A corpus-based critical discourse analysis of gender bias and evaluation in Australian Rules Football and Rugby League sports news discourse

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Statement of originality

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge the content of this thesis is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes. I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

Melissa Kemble
19 December 2024

Authorship attribution statement

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This includes an abridged version of Chapter 4, along with selected material from Chapters 1-3, as relevant to the analyses undertaken for the study. I am the sole author; I designed the study, analysed the data, and wrote the manuscript.

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As supervisor for the candidature upon which this thesis is based, I can confirm that the authorship attribution statements above are correct.

Monika Bednarek
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Abstract

This study explores the representation of elite Australian Rules Football (AFL) and Rugby League (NRL) athletes in Australian newspapers. The launch of the AFL Women's and NRL Women's competitions in 2017 and 2018, respectively, were significant milestones for women's sport, challenging long-standing dynamics of male dominance in elite sporting domains. Over the decades, women athletes have faced numerous barriers to participation in sport, especially team-based physical contact sports – which are the focus of this study. Such barriers stem from socially constructed views of binary gender stereotypes and their reproduction, which have been reflected in media coverage of sport. Previous research into media coverage of sportswomen has identified persistent patterns of disproportionate reporting and gender-based portrayals (see e.g. Bruce, 2016). This research examines how elite female athletes are represented and evaluated in the Australian sports media today, compared to their male counterparts, with respect to the patriarchal discourses of objectification, trivialisation, gendered stereotyping, and othering.

Despite a substantial body of existing research on gendered language in the sports media, much of it lies outside the discipline of linguistics, and often focusses on international sporting events such as the Olympic Games. This thesis aims to bridge that gap, employing corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and the framework of appraisal which derives from systemic functional linguistics (Martin & White, 2005) to analyse the extent to which patriarchal discourses are present in Australian sports news coverage of AFL/NRL, and how they are realised through linguistic practices. Further, this research takes an intersectional lens, examining how media representations of gender intersect with representations of sexuality and ethnicity, as well as how known issues of homophobia and racism are addressed in the media.

To undertake this research, I analysed a 5-million-word purpose-built corpus of news coverage of AFL and NRL taken from the most widely read Australian print newspapers. A variety of corpus linguistic techniques (e.g. frequency data, keywords, semantic tags) are employed to identify language patterns, alongside the use of methodological triangulation. Identified discourses are analysed using appraisal and critical discourse analysis. I consider how cultural ideologies around gender and sport are realised in and through the media. The analyses present mixed results; some progress has been made regarding the representation of female athletes relative to patriarchal discourses, however, other biases persist. While there is no evidence of objectifying female athletes, clear gendered differences were identified for gender marking, emotionality, and intersectionality. Additionally, linguistic backgrounding of social issues and barriers related to gender, sexuality, and ethnicity were identified.

This thesis makes conceptual, methodological, and theoretical contributions to linguistic research into gender and sport, providing insights into the representation and evaluation of athletes in Australian sports news discourse. It also provides insights into combining corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis and appraisal, including the use of methodological triangulation in corpus linguistics. It therefore presents an important foundation for future linguistic analysis of media representations of gender and other socially marginalised groups in the sports media.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study

This thesis explores how language is used to represent and evaluate (appraise) elite female athletes in the Australian print media with respect to historical gender biases, making comparisons to their male counterparts, within the context of elite Australian Rules Football (AFL) and Rugby League (NRL).[1] Historically, female athletes have faced numerous barriers to participation in sport, especially in team-based "masculine" sports which rely on physical strength and body contact, such as football and rugby. Such barriers originate from gender stereotypes, with male athletes viewed as strong and tough competitors, and female athletes viewed as emotional and aesthetically pleasing objects more suited to domestic work than elite athleticism. While some progress has been made with participation, the research into media coverage of female athletes and sports has identified persistent patterns of disproportionate reporting and biased portrayals (as detailed in Chapter 2).

It is well documented that women's sports remain vastly underrepresented in global media coverage as compared to men's sports. Specifically in Australia, women's sports receive an average of 5-15% of coverage, a figure which has not changed since the early 1990s (Brown, 1995, p. 5; Lumby et al., 2014; North, 2012; Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024; Toohey, 1997). There is also a documented history of gender-stereotypical portrayals of sportswomen in the media through overt and implicit linguistic practices, including, for example, asymmetrical gender marking or trivialising descriptions. Such practices position women's sports and athletes as inferior to their male counterparts, with the sporting domain constructed as a stereotypically masculine space. Alongside this, the sporting domain has also historically been constructed with Whiteness and heterosexuality as the unmarked norm. This has been reflected in the media, through both an absence of coverage and negative or stereotyped portrayals of athletes who do not fit these hegemonic norms. Taken as a whole, the presence of these discourses in the media reinforces the sporting domain as predominantly, and ideally, male, heterosexual and White.

While there is a large body of existing research focusing on media representations of female athletes, the majority of this is situated outside the field of linguistics – drawing on analytical frameworks from journalism, sports psychology, communications, and feminist studies, for example – with very few studies taking a corpus linguistic approach as is done in this thesis. Additionally, the existing studies focus heavily on international sporting events (such as the Olympic Games), often drawing on data from the United States or United Kingdom. Thus, the selection of routine media coverage of seasonal Australian sports (i.e. AFL and NRL) is motivated by the lack of research into daily sports news (see Eastman & Billings, 2000; Ismail et

[1] The use of terminology for AFL/NRL is discussed in Section 1.2.4 and contextual background is provided in Section 1.3.2.

al, 2020). Further, there is a gap in linguistic studies focusing on female athletes participating in team sports considered to be male-appropriate, with research historically focused on individual sports which are considered female-appropriate, such as tennis, gymnastics or swimming. Alongside this, much of the research fails to consider how gender overlaps with other social aspects, such as ethnicity[2] and sexuality, and even rarer are intersectional studies which take a corpus linguistic approach (e.g. Jaworska, 2016; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017). Thus, the motivation for this research emerges from these gaps, with little known about how elite female athletes competing in masculine sports are linguistically represented in the Australian print media. This thesis aims to make both conceptual and methodological contributions to our understanding of media representations of elite athletes with respect to historical gender biases and stereotypes, including how the social factors of ethnicity and sexuality overlap with gender (as in Chapter 6).

This research, therefore, takes a linguistic approach, using corpus-based critical discourse analysis to analyse how elite female athletes participating in the stereotypically masculine sports of Australian Rules Football (AFL) and Rugby League (NRL) are represented in the Australian print media. The history of men's AFL and NRL is long-established (see Section 1.3.2), and so the advent of newly established national women's competitions (in 2017 and 2018 respectively) presents a unique opportunity to investigate how these athletes entering a stereotypically masculine sporting domain are portrayed in the print media, with respect to social norms and ideologies around gender and sport. Such ideologies are linked to a set of patriarchal discourses (othering, objectification, gendered stereotyping, and trivialisation) which are the focus of this thesis. The linguistic practices which express these patriarchal discourses include gender marking, infantilisation, references to kinship, descriptions of physical appearance, sexualisation, descriptions of athleticism, emotionality, references to sexuality, and references to ethnicity, which will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

Thus, the overall aim of this thesis is to investigate dominant patriarchal discourses, including issues of intersectionality, as situated within the socio-cultural context of the Australian sports media. To do this, I designed and constructed a 5-million-word corpus of Australian print news media focusing on off-season coverage of AFL and NRL (the OzFooty corpus). Off-season coverage was selected as it has been identified as potentially having greater gender bias than in-season coverage which is dominated by match reports (see Chapter 2 for further discussion). The data comes from the five most widely read major metropolitan and national newspapers in Australia, from 2017-2019 (see Chapter 3 for further details). Major metropolitan and national newspapers are "key data sources" for researchers interested in studying dominant discourses (Mautner, 2008, p. 32) because of their capacity to disseminate representations of events, identities, and social relations (Baker et al., 2013; Fairclough, 1995b). Generally, *representation* can be conceptualised as the construction of people, concepts, or things, through language, drawing on social ideologies and norms (Taylor & Heritage, 2024, p. 5). Representations in the media are influenced by newsroom decisions on what to cover and

[2] This thesis uses the term *ethnicity* rather than *race* given the negative connotations of subordination linked to colonialism and racism (Gardiner, 2003b). Ethnicity is further discussed in Chapters 2 and 6.

how to cover it, while also considering the perceived attitudes of their target readership (Baker et al., 2013; Baker & McEnery, 2015a; Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Bell, 1991; see also Chapter 2). With respect to Bray's (2024) four areas of media representation ([i] visibility through coverage, [ii] naming through terms of reference, [iii] portrayal through discourses, and [iv] inclusion via sourcing practices), this thesis focuses mainly on portrayal – specifically, through patriarchal discourses. However, the analyses will also touch upon visibility (amount and type of coverage received by female/male athletes in the corpus), naming (e.g. the use of terms such as *girls/boys*), and inclusion (e.g. the sources that are quoted in relation to emotionality).When analysing representations in the print media using critical discourse analysis, I consider the type of representation presented, the social or ideological origins of this selected representation, and the (potential) effect of its choice on the social actors involved, including the news audience (Fairclough, 1995b, pp. 14-15).

To undertake the analyses, I combine corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and the framework of appraisal which derives from systemic functional linguistics (Martin & White, 2005). Broadly, corpus linguistics (CL) encompasses a variety of different tools, techniques, and methods to study patterns of language in large, representative datasets (i.e. corpora). In this thesis, a variety of corpus techniques – including frequency data, keywords, concordances, and semantic tagging – are utilised, drawing on different corpus tools as relevant to the aims and approach undertaken in each chapter (see Chapter 3). These corpus techniques are combined with critical discourse analysis and the analysis of evaluative patterns from the perspective of appraisal. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides a lens through which to identify "*problematic* inequalities of power" (Baker, 2012, p. 255 emphasis in original), such as gender biased portrayals of elite athletes. While the term *discourse* has varying definitions, I take the view that it is a form of social practice through which ideologies are expressed (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b; Mautner, 2009) (see Section 1.2.1 for further discussion). Critical discourse analysis, therefore, is the analysis of language and the associated socio-cultural context. The framework of appraisal views language as a resource for meaning-making and enacting social relationships (Martin & White, 2005) and is complementary to an approach applying critical discourse analysis, as is the case in this thesis. This research therefore takes a mixed-method approach combining both quantitative and qualitative analyses, allowing for the identification of linguistic patterns across a large data set which are then further analysed and interpreted using critical discourse analysis and appraisal resources.

Notably, this study also employs the triangulation of different corpus-based and corpus-driven techniques (see Chapter 3) as relevant to discourse analysis. Triangulation is increasingly used in the study of corpora and discourse as a means of increasing accountability, including transparency and consistency (Bednarek et al., 2024, pp. 5-6). This research uses "methodological triangulation", where different approaches are applied to the same dataset using the same research question (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, pp. 4-5). Outcomes from triangulation can be considered as convergent (similar), dissonant (conflicting), and complementary (different but not contradictory) (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, pp. 6-7), terms which I use throughout this thesis, but

especially in Chapter 5 which focuses on triangulating approaches to analysing emotionality in the corpus. I acknowledge similarities and differences as interesting and noteworthy (see Baker, 2010; Baker & Egbert, 2016a; Taylor, 2013) – in terms of both the findings and the approaches used.

In sum, this thesis takes a corpus-based approach to critical discourse analysis, undertaking appraisal analysis and methodological triangulation to investigate gender bias and issues of intersectionality in Australian print news coverage of AFL and NRL. Specifically, I investigate the evaluation and representation of AFL/NRL athletes with respect to patriarchal discourses, as situated within the socio-cultural context of Australian sport and the media. Taking this into consideration, the research questions that guide this thesis are as follows:

1. (a) To what extent are patriarchal discourses and gender stereotypes present in Australian sports news discourse about AFL/NRL, and (b) how are they realised through linguistic practices?
2. How are elite AFL/NRL female and male athletes represented and evaluated (appraised) in Australian sports news discourse?
3. How do these representations intersect with representations of sexuality and ethnicity?

Finally, before moving on, it is necessary to acknowledge my position as a researcher. I identify as a White, sport-playing, cis-female person in a heterosexual relationship and as a non-Indigenous Australian-American. While I am committed to inclusive language and equity in sport, the social positionings and alignments with which I identify provide a particular lens through which I experience the world. This positioning influences, and in some cases limits, the perspectives and insights that I can bring to the analyses in this thesis. I acknowledge my positioning and aim to be self-reflexive throughout this research. Specifically for Chapter 6, I come to the analysis, respectfully, as an "outsider-researcher" who is not part of the represented social group(s) that I am studying, and as such, the results are presented as a starting point for future research.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will introduce and define key concepts and terminology used throughout the thesis (Section 1.2), give contextual background to the Australian media and sporting landscapes, as pertaining to this research (Section 1.3), and provide an overview of the thesis structure (Section 1.4).

1.2 Key concepts and terminology

This section provides an overview of key concepts and terminology used throughout the thesis. Other terminology will be introduced as appropriate to the analyses in the relevant chapter(s), such as the discussion of evaluation/appraisal in Chapter 3 and ethnicity in Chapter 6.

1.2.1 Discourse

The term *discourse* has become a somewhat contested term, with a "wide set of overlapping meanings" (Baker & McEnery, 2015b, p. 4). For example, it has been defined as language in use (Brown & Yule, 1983; Gee, 2010), language above the sentence or clause (Stubbs, 1983), "meaning beyond the clause" (Martin & Rose, 2009, p. 1), "
a characteristic way of saying, doing, and being" (Gee, 2010, p. 30), and as a form of social practice through which ideologies are expressed (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b; Mautner, 2009; 2022, p. 251) – among others. Further, *discourse* can also refer to a particular type or topic of language (i.e. genre or text type), as in *media discourse* or *political discourse* (see Baker, 2023, p. 4).

Thus, the term *discourse* has been used in various ways, often with different meanings, across different disciplines of research. For this research, I draw on, and extend, overlapping definitions from appraisal research and critical discourse analysis. Appraisal research recognises the relationship between grammar, discourse (i.e. texts), and the social context (Martin & Rose, 2009). Similarly, Fairclough (1995b, pp. 16-17) identifies three interconnected meanings relevant to CDA and media language: texts, discourse practices (text production and reception; see Chapter 3), and sociocultural practices. Building on these definitions, I use *discourse* in the following ways:

- The term(s) *news discourse* and/or *media discourse* refers to the language used by the media including embedded practices relevant to text production and reception.
- The term *discourse* relates to representation and thus refers to social practices and cultural ideologies expressed in and through language.
- As an extension of *discourse*, the term *patriarchal discourses* refers to ideologies related to gender biases, including objectification, trivialisation, gendered stereotyping, and othering, as realised in and through language.

1.2.2 Gender and sex

While gender and sex are different concepts, they are often conflated in common usage. *Sex* commonly refers to biological distinctions, based on reproductive organs and chromosomes.[3] While this has historically been considered a binary distinction (female/male), it is not necessarily the case today (e.g. in relation to intersex or trans people). *Gender,* on the other hand, is used as both a stand-in for *sex* in the female/male distinction, as well as referring to socially assigned feminine/masculine traits or characteristics (Baker, 2008; Pearce, 2008). For example, feminine traits may be passive, gentle, emotional, caring, etc., whereas masculine traits are set up in opposition to these as aggressive, strong, stoic, etc. (Baker, 2008, p. 4; Pearce, 2008, p. 7). Thus, while sex is a biological category and gender a social category, socially constructed and perceived binary views of gender-stereotypical traits are mapped on to the female/male sex

[3] *Sex* can also be used to refer to sexual acts.

categories (Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014). In short, *sex* is subject to gendered norms and is therefore considered a socio-biological category (see Butler, 1993).

I acknowledge that gender is not binary, but in the domain of sport, specifically elite sport, this is not widely recognised. Rather, elite sport maintains the current binary split of women's (female) and men's (male) sport and athletes. More specifically, this is overwhelmingly represented as "sport" and "women's sport", where the unmarked references are assumed to be male (see Chapter 2). While some sports are making progress towards a less binary and more inclusive approach to gender/sex, this has rarely been addressed by the media. For example, despite at least two AFLW players coming out publicly as non-binary in 2021 (Farmilo, 2021; Laughton, 2021), there was scant acknowledgement of this in the print media. Instead, media representations of athletes have traditionally drawn on binary and stereotypical constructs of gender (see Chapter 2). As such, this thesis follows the existing binary split of elite sport into the women's AFL/NRL and the men's AFL/NRL, while attempting to unpack some of the gender stereotypes that exist in this space.

Note that the representation of intersex and transgender athletes in the media is certainly worthy of attention given current debates in relation to sport. Due to current policies, there are no openly intersex or trans athletes participating in elite AFL/NRL during the period 2017-2019, therefore this thesis does not include such analysis.[4]

1.2.3 Sexuality

Related to both gender and sex is *sexuality*, which refers broadly to "the ways that people conduct themselves as sexual beings" (Baker, 2008, p. 6). As Hargreaves and Anderson (2014, p. 4) argue, gender's complexity has a "close relationship to sexuality, both in terms of cultural practices and sport specifically". Thus, socially acceptable sexual behaviours can be mapped onto gendered expectations of femininity and masculinity, and it is thus necessary to consider sexuality when discussing gender-stereotypical representations of athletes.

