UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI
FEDERICO II

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI UMANISTICI

DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN
MIND, GENDER AND LANGUAGE
XXX CICLO

TESI DI DOTTORATO

Transgender in the Spotlight. The Other-representation of Transgender People in the British Press: A Corpus-based Discourse Analysis

CANDIDATA
dott.ssa Angela Zottola

Relatrice
Prof.ssa Vanda Polese

Coordinatrice del Dottorato
Prof.ssa Maura Striano

NAPOLI 2017

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI
FEDERICO II

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI UMANISTICI

DOCTORAL PROGRAMME IN
MIND, GENDER AND LANGUAGE
XXX CICLO

DOCTORAL THESIS

Transgender in the Spotlight. The Other-representation of Transgender People in the British Press: A Corpus-based Discourse Analysis

CANDIDATE
Angela Zottola

Supervisor
Professor Vanda Polese

Head of the Ph.D. Board
Professor Maura Striano

NAPOLI 2017

"She said, hey babe, take a walk on the wild side,
Said, hey honey, take a walk on the wild side."

Lou Reed

"You're perfect. You're beautiful.
You look like Linda Evangelista."

Aja

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby certify that this thesis is entirely my own work, unless stated otherwise. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgements in this thesis. All references and verbatim extracts have been quoted, and all sources of information, including graphs and data sets, have been specifically acknowledged.

Napoli, 10 December 2017

ABSTRACT

In the last decade, the construction of transgender identities has been increasingly raising interest in scholars in the field of (socio)linguistics (Kulick 1996, 1999, 2000; Zimman 2009, 2010, 2014; Baker 2014b) and, more in general, in society as a whole, due to the considerable attention drawn by public episodes in the social, cultural and legal spheres, such as the transition of former athlete Caitlyn Jenner in the USA, the various transgender soldiers involved in public affairs in the last few years, like Chelsea Manning, or even the complex issue regarding gender-neutral toilets, which raised discussions globally.

In our society, where gender diversity has grown as a highly discussed topic, language, due to its social function, may take on a significant role in shaping and representing new gendered communities of practice. The existing binary and heteronormative linguistic categories, generally used in defining gender, are clashing with the current, so far unrepresented and now emerging communities, possibly leading to the creation of new hybrid, inclusive, non-discriminating discourses that comprise social, cultural and legal issues.

On the basis of this popularity, the press works as one of the most visible actors in the creation of these discourses. That is why it became the primary focus for the collection of the corpus under scrutiny in this investigation. The geographical area investigated, the United Kingdom, was chosen as it represents one of the countries that first introduced the world to the discussion about transgender identities raised by the above-mentioned Manning case. Chelsea Manning, a transgender woman, and former soldier of the US army, had been accused of leaking sealed documents to *WikiLeaks*, convicted and sent to a male prison, which put under the spotlight the issue of placing transgender people in gender-appropriate prisons.

Against this backdrop, the aim of this study is to investigate how transgender individuals and their communities are shaped in and through language, starting from the premise that language may profoundly influence the way gender is understood by society, being one of the most powerful means of manipulation, through which it is possible to persuade and even instill specific beliefs or convictions.

The corpus collected to pursue the aim of this investigation comprises eight British national newspapers, namely *The Guardian*, the *i*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun*. The newspapers were selected on the grounds of their circulation rates and retrieved from the UK Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC 2015). Apart from distribution percentages, the other criterion followed in the selection of the newspapers was that of equally representing one of the dichotomies the British press is often defined by, that is, the distinction between quality and popular press (Jucker 1992). In fact, the first four newspapers (*The Guardian*, the *i*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*) can be considered as representative of the first category whilst the others (the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun*) as belonging to the second. The news articles were collected in a time span that stretches from January 2013 to December 2015. The starting point was dictated by the diffusion of one major event that channelled the discussion about transgender identities, the above-mentioned Manning case, whilst the collection ended in 2015, the year in which this research project was conceived. Except for rubrics advertising the weekly television, cinema and theatre schedules, different genres of news articles were included in the corpus (i.e., news stories, editorials, etc.), for a total of 3,138 news articles and over 2 million word tokens. For the purpose of this analysis, the TransCor (i.e., the entire corpus) was divided into two sub-corpora: the QualCor and the PopCor, each comprising all news articles from the quality press and the popular press respectively. The main corpus analysis tool used for the research is AntConc 3.4.4m (Anthony 2014), as explained in sub-section 4.2.1.

As demonstrated by numerous scholars (Baker & McEnery 2005; Baker 2006, 2010, 2012; Bednarek 2006; Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery 2013a; Partington 2015), Corpus Linguistics has proven to be noticeably useful and, at times, a necessary tool for the analysis of large amounts of data in order to uncover linguistic and semantic patterns in the representations of social categories, minority groups or even individuals who managed to attract the attention of society upon them. The purpose of this research – to highlight those linguistic and semantic patterns utilized in the representation of transgender people in the British press – has been achieved through a combination of theoretical and methodological frameworks, including not

only Corpus Linguistics but also Critical Discourse Analysis, Language, Gender and Sexuality, and News Discourse. Drawing upon the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2005; Wodak 1997; Bucholtz 2003; van Leeuwen 2005) and the use of Corpus Linguistics methodologies (McEnery and Wilson 1996; Baker 2006, 2014a; McEnery and Hardie 2011), this study presents the final outcomes of a research that focuses on the representation of transgender people in the British press as social actors, and the semantic prosodies (Sinclair 1991; Louw 1993; Stubbs 1996; Partington 1998; Hunston 2007; Partington, Duguid and Taylor 2013) constructed discursively.

The findings indicate a difference in the representation of transgender people in the quality and the popular press, specifically in the use of terminology and, generally speaking, about the semantic prosody surrounding the topic. The collocation analysis highlights, for example, that while in many cases transgender people are represented as victims in the QualCor, they are assigned an active role as perpetrators of violence in the PopCor.

One of the most impressive results emerging from the analysis of the two sub-corpora relates to the use of the terms *transgender* and *transsexual*, shifting towards a more inclusive rhetoric in the last year (2015). The investigation has shown that the two terms *transgender* and *transsexual* were initially used both as adjectives and as nouns, a function, the latter, which is disliked by many transgender individuals, as we point out in the thesis, drawing upon the guidelines for non-discriminatory language considered in this investigation. This trend tends to decrease in the following years, and the two terms, improperly used as synonyms or nouns, starts to be used as adjectives more and more often (see chapter five). The analysis also focused on the use of pronouns and pre- and post-modifiers. Another aspect of the analysis focuses on the results emerging from the collocation analysis which points to the use of semantic categories of representation to which transgender people are associated to in the press (see chapter six and seven).

KEYWORDS: Transgender identity, British press, CBDA, discourse prosodies, social actors representation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All good things must come to an end. I cannot say this is not the truth. October 2014 seems so far but so close at the same time. I started my Ph.D. not knowing what I was getting myself into, and I must say, I had a blast.

It was hard. I cried, I was scared, anxious, nervous and mad, I fought and had arguments with many people in these three years, but I survived and most importantly I enjoyed it (not the arguments part!). The exchange with other scholars, the curiosity to discover, the innumerable possibilities to learn, the chances to enlarge my knowledge, made me forget about all the times I was sad and hopeless and worried and furious. I feel I am a new me after these three years, older, a bit fatter, but more aware of what I want for my future and how to achieve it. I am happy and grateful, and ready to continue on to the next step of my life. It is my duty here to thank some of the amazing people who contributed to making all of this possible.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest and sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Vanda Polese. Over the past three years we grew to know and respect each other. We certainly have very different characters and ways, thence the countless arguments and infinite discussions, from which we always found a way to come to an agreement and learn something new. She brought my understanding of patience to a whole new level, teaching me that this is an important virtue in our environment. One of the most important things I learned from this collaboration with her in these three years is that it is never the right time to stop questioning oneself. Her voice will echo forever in my head: “And so what?!?”. In the end, I believe it is safe to say that we ‘deserved’ each other, and managed to build together something valuable (and I am not referring only to my research). I must expand my thanks to Mr. Mario and Stefania who patiently put up with our never-ending phone calls and with my presence in their home.

I would like to thank Professor Maura Striano and the whole PhD Committee for having believed in my research project and given me the possibilities to explore, learn and research. I extend my gratitude to my colleagues of XXX Ciclo, and especially to Tiziana De Palma, who worked as our representative and was precious every step of the way, not only for the guidance offered but for her positivity and

strength, and Ilenia Picardi, who proved to me that work and private life CAN find a balance (most of the times). I would also like to thank my fellow 'linguistics' colleagues, Francesca, Annarita, Fabrizio and Anna. I would like to express my gratitude to the University Federico II for having funded my Ph.D. giving me the possibility to begin this path, and the administrative staff of the Department of Humanities and the Doctoral Administrative Offices, for their kindness and availability.

A special appreciation goes to Professor Gabriella Di Martino, Professor Cristina Pennarola, Dr. Amelia Bandini and Dr. Sole Alba Zollo who welcomed me in the Department of Political Science and made me feel immediately at home; and to Dr. Paolo Donadio, who has always been available to help me navigate the intricate life of a Ph.D. student.

I must also thank the place and people that I now consider my second home. My very great appreciation goes to Lancaster University for welcoming me as a visiting research student as well as to the extraordinary people I met during my stay there. A special acknowledgement and profound gratitude goes to Professor Paul Baker who was for me a great mentor, even if our collaboration lasted only 6 months, I will forever treasure everything he taught me, from Corpus Linguistics, to writing a thesis, to doing analysis, to being a mentor. His enthusiastic encouragements and useful critiques guided me even after I left Lancaster.

I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio and Professor Tommaso Milani, for having agreed to read my thesis and evaluate it, taking on the role of external referees; their constructive critiques and suggestions were extremely valuable and allowed me to improve and enhance my research.

Within the Academia, but I now consider them as friends, I want to thank Marco Venuti, your support, especially in the last year, has been invaluable and I could not have done it without your help; Marta Cariello, you trusted and believed in me since the moment we met and never stopped supporting me, not only in Academia, but also personally; Maria Cristina Nisco, your passion and willpower inspire me everyday and your smile comforts me; and Giuseppe Balirano, you have expanded my horizon to this possibility and for this I will always be indebted to you,

your wit is refreshing and it makes me want to keep being a researcher despite the (too many) obstacles.

I especially want to, and must, express my incommensurable gratitude to Antonio Fruttaldo, your friendship, support, help, constant encouragement and endless patience in listening to my infinite complaining, are greatly appreciated, there are no words to express what you have done for me in these three years and no words to thank you enough, “Antoooonioooo!”.

On a more personal note, I would like to thank the friends of a lifetime, Alessia and Jenny, the one who showed me that time and distance mean nothing when it comes to friendship, Stefano; and those who have supported me the most in my travelling back and forth from home to Napoli, and much much more, Imma and Manuela; but most of all I want to thank Giulia, who made me understand what it means to have a sister.

I want to thank the person who supported me the most throughout my academic career, and despite the unexpected turns life takes sometimes, will always have a special place in my heart, Giovanni.

My appreciation goes to my mom, the strongest and most caring person I have ever met in my life, you teach me the true meaning of love and I will always be grateful for the life you devoted to my brothers and me. This work is dedicated to you as a token of my appreciation. Giuseppe, Amedeo and Chiara thank you for always being supportive of this crazy and unpredictable sister that you have.

One more person needs to be mentioned here, who plays a fundamental role in my life and allowed me to be a better person and a happy and loving human being. Andressa, thank you, on so many different levels.

1 Introduction

1.1 Aims of the research

In 2015, when I first began this research project, I was impressed by the power of media discourses to quickly change and strongly impact on society, focusing on some matters while backgrounding others and immediately channelling the attention of the masses on specific topics. Current media platforms such as Twitter, for example, can direct the attention of large numbers of people onto specific issues in a mere matter of hours. Once a piece of news becomes identified as newsworthy, it can quickly spread around, possibly overshadowing other information, which might be even more relevant at that specific moment.

By 2015 I noticed that the issue of transgender identities had grown more and more popular. This is mainly due to the fact that there has been an increasing number of TV series and films featuring transgender characters — among these: Or*ange is the New Black* (2013), *Transparent* (2014), *Dallas Buyers Club* (2014), *Sens8* (2015), *Boy meets Girl* (2015), *The Danish Girl* (2016). At the same time, transgender people had been receiving more attention in other forms of media, like newspapers and magazines, as well as television programs. More specifically, I noticed that some news stories[1] were particularly drawing media's attention such as the transition of former athlete Caitlyn Jenner, or issues concerning gender-neutral toilets in the USA, which prompted a worldwide discussion. At a first glance, the terms *transgender* and *transition* appeared to be referenced in contexts associated with scandals or the violation of transgender people's rights. My curiosity, as a researcher and as a linguist, was triggered by the increased interest taken by the media on the representation of these identities. Thus, I started my investigation in order to gain a better understanding of the impact that the linguistic representation of these identities may have on the readers'. The idea of building the TransCor (Transgender Corpus) was born from the desire to learn more about the issue, and to uncover the main linguistics strategies used to (re)produce such representations. Moreover, the TransCor served as a valid collection of data that allowed me to

[1] Throughout this work the phrase 'news story' is used according to the definition given by Galtung

analyse the use of language in the press from a critical point of view. As I kept thinking about this project and reading about transgender identities, I elaborated some hypotheses on the findings that I would gain through the analysis of the data collected. My initial aim was to find, if it was the case, validation of these hypotheses about the representation of transgender identities.

As the current political situation becomes more terrifying by the minute, influencing not only economy but also society's perspective on many issues such as gender identities, I believe this research could be seen as beneficial. Taking inspiration from major works conducted on the use of language in the representation of gender identities, this study is a contribution to a further understanding of the implications of the use of language in the representation of identities. My purpose is to shed light on the linguistic practices to which we are exposed daily, and which consciously and unconsciously work in the background of our mind, shaping our knowledge of the world. This research is the tip of the iceberg of a greater project I would like to conduct on a more long-term basis, that is to extend the investigation to other forms of media representation, to other geographical areas and to a wider time span, in order to map diachronically, geographically and across different media platforms, the evolution on the representation of this gender identity and other LGBTIQ+[2] identities.

As I started reading about transgender identities it became clear to me — and the analysis of the data collected for the study confirmed this — that identity is the most personal matter there is. It is impossible to make any generalisation about identity, especially gender and sexual identity. Labels and definitions may not have the same value or connotation for all individuals, even if two people might identify using one same term. That is to say that one person who identifies as transgender might feel about their own identity differently compared to another person who identifies as transgender, just as it could happen for any other gender and sexual identity. Thus, the choices regarding terminology seek to be as representative and

[2] The acronym LGBTIQ+ is generally used to refer to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersexual, and Questioning community. The plus at the end of this acronym is used to include other groups relating to non-conforming sexual orientation and gender identity, such as the Asexual, Non-Binary, Pansexual, Genderqueer, etc. communities. No form of disrespect or erasure is intended here in not using other types of initialisms or terms appropriate to different languages and cultures. I have adopted the acronym LGBTIQ+ because I feel that it represents the most inclusive, concise and comprehensive way to refer to this ever-growing community.

non-discriminatory as possible. However, in the light of what has been said previously, I acknowledge the fact that it would be impossible to use a type of language that could be completely inclusive and represent each and every individual, due to the fluidity of gender and the variety of gender expressions. In defining myself as an ally to transgender people and always making an effort to use inclusive and non-discriminatory language to the best of my knowledge, this study acknowledges the fact that when talking about identity representation we are stepping on a very sensitive ground, therefore, discussing gender identity is not an easy task.

As a standard for inclusive and non-discriminatory language, I took into account various guidelines offered by organisations that focus their work on improving transgender people's lives. More specifically, I considered guidelines offered from several different organisations such as GLAAD (https://www.glaad.org), an organisation founded in 1985 which has been working ever since towards the cultural change and acceptance for the LGBTIQ+ community; the *National Center for Transgender Equality* (http://www.transequality.org), founded in 2003 by transgender activists; *All About Trans* (http://www.allabouttrans.org.uk), which aims at positively changing the way in which the media perceives and represents transgender people; and the *Beaumont Society*, founded in 1966 in the UK to support transgender people across the country. The perspectives on the use of terminology referring to transgender people are many and vary from person to person; therefore, the terminology is used here according to the GLAAD terminology guide. As we acknowledge the fact that transgender identities are so varied, we also understand that the concept of transgender community is a social construct that cannot be representative of all transgender people for the very — fluid — nature of this identity.

Alongside the issues clarified so far, the meaning that the word *gender* will have in this dissertation is intended to be non-binary and not heteronormative, inclusive of all the existing shades in defining identities. As this work develops, we must bear in mind that "identity labels are only 'real' for the here and now" (Baker 2008: 194).

Against this backdrop, the following section discusses the research questions that guided and shaped this study.

1.2 Research questions

This study is born out of the belief that the choices made by the press — in picking terminology, building a specific type of representation, in the way social and gender identities are constructed through discursive practices, how cultural practices are brought into being through linguistic interaction and semiotic manifestations in British newspapers — directly influences public opinion and the way society deals with and perceives transgender identities.

In light of this, and the other issues discussed in section 1.1, this study evolves bearing in mind the following research questions (RQ):

1) How is language used in the British press to represent transgender people between 2013-2015?
2) To what extent does language change within the time-span considered and with regards to the main class distinction between popular and quality press?
3) In what ways do newspapers differ in terms of language when covering news stories about transgender people with reference to:
   a) Frequency and context of use of naming strategies (nouns and pronouns);
   b) Semantic prosodies (e.g. use of descriptors, such as adjectives or descriptions of grammatical agency via verbs).
4) How do the findings relate to the social context and social practices in the UK?

As it is clear from the first RQ, which can be considered as the main, overarching RQ, this study attempts to investigate the way in which transgender people are represented in the British press from a linguistic point of view in a time span of three years that goes from 2013 to 2015. This involves the analysis of the use of terminology related to transgender identity, the lexical choices related to the description of this identity and the political and ideological stances conveyed by each specific choice.

The second RQ highlights the aim of this study to look into the differences between the representation given by the quality press and the one given by the popular press. Through this RQ we mainly seek to pinpoint two different aspects. Firstly, the way in which this topic is described and represented to people who read different types of newspapers; secondly, it attempts to explore the extent to which those features proper of the popular press style and opposite to the quality press style influence the way transgender identities are represented. This RQ also takes into account the linguistic changes that occur within the time span considered in the collection of the corpus under scrutiny.

The third RQ looks into more general patterns of language used in the representation of transgender individuals, taking into consideration how language can be employed and manipulated at various levels in order to represent transgender identities according to the specific political and ideological stances fitting the newspapers under investigation. Attention is dedicated to the lexical choices adopted by the press by looking at the frequency and context of naming strategies like nouns and pronouns. In particular, this investigation tries to verify whether the press is using terminology in a consistent way and what are the implications behind these choices. Moreover, by examining semantic prosodies, we will try to uncover specific patterns of meaning associated to transgender people in the press. For example, we will focus on how the use of descriptors such as adjectives or the use of verbs to express grammatical agency influence the way the readers perceive a certain representation of transgender people. Transgender people are analysed as social actors, looking at the way the patterns of meanings associated with these individuals can be considered as positive or negative, by considering the type of evaluation that emerges from this representation retrieved from the British press.

The fourth and last RQ tries to relate the findings to the context in the UK, taking on a more critical and reflective perspective. We will try to consider whether the interest taken by the press regarding transgender people is likely to be a temporary fashion or it signals a change towards a more conscious and inclusive discourse concerning these identities. This is completed by looking at issues such as transphobia, violence towards transgender people, the launch of support groups, and the role of activism toward the achieving of rights for transgender people.

The following section outlines the structure of this research.

1.3 Outline of the research

There are seven chapters encompassing this study. This section works as a guide to navigate the structure of this study. Each chapter is divided into sections, the first of which, excluding chapter eight, is an introduction to the chapter itself.

Chapter two attempts to retrace the existing literature relevant to this study, combining a number of frameworks. The chapter is divided into three sections, which are further divided into sub-sections. Section 2.2 focuses on the intersection between language and gender identities. The first sub-section begins with a reflection on those studies that were particularly relevant for the development of this field of inquiry; briefly tackling the evolution of the research concerning the way language shapes our understanding of gender identities. The section continues with a sub-section on the literature connecting gender issues to discourse studies, and ends with a specific sub-section (2.2.3) dedicated to the literature on transgender identities. The second section of Chapter two addresses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (2.3.1) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) (2.3.2). An approach that is based on a synergy between these two approaches is used in the analysis of the data collected and illustrated in sub-section 2.3.3. The last section of Chapter two addresses News Discourse, with a special focus on the British press (2.4.1) and the language of newspapers (2.4.2).

Chapter three is divided into three sections and introduces the data collected for the purpose of this study. Apart from the Introduction, section 3.2 discusses the advantages and disadvantages of using corpora for linguistic analysis of gender representation, whilst section 3.3 describes the corpus collected, and all the steps that enabled its creation.

Chapter four encompasses five sections. Section 4.2 goes back to Corpus Linguistics (CL). Differently from Chapter two, this section aims at describing the main tools of CL used in this research. This part also includes a sub-section (4.2.1) dedicated to the software used for the analysis. Section 4.3 investigates one of the main analytical frameworks applied in this investigation: semantic prosody. Section 4.4 introduces the taxonomy proposed by van Leeuwen (1996) on social actor representation, which served to investigate transgender people as agents/patients in

the corpus. The last section (4.5) of Chapter four clarifies the concept of identity as we consider it in this study.

Chapter five introduces the results emerged from the analysis, similarly to Chapters six and seven. It is divided into four sections and mainly deals with lexical choices adopted throughout the corpus. Section 5.2 analyses naming strategies, while section 5.3 focuses on the use of pronouns and titles in reference to transgender people. The last section of this chapter (5.4) looks in more detail at the use of pre/post modifiers in reference to transgender people.

Chapter six looks at ways in which transgender people are represented through a collective and associative representation. The chapter is divided into three sections, apart from the introduction. Section 6.2 describes a type of representation that relates transgender people to other groups; whereas section 6.3 addresses the way in which transgender people are represented in relation to famous people or TV shows and films starring a transgender character or actor.

Chapter seven shifts to describing a more 'individual-oriented' type of representation. The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 7.2 looks at the use of crime stories in the press to talk about transgender people. Section 7.3 discusses the way in which newspapers talk about laws and rights with regard to transgender people, whereas the last section looks at the way issues such as awareness and support towards transgender people are tackled in the press.

Chapter eight, divided into three sections, concludes this study by summing up the results emerged in the analysis of the corpus and illustrated in the previous chapters (8.1). This chapter also tries to assess the impact of the press coverage of transgender people and issues like transgender identities on society (section 8.2) and concludes (8.3) by highlighting limitations and further developments that this study might take on in the future.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sketches out the theoretical framework in which this study can be positioned. It starts by addressing studies on the way that language is used to represent gender and sexual identities (section 2.2). Generally speaking, it tries to address briefly the evolution of the research concerning the involvement of language in the shaping of gender identities and *viceversa*. This aspect of the literature review is particularly relevant for the analysis of the data collected. Thus, in order to understand the implications of language in the construction of represented gender identities, it is necessary to consider the long path that the understanding of gender issues – first seen as the difference between men and women and now encompassing a variety of meanings – has undergone in the latest decades.

Section 2.3 will be a discussion on the literature touching on discourse studies, as the aim of this work is to critically focus on the discourses around transgender people in the British press. The way a discourse is constructed is strictly related to the way that a specific 'discourse' will be understood. Therefore, it is essential for the aim of the present research to take discourse studies into account. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seemed to be the most relevant framework to consider due to the strong social relevance of the research topic.

The discourses present in the corpus collected will be analysed with techniques from Corpus Linguistics (CL); therefore, a specific sub-section (2.3.2) will be dedicated to this framework and to its advantages when combined with CDA. The section aims at being a general introduction to CL; details about the tools used in the analysis will be discussed in Chapter four.

The last section of this chapter (2.4) will be strictly related to the type of language that constitutes the data collected. In fact, as the corpus under scrutiny is made of newspaper articles, this section will address News Discourse, with a special focus on the language of the news and the British press.

Although this overview of the main theoretical frameworks taken into consideration for the research tries to give a wide overview of the paradigms and approaches that will be employed, it cannot be affirmed that this is an exhaustive

literature review including all studies and perspectives from each field investigated. Instead, the research will benefit from the following criteria: a) key studies in each field; b) recent studies (published in the last five years); c) studies that are relevant to the research presented here from the point of view of technique and topic.

2.2 Language and gender identities

Gender identities, and the way they intersect with language have in the last two decades been increasingly under the microscope of linguists. Identity is evolving into "an altogether more complex phenomenon as a result of the mobility and diversity in the social worlds" (Preece 2016: 3). While its complexity increases so does anything associated with it, like gender. Identities, such as gender identities, are embodied within language, primarily because categorisation can be done solely through language. As Joseph (2016: 19) puts it, "labels that people attach to themselves and others to signal their belonging" are actualised through language. This is also because words are the vehicle to express "the indexed ways of speaking and behaving through which [people] perform" (Joseph 2016: 19) their affiliation. Lastly, it is because other people interpret this performance by understanding that language (Joseph 2016: 19). These labels become a tool for people, and are used in order to make sense and fit gender identities into recognised categories. These categories are, and actually have been for a while now, at a crossroads, as the expression of gender keeps changing, adjusting and constantly evolving as years go by, remarkably as the Western society has become more and more aware of the relation between gender and sexuality. There is an evolution, which sounds much like a quiet revolution, going on as gender identities open to new, different and more complex definitions and we lean towards more inclusive, and not strictly categorising discourses. The meaning that the word 'gender' will have in this chapter, and throughout the research, as anticipated in the introduction, is non-binary and not heternormative, and inclusive of all the existing shades in defining gender and sexual identity.

The aim of this section is to describe the relationships between language, gender and sexuality and how these intersections relate to the research presented here. The first sub-section (2.2.1) tries to give a general review of the literature concerning this topic. More specifically, it addresses the way in which research has

moved from thinking about gender from a binary perspective (male vs. female) to more recent studies in which research in this area is not solely about the differences between men and women. This section discusses Queer Theory, starting from the origins in feminist theory to studies on normativity and performativity, with the aim of describing how gender and sexual identities are constructed in and through language.

Sub-section 2.2.2 focuses on another aspect of this research, News Discourse. In this section the aim is mainly to consider News Discourse in relation to gender and sexual identities and how these are represented within news genres. In fact, news discourse as a framework of research is more extensively discussed in section 2.4.

Sub-section 2.2.3, the last one, has a more specific focus, addressing perspectives on the main topic of this study: gender identities. Its purpose is to give a complete overview of the existing literature on the way language is used to represent transgender identities, which is at present not as vast as other similar aspects of this area of inquiry.

2.2.1 Language, gender and sexuality: an overview

The study of language in reference to gender can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time research in this area consisted mainly in looking at the difference between the way men and women spoke and behaved when communicating.

From a linguistic point of view, the most famous studies in the area of gender and language are known as the "3Ds" referring to three paradigms developed starting from 1922: *Deficit* (Jespersen 1922), *Dominance* (Lakoff 1975) and *Difference* (Tannen 1990).

The *Deficit* paradigm is mostly attributed to Otto Jespersen, who dedicated his work to the study of English grammar and later to syntax and language evolution. In *Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin* (1922), Jespersen dedicated one of the chapters to offering a number of hypotheses on how women speak differently from men. To summarise his main ideas, Jespersen affirms that the way women speak is nothing but "a deficient approximation of men's" language (Jespersen 1922 in Baker 2008: 31), thence the label assigned to this paradigm, *Deficit*. The general

belief of the time was that the language of women was in deficit with respect to men: ladies were speaking a simpler more suitable version of men's language in line with their less developed intelligence.

As time went by, and the first feminist equality claims and manifestations started to burst out, scholars in the field of linguistics also changed their point of view concerning the use of language by women. The *Dominance* paradigm rises following the second wave of feminism, and more precisely is associated to Robin Lakoff, a scholar who was mainly interested in linguistics, who published in 1975 a research on the way women speak in the workplace. The second wave feminism, generally situated between the sixties and the seventies took on a strong political positioning, insisting on the fact that male dominance starts from language. This line of thinking profoundly influenced language studies in those decades and Lakoff's work became fundamental, almost replacing the already existing *Deficit* theory. Lakoff pointed out to many differences between the way men and women use language but also to many ways in which men use language to dominate women.

The last of the "3Ds" stands for *Difference*, a paradigm that was mostly associated with Deborah Tannen (1990). The *Difference* paradigm stems from the theory on cross-cultural communication (Tannen 1982). Tannen affirmed that women and men have different cultural rules to respond to, therefore they use language in a different way. She coined the term *genderlects* to capture that women and men are socialised into different social rules and have a different "*lect*" or language according to their gender.

Up until the early '90s studies on gender were mainly studies about women, and the mainstream theories were the ones discussed above. Some scholars had looked into the language of gay men, and into the relationships between language and sexuality. However, these aspects were considered something distant from studies on gender and language. Research conducted on the representation of other gender identities, or people with non-heterosexual sexual preference, were mainly based on the use of lexicon; one of the most investigated examples are the studies on the language of the gay community. Cory (1965) was one of the first scholars to publish a research on gay language, while among the most recent studies it is

possible to mention the study on Polari, a slang used by the gay community in the UK, conducted by Paul Baker in 2002.

There were two major shifts in research concerning language gender and sexuality at that time. First, the introduction of the concept of *community of practice*, theorised by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet in 1992, who put forward the hypothesis that the language used was related to the context in which it was produced and that people belonging to the same community would use language in the same way. The second shift concerned the type of analysis applied to language, that is the notion of 'indexicality':

> Indexicality concerns the semiotic process that exists within interaction, whereby speakers connect particular linguistic features with representations of the social group that are stereotyped as using them (Irvine and Gal 2000). […], indexicality, then, is the process by which particular ways of using language point towards, or indicate, culturally recognizable identities (Jones 2016: 213 – 214).

Another major shift in the study of language and gender occurred at the beginning of the nineties, when William Leap launched the first Lavender Linguistics conference in Washington DC in 1993, which signalled the beginning of the study in what is known as "lavender linguistics" (Baker 2008: 68). Lavender Linguistics embraces the study of language used in the LGBTIQ+ community and has come a long way since 1993. At that time, research mainly focused on the gay and lesbian communities. Despite this limitation, the beginning of this new strand of linguistics was already a step forward if compared to previous research in which the lesbian community was rarely considered, and has today evolved to an absolutely more inclusive range of topics which comprises the study of the language used to talk about and represent all the different gender identities that are present in society. In other words, this can be considered as the beginning of the era in which analysis of language in reference to gender started to give greatest importance to the way in which, in Milani's (2010: 119) words "individuals *do* gender in *different* ways by creatively deploying linguistic means which will allow them to orient themselves to available images or models of masculinity and femininity in a specific socio-cultural context".

The final major change, which sets the basis for the understanding of 'gender' that many scholars agree with today, arrives with the new wave of post-structuralist

theories. More specifically, the ground-breaking studies by Judith Butler (1988, 1993, 1997, 2004) in the nineties was and still is one of the most relevant. Major influences also came from philosophers such as Roland Barthes (1964) and Jacques Derrida (1967). Barthes believes that any given text has a range of possible interpretations according to the reader's point of view, while Derrida's line of thinking stems from De Saussure's (1916) concepts of 'signifier' and 'signified'. De Saussure believes that the meaning of each signifier, or object/word/term, has to be agreed upon by society; this differently from his inspirer, Derrida believes that meaning can change over time and is dependent on the context in which it is produced.

These perspectives imply a sort of deconstruction and (re)construction of meaning according to the context and the perception of the "shared representation" (Milani 2010: 119) of the person interpreting the text. In a similar understanding we can position Butler's (1988: 526) concept of gender as performative, as "a re-enactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established". She argues that language can be used to construct gender and used to convey a specific performance. Her theories are presented in her two books *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies that Matter* (1993). The performativity feature of gender makes its construction a never-ending process, as anyone can perform their gender in a different way drawing on different social meanings. Another point made by Butler is that no group is a unified group, and thus it is not possible to generalise about cisgender or lesbian women or gay men. As we will explain later, the same definition of transgender community is truly a social construction. Gender and sexual identities are a personal matter. One person performs their gender in a unique way and for as much as some identities might have common characteristics what is true in the representation of one's identity might not be true in the representation of another.

Many other scholars such as Jacques Lacan (1977), Luce Irigaray (1985) and psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1953) influenced Butler, but it was from Michel Foucault (1980) that she got inspiration for her theory about society and hegemonic power. Foucault (1980) maintains that specific gender performances are naturalised in society following a hegemonic heteronormativity. Accordingly, Butler suggests that certain gender performances are privileged compared to others, in the sense that

those gender identities that are considered natural are in a position of power with respect to others. To mention one example we could refer to the fact that countries such as Germany, Ireland or Austria[3] do not have paid paternity leave, perhaps because raising a child is something mainly attributed to women. Butler proposes a deconstruction of gender and therefore of those gender stereotypes which are linked to the traditional limitations that lie at the basis of inequalities towards gender identities.

This perspective proposed by Butler on performativity and the social construction of gender, and the definition of identity as something that can be continually changed and modified, influenced the views adopted by scholars, setting the basis for a new era on the studies of language in relation to gender and sexuality.

Like an ever growing wave, following the development of Lavender linguistics in the nineties, these decades see the rise of a new current in the linguistic field: Queer Linguistics. One of the notions that played a pivotal role in the development of Queer Linguistics is post-structuralism. Identity, from a post-structuralist point of view, is defined according to its opposite: one thing is something that it is not. A number of thinkers quoted so far, like Irigaray (1985) and Derrida (1976), but also others such as Helen Cixous (1975), agree that society makes sense of the world by imposing categories onto things. Queer Linguistics has the main aim, in order to make sense of society, of deconstructing those categories, dismantling the binary structure in which identity is put into and understanding the way language is used to construct diverse identities. Queer Theory is based on the fact that identities are fluid and multiple (Baker 2008: 192) and does not focus on the study of what mainstream society considers as queer but on any identity that distances themselves from mainstream categories. When it comes to gender identities, the term 'queer' was adopted to indicate this kind of research as an umbrella term that could encompass a range of marginalised identities together with those already stereotypically defined as queer by society. As Livia (2002) remarks, the term has been semantically widened going from referring more specifically to homosexual people to becoming a hypernym to indicate any sexual and gender identities, as anyone can be someone's else queer person.

[3] Information retrieved from a 2014 ILO report on parental leave.

One of the perks that Queer Linguistics has added to the study of language, gender and sexuality is that it shifted the research from gay and lesbian identity to all those identities which in a way or another are considered to be outside the boundaries of the heretonormative, mainstream and binary categories in which society is enclosed, rejecting the idea of normalisation and binary categorisations (Milani 2017). As Motschenbacher (2010: 10-11) suggests,

> for Queer Linguistics all identity categories are problematic because they normatively regulate and exclude those who do not fully meet their normative requirements. […] It concerns all linguistic mechanisms that lead to heterosexuality being perceived as the naturalised norm, which in turn is to be destabilised and confronted with non-heteronormative alternatives.

As Baker (2008: 196) points out Queer Linguistics should not be merely a replacement for studies and theories developed so far but an additional point of view to consider in the analysis of the relationship between language, gender and sexuality. The analysis presented in this research can be positioned within the field of Queer Linguistics to the extent that it critically addresses the way in which language is heteronomartively used to represent identities that do not adhere to heteronormative categories.

The following sub-section addresses more specifically the ways in which gender is represented in news discourse, once again trying to give a general overview of the field.

2.2.2 Representing gender in News Discourse

As Litosseliti (2002: 136) argues, "[N]ewspapers are a prime public site for moral arguments and for constructing values and ideologies". For this reason news discourse is a great source for the analysis of how ideologies, power relations and the cultural values of a society are actualised and represented through language. As it will be further discussed in the following sections, an analysis of the language of the media is useful to identify those discourses that pervade, influence and shape the way people see and understand society, its beliefs and values.

One topic that has gained more and more importance, in this sense, is the study of how gender identities are represented in news discourse. Similarly, to the

general evolution of the study on gender and language, some of the first issue about gender and language in relation to news discourse analysed by linguists are concerned with the representation of women in the press, and with the percentage of women actually working and using this means of communication. Carter, Branson and Allan (1998) wrote *News, Gender and Power*, a volume that retraces the role of female in the press from different perspectives, starting from the actual contribution of women in the press to how these subjects are represented and why. Some years later, Byerly and Ross (2006) published *Women and Media. A Critical Introduction*, extending the study from journalism to the media as a more general field of inquiry.

All in all, while the linguistic representation of women and men in news stories has come a long way (see also Clarke 1992; Adampa 1999), that of sexual orientation and gender identity in the press has been considered a topic of analysis, by scholars, only more recently.

At the beginning of the 21st century, several linguists showed their interest in looking at how language is used in the representation of non-binary definitions of gender identities. Morrish and Saunston (2007) investigated the representation of Peter Mandleson, a British politician, in British broadsheets concluding that he was not only represented as effeminate but also in a negative way through negative stereotypes generally associated to gay men. In 2005, Baker looked at discourse prosodies in British tabloids in relation to the representation of homosexuality and gay men. Baker argues that several different discourse prosodies can be retrieved in the corpus collected from the *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror*. Gay people are defined as a minority group, homosexuality as a behaviour, and the articles are written in relation to violent crimes, shame and secrecy, shamelessness, promiscuity, and the gay lobby. Baker concludes that while both newspapers relate gay identity to more negative discourses, one main difference lays in the fact that *The Mirror* does not frequently discusses politically based discourses in relation to homosexuality, whereas the *Daily Mail* focuses more on equality and on how gay 'propaganda' influences children. Additionally, similar to the patterns used in the eighties when AIDS was strongly associated to homosexuality, Baker traces a renewed attempt at associating a sort of homophobic representation to gay men.

If we turn our sight out of the UK, the search becomes even harder. Some studies appear relating to Ireland, following the issuing of the law recognising same-sex marriage. Bartley and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2015, 2016) conducted two different studies on a corpus of newspaper articles collected from the Irish press following the release of the above-mentioned law. The first study (2015) focuses on the verbal processes associated to the terms *gay**, *homo**, *lesbian** and *queer**, that is to say to transitivity processes and how they were used to represent queer identities. The study concludes that the most frequent verbal process used in this case is 'material'[4]. To put it simply, queer people are mostly represented as active participants. The corpus also shows a strong homophobic discourse, and while gay men are demonised, victimised and represented as curable patients, lesbians seemed to be generally more accepted by society. In the second study (2016), the aim was to look at how the perception of homosexuality was filtered through the press (Bartley & Hidalgo-Tenorio 2016: 9). Among other results, the study highlights that gay people were mostly represented as a community, a group of people working together.

Similarly, Gouveia (2005) analysed the representation of gays and lesbians in a Portuguese newspaper in a set of articles published across one week with the heading "gay power" in 2001. Gouveia argues that homosexuality is a topic rarely mentioned in the press, and is still considered a taboo. Thus, it is notable that the newspaper under investigation in the study centres its attention on gay people as main actors in the articles published in that week. The articles mirror the discussion about civil unions that the Portuguese parliament had just had a few weeks before. Despite the clear intention not to discriminate homosexual people, "at the same time there is also the construction of a sense of fear associated with homosexuality, via the assertion that gays and lesbians have more social and political power than one would exepect" (Gouveia 2005: 247), bringing forward again, as in Baker's study (2005), the idea of a "gay lobby".

Similar studies have focused on the press in Slovenia (Kuhar 2003) and in Turkey (Hoscan 2006). In the first case the analysis focuses not only on the press but more generally on the representation of homosexuality in the Slovenian media;

[4] For further readings about verbal processes see Hallyday & Matthiessen (2013), Eggins (2004) and Thompson (2013).

whereas the second focuses on the representation of homosexuality in the Turkish press.

The studies presented so far discuss lesbian and gay identity. In fact, as we mentioned above, transgender identity, as much as intersex identity, are completely cut out from most studies that consider gender identities. The following section will look in more detail at transgender identity and the way it is represented linguistically.

2.2.3 Language and transgender identity

Stephen Whittle, professor of Equalities Law at Manchester Metropolitan University and transgender activist, begins the foreword of the book edited with Susan Stryker in 2006, *The Transgender Studies Reader*, by saying that "trans identities were one of the most written about subjects of the late twentieth century" (2006: xi). Here we go against this current, as we believe that when it comes to this matter the literature is still not as extended as other topics or, to be more precise, it is not as popular and advertised as other fields of inquiry related to identity, gender and sexuality.

Indisputably, the literature surveyed, as we will discuss later in this sub-section, shows that studies on transgender identities from a linguistic viewpoint are mostly all recent, since it is only in the past two decades that this topic started flourishing among the interests of scholars who dedicated their research to language, gender, sexuality and identity.

Even though from a questionable perspective, Janine Raymond (1979) was one of the first scholars to discuss transgender identity, with a linguistic perspective, in her book *The Transsexual Empire. The Making of the She-Male*. Starting from the use of terminology in the title, which can be, nowadays, considered offensive by members of the transgender community, Raymond did not have a high consideration of transgender people. Despite this, we must acknowledge that she was the first to affirm that transgender identity could, and still can, be seen as a social phenomenon, and not as a pathology (Kulick 1999). In the following years, other studies, which had transgender people as the core of the investigation were published, dealing mostly with how transgender women should talk. In fact, based on Lakoff's and Tannen's studies on women's language, some books were published with the aim of

giving advice to transgender women on how to change their communicative behaviour in order to resemble cisgender women as much as possible. One famous example is Lou Sullivan's *Information for the Female to Male Cross Dresser and Transsexual* (1990). But still, this had not much to do with transgender identity and how this is linguistically constructed and represented, which is the aim of the study presented here.

Some of the first studies on the linguistic representation of transgender identity can be traced back to Kira Hall and her research on Indian hijras (Hall 1997, 2002, 2013; Hall & O'Donovan 1996) and to Don Kulick (1998) who investigated the language and identity representation of *travesti* in Brazil.

More recently, in 2014, Duke University press launched the *Transgender Reader Quartely (TSQ),* the first non-medical scientific journal on issues related to transgender people, edited by Susan Stryker and Paisley Currah, which is to the present at its fourth volume. Before this the only academic journal focusing specifically on this topic was the *International Journal of Transgenderism*, a medical journal launched by Routledge in 1998 and edited by Walter Bockting, which mainly discussed issues related to gender dysphoria, gender reassignment and the psychological effects of such medical processes on patients. From a linguistic point of view it is possible to affirm that the opening statement of this section is still very applicable. In fact, if it is true that scholars have been researching about transgender people for the past twenty or even thirty years, it has been more recent since linguists took an interest in this topic.

Apart from the medical journal cited above, the list of other works from a medical and psychological perspective is long (see for example Delemarre-van de Waal & Cohen-Kettenis 2006). The same can be said for the field of cultural studies and history, with the work of scholars such as Sandy Stone (1991), Susan Stryker (1994, 1998, 2008) and Vivienne Namaste (2000); and also in the field of law with scholars such as Stephen Whittle (1995, 1996, 1998, 1998a, Whittle & Witten 2004). In the past decade we saw the rising of studies that tried to bring all these topics together, like *The Transgender Studies Reader*, of which Stryker and Whittle published the first volume in 2008. Whittle describes the book as:

> The Transgender Studies Reader is an effort to afford the student and teacher with a

> passage through the complexities of gender theory. It illustrates how trans people were problematized by science and society, and how trans people have responded by using the same intellectual tools that have oppressed them to place the "Other" in the problematized position. This process has not been easy. Our collection also illustrates the call to arms that has been issued by activist trans academics to make the study of the self and the Objective Other a reputable field (p. xiv).

In 2013, a second volume came out edited by Stryker and Aren Aizura with the aim of complementing the first one and expanding the horizon to more recent works and emerging trends. Both volumes give little to no space to linguistic perspectives.

In 1997 Kira Hall and Anna Livia had edited the book *Queerly Phrased*, a collection of essays on language, gender and sexuality, as the subtitle reveals. It is not the first collection on language and gender studies, but one of the first displaying research on transgender identity, with the essay by Bagemihl on the linguistic reaction of lesbian and gay people to transsexual identity and a further investigation by Hall on Indian Hijras.

A couple of years later, in 1999, Don Kulick wrote "Transgender and Language. A review of the Literature and Suggestions for the Future", tracing a sort of literature review of the various studies related to language and transgender people's identity found in academic research up to that time.

Starting from the beginning of the twentieth century many aspects of transgender identity have been considered, especially as it becomes more and more clear that binary heteronormativity was shaping the world in every aspect and that non-heteronormative identities were struggling to find a safe space in which they could freely express themselves. As suggested by Doan (2010), the binary heteronormative vision of the world influences every aspect of life, even the way space is conceptualised. Doan analyses the way transgender and gender variant people suffer from the heteronormative shaping of spaces in society. Transgender identity is also studied from a cross-cultural point of view, like the study from Kira Hall (1997) mentioned above.

Among those scholars who dedicated their research to the way transgender identities are represented in non-Western cultures and society, is Niko Besnier (2003) who investigated on the linguistic construction of transgender identities in Tonga. Besnier analyses the way the English language influenced the Tongan society, which still remains essentially monolingual. He concludes that among the

minorities using English in that society a big part is constituted by transgender individuals who find in this form of code-switching an escape from marginality and oppression (Besnier 2003: 296).

