

Frauenbild:
**A corpus-based linguistic
analysis of the most used
adjectives and nouns for women in
German newspaper and
tabloid articles in 2017**

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the representation of five prominent German women in 2017 by examining the adjectives and nouns used to describe them in two German newspapers and two German tabloids. Its main goals are to describe contemporary depictions of women in select German print media through a lexical analysis of gendered manifestations of power dynamics. This study is guided by four questions about each article's general themes; the frequency and the semantic and pragmatic meanings of the adjectives and nouns, the difference in word choice of the newspapers and tabloids, and the existence of the traditional gender roles of women in German print media.

The corpus used for this study consists of all articles published in 2017 from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Zeit*, *BILD*, and *express web* articles about Helene Fischer, Julia Görge, Diane Kruger, Herta Müller, and Frauke Petry. Through an amalgam of quantitative approaches of Baker et al. for corpus linguistics and Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, and of qualitative concepts such as Bourdieu's *symbolic power* and Althusser's *Interpellation*, this study seeks to provide an insightful analysis of the most commonly used adjectives and nouns to describe these five women. Through an analysis of adjective and noun choice of the four German newspapers, this study has concluded that each of the five women was treated by the German print media differently due to the nature of their work.

KEYWORDS

corpus linguistics, portrayal of women,
German print media, power relations, adjectives,
nouns, critical discourse analysis,
adjective classification

In Germany, women's rights were fought for by the leaders and members of German women's movements throughout various points in history (Nave-Herz 10). The fight for women's social, economic, and political equality continues well into the 21st century. Indeed, by 2017, the significant achievements of women in the German and global political arena appear to be exemplified by the leadership of Chancellor Angela Merkel. She has been regarded as one of the most powerful and influential leaders of the European Union and Western society since she was appointed Chancellor in 2005 (Jackson 178).

However, despite achievements in suffrage, labor law, and the right to education enjoyed by women in the 21st century, some feminists and linguists believe that traces of sexism can still be seen and observed in contemporary society. As seen through the language people use in which words, phrases, and terms with sexist undertones continue to exist and are still being unknowingly used by its speakers (Samel 18 and Schoenthal 298). In light of this new field of feminist linguistics and language criticism emerged, spearheaded by American linguists Robin Lakoff and Mary Ritchie Key, dealing with the study and critique of sexist tendencies in everyday language use (Schoenthal 298).

A particularly revealing aspect of everyday language is the use of adjectives, whose main purpose is to describe things, people, and places, among others (Trask 188). Through adjectives, one can observe prejudiced language in the representations of men and women. According to a similar study by Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010), adjectives used for men, boys, women, and girls in English newspapers carry connotative characteristics. Some adjectives are purely

used for women and girls, while others are used for men and boys while also carrying other pragmatic meanings beyond gender. According to Schmerl, a reflection of these existing differences in the treatment of men and women in society can be seen in the mass media, whose archetypes and ideals of men and women remain largely unchanged and act as vehicles for disseminating these to the public (171). For this reason, an examination of the word choice of the press to portray men and women should be more carefully reviewed and examined.

This study is anchored on certain premises regarding the difference between *sex* and *gender*. The World Health Organization distinguishes sex from gender as "[all that] encompasses that are biologically determined" ("*Gender and Genetics*"). This includes the anatomy of one's reproductive system, chromosomes, and endogenous hormonal profiles ("*Sex and Gender*"). Meanwhile, gender is defined as socially constructed roles and behaviors performed by people ("*Sex and Gender*," Butler 8-14). Simone de Beauvoir also weighed in on the sex vs. gender distinction. In *The Second Sex*, she famously wrote that "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. (267)" referring to how society constructs its notions of gender.

To understand the *Frauenbild* (the image of women), this study explores the treatment of the contemporary German media towards cisgender caucasian women by examining the most used adjectives and nouns of a selected electronic corpus. For this study, the corpus consists of articles about five well-known German women published in 2017 in two widely circulated German newspapers, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Zeit*,¹ as well as in two frequently visited German tabloid papers. *Bild* and *express*.² These newspapers and tabloids were chosen due to the volume of their readership and visitor traffic on their websites. Due to the difficulties of accessing printed German newspapers and tabloids in the Philippines, all articles have been data mined from each papers' website.

This study will focus on five German cisgender caucasian women as struggles of LGBTQ+ women and women of color can differ greatly from the experiences of caucasian cisgender women and therefore merit their own study. These five women representing five different professions, namely music, sport, theater/film, literature, and politics, were chosen as representatives for sectoral diversity and due to their achievements in their professions. The selection was more concretely guided by the following criteria: number of professional accolades, awards, and recognition as well as the number of articles published about them in the four papers, in order to have a sufficient number of articles for the corpus. In light of this, the singer Helene Fischer was chosen to represent the music industry, champion tennis player Julia Görge for sports, Hollywood actress Diane Kruger for Film and Theater, novelist and 2009 Nobel Prize winner for Literature Herta Müller for Literature, and lastly, politician and ex-chairperson of the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) Frauke Petry for politics.

Although adjectives will be the main focus of this study, in that the most used adjectives that appear for each woman are noted and analyzed, nouns or nominal phrases (left-attribute word or phrase + proper name) will also be taken in to account, as they may pertain explicitly about the five chosen women, for example, titles like "*Nobelpreisträgerin Herta Müller* (f. Nobel prize winner Herta Müller, "*Weltmeisterin Julia Görge* (f. world champion Julia Görge)" or "*Chefin Frauke Petry* (f. chief/boss Frauke Petry)."

This study will be guided by the following questions: 1) What are the themes/topics of each article about these female personalities? 2) What are the most used adjectives and nouns used to describe them, and what are the semantic and pragmatic meanings behind them? 3) Is there a

1 According to the *Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung der Werbeträgern e.V.*, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Zeit* sold 357,918 and 505,010 copies respectively in the fourth quarter of 2017,

2 *BLD* and *express* had 382,773,218 and 30,862,129 visitors in November 2017, respectively.

difference concerning the portrayal of the chosen women in newspapers and tabloids? 4) To what extent do German newspapers and tabloids still reinforce traditional roles and stereotypes of women?

To answer these questions, the study will use both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Baker et al.'s approach to corpus linguistics (2008), combined with Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (1995), will be used as a textual analysis method. Meanwhile, various theories, such as symbolic power for Pierre Bourdieu (1991) and interpellation of Louis Althusser (1971), will be used to analyze the results qualitatively.

Though this study primarily focuses on cisgender German women's representation, it is important to observe and study feminist movements' nuances in different countries and cultures. Given the numerous and complicated shifts in the experiences and representation of Filipino women in history, from the *Babaylan* to *Maria Clara* to Filipina Suffragists and Revolutionaries in the 20th century to the modern-day 21st Century Filipina, the successes and failures of the Feminist movement in Germany illustrated in this study may serve as a basis for future comparative studies in the Philippine context.

Symbolic Power and Interpellation

Both Bourdieu's Symbolic Power and Althusser's Interpellation discuss ideology and common sense. In everyday life, the word "ideology" is often negatively regarded due to its frequent connection to terms like "terrorist" and "radical" (Mooney & Evans 16). Critical linguists Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge (6) define ideology as "as a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view." Simply put, ideology is a collection of ideas, beliefs, values, and conduct that each person has. The theorist and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu adds that social groups also have their own sets of ideologies that serve their particular interests and tend to present them as universal, commonly accepted interests (167). Althusser also weighed in on the concept of ideology, which for him "is the system of ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man of a social group" (158). According to Norman Fairclough in his book "Language and Power" (1989), ideology functions best "when its workings are least visible ... and invisibility is achieved when ideologies are brought to discourse not as explicit elements of the text, but as background assumptions" (85).

Power, then, can manifest in various explicit or implicit ways in language (Mooney & Evans 13). According to Shon (829-830), the influence of language on people is mostly carried in indistinct and indirect ways (also Fairclough "Language and Power" 85). One need not be in an apparent and clear position of power or need any institutional power to utilize and manifest the power in language (Mooney & Evans 15).

Due to the characteristic of ideology to be taken for granted and to be presented as "universal truth," according to Gramsci (663) and Fairclough (84), ideology can also function as "common sense." With this, common sense strengthens and supports unequal power relations because social actors fail to notice, to question, and to challenge the implicit assumptions brought about by common sense (Fairclough 85). Language also plays a significant role in creating, preserving, and asserting common sense ideologies as language is the tool with which messages of ideologies are communicated. Their world view is created (Mooney & Evans 16).

According to Pierre Bourdieu, language is neither a physical or institutional power, but a type of "symbolic power" and is an instrument of power. Symbolic power partly deals with the metaphorical power behind linguistic symbols. The use of such symbols for speech acts that insult, command, encourage, or convince someone could change the thinking of a person or group with enough repetition and exposure. (163)

The French sociologist studied the relationship of power with gender roles, the mass media, and language. Some of his works generally deal with the various subtle ways in which power changed and supported societal norms. Hence, Bourdieu explored theories, concepts, and theoretical principles of “cultural production” in which cultural, social, and symbolic capital are contested and negotiated in a society (164-170).

In addition to the aforementioned functions of language, we also consider the conative function of language designed to address a receiver (Jakobson 335). According to Louis Althusser, one can also find traces of power in this language function due to the speaker's freedom and opportunity to address or to name someone in their own way. Under these circumstances, the speaker gains the power to place the other party into a power relationship. The phenomenon of positioning players into a specific power relation is what Althusser calls interpellation. He describes this process of the audience being "hailed" in a particular way, like giving them a name or calling them out on the street (174). Althusser adds that "all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects" (173) and with that, rather than being fully self-conscious, these individuals are interpellated by ideology through superstructural institutions like the media or the education system. (127-186)

In addition to Interpellation, Althusser also introduced his concepts of the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA). These State Apparatuses are the avenues through which the "ruling class" perpetuates their ideologies. In contrast to RSAs like the military and the police, which function massively "by violence or force" (143), ISAs like schools, religion, family, and the media manifest their power and influence indirectly mainly “by ideology” (145; 127-158).