In this thesis, but most prominently in Chapter 6, I use *sexuality* to refer to a person's sexual orientation, with respect to their preferred partner(s). Thus, sexuality relates to whether someone identifies or is identified as heterosexual, lesbian, gay, or bisexual. I respectfully use *LGB* to collectively refer to lesbian (L), gay (G), and bisexual (B) identities in the sporting space, which is derived from LGBTIQ+ (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2022). As mentioned, this thesis does not include analysis of transgender (T) and intersex (I) athletes[5] – though these are certainly worthy areas for future research.

[4] Except for a brief discussion in Chapter 4.

[5] The term *queer* (Q) is often used as an umbrella term to encapsulate the full range of LGBTIQ+ identities, including but not limited to gay, lesbian, transgender, asexual, pansexual, non-binary, etc. (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2022; Minus18, 2024) and will be addressed in Chapter 6.

1.2.4 AFL and NRL

The two sporting codes that are the focus of this research are AFL and NRL; it is thus necessary to address the common naming practices associated with them. To start, *Australian Football* (also, *Australian Rules, Aussie Rules*) is the name of the sporting code, whereas *AFL* (*Australian Football League*) is the official name of the elite men's competition, and the *AFL Women's* (or, *AFLW*) is the official name of the elite women's competition. Similarly, *Rugby League* (also, *League*) is the name of the sporting code, whereas *NRL* (*National Rugby League*) is the official name of the elite men's competition, and *NRL Women's* (or, *NRLW*) is the official name of the elite women's competition. Thus, the women's competitions are marked for gender while the men's are not. To complicate matters further, the term *AFL* is commonly used to refer to the sport more generally, including community competitions as well as the governing body. Given that the term *AFL* has become conflated with these overlapping meanings, and that the governing bodies for both sporting codes have chosen not to gender mark the men's competitions in the same way they have done for the women's, I use the following terminology for both clarity and equity:

- *AFL, NRL* – these terms are used to refer to the elite sporting codes more broadly, encompassing both the women's and men's competitions.
- *AFLM, NRLM* – these terms refer to the men's elite competitions; also, *men's AFL/NRL*.
- *AFLW, NRLW* – these terms refer to the women's elite competitions; also, *women's AFL/NRL*.
- *Australian Rules Football* – this term refers to the sporting code more generally. I use this rather than *Australian Football* to avoid confusion with other forms of football played in Australia (see Section 1.3.2).

Further discussion of gender marking in AFL/NRL is addressed in Chapter 4, and Section 1.3.2 provides information on AFL and NRL in Australia as part of the contextual background provided in the next section.

1.3 Background: Media and Sport in Australia

This section provides contextual background to the media landscape in Australia (Section 1.3.1) – underpinning the corpus design explained in Chapter 3 – and the sports of AFL and NRL in Australia (Section 1.3.2), as relevant to this thesis. Such contextual background is important to critical discourse analysis (CDA) where both language and the socio-cultural context are key considerations in the analysis and interpretation of findings. It is also necessary to understand the specifics of the Australian context, especially for those less familiar with it.

1.3.1 A brief overview of the print media landscape

The Australian media landscape is dominated by two major media companies – News Corp and Fairfax/Nine[6] – with regional monopoly tending to be the norm. Globally, Australia has the third most concentrated newspaper industry behind China and Egypt (Noam & Concentration Collaboration, 2016), with News Corp and Fairfax/Nine owning eleven of the twelve daily metropolitan and national newspapers. The newspapers used in this thesis are owned by both News Corp and Fairfax/Nine, including left- and right-leaning quality broadsheets and popular tabloid papers, thus representing the majority of sports coverage that print news readers will encounter in Australia.

Originally, the designation of *tabloid* or *broadsheet* was a reference to the size of the papers, but in more recent years many broadsheets have adopted a smaller tabloid or compact format (Baker et al., 2013; Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Tiffen, 2011). The terms therefore relate to the style and content of newspapers, with tabloid papers (the popular press) employing a more informal writing style and focusing on light news and entertainment, while broadsheets (the quality press) employ a more formal writing style, with longer articles and more hard and heavy news items (Baker et al., 2013; Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Tiffen, 2011). The UK origins of such distinctions between broadsheet "qualities" and tabloid "populars" is problematic, given the stark differences to the Australian media landscape where "the most important newspapers are those published in the state capital cities" (Tiffen, 2011, p. 38). In fact, Sydney and Melbourne are the only capital cities that have competing broadsheet qualities and tabloid populars, with local monopoly elsewhere (Tiffen, 2011). As described in Chapter 3, I draw on both metro and national broadsheet qualities (*The Australian, The Age, Sydney Morning Herald*) and metro tabloid populars (*Herald Sun, Daily Telegraph*) in this thesis, as they are representative of the media landscape.

It is also necessary to address the use of the political terms *left* and *right* with respect to newspapers. While these terms tend to refer to more liberal or conservative views, respectively, they can be problematic as "there are different ways of being 'left' or 'right'" and a single person could hold views that another would find conflict with each other (Baker et al., 2013, p. 8). In the context of a newspaper, columnists often provide differing views on a given topic within a single issue (Baker et al., 2013). As such, I follow the convention of using the terms *right-leaning* and *left-leaning* as used by other corpus-based discourse analysists (e.g. Baker et al., 2013; Mockler, 2020a, 2020b; Partington & Marchi, 2015).

Further details about political leaning, types/formats, and readership figures for the specific newspaper mastheads used in this research are detailed in Chapter 3, while the next section explains the sporting codes that are the focus of this thesis.

[6] In 2018, Fairfax Media merged with Nine Entertainment, creating Australia's biggest media company.

1.3.2 Football in Australia: Australian Rules and Rugby League

Football, or footy as it is colloquially known in Australia, can refer one of four sporting codes: soccer (association football), Australian Rules, Rugby League, or Rugby Union. As mentioned, the two football codes that are the focus of this research are AFL and NRL (see Section 1.2.4). The following sub-sections explain the history of these codes and discuss women's participation in football.

1.3.2.1 Australian Rules Football

Australian Rules Football began in the mid- to late-19th century, originally founded as the Victoria Football League (VFL), so named for the state in which the game originated (NMA, 2023). Over the decades, the game spread across the country and the competition grew. In 1990, the VFL changed its name to the AFL, with the reserves teams remaining in the VFL (Australian Football League, 2024a). While most of the (men's) teams are still based in Victoria, today there are at least two teams in each mainland state (i.e. Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia). Despite AFL being played only in Australia, it has consistently been one of the top five most attended sporting competitions in the world, behind American grid iron, and the German and English association football (i.e. soccer) leagues (Gullan, 2015; Sporting Intelligence, 2017).

Throughout the history of Australian Rules Football, women have been playing in some form, with the first recorded game held in 1915 (Saultry, 2018). However, women have been excluded at the elite AFL and reserves VFL levels until much more recently. In 2010, an official report into Australian Rules Football recommended that a national professional women's competition be established (National Museum of Australia, 2024). In 2016, the first VFLW game was played, with the first official AFLW game played the following year to record crowds. Eight teams featured in the 2017 inaugural season; the competition has expanded to 18 teams participating in the 2024 season. The women's game is a modified version of the men's, including a smaller ball, fewer players on the field, different tackle rules, and shorter gametime.

For both AFLM and AFLW, there are regular premiership seasons as well as exhibition matches and special rounds, such as the Sir Doug Nicholls Round celebrating Indigenous players and the Pride Round in celebration of the LGBTQI+ community.

1.3.2.2 Rugby League

Rugby League football has origins in England, with the first Australian competitions played in the early 1900s as part of the New South Wales Rugby League and the Queensland Rugby Football League premierships (National Rugby League, 2024a). These state-wide competitions merged into the NRL in 1998, with teams largely based in New South Wales (NSW) and Queensland, along with one team each from Victoria, the Australian Capital Territory, and New Zealand. While played globally, rugby league is most prominent in Australia, New Zealand, and England (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009), with its popularity rivalling AFL as one of the most highly watched televised sports in Australia (National Rugby League, 2024c).

Early attempts were made to start a women's rugby league competition with the first official match played in 1921 in Sydney; however, the competition was disbanded after three seasons (Whaley, 2024). In 2000, the first official Women's World Cup was held, and in 2005, the Sydney Metropolitan Women's Rugby League competition was formed (Whaley, 2024). This evolved into the NRLW which launched in 2017 with four teams and has expanded to ten teams in 2024. The women's game is a modified version of the men's, including shorter gametime and more interchanges.

For both NRLM and NRLW, there are regular premiership season games as well as exhibition matches and special rounds, such as the Indigenous All Stars round and the Women in League Round. The State of Origin is a series of three games between two Australian state representative sides, being NSW and Queensland, with athletes (generally) playing for the state in which they were born (National Rugby League, 2024b).

1.3.2.3 Women's and girls' participation in football

A 2006 Australian government inquiry into women and girls in sport highlighted numerous barriers to participation, including harassment, social stereotyping, fewer opportunities to participate, a lack of role models, access to appropriate facilities, childcare, time, and a (perceived) lack of skills (Senate of Australia, 2006). Retention rates for high performing athletes were impacted by a lack of elite pathways and professional competitions, with "renumeration generally insufficient to allow athletes to complete on a full-time basis" (Senate of Australia, 2006, p. 59). Many of these barriers still exist today, exemplified through the reality of elite female athletes often holding down other jobs to earn a living wage. Thus, it must be acknowledged that there are historically gendered differences between women's and men's experiences in sport – starting at the community level and continuing through to the elite and (semi-)professional levels.

Since the 2006 Australian Senate Inquiry, women's elite sport has made some gains, including World Cup successes from Australia's female soccer team (the Matildas) and the launch of the women's AFL and NRL competitions. In 2017, an estimated 1.9 million Australians participated in one form of football (being Australian Rules, Rugby League, Rugby Union, or soccer), with notable increases in female participation (Roy Morgan, 2018). Across the four football codes, female participation increased 4.4% from 2013 to 2017, and then by another 8% from 2017 to 2018 (Roy Morgan, 2018). The most significant increases were found in Australian Rules and Rugby League, thus showing the impact that the AFLW and NRLW have had on women's and girls' participation in team sport.

Despite these increases in participation, many barriers remain, both visible and invisible. However, one thing is certain – the visibility of elite female athletes in the media has had a positive impact on female participation in sport across Australia. At the same time, little is known about the details of their representation through language, as addressed in this thesis, which has potential to influence how such athletes are more widely perceived in society.

1.4 Thesis structure and overview

This thesis is organised into seven chapters. This first chapter has introduced the research topic, aim and approach, defined key concepts and terminology, as well as provided a brief overview of the social and historical context of the print media in Australia and of both AFL and NRL. As mentioned above, an understanding and consideration of this context is important for corpus-based critical discourse analysis and further underpins the construction of the corpus used in this thesis.

Chapter 2 positions this study in relation to previous research into gendered language in sports news coverage. This includes research focussing on both print and TV coverage of special international sporting events as well as routine seasonal sporting competitions. I synthesize the linguistic practices and language patterns identified in the literature which contribute to patriarchal discourses in news coverage of women's sport, critically reviewing both linguistic and non-linguistic studies. I also consider the key reasons for media coverage of certain sports or events, with respect to newsworthiness, including as identified by media makers themselves.

Chapter 3 outlines the data and methodology used in this thesis. First, I describe the corpus construction, including the design, data collection process, and an overview of the corpora that are used in this research. Secondly, I discuss corpus-based critical discourse analysis, including general CDA principles and corpus techniques and tools as they are relevant to this thesis. Finally, I provide an overview of appraisal (i.e. evaluation) with specific focus on affect (emotion) as it is used in this research.

Chapters 4 to 6 then present the findings of the analyses. More specifically, Chapter 4 takes a corpus-based approach to analyse patterns of language use pointing to patriarchal discourses (as identified in Chapter 2) in media coverage of women's AFL/NRL, making comparisons to the coverage of men's AFL/NRL as appropriate. The corpus techniques of frequency lists, semantic tagging, keywords, and concordances are used to investigate if such patterns and discourses are present in the corpus. To undertake qualitative text analysis, I draw on appraisal analysis as relevant to the patriarchal discourse being investigated. All findings in the chapter are assessed and discussed in relation to the wider socio-cultural context, especially with respect to hegemonic gender stereotypes.

Chapter 5 continues the analysis of gendered stereotypes, focussing specifically on patterns of emotionality. Such patterns are compared and analysed to investigate whether female athletes are represented as being stereotypically more emotional than their male counterparts. This chapter undertakes the challenge to analyse affect (i.e. emotion) – which has historically been investigated in small datasets – across a large corpus in a semi-automated way. Methodological triangulation of semantic tags and an affect reference list is used to analyse patterns of emotionality across the corpus, including who is most frequently identified as the source of emotions. The results are then compared and discussed in relation to stereotypical discourses of emotion as well as the triangulated approach to analyse affect.

Chapter 6 extends the analyses to other identities historically associated with social inequity in the domain of sport, as they intersect with that of gender. More specifically, the

chapter investigates the representation of sexuality and ethnicity, making comparisons between the women's and men's corpora. To undertake the analyses, this chapter uses specific search terms, frequency data, concordances, and full texts. Given ongoing inequities in Australian sport and society with respect to gender, sexuality, and ethnicity, including entrenched issues of sexism, homophobia, and racism, an especially critical focus is applied to the interpretation and discussion of findings.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes and highlights key findings and contributions, acknowledges limitations, provides suggestions for future research, discusses considerations for media coverage, and provides concluding thoughts.

2. Gendered language in sports media coverage

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature which informs this thesis, focussing on key studies of gendered representations in sports media coverage. While there is a large body of existing work into gender bias in sports news reporting, the majority of this is situated outside the field of linguistics, such as in media, sport, or feminist studies, and tends to take a content analysis approach. There is a small but growing body of work which combines corpus linguistics with (critical) discourse analysis to explore gendered representations of athletes in the print media (e.g. Aull & Brown, 2013; Ismail, 2016, 2017; Ismail et al., 2020; Jaworska, 2016; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017; Kemble, 2020, 2024; Yip, 2021). Linguistic studies situated within the Australian sports media context, however, remain quite limited (e.g. Caple, 2013; Kemble, 2020, 2024; Lumby et al., 2014). As such, the following literature review includes both linguistic and non-linguistic studies, with particular attention paid to those which are situated in an Australian context, draw on print media as their data source, and/or take a linguistic approach.

Section 2.2 provides an overview of the literature focussing on media coverage of special international events, such as the Olympics, while Section 2.3 focuses on routine media coverage of everyday or seasonal sports, that is, elite sports played within a specified nation-state for a local audience. The difference between these types of sporting events can be exemplified in Australia through, for example, World Cup coverage of the national women's football team the Matildas (special international event), and coverage of the A-League Women's, the top division women's soccer league in the country (seasonal sporting event). Section 2.4 then brings together the research from the previous two sections to identify and discuss the consistent discursive practices found across media coverage which perpetuate stereotypes of the "ideal" athlete in the sporting space. I consider the methods and data used as well as the results from these studies as they have implications for this research. Primary focus is given to linguistic practices relating to gendered portrayals of female athletes; however, I also consider research that makes comparisons to portrayals of male athletes. Additionally, a brief review of studies which address the social aspects of sexuality (Section 2.4.7) and ethnicity (Section 2.4.8) in the sports media are also provided, as these are vital, yet under-researched areas in the literature. Section 2.5 then explores the concept of newsworthiness as it relates to motivations for media coverage of certain sports, sporting events, and athletes over others. Finally, Section 2.6 provides a summary and conclusion to this chapter.

2.2 Media coverage of international sporting events

International sporting events such as the Olympic Games, FIFA World Cup, and Grand Slam tennis championships have provided a rich ground for studies of gender bias in sport and the media. Historically, such events have placed restrictions on female participation, citing biological limitations as well as cultural notions of gender appropriateness (Hargreaves, 1994;

Pirinen, 1997a). In the early 1900s, women were first allowed to participate in the Olympic Games in five sports – tennis, sailing, croquet, equestrian, and golf – however, it was not until 2012 that women were able to take part in every Olympic event (International Olympic Committee, 2020). Similarly, while the men's FIFA World Cup commenced in 1930, the first officially sanctioned women's World Cup was held decades later in 1991 (Kessel, 2015). Relatedly, Wimbledon, and other tennis championships, were established based on ideals of masculinity alongside those of elitism, heterosexuality, and White patriarchal traditions, which are still evident today (Vincent, 2004). Given that these international sporting events are widely consumed and have a long history of exclusionary practices, they provide a useful arena from which to commence discussion of media coverage of female athletes entering hegemonically masculine sporting domains.

Much of the existing research into gender bias in media coverage of international sporting events is situated in an American context, predominantly focussing on TV broadcasts of the Olympics. There is, however, also a body of work focussing on print media representations of athletes which is situated in Western countries including the UK (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Jaworska, 2016; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017) and Australia (Jones, 2004; Payne, 2004; Wensing & Bruce, 2003), as well as comparisons between the US, the UK, and Australia (Crossman et al., 2007; Vincent et al., 2002). In general, these studies have indicated a trend towards more equitable amounts of coverage and less biased portrayals of women's sports/athletes in comparison to studies of everyday sports coverage (see Section 2.3).