The November volume of *TSQ* 2014 dedicated the whole issues to another aspect of transgender studies, which is ways in which transgender identities are translated. The issue opens with the study on the translation of the biography of the East German artist Charlotte von Mahlsdorf by Baer (2014), who concludes that the translation of the memoir reflects a specific way of framing queer identities in Western society. The issue continues with an interesting parallelism of the marginalisation of transgender studies and translation studies, with a subsequent destructuralisation of both fields and the emergence of a new non-binary, decolonising multilingual discourse (Concilio 2016). Memoirs are also at the centre of another research presented in this volume conducted by Rose (2016). Starting from the assumption that translation also means "manipulation and the power to re-present certain gender identities" (p. 485), Rose argues that the translation of transgender identity can demonstrate how all translations can be multi-layered and queer. Two more matters are discussed in this volume. One of these relates to the rooted gendered rules of some Nordic languages like Icelandic (Josephson & Einarsdottir 2016) and Finnish (Leino 2016). The authors of the first study conclude that Icelandic is problematic when addressing transgender identities and see no easy solution for this problem. The latter explores the compromises of Finnish language towards a more inclusive definition of transgender identities in Finland. The other issue discussed is concerned with the untranslatability of certain transgender identities. More specifically, Gabriel (2016) addresses a collection of poems by a Canadian author, concluding that translation can be, in the case of the poetry under scrutiny, a way to make transgender identity readable and understandable through binary categories. Similarly, Jarrin (2016) analyses the way Anglophone discourse is used in Brazilian medical context in order to delegitimise the access to health care to transsexual and transgender people by representing them as unauthentic women. Jarrin concludes that it is up to academic scholars to create a new framework of analysis in order to de-pathologise transgender people.

The last article of this volume serves as an opening act in order to discuss a different scenario in transgender studies, one that is becoming more and more popular recently. Leung (2016) discusses "the role of audiovisual translation in the cinematic circulation of trans knowledge" (p. 433). The case study presented by this author is circumscribed to Cantonese and Thai, arguing for the key role that multilingualism should have in trans cinematic productions.

Cinema and television have taken on an important role in the dissemination and acknowledgement of transgender identities. As stated in the introduction to this work, transgender people are becoming more and more popular on the big and small screen. Many scholars have been devoting their attention to the representation of transgender identities in this form of media communication. Hess (2017) analyses how ageing of transgender people and more generally queer people are represented in *Transparent* (2014). Capuzza and Spencer (2016) take into consideration nine scripted US TV series which feature transgender character and conclude that the way transgender people have been represented in the years has evolved from a "wrong body" (Capuzza & Spencer 2016: 3) narrative to a more diverse and inclusive representation of different transgender identities and subjectivities. In 2015, Hartner affirmed that representation of transgender characters in films tends to realign transgender identity with heteronormative identities, drawing on the notion of love and family. Zottola (Forthcoming a) looks at the linguistic representation of the character of Sophia Burset in *Orange is the New Black*. She addresses the way the character uses language to talk about herself and the way other cisgender characters use language to talk about Sophia. One of the findings of this study highlights how the Italian translation of the scripts tends to tame down some more offensive expressions or parts of dialogues used in the original English version. These four examples bring forward the diversity in representation of transgender identity in television and the cinema.

The character of Sophia Burset, and the actress who played this role, Laverne Cox, attracted the attention of quite a few scholars. Di Martino (2017), for example, analyses the representation of transgender identity given by the actress and how it influences the way masculinity and femininity are perceived.

Burnes and Chen (2012) try to shed light on transgender identity by looking at the various definitions and self-representations. Through the use of a mixed methodology they position transgender identity among multiple identities, proving hypotheses for new approaches to the understanding of trans identity.

Zimman (2009, 2013, 2014) makes a rather important contribution in this field, as he takes interest in the representation of transgender men identities. Trans men identities can be seen as a sub-category within the studies about transgender identity, as it is less considered than MTF identities. Zimman's interest on transgender identity starts in 2009 with a study on the coming out genre. He argues that transgender people coming out narratives, as a genre, cannot be included in the same category as gay and lesbian coming out stories, in the way that there is one main difference in coming out for a transgender person. This process can occur before or after the change in gender role. Furthermore, Zimman (2009) underlines that while gay and lesbian coming out stories mostly point to how the coming out happened, transgender people describe more frequently how they "came out into their new gender role" (2009: 58). In the following years his interest in the identity of trans men was redefined and as he says himself, he "[focuses] on the power of language to redefine the body in the face of compulsory gender and sexual normativity" (Zimman 2014: 14). In 2013, Zimman published a work that falls into the framework of sociophonetics, analysing how the pitch of the voice changed in FTM transgender individuals after the use of testosterone. His study reveals that, although trans men are generally described as "gay-sounding", a closer analysis highlights that there are many differences between the speech of transgender men and that of gay men, leading to the conclusion that gay-sounding speech cannot be considered as one single speech style but it encompasses many variations from the hegemonic norm (Zimman 2013). A more recent study from Zimman (2014) focuses on the linguistic representation of the gendered body on behalf of transgender men in on-line communities. These three very different and at the same similar researches are a clear example of the varieties of linguistic research that can be carried out on transgender identity. Language can be analysed from the point of view of how transgender people use it to communicate, create their own identity and talk about themselves, or it can be analysed to investigate how cisgender people use it to talk

about and represent transgender identities as well as for the studies on transgender identity and AVT. For the purpose of the study presented here, the second approach is adopted on the grounds of its relevance in relation to the data collected.

An influential work for this research has been a study from Paul Baker published in 2014. In this work Baker collected a corpus of newspaper articles from the year 2012 and through the use of Corpus Linguistics tools he analysed the way the British press depicted transgender people in that year. As it will become clear in later chapters, the research presented here takes Baker's study as a starting point and develops along similar lines, though considering a different time span. Among the major findings highlighted by Baker (2014b: 233), he points out that:

> The analysis did find a great deal of evidence to support the view that trans people are regularly represented in reasonably large sections of the press as receiving special treatment lest they be offended, as victims or villains, as involved in transient relationships or sex scandals, as the objects of jokes about their appearance or sexual organs and as attention seeking freakish objects.

Baker also adds that some positive representations were retrieved but were less frequent.

The media have become one important source for the analysis of the representation of transgender people. So far we dealt with the investigation of identity represented in television, cinema, and the press, although the Internet as well has given researcher a lot of material to discuss. Lexi Webster (2016) analysed self-identification of transgender people in the social media platform Twitter and (2017) the identity performance by transgender people on web-based forums, demonstrating the non-homogenousity of transgender identities. Laura Horak (2014) looked at the consumption of vlogs made by transgender individuals on YouTube, and how these productions at the same time serve to their creators as forms of acceptance and acknowledgment of their own identities. Lucy Jones (2018) investigates the identity construction by two transgender vloggers, concluding that they strongly use normative discourses to perform their identities.

The study presented in this research can be positioned among the studies listed above, as a step forward in the understanding of language with reference to transgender people. The results retrieved in this study expand on a larger time span compared Baker's study (2014b) discussed previously in this sub-section, and were

able to pin point a change in the use of terminology related to transgender identities in this time span. Moreover, this analysis puts forward different sematic patterns of representation that will be further discussed in Chapter five, six and seven.

The following sections deal with other aspects of the framework in which this study is enclosed. Section 2.3 introduces CDA and CL, focussing on the combination of the two approaches for the analysis of language.

2.3 Discourse studies and Corpus Linguistics

Discourse is, from a linguistic perspective, any unit of language beyond the sentence level (Stubbs 1983) that is used to create meaning in relation to a social context. In this sense, a first definition of discourse entailing social implications was suggested by Foucault (1972). The French social theorist explains discourse as a system of beliefs, ideas, attitudes and notions that systematically come together to produce the objects of discussion. The various components are biased by the speakers' background knowledge, and in return shaped by social and cultural surroundings. Therefore, discourse has its own implications in a wider social process of power and legitimation, as it contributes, like a circular process, to the shaping of society. Discourse is realised in and through language. Talbot (1995) defines language the "fabric" that constitutes discourse, "the words spoken or written as the linguistic traces of how a text was reproduced and cues for its interpretation" (Polese 2004: 37). This research is based on this very understanding of concept of discourse, in fact, we believe that the way language is used shapes society's understanding of the world.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) define discourse as the way we use language in order to convey both "speech and writing" and as a form of "meaning-making in the social process" which shapes and creates society. As a consequence of social implications in discourse, we must acknowledge the many different types of discourse, as many "as there are social settings and purposes" (Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013: 3).

Against this backdrop, a distinction must be made between discourse (lower case d), which only refers to the production or consumption of text, Discourse (capital D) — which is the definition that will be considered for this study — as a

form of social action, and discourses (plural) as conventionalised ways of thinking and communicating about a specific domain. Although it is impossible to determine discourses as fixed as one can see a type of discourse where someone else does not (Cameron 2001; Chilton 2004; Gee 1999).

Discourse is / discourses are constructed socially and are internalised by specific groups of individuals recognised as communities of practice since they all agree upon certain discourses (Hidalgo-Tenorio 2011: 186). From this perspective discourse is similar to gender, it can be understood, in a different way, according to the point of view from which it is seen.

An aspect that should be considered when analysing discourse is not only textual presences but also absences (Baker 2006; McEnery 2018). Baker (2006) takes discourses of heterosexuality as an example suggesting that the "absence of explicit references to heterosexuality in speech and writing, [functions as] effectively normalizing or unproblematizing the concept" (p. 5). This aspect is particularly relevant for this research, as it was one of the starting points for it. It was observed, in fact, that the topic of transgender identity was first completely absent in discourses and suddenly present. This study aims at discovering the reasons behind this change.

Discourse studies mainly focus on analysing the way that language is used to represent actors or events. This aim can be achieved through different approaches to Discourse Studies, i.e. Conversation Analysis, modality, intertextuality. This study focuses on the way that language is used in a specific Discourse, that of the media, and it will be analysed through an approach that stems from Discourse Studies: Critical Discourse Analysis (discussed in sub-section 2.3.1). The aim of this section is to discuss Critical Discourse Analysis but also to introduce Corpus Linguistics (see sub-section 2.3.2 and Chapter 4). In fact, the two approaches will be used in combination through a framework known as Corpus-based Discourse Analysis (see sub-section 2.3.3). This last approach will be the one used for the purpose of the present investigation, and will be further discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be positioned at the intersection between Critical Social Theory and Discourse Analysis (Simpson & Mayr 2010). Critical Discourse Analysis advocates for the researchers' intervention in highlighting given ideologies in discourse (Fairclough 1992; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011), as CDA is considered "a form of academic enquiry which aims to achieve a better understanding of how societies works" (Baker 2006: 73). CDA can be defined as a type of critical social research that aims at uncovering the power relations and ideologies hidden in specific communicative modes. This analytical approach engenders from the synergy of various scholars who following the Foucaultian vision felt the need to look at language beyond the sentence level and into its social and ideological implications, as form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Other scholars such Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, Paul Chilton and Teun van Dijk (Hidalgo-Tenorio 2011: 184) played an important role in the definition of this approach. van Dijk (2001: 352) has defined CDA as:

> […] a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

As this definition implies, CDA is a broad framework of analysis. The many different approaches that scholars of CDA have developed over the years makes it suitable to be applied to various diverse types of data, using diverse methodologies. In the previous section a point has been made concerning the differences between Discourse and discourse. In CDA, as we hinted at previously, researchers think of Discourse as a form of social action that is "socially shaped" but most importantly "socially constitutive" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). It not only represents and reproduces society but it also contributes to changing it through power relations and ideologies. The critical point of view that is used in CDA is what differentiates this approach from traditional discourse analysis.

Being critical, from our point of view, is a necessary presupposition when approaching social research. Thus, doing CDA means to go beyond one's own line of

thinking and definition of what is right or wrong, to question any given assumption, in an attempt to explain social events in relation to power and ideologies. Critical analysis means going further the language level, trying to figure out the implications of each linguistic choice made, the reasons behind them and the discourses that a specific choice may convene.

CDA is a "*problem*- or *issue-oriented*, rather than paradigm-oriented" (van Dijk 1995: 17) approach. CDA practitioners are mostly interested in studying relations of power, dominance and inequality and the way these are created and represented through language, specifically how these are discursively legitimated and instantiated. Researchers in CDA are interested in various aspects of society, from political discourse to race, religion and national identity and more recently gender and sexuality, with the primary scope of identifying ideologies underlying a specific text. Critical discourse analysts mainly try to uncover specific patterns that carry a particular ideology or reveal subtle language uses by making explicit what is usually implicit in texts. CDA attempts to critically explain the way that discursive practices can influence and control behaviour and challenge those who abuse power. Against this backdrop, CDA can be considered a means through which political discourse can be analysed, but also a valuable resource to investigate the media, and more specifically the press (van Dijk 1995), as is the case of this study.

CDA is an over-arching form of analysis, containing many different approaches or schools. Many of these approaches are rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1985, 1992). According to SFL, linguists must consider language as a form of social semiotics, looking at the three meta-functions of language: ideational, interpersonal, textual (Hallyday 1978). The ideational function of language, or the way language is used to convey human experience, is mainly realised through transitivity, which refers to how meaning is created in a clause through grammatical structures (Simpson 1993). The interpersonal function of language, which mainly refers to the enactment of social relationships through language, is generally realised through modality, by which we mean expressing degrees of likelihood through the use of specific linguistic strategies (Gabrielatos 2010). Lastly, the textual function of language, namely the use of language to build a specific cohesive discourse, is realised through passivisation (the social actor is not

performing the action but receiving it) and nominalisation (the social actor is acknowledged by being nominated) (van Leeuwen 2008). These elements in the analysis were developed to different degrees, and with diverse methodologies by various scholars.

Among the most popular approaches to CDA is Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach (1989, 1992, 1995, 2005). In order to investigate language, ideology and power, Fairclough has developed a three-dimensional model of analysis in which he considers language as text, discourse and social practice. This model strongly relates to the meta-functions of language at the base of Systemic Functional Linguistics. In the analysis of discourses that we hypothesise to find in this study, this approach seems to be the most relevant one, since it is necessary to analyse discourse taking into account the context in which it is produced and the audience for which it was meant. As it is in the scope of this research to look exactly at how the social context is influenced by the way discourse surrounding trans people is created, this approach fully responds to the necessity of the present investigation.

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak 2011, 2013; Meyer & Wodak 2015; Reisigl & Wodak 2001, 2009; Weiss & Wodak 2002) is another perspective adopted in CDA, mainly associated with Ruth Wodak. DHA takes into consideration a more historical approach, in terms of understanding the context in which each text under investigation was produced, taking into account four levels of analysis: 1) linguistic, 2) intertextual and interdiscursive, 3) extralinguistic and socio-political, and 4) historical. This approach is mainly concerned with political discourse and the construction of national identity. In order to analyse discourse, this approach identifies six strategies: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, intensification and mitigation. As the name of this approach suggests the ideal situation in which this method should be used is when analysing discourse that stretches across a wide time span, having a strong diachronic perspective. For this reason, despite considering this approach valid, DHA did not respond to the necessities of this study, which only considers a three-year time span, without taking into account a more historical approach.

Another approach to CDA is van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis (1996, 1997, 2009). The peculiarity and difference of this approach is that it focuses

on the intersection between discourse, society and cognition. van Dijk places emphasis on collective mental models as a consequence of social paradigms. These models are the main structure of discourse, as well as the main categories recognised by society, those schemes in which our understanding of the world falls. He mainly focuses on stereotypes, the abuse of power by elites, the reproduction of racism and ethnic persecution, as well as resistance by oppressed groups. Although this approach could have been applied to the data under investigation in this study, we believe that the discourse around the linguistic representation of transgender identity is still at its embryonic stages. Thus, this study aims at uncovering those stereotypes about transgender identity on which the socio-cognitive approach relies for the analysis.

Lastly, the socio-semiotic approach, which is associated with Theo van Leeuwen (1996, 2008, 2007), elaborates a framework for the systematic semiotic analysis of social actor representation, as well as an approach to analyse legitimation strategies in discourse. This last framework and more specifically the representation of social actors will be explained in greater detail in chapter four as this study will be directly referring to it, in combination to the dialectical-relational approach.

A number of scholars such as Stubbs (1997), Widdowson (1998, 2005) or Verschueren (2001) have moved strong criticism toward the CDA approach, criticising the qualitative perspective, the biased standpoints of the analysts and the reliability of the interpretation. Stubbs raises one main concern regarding the accuracy of results based on the analysis of one single text, suggesting that the use of Corpus Linguistics, therefore of large amounts of data, could be a solution to this problem, though he does not disregard CDA in its entirety. This criticism is considered to be legitimate and agreed upon in the study presented here. We have, in fact, as will be further discussed in the following paragraphs, adopted a mixed methodology, which combines the use of CDA and CL.

The claim brought forward by Verschueren (2001) is liked to a certain extent to the concept of cherry picking. The scholar recriminates critical discourse analysts the tendency of excluding from the language under investigation those aspects that might compromise the methodological framework. For this reason, we believe, CL can be once again the answer, when considering large amounts of data it becomes

difficult for the researcher to find specific examples or exclude others that are inevitably highlighted by the tools used.

Widdowson (1998, 2005), on the other hand, focuses his criticism of the methodological aspects of CDA, questioning the absence of impartiality in the application of specific methodologies. Widdowson believes that focusing on a given lexical item or grammatical feature is not enough to draw conclusions that can be generalised. In order to circumvent these criticisms, that we judge as grounded, we have no expectation of claiming our findings relevant for all newspapers or time spans. Our main focus is to analyse the way language is used in the data under investigation considering the ideologies and belief affecting the use of language.

Generally speaking, CDA is more concerned with shedding light on linguistic behaviours that may result in a discriminating and harmful representation of social groups. However, a strand of CDA, called Positive CDA (Martin & Rose 2003; Martin 2004; McEnery 2018), investigates and focuses on positive representations and empowering uses of language. This recent new approach to the analysis of discourse is fundamental for the work that critical discourse analysts aim at, since a real impact on society can truly be made by highlighting and encouraging positive behaviours.

CDA approaches have been more recently applied to the study of the use of language in representing gender. Lazar (2005) suggests Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach to investigate gender and ideology in language. Other studies about gender, such as those by Litosseliti (2006) or Sunderland (2004), who investigate gender as a social construct, can also be considered to belong to this framework.

CDA has mostly been a qualitative approach although in the past decade Corpus Linguistics has become increasingly adopted by scholars of CDA as a way to triangulate quantitative and qualitative analyses and consider large amounts of data. Corpus Linguistics and the intersection of this methodology with CDA will be discussed in sub-sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. As McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006) point out, corpus-based studies of language, although in an embryonic form, have been in use since the midst of the twentieth century, when linguists such as Boas, Sapir or Bloomfield would collect boxes full of paper slips with transcribed language

(McEnery Xiao & Tono 2006: 3). This type of approach seemed to be particular relevant for this study as larger amounts of data enables to uncover more recurring patterns language use in relation to a specific discourse.

2.3.2 Corpus Linguistics: an overview

Corpus, or corpora in its plural declination, is a Latin word that literally stands for 'body'. Its first use is documented in the XV century with reference to 'the body of a person', but later in the XVIII century it also started to be used with reference to a body or collection of texts. In common language, the word corpus refers to a collection of written texts on a specific subject, though it also keeps its medical meaning (Merriam-Webster Dictionary)[5]. Linguistics has borrowed this term in its textual connotation, and more specifically in modern linguistics it is explained as a collection "of naturally occurring language" (McEnery Xiao & Tono 2006: 4).

Corpus Linguistics (CL), an approach to the analysis of language which is centred on the use of corpora, has been variously defined as "a *tool*, a *method*, a *methodology*, a *methodological approach*, a *discipline*, a *theory*, a *theoretical approach*, a *paradigm* (theoretical or methodological), or a combination of these" (emphasis in the original) (Taylor 2008: 180), but so far the question remains open to discussion in terms of finding a definition upon which all scholars can agree. For the purpose of this research, CL will mostly be used as a methodology in combination with other theoretical frameworks.

Scholars started mentioning Corpus Linguistics as early as 1982 with works by Aarts and van Heuvel (1983) and Aarts and Meijs (1984). The approach became popular in the early 1990s being used by scholars such as Leech, Sinclair and Stubbs (Taylor 2008: 179-80). Aside from trying to put CL into a category, various definitions have been suggested by many scholars. Drawing from McEnery and Hardie (2012), we can define CL as a "not monolithic, consensually agreed set of methods and procedures for the exploration of language" (2012: 1) mainly "based on examples of real language use" (McEnery & Wilson 1996: 1).

[5] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/corpus (Last accessed: 10 August 2017).

CL can also be defined as a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. In fact, the results of the investigations that can be carried out through the use of various tools provided by Corpus Linguistics, such as collocation analysis or keyword analysis (which will be further discussed in chapter 4), generally needs to be interpreted through qualitative analysis.

Against this backdrop, CL can be defined as a heterogeneous and versatile field of inquiry. Thus, it encompasses a variety of methods and procedures of analysis.

One of the most common distinctions in CL is between corpus-based and corpus-driven approach (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). The main difference between the two approaches is that while the former uses corpora to test, prove or exemplify a given hypothesis or theory, the latter is centred on a corpus, does not seek to prove anything, but the corpus itself "embodies its own theory of language" (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 6). Both approaches have limitations. Scholars who prefer the first approach could be blamed for not being fully committed to the corpus, as it might be easy to build a set of data selecting what to include according to what is needed. However, for those who consider the second approach as more valid one accusation could fall on the fact that one can never be fully unbiased, and that just by creating a corpus, language is being sampled thus choices are being made (Tognini-Bonelli 2001).

An additional approach is worth mentioning, the Corpus-assisted approach. CADS (Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies) was developed (Partington 2004, 2009, 2015; Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013) with the aim of combining corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches in order to have both the data and the theoretical framework as the starting point of the research (Taylor 2009).

The choice of using CL for the purpose of this study is due to the main aim of the research. Since our aim is to uncover more general patterns in the representation of transgender people, the corpus-based approach, which enables us to concentrate on a large set of data, is combined with a CDA perspective. This approach also known as Corpus-based Discourse Analysis (CBDA) is further discussed in the following sub-section.

2.3.3 Corpus-based Discourse Analysis (CBDA)

In the Introduction to *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (2006: 6) Baker affirms:

> [W]hile there are a small number of researchers who are already applying corpus methodologies in discourse analysis, this is still a cross-disciplinary field which is somewhat under-subscribed, and appears to be subject to some resistance. Some researchers may acknowledge that theoretically it is a good idea, but continue with mainly qualitative analyses of single texts.

After over a decade this has changed extensively. It has become clear that the use of corpora to analyse discourses and uncover patterns of use in language is effective. In fact, while CDA provides researchers with a framework which encompasses the study of context and the socio-political implications of language use as well as a much more in-depth analysis, CL enables the analysis of large amounts of data which can produce results that can be generalised in order to test hypotheses. Baker et al. (2008) suggest a systematic top-down framework of analysis combining CL and CDA which moves from qualitative to quantitative analysis and back and includes nine steps: Corpus-based Discourse Analysis (CBDA).

The first step suggests a context-based analysis of the topic under investigation from an historical, political, cultural and etymological point of view, which enables the identification of any existing topics, discourses or strategies thanks to an in-depth reading of the text and reference to other CDA studies. This first step leads to the establishment of research questions and allows the researcher to set out the parameters for the building of the corpus, which is the second step of the process. The third step focuses on the analysis of the corpus collected by means of frequencies, clusters, keywords, dispersion and other corpus tools. These procedures will highlight potential sites of interest in the corpus and could also uncover possible discourses. A way to discover possible strategies is to relate to previous analyses existing in the literature. The fourth step goes back to qualitative analysis, taking a break from the overall corpus compiled for the research and looking at a smaller, representative set of data taken from the overall corpus. This step involves an in-depth investigation of the data, and operates as a magnifying glass on a sample of the data. This more detailed analysis might lead to new findings and possibly to the formulation of new hypotheses or research questions (step five). These new

hypotheses then need to be tested through further corpus analysis in order to identify new patterns or discourses (step six). The seventh step of this framework includes the analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity based on the findings emerging from the corpus analysis. The further investigation form step seven leads to the formulation of new and final hypotheses (step eight). The last and final step (nine) of this framework is a further corpus analysis, which could lead to additional findings in terms of discourses or strategies that can be identified in the corpus. This framework proposes a circular type of investigation and a new formulation of hypotheses and further investigation of the data collected could go on and on (Baker et al. 2008; Baker et al. 2013). This specific framework was particularly relevant for this study. In fact, a previous investigation of the context regarding transgender identity enabled us to have a better understanding of the matter and clear any doubts about the use of terminology and the issues related to this topic. A first reading of the corpus through the frequencies and collocations highlighted discourses that had not been hypothesised to find, for example, that some newspapers associated transgender people with immigrants in order to depict a collective representation of minority identities. Lastly, a more flexible framework allowed us to integrate the research questions with additional aspects, such as sociological implications of the use of language, or a more in-depth look at the juridical aspect of gender reassignment and transgender identity.

The flexibility of this approach and its ability to critically consider large amounts of data has made it possible for CBDA to be applied in many different fields of language research. As it is in this study, newspaper articles are commonly used as a source for CBDA studies. These studies do not only include the British press, but also newspapers from other geographic areas, for instance the investigation conducted by Kyung Hie Kim in 2014. In this work, the author focuses on the construction of North Korea by the US media, analysing newspaper articles published from *CNN*, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* in order to identify any specific discursive practices relating to North Korea as well as revealing how specific media discourses are constructed and disseminated in the press (Kim 2014: 222). Kim discovered, through a collocation analysis, that one of the most recurrent pattern was the proximity of North Korea with names of other countries or cities.

Some of these collocations were expected but others were not, like 'Iran'. The results point to the fact that all those countries which were unexpectedly present as collocates of North Korea have in common an unfavourable relation with the USA. Therefore, the type of pattern constructed revealed a tendency of putting together countries which are pro and against USA constructing similar representations of each country according to the political significance and leaning of the same. The study also highlighted that the US news media have a preference for classifying countries into certain groups related to historical or political features.

Other scholars have used CBDA to analyse other fields of discourse. Balirano and Nisco (2016) took into consideration EU legal texts to seek for discursive strategies employed by the EU to linguistically represent refugees, through a combination of keyword and collocation analysis. The corpus under scrutiny comprised two different sub-corpora, the *EU-Progr* and the *EU-Lex*. The first subcorpus includes the Tampere Programme and the Hague programme, whilst the second is a collection of 258 legal texts taken from the EU official websites. The analysis conducted on the corpus collected highlighted the frequent use of spatial deixis associated with the term 'refugee'. This collocational pattern "insinuates the idea that refugees can only be temporarily accepted within EU borders" (Balirano & Nisco 2016: 119). Another sequence emerging from the analysis of the collocational patters is a number of lexical items dealing with the financial and economic implications of the arrival of refugees in Europe, underlining a shift from the humanitarian dimension of this phenomenon.

Mulderrig (2011) employed CBDA to investigate the construction of social identity in UK education policy discourse from a diachronic point of view. In fact, the corpus collected includes texts from 1972 to 2005. Frequency lists and concordances searches were the main corpus tools used in the study, which highlighted two prominent trends in New Labour's education policy rhetoric which the author identified as 'personalisation' and 'managerialisation': the first pattern pointing towards a more inclusive identity representation for the government, whilst the second bringing evidence of a growing tendency of constructing the government's identity as a managerial identity (Mulderrig 2011: 564).

Keyword analysis was the focus of Efe and Ozer's study (2015). The two authors, considering both positive and negative keywords, analysed mission and vision statements of 171 universities in Turkey for a total of 272 texts collected in December 2013 and updated in April 2014, looking at the differences between public and private universities and the discursive practices utilised by Turkish universities to discuss education policies. The first analysis resulted in the fact that there were not many differences between the private and public universities in terms of lexical and discursive choices. The two authors then turned to frequency lists and a more in-depth analysis of the most frequent lexemes, which highlighted that universities in Turkey tend to construct their legitimacy through the use of impersonal authorisation and abstraction with an abundance of value-related terms and references to the principles of Ataturk (Efe & Ozer 2015: 1120).

Potts and Kjaer (2015) employed CBDA to analyse legal texts. More specifically the authors focused on texts, mainly Trials and Appeals Chambers, produced by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, a special tribunal established by The United Nations with the aim of prosecuting those responsible for war crimes during the war in this country. The study had two main aims, a methodological and a practical one. The authors address both the extent to which CBDA could contribute to the examination of the language of the law but also to investigate how achievements were discursively constructed and manifested in the corpus collected (Potts & Kjaer 2015: 52-78). The study made use of a variety of corpus tools and methods. In fact, through the use of SketchEngine and of Wmatrix, the authors used frequency, collocation, concordance and key semantic tag analysis. With regards to the contribution of CL to the field of language and law, the results pointed to some limitations due to the fact that sometimes details like the position of the word in legal text is fundamental. Thus, the homogenisation of the text was not always useful; moreover, the lack of knowledge regarding terminology related to this issue on the part of the court (being the first criminal court established after WWII) also emerged form the analysis. From the point of view of content, and the way achievements were discursively constructed, the analysis highlighted a tendency towards the pivotal importance of giving witnesses a voice, and a frequent recourse to the truth-telling function of the court.

Apart from the diverse contexts explored so far, CBDA was extensively adopted in studies which focus on topics related to the representation of gender and sexual identities. Additionally to the research mentioned in the previous section by Baker (2014b), this scholar carried out a number of studies based on this approach to examine different gender and sexual identities in various contexts. One among many examples is a work published in 2003 where he investigates the representation of masculinity in *Gay News* and *The Times* (Baker 2003).

Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) also used CL to investigate discourse of the media in relation to gender identities. In their work, the authors claim that pre-modification in two different British newspapers is used to create different judgemental stances that result in different representations of women. The study wants to target the choices of labels which categorise women in the British press, addressing the broadsheet vs. tabloid distinction. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon conclude that the choice of specific adjectives such as "curvy", "kinky" and "hunky", which are generally used in other contexts (curvy is frequently used in relation to cars), are employed in tabloids to sexualise women's and girls' bodies. This type of representation of women appears to be the most frequent in tabloids.

More recently Milani (2013) used CBDA to investigate *meetmarket*, a South African online website for encounters which mainly targets men seeking other men. The main aim of Milani's work is mapping the "libidinal economy" in social networks (Milani 2013: 616). From a strictly lexical perspective, among other findings, Milani concluded that the different nouns used to define the person; mainly "guy" and "man" were used in relation to racial connotations. Moreover, to answer the main research question he poses in this investigation, the author finds that the website "follow[s] a well-known hegemonic system of gender 'normality' in which masculinity is the most valuable currency and femininity is rejected as worthless and undesirable" (Milani 2013: 630).

The examples presented above are a proof of the versatility of the CBDA approach through which it is possible to analyse diverse and distinct types of texts belonging to a number of contexts. Despite the relatively new development, CBDA has been already employed in many different studies, which prove the effectiveness of the combination of CL and CDA. This approach was chosen for the study

presented here because the circular analysis, the investigation of a large data set and the critical eye in the analysis proved to be a productive approach in terms of highlighting different discourses used in the representation of transgender people. The present study focuses on news discourse as a source of data collection for the analysis of the representation of transgender identity. As Fairclough (1989: 54) points out, media discourse has a hidden power, shared by power-holders who

> exercise this power [through] systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. […] the effects of media power are cumulative, working though the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader and so forth.

This power influences and shapes our understanding of transgender identities. Thus, the following section discusses news discourse and its implications in the representation of such identities.

2.4 News Discourse and the British Press: an overview

This section gives an overview of the field of news discourse, highlighting some of the major studies conducted by scholars in this field. This aspect of the theoretical framework is fundamental in this study as the corpus under investigation is a collection of newspaper articles. This section will also try to address the strong link between language and power and how the media serves as an effective platform for this purpose. More specifically, section 2.4.1 will focus on the British press, as this is the main source for the corpus collection. In this section the different categorisation of the British press will be presented and described. Sub-section 2.4.2 briefly points out the most common features of the language of newspaper. This introduces the main component of the corpus under investigation in this study, that is newspaper articles.

As Fairclough (1995: 2) argues writing about the way that the media influences "knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations [and] social identities", the language of the media should be considered a discourse of its own, thus having its own features and functions according to the specific medium under scrutiny.

Two good reasons for studying the language of the media can be found in the fact that it is widely and easily available and that it is not subject to the "Observer's paradox"[6] since it is created with the intention of being consumed by an audience (Bell 1991). The language used in the media reveals a lot about the media's structure itself. In fact, it affects attitudes and affairs in society and creates stereotypes and biases in culture (Bell 1991: 3-5). Newspaper articles are the main objects of this investigation; therefore, it is necessary to describe the specificities of this medium.

The collective noun *media* is an umbrella term that includes every means through which data or information is communicated to an audience through language, images and sounds. Thus, the press, television, radio, cinema and the Internet are all considered media platforms. For the purposes of this study, only one branch of the media is considered: the press, both in its printed and online format.

The main function of the press is to report news. Bednarek and Caple, in their book *News Discourse* (2012), present an overview of various approaches towards the study of news discourse, including not only linguistic approaches, which are most relevant for the purpose of this study, but also from the perspective of journalism studies, communication studies and media studies, including Stuart Hall's Reception Theory (1980).

Some of the first studies on news discourse focused on the style of news language looking at the genre, the register and the style of newspapers, like the investigations conducted by Crystal and Davy (1969), Carter (1988) and Ghadessy (1988) which focused on the lexical choices in news articles, with the aim of defining the language of newspaper discourse. Through a sociolinguistic perspective, Bell (1991) and Jucker (1992) addressed the link between linguistic structures and the social context in news articles. The same approach, but with a diachronic perspective, was chosen by Conboy (2010). Other scholars chose to focus on news values, like Bednarek (2006), or Cotter (2010). These scholars chose to combine the study of evaluation with the use of Corpus Linguistics. The latter approach has increasingly become popular in the analysis of news discourse. As mentioned in

[6] The Observer's Paradox is a concept introduced by Labov in 1972. As a sociolinguist working in the USA, Labov maintains that sociolinguistics has the aim of studying the way people talk when they are not observed, to catch the true nature of interaction. The only way of doing this was by recording them, but he noticed that the moment people became aware of being recorded they would change their linguistic behavior, making the recording useless or the results of the analysis altered.

previous chapters, corpus linguistics techniques to uncover linguistic patterns across large sets of news texts have also been implemented, as demonstrated in studies by Baker (2006, 2010), Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2013), Baker and Levon (2015), Partington (2015, 2012), Venuti and Nisco (2015), and Facchinetti, Brownlees, Bös and Fries (2015). The use of Critical Discourse Analysis as a framework for the analysis of News Discourse, as done by van Dijk (1988, 1988a), Fowler (1991), Fairclough (1995), Baker (2006), has also been implemented, and combined together in different ways (e.g. Baker et al. 2013 combines corpus linguistics and CDA). This overview does not intend to be exhaustive but to highlight the most important and popular approaches used in the study of news discourse with a special focus on gender identities.

The investigation of News Discourse, through the use of different theoretical and methodological frameworks, has proved to be an effective instrument to uncover various patterns in the representation of minorities, of different social groups and ethnicities, as in van Dijk (1988a) with his analysis of racism and the press, or the study by Baker et al. (2013) on the representation of Islam and the research by Partington (2015) on the representation of the Arab world. These three studies can be considered as key examples in relation to the study presented in this work, since they have in common the press as a source of data and the aim to investigate the representation of specific identities.

The following sub-section looks with more detail to the British categorisation of the press. In fact, the British press has been labelled and categorised in many different ways according to the register used, the audience to which it is targeted and the format.

2.4.1 Categorisation of the British Press

According to Stokes and Reading (1999: 42), in 1999 the United Kingdom was publishing over a thousand different newspapers, making the newspaper market a competitive one. This can still be said to be true almost twenty years later, due to the great variety of newspaper productions available on the market. At the same time it must be noted that generally speaking newspaper purchasing is in decline, taken over

by the ever-increasing use of the online formats provided by many newspapers. Moreover, many newspapers available in the UK are local editions; and thus are not consumed by a wider audience but locally.

The publication of written news in Great Britain dates back to the 17th century, when the first pamphlets started coming out with the main function of reporting on recent events. The written press can be considered as an evolution of different forms of spoken news such as gossip, sermons, tales and ballads, used previously to communicate relevant issues (Brownlees 2016). The first newspaper in Great Britain appeared in 1702, at the time known as The *Daily Courant* (Allan 1999: 8-11). Since then, the press has seen many changes, but one feature has been present throughout the centuries: the British press has always had its own internal categorisation. From the 'broadsheet' vs. 'tabloid' classification, to the 'quality' vs. 'popular' dichotomy, moving to the 'up-', 'mid-' and 'down-market' newspaper distinction, the press has had many labels attached to it, as we will see later in this sub-section. Newspapers in the UK have also been classified according to their political sympathy (left and right leaning), based on the frequency of appearance (daily, weekly, Sunday editions) or the geographical area they covered (nationals and locals). Categorisation has "roughly corresponded both to the nature of the contents and design (including length of articles and size of headlines) and to the social distribution of their readers" (Seymour-Ure 1991: 27). It is possible to argue that reporting news is not the most important goal for newspapers. Sparks (1999: 45-6) points out that newspapers 'do not exist to report the news. […] They exist to make money.' Therefore, advertising plays a pivotal role due to its economic relevance for a newspaper's survival (Brownlees 2017). Additionally, many studies, i.e. Stokes and Reading (1999: 53), confirm that by a ratio of approximately four to one, the newspaper reading population of the UK prefers articles that are concerned with sport, celebrity scandals and popular entertainment rather than politics and economics.

Focusing on the last century, Seymour-Ure (1991: 16) points out that by 1920 local editions were still more popular than nationals, which quickly expanded and outdistanced local newspapers by the beginning of WWII. While the aim of all categories, and of newspapers in general, is more or less similar, to inform and

entertain their audience, the various newspapers assign different priorities to the two aims (Jucker 1992: 2). Generally speaking, those newspapers falling under the quality press categorisation, such as *The Guardian* or *The Daily Telegraph*, focus more on the informative function of the press; whilst newspapers categorised as belonging to the popular press, like the *Daily Mail* or *The Sun*, give much more importance to the entertainment function.

Despite the many categorisations of the British press, and the different topics addressed by each newspaper, that is the different sections and genres they cover, the main structure of a news article can be said to be similar for all newspapers.

Among the categorisation of newspapers, the 'broadsheet' vs. 'tabloid' dichotomy was inspired by the size and format of the various newspapers. Put simply, tabloids are considered those newspapers of a smaller size while broadsheets are larger (Jucker 1992: 48). This distinction generally corresponds to the difference between 'quality' and 'popular' newspapers, in the sense that the same newspapers belonging to the tabloid group also belong to the popular press. In the same way, the language used in the two categories can be described similarly. The main characteristic of tabloids is that they "employ specific rhetorical features to create a tone that appeals to a particular group of readers" as pointed out by Conboy (2006: 45). This point applies to broadsheets too. Among the characteristics proper of the genre, it is possible to highlight that tabloids usually have shorter articles, focus more on national stories, prefer to cover news stories that deal with gossip and the lives of celebrities and use, from a native speakers' perspective, a more informal style which includes puns, more simplified language and basic sentence structures.

Broadsheets have a broader area of coverage. Articles in this type of newspapers generally include news stories related to foreign politics, business and economics, as well as updates from all over the world; the style of writing is much more formal, using specialised terminology and complex sentence structure. However, it is worth noting that, nowadays, this definition no longer applies to all newspapers due to the fact that those falling under the category of broadsheets have in the last years, in many cases, changed their format to a smaller size like *The*

Independent and *The Times*[7], while some tabloids have modified the lengths of their articles and opened up to international news (Baker et al. 2013: 6-7).

In 1983, Harry Henry proposed a different classification, that of up-, mid- and down-market newspapers. This categorisation is specifically based on the socio-economic status of the readership. To make a parallelism, up-market refers to the same newspapers defined by other scholars as broadsheets or qualities, while mid- and down-markets fall into the category of tabloids or popular press, as discussed below. In fact, according to his study on the readership of the different newspapers, Henry divides newspapers according to their social class. He estimated that two thirds of the readers of down-markets belonged to the working class, half of the readership of mid-markets to the lower middle class and the skilled working class and more than half of the readership of the up-markets were members of the middle middle class and upper middle class, although, it must be pointed out that, generally speaking, today more than ever, all newspapers are read by all social classes (Jucker 1992: 48-58).

The categorisation system that was found to be more suitable for this study is the dichotomy between 'popular' and 'quality' newspapers.

As remarked by Seymour-Ure (1991: 27), "[t]he quality-popular distinction was sharply drawn by 1945", although since then the line has blurred, especially after the success of the *Daily Mirror* in 1935, which soon became the first massively distributed popular newspaper. This distinction is mainly based on the different ways adopted by the newspapers to choose which news to prioritise on the basis of the target readers, and on the linguistic style employed.

According to Jucker (1992), newspapers such as *The Times* or *The Guardian* can be defined as being part of the category of qualities being that they observe high standards of news reporting, whereas newspapers like the *Daily Mirror* or *The Sun* can be said to fall under the category of popular press as they appeal to a much wider readership.

The distinction between 'popular' and 'quality' press seems to have always existed; many scholars use these two words to define the British press. Conboy (2002) claims that the definition 'popular' for the press walks side by side with the

[7] *The Guardian* launched a Berliner size, in between a broadsheet and a tabloid, whilst *The Daily Telegraph* kept the broadsheet format.

definition of popular culture. He refers to the definition of popular given by Raymond Williams (1976), who points to the origin of the word used to indicate something "[...] 'belonging to the people' but also [*carrying*] implications of 'base or low'" (p. 5). Conboy (2007: 7) posits that the popular press is "[…] a set of discourses which establish elements of authenticity in part through its rhetoric and is thus able to establish an inclusivity based on its appeal to wide sections of ordinary people". The popular press owes its large number of followers to the fact that it was able to attract a "largely working-class readership because of its commitment to delivering a form of journalism these readers wanted to see at a price that they could afford" (Allan 1999: 13). According to Fowler (1992: 39), generally speaking, the popular press uses "colloquialisms, incomplete sentences, questions and a varied typography suggesting variations of emphasis, the written text mimics a speaking voice, as of a person talking informally but with passionate indignation", whilst the quality press has a more formal type of language.

The rhetoric of the quality press can be described as

> […] concentrating on a system rather than individuals, on an embryonic understanding of social class rather than the simple dichotomies of the virtuous and the wicked, appeared to refract much wider communities through its pages rather than simply aligning popular discontent through the prism of one outraged commentator (Conboy 2002: 71).

The eight newspapers chosen for the present investigation — *The Guardian*, the *i*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* for the quality press, and the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* for the popular press — are clear examples of the two different categories, as is demonstrated in the analysis chapters (5, 6 and 7).

The topics discussed, the length and size of articles and the readership are not the only differences between the quality and the popular press. In fact, language usage, as pointed out for all the categorisations presented above, also plays an important role, as pointed out by Jucker (1992) in his study on the stylistics of newspapers.

So far we tried to briefly outline the stylistic development and changes of the British press, however, there is one last aspect that still needs to be discussed. In

recent decades, the press, which was initially only paper printed, has faced increasing technological developments. In order to challenge ways of news reporting (e.g. social networking systems, etc.), it has used on-line formats, which are becoming more and more common among all types of newspapers.

To keep track of all newspaper publications and rates of distribution, it is safe to rely on the Audit Bureau of Circulation[8], a body that collects all information about media dissemination.

The following sub-section goes into more details on the linguistic aspect of news writing.

2.4.2 Language in the press

Scholars of News discourse and language tend to agree on the fact that "[…] news is socially constructed. What events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals the operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection" (Fowler 1991: 2). The construction of news is realised though by the use of language, which is never neutral, or a casual choice, but always a highly constructed and elaborated conveyer of significance.

Therefore, it is possible to affirm that newspapers have a language of their own, with specific rules, peculiar features and structure. As far as the structure is concerned, generally speaking, the first element of a news article is the headline, which can be defined as the title of the news article, and has the function of framing the event narrated in the article, summarising the story, and above all attracting the readers. The headline has the function of maximising newsworthiness and giving a first glance on the perspective taken on by the article, including the stance of the newspaper and its evaluation of the event reported. Headlines have specific stylistic features that are followed in order to achieve their function (van Dijk 1991; Jucker 1992; Polese 2004; Isani 2011). Headlines are, in most cases, followed by the lead paragraph. The lead is, together with the headline, called the nucleus of the news article. The lead paragraph has a similar function to the headline but, it presents information in a more expanded format and sometimes represents the beginning of

[8] http://www.abc.org.uk/.

the story narrated. The lead is followed by the body copy, also known as lead development, or body of the article (Bednarek and Caple 2012: 94-104).

Many scholars have dedicated their work to the analysis of newspapers' language in the last century. Among the milestones of the studies about the language of newspapers we can include, as mentioned before, the qualitative study by Crystal and Davy (1969), who focus on a comparison of two newspaper articles. Through the analysis of those articles they draw some conclusions that can be extended, more generally, to the style of the newspaper to which they belong. For example, they show that *The Times*, compared to the *Daily Express*, has longer and more numerous sentences per paragraph, verbs of speaking were usually moved from their original position and inverted with the subject, and a great number of adverbials appeared in emphatic clause-initial position.

Similarly, O'Donnell and Todd (1980) carry out a study comparing *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror*. Looking at headlines they note that *The Guardian* has a tendency to avoid finite verbs while the *Daily Mirror* tend to avoid verbs altogether. O'Donnell and Todd also compile a list of lexical items which were more likely to appear in the *Daily Mirror* rather than *The Guardian*.