One of the dominant ideologies in the world today is patriarchy (Meagher, 441-442). According to sociologist Sylvia Walby (20), patriarchy is “ a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women.” Iris Marion Young (21) cites patriarchy, which she defines as the system of male domination that produces and perpetuates women's oppression in terms of their gender, as one of the systems from which women's oppression stems. Colette Guillaumin (73) observed that, in general, men are referred to by way of their profession, their social status, and their abilities. However, on the other hand, women are generally only connected to their sex. Guillaumin named this phenomenon of derogation of women to simply physical objects as “direct physical appropriation” or *sexage* (74). Ultimately, the patriarchal ideology attempts to structure and fit men and women into traditional models and stereotypes to maintain the status quo of gender relations in society (Tyson 91). Several different theories aiming to know the origin and nature of patriarchy emerged, from the biological theory to Gerda Lerner's. However, despite this, the topic of patriarchy is a common denominator among feminist literature.

The life of women in Germany

Examples of traditional German sayings about the role of women are as follows:

“Vier K gehören zu einem frommen Weib, nemlich, dass sie Achtung gebe auff die Kirche, Kammer, Küche, Kinder.” (“Four Ks are expected of a pious wife, namely, that she gives (her) attention to the church, the chambers, the kitchen, and the children.”) - in Wander 501 trans. mine

“Eine gute Hausfrau hat fünf K zu besorgen: Kammer, Kinder, Küche, Keller, Kleider.” (“A good housewife has 5 Ks to attend to: chamber, children, kitchen, cellar, and clothes.”) - in Sailer 100 trans. mine

According to Paletschek, the motto “*Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church)” came from the sayings above, which has been a simple way to describe the traditional role of German women as devoted housewives and mothers (419-420). Aside from these stereotypical roles of maintaining a

household and raising children, women are described as “more understanding, more considerate, and more sensitive than men, women concern themselves a lot with their physical appearance ” (Steffens & Ebert 13-15 trans. mine). Women's financial incapability and dependence on their fathers and husbands, the breadwinner, is also a conspicuous stereotype from the old model of being a devout housewife (Stöckle & Davison 2-3).

The feminist movement in Germany ran parallel to the established three waves of feminism in other western societies. In the mid-1800s, revolutionary and civil rights movements in the United States, France, Great Britain, and Africa, whose new constitutions featured women's rights, consciousness about the socio-political situation was stoked and served as a catalyst for German women's movements (Nave-Herz 7). According to Pusch, the first wave of feminism in Germany refers to the time until 1933 (7). During the first wave, whose major aims were to fight for women's rights to work, to study, and to vote, several notable events and achievements to the women's movement, namely women's suffrage in 1918, took place (“*Information für die Frau*”; Nave-Herz 27).

Instead of moving forward towards women's emancipation, the Nazis' rise to power in the 1930s posed a significant hurdle to the German feminist movement due to the party's ideology. The regime also imposed and promoted a concrete ideal of German women, which was largely influenced by their idea of the perfect “Aryan” race. These ideals involved the “typical” physical characteristics of an Aryan woman, like blonde hair and blue eyes, and reinforced submission and obedience to husbands, fathers, and other men. More importantly, during the Nazi era, ideal women could bear children to forward Hitler's vision and contribute to the Aryan race's survival. (Nave-Herz 31-33)

Womens organizations fighting for rights, such as The *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* (Federation of German Women's Associations), established in 1894, were dissolved during the Nazi-Era (Nave-Herz 31). However, after the War, these women's organizations were revived (Samel 16). In West Germany, the German Women's Council was established in 1949, and the principle of equality between men and women was included in the German Constitution (Art. 2 Sec. 2 Grundgesetz; Nave-Herz 37).

Gearing towards economic equality and abolishing discrimination against women, the second wave of feminism or the “New Women's Movement” was largely influenced by the international student movements in 1967/68. During this time, the movement also problematized and criticized the patriarchal tendencies found in social structures, specifically men's dominance in women's public and family life and their dominance in their bodies, emotions, and thoughts. (Nave-Herz 39; Walters 114)

In 1976, Christiane Schmerl embarked on an enormous comprehensive analysis on the representation of men and women in the West-German press in a span of 20 years (175). Schmerl conducted numerous studies about gender and the media, specifically women's representation in German advertisements, news, and television programs. Moreover, in her study *Frauenfeindliche Werbung: Sexismus als heimlicher Lehrplan* (1980), Schmerl enumerates the seven typical “recipes” for female representation in advertisements; women as an object of lust, women, and consumerism through fashion, women at home, the weakness or feebleness of women, women and their preoccupation on “beauty,” the emancipation of women, and lastly, the cynicism of men. In this study, Schmerl concludes that the full spectrum of women's media representation continues to closely and compulsively promote a subordinate, attentive, passive, made-up, aesthetically-inclined, and provocative concept. Moreover, this does not correspond to the actual identity that women practice and present every day, especially in terms of their roles, jobs, competencies, and achievements. (Schmerl 134-151)

Due to increasing globalization in the 1990s, the third wave of German feminism was also globally-oriented. The inclusivity of other sexual orientations, races, cultures, and religions became an

additional concern (Walters 139). Societal changes like globalization, consumerism, and capitalism further meant that the image of women presented by the media naturally changed and developed over time (Dorer & Marschik 37). However, the question remains whether these societal changes positively affected the representation of women in the media.

Thanks to the relentless efforts of feminists toward equality for women, the situation of women in contemporary Germany is a far cry from the motto “*Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church)” of the 1700s (Nave-Herz 73; Walters 141). In the 1990s and 2000s, new versions of the three Ks like “*Karriere, Kinder, Kompetenz* (career, children, competence)” and “*Kinder, Küche, Kirche und Karriere* (children, kitchen, church, and career)” emerged as a result of the globalization and progressive ideologies of the time (Palatschek 419; 430).

The women's movement in Germany brought about political, economic, and social reform and reforms on health, sexual self-determination, and family. After all, according to Cameron (4), feminism does not limit itself to fight for women's rights and achieve equality between men and women. However, it also endeavors to realize a world in which no particular gender, particularly the men, is regarded as the standard of humanity.

Similar studies

Similar research to this study and Schmerl's study was published by Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Rosamund Moon in 2010. Entitled “*Curvy, hunky, kinky: Using corpora as tools for critical analysis*,” Caldas-Coulthard and Moon first presented this study in 1999 at a symposium at the University of Birmingham. During this time, new methods for critical analysis emerged largely due to new advancements in technology, specifically the personal computer. With this, in the field of linguistics, corpus linguistics emerged as a new approach. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon took advantage of the then-newly updated Bank of English corpus to publish two studies. The first takes an interest in the differing lexicon and adjectives used by British newspapers and tabloids. Using the same corpus, the second study focuses on the asymmetry of the portrayal of genders by finding the most used adjective-collocates that pre-modify the words *woman*, *man*, *girl*, and *boy*. (99-133)

The results of the first study illustrate the different adjectives that newspapers use in their articles and those that tabloids use. According to this study, the choice of adjectives by tabloid papers may lean into informality or use slang. In addition, the use of diminutives in nouns and adjectives, particularly with words connected to sexuality, is also a distinct feature of the lexicon of tabloid papers. (101)

From the list of the most used adjectives by tabloid papers, the researchers chose the three most utilized adjectives *curvy*, *hunky*, and *kinky*. The use, the meaning of each word, and to what/to whom these words pertain to were determined by the researchers using concordances. For instance, the word *curvy* pertains mostly to women's bodies and material objects such as cars, clothes, and furniture. On the other hand, the word *hunky* generally appears as a left-attribute,³ particularly with professions that require physical strength like fireman or actor. Lastly, the newspapers and tabloids found different ways to use the word *kinky*, but in general, the word applies to both men and women and sexual activities. (107-109)

Their second study concentrates on the treatment of newspapers and tabloids of men and women, in general, and the adjective pre-modification for *women*, *men*, *girls*, and *boys* in the same corpus. In addition to adjective-collocates, nominal phrases, specifically those with the pattern; left-attribute +

3 Left- or right-attribute refers to the position of a given word in relation to another. For example, in Caldas-Coulthard's study, the word *hunky* commonly appeared to the left of the word *man* or other "masculine" professions

noun, were also analyzed because this writing strategy is often used in journalism for emphasis and economic reasons (i.e., to save space in a spread). From the Bank of English corpus, Caldas-Coulthard and Moon extracted the top-50 adjective-collocates in descending order, after which the researchers used Theo Van Leeuwen's three main categories of adjectives to group the adjectives together. Using this method, the researchers discovered that the British newspapers and tabloids still have different treatment of men and women as subjects. This difference can particularly be seen in the expected categorization of women based on their appearance, their sexuality, and their behavior. However, the study finds almost none of this kind of judgment from both the newspapers and the tabloids with men. (109-124)

This study aims to contribute to the evolving discourse of the representations of women in mass media. By examining how language is deployed in creating an image of a woman in contemporary German society, it also forces us to reflect on how we view well-known personalities as symbols of power or disempowerment.

