is to research what

adjectives are being used in articles regarding famous homosexual couples compared to famous heterosexual couples in order to discover possible societal attitudes toward sexual minorities.

As just mentioned, this research is based on articles published by the tabloid-based newspaper the Daily Mail, which is a London-based newspaper that was founded in 1896 and is, currently, the United Kingdom's highest circulated newspaper (Reid, 2020; Sweney, 2020). This research is based on 32 selected articles written by, in total, 19 different journalists. The articles are all found within the section 'TV&Showbiz'. In each article, every adjective has been noted and categorized as either positive, negative, or neutral depending on the context.

3.1 Material

This research is based on 32 articles published by the Daily Mail. 16 of the articles relate to famous heterosexual couples and the remaining 16 articles to famous homosexual couples. These 32 articles are also divided by the gender of the journalists. 16 of the selected articles are written by male journalists, and eight of the articles regard heterosexual couples and eight articles regard homosexual couples. The remaining 16 of the selected articles are written by female journalists, and eight of the articles relate to heterosexual couples and eight articles to homosexual couples (See Figure 1). Overall, four articles discuss each couple, two written by male journalists, and two by female journalists.

Since the aim of this research is to discover attitudes toward homo- vs. heterosexuality, the gender of the journalist is of interest since it may uncover a difference in attitudes between male and female journalists. Another aspect that is of interest in this research in order to get accurate results is to divide the homosexual couples into groups of male homosexual couples and female homosexual couples since attitudes toward male and female homosexuals may vary. This can also be seen in Figure 1.

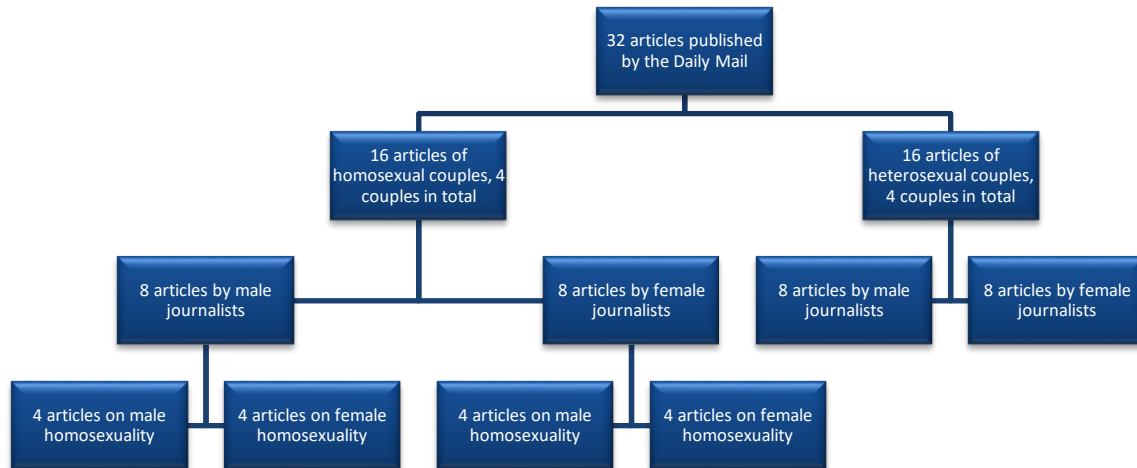


Figure 1. Number of articles across the different categories.

In this research, articles regarding four different heterosexual couples will be analyzed, along with articles regarding four different homosexual couples, where two couples consist of females, and two couples consist of men. The heterosexual couples chosen are:

- Mila Kunis and Ashton Kutcher
- Sarah Jessica Parker and Matthew Broderick
- Tom Hanks and Rita Wilson
- Leslie Mann and Judd Apatow

The homosexual couples chosen are:

- Ellen DeGeneres and Portia de Rossi
- Sarah Paulson and Holland Taylor
- Neil Patrick Harris and David Burtka
- Jesse Tyler Ferguson and Justin Mikita

When choosing which couples to focus on in this research, some requirements were of importance. First, both partners in each couple had to be actors/actresses, or at least have had an acting role. This requirement is simply important for consistency and the results may have been the same if both partners in each couple were in the music business, but, due to the lack of famous homosexual couples in other businesses, the business chosen for consistency is acting. Second, both partners in each couple had to be white. Although this requirement is also for consistency, it is mainly because, as with sexual minorities, it is not uncommon that people have negative attitudes toward non-white people, as, for example, can be seen through the ‘Black Lives Matter’ movement that escalated throughout the year 2020 as a response to the death of George Floyd (Maqbool, 2020). Therefore, the main reason why a requirement for this research is that both partners in

each couple had to be white is that negative attitudes toward non-white people may affect the result of this study. So, it was important to eliminate the possibility of racial attitudes since they may be disclosed similarly, if not the same, as attitudes toward sexuality.

As mentioned in section 3, the primary source for this research is the Daily Mail. The reason why the Daily Mail was chosen as a primary source and not some other newspaper, is simply due to the large number of articles published by the Daily Mail. Other newspapers were considered as an alternative, but in regard to this research, it was concluded that the 32 selected articles published by the Daily Mail would be beneficial for this research since the articles chosen met the criterion which are explained throughout this section.

When searching for articles published by the Daily Mail, some requirements had to be fulfilled for each article to be used in this research. First, each article had to be published in the section called 'TV&Showbiz'. Second, the title of the article had to contain both partners' names to make sure that both partners were of interest in the article. Third, the couple had to be the topic of the article. Fourth, each article had to be published in 2020. 31 of the chosen articles are published in 2020, but one article was published in 2019, which is the latest article published about the couple that fits the other requirements presented in this paragraph. This does not affect the result since the requirement regarding year of publication is simply for consistency and does not contribute to the results of the study. Fifth, it was desirable to find 32 articles written by 32 different journalists. This was not possible, so it was decided that if a journalist had published more than one of the articles chosen, he or she had to have published at least one article that regarded a heterosexual couple and one that regarded a homosexual couple. Also, if one journalist had written two or more articles of the ones selected, they could not represent two articles of the same couple. For example, Brian Marks, which is one of the authors of the articles chosen for this research, has written more than one of the articles selected but he is not the author of both articles published about the same couple since this could compromise the results. In total, 19 different journalists have written the articles chosen. Since the journalists' personal attitudes toward homosexuality are not of interest, although they may still affect the results to some extent, it can be argued that 19 different journalists are enough in order to determine whether there is a pattern in attitudes among the journalists.

3.2 Data

In sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 a definition of adjectives and noun phrases will be described in relation to Estling Vannestål (2015). These definitions simply describe how adjectives and noun phrases are defined in this study, not describe how they were distinguished or categorized. However, in section 3.2.3, the steps to distinguish an adjective's evaluation will be described using Estling Vannestål's (2015), Stojanovic's (2015), and Gryzhak's (2018) ideas and definitions of evaluative adjectives.

3.2.1 Adjectives

Before obtaining the linguistic data, Maria Estling Vannestål's (2015) description of an adjective was read carefully. She claims that an adjective describes a quality, state, or an origin of a noun or pronoun and that adjectives often answer the question 'What is he/she/it like?'. She also describes an adjective as a word that can originate from a verb, and it can also be objective or evaluative. It can be gradable or un-gradable and it usually has an attributive or predicative function, meaning whether it occurs before or after the noun or pronoun it describes (Estling Vannestål, 2015, p. 241). However, as will be seen in section 3.2.2, predicative adjectives occur after a linking verb, and are not a part of a noun phrase. Some of Estling Vannestål's definitions of an adjective can be seen below.

An adjective...

... is a word that usually describes a quality (*honest*), state (*hungry*), origin (*American*) etc. of a noun or a pronoun referring to a person, thing, phenomenon, event etc.

... often answers the question *What is she/he/it etc. like?* [...]

... can either be objective (*wooden*) or evaluative (*beautiful*), but there are many borderline cases [...]