In 1988 Carter, on news reports, and Ghadessy, looking at sports articles, focus their research mainly on lexical choices. More specifically, Carter presents a theory about the use of lexical choices related to their 'coreness'. According to Carter (1988: 9) "lexical choices are as significant as syntactic patterns and, indeed, tend to be the items which attract most attention". He, thus, identifies a pattern recurring in his data, that is the presence of a core vocabulary, more specifically "[...] elements in the lexical network of a language which are unmarked" (p. 9), that is to say those lexical items which constitute the base, the most simple and basic words used, the ones that we use the most in spoken language. His proposal can be helpful in understanding the lexical choices being made and to isolate non-neutral vocabulary that can be described as ideologically connoted.

There are three more names worth mentioning when it comes to the language of the press who contributed extensively in understanding the stylistics behind this genre. Bell (1991) focused on the notion of news story, the importance of the processes which contribute to the production of the language of the media and the

role of the target readers, in the frameworks of discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. Fowler (1991), from the perspective of critical linguistics, starts from the assumption that news making is a social practice and product of the political and social context in which it is produced and looks at news values and the processes of selection of the news, moreover he analyses news in relation to gender, power and law discussing the way they influence stereotypes offered by news. More recently, Bednarek in 2006, and again with Caple in 2012, carried out a more quantitative study using corpora. Adhering to the broadsheet vs. tabloids dichotomy they address not only a comparison of the language used in the two groups but also focus on news values and evaluation in news articles.

Turning to the language of newspapers, generally speaking, we can start from the results of the study conducted by Bednarek in 2008. She concludes that the nouns most used in the UK press refer to cities, countries and people, while personal pronouns are uncommon. She also highlights that noun phrases are commonly used to indicate time, or function to label news actors and sources. Moreover, as far as verbs are concerned, she finds that modal verbs are infrequent, and among them journalists are more likely to use *will* and *would*; finally, she finds that verbs tend to occur more in the present tense rather than the past, in order to emphasise the recency and relevance of the event in the body of the articles. Passives are generally used to obscure agency, whilst adverbials are generally used to link or to express time and space. Another feature of newspaper language is the use of figures and numbers, enabling a story to be more objective, thus newsworthy, by providing facts. As we will see later in this sub-section, newsworthiness has a pivotal role in news making. One more linguistic strategy retraceable in news articles is the use of evidentiality and intertextuality, that is to say the embedding of other linguistic materials such laws, quotes and reported speech inside the news article (Bednarek & Caple 2010: 84-94).

Newspapers are not only about the language used in the articles, but also about the content, which is also chosen according to specific criteria.

In fact, as pointed out by Fowler (1991: 13),

> the news media select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; so news is not simply that which happens, but

> that which can be regarded and presented as newsworthy. These criteria, which are probably more or less unconscious in editorial practice are "known as 'news values'.

A first categorisation of news values, reconsidered by a number of scholars, was proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1981).

News values have a different definition, aside from the one discussed above by Fowler (1991). In the same year, Bell defines news values as the criteria or rules that news workers apply to determine what is 'news'" (1991: 155), whilst Cotter (2010: 68) defines them as "the qualities/elements that are necessary to make a story newsworthy".

Bell (1991) divides news values into three categories: 1) values in the news text; 2) values in the press process; 3) values in news actors and events. In the first group he includes brevity, clarity and colour; in the second group we find continuity, competition (among news institutions and among news stories), co-option (association of one story with another one which is more newsworthy), composition (mix of different stories), predictability (scheduling of events), and prefabrication (already made input sources). The third group of news values identified by Bell is more complex and includes a larger set of values, which is a re-adaptation of the categorisation proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1981). The news values included by Bell (1991) in this last category are: - negativity, news stories concern dreadful events such as conflicts, accidents and disasters; - timelines, the event is more newsworthy if it is more recent; - proximity, this value concerns the geographical and cultural nearness of an event; - prominence/eliteness, the news stories which respond to this values are about high status individuals; - consonance, the extent to which aspects of a story fit in with stereotypes that people may hold about events and people; - impact, the effects or consequences of an event makes the story newsworthy; - novelty, unexpected news stories are more newsworthy; - superlativeness, the maximisation and intensification of an event; and – personalisation, the process of humanising and making an event more personal to increase newsworthy.

Classifications around news values tend to be similar to each other and in many cases some values overlap. What can be concluded is that the choice of topic

must take many factors into account, of which the most relevant is to what extent it will interest the readers since "[t]he aim of a news story is first of all to catch the readers' attention" (Polese 2004: 64).

In the light of this, many studies have been conducted on the language of newspaper and more specifically on the ways that language is used and what are the consequences of that precise use. Newspaper articles have been a resourceful fount for the analysis of the way topics and issues are presented and represented in society, stretching from political to more social issues.

Nisco (2016) analyses a corpus of newspaper article, with the aim of investigating the way the press constructs the riots happened in the UK in 2011, with a specific focus on the linguistic representation of the main actors involved in the riots and their agency. The corpus collected for this study includes six British national newspapers (*The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Sun*, *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*) over a time span of five months starting from August 2011, the date signalling the beginning of the riots. Nisco combined a qualitative and a quantitative analysis, following a CBDA approach. The first phase of the investigation (qualitative) serves as a way to identify the most referred actors and their linguistic construal, whilst the second phase (quantitative) allows the semantic categorisation of the lexis used to define the rioters relying on frequency information. The author, then, focuses on evaluative strategies in the texts with regard to the social actors involved. The main results of the analysis points to a common pattern which relates rioters to matters of race and ethnicity reinforcing the stereotype about people being diverse from Caucasian to be violent and deviant individuals.

Similarly, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) focus on the discursive representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the British press. The authors take a more diachronic approach, looking at data collected in the time span stretching from 1996 to 2005 for nineteen UK newspapers. The research question guiding the study related to the linguistic representation of refugees and asylum seekers (the authors use the acronym RASIM: refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants), to the identification of the most frequent topics discussed in relation to RASIM's and to determine the extent to which the tabloid vs. broadsheet dichotomy reflected in terms

of political stance when addressing the topic of RASIM. From a methodological and theoretical point of view the authors consider the notions of keyness and collocation and of semantic preference and discourse prosody. Several patterns emerge from this study. A first look at frequencies highlights that the interest in RASIM on the part of the media is characterised by a more occasional/seasonal attraction (Gabrielatos & Baker 2008: 17) due to the socio-political situation in the country. The stance taken by the newspaper in dealing with RASIM confirms previous investigations on the same topic, and the authors retrace a rather negative representation of these social actors, with continuous reference to aspects like numbers (i.e. large quantities of people invading the UK). The study also proves that the media use the terms 'refugees', 'asylum seekers', 'migrants' and 'immigrants' overlapping their meanings in the time span under investigation. Lastly, as expected, the results point to a different representation given from tabloids (*The Sun, Daily Star, People, Daily Mirror, Daily Express, Daily Mail* and their available Sunday editions) and broadsheets (*Business, The Guardian, Herald, The independent, the Daily Telegraph* and their available Sunday editions) with only one overlapping related topic.

Analysis on newspaper articles can consider numerous newspapers and a varied time span, but can also concentrate on only one newspaper as the case presented by O'Halloran (2009) who focused his attention on *The Sun* over a period of six weeks. Following the decision of 2004 of the EU to expand to more countries, including a large part of Eastern Europe, O'Halloran analysed the quasi-campaign put forward by *The Sun*, before the enacting of the law in May, against the free migration of people from Eastern Europe to the UK. The main aim of the study is to address the way that the use of specific repeated linguistic features can influence cultural reproductions. The author argues that "regular exposure to those strategies positions the readers to reproduce a set of inferences in relation to Eastern European migration in subsequent reading of related texts from the same newspaper" (O'Halloran 2009: 22). The author makes use of CBDA to address the research questions and more specifically of keyword analysis and collocational patterns.

Newspapers articles have been used not only to discuss topics linked to political related issues but also to investigate how identities are constructed in the press.

Bartley and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2015) investigate the Irish press to observe the discursive construction of homosexuality and more generally of sexual orientation by looking at transitivity patterns in the texts. The authors collected texts from three Irish newspapers from 2008 to 2012 for a total of more than 2300 articles through a search query of sexual-orientation related terms. Some of the results of this investigation point to the fact that "sexual identity still remains a problem for the individual and the society which is not ready to accept it yet" (Bartley & Hidalgo-Tenorio 2015: 24), whilst homosexuality is seen "as an unnatural choice, a disease similar to cancer, a deviation" (p. 24).

Issues related to gender, as seen in the study previously examined, have been widely investigated through the analysis of newspaper articles and corpus linguistics. In 2012 Jaworska and Krishnamurthy, for example, widened their horizons looking both at the British and at the German press for the representation of feminism in a twenty-year time span. The authors compiled two different corpora, one of articles taken from the major national British newspaper and another one of articles taken from the German newspaper available on Nexis UK through the search term *feminism* in English and *Feminismus* in German. Results highlighted, for the British corpus, three main pattern of representation, that is a strong historicalisation of the topic, the treatment of feminism as a commodity and lastly a tendency for the term to occur with others which recall a negative evaluation. In the German corpus the term *Feminismus* was often accompanied by negative attributes and when the attributes were positive they were being questioned.

Once again the extensive literature that pays attention to newspapers is a further corroboration of the strong relevance this media has in society, and how it is a never-ending source of analysis.

This chapter tried to give a general overview of the theories which are behind the study presented in chapters five, six and seven also focusing on studies that fall under this same framework conducted by other scholars. The following chapter goes into more details in the explanation of the data collection.

3 The TransCor

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces in details the data collected for the purpose of this study. Section 3.2 will critically discuss the advantages and issues of using corpora for linguistics analysis of gender representation. The corpus collected, the TransCor (named as such to represent the much longer name Transgender Corpus) is described in section 3.3 along with the steps followed during the collection, and the criteria adopted in order to choose what to include and what not, the size and how it is divided.

3.2 Using corpora to analyse gender representation: The TransCor

Corpus Linguistics, as described in chapter two, uses the term *corpus* to refer to a set of machine-readable texts collected with a specific aim in mind and being representative of a type of language (McEnery & Wilson 1996).

One important aspect of corpus building is that, whether it comprises written texts or spoken transcribed interactions, it must be representative of the sample of language collected. The question of representativeness is crucial for many scholars in Corpus Linguistics (Leech 1992; Sinclair 1996; McEnery & Wilson 1996; McEnery Xiao & Tono 2006). One of the first harsh critiques moved to corpus use in language analysis was from Chomsky (1965), and in a sense it was related to the question of representativeness. Chomsky (1965: 4) affirms that

> [a] record of natural speech will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course, and so on. The problem for the linguist, as well as for the child learning the language, is to determine from the data of performance the underlying system of rules that have been mastered by the speaker-hearer and that he puts to use in actual performance.

Thus, following this line of thinking, the use of corpus, for its nature, would produce misleading results. This criticism influenced the field of linguistic analysis for a long time, and as a consequence, for many years the use of corpora was put aside. Chomsky argued that corpora would always generate "skewed" results (McEnery &

Wilson 1996: 30) as infrequent utterances would be excluded because of their rarity, whilst other common ones still would have a chance of being omitted. This criticism must be contextualised to the time in which it was made, when computer assistance was not as developed as it is nowadays. Thus, the probability of his accusations being not entirely unacceptable is high. The issue raised by Chomsky is potentially a valid basis for discussion on representativeness. The criteria behind corpus building should always be definite and clear (McEnery & Wilson 1996). Corpora are generally large; therefore, can be considered as "representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language […], as a standard reference with which claims about language can be measured" (Baker 2006: 2). The use of corpus methodologies for language analysis has been considered more quantitative, although the numerous relatively recent approaches that combine it with discourse analysis and other approaches, have been changing this orientation towards a mixed quantitative/qualitative methodology.

The language included in corpora can be of various provenances. Corpora of written language are the ones that come to mind firstly as they are also the easiest to collect, though many corpora of spoken language are available as well. Some corpora of sign language have been built more recently, as well as corpora made of video recordings that encode paralinguistic features such as gestures and hyperlinks to video or sound (McCarthy & O'Keeffee 2010; McEnery & Hardie 2011; Ferraresi & Bernardini Forthcoming). The use of corpora makes corpus linguistics an "evidence-driven" (Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013: 5) type of analysis.

It is possible to divide existing corpora into two major categories: monitor corpora and balanced or sample corpora (McEnery & Hardie 2011). The monitor corpus approach was firstly proposed by Sinclair (1991). This type of corpora is different from the other category in two respects: their collection never ends as they continue to be updated as time goes by; and they include a variety of language materials in them. Distinctly, balanced or sampled corpora, initially conceived by Biber (1993) and Leech (2007), are specialised corpora collected in order to represent an exact type of language in a given time span. These corpora have an exact size that can vary from as small as under one hundred thousand words to billions of words. An example of sample corpora can be the Lancaster/Oslo/Bergen

(LOB) corpus (Stig, Leech & Goodluck 1978), which is a sample of written modern British English from the 1960s, or the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) (Graner, Dagneaux & Meunier 2002), which contains essays written by learners of English. One famous example of monitor corpus is The Bank of English (BoE) (Järvinen 1994), started at the University of Birmingham in the 1980s, which is divided into two major sections, one of general English and one specialised on language pedagogy. Similarly, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008-) contains texts written in American English. The corpus collected for the present study is a sample corpus.

Corpora can also be distinguished between synchronic and diachronic corpora. The former, like the LOB, are representative of a limited span of time, whilst the latter stretch on longer time spans in order to analyse language change in the passing of time (Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013).

Currently corpora, and Corpus Linguistics, are being used in a variety of fields, from lexicography to language acquisition to discourse analysis (McCarthy & O'Keeffe 2010). CL has become a useful resource in the study of gender and sexuality (Baker 2014a; Motschenbacher 2010) as it allows to shift the aims of this field of research from the details of a qualitative research on a specific community or type of language to larger and more general researches that discuss the way language is used in relation to gender identities and the expression of sexuality.

In line with all that has been said, here and in chapter two, we can conclude that "[c]orpus linguistics is a powerful methodology" (Baker & McEnery 2015: 1) for the analysis of discourse, language of the media and gender identity, therefore, it was chosen to analyse the language used to represent transgender people in the British press in a specific time span. To do so, a corpus of newspaper articles, which contained references to transgender identities, was built: the Transgender Corpus (TransCor from now). The following section explains in great details how the TransCor was designed and collected.

3.3 Corpus design and collection: The PopCor vs. the QualCor

The TransCor is a corpus of news articles collected from the British press. All the articles included in the corpus have at least one reference to transgender people. The

time span in which the corpus was collected stretches from January 2013 to December 2015. This specific time span was selected for different reasons. The starting point was dictated by the fact that a previous similar research was conducted on year 2012 (Baker 2014b). In that same year one of the events that attracted much attention on the issue of trans people took place. Chelsea Manning, a trans woman, and a former soldier of the US army, was accused of leaking sealed documents to WikiLeaks[9], and was convicted and sent to a male prison, putting under the spotlight the issue of placing transgender people in gender-appropriate prisons. For these two reasons, 2013 is the years chosen to begin the collection of the corpus. The choice of compiling the TransCor until 2015 was due to two factors as well. First, 2015 is the year in which the study was conceived, and a three years span gives us the possibility to create a corpus that could provide an idea of the semantic patterns surrounding the discourse about transgender people and retrieve any changes across the years, therefore, establishing if these discourses were stable or rapidly changing.

The newspaper articles were downloaded from the online platform LexisNexis[10], an electronic database containing legal and journalistic documents in different languages, covering many contexts, and downloadable in various formats. In order to download documents from LexisNexis, a subscription needs to be paid to the Lexis Nexis Group. In this case, the download was made possible through the Federico II University web access. To download the articles, the following seed words were used: *transgender*, *transsexual*, *transvestite*, *trans*, *trannie*, *cross-dresser*, *sex change*, *shemale*, *gender reassignment*, and *dysphoria*. This list was created ensuing various steps. As a starting point, the first step was to refer to the search terms used by Baker (2014b), who compiled a corpus on the representation of transgender people in the British press in the year 2012. The search terms used by Baker (2014b: 215) to retrieve articles from LexisNexis are the following:

> transsexual OR transgender OR trans OR transgendered OR trannie OR tranny OR mtf OR ftm OR cross-dresser OR transvestite OR intersex OR intersexed OR sex change OR shemale OR genderbender.

[9] WikiLeaks is a multi-national media organisation, founded in 2006 by Julian Assange. The aim of the organisation is to collect, analyse and divulgate censored and restricted official documents. https://wikileaks.org/What-is-Wikileaks.html. Last accessed 19 March 2017.
[10] http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/.

From this list the terms *intersex* and *intersexed* were excluded as we believe that they are not relevant to the topic, also in line with the guidelines on terminology related to trans identity used as reference for this analysis.

A pilot study on a sample corpus compiled of the first six months of 2015 was then conducted in order to test the seed words (Zottola, Forthcoming c). This pilot study highlighted that it was necessary to produce some changes in the search list. In fact, the original search included the terms: *transgendered*, *mtf*, *ftm* and *genderbender*. These terms were deleted from the seed word list due to their extremely low, at times null, frequency. Whereas, two terms that resulted to be consistently present in the articles collected for the case study were added to the final search list, namely *gender reassignment* and *dysphoria*, thus finalising the seed word list used to download the final version of the TransCor.

The download process was conducted in various steps. Following the first attempt at downloading the articles through the seed words in the newspapers chosen and the time span selected, it became clear that there were a great number of articles available. Therefore, it was impossible to download all of them in one single operation. It was only possible to search one newspaper at a time and, most importantly, not all the seed terms contemporarily. The search terms were divided into two groups and the query was repeated twice for each newspaper and each year. This process was further divided, in some cases, due to the large number of articles. For some newspapers the search could only be extended for a six months' time span at a time.

The items selected were then downloaded in large word files containing up to 50 articles each. The first articles collected were for the case study, from the year 2015, starting with *The Guardian*; the download then continued with the other years and newspapers.

Eight national British newspapers were chosen for the collection of the TransCor: *The Guardian*, the *i*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* as representative of the quality press, and the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* as representative of the popular press. These eight newspapers address the differences between the two classes of the press, as explained in sub-section 2.4.2.

The choice of these newspapers was dictated by the figures of circulation available through the Audit Bureau of Circulation referring to the year 2013. Table 3.1 below shows the average circulation of each newspaper in the month of January of each year, which can be considered representative of the situation of the whole year.

Having decided to choose eight newspapers, four representative of the quality press and four of the popular press, a further criterion observed when choosing the newspapers was the political preference expressed by the newspaper. In fact, it was challenging to find a balance of 50% conservative and 50% liberal but we tried to be as close as possible by choosing five more conservative (*The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times,* the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun)* and three more liberal newspapers (*The Guardian*, the *I* and the *Daily Mirror)*. When available, Sunday editions were included as well.

The last criterion considered was that the newspapers had to be national editions. For these reasons, some newspapers were excluded from the list below. The *Evening Standard*, which according to the figures results to be the fourth most circulated newspaper, was excluded due to the fact that it is distributed only in London; moreover, being a free newspaper, its distribution figures could be unrealistic. The second newspaper excluded from the ones used in the research is the *Daily Star*, which according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation is the sixth most distributed newspaper in the UK. The reason for the exclusion is that LexisNexis only provided its Sunday edition to download. The *Financial Times* was excluded as well, as unlike the other newspapers it only reports on financial and business news, while the *Daily Record* was excluded as it is only distributed in Scotland. Generally speaking, the circulation figures do not change drastically across the three years, making the data collecting criteria consistent throughout the research's time span. The newspapers chosen for the TransCor are highlighted in bold in Table 3.1:

Name of Newspaper	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
The Sun	2,409,811	2,213,659	1,978,702
Daily Mail	1,863,151	1,780,565	1,688,727
Daily Mirror	1,058,488	992,256	922,235
Evening Standard	695,645	805,309	877,532
Daily Telegraph	555,817	544,546	494,675
Daily Star	535,957	489,067	425,246
Daily Express	529,648	500,473	457,914
The Times	399,339	384,304	396,621
i	293,946	298,266	280,351
Financial Times	275,375	234,193	219,444
Daily Record	251,535	227,639	203,725
The Guardian	204,440	207,958	185,429

Table 3.1 Newspapers' circulation rates.

The corpus collected comprises 3,138 articles, for a total of 2,201,225 million tokens. The articles are divided as follows: 885 articles in 2013, 901 in 2014, and 1,352 articles in 2015, as shown in more detail in Table 3.2 below:

	2013	**2014**	**2015**	**Total**
The Guardian	245	199	526	970
i	60	85	139	284
The Telegraph	103	80	125	308
The Times	119	113	129	361
Quality press Total	527	477	919	1,923
The Express	42	42	43	127
Daily Mail	85	93	139	317
Daily Mirror	79	124	105	308

The Sun	152	165	146	463
Popular Press Total	358	424	433	1,215
Total	885	901	1,352	3,138

Table 3.2 Distribution of articles across newspaper and years.

For the purpose of the analysis, the TransCor was divided into two sub-corpora: the PopCor (the name is an abbreviation of Popular Corpus; this sub-corpus is made of all articles belonging to the popular press) and the QualCor (the name is an abbreviation of Quality Corpus; this sub-corpus is made of all articles belonging to the quality press). The two sub-corpora are respectively made of 1,923 articles (1,488,352 word tokens) and 1,215 articles (712,873 word tokens). The following table illustrates in more detail the distribution of articles in the two sub-corpora:

	2013		**2014**		**2014**	
	Number of articles	**Word Tokens**	**Number of articles**	**Word Tokens**	**Number of articles**	**Word Tokens**
QualCor	527	383,846	477	360,750	919	743,756
PopCor	358	197,387	424	252,943	433	262,543
Total	885	581,233	901	613,693	1,352	1,006,299

Table 3.3 Distribution of articles and word tokens across sub-corpora and years.

Once all the articles had been downloaded, the process of cleaning and preparing the data in order to carry out the analysis with corpus linguistics tools was initiated.

We started by manually checking the relevance of each article with the topic under investigation by opening each file in order to remove those that were not pertinent. This resulted in the removal of several articles. For example, we discovered that one of the journalists who works for *The Guardian* is named Mark Tran. His articles mostly deal with foreign politics and economics, but his last name is similar to one of the search terms. Therefore, all of his articles included in the corpus had to be deleted. A similar problem emerged with words like "trans-pennine", "trans-atlantic" and any other word starting with the term "trans" which did not refer to transgender people. LexisNexis gives the user the possibility to

exclude some words. Thus, when recurrent ones were identified, like the examples above, the parameter of exclusion was activated in the search. Although these types of modifications were included, each article had to be manually checked before it was included into the corpus, not being able to predict every term which would result in unwanted articles.

Another issue concerned the selection of articles. As well as regular news stories, the search initially resulted in editorials, opinion columns, sports news, Sunday editions, economic news, and weekly schedules being found. We decided to keep all of the different genres of articles except for the weekly television, radio and theatre schedules. From the point of view of content these articles were merely a list of television programmes, films and other audio visual products; therefore, no information about the representation of transgender identity could be retrieved through these articles, and they would only add unnecessary word tokens to the corpus. The other genres of news articles were included because we believe that each article, despite the topic it discusses, in the way it does it, adheres to the point of view of the newspaper and therefore contributes to the externalisation of the newspaper's stance on specific issues. More than any other type of articles, opinion columns are relatively common in newspaper, and are the most explicit sources of stance in a newspaper. Opinion columns draw the line between what a newspaper is or is not allowed to say and to what extent it relates to the press guidelines when it comes to specific topics (Baker, McEnery & Gabrielatos 2013). Thus, it is fundamental to include opinion columns when the aim of the analysis is to uncover hidden or overt ideologies and stances a specific newspaper is looking to put forward, as we will see in the analysis chapters.

The last choice to consider was regarding the type of edition. Some of the newspapers had different editions for the same article, e.g. an Irish edition, Northern Ireland edition, Scottish edition or National edition. Keeping all of these editions would result in four or five versions of the same article and skew the analysis, which is based initially on frequency of terms. The Irish editions were all excluded, since the aim of the research was to focus on British news. The National editions were kept when available; in other cases we would consider first the Scottish edition and last the Northern Ireland; this edition was considered only when there was no other

edition available. For some articles, there was also a choice between a first and a second edition. Only the first edition was kept, unless only the second edition was available. LexisNexis included in the download both printed and on-line versions, both were included. For those articles which appeared in both editions, the print version was preferred to the on-line one, as it is considered to be a more stable version, not subjected to change.

From the first word file, each article that was chosen to be part of the corpus was then pasted and copied in a .txt file. This process was repeated for each article. All articles were divided by month, year and newspaper in different folders.

At this point, we found it more convenient to group all the articles together, since it would be easier to upload one big file in the analysis software rather than many small files. A free automator[11] was used for this process, that automatically grouped all the .txt files into one. The output of the automator was an .rtf file. This file was later saved as .txt in order for it to be compatible with the corpus software used. The software used for the analysis is AntConc (Anthony 2014), further discussed in sub-section 4.2.1.

The following chapter looks into more detail at the methodology and theories that guided the analysis with a focus on the corpus tools used to analyse the data and on AntConc, as well as on other theoretical standpoints used for the investigation presented in chapters five, six and seven.

[11] The automator is available feely at http://blog.thelettercase.com/automator-combine-multiple-text-files-into-one, courtesy of Benjamin Welch.

4 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses with more detail on the methodology used in this research. It is divided into four further sections. Section 4.2 goes back to Corpus Linguistics (CL). While Chapter two tackles the history and the theoretical aspects behind this framework, this section describes in greater detail the main tools of CL that were used in this study. It also includes details on the software used for the analysis (sub-section 4.2.1). Section 4.3 focuses on semantic prosody as one of the main analytical frameworks used in this study and discusses the way semantic prosody was used to evaluate the topic under investigation. Section 4.4 discusses the taxonomy proposed by van Leeuwen (1996) on social actors representation, which served to investigate transgender people as agents/patients in the corpus. Finally, section 4.5 clarifies the concept of identity as it was considered in this study.

4.2 Frequency lists, concordances, collocations and keywords

The tools offered by Corpus Linguistic resulted to be effective in this study. This section describes, step by step, the procedures adopted in order to analyse the TransCor.

The first step in the analysis of the corpus was to look at the frequencies of occurrence of the seed words used to retrieve the articles from LexisNexis, and in some cases also at their morphological variations. Some of the terms were searched by adding an * which is a function used in corpus analysis defined as *wild card*. The software used in this study employs the asterisk in order to apply the wild card function. The use of this function can be seen as an alternative searching for different word-forms of the same term. Tribble (2010: 173) defines it as "a symbol which can be used to stand for one or many alpha-numeric characters". This type of search, while useful for making the search faster, may present some issues, as it may include in the results unwanted terms, according to the search parameters of the software used. The *wild card* function is most likely to be used in concordance searches, as it is discussed more extensively later in this section. The terms searched for in the

TranCor are 1) *transgender** (when this lemma[12] is used it also includes the following forms *transgenders*, *transgendered*, *transgenderism*); 2) *transsexual** (including also *transsexuals*); 3) *transvestite** (including its plural form *transvestites*); 4) *trans*; 5) *trann** (including *trannie, trannies* and *tranny*); 6) *cross-dresser**, (including also *cross dresser*, *cross-dressers*, *cross dressers* and *cross-dressing*); 7) *sex change** (and its hyphenated form *sex-change*); 8) *shemale*; 9) *gender reassignment*; and 10) *dysphoria*.

The first tool used to analyse these terms is the frequency list tool. A frequency list is basically the list of all the words occurring in the corpus under investigation displayed in an orderly fashion either according to their frequency (most occurring to least occurring or *vice versa*) or in an alphabetical order. Occurrences can be displayed as raw (i.e. plain number of occurrences) or as a percentage in comparison with the whole corpus (Baker 2014a: 12). Frequency can also be visualised in their normalised (or relative) score, that is to say, by calculating their presence in the corpus by million words (usually the preferred parameter, but lower parameters can be used as well, namely 10000, depending on the size of the original corpus). This type of visualisation is useful when comparing results from corpora that are not similar in size (McEnery & Hardie 2011: 49-50). The analysis of the frequencies of the terms considered key in this corpus makes it possible to have a clear view of the presence and distribution of these terms throughout the data collected, and highlights which newspapers were talking about transgender people in the time span considered, how frequently and which terms each newspaper prefers. These terms are the seed words from which the corpus was generated due to their relevance to the topic under investigation. Frequency must always be considered in relation to the corpus it belongs to and not in "an absolute sense" (McEnery & Hardie 2011: 48). This overlook at the corpus was a first attempt at giving some context for the answering of the first research question guiding this research, on how transgender people are represented in the British press, bearing in mind the dichotomy between popular and quality press. Although at this stage the search was conducted on the whole TransCor, the distribution across the two sub-corpora is also considered. As Gries (2008) points out, "[t]he most frequently used statistics in corpus linguistics is

[12] A lemma is a word at its most basic form, as it may be found on a dictionary (Tribble 2010: 172-3).

the frequency of occurrence of some linguistic variable" (Gries 2008: 403). He continues that this approach can, at times, be misleading (Gries 2008: 404), in line with other scholars who define frequency searches as a potential reductive method of analysis (Baker 2006; Taylor 2013). Therefore, "[t]he significance of word frequency also demands qualitative interpretation depending on context" (Kirk 2009: 33). For this reason, the terms identified as the most frequent in the TransCor, according to the criteria considered, were then investigated through a concordance analysis.

Concordance analysis plays a key role in addressing the second research question that guides this study, unveiling the context in which these terms are inserted, and thus the type of linguistic patterns which accompany these words.

A concordance analysis is carried out through the creation of a concordance list, we can define it as "[…] a list of all the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context they occur in" (Baker 2006: 71). This type of visualisation of the term investigated allows for an in-depth analysis of the context in which the term is presented. Concordances are also referred to as KWIC (Key Words in Context) (Tribble 2010). In fact, that is exactly what a concordance list does, that is, it visualises the given terms searched for in its context. Concordances can be visualised according to different settings, in the order they occur in the corpus or sorted. The software used for the analysis allows the researcher to sort the concordances alphabetically, or by highlighting the words that occur on the left or the right of the terms searched for. The researchers can indicate their own preference for the visualisation. If the corpus is tagged[13], the concordances can also be sorted by text or tag. Another useful technique, of the outmost importance in this study, is the use of sampling. When the concordance lists generates hundreds of concordance lines, it is possible, but extremely time-consuming, to analyse each and every one of them. An alternative for this is to make a randomised selection of the results, and use that selection as a sample valid for the whole corpus. Some software have this function integrated, and the researcher can select to randomise by a specific number, for example you can choose to see 100 concordance lines every 500 (Tribble 2010; McEnery & Hardie 2011). The software used for this study did not allow for this

[13] A tagged corpus is a corpus that has been annotated while compiling. The most common form of tagging is by part-of-speech (POS). POS tagging a corpus means labeling each word with its grammatical category (Reppen 2010: 35).

function to be used, therefore, the random sample was picked manually. Finally, concordances can also be investigated through the use of restricted search. In this case the researcher can narrow down the search to a very specific realisation of the term. In this case a tagged corpus would be the best choice, as it allows searching the corpus according to the specific part of speech the analyst is looking for. When the tagged corpus is not available, the researchers can generate simple algorithms that might help to solve this problem and conduct a restricted search, despite the corpus in not tagged (Tribble 2010). With regard to the present study, the TransCor was investigated untagged and the random sample search was employed.

The results that emerged from the frequencies and the concordances analysis in the TransCor are illustrated in Chapter five. This chapter (section 5.4) also presents results from a keyword analysis. A keyword list is a list of words generated by the software used which lists the words that are occurring more frequently in the corpus under scrutiny when compared to another corpus. In order to generate a keyword list, the main corpus must be compared to a reference corpus. The software will then generate a frequency list from the main corpus, one from the reference corpus, compare the results and highlight those words which, in comparison to the reference corpus, seem to be more frequent. This practice eliminates from the analysis all those words that generally carry no semantic meaning, like function words. In a written corpus, the determiner *the* is usually one of the most frequent terms, and thus it will be unlikely to find it in a keyword list. This technique is useful to highlight those terms that are most relevant in a corpus, and that could unveil a linguistics pattern (Scott 2010). As Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 7) point out, "[k]eyword analyses can reveal statistically more frequent terms in different newspaper types, individual newspapers, or text types and genres within or across newspapers". Keyword lists mainly focus on lexical differences (Baker 2004); therefore, it is crucial to choose as a reference corpus the one that most suits the research being conducted. Scott (2006) suggests that there are no bad or good reference corpora, rather the reference corpus must be chosen wisely and considering what it will be compared to. Keyword lists are generated through a statistical measure; Log Likelihood[14] is one of the most common (Scott 2010), the other type of statistical measure used to calculate

[14] For more details see Dunning 1993.

keywords is chi-squared[15] tests (Baker, Hardie, McEnery 2006). Both measures compare "the observed and expected values for two datasets" (Baker, Hardie, McEnery 2006: 109), chi-square test is considered to be unreliable when it comes to low frequencies, in these cases log likelihood is preferred. For the purpose of this study, the statistical measure pre-determined by the software used in the analysis was kept, namely log likelihood. In the analysis of keywords the first fifty in the list were considered. This choice was necessary, as we explained earlier, since the keywords were then looked through concordance lines, a time consuming, though inevitable, practice.

The corpus used as a reference for the TransCor is the BE06, which stands for British English 2006 (Baker 2009). This is a one million words corpus of general written English. The corpus was collected between 2003 and 2008, although 82% of it is made from texts collected between 2005 and 2007, being its median sampling point 2006, the name BE06 was assigned to the corpus. This is made up of 500 files of 2000 words each collected from 15 different writing genres, using the same sampling frame as the LOB corpus (Baker 2009). In the light of this metadata information, this corpus seemed to be eligible to be used as a reference corpus as both corpora are written, are in the English language, were collected in a similar time span, if we consider the core of the BE06, and were both collected within a decade.

Chapters six and seven present the results emerging from a collocation analysis. Although corpus linguistics methodologies offer also other tools for the investigation of corpora, collocation will be the last discussed here, as this study makes use only of the above-mentioned four tools.

McEnery and Hardie (2011: 122-123) maintain that the concept of collocation stems from the hypothesis that:

> […] important aspects of the meaning of a word (or another linguistic unit) are not contained within the word itself, considered in isolation, but rather subsist in the characteristic associations that the word participates in, alongside other words or structure with which it frequently co-occurs […].

Firstly introduced by Firth (1957), collocations can be defined as those words that regularly co-occur with other words, in a way that it is statistically relevant, and are

[15] For more details see Oakes 1998.

calculated according to specific statistical measures, such as MI (mutual information), T-score, Log-Likelihood and LogDice. Each type of test will give different results as it favours different types of connections between words in the calculation (Partington 1998; Baker 2006; McEnery, Xiao & Tono 2006; Jaworska 2017). For the purpose of this study, the first 50 (in line with the choice made for keywords) collocates generated for each term investigated were considered, and the statistical measure used is MI with a threshold of 6 and a word span of +/- 5. MI calculates collocations based on the relative frequency and the overall size of the corpus (Baker 2006: 101), whereas the threshold indicates the minimum times of occurrences that a term displays to be considered in the statistical calculation. Although Hunston (2002) suggests that a threshold of three is ideal in calculating collocates, in this case, probably due to the size of the corpus under investigation, it was necessary to raise the threshold in order make the collocates even more relevant (Durrant & Doherty 2010; Baker 2014a). The word span was pre-determined by the software used and was left unchanged. The collocation analysis was limited to the three terms which resulted as the most frequent among the list presented earlier in this section, namely *transgender**, *transsexual** and *trans*. In accordance with the interest expressed in RQ one – to address the different representations given by the quality and the popular press – and opposite to the choice of analysing each newspaper on its own, in this case the analysis considered the sub-corpus QualCor first and then the sub-corpus PopCor. This resulted in two different lists of collocates for each term, through which it was possible to highlight the main topics surrounding the terms under investigation. In the list only the first fifty terms were considered for the analysis, except for the term *trans* in the PopCor which did not produce fifty collocates but only twenty-nine.

Pinpointing the major topics emerging from the two sub-corpora allows having a better view of the representations of transgender people in different types of newspapers. A deeper investigation of the topics, through a qualitative analysis of concordance lines, and more generally the text itself, led to the identification of discourses about transgender people that news producers are trying to convey or undermine. By carrying out a close reading of concordance lines, we are able to gain a clear impression regarding the functional use of each collocational pair, in

whatever context and type of evaluation it emerges.

This section tried to explain in more details the tools used for the investigation of the TransCor. The following sub-section illustrates the software chosen for this analysis AntConc (Anthony 2014).

4.2.1 Using AntConc

Numerous corpus analysis tools are available to carry our quantitative analyses; therefore, it was necessary to choose one that was best suited to answer the research questions that had been posed for the project. Among the ones that could be considered are WordSmith Tools (Scott 2014), Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004, 2014), LancsBox (Brezina et al. 2015) and AntConc (Anthony 2014). The first one was immediately excluded due to the fact that it does not have a Mac version; therefore, it resulted to be incompatible with the main computer used for this research. The final choice landed on AntConc since it had been used already for the pilot study that preceded this research, and thus more familiar in comparison to the other two software programmes. Moreover, it was also free compared to Sketch Engine, which requires the payment of a yearly fee in order to have access to it. The AntConc version used for the analysis is 3.4.4m[16].

AntConc allows the user to search the corpus through the use of seven tools. Firstly, through the File View tool, the user can view the contents of one or more files, in order to investigate the data in more detail. The Word List tool counts the tokens in the corpus and displays them in a list sorted alphabetically, by frequency or by word end, according to the user's preference. The Concordance Tool creates concordance lists that can also be viewed according to the tokens' position in the text through the use of the Concordance Plot Tool. The Cluster/N-Grams Tool shows a summary of the results generated by the concordance tool, looking for clusters of one or more words that occur together. In addition to these tools, collocation analysis is possible through the Collocates Tool. AntConc also gives the possibility to generate keywords lists through the Keyword List Tool by uploading a reference corpus. Once uploaded both the corpus to analyse and the reference corpus chosen, by clicking on

[16] AntConc and other corpus tools developed by Lawrence Anthony and in collaboration with other scholars can be retrieved at the following website: http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html.

the different icons that indicate the various functions, the software produces the output in a window, and the results can be saved on a .txt file.

This sub-section presented the software used for the analysis of the data collected for this research and concludes the discussion on CL. The following sections focuses on the other methodological tools employed for the analysis, starting with semantic prosody.

4.3 Semantic prosody

As we have highlighted in Chapter two, discourses are always set in a context which influences our understanding of the specific topic discussed, thence lexical items are accompanied by patterns of meaning that influence our understanding of the issue. In other terms, one word repeatedly accompanied by others that carry a specific connotation will be included in that semantic domain of signification. This linguistic behaviour is defined 'semantic prosody' (Firth 1957; Sinclair 1987; Louw 1993; Stubbs 1995; Partington 1998; Hunston 2007).

We could identify the beginning of the different theories on semantic prosody in 1957 when John Firth writes probably his most famous quotation: "[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps" (Firth 1957: 11). The definition of semantic prosody as unitary and agreed upon is still under discussion in the linguistic community. We will see here what are the main ideas about it, and which approach fits the purpose of this study.

Firth initially used the term to refer to the phonological behaviour of specific sounds, which assimilate with others when put in a specific position. Later, he suggested that lexical items could share the same type of pattern, in the sense that the words could assimilate the same semantic meaning of the other lexical items they were surrounded by.

One of the first scholars to pick up on this theory was John Sinclair (1987). He noticed that this type of pattern mainly manifested in the collocational behaviour of lexical items. As was underlined in the previous section, a term can be said to have a collocational relationship with another when they co-occur together a number of times that can be considered statistically relevant in their context. Sinclair's point

of view implies that this co-occurrence is not casual. Functionality is one of the most important features of communication, which includes, apart from grammatical choices necessary for the structure of the sentence, lexical choices as well. These lexical choices rely on a sort of preference relevant to the aim of the communication. Thus, the semantic prosody carried by the words is fundamental to express the speaker/writer's attitude and evaluation of the sentence produced (Sinclair 1996). Sinclair was not the one to coin the phrase semantic prosody but he did describe this phenomenon as the tendency of many phrases and words to evolve "in a certain semantic environment" (Sinclair 1991: 112). In later works he also adopts this terminology, although one of the peculiarity of the Sinclarian semantic prosody is a non-classification between positive or negative nor good and bad prosody. Sinclair does not regard semantic prosody as gradable, as it is hard to categorise the various units of meaning that semantic prosody involves. Sinclair also identifies a difference between semantic preference and semantic prosody, the first strictly related to the collocational pattern, while the latter going beyond the collocation to the intrinsic meaning of the term. Other scholars will elaborate further on this concept.

The first to coin the phrase 'semantic prosody', later used by many others, was Bill Louw (1993). Semantic prosody is defined by Louw (1993: 157) as "a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates". Louw suggests that we have been using semantic prosodies for centuries but our perception and intuition had no access to it, until now (p. 173). Additionally, he suggests that semantic prosodies can be defined as positive or negative, or 'bad' and 'good' (p. 170) in the way they influence our understanding of communication, although we are much more likely to use bad prosodies rather than good ones.

Michael Stubbs (1995) proposes an alternative definition to this behaviour of lexical items. He claims that there is a difference that must be underlined between semantic preference and discourse prosody, which he defines as the relation between a "lemma or word-form" and a set of "semantically related" terms (Stubbs 2001: 65). Stubbs (1995) identifies three types of discourse prosodies, strictly related to the collocational pattern, positive and negative, similarly to Sinclair and others, but also a neutral type of preference, mainly sentences with an informative function. In drawing a distinction between discourse prosody and semantic preference, Stubbs

defines the latter as a set of lexical items which frequently occur together and have some semantic features in common (Stubbs 2002). To put it simply, the first definition points to an evaluation of the context of use, while the second focuses on similarities in the use of lexical items.

Another perspective on semantic prosody is given by Alan Partington (1998: 68) who maintains that "[it] refers to the spreading of connotational colouring beyond single words boundaries". For example, the term 'water' can be thought about in a 'favourable' (Partington 1998: 66) way if we find it together with 'sun', 'beach' and 'sea' or in an 'unfavourable' (Partington 1998: 66) way if it associated to 'drowning', 'hurricane' and 'death'. In this perspective, semantic prosody works on a binary distinction between good and bad. According to Partington (2004: 132), semantic prosody is the evaluative meaning carried by a unit of language, that goes beyond what is "visible by the naked eye". Semantic prosody is the way in which we express our evaluation of things.

Susan Hunston (2007) also uses the phrase 'semantic prosody' and suggests that this approach comes "from corpus linguistics, and in particular from the 'phraseological' tradition that focuses on the typical behaviour of individual lexical items" (Hunston 2007: 249). She points out that the immediate context of a lexical item is contingent to the type of semantic prosody it carries, and is not strictly related to the lemma, bringing forward the example of *persistent*. In fact, while the semantic prosody of this term in its adjectival function seems rather negative, this same pattern is not present when the term is used predicatively. Moreover, she adds that the concept of a word having a positive or negative prosody has to be inevitably linked to the point of view; therefore, it is unlikely that a term objectively has a positive or negative semantic prosody of its own (Hunston 2007: 254-7).

At this point, it seems necessary to elaborate further about the dichotomy between semantic preference and semantic prosody, which so far has been described just as a different labelling of the same phenomenon. Bednarek (2008) argues that the difference does not only lie in the nomenclature but also in the meaning. She identifies semantic preference as the collocational patterning, the co-occurrence of a term with others belonging to a same semantic category that influences the meaning of the term itself but does not define the term *per sé*. Semantic preference can be

classified as positive or negative (or neutral) according to the context in which it is set. On the contrary, semantic prosody is defined as the meaning that a lexical item has acquired as a consequence of the semantic preference. In this case, the term maintains the positive or negative connotation, as if the meaning now directly implied this evaluation. She argues that a term could have a negative semantic preference but a positive semantic prosody, in line with Partington (2004) who proves this with his research on the term *brook*, and with Sinclair (1991) who suggested this dichotomy earlier as well. Bednarek (2008: 133) finally suggests that semantic preference should be used to refer to a particular positive or negative 'collocation' and semantic prosody to identify particular positive or negative 'connotation'. That is to say that while the semantic preference is strictly related to the context in which the collocation pair is found, the semantic prosody goes beyond the context and refers to a meaning and evaluation that the term has now acquired.

Relatively to this point of view, Partington (2004) had already suggested that semantic prosody becomes inevitably related to the community of speech in which that co-occurrence of lexical items is used.

Against this backdrop, this study seeks to analyse the semantic prosody carried by the terms under investigation, and the semantic preference that these terms have in the two different sub-corpora, as a way to identify the impact on the perception of the representation of transgender identities offered by the press through the use of specific linguistic strategies and patterns.

As a way to apply this approach, and discuss the intrinsic positive or negative meaning that some terms may carry, Xiao and McEnery (2006) investigate English in comparison to Chinese words, which are considered near synonyms, focussing on the collocation analysis and the semantic prosody that the terms carry. The authors intend as near synonyms "lexical pairs that have very similar cognitive or denotational meaning, but which may differ in collocational or prosodic behaviour" (Xiao & McEnery 2006: 108). They conclude that semantic prosody is observably a cross-cultural phenomenon both in Chinese and in English, although the semantic prosody of near synonyms is different and cannot be interchanged in either language. Furthermore, while the two languages are completely different, the semantic prosody of the near synonyms revealed to be similar.