Methodology

This study uses corpus linguistics or lexicometric methods to analyze the quantitative relations between lexical elements in a closed corpus (Glasze 198). A large collection of electronically saved written or oral texts, or a corpus, is needed for a study using corpus linguistic methods. A corpus can function as a sample of natural language or a language variety (Baker 108). Each corpus is also unique, as each corpus is built based on each study's goals and design (Atkins et al. 1).

The main corpus for this study consists of 1,728 collected articles. Every article published in 2017 from the chosen newspapers and tabloid papers linked to each of the five German women was collected, regardless of whether the articles were solely about themselves. The main corpus is further divided into smaller corpora, i. e. a corpus for the newspapers and the tabloids, and an individual corpus for each woman.

| | Number of articles | Word types | Number of words | Average number of words |
|------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Newspaper-Corpus | 709 | 69,053 | 652,435 | 920 |
| Tabloid-Corpus | 1,019 | 38,004 | 372,213 | 365 |

Table A. Some information about "Newspaper-Corpus" and "Tabloid-Corpus."

| | Number of articles | Word types | Number of words | Average number of words |
|----------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Fischer-Corpus | 430 | 29,528 | 220,223 | 512 |
| Görges-Corpus | 340 | 11,258 | 130,256 | 383 |
| Kruger-Corpus | 79 | 9,161 | 43,975 | 557 |
| Müller-Corpus | 41 | 7,766 | 31,854 | 777 |
| Petry-Corpus | 838 | 40,927 | 606,067 | 723 |

Table B. Some information about the dedicated corpora for each woman

Only the main text of each article is useful for the analysis to not corrupt the results generated by *AntConc*. With this, cleaning each article of unnecessary data like pictures, date of publishing, videos, hyperlinks, advertisements, emojis, and other symbols is essential. Further information about each article (i.e., the title, name of the author, date of access, source, main topic, and genre) was noted to provide more context for the analysis.

Each corpus was then uploaded into *AntConc*, a corpus linguistic program developed by Dr. Laurence Anthony of the Faculty of Science and Engineering of Waseda University in Japan (laurenceanthony.net). Using the Word List Tool, the first step of corpus linguistic analysis is to do frequency analysis, which generates a word list showing the most frequently used word for each sub-corpus. After the frequency analysis, other tools in *AntConc* such as the Concordance Tool and the Keyword Tool were also used, to begin with, the concordance analysis and keyword analysis, respectively. After identifying the words of interest, in this case, adjectives and nouns, concordance analysis is the next step. The Concordance Tool shows each word's position in a sentence, which helps with the analysis by showing the words or word groups frequently and specifically tied to a given word due to its vicinity. In the German language, words may have different functions depending on the context. Thus, with the Concordance Tool, the word list words can be further examined to see if they were used as adjectives or nouns in the article and not as adverbs, verbs, or other word types. In some cases, reading the entirety of an article is needed to ascertain the word's use or meaning and support this study's qualitative analysis. (“Help for AntConc 3.1”; Glasze 202-203)

Lastly, keyword analysis utilizes the Keyword Tool, which compares two different corpora through statistical analysis, namely log-likelihood, to discover which words or lexical forms are specific to a given corpus compared to another. The keyword list then consists of the most statistically-relevant words, named “keywords,” for each separate corpus. Each word's statistical significance is derived from the relationship between the word's absolute frequency (grapheme) and the total number of words in a specific corpus. (“Help for AntConc 3.1”; Glasze 202-203; Lebart, Salem & Berry 130; 136)

From the results of the generated word lists, only the adjectives and nouns will be tabulated. For an overview of each article's content, the main themes are noted and tabulated.

Adjective classification

The results for the most common adjectives and nouns were classified into a modified version of Theo Van Leeuwen's scheme for adjective classification (1996). Van Leeuwen developed three main categories of adjectives; 'functionalization', 'identification', and 'appraisalment'. The first main category, 'functionalization,' refers to words that define people's identity based on what they do, i.e., their occupation, role in a group, or society (Van Leeuwen, 54). In the second main category, 'identification,' adjectives that categorize people, “not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less, unavoidably are” (Van Leeuwen 54). Van Leeuwen divides this category further into three sub-categories: 'classification,' 'relational identification,' and 'physical identification.' In the sub-category 'classification,' adjectives that define people “in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiate between classes of people” (i.e., people's age, gender, provenance, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, among others) (54). Adjectives belonging to the sub-category 'relational identification' have to do with people's relationships or connections with each other (i.e., family relations, work dynamics, friendship, personal connections, and so on). Descriptions of physical characteristics like size, skin color, clothes, hair, beauty, and attractiveness then belong to the third sub-category called 'physical identification.' Finally, Van Leeuwen's last main category is 'appraisalment,' deals with words that give general appraisal like *good*, *lovely*, *fantastic*, and *wonderful*. (Van Leeuwen 54)

Caldas-Coulthard and Moon modified Van Leeuwen's adjective classification in their study, as mentioned above. The category 'functionalization' was further divided into sub-groups such as 'work', 'achievements', 'societal role', and 'other'. Under the category 'identification,' the sub-category 'personal' was added, which has to do with emotional state, behavioral traits, intellect, and morality. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon added further sub-groups for each of Van Leeuwen's sub-categories. (111) Table C illustrates their modifications in their 2010 study. Those in italics indicate the sub-categories and sub-groups added.

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Functionalization | | occupation, role, function |
| Identification | Classification | age, gender, provenance, race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, wealth, religion, politics. |
| | Relational identification | kinship, work relationship, personal relationship |
| | Physical identification | size, coloring, appearance, clothing, <i>attractiveness</i> |
| | Personal | <i>emotional state, behavioral traits, intellect, morality, etc.</i> |
| Appraisalment | | <i>general evaluatives and affectives</i> |

Table C: Modified adjective classification scheme of Caldas-Coulthard & Moon (2010, 111)

Critical Discourse Analysis

The results, the main topics or themes of each article, the author, and other background information will then be analyzed through Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. According to Baker (121-122), discourse analysis uses the background or the context behind a word or a sentence to determine their actual meaning. Thus, discourse analysis is one of the most well-known methods to analyze societies using words or text (Baker 121-122). Even the word 'discourse' itself carries a variety of meanings. According to Burr (48), discourse is "a group of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, history, statements, etc., that somehow shares a specific perspective about an object, a person, or an event." Parker (5) explains discourse as "a system of statements, that builds something." Parker's definition relates to Foucault's (49; 135-140) definition that discourse produces "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak."

Critical discourse analysis is a branch of discourse analysis that has a distinguished character of bringing power inequality in society to light and, for this purpose, fighting for change (Baker et al. 2008). Thus, several aspects of CDA were derived from Michel Foucault's most fundamental concepts and work. As Foucault (10) pointed out, "discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but it is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized." Following this, Fairclough (67) also adds that "discourse is not only a site of power struggle, but also a stake in power struggle."

According to Norman Fairclough, critical discourse analysis has the following goals; (1) to discover the obscure relationship of causality and determination between discourse, events, and texts and social and cultural structure, relationships, and use, (2) to analyze the origins of the ideological power struggle in use or daily life, and (3) to pinpoint the process of strengthening the hegemony and power struggle with the help of the obscure relationship of discourse and society (132-133; 135).

Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (1995: 22), also known as the socio-cultural model, has three main parts or dimensions. The first dimension is the text, either written or spoken (2-4). Second is the discourse use: how was the text produced, shared, and consumed (10). Lastly, in discourse, i.e., in which situations discourse occurs (133).

The methods and approach of Baker et al. (2008) of combining corpus linguistics methods and Fairclough's critical discourse analysis will be necessary models for this study's qualitative and quantitative analysis (283).

After the quantitative corpus linguistic process of this study through *AntConc*, each line of the concordance analysis results will be thoroughly read and analyzed through Fairclough's second and third critical discourse analysis dimensions. The results will also be examined under the qualitative lens of symbolic power and interpellation, taking the additional information about each adjective or nominal phrase result. Per Baker et al.'s suggested process for corpus-supported critical discourse analysis, the procedure used in this study will be cyclical to avoid misinterpretation of the data and eliminate the researcher's assumptions and biases.

Representation of themes and topics for each of the five women

As mentioned before, the topics of each article were listed and tabulated. Nevertheless, from this list, an overview of each woman's types of articles and a general milieu of each corpus can be seen and concluded.

Each article's main topic can occasionally be difficult to determine and classify as some articles may have two or more topics. Afterward, the main topics such as "German national elections" and "refugee crisis" were further grouped into main themes like "Politics." Table D shows the main themes for each corpus in descending order.

| Fischer-Corpus | Görges-Corpus | Kruger-Corpus | Müller-Corpus | Petry-Corpus |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Music, Entertainment and TV 2. Football and other sports 3. Helene Fischer 4. Germany and politics 5. Other people and celebrities 6. Miscellaneous 7. Year in review/news 8. Gossip 9. Fashion | 1. Tournaments 2. Julia Görge 3. Other players 4. News 5. Other sports 6. Tennis | 1. Diane Kruger 2. Awards shows and Film festivals 3. Film: Aus dem Nichts 4. Other people 5. Miscellaneous 6. Year in review/news 7. Fashion | 1. Literature and culture 2. Other authors 3. Politics and editorials 4. Herta Müller Miscellaneous | 1. <i>Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)</i> 2. Politics and other politicians 3. Frauke Petra 4. News and editorials 5. Internet and media 6. Miscellaneous 7. Germany/History 8. Gossip |

Table D: The main themes of articles per corpus

The most used adjectives and nouns used to describe each woman

The first 2,500 to 3,500 words, regardless of the corpus' size, were thoroughly searched for adjectives and nouns used to describe people from the generated word frequency lists. Due to this, all verbs, adverbs, articles (definite, indefinite, possessive articles), and other word types were disregarded.