Overall, print media coverage of women's events in the international sporting space has dramatically increased since the early 1900s (Burch et al., 2012; Capranica et al., 2005; King, 2007; Urquhart & Crossman, 1999), which has been linked to both increased participation rates and increased public interest in women's sports (Kinnick, 1998, p. 234). It is widely agreed that the public interest generated around such international events, especially the Olympics, has a profound and positive impact on the amount of media coverage dedicated to women's sport (Baker, 2004; Bruce & Scott-Chapman, 2010; Burch et al., 2012; Capranica et al., 2005; King, 2007; Payne, 2004; Vincent et al., 2002; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Such increase in coverage of women's sport, however, is not sustained outside of these specific reporting periods (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017; North, 2012; Spencer, 2010).

Additionally, studies which analyse *how* female athletes are portrayed in such international events have found less gendered/biased representations of female athletes, with emphasis instead placed on fostering a sense of national identity and pride (Lee, 1992; Payne, 2004; Ravel & Gareau, 2016; Vincent et al., 2018). However, scholars have also noted that preferential coverage is often given to sports deemed to be "female-appropriate", that is, sports which tend to be individual, non-contact, aesthetically pleasing sports (see Koivula, 1995; 2001 for a discussion of gender appropriate sports). The research overwhelmingly points to gymnastics, swimming, diving, figure skating, track and field, beach volleyball, and skiing as the Olympic women's sports that receive the most media coverage (Eastman & Billings, 1999; Shields et al., 2004; Spencer, 2010; Tuggle & Owen, 1999; Vincent et al., 2003), along with

tennis championships (Kian et al., 2011). These sports are generally considered socially and culturally appropriate for women in many Western countries (Lee, 1992; Tuggle & Owen, 1999), including in Australia (Brown, 1995), as they adhere to "traditional notions of femininity" (Spencer, 2010, p. 190). As such, they tend to receive more coverage than female athletes competing in "male-appropriate" team sports such as basketball, football, or hockey.

It is not just the type of sport that is considered when selecting media coverage, but also the athletes' aesthetic appearance (see Section 2.3 for discussion in relation to seasonal events and Section 2.5 for discussion in relation to motivations for media coverage). Several studies of tennis championships found that whether female athletes are perceived as fitting or rejecting stereotypical expectations of femininity is a key consideration in news coverage (Crossman et al., 2007; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent, 2004). This includes, but is not limited to, physical appearance, sexuality, emotionality, and female-traditional kinship roles. That is, when female athletes do not conform to stereotypical notions of femininity, they are often ignored or reprimanded by the media (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Vincent, 2004) except in cases where "gold medals were at stake and/or won" (Shields et al., 2004, p. 94; see also Bruce & Scott-Chapman, 2010). Thus, with public interest in sport at its highest during such international events (Kinnick, 1998), existing gender biases may be challenged in order to accommodate successful female sports stars in the media (Wensing & Bruce, 2003, p. 388).

In summary, studies of international sporting events over the past several decades have indicated a general trend towards a more equitable amount of coverage and less biased representation of women's sports and athletes – albeit with some exceptions (see also Section 2.4 below). However, there is consensus that these special events are the exception, rather than the norm, in terms of the amount and type of media coverage afforded to women's sports, with stark differences noted to media coverage of non-international sporting competitions. The following section will now provide an overview of key studies focussing on such routine media coverage of seasonal sporting events.

2.3 Media coverage of seasonal sporting events

Routine sports coverage comprises the bulk of sports news media (Markula et al., 2010, p. 2); however, the existing research has predominantly focused on special sporting events, such as the Olympics. In fact, Eastman and Billings (2000, p. 193) note the paucity of research into gender bias which has focused on "regular, everyday mediated sports discourse". Routine or everyday sport comprises seasonal competitions held in a specific nation or region, with regular coverage of game outcomes, player trades, and other human-interest stories – as compared to events at an international level. Broadly, the research has shown that routine media coverage of sport differs from coverage of international events with respect to the amount and type of coverage afforded to female athletes and sports (Bernstein, 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2000; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017).

Research situated in Western countries consistently reports disparate amounts of routine sports coverage afforded to women's sports as compared to men's sports. In studies across

fifteen countries, female-only sport tends to range from <1% to 23% of total sports coverage, with many studies reporting less than 10% of newspaper or TV coverage (Markula et al., 2010, pp. 2-3). In Australia and New Zealand, women's sports receive on average 5% to 15% of total sports media coverage, with slightly more coverage found in print media than TV broadcasts (Lumby et al., 2014, p. 21; Markula et al., 2010, p. 3; Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024, p. 2). This Australian average has not changed in several decades, and in fact, research has consistently found that animal sports, largely horseracing, receive more media coverage than all women's sports combined (Brown, 1995; Lumby et al., 2014; North, 2012).

Studies of routine sports coverage have also found more biased representations of female athletes, as compared to coverage of international sporting events. A corpus-assisted discourse study found that collocates of *woman/women* were more likely to focus on appearance (*attractive*, *beautiful*) and reproductive or carer status (*pregnant, children*) in media coverage before and after the Olympics, compared to during (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017). Similar patterns have been identified in other (non corpus linguistic) studies where focus is given to non-sporting aspects such as sexualised appearances (Lenskyj, 1998; Pirinen, 1997b), family roles (Lenskyj, 1998), and psychological or emotional states (Ponterotto, 2012), thereby trivialising athletic abilities and accomplishments. Additionally, when reporting does focus on sporting aspects of female athletes, these are often downplayed as less exciting, unimportant, lucky, or inferior as compared to their male counterparts (Billings et al., 2005; Billings et al., 2014; Duncan & Messner, 1998).

The perceived gender appropriateness of a sport also appears to be a significant factor for routine coverage of seasonal sports (see Section 2.2 for discussion in relation to international events and Section 2.5 for discussion in relation to motivations for media coverage). That is, sports which are considered stereotypically appropriate for females – individual, non-contact, aesthetically pleasing sports – are more likely to receive coverage than physical contact team sports which are considered "male-appropriate" (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Lenskyj, 1998; Pirinen, 1997a). Overseas, one (now dated) study has explored how sportswomen entering traditionally male dominant sports were portrayed in the Finnish print media, with mixed results (Pirinen, 1997a). Coverage of these new women's sporting events was scant, with discourses of trivialisation, othering, and objectification identified (Pirinen, 1997a). More positively, most descriptions of exceptional performances mirrored those of their male counterparts, with structural issues and barriers for female participation also noted, although not discussed in any detail (Pirinen, 1997a).

In Australian media coverage, the gender-appropriateness of a sport also seems to be a factor, at least historically. A longitudinal study of the *Newcastle Herald* found that women's sports coverage focused on tennis, golf, and swimming, which in Australian culture are considered female-appropriate sports and therefore more heavily sponsored than other women's sports (Brown, 1995, pp. 28-29). An Australian case study of soccer, a stereotypically masculine sport, found that the less successful men's A-league teams received more media coverage than the successful women's teams (Caple et al., 2011). While public interest in and associated media

coverage of women's soccer has increased in more recent years, this gendered imbalance persists across other sports. Overall, such results suggest that men's sport is viewed as inherently more newsworthy than women's sports (see Section 2.5 on newsworthiness).

Given that routine media coverage of sport is largely event driven, focus is on the sporting season with condensed coverage in the immediate lead-up and wrap-up of each season. In terms of off-season coverage, Lumby et al. (2014, pp. 48-50) found that the Australian media showed "more consistent interest in the activities of male athletes" than female athletes. This aligns with studies comparing coverage of female/male athletes during international events to that of the lead-up and wrap-up coverage (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017). Further, research has found that while female and male athletes are similarly represented as capable and skilful in match-related news items published during a sporting season (Caple, 2016), items published outside a sporting event or season has shown greater evidence of gender biases across a range of news genres, including overt focus on female athlete's physical appearance, reproductive status, maternal responsibilities, and relationship status (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017; Sherwood et al., 2017).

In summary, there is a paucity of routine media coverage that female sports and athletes receive in comparison to their male counterparts. Coverage of women's sports tends to be confined to match-related news within a sporting season, whereas coverage of men's sports continues throughout the off-season. Additionally, the perceived gender-appropriateness of a given sport influences the coverage received, which thereby reinforces (binary) gender stereotypes present in media coverage. The following section brings together the persistent linguistic practices identified in news coverage of seasonal sports and international sporting events, providing a more comprehensive review of these studies and associated discourses.

2.4 Linguistic practices and dominant discourses

Thus far, this chapter has provided an overview of the literature focussing on representations of female athletes through visibility i.e. amount and type of coverage received, making comparisons between media coverage of international sporting events and routine coverage of seasonal sporting competitions. This section brings together the research to present an overview of the persistent language patterns and linguistic practices which express dominant discourses of gender bias in the sports media, as they are relevant to this thesis. Thus, this section deals with representation of female athletes focusing mainly on portrayals (through patriarchal discourses), but also touching upon terms of reference (i.e. naming), where relevant. The specific linguistic practices discussed in this section include gender marking, infantilisation, references to kinship roles, descriptions of physical appearance, descriptions of athleticism, and emotionality.

Alongside these issues of gender bias, is necessary to acknowledge that the domain of sport has also been historically constructed as heterosexual and White (Bruce, 2016; Meân, 2010). Socially constructed categories of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and nationality are overlapping and benefit from being studied in a multidimensional way (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017). Despite this, existing research tends to focus on a single social aspect. In this research I consider

how sexuality and ethnicity are represented in the print media with respect to gender, discussing the relevant literature contributing to representations of sexuality (Section 2.4.7) and ethnicity (Section 2.4.8), including discourses of homophobia and racism embedded within sport and/or as represented in the Australian media.

Taken as a whole, these identified linguistic practices serve to perpetuate "strongly masculine" discourses (Schirato, 2013, p. 78) in sports media coverage which therefore provide compelling evidence towards a set of dominant patriarchal discourses. While the patterns and practices contributing to these discourses are prevalent across the literature, they are often labelled or grouped differently. As such, I use the labels and categorisation as shown in Figure 2.1, and as further described in the sections that follow.

Figure 2.1 Patriarchal discourses and associated linguistic practices

Patriarchal discourse	**Description**	**Linguistic practices**
Othering	a discourse that devalues athletes based on gender, sexuality, or ethnicity by emphasizing their differences as compared to an established "norm"	Gender marking References to sexuality and homophobia References to ethnicity and racism
Objectification	a discourse which portrays female athletes as objects according to their sexual appeal	Evaluation of physical appearance Sexualisation
Trivialisation	a discourse that downplays the value, impact, ability, or quality of female athletes and sports	Infantilisation Evaluation of athletic performance
Gendered stereotyping	a discourse that frames athletes according to social expectations of behaviours, roles, or traits associated with binary perceptions of femininity and masculinity	References to kinship roles Emotionality References to sexuality and homophobia

In the following sections I discuss the prevalent patterns and practices identified in the literature, beginning first with gender marking, linking each to their relevant patriarchal discourse(s).

2.4.1 Gender marking

The asymmetrical gendered marking of women's sporting leagues, tournaments, and players is well documented (e.g. Billings, 2007; Crolley & Teso, 2007; Duncan & Messner, 1998; Fink, 2015; Ismail, 2017; Messner et al., 1993). This discursive pattern occurs through affixing a gender label such as *lady/ladies*, *female(s)* or *women's* to sports, tournaments, and players, as in, for example, *Ladies PGA, Women's World Cup, AFL Women's, the best female basketball player, the women's finals*, as compared to the men's *PGA, World Cup, AFL, the best basketball player, the finals*. In general, sports that have female participants are "almost always" marked

(Crolley & Teso, 2007) – and usually to a higher degree than their male equivalents (Billings, 2007; Ismail, 2016, 2017; Koivula, 1999; Messner et al., 1993; Ravel & Gareau, 2016). Such marking is "one of the simplest and most obvious ways of drawing attention to gender" (Caple, 2013, p. 278) which therefore positions women's sport as "a female variation from the (male) norm" (Crolley & Teso, 2007, p. 159). Asymmetrical gender marking therefore contributes to the patriarchal discourse of othering (i.e. a discourse that devalues athletes based on gender, sexuality, or ethnicity by emphasizing their differences as compared to the "norm" – the White, heterosexual, male athlete).

Asymmetrical gender marking has consistently been identified across media coverage of both stereotypically feminine and masculine sports as well as sports deemed to be more gender neutral (e.g. swimming). In TV broadcasts, female gender marking was found in Olympic coverage of gymnastics, diving, track and field, and swimming (Billings, 2007), as well as basketball and tennis (Messner et al., 1993). Analysis of online news coverage of football/soccer also identified that access to the women's teams and games required navigation to the gender marked sub-sections of the websites, with the main pages dedicated to the unmarked men's games (Meân, 2010; Ravel & Gareau, 2016).

Turning to studies taking a corpus linguistic approach, there are only a handful, all of which are situated outside Australia.[7] Despite this, results from these studies confirm evidence of asymmetrical gender marking. A study of Malaysian sports media coverage found that references to all sporting types were marked with *women's* 47% of the time (e.g. *women's golf*) as compared to 28% marked with *men's,* with official competition or league names also asymmetrically marked (Ismail, 2017, p. 170). Another corpus linguistic study found more gender marked tokens with higher frequency in WNBA print news coverage than in the (men's) NBA coverage, most frequently in the clusters *female basketball players* (n=5) and *female athletes* (n=18) (Aull & Brown, 2013, p. 49). That is, despite the news items already focusing on the women's basketball, the media further gender marked the players as *female.* Finally, a study of Wimbledon coverage also identified that asymmetrical marking, through the use of the terms *ladies* and *women's,* was more evident in the online media coverage as compared to the official Wimbledon online coverage (Yip, 2021). Thus, the asymmetrical marking of sporting leagues, competitions, and athletes serve to reinforce the otherness of women's sports and female athletes.

Other recent research suggests that asymmetrical gender marking is on the decline, however, these studies tend to be situated within the context of international sporting events (Payne, 2004; Wensing & Bruce, 2003) or university sport (Mackay & Dallaire, 2009), arenas which are less likely to contain gendered discourses than routine coverage of elite sports (Bruce, 2016; see also Section 2.2). Further, the handful of studies that have examined the co-text of gender marking tend to agree that when male marking does occasionally occur, it is only for reasons of clarity and/or comparison when female athletes or sports are also mentioned (Ismail,

[7] Although Yip (2021) does draw on data from the Fox Sports Australian website.

2016, 2017; Kemble, 2020, 2024; Koivula, 1999; Messner et al., 1993). The exception to this is Yip's (2021) corpus study which found near symmetrical marking on the Wimbledon website, except for the overt use of *ladies.* Thus, the results are mixed, suggesting some influence from the type of sport and the type of media publication. Clearly more research is needed to determine if gender marking is currently present in print media coverage of male-appropriate sports.

In sum, asymmetrical gender marking linguistically positions the sporting space as naturally or ideally male, where women are viewed as the anomaly (Koivula, 1999, p. 600), and thus contributes to the patriarchal discourse of othering. While research across disciplines has shown that female sports and athletes are almost always marked for gender in media coverage, other recent studies suggest that this is shifting. Given continued societal changes and increasing awareness of inequities, more in-depth research of contemporary sports news is required to understand whether gender marking continues to be asymmetrical or is now used more equally in the media.

2.4.2 Infantilisation

Infantilisation refers to the use of childlike descriptions and terminology to refer to adult women, where the equivalent is not found for adult men. For example, the use of *girl/girls* and *(young) lady/ladies* has been widely identified as a way to patronise and infantilise sportswomen (Bruce, 2016; Crolley & Teso, 2007; Klein, 1988; Koivula, 1999; Messner et al., 1993; Ravel & Gareau, 2016; Sabo & Curry Jansen, 1992; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Additionally, representing female athletes as dependent on male figureheads, such as coaches, fathers, or male partners further reduces them to a childlike state, therefore trivialising their sporting achievements (Daddario, 1994). Infantilisation, therefore, is the discursive practice whereby adult females are linguistically reduced to a young or childlike state, and thus contributes to the patriarchal discourse of trivialisation (i.e. a discourse that downplays the value, impact, ability or quality of female athletes and sports).

The infantilisation of females has been widely researched within sports media discourse (e.g. Jones, 2004; Koivula, 1999; Mackay & Dallaire, 2009; Messner et al., 1993; Ponterotto, 2012; Ravel & Gareau, 2016; Sabo & Curry Jansen, 1992), as well as other discourse contexts including business and the workplace (Holmes & Sigley, 2002), and in corpus studies of written English (Baker, 2010; Sigley & Holmes, 2002; Taylor, 2013). In sports media discourse, Messner et al.'s (1993) content analysis of tennis and basketball TV commentary in the US is one of the most widely cited studies on this topic. They found that women were more commonly referred to as both *girls* and *young ladies*, whereas the male athletes were referred to as *men*, *young men,* and *young fellas*, but never as *boys*, despite both male and female athletes ranging from 18 years and up (Messner et al., 1993, p. 127). Thus, it is only male athletes who are "linguistically acknowledged" as being adults, which therefore legitimises the superiority of men's sports (Koivula, 1999, p. 601).