A similar cross-cultural study was conducted by Sardinha (2000) on the sematic prosody of words in English and in Portuguese. In this case, the results differ from the previous case study presented. Sardinha finds that semantic prosody varies in English and Portuguese. Through the study of semantic prosody associated to specific terms, Sardinha was also able to point out that frequently contemporary dictionaries result inadequate for the study of languages.

A further study, which aims at demonstrating that the semantic prosody of a term is not monolithically positive or negative, is the one conducted by Louw and Chateau (2010). They analyse semantic prosody in specialised corpora and conclude that the semantic prosody in those texts is influenced by an impersonal scientific context.

Finally, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) explore through the use of semantic prosody the attitudes and evaluations that newspapers have towards RASIM (Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants and Migrants), similarly to the scope of the present research where the representation of identity is at stake.

As it has been pointed out in this sub-section, the definition of semantic prosody is not always as straightforward as it seems. For the purpose of this analysis, semantic prosody will be considered in the way conceived by Partington (2004). The terms under investigation will be analysed in relation to the ones with which they constantly co-occur. The context will then be analysed in order to establish if the lexical choices mirror a specific ideology and if the meaning and relevance that they carry are represented as positive or negative, thus how the newspaper is evaluating the topic bearing in mind that

> [e]valuation is the engine of persuasion. Speakers employ it to convince an audience of what should be seen as right and proper and what not and that therefore the audience should conduct itself in a manner appropriate to the goal of achieving the former and eschewing the latter. Thus, as well reflect, it can impose, overtly or covertly, a value system (Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013).

Prosody will be considered as a way to communicate evaluation on the part of the newspapers and will be tackled as "the 'invisible' non-obvious cohesive glue" (Partington 2017: 202) that holds the texts together and expresses evaluation. In this study, semantic prosody is employed from a discourse analysis perspective and terms

will be considered both from a textual and a statistical perspective (Morley & Partington 2009). In the first case, lexical items will be looked at as the textual phenomenon that carries the evaluative intent of the speaker/writer. In the latter perspective, the terms will be analysed in terms of their relevance in the corpus.

The following section addresses another methodological framework considered in the analysis of the TransCor: social actors representation.

4.4 The construction of Social actors

In each type of communication that involves a verbal process there is always an agent and a patient, one who performs an action and one who receives this action. These can be defined as social actors. Social actors can be interpreted here as either individuals or collectives (e.g. political parties, communities of practice, social movements, minority groups) who exercise agency as opposed to constraining social structures that determine and bind individual or collective identity. In discourse analysis agency is fundamental as it sets the action in a context, which in return determines the nature of the agent and of the patient. From a linguistic point of view, this can be realised through a variety of grammatical items (van Leeuwen 1996).

In the framework of CDA, Theo van Leeuwen (1996: 32) proposed a taxonomy for the representation of social actors, in his words a "*sociosemantic* inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented" (emphasis in the original), both linguistically and semantically. Each categorisation he presents is linked to a specific linguistic and rhetorical construction. This approach was chosen to be applied to this study, as the way social actors are represented customarily mirrors the social practices diffused in society.

Among categories of representation, van Leeuwen identifies two major ones: Exclusion and Inclusion. In line with this, a newspaper can take a stance about a social actor by talking about the social actor, and by doing so in a specific way or by not talking about them at all. Inclusion and Exclusion strategies can be considered as a means through which stances are legitimised or delegitimised. For example, while retrieving the articles included in the corpus investigated in this study, it was necessary to include the term *sex change* among the seed words employed for the selection. Some articles, in fact, despite talking about transition and transgender

people, never used the term *transgender* but only refered to it in terms of the pragmatic act of gender reassignment. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter five, this choice entails a strong stance on the part of the newspapers.

The aim of this section is to illustrate this taxonomy. To do so we will firstly discuss practices of Inclusion, which van Leeuwen (1996) thoroughly categorises in forty-six different categories, and then we will discuss practices of Exclusion, which instead are only sub-divided into two different categories.

When it comes to Inclusion strategies, the first distinction concerns the way language is used to identify and define the actor or agent in the text in relation to the goal or patient. This is defined though Activation or Passivation. The former represents social actors as active participants or better, as the promoters of an action; in the latter case, the agent is represented as receiving or undergoing an action. Passivation is further divided into Subjection and Beneficialisation. The Subjected social actor is represented as an object. Subjection can be realised through three different practices: 1) Participation, if the social actor "is [g]oal in a material process, [p]henomenon in a mental process, or [c]arrier in an effective attributive process" (van Leeuwen 1996: 45); 2) Circumstantialisation, when the social actor is represented through a prepositional phrase; or 3) Possessivation when a prepositional phrase is modifying a nominalisation. The Beneficialised social actor is represented as a third party which gains something from the action, whether it is in a positive or in a negative way.

So far we have presented a first set of strategies that are in a way connected to each other in the representation of social actors from the perspective of inclusivity. Now we will discuss another group of strategies for the Inclusion of social actors in a text. This set of strategies stems from the distinction between Personalisation and Impersonalisation. Personalisation strategies are the most detailed one. These are divided into two macro areas: Determination and Indetermination. In the first case, the identity of the social actor is in some way specified, whilst in the latter case social actors are represented as 'anonymous' individuals or groups, that is to say in an unspecified way (van Leeuwen 1996: 51). Determination is divided into four major groups of strategies. The first group is formed by a binary distinction between Association and Dissociation. van Leeuwen identifies Association as way to refer to

social actor(s) by never labelling them as one specific group but rather constructing that identity by opposing it to a specific activity that brings the various components of that group together whereas Dissociation is exactly the opposite practice. The practice of Association is strongly present in the TransCor, as we will see in Chapter six.

The second group belonging to Determination practices is divided into Differentiation and Indifferentiation. The first one operates by specifically differentiating the social actor from the group or from similar social actors, mainly expressed through the "us vs. them" dichotomy or through practices of otherness; Indifferentiation, instead, works in the opposite way.

The third group of the Determination strategies is divided into Categorisation and Nomination. This group of strategies looks at social actors considering in the first case the actor's unique identity; whilst in the second case, the representations focuses on the characteristics that each actor shares with others. Nomination can be realised typically though the use of proper names, which can be formal (surname only), in this case the strategy is known as Formalisation, semi-formal (name and surname), a strategy known as Semi-formalisation, or informal (only name), in which case it is referred to as Informalisation. When other titles are used rather than proper names, the strategy is identified as Titulation, realised either through Honorification, when honorifics are used, or through Affiliation, when the social actor is represented in term of a personal or kinship relation. Nomination can also be realised through Detitulation, when the title, in whatever definition we consider it, is absent. This group of strategies lies on a thin line determining the main distinction between Nomination and Categorisation, since by mentioning the title we are also making a reference to the function that the social actor has, therefore we are categorising them.

Categorisation is further divided into: Functionalisation, Appraisement and Identification. Functionalised social actors are represented in terms of an activity or a function they have, basically in terms of what they do. Appraisement is realised when social actors are represented through a term which evaluates them. Identification, differently from Functionalisation, defines social actors in terms of what they are instead of what they do. van Leeuwen proposes three types of Identification: Classification, Relational Identification and Physical Identification.

The first category mirrors the major social classes through which society is classified, namely age, gender, race, and education. Classification, in fact, is hard to define, as it is strictly related to the society one lives in when using this strategy, and refers to the class the social actors belong to, whether it is related to gender, race or education. Relational Identification represents the social actors in terms of the relationship they have with a specific other and is typically possesivised, which differentiates it from Affiliation. Physical Identification represents the social actors in terms of the physical characteristics that makes them unique. We will see in the chapters that discuss the analysis of the TransCor that these strategies are among the most used in the representation of transgender people and express different functions in terms of the construction of the prosody that accompanies the discourse on transgender people in the British press.

The fourth group of Determination strategies is composed of Single Determination and Overdetermination. The first strategy is opposed to the latter, which can be defined as the representation of social actors as participants in more than one social practice. This strategy can be realised through four different types of effectuations: Distillation, which represents social actors through a combination of abstractions and generalisations; Connotation, which happens when a nomination or physical identification is used to represent a classified or functionalised social actor; Symbolisation, which occurs when a fictional social actor in represented in a non-fictional context; and Inversion, which represents a social actor connected to two practices of which one is the opposite of the other. This strategy is further divided into Anachronism and Deviation. Anachronism is used when the text needs to express something that cannot be said in a straightforward way; in this case the social actor is represented in terms of another social actor who would normally not be involved in that activity, while Deviation is realised when social actors are projected in the future. This fourth group of strategies did not occur in the TransCor.

On the other hand, Impersonalisation strategies are less numerous and can be realised either through Abstraction or Objectivation. These strategies shift from what we have seen so far, as they no longer represent social actors from a personalised but from an impersonalised perspective. Abstraction is realised when the social actors are associated to a quality which is not intrinsic to the social actors' identity but is

assigned to them by the representation or the context in which they are set. Objectivation occurs when the social actor is represented by the use of references to a place or an entity associated to the person or the activity discussed in the text.

As a bridge between Personalisation and Impersonalisation we find the distinction between Genericisation and Specification. In this case, the focus is on the 'specific vs. generic' representation of social actors. Genericisation can be realised through the use of plural forms or mass nouns; in a sense, in the present study, every instances of the phrase 'transgender community' can be defined as such, as we will see with more detail in Chapter six. Specification is further divided into Individualisation and Assimilation. In the latter case, the social actors are represented as groups. van Leeuwen (1996: 50) distinguishes between two different types of Assimilation: Aggregation and Collectivisation. In the first case, social actors are quantified and referred to in terms of statistics, whereas in the second case representation is realised mainly by the use of collective pronouns or mass nouns like 'the community' or terms like 'experts'. When Indivisualisation is used, the social actor is referred to as a single individual. Chapter six will highlight the different ways in which the strategies just discussed are used in the TransCor when it comes to representing transgender individuals and groups.

So far, we have examined the various Inclusion strategies identified by van Leeuwen (1996); now we will discuss Exclusion strategies.

The practice of Exclusion can be completed in two different ways, that is Suppression and Backgrounding. In the first case, the social actor is completely omitted from the text; in the latter case the social actor is only mentioned in the text and usually not in reference to the activity they are being discussed for.

As van Leeuwen (1996) points out, the different categories and linguistic strategies presented here should not be considered strictly and can be subject to adjustments according to the text under investigation. This approach proved to be useful in the analysis of the TransCor, to investigate uncovering patterns of representation of these social actors, namely transgender people, in the British press. Some categories resulted to be more relevant than others, but the overall methodology resulted in an indispensible tool.

Similarly to the analysis presented in our study, this methodology found many different applications through the years, tackling a number of aspects relevant to the use of language.

Social actors theory can be used in the field of language teaching, as suggested by Davari and Moini (2016), who use this approach to analyse the representation of male and female social actors in textbooks, and determine to what extent this representation is influenced by ideology. They conclude, by looking at strategies of Deletion, Substitution, Passivation and Activation, that "positive attitudes were reflected towards males and negative toward females" (Davari & Moini 2016: 79), hiding behind an ideology which offers male social actors as free and independent individuals compared to female social actors.

Polese and D'Avanzo (2012) apply the framework of social actors representation to analyse the way in which the EU promotes its educational programmes, namely the Erasmus Programme. Among other results, they conclude that Nomination is used "to delete authority, minimise social distance and represent social actors as people with whom we are familiar and with whom we feel closer because their lives appear appealing and imitable" (Polese & D'Avanzo 2012: 241). Other strategies have also been retrieved and analised by the two authors who use this framework to investigate academic and bureaucratic discourse.

Dashti and Mehrpour (2017) use this framework to analyse two speeches by two philosophers, J. Krishnamurti and A. Watts. They note that both philosophers used Backgrounding to represent their audience, whereas humanity was represented through the pronoun 'we' in a collective representation.

Veronika Koller (2009), on the contrary, similarly to the study presented here, uses social actors representation to analyse discourses about gender identity. The author looks at the way lesbian communities discursively construct themselves collectively. Among the findings, the author underlines that one of the social actors mainly involved in the text is the reader, while women and men as social groups are referred to through Genericisation. She concludes by saying that collective identities are not constructed in a linear way (Koller 2009).

Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Theo van Leeuwen (2002) also look at the representation of gendered social actors by analysing toys adverts. They conclude

that when it comes to toys social actors representations still follows a binary heteronormative men vs. women type of representation, where men are strong and brave and have superior powers, while women are represented in the house and with values like nurturing and aesthetics.

As the application of the methodologies presented so far in this chapter all tend to highlight the representation of identity, we felt the need to include here a further discussion on the concept of identity and its representation. The following and last section tackles this issue.

4.5 Representing identities

The term identity has been used frequently so far in this study and will be employed even more frequently in the chapters to come. Thus, it becomes necessary to give a definition to the concept of identity, and position the perspective of this study toward this definition.

The concept of identity has been theorised in many different ways and from different perspectives. One of the definitions that this study relates to more closely is the one proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586), who describe identity as "the social positioning of self and other". This definition puts identity in a broad context, where social implications play a pivotal role. At the same time, if we want to give a more detailed description of identity we could think about it as "a set of traits, capacities, attitudes […] that an individual normally retains over a considerable period of time and that normally distinguishes that individual from other individuals" (Shoemaker 2006: 41). This suggests that identity is not a fixed concept but a subjective one, always evolving, not "static" (Llamas & Watt 2010), and "always 'in process'", as Stuart Hall (1996) puts it. Thus, it seems appropriate to agree with the fact that "[d]ifferent persons can have the same identity – or at any rate, there can be as much similarity between the identities of different persons as there is between the identities of the same person at different times" (Shoemaker 2006: 47).

Due to the context in which they develop, some identities are similar to others, while others are different. There is a tendency of grouping similar identities together, as it happens in the TransCor as well. While this practice can be useful in some cases, it can also sort the opposite effect in other. Chapter six highlights that

the collective representation of identities is not always the best choice, especially when considering that identity and language, as the means used to represent it, are being constantly negotiated and reshaped (Llamas &Watt 2010), and cannot be classified according to any specific general category. Each identity can be part of an indefinite number of groups, at the same time or in different times of its existence, on the basis of kinship, relationships, physical appearance or sexual preference.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) maintain that identity is 'a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon". They continue by arguing that identity is constructed through and in interaction, therefore it is a result of discursive practices. As identity is manifested, described, represented through discourse. Thus, discourse analysis becomes a useful tool in the investigation of identity. Even more is CDA, which analyses and describes something generated on the basis of such heavy societal implications that cannot be observed with an uncritical eye. The essence of identity, engendered within discourse, accounts for the historical and institutional era it is generated in, the discursive strategies and choices employed in its construction and also the style or enunciation used — according to the type of discourse, written or spoken (Hall 1996). Identity is constructed though the definition of the difference, when one identity is compared to an Other self, the definition of this identity builds on these differences, and has a series of ideological and power relations at its basis. Declaring one's own identity is a political stance, especially when it comes to gender identity.

The concept of identity becomes even more intricate when associated to gender. This study aims at observing the way others, namely the press, describe and represent identity, namely transgender identity. Being the term 'transgender' an umbrella term, as postulated before in this study, and in line with other scholars who looked into the discussion of transgender identity (Baker 2014b; Jones 2017; Webster 2017), transgender identity is not a fixed concept. Transgender identity "represents [the] identities of many individuals who transcend gender norms in different ways" (Burnes & Chen 2012: 117), and refers to those people who do not conform to the sex assigned at birth, including all the various shades that this identity could include, ranging from medical interventions to less invasive practice which

differentiate from the binary and heteronormative concept that society has of men and women.

Transgender identity goes beyond "gender norms on both internal (intrapsychic) and external (social, relational, and community) spectra" (Burnes & Chen 2012: 113), subverting what society considers the norm in order to express their feeling of incongruence between what they perceive as their identity and the sex assigned at birth. It is not only the physical appearance that makes the identity but it is first and foremost the way in which language is used to describe it, as "bodies do not derive their meanings from pre-linguistics natural order, but are imbued with meaning through discourse" (Hall & Zimman 2010). Bearing this in mind will help understand what we mean when we talk about identity in this research.

The following chapters brings to light the results of the analysis on the TransCor conducted through the use of the methodological and theoretical tools examined in this chapter.

5 Lexical Choices in the TransCor

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the lexical choices that were adopted by the different newspapers in the corpus in writing about trans people. More specifically, this chapter, and the following (six and seven) as well, address the first three research questions, reported below:

1) How is language used in the British press to represent transgender people between 2013-2015?
2) To what extent does language change within the time-span considered and with regards to the main class distinction between popular and quality press?
3) In what ways do newspapers differ in terms of language when covering news stories about transgender people with reference to:
   a) Frequency and context of use of naming strategies (nouns and pronouns);
   b) Semantic prosodies (e.g. use of descriptors, such as adjectives or descriptions of grammatical agency via verbs).

Section 5.2 mainly illustrates the most frequent naming strategies and their dispersion throughout the corpus considering the outcomes of frequency analysis, starting from the seed words used to collect the corpus. This section highlights the way that newspapers make use of terms like *transgender*, *trans* and *transsexual* or terms which in some cases are considered more derogative like *trannie* or *shemale*, or even terms which are not directly related to the transgender identity but have a significant presence in the TransCor, like *transvestite* and *cross dresser*.

Section 5.3 moves from the frequency list to the keyword analysis. This section switches from a more quantitative analysis to a more qualitative one and looks at the use of pronouns with reference to transgender people in the TransCor.

The last section of this chapter (5.4) introduces the last CL tool used in this study, collocations. This section, pursuing some results emerged from the collocation analysis, looks in more detail at the use of pre- and post-modifiers in reference to transgender people.

All the examples presented in Chapter five, six and seven are retrieved from the TransCor.

5.2 Naming strategies in the TransCor

The analysis presented in this section stems from the results of the frequency analysis in the TransCor, and lays the setting for the further results outlined in the other sub-sections that form this chapter and the following ones. The analysis of concordances, combined with frequencies, resulted to be a useful tool throughout the investigation.

The most common among the seed words under investigation found in the TransCor is the term *transgender**. The term occurs 3,542 times, followed by *trans* (960 occurrences) and *transsexual** (694 occurrences). Table 5.1 shows how frequent each term is in the corpus (for a more detailed distribution of terms throughout the TransCor see Appendix).

	QualCor	**PopCor**	**Total**
*transgender**	2,612	930	3,542
trans	873	90	960
*transsexual**	325	369	694
*sex change**	170	440	610
*transvestite**	273	208	481
gender reassignment	168	162	330
dysphoria	73	65	138
*cross-dresser**	44	60	104
*trann**	42	25	67
*shemale**	5	5	10

Table 5.1 Frequency of seed words in the TransCor.

Similar patterns were found by Baker (2014b: 217). In his research, on a corpus collected in 2012, the most frequent word was *transgender**, followed by *transsexual** and *transvestite**. The only major difference is the presence of the term *trans*, which in the frequency list presented in that research occurred in the sixth place while it is in the second position in the data presented here.

It is notable that different terms are used with different frequencies in time and across newspapers (see Appendix). We can see here that some terms burst in

specific years and are more frequent for specific newspapers than others. For example, *trans* starts to be massively used only in 2015 (855 occurrences), while it was found to occur less frequently in the previous years (105 occurrences). The most used term in the TransCor is *transgender**, though in Table 5.1 we can note that *trans* is mostly employed in the quality press or that *sex change** is the second most frequent seed word if we consider only the PopCor. Baker (2014b: 218) notes that *transsexual** is preferred over *transgender** by *The Sun* in 2012, the year investigated by Baker in his study. This pattern changes in the following years (32[17] vs. 47 in 2012, 98 vs. 51 in 2013, 119 vs. 37 in 2014 and 148 vs. 35 in 2015) when the use of *transgender* becomes more prominent. Some organisations and groups[18] whose aim is to support and advocate for trans people consider the term *transsexual** to be derogatory as it points to the sexual/physical and not to the identity aspect of being a transgender person.

Another aspect pointed out by the abovementioned groups and associations is that *transgender*, *trans* and *transsexual* should never be used with a nominal function but only with an adjectival one. Regarding this aspect the TransCor reveals an interesting pattern. In fact, considering 10% of the overall occurrences[19] of each term in the two sub-corpora, 3.8% of the times the term *transgender** was found to occurr in the QualCor as a noun while it has this function in the PopCor 8.5% of the time. *Trans* occurs as a noun in the QualCor 7% of the time and 0% of the time in the PopCor; *transsexual** was found as a noun 50% of the times in the QualCor and 38% of the times in the PopCor. This pattern highlights that the term that is used more frequently as a noun is *transsexual.* The meaning carried by this term facilitates its nominal use, which reinforces the representation related to the biological rather than the chosen gender and suggests a preference of the representation related to the physical aspects that are connected to transgender identity.

---

[17] The first number indicates the occurrences of *transgender**, the second those of *transsexual**.

[18] Different sources specify that many transgender people do not prefer the use of the term *transsexual*, such as GLAAD http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender, GIRE https://www.gires.org.uk/terminology#Transsexual, National Center for Transgender Equality http://www.transequality.org/issues/resources/transgender-terminology. (Last accessed 23 March 2017).

[19] As some of the terms have very high frequency figures I used 10% as a sample to identify the general pattern.

The stress on the more physical aspects of transgender identity is displayed not only through the use of *transsexual* but through another search term as well: *sex change** (610 occurrences). First, it is notable that this phrase occurs more than twice as much in the PopCor in comparison to the QualCor, pointing to the different types of representations in the quality and popular press. In fact, the popular press seems to give more importance to the sexual and physical aspects of transgender identity, as opposed to other aspects of identity such as feelings.

Among the seed words used to collect the corpus, in addition to the terms described so far, others were relevant to this analysis. These terms are *trann**, *shemale*, *cross dresser** and *transvestite**. As pointed out by GLAAD[20], some of these terms (i.e. *trann** and *shemale)* have more recently been considered derogatory by some people belonging to the LGBTIQ+, although they were more commonly used in earlier decades.

*Trann** occurs a total of 67 times in the whole corpus, and, perhaps surprisingly — with respect to the pattern found for *transsexual** — is more frequent in the QualCor (59) than the PopCor (29). The choice of *trann** by the quality press seems to be inconsistent with the other choices which display the use of a less discriminatory use of language. It is possible to find two different patterns in the use of this term, as we can see in the following examples:

(1) You might be surprised at how much the transgender community would agree with you. Because being trans (not a **tranny**'[21], please that's just rude) has far less to do with sex swaps or changes or striving to be a real' anything than you might imagine. (*The Daily Mail*, May 9th 2013)

(2) The dress is only one element of the psycho-sexual process. Just because you don't have a dress on doesn't stop you being a **tranny**, in the same way as, if you're not in bed with a man, it doesn't stop you being gay. (*The Guardian*, October 4th 2014)

Example (1) is representative of the first pattern, which occurs 11 (26%) times in the QualCor and 8 (27,5%) in the PopCor. In these cases, *trann** is used to underline the fact that this term is considered a derogatory and offensive word and should never be used to refer to transgender people (relevant might be the fact that this excerpt is from an article written by a transgender woman, Jane Fae). The other pattern

[20] https://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender (Last accessed: July 20th 2017)
[21] Bold is added in all examples throughout Chapters five, six and seven to highlight the collocates.

retrieved is exemplified in example (2). This pattern occurs 31 (74%) times in the QualCor and 21 (72.5%) times in the PopCor. In these cases, *trann** is used as an informal synonym of *transgender* or *transsexual* or even of *cross-dresser* and *transvestite* at times. There are some main differences that need to be highlighted with regards to this pattern: while all occurrences in the QualCor are from reported speech, the examples found in the PopCor are both from reported speech and the reporters' text. The articles that contain this pattern in the PopCor are mainly news stories, two examples are from the column 'Dear Deirdre' in *The Sun*. Among the 21 hits, the term *trann** is used in a more negative context in the PopCor and in 7 cases it is associated with other terms like *transvestite* and *cross-dresser,* or generally speaking terms that can be related to the LGBTIQ+ community*,* as in the following example:

(3) **TRANNY** FURY AT BRIDE-SHOP BAN
A **CROSSDRESSER** was left fuming after being turfed out of a bridal shop for asking to try on a wedding dress. (*The Sun*, February 12th 2015)

These kinds of representation of *tranny* in a negative context, associating these people with negative events and behaviours, contribute to a more negative representation, or prosody, of transgender identity in the PopCor, while the prosody in the QualCor is more positive in the sense that it is not trying to imply any negative connotation. This concept of negative and positive prosody, explained in Chapter four, will be referred to throughout Chapters five, six and seven. This representation builds up though the examples examined and contribute to the final image that the newspapers offer to the reader.

Another term that can be considered as derogatory is *shemale*. This term only occurs 10 times in the whole corpus and is generally associated with *tranny* or with gender reassignment. Thus, the context usually uncritically relates the term to the transgender community, except for the following examples:

(4) Grammar pedantry aside, what would be the social impact of this addition to the language? The feminist argument is as obvious as it is compelling. And in the case of gender-nonbinary people, how do they get around the problem? Minding your language is important here. Shim and **shemale** are pejorative portmanteaus, sometimes lazily applied to trans people. (*The Guardian*, January 30th 2015)

(5) Almas Bobby, president of the Pakistan **Shemale** Foundation, an advocacy group, said she knew of at least five. (*The Guardian*, May 10th 2013)

Example (4) is the only case in which *shemale* is mentioned to explain why it should not be used. Example (5) shows its use in the name of an association that occurs twice in the QualCor, where the term *shemale* has been reclaimed and used in the name of an advocacy group. The representation cannot be considered negative in these cases. This last example indicates that it is unwise to make blank judgements with regards to certain terms as being always good or always bad since there is a process of reclaiming and re-appropriation of these terms by some people belonging to the LGBTIQ+ community.

Transvestite occurs 481 times in the TransCor (273 in the QualCor and 208 in the PopCor), almost as often as *transsexual*. The term *transvestite* refers to a person who likes to dress in ways typically associated with people of the opposite sex[22]. In 24 cases it occurs in phrases like "transvestite and transgender", and in many others it is represented through a negative prosody by associating the term with terms like *prostitute* (8 occurrences) and *drugs* (6 occurrences).

The last term considered as more problematic, and close in terms of meaning to *transvestite**, which was analysed previously, is *cross-dresser**. This term occurs 104 times in the TransCor (44 in the QualCor and 60 in the PopCor). The term is associated with the transgender community 9 times in the whole corpus (7 in the PopCor and 2 in the QualCor), highlighting that, although in terms of meaning it is close to *transvestite*, it does not have the same pattern associated with this word. An example of the way in which *cross-dresser** is used in articles in relation to the transgender community is the following:

(6) I'm **transgender** and have been for many years. I love to dress as my two alter egos and love all the things that go with being a woman - wearing make-up and high heels and so on. What's really getting me down is that I can't get a girlfriend, which is what I want.
Cross-dressing has ended relationships with girls in the past, so I've tried not to dress as a woman and to act more like a boy, but it just depresses me more because my ultimate dream is to be a woman. (*Daily Mirror*, March 20th 2013)

[22] This definition can be retrieved both through English dictionaries such as Oxford (http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/transvestite?q=transvestite) but also from website which support and advocate for the transgender community such as GLAAD (http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender).

Example (6) suggests that these two collocates are used in contexts in which their meaning is associated as part of the same identity, making reference to a generalisation that does not always apply.

This section tried to give a general overview of naming strategies and the way the search terms were used across the corpus, focussing primarily on dispersion. The representation of trans people in the British press has many different facets. Therefore, the analysis presented in this work called for the use of different tools of CL. The results presented so far are all outcomes of the analysis of frequencies combined with concordances in most cases.

The following section addresses results from a keyword analysis. The section deals with the use of pronouns when addressing transgender people and with the prosody surrounding transgender identity representation.

5.3 Pronouns and titles

In the first section of this chapter we examined the frequency of the occurrence of the seed words in order to point out the use of the terminology related to transgender identity. Another way to represent transgender people is through the use of pronouns and titles. As these take on an important role in the representation of transgender people, this specific aspect of language could not be omitted from this analysis. Therefore, a keyword analysis was conducted. So far we have mainly examined the TransCor as a whole; from this point, we will consider more thoroughly the distinction between the two sub-corpora: QualCor and PopCor. For the keyword analysis the first 50 keywords were taken into account.

The QualCor did not result with any pronouns in its list, while the PopCor showed different results. In fact, pronouns are recurring in the keyword list produced through the PopCor as it is possible to see in Table 5.2 below:

Rank	Frequency	Keyword	Rank	Frequency	Keyword
1	12215	**i**	26	238	Maloney
2	6393	**she**	27	404	Mail
3	864	transgender	28	434	star
4	1215	sex	29	3526	t
5	1336	woman	30	479	female
6	744	gay	31	268	boxing
7	1364	says	32	228	lesbian
8	3470	who	33	924	told
9	5383	**her**	34	208	UKIP
10	530	Kellie	35	493	former
11	752	gender	36	322	dress
12	476	surgery	37	179	reassignment
13	629	daily	38	175	transvestite
14	626	Sun	39	553	girl
15	2766	said	40	489	wife
16	8225	s	41	1408	year
17	285	transsexual	42	168	Farange
18	3084	**my**	43	8361	was
19	2380	**me**	44	197	Julie
20	274	Hayley	45	560	wanted
21	437	Mirror	46	2355	when
22	3100	has	47	229	actor
23	4808	but	48	351	NHS
24	19896	a	49	357	male
25	1748	after	50	626	love

Table 4.2 Keywords PopCor.

The results are in a way related to the specific genre of articles that build this sub-corpus. One of the peculiarity of the popular press, as described in Chapter two, is a less formal type of language, in which more space is dedicated to storytelling with a more personal perspective, hence the singular first person pronoun as the strongest keyword, followed by *my* and *me* later in the list. Two more pronouns are among the keywords as well, that is *she* in second place and *her* in the ninth. These two pronouns are worth investigating further. Both pronouns occur a number of times, which makes it impossible to check them one by one, as it would be extremely time

consuming. In order to analyse these pronouns, due to the large amount of occurrences, 500 random hits were manually checked singularly.

It is hard to say exactly how many times the pronoun 'she' was used in reference to a transgender man, as it occurs over six thousand times in the PopCor. Despite this, the analysis, on the random sample, pointed out to some examples in which the articles present a peculiar mix of pronouns. Thus, the following analysis can be considered as a qualitative analysis, with no exact statistical specification.

This discussion starts from an example that will be further discussed in Chapter six, that is example (54). The headline of the article from which this example was retrieved reports the following words: *She-o was he-o in Rio*. In this article published by *The Sun,* pronouns are used in order to create a pun to refer to the gender of the participants in a beauty contest, which to some people, including the journalist, could pass as funny or attractive. This is a one-time occurrence of this specific type of construction, and no generalisation can be attempted just on the basis of one article. Nevertheless, it does contribute to a greater message that passes on to the readers, that it is fine to take this issue not too seriously every now and then. Examples (7), (8), and (9) present a different type of pattern:

(7) […] For it was then that **he** realised **he** was **living a lie** and would be happier **as a woman**. After the decision to undergo a sex change, Hannah Winterbourne has become the Army's most highly ranked transgender soldier and the only one to become an officer.[…]
At 23, while at Sandhurst Military Academy, **she** realised that **she** wanted to be woman. I wrongly thought I couldn't do anything about it,' said Miss Winterbourne, who **has chosen not reveal her original name**. […] By the time **she** arrived at **her** present posting at Catterick Garrison, North Yorkshire, Miss Winterbourne **was living as a woman**. […] (*Daily Mail*, January 20th 2015)

(8) […] CAN YOU SPOT THE **MALE LAWYER** WHO'S **TURNING INTO A WOMAN**? […] For the previous six months **he**'d been receiving counselling for depression and I'd noticed **he**'d been taking more care with his appearance, she recalls. […] Glenn told Stacy not that **he** had found another woman, but that **he was really a woman born into a man's body** […] Remarkably, just a year on, Stacy says their marriage is stronger then ever, even though **Glenn**, 44, is undergoing hormone treatment, **has changed his name to Samantha and lives as a woman**. […] But Samantha says telling Stacy **her** secret was the hardest thing **she** has ever done. […] **His transformation** into Samantha has not been without its comedy moments. […] (*Daily Mail*, August 31st 2014)

(9) […] But it is her **daughter Chastity**, who was born in 1969 following four miscarriages, who has caused her the most concern in the past few decades. The **little girl** whom Cher had loved to dress up when she was young came out as gay at 18. Then in 2006 Chastity confided in her mother that **she** felt **she** was a **man trapped in a woman's body**. Three years later **she** embarked on the challenging process of gender reassignment which required **her** to take male hormones and undergo surgery, and saw **her** change **her** name to **Chaz.** Cher has tried hard to accept this decision but it has been a difficult and upsetting process watching **her pig-**

> **tailed blonde daughter become reborn as a man**. "When **Chaz** first told me about wanting a sex change I had a really hard time with it," Cher said recently. […] (*The Express*, September 3rd 2013)

The three examples above, taken from each year of the PopCor, present the same type of construction and can be considered explanatory of a more general pattern found. The three articles narrate the story of a person who transitioned to a gender different from the one assigned at birth. In all three cases, at the time of the publishing of the articles, the three individuals identified already with their chosen gender. The common pattern in the news stories starts with the use of the pronouns relative to the gender assigned at birth of the person being talked about. Throughout the stories the pronouns change to reflect the chosen gender identity following the transition, but go back to mentioning the gender assigned at birth and in many cases there is always a mention of the name assigned at birth to the person. This type of representations could be perceived as offensive by some people who identify as transgender, as the individuals represented in the articles are women and men and the continuous reference to an identity that they no longer recognise could be felt as problematic. Among the word choices made by the journalists it is necessary to highlight the accent put on a transformation rather than a transition, signalled by terms such as *turning into*[23], *transformation* and *reborn as*, which do carry an underlying meaning that does not relate to a recognised rightful identity. Apart from the fact that many of the guidelines consulted for this work suggest that 'transition' is the preferred word to refer to the process of transition or gender reassignment, the two terms mainly differ in the sense that 'transition' implies the process that leads to a change while 'transformation' does not. Moreover, if we check into a corpus of general English[24], we will see that they are seldom used to refer to a person and never to a person's gender identity.

Two further elements are present in these articles that contribute to the representation of transgender identity. Firstly, the 'wrong body' discourse underlines the struggle faced by some people who feel trapped in a body that they do not feel as theirs. This discourse is signalled in these examples through the use of phrases such as *living a lie*, *a woman born into a man's body*, a *man trapped into a woman's body*.

[23] In Chapter five, six and seven, examples from the corpus inserted within the text are signaled in *Italics*.
[24] The BE06 corpus (Baker 2009) was used to compare the use of the terms being discussed.

The second discourse found deals with a different, and less inclusive discourse, the 'living as' discourse. This occurs in examples (7) and (8) where the two transgender women are described as *living as women* and not being women. This construction could imply a style of living that is not the real one, but a behaviour that is temporarily being adopted by a person (Zottola, forthcoming c). Generally speaking, it is possible to say that the press is making an effort towards a more inclusive representation, though much needs to be done in order to achieve some fundamental goal towards this necessary inclusivity, starting from policies within the newspaper guidelines which determine what is acceptable and what is not.

It is notable that all the examples presented until here refer to transgender people. The following is an example in which the main actor is defined as a *male transsexual*:

(10) A **MALE transsexual** who is waiting for sex swap surgery has begun a prison sentence at Scotland's only prison for women. **Katelyn Findlay**, **who was born Stuart Kelly**, is being held at Cornton Vale Prison, near Stirling, after admitting robbery and threatening police officers. Findlay, 18, who is from Airdrie, Lanarkshire, **has not officially started a sex change** but has been **living as a woman** for two years and has been **accepted as** female by the prison service. **She** was sentenced to six months in prison at Airdrie Sheriff Court and had already spent a month at the prison on remand. **Her** solicitor, Robin White, told the court **she** had experienced a "difficult" time in the jail because **she** was **a transsexual.** (*The Express*, June 28th 2013)

We can see, from this example, that the patterns of representation are similar when it comes to transsexual people as well. The article starts with references to a man and then later uses female pronouns. There is a reference to the name assigned at birth and a repeated use of the structure 'verb + as'. At last, the term *transsexual* is used as a noun, following the type of use described in an earlier section of this chapter, which can be seen as derogatory by some transgender people.

There are, however, some exceptions, as in the following example:

(11) […] Lucy, a primary school teacher, committed suicide last year at the age of 32 after what had been an extremely troubled life. **She** had been born a male, **Nathan Upton**, and was transgender. **Her** case was highlighted because **she** left Mary Magdalen's Primary School in Accrington, Lancashire, as Nathan and it was announced to pupils and their parents that **she** would return as Lucy. […] (*The Express*, May 30th 2013)

In this case, the feminine pronoun *she* is used consistently throughout the article, and despite the reference to the name assigned at birth, the article seems to report no uses of pronouns or terminology that refer to her gender assigned at birth.

A recurrent feature of this type of narrative, as it emerged in all the examples, is the reference to the name assigned at birth, which is the name that the person had before the transition. This practice is not always welcomed by transgender people, who after transition do not feel any link to the gender assigned at birth and neither to that name. This is underlined not only by some of the guidelines used in this research but also on blogs, articles and on-line platforms used by transgender people. The practice of referring to the name assigned at birth is sometimes defined as "deadnaming", precisely underlining the fact that that name is now dead[25].

The analysis of concordances of the pronoun *she* also pointed out to another interesting linguistic feature of the PopCor, examples of which can be retrieved in the following excerpts:

(12) We've seen the introduction of the term **Mz**' instead of Ms' as the correct title for people of a transgender persuasion (*Daily Mail*, December 19th 2015);

(13) The title **Mx** has been slowly introduced in recent years as part of the campaign to tackle discrimination against transsexual and transgender people (*Daily Mail,* May 4th 2015).

The Daily Mail and *The Sun* introduced in their articles the titles *Mz* and *Mx* as a gender-neutral substitution for Ms and Mr. The first one only occurs in example (12), while the latter occurs 30 times in the PopCor. In these occurrences of the term the context is similar to the one showed in example (13), with an informative function. By this we mean the presence of metalanguage in use with reference to the term itself and not with reference to a person. The use of gender-neutral titles can be argued to imply a more inclusive discourse on the part of the newspapers.

To conclude the analysis on pronouns in the PopCor, a concordance analysis of the pronoun *they* was conducted, as this pronoun can also be used as a gender-neutral pronoun in the place of 'he' or 'she'. The pronoun 'they' occurs more than three thousand times. Therefore, as for the previous pronouns, only a random sample was taken into consideration. The sample of 500 concordances shows no occurrences of the pronoun used with this function.

[25] Further readings about the practice of "deadnaming" can be found at: https://www.advocate.com/transgender/2016/1/19/10-words-transgender-people-want-you-know-not-say (Last accessed September 15th 2017); http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/deadnaming-a-trans-person-is-violenceso-why-does_us_58cc58cce4b0e0d348b3434b (Last accessed September 15th 2017).

Despite no occurrences of pronouns in the keyword list for the QualCor, being this also a comparative analysis between the two sub-corpora constituting the TransCor, a qualitative analysis of pronouns was conducted in the QualCor as well, based on the one carried out in the PopCor.

We will start from analysing the use of the pronouns 'she' and 'he', based on a concordance analysis of a random sample (500 concordance lines) taken from the QualCor. The following examples represent the type of patterns found in this sub-corpus regarding the use of pronouns:

(14) When **Jim Boylan** used to shave in the morning, **his** two-year-old son, Zach, would climb up on a stool beside **him** and mimic the ritual. […] **Jim was no longer "Jim" but had become Jenny**. In 2002, after years of turmoil and deep unhappiness, Jim, aged 43, supported by his wife, Deedie, had had a sex change. **He** became the woman **he** had always felt himself to be. […] These questions are at the heart of **her** new book […]In summary, the story of **Jenny's sex change** is this: **she**'d been dressing as a girl, in secret, since childhood. At university, the boy Jim got some counselling and was told **he** was transgender, which **he** did not want to hear. When **he** finally met Deedie, **he** fell head over heels in love and they married in 1988. **He** hoped "love would cure him". The last thing **he** wanted was a sex change. **He** bundled all **his** female clothes in a bag and threw them away. […] (*The Times*, June 29th 2013)

(15) **Frank Maloney**, the former boxing promoter who guided Lennox Lewis to the world heavyweight title, has revealed that **he** is undergoing gender reassignment and now **lives as a woman** called **Kellie**. Maloney, 61, drew broad support from the boxing world after disclosing that **she** had undergone hormone therapy, hair removal electrolysis, voice coaching and specialist counselling for two years. […] (*The Guardian*, August 11th 2014)

(16) A barefoot **woman** draped in a red sari with a long, black braid perches at the edge of a chair. "You know, D'Lo told me **she** was a gay," **she** begins with an undulating accent. "Since then, she has further explained that not only is **she** a gay, she is feeling like **a little boy trapped in a woman's body**." […] And in this singular sketch, D'Lo deftly examines the psychic and social barriers **he** experiences as a queer transgender Tamil Sri Lankan-American. […] "I like to say I came out three times - the first time as gay, the second time as having a girlfriend and the third time as trans." **He** also identifies as "boi", a term that embodies a sort of soft masculinity. (*The Guardian*, June 1st 2015)

Similarly to the findings reported for the PopCor, also the QualCor shows occurrences in which the narrative switches from feminine to masculine and *vice versa*. The use of pronouns in these examples (14, 15 and 16) is inconsistent and usually follows the narrative of the personal history of the person discussed in the article, despite the current gender identity of the person. The examples also present the other two patterns identified in the PopCor, that is of a person trapped in the wrong body and of living 'as' having different gender. The reference to the dead name is a practice retrieved in the QualCor as well, not only in articles in which the

pronouns are used in an inconsistent way but also in other examples in which pronouns do not seem to be problematic, as in the following example:

(17) It's official. **Bradley Manning** is a woman and will be known, from now on, as **Chelsea Manning.** (*The Guardian*, August 22nd 2013)

As specified for the PopCor, due to the high number of occurrences of the pronouns under investigation it is not possible to give an exact number of hits in which each pattern is used. However, examples of both have been retrieved following the random sample analysis:

(18) No, there are slightly more complex issues at hand. Last month Jack Monroe, the celebrity austerity cook, was named Woman of the Future. An interesting honour, as Monroe pointed out, because as a non-binary transgender person **she** (or **they**, as that is Monroe's preferred pronoun) is not even sure **they're** going to be a woman in the future. (*The Times*, November 5th 2015)

(19) I detest writing "**they**" for a single individual of unstated sex, but detest "**he or she**" too, and have stuck doggedly to the old-fashioned use of "he" to embrace both sexes. But re-reading my column last Saturday (about how, when a politician looks you in the eye and tells it straight, he's often the liar) I found the "he" kept jarring. It's all very well for us men to say that women should nestle contentedly under the wing of an inclusive "he" but how would we men like it if "she" became the catch-all and included us? If I take up sewing I shall not wish to be called a seamstress. I will henceforth accept (ouch, it hurts; still, at least this PC business would annoy Nigel Mirage, as we now call him) the use of "**they**" as a gender-unspecific, third-person-singular pronoun. (*The Times*, May 20th 2014)

(20) Now, along with the rest of the language, we've invented, we have words like transgender and cisgender, and pronouns like **they**, **ze** and **hir**. […] English is getting there, or rather, getting back there. The singular **they** was once common. […] Many trans people have a firm sense of which pronoun they prefer. For me it's male. I can't image this ever changing - but who knows? For Bruce Jenner, it's also male. He has indicated this could change, but for now, that doesn't matter. I have friends in different English-speaking countries who prefer the singular **they.** (*The Guardian*, April 29th 2015)

Examples of the use of the third-person-singular *they* have been found in the QualCor, differently from the previous set of data analysed. The examples reported (18, 19, 20 above; 21 below) are the only occurrences retrieved of this use in the sample considered (500 concordance lines picked randomly). The articles mostly present the pronoun in an informative context in which the journalists explain about the existence and use of this pronoun in its singular form. Other forms of gender neutral pronouns were retrieved following a concordance search, such as *ze* as in examples (20) e (21) and *hir* as in examples (20) and (22). This latter example, along with (21), also introduces a variation of the spelling for the pronoun *ze*:

(21) There have also been many attempts to create a gender-neutral pronoun, with words such as **ze** ("**they**" is already used instead of "he" and "she", but can be clumsy). (*The Guardian*, November 17th 2014)

(22) In a landmark high court case, Norrie, 52, from Sydney, won the right for gender-nonspecific Australians to be something other than male or female on their birth certificate. Norrie has expressed a preference for the Germanic **hir** for her/his, and **zie** for he/she. (*The Guardian*, January 30th 2015)

The examples of these two pronouns discussed here represent the only occurrences of the terms. The context in which they are found to occur is again informative. In all cases, except for example (18), the pronouns are not actually used to refer to a person, but are presented as an option we should prefer when referring to gender fluid people. Moreover, in example (18), the pronoun *they* is used to address one person but it co-occurs with a plural verb being inconsistent with the initial function given to the pronoun itself.

As pointed out for the PopCor, occurrences of the title *Mx* are found in the QualCor as well. More specifically, the term occurs 23 times in the whole sub-corpus, in contexts such as the following:

(23) There were complaints about the council's decision to install gender-neutral public lavatories and an **'Mx'** alternative to Mr and Mrs for transsexuals on official forms". (*The Guardian*, August 26th 2013)

(24) As for the use of gendered titles, **Mx** isn't something only transgender people could benefit from. (*The Guardian*, November 17th 2014)

As it happens with the pronouns discussed above, the title is never used to actually refer to people. However, the articles only describe its function and possible use.