After examining the first generated word list, another list of 200 to 300 adjectives and nouns per woman's corpus is created.

With the condensed list of only the most used adjectives and nouns per corpus of each woman, it is easier to pinpoint the most notable adjectives and nouns per corpus. This means, adjectives like *ander-* (other), *gleich-* (same), *wenig-* (little), *viel-* (many), *eigen-* (own), *einzel-* (sole/single), *weiter-* (further), *genau-* (exact), *einige-* (some), *natürlich-* (natural), *einfach-* (simple), *wirklich-* (actual/real), *spät-* (late), etc. were excluded from the final list of the top 60 adjectives and nouns per corpus because of their neutrality. Although words for colors are also adjectives and may be of interest in this study due to their connection to political orientation and the fact that they may describe fashion pieces, such words were also excluded. Lastly, prefixes like *super-* and *mega-*, can also function as adjectives, were also removed from the final lists. However, such prefixes were also noted as lemmata of root words.

The modified adjective classification scheme by Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) of Van Leeuwen's 1996 version was used to see the types of adjectives and nouns that appear in each corpus for each chosen woman. Table E and F show the classification of the Top 60 adjectives and nouns for all five women.

| | Helene Fischer | Julia Görges |
|--|--|---|
| Functionalization | | |
| WORK | <i>Sängerin</i> (f. singer), ⁴ <i>Musiker</i> (musician), <i>Moderator</i> , <i>Model</i> , <i>Künstlerin</i> (f. artist), <i>Profi</i> (professional), <i>Promis</i> (celebrity), <i>Entertainerin</i> (entertainer) | <i>Spielerin</i> (f. player), <i>Profi</i> (professional), <i>Experte</i> (expert) |
| ACHIEVEMENTS | <i>Siegerin</i> (winner) | <i>Siegerin</i> (f. winner/victor), <i>Gegnerin</i> (f. opponent), <i>Qualifikantin</i> (f. qualifier), <i>Titelverteidigerin</i> (f. defending champion), <i>Finalistin</i> (f. finalist), <i>Gewinnerin</i> (f. winner), <i>Weltmeisterin</i> (f. world champion) |
| SOCIAL ROLE | | |
| OTHER | <i>Favoritin</i> (f. favorite), <i>Stars</i> , <i>Queen</i> , <i>Königin</i> (queen), <i>Phänomen</i> (phenomenon) | <i>Favoritin</i> (f. favorite), <i>Superstar</i> , <i>Debütantinnen</i> (f. debutants) |
| Identification [Classification] | | |
| AGE | <i>(32-)jährig</i> (32-year-old) | <i>(28-)jährig</i> (28-year-old), <i>junge</i> (young) |
| GENDER/SEXUALITY | <i>Frau</i> (woman) | |
| ORIGIN/NATIONALITY | <i>deutsche</i> (german), <i>geboren-</i> (born), <i>ursprünglich-</i> (original) | <i>deutsche</i> (german), <i>Oldesloerin</i> (f. from Oldesloer), (<i>Schleswig-</i>) <i>Holsteinerin</i> (f. from Schleswig-Holstein) |
| ETHNICITY | | |
| RELIGION | | |
| SOCIAL CLASS/WEALTH | | |

Table E: Adjective Classification of the results for Fischer and Görges (continued on next page)

4 In German, nouns with the suffix *-in* indicates a feminine gender. For instance, *Sänger* means a male singer, then *Sängerin* means a female singer. In this study, *f.* in the translation of the words means 'female.'

| | Helene Fischer | Julia Görges |
|---|---|--|
| Identification (Relational identification) | | |
| MARRIAGE/LOVE | <i>Freundin</i> (girlfriend/f. friend) | <i>Freundin</i> (girlfriend/f. friend) |
| FAMILY | <i>Mutter</i> (mother), <i>Tochter</i> (daughter), <i>Mama</i> , <i>Schwester</i> (sister) | Schwestern (sisters) |
| IN THE WORKPLACE | <i>Kollegin</i> (f. colleague) | <i>Bezwingerin</i> (f. conqueror), <i>Kontrahentin</i> (f. opponent) |
| Identification (Physical identification) | | |
| SIZE/BODY | | <i>verletzt</i> (injured), <i>Rechtshänderin</i> (f. right-handed), <i>starken</i> (strong), <i>schwächen</i> (weak) |
| CLOTHES | | |
| COLOR | <i>Blondine</i> (blonde) | |
| BEAUTY/APPEARANCE | <i>schön-</i> (beautiful), <i>heiß-</i> (hot), <i>sexy</i> , <i>bloß</i> (bare) | <i>schön</i> (beautiful), <i>Charme</i> (charming) |
| OTHER | <i>stark-</i> (strong) | <i>gesundheitlichen</i> (healthwise/hygienic), <i>sportlich</i> (sporty), <i>krank</i> (sick), <i>hart</i> (hard) |
| Identification (Personal) | | |
| EMOTIONS/ BEHAVIORAL TRAITS | <i>lustig-</i> (funny), <i>glücklich</i> (happy), <i>privat</i> , <i>ernst</i> (serious), <i>gnadenlos</i> (merciless), <i>Helenefischerisierung</i> (helenefischerization), <i>cool</i> , <i>stolz</i> (proud), <i>schlimm</i> (grave), <i>schlecht</i> (bad), <i>mächtig</i> (powerful), <i>schwierig</i> (difficult), <i>unangenehm</i> (unpleasant), <i>schwer</i> (heavy/difficult), <i>übel</i> (nasty) | <i>unglücklich</i> (unhappy), <i>erleichtert</i> (relieved), <i>respektlos</i> (disrespectful), <i>nervös</i> (nervous), <i>zuversichtlich</i> (confident), <i>beherzter</i> (feisty), <i>bekräftigt</i> (reinforced), <i>bezwungen</i> (defeated), <i>besiegt</i> (defeated), <i>geschlagen</i> (beaten), <i>schwer</i> (hard/difficult), <i>schwierig</i> (difficult), <i>schlechter</i> (bad) |
| SKILLS/ ACHIEVEMENTS | <i>bekannt</i> (well-known), <i>erfolgreich</i> (successful), <i>gefeiert</i> (celebrated), <i>berühmt</i> (famous) | <i>beliebte</i> (popular), <i>berühmt</i> (famous), <i>erfolgreich</i> (successful) |
| INTELLECT | | <i>verrückt</i> (crazy) |
| MORALITY/ POLITICAL AFFILIATION | | <i>göttlich</i> (divine) |
| OTHER | <i>ausgepiffen</i> (booed), <i>Alpha</i> , <i>Klischee</i> (cliché) | |
| Appraisalment | <i>besten</i> (best), <i>super</i> , <i>perfekt</i> , <i>typisch</i> (typical), <i>klassische</i> (classic), <i>moderne</i> | <i>besten</i> (best), <i>unglaublich</i> (unbelievable), <i>extrem</i> (extreme), <i>sensationellen</i> (sensational), <i>verdammte</i> (damned), <i>chaotischen</i> (chaotic), <i>erstaunlich</i> (amazing/astounding), <i>fantastischen</i> , <i>ehemalige</i> (former), <i>topgesetzte</i> (top seed) |

Table E: Adjective Classification of the results for Fischer and Görges (continued from previous page)

| | Diane Kruger | Herta Müller | Frauke Petry |
|---|--|---|---|
| Functionalization | | | |
| WORK | <i>Schauspielerin</i> (actress), <i>Hauptdarstellerin</i> (f. main character), <i>Hollywoodstar</i> , <i>Model</i> , <i>Promis</i> (celebrity), <i>Darstellerin</i> (f. performer) | <i>Schriftsteller</i> (writer/novelist), <i>Künstler</i> (artist), <i>Autorin</i> (f. author), <i>Dichterin</i> (f. poet), <i>Experten</i> (expert), <i>Dramatikerin</i> (f. playwright), <i>Bestsellerautorin</i> (f. best selling author) | <i>Chefin</i> (f. boss), <i>Vorsitzende</i> (chairperson), <i>Spitzenkandidatin</i> (f. top candidate), <i>Kanzlerin</i> (f. chancellor), <i>Politikerin</i> (f. politician), <i>Experten</i> (experts) |
| ACHIEVEMENTS | <i>Gewinner</i> (winner) | <i>Preisträger</i> (award winner), <i>Literaturnobelpreisträgerin</i> (f. Nobel Prize Winner for Literature) | |
| SOCIAL ROLE | | | |
| OTHER | <i>Star</i> , <i>Musterschülerin</i> (f. model student), <i>Superstar</i> | | |
| Identification (Classification) | | | |
| AGE | <i>alte</i> (old), <i>junge</i> (young), <i>Erwachsene</i> (adult) | <i>alten</i> (old), <i>junge</i> (young), <i>ehemaligen</i> (former) | |
| GENDER/SEXUALITY | <i>Frau</i> (woman), <i>Mädchen</i> (girl), <i>girl</i> | <i>Frau</i> (woman) | <i>Frauen</i> (women), <i>Mädchen</i> (girl) |
| ORIGIN/NATIONALITY | <i>deutsche</i> (german), <i>französische</i> (french), <i>geborene</i> (born) | <i>deutschen</i> (german), <i>fremd</i> (foreign), <i>geboren</i> (born), <i>ausländische</i> (foreign) | <i>deutschen</i> (german) |
| ETHNICITY | | | <i>weiß</i> (white), <i>völkisch</i> (ethnic) |
| RELIGION | | | <i>Christen</i> (Christian) |
| SOCIAL CLASS/WEALTH | <i>bürgerlichen</i> (bourgeois/middle-class) | <i>Elite</i> , <i>reichen</i> (rich) | <i>bürgerliche</i> (bourgeois), <i>Elite</i> |
| Identification (Relational identification) | | | |
| MARRIAGE/LOVE | <i>Ehefrau</i> (wife), <i>Freundin</i> (girlfriend/f. friend) | <i>Freundin</i> (girlfriend/f. friend), <i>Witwe</i> (widow) | <i>verheiratet</i> (married) |
| FAMILY | <i>Mutter</i> (mother), <i>Tochter</i> (daughter) | <i>Eltern</i> (parents) | <i>Mutter</i> (mother), <i>Eltern</i> (parents) |
| IN THE WORKPLACE | | | |
| Identification (Physical identification) | | | |
| SIZE/BODY | <i>kleinen</i> (small) | <i>enorm</i> (enormous), <i>breitbeinig</i> (with legs apart), <i>dick</i> (thick) | |
| CLOTHES | | | |
| COLOR | <i>blonden</i> (blonde) | <i>bunt</i> (colorful) | |