... can usually occur directly before a noun (the attributive function): *a green car*

... can usually be used with words like *be* and *become* (the predicative function): *My car is green*

... can usually be compared (*young, younger, the youngest*) (Estling Vannestål, 2015, p. 241)

Estling Vannestål (2015, p. 254) also writes that evaluative adjectives usually come before other types of adjectives. She gives an example and writes: "It is still a **beautiful red sandstone** building in spite of now being a ruin." (2015, p. 254). The adjective 'beautiful' comes before the adjective 'red' and the word 'sandstone' modifies the noun 'building'.

When identifying linguistic data from the 32 chosen articles, the website parts-of-speech.info was used as a tool to distinguish all of the adjectives in each article together with Estling Vannestål's (2015, p. 241) definition of an adjective. The reason why this tool was used is because this study is conducted by one person, and the tool was therefore used to eliminate the possibility that potential lack of grammatical knowledge would affect the results of the study. The best way to make sure that it was possible for others to use the same method and data as used in this study and come to the same conclusions, was to use a digital and easily assessed tool.

Even though the website part-of-speech.info filled its purpose in this study, there are some potential drawbacks related to the website. First, as with any digital tool, errors can occur. As will be discussed later in this section, some words were marked wrong. For example, some adjectives were marked as nouns. Therefore, the tool could not be fully trusted, and Estling Vannestål's (2015, p. 241) definition of an adjective has to be used as a complement to the tool. Also, there is no information about the reliability or accuracy of the program on their website. But, since the tool was used together with Estling Vannestål's (2015, p. 241) definition of an adjective, it is arguably still a useful tool for this purpose.

When using the tool available at parts-of-speech.info, each article was copied and pasted into the website and the instructions were followed to get all the words in the article categorized into different word-classes. This way, it was possible to find all of the adjectives within each article. However, some issues were encountered while using the website. The main issue was that many color terms did not register as adjectives, but as nouns. For example, the words *navy*, *silver* and *maroon* were marked as nouns by the tool, even though they were used as colors to describe the celebrities' outfits. Also, some evaluative adjectives were marked as verbs, such as the word *toned* which was found in article 23, see example (2).

- (1) "Leslie showed of her **toned** arms in a white linen sundress that featured a ruffled hem and spaghetti straps."

However, *toned* was counted as an evaluative adjective and further categorized as a positive adjective.

3.2.2 Noun phrases

After marking all adjectives in each article, Maria Estling Vannestål's description of noun phrases was carefully read and then marked in each case where adjectives were found. First, Estling Vannestål (2015, p. 66) writes that a noun phrase...

...can consist of a single noun (e.g. *teachers*) or pronoun (e.g. *someone*). If the head of the noun, however, it is most often expanded by words preceding it (**determiners** and **premodifiers**) and/or by words following it (**postmodifiers**).

She also writes that premodifiers usually consists of adjectives (Estling Vannestål, 2015, p. 67). Postmodifiers usually consist of a prepositional phrase, a dependent clause, or a reduced clause that consists of an adjective (Estling Vannestål, 2015, p. 67; Estling Vannestål, 2015, p. 253). Adjectives can thereby be used either in the attributive function, i.e., before the head of the noun phrase, or in the predicative function which are adjectives used after the head together with linking verbs such as 'be', 'become', 'go' and 'turn' (Estling Vannestål, 2015, p. 242).

In this study, adjectives in both the attributive and predicative function will be taken into consideration when categorizing the evaluative adjectives. For example:

- (2) ...the **longtime** couple... (Article 7)
- (3) ...the couple were **enchanted**... (Article 5)

In example (2), the evaluative adjective comes before the head *couple* and is, therefore, used in the attributive function. The evaluative adjective in example (3) explains the subject *the couple* and comes after the linking verb *be*.

When distinguishing noun phrases regarding the couple from noun phrases focusing on aspects that are not relevant to this study, each article was carefully read and some guidelines were followed. First, noun phrases that focus on others rather than the couple of interest were eliminated. For example, in article 17, the journalists write about president Volodimir Zelenski in an article mainly focusing on Mila Kunis and Ashton Kutcher. See example (4):

- (4) "... recently met with President Volodimir Zelenski and found him a **decent** man"

Even though the evaluative adjective **decent** is included in example (4), it will not be counted as an evaluative adjective since it does not concern the couple of interest. However, if evaluative adjectives are used in noun phrases that focus on others but contain the couple of interest's opinions or relates to them, it will be counted. For example, the journalist who has written article 20 writes about Sarah Jessica Parker's and Matthew Broderick's son's birthday. She writes:

- (5) "Sarah Jessica Parker celebrated her son James Wilkie Broderick's 18th birthday with a **heartfelt** tribute and batch of vintage pictures on Wednesday." (Article 20)

As can be seen in example (5), the adjective **heartfelt** is marked as a positive evaluative adjective even though it describes Sara Jessica Parker's birthday tribute to her son. This is because it is Parker's opinions being presented, and the situation described relates to her directly.

Second, noun phrases that describe possessions of the couple of interest will be accounted for, for example:

- (6) "...a **timeless** black one-piece swimsuit..." (Article 3)

As can be seen in example (6), the evaluative adjective **timeless** describes the noun swimsuit, which is a possession of the couple. The swimsuit being described in example (6) is worn by Sarah Jessica Parker, so the word **timeless** is indirectly aimed at her and will therefore be counted as an adjective within a noun phrase describing the couple.

Third, noun phrases that relate to the couple's professional lives will be counted. The reason why is because their profession is the reason why they are famous and it is possible that attitudes are embedded in adjectives describing their work persona. For example:

- (7) "She has recently faced with a wave of stories about her '**cold**' and '**demeaning**' behavior at work" (Article 25)

In example (7), Ellen DeGeneres' behavior at work is described as her being **cold** and **demeaning** at work. These qualities are recurring insertions throughout article 25 even though the article is named 'Ellen DeGeneres, 62, gets flirty with wife Portia de Rossi, 47, as they look more like teens in love than longtime marrieds while in Santa Barbara'.

The journalist has chosen to include insertions regarding Ellen DeGeneres work persona in an article that focuses on something completely different and, therefore, noun phrases focusing on the couple's professional lives will be included in the categorization.

Also, as can be seen in example (7), adjectives used in quotations will be accounted for. This is because the journalist has chosen to include the quotation in the article. The journalist could have excluded the quotation, but has not and therefore adjectives within quotations will be accounted for, as in example (7).

3.2.3 Categorization of Adjectives

When determining and categorizing the evaluative adjectives in each article, the description of evaluative adjectives in section 2.1.5 was used as a guide, along with Estling Vannestål's (2015, p. 254) advice on where evaluative adjectives are placed, i.e., before other adjectives in noun phrases where more than one adjective is used. Estling Vannestål's (2015) description of evaluative adjectives is described in section 3.2. In section 2.1.5, Stojanovic's (2015) and Gryzhak's (2018) understanding of evaluative adjectives was presented. Some aspects that were raised were that evaluative adjectives are difficult to distinguish since they rely on a subjective interpretation in specific contexts. The same adjective may, therefore, be considered neutral in one context, but evaluative in another and this interpretation may differ between people. Also, Estling Vannestål's (2015), Stojanovic's (2015) and Gryzhak's (2018) descriptions of evaluative adjectives all contribute to the possibility of distinguishing evaluative adjectives. These descriptions have functioned as methodological guidelines that have been followed.

Before determining and categorizing the evaluative adjectives, adjectives that were clearly not evaluative were removed. Since all adjectives in each article were marked, a lot of adjectives could be eliminated. For example, all color terms were removed since they are not evaluative. The remaining adjectives were analyzed through the following three steps in order to distinguish whether they were evaluative or not.