The analysis presented here gives a general description of the use of pronouns and titles referring to transgender people in the corpus. As the investigation was primarily qualitative, although starting from a quantitative basis, the results cannot be seen as a generalised rule on the use of pronouns, as no strong statistical or quantitative information is provided. Nonetheless, the findings presented here do mirror some of the choices made by the newspapers when it comes to the use of pronouns and gender-neutral pronouns and titles. Although

some efforts are shown to be made by the newspapers toward the inclusion of a new type of discourse, this can be seen still as a premature and cautious attempt. The examples showed underline that some confusion is still made when it comes to the use of pronouns referring to transgender people. This behaviour, although unintentional, does perpetuate a discriminatory linguistic pattern. The repeated use of this pattern suggests that this is the way to address transgender people, building on a misuse and consequent misgendering of transgender individuals. Moreover, this section highlights that gender-neutral pronouns are still not actively used in the newspaper under investigation, despite being a good solution for avoiding discriminatory language use. The following section tackles another aspect of transgender people's representation through the analysis of pre- and post-modifiers.

5.4 Using pre- and post–modifiers: *Personal Details* and *Implying Verbs*

In section 5.2 and 5.3, we discussed, through the use of frequencies, keywords and concordances, the choice of terminology and pronouns related to transgender identity in the TransCor. This section introduces the use of a different tool of CL used for the analysis, collocations. Collocation analysis will be also used in Chapters six and seven. In terms of results, this tool was the one that was the most effective, highlighting different semantic groups used by the newspaper to represent transgender identity. All collocates considered for the analysis belonging to the terms *transgender**, *transsexual** and *trans* were grouped according to semantic relevance. Two of these groups, or categories are discussed in this section, that is *Personal Details* and *Implying Verbs.*

The prosody – the positive or negative representation – surrounding transgender people is strongly influenced by the use of pre- and post-modifiers, which contribute to the building of the representation of transgender identity that each newspaper chooses to give. This section addresses the use of pre- and post-modifiers, in reference to transgender people, which emerged from the analysis of the TransCor, through the analysis of the two semantic categories of representation mentioned previously.

The first category considered is that of *Personal Details*, this grouping contains pre= and post-modifiers (*color, openly* and *Catholics*) that describe personal details about the person being talked about, such as race or religious faith.

	QualCor[26]	**Terms occurring in both sub-corpora**	**PopCor**
*transgender**	color (18)[27], openly (42), Catholics (8)		
*transsexual**	Brazilian (12),	first (14/14) [28],, male (10/12) female (11/11), old (7/9), sex (8/11), year (6/13)	pre (12), op (11), surgery (6), women (7), woman (13)
trans	color (8), colour (8), youth (7), students (10)		

Table 5.3 Collocates related to *Personal Details*.

As we can see from Table 5.3, this pattern is mainly present for the term *transsexual**. Despite the quantity, it is worth looking at the collocates retrieved for *transgender** and *trans* as well. Starting from the collocates of *transgender*,* in the QualCor this category only occupies 6% of the words in the collocation list, whilst it never occurs in the PopCor.

A closer look into the use of these terms enables us to understand how they add further information when writing about transgender people. The first collocate that we will focus on is *color*, which occurs 18 times in the QualCor. The use of this noun is narrowed down to one pattern, as in 11 out of 18 times it refers to the phrase *transgender women of color.* The repeated use of this phrase points to a similar pattern that will be found again in Chapter six when discussing the relation between *transgender* and *migrant*. There is an implicit acknowledgment of intersectionality in the use of this phrase, where a minority and discriminated identity (*transgender*,

[26] As the analysis was conducted by dividing the corpus into two sub-corpora, the second column (QualCor) contains the collocates that emerged from the corpus retrieved from the quality press while the last column (PopCor) contains those collocates retrieved from the corpus of popular press. The third column (Terms occurring in both sub-corpora) contains those terms that occurred as collocates of *transgender*, transsexual** and *trans* in both sub-corpora.

[27] Numbers in brackets equals the frequency of the collocates.

[28] Double numbers in the third column indicate first the frequency in the QualCor and then the frequency of the collocate in the PopCor.

therefore gender identity) is represented within another minority and discriminated identity (*people color*, therefore race) that is all associated to *woman*, which can also be considered a discriminated identity on its own.

Focusing on the more general discourse, the patterns surrounding these social actors shows that such phrase carries a discourse preference for violence, as we can observe from example (25) below:

(25) Three **transgender women of color** have been **murdered** in America less than one month into this new year: Lamia Beard in Virginia, Ty Underwood in Texas, and Goddess Edwards in Kentucky. (*The Guardian*, January 29th 2015)

The following terms and phrases are found in the sentences under scrutiny: *victims, tears, abuse, faced record-breaking amount of violence, homicide, systemic violence, epidemic of violence, murdered, face physical risks, high risk of murder, hate crimes*. All these terms are reporting on stories involving trans women of colour who are currently facing extreme struggle and violence. In this case, we can observe that newspapers once again are functioning as a platform to inform readers about the tragic situation transgender people are facing and at the same time pointing to the fact that there is a minority within a social group that is considered a minority, and that is struggling even more. This linguistic strategy, intersectionality, will be discussed further in Chapter six, where more examples of it will be displayed. In this case, we can see the collocate associated to a strong pattern of violence, which creates an aura of negativity connected to transgender people of colour and at the same time acknowledges the difficulties these people are faced with.

The second collocate of this group, *openly*, presents a slightly different pattern, which will be analysed below. The term occurs 42 times in the QualCor, where it appears to have two different functions. The first refers to the fact that a transgender person is living their sexuality freely while the other relates to the military environment, pointing to the fact that it is now possible for transgender people to serve in the military without needing to hide their gender identity in the UK. In the examples where the pre-modifier is used with its first meaning, the articles are usually narrating the story of a transgender person, as in the examples below:

(26) The Liberal Democrat Sarah Brown, who was the **only openly transgender** politician in the UK for a time, was listed in the transgender rather than politics category, but Paris Lees, a prominent trans rights activist and writer, was placed in the influencers category. (*The Guardian*, June 26th 2015)

(27) […] those horrific comments about Fallon Fox, the **first openly transgender** fighter in MMA history which she never fully backed off from when given the opportunity. (*The Guardian*, November 13th 2015)

The articles in which the pre-modifiers is used with its second meaning, mostly describe the situation bringing forward the fact that this is a new right achieved for transgender people in the UK, as in the example below:

(28) Flight Lieutenant Ayla Holdom, 34, is the **first** and currently the **only openly transgender** military pilot in Britain. (*i*, December 22nd 2014)

As the example show, in most cases the adverb *openly* is pre-modified by adjectives, mainly *first* and *only*. These two terms serve to underline novelty, in the sense that the overall prosody of the examples and more generally of the occurrences of the adverb imply that the subject or topic of discussion is relatively new, or uncommon. Through this construction the newspapers seem to be acknowledging that transgender people are for the first time feeling that they can be truthful to their identity, and more importantly, that laws are changing to allow them to do this. In fact, the last legislative document issued to regulate transgender identity dates back to 2010 (Polese & Zottola Forthcoming). On a constructive note, this type of representation can be considered to be positive. All the examples taken into consideration do not show any sign of disagreement with this change in direction from the military service and from transgender people in general. Writing this in a moment in which society seems to be taking a step back after the declaration made by current USA president Donald Trump (2017), banning all transgender people from serving in the US military force, gives hope for the future still going to acknowledge this right despite the general political leaning of the major economic and political nations today.

This category of collocates has one more term that is worth considering in more detail, *Catholics*. This term occurs only 8 times and is mainly used as a noun, as reported in some of the examples below:

(29) Father Bernard Lynch, an openly gay priest who helped found Soho Masses but has not been involved in the group for a number of years, told i: "I believe it will be devastating on the soul life of lesbian, gay, bisexual and **transgendered Catholics.** (*i*, January 3rd 2013)

(30) Early next month that very same church - the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, as it is formally known - will open its doors to dozens of lesbian, gay, bisexual and **transgender** Roman **Catholics** who have been exiled from a West End church where they have attended mass for the past six years. (*The Guardian*, February 15th 2013)

As the reading of the present study advances, we will see that the prosody surrounding this term, and the linguistic strategies for which it is used, relates to a type of discourse that will be introduced in more detail in Chapter six, that of a collective representation of transgender people. In all occurrences transgender people are described in a list that also includes gay and lesbian people, creating a sort of a macro group that includes different communities of practice associated for a specific reason. Similarly to the function of *color* mentioned in example (25), or of *migrant*, as we will see in Chapter six, we find occurrences of intersectionality between different social groups. Among the social group of Catholic people there is another group (minority within minority discourse), which is different as it has been, on some occasions stigmatised by the church itself.

This leads to another finding that has emerged from the examples analysed, that is the discourse related to this term finds similarities to the conclusion drawn from the prosody surrounding the term *openly*. Some of the articles, as in example (27), acknowledge the fact that also the church is making an effort to open up to a more inclusive behaviour toward transgender people.

It can be pointed out that in three cases, as in example (29), the term *transgendered* is used to refer to transgender people. This term has been used 113 times throughout the corpus, and according to websites like GLAAD, not all transgender people feel comfortable when this term is used. The poor accuracy in the choice of terminology on the part of the journalist comes as a discordant note in a more positive and inclusive type of discourse identified here.

So far we have looked at collocates resulting from the collocation analysis of the term *transgender**. We will now move on to look at the results emerging from the collocation analysis of the term *transsexual** with regards to this semantic category of representation. When it comes to *transsexual**, the collocation analysis reveals a different pattern in comparison to the term *transgender** analysed above.

The first difference lies in the fact that collocates that fit this category were retrieved from both sub-corpora, while in the case of *transgender** they were only found to occur in the QualCor. Moreover, the percentage of terms in this category is greater than for *transgender**. The terms belonging to the *Personal details* category here cover 22% of the collocates considered in the analysis. Some of the terms in this category are not new, but others like *pre*, *op* or *surgery* relate to a specific aspect of a transsexual person, namely the gender reassignment operation. The collocates for *transsexual** relating to this category can be grouped according to their meaning. There are collocates which refer to age (*old* (6/9), *year* (6/13)) occurring in both sub-corpora. Retrieved from both sub-corpora are also collocates which refer to gender more generally (*male* (10/12), *female* (11/11), *women* (7 PopCor), *woman* (13 PopCor)). *Brazilian* (12) occurs as the strongest collocate in the QualCor referring to geographical origins. Terms that relate to transition and gender reassignment were found only in the PopCor (*pre* (12), *op* (11), *surgery* (6)). Other collocates retrieved are *first* (14/14)) and *sex* (8/11). Some of these collocates are going to be analysed in more details in the following paragraphs. From this preliminary information it is possible to say that this type of occurrence among the collocates mirrors the results presented in the first analysis section of this Chapter which highlights the preference in the popular press for physical or medical aspects related to transgender issues.

Altering the order in which the collocates were presented so far, the term *pre* occurs as the third strongest collocate in the PopCor, while the collocate *op* occurs in the sixth position, indicating that both collocates are strong in this set of data. The two terms occur together nine times, seven of which in *The Sun*. In seven (once in 2013, three times in 2014 and three times in 2015) of the occurrences under investigation, the term was found in contexts like the following:

(31) You would have thought they would have been outraged that Mr Sheen, knowing he was infected with HIV, would have continued to have unprotected sex with girlfriends, hookers and **pre-op transsexuals.** (*The Sun*, November 20th 2015)

(32) I'm too beautiful to work;
Says **pre-op transsexual** Tiffany Davies, who relies on rich men 'I BUY TWO NEW FROCKS A WEEK'. (*The Sun*, June 5 2014)

As in examples (31) and (32), *pre-op transsexuals* are either represented as prostitutes or as opportunists who rely on other people to live a wealthy and easy life. This last description fits perfectly the person being described in example (32). The pattern exemplified in example (32) was found in four other articles. This type of construction, mainly found in *The Sun* as hinted earlier, can be defined from the perspective of social actor representations as a form of Determination, more specifically of Categorisation (van Leeuwen 2006: 52-54), an imprecise type of categorisation, as these people in the examples under investigation are represented "in terms of an identity and function they share with others" (van Leeuwen 2006: 52), but that does not represent their identity as a whole. The type of prosody that emerges from this representation is negative, as pre-op transsexual people are associated to roles that in our society are not considered positive, like that of prostitutes. The other three occurrences of *post* are followed by *operative* (twice) and *operation*, the extended version of *op*, these cases do not reveal any additional elements that contribute to a specific representation.

These two collocates together with *surgery*, which was also included in this group of terms related to gender reassignment and transition, all contribute to the type of representation of these social actors presented above: Categorization. As we explained in chapter four, this class is divided into Functionalisation, Appraisement and Identification, which is again sub-divided into Classification, Relational Identification and Physical Identification. This last category, Physical Identification, fully defines the linguistic strategies used in these articles and more specifically by *The Sun,* which contains most of the examples considered. Moreover, according to GLAAD — the guidelines for the use of the terminology related to transgender identities followed throughout this study — these terms should be avoided in favour of the term "transition", as they could result to be uncomfortable for some transgender people. These people could feel that it is inappropriate to continuously refer to the transition surgery. The reference to gender reassignment puts an accent, as pointed out earlier in this chapter when discussing the use of the term 'transsexual', on the physical characteristics of the person rather then on their identity. In the case of these pre- and post-modifiers the pattern was found exclusively in the PopCor.

A similar conclusion, in terms of a representation focused on physical appearance, can be drawn from the examples containing another groups of collocates: *old* and *year*. Both in the PopCor and in the QualCor, *old* always occurs together with *year*, as in the following example:

(33) The 61-**year-old transsexual** is set to reveal sensational details of her horrifying ordeal and how she nearly lost everything. (*Daily Mirror*, November 22nd 2014)

(34) In October 2005, aged 28, he was rushed to hospital and almost died after overdosing on cocaine while partying near Turin with a 54-**year-old transsexual** hooker called Patrizia. (*i*, July 19th 2013)

Both the examples, and in the other occurrences of these collocates, the specification of the age does not really add any important information to the piece of news described in the article, rather, it seems to satisfy more a need of sensationalism in order to meet newsworthiness criteria imposed by journalistic standards.

Retrieved in both sub-corpora are also collocates which refer to gender (*male* (10/12), *female* (11/11), *women* (7 PopCor), *woman* (13 PopCor). Among these collocates, it can be noted that there is a focus on the terms *male* and *female*, which out of context could give the idea of a sort of Impersonalisation (van Leeuwen 2006: 59). The two collocates (10 times in the QualCor and 6 times in the PopCor) were found to co-occur in the phrase 'male-to female' or 'female-to-male' (sometimes also found in the acronym form FTM and MTF[29]), and refer to the transition from the gender assigned at birth to the preferred gender. These phrases were found in contexts like the following:

(35) Is it easier to change ones voice as a **male-to-female** or as a **female-to-male**?
Easy or hard isn't exactly the thought here. Both groups of people require different things, but essentially, **male-to-female** trans people have more work ahead of them. **Female-to-male** trans people don't seem to be as fundamentally unhappy with their voices. (*The Guardian*, June 2nd 2015)

In the case of these collocates we can say that in both sub-corpora the prosody surrounding them is positive; they are used in contexts where they have an informative function and cannot be seen as having any underlying negative evaluative function.

[29] It is notable to point out that the two acronyms are never found throughout the TransCor.

The collocates taken into consideration in the following analysis are both peculiar for different reasons. *Brazilian* (12) occurs as the strongest collocate in the QualCor, and the only adjective retrieved referring to geographical origins. This collocate occurs only in the QualCor. On a preliminary note, we could say that the use of this adjective reinforces the stereotype present in Europe that many sex workers who come to European countries are from Brazil, are transsexual and are particularly renowned for their beauty. If we look at the data, it is possible to see that in reality the phrase is used in a completely different context, occurring in examples like the following:

(36) In January Burchill used a column in the Observer to launch an attack on critics of her friend and fellow writer Suzanne Moore, who had written a magazine article that claimed women were expected to have the body shape of a "**Brazilian transsexual**". (*Daily Telegraph*, March 27 2013)

The occurrences all refer to the case of *The Observer*'s columnist Julie Burchill (Baker 2014b: 212), who wrote a defamatory article on transgender people in 2013. The article received strong criticism to the point that it was removed from the online newspaper. It seems that she only wrote the article in defence of her colleague journalist Suzanne Moore, columnist for *The Guardian*, who days before had written an article in which she represented women as struggling because expected to have the body of a 'Brazilian transsexual'. Needless to say, this article also received numerous complaints and was at the centre of strong criticism. The collocates, except for one, are all related to articles that appeared in 2013 in relation to this event. The four newspaper considered in this sub-corpus all talked about this event, in rather different ways. While *The Times* and *The Guardian* presented the issue and described in a rather objective way what happened, underlining in different parts of the article that both Moore and Burchill were strongly criticised and encouraged to leave their jobs, the *i* and *The Daily Telegraph* had a different behaviour.

Example (37) is an excerpt from the *i*. Here the writer uses the phrase 'claimed *offence*' in explaining why the article was considered misleading and inappropriate by the readers. As we will argue later in this chapter when analysing *Implying verbs*, the verb 'to claim' is controversial since it suggests that what is being said might not be true, especially when being followed by a term in italics, as in the case of *offence* in example (37):

(37) Suzanne Moore, also a fine columnist of long standing, wrote a magazine article in which she railed against the pressure for women to look like, as she put it, "Brazilian transsexuals". Cue uproar on Twitter, where Moore was subjected to a barrage of insults from transsexuals, who **claimed *offence***. Burchill stepped in to defend her friend and, as is her way, went that little bit further, describing transsexuals as "a bunch of bed-wetters in bad wigs". (*i*, January 16th 2013)

Much more explicit is the stance taken by the *Daily Telegraph*, though the words of columnist Allison Pearson, as we can see in example (38) below:

(38) Personally, I would be thrilled to be mistaken for a Brazilian transsexual. So much foxier than a Hobbit in Boden or a mum in pyjamas on the school run. Suzanne Moore **meant no offence**. It was not the Brazilian transsexuals who were the object of her concern: she was worrying about women who feel miserable because they don't measure up to supermodels (*Daily Telegraph*, January 17th 2013).

In this article, Pearson states that Moore 'meant no offence'; on the contrary, it should be considered as a compliment to be a model, to set the standard, clearly undermining the offensive statement and in a way aligning to it.

The last collocate examined in this group is *first* (14/14). This collocate results to be relevant as it has a similar function as one (*openly*) of the collocates analysed for the term *transgender**. As we concluded for the collocate *openly,* the use of these pre-modifiers introduces a discourse of novelty, again a sort of inclusive and open discourse towards transgender identities, which are now at a point where transgender people feel less constrained by society's judgement.

The collocate analysis, as anticipated in Chapter four and at the beginning of this Chapter, was conducted for the terms *transgender**, *transsexual** and *trans*. So far we have discussed the collocation analysis that emerged from the first two terms. For the term *trans* only a few collocates were retrieved that can be included in the category being described here: *color* (8), *colour* (8), *youth* (7), *students* (10). All of the collocates were retrieved from the QualCor.

Color and *colour* are respectively the third and the eleventh strongest collocates. The use of these pre/post-modifiers in this case is identical as for *transgender*,* with an intersectional function. This could hint at the fact that the QualCor uses *trans* as a synonym of *transgender* or as an umbrella term.

The second collocate we are going to look at from this category is the noun *youth,* which occurs in the sub-corpus seven times, in contexts like the following:

(39) We do have to, as a movement, give hope to these kids, and especially **young trans youth** like Leelah Alcorn, who committed suicide last year after leaving a devastating indictment of the world that she experienced, or Islan Nettles, who was murdered on the streets of New York in 2013. (*The Guardian*, June 30 2015)

This noun, although similar in terms of meaning to the post-modifiers found for the term *transgender** (*years*) as it puts an accent on the aspect of age, it does not have the same function. The use of this term, together with the other collocates retrieved for the term *trans*, namely *students*, occurring 10 times in the PopCor, introduces a new topic, that of young transgender people. The specific example presented above (example 39) refers to an unfortunate event happened in the USA in 2015, when a teenage transgender girl committed suicide in Ohio. An in-depth analysis of all the examples reveals a similar type of context. The examples referring to transgender youth deal with the description of problematic situations, in which suicide rates or the unfortunate situations in which young transgender people find themselves are discussed. Although representing a rather sad reality, in this case newspapers should once again be praised for acknowledging and giving space to young people's transgender identity. Talking about it means acknowledging and endorsing the fact that cases like these exist and society should make an effort in supporting these adolescents. The same pattern was found to occur for the collocate *students*. The articles containing this collocate mostly describe the harsh situations with which transgender students are confronted every day. These identities are at the same time acknowledged in articles like the following:

(40) It's important to honour students' choices of name - for **trans students**, this sends the important message that you accept their identities unfailingly. (*The Guardian*, June 2nd 2015)

This example (40) stresses the necessity to respect transgender students' identities starting from the name and pronoun choices. This last section of the analysis highlights an attempt on the part of the quality press considered in this study to introduce a more inclusive discourse in relation to transgender people, with the inclusion not only of new topics such as transgender youth identity but of a collaborative and non-discriminatory behaviour towards transgender people.

The discourse of inclusivity and non-discriminatory discourse is also conveyed by another grammatical variable: pronouns, as we underlined in section 5.3.

As we explained in the introduction to this section, we would like to address here two different categories emerged from the collocation analysis. These two groups have in common the fact that the terms included in them function as pre- or post-modifiers of the terms under investigation. The second category of collocates that will be analysed here has been defined as *Implying Verbs*. This category only includes three terms and is found only for the term *transsexual** in the PopCor. Despite the fact that this category is narrowed down just to one sub-corpus and one search term, it will be discussed here as we believe that it strongly reinforces the pattern related to the problematic use of the term *transsexual* highlighted in the PopCor. It was noticed that some of the verbs that were collocates of *transsexual* could contribute to the creation of a specific pattern; we defined this category as *Implying Verbs*. These are verbs that, in this context, carry a negative connotation and give a rather controversial representation of transsexual people as they imply something in their meaning. The collocates found relating to this pattern are: *cheated*, *claims* and *called*.

Cheated is the strongest collocate for *transsexual* and occurs six times, five of which are in 2014 and one in 2015. The term was found in contexts similar to the following example:

(41) Kendra recently split from her husband Hank Baskett after he allegedly **cheated** on her with a transsexual escort. (*Daily Mirror*, November 15th 2014)

This kind of construction depicts a situation in which transsexual people are represented as home-wreckers and as doing unconventional jobs, like being an escort. We hinted at this type of representation above as well, when discussing example (32). When in this construction, the term *transsexual* is either nominalised or followed by *model* or *escort* as in example (41).

The second verb that contributes to the negative representation of *transsexual** people is *claims*. This collocate is the seventh strongest for *transsexual** (8 occurrences), and it is found in contexts like the following:

(42) What actually happened was that he was placed in a women's prison because, dontcha know, he **claims** to be a transsexual and is waiting for that all important op. (*The Express*, December 19th 2013)

Here, the verb *claims* implies that what is being said might not be true. Additionally, the choice of the pronoun (*he*) implies that the person under discussion is not really a woman but a man who claims, or allegedly says, to be female. This type of pattern might create in the mind of the reader an image of transsexual people as liars, and although this specific example only relates to the person who is being discussed in this specific article, like all the other examples relate to the case presented in that article, this repeated pattern, associated to a transsexual person, could create a link between transsexual people more generally speaking and the possibility that they are liars. This assumption follows the idea that semantic prosody influences the way the reader/hearer perceives the meaning of specific words according to the context these are generally set in, thence the meaning this context associates to these terms. The repeated presentation of the term *transsexual* in relation to verbs that have a negative connotation automatically affiliates this term to that meaning and evaluation.

The last term that can be included in this category is *called*, occurring nine times. In all occurrences it was found in the phrase 'a transsexual called + *first name*', as in the following example:

(43) Manson, who is now a transsexual **called** Kyran Lee, wooed Carol with a fake Facebook account using photos of a man. (*Daily Mail*, November 28th 2015)

This type of construction implies that the name with which the person is addressed is akin to a pseudonym, and not their actual name. This pattern is only found in relation to the term *transsexual**, and could be critically interpreted as particularly problematic because it gives a negative representation of transsexual people, as they were fake people. This type of representation is similar to the discourse presented when discussing examples (7) and (8), where transgender people are represented as 'living as' a woman or man. Similarly here the verb *called* implies that this name is not always the real one. As we pointed out above, the occurrences of the specific terms analysed might not seem relevant in term of quantity. Nonetheless, they all have a similar function that builds up on a specific pattern of representation.

This chapter aimed at analysing the major terminological items used with reference to transgender people in the TransCor, looking at naming strategy choices, pronouns and titles as well as the choices made by newspapers to describe transgender people. Chapters six and seven, following this one, look into more details at the collocation analysis and the semantic patterns of representation emerged from this investigation.

6 Collective Representation and the Entertainment World in News Coverage

6.1 Introduction

The last section of the previous chapter introduced the collocation analysis, which is one of the main analytical tool used in this study. Section 5.4 presented two of the semantic categories of representation emerged from the collocation analysis, namely *Personal Details* and *Implying Verbs*. This chapter introduces and discusses the other semantic categories of representation retrieved through this investigation.

Following the analysis of frequency of the seed words used to collect the TransCor, we identified the most frequent terms (*transgender**, *transsexual** and *trans*) and went on to a much deeper examination of these terms, as we explained in Chapter four and five. Considering the two sub-corpora, QualCor and PopCor, a collocation analysis was conducted for the three terms, following the parameters illustrated in Chapter four. This analysis produced six lists of collocates, two for each term searched, which were most frequently co-occurring with these terms. Once we started looking at the lists, the most striking evidence was that many collocates were semantically related to one another; in a way, they were all referring to the same topics or events. This aspect enabled us to group the collocates in semantic categories, two of which, as we said above, were introduced in Chapter five, while the others are presented in the following sections. Section 6.2 describes the category defined as LGBTIQ+ *and other groups*. In this category the collocates hint at a type of representation that relates transgender people to a collective and group representation. Section 6.3 discusses the category defined as *Entertainment and celebrities*; here transgender people are represented in relation to famous people or TV shows and films featuring a transgender character or actor.

6.2 LGBTIQ+ and other groups

One of the patterns emerging from the collocation analysis suggested that some of the most common terms associated with the three most frequent search terms under

investigation (*transgender**, *trans* and *transsexual**) were related to other social groups or more in general to the LGBTIQ+ community, as illustrated in Table 6.1 below:

	QualCor	**Terms occurring in both sub-corpora**	**PopCor**
*transgender**	intersex (52), persons (16), binary (11), immigrant (8), individuals (28), lesbians (20), LGBTI (14), gays (18), hijras (7)	bisexual (456/100) lesbian (499/115), bi (8/6), questioning (14/6)	community (62), LGBT (15), gay (142), groups (8), group (16), people (102), members (6), trans (6)
*transsexual**	gays (10), lesbians (9), bisexual (21), lesbian (25), gender (12), and (123)	transvestite (6/8), gay (38/6), people (19/14), transgender (6/10)	transsexual (6), woman (13)
trans	cisgender (6), trans (35), lesbians (6), person (40), queer (14), feminist (5), bisexual (27), non (9), lesbian (24), men (21)	community (42), women (111), people (232), woman (59)	lobby (6), transgender (6)

Table 6.1 Collocates related to *LGBTIQ+ group & labels*.

This pattern of representation emerged for both sub-corpora and all three search terms, pointing to the fact that it is a recurrent pattern throughout the TransCor. The terms found in this category of representation, which is defined as *LGBTIQ+ group & labels,* include mostly descriptors of different groups that could be collectively seen as encompassing the LGBTIQ+ community.

The numerous occurrences of these words, both in terms of collocation and frequency in the texts, seem to point to a specific pattern in the context of use of the three adjectives, in some cases stronger in one sub-corpus than the other but occurring throughout the TransCor.

As it is the most frequent term, we first focus on *transgender**. Starting with the QualCor, this term often occurs as part of a list made up by the terms *bisexual*,

intersex and *lesbian*. These terms also happen to be its three strongest collocates, and comprise some of the words that form the acronym LGBTI. *Transgender** occurs in the QualCor 2,521 times. It is in a list with *lesbian*, *gay*, *bisexual*, *intersex*, *questioning* 493 times. In 434 of these occurrences, it occupies the last position, whilst for the other 59 times it is followed by *intersex* or *questioning,* and never by the other terms. The order of the words that precede *transgender* is not fixed. The term occurs in combination with only one of the words mentioned above 91 times (e.g. 'gay and transgender'). What emerges from this analysis is that one of the ways in which we find mention about transgender people in the QualCor is through a more collective representation, as shown in examples (44) and (45) below:

(44) Many **gay, lesbian, bisexual** and **transgender** people are sincerely and deeply mourning Margaret Thatcher's passing. (*The Guardian*, April 10th 2013)

(45) Asked if there were any who were "LGBT" (**lesbian**, **gay**, **bisexual**, and **transgender**), he was said to have been ignorant of the acronym, replying: "It's not my world. I haven't come across any players who've found themselves in that position [of being LGBT]. I haven't come across any players who would even arouse my suspicion that they would like to come out but are fearful of doing so. (*Daily Telegraph*, October 24th 2014)

In a way it is possible to relate this type of representation to what van Leeuwen (1996: 50) defines as Association. In his categorisation of the various ways in which social actors can be represented, he identifies Association as a way to represent social actors as groups. In fact, through this strategy social actors "rather than being represented as stable and institutionalised, [are] represented as an alliance which exists only in relation to a specific activity or set of activities" (van Leeuwen 1996: 50-1). This kind of representation seems to be popular. Baker (2014: 221) argues that "[t]he popularity of this practice of joining together a range of identity groups who are viewed as having minority or diverse sexualities and/or genders is sometimes signified by the acronym LGBT". He continues by suggesting that this can be interpreted as a way of inclusivity. However, as he also notes in his study, the typical positioning of transgender people at the end of the list may also hint at a sort of hierarchical system within the same LGBTIQ+ group.

Widening the perspective, two further ways of representing transgender people emerge from the one just illustrated. This group representation was found in contexts that fall under two different patterns. One is in articles that deal with

LGBTIQ+ issues, where it makes sense to find this acronym or the terms written out in full, as in the following example:

(46) Emmerich, who is gay, will tell the story of the 1969 riots at Stonewall Inn, in New York City's Greenwich Village, a mafia-owned bar popular with the **lesbian, gay, bisexual** and **transgender** community. (*The Guardian*, April 10th 2014)

In other cases, the term *transgender* occurs in lists in articles that are not specifically about transgender issues but refer, instead, to a wide range of minority or disempowered groups:

(47) Similarly, women, children and other traditionally marginalised groups such as people with disabilities, older people, people living in rural areas, racial, religious, ethnic, migrant and indigenous minorities, lesbian, gay, bisexual and **transgender** individuals must be enabled to overcome the additional hurdles they face. (*The Guardian*, April 21st 2015)

The repeated use of this pattern may suggest to the reader that all people in the LGBTIQ+ community have homogenous needs and concerns. Whilst this is not the case, by mentioning the term the newspapers underline the fact that this community is considered as an underprivileged minority that is in need of compassion and help by more privileged classes in society. This can be seen to contribute towards an inclusive discourse but at the same time does not fully acknowledge transgender people and perhaps the LGBTIQ+ community as a whole by the frequent practice of associating transgender identities with other groups. Minority groups based on sexual identity (gay, lesbian, bisexual) are thus conflated and collectivised with transgender identities and other groups. In a random sample of 100 concordances, the first pattern described above occurs 69 times while the second only occurs 31 times. Thus, we might summarise by saying that pattern one occurs 70% of the times whilst pattern two occurs 30% of the times.

Pattern two, described above, is reinforced by the use of another term, which we believe should be included in this category, not specifically for its meaning but for its use: *immigrant*. This collocate occurs in the QualCor only in the section of articles distributed in 2015. In this year, among the articles collected for the QualCor (919), 33 articles were about immigration. Bearing in mind that all articles chosen for inclusion in the corpus had to make reference to transgender identity, this means

that for 33 times the topics of immigration and transgender people occurred in the same article, usually in contexts as the one presented in the following example:

(48) The Ovarian Psycos Bicycle Brigade combines feminist ideals (it refers to womxn, not women) with advocacy for **immigrant**, indigenous, gay, **transgender**, prisoner and other marginalised groups. (*The Guardian*, October 5th 2015)

The general pattern indicates that the tendency is to bring transgender people together with other social groups, who have little in common other than their marginalised status. More specifically, the collocation analysis points out to eight cases in which the two terms, *immigrant* and *transgender*, are to be considered as collocates. In some cases (four out of eight), the two terms are used according to the second pattern described above, as in the following example:

(49) Having pledged to be the champion of everyday Americans, presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton came out swinging during a speech in New York on Thursday night in which she expanded her personal doctrine - "women's rights are human rights" - to the plight of mothers, fast food workers, **immigrants,** retirees, students, gay and **transgender** people and victims of sexual abuse. (*The Guardian*, April 25th 2015)

In other cases (four out of eight), instead, there is an intersectional use, in the sense of people holding multiple intersecting or overlapping social identities that are considered oppressed, discriminated and dominated, as shown in example (50):

(50) After the incident GutiÈrrez said: "There is no pride in how LGBTQ and **transgender immigrants** are treated in this country. If the president wants to celebrate with us, he should release the LGBTQ immigrants locked up in detention centres immediately." LGBTQ stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning (or queer). (*The Guardian*, June 25th 2015)

In all the occurrences of this collocational pairing, the meaning being conveyed by the sentence is that immigrants and transgender people are similar as both are a minority, a group separated from the rest of society, an underprivileged and discriminated group. In example (49), transgender people are thrown in a mix of different groups or people for which Mrs Clinton is willing to fight for. Nonetheless, all these groups — immigrants, transgender people or victims of sexual abuse — have different requests and different needs, but referring to them together builds a stronger argument. Example (50) points out to the discrimination LGBTIQ+ people

face, more so if they are immigrants. In particular, this example puts an accent on transgender people. Despite being already included in the acronym, they are also specifically mentioned.

Again we find two patterns, one that relates to the second one presented above and the other to a more intersectional use of the collocates. Both patterns point to a vulnerable representation of these identities. The prosody that comes with this linguistic representation seems to be positive although there is stress on three different aspects: a) the transgender community is a social group that is at great risk; b) some groups are more privileged than others; c) a will to change this situation is expressed.

Looking at the PopCor, for the collocations of *transgender**, it is possible to notice some similarities in the results between the two sub-corpora, but some differences as well. As in the QualCor, *bisexual* is the strongest collocate also in the PopCor, followed in fourth and fifth position by *lesbian* and *questioning*. The difference is that the discourses surrounding the phrase *gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender* in the PopCor differs in comparison to the QualCor. There is still a will to represent transgender people in a more collective way, but the context in which the phrase is usually found is different. The QualCor examples show that in many cases this phrase is found in articles in which the main topic is not the transgender community nor the wider LGBTIQ+ community and transgender identities are only mentioned in passing as an example of one of many marginalised groups. In the PopCor, instead, only a few examples of this pattern were found, like the one in the example that follows:

(51) The night before she announced the breakdown of her marriage, the blonde actress appeared at a gala in Los Angeles titled An Evening With Women' a fundraiser for the **lesbian, gay, bisexual** and **transgender** community. (*Daily Mail*, June 12th 2014)

In this case, the article is about the life of Billy Elliot and the mention of the phrase has no specific relevance to the overall article. What is notable here is that despite the collective representation most of the articles retrieved are related to LGBTIQ+ issues, as in the following example:

(52) THE website of former children's minister Sarah Teather boasted last week: "Previous governments have shied away from taking action on equal marriage but the Liberal Democrats are tackling the inequalities faced by the **gay, lesbian, bisexual** and **transgender** community head on". (*The Express,* February 7th 2013)

This pattern introduces an inclusive type discourse, aimed at informing the readership about rules and other decisions taken in order to fight inequalities, prejudice and homophobia and at raising awareness about LGBTIQ+ issues. The PopCor contains a total of 84 articles that use the phrase *lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transgender*, or a combination of the four terms, 56 of which specifically refer to LGBTIQ+ issues, whilst 28 use the phrase in articles unrelated to such issues. Similarly to the second pattern described for the QualCor, also in the PopCor there is a share of articles in which the term *transgender** is mostly used to sensationalise the news rather than to actually talk about a related issue.

Furthermore, another type of prosody was also detected, that is, in some cases newspapers made specific linguistic and content choices leading to a negative representation of transgender people and the LGBTIQ+ community more in general, as we can see in the following example:

(53) FIRST, we had all-woman' shortlists for prospective MPs. Now Labour MP David Lammy calls for black and minority ethnic shortlists to boost their number in the Commons.
At this rate, how long will it be, I wonder, before we have **gay, bisexual** and **transgender** shortlists, too? You read it here first. (*Daily Mail*, August 2nd 2014)

It can be argued that example (53) above presents a negative representation of transgender people. The opinion columnist Amanda Platell, an Australian journalist, and one of the most established voices of the *Daily Mail*, wrote the article from which this excerpt was taken. In this article, the author is commenting on various political situations occurring in the UK, also pointing her finger at David Cameron. In the excerpt presented in example (53), she is suggesting how bad it would be to have representatives of the LGBTIQ+ community as MPs, putting them in the last position after a previous series of bad choices, first shortlisting women, then black people, to become active politicians. Assertions like the one presented in this example, made by key figures of the newspaper's staff, strongly resonate with the newspaper's point of view about specific issues. As we suggested in Chapter four, the opinion column, like the one presented here, strongly stands for the general views

of the newspaper. The fact that the newspaper lets its journalists speak about transgender people in such terms does not convey solidarity towards the community, but the opposite feeling. Articles such as the following support this type of discourse:

(54) She-o was he-o in Rio
THIS boy from Brazil is transformed into a catwalk queen at a **transgender** beauty pageant in Rio de Janeiro.
More than 30 bikini-clad **transsexual** and **transvestite** contestants strutted their stuff before brunette Raika Ferraz, 21, was crowned Miss T Brazil 2013.
Raika will represent Brazil at Miss International Queen in Thailand next month. (*The Sun*, October 23rd 2013)

In this brief article, the term *transgender* seems to be used as a hyponym for *transsexual* and *transvestite*, as the contest is defined as a 'transgender beauty pageant', but then it specifies that it has transsexual and transvestite participants. Similarly to other findings that will be presented later in this chapter, the different terms are used indistinctively, and this behaviour, as we mentioned already, can be problematic. The participants to this beauty contest held in Rio de Janeiro are first referred to as *transgender*, then as *transsexual* and finally as *transvestite*. As it was pointed out in the last sub-section of Chapter 4, identity is not something that we can simply define with any words, especially when it comes to gender identity, and without paying any attention to the words used. Moreover, while *transgender* and *transsexual* refer to gender identity, *transvestite* refers to a practice that some people like and does not account for all transgender people and *vice versa*. As if this was not enough, to mislead the reader even more, the author of this article also decides to create a pun with pronouns in the headline of the article, as we also pointed out in Chapter five. Articles like this one, even if occurring once in a corpus of 3000 articles, tell the readers that it is right to play, to make jokes, to create puns about someone's gender identity, and reinforce the idea that, after all, if it makes you laugh it is ok to say it, that irony is always justifiable. Articles like this, put newspapers like *The Sun* in that list of media outlets that still have a long way ahead in terms of equality and respect for others.

Among the collocates retrieved only in the PopCor, the terms *community* and *groups* were also found to occur. As the nature of these terms suggests, they convey a plural and collective representation. Both terms were in most cases (*community*

47/62; *groups* 5/8) found in collocation with the adjective *transgender* putting under the spotlight the concept of a 'transgender community', as in the following example:

(55) Watt insists it is not a gimmick but a genuine effort to help the **transgender community.** (*Daily Mail*, November 8th 2015)

This type of representation, using the term community to indicate a group of people that identify as transgender, does reify the concept of a single transgender community that, in reality, does not exist. As pointed to in the Introduction and in Chapter five, transgender identity as much as transgender community cannot be given one specific definition. The concept of community in this case could be read in light of Benedict Anderson's idea of "imagined community" (1983). If we agree on the fact that transgender identities have many shades and that the term *transgender* cannot be indicative of one specific identity, the same goes for transgender community, which in return can be considered a socially constructed community. Thus, it cannot be referred to as a unit, where all individuals have the same needs and represent themselves according to the same characteristics.

Different newspapers seem to foreground different aspects, but the overall prosody of the articles taken from the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* build on a positive and inclusive representation of transgender people, when it comes to articles which talk about 'the community'. Phrases and terms like *genuine effort to help, efforts, bigoted vomit* (referring to insults towards transgender people)*, cater for, loads of support* are frequently used in these articles which provide a welcoming and caring representation of the transgender community.

A different type of representation seems to be conveyed by *The Express*, as we can see from the following examples:

(56) I bet you couldn't screen this in today's mustn't- give- offence world. The notoriously touchy "**transgender community**" would be in uproar. For starters, you can't talk about sex change any longer, you have to call it gender reassignment or some such. (*The Express*, June 6th 2015)

(57) It is not the first time the Green Party-controlled Brighton council has surprised locals with their proposals. Last year councillors agreed to scrap the words "men's" and "ladies" on public toilets in favour of "gender neutral" facilities so as not to "alienate the **transgender community**". (*The Express,* March 8 2014)

In examples (56) and (57) the transgender community is described negatively, as *notoriously touchy* and exaggerated (*in uproar*) in its (hypothetical) reactions. Example (56) also complains about language regulation around transgender people, and is dismissive of the supposedly correct term (*or some such*). In addition, example (57) starts by mentioning how the city council is helping ex-convicts and finishes by mentioning that the idea of gender-neutral toilets came as a surprise to locals in Brighton. *The Express* seems not to be in line with the other three newspapers included in the PopCor, using more discriminating and non-inclusive language to refer to the transgender community. Similarly to the findings retraced by Baker (2014), *The Express,* by using these specific wordings "contributes towards a construction of this community in terms of its propensity for offence […] over trivialities" (Baker 2014: 223).

The discussion so far focused on the collocates of the term *transgender** that belong to the *LGBTIQ+ groups and labels* category. For this category collocates were retrieved for the term *transsexual** as well. Despite the fact that some of these collocates differ from the results found for *transgender**, we can point to the words *transvestite* and *and*, affirming that the representational pattern reflects the one mentioned above. This last term is believed to be part of the collective type of representation because it was used in all collocates in the phrase 'transsexual and x' where x is one of the other words of this category, adhering to the pattern of collective representation described for *transgender*.

Similarly, as far as the term *trans* is concerned, the pattern found is comparable to those associated to *transgender** and *transsexual**. The most frequent collocates are the same or similar to the ones found previously except for one: *lobby.* This collocate was found in the phrase 'trans lobby' 6 times in the PopCor. *Lobby* is the strongest collocate for *trans* and examples of its use are in the following excerpts:

(58) This is where the insanity of the rights' culture leads. And there is no group more militant or vituperative than the minuscule but totalitarian **trans lobby.** (*Daily Mail*, June 5th 2015)

(59) The **trans lobby** has taken over from the gay rights gang as the most militant, vociferous campaigning group in the country. The public sector is already in thrall to pressure from the transgendered industry. (*Daily Mail*, February 19th 2013)

(60) The militant **trans lobby** wouldn't rest until every loo in the country was gender-neutral'. (*Daily Mail*, October 7th 2014)

All occurrences are found in the *Daily Mail*, which puts forward the idea of a fundamentalist and militant transgender lobby that is trying to take over from a supposedly now in power gay lobby and instilling provocative ideas in the minds of people. This representation builds on adjectives like *vituperative*, *totalitarian* and *vociferous* to describe this "lobby".

This section analysed in more details the way in which transgender identities are represented in the TransCor through strategies that build on a collective representation of transgender people. The following section looks at a different type of representation related to a new semantic pattern, namely *Entertainment and Celebrities*.

6.3 Entertainment and Celebrities

This section deals with a different semantic category from the one examined above. The group of terms emerging from the collocation list deals with the world of celebrities, famous transgender people or characters in television or film. This group of collocates is defined as the *Entertainment and Celebrities* category. In a way, this type of representation, especially in the cases of fictional characters, more generally speaking recalls what van Leeuwen (1996) defines as Symbolisation. This strategy of inclusion in the representation of social actors "occurs when a 'fictional' social actor or group of social actors stands for actors or groups in non-fictional social practices" (van Leeuwen 1996: 62). This strategy was found to occur when referring to fictional transgender characters, whilst the representation is different when we are talking about artists who play a character in a film. The collocates retrieved for this category are presented in Table 6.2 below:

	QualCor	Terms occurring in both sub-corpora	PopCor
*transgender**	Lees (9), Elbe (16), Rayon (6), Woodlawn (9), Tambor (10), Jeffrey (10), Lili (17), Judy (8), Holly (8), blind (9), superstar (6), Laverne (8), celebrities (8), sitcom (8)	pioneer (13/6)	Lauren (7), Caitlyn (14), artist (11), plays (9), Jenner (12), character (13), soap (7), MP (7), promoter (6), plays (11)
*transsexual**	Burchill (6), Moore (6)	/	Harries (7), Lauren (8), Hayley (18), model (7), Julie (6), Kellie (14), London (6)
trans	Laverne (6), Root (7), Fox (6), Cox (7), actor (12)	/	/

Table 6.2 Collocates related to *Entertainment and Celebrities*.