Table F: Adjective Classification of the results for Kruger, Müller, and Petry (continued on next page)

| | Diane Kruger | Herta Müller | Frauke Petry |
|----------------------------------|--|---|--|
| BEAUTY/APPEARANCE | <i>schöne</i> (beautiful) | <i>schön</i> (beautiful), <i>hässlich</i> (ugly), <i>eleganten</i> (elegant) | <i>schön</i> (beautiful) |
| OTHER | <i>glänzende</i> (shining/ brilliant) | <i>stärken</i> (strong) | |
| Identification (Personal) | | | |
| EMOTIONS/ BEHAVIORAL TRAITS | <i>gerührt</i> (moved/ touched), <i>starke</i> (strong), <i>böse</i> (evil), <i>emotionalen, ernst</i> (serious), <i>ernsthaft</i> (genuine), <i>verzweifelte</i> (desperate), <i>gefährlich</i> (dangerous), <i>kriminelle</i> (criminal), <i>kräftig</i> (powerful), <i>schlecht</i> (bad), <i>schmerzlos</i> (painless), <i>engagiert</i> (active) | <i>Hipster, ernst</i> (serious), <i>stolz</i> (proud), <i>froh</i> (happy), <i>verhaftet</i> (arrested), <i>lakonischen</i> (laconic), <i>bedrohlich</i> (threatening), <i>beschimpften</i> (insulted), <i>böse</i> (evil), <i>cool, mächtig</i> (powerful) | <i>stark</i> (strong), <i>ernst</i> (serious), <i>zufrieden</i> (satisfied), <i>heftig</i> (violent/intense), <i>verantwortlich</i> (responsible), <i>böse</i> (evil), <i>ehrlich</i> (honest), <i>skeptisch</i> (sceptical), <i>zuversichtlich</i> (confident/hopeful), <i>emotional, beschimpft</i> (insulted), <i>schlimm</i> (grave), <i>bloß</i> (mere/ pure), <i>schwer</i> (heavy/ difficult), <i>schlecht</i> (bad), <i>gefährlich</i> (dangerous), <i>schwierig</i> (difficult), <i>verboten</i> (forbidden), <i>verstärkt</i> (strengthened), <i>absurd,</i> <i>vergeblich</i> (unsuccessful) |
| SKILLS/ ACHIEVEMENTS | <i>deutschsprachigen</i> (german-speaking), <i>englischsprachigen</i> (english-speaking), <i>fremdsprachiger</i> (foreign speaking), <i>ausgezeichnet</i> (excellent), <i>nominiert</i> (nominated), <i>geehrt</i> (honored), <i>bekannt</i> (well-known), <i>gewonnen</i> (won), <i>gefeiert</i> (celebrated), <i>berühmt</i> (famous), <i>begehrt</i> (sought-after), <i>erfolgreich</i> (successful) (won), <i>gefeiert</i> (celebrated), <i>berühmt</i> (famous), <i>begehrt</i> (sought-after), <i>erfolgreich</i> (successful) | <i>deutschsprachige</i> (german speaking), <i>bekannt</i> (well-known), <i>erfolgreich</i> (successful) | <i>bekannt</i> (well-known), <i>erfolgreich</i> (successful), <i>gelingen</i> (accomplished/ succeeded) |
| INTELLECT | | <i>frei</i> (free), <i>selbstverständlich</i> (obvious), <i>intellektuellen</i> (intellectual), <i>kluge</i> (clever/intelligent) | |

Table F: Adjective Classification of the results for Kruger, Müller, and Petry
(continued from previous page, continued on next page)

| | Diane Kruger | Herta Müller | Frauke Petry |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| MORALITY/ POLITICAL AFFILIATION | <i>Nazi, Neonazis</i> | <i>Nazis, sozialistischen</i> (socialistic) | <i>rechtsextremen</i> (extreme right-wing), <i>Konservativen</i> (conservatives), <i>Nazi</i> , <i>Populisten</i> (populists), <i>Hitler</i> , <i>rechtspopulistischen</i> (right-wing populist), <i>nationalistischen</i> (nationalistic), <i>Radikalen</i> (radicals), <i>rassistische</i> (racist), <i>Neonazis</i> , <i>antisemitische</i> (anti- semitic), <i>Autoritären</i> (authoritarian), <i>islamfeindlichen</i> (islamophobic), <i>Abtrünnigen</i> (rebel/ renegade) |
| OTHER | <i>düster</i> (bleak) | <i>Exil</i> (exile), <i>literarischen</i> , <i>internationalen</i> , <i>kulturelle, historische</i> , <i>dunkle</i> (dark) | <i>umstritten</i> (controversial), <i>national</i> |
| Appraisement | <i>beste</i> (best), <i>überragende</i> (phenomenal), <i>toll</i> (great), <i>bemerkenswerte</i> (remarkable) | <i>ausgezeichnet</i> (excellent), <i>super</i> , <i>besten</i> (best), <i>wunderbar</i> (wonderful) | <i>überraschend</i> (surprising), <i>falsch</i> (false/incorrect) |

Table F: Adjective Classification of the results for Kruger, Müller, and Petry (continued from previous page)

Analysis and discussion of results

a. deutsch- (German)

In general, the adjective *deutsch-* (German) appeared in the top 10 of all corpora for each woman. In several instances, this word refers to the origin or the nationality of the five chosen women. However, the adjective was mostly used for a wide spectrum of topics, from politics to music. A word pair commonly connected with *deutsch* was “*typisch deutsch*” (typical German) used for Helene Fischer and Diane Kruger. With Fischer, this word pair was used to describe her as a cultural phenomenon from Germany and that she is renowned and recognizable worldwide. In this sense, Fischer is regarded as a symbol of Germany or as a model of a typical German.

Similarly noteworthy is this sentence from an article about Diane Kruger; “*Frau Sekerci* (played by Kruger in the film “Aus dem Nichts”) **mit blonden Haaren und blauen Augen**. *Fatih Akin wollte diese Frau mit dem typisch deutschen Aussehen ...*” (“Ms. Sekrci, **with blonde hair and blue eyes**. Fatih Akin wanted this woman to have the **typical German appearance**” trans. mine). Contrary to first impressions, this description refers to the beauty or physical appearance that Kruger has. However, this imagery was deliberately chosen by the director of the film, Fatih Akin, to represent the majority found in culturally diverse cities.

b. Success and Fame

According to the results given by the word list tool and with the help of the modified adjective classification scheme, it can be easily observed that concrete words referring to professional achievements like *erfolgreich* (successful), *bekannt* (well-known), *berühmt* (famous), *ausgezeichnet* (excellent), *gefeiert* (celebrated), *beliebt* (popular), *begehrt* (sought-after), *geehrt* (honored), *nominiert* (nominated), appeared significantly more for all five women in comparison to words about beauty, physical appearance, fashion, and family, which are typically connected to the traditional image of a woman. Mathematically speaking, words about success were mentioned 118.5% more than words about beauty and looks in Fischer's corpus. In addition to that, there was a notable difference in the frequency of use of words for success to those for beauty in Görge's corpus, wherein words for success appeared 3040% more than words for beauty and looks. In Müller and Petry's corpora, mentions of words relating to success were used 266.6% and 534.1% more, respectively, than words relating to women's traditional image.

It can be assumed that due to Diane Kruger's involvement in the entertainment and film industry, more or at least a comparable amount of words for success and words for beauty can be found in her corpus. However, it is surprising to note that this assumption is false, as words about success were mentioned 918.1% more than words about beauty and appearance in Kruger's corpus. This may be due to Kruger's then-recent nominations and wins as Best Actress for the film "Aus dem Nichts" in international film festivals such as *Cannes* and *Bambi*.

Looking at the articles' main themes for each woman, it can be observed that articles with themes relating to their profession dominate in number and are placed at Top one or two of each list. In comparison, traditional topics related to women such as beauty, fashion, gossip, or family were small in number and sometimes hardly ever listed at all. This is good news that the German print media seem to focus more on each of the women's professional skills and achievements, clearly mirroring the new motto "Karriere, Kinder, Kompetenz" of the Third Wave of Feminism that encourages work-life balance.

c. Star, Queen, Königin

In the category 'functionalization' of adjectives and nouns in the Fischer-Corpus, the words *Favoritin*, *Stars*, *Queen*, *Königin*, and *Phänomen* were included. However, they do not exactly deal with her occupation, nor her societal role, nor her achievements at work. Based on the concordance analysis, these words function as titles or nicknames, or sometimes as direct replacements of a proper name that the German tabloids gave Fischer.