On the whole, such studies tend to take a content analytical approach whereby specific terms are counted, but the co-text is not considered. That is, these studies generally do not

investigate how these terms are being used, or by whom, which may reveal different findings. In fact, a handful of linguistic studies have argued that the source and co-text are vital parts of understanding whether such terms are in fact infantilising. For example, *girl/s* can also be used for alliterative affect or in fixed expressions, as *golden girl, cover girl, poster girl*, rather than deliberate attempts to trivialise female athletes' performance or achievements (Caple, 2013; Ismail, 2016, 2017; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017; Lumby et al., 2014; Payne, 2004; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Further, there is evidence of both *girls* and *boys* being used as in-group identifiers within sports news coverage (Ismail, 2017; Wensing & Bruce, 2003) including of AFLW (Kemble, 2020, 2024; Sherwood et al., 2019), as well as more broadly in corpus studies of English (Holmes & Sigley, 2002; Sigley & Holmes, 2002). Additionally, there is an important distinction between the plural and singular forms, and the person/source using the term. For example, pluralised *girls* may "serve to mark in-group solidarity" if used by someone considered part of the female in-group, whereas the use of the term by a male outsider "tends to be more belittling" (Holmes & Sigley, 2002, p. 260), a factor which has not always been considered in the existing literature but will be addressed in this thesis.

In sum, the discursive practice of infantilisation belittles female athletes using childlike terms, contributing to the patriarchal discourse of trivialisation. However, research has shown that such terms may also be used for in-group identification or to build solidarity. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the co-text and socio-cultural context in which these terms occur, considerations which are often neglected in existing research but are taken into account in this research.

2.4.3 Kinship roles

Research has shown that personal aspects of female athletes' lives are frequently given prominence in sports media coverage, at the expense of their sporting accomplishments. That is, female athletes are likely to be associated with domestic or kinship roles, such as (heterosexual) wives, mothers, or carers, more so than male athletes are (Billings et al., 2014; Cooky et al., 2013). This discursive practice therefore contributes to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping (i.e. a discourse that frames athletes according to social expectations of behaviours, roles, or traits associated with binary perceptions of femininity and masculinity).

Patterns pointing to gendered domestic roles have been identified in linguistic studies of both general corpora as well as specialised corpora of news media. A general corpus study found that collocates of female gender nouns were "more often characterised by adjectives signalling their marital/reproductive status and sexual orientation" as compared to male gender nouns (Pearce, 2008, p. 11). A corpus linguistic study of Olympic sports coverage found that kinship and domestic words were prevalent in collocates of *woman/women*, but not for *man/men* (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017). More specifically, collocates included *mother, married, child(ren),* and *pregnant*, which the authors argue position sportswomen more strongly with marital status, reproductive status, and maternal responsibilities than their male counterparts (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017, pp. 350-351).

In Australia, research has found mixed results. Non-feature articles in a sports magazine tended to portray female athletes in a stereotyped manner, including overt focus on motherhood and marital status (Lenskyj, 1998, p. 29); however, this study is now quite dated. Positively, a more recent wide-scale study of general sports media coverage found little evidence of this discourse (Lumby et al., 2014), though AFLW and NRLW were not included in the dataset. Another such study of online media coverage of AFLW, netball, and the national football/soccer team found competing discourses of female athletes represented as both superstars alongside gendered portrayals as "maternal, caring and nurturing" (Wrench & Garrett, 2018, p. 756).

Other studies of specific sports have also found a combined focus on both gender-stereotyped roles alongside athletic career and/or performance. Several studies of AFLW media coverage of the inaugural season found that while there was focus on motherhood and marriage, this was often revolving around players in same-sex relationships, (Kemble, 2020; Sherwood et al., 2019; Wrench & Garrett, 2018). Such narratives serve to "counter the normativity" of heterosexual femininity and marriage (Wrench & Garrett, 2018, p. 756), thus suggesting a "significant step forward" concerning diversity and inclusion (Sherwood et al., 2019, p. 172) (see Section 2.4.7 for further discussion of sexuality). In another study of print news coverage of netball, non-sporting topics were dominant; however, these were often contextualised within the sporting domain (English et al., 2019). The most dominant topic was motherhood, which notably included some focus on the professional issues of maternity leave, pay, and returning to training, with coverage "generally not dismissive" of female athletes (English et al., 2019, p. 120). These studies highlight the importance of understanding situational context via qualitative analysis, something which is often overlooked in studies taking a content analytical approach. Thus, a critical approach to discourse analysis is necessary to gain a more complete picture of how athletes are represented in relation to kinship and domesticity, especially given the mixed results identified in previous research.

In sum, overt focus on female athletes' (heterosexual) kinship and domestic roles at the expense of their athletic performance has historically contributed to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping. However, as shown, reference to personal aspects is "more complex" than previous research has suggested (Bruce, 2009, p. 157), with situational and cultural context also important considerations. Additionally, it is necessary to consider how media coverage of kinship roles and relationships serves to reinforce or counter discourses of heteronormativity (see Section 2.4.7), which will be addressed in this study.

2.4.4 Physical appearance and sexualisation

The literature overwhelmingly points to sportswomen being historically sexualised and their physical appearance scrutinised in the media, at the expense of their sporting accomplishments (Christopherson et al., 2002; Eagleman, 2013; Eastman & Billings, 1999; Harris & Clayton, 2002; Kinnick, 1998; Lee, 1992; Lenskyj, 1998; Ličen & Billings, 2013; Pirinen, 1997b; Ponterotto, 2014; Vincent, 2004). This includes both visual and verbal focus on "physical attractiveness and sexual desirability" and/or sexualised language (Ponterotto, 2014, p. 404).

More specifically, commentary about or evaluation of body parts, shape and weight, aesthetic appearance or style (i.e. clothing, makeup, hairstyle), as well as (sexualised) descriptions of sporting performances have all been identified in media coverage of female athletes. Such focus on physical desirability thus contributes to the patriarchal discourse of objectification (i.e. a discourse which portrays female athletes as objects according to their sexual appeal).

It is well documented that the media have preferenced women who fit societal expectations of gender, both in terms of physical appearance and participation in gender-appropriate roles. A general corpus study of the British press found that women were sexualised through "positively appraising adjectives of appearance" as well as references to a state of undress (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010). Sexist portrayals have also been identified in print news coverage of both international and seasonal sporting events. Sexual innuendos were identified in Olympic coverage of women's beach volleyball (Vincent et al., 2003), while Wimbledon coverage focussed on athletes who fit the feminine stereotypes of being heterosexual, White, and attractive (Harris & Clayton, 2002; Vincent, 2004) (see Section 2.4.8 for further discussion of ethnicity). Results from Ponterotto's (2012, p. 24) study of tennis and swimming found similar results, with media coverage highlighting "physical attractiveness and sexual desirability" of female athletes, thereby deemphasizing their athletic abilities. Notably, all these studies focus on female-appropriate sports, whereby feminine appearance may be highlighted to align with gendered expectations of the athletes participating in these sports. Conversely, several other studies of female-appropriate sports coverage have found the media continue to rely on discourses of femininity, though not necessarily sexualisation (Eagleman, 2013; Spencer, 2010; Vincent et al., 2003).

Other recent research suggests a potential shift away from overt sexualised descriptions of appearance, with more prominence given to sport-related aspects. King (2007) notes that explicit descriptions of female attractiveness are not found in UK press coverage of track and field in the 2000 Olympic Games. In Australia, a wide-scale study of print and television sports media coverage found that female athletes were "very rarely portrayed in a sexual way and most frequently portrayed as competitive and successful" (Caple, 2013; Lumby et al., 2014, p. viii). Positively, no evidence of objectification was found in coverage of the AFLW inaugural season either in the *Herald Sun* (Kemble, 2020) or on the AFL website or AFL Twitter (Sherwood et al., 2019). However, another recent study by the Australian state government found some residual evidence of sexualisation and objectification in women's sports coverage (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024, p. 12).

Thus, the literature points to mixed results, with a potential shift towards less overtly sexualised portrayals of female athletes. However, much of the research tends to focus on female-appropriate sports, except for some more recent studies in Australia, suggesting that socio-cultural context may play a role in the presence of this discourse. Regardless, as discussed above (Sections 2.2 and 2.3), the media still tend to select gender-appropriate sports for coverage (Lumby et al., 2014; Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024), which implicitly contributes to ideals of the aesthetically pleasing sportswoman. What the literature has not yet

considered is how female athletes newly entering a masculine sport are portrayed in the media, especially regarding physical appearance (except for the now dated study by Pirinen (1997a). This is an area that the present study aims to explore in greater detail.

Overall, the discursive practice of sexualisation contributes to the patriarchal discourse of objectification. As Kane et al. (2013, p. 293) argue "as long as sportswomen are portrayed in ways that sexually objectify them, they will not be given the respect they deserve".

2.4.5 Athletic performance

As previously discussed, the research has shown that female athletic abilities and accomplishments are frequently downplayed or dismissed, with media coverage instead focussing on non-sporting aspects such as physical appearance (Section 2.4.4) or personal lives (Section 2.4.3). When coverage does include sport-related aspects, this has tended to frame women's sports as less exciting and female athletes as less capable than their male counterparts. Such portrayals contribute to the patriarchal discourse of trivialisation (already discussed above in relation to infantilisation, which also contributes to this discourse).

More specifically, female athletes have been presented as lacking experience, ability, and/or composure (Billings et al., 2014; Duncan & Messner, 1998), while male athletes are positioned as strong, powerful, hard-working, and skilful (Billings et al., 2005). Historically, successful performances of female athletes have been attributed to luck (Billings et al., 2005) or an outside – often male – influence (Ravel & Gareau, 2016) rather than the athletes themselves, as is the case for male athletes. Additionally, when male athletes experience failures, this is often attributed to bad luck, rather than a poor performance or lack of experience as is the case for female athletes (Billings et al., 2014; Duncan & Messner, 1998; Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024). Thus, the research shows that there are clearly gendered differences in the way that athletes and their performances are evaluated in the media.

Studies of Olympic news coverage have found evidence of trivialising female athleticism across a range of sports. TV broadcast commentary of female athletes competing in the masculine sports of basketball, hockey, and soccer "deemphasized task-relevant aspects of their performance in favour of non-sport related topics" (Jones et al., 1999, pp. 188-189). Print coverage comparing men's and women's gymnastics also found that while technical language was used to describe the male athletes' skills, coverage of the women's gymnastics had "overly simplified descriptions [of skill] that depicted them as children on a playground" (Eagleman, 2013, p. 239). Similarly, UK print coverage of Wimbledon was found to contain "denigrating comments" about the athleticism and quality of female tennis matches (Vincent, 2004, p. 442).

Studies of routine sports coverage have had similar findings. A comparison of TV broadcast of women's and men's basketball found that the female athletes' physical skills were ignored. Instead, gameplay was described using aesthetic lexis such as *fun to watch, beautiful, very pretty,* and *nice* (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988, pp. 10-11). Comparatively, male players were described as having both "athletic skill" and "mental smarts" in terms of gameplay (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988, p. 11). Similar results were found in commentary of NCAA basketball finals,

with descriptions of the women's games "completely unrelated to athletic performance" (Billings & Eastman, 2002, p. 308).

Other research suggests a shift towards female athletes represented as "legitimate sports players" in the media (Caple, 2013, p. 289), although these studies are often of special events such as the Olympics (Vincent et al., 2002) or university sport (Kian et al., 2009) and not situated in Australia. Those that are Australian focus on news headlines rather than full texts (Caple, 2013) or do not include coverage of AFLW and NRLW (Lumby et al., 2014). Alongside this, recent research has suggested there is now an "overrepresentation of results and performance" in coverage of women's sport which lacks the in-depth analysis found in men's coverage (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024, p. 12; Rao & Taboada, 2021, p. 9). Taken together, the existing research provides mixed results. A large proportion of these studies employ a content analytic approach which presents practical limitations to the amount of data that can be analysed. This research, therefore, uses corpus linguistic techniques to analyse a large dataset as a means to address the limitations in the existing literature.

In sum, male sports have typically been presented as "naturally" exciting (Greer et al., 2009) with female sports and athletes positioned as inferior. The portrayal of female athletes as less capable and successful than their male counterparts therefore contributes to the patriarchal discourse of trivialisation.

2.4.6 Emotionality

Gender-stereotypical views of emotionality associate women with specific emotions or emotional behaviours, including overt displays of emotion (e.g. crying), whereas men are in control (if not devoid) of emotions. Sports culture has historically valued these gender-stereotypical ideologies, with displays of emotion in men's sport largely discouraged given the association with weakness and vulnerability (Galasiński, 2004). Thus, media coverage which emphasises female athletes' emotional states "challenges their status as 'real' athletes" (Kinnick, 1998, p. 217). Emotionality, therefore, occurs when emotional stereotypes of femininity and masculinity are applied to media representation of athletes, and thus contributes to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping (alongside kinship roles/domesticity, as discussed above).

Stereotypes of the emotional woman and the tough, stoic man have been documented in sports media coverage (e.g. Billings et al., 2014; Christopherson et al., 2002; Crolley & Teso, 2007; Jones, 2004; Vincent, 2004) as well as in general corpus-linguistic studies (Pearce, 2008). A 1996 report by the Australian Sports Commission found that while sportsmen were represented as displaying little emotion and "applauded for their toughness", media coverage of sportswomen focused on their emotions (Lumby et al., 2014, p. 14). This sentiment has been echoed in Australian sports coverage of the Olympic games (Jones, 2004), as well as overseas Olympic coverage of swimming (Angelini & Billings, 2010) and diving (Billings, 2007).

In general, research has consistently identified a focus on negative behavioural displays of emotion which commonly depict female athletes as in tears or crying, through both text and images (Billings, 2007; Christopherson et al., 2002; Crolley & Teso, 2007; George et al., 2001;

Jones, 2004; Vincent, 2004). That is, female athletes are portrayed as losing control of their (negative) emotions. Comparatively, when the sports media publish images of male athletes crying, this tends to be positioned "as the result of major victories and defeats" (MacArthur & Shields, 2015, p. 39), with the textual descriptions unrelated to behavioural expressions of emotion, for example "exhausted" instead of "in tears" (Crolley & Teso, 2007, p. 159). Thus, there are gendered differences in the way that emotionality is represented, with male athletes "constructed as doing emotion in a way that can be defended as 'not feminine'" (MacArthur & Shields, 2015, p. 40).

There are limited (corpus) linguistic studies which specifically focus on the use of gender and emotion in the sports media, with varying results. Ismail et al. (2020, p. 63) found that emotions were discussed with relative similarity in Malaysian print coverage of women's and men's sport. Qualitative analysis of the lemma LOVE, however, revealed that emotional triggers in the male corpus were generally "the sport or things related to sport", whereas emotional triggers in the female corpus were personal relationships. Put simply, male emotions were a direct result of sport, whereas female emotions were not. Studies situated within the Australian print media have found an "absence of excessive emotion and tears" (Caple, 2013; 2016, p. 244) and no evidence of emotional stereotyping (Lumby et al., 2014) in general sports coverage. In print news coverage of AFLW, Kemble (2020) found that while emotions were present, these tended to be mental processes (i.e. feeling, wanting) in direct and reported speech from players, rather than descriptions of female athletes having emotional outbursts (such as crying). In fact, a large-scale study of Australian media coverage also identified a potential reversal of this discourse, with male athletes "more frequently described or depicted as displaying negative emotions, such as sadness and disappointment (thereby challenging the stereotype that females are more prone to emotional displays, while males are more stoic)" (Lumby et al., 2014, p. viii). However, this study did not explicitly address the reasons, or triggers, for male athletes' emotions.

The results therefore are quite mixed, with some studies focusing on the emotive lexis and others also exploring the reason for such emotion. Further, it is unclear if all these studies analyse the sources of emotion, that is, whether it is the athletes themselves expressing emotion – and if so, whether it is in direct quotes or reported speech. Thus, the analysis of sources (or emoters), alongside that of triggers, is necessary to better understand how emotionality is represented in the sports media in relation to gender. This study aims to explore these different components of emotionality within the Australian print news (see Chapter 5).

In sum, female athletes have historically been portrayed in the media as more stereotypically emotional than their male counterparts, thereby implying that they are weaker and less in control or composed. This therefore contributes to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping.

2.4.7 Sexuality and homophobia

While sections 2.4.1 to 2.4.6 synthesised and categorised the diverse language practices contributing to gendered discourses, this section focuses on literature relevant to sexuality as it intersects with gender in the domain of elite sport, including the attitudes towards LGB identities in sport and the representations of sexual identities in the media. Gender and sexuality are connected and often conflated (Baker, 2014), which is evident through the media's focus on gender-appropriate kinship roles and sexualised physical appearance (see Sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4), as well as a history of excluding LGB players from coverage. While some of the research into gender bias does address the overlapping social domains of gender and sexuality, it tends to focus on either female or male athletes rather than comparing them, as is the case in this thesis.

Sport has a long tradition of re-affirming gender-stereotypical notions of masculinity and, by association, heterosexuality. Historically, sport has excluded women and gay men, while privileging "a particular subset of heterosexual men" (Adams et al., 2010, p. 280). While women are becoming more accepted in the elite sports domain, they still face exclusionary practices (see Section 1.3.2.3), including in relation to sexuality. Gay men also continue to face exclusionary practices in the realm of elite sport. Such practices contribute to discourses of "compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich, 2003) – and by extension, homophobic behaviours and beliefs which may be reproduced in the media. Such discursive practices contribute to the patriarchal discourses of othering and gendered stereotyping (as discussed above).