Starting from the results retrieved in the QualCor for the term *transgender**, this is the second largest group of words among the collocates in the QualCor, as it includes 30% of the terms. Many of the collocates in this category are names of actors or show business personalities who identify as transgender or have been involved in playing a transgender character. These include *Jeffrey Tambor* who played the main character of Maura in the TV series *Transparent* (2014), or *Laverne* Cox who not only is a transgender person herself but also became famous for playing the character of Sophia Burset in the TV series *Orange is the New Black* (2013). *Judy* is the main character of the British TV series *Boy meets Girl* (2015), another example of a transgender character played by a transgender actress. *Pioneer*, *Elbe* and *Lili* all refer to the film *The Danish Girl* (2015), and *Rayon* is the transgender character played by Jared Leto in the film *Dallas Buyers Club*. Paris *Lees* is a transgender activist who became famous for her transgender awareness campaign. *Holly Woodlawn* is a transgender actress of Portorican origins who worked closely with the singer Lou Reed and was mentioned in many newspapers after the death of the abovementioned artist. The *Entertainment and Celebrities* category does not only include

personalities from the big screen but from politics as well. In fact, the collocate *blind* refers to a British Labour party MP who is blind and transgender. The rest of the terms refer more generally to the world of celebrities.

An important point to make in relation to this category is that TV and films are one of the major platforms through which transgender identity is presented to a larger audience. This raises the question about how people perceive transgender individuals in their appearance in entertainment, and what effects this presence has on the audience. The outcome of this representation might on the one hand dramatise and fictionalise their identities, making them glamorous, larger than life and exciting; on the other hand, if the portrayals are sensitive, this may help in terms of raising awareness and making people sympathetic. At the same time, this representation could have a negative impact if taken to extremes. In order to understand the way that references to the world of entertainment and celebrities are used in the British press, and to try and see to which of the hypotheses presented above this representation is closer, a small number of collocates were examined in more detail through a concordance analysis.

One of the cases that holds an important role, especially in 2015, is about Lili Elbe, one of the first people in history who underwent gender reassignment surgery in 1930. Her story was narrated in the film *The Danish Girl*, which came out at the beginning of 2015. The main roles were played by Eddie Redmayne, who interpreted Lili, and Alicia Vikander, who played Gerda Wegener, Lili's wife. From the point of view of collocations, in the QualCor, *Elbe* occurs 16 times, *Lili* 17 and *pioneer* 11 times (*pioneer* is a collocate of *transgender** 13 times, but occurs in contexts related to *The Danish Girl* only 11 times). These three collocates all refer to the film. If we look at concordances of the same terms, and of other terms related to this, *Elbe* occurs 56 times, *Lili* 77 times and *pioneer* 13 times, while Wegener occurs 48, Einar 56, Eddie 79, Redmayne 154, Danish Girl 86, to underline the high number of articles discussing this film, and its relevance in the corpus. The extracts presented below are a representative sample through which it is possible to identify the kind of discourse constructed around this topic. If we consider the three collocates, we can notice that *Elbe* always occurs with *Lili*, and *pioneer* occurs with the other two collocates eight times, while once only with *Lili*, three of the collocates occur in the

same article, while other two are grouped in another article. Thus, we have a total of 16 different articles in which the collocates occur. Looking more in detail at the examples taken from the QualCor, it emerged that two main patterns are used to discuss this topic. The first pattern can be observed in the following examples:

(61) Elsewhere in the festival competition, the world premiere of Tom Hooper's The Danish Girl will give some indication of whether Eddie Redmayne can hope to win best actor two years in a row. The role is timely - he plays **transgender pioneer Lili Elbe**, an artist who lived in 1920s Copenhagen. (*The Times*, August 29th 2015)

(62) The awards buzz around Tom Hooper's film about the **transgender pioneer** Einar Wegener/**Lili Elbe** should kick up a notch after its world premiere at the Venice Film Festival. The film, which features Eddie Redmayne following his performance as Stephen Hawking with another equally physically challenging role, is the kind of safe, prestige package that is pretty much assured a clutch of nominations. (*The Times*, September 7th 2015)

In 10 of the articles under investigation we can see the emergence of this first pattern, as in examples (61) and (62) above, where the main focus is on the actor and the fact that playing this role gave him a chance to win a prize as best actor two times in a row. This first pattern does not emphasise the film for its content but for the mastery of the actor. Some information about the film is given, and in many cases the information is almost contrasting, considering the different newspapers. Examples (61) and (62) are taken from *The Times*. In the first case, the role is defined as *timely*, and the whole article focuses mainly on Redmayne's interpretation; whilst the latter, although referring to her as a pioneer of transgender identity, features a way of addressing Lili Elbe, not popular among transgender people, by referring to her name assigned at birth and the name after the transition separated by a slash. The most important aspect of the film, that is, to narrate the story of one of the first transgender people in Europe, seems to be somehow left behind in these examples. The type of representation recalls what van Leeuween (1996: 39) defines as Backgrounding, a practice of Exclusion in the representation of the social actor who instead of being the primary centre of attention, or excluded *tout court* as it happens for the Suppression strategy, is represented in the background, with minor references to them. This type of representation is not in line with any of the hypotheses presented at the beginning of this analysis, as so far it does not really give a strong evaluative stance on transgender identity.

The second pattern emerges in the other 6 articles under investigation, and the general prosody found in these examples is as in the example below.

(63) Having played the **transgender** artist **Lili Elbe** in his latest film project The Danish Girl, Eddie Redmayne has said he "salutes" Caitlyn Jenner's bravery for publicly revealing her new female identity on the cover of Vanity Fair in April. […] Redmayne added that he was so grateful to the transgender community for educating him in such an open way as he prepared for the role. (*i*, August 13th 2015)

In these articles, as in example (63), the topic of transgender identity is dealt with in a more sympathetic way. A supportive and accepting discourse emerges from this example taken from the *i*. Here Redmayne describes Jenner as brave and shows gratitude to the transgender community as he prepared for the role. The example positions Redmayne as collaborating with the transgender community to create the role. This shows him as supporting the community, but most importantly, it also positions the community as supporting him, helping to legitimate the portrayal of a transgender person that he was requested to play. The prosody presented in these articles is positive and responds to one of the hypotheses presented at the beginning of this analysis which suggested that the portrayal of transgender identity in relation to celebrities might help raise awareness and give a more realistic and positive representation of transgender people.

This representation is reinforced by another set of collocates, that is *Jeffrey* and *Tambor*, which always occur together and refer to the actor who played Maura in the TV series *Transparent*. In the 10 articles, except for one case, the focus is strongly on transgender identity and the way this representation is helpful in terms of raising awareness about this topic, in line with the findings highlighted in the second pattern above. In these examples, great emphasis is put on the transition and the struggles Maura and her family go through as she announces her transition. This type of representation again recalls Symbolisation (van Leeuwen 1996) as the story of a fictional character is useful to explain what transgender people go through in real life. The prosody in these examples is again positive, and there are references to the need to talk about the issue and to the reciprocal acknowledgement of the actor and transgender people. The pattern of representation which reinforces the positive prosody about transgender identity, described so far, is retraceable for the collocate

Judy as well. In the eight examples in which this collocate is present, the main focus is on the ground breaking BBC TV series *Boy meets Girl*:

(64) Boy Meets Girl was commissioned by the BBC after the script, by Elliott Kerrigan, won the Trans Comedy Award in 2013, and will be the first BBC comedy to feature transgender issues prominently, as it follows the developing relationship between 26-year-old Leo and 40-year-old **Judy**, who is a **transgender** woman.
Judy is to be played by actor and stand-up comedian Rebecca Root, who underwent transition surgery in 2005. While it is still rare to see trans actors playing trans characters on British screens, Root follows in the footsteps of comedian Bethany Black, the first trans woman to play a recurring trans character on TV, Helen in Russell T Davies's Channel 4 comedies Banana and Cucumber. (*The Guardian*, February 4th 2015)

Example (64) above explains that the main character of the series, a 40-years-old transgender woman, is played by a transgender actor. The article, which is taken as an example, stresses the importance of having shows like this one, where transgender people are represented in a way that humanises them and is far from the medical, and at time, artificial type of representations, especially when it comes to love relationships where everybody has their worries and struggles. Narrating these stories, even in a fictional context, is a way of building up awareness about the topic of transgender identity.

So far we have examined how the use of *transgender* in the quality press in relation to the entertainment world has a positive prosody and contributes to a discourse of inclusivity and awareness raising. Turning our sight to the popular press we can notice that the category of *Entertainment and Celebrities* only represents the 22% of the collocates in the PopCor. Some of the results are related to the same topics discussed for the QualCor. However, in this sub-corpus we found a mention to *Caitlyn Jenner*, whose name was not retrieved as a collocate for the term *transgender** in the QualCor and also to boxer *promoter* Kellie Maloney who underwent gender reassignment in 2014.

Starting with the only term this category has in common with the QualCor, *pioneer*, the topic is not as popular in this sub-corpus as it is in the previous one. This term collocates with *transgender** only 7 times. Extending the search to concordances, the results are not very different, since *Lili Elbe* was found only 18 times, which demonstrates that this topic was much less discussed here compared to the QualCor. The following examples show the collocate in context:

(65) The actor's pressing need to explore womanliness, in all its aspects, is because of a role he will play in director Tom Hooper's Working Title film The Danish Girl, about **transgender pioneer** Einar Wegener, which starts filming next month. (*Daily Mail*, January 16th 2015)

(66) EDDIE Redmayne lives up to his name with a head of auburn curls to portray a **transgender pioneer**. (*Daily Mirror,* February 28th 2015)

In all 7 occurrences of the collocate *pioneer,* the pattern of representation reveals to be similar to the first pattern found in the QualCor, that is, the articles are mainly about the actor's experience in the film rather than the topic of the film, and again the issue of transgender identity is backgrounded, as shown in examples (65) and (66) above. Example (65) deals with the needs of the actor before starting filming while example (66) praises him for his incredibly faithful representation of the character he played, according to the press.

As far as differences in the two lists are concerned, the first noticed was that while the QualCor discusses fictional transgender identity more extensively the PopCor keeps its focus on celebrities who have transitioned from their gender assigned at birth. We will now see what type of prosody is conveyed by this representation. The analysis that follows addresses two collocates related to each other, *Caitlyn* and *Jenner*, and the collocate related to Kellie Maloney. These two celebrities are popular in the PopCor as the two terms *Caitlyn* and *Jenner* co-occur 44 times, while the two terms *Kellie* and *Maloney* co-occur 90 times.

The articles (17, considering those in which the two collocates co-occur) which contain the collocates *Caitlyn* and *Jenner*, follow the pattern showed in examples (67) and (68) below:

(67) Impressive, but small beer compared with **transgender** woman du jour **Caitlyn Jenner**, who this week bagged a record 1 million followers in four hours. (*Daily Mail*, June 4th 2015)

(68) In a Q&A session in San Francisco this week, reality TV star Kim Kardashian, 34, who's expecting her second child, a boy, with rapper husband Kanye West, opened up about **transgender** stepdad **Caitlyn.** (*Daily Mirror*, July 2nd 2015a[30])

In 9 cases, the articles mention the collocates in the pattern showed in example (67). In these cases, the story is not about the celebrity's life, nor about her transition. It

[30] Examples taken from articles published from the same newspaper on the same day are marked by a letter following the date in order to distinguish them.

seems like the mention is rather a strategy of sensationalisation than used for reasons related to her and her identity. Representations like this one contribute to the glamorisation of her identity, as we hypothesised in the beginning of this analysis. The representation builds on her popularity; example (67) emphasises how many followers she gained in a few hours, and similar comments are made in the other articles, where her popularity is compared to other celebrities, representing her as a heroine and an example to follow. Although the prosody conveyed by these articles seems to be positive, it can be argued that this type of representation is a doubled-sided coin and can be seen as not positive for transgender people. In fact, the extreme celebration and dramatisation of this identity might create a positive representation of it in the eyes of the readers but also have the opposite effect.

In reference to Caitlyn, another pattern of representation was retrieved in three articles. According to this pattern, Caitlyn is mentioned in articles about her family, the Kardashians. As we can see in example (68), in these articles she is referred to as *stepdad* or *ex-husband*. Similarly to what found in relation to the pattern exemplified in (67), *Caitlyin Jenner* is only mentioned in these article as a way to attract attention on the article. Furthermore, whilst in the first case the prosody resulted positive, these articles refer to a woman through male appellatives, which builds a negative representation of her identity, and generate confusion in the reader who is presented with an incoherent representation. We discussed this type of pattern earlier in this Chapter and in Chapter five. These choices point to a misgendering of the person talked about in the article as they rely on the gender assigned at birth, a gender with which Caitlyn Jenner does no longer identify. In addition, in three of the 16 articles, the practice of referring to the name assigned at birth was noticed, as shown in example (69) below shows:

(69) Anna Wintour, editor-in-chief of American Vogue, was second and Hollywood star Jolie third. **Transgender Caitlyn Jenner,** formerly **Bruce**, was seventh. (*Daily Mirror*, July 2nd 2015b)

We discussed the practice of using deadnames in the previous chapter, in relation to Chelsea Manning; this new evidence proves that this is a common practice for newspapers.

The other celebrity that will be discussed here, as a consequence of the results of the collocational analysis is Kellie Maloney. The collocate which refers to her is *promoter*, which was found 6 times, as in the example below:

(70) VOICE trembling with emotion at first, but soon regaining the promoter's gift of the gab, Kellie Maloney is back in boxing. The hustler formerly known as Frank Maloney […] A partisan Glaswegian crowd fuelled by an Olympian thirst will be an intriguing sample of public opinion towards boxing's first **transgender** manager/**promoter** (*Daily Mirror*, April 24th 2015).

Example (70) shows the main pattern used in the representation of Kellie. Differently from the representation strategies used for Caitlyn, in 4 out of the 6 articles considered here, the main topic of the news story is exactly the celebrity's life and transition. It could be argued that this pattern is due to the fact that Kellie is a local while Caitlyn is an international celebrity. Therefore, British people might have more interest in learning about local celebrities' life. As already mentioned, the popular press, as one of the peculiarities of its genre, mainly focuses on local (UK, Ireland, Europe) news. Thus, this might influence the way the two celebrities are talked about. As the practice of deadnaming occurred for both celebrities, we believed that was worth looking deeper into the matter. A concordance analysis of the two names was carried out to determine how frequent this practice is, among the examples retrieved we find:

(71) Beguilingly topical, too, in the wake of Olympic athlete **Bruce Jenner** and boxing promoter **Frank Maloney** so publicly transforming themselves, respectively, into **Caitlyn** and **Kellie.** (*Daily Mail,* September 7th 2015)

Caitlyn Jenner was found to occur in 35 different articles (articles in which there was more than one occurrence were counted once), 11 of which contain the reference to the name assigned at birth, as we can see in example (71). This example contains both of the names searched for and corresponding deadnames. *Kellie Maloney* was found to occur in 67 articles (articles in which there was more than one occurrence were counted once) and in 35 of them the reference to the name assigned at birth is present. This brings even more evidence to the fact that this practice is common though not preferred by many transgender people. The negative aspect of this practice is that it makes the reader feel that it is acceptable to use the name assigned at birth or refer to the person before the transition, whilst this is a really subjective

issue and each transgender person has different feelings about it. The analysis also revealed articles in which Caitlyn Jenner was refereed to only as Bruce (her name before the transition). This is evidence that the press has not clear guidelines to use when it comes to transgender identity, and it is mostly up to the good sense of the journalist.

So far the analysis concentrated on the collocates this category shows for the term *transgender**. We will now move on to the analysis of *trans* and *transsexual**. *Trans* presents some collocates only in the QualCor that fit this category. A more in-depth analysis reveals that no interesting results emerge from their linguistic environment. *Transsexual** also presents some collocates that fit this category. In the QualCor, this category, in reference to *transsexual**, has only two words (4% of the collocates). These two collocates, *Burchill* and *Moore*, are among the strongest collocates as the former is in the second place whilst the latter is in the fifth place in the collocation list. The collocates refer to two journalists, Julie Burchill and Suzanne Moore, who are popular among the LGBTIQ+ community for two articles that they wrote where they used arguable adjectives to define transsexual women. We discussed this issue in Chapter five, section 4, in reference to another category that emerged from the collocation analysis, *Personal Details*. The article written by Burchill was also discussed by Baker (2014) who argues that this case opened up the debate on the representation of transgender people in the press and on what should be considered as freedom of speech and what should be condemned and forbidden in the press (Baker 2014: 212). The articles which contain the collocates here are not the ones which raised the discussion. They are articles by other journalists and newspapers discussing the issue and are of the outmost importance in this case to determine what kind of stance the press is taking following the critiques from the readers to these two journalists.

Most of the collocates co-occur in the articles as the two journalists have been both accused by some readers regarding related articles. However, Moore's article, as Alice Pearson suggests in her piece published in *The Daily Telegraph* on January 17th 2013 (this article was also discussed in Chapter 5 and is part of the TransCor), meant no harm, whilst Julie Burchill did not even attempt to control her pen, and insulted transsexual people not only through the words she used to describe them

(see Baker 2014 and Chapter 5.4) but by a generalisation on behaviours of transsexual people, generally defined as *transsexuals*. The 12 collocates (6 for *Burchill* and 6 for *Moore*) occur in eight different articles. As we anticipated in Chapter five, different newspapers had different behaviours regarding this issue, and while *The Times* (2 articles) and *The Guardian* (1 article) maintained a descriptive attitude and limited articles to narrating the events from both points of view without giving any judgment towards the facts themselves, the *i* (2 articles) and *The Daily Telegraph* (3 articles) had more evaluative opinions on the matter (see also Chapter five). More evidence to support this statement can be found in the following examples (72) and (73). The two articles from the *i* appear in 2013, right after the facts happened, and in 2015. In 2013 (see also example (37) chapter 5.4) the article is an ode to Julie Burchill and her innovative and transgressive style of writing. The article was written by Simon Kelner, a British journalist and newspaper editor. He defines Burchill's work as "a soundtrack to [his] journalistic life" and goes on by saying that although not always in line with her point of view he "venerated her as a true original who, through the power of her prose, regularly made you ashamed for following conventional wisdom" and ends this same article by implying that freedom of speech also "includes the freedom to offend" (*i*, January 16 2013). While Kelner never explicitly states that it was wrong to condemn Burchill for publicly insulting people, he never defines these events as a dark page of the British press.

Freedom of speech and the use of social media is the main focus of the second article appeared on the *i* and containing these two collocates. In this case, the events are used as an example in which social media platforms can function as a real crucifix, where information spreads quickly and were people are keener on expressing themselves freely despite correctness. The events were not evaluated as negative, but the parts of Burchill were taken for receiving such a violent dislike following her article. We have described the *i* as an inclusive and considerate newspaper in other parts of the analysis presented in this this study, but this case is a clear exception and proof of the consequences of not having clear guidelines to follow and an informed knowledge of the issues discussed.

Similarly, *The Daily Telegraph*, as exemplified below, has controversial thoughts about the events:

(72) Given the outrage this month when the columnist Suzanne **Moore** joked about **transsexuals** - and the even noisier outrage when another columnist, Julie Burchill, used the phrase "chicks with d----" - I doubt such a scene could be written today. (*Daily Telegraph*, January 26th 2013)

(73) Oh, and two small words of advice to all the **transsexuals** "offended" by Suzanne **Moore**: man up! (*Daily Telegraph*, January 17th 2013)

While the *i*, despite its beliefs tried in a way to keep the tone down, the story is different for this newspaper, where supposedly 'offended transsexuals' are advised to 'man up!', and the readers' expressions of dislike for these comments are defined as 'even noisier outrage'. The lexical choices in these articles carry a specific prosody, when the journalists chooses to use the verb 'to joke' and the adjective 'noisy', or when the term 'offended' is put in inverted commas or finally when a highly gendered comment is referred to people for which gender identity recognition is one of the most important aspects of their lives. These articles put transsexual people in a negative light by representing them as oversensitive and over reacting to something that after all was only done to have fun, diminishing the real impact that these comments might have on transgender identity. The newspaper explicitly takes the sides of the two journalists by suggesting that they were attacked for no right cause and their freedom of speech was undermined.

If we turn to the popular press, the collocates retrieved for the PopCor are completely different. On a first note they are more numerous, 14% of the collocates under investigation. As we found for the analysis of the collocations of *transgender**, we have names of both fictional and non-fictional characters among the results. We will take in deeper consideration some of the collocates in order to identify linguistic patterns of representation in the use of *transsexual** in the PopCor in relation to the semantic category of *Entertainment and Celebrities*. We will first analyse the linguistic patterns that surround the collocate *Hayley*, a fictional character in the famous British soap opera *Coronation Street*, and then we will look at the linguistic patterns that accompany the collocate *Kellie*, referring to Kellie Maloney, found for the term *transgender** as well.

Hayley was found to occur 18 times as a collocate of *transsexual**. Hayley Cropper is one of the characters of this traditional British soap opera and one of the

first fictional characters to identify as a transsexual person in a British show, played by the cisgender actress Julie Hesmondhalgh. Newspapers talked about this character as the actress decided after fifteen years to leave the show; therefore, the plot had to change and Hayley was discovered having cancer and decided to take her own life before the cancer would take it. The media used this event to discuss the issue of euthanasia. All the articles reported positively on this character, using inclusive, non-discriminating language and coherent pronouns throughout the articles. The only instance of deadnaming is reported in the example that follows (74):

(74) For 16 years ago, who would have expected **transsexual Hayley** - a woman formerly a man called Harold Patterson - to sustain a relationship with social misfit Roy Cropper for such a long time? (*Daily Mail*, January 18th 2014)

Perhaps it could be suggested that the gender identity of the actress playing Hayley could have influenced the discussion about her, therefore, facilitated the use of feminine pronouns on the part of the journalists, but there is no specific linguistic evidence to support this hypothesis.

The other collocate considered here is *Kellie*, occurring in a collocational pair with the term *transsexual** 14 times, for a total of 13 articles (two occurrences are in the same article). In this case, two different patterns were found. The first one, occurring in 6 articles, is showed in the examples (75) and (76) below:

(75) Tracey Maloney, 47, spoke of the traumatic' effect on the family after Frank - who now calls himself **Kellie** - revealed he was **transsexual**. The air stewardess admitted she would even have kept it a secret for the sake of their two daughters. (*Daily Mail*, August 18th 2014)

(76) Father-of-three Frank, who is now living as a woman named Kellie, hit rock bottom when his marriage collapsed due to his **transsexual** turmoil. **Kellie**, 61, said: "It got to a point where I just couldn't cope any longer. I couldn't go on and I had to end it. (*Daily Mirror*, August 11th 2014)

These articles use a mix of feminine and masculine pronouns and refer to Kellie both with her name assigned at birth and her chosen name. The other pattern, occurs in 6 articles, and it is showed in example (77) below:

(77) **Kellie** has lived as a **transsexual** for longer than the year transition period recommended by private clinics to ensure patients can cope with change. […] As Frank, she managed world champ Lennox Lewis from 1989 until 2001. (*Daily Mirror*, October 17th 2014)

Here the article uses feminine pronouns and refers to Kellie as a woman throughout, but always using the name assigned to her at birth. Example (77) shows how the deadname Frank is followed by female pronouns. Only one article shows no gender references. Both these patterns can be said to contribute to a negative discourse around transsexual people. The incoherent use of pronouns, titles and modifiers might generate misunderstanding in the reader. The use of pronouns that do not adhere to the chosen gender is strongly criticised by some transgender people and most guidelines for the use of non-discriminatory language advice to always use the pronouns that mirror the chosen gender of the person, as we discussed in Chapter five.

It is necessary to mention the fact that *Kellie* was retrieved both as a collocate of *transgender** and as a collocate of *transsexual**, meaning that both adjectives were used to refer to the same person in the PopCor. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, this practice is also unwelcomed by many transgender people as it makes it a common practice to use the two term interchangeably. In order to see to what extent this practice is used when it comes to celebrities, we went back to the corpus and turned to concordances to check the linguistic choices made for other names of celebrities that appeared in the collocation analysis in both sub-corpora. The mention of these characters is displayed in many different ways, by referring to the full fictional name, or to the full name of the artist, to the first name, last name or nick-name. Therefore, it would be impossible to give an exact number of the articles in which journalists chose to identify a person as *transgender* and the ones where they chose to identify them as *transsexual*. As a sample to identify this pattern, we will only consider those articles in which the full name is used. As far as *Kellie Maloney* we have 90 occurrences of the name in the PopCor, for a total of 66 different articles. Kellie Maloney is defined a transgender person in 15 articles, a transsexual person in 8 articles, in 1 article she is referred to as both and in 2 articles she is not defined in terms of her gender. The rest of the articles, 41 in total, refer to her with phrases such as *gender-swap*, *gender reassignment*, *formerly known as* + deadname, *wants to be/lives like a woman* or *who was born male*. This pattern, which proved to be the most used, seems to be an attempt at trying to describe Kellie through the old binary vocabulary and categories which clearly do not apply in this

case. Nonetheless, it reinforces the vision of transgender people as non-humans by simplifying the gender identity to physical appearance. This type of representation recalls what van Leeuwen (1996) defines as Physical Identification, a type of social actor representation strategy that categorises social actors through physical details and characteristics. Although it is an inclusive strategy of representation, as we have argued previously in this study, transgender identity cannot and must not be reduced to what kind of genitals one person has.

A similar pattern was found to occur in the QualCor with the name *Kellie Maloney* occurring 35 times for a total of 24 articles. Here the most frequent pattern is again the one through which Kellie is defined through phrases such as the ones listed above. She is addressed as a transgender person in 7 articles and as a transsexual in 1 article. Two articles chose to refer to her with the less compromising term 'trans'. Among the finding one peculiar article was retrieved, here Kellie is addressed only as a woman, actually the article insists on how wrong it is to even refer to her gender assigned at birth, as showed in the following example:

(78) **Kellie Maloney** has always been a woman. She isn't becoming a woman. She isn't pretending to be a woman. She doesn't "think" she is a woman. Nor is she magically transforming into a woman via some exotic and mysterious alchemical trickery. She says she's always felt different inside, but just couldn't explain it to anyone. Including herself (*i*, August 12th 2014).

This article goes on to explaining that transgender identity is not something that happens in one moment, and that it is wrong to keep using undesired pronouns or references to the name assigned at birth, since the person does not recognise themselves in that description any longer. This article appeared on the *i* on August 12th 2014, and it would be beneficial to find an increasing number of articles like this one, except they should not be followed two days later by articles, in the same newspaper, which use phrases such as *formerly known as* + deadname.

When it comes to fictional transgender character Lili Elbe, discussed previously as well, we found the following pattern. *Lili Elbe* occurs 18 times in the PopCor in 18 different articles. She is never referred to as a transsexual person in the PopCor but as a transgender person in 7 articles and through phrases such as *gender/sexual reassignment* and *first man to become a woman* in 11 articles. Once again we can see the presence of a binary discourse, which tends to wedge in

transgender identity. In the QualCor the results are somehow different. *Lili Elbe* occurs 38 times, for a total of 34 different articles. The QualCor presents only 7 articles in which Lili is referred to with other phrases. She is mostly defined as a transgender person in 25 articles and as a transsexual person twice. Two examples of these patterns are shown below:

(79) You can't picture either Toronto or Cannes according competition slots to both Tom Hooper's The Danish Girl, a biopic of the **transsexual** artist **Lili Elbe** with Eddie Redmayne in the title role, and Laurie Anderson's Heart of a Dog, the experimental musician and performance artist's first feature in almost 30 years, since her 1986 concert film Home of the Brave. (*Daily Telegraph,* September 2nd 2015)

(80) The Danish Girl, the biopic of **transgender pioneer Lili Elbe**, is to be screened at the White House as part of an event honouring "champions of change" in the LGBT community, it has been announced. (*The Guardian*, November 23rd 2015)

The first example (79) is taken from *The Daily Telegraph* while the second (80) from *The Guardian*. They both contain a similar structure beginning with 'a biopic of…', although in *The Guardian* Lili Elbe is a transgender pioneer, and in *The Daily Telegraph* she is a transsexual artist. It is notable that some of the examples in which Lili is referred to as a transgender person are taken also from *The Daily Telegraph,* according to which the two terms can definitely and wrongly be used as synonyms.

Two more celebrities are worth mentioning here for the choices made by the newspapers. Rayon, the fictional transgender character who appears in the film *Dallas Buyers Club*, played by cisgender actor Jared Leto, and labour candidate Emily Brothers, one of the first Labour party politician to identify as a transgender person.

In The PopCor, *Rayon* appears 7 times in 6 different articles; she is defined as a transgender person in 4 articles and referred to only as a women in 2 articles. In the QualCor *Rayon* occurs 23 times, for a total of 10 articles. Here, Rayon is described in *The Guardian* first as a *transgender Aids activist*, as shown in example (81) below, then as *transgender patient* (August 29, 2013) and a few days later as a *transsexual drug addict*, as we can see in example (82) below:

(81) Jared Leto, this year's odds-on favourite for the best supporting actor Oscar for his role as the drastically emaciated **transgender Aids activist Rayon** in Dallas Buyers Club is recalling the first time he "road-tested" Rayon in public. (*The Guardian*, February 1st 2014)

(82) He's matched by Jared Leto as **Rayon**, a **transsexual drug addict** who goes into business with Woodroof and carries the responsibility of broadening the shit-kicking cowboy's world view. (*The Guardian*, September 9th 2013)

It is worth pointing out the choices made by the journalists of the nouns following *transgender* and *transsexual* since while the transgender character is represented as a *patient* and an *activist*, the transsexual character is a *drug addict*, attributing to the two adjectives a different and opposing evaluation. The first being compassionate and positive and the second negative and unsympathetic. Here not only the newspaper builds on the idea that the two terms can be used interchangeably, but also depicts a positive prosody around transgender people opposed to a negative one for transsexual individuals.

This pattern was found not only when speaking about characters in films but also when addressing actual human beings. As we anticipated the last celebrity considered here is the Labour party MP Emily Brothers, references to whom were retrieved among the collocates as well. *Emily Brothers* appears in the PopCor three times in two different articles; she is referred to as a transgender person in one, and as transgendered in the other one. As already mentioned, this last term is not welcomed by all transgender people as it seen as a way to dehumanise the person using this nominalised version of the adjective. In the QualCor the name occurs 15 times for a total of 11 different articles. The following examples show the context in which the name was found:

(83) Within days of her decision in December to out herself as Labour's first **transgender candidate**, **Emily Brothers** was ridiculed by the Sun […] (*The Guardian,* January 5th 2015)

(84) Another speaker was **Emily Brothers**, Labour's first **transsexual candidate**. (*The Guardian,* September 30 2015)

Here 8 articles define her as a transgender person as in example (83), one article as a transsexual person as in example (84), and two articles do not specify her gender. Despite the two terms were used as synonyms only once, it is notable that it is the same newspaper doing it. In fact, the candidate, who became famous for being blind and transgender, is depicted in *The Guardian* first as the *first transgender candidate* and later as the *first transsexual candidate*.

Once again, this proves that newspapers are still using terminology inappropriately and are in need of more specific guidelines. Baker (2014: 255) has examined the use of transsexual and transgender as well, concluding that while *transsexual** is used in his data mostly to address "fictional characters and/or appear in contexts that are designed to entertain members of the public", *transgender** is more commonly "used on 'real' or non-entertaining people". This pattern does not apply to the TransCor as we have shown that there are no defined and repeated patterns when it comes to using the two terms.

To sum this section, we could say that the representation of transgender people in the entertainment and celebrity world should not be underestimated because people from this world are frequently at the centre of attention, setting the standards for others and becoming role models in many cases. The way public figures are reported on is essential and most of all influential. Unfortunately, the corpus shows that the discourse is still confused and in some cases counter-productive as it does not set a good example for people to follow, neither in the use of terminology nor in the way transgender identity is represented.

This chapter addresses two categories that emerged from the collocation analysis. The peculiarity of these two categories is that in both cases there is never a mention to individuals to whom people can relate to, in the sense that section 6.2 describes mainly collective representations, while section 6.3 deals with celebrities and fictional characters. Individuals who do not fall into the celebrity category, those that anybody could relate to in terms of experience and life style, were never found to be dealt with in this group of collocates. These identities will be at the centre of attention in the next chapter. Chapter seven deals with more semantic categories of representation that emerged from the collocation analysis, the articles from which these collocates were retrieved generally have single individuals as main actors.

7 Crime Stories and Transgender Identity Awareness in News Coverage

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter six we have seen how numerous news stories are created around events that include celebrities or a more collective representation of identities. Speaking about celebrities or fictional characters, even when talking about one specific person, gives the impression of talking about something that is not real. The collective representation of transgender identities generalises on the meaning of being a transgender person, and the association with film stars and fictional people makes this representation even more abstract. This chapter looks into the representation of single individuals. One of the most frequent patterns emerging from this 'individual-oriented' representation is that transgender people are mostly discussed in relation to crime episodes. Section 7.2 looks in more detail at this type of representation through the analysis of the collocates grouped in the category *Crime Stories*. Section 7.3 discusses the way in which newspaper talk about *Laws and Rights* with regards to transgender people through specific events that were covered by the news. Thus, another category of collocates that emerged from the collocation analysis was defined *Laws and Rights*. The last section, 7.4, discusses articles in which, once again, the focus is on a more collective representation. The collocates which inspired this section of analysis were grouped under the label *Awareness and Support*, as they all refer to ways in which transgender people can find support and cisgender people can become aware of the meanings and implications of transgender identities.

7.2 *Crime Stories* and transgender identity

Talking about crime in newspapers has been a priority since the beginning of the XIX century, when the first dissemination of court reporting can be traced back. Consistently, the use of crime stories to increase circulation of newspaper for their sensationalising effect is no hidden practice (Chermak 1994). Transgender people have not been exempted from this practice, as the collocation analysis demonstrates.

Table 7.1 below shows the collocates which were grouped together in the category *Crime Stories*:

	QualCor	**Terms occurring in both sub-corpora**	**PopCor**
*transgender**	intimidate (6), homicide (6), Ohio (9), teen (16), dies (7), Leelah (11), Alcorn (11), limit (6), murders (6), Theroux (6)	/	academic (7), killer (6)
*transsexual**	/	/	/
trans	suicide (13), kids (8)	/	/

Table 7.1 Collocates related to category Crime Stories.

As a first analytic description, it is notable how this category only interests the terms *transgender** and *trans*, showing no collocates for the term *transsexual**. Moreover, from the quantity of collocates we can also conclude that crime stories in relation to transgender people is mostly discussed by the quality press, as the PopCor contains few results that fitted this category. Another aspect which differs from previous categories, and will become even more evident in the following sections, is the fact that the two sub-corpora use a different type of language to talk about the issues discussed in this chapter. In fact, as shown in Table 7.1, there are no collocates in common between the two sub-corpora.

The category discussed in this sub-section, *Crime Stories,* includes stories involving crime, injustice and death. Starting our analysis from the QualCor, and those collocates emerging from the analysis of the term *transgender**, we can see that one of the main stories narrated relates to the suicide of transgender teen girl from Ohio Leelah Alcorn. Among the collocates considered for this analysis, we find four terms relating to her story: *Ohio (9)*, *teen (5/16*[31]*)*, *Leelah (11)* and *Alcorn (11)*. These collocates refer to 12 different articles in the QualCor, mostly (8/12) released by *The Guardian*. Through a quick concordance search it was possible to see that

[31] Of the 16 occurrences of the term as collocates of transgender*, only 5 refer to the Alcorn case.

this event was discussed in a higher number of articles; however, since we are interested in the collocational patterns we will refer here only to the articles that contain the collocates. The story is presented in different contexts shown in the following examples:

(85) The White House's action came in response to a petition inspired by the death of a **transgender** teenager from **Ohio, Leelah Alcorn**, who stepped in front of a tractor-trailer one night last December. Her suicide note referred to visits to Christian therapists who told her she was "selfish and wrong" (*The Guardian*, April 11th 2015);

(86) In the light of the sad case of **Leelah Alcorn**, the **Ohio transgender** teenager who killed herself after being forced to undergo conversion therapy, I have been asked how teenagers can deal with parents who are completely unsupportive or hostile to their emerging independent identity (*The Guardian*, January 6th 2015);

(87) Accepting the award, Soloway dedicated the win to her own transgender parent and to the memory of **Ohio transgender** teenager **Leelah Alcorn**, who recently took her own life (*i,* January 13th 2015).

Leelah's last wish[32], expressed in the note she left before committing suicide — to fix society and for her choice to be a wake-up call for everyone — seemed to have been taken into account in part. Example (85) shows one of the patterns related to Leelah and one of the narratives used to talk about her, that is following her suicide Obama decided to take action towards the banning of the so-called conversion therapy, which is common in many states in the USA. Conversion therapy is a practice, adopted mainly in religious contexts, which tries to 'change' people from the LGBTIQ+ community and bring them back to heteronormativity, treating sexual and gender preference as a disease to cure.

Another topic that was discussed, as a consequence of Leelah's suicide, is the question of parenting gender queer children as example (86) shows.

Example (87) represents another context in which the story of Leelah was brought up, as the creator of TV series *Transparent*, Jill Soloway, dedicates her award win for the show to her transgender parent and to the memory of Leelah.

[32] She ended her suicide note with a plea for action: "My death needs to be counted in the number of transgender people who commit suicide this year. I want someone to look at that number and say 'that's fucked up' and fix it. Fix society. Please." (*The Guardian,* January 5 2015).

As mentioned earlier, *The Guardian* is the newspaper in the QualCor mainly covering this news, and it does it in a strongly sympathetic way, as it is clear from the following example:

(88) Death of Leelah Alcorn on 28 December sparks outcry about treatment of transgender people and a call for ban on 'transgender conversion therapy' Jessica Valenti: Homophobic, transphobic parents make abusive homes. […] Alcorn's death, and the note she left behind, opened a window to the anguish and mistreatment faced by many transgender teenagers as they struggle to find a place for themselves in the adult world. […] Supporters of LGBT rights are calling for legal changes and a shift in social understanding in the wake of the death of **Leelah Alcorn**, a **transgender** teenager whose cry of anger and despair expressed in a suicide note has sparked nationwide soul-searching. (*The Guardian,* January 5th 2015)

Most of the articles in which the facts about Leelah's death were reported were not primarily about telling her story. These article, rather discussed the fact that her death expedited talking about issues related to transgender identity and to the struggle that transgender people must face in order to have their identity recognised. The prosody retrieved in these articles shows an inclusive and compassionate discourse on the part of the newspapers. This prosody is supported by the context in which the collocates were retrieved, where phrases such as the following can be found: *sparks outcry*, *they struggle to find a place*, *calling for legal changes*, *nationwide soul-searching*, *we need more tools […] to survive and thrive*, *magnificence Leelah*, *never needed to be 'fixed'*, *massive shame*. Example (88) demonstrates how the newspapers chose to show their support to transgender people, in the light of the death of Leelah, highlighting a supportive and compassionate discourse and at the same time with a will to fight and end inequality for the transgender community. *The Guardian* reveals a supportive pattern in language choices also by pointing out to issues like the use of pronouns and misgendering, as we can see in the example below:

(89) Leelah's mother, Carla Alcorn, told CNN that "we don't support [**transgender** identity], religiously." Misgendering **Leelah**, her mother continued: "we told him that we loved him unconditionally. (January 5 2015, The Guardian)

The journalist of this article points to the fact that Leelah's mother perpetuates one of the behaviours that contributed to the girl's decision to take her own life, by misgendering her and using the pronouns that refers to her gender assigned at birth.

As we underlined and discussed in much detail in Chapter five, this practice is strongly disapproved of by many transgender people, including Leelah.

Since the patterns that have been described so far only pertained to those articles published by *The Guardian*, we decided to look more in detail to the other newspapers and to the linguistic choices adopted by these in relation to the event. The collocation analysis suggested that *The Times* and the *i* also covered this story. However, neither the *i* nor *The Times* did it when it happened in January 2015, but only in April of the same year in relation to the news about Obama discussed for the previous examples, as we can see in examples (90) and (91):

(90) The petition was started following the death of **Leelah Alcorn**, the **transgender** teen who killed herself in December last year. In a note posted on the social-networking site Tumblr, the 17-year-old said her strict Christian parents had refused to accept her as a female and had forced her to see religious therapists in a bid to change her gender identity (*i,* April 10 2015);

(91) The White House's statement came in response to a petition posted in January after the suicide of **Leelah Alcorn**, a 17-year-old **transgender** youth who threw herself in front of a tractor trailer in December, leaving a note saying that religious therapists had tried to convert her back into being a boy (*The Times,* April 10 2015).

Both newspapers simply reported the event, choosing not to cover it at the time of the happening. It can be argued that this choice was made for political reasons as it was mentioned in relation to the former President of the USA. Moreover, the choice of not giving an opinion or not discussing the event when it happened, and thus not showing support for this girl and her death, says a lot about the newspapers. This story not only responds to some of the most relevant news values, such as negativity (Bell 1991), where a story with an adverse ending is covered as it attracts the interest of the readers, but also because, as we pointed out at the beginning of this section, a crime story is always a 'good' story.

The fact that none of the collocates retrieved were found in the *The Daily Telegraph* becomes a reason to turn to concordances and look into this newspaper. The term *Leelah* occurs in the QualCor 35 times, of which 3 appeared in one article from *The Daily Telegraph*. The newspaper covered the news in January, differently from the *i* and the *The Times*, but the example (92) below shows the type of linguistic choices adopted by this newspaper:

(92) A TEENAGER left an impassioned suicide note after his devoutly Christian parents rejected his request to become a woman.
Josh Alcorn - who used the name **Leelah** - threw himself under a lorry near his home outside Cincinnati, Ohio, at 2am last Sunday, leaving behind a bitter 1,000-word note about his life. […] When 14, he recalled, he "cried with happiness" after discovering the existence of other transgender people, but his mother, Carla, said the desire to become a girl was "a phase" and that "God doesn't make mistakes". After the suicide, Mrs Alcorn still appeared unable to accept that her child wanted to become female (*The Daily Telegraph,* January 2nd 2015).

The journalist refers to the teenager as 'Josh Alcorn – who used the name Leelah', ostensibly delegitimising Leelah's choice of gender representation, and then goes on to refer to her with masculine pronouns, a sensitive topic when it comes to transgender identity, as pointed out in Chapter five. In this example, and throughout the article, the journalist refers to Leelah wanting to *become a woman*, which is essentially the main reason why the teenager killed herself, as she was not trying to become a woman, she was a woman in the wrong body, possibly the most recurrent narrative in transgender identity representation. The choices made around reporting Leelah's parents' words are also notable. In fact, whilst according to *The Daily Telegraph,* Mrs Alcorn *appeared unable to accept that her child* was transgender, according to the *i, her strict Christian parents had refused to accept her* (example 90), and *The Guardian* limited its coverage of this part of the story to reported speech and to highlighting that the mother *repeatedly referred to Leelah with male pronouns*. The three newspapers, thus, depict the parents in different ways. In *The Daily Telegraph* they are represented as not having the ability to accept Leelah's gender identity, in the *i* the words *strict* and *refused* reinforce the description of the parents more negatively by stressing the way they treated their daughter, while *The Guardian* more explicitly criticises their behaviour and judges the way they parented Leelah.

The rest of the collocates that are part of this category bring up another pattern related to crime. The collocates – *intimidate* (6), *homicide* (6), *dies* (7), *murders* (6) – all refer to death as a crime committed by someone. It is interesting to notice how transgender people are represented as agents or patients (van Leeuwen 1996). In these examples, the way in which a role is allocated to a social actor can "rearrange the social relations between participants" (van Leeuwen 1996: 43). Representing transgender people as the victims, thus the patients of so much violence, builds around this identity a positive prosody and a supportive narrative,

while representing transgender people as the actors of violence sorts the opposite effect.

The only collocate which is not part of this pattern is *limit* (6), which refers to an article published by *The Guardian* (February 4th 2015) that strongly criticises the decision of a Philippine eSports league to limit the number of gay and transgender competitors in all-female tournaments.

Furthermore, two collocates which reinforce this representation of transgender people as patients of violence are *homicide* and *murders*. Most of the articles in which these collocates occur are again from *The Guardian*, evidence which backs up the hypothesis of this newspaper choosing a more supportive discourse:

(93) **Transgender homicide** rate hits historic high in US, says new report;
The report documented 21 homicides so far in 2015 - and none prosecuted as hate crimes - leading members of Congress to set first-ever forum on the issue. (*The Guardian,* November 13th 2015)

(94) The disrespect doesn't end with misgendering or refusing to use the lived names of these women. Victim blaming is also common in these cases: often, when reporting on the **murders** of **transgender** individuals, police departments release old mugshots as identifying photos, a none-too-subtle way to suggest some level of culpability on the part of the deceased. (*The Guardian*, January 29th 2015)

(95) Barack Obama, who has refused to rule out a US boycott of the Games, said he had "no patience for countries that try to treat gays or lesbians or **transgender** persons in ways that **intimidate** them". (*The Guardian*, August 8th 2013)

The terms *homicide* and *murders*, exemplified in (93) and (94), both refer to news articles in which the newspaper discusses the homicide rate of transgender people in the USA denouncing the ever-growing percentage of transgender people murdered and the fact that nothing is being done to fix it. Example (95) shows the context in which the collocate *intimidate* is found, as a direct quote from Obama's speech following the ban for LGBTIQ+ athletes to participate to the Soci Winter Olympics. Transgender people are represented here as victims of the crimes or, recalling the terminology used previously, as patients. Baker (2014: 226-7) finds similar patterns though in relation to transsexual people. He argues that transsexual people are represented

> as involved with a range of different types of activities, some of which can be linked together. For example, the representation of this group of people as victims, either of prejudice or physical violence, perhaps helps to explain the presence of other categories receiving help, struggling for equality and gaining acceptance and approval.