First, all gradable adjectives were marked separately from non-gradable adjectives since Stojanovic (2015, pp. 138–139) claims that evaluative adjectives are often gradable and is the most basic way to distinguish evaluative adjectives. Therefore, this step was completed in the beginning of the categorization of the adjectives. Stojanovic (2015, pp. 138–139) also mentions that not all gradable adjectives are evaluative since an adjective's evaluation depends on context. All gradable adjectives were, therefore, marked but further analysis of the gradable adjectives had to be done before they could be categorized

into either positive, negative, or neutral. To distinguish whether an adjective was gradable or not, Estling Vannestål's (2015, p. 241) description of gradable and ungradable adjectives were used. She writes:

An adjective can either be gradable (*angry – very angry*) or not (*dead - *very dead*) but some adjectives can be both gradable (*a musical child – a very musical child*) and ungradable (*a musical instrument - *a very musical instrument*). (2015, p. 241)

Second, since evaluative adjectives stem from a subjective critical attitude of various things, evaluation need to be separated into groups of implicit and explicit evaluative adjectives. In brief, implicit evaluative adjectives consist of a neutral adjective that occurs in a contextual setting so that the language item acquires an evaluative meaning. An explicit evaluative adjective states someone's judgement or attitude towards someone or something (Gryzhak, 2018, p. 86). Implicit evaluative adjectives are hence ambiguous compared to explicit evaluative adjectives. When distinguishing implicit and explicit evaluative adjectives, explicit evaluative adjectives were first marked since their evaluation is easier to detect. When the implicit evaluative adjectives were categorized, the context of the sentence had to be taken into consideration. When looking at the whole sentence, some questions were used to help determine whether adjectives were evaluative or not:

1. Why has this adjective been used? What is the purpose of the adjective within the context?
2. Can it be substituted or removed? Could the journalist have used a different adjective or excluded it and still convey the meaning of the sentence?

It is not possible to know the reason or purpose behind the journalist's choice of adjective, so this question was asked to see the importance of the adjective in question in relation to the context. The second question was asked in order to determine whether the choice of adjective was necessary for the meaning and understanding of the sentence. If the adjective could be removed or replaced, it indicated that it was evaluative since the journalists chose to include an adjective that did not necessarily need to be there. The second question was more beneficial on adjectives in attributive function since those adjectives can per se be removed and replaced without disturbing the sentence structure.

Adjectives in predicative function cannot be removed as easily since that can disturb the sentence structure which can lead to structural ambiguity. Therefore, adjectives in the predicative function were mainly analyzed using the first question, but also parts of the second question. For these reasons, implicit evaluative adjectives will be categorized more carefully than external evaluative adjectives. When doing this, the implicit determination of an evaluative adjective will only be categorized if it carries a clear evaluation in relation to the context. Stojanovic (2015, p. 193) writes about PPT, predicates of personal taste, and states that PPT, such as evaluative adjectives, are affected by someone's personal taste and interpretation.

Third, after checking an adjective's gradability and its possible categorization, Estling Vannestål's (2015, p. 254) advice on how to spot an evaluative adjective among other adjectives was used, i.e., that evaluative adjectives come before other adjectives in noun phrases where more than one adjective is used. This advice was used as a complement and to double check the accuracy of the categorization in sentences where more than one adjective was used to describe a noun. This advice was not used in instances where only one adjective described a noun, simply due to the fact that the advice is aimed at phrases where more than one adjective describe something.

After these three steps had been followed, all evaluative adjectives were categorized into groups of either positive, negative, or neutral. When categorizing adjectives, each adjective was analyzed in relation to the noun it described since the evaluation may differ depending on the noun it describes. The same adjective could be used in many different sentences, but the since the context varied, each adjective had to be analyzed even though it may already have been analyzed in another context. Only positive and negative adjectives are of interest in this study, so all neutral evaluative adjectives were excluded. Some examples of how adjectives were determined as either positive or negative can be seen below. The words written in bold is evaluative adjectives, while the italicized words indicate that the adjective is neutral.

(8) He also wore **stylish** *strapped* sandals... (Article 6)

(9) ... being reminded of his wife's **tremendous** talent... (Article 19)

In example (8), the adjective **stylish** and *strapped* are used to describe the noun 'sandals'. The adjective **stylish** is gradable since an object can be more or less stylish, and it is an explicit evaluative adjective and is therefore easy to categorize. Also, the adjective stylish

comes before *strapped* which further proves that **stylish** can be categorized as an evaluative adjective. Lastly, **stylish** was looked at in relation to the noun ‘sandals’, and in regard to this context the word **stylish** was categorized as a positive adjective.

In example (9), the word **tremendous** is marked as a positive adjective for the same reason as in the explanation of example (8). The adjective **tremendous** is gradable and it is also an explicit evaluative adjective and is easily categorized. The adjective stands by itself and the third step, i.e., its relation to other adjectives, is therefore not applicable in example (9). However, looking at the adjective’s relation to the noun in example (10) is more important than in example (8). For example, the adjective **tremendous** can be used to describe both the nouns ‘talent’ and ‘bore’, and depending on the noun, the adjective’s evaluation differs. **Tremendous** can be categorized as positive when it describes ‘talent’ but can be categorized as negative when it describes ‘bore’. Therefore, each evaluative adjective need to be categorized in relation to the noun. The adjective is explicit and it is easy to determine that it is evaluative, however, its categorization needs to be made in relation to the noun. What noun each adjective describes can be seen in Appendix III.

When distinguishing evaluative adjectives, the three steps presented in this section were used. However, each adjective did not need to fulfill each step to be marked as an evaluative adjective. The steps presented can indicate if an adjective is evaluative or not, but they can not guarantee it. When using these steps, an adjective needed to fulfill at least one of the three steps in order to be categorized as an evaluative adjective, but preferably more than one step when possible.

3.3 Method of Analysis

After the data had been selected and categorized into ‘positive adjectives’ and ‘negative adjectives’, the data was normalized and compiled. When counting the adjectives, each adjective has been counted by occurrence. For example, if the adjective ‘strong’ occurs four times in one article, it was counted four times. However, each appearance may have a different evaluative meaning and may therefore be categorized into different categories. A list of all evaluative adjectives and their categorization can be found in Appendix III.

To normalize the data, the number of evaluative adjectives were divided with the number of words in the article, then that result was multiplied by 1,000 to average out the results. Also, the result was rounded down to the third decimal when dividing the number of evaluative adjectives with the number of words in each article. Therefore, the symbol

for proximity values is used instead of the regular equal sign. To see how the value were normalized in each article, see examples (11), (12), and (13).

$$(10) 0 \div 570 \approx 0.000 \rightarrow 0.000 \times 1,000 = \mathbf{0}$$

$$(11) 4 \div 336 \approx 0.012 \rightarrow 0.012 \times 1,000 = \mathbf{12}$$

$$(12) 5 \div 291 \approx 0.017 \rightarrow 0.017 \times 1,000 = \mathbf{17}$$

In example (10), (11), and (12), the original number of evaluative adjectives have been averaged out as can be seen by the normalized score which is marked in bold in the examples above. As can be seen in example (10), the article only contains 570 words in total, whereas 0 of them are evaluative adjectives. In example (11), the article contains more words but fewer evaluative adjectives. Example (12), contain less words than example (11), but more evaluative adjectives. Therefore, it is important to get a normalized value. It would not be possible to compare the 32 chosen articles without using a normalized value.

After the data had been normalized, it was compiled into two tables that consisted of four categories each. The first table consist of the following categories which can be seen in table 2 in section 4:

- Articles written by **male** journalists regarding **heterosexual** couples
- Articles written by **female** journalists regarding **heterosexual** couples
- Articles written by **male** journalists regarding **homosexual** couples
- Articles written by **female** journalists regarding **homosexual** couples

The first table consists of four more general categories which each contains eight articles. To normalize the score within each category, the total number of evaluative adjectives in each article within that category has been counted together, as well as the total number of positive and negative adjectives. The total score has then been normalized using the same method as described in examples (11), (12), and (13). This has been done in each category, in both tables. The second table consist of the following categories which can be seen in table 4, also in section 4:

- Articles written by **male** journalists regarding **male homosexual** couples
- Articles written by **female** journalists regarding **male homosexual** couples
- Articles written by **male** journalists regarding **female homosexual** couples
- Articles written by **female** journalists regarding **female homosexual** couples

The first table is more general since the homosexual couples are not categorized into groups of males and females, which has been done in the second table. The categories in the second table contain four articles each, compared to the first table where each category contained eight articles each.