Looking at the nicknames or titles given by newspapers and tabloids to anyone can be a great indication of how power relations between the two parties work. In "Language and Symbolic Power" of Bourdieu (105), he mentions that "the act of naming helps establish the structure of the world, and does so all the more significantly the more widely it is recognized. i.e. authorizes." Evidenced by the frequency of use of other nicknames found to be directly attributed to Helene Fischer in her corpus, such as *Star*, *Schlagerstar* (pop star), *Superstar*, *Popstar*, *Megastar*, *Weltstar* (world star), *Showstar*, *Schlagerqueen* (pop queen), *Schlagerkönigin* (pop queen), *Powerfrau* (power woman), *Superpromi* (super celebrity), and *Top-Entertainerin* (f. top entertainer) across the two tabloid papers, these nicknames or titles become recognized. They tend to remain in people's consciousness as it has been legitimized by their frequency of use and the media's power as an ISA.

It is notable that only the tabloids, *BILD*, and *express*, utilized such words, which never occurred in the two newspapers. Bourdieu (105) continues that "There is no social agent who does not aspire, as far as his circumstances permit to have the power to name and to create the world through naming... be they celebrations or condemnations." The tabloids' use of such titles for Helene Fischer paints

permanent imagery of her as a public personality, almost as an icon, purely for the mass media and the public's consumption. This act of naming also invokes interpellation in which the speaker, in this case, the tabloid papers, positions not only Fischer in a specific category as a public personality, as she accepts her positioning in the social structure, but most importantly, the consumers also feel the effect of positioning as we come to accept the names bestowed upon her by repetition and exposure.

The interpellation and symbolic power carried by these words are not necessarily always negative. Based on concordance analyses and close reading of these given titles to Fischer, they could also be a nod to the achievements of Helene Fischer in the course of her career or refer to the diversity of Fischer's talents in the entertainment industry. Words like *Schlagerkönigin*, *Star*, *Queen*, and *Megastar* could also refer to her high position in the industry as these terms imply that she is the best and one of the most renowned in her profession. Another nickname that has to do with her achievements and fame was "*das Phänomen Helene Fischer* (the phenomenon Helene Fischer)," which appeared six times in her corpus. With these titles, Helene Fischer appears to be one of the biggest personalities in Germany's pop culture, and this interpellation of her can be utilized positively or negatively by the media based on their intent and their ideological position.

d. schön (beautiful), sexy, perfekt and Blondine (blonde/ie)

i. schön

According to Bourdieu (107), it would be unwise, or even naïve, to simply analyze words as is or as an autonomous object and simply abandon looking at the context and the actors behind it. Though the word *schön* (beautiful) occurs in all the top 60 lists of adjectives and nouns for all women, this does not automatically imply that the word is connected to beauty and looks. With the help of the concordance tool, it was discovered that *schön* had been used several times not as an adjective but as an adverb. The mentions of *schön* in the Petry-Corpus and Müller-Corpus often appear in articles that comment on women's position in German society or articles about feminism in general.

“die russischen Frauen sind auffallend schön, zumindest solange sie ihre Körper nicht mit Botox, Silikon und blondem Kunsthaar verunstalten.” (the Russian women are strikingly beautiful, at least as long as they do not blemish their bodies with botox, silicon, and blonde artificial hair.)

- *Die Zeit* “Schönheit rettet” (trans. mine)

However, due to Fischer and Kruger's involvement with the entertainment and film industry, it is unsurprising to see that *schön* appeared in each of their corpora not as an adverb but as a description of their appearance. With Kruger, *schön* was used as a title. However, the word is not used explicitly to describe Kruger herself, but to describe her character Helen of Troy in the 2004 film "Troy" being the "most beautiful woman in the world or of classical antiquity." The use of *schön* for Fischer also functions as a title or a nickname in tabloid papers, appearing several times as a nominal phrase "*die schöne Helene*" ("the beautiful Helene").

Following one instance where this nominal phrase was used, an article from the tabloid *BILD* speculated whether Fischer had some plastic surgery done. To support speculations, the article pointed out that "at the start of her [Fischer's] career, she was not only high-necked but also noticeably more flat-chested (trans.mine)." Looking at the cited article above entitled "Schönheit rettet," and this article from *BILD* in Fischer's corpus, the German print media still notice and provide commentary on women's or bodies to propagate the dominant ideologies of beauty. This attention to women's beauty can be a double standard. On the one hand, they criticize women for their vanity, especially those who make themselves look better via plastic surgery. On the other hand, ISAs like the media still demonstrate that a beautiful woman has undergone artificial procedures to attain the ideological standard. This power of media to publish a specific ideology, in this case, patriarchy, interpellates not

only those featured in the news articles themselves but also their readers who unknowingly receive this rhetoric of clear and enumerated examples of beauty as they consume media.

ii. *sexy*

The word *sexy* is associated with beauty and physical appearance and is normally used in a sexist manner because of sexual objectification. Although the word *sexy* was used two times in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* both in the Fischer-Corpus and Müller-Corpus, it was not used as a descriptor for either Fischer or Müller, but as a genuine title of a comedy program and a campaign drive. In the Kruger-Corpus, *sexy* was not used to describe Diane Kruger but the American actress Scarlett Johansson. However, this *sexy* use is similar to its use in the Fischer-Corpus, where *sexy* was used to describe Fischer's outfits. In addition, *sexy* was used to describe Fischer's physical appearance and body and was once again used as a title.

Fischer's interpellation by way of the word *sexy* still retains the *sexage* concept of patriarchy. It is worth noting that all mentions of *sexy* can be found in the tabloid papers *BILD* and *express*, once again proving that they still carry certain ideas of patriarchy to the present and intend to invoke the act of naming or interpellation using their medium. On another note, using a nominal phrase such as "sexy Helene" can be considered ineffective in degrading women in the current social climate. Firstly, according to Bourdieu (106), that unlike common nouns (like official titles), when bestowed upon someone, 'nominal phrases' (nouns preceded by an adjective) that are designed to be insulting have limited efficacy. Secondly, the evolving ideas of the Third and Fourth Wave Feminism encourage and empower women to be comfortable in their sexuality in so far as the term "sexy" can now be seen in a positive light as long as the women take it back and redefine it for themselves (Rampton, "Four Waves of Feminism"). With this, if the word "sexy" is to be used for women, the mere existence of it does not guarantee an insulting or degrading message.

iii. *perfekt*

Once again, the word *perfekt* can be most frequently seen in Fischer's corpus. In addition, its lemmata like *Perfektionistin* (f. perfectionist) and *Perfektion* were also used to describe Fischer herself. According to the concordances of *perfekt*, *Perfektionistin*, and *Perfektion*, these words are utilized to create a German pop star's ideal image. Based on the concordances, Fischer was described by the media as the best possible example of her occupation due to two main criteria; one, her attitude and mindset about her profession, and second, her physical beauty, in particular, her "new curvier body."

Interestingly enough, the word pair "*zu perfekt*" or "too perfect" also appeared for Fischer. In this instance, however, instead of praise, Fischer is once again criticized for being "too perfect, that she's inauthentic." This reflects the patriarchal ideology's double standard, propagated by the mass media, of expecting perfectness but at the same time condemning it.

iv. *Blondine* and *blonde*

Blondine (blondie) and *blonde* were also used as a nickname in the Fischer-Corpus and Kruger-Corpus. Naturally, they refer to the hair color of a person. However, based on the two words' concordances, *Blondine* and *blonde* were also used to replace their names. *Blondine* was used to symbolically replace Fischer's name a total of 12-times in her corpus. Aside from the use of *Blondine* as a nickname of Fischer, the words coming directly before *Blondine* are also noteworthy. Adjectives like *schön* (beautiful), *hübsch* (pretty), *kurvig* (curvy), and *quirlig* (feisty) come directly on the left side of *Blondine*. This means Helene Fischer was bound to the nickname *Blondine* because of a body part and is once again tied to other adjectives describing physical appearance.

The mention of *blonde* in Kruger's corpus simply functions as a description of Kruger's and her character's physical appearance in the film "Aus dem Nichts" (In the Fade). Though *blonde* was used

in just one instance as a nickname, it is still important to note that the tabloid *BILD* published this article. The difference between the use of *blonde* and *Blondine* (blondie) can be vast. While *blonde* can simply be a neutral descriptor of someone's hair color, *Blondine*, or blondie in English, carries a different connotation similar to its English counterpart. Connotations of *Blondine* are usually negative and curiously always pertain to a woman. It paints a picture of a woman who is always concerned about looks and is unintelligent, a woman who embodies patriarchy's ideals. Therefore, Fischer's interpellation with the word *Blondine* can significantly have more symbolic power than *blonde* due to its underlying symbolism.

e. *Helenefischerisierung* (helenefischerization) and *ausgepfiffen* (booed)

The word *Helenefischerisierung* (helenefischerization) represented a peculiar finding. This word appeared nine times in the Fischer-Corpus. Based on the concordances of the word, eight out of nine mentions appeared in the same article. By reading the articles in which *Helenefischerisierung* appeared, it was discovered that the context for this word stemmed from Helene Fischer's performance in the half-time show of the DFB-Pokal (German Football Association Cup) finals of BVB Dortmund against Eintracht Frankfurt on 27 May 2017. According to the mined articles and videos from social media, close to 75,000 football fans in the Olympiastadion in Berlin booed Helene Fischer before starting her 15-minute set. After Fischer ended her performance and thanked the audience, she was again booed ("Gellendes Pfeifkonzert für Helene Fischer"). Interestingly enough, the adjective *ausgepfiffen* (booed) can also be found in the top 60 list of adjectives and nouns for Fischer. With the N-Gram tool's help in *AntConc*, the most common n-gram clusters concerning *ausgepfiffen* can be seen in Table E.