For sportswomen, compulsory heterosexuality occurs through highlighting their relationships with men (Bruce, 2016), as well as being portrayed as sexually attractive or desirable to a male audience (Wensing & Bruce, 2003; see also Section 2.4.4). As Adjepong (2017, p. 217) argues, a "hetero-sexy sportswoman does not threaten male dominance" and is thus acceptable in the masculine sporting hegemony. However, sportswomen who deviate from a gender-stereotyped femininity, in terms of body shape/size, strength/ability, and/or sexuality, have historically been "regarded with suspicion" and may be stigmatised as butch and/or lesbian (Bruce, 2016; Carle & Nauright, 1999; Fink, 2015; Griffith, 2014, p. 269; Pirinen, 1997b).

Broadly, the media has typically portrayed lesbian athletes critically or has rendered them and/or their sexuality invisible (Bullingham & Postlethwaite, 2019, p. 52). Analyses of media representations of women's rugby union in Australia and the UK found that while some "masculine" descriptors of strength and aggression were used, these were paired with "references that clearly indicate [their] heterosexual credentials" (Wright & Clarke, 1999, p. 238). Thus, the authors argue that lesbian players have been "denied and obliterated" within the sporting space (Wright & Clarke, 1999, p. 240; see also McDowell & Schaffner, 2011), thereby reinforcing both heterosexuality and homophobia.

For sportsmen, compulsory heterosexuality is portrayed through overt focus on their (often hyper-feminine) wives and girlfriends (i.e. *WAGs*[8]), which the news media use "to hold up

[8] *WAG* is a colloquial term for the wife or girlfriend of a professional male athlete, derived from the first letter of each word, i.e. w(ives) a(nd) g(irlfriends).

narrow ideals of masculinity and femininity" (Marks, 2019, p. 439). Additionally, heterosexuality can be reinforced through masculine and "martial" descriptors of gameplay (Billings, 2007; Duncan & Messner, 1998; Vincent, 2004) as well as the use of homophobic or sexist language within the sporting domain (Adams et al., 2010). As mentioned in Chapter 1, (homo)sexuality and gender are often conflated, with a resulting viewpoint that "both women and gay men are inferior to heterosexual men" (Baker, 2014, p. 106), especially within traditionally male sporting domains. Thus, male masculinity is reinforced through overt focus on heterosexuality and the rejection of traits stereotypically associated with femininity – which is often linked to homophobic behaviours and language.

In fact, homophobic language is commonly used in sport, with males athletes more likely to use this language than female athletes – regardless of their attitudes towards people identifying as LGB (Denison et al., 2021, p. 392). That is, while athletes may claim to hold inclusive attitudes, they still use homophonic language (Pringle & Denison, 2023). These competing discourses have been identified in studies of male athletes' attitudes towards LGB athletes, with players rejecting the idea that they are homophobic while simultaneously using homophobic language and avoiding practices they felt would be perceived as gay (Denison et al., 2021; Denison & Toole, 2020; Evans, 2023; Pringle & Denison, 2023). Similarly, several ethnographic studies of (non-elite) women's rugby union found that players continuously worked to create and exemplify a collective heterosexual team identity, despite the presence of queer members (Adjepong, 2017; Carle & Nauright, 1999; Ezzell, 2009; Fallon & Jome, 2007). Contrary to this, however, a study of grassroots women's AFL found that players felt that they could "explore gendered roles and identity" (Booth & Pavlidis, 2023, p. 635). The authors argue this is in part related to the high visibility of LGB AFLW players in the media, with other studies also noting the positive impact that openly gay and lesbian elite athletes have on the other (female) athletes coming out (Denison, 2021).

This potential shift in positive media coverage of LGB identities is exemplified in two studies of the AFLW's inaugural season, with media attention clearly given to prominent players in same-sex relationships (Kemble, 2020; Sherwood et al., 2019). Another study of media coverage of the first AFLM pride game found largely positive media framing alongside residual discourses of "stick to football" found in online public comments, thereby perpetuating "an underlying message that sport should continue to privilege heterosexuality" (Sherwood et al., 2020, p. 557). Further, other linguistic studies of media more broadly have found continued negative discourses of homosexuality, often using subtle strategies, which position homosexuality as a negative behaviour, rather than an identity (see Baker, 2005). Thus, while some research suggests a shift from "a hostile disposition to one of acceptance" (Kian et al., 2015, p. 907), it seems that homophobia persists within the intersecting domains of sport and media. Clearly, further research is required to better understand how sexuality and homophobia in sport are portrayed within the news media, especially in relation to gender/sex and associated stereotypes. This research explores such representations, making comparisons between media coverage of women's and men's AFL/NRL.

In sum, media representation of athletes has traditionally relied on practices of compulsory heterosexuality, thereby excluding LGB athletes and perpetuating heteronormative and homophobic discourses. These practices have implications for the patriarchal discourses of gendered stereotyping and othering.

2.4.8 Ethnicity and racism

In addition to sexuality, other social aspects also intersect with gender. This section provides an overview of the literature related to representations of ethnicity in the media, including issues of racism in sport. While the research overwhelming acknowledges that "male" is the unmarked norm in the sporting domain, many studies fail to acknowledge that Whiteness is also an unmarked norm against which athletes are represented. Traditionally, sport has "emphasised masculinity, whiteness and nationalistic ambitions" (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017, p. 338), with the sports media "involved in constructing racialized national sporting identities" (Gardiner, 2003a, p. 31; see also Bamblett, 2011). As such, athletes of culturally diverse backgrounds risk being portrayed according to associated stereotypes – bordering on racist depictions – or are excluded from media coverage. Thus, discursive practices contributing to the construction of race[9] and racism can be linked to the patriarchal discourse of othering (as discussed above).

In terms of visibility, Lumby et al.'s (2014, p. 42) wide-scale study of Australian media found that more news items were published about male Indigenous players/sport (42 articles) as compared to their female counterparts (4 articles). Positively, recent Australian research has found only a minimal difference between women's and men's sports coverage in terms of ethnicity/cultural identity, suggesting a potential shift, although the topic of racism was more prominent in coverage of men's sport than women's sport (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024, p. 12). However, this study did not provide analysis of *how* these athletes were portrayed in the media, including with respect to Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait identities, nor did it give details on how racism was addressed in/by the media.

In terms of portrayals, global research has found that representation of non-White athletes in the media often rely on racialised stereotypes of the athletically superior or naturally talented (Black) athlete, including in coverage of international sporting events (Billings & Eastman, 2002; Vincent, 2004) as well as (men's) AFL and NRL (Hallinan & Judd, 2009). Racialised stereotypes have also been identified within sporting institutions, including in interviews with American female rugby players (Adjepong, 2017) as well in Australian coaches' selections of Aboriginal players for men's rugby league teams (Hallinan, 1991). More specifically in women's sports media coverage, gender often takes a backseat to such racialised stereotypes, as exemplified in Vincent's (2004) study of tennis and the (Black) Williams sisters. The author argues that such depictions of racialised strength and ability framed these athletes as the Other,

[9] I view race as a social construct which carries with it negative connotations of subordination linked to colonialism (Gardiner, 2003b). Where possible, I avoid using this term, except with respect to the literature and the identified issues of racism and racialisation in sport. The use of this term is further discussed in Chapter 6.

while reinforcing the "notion that White women are the hegemonic standard" (Vincent, 2004, p. 446).

In Australia, several studies have analysed media coverage of Cathy Freeman during the 2000 Olympics (Bruce & Hallinan, 2001; Gardiner, 2003b; Jones, 2004; Payne, 2004; Wensing & Bruce, 2003), thus providing an opportunity to explore constructions of nationality and Aboriginal identity alongside that of gender. In general, the scholars overwhelming agree that Freeman was (positively) represented as a symbol for national reconciliation, with issues of gender and racism taking a backseat. Further, Wensing and Bruce (2003, p. 391), acknowledge that the portrayal of Freeman as an emotionally and physically strong athlete is contrary to gender stereotypes. However, they do not address how these stereotypes may be indicative of racialised stereotypes, as found by Vincent (2004). Comparatively, Bruce and Hallinan (2001, pp. 264-265) do suggest that there are elements of gender stereotyping through repetitive descriptions of Freeman's small stature and "her smile and trademark giggle", alongside racist representations (see also Stell, 1991, p. 237). Thus, while the studies situated in Australia which explore representations of gender and ethnicity in the media present mixed results, there remains enduring evidence of stereotyped portrayals of non-White athletes. Further, these studies tend to focus on a single athlete, involved in an international sporting event. This research therefore explores how ethnicity is represented in relation to gender in routine media coverage, making comparisons between women's and men's sport.

In sum, the research has shown that racialised beliefs are entrenched in both the institutions of sport and the media, with racist stereotypes often co-existing with gender stereotypes, at least for female athletes. Representations of ethnicity in the media therefore have implications for the patriarchal discourse of othering.

2.5 Motivations and criteria for media coverage

The above sections have highlighted the long history of disparate and biased media coverage of female athletes and women's sports (see Sections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4). Despite the growth of women's sports since the 1970s, media coverage continues to marginalise female athletes (Hardin, 2005) as well as athletes of other diverse identities and backgrounds. Thus far, this chapter has reviewed the literature which analyses media coverage itself, and the discursive practices that contribute to such marginalisation. It has pointed to the low amount of media coverage of female athletes compared to male athletes, but it has not yet considered in detail the potential underlying reasons for this disparity. Given that this research takes a critical approach to discourse analysis, it is thus necessary to explore the discourse practices associated with news production. This section therefore explores the motivations and criteria that media makers use for determining which sports or athletes receive coverage, and which do not.

To date, studies that have explored the media's motivations and criteria for coverage have largely relied on self-reported surveys undertaken in the US (e.g. Hardin, 2005; Laucella et al., 2017). A handful of studies take their data from interviews with news producers (journalists, editors, etc), focussing on "exploring the attitudes and values of sports editors" who determine

what is and is not reported on (Hardin, 2005, p. 63). Of primary interest here are those studies which also consider how the variable of gender, and associated stereotypes, may influence decision-making in the newsroom – either consciously or not.

Overwhelmingly, the research points to "newsworthiness" as the driving factor to determine which events or stories are covered. In such research, newsworthiness may include news values, audience/readership considerations, and market/commercial factors (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 41; Sherwood et al., 2017, p. 651). Each of these three factors will now be discussed in turn, as they relate to sports coverage and the relevant studies into motivations for such coverage.

News values are criteria that make a story or event newsworthy, and include values such as: negativity ("bad" events), timeliness (events that just happened or are still ongoing), proximity (geographical or cultural nearness), prominence ("eliteness" of participants), consonance (fitting established stereotypes), impact (consequences of an event), novelty (surprising or unusual event), superlativeness (size or impact of an event), and personalization (human interest) (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 41). The more criteria that an event fulfills, the more newsworthy it is deemed, although newsworthiness is also *constructed* discursively in published news stories through linguistic and other resources (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). However, in the context of sports news research, news values are widely considered as journalistic selection criteria and will therefore be discussed in this way below.

The news value of impact, which deals with the effects or outcomes of a noteworthy event, has consistently been cited as a key indicator of newsworthiness in relation to sport. More specifically, this is identified as a successful match outcome or exceptional performance (Caple et al., 2011; Gee & Leberman, 2011; Knoppers & Elling, 2004; Ravel & Gareau, 2016; Sherwood et al., 2017). In Sherwood et al.'s (2017) interviews with Australian newsmakers, sporting success was noted as the most significant factor driving coverage alongside the news values of timeliness, prominence, novelty, and negativity. This sentiment is echoed in other research, where a "top sporting performance/achievement" (Knoppers & Elling, 2004, p. 61) or successful/significant outcome (Gee & Leberman, 2011) were cited as key identifiers of newsworthiness, and thus indicators of which sports were reported on. This perhaps accounts for the increase in coverage of women's sport during international sporting events, where public interest is highly focused on success of the nation (for further discussion of news values and nationality see Gee & Leberman, 2011; Knoppers & Elling, 2004).

Media producers, however, still make decisions about what is considered a top performance or achievement, and how to frame these events. In the context of sport, news producers have consistently cited their own "objectivity" in determining which events are covered. Contradictory to this, research has revealed that such decisions are actually made based on a "hierarchical categorisation of sports" influenced by gender biases (Knoppers & Elling, 2004, p. 61). For example, in the European context, journalists agree that men's soccer games will always be reported on, regardless of performance or success (Gee & Leberman, 2011; Knoppers & Elling, 2004), a sentiment echoed in Australian newsrooms (Sherwood et al., 2017).

This viewpoint is exemplified in a corpus-assisted study of Olympic media coverage which found that collocates of *men* included all three classes of medals (i.e. gold, silver, and bronze) but collocates of *women* only included gold medals, despite female athletes also winning silver and bronze (Jaworska & Hunt, 2017, p. 352). This therefore indicates that "when it comes to sports, men just need to play to feature in the news; women need to win" (Rao & Taboada, 2021, p. 9). Further, it has also been found that success is not always enough to warrant coverage of women's sports (Fink, 2015; Sherwood et al., 2017), with some media producers also admitting that the gender-appropriateness of the sport and the athlete's physical appearance play a role in decision making (Gee & Leberman, 2011). It seems then that the news value of consonance (which relates to how a news story fits with existing stereotypes) is also a key indicator of newsworthiness in sports news reporting, whereby men's sports are still believed to inherently have the most news value (Sherwood et al., 2017, p. 649).

Alongside news values, audience interest is also commonly understood as a key indicator of newsworthiness, and as a reason for including/excluding coverage of certain sports and athletes. Readership considerations, however, are generally based on personal and/or entrenched newsroom beliefs about women's sport, rather than evidence or research (Hardin, 2005; Knoppers & Elling, 2004; Sherwood et al., 2017). In a survey of US editors, majority (90%) were confident of meeting reader interests, however less than half (42%) had surveyed their audience about sporting preferences (Hardin, 2005, p. 69). Similar responses have been identified in other studies, with media producers citing "audience wants and needs" as the reason for their editorial policy to cover men's sport regardless of success, despite no market research having been done to support such claims (Gee & Leberman, 2011, p. 335; see also Caple et al., 2011). In Australia, news producers cited readership preference for "men's sports such as rugby league, AFL, rugby union and cricket" as the reason for a lack of netball coverage, despite significant successes during the netball season (English et al., 2019, p. 113).

Such gendered assumptions about readership expectations come from an established history of the "male-dominated, hegemonic environment" of the sports newsroom (Laucella et al., 2017, p. 649; Sherwood et al., 2017). If a media producer holds hegemonic views about women's sports, then they are unlikely to provide media coverage of such events under the assumption that their readers feel the same way – regardless of any factors related to newsworthiness. That is, despite media makers citing audience interest and sporting success as driving factors of newsworthiness, the literature indicates that choices are instead based on personal preferences or ingrained ideologies that men's sport is inherently interesting – and women's sport is not.

Closely linked to readership assumptions is the consideration of market or commercial factors. Print newspapers (and media more generally) rely heavily on sponsorship and/or advertising to support their business. Such funding is driven by various factors, including readership figures. Thus, the hegemonic belief that nobody is interested in women's sports means that providing coverage of sportswomen may have a negative impact on readership and, as a result, on revenue streams (Caple et al., 2011; Hardin, 2005). This (re)produces the

misconception that female athletes and sports are not "sufficiently marketable" to gain readership, and must be packaged with other palatable aspects, such as sexualisation or infantilisation (Fink, 2015, p. 338). However, as Kane (2013, p. 233) argues, "when women's sports are covered the audience frequently responds in record-setting numbers". For example, in Australia, the national women's soccer team's 2023 World Cup Finals match against England was the most watched televised program since the rating system was put in place, surpassing all previous men's sporting events (Snape, 2023). This highlights the role of the media in "gatekeeping" the types of sports that a general audience has access to.

Finally, it is worth briefly addressing whether journalists consider an athlete's sexuality to be newsworthy. While interviews with Australian journalists have not been conducted about this topic specifically, there is one such study in the United States (Kian et al., 2015). Of the ten journalists interviewed, only two had ever reported on an athlete's same-sex relationship, although all agreed they regularly noted heterosexual spouses or girlfriends of male athletes (Kian et al, 2015, p. 901). Generally, the journalists agreed that it was not newsworthy or appropriate to ask athletes about their sexual relations, "unless it may be affecting their on-field performance" (Kian et al., 2015, p. 902), although no further information was provided about whether this related to same-sex and/or heterosexual relationships. Thus, it seems that while heterosexual relationships are par for the course in media coverage, mentioning same-sex relationships remains more taboo, although the number of out LGB elite athletes in any given sport must also be considered.

In sum, while media makers have cited newsworthiness as a driving factor determining coverage, the research has shown that decisions are also based on ingrained hegemonic beliefs about female athletes and sports being "naturally less exciting" than their male counterparts (Greer et al., 2009). As a result, the sport media generally construct men's sporting events as "more interesting, newsworthy and dramatic than the women's competitions" (Elling & Knoppers, 2005, p. 256), with women's sports coverage subject to patriarchal discourses which de-legitimise females as elite athletes.