The aim of this research is to analyze attitudes toward homosexuals vs. heterosexuals which is what the first table focuses on. However, since attitudes toward female and/or male homosexuals may differ, a second table was also included regarding this aspect. After the data has been normalized and compiled into different categories, it is possible to find patterns and differences by analyzing the tables.

3.3.1 Definition of Terms

In this essay, some key terms will be used and will, therefore, be defined throughout this section. Some of the key terms that will be further explained are: *heterosexuality*, *homosexuality*, *gay*, and *lesbian*.

Heterosexuality and *homosexuality* are two of the key terms used in this study. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the adjective heterosexual describes when someone is “sexually attracted to people of the opposite sex” (Cambridge Dictionary II), whereas the adjective homosexual describes “a person who is sexually attracted to people of the same sex and not people of the opposite sex” (Cambridge Dictionary III). Heterosexuality is more common than homosexuality, which categorizes homosexuality as a *sexual minority*, along with, for example, bisexuality. Bisexuality, compared to homosexuality, is when someone is “sexually attracted to both men and women” (Cambridge Dictionary III).

3.4 Validity and Reliability

In terms of validity and reliability, some aspects of the study must be addressed. First of all, the notion of validity and reliability in regard to this study, Denscombe’s definition is applied. Denscombe writes: “Validity refers to the quality of the data” and that “Reliability refers to the quality of the methods.” (2009, p. 106). Boréus and Bergström also explain validity and reliability. They explain internal validity as methodological tools that ensure that the study measures what it aims to measure in relation to the research questions (Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 38). Further, they write that an essay contains high reliability if the research is accurate enough to be applied onto other similar studies, with the same methods and same participants, and get a similar result (Boréus &

Bergström, 2018, p. 40). Also, they explain reliability as the researcher's overall accuracy throughout the research process to eliminate the risk of sources of error. Webb et al. (1966, p. 11) explain external validity as the generalizability of the study. They write: “*External validity* is the problem of interpreting the difference, the problem of generalization. To what other populations, occasions, stimulus objects, and measures may the obtained results be applied?”.

Regarding the reliability of the study and its accuracy, specific guidelines have been followed as presented in section 3.2. These guidelines stem from three different publications that all focus on adjectives and how to know if they are evaluative or not. Since three sources are used as guidelines to distinguish evaluative adjectives, the study contains a somewhat high reliability. Since the guidelines followed stem from grammatical rules, they are applicable onto other data of similar kinds and should provide similar results when determining an adjective's evaluation. However, in accordance with Stojanovic (2015, p. 193), since PPTs are included and evaluated in this study, a high reliability is unattainable. The reliability is as high as it can be in a study researching evaluative adjectives that include PPTs since three methodological steps to process the data are included in section 3.2.3. However, the categorization of implicit evaluative is very difficult to categorize objectively since they rely on personal interpretation. This affects the both the reliability and the internal validity of the study negatively. The possibility to exclude implicit evaluative adjectives was considered, but since that would eliminate many evaluative adjectives that were important for the results of the study, they are included, even though this affects both reliability and internal validity.

However, there may be some research errors and bias unconsciously in terms of categorizing the adjectives into groups of positive and negative evaluative adjectives. This study is conducted by one person and human errors may therefore be apparent. For example, in article 6, the journalist uses the word **crisp** which was marked as positive in this study.

(13)... in a **crisp** *white* polo shirt and *dark* shorts. (article 6)

The word **crisp** was marked as an evaluative adjective. It is gradable since something can be more or less crisp. It is an implicit evaluative adjective because it is a neutral language item that is used evaluatively. Also, two adjectives are used before the noun, which is a further indication that the first adjective, **crisp** in this case, is evaluative. However, when

it comes to PPTs, personal taste will impact interpretation. Someone else may not have marked this adjective as evaluative due to their personal taste and experiences. Since the implicit evaluative adjectives are subjectively categorized, it reduces the study's internal validity.

Variables that could have affected the internal validity have been eliminated. For example, all of the people of interest being written about in the 32 chosen articles are white. This was a choice in order to eliminate the possibility of racial attitudes toward non-white people affecting the validity of the study. However, not all necessary variables were possible to distinguish. For example, it was not possible to distinguish whether the sexuality of the journalist impacted the validity. It is unlikely that a homosexual would portray other homosexuals negatively, and the gender of the journalist could therefore have impacted the validity to some extent. However, to ensure that this did not compromise the validity, data was collected from as many different journalists as possible in order to still be able to find patterns, even if some other non-detectable variables interfered. Articles about different couples were also used in order to eliminate the possibility of attitudes toward a specific person or couple to affect the validity.

Regarding the external validity of the study, it is not possible to generalize further than what has been analyzed in this study, i.e., actors' portrayal in the media regarding sexual orientation. This study looks at eight couples in total, four that are heterosexual and four that are homosexual. In order to generalize the result, the data would need to be greater and include other occupations than actors and actresses. It would also be necessary to include articles from other tabloids than the Daily Mail in order for the results to be generalizable. Due to the study being relatively limited, the external validity is reduced.

In this section, reliability and validity were discussed in relation to this study. Both the reliability and the internal validity is affected negatively by the inclusion of implicit evaluative adjectives, and the external validity is affected negatively by the limited extent of the study. In the following section, the results of the study is presented followed by a discussion related to the previous research presented in section 2.

4. Results and Discussion

The aim of this essay is to discover attitudes toward homosexuality compared to heterosexuality through researching what adjectives are used in newspaper articles published by the Daily Mail. The research questions are:

- Do male or female journalists use more evaluative adjectives in newspaper articles regarding famous heterosexual couples, and in newspaper articles regarding famous homosexual couples?
- Are famous homosexual couples portrayed more or less positively in newspaper articles published by the Daily Mail compared to famous heterosexual couples?
- Are there any difference in the use of positive or negative adjectives between articles regarding female homosexual couples vs. male homosexual couples?

The results of the study have been normalized as described in section 3.3 in order to be able to compare the results to each other.

The results of this research can be divided into two main categories that each include four subcategories. The first category includes the following subcategories:

- Articles written by male journalists regarding heterosexual couples
- Articles written by female journalists regarding heterosexual couples
- Articles written by male journalists regarding homosexual couples
- Articles written by female journalists regarding homosexual couples

The second category includes the following subcategories:

- Articles written by male journalists regarding male homosexual couples
- Articles written by female journalists regarding male homosexual couples
- Articles written by male journalists regarding female homosexual couples
- Articles written by female journalists regarding female homosexual couples

The results of these main- and subcategories will be further described in sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

For each article, word count, total number of evaluative adjectives, the total number of positive adjectives, and total number of negative adjectives have been taken into account. Each article has also been named from 'Article 1' to 'Article 32'. The articles are named in a specific order, see Table 1. Also, see Appendix I, II, III, and IIII for more information about the data.

Table 1. Each article's name and its classification.

Articles	Gender of journalist	Sexuality
1-8	Male	Heterosexuality
9-12	Male	Female homosexuality
13-16	Male	Male homosexuality
17-24	Female	Heterosexuality
25-28	Female	Female homosexuality
29-32	Female	Male homosexuality

4.1.1 Result of Articles Regarding Hetero- and homosexuality

In total, 16 articles regarding homosexuality and 16 articles regarding heterosexuality have been analyzed. The articles are also categorized depending on the gender of the journalist, meaning that eight of the articles regarding homosexuality are written by male journalists and the remaining eight are written by female journalists, and so on. As mentioned in section 4, word count, the total number of evaluative adjectives, total number of positive adjectives, and total number of negative adjectives have been taken into account in each article as can be seen in Appendix I. In Table 2, the result of the gender of the journalist and the sexuality of the couple have been grouped together and are presented as four subcategories. A normalized value of the results is also presented in Table 2.