The pattern found in the QualCor seems to suggest something different. In fact, it really mirrors the will of the newspapers, especially *The Guardian*, to discuss this issue and try to raise awareness towards violence against transgender people.

If we turn to the PopCor we will see that the discourse is different and at times opposite. The PopCor only has two collocate for *transgender** in this category, that is *academic* (7) and *killer* (6). The former is related to the case of a researcher who was stabbed almost to death in Scotland, while the latter gives a completely different representation of transgender people from the one retrieved in the QualCor. In that sub-corpus, transgender people are the victims of this pattern of violence, in the PopCor, instead, they become the perpetrators of violence, as shown in the examples below:

(96) **A TRANSGENDER killer** who knifed her pal 29 times had "heard voices in her head", a court was told yesterday. (*The Sun*, August 12th 2014)

(97) CRUEL & WICKED;
Transgender killer guilty of neighbour's murder. (*The Sun,* August 16 2014)

Transgender people shift from being the patients to being the agents of violence in these articles. Once again, we can claim exclusivity for one newspaper. All occurrences were found in *The Sun*. The prosody surrounding this news is negative and judgemental as we can see in example (97). Although this is due in part to the topic discussed — it goes without saying that a killer is by no means eligible for praising — what we think should be pointed out here is the function of the adjective *transgender*. Stories like this one have an extremely high degree of negativity and thus respond to many news values with no further additions made. Nonetheless, adding the gender identity of the killer, in this specific situation, enhances ordinary things to 'extraordinary', making the story even more sensational. In fact, knowing if the subject is transgender or not does not add any needed information to the plot of the story itself, but increases the level of sensationalism appealing even more to the readership. Role allocation here has a crucial function, as we shift from the supportive and inclusive discourse presented in the QualCor, where transgender

people are the patients of violence, to a negative and defamatory discourse presented in the PopCor, were transgender people are represented as actors of violence.

The pattern of violence and crime is found also among collocates of the term *trans*. The discourse here goes back to the QualCor and to the inclusive and awareness-raising discourse examined above. One of the collocates of the term *trans* is, in fact, *suicide* (13). This collocate occurs in articles that discuss the fact that one of the consequences of transphobia is ultimately suicide, as we can see in example (98) below:

(98) **Suicide** affects the **trans** community - all ages, races, and practically every other demographic measure - at astronomically higher rates than the general population, according to the National Transgender Discrimination (*The Guardian*, April 2nd 2015).

Example (98) exemplifies how the collocate is used in one of the articles that relates to a collective representation of transgender people. It was found in a context in which it takes on an informative function: the article is explaining the problem of suicide in the transgender community.

The other collocate retrieved for this category in relation to *trans* in the QualCor is *kids* (8). This last collocate examined here sheds light on another issue that has not been mentioned before in this study, that of transgender children. Once again, *The Guardian* is on the piece with little, almost no competition at all. The 8 occurrences of the collocate were found in 7 articles, 6 of which published by *The Guardian*, and only one in the *i*. Here the newspaper tackles the sensitive question of transgender identity in children, for which society is split in half. On the one hand those who support and fully agree with the fact that children who identify as transgender should have all the help and support that they need and the other hand those who believe that children do not have the ability to fully understand their gender identity. The following example shows this collocate in context:

(99) If we can help, love and support **trans kids**, the idea of the messy social transition - which so intrigues the public - will cease to exist. I can't wait for that day. (*The Guardian*, June 2nd 2015)

Example (99) was taken from *The Guardian.* This newspaper works here as a sort of moderator, by explaining both sides of the coin. It is interesting to note that it gives

voice to transgender people or to experts in the field of medicine or psychology through whom they attempt to explain to the readers the insights of transgender identities thanks to personal testimony. This discourse is supported by one collocate retrieved for the term *transgender** in the QualCor, *Theroux* (6). Louis Theroux is a journalist who produced a documentary on the lives of some transgender children, and who is repeatedly brought up to support the hypothesis that children do have an understanding of their gender identity. The type of discourse constructed here is personal; in order give the idea that transgender identity is not an abstract concept, the journalist draws on real life experiences by giving a name and a face to a person, so that it suddenly becomes real. According to van Leeuwen (1996), there is a shift here in linguistic strategies that goes from a representation in terms of Categorization to one in terms of Nomination. Therefore, we are no longer reading about the community, or the suicide rate or any other abstract category, but about real people and real children. This shift does not apply only to this last collocate but to all collocates discussed in this section, since an inclusive and non-discriminatory discourse requires a different role allocation, as we hinted at earlier. Transgender people should not be categorised as murderers or prostitutes or by any other appellatives but nominated through their names, stories and feelings. In fact, while the collective representation described in the previous chapter draws more on Impersonalisation strategies, here the Personalisation is more evident and effective for the type of discourse being conveyed.

This section focused on the agent vs. patient representation of transgender people in the TransCor in relation to *Crime Stories*. The following section focuses on a different type of semantic category, that of *Laws and Rights*.

7.3 *Laws and Rights* for transgender people: Serving the military, going to prison and the bathroom bill

The introduction to this research argues that some major events channelled and facilitated the discussion about transgender identity in the press, sometimes from a negative sometimes from a non-negative perspective. Some of these major law shifts

and arguments are investigated in this section, which groups together collocates from the category defined as *Laws and Rights* together.

These collocates were found only for the term *transgender** and relating to three important topics: 1) that of transgender people serving in the military which, after two years since the building of the corpus, is back on the headlines worldwide due to the latest declaration from the White House about banning transgender people from the military; 2) that of the placing of transgender people in gender-appropriate prisons; and lastly, 3) the bathroom bill, which caused many controversial feelings in people all around the world in the last year. The collocates under investigation in this section are displayed in Table 7.2 below:

	QualCor	**Terms occurring in both sub-corpora**	**PopCor**
*transgender**	inmate (6), bathrooms (7), serve (22), inmates (7), prisoner (9), personnel (7)	/	prisoners (10), soldier (11), officer (11), army (13), toilets (6), Hannah (5)
*transsexual**	/	/	/
trans	/	/	/

Table 7.2 Collocates related to category Laws and Rights.

The first striking difference is the use of dissimilar terms to describe the same phenomenon in the two sub-corpora. The QualCor talks about *bathrooms* and the PopCor about *toilets*; the QualCor tackles the issue of *inmates* and *prisoners*, while the QualCor only refers to *prisoners*; and while the QualCor uses a verb process, *serve,* to discuss the topic of the army, the PopCor uses nouns such as *soldier*, *army* and the reference to one specific officer, *Hannah* Winterbourne. These choices can be related to the different linguistic register each genre has, considering the dichotomy quality vs. popular dichotomy. Furthermore, they also respond to the tendency of the popular press in trying to highlight the human sides of stories in order to catch the attention of the reader who can more easily relate to the topic discussed. This section aims at uncovering the context in which these terms were found to occur.

Starting from the QualCor and the issue of gender-neutral toilets, which emerged in relation to the collocate *bathrooms* (7), *The Guardian* distinguishes itself again for being the newspaper which mostly talked about it and which made less questionable linguistic choices. The articles that contain the term *bathroom* as a collocate of the term *transgender**, except for one article in the *i* and one in *The Times*, were retrieved from *The Guardian* in contexts such as the following:

(100) Proponents of the ordinance point out that sexual assault is, of course, already illegal in any situation, and the city has long had a law that specifically bans entering a restroom of the opposite sex with malicious intent. Nor is there any evidence of **transgender** people entering **bathrooms** to commit assault in other cities following the passage of similar laws. (*The Guardian*, October 8th 2015)

(101) Florida anti-transgender bathroom bill moves a step closer to passing;
A second Florida house committee voted in favor of bill on Tuesday that would result in arrests for **transgender** people who use 'wrong' **bathroom.** (*The Guardian*, March 17th 2015)

Examples (100) and (101) are extracts from two articles that deal with this issue. In both examples, the newspaper's point of view regarding this topic emerges, as the following analysis proves. In the first example (100), the article discusses the bill that the state of Florida was considering to issue, which bans people from using bathrooms according to their gender identity and obliges them to comply with their gender assigned at birth. After reporting on the different points of view and some statements made by the politician who became the spokesperson for this bill, the journalist clearly asserts that *there is no evidence* on how transgender people use bathrooms to commit assaults, and therefore the bill does not make any sense in relation to the motivation they are giving. The newspaper also defines the bill as *anti-transgender* in the latter example (101), again stating its position towards the issue, supported by the use of quotation marks around the term *wrong*, to underline the fact that this definition is totally arbitrary. *The Guardian* proves once again its inclusive policy, and in this case also its overt political stance by criticising a law.

On the other hand, the news articles in the PopCor discuss this issue with reference to a different collocate of *transgender**, namely *toilets* (6). The analysis of the QualCor showed the predominance of one newspaper among others that mostly covered the issue discussed. In the PopCor, we do find examples from all the popular newspapers but a more productive pen from *The Sun* is noticeable. We can detect

different patterns of representation in the PopCor; the following examples illustrate the major contexts in which the collocate was retrieved:

(102) I appreciate life can be tricky for **transgenderists** who arrive at the **toilets** and are unsure about which one to use. But I do have a suggestion. Have a quick look in your trousers. If there is a sausage-shaped tube in there, use the men's. If there isn't, use the ladies'. (*The Sun*, February 23rd 2013)

(103) IT is not easy being green, just ask the people of Brighton.
The seaside town is awash with loony policies and proposals such as traffic-calming sheep, meat-free Mondays and **transgender toilets.** (*The Sun*, January 15th 2015)

(104) T-shirts bearing the proud logo Je ne suis pas Charlie' will be available from the concession stall next to the **transgendered toilets.** (*The Daily Mail*, December 8th 2015)

Firstly, we can notice the use of the terms *transgenderists* and *transgendered* in examples (102) and (104), which underline a choice from the newspaper that is not in line with the guidelines consulted for this research about terminology. These guidelines, in fact, suggest that referring to transgender identity with those terms is a disliked behaviour, as some transgender people might perceive them as demeaning and de-humanising. The issue is dealt with in *The Sun* as a joke, as we can see in examples (102) and (103). In the former example the comment that follows the collocate can be found to be rather offensive, while in the latter the issue of gender-neutral toilets is associated to vain things. These contexts create a negative prosody around the issue as it constructs the question as futile and unimportant, something that people are bragging about but not an actual problem that needs to be solved. Example (104) shows a different context in which the collocate is found: the news article is about a totally different topic, and the toilet issue is mentioned without any relevant reason. One last thing, which is also one main difference between the lexical choices in the two sub-corpora, is the use of 'transgender' as a pre-modifier of 'toilet' or 'bathroom'. The QualCor never uses this construction, which we believe is incorrect as toilets do not have gender but are used by people who are defined on the basis of their gender, whether chosen or assigned at birth. This issue takes us back to the question of the use of terminology, discussed in Chapter five. 'Transgender' is an adjective that refers to gender identity, and just like 'gay' and 'lesbian', or 'male' and 'female' cannot be used in relation to objects, like toilets, which do neither have

a gender nor a sexual orientation. This use sets an example that implies a negative use of this adjective, which should refer to human beings and not to objects.

Another topic that emerged from this category of collocates refers to transgender people serving in the military and recent events which made headlines in reference to this.

The QualCor presents two collocates of *transgender** in reference to military service for transgender people, *serve* (22) and *personnel* (7), the latter is displayed in context in the following example:

(105) The US air force is centralizing the way it handles the discharge of **transgender personnel** from its ranks in a move that forms part of the military's inching towards a more permissive approach to gender dysphoria. […] By contrast, the armed forces of countries such as Australia, Canada, Germany and the UK allow openly transgender personnel to serve. (*The Guardian*, June 5th 2015)

Example (105) summarises the topic dealt with in the articles including the collocate, which discusses the new (2015) policy on transgender people in the USA underlining the fact that the UK has been open to transgender soldiers long before the USA. The other collocate that deals with this topic in relation of *transgender** in the QualCor is *serve*, which is shown in context in the following examples:

(106) Pentagon paves way for **transgender** people to **serve** openly in US military;
The defense secretary, Ash Carter, on Monday paved the way for **transgender** people to **serve** openly in the US military. In a statement, Carter announced an attempt to "deal with" the issue, "on the presumption that **transgender** persons can **serve** openly without adverse impact on military effectiveness and readiness". (*The Guardian*, July 14th 2015)

(107) **Transgender** people could **serve** in close combat, says British army general;
As possible role of women in infantry is reviewed, senior officer responsible for personnel says transgender women could also take frontline roles.
Transgender people could **serve** in the British infantry in close combat roles, according to a senior officer responsible for personnel. (*The Guardian*, July 9th 2015)

(108) Our readers share their experiences of being a trans person in the office.
Fortunately the people I told were amazingly supportive and I was allowed to stay. I became the first **transgender** woman to **serve** openly in the RAF. (*The Guardian*, June 25th 2015)

(109) THE US military is finalising a plan to allow **transgender** people to **serve** openly in the armed forces it emerged last night, ending what is seen as one of the last discriminatory barriers to active service. […] Adam Smith, ranking member of the house armed services committee, applauded the Pentagon's plan as a good first step. "Incorporating the presumption that **transgender** individuals can **serve** openly, without adverse impact on the military effectiveness and readiness, is a step in the right direction". (*The Daily Telegraph*, July 14th 2015)

The 22 occurrences of the verb *serve* were found in 8 different articles, one of which was not related to the issue of army and transgender people. Of the 7 articles that will be discussed here, one appeared on the *i*, one on *The Daily Telegraph* and five on *The Guardian*, which proves once again to be the most sensitive newspaper to the topic of transgender people. The four examples above show the main contexts in which the collocate was found to occur. Examples (106), (107) and (108) are from *The Guardian*, which discusses the topic in three different contexts. In (106) the main issue dealt with is the fact that the USA was at the time considering the possibility for transgender people to serve openly in the army. The newspaper choses to describe the event through the direct words of the defence secretary of the USA underlining specific words of his statement like the verb *deal with* and the terms *presumption*, *effectiveness* and *readiness*. It can be argued that by highlighting these specific words *The Guardian* was trying to represent the USA in a negative way. The spokesperson uses the verb 'deal with', which carries a negative prosody in the sense that it implies that the USA is facing a problem that is being caused by transgender people. Furthermore, he uses the terms 'effectiveness' and 'readiness' to point to two fundamental characteristics for soldiers that will not presumably be undermined by transgender people. The way the sentence is structured implies a sort of uncertainty about the fact that transgender people are actually able to have these characteristics and therefore serve in the military. *The Daily Telegraph*, as we can see in example (109) reports the same quote but in a more extended way. The defence secretary maintains that this decision *is a step in the right direction*, an additional piece of information that *The Guardi*an chooses to cut out. The article on *The Daily Telegraph* — which in this case, differently from other examples presented above, adopts a very positive and inclusive attitude towards the inclusion of transgender people in the army — goes on by quoting an additional extract from the speech of the defence secretary who declares that gender identity should no longer be a relevant parameter in the army. Opposing to this, *The Guardian* leaves out this information and insists repeatedly on the fact that other countries, including the UK, have been open to transgender people in the army for a long time. In an attempt to be inclusive, *The Guardian* represents the USA in a more negative way. Examples (107) and (108) above build on the discourse presented earlier according to which *The Guardi*an is

raising awareness about transgender identity. Example (108) is part of those articles that follow the telling of personal narratives in order to, somehow, normalise the topic of transgender identity, as in an excerpt from an article dedicated to reporting on the personal experiences of transgender people on the workplace. Example (107) informs people on an additional step forward by the British air force, which was considering allowing transgender women to serve in close combat as a way to bring equality and fairness among soldiers. Here, once again, *The Times* is choosing not to discuss this topic. What sometimes is perceived as neutrality is actually a clear standpoint on an issue. The newspaper, by not talking about it is stating that they support the current situation and do not attempt to create an inclusive ground of representation. The different approach from *The Daily Telegraph* on the other hand reveals its preference to support political stances more than people; the positive representation of US policies seems to be the central interest of the newspaper, whilst *The Guardian* once again stands out for its inclusivity and interest.

The PopCor refers to this topic through four different collocates: *soldier* (11), *officer* (11), *army* (13) and *Hannah* (6), focussing specifically on this last collocate which refers to army officer Hannah Winterborne, whose story seems particularly relevant for the PopCor. The collocates occur in a total of 14 articles. The PopCor takes on a different perspective to the discussion of this topic. As a matter of fact, all the articles in which the collocates were found to occur talk about a specific person, differently from the QualCor which tackles the issue in more general terms. The following examples show the context in which the collocates were found:

(110) THE ARMY'S FIRST SEX-SWAP OFFICER;
Astonishingly Hannah was born a boy and, until 18 months ago when she came out as being transgender, she served in the Army as a man. Tall and slender, Hannah's only slight giveaway is her voice, which is a little deeper than most women's. Today she is the Army's highest-ranked **transgender soldier** and the only one to become an officer. (*The Express,* January 21st 2015)

(111) I've server in Afghanistan but becoming a woman was hardest battle;
EXCLUSIVE: **ARMY**'S FIRST **TRANSGENDER OFFICER**
TRANSGENDER Army officer Hannah Winterbourne yesterday told how becoming a woman was tougher than being on the front line in Afghanistan.
Hannah, 27, who was born a boy, made the momentous decision while on a tour of duty at Camp Bastion. (*The Sun,* January 19th 2015)

(112) IN HEELS, THE ARMY CAPTAIN BORN A MAN
IN a black dress, stilettos and jewellery, **transgender Army officer Hannah** Winterbourne shows she's not afraid of revealing her feminine side. (*Daily Mail,* June 5 2015)

(113) Sex-changing of the guard;
Meet Cpt Hannah Winterbourne. Brave, bold ...and Britain's 1st **transgender Army officer.**
(*Daily Mirror,* January 19th 2015)

The case of Officer Winterbourne provided a great source of inspiration for the popular press, starting from the headlines. The examples above (110), (111), (112) and (113) were taken from different popular newspapers. As mentioned previously, the categories of collocates discussed in this chapter were found in the PopCor throughout the newspapers less exclusively compared to the QualCor, although once again *The Sun* is the more productive newspaper. In a way, all four newspapers, as we can see from the examples, use an army related metaphor to describe the Officer. *The Sun* (111) describes becoming a woman as the "hardest battle"; *The Daily Mirror* (113) creates a pun making reference to the famous changing of the guards to point to a sex change; *The Express* (110) also refers to sex change but with the derogatory phrase *sex-swap*; whereas *The Daily Mail* (112) focuses on clothes, pointing to the change of shoes that followed Officer Winterbourne's transition. One thing that all the examples provided here have in common is the reference to the body, hair, make-up, shoes, skin and the aspect that has changed after transition. The physical appearance seems to be the most important aspect in these articles and not the fact that some rights have been finally achieved for transgender people who are now free to join the army without fearing discrimination. *The Sun* seems to be the least interested in the appearance of Officer Winterbourne (112) though it refers to her as a man. Other articles included in the PopCor and related to this issue talk about other people. As pointed out above, the strategy adopted here is to narrate the experience of one person. The narration, in all cases, is similar to the one displayed in the examples, with great focus on body and use of terminology which transgender people may dislike, such as the phrase highlighted in (110), that is *sex-swap*.

The issue of prisons and transgender people was also tackled in the TransCor. The QualCor sub-corpus shows as collocates of *transgender** the terms *inmate* (6), *inmates* (7) and *prisoner* (9). The following are examples that show these collocates in context:

(114) Officials with the United States Disciplinary Barracks said there were procedures to protect **transgender inmates** such as Manning from abuse and assault while in custody. (*The Times*, August 22nd 2013)

(115) **Transgender inmates** to be housed by gender preference in San Francisco jail;
The move, a pivot from the current segregation policy, is a first for US prisons and includes individuals who have yet to undergo gender reassignment surgery. (*The Guardian*, September 11th 2015)

(116) Ashley Diamond, a **transgender inmate** who was denied medically necessary hormones by the Georgia correctional system, was raped seven times, called a "he-she thing", and thrown into solitary confinement for "pretending" to be a woman.
Last week, the United States Justice Department weighed in on her lawsuit and found that Georgia's "freeze-frame" policy - which denied trans inmates the chance to begin or expand hormone treatment in prison - constituted "cruel and unusual punishment" and violated the United States Constitution. (*The Guardian*, April 14th 2015)

(117) A **transgender prisoner** who identified as a woman has been found dead after being sent to a men's prison. Vicky Thompson, 21, was serving 12 months in Leeds. (*The Times*, November 20th 2015)

On this topic, we found more than one newspaper putting forward their point of view. The four examples above show the contexts in which the collocates were found. A supportive discourse seems to be used in all the articles through phrases such as the following: *to ensure there is not a lot of isolation*, *change from the current segregation*, *silence on abuse*, *cruelty and violence facing*. The QualCor resulted with a positive prosody when it comes to gender-appropriate prisons, sustaining the idea that the prison should be established on the grounds of gender preference and not the gender assigned at birth.

While the QualCor displays this narrative of support towards transgender people detained in prisons, the PopCor shows an opposite type of discourse. Firstly, it is notable that the PopCor only uses the term *prisoner* to refer to this issue. This term carries a negative prosody that implies the guilt of the person defined as such. Secondly, the collocate, found in 8 different articles, is always used in contexts that offer a negative representation of transgender individuals. The following examples show the contexts in which the collocates are set:

(118) TWO male inmates at a maximum security prison are having NHS sex swaps - at a cost to taxpayers of nearly £100,000. […] "The NHS and justice budgets are not endless pots, so health and prison bosses must justify every penny spent." A Prison Service spokeswoman said: "Staff are required to manage **transgendered prisoners** in accordance with the law". (*The Sun*, March 22nd 2013)

(119) A MURDERER won taxpayer funding for a High Court case in which he demanded the right to wear a woman's wig in jail. […] The claim, paid for through legal aid, will result in a prison service review of the right of **transgender prisoners** to wear wigs and outsize women's clothes. (*Daily Mail*, December 28th 2013)

The claim, retrieved in these articles, to contrast transgender people mainly plays on the fact that they are using taxpayers' money to get special treatment while they are in prison. Transgender people are represented as murderers and the phrase 'sex swap' is repeatedly used, together with continuous references to the sex assigned at birth. The PopCor does not show a supportive discourse in this case.

This section tried to address the way in which laws and rights regarding transgender people were discussed by the press. Generally speaking, we were able to retrieve a more inclusive discourse from the QualCor and a less positive narrative from the PopCor. The last section of this chapter discusses issues about identity awareness and support towards transgender people.

7.4 Transgender identity: *Awareness and Support*

The last category emerging from the collocation analysis dealt with in this chapter is *Awareness and Support*. This category is present throughout the TransCor with collocates both in the QualCor and in the PopCor. It is notable that these collocates are used mainly with reference to the terms *transgender** and *trans*, as we can see from Table 7.3 below:

	QualCor	**Terms occurring in both sub-corpora**	**PopCor**
*transgender**	recognizing (7), center (12), Tipping (6)	/	Beaumontsociety (7), Beaumont (19), org (10), supports (6), campaigners (7), issues (28), society (24), support (38), rights (18), www (8), families (7), counseling (6), equality (9), uk (20), feelings (8)
*transsexual**	Rights (10)	/	Against (7)

trans	Visible (6), advocacy (6), activist (8), watch (13), experiences (8), Stonewall (11), issues (18), movement (9), media (20), transition (8), respect (6), pride (7), experience (9)	/	/

Table 7.3 Collocates related to the category *Awareness and Support*.

The main semantic pattern at which this category of collocates hints is retraceable in news articles which dal with the attempt at creating awareness towards issues related to transgender identities and to explain ways in which cisgender people can be supportive of transgender people. Such collocates, in particular, relate to major events that include transgender people and the whole LGBTIQ+ community such as the gay pride. More extensively, this category encompasses terms that refer to different organisations that fight every day in order to achieve rights for transgender people. The collocates included in this category refer to a very positive and inclusive discourse surrounding transgender people. Thus, we believe it is surprising to find such a high number of these collocates in the PopCor in reference to *transgender** considering the results highlighted in the previous sections and chapters.

In line with the structure of the analysis presented so far, we will start by addressing the QualCor. This sub-corpus was found to have only three collocates in relation to the term *transgender**: *Tipping* (6), *center* (12) and *recognising* (7). These terms refer, to a certain extent, to a prosody and a stance on the part of newspaper that express support to the transgender community.

The collocate *Tipping* refers to the phrase *Transgender Tipping Point*. The articles in which this phrase occurs all refer to the fact that transgender issues are becoming more and more popular in newspapers nowadays, as we can see from example (120) below:

(120) Last month, the cover of the venerable American magazine TIME featured a first in its 91-year history; a transgendered cover star. Actress and activist Laverne Cox struck a graceful

pose in a blue dress and heels, while the cover line heralded "The **Transgender Tipping** Point". (*i*, June 6th 2014)

Example (120), taken from the *i*, explains the origins of this phrase, appeared for the first time in May 2014 on the front cover of the magazine TIME, dedicated to Laverne Cox. The article mentioned in the example went on to refer to *Orange is the New Black*, suggesting that it is thanks to this series that Cox was launched into the public eye, becoming a symbol for transgender people. The *i* seems to be very positive about the visibility that the transgender community is having thanks to the media, as we can see also from another example reported below:

(121) In part, these blurred gender lines are a reflection of the mood in wider culture as we nudge ever closer to the **transgender tipping** point. (*i* , October 2nd 2015)

The newspaper affirms that society is getting closer to an inclusive and accepting behaviour, as shown in example (121). *The Guardian*, on the other hand, seems to have a different point of view:

(122) The apparent uptick in violence against trans people comes after the mainstream media declared a "**tipping** point" for **transgender** issues, with the rise of people like actress Laverne Cox and writer Janet Mock in mainstream culture. These two women work nonstop to tell their own stories as transgender women, in the hope of bringing positive change. […] All the women I spoke to at TLC agreed with this statement, all of them transgender women besides Pahl. And they all felt this is what has been missing with this "tipping point" for their community. (*The Guardian*, March 6th 2015)

In example (122), although *The Guardian* seems to be distancing from the assertion of violence through the use of the term *apparent*. The greater context of the article, however, insists on the fact that violence against transgender people is still a very relevant issue and that although the TIME might be suggesting that the tipping point for transgender rights has been reached this is truly not the case if we consider the percentages of death of transgender people by suicide or murder. The main difference between the *i* and *The Guardian* lies exactly here, whilst the former agrees on the fact that the tipping point for transgender people has arrived, the latter strongly disagrees with this and denies any visibility and awareness regarding transgender issues by declaring that transgender individuals do not feel like this changing point has actually arrived due to growth in violence against them.

A different discourse is retraceable in the other two newspapers under investigation in the QualCor. *The Times* does not discuss about the *Transgender Tipping Point* at all, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* considers this phrase in an article whose headline recites: "Boys will be girls, and girls will be boys: transgender times". We can see an excerpt from this article in example (123) below:

(123) Last year, Time magazine ran a cover story headlined "The **transgender tipping** point: America's next civil rights frontier", featuring an interview with Laverne Cox, a trans actress and star of the hit TV show Orange is the New Black, in which she plays a transgender inmate in a women's prison. (*The Daily Telegraph*, April 17th 2015)

The article makes reference to the TIME's cover, as the other two examples presented do, but it goes on saying:

(124) The most recent issue of British Vogue includes a full-page article headed: "Man, woman, neither, both?", which goes on to claim that "trans is having a moment".
Though some might balk at the suggestion a transgender identity is the new must-have accessory - especially in the light of reports of transgender teens' suicides following rejection by their families - the idea that we have reached a watershed in terms of rights for the group has been echoed elsewhere. (*The Daily Telegraph*, April 17th 2015)

The newspaper refers to transgender identity as a *must-have accessory* and in a way diminishes the issue by describing it as something temporary, and almost like a game, if we consider the headline that discursively positions gender as a joke. This article makes use of a sophisticated language, with terms like *balk at*, *watershed* and *echoed* which are not common in everyday language. Moreover, the construction of the sentence appears very long in relation to the basic English syntactic structure, and contrasts the oversimplification and the initial wordplay in the headline. As a result, the headline downgrades the issue to a less significant matter, while the body of the article seems to try to masquerade a stance which could be criticised by activists for transgender people's rights.

The other two collocates included in this category in relation to *transgender** were found in a different context. The use of the verb *recognise* implies on the part of the journalists that they are, in a way, acknowledging and validating transgender identity, as we can see from the following examples:

(125) I'm now married with kids, but Glad to Be Gay was about anyone who didn't conform, from lesbians to **transgenders**, a way of **recognising** that most of us have complex sexualities (*The Guardian*, July 2nd 2013);

(126) India's top court has issued a landmark verdict **recognising transgender** rights as human rights, saying people can identify themselves as a third gender on official documents (*i*, April 16th 2014);

(127) It adds that church primary schools should draw up policies **recognising** the needs of **transgender** pupils (*The Daily Telegraph*, May 13th 2014).

The examples presented above, that is (125), (126) and (127), are all occurrences of the collocate *recognising* in the QualCor. In all four newspapers, we found examples of this kind of inclusive discourse in which transgender identity or transgender people's rights are represented as something that is being, or needs to be, recognised. This is achieved by acknowledging specific issues such as the fact that sexuality is something very complex and should not be put in a box (example 125) or by describing the situation in other parts of the world where transgender people are still experiencing a status of profound disadvantage. The prosody used in these sentences is positive and it seems like the journalists are trying to create a bond or make a connection between the reader and the struggle that transgender people face in everyday life. To achieve this goal, phrases such as *welcomed, human rights, experience life-changing discrimination, needs, difficult to share,* referring to an inclusive discourse, are used (see the examples above). Most of the examples are quoting someone, which is a way to give voice to a person who is actually going through the problems discussed, or to people struggling to be recognised, and not just an interpretation of what each newspaper believes a transgender person feels. On the grounds of these findings, and the observation of a supportive narrative, it is possible to come to the conclusion that for the newspapers included in the QualCor, despite the cases of language misuse pointed out in previous examples, the articles are mostly meant to do no harm to, and are not interested in giving a negative representation of, the transgender community. Nonetheless, the linguistic patterns highlighted demonstrate the lack of consistency or awareness that different journalists and editors working for the same newspaper have in discussing transgender identity, possibly due to a lack of information and dissemination of inclusive and non-binary language practices. This claim is valid for the examples under investigation.

The last collocate, *center,* is in a way similar in use to *recognising*, as both, although found in different contexts, have a positive function in terms of discourse construction. The term was found in all occurrences as a collocate of *transgender** in the phrases 'National Center for Transgender Equality' or 'Transgender Law Center'. These places are not specifically mentioned to be advertised or to explain their function to a wider audience, but are used as a reference to acknowledge the role of specific people in some contexts, as we can see from the examples below:

(128) Mara Keisling, executive director of the National **Center** for **Transgender** Equality, said that the tide is turning in favour of equal rights. (*The Guardian*, October 26th 2015)

(129) In a statement issued by **Transgender** Law **Center** Quine said: "I will finally be liberated from the prison within a prison I felt trapped in". (*i*, August 12th 2015)

(130) This could encourage that kind of harassment and it's dangerous," says Sasha Buchert, staff attorney at the **Transgender** Law **Center.** (*The Guardian*, March 24th 2015)

The context in which the collocates occur seems to suggest that people from these institutions are being asked to give their opinions regarding the news story, as a source of authority also providing attribution to the article. Nonetheless, the repeated occurrence of these two phrases serves the function of introducing the two centres to the audience. Generally speaking, although the articles do not specifically advertise the centres, they are always mentioned in sentences that deal with transgender awareness or rights, contributing to the building of the inclusive discourse retraceable throughout the examples presented so far in this chapter.

The PopCor, on the other hand, has a very high number of collocates in this category. Most of the terms are reference to support groups or websites where transgender people can find assistance, namely the Beaumont Society and Stonewall.org, together with other terms that all recall acceptance and efforts to promote equality. The two references to Beaumont Society are actually the second and third strongest collocates of *transgender** in the PopCor. The collocates of *transgender** in the PopCor belonging to the category of *Awareness and Support* are *Beaumontsociety* (7), *Beaumont* (19), *org* (10), *supports* (6), *campaigners* (7), *cruel* (5), *issues* (28), *society* (24), *support* (38), *rights* (18), *www* (8), *families* (7), *counseling* (6), *equality* (9), *uk* (20) and *feelings* (8). Some of these collocates refer

to the Beaumont Society[33], a non-profit transgender support group established in the UK in 1966. The collocates which refer to this are *Beaumontsociety*, *Beaumont*, *org*, *society*, *www* and *uk*. One of the most frequent context is the reference to its e-mail contact, as the collocates in the following example point to:

(131) If your family would struggle with the idea, first talk to the **Beaumont Society**, who help all cross-dressing and **transgendered** people (**beaumontsociety.org.uk**, 01582 412 220). (*The Sun*, April 10th 2013)

It is notable that such collocates were only found to occur in *The Sun* and in the first two years (2013 and 2014) of the collection. They were found in a very specific context, a special correspondence column called 'Dear Deidre'. Example (131) above points out to a common way in which such collocates occur, as Deidre, the writer of the column, suggests her readers to refer to this support group in order to deal with issues that transgender people or their family may face. Example (131) also shows the use of *transgendered* instead of *transgender*. Previously in this study, we pointed out to some guidelines that suggest that *transgendered* is an adjective that is not always accepted by transgender people being perceived by some as dehumanising. However, if we consider the Beaumont Society website, we will notice that this term is often used and obviously not in a derogatory way. This point supports our initial statement regarding the use of terminology as a very subjective matter, upon which people have different and sometimes distant understandings. Nonetheless these collocates, in contrast to other results found in relation to *The Sun*, show a very positive discourse towards support and awareness on the part of this newspaper towards transgender people.

One of the collocates discussed so far was also found in a different context worth mentioning, that is the *UK*. The following examples show the other context in which this collocate occurred:

(132) For every 10 **transgender** cases in the **UK** there is only one where a woman wants to live as a man. (*Daily Mirror*, January 4th 2015)

(133) There are no official statistics but in a recent study for the Home Office, the Gender Identity Research and Education Society (GIRES) estimated the number of **transgender** people in the **UK** at 300,000 to 500,000. (*The Express*, January 21st 2015)

[33] More about the Beaumont Society can be found at: http://www.beaumontsociety.org.uk/about-us/.

When it was not part of the e-mail address of the Beaumont Society, the collocate was found in articles like the ones shown in examples (132) and (133). These examples point to a collective representation of transgender people, with a reference to the UK. The structure of these articles generally displays the use of numbers that count how many transgender people are involved in specific events, or are in the UK. The use of numerals is very common in the journalistic genre as it responds to the need to sensationalise events by associating them to large number of people, as one of what Galtung and Ruge (1965) define "news making standards". This type of representation also recalls a strategy employed in the representation of social actors pointed out by van Leeuwen (1996), defined as Aggregation. This strategy is "often used to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion, even though it presents itself as merely recording facts" (van Leeuwen 1996: 49).

Of the remaining collocates which form this category we will look in more detail to the two most occurring ones, that is *issues* (28) and *support* (38), of which an example in context is given below:

(134) "Some people are ignorant about **transgender issues** and can't cope with it" (*The Sun*, February 20th 2013).

The PopCor mainly discusses the collocate *issues* in contexts as the one displayed in example (134). The prosody surrounding it is very positive as it is accompanied by terms and phrases like *sensitive*, *learn about*, *teaching about*, *information about*, *serious*, *advice on*, all of which contribute to sending a message that signals the necessity to support more and more the awareness on transgender identities, to help people understand what it means to be transgender and what everybody should do to support transgender people. This discourse is sustained by the use of the collocate 'support' which was found in phrases such as *transgender support group* (8/38), *support the transgender community* (11/38) and *support transgender people* (7/38).

With just two collocates, this discourse was found, in a very light percentage, with reference to the term *transsexual** as well. The collocate retrieved for the QualCor, *rights* (10), and the one retrieved for the PopCor, *against* (7), both have a very positive prosody. The articles discussing these collocate describe events organised in support of transsexual people and argue about the importance of it.

The term *trans*, differently, presents many collocates for this category, though only in the QualCor. These collocates are *visible* (6), *advocacy* (6), *activist* (8), *watch* (13), *experiences* (8), *Stonewall* (11), *issues* (18), *movement* (9), *media* (20), *transition* (8), *respect* (6), *pride* (7), *experience* (9).

As it was the case for the term *transgender** some of the collocates here (*watch*, *Stonewall*, *media*) refer to organisations and groups that fight for transgender people's rights such as Stonewall[34], a support group for LGBTIQ+ people, and Trans Media Watch[35], a charity dedicated to improving transgender and intersex issues' coverage on the media. Other collocates, like *experiences* and *experience*, found in the phrase *experience/s of trans people* and supported by terms like *explain, understand, share* and *disclose;* or *issues*, found in the phrase *trans issues* surrounded by verb processes such as *campaigning for, have been neglected, integrate, written about, talked about* and *care passionately about*; or also *respect*, found neighbouring with terms like *deserve*, *treated with*, *shows*, function, as mentioned above, as bricks to the building of an inclusive and supportive, above all, positive, discourse surrounding the representation of transgender people.

This chapter presents three categories that might seem very similar, therefore grouped in the same chapter, but are in some traits very different. The results presented in this section denote an ever-growing effort, regardless of the reasons behind these choices, of an inclusive and non-discriminating type of discourse presented by the eight newspapers considered in this analysis. Each newspaper has a different way to introduce the discourse on transgender identities and this, despite the choices, at times questionable, is a giant leap forward towards the erasure of transphobia and discrimination. Unfortunately, the current political and economic situation worldwide restrains our positive expectations towards a more inclusive and non-discriminatory society due to the major political and ideological shifts that our society is witnessing, with the raise of strongly conservative parties in many European and non-European countries. However, the press still works as one of the main reference for people and we should keep advocating for its educational and informative function.

[34] More about Stonewall can be found at http://www.stonewall.org.uk/about-us.
[35] More about Tran Media Watch can be found at http://www.transmediawatch.org/.

Among the 150 collocates analysed through their concordances in this study, some were excluded either for not presenting any relevant results or because the discourse surrounding them was similar to other results presented. Nonetheless, we believe that the major discursive and representational patterns in the narrative around transgender identities, in the time span considered for this study, were highlighted and discussed in Chapters five, six and seven, so far presented.

The following and last Chapter tries to sum up all the results discussed in addressing the research questions, with a particular focus on an attempt to give an answer to the last RQ dealing with the impact that the press, through the discussion about transgender identities, has had on society, and finally looks at future steps for this research.

8 Conclusions

8.1 Findings

This research began with many doubts, countless questions and some hypotheses. Nearly all of the doubts were clarified, most of the questions answered, many of the hypotheses proved to be either false or biased. This three-year long process started from the formulation of the research questions, presented in the Introduction, then moved to the inception and creation of the TransCor, and finally, to the linguistic analysis of the extensive amount of data collected. This investigation resulted in two different sets of conclusion. On the one hand, we were able to point out to some understandings that can be generalised in relation to the representation of transgender identities and the theoretical and methodological framework in which this study is set. On the other hand, some other results were found to be exclusively relevant in relation to the classes of the newspapers and the time span considered in this study.

We can further divide the first set of conclusions into two different groups: those related to the theoretical and methodological framework, and those related to the main issues investigated in this research, namely transgender identities. Starting from the latter, one of the most important aspects to highlight is that transgender identities cannot be defined and categorised according to one specific set of labels comprehensive of all individuals. As we have pointed out in the Introduction, transgender identity is very personal, with different shades and diverse explanations. We believe that it is necessary for researchers who dedicate their investigations to the study of transgender identities, and more in general to the representation of all identities, to bear in mind that it is very problematic to generalise on labels and categorisations when it comes to the definition of identities. The examples and the analysis presented in this study contribute to proving this hypothesis. The different types of representations retrieved are a tangible linguistic proof of the variety of ways in which each transgender individual can be represented and prefers to represent their own self.

As for methodological and theoretical issues, the analysis presented in this study shows a variety of elements. First, the literature review regarding the field of

language and gender identity proves to be a fast growing and evolving field. However, although issues related to transgender identity have been tackled for a very long time, it was only in the last two decades that linguistic analysis has been carried out to investigate this type of identities. Numerous compelling studies on language in relation to transgender identities in the last five years have been valuable instruments in the growth and further understanding of this type of identities.

Looking at the field of News Discourse this work shows how many of the theoretical issues proposed over half a century ago are today still relevant for the analysis, and how some of these have evolved into new and updated readings and explanations about the use of language in the news. For instance, despite the constant evolution of language, many of the features defining quality and popular press still apply to the two genres of news writing, as well as the news making standards which still look for newsworthiness and refer to those same news values first proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1956) and later by Bell (1991) and then Bednarek and Caple (2012) and other scholars (see Chapter two).

At the same time, other theoretical standpoints, such as the categorisation of the press presented in Chapter two, no longer apply. Among these, the dichotomy according to which newspapers are grouped in relation to their size (broadsheets vs. tabloids) can be criticised, as the newspaper formats have changed through the years. Similarly, the up-, mid- and down-market distinction — which takes into account the readership's socioeconomic status — seems to be somehow deceptive, especially following the rise of on-line newspapers' circulation, which has enabled people from all social classes and geographical provenance to access news.

Lastly, CBDA proved as a very useful methodology in uncovering ideological stances and linguistic patterns in large amounts of data. As pointed out in Chapter two, the critical approach adopted for the analysis presented in this research proved to be greatly functional, since the representation of gender identities has too many political and ideological implications that need to be questioned in order to fully attempt to grasp the related issues. For this purpose, the corpus collected for the analysis, the TransCor, was searched to pinpoint different discursive and linguistic choices.

The analysis of the use of terminology related to transgender identities, presented in the first section of Chapter five, revealed an evolution in the use of the terms under investigation. Despite the more prominent use of *trans* in recent years, and the frequent use of *transsexual*, *transgender* resulted to still be used as the most common term to refer to transgender identity. We also observed a less frequent use of terms that can be perceived by some transgender people as discriminatory and defamatory, although at the same time the TransCor shows a re-appropriation of these terms (see the case of *tranny*) in the representation of these identities.

A keyword analysis highlighted a particular pattern in the use of pronouns referring to transgender people. The use of the non-discriminatory pronouns is, nowadays, a relevant topic. In fact, the choice of pronouns to address transgender people in line with the desire of the person being addressed is far from being a common practice, as well as the introduction of new pronouns as gender-neutral appellatives (Chapter five).

Moving on to the semantic patterns of representation retrieved through a combination of collocation and concordance analysis, seven different patterns resulted in this study. The analysis revealed that there were major events or issues channelling the discussion on transgender identities: from the use of *Personal Details* and *Implying Verbs* to describe transgender individuals (Chapter five) to a form of collective representation which creates an association between transgender identity and LGBTIQ+ groups, through the use of intersectionality in reference to other groups that society considers minorities (Chapter six).

The *Entertainment and Celebrity* world is another major context through which transgender identities are discussed. The increasing number of transgender film stars, and that of shows, films and TV series, featuring a transgender character, made this environment extremely productive in creating news stories dealing with this identity; this promptly became a fertile ground for news production. The investigation showed that while the QualCor discusses fictional transgender identities more extensively, the PopCor keeps its focus on celebrities who have transitioned to their preferred gender.

The last part of the analysis (Chapter seven) brought forward three more semantic patterns of representation, which in a way, take us back to 'traditional', and

less frivolous, news reporting. In fact, these are all related to covering crime stories or political/official events related to transgender people. From the analysis of *Crime Stories* it emerged that transgender people tended to be differently represented: as victims in the QualCor and as agents of violence in the PopCor.

Laws and Rights for transgender people are also a topic that generated copious news articles on gender-neutral toilets, military service for transgender people and gender-appropriate prisons. In such cases, a strongly inclusive narrative emerged, although the analysis also highlighted that the topics were dealt with showing a more politically-oriented type of stance rather than having a merely informative function.

The last semantic pattern retrieved in the analysis of the TransCor was related to *Awareness and Support*. This result came as a surprise. In fact, although we initially hypothesised that the PopCor would produce the most negative results in terms of the representation of transgender people, this category proved us wrong. Many of the collocates related to raising awareness and creating a support network for transgender people and their families were retrieved unexpectedly in the PopCor.

More broadly, we can conclude that the press, in the time span considered, presented both positive but also negative linguistic behaviours. Among the negative aspects, we can definitely list the habit, showed by all newspapers, to refer to transgender people by their name assigned at birth. Additionally, the use of pronouns which refer to the gender assigned at birth resulted to be frequent, as underlined above. Furthermore, another practice retrieved throughout the TransCor was the use of *transgender* and *transsexual* as synonyms, a practice condemned by many guidelines offered for the use of non-discriminatory language, for its implications linking identity to physical appearance.

On a more positive note, the press also was a platform to discuss this identity, still perceived as a taboo. Newspapers, in the three years under investigation, were able to initiate discussion about support group and events to raise awareness, but most of all to spark the conversation on transgender people in society.

As a way to sum up the major results that emerged from the analysis of the TransCor, the following section introduces one last reflection on the impact on society of the representation of transgender identities in the press. In fact, while the

results presented in Chapters five, six and seven, and summarised in this section try to give an answer to the first three RQ (See Introduction), the following section tries to address the fourth RQ that focuses primarily on the social aspect of this research.