This section has provided an overview of discourse practices associated with sports news production and explored motivations for sports media coverage. These media practices influence how athletes are represented, including which sports are selected (women's versus men's) and which aspects are emphasized (e.g. appearance, skill, sexuality, etc.). Understanding the context of media production, including editorial decisions and strategies, is a vital part of critical discourse analysis as it aids in uncovering if and how stereotypes and/or biases are embedded in sports news coverage. The media motivations and discourse practices discussed in this section are therefore considered in the analysis of data and interpretation of findings throughout this thesis.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a review of the literature which informs this thesis, including linguistic and non-linguistic studies, focussing on gendered representations in sports media coverage of

international sporting events and seasonal sporting events. I have highlighted the ongoing disparity in the amount of coverage afforded to women's sport, as compared to men's sport (i.e. visibility), as well as discussed the common linguistic practices which contribute to patriarchal discourses in the sports media. In terms of representation as per Bray's (2024) model mentioned in Chapter 1, this includes naming (e.g. infantilisation as *girl*s) and portrayal (e.g. as mothers or wives, as emotional, as sexualised or racialised) as well as consideration of sourcing (e.g. the source of the infantilised naming practice or the source/emoter of an emotion). While focus was predominantly on representations of female athletes, representations of male athletes has also been considered, where relevant, and especially as a point of comparison. I also provided an overview of the literature relating to the social domains of sexuality and ethnicity, as they intersect and overlap with gender in the socio-cultural contexts of sport and the media, as well as discussed motivations and criteria that drive decision-making in sports news coverage as cited by media producers.

On the whole, the research shows that female athletes have been represented in the media in ways that emphasise gender (and associated stereotypes), with scholars agreeing such biased portrayals undermine them as professional athletes and perpetuate hegemonic beliefs about sport. Alongside this, there is also a documented history of underrepresentation of sexual and ethnic/cultural diversity in the sports media, with athletes subject to homophobic and racist practices within the institution of sport. More positively, there is a small but growing body of literature which has proposed some positive shifts away from these patriarchal discourses in sports news, although these tend to focus on special events or match-related news items, are often situated outside Australia, and/or do not include coverage of AFLW and/or NRLW.

While there is substantial research on gender bias in the sports media, the majority of this sits outside the field of linguistics taking a content analytical approach. Further, some of these studies present mixed results, use smaller datasets, are dated, or do not consider issues of intersectionality. Thus, there remain gaps in this field of study which this present research seeks to address. Various gaps have been pointed out throughout this chapter and will be synthesized here as they relate to the aims of this thesis.

Firstly, much focus has been given to international sporting events, which, despite often mixed results, has indicated patterns trending towards less biased representations of female athletes. Less focus has been given to gendered representations in routine coverage of seasonal sporting events, and even less so in sports which are stereotyped as masculine. Further, the research focussing on routine sports coverage tends to draw on in-season match-related news genres, which have shown similarity between female and male sports. This thesis therefore addresses these gaps by focussing on off-season routine coverage of women's and men's sports, and includes the full range of news genres available.

Secondly, and relatedly, I specifically focus on two stereotypically masculine sports: AFL and NRL. Given the infancy of the women's competitions (i.e. AFLW, NRLW), very little research has focused on gendered representations in media coverage of these sports. In fact, at the time of writing, there are no linguistic studies which focus on gendered language patterns or

representations in NRLW media coverage, nor are there any studies which explicitly compare media coverage of the women's AFL/NRL to that of the men's (except see Kemble, 2024). This thesis therefore seeks to address this gap and provide a benchmark for future research in this space.

Thirdly, the social constructs of gender, sexuality, and ethnicity as represented in the sports media are generally addressed separately in the literature, with some exceptions. These social aspects, however, are often overlapping and thus may influence the way that ethnically diverse players or LGB identities are represented in the media. As such, it is necessary to consider how the construct of gender intersect and overlaps with other social constructs, in the Australian social domains of sport and the media, as is the case in this thesis (see Chapter 6).

Finally, the majority of the current literature is situated outside the field of linguistics, such as in media or feminist studies, and tends to take a content analysis approach. That is, such studies tend to be largely quantitative in their approach, "without sufficient linguistic interpretation" (Egbert et al., 2020, p. 52) or consideration of the socio-cultural context in which the texts were produced. Studies that do consider the wider co-text and socio-cultural context have uncovered more complex findings, as seen with discourses around domestic kinship roles (see Section 2.4.3). This research will thus combine both quantitative and qualitative analyses using corpus linguistic techniques and qualitative text analysis, drawing on principles of CDA to analyse the representations and evaluation of athletes as situated within Australian sport and the media, with respect to patriarchal discourses.

Bringing these points together, this thesis therefore aims to extend the existing research on gender bias in the sports media, taking a mixed-method approach to explore the representation of AFL and NRL athletes in the Australian print media. The use of corpus linguistics allows for the exploration of patterns across a large dataset, which may otherwise be overlooked in studies taking a content analysis approach using a smaller dataset. The application of critical discourse analysis considers the socio-cultural context of sport and the news media in Australia, allowing for findings to be interpreted in light of how ideologies within these cultural domains are realised within the news. It also enables closer analysis of the wider co-text (e.g. sources of naming practices or emotions) and linguistic practices associated with patriarchal discourses. The focus on AFL and NRL allows for comparisons between the newly formed women's competitions and the well-established men's competitions, providing insights into how female athletes entering masculine team sports are portrayed in the media in relation to gender, sexuality, and ethnicity.

In sum, this research aims to contribute to and extend the existing research through the specific approach taken and the selection of data, therefore providing new insights into media representations of female athletes in Australia.

3. Data and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this research takes a corpus-based approach to critical discourse analysis, integrating analysis of appraisal. This chapter introduces the data and methodology. Section 3.2 begins with the corpus construction, including the corpus design criteria, data collection process, and an overview of the OzFooty corpus. Section 3.3 discusses corpus-based critical discourse analysis, including general CDA principles and corpus techniques as they are relevant to this research. Section 3.4 provides an overview of appraisal (i.e. evaluation) with specific focus on affect (emotion) as it is used in this research. Note that this thesis occasionally uses *evaluation* as a synonym for *appraisal*, and *emotion* as synonym for *affect*, while the term *emotionality* refers to how media representations emphasise or attribute emotional responses to athletes based on gendered stereotypes (as discussed in Chapter 5). Section 3.5 provides a concluding summary.

3.2 Corpus construction

This section focuses on corpus design and construction, as relevant to a specialised corpus of print newspaper coverage (i.e. the OzFooty corpus). I first provide a general introduction to the concepts of representativeness and balance, as well as production and reception criteria, as they relate to building specialised corpora, before moving on to a specific discussion of these concepts as they relate to the OzFooty corpus, in the sections that follow.

To begin, specialised corpora are constructed from texts which focus on a specific variety or genre of language, a topic, or person(s) (Baker, 2023, p. 56; Love & Busso, 2024, p. 69) – such as language used in newspapers. When designing a specialised corpus, one must first consider the research aim and target domain in order to make informed decisions about the selection and sampling of data to ensure that the corpus is balanced and representative of that target domain (Baker, 2023; Egbert et al., 2022; Hunston, 2022).

It is widely agreed that one of the most important factors when compiling a corpus is the notion of representativeness (Atkins et al., 1992; Baker, 2023; Biber, 1993; Egbert et al., 2022; Hunston, 2022; Koester, 2022; Nelson, 2010; Sinclair, 2004; Taylor & Heritage, 2024). Representativeness refers to the considered selection of texts such as, for example, political speeches, Indian English, nineteenth-century women's fiction, or newspaper articles on poverty (Baker & McEnery, 2015a, p. 1), with the aim of constructing a "miniature" of the target population (Egbert et al., 2022). Thus, representativeness is "the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population", where variability refers to both the range of text types (domain considerations) and the range of linguistic features (distribution considerations) (Biber, 1993, p. 243; Egbert et al., 2022, p. 62). If a corpus is representative, results can be extrapolated to the wider language variety, such as print news discourse, rather than just to the corpus that is being investigated (Atkins et al., 1992).

Closely linked to representativeness is the notion of balance, which relates to the avoidance of over-representation in one part of the corpus. Balance can be considered in terms of both language-internal criteria, such as the texts length and word count, as well as language-external criteria, such as data sources (Crawford & Csomay, 2016). In general, this involves "aiming to include equal amounts of data from each of the parts" (Hunston, 2002, p. 28), but how this is interpreted and determined will vary depending on the research aim. Ideally, a corpus builder should aim for both representativeness and balance when selecting their data sources (i.e. language-external criteria) (Sinclair, 2004).

Further, when constructing a corpus of media language and undertaking a critical analysis of news discourse (as is the case in this thesis), it is also necessary to consider the context of the media in relation to production processes and audience reception (Atkins et al., 1992; Baker, 2023; Bell, 1991; Fairclough, 1995b; Koester, 2022; Mautner, 2008). This is because of the potential for newspapers to influence readership attitudes (Baker & McEnery, 2015a, p. 244) – such as attitudes towards women's and men's sport. Production criteria relate to the context in which the text(s) have been created for an intended audience, including the parties involved in this creation, and can be considered in terms of variations in format and style (tabloids or broadsheets), the political position of a newspaper masthead (right-leaning or left-leaning), and the ownership (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013; Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Reception criteria relate to the end product that is received by the audience, including the frequency of production, circulation/distribution, and readership. Thus, a corpus of newspaper language should account for the different types of papers available and select these so that the corpus will adequately represent the media landscape in which the study is situated.

The concepts of representativeness and balance, along with production and reception criteria, have guided the selection of data for the OzFooty corpus and will be further discussed in the following sections. Section 3.2.1 outlines the corpus design, Section 3.2.2 details the data collection process, and Section 3.2.3 provides an overview of the OzFooty corpus.

3.2.1 The OzFooty corpus design

As mentioned, a specialised corpus of Australian print newspaper coverage of women's and men's AFL and NRL is constructed for this research (i.e. the OzFooty corpus). The chosen data collection period is from December 2017 to December 2019. This aligns with the launch of these new women's competitions in 2017 (AFLW) and 2018 (NRLW), and finishes at the end of 2019 due to the global COVID-19 pandemic (WHO Director-General, 2020). The impact was such that the AFL and NRL sporting competitions were either cancelled, delayed, or played in an adjusted format (ABC, 2020a, 2020b; Canil, 2020; Guardian, 2020). While the analysis of sport coverage during COVID-19 would make for an interesting case study, this period would clearly not be representative of typical newspaper sports coverage. It is therefore not suitable to include 2020 data in the corpus.

Additionally, all news items published *during* the respective sporting seasons are excluded. As mentioned in Chapter 2, news coverage published outside a sporting event or

season has shown more evidence of gender bias than in-season match-related news. Routine sports coverage during the off-season therefore provides greater potential for identifying any existing gender biases and/or stereotypes. The exact collection dates for each sporting code/competition are detailed in Appendix A.

The data comes from Australian print newspapers, which are a popular source for corpus linguists undertaking discourse analysis of selected topics (Baker & McEnery, 2015a, p. 244). The newspapers selected for this study include four daily metropolitan print newspapers – *The Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph, The Age,* and the *Herald Sun* – along with their Sunday editions – *The Sun-Herald,* the *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sunday Age,* and the *Sunday Herald Sun*[10]. *The Australian* is also included as the only general national newspaper with a sports section,[11] and is often used in research on Australian newspaper discourse because of its wide reach and importance in the print media landscape (e.g. Bednarek & Carr, 2020; English et al., 2019; Lumby et al., 2014; Mockler, 2020a, 2020b; North, 2012; Payne, 2004; Sherwood et al., 2017; Wensing & Bruce, 2003)

In selecting these newspapers, my overall aim was to compile a corpus that adequately represents the media landscape in Australia. In terms of production criteria, two of the metropolitan newspapers used in this study are owned by Nine/Fairfax – *The Age*, based in Melbourne and the *Sydney Morning Herald* based in Sydney – and two are owned by News Corp – the *Herald Sun* based in Melbourne and the *Daily Telegraph* based in Sydney. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Sydney and Melbourne are the only two cities in Australia with competing daily metro newspapers (Tiffen, 2011, p. 38). The metro newspapers owned by Nine/Fairfax are considered left-leaning broadsheets, whereas those owned by News Corp are considered right-leaning tabloids (Mockler, 2020b). *The Australian*, owned by News Corp, is considered a right-leaning broadsheet (Mockler, 2020b). The slight over representation of News Corp ownership and right-leaning newspapers in the corpus is reflective of the media landscape in Australia, as there is no left-leaning general national newspaper, unlike in the UK for example. Table 3.1 provides a summary of the data sources used in this research along with their ownership, location, type (format), and political lean.

In terms of reception criteria, these newspapers are the most widely read in Australia for the selected period (i.e. 2017 to 2019) based on cross-platform readership figures. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was the top-ranking daily paper for all three years, with the other newspapers also ranking in the top five (Roy Morgan, 2019) (see Table 3.2). I draw on cross-platform readership, rather than circulation, due to the likelihood that more than one person will have access to a single edition of the paper (Baker et al., 2013). Cross-platform readership figures include hard-copy print circulation, while also accounting for readers who access the print edition via their mobile app, or who are likely to encounter coverage in the online edition which

[10] Henceforth, references to the daily printed editions, (e.g. *The Age*) will be inclusive of the respective Sunday edition of the paper (e.g. *The Sunday Age*).

[11] The other nationally published newspaper, the *Australian Financial Review*, is a specialised paper that focusses on finance, economics, business and politics, and does not report on sports. It therefore has been excluded.

has been republished from the print edition. Therefore, reception criteria can be quantified in terms of the popularity of a newspaper via readership figures.

Table 3.1 Summary of newspaper data sources (adapted from Mockler, 2020b, p. 121)

Masthead	City, State	Owner	Type	Political lean
The Age	Melbourne, Vic	Nine/Fairfax	Broadsheet	left-leaning
Herald Sun	Melbourne, Vic	News Corp	Tabloid	right-leaning
Sydney Morning Herald	Sydney, NSW	Nine/Fairfax	Broadsheet	left-leaning
Daily Telegraph	Sydney, NSW	News Corp	Tabloid	right-leaning
The Australian	national	News Corp	Broadsheet	right-leaning

Table 3.2 Cross-platform readership figures for the selected newspapers (figures are given in 000s)

	2017		2018		2019	
Rank	**Masthead**	**Readership**	**Masthead**	**Readership**	**Masthead**	**Readership**
1	*Sydney Morning Herald*	4255	*Sydney Morning Herald*	4135	*Sydney Morning Herald*	4303
2	*Daily Telegraph*	3446	*Daily Telegraph*	2989	*The Age*	2850
3	*The Age*	3061	*Herald Sun*	2984	*Herald Sun*	2756
4	*Herald Sun*	3002	*The Age*	2816	*Daily Telegraph*	2525
5/6	*The Australian*	2550	*The Australian*	2480	*The Australian*	2372

Another factor considered in the corpus design is the changing media landscape. While I explored the possibility of collecting both print and online news items, there were limiting factors that made this unfeasible – largely a lack of availability. There was also significant duplication of items across mediums (e.g. *The Age* print and online), with the least amount of duplication identified across print mastheads owned by the same company (i.e. *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*). Even if online news items were available for the collection period across all mastheads, a considerable amount of time would be required to decide how to approach duplicated items in print and online versions, especially those with differing headlines. Further, given these overlaps in content, it is unlikely that there are significant differences between discourses in the online and print versions of these papers aside from those related to headlines, which is not the specific focus of this research. Thus, my focus is on news items published in the print editions of the selected mastheads.

The final point to consider is the selection of news items from within the newspapers (i.e. language-internal criteria). For the corpus to be representative of newspaper language, clear criteria need to be established about the kinds of media content (i.e. news genres) for inclusion. Sports news reporting now covers a wide a range of topics including more traditional match-related items (previews or reviews), as well as human interest pieces (profiles or features), general news (player transfers, rule changes, etc.), and coverage of related issues such as sponsorship or drug use (Caple, 2016; Fest, 2016). In corpus-based discourse studies of newspapers, corpora tend to include the full variety of different text types found across multiple newspapers (e.g. Bailey & McCrossin, 2016; Bednarek, 2008; Caple, 2013; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017) or, focus on a specific genre of newspaper articles, such as hard news articles (Bednarek, 2006) or recounts and opinion columns (Aull & Brown, 2013). Thus, the corpus should either be inclusive of all "sports, lifestyle, and general news" text types, or should choose "only one of these text types for analysis" (Crawford & Csomay, 2016, p. 80; see also Hunston, 2022) – a decision which is guided by the research aim (Egbert et al., 2020; Potts, 2016). Such distinction is necessary so that the results can clearly be extrapolated to either newspaper discourse more broadly, or for example, only hard news reports.

To ensure the OzFooty corpus is as representative as possible of the print news landscape in Australia, it includes the full variety of different text types found within the selected newspapers, e.g. hard news, editorials, columns, features, letters,[12] and sports, including match-related items[13], that fit the selection criteria. The exception are items marked in the boilerplate or headline as trivia, quiz, tv guide, or calendar, which are excluded from the corpus. The term *news item* is used in this thesis to refer to an article or text from the selected newspapers rather than indicating a specific text type.