| Rank | Frequency | Range | Cluster |
|------|-----------|-------|--|
| 1 | 8 | 8 | gnadenlos ausgepfiffen |
| 2 | 5 | 2 | fischer ausgepfiffen |
| 3 | 5 | 2 | helene fischer ausgepfiffen |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | fans ausgepfiffen |
| 5 | 3 | 3 | im olympiastadion ausgepfiffen |
| 6 | 3 | 3 | minutenlang ausgepfiffen |
| 7 | 3 | 3 | olympiastadion ausgepfiffen |
| 8 | 2 | 2 | auch ausgepfiffen |
| 9 | 2 | 2 | beiden fangruppen lautstark ausgepfiffen |
| 10 | 2 | 2 | dem sie minutenlang ausgepfiffen |

Table E: The N-Grams clusters of *ausgepfiffen* in Fischer-Corpus

The n-gram clusters then should answer the question: in what manner was Helene Fischer booed? Based on these results, the booing can be described as (1) *gnadenlos ausgepfiffen* (mercilessly booed), (2) *minutenlang ausgepfiffen* (booed for several minutes), and (3) *lautstark ausgepfiffen* (loudly booed). Another adjective that appears on the top 60 list for Fischer was *gnadenlos*, which apparently also refers to this event. The three most common ways to describe the booing of Helene Fischer interestingly paint an exact picture of the general behavior and sentiment of the fans toward her with *gnadenlos*, of the length of the booing with *minutenlang*, and also a description of the intensity of the booing with *lautstark*. Other adjectives like *infernalisch* (dreadful), *brutal*, *heftig* (violent), *übel* (nasty), *gellend* (shrill), and *linksradikal*- (radical left-wing) were also connected with the booing.

The reason why the football fans were booing Fischer can be deduced not only from the general context given by the articles but also due to the use of the words *linksradikal* (radical left-wing) and the nominalization mentioned above *Helenefischerisierung*. The n-gram cluster "linksradikalen Fußballfans ausgepfiffen" suggests the boopers' ideologies, leaning on the political left, i. e. socialism or communism. Although not all football fans in attendance identify with the ideologies of the political

left, the general distaste and hate of the majority of the fans for capitalism and everything connected to it can be seen through these words.

According to the original article about this occurrence, the booing of Helene Fischer during the finals of the DFB-Cup was an expression of distaste for the evolving culture of commercialization, “event culture,” artificial atmosphere, and “show instead of sport” in German football. The addition of the half-time show in German football games is a new trend modeled on the format of American Football, in particular, patterned to the Super Bowl (“Gellendes Pfeifkonzert für Helene Fischer” & “Pfiße gegen Helene Fischer beim DFB-Pokal”). During American half-time shows, there are normally musical performances of famous artists and many product advertisements. In the German fans’ opinion, football games should stay as football games and not a show, which means that half-time should be a real break between the two halves, so that the players and the fans themselves have the opportunity to eat, to chatter, to go to the toilet, or simply to relax.

In the article “Die Fans haben nicht Helene Fischer ausgepiffen“ published in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, another layer of symbolism was given to Fischer through the phrase “*Die Fans haben das Symbol Helene Fischer ausgepiffen*” (The fans booed the symbol that is Helene Fischer). In this case, Fischer is regarded by the football fans as a symbol of the negative things they find in the current German football culture, in particular, the capitalistic innovation introduced to the sport. Based on the context of the word *Helenefischerisierung*, which in itself means to make something glamorous, and “that is pretty much everything that Germans find too superficial and too outright” (“Nicht zu greifen” trans. mine).

Aside from the idea of Fischer being a symbol of capitalism in football, the quote from another article strikes a chord, “the Adidas boss cannot be booed ... but Helene Fischer can,” (“Die Fans haben nicht Helene Fischer ausgepiffen” trans. mine). Suppose the football fans' problem has to do with the capitalist and commercialized developments in football games. Why was Adidas CEO Kasper Rørsted then spared? Helene Fischer is easier and more accessible to an outward display of resentment due to her status as a singer, a part of the entertainment industry, and a public figure. This means she is an easier target for critique and judgment from the public.

In comparison to her, Rørsted carries more power because his position as a man and as the CEO of one of the biggest international companies today automatically earns him more respect from all levels of society. His company, Adidas, is one of the major sponsors of both the men’s and women’s German National Football Teams and works closely with the governing body of football in Germany, the *Deutscher Fußball Bund*, therefore (partially-)controlling the funding funneled into the German football industry and perhaps even the whole organization itself. Though Fischer is internationally renowned and successful when comparing her to Rørsted, Fischer is always already disadvantaged, firstly as a woman. Secondly, as a woman in the entertainment industry where she, herself, and her life are positioned to be consumed by the media and the masses.

As previously observed in this study's results, although the frequency of sexist words used for Fischer and Kruger, as both part of the entertainment and film industries, are few, there are still noticeable traces of sexism in media and continues to exert their influence into the masses. However, it is still important to remember that football remains a male-dominated sport with a male-dominated fanbase. Considering this, however else one views this occurrence, Fischer was still booed mercilessly and loudly in this event mostly by the traditionally dominant gender.

After this event, several different news outlets used the nominalization *Helenefischerisierung*, thereby cementing the word’s legitimacy in the public consciousness that it even created a hashtag on Twitter. Going back to Bourdieu (106), he briefly mentioned the more successful effectiveness of

common nouns and nominalizations bestowed by an actor like an official title in contrast to qualifying nouns.

f. *Mutter* (mother), *Tochter* (daughter), *Eltern* (parents), *Ehefrau* (wife), und *verheiratet* (married)

Words concerning family, marriage, and love were included in the Top 60 list of each woman. However, on average, only two to five words out of 60 were words about family or marriage/love. Firstly, the word *Mutter* (mother) appeared in the top 60 lists of Fischer, Kruger, and Petry. In these appearances, the word was used in different contexts. In the Fischer-Corpus and Kruger-Corpus, *Mutter* refers specifically to Helene Fischer's mother, Kristina Bach, and Diane Kruger's mother, Maria-Theresa Heidkrüger, respectively. Other mentions of *Mutter* in Kruger's corpus have to do with Kruger's character in the film "Aus dem Nichts," where she played the mother and the wife of the casualties in a terrorist attack.

On the other hand, out of the five chosen women, *Mutter* was used solely about Frauke Petry. This is because Petry, together with her husband Markus Pretzell, brought their fifth child into the world in May 2017. In addition, *Mutter* has been used to refer to Petry's pregnancy and her newborn, but also, the word was used in the context of the then-upcoming parliamentary elections. The word and concept were used in the election paraphernalia of Petry's political party, the *Alternative for Deutschland* (AfD). Criticisms and debates regarding Petry's use of her pregnancy during the election campaign emerged as Petry used her newborn son and her other children to paint a family-friendly image for the AfD. For instance, some posters of the AfD prominently featured Petry and her new son. In addition, Petry also released some statements about the advantages that one has (i. e. the knowledge and the instinct) being a mother when it comes to family policy, obviously comparing herself to Chancellor Angela Merkel, who does not have children.

Mentions of the word *Tochter* (daughter) were quite insignificant. However, the word *Eltern* (parents) was unsurprisingly used to refer to Petry's pregnancy. However, the word was also used in articles regarding migration policies, the refugee crisis, and people with migration backgrounds. As mentioned before, the instances of *Ehefrau* (wife) in Kruger's corpus only refer to her character in "Aus dem Nichts." Out of the 29 times that *Ehefrau* was mentioned in Petry's corpus, only 16 refer directly to Petry.

Interestingly, in comparison, the word *Ehemann* (husband) has been used in the Petry-Corpus in 114 different instances, with most of them directly referring to Frauke Petry's husband, Markus Pretzell. Perhaps the reason why the word *Ehemann* appeared more frequently than *Ehefrau* was that Frauke Petry held a higher position in the AfD, where both Petry and Pretzell were members. Also, Petry was being positioned then as the candidate of the AfD for the 2017 German parliamentary elections.

g. *böse* and *beschimpft*

Petry's corpus had the most number of mentions of the word *böse*, which can be translated to evil, nasty, wicked, or bad. Upon reading the concordances and the whole articles wherein *böse* was used, it can be concluded that this word appeared several times in Petry's corpus due to her membership to and leadership of the *Alternative for Deutschland* (AfD).

The most common use of *böse* in this corpus is, naturally, to refer to someone. Namely, *böse* has been associated with Petr Bystron, also a member of the AfD and the candidate of AfD in Munich. In addition, *böse* has also been connected to *Ossis* or people from the former East Germany by Sven Petry in a political interview about East Germans' outlook compared to West Germans. Interestingly, *böse* has also been used in this corpus to refer to Adolf Hitler's character. Upon more research, this connection

has been made due to a scandalous speech made by AfD politician Björn Höcke about the Holocaust memorial in Berlin where he stated that “*Das große Problem ist, dass man Hitler als das absolut Böse darstellt. Wir wissen aber natürlich, dass es in der Geschichte kein Schwarz und kein Weiß gibt. Und das es viele Grautöne gibt.*” (The big problem is that Hitler has been portrayed as the absolute evil. But we, of course, know that in history, there is no black or white. And that there are a lot of grey areas.” (“Was Björn Höcke einer US-Zeitung über Hitler erzählt, zeigt, wie verzweifelt die AfD ist”). With this, the use of *böse* was never in direct reference to Petry herself, but to many other aspects in her corpus, particularly concerning the activities of the AfD itself.