8.2 Trans-fashion or trans-awareness?

The sudden rise of the issue of transgender identities in the press can be regardes as a new fashionable topic or as way to raise awareness towards this expression of gender identity. However, as the collection of the TransCor progressed, and so did the close reading of the articles in it, this question grew stronger in our mind.

Limiting the observation to the UK, this section will attempt at retracing the response of society to the growing acknowledgement of transgender identity.

In the UK, legislation appertained to transgender people dates back to 2010 (Polese & Zottola, Forthcoming). The Equality Act (2010) was passed as a follow up to a previous act issued in 2004, the Gender Recognition Act. The latter is the first legal document concerning gender reassignment and transgender identity produced in the UK, while the 2010 act provides recommendations in cases of discrimination and inequality for transgender people. Despite the issues discussed in the two laws, the authors conclude that in the years under scrutiny the issue was still strongly dealt with in terms of gender reassignment and the bureaucratic aspects that concern this process rather than in terms of a relevant argumentation on identity and non-discriminatory behaviours toward transgender people. In line with these findings, the House of Commons, in the person of Nicky Morgan, Minister for woman and equalities, on January 14th 2016 published a document that summarises the current legal situation of transgender people in the UK at that time. The document states that

> [w]hile we recognise the importance of the Gender Recognition Act as pioneering legislation when it was passed, it is clear that the Act is now dated. The medicalised approach regarding mental-health diagnosis pathologises trans identities; as such, it runs contrary to the dignity and personal autonomy of applicants (The Women and Equalities Committee 2016: 7).

This document highlights the necessity for the UK to upgrade their laws concerning transgender identity, although the existence of this material proves an effort towards

this direction. As a further step forward, countless no-profit organisations and inquiries that monitor the situation regarding transphobia and transgender rights and support have been sponsored in the last few years. A document announcing the top inclusive employers in 2017 has been produced by the organisation Stonewall[36]. As of today, the organisation *All About Trans*[37] is the most active in monitoring the representation of transgender people in the media.

Despite all this, the violence against transgender people does not seem to be decreasing. According to an article found on the *Independent* on-line published on July 28th 2016[38], transphobic hate crimes reported to the police in the UK raised from 215 in 2011 to 582 in 2015. To the best of our knowledge, official figures on violence, hate crimes, and suicide of transgender individuals, or on the actual number of people who identify as transgender in the UK, were not retrieved, but some data emerged from those organisations that work in favour of transgender people.

Stonewall (2017)[39] conducted a survey proving that eight out of ten transgender children have been bullied in schools across the UK. The Office for National Statistics determined that in 2014/15, 1% of the overall number of police reports on hate crime were to the detriment of transgender people (Home Office statistical bulletin 05/15[40]). Against this backdrop, it is clear that the press does have an ever-growing role in the dissemination and acknowledgment of issues related to transgender identities. The discussion on these issues will, hopefully, come to an end only when we will no longer feel the need to refer to them as problematic.

Point eight of the National Union of Journalists code of conduct states that a journalist should produce "no material likely to lead to hatred or discrimination on the grounds of a person's age, gender, race, colour, creed, legal status, disability,

---

[36] Further information can be found at: http://www.stonewall.org.uk/workplace-equality-index (Last accessed: September 20 2017).
[37] Further information can be found at: http://www.allabouttrans.org.uk/ (Last accessed: September 20 2017).
[38]More can be read at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/transphobic-hate-crime-statistics-violence-transgender-uk-police-a7159026.html (Last accessed: September 20 2017)
[39] Further information can be found at: http://www.stonewall.org.uk/school-report-2017 (Last accessed: September 20 2017).
[40] Further information can be found at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/467366/hosb0515.pdf (Last accessed: September 20 2017).

marital status, or sexual orientation"[41]. Some of the linguistic patterns retrieved in the TransCor suggest that, at times, this assertion is undermined as negative representations of transgender identities are offered to the readers, which contributes to the reinforcement of hate and transphobia.

When it comes to addressing the fourth question that guided this research, we believe that transgender identities entered the wider media discussion as a form of fashion, mainly a curiosity towards a topic that society could still not grasp, adding to a need to sensationalise news and use diversity to attract the readers' attention – as we have seen has been done historically by the press with any subject, object or concept which differed from the stereotyped, binary and heteronormative representation in vogue. As fashion faded out, as it always does, the topic of transgender identities was up for new stakes. What used to be fashion became awareness and, as the analysis of the TransCor revealed, by displaying the evolution of the articles in the three years under investigation, the press took on an important function of raising knowledge on this issue.

The last section of this chapter seeks to discuss the limits of this research and discuss possible steps for future developments.

8.3 Limit of the research and future developments

The time dedicated to this study allowed us to take numerous aspects into account whilst at the same it obliged us to leave others out. The time needed to collect a corpus from the beginning prevented this research from covering a larger time span, which would have been useful to retrace major changes in the use of language in the representation of transgender people in the UK press. Thus, the outcomes of this research can only be applicable to a small portion of the world as it is limited to the UK, whilst it would be of greater interest to compare these results cross-culturally and cross-linguistically diachronically.

The lack of a visual support in the analysis is another gap in this study. Newspapers increasingly make use of images in their publications; these images

[41] Further information can be found at: https://www.nuj.org.uk/about/nuj-code/ (Last accessed: September 20 2017).

strongly influence our understanding of the news stories while we are reading them (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006; Hart 2017a, 2017b). Therefore, the complementary analysis of the visual aspect would have been a useful contribution to understand the newspapers' point of view on the topic.

Lastly, two final points must be underlined. This contribution lacks the perspective of the in-group. The transgender community's belief on their identity representation in the press has not been addressed in this work. A survey including people who identify as transgender could increase our knowledge on their understanding of this representation. This aspect leads us to the last gap in this study, the voice of the audience. We tried to retrace the impact of news coverage involving transgender identities and issues. However, no reception studies have been conducted on readers to test our hypotheses.

In a way, the limits of a study are closely intertwined with the future developments of a research that might seek to fill those gaps.

As further positive contributions to this research, many aspects could be taken into account. The TransCor could be implemented into a multimodal corpus by adding the images accompanying the news texts under investigation. Sociolinguistic inquiries into the language used by the members of the in-group to represent themselves would greatly enlarge our understanding, and would provide researchers with more specific tools to investigate and evaluate the practices enacted by the press. Additionally, a survey conducted on the target readership would be incontrovertible evidence of the hypotheses presented in this study. The three years dedicated to the analysis developed in this dissertation lay the grounds for many further years of investigation and exploration in which we will aim at filling all the gaps.

REFERENCES

Aarts, Jan and Theo van den Heuvel. 1982. Corpus-based syntax studies. *Gramma: tijdschrift voor taalkunde in Nijmegen*, 7(2-3): 153–174.

Aarts, Jan and Willem Meijs. 1984. *Corpus linguistics: recent developments in the use of computer corpora in English language research*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Adampa, Vasiliki. 1999. Reporting of a Violent Crime in three Newspaper Articles. The Representation of the Female Victim and the Male Perpetrator and their Actions: A Critical News Analysis. *Centre for Language in Social Life Working Paper No 108.* Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language. Lancaster University, United Kingdom.

Allan, Stuart. 1999. *News culture*. Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.

Anthony, Lawrence. 2014. *AntConc* (Version 3.4.4m) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/> (December 30, 2016).

Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC). 2015 (January). *Regional Publications. Combined Total Circulation Certificate*. <http://www.abc.org.uk/Certificates-Reports/Our-Reports/> (September 16, 2015).

Baer, Brian J. 2016. Translation, Transition, Transgender. Framing the Life of Charlotte von Mahlsdorf. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by Susan Stryker and Paisley Currah, 3(4): 506–523.

Bagemihl, Bruce. 1997. Surrogate Phonology and Transsexual Faggotry: A Linguistic Analogy for Uncoupling Sexual Orientation from Gender Identity. In *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, edited by A. Livia & K. Hall, 380–401. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baker, Paul. 2002. Construction of Gay Identity via Polari in the Julian and Sandy Radio Sketches. *Lesbian and Gay Review*, 3(3): 75–84.

Baker, Paul. 2003. No effeminates please: A corpus-based analysis of masculinity via personal adverts in Gay News/Times 1973-2000. In *Masculinity and*

Men's Lifestyle Magazines, edited by B. Benwell, 243–260. Oxford: Blackwell.

Baker, Paul. 2004. Querying Keywords. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 32(4): 346–359.

Baker, Paul. 2005. *Public Discourses of Gay Men*. Oxon, New York: Routledge.

Baker, Paul. 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London, New York: Continuum.

Baker, Paul. 2008. *Sexed Texts: Language, Gender and Sexuality*. London, Oakville: Equinox Pub.

Baker, Paul. 2009. The BE06 Corpus of British English and recent language change. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 14(3): 312–337.

Baker, Paul. 2010. Representations of Islam in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers 1999-2005. In *Language and Politics*, 9(2): 310–338.

Baker, Paul. 2012. Acceptable bias? Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis. In *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9(3): 247–256.

Baker, Paul. 2014a. *Using Corpora to Analyze Gender. London*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Baker, Paul. 2014b. Bad Wigs and Screaming Mimis: Using Corpus-Assisted Techniques to Carry out Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Trans People in the British Press. In *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies,* edited by C. Hart and P. Cap, 211–235. London: Bloomsbury.

Baker, Paul and Erez Levon. 2015. Picking the right cherries?: A comparison of corpus-based and qualitative analyses of news articles about masculinity. *Discourse and Communication* 9(2): 221–336.

Baker, Paul and Tony McEnery. 2005. A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. In *Language and Politics*, 4(2): 197–226.

Baker, Paul and Tony McEnery. 2015. *Corpora and Discourse: Integrating Discourse and Corpora*. London: Palgrave.

Baker, Paul, Gabrielatos, Costas and Tony McEnery. 2013a. *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes. The Representation of Islam in the British Press*. New York: Cambridge.

Baker, Paul, Gabrielatos, Costas and Tony McEnery. 2013b. Sketching Muslims: A Corpus Driven Analysis of the Representation Around the Word 'Muslim' in the British Press 1998–2009. *Applied Linguistics,* 34(3): 255–278.

Baker, Paul, Gabrielatos, Costas, KhosraviNik, Majid, Krzyzanowski, Michal, McEnery, Tony and Ruth Wodak. 2008. A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press. *Discourse and Society,* 19(3): 273–306.

Baker, Paul, Hardie, Andrew and Tony McEnery. 2006. *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Balirano, Giuseppe and Maria Cristina Nisco. 2016. "A Corpus-based Discourse Analysis of *Refugee** in EU Legal Texts". In *Constructing Legal Discourses and Social Practices: Issues and Perspectives*, edited by Girolamo Tessuto et al., 106–128. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Barthes, Roland. 1964. *Elements of Semiology*. Cape Editions.

Bartley, Leanne and Encarnacion Hidalgo-Tenorio. 2015. Constructing Perceptions of Sexual Orientation: A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of Transitivity in the Irish Press. *Estudios Irlandeses*, N°10: 14–34.

Bartley, Leanne and Encarnacion Hidalgo-Tenorio. 2016. To be Irish, gay, and on the outside. A critical discourse analysis of the Other after the Celtic Tiger period. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 5(1): 1–36.

Bednarek, Monika. 2006. *Evaluation in Media Discourse. Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*. London, New York: Continuum.

Bednarek, Monika. 2008. 'An increasingly familiar tragedy': evaluative collocation and conflation. *Functions of Language*, 15(1): 7–34.

Bednarek, Monika and Helen Caple. 2010. Double-take: Unpacking the play in the image-nuclear news story. *Visual Communication*, 9(2): 211–229.

Bednarek, Monika and Helen Caple. 2012. *News Discourse*. London, New York: Continuum.

Bell, Allan. 1991. *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Besnier, Niko. 2003. Crossing Genders, Mixing Languages: The Linguistic Construction of Transgenderism in Tonga. In *The Handbook of language and*

Gender, edited by J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff, 279–301. Meiden, Oxford, Victoria, Berlin: Blackwell Publishing.

Biber, Douglas. 1993. Representativeness in corpus design. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 8(4): 243–257.

Brezina, Vaclav, McEnery, Tony and Stephen Wattam. 2015. Collocations in context: a new perspective on collocation networks. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 20(2): 139–173.

Brownlees, Nicholas. 2017. The Concept of Periodicity in English pamphlet News. In *La Invencion de las Noticias las Relaciones de Sucesos entre la Literatura y la informacion (Siglos XVI-XVIII)*, edited by G. Ciappelli and V. Nider, 77–88. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento.

Brownlees, Nicholas. 2016. "News also came by Letters": Functions and Features of Epistolary News in English News Publications of the Seventeenth Century. In *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, edited by J. Raymond and N. Moxham, 394–419. Leida: Brill.

Bucholtz, Mary. 2003. Reflexivity and critique in discourse analysis. *Sage Publications*, 29(4): 461–620.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2005. Identity and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach. *Discourse Studies,* 7(4-5): 585–614.

Burnes, Theodore R. and Chen Mindy M. 2012. The Multiple Identities of Transgender Individuals. Incorporating a framework of Intersectionality to Gender Crossing. In *Navigating Multiple Identities: Race, gender, Culture, nationality, and Roles*, edited by R. Josselson and M. Harway, 113–128. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butler, Judith. 1988. Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4): 519–531.

Butler, Judith. 1997. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (second edition). New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies that Matter*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge

Byerly, Carolyn and Karen Ross. 2006. *Women & media: a critical introduction*. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell.

Caldas-Coulthard, Carmen Rosa and Rosamund Moon. 2010. 'Curby, hunky, kinky': Using corpora as tools for critical analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 21(2): 99–133.

Caldas-Coulthard, Carmen Rosa and Theo van Leeuwen. 2002. Stunning, shimmering, iridescent. Toys as the representation of gendered social actors. In Gender identity and Discourse Analysis. In *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis*, edited by L. Litosseliti and J. Suanderland, 91–110. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cameron, Deborah. 2001. *Good to talk?* London: Sage.

Capuzza, Jamie and Spencer Leland. 2016. Regressing, Progressing, or Transgressing on the Small Screen? Transgender Characters on U.S. Scripted Television Series. *Communication Quarterly*, 00(00): 1–17.

Carter, Cynthia, Branston, Gill and Stuart, Allan. 1998. *News, Gender and Power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Carter, Ronald. 1988. Front pages: lexis, style and newspaper reports. In *Registers of Written English. Situational Factors and Linguistic Features*, edited by M. Ghadessy. London: Pinter Publishers Limited.

Chermak, Steven. 1994. Crime in the News Media: A Refined Understanding of How Crimes Become News. In *Media, process, and the Social Construction of Crime: Studies in Newsmaking Criminology*, edited by G. Barack, 95–126. London, New York: Routledge.

Chilton, Paul. 2004. *Analysing Political Discourse. Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MT: MIT Press.

Cixous, Helen. 1975. *Le rire de la Méduse*. Paris: Hónore Champion.

Clarke, Kate. 1992. The Linguistics of Blame: Representations of Women in The Sun Reporting of Crimes of Sexual Violence. In *Language, Text and Context: Essays in Stylistics*, edited by M. Toolan, 208–224. London: Routledge.

Crystal, David and Derek Davy. 1969. *Investigating English Style*. London: Longman.

Conboy, Martin. 2002. *The Press and Popular Culture*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Conboy, Martin. 2006. *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Conboy, Martin. 2007. *The Language of the News*. Abingdon: Routledge

Conboy, Martin. 2010. *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives*. London, New York: Continuum.

Concilio, Arielle A. 2016. Pedro Lemebel and the Translatxrsation. On a Genderqueer Translation Praxis. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 3(4): 462–484.

Cory, D. Walter. 1965. The Language of the Homosexual. *Sexology*, 32(3): 163–165.

Cotter, Colleen. 2010. *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge: CUP.

Dashti, Laleh and Mehrpour Saeed. 2017. Representation of Social Actors in J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts's Philosophical Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research*, 4(4): 5–59.

Davati, Safoura and Moini Mohammad Raouf. 2016. The representation of Social Actors in Top Notvh Textbook Series: A critical discourse analysis perspective. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and research*, 4(13): 69–82.

Davies, Mark. 2008- *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 520 million words, 1990-present*. Available online at https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/.

Delemarre-van de Waal, Henriette and Peggy Cohen-Kettenis,. 2006. Clinical management of gender identity disorder in adolescents: a protocol on psychological and paediatric endocrinology aspects. *European Journal of Endocrinology*, (2006)155: S131–S137.

Derrida, Jacques. 1976. *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Di Martino, Emilia. 2017. Painting Social Change on a Body Canvas. Trans Bodies and their Social Impact. In *Queering Masculinities in Language and Culture*, edited by P. Baker and G. Balirano. London: Palgrave.

Doan, Petra L. 2010. The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces – Reflections from beyond the Gender Dichotomy. In *Gender, Place and Culture*, 17(5): 635–654.

Dunning, Ted. 1993. Accurate methods for statistics of surprise and coincidence. *Computational Linguistics*, 19(1): 61–74.

Durrant, Philip and Doherty Alice. 2010. Are High Frequency Collocations Psycologically Real? Investigating the Thesis of Collocational Priming. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistics Theory*, 6(2): 125–155.

Eckert, Penelope and Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1992. Communities of practice: Where language, gender, and power all live. In *Locating Power, Proceedings of the 1992 Berkeley Women and Language Conference,* edited by K. Hall, M. Bucholtz and B. Moonwomon, 89–99. Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Efe, Ibrahim and Omer Ozer. 2015. A corpus-based discourse analysis of the vision and mission statements of universities in Turkey. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 34(6): 1110–1122.

Eggins, S. 2004. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (2nd ed.). London: Pinter.

Facchinetti, Roberta, Brownlees, Nicholas, Bös, Birte and Udo Fries. 2015. *News as Changing Texts: Corpora, Methodologies and Analysis*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, Maiden: Balckwell Publishing.

Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Hodder.

Fairclough, Norman 2005. *Analysing Discourse*. London, New York: Routledge.

Fairclough, Norman, and Ruth Wodak. 1997. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Discourse as Social Interaction*, edited by T. van Dijk, 258–284. London: Sage.

Fairclough, Norman, Mulderrig, Jane and Ruth Wodak. 2011. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, edited by T. van Dijk. London: Sage.

Ferraresi Adriano and Silvia Bernardini. Forthcoming. Building EPTIC: A many-sided, multi-purpose corpus of EU Parliament proceedings. In *Parallel Corpora: Creation and Applications* [provisional title], edited by I. Doval. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Firth, John R. 1957. *Papers in Linguistics 1934–1951*. London: University Press.

Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the News. Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel. 1966. *Les Mots et les Choses: Une archeologie des sciences humaines*. Paris: Edition Gallimard.

Foucault, Michel. 1972. *Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Vintage.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. *The history of Sexuality. An Introduction*. Paris: Edition Gallimard.

Freud, Sigmund. 1953. *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. Garden City, N.Y.: Perma Book.

Gabriel, Kay. 2016. Untranslating Gender in Trish Salah's *Lyric Sexology Vol. 1*. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 3(4): 524–544.

Gabrielatos, Costas. 2010. *A Corpus-based Examination of English if-conditionals through the Lens of Modality: Nature and Types*. PhD thesis. Lancaster University.

Gabrielatos, Costas and Paul Baker. 2008. Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996 – 2005. *The Journal of English Linguistics*, 36(1): 5–38.

Galtung, Johan and Mari H. Ruge. 1965. The Structure of foreign news: The representation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in four Norwegian newspapers. Journal of Peace Research, 2(1): 64–90.

Galtung, Jan and Mari H. Ruge. 1973. Structuring and Selecting News. In *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, edited by S. Cohen and J. Young, 62–72. London: Constable.

Gee, James P. 1999. *An introduction to Discourse Analysis.* London: Routledge.

Ghadessy, Mohsen. 1988. *Registers of Written English. Situational Factors and Linguistic Features*. London: Pinter Publishers Limited.

Gouveia, Carlos Alberto M. 2005. Assumptions about Gender, Power and Opportunity: Gays and Lesbians as Discursive Subjects in a Portuguese Newspaper. In *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse,* edited by M. Lazar, 229–250. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Graner, Sylviane, Dagneaux, Estelle and Fanny Meunier. 2002. *International Corpus of Learner English*. Louvain: UCL.

Gries, Stefan T. 2008. Dispersion and Adjusted Frequencies in Corpora. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics,* 13(4): 403–437.

Hall, Kira. 1997. "Go Suck your Husband's Sugarcane!": Hijras and the Use of Sexual Insult. In *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, edited by K. Hall and A. Livia, 430–460. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, Kira. 2002. "'Unnatural' Gender in Hindi". In *Gender Across Languages: The Linguistic Representation of Women and Men*, edited by M. Hellinger and H. Bussman, 133–162. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hall, Kira. 2013. "It's a Hijra!": Queer Linguistics Revisited. In *Discourse & Society* 24(5): 634–642.

Hall, Kira, and Anna Livia. 1997. *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, Kira, and Veronica O'Donovan. 1996. Shifting Gender Positions among Hindi-Speaking Hijras. In *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*, edited by V. Bergvall, J. Bing and A. Freed, 228–266. London: Longman.

Hall, Kira and Lal Zimman. 2010. Language, Embodiment and the 'Third Sex'. In *Language and Identities*, edited by C. Llamas and D. Watt, 166–178. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1980. Encoding/Decoding. In *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79*, edited by S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis, 128–138. London: Hutchinson.

Hall, Stuart. 1996. Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by S. Hall and P. Du Gay, 1– 7. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as a Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (4th ed., 2014). Revised by C.M.I.M. Matthiessen. London and New York: Routledge.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1992. Language as a system and language as instance: the corpus as a theoretical construct. In *Directions in Corpus Linguistics*, edited by J. Svartvik, 61–77. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Halliday, M.A.K. and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen. 2013. *Hallidays' Introduction to Functional Grammar* (4th ed.). Abingdon: Routledge.

Hart, Christopher. 2017a. Cognitive linguistic critical discourse studies: connecting language and image. In *Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics*. London: Routledge.

Hart, Christopher. 2017b. Metaphor and intertextuality in media framings of the (1984-85) British Miners' Strike: a multimodal analysis. *Discourse & Communication*, 11(1): 3–30.

Hartner, Marcus. 2015. Imagining Transgender: Reinscriptions of Normativity in Duncan Tucker's *Transamerica* and Jackie Kay's *Trumpet*. *FIAR*, 8(1): 109–122.

Henry, Harry. 1983. Are the national newspapers polarizing? *Admap*, 19(10): 484–491.

Hess, Linda M. 2017. 'My whole life I've been dressing up like a man': Negotiations of Queer Aging and Queer Temporality in the TV Series Transparent. *European Journal of American Studies*, 11(3). Last accessed, June 24th 2017.

Hidalgo-Tenorio, Encarnation. 2011. Critical Discourse Analysis, An overview. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 10(1): 183–210.

Horak, Laura. 2016. Trans on YouTube. Intimacy, Visibility, Temporality. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 1(4): 572–585.

Hoskan, Özlem. 2006. The Media Portrayal of Homosexuality in the Turkish Press between 1998 and 2006. PhD Thesis, Institute of Social Sciences, Ankara, Turkey. http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12608008/index.pdf [retrieved: 01/07/2017].

Hunston, Susan. 2002. *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunston, Susan. 2007. Semantic Prosody Revisited. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 12(2): 249–268.

Irigaray, Luce. 1985. *This Sex which is not One*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Isani, Shaeda. 2011. Of headlines and headlinese: Towards distinctive linguistic and pragmatic genericity. *Asp* [Online], 60|2011. https://asp.revues.org/2523. Last accessed, November 24th 2016.

Jarrin, Alvaro. 2016. Untranslatable Subjects. Travesti Acces to Public Health Care in Brazil. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 3(4): 357–375.

Järvinen, Timo. 1994. Annotating 200 million words: The Bank of English project. In Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Computational Linguistics (Vol. 1). Kyoto, Japan: International Committee on Computational Linguistics, COLING 94 Organizing Committee, pp. 565–568. Available online at http://aclweb.org/anthology/C94-109. Last accessed, September 20th 2017.

Jaworska, Sylvia. 2017. Corpus approaches. Investigating Linguistics Patterns and Meanings. In *The Routledge handbook of Language and Media*, edited by C. Cotter and D. Perrin, 93–108. New York: Routledge.

Jaworska, Sylvia and Ramesh Krishnamurthy. 2012. On the F word: A corpus-based analysis of the media representation of feminism in British and German press discourse, 1990-2009. *Discourse & Society*, 23(4): 401–431.

Jespersen, Otto. 1922. *Language: its Nature, Development and Origin*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Jones, Lucy. 2016. Language and Gender Identities. In *The Routledge Handbook of language and Identity*, edited by S. Preece, 210–224. Oxon: Routledge.

Jones, Lucy. 2018. Discourses of transnormativity in vloggers' identity construction**.** *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.*

Joseph, John. 2016. Historical perspectives on language and identity. In *The Routledge Handbook of language and Identity*, edited by S. Preece, 19–33. Oxon: Routledge.

Josephson, Jyl and Einarsdottir Porgerdur. 2016. Language Purism and Gender. Icelandic Trans* Activists and the Icelandic Linguistic Gender Binary. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 3(4): 376–387.

Jucker, Andreas H. 1992. *Social Stylistics. Syntactic Variation in British Newspapers*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kilgariff, A., Baisa. V., Bušta, J., Jakubícek, M., Kovár, V., Michelfeit, J., Rychly, P. and Suchomel, V. 2014. The Sketch Engine: ten years on. *Lexicography*, 1(1): 7–36.

Kim, Kyung Hye. 2014. Examining US news media discourses about North Korea: A corpus/based critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 25(2): 221–224.

Kirk, John M. 2009. Word Frequency Use or Misuse? In *What's in a Word-List? Investigating Word Frequency and Keyword Extraction*, edited by D. Archer, 17–34. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Koller, Veronika. 2009. Analysing collective identity in discourse:social actors and contexts. *Semen Revue de semio-linguistique des textes et discours*, 27:2009.

Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. 2006. *Reading images: the grammar of visual design* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Kuhar, Roman. 2003. Media Representation of Homosexuality: An Analysis of the Print Media in Slovenia, 1970–2000. http://mediawatch.mirovniinstitut.si/eng/media_representations_of_homosexuality.pdf [retrieved: 01/07/2017]

Kulick, Don. 1996. Causing a Commotion: Scandal as Resistance among Brazilian Travesti Prostitutes. *Anthropology Today* 12(6): 3–7.

Kulick, Don. 1998. *Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kulick, Don. 1999. Transgender and Language. A review of the Literature and Suggestions for the Future. *The Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 5(4): 605–622.

Kulick, Don. 2000. Transgender and Language. *The Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 5(4): 605–622.

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lacan, Jacques. 1977. *Écrits: A Selection*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co

Lakoff, Robin. 1975. *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper and Row.

Leech, George. 1992. Corpora and theories of linguistic performance. In *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: proceedings of the Nobel Symposium 82, Stockholm, 4-8 August 1991*, edited by J. Svartvik, 105–122. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Leech, George. 2007. New Resources, or just better old ones?. In *Corpus Linguistics and the Web*, edited by M. Hundt, N. Nesselhauf and C. Biewer, 134–149. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Leino, Unni. 2016. Conceptualizing Sex, Gender, and Trans. An Anglo-Finnish Perspective. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 3(4): 448–461.

Leung, Helen Hok-Sze. 2016. Always in Translation. Trans Cinema across Languages. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P Currah, 3(4): 433–447.

Litosseliti, Lia. 2002. 'Head to Head': Gendered repertoires in newspaper arguments. In *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis*, edited by L. Litosseliti and J. Sunderland, 129–148. Amsterdam Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Llamas, Carmen and Dominic Watt. 2010. "Introduction". In *Language and Identities*, edited by C. Llamas and D. Watt, 166–178. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Louw, Bill. 1993. Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer? The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies. In *Text and Technology. In Honour of John Sinclair*, edited by M. Baker, G. Francis and E. Tognini-Bonelli, 48–95. Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Louw, Bill, and Carmela Chateau 2010. Semantic prosody for the 21st Century: Are prosodies smoothed in academic contexts? A contextual prosodic theoretical perspective. JADT 2010: 10th International Conference on Statistical Analysis of Textual Data.

McCarthy, Michael and Anne O'Keeffe. 2010. Historical Perspective. What are Corpora and How Have They Evolved?. In *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, edited by A. O'Keefe and M. McCarthy, 3–13. London and New York: Routledge.

McEnery, Tony. 2018. Positive Discourse Analysis. In *Corpus Approaches to Discourse: A Critical Review*, edited by C. Taylor and A. Marchi. London: Routledge.

McEnery, Tony and Andrew Hardie. 2012. *Corpus linguistics: Method, theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McEnery, Tony and Andrew Hardie. 2011. *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McEnery, Tony and Andrew Wilson. 2006. *Corpus Linguistics. An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McEnery, Tony and Andrew Wilson. 1996. *Corpus Linguistics. An Introduction* (2nd ed., 2001). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McEnery Tony, Xiao, Richard and Yukio Tono. 2006. *Corpus-based Language Studies: An Advanced Resource Book*. London, New York: Routledge.

Milani, Tommaso. 2017. *Queering Language, Gender and Sexuality*. United Kingdom: Equinox eBooks Publishing.

Milani, Tommaso. 2013. Are 'queers' really 'queer'? Language, identity and same-sex desire in a South African online community. *Discourse & Society*, 24(5): 615–633.

Milani, Tommaso. 2010. What's in a name? Language ideology and social differentiation in a Swedish print-mediated debate. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 14(1): 116–142.

Morley, James and Alan Partington. 2009. A few Frequently Asked Questions about semantic – or evaluative – prosody. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 14(2): 139–158.

Morrish, Elisabeth & Sauntson, Helen. 2007. Camp Codes and Subtle Outing: How the British Broadsheets Press Learned Slang. In *New Perspectives on Language and Sexual Identity,* edited by E. Morrish and H. Sauntson, 166–197. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Motschenbacher, Heiko. 2010. *Language, Gender and Sexual Identity. Poststructuralist perspectives*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mulderrig, Jane. 2011. Manufacturing Consent: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis of New Labour's educational governance. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43(6): 562–577.

Namaste, Viviane K. 2000. *Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nisco, Maria Cristina. 2016. *Agency in the British press: A corpus-based Discourse Analysis of the 2011 UK Riots*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

O'Donnell, W.R. and Loreto Todd. 1980. *Variety in Contemporary English.* London: Allen & Unwin.

O'Halloran, Kieran. 2009. Inferencing and cultural reproduction: a corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *Text & Talk*, 29(1): 21–51.

Oakes, Michael. 1998. *Statistics for corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Partington, Alan S. 1998. *Pattern and Meaning: Using Corpora for English Language Research and Teaching* [Studies in Corpus Linguistics 2]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Partington, Alan S. 2003. *The Linguistics of Political Argument*. London: Routledge.

Partington, Alan S. 2004. “Utterly content in each other’s company”. Semantic prosody and semantic preference. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 9(1): 131–156.

Partington, Alan S. 2012. The changing discourses on antisemitism in the UK press from 1993 to 2009: A modern-diachronic corpus-assisted discourse study. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 11(1): 51–76.

Partington, Alan S. 2015. Corpus-assisted Comparative Case Studies of Representations of the 'Arab world. In *Corpora and Discourse Studies: Integrating Discourse and Corpora. London,* edited by P. Baker and T. McEnery, 220–243. Palgrave Macmillan.

Partington, Alan S. 2017. Evaluative clash, evaluative cohesion and how we actually read evaluation in texts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 117:190–203.

Partington, Alan S., Duguid, Alison and Charlotte Taylor. 2013. *Patterns and Meaning in Discourse. Theory and Practice in Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Polese, Vanda. 2004. *Language in the Spotlight News Manufacturing and Discourse*. Napoli: Arte Tipografica Editrice.

Polese, Vanda and Stefania D’Avanzo. 2012. Hybridisation in EU Academic Discourse: the Representation of EU Social Actor(s). In *Genre Variation in Academic Communication. Emerging Disciplinary Trends*, edited by S. Maci and M. Sala, 231–259. Bergamo: CELSB.

Polese, Vanda and Angela Zottola. Forthcoming. Language and law at stake: An investigation into transgender people’s rights and identity representation in the UK.

Potts, Amanda and Anne Lise Kjaer. 2015. Constructing Achievement in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY): A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis. *International Journal of Semiot Law*, 29: 525–555.

Preece, Sian. 2016. *The Routledge Handbook of language and Identity*. Oxon: Routledge.

Raymond, 1979. *The Transsexual Empire. The Making of the She-Male*. London: Women's.

Reppen, Randi. 2010. Building a corpus. What are the main considerations?. In *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, edited by A. O'Keefe and M. McCarthy, 31–37. London and New York: Routledge.

Rose, Emily. 2016. Keeping the Trans in Translation. Queering Early Modern Transgender Memoirs. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, edited by S. Stryker and P. Currah, 3(4): 485–505.

Sardinha, Tony. 2000. Semantic prosodies in English and Portuguese: A contrastive study. *Cuadernos de Filologia Inglesa,* 9(1): 93–110.

Saussure De, Ferdinand. 1916. *Cours de Linguistique general*. Losanna and Paris: Payot.

Schoemaker, Sydney. 2006. Identity & identities. *Daedalus*, Fall 2006: 40–48.

Scott, Mike. 2006. In Search of a Bad reference Corpus. In Word Frequency and Keyword Extraction. *AHRC ICT Methods Network Expert Seminar on Linguistics*. London: Center for Computing in the Humanities.

Scott, Mike. 2010. What can corpus Software do? In *The Routledge Handbooks in Applied Linguistics*, edited by A. O'Keefe and M. McCarthy, 136–151. London and New York: Routledge.

Scott, Mike. 2014. WordSmith Tools (Version 6) [Software]. Liverpool: Lexical Analysis Software.

Seymour-Ure, Colin. 1996. *The British Press and Broadcasting, since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Simpson, Paul. 1993. *Language, ideology and point of view*. New York: Routledge.

Simpson, Paul and Andrea Mayr. 2010. *Language and Power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sinclair, John. 1987. *Looking up*. London: Collins COBUILD.

Sinclair, John. 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair, John. 1996. The Search for Units of Meaning. *Textus,* IX: 75–106.

Sparks, Colin. 1999. The press. In *The Media in Britain: Current Debates and Developments,* edited by J. Stokes and A. Reading, 41–60. Houndsmills: Macmillan.

Stig, Johansson, Leech, Geoffrey, and Helen Goodluck. 1978. *Manual of Information to Accompany the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English, for Use with Digital Computers*. Oslo: Department of English, University of Oslo.

Stokes Jane, and Anna Reading. 1999. *The Media in Britain. Current Debates and Developments*. London: MacMillan Press LTD.

Stone, Sandy. 1991. The Empire strikes back: A posttranssexual manifesto. In *Body guards: The cultural politics of gender ambiguity*, edited by J. Epstein and K. Straub, 280–304. New York: Routledge.

Stryker, Susan. 1994. My Words to Victor Frankenstein above the Village of Chamounix: Performing Transgender Rage. *The Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 1(3): 227–254.

Stryker, Susan. 1998. Transgender Issues: An introduction. *The Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 4(2): 145–158.

Stryker, Susan. 2008. Transgender history, homonormativity, and disciplinarity. *Radical History Review*, 100: 145–157.

Stryker, Susan and Stephen Whittle. 2006. *The Transgender Studies Reader.* London New York: Routledge.

Stubbs, Michael. 1995. Collocations and semantic profiles: On the cause of the trouble with quantitative methods. *Function of Language*, 2(1): 1–33.

Stubbs, Michael. 1996. *Text and Corpus Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stubbs, Michael. 1997. Review of T. McEnery and A. Wilson (1996), *Corpus Linguistics. International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 2(2): 296–302.

Stubbs, Michael. 2001. *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stubbs, Michael. 2002. Two quantitative methods of studying phraseology in English. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics,* 7(2): 215–44.

Sullivan, Lou. 1990. *Information for the Female to Male Cross Dresser and Transsexual*. Michigan: Ingersoll Gender Center.

Talbot, Mary. 1995. *Fictions at Work – Language and Social Practice in Fiction*. London: Longman.

Tannen, Deborah. 1982. Oral and literate strategies in spoken and written narratives. *Language*, 58(1): 1–21.

Tannen, Deborah. 1990. *You just don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York, NY: Morrow.

Taylor, Charlotte. 2008. What is *Corpus Linguistics*? What the data says. I*CAME Journal*, 32.

Taylor, Charlotte. 2009. Negative Politeness Forms and Impoliteness Functions in institutional Discourse: A Corpus-assisted Approach. In *Situated Politeness*, edited by B. L. Davies, M. Haugh and A.J. Merrison, 209–231. London and New York: Continuum.

Taylor, Charlotte. 2013. Searching for Similarity Using Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies. *Corpora* 8(1): 81–113.

Thompson, G. 2013. *Introducing Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.) Abingdon: Routledge.

Tognini-Bonelli, 2001. *Corpus Linguistics at Work*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tribble, Christopher. 2010. What are concordances and how are they used? In The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics. In *The Routledge Handbooks in Applied Linguistics*, edited by A. O'Keefe and M. McCarthy, 167–183. London and New York: Routledge.

Trump, Donald [@realDonaldTrump]. 2017 (July 26). After consultation with my Generals and military experts, please be advised that the United States Government will not accept or allow transgender individuals to serve in any capacity in the U.S. Military. Our military must be focused on decisive and overwhelming victory and cannot be burdened with the tremendous medical costs and disruption that transgender in the military would entail. Thank you. [Twitter]. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/890193981585444864> (August 3, 2017).

van Dijk, Teun. 1988. *News Analysis. Case Studies of International and National News in the Press*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

van Dijk, Teun. 1988a. *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

van Dijk, Teun. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. London, New York: Routledge.

van Dijk, Teun. 1995. Power and the news media. In *Political Communication and Action*, edited by D. Paletz, 9–36. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

van Dijk, Teun. 1996. Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Japanese Discourse*, 1(1996): 17–27.

van Dijk, Teun. 1997. *Discourse as Social Interactio*n. London: Sage.

van Dijk, Teun. 2001. Multi-disciplinary CDA: a plea for diversity. In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, edited by R. Wodak and M. Meyer, 95–120. London and Thousand Oaks: Sage.

van Dijk, Teun. 2009. *Society and discourse. How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Leeuwen, Theo. 1996. The Representation of Social Actors. In *Texts and Practice*, edited by C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard, 32–70. London: Routledge.

van Leeuwen, Theo. 2005. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London and New York: Routledge.

van Leeuwen, Theo. 2007. Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, 1(1): 91–112.

van Leeuwen, Theo. 2008. *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics.

Venuti Marco and Maria Cristina Nisco. 2015. Languaging the Riots: A Corpus-based Investigation of the Rioters' Identity as Reported by the British Press. In *Languaging Diversity. Identities, Genres, Discourses*, edited by G. Balirano and M. C. Nisco, 16–31. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Verschueren, Jef. 2011. Predicamnets of criticism. *Critique of Anthropology*, 21(1): 59–81.

Webster, Lexi. 2016. "A New Level": A corpus-based method for the critical discourse analysis of transgender self-identification via social media. Paper presented at Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines, Catania, Sicily, Italy, 5/09/16 - 7/09/16.

Webster, Lexi. 2017. “I am I”: Self-constructed transgender identities in Internet-mediated forum communication. In *Transgender and Language*, edited by E. De Martino and L. von Flotow, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.*

Weiss, Gilbert and Ruth Wodak. 2002. *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Whittle, Stephen. 1995. Outing – Shattering the Conspiracy of Silence. *Journal of Gender Studies*, edited by W. Johansson and W. Percy, 4(2): 206–207.

Whittle, Stephen. 1996. Transsexualism in society: A sociology of male-to-female transsexuals – Lewins. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 5(2): 236–237.

Whittle, Stephen. 1998. Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women and the Rest of Us. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 27(5): 526–530.

Whittle, Stephen. 1998a. The Trans-cyberian Mail Way. *Social & Legal Studies*, 7(3): 389–408.

Whittle, Stephen. 2016. *The Ultimate Practice Guide to Transgender and Transsexual Human Rights and Equality Law in the UK*. Press for Change.

Widdowson, Henry. 1998. The theory and practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, 19(1): 136–151.

Widdowson, Henry. 2005. *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Witten, Tarynnm and Stephen Whittle. 2004. Transpanthers: The Greying Of Transgender and the Law. *Deakin Law Review*, 9(2): 504–504.

Wodak, Ruth. 1997. *Gender and Discourse*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Dhely: Sage Publications Ltd.

Wodak, Ruth. 2011. Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Discursive Pragmatics*, edited by J. Verschueren, J. Ostman, and J. Zienkowski, 50–70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Wodak, Ruth. 2013. Transnational literacies: immigration, language and identity. *Linguistics and Education*, 18(3–4): 201–214.

Wodak, Ruth and Micheal Meyer. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.

Xiao, Richard and Tony McEnery. 2006. Collocation, Semantic Prosody, and Near Synonymy: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective. *Applied Linguistics*, 271(1): 103–129.

Zimman, Lal. 2009. 'The other kind of coming out': Transgender people and the coming out narrative genre. *Gender & Language*, 3(1): 53–80.

Zimman, Lal. 2010. Female-to-male transsexuals and gay-sounding voices: A pilot study. *Colorado Research in Linguistics*, 22(1). http://www.colorado.edu/ling/CRIL/Volume22_Issue1/.

Zimman, Lal. 2013. Hegemonic masculinity and the variability of gay-sounding speech: The perceived sexuality of transgender men. *Journal of Language & Sexuality,* 2(1): 5–43.

Zimman, Lal. 2014. The Discursive Construction of Sex: remaking and reclaiming the gendered body in talk about genitals among trans men. In *Queer Excursions: Retheorizing Binaries in Language, Gender, and Sexuality,* edited by L. Zimman, J. Davis, and J. Raclaw, 13–34. Oxford University Press.

Zottola, Angela. Forthcoming a. Being Sophia Burset: Transgender identity in the TV series *Orange is the New Black. Cultus,* Special Issue edited by S. Zanotti and I. Ranzato.

Zottola, Angela. Forthcoming b. *Transgender*, *trans*, *transsexual*. Using terminology related to trans identity in the British press 2013–2015. *Journal of Language and Sexuality,* Special Issue edited by H. Motschenbacher, 7(1).

Zottola, Angela. Forthcoming c. Living as a Woman. The British Press on Trans Identity. In *Miss Man? The Adventures of Gender*, edited by G. Balirano and O. Palusci. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

APPENDIX

QUALITY PRESS 2013				
	The Guardian	***i***	***The Telegraph***	***The Times***
*transgender**	209	44	56	96
*transsexual**	52	31	42	34
*transvestite**	52	14	28	26
trans	9	7	5	1
*trann**	4	2	3	1
*cross-dresser**	13	6	5	4
*sex Change**	16	10	21	19
shemale	2	0	0	0
gender reassignment	13	8	14	6
dysphoria	13	1	2	5

Table A.1 Distribution of seed words in the QualCor in 2013.

POPULAR PRESS 2013				
	The Express	***Daily Mail***	***Daily Mirror***	***The Sun***
*transgender**	17	27	43	98
*transsexual**	14	39	33	51
*transvestite**	9	26	20	27
trans	0	42	1	3
*trann**	2	3	2	2
*cross-dresser**	1	5	6	10
*sex Change**	16	37	40	77
shemale	0	0	0	2
gender reassignment	4	10	9	11
dysphoria	1	2	6	10

Table A.2 Distribution of seed words in the PopCor in 2013.

QUALITY PRESS 2014				
	The Guardian	***i***	***The Telegraph***	***The Times***
*transgender**	240	154	63	89
*transsexual**	21	21	16	18
*transvestite**	37	21	25	22
trans	0	24	4	1
*trann**	11	2	4	0
*cross-dresser**	3	2	2	1
*sex Change**	12	11	15	10
shemale	0	0	0	0
gender reassignment	16	9	10	16
dysphoria	4	2	3	2

Table A.3 Distribution of seed words in the QualCor in 2014.

POPULAR PRESS 2014				
	The Express	***Daily Mail***	***Daily Mirror***	***The Sun***
*transgender**	19	41	78	119
*transsexual**	6	24	74	37
*transvestite**	11	32	23	31
trans	1	3	0	0
*trann**	0	3	4	5
*cross-dresser**	4	4	3	5
*sex Change**	15	28	5	60
shemale	0	0	0	2
gender reassignment	0	5	9	19
dysphoria	1	6	3	8

Table A.4 Distribution of seed words in the PopCor in 2014.

QUALITY PRESS 2015				
	The Guardian	***i***	***The Telegraph***	***The Times***
*transgender**	1125	244	176	204
*transsexual**	50	13	18	27
*transvestite**	24	10	18	12
trans	724	46	26	19
*trann**	9	1	1	4
*cross-dresser**	12	0	0	2
*sex Change**	12	5	25	16
shemale	3	0	0	0
gender reassignment	45	10	13	8
dysphoria	30	2	3	6

Table A.5 Distribution of seed words in the QualCor in 2015.

POPULAR PRESS 2015				
	The Express	***Daily Mail***	***Daily Mirror***	***The Sun***
*transgender**	39	167	118	148
*transsexual**	4	27	25	35
*transvestite**	3	22	4	10
trans	6	7	6	21
*trann**	0	0	2	2
*cross-dresser**	1	1	4	2
*sex Change**	14	34	35	27
shemale	0	0	0	0
gender reassignment	3	29	28	35
dysphoria	2	10	8	8

Table A.6 Distribution of seed words in the PopCor in 2015.