Moving now to the selection criteria, all news items must focus on one of the relevant sporting codes. This is first determined through a relevant reference to AFL or NRL in the headline or lead (referred to as the "nucleus"), as these are vital parts of news reporting which serve to frame a story (Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Butt et al., 2012; White, 2005). The nucleus provides an "entry portal" into the story (Conboy, 2007, p. 14) and is packed with the most newsworthy information from the article (Bell, 1991, p. 176). Therefore, if a specific reference to AFL/NRL is in the nucleus, we would expect the focus of the article to be about that sport and/or its players. These news items are automatically included in the corpus. If a direct reference to AFL/NRL is not included in the lead, then the lead is read to ascertain the focus of the article; in some cases, an indirect reference is identified, such as through a player name. If the focus is on

[12] In Factiva, letters from the public, which often cover a variety of topics, are presented together in one text file. The letters that do not include at least one relevant search term have been manually removed.

[13] While news items published during the respective sporting seasons have been excluded from the OzFooty corpus, it is, however, acknowledged that the corpus will still contain match-related articles. The aim here is not to exclude match related reporting entirely, but to ensure a balance of news genres in the corpus to investigate dominant discourses across off-season sports news coverage more generally.

sport more generally, then there must be a minimum of three instances of a designated search term. The search terms and data collection process are detailed in the following section (3.2.2).

To summarise, for the purpose of the OzFooty corpus design, the aim is to create a corpus that is representative of off-season Australian print media coverage of AFL and NRL, consisting of full texts (rather than samples) and including all text types/news genres. Data for this research are sourced from the print editions of four widely-read Australian metropolitan papers, along with their Sunday editions, and the national newspaper, for the period December 2017 – December 2019 (excluding items publishing during each sporting season). The selection of these newspapers, and the news items within, is based on constructing a representative and balanced corpus, taking into consideration factors of both the production and reception of these texts. The notion of "balance" here is seen as less crucial than the notions of representativeness and completeness (e.g. Baker, 2014; Hunston, 2022; Reppen, 2022) with a focus on capturing all newspaper items covering these sports, rather than selecting from these. In terms of language-external criteria, both balance and representativeness have been considered in the selection of newspapers used in the corpus. While there are some resulting imbalances in the corpus, these reflect imbalances found in the Australian media landscape and will be considered in the analysis rather than corpus design. Thus, while this corpus may not be representative of all news reporting in Australia, it is representative of discourses that most Australian newspaper readers are likely to encounter in relation to off-season sports coverage of women's and men's AFL/NRL.

3.2.2 Data collection process

Data were collected via Factiva, an international online news database, using targeted search strings. All relevant news items (articles/texts) published about AFL or NRL in the selected newspapers during the collection period are included in the corpus. Items published during the respective sporting seasons and items such as trivia, quiz, tv guide, or calendar are excluded (as discussed in Section 3.2.1). Broadly, the collection process included i) compiling the search strings, ii) collecting the news items, and iii) preparing the files for use in corpus tools. Each of these steps will now be explained in turn.

The search strings were compiled through a pilot study to determine which terms would capture a wide net of news items relevant to AFL/NRL. Using targeted search terms or search strings is a common data retrieval method for corpus linguists studying particular topics in media discourse (Baker et al., 2008; Baker et al., 2013; Gabrielatos, 2007). While search terms are a "crucial factor" in corpus construction, they can also be restrictive due to the myriad ways a topic can be referenced indirectly (Baker, 2014, p. 109). It is thus important to consider this when constructing search terms and analysing the results.

One of the most common references to specific sports is through the official names, including abbreviated or shorthand versions of these. As such, the official names for AFL and NRL were included in the search terms list, e.g. *Australian Football League Women's, AFLW,* etc, and related versions such as *Australian Rules Football* or *rugby league.* To find other

relevant non-specific references to these sporting codes, a selection of news items was manually reviewed, and a list of common references compiled. Then, a search was undertaken in Factiva for each of these references, and the results manually reviewed for relevance.

While generic and colloquial references to both sporting codes were common, such as *league*, *women's rugby*, or, *footy*, searching with these terms yielded far too many irrelevant results, including items about soccer, rugby union, and kids' or community sport. In fact, most of the relevant items returned from these general and colloquial searches also included official names and would already be captured; thus, they are excluded. The exception is for the women's competitions where a preceding gender marker is common, i.e. *women's AFL* (compare to *AFL Women's*). Therefore, the terms *women's Australian Football League, women's AFL, women's National Rugby League* and *women's NRL* are included in the search strings.

Additionally, the pilot review revealed that team names are more commonly used without official naming, in coverage of men's AFL/NRL.[14] In general, team names include both a geographical location and a mascot (e.g. Sydney Swans or Sydney Roosters), both of which tend to be used interchangeably within a single news item. For example, we might see *Roosters* in the headline and *Sydney* in the body text. Therefore, a search string was created to capture men's AFL/NRL news items that include both the location and mascot but do not reference the official name.

Once the search terms were established, a pilot study was undertaken to determine the most efficient way to collect and review the data. For each sport code/competition, there are at least two separate searches: one to collect all news items which have competition names in the headline or lead paragraph (Search 1), and another for news items in which the competition name is mentioned in the body text, but not the headline or lead paragraph (Search 2).[15] For men's AFL/NRL, a third search was also undertaken to capture the items where team names are commonly used without reference to an official name (Search 3). The compiled search strings are in Appendix B.

The items returned from Search 1 are automatically included in the corpus, except for those marked in the boilerplate or headline as trivia, quiz, tv guide, or calendar (see Section 3.2.1). The results for Search 2 and Search 3 were systematically reviewed against the selection criteria and irrelevant items deleted. News items which comprise lists of key players across sports, or highlight key sporting moments over the year, are included if they mention any of the relevant search terms. If a news item focuses on sport more generally, such as funding or training grounds, and includes three mentions of any of the relevant search terms, it is included. However, news items focussing on another topic, but which mention AFL or NRL in passing are excluded from the corpus.

[14] Where team names are used in reporting on the women's competitions, so too is the official league name.

[15] A reminder that the search terms for the women's codes also include unofficial but common naming practices as in *women's AFL*.

It is acknowledged that there may be some potential duplication of news items within the corpus. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, some items focus on two codes/competitions in roughly equal proportion, and so will appear twice: e.g. in both the women's and men's sub-corpora. Secondly, while the Factiva search feature was used to exclude all identical results within each masthead to avoid skewing the corpus, there is still the chance of occasional overlaps. For example, news items are sometimes republished – in part or in full – across mastheads owned by the same media company. Duplication in newspapers is common, and there is "no perfect way" to decide what counts as a duplicate (Baker, 2023, p. 70). These overlaps are not identified by Factiva and thus not removed from the corpus as this is representative of the media landscape and may provide some insight into preferred discourses in sports media.

All resulting news items were downloaded as batched text files from Factiva, saved as individual plain text (.txt) files, and run through the Download Parser program (Scott, 2012) to clean and prepare the files for use in the corpus tools (see Section 3.3.3). Cleaning the data consists of tagging boilerplate information[16], and removing smart characters, extra spaces, hyperlinks, and any other stylistic formatting. Each individual file was then automatically allocated a unique name.

While every effort has been made to collect as many relevant news items as possible, it is acknowledged this may not capture all items published about AFL and NRL during the time periods. For example, there may be articles that only use player names[17] or reference the sport colloquially or indirectly. However, the pilot study of search terms combined with reading a selection of individual news items about these sporting codes has revealed the search terms used in this research to be the most common and most fruitful in terms of yielding results. Thus, the result is a representative corpus which contains a wide variety of text types as published into the Australian print news market, which focus on the sports relevant to this study.

The following section now presents an overview of the OzFooty corpus and sub-corpora.

3.2.3 Overview of the OzFooty corpus

In total, the OzFooty corpus contains 13,134 news items, 62,114 word types, and 5,888,026 word tokens, as calculated in AntConc 3.5.9 (Anthony, 2020). The corpus has also been divided into two sub-corpora comprising all news items about women's AFL/NRL (OzFooty-Women) and all items about men's AFL/NRL (OzFooty-Men), as well as four sub-corpora for each of the sporting competitions, (i.e. AFLM, AFLW, NRLM, and NRLM). Given that discourse analysis should "wherever possible" be comparative (Partington, 2015, p. 225), the sub-corpora thus allow for observation and analysis of patterns across the different sporting codes and

[16] The Parser program incorrectly tagged a random selection of headlines as a Header Section, which includes the boiler plate information, rather than as Body text. These had to be manually corrected. Additionally, the program has a known error that results in the copyright line not being tagged in either the Header or Body. As such, any associated words appearing in wordlists during the analyses were thus ignored (e.g. *copyright, News Limited,* etc.).
[17] Inclusion of player names was discounted for two reasons: i) the sheer number of players that would need to be captured in the search, and ii) many these news items were already captured via official naming practices.

female/male competitions. Additionally, there are two other sub-corpora comprised of only quoted/reported speech which were compiled using the Quotation Tool (Jufri & Sun, 2022) – OzFooty-W-Speech and OzFooty-M-Speech (see Section 3.3.3.5) – which are analysed in Chapter 5. Details of the OzFooty corpus and sub-corpora are provided in Table 3.3.

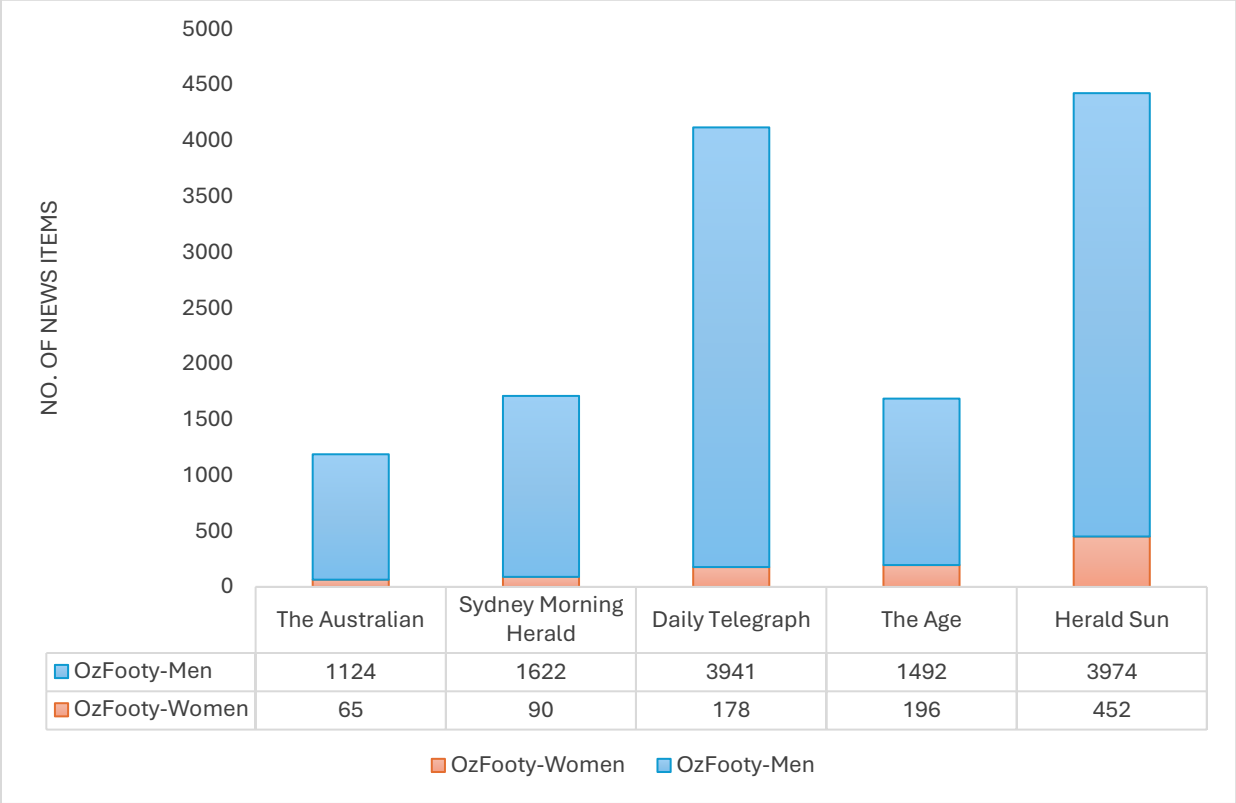
Table 3.3 The OzFooty corpus and sub-corpora (as calculated in AntConc 3.5.9)

Corpus	**Word Types**	**Word Tokens**	**News items (%)**
OzFooty Total	62,114	5,888,026	13,134
OzFooty-Women	15,997	455,706	981 (8%)
AFLW	14,229	359,357	786
NRLW	7,246	96,349	195
OzFooty-Men	46,117	5,432,320	12,153 (92%)
AFLM	36,051	2,814,690	6309
NRLM	33,331	2,617,630	5844
OzFooty-Speech	27,823	1,322,472	9768
OFW-Speech	6729	110,873	788
OFM-Speech	21,094	1,211,599	8980

Comparing OzFooty-Women to OzFooty-Men reveals a distinct disparity in the amount of media coverage. There are 12,153 news items (92%) focusing on men's AFL/NRL compared to 981 news items (8%) covering women's AFL/NRL (see Table 3.3). This equates to 12.38 times more news items about the men's sports than the women's, despite the collection period for the women's codes being double that of the men's due to shorter women's seasons (see Appendix A). This significant discrepancy aligns with previous research in Australia and overseas (see Chapter 2) and confirms findings from Lumby et al. (2014) that Australian newspapers view men's sports as more newsworthy than women's sports *outside* the relevant sporting seasons. That is, men's AFL/NRL receives far more ongoing year-round routine newspaper coverage than women's AFL/NRL.

Turning now to the newspaper mastheads, the *Herald Sun* has the most news items overall, and for both the men's and women's corpora, as compared to the other papers. *The Australian*, the News Corp owned national newspaper, published the least number of news items, while the Fairfax/Nine owned metro papers *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age* published a similar amount to each other overall. While the number of news items, or texts, are not balanced in the sense of being equally distributed across mastheads or the sub-corpora, this is representative of the current media landscape and has provided some initial insight into reporting practices by each of these newspapers for the sports being examined. Figure 3.1 provides an overview.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of news items by corpora and masthead



	The Australian	Sydney Morning Herald	Daily Telegraph	The Age	Herald Sun
OzFooty-Men	1124	1622	3941	1492	3974
OzFooty-Women	65	90	178	196	452

Lastly, a reference corpus of general news items is also used in this research (see Chapter 4). This is taken as an Australian subset from the News on the Web (NOW) corpus (Davies, 2014) for the same period as the OzFooty corpus (i.e. December 2017 – 2019). The NOW corpus subset was selected due to its availability and because it includes all the mastheads used in this research. While these are the online editions of the mastheads, as discussed in section 3.2.1, there was minimal difference identified between print and online news coverage of AFL/NRL, except for headlines. As a large corpus broadly representative of media coverage, the NOW corpus, and specifically the Australian subset, allows comparisons to be made between discourses in news coverage of AFL/NRL and Australian news coverage more generally, highlighting representations that are particular to off-season print coverage of AFL/NRL

In sum, this section has provided an overview of the corpora used in this thesis. The following section provides an overview of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis, as it pertains to this research.

3.3 Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis

This section discusses corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA), focussing on the combination of CL techniques with a CDA perspective relevant to the approach(es) taken in this thesis. In the following sections, I provide a general overview of corpus-based CDA

(Section 3.3.1), I outline the specific approach(es) used in this thesis (Section 3.3.2), and then I describe the corpus-linguistic techniques and tools used in this thesis (Section 3.3.3).

3.3.1 Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis

Generally, scholars agree that CDA is not a single method or approach, but rather a critical perspective (Van Dijk, 2015), social critique (O'Halloran, 2010), or resource (Fairclough, 1995a) which is used to explore "theoretical concepts of power, ideology and domination" as realised in language (Baker et al., 2008, p. 273). Despite this, CDA is still occasionally referred to as a "qualitative approach" (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, p. 3), given the associated focus on close textual analysis. Regardless of these differing definitions, the general principles underpinning CDA focus on the relationship between language and social context.

The combination of CL and CDA was discussed as early as the 1990s (e.g. Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Stubbs, 1996), but has recently become more popular as a result of research from Paul Baker and colleagues (e.g. Baker et al., 2008). Hardt-Mautner's (1995) seminal study of British newspaper editorials combining CL techniques with CDA has provided the groundwork for future corpus-based CDA. Mautner (2009, p. 33) describes the combination of CL techniques with CDA as a "natural match", with other scholars also arguing for its useful "methodological synergy" (Baker, 2012; Baker et al., 2008).

There are in fact different approaches which combine CL techniques with (critical) discourse analysis using different names e.g. corpora and discourse studies (e.g. Baker & McEnery, 2015a), corpus-assisted discourse studies, i.e. CADS (e.g. Partington, 2004), and corpus-based (critical) discourse analysis (e.g. Baker et al., 2008), among others (see Marchi & Taylor, 2018, p. 5). For example, the corpus-assisted approach associated with CADS uses other data sources to make hypotheses and draw conclusions, in addition to the corpus being analysed (Partington, 2004; Partington et al., 2013), and tends to focus on discourse analysis rather than CDA. In contrast, corpus-based CDA uses computer-assisted analysis of corpora to explore questions of social inequity or bias, as they are represented in and through patterns of natural language use (Baker, 2012; Baker et al., 2008; McEnery & Gabrielatos, 2006). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to systematically describe the different flavours of these approaches; here I focus on the main principles of combining CL and CDA that are relevant to this thesis.