Similar to the word *böse*, *beschimpft* (insulted/reviled) was one of the negative results found in Petry's corpus. Nevertheless, like *böse*, it has not been used to refer to Petry but refers to various happenings within the AfD and its members.

h. Other notable results: Hitler, Nazi, Neonazi.

The formation of the AfD and the reemergence of right-wing populism not only in Europe, but the whole world sparked and revived discussions about racism, populism, neo-Nazism, and xenophobia in news agencies, social media, films, and in demonstrations. With this (re-)emerging trend in society, different people from different backgrounds involve themselves in debates and discussions about politics.

Upon reading the concordance lines of the word *Hitler* in the Petry-Corpus, the word *Hitler* has served various purposes in the articles. However, it was commonly used to compare other people to Hitler and his ideologies. Although *Hitler* has appeared 71-times in the Petry-Corpus, several of these refer to the statement above made by Björn Höcke, which then lead to numerous Hitler-Höcke-Comparison-“Memes“ in social media. Together with *Hitler*, *Nazi* and *Neo-Nazi* can also be seen in the top 60 lists of Kruger, Müller, and Petry. In Kruger's corpus, *Nazi* and *Neo-Nazi* were used to describe the plot of her film “Aus dem Nichts,” wherein Neo-Nazis instigated a terror attack that killed Kruger's on-screen family. In addition to that, *Nazi* has also been mentioned due to Kruger's character as an anti-Nazi actress and spy Bridget von Hammersmark in Quentin Tarantino's film “Inglorious Basterds.” On the other hand, in Müller's corpus, both *Nazi* and *Neo-Nazi* have just been used to discuss right-wing populism and radicalism in Europe.

In Petry's corpus, the word *Nazi* has mostly been used in discussions about Nazi history. Interestingly, at #33 of Petry's top 60 list of adjectives and nouns feature the word *völkisch* (ethnic), a word considered to be part of Nazi terminology. Petry herself used this word in several interviews. Thus the word having Nazi connotations instigated news reports and discussions about her use of it.

Presentation of the results: The word choice of the newspapers and tabloids using Keyword analysis

Keyword analysis was used to compare the newspapers' word choice, *die Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Zeit*, and the tabloid publications, *BILD*, and *express*. Like the word list tool, the keyword tool produces a list of unique words to each corpus using statistics.⁵ At first glance, it may seem that the keyword lists produced are composed of neutral and unremarkable words like adverbs, conjunctions, and articles. However, similar to the word lists produced for each woman, these unnecessary word types were also weeded out of the keyword lists. To discover the difference between the adjective and noun choice between the newspapers and the tabloids, two main corpora were made based on their type of publication. This means that the Newspaper-Corpus contains all collected articles from the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Welt*, while the Tabloid-Corpus contains articles from *BILD* and *express*.

5 The “keyness” or significance of each word to each corpus is calculated using the absolute frequency of the specific word (graphemes) and the total number of words in the corpus (occurrences) (Glasze 202-203; Lebart, Salem & Berry 130; 136).

The first 30 adjectives and nouns unique to each corpus were then tabulated. Afterward, these keyword-adjectives and keyword-nouns were also classified using the modified adjective classification scheme by Caldas-Coulthard and Moon. Table F shows the classification of the keyword-adjectives and keyword nouns in the newspaper articles (Newspaper-Corpus) and those of the tabloid articles (Tabloid-Corpus).

| | Newspaper-Corpus | Tabloid-Corpus |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Functionalization | autor (author) | chefin (f. boss) sängerin (f. singer) star spielerinnen (f. Players) siegerin (f. winner/victor) Schlagerstar (popstar) schlagerkönigin (pop queen) queen teamchefin (f. team boss) königin (queen) parteichefin (f. party leader) qualifizantin (f. qualifier) promi (celebrity) spielerin (f. player) delegierten (delegates) favoritin (f. favorite) superstar schlagersängerin (f. pop singer) titelverteidigerin (f. defending champion) model |
| Identification | frauen (women) bloß (mere/pure/bare) jungen (young) homosexuelle (homosexual) eltern (parents) ausgewachsen (full-grown/ mature) mädchen (girl) fremden (foreign) osten (east) westen (west) ostdeutsche (east german) süddeutschen (south german) | damen (ladies) jährige (year-old) deutschen (german) norddeutsche (north german) oldesloerin (f. from Oldesloe) deutsche (german) |
| Personal | politischen (political) konservatives (conservative) identitären (identitarian) anhängen (supporter) nationalistischen (nationalistic) eliten (elite/s) nationalkonservativen (national conservatives) abgeordneten (delegated) christen (christian) inszeniert (staged) hipster rassistischen (racist) nazis unbekannt (unknown) intellektuellen (intellectual) muslimen (muslim) | modeste (modest) umstrittenen (controversial/ disputed) |
| Other | leicht (light) | Mega top |

Table F: The classification of Keyword-Adjectives and Keyword-Nouns in the two corpora.

At first glance, it can be concluded that based on the keyword list of adjectives and nouns from the newspaper-corpus, most terms relate to politics. On the other hand, the keyword list of adjectives and nouns from the tabloid-corpus shows more words about the five chosen women or other personalities. The majority of them were words related to their occupation or profession used as titles or nominal phrases, another evidence that tabloid papers tend to invoke interpellation more than newspapers to “hail” or position someone through the use of common nouns or titles. Additionally, the uniqueness of these nouns in the tabloid papers’ vocabulary highlights their awareness of the higher impact of nouns to their readers as opposed to adjectives, as titles are, according to Bourdieu, have more symbolic efficiency due to their nature as “common sense” (106), and repeated numerous times by tabloids to ultimately bestow a permanent title to someone (163).

It is also important to note that the tabloid papers are more inclined to use English or English-derived words, such as *star*, *queen*, *superstar*, and *mega*. This tendency of tabloid papers to use English or English-derived words can be since tabloids are intrinsically more informal than newspapers. Thus, tabloid papers are more open to using English-derived words and slang and informal language. However, this characteristic of tabloid papers has earned them criticism based on a lack of political correctness and sexist tendencies. In comparison, newspapers try to avoid this problem as much as possible using more formal language. In the earlier discussions, adjectives about physical appearance and beauty, particularly the adjective *sexy*, only occurred in the two tabloid publications, *BILD*, and *express*.

Lastly, the word *jährlig-* (year-old/ years of age) is unique to the tabloid papers. Based on the data, tabloid papers mention the age of the five chosen women or other celebrities mentioned in the articles. In contrast, newspapers do not emphasize this detail.

Conclusion

According to the results and deeper analysis of this study, words that can still be regarded as “sexist,” i.e., words about beauty and physical appearance or special titles of nicknames, were used only for the two women involved in the film and entertainment industry. A surprising discovery was the newly-coined nominalized word *Helenefischerisierung*, which refers to a spectrum of things ranging from critiques on capitalism to dislike of glamorous performances and preserving a football game’s sanctity.

It can thus be concluded based on the results of this study, in most cases, the four German print media do not follow the traditional model of women to describe the five chosen prominent German women in the year 2017 and seem to be traveling down the path of the 2000s version of the three-Ks “Karriere, Kinder, Kompetenz.” However, their description and representation of women may still vary from profession to profession, as evidenced in the appearance of words with some traces of sexism in the two women in the entertainment industry’s corpora. With this, sexist or prejudiced language against women may still occur in this profession. Meanwhile, in Görge’s, Müller’s, and Petry’s corpora, such words with traces of sexism did not appear in their top 60 lists. However, Petry’s list may first appear to have several words regarding family and domesticity, and it can be easily concluded that Petry is still being regarded by German print media with the lens of a traditional family-oriented woman. Nevertheless, with concrete data, from concordances and collocations, it was discovered that this was not the case, as they give more context and background information about her political maneuvers before and during the 2017 German parliamentary elections.

Lastly, using keyword analysis, tabloid papers tended to use adjectives and nouns about a person’s profession or their characteristics in general to form nominal phrases and to use English-derived slang words. As language and society evolve, we still need to be mindful of the words used by print media to construct the image of women or *Frauenbild*. These words have the power to shape our perceptions of gender in contemporary society.

Though this study concludes that, in 2017, the four German print media generally have improved representations of the five chosen cisgender women as words that can otherwise be considered as ‘sexist’ or negative towards women were few, does not mean that other biases and instances of dominant power toward women have ceased not only in the media but also in our language and our everyday life. It should further be noted that the absence of sexist words or politically correct words does not automatically solve the power imbalance between women and society. Further studies are required to paint a more general picture of the representation of all women in Germany. It would be best to use an “open” corpus, meaning an unspecific corpus that is not tailored to serve a specific purpose like the Bank of English corpus, to conclude a more general representation of women in the print media, and to discover the lexical differences between newspapers and tabloids. With this, the author also hopes that this study serves as an impetus for similar studies using Filipino newspapers and tabloids to contribute to Philippine philology or further research in the social sciences in the Philippine context.

NOTE

1. Metadata of this study, including Top 60 lists, AntConc results, diagrams, and a list of articles, can be accessed at this link: <http://bit.ly/CorpusDeLaPaz2020>.
2. *Schlager*, literally meaning "hit," is a specific type of music popular in Germany, Austria, the other Central, Northern, and Southeastern European countries. *Schlager* music is typically characterized as generally catchy melodies with easy, happy-go-lucky, sweet, sentimental lyrics. Examples of the style have been popular in the Eurovision Song Contest. (Baumgartner, 37-58)

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