Table 2. The total result of 32 articles grouped together into four categories including the normalized value (NV) in each category. Percentages are presented in Table 3.

Category	Word count	Tot. Ev. adj.	Pos. adj.	Neg. adj.	NV. Tot. Ev. Adj.	NV. pos. adj.	NV. neg. adj.
Male journalist, heterosexuality	3,321	28	27	1	8	8	0,3
Female journalist, heterosexuality	3,344	48	46	2	14	14	1
Male journalist, homosexuality	2,834	41	33	8	14	12	3
Female journalist, homosexuality	3,474	75	57	18	22	16	5

As can be seen in Table 2, the normalized value of the total usage of evaluative adjectives ranges from 9–22. In the articles written by female journalists, more positive adjectives are used compared to the articles written by men. The normalized value of positive adjectives in the articles written by female journalists are 14 and 16, whereas the

normalized value of positive adjectives in the articles written by male journalists are 9 and 14. The usage of negative adjectives does not occur as often as positive adjectives. In the articles regarding heterosexuality, the normalized value of negative adjectives is 0,3 and 1, compared to 9 and 14 positive adjectives. In the articles regarding homosexuality, the normalized value is 3 and 5, compared to 12 and 16 positive adjectives.

Overall, the male journalists did not use as many evaluative adjectives as the female journalists did. The normalized value of evaluative adjectives in articles written by male journalists are overall lower than the normalized value in articles written by female journalists. Regarding the normalized value of negative adjectives, one can see that both male and female journalists use more negative adjectives when writing about famous homosexual couples compared to heterosexual couples.

When looking at the percentage of negative and positive evaluative adjectives within each category, some interesting pattern is noticeable. See Table 3. In the articles focusing on heterosexual couples, positive adjectives constitute 96% and 97% of the total number of evaluative adjectives. When looking at the articles focusing on homosexuality, only 80% and 76% of the total number of adjectives are positive. As can be seen in Table 3, there is a huge difference between how heterosexual and homosexual couples are described when only looking at the evaluative adjectives in comparison, not in relation to the length of the article.

Table 3. Percentage of positive and negative adjectives within each category.

Journalist	Sexuality	Total number of ev. adj.	Positive adj.	Negative adj.
Male	Heterosexuality	28	97%	3%
Female	Heterosexuality	48	96%	4%
Male	Homosexuality	41	80%	20%
Female	Homosexuality	75	76%	24%

4.1.2 Results of Articles Regarding Male and Female Homosexuality

In section 4.1.1, more general results of the study were presented and articles regarding heterosexual couples were compared to articles regarding homosexual couples. In this section, male and female homosexuality will be separated and be categorized depending

on the gender of the journalists. Thereby, four subcategories will be presented in this section as well, as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4 shows the result of the articles within each subcategory added together including a normalized value of the results. For example, the four articles that are written by male journalists and focus on female homosexual couples consist of 1,736 words, 21 evaluative adjectives, whereas 13 adjectives are positive, and 8 are negative. The normalized value of those results is that male journalists writing about female homosexual couples use 7 positive and 5 negative adjectives.

Table 4. The total result and normalized value of 16 articles regarding homosexual couples.

Category	Word count	Tot. ev adj.	Pos. adj.	Neg. adj.	NV. pos. adj.	NV. neg. adj.
Male journalist, male homosexuality	1,098	20	20	0	18	0
Female journalist, male homosexuality	1,770	34	29	5	16	3
Male journalist, female homosexuality	1,736	21	13	8	7	5
Female journalist, female homosexuality	1,704	41	28	13	16	8

The normalized score of positive adjectives varies from 7–18, and the normalized score of negative adjectives in total varies from 0–8. Similarly, as the results presented in table 1 and in section 4.1.1, female journalists tend to use more evaluative adjectives. In articles regarding both male and female homosexuality, the female journalists used more evaluative adjectives seen to the normalized value, compared to the male journalists. Also, the journalists only used more negative adjectives when writing about female homosexuality compared to male homosexuality.

However, one aspect that may have affected the result to some extent is that one of the female homosexual couples is Ellen DeGeneres and Portia de Rossi. As can be seen in some of the articles regarding the couple, journalists mentioned the rumors regarding Ellen DeGeneres TV-show ‘The Ellen show’ where Ellen was accused of treating the staff badly. This can, for example, be seen in article 25, which was written by a female journalist, where the journalist wrote as follows:

- (8) “She has recently been faced with a wave of stories about her ‘**cold**’ and ‘**demeaning**’ behavior at work – contrary to the **warm** and **loving** persona she has shown in the spotlight over the past 30 years.” (Article 25).

The words written in bold has been marked as evaluative adjectives in this sentence. The words ‘cold’ and ‘demeaning’ are considered negative in this context since they carry a negative evaluation. The words ‘warm’ and ‘loving’ are marked as positive. As can be seen in the example above from article 25, all the evaluative adjectives are directed at Ellen, not Portia, and they are also aimed at her work-persona.

That female homosexual couples are portrayed more negatively than male homosexual couples can be seen in Table 5 as well where the percentage of positive and negative evaluative adjectives are stated. As can be seen in Table 5, both female and male journalists use positive adjectives more than negative adjectives. The percentage of positive adjectives is also higher in articles regarding male homosexuals than in articles regarding female homosexuals.

Table 5. Percentage of positive and negative adjectives within each subcategory.

Journalist	Sexuality	Total number of ev. adj.	Positive adj.	Negative adj.
Male	Male homosexuality	20	100%	0%
Female	Male homosexuality	34	85%	15%
Male	Female homosexuality	21	62%	38%
Female	Female homosexuality	41	68%	32%

4.2 Discussion

In section 1.1, three research questions were stated. The first research question focused on whether male or female journalists used more evaluative adjectives in newspaper articles regarding famous heterosexual couples and famous homosexual couples. The answer to this research question is that female journalists use more evaluative adjectives in general as can be seen in Table 2 when writing about both hetero- and homosexual couples, compared to male journalists. The normalized value of evaluative adjectives in articles written by female journalists is 14+22 as can be seen in Table 2, compared to 8+14 in articles written by male journalists.

The second research question focused on whether famous homosexual couples are portrayed more or less positively in articles compared to famous heterosexual couples. The answer to this research question can be seen in Table 3, where one can see that famous homosexual couples are portrayed less positively than famous heterosexual couples by both male and female journalists. Out of all evaluative adjectives used in articles regarding heterosexual couples, 96–97% were positive, compared to 76–80% in articles about homosexual couples. However, when looking at the normalized values in Table 2, one can see that both female and male journalists use more positive evaluative adjectives when writing about famous homosexual couples, but they also use more negative evaluative adjectives. This explains why the percentages indicate that the homosexual couples are portrayed less positively than heterosexual couples.

The third and last research question focused on whether there was any difference in the usage of positive or negative adjectives between articles regarding female homosexual couples compared to male homosexual couples. The answer to this research question is that there are some differences between the gender of the couple, but also the gender of the journalist. As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, more positive adjectives are used in articles regarding male homosexual couples, and more negative adjectives are used in articles regarding female homosexual couples. As can be seen in Table 5, 100% of the evaluative adjectives were positive in articles written by men about male homosexuality, compared to 62% in articles about female homosexuality. In the articles written by females, 85% of the evaluative adjectives in articles regarding male homosexuals were positive, compared to 68% in articles regarding female homosexuality.

However, the low percentage of positive adjectives in articles about female homosexuality written by male journalists does not necessarily stem from negative attitudes. According to Lakoff (2004, p. 43), the adjectival usage in articles may indicate a lack of interest in the topic. This is mainly possible because the normalized value of positive adjectives in articles about male homosexuality is high compared to the other subcategories. It is arguably unlikely that male journalists have negative attitudes toward female homosexual couples, but positive attitudes toward male homosexual couples. Therefore, the lack of evaluative adjectives in articles written by male journalists regarding female homosexual couples may stem from a lack of interest, not from negative attitudes.