First, it is useful to highlight the distinction often made between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches (see Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). A corpus-based approach comes to the data analysis with an initial hypothesis or research question. In comparison, a corpus-driven approach forms hypotheses from the data itself. However, this should be viewed as a scale along which different research can be situated, rather than a binary either/or approach (McEnery & Gabrielatos, 2006). Thus, it is possible to either use corpus-based or corpus-driven approaches in CDA, or indeed both (as is the case with this thesis; see Section 3.3.2). However, note that the term *corpus-based CDA* typically refers to a combination of corpus linguistics with CDA, regardless of whether corpus-driven or corpus-based techniques are used.

Second, it is necessary to highlight that there are different school of thought in CDA.[18] Most relevant to this research is a combination of Norman Fairclough's position (post-structuralist theory combined with systemic functional linguistics) as well as the discourse-historical approach led by Ruth Wodak. Fairclough (1995a, p. 217) argues that language is a social practice used to exercise power, and that the media are "the single most important institution" in this respect. As such, CDA is viewed through a three-dimensional analytical framework comprising language (relating to the texts), power (discourse practice i.e. text production and reception), and ideology (socio-cultural practices) (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b). Comparatively, the discourse-historical approach is used to explore issues of racism and discrimination as they are (re)produced in language, integrating historical information and sources, with discursive events (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 7). It is this approach to CDA that has informed the work of Baker et al. (2008).

Thus, CL can be combined with different schools in CDA, and I will provide a brief overview of selected studies here. Looking first at the discourse-historical approach, influential in this area is Baker et al. (2008), whose work examines the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. A similar approach is applied to related studies of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker & McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008), the representation of Muslims and Islam in the media (Baker et al., 2013), social attitudes towards Scottish independence (Prentice, 2010), and news coverage of natural disasters (Potts, 2015).

Other work in corpus-based CDA, however, does not always explicitly align itself with the CDA theory which informs the study, instead drawing on general principles associated with highlighting "*problematic* inequalities of power" (Baker, 2012, p. 255, emphasis in original). For example, corpus-based CDA has been widely applied in political discourse analysis (El-Falaky, 2015; Esposito & Breeze, 2022; Mautner, 2009; Mulderring, 2008), as well as in studies of media discourse (Bondi, 2007; Mautner, 2008), including Australian print news coverage of First Nations peoples (Bednarek, 2020; Bray, 2022), cycling (Bednarek & Caple, 2017), and AFLW athletes (Kemble, 2020). Other CL studies simply take a more critical approach to discourse analysis (Baker et al., 2008, p. 275), such as of gendered discourses in a Q&A column (Baker, 2016) and athlete identity in the British sports media (Jaworska, 2016).

Additionally, a handful of studies integrate approaches from SFL alongside the combination of CL and CDA (Bondi, 2007; Coffin & O'Halloran, 2006; El-Falaky, 2015; Kemble, 2020; Lee, 2016; Mautner, 2009). Relevant to this research are those which specifically draw on appraisal resources to analyse newspaper corpora including covert evaluation of "dog-whistle politics" (Coffin & O'Halloran, 2006), attitudes expressed through modality (El-Falaky, 2015), and appraisal of female athletes (Kemble, 2020).

In sum, this section has provided a brief overview of corpus-based CDA and key studies, as necessary background to the use of corpus-based CDA in this thesis – as explained in the following section.

[18] For a more comprehensive overview of CDA and associated approaches, see Wodak and Meyer (2009).

3.3.2 Corpus-based CDA in this thesis

As mentioned, this research takes a corpus-based approach to critical discourse analysis, drawing on the Appraisal framework (see Section 3.4), as developed by Martin and White (2005), to investigate evaluation through language. Appraisal is situated within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which has informed Fairclough's approach to CDA and which Mautner (2009, p. 44) states is a "staple in the CDA diet". Thus, the general principles which inform this research come from both SFL/Appraisal and CDA, as outlined in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Principles that inform this thesis

SFL/Appraisal (Martin & Rose, 2009; Martin & White, 2005)	**Critical Discourse Analysis**
• Language is a resource for meaning making	• Discourse constitutes society and culture (Mautner, 2009)
• Language is used to enact social relationships	• Discourse is a form of social practice (Mautner, 2009)
• Analysis of relationships between grammar, discourse, and social context	• Three-dimensional framework: texts, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 1995a)
• Evaluation in a text can be implicit or explicit	• What is 'in' a text can be explicit or implicit (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 5)
• Ideology and power run through language	• "Ideologies and power relations are expressed in language" (Baker et al., 2013, p. 20)
• Power (status) and solidarity (contact) are key in interpersonal relations	• CDA addresses issues of power imbalance in interpersonal relations

Mautner's (2022, p. 252) guiding questions for combining CL with (critical) discourse analysis are pertinent as well, and considered throughout this thesis:

1. Who are the main social actors, how are they described, and what activities are they shown to be engaged in?
2. How do the speakers/writers of these texts signal their own stance as well as social and professional identities?
3. Can the patterns that emerge from the corpus be mapped on to and explained by the political, organisational, and legal constraints under which the texts were produced?

The approach taken in this study is also inspired by Baker et al.'s (2008) proposed framework for corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, however, I do not employ the discourse-historical approach. Figure 3.3 outlines the stages undertaken in this study. Using this

approach, Chapters 1 and 2 have identified the general research questions, the relevant socio-cultural context, and existing discourses, and Section 3.2 above has explained the corpus construction criteria. Chapters 4-6 include corpus analyses of frequencies, keywords and semantic tags alongside qualitative analysis (including of appraisal resources, especially affect), as further explained below. Each of these chapters is also guided by more specific research questions, which will be established and introduced prior to the analysis.

Figure 3.3 Approach for combining CL and CDA (adapted from Baker et al., 2008, p. 295)

1.	Context-based analysis of topic via history/politics/culture. Identify existing discourses via wider reading, reference to other CDA and CL studies.
2.	Establish research questions and corpus construction criteria.
3.	Corpus analysis of frequencies, keywords, semantic tags – identify potential areas of interest in the corpus (e.g. linguistic patterns or strategies) along with possible discourses, as related to the existing literature.
4.	Qualitative analysis of smaller, representative sets of data through concordances and/or full texts – identify discourses (CDA).
5.	Critical analysis and interpretation based on findings – draw conclusions.

This research is also centrally informed by new trends in the study of corpora and discourse, namely triangulation. Triangulation involves the use of "multiple methods, analysts or datasets" (Baker & Egbert, 2016a, p. 3) applied "separately to the same question in order to compare findings" (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, p. 5; see also Baker & Egbert, 2016b and Egbert & Baker 2019 for large-scale studies of triangulation in CL). Triangulation thus allows researchers to look at data from different angles and account for complexity both within the data and in interpretation of the findings (Marchi & Taylor, 2018, p. 6), and is increasingly used in the study of corpora and discourse to provide accountability (Bednarek et al., 2024, pp. 5-6). With respect to discourse analysis, Marchi and Taylor (2009) highlight four specific areas of triangulation: methodological, data, investigator, and theoretical. Relevant to this research is methodological triangulation, which refers to the analysis of data using different methods (i.e. the approach). That is, I apply different techniques (e.g. frequency, keywords, semantic tagging, text analysis) and tools to analyse the data and triangulate the outcomes with respect to the research questions. I consider the outcomes in terms of convergence (the results confirm one another), complementarity (the results support each other), and dissonance (the results are incompatible with each other) (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, pp. 6-7), acknowledging both similarities and differences as interesting and noteworthy findings (Baker, 2010; Baker & Egbert, 2016a; Taylor, 2013).

To recap, this research combines CL with CDA, drawing on the analysis of appraisal alongside the triangulation of different corpus-based and corpus-driven techniques (as explained further in Section 3.3.3). More specifically, in Chapter 4, I employ frequency data, semantic tagging, keywords, and concordances to investigate linguistic practices contributing to patriarchal discourses. Methodological triangulation is used to identify lexis for closer qualitative analysis of specified patterns. Chapter 5 then takes up the challenge of analysing affect (emotion) – which has historically been investigated in small datasets – across a large corpus by triangulating the use of semantic tags and a self-compiled affect reference list (see Section 3.4.4). Chapter 6 explores the representation of sexuality and ethnicity, in relation to gender, using targeted search terms, frequency data, and qualitative text analysis, taking an especially critical approach to discuss the related issues of racism and homophobia in sport. Throughout each chapter, I draw on appraisal resources (see Section 3.4) as relevant to analyse the evaluation of female athletes in media discourse. Findings are critically assessed and discussed in relation to the wider social context, especially with respect to hegemonic gender stereotypes and, in the case of Chapter 6, intersectional identities, as situated within Australian sport and the media. Thus, corpus linguistic techniques provide a way into the data to identify patterns in language use; appraisal resources provide the framework for undertaking linguistic analysis of these patterns relating to shared feelings and values; and CDA provides a lens for interpretation and discussion of the findings with respect to the institutional and social structures, powers, and ideologies in which they are embedded.

In sum, this section has provided an overview of the basic principles underpinning this thesis, with respect to the combination of CL and CDA. It has also introduced the relatively new area of triangulation in corpus studies and outlined the approach(es) taken in each chapter. The following section will now detail the specific corpus linguistic techniques and tools used in this thesis.

3.3.3 Corpus techniques and tools in this thesis

3.3.3.1 Frequency

Attention to frequency is a commonly used method in corpus-based (critical) discourse analysis. Frequency analysis can be exploratory, such as through generated word lists, or focused, where the researcher examines a pre-defined set of terms (Gabrielatos, 2018), but regardless, this technique reveals which words are selected for use more than others (Baker & McEnery, 2015a, p. 2). Thus, frequency data can help provide an "idea what the corpus is *about*" (Baker, 2023, p. 89). When creating texts, news producers must always make choices about the words and phrases they use; therefore, the analysis of frequent linguistic choices aids in revealing patterns which may point to wider discourses through lexical preference (Baker, 2023; Hunston, 2022; Taylor & Heritage, 2024). Put simply, frequency of use may reveal dominant viewpoints represented in the media.

In this thesis, two measures of frequency are used: absolute frequency ("frequency") and relative or normalised frequency ("NF"). Absolute frequency is the total sum of all occurrences

of the token in question and is generally useful for gaining a broad overview of use across a single corpus. However, when comparing two corpora of different sizes, the frequencies need to be comparable (Biber et al., 1998), either through proportions (generally given as percentages) or normalisation. Normalised frequency adjusts absolute frequency counts using the following equation (from Brezina, 2018, p. 43):

$$\text{relative frequency} = \frac{\text{absolute frequency}}{\text{tokens in corpus}} \times \text{basis for normalization}$$

While there is no set number for the normalisation basis, a number that is equal to or smaller than the corpus size should be selected, otherwise the results risk being misleading (Baker, 2023). The basis used throughout this study is per 10,000 words.

The corpus tools used to calculate frequency include AntConc 3.5.9 (Anthony, 2020), Wmatrix4 (Rayson, 2009) and WordSmith Tools 8.0 (Scott, 2022), as appropriate in each chapter. It is necessary to note that different corpus tools calculate words differently, depending on the tokenisation employed. For example, WMatrix counts multi-word units as a single lexical item (e.g. *good_looking*), whereas AntConc counts these separately (e.g. *good, looking*). Additionally, the treatment of hyphens, apostrophes, and capitalisation differ. As such, frequency counts differ slightly if compared across tools. Such differences are accounted for, where relevant, in the chapters that follow.

Finally, I also use Microsoft Excel and IBM SPSS to calculate frequencies, generate statistics, and create tables and charts. Excel is also used in Chapter 5 as means to semi-automate the comparison of the OzFooty wordlists to that of the Affect Reference List, using a combination of VLOOKUP, MATCH, COUNT and SUM formulas.

3.3.3.2 Keywords and keyness

Keyword analysis is commonly used in studies which combine CL with (C)DA as keywords can be "important when identifying key concepts in discourses" (Brezina, 2018, p. 79; see also Baker, 2004). Keywords are words that are statistically more frequent in one corpus as compared to another corpus (Brezina, 2018, p. 79; Egbert et al., 2020, pp. 29-30), or are "statistically unusual relative to some norm" (Culpeper, 2009, p. 34). To generate keywords, the corpus of interest (known as the node, study, or focus corpus) is compared to a second corpus that provides the norm of comparison (the reference corpus) using a statical calculation of "keyness". Comparisons can be made between a smaller specialised corpus to a larger general corpus (as in Chapter 4), or between two specialised corpora (as in Chapter 5).

The measurement of keyness in CL has typically used log likelihood (LL), where the probability value (p value) corresponding to a particular LL indicates that a word is "key", and not due to chance (Baker, 2023, p. 166; Potts, 2016, p. 59). Gabrielatos and Marchi (2012) suggest using a p value of 0.01, while Baker (2023) suggests using 0.0001. Thus, while there is no universal agreement on thresholds, a p value of ≤ 0.05 is generally used in social science as a cut-off point that is worth reporting on (Baker, 2023, p. 165).

The use of LL as a measure of keyness is currently debated, with alternative methods proposed (e.g. Brezina, 2018, p. 85; Egbert & Biber, 2019, p. 80; Gabrielatos, 2018; Gries, 2021; Jeaco, 2020; see also https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html). In this research, LL is used for two reasons. Firstly, "it remains the most widely used keyness statistic" (Potts, 2016, p. 59; see also Bednarek, 2023; Jaworska & Hunt, 2017), and thus allows for comparisons with previous research. Secondly, WMatrix is used to generate key semantic tags, and the in-built measure for keyness within this tool is LL. Thus, this measure is also applied when generating keywords in other corpus tools, such as AntConc, for consistency and comparison. In Chapter 4, keywords are generated using a p value of <0.001 (LL 10.83), as compared to a sub-set of the NOW corpus (Davies, 2014). This threshold was selected as it yielded a manageable yet still sizable list of words as to be representative of trends across the corpus. In Chapter 5, keywords and key semantic tags are generated using a p value of <0.05 (LL 3.84) to capture the maximum number of emotion words still worth reporting on. Additionally, distribution of keywords across texts in the corpora is taken into account in the analysis (Bednarek, 2023). Where possible, the Log Ratio (LR) effect size is also provided, to show the size of difference between two corpora (as compared to LL which measures of amount of evidence), where the greater the number, the greater the difference (Hardie, 2014).

In addition to the aforementioned corpus tools, the Lancaster Log Likelihood and Effect Size Calculator (Rayson, 2008) is also used to calculate statistical significance and effect size when making (non-keyword) comparisons between the corpora, given that patterns identified using CL techniques should ideally be quantified (Gillings & Mautner, 2024, p. 20).

3.3.3.3 Semantic Tags

Semantic tags are used to identify groups of word senses that are related concepts, including synonyms, antonyms, hypernyms, and hyponyms (Archer et al., 2002). Thus, semantic tagging is useful to identify words of interest that may occur infrequently, as "it is possible to group many types with similar meanings together" (Potts, 2016, p. 57). Previous corpus-based CDA studies of media discourse have used semantic tagging, for example, in studies of gendered bias in political tweets (Esposito & Breeze, 2022) and social attitudes towards Scottish independence (Prentice, 2010). Baker (2014, p. 157) argues that while semantic tags may be too "broad brush" when used on their own, these are useful when combined with other methods.

In this research, I triangulate semantic tagging with keywords (Chapter 4) and affect analysis (Chapter 5). The semantic tagger used in this research is the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) as integrated into WMatrix (Rayson, 2009), which has an overall 91% accuracy (Piao et al., 2005, p. 384). This tool provides automated semantic analysis of text across "21 major discourse fields expanding into 232 category labels" (Archer et al., 2002, p. 2). For example, words related to emotion are under discourse field E. This includes six category labels (E1, E2, E3, etc.) further subdivided based on a positive or negative valence, much like positive and negative affect (see Section 3.4). For example, *happy* (positive affect, happiness) would be assigned to the category label E4.1+ Happy, whereas *sad* (negative affect, unhappiness) would be assigned to E4.1- Sad. Table 3.4 provides a list of the USAS discourse fields used in this

thesis and their descriptions. The specific category labels used are presented in more detail in the relevant chapters.

Table 3.4 The USAS Major Discourse Fields used in this research (from Archer et al., 2002)

USAS Broad Category	Description
A	General and abstract terms
B	The body and the individual
E	Emotion
O	Substances, materials, objects, and equipment
S	Social actions, states, and processes
X	Psychological actions, states, and processes

The integration of the USAS tagger into WMatrix also allows for *key* semantic tags to be automatically calculated. Specifically, I generate key semantic tags to explore patterns of emotion (Chapter 5) by comparing the OzFooty sub-corpora to each other (i.e. OzFooty-W compared to OzFooty-M, and vice versa) using a p value of 0.05 (LL 3.84). As mentioned, a lower threshold allows for a greater range of emotion lexis to be included in the analysis. Comparing the sub-corpora to each other will show any significant differences in the types of emotions used in women's AFL/NRL coverage as compared to men's AFL/NRL, pointing to potentially dominant discourses of emotionality in the sports news media.

3.3.3.4 Concordance Lines