Another possible explanation why fewer positive adjectives are used in articles regarding homosexual couples is the concept of heteronormativity. Dreyer (2007, p. 5)

claims that heteronormativity is a senseless disapproval of homosexuality that causes oppression and can lead to homophobia. Poole (2014, pp. 279-280) writes that heteronormativity dominates media coverage and that sexual minorities are portrayed stereotypically which can cause negative consequences for people who do not fit into these norms. This is something that Birch et al. (2017) also claim when they write that media “in a large part, is driven by heterosexuality and its dominance in society, which can engender homophobia in society.” (2017, p. 2). Since this study does not account for the journalist’s sexuality, it is impossible to distinguish how their sexuality may have affected the result and whether media is driven by heterosexuality or not as Birch et al. (2017, p. 2) mention. However, it is possible to interpret the result as heterosexuality being dominant since the heterosexual couples are portrayed more positively than the homosexual couples. In the 32 articles that constitute the data for this study, the homosexual couples are not predominantly portrayed negatively within that category. As can be seen in Table 5, more than 62% of the evaluative adjectives are positive, which is the majority of all evaluative adjectives used. Thereby, homosexuals are not portrayed negatively, just not as positively as heterosexual couples. However, since the difference between the usage of positive adjectives in articles about heterosexual and homosexual couples varies to a great extent, it is possible to argue that heteronormativity is dominating in the 32 analyzed articles.

Haywood et al. (2018, p. 102) write that hegemonic values can be noticed in terms of sexuality, and thereby heteronormativity. Haywood et al. (2018, p. 99) mean that there is a correlation between masculinity and heteronormativity and that these two concepts often go hand in hand. They claim that hegemonic values, in terms of masculinity, often focus on heterosexual masculinity vs. homosexuality which, thereby, strengthens heteronormativity. Hegemonic values that favor masculinity and heterosexuality are not noticeable in this study in some respects. In the articles written by male journalists focusing on heterosexual couples, 97% of the evaluative adjectives were positive, but 100% of the evaluative adjectives in articles focusing on male homosexuality were positive.

On the other hand, female homosexual couples are undoubtedly portrayed more negatively than any other category or subcategory within this study, especially by male journalists. Haywood et al. (2018, pp. 102–103) write that hegemonic values in terms of sexuality and gender are tied to the fundamental structure of society and that sexuality and gender oppression are rooted in societal structures. Based on the results presented in

sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, sexuality and gender oppression can be noticed in articles regarding female homosexuality. Both Cullen et al. (2002, p. 130) and Haywood et al. (2018, p. 102) claim that common characteristics of heterosexual men is dominance in terms of heteronormativity and hegemonic. In accordance with Cullen et al. (2002, p. 130) and Haywood et al. (2018, p. 102), it is possible to interpret the result of articles regarding female homosexuals as being oppressed both because of their submissive gender and sexuality. Homosexual women have two reasons to being oppressed, which could be the reason why they are portrayed less positively than any other category or subcategory.

As mentioned in section 2.5.1, Baker (2005, p. 61) claims that public discourses, such as newspaper articles, can have a huge impact on the reader's mind, subconsciously. There are some major differences between Baker's topic and the topic in this study, one of them being that Baker studies the meaning of the word, whereas occurrence is studied in this study. Since the topics are so different, it is difficult to come to a linguistic conclusion using Baker's study. However, Baker's study further proves the idea that has been enhanced during this essay, meaning that what someone reads, for example, in newspapers, will impact someone's thinking, and broadly speaking, it will impact someone's surroundings.

However, Çoban (2018, p. 2) writes that the ruling class controls the media and that media functions as a socialization device to create public crowds. He also claims that media is a useful tool to spread the ruling class' ideological hegemony and, thereby, sustain their supremacy. Also, media is the main source of information for many people, something that Pirus et al. (2016, p. 66) also confirm. Gonta et al. (2017, p. 22) also support this theory and claim that previous research has proved that media exposure determines individuals' attitudes towards the content portrayed. Hart (2000) writes that "Negative media representation of gay men contribute to decreased levels of social tolerance for homosexuality in American society as well as increased levels of homophobia." (2000, p. 76). As can be seen, there is a consensus regarding media's effect on society and, in accordance with the results from this study, positive attitudes toward gay men are facilitated, but the opposite in terms of lesbians.

5. Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate societal attitudes toward homosexuality by analyzing journalists' use of adjectives in newspaper articles regarding famous homosexual couples compared to famous heterosexual couples. The hypothesis for this research was that famous homosexual couples are portrayed more negatively than heterosexual couples, which turned out to be true. As the results indicate, female journalists use more evaluative adjectives than male journalists. Also, heterosexual couples are portrayed more positively when looking at the percentage of evaluative adjectives that were either positive or negative within each category. Another finding was that the percentage of positive evaluative adjectives was much higher in articles about male homosexuals than in articles about female homosexuals. Based on the results of this study, it is possible to conclude that famous homosexual couples are portrayed negatively in the media, especially female homosexual couples, which could also indicate homophobia caused by heteronormativity and hegemonic values.

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Appendix I: Adjectival Content Within Each Article

Article	Word Count	Tot. ev. adj.	Pos. adj.	Neg. adj.	NV. Tot. ev. adj.	NV pos. adj.	NV neg. adj.
Article 1	570	2	2	0	4	4	0
Article 2	748	1	1	0	1	1	0
Article 3	307	4	3	1	13	10	3
Article 4	351	4	4	0	11	11	0
Article 5	347	4	4	0	12	12	0
Article 6	298	5	5	0	17	17	0
Article 7	390	3	3	0	8	8	0
Article 8	310	5	5	0	16	16	0
Article 9	363	8	3	5	22	8	14
Article 10	336	4	2	2	12	6	6
Article 11	383	4	4	0	10	10	0
Article 12	654	5	4	1	8	6	2
Article 13	291	5	5	0	17	17	0
Article 14	180	6	6	0	33	33	0
Article 15	372	6	6	0	16	16	0
Article 16	255	3	3	0	12	12	0
Article 17	414	2	1	1	5	2	2
Article 18	397	2	2	0	5	5	0
Article 19	435	16	15	1	37	14	2
Article 20	298	9	9	0	30	30	0
Article 21	689	10	10	0	15	15	0
Article 22	494	2	2	0	4	4	0
Article 23	343	4	4	0	12	12	0
Article 24	274	3	3	0	11	11	0
Article 25	364	13	8	5	36	22	14
Article 26	341	7	6	1	21	18	3
Article 27	430	10	8	2	23	19	5
Article 28	569	11	6	5	19	11	9
Article 29	599	13	11	2	22	18	3
Article 30	305	6	5	1	20	16	3
Article 31	379	7	6	1	18	16	3
Article 32	487	8	7	1	16	14	2

Appendix II: Numbering and Categorization of Articles

Article	Sexuality	Couple	Gender of Journalist	Journalist
Article 1	Hetero.	Mila Kunis & Ashton Kutcher	Male	Brian Marks
Article 2	Hetero.	Mila Kunis & Ashton Kutcher	Male	Brian Gallagher
Article 3	Hetero.	Sarah Jessica Parker & Matthew Broderick	Male	Glenn Garner
Article 4	Hetero.	Sarah Jessica Parker & Matthew Broderick	Male	Brian Marks
Article 5	Hetero.	Rita Wilson & Tom Hanks	Male	Brian Gallagher
Article 6	Hetero.	Rita Wilson & Tom Hanks	Male	Dan Heching
Article 7	Hetero.	Leslie Mann & Judd Apatow	Male	Brian Marks
Article 8	Hetero.	Leslie Mann & Judd Apatow	Male	Glenn Garner
Article 9	Homo. Female	Ellen DeGeneres & Portia de Rossi	Male	Brian Marks
Article 10	Homo. Female	Ellen DeGeneres & Portia de Rossi	Male	Brian Gallagher
Article 11	Homo. Female	Sarah Paulson & Holland Taylor	Male	Kevin Kayhart
Article 12	Homo. Female	Sarah Paulson & Holland Taylor	Male	Sameer Suri
Article 13	Homo. Male	Neil Patrick Harris & David Burtka	Male	Glenn Garner
Article 14	Homo. Male	Neil Patrick Harris & David Burtka	Male	Justin Enriquez
Article 15	Homo. Male	Jesse Tyler Ferguson & Justin Mikita	Male	Brian Marks
Article 16	Homo. Male	Jesse Tyler Ferguson & Justin Mikita	Male	Dan Heching
Article 17	Hetero.	Mila Kunis & Ashton Kutcher	Female	Deirdre Simonds
Article 18	Hetero.	Mila Kunis & Ashton Kutcher	Female	Sarah Sotoodeh
Article 19	Hetero.	Sarah Jessica Parker & Matthew Broderick	Female	Sarah Abraham
Article 20	Hetero.	Sarah Jessica Parker & Matthew Broderick	Female	Vera Kelby

Article 21	Hetero.	Rita Wilson & Tom Hanks	Female	Catilyn Becker
Article 22	Hetero.	Rita Wilson & Tom Hanks	Female	Kellie Chudzinski
Article 23	Hetero.	Leslie Mann & Judd Apatow	Female	Carly Johnson
Article 24	Hetero.	Leslie Mann & Judd Apatow	Female	Rachel McGrath
Article 25	Homo. Female	Ellen DeGeneres & Portia de Rossi	Female	Annita Katee
Article 26	Homo. Female	Ellen DeGeneres & Portia de Rossi	Female	Kellie Chudzinski
Article 27	Homo. Female	Sarah Paulson & Holland Taylor	Female	Joanna Crawley
Article 28	Homo. Female	Sarah Paulson & Holland Taylor	Female	Kellie Chudzinski
Article 29	Homo. Male	Neil Patrick Harris & David Burtka	Female	Kate Durocher
Article 30	Homo. Male	Neil Patrick Harris & David Burtka	Female	Tracy Wright
Article 31	Homo. Male	Jesse Tyler Ferguson & Justin Mikita	Female	Sarah Abraham
Article 32	Homo. Male	Jesse Tyler Ferguson & Justin Mikita	Female	Carly Johnson

Appendix III: Primary Sources/data

Article	Journalist	Link	Access Date
Article 1	Marks, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8951787/Ashton-Kutcher-stops-coffee-running-errands-LA-wife-Mila-Kunis-waits-car.html	November 2020
Article 2	Gallagher, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8287439/Ashton-Kutcher-Mila-Kunis-reveal-sold-2-000-cases-Quarantine-Wine.html	November 2020
Article 3	Garner, Glenn.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8656731/Sarah-Jessica-Parker-shows-stunning-figure-day-beach-Matthew-Broderick-Hampton.html	November 2020
Article 4	Marks, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8443713/Sarah-Jessica-Parker-brings-book-day-Matthew-Broderick-son-James.html	November 2020
Article 5	Gallagher, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8563055/Tom-Hanks-Rita-Wilson-citizens-Greece.html	November 2020
Article 6	Heching, Dan.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8514295/Tom-Hanks-Rita-Wilson-travel-style-arrive-Paros-Island-Greece-private-jet.html	November 2020
Article 7	Marks, Brian	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8762681/Leslie-Mann-looks-casual-white-tank-husband-Judd-Apatow-shop-clothes.html	November 2020
Article 8	Garner, Glenn.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8473143/Leslie-Mann-goes-bold-pink-ruffles-makes-grocery-run-Malibu-husband-Judd-Apatow.html	November 2020
Article 9	Marks, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8997267/Ellen-DeGeneres-rocks-black-T-shirt-shopping-trip-wife-Portia-Rossi.html	November 2020
Article 10	Gallagher, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8554781/Ellen-DeGeneres-Portia-Rossis-Montecito-mansion-BURGLARIZED-4th-July-holiday.html	November 2020
Article 11	Kayhart, Kevin.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8672963/Sarah-Paulson-45-Holland-Taylor-77-share-loving-moments-shopping-LA.html	November 2020

Article 12	Suri, Sameer.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8645589/Holland-Taylor-reveals-went-public-Sarah-Paulson-45-despite-private.html	November 2020
Article 13	Garner, Glenn.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8688513/Neil-Patrick-Harris-shows-guns-boating-husband-David-Burtka-friends-Hamptons.html	November 2020
Article 14	Enriquez, Justin.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-7807427/Neil-Patrick-Harris-David-Burtka-binge-snacks-delivered-celeb-favorite-service-goPuff.html	November 2020
Article 15	Marks, Brian.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8989111/Jesse-Tyler-Ferguson-Justin-Mikita-hand-meals-ahead-Thanksgiving.html	November 2020
Article 16	Heching, Dan.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8389999/Jesse-Tyler-Ferguson-husband-Justin-Mikita-mask-morning-coffee-run.html	November 2020
Article 17	Simonds, Deirdre.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8878375/Ashton-Kutcher-Mila-Kunis-proudly-display-Voted-stickers-vote-LA.html	November 2020
Article 18	Sotoodeh, Sarah	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8366767/Ashton-Kutcher-Mila-Kunis-list-Beverly-Hills-mansion-14M.html	November 2020
Article 19	Abraham, Sarah.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8922729/Sarah-Jessica-Parkers-husband-Matthew-Broderick-calls-23-year-marriage-amazing.html	November 2020
Article 20	Vera, Kelby.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8889523/Sarah-Jessica-Parker-shares-rare-family-photos-wishes-son-James-happy-18th-birthday.html	November 2020
Article 21	Becker, Catilyn.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8274807/Rita-Wilson-wishes-love-Tom-Hanks-happy-anniversary-couple-celebrates-32-years.html	November 2020
Article 22	Chudzinski, Kellie.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8508433/Tom-Hanks-celebrates-64th-birthday-tributes-family-friends.html	November 2020
Article 23	Johnson, Carly.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8537677/Leslie-Mann-dons-white-sundress-shops-husband-Judd-Apatow-daughter-Iris-Malibu.html	November 2020

Article 24	McGrath, Rachel.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8183335/Judd-Apatow-dons-t-shirt-shorts-Leslie-Mann-bundles-puffer-coat-walk-LA.html	November 2020
Article 25	Katee, Annita.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8355585/Ellen-DeGeneres-gets-flirty-Portia-Rossi-pick-food-Porsche-convertible.html	November 2020
Article 26	Chudzinski, Kellie.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-7365471/Ellen-DeGeneres-celebrates-11-years-marriage-wife-favorite-person-Portia-Rossi.html	November 2020
Article 27	Crawley, Joanna.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8755007/Emmys-2020-Holland-Taylor-77-laughs-Sarah-Paulson-45-virtual-ceremony.html	November 2020
Article 28	Chudzinski, Kellie	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8644897/Holland-Taylor-recalls-irritated-partner-Sarah-Paulson-met.html	November 2020
Article 29	Durocher, Kate.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-6839293/Neil-Patrick-Harris-David-Burtka-explain-theyve-turned-lives-celebration.html	November 2020
Article 30	Wright, Tracy.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-4859952/Neil-Patrick-Harris-posts-sweet-anniversary-note.html	November 2020
Article 31	Abraham, Sarah.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8914981/Jesse-Tyler-Ferguson-Justin-Mikita-doting-dads-turns-pushing-sons-stroller.html	November 2020
Article 32	Johnson, Carly.	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-8833395/Jesse-Tyler-Ferguson-proudly-rocks-Katy-Perry-tee-grocery-run-husband-Justin-Mikita.html	November 2020

Appendix III: Evaluative Adjectives Within Each Article

Article 1:

Positive adjectives:

Fit (biceps)

Responsible (examples)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 2:

Positive adjectives:

(The wine is) unique

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 3:

Positive adjectives:

Stunning (figure)

Timeless (swimsuit)

Famous (couple)

Negative adjectives:

(A troll who called her) pretentious

Article 4:

Positive adjectives:

Trim (legs)

Sensible (heels)

Great (time)

Favorite (show)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 5:

Positive adjectives:

Proud (citizens)

(The couple were) enchanted

Biggest (movies)

Successful (movies)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 6:

Positive adjectives:

Well-deserved (vacation)

(The actor looked) stylish

Crisp (shirt)

Stylish (sandals)

(An actress in her own right) famous

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 7:

Positive adjectives:

Longtime (couple)

Fit (arms)

Gentle (waves)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 8:

Positive adjectives:

(She went) bold

(I was so) married

Perfect (note)

Long (time)

Good (gifts)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 9:

Positive adjectives:

Striking (jumpsuit)

Popular (series)

(She emerged) triumphant

Negative adjectives:

(Talk show host was) lambasted

Contentious (interview)

Low (profile)

Toxic (workplace)

Alleged (transgressions)

Article 10:

Positive adjectives:

High-value (jewelry)
Staggering (\$27 million)

Negative adjectives:

Several (reports)
Toxic (working environment)

Article 11:

Positive adjectives:

Tender (moment)
Heartfelt (moment)
Protective (masks)
Positive (state of mind)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 12:

Positive adjectives:

Enormous (star)
(It's so) funny
Exquisitely (woman)
Beautiful (woman)

Negative adjectives:

(This thought is) wrong

Article 13:

Positive adjectives:

Silly (shades)
Sweet (photo)
(Himself and Harris getting) cozy
Gorgeous (sunset)
(#)Grateful

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 14:

Positive adjectives:

(A night in that was) legendary
Cute (snap)
Delicious (snacks)
Super-cool (boomerang video)
Cozy (night)
Impressive (spread)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 15:

Positive adjectives:

Safe (thanksgiving)
Happy (thanksgiving)
Charitable (giving)
(Both were) careful
(I'm) excited
Cute (photo)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 16:

Positive adjectives:

Masked (outing)
Showier (element)
(I'm very) excited

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 17:

Positive adjectives:

Cozy (pair of UGG boots)

Negative adjectives:

Casual (figure)

Article 18:

Positive adjectives:

Stunning (abode)
Enormous (kitchen)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 19:

Positive adjectives:

Best (friend)
Illustrious (remarks)
(I'm very) grateful
(It's) amazing
Incredible (acting abilities)
Tremendous (talens)
(She was so so) good
Funny
Smart
Great (actor)
(She's very) good
Strong (marriage)
Nice

Private

(Stay) strong

Negative adjectives:

Fleeting (marriages)

Article 20:

Positive adjectives:

Heartfelt (tribute)
(The actress reflected how) proud
Beloved (son)
Privileged (confident)
Steadfast (confident)
Joyful (witness)
Adorable (baby James)
Sweet (moment)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 21:

Positive adjectives:

Beloved (husband)
Sweet (message)
Affectionate (message)
Loving (words)
Impressive (mountain)
Beloved (couples)
(Antibodies that could be) beneficial
Beloved (actor)
(Antibodies would be) useful
(He's) responsible

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 22:

Positive adjectives:

Sweet (snap)
(Every day with you is a) blessing
(I am so) grateful

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 23:

Positive adjectives:

Toned (arms)
Golden (hair)
Chic (shades)
Famous (parents)

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 24:

Positive adjectives:

(They are) famous
(The writer are director was) happy
(Our relationship is) healthy

Negative adjectives:

—

Article 25:

Positive adjectives:

Warm (persona)
Loving (persona)
(The TV-host looked) relaxed
(The TV-host looked) happy
Flirty (shoot)

Warm (persona)

Loving (persona)

(Elle's so) grateful

Negative adjectives:

Cold (behavior)

Demeaning (behavior)

(Ellen kept) casual

Cold (behavior)

Demeaning (behavior)

Article 26:

Positive adjectives:

Adored (couple)

Special (anniversary)

Favorite (number)

Favorite (person)

Sweet (note)

Gorgeous (gown)

Negative adjectives:

Difficult (struggle)

Article 27:**Positive adjectives:**

Sweet (moments)
 (Taylor looking) chic
 (They've been) inseparable
 Spectacular (person)
 (To stay) safe
 Ideal (relationship)
 (I'm) older
 (I've been so) independent

Negative adjectives:

(I'm) strange
 Unique (circumstances)

Article 28:**Positive adjectives:**

(Going) strong
 (Her talent was) striking
 (She was) fabulous-looking
 (People is completely) ineffable
 Tight (relationship)
 (We are) fortunate

Negative adjectives:

(She was) irritated
 (Being) irritated
 Irritating (girl)
 Irritating (girl)
 Cooly-cool (girl)

Article 29:**Positive adjectives:**

(Neil Patrick Harris is) fun
 Dynamic (party)
 Unique (gatherings)
 Detailed (gatherings)
 Thrilling (night)
 Scariest (thing)
 Crazy (antics)
 Good (time)
 Great (way)
 Successful (nights)
 Picture perfect (pair)

Negative adjectives:

(People are) nervous
 (They are) nervous

Article 30:**Positive adjectives:**

Supreme (gratitude)
 Adorable (photo)
 Safe (space)
 Bountiful (love)
 Happy (anniversary)

Negative adjectives:

(That's really) nice

Article 31:**Positive adjectives:**

Doting (dads)
 Trendy (neighborhood)
 Athletic (figure)
 (The duo looked) keen
 Cute (outfit)
 Monumental (birthday)

Negative adjectives:

(The process is) intimidating

Article 32:**Positive adjectives:**

Stunning (image)
 Stylish (shades)
 Reusable (shopping bag)
 Sweet (snapshot)
 (Beckett looked) cozy
 (The new parents are) overjoyed
 (The new parents are) excited

Negative adjectives:

Messy (fauxhawk)

Appendix V: Evaluative Adjectives Within Each Category

Journalist	Sexuality	Positive adjectives	Negative adjectives
Male	Heterosexuality	Fit, responsible, unique, stunning, timeless, famous, trim, sensible, great, favorite, proud, enchanted, biggest, successful, well-deserved, stylish, crisp, stylish, famous, longtime, fit, gentle, bold, , married, perfect, long, good (27)	Pretentious (1)
Female	Heterosexuality	Cozy, stunning, enormous, best, illustrious, grateful, amazing, incredible, tremendous, good, funny, smart, great, good, strong, nice, private, strong, heartfelt, proud, beloved, privileged, steadfast, joyful, adorable sweet , affectionate, loving, impressive, beloved, beneficial, beloved, useful, responsible, sweet, grateful, toned, golden, chic, famous, famous, happy, healthy (45)	Casual, fleeting (2)
Male	Homosexuality	Striking, triumphant, popular, high-value, staggering, tender, heartfelt, protective, positive, enormous, funny, exquisitely, beautiful, silly, sweet, cozy, gorgeous, grateful,, legendary, cute, delicious, super-cool, cozy, impressive, safe, happy, charitable, careful, excited, cute, masked, showier, excited (57)	Lambasted, contentious low, toxic, alleged, several, toxic, wrong (8)
Female	Homosexuality	Warm, loving, relaxed, happy, flirty, warm, loving, grateful, adored, special, favorite, favorite, sweet, gorgeous, sweet, chic, inseparable, spectacular, safe, ideal, older, independent, strong, striking, fabulous-looking, ineffable, tight, fortunate, fun, dynamic, unique, detailed, thrilling, scariest, good, great, crazy, successful, picture-perfect, supreme, adorable, safe, bountiful, happy, doting, trendy, athletic, keen, cute, monumental, stunning, stylish, reusable, sweet, cozy, overjoyed, excited (57)	Cold, demeaning, casual, cold, demeaning, difficult, strange, unique, irritated, irritated, irritating, irritating, cooly-cool, nervous, nervous, nice, intimidating, messy (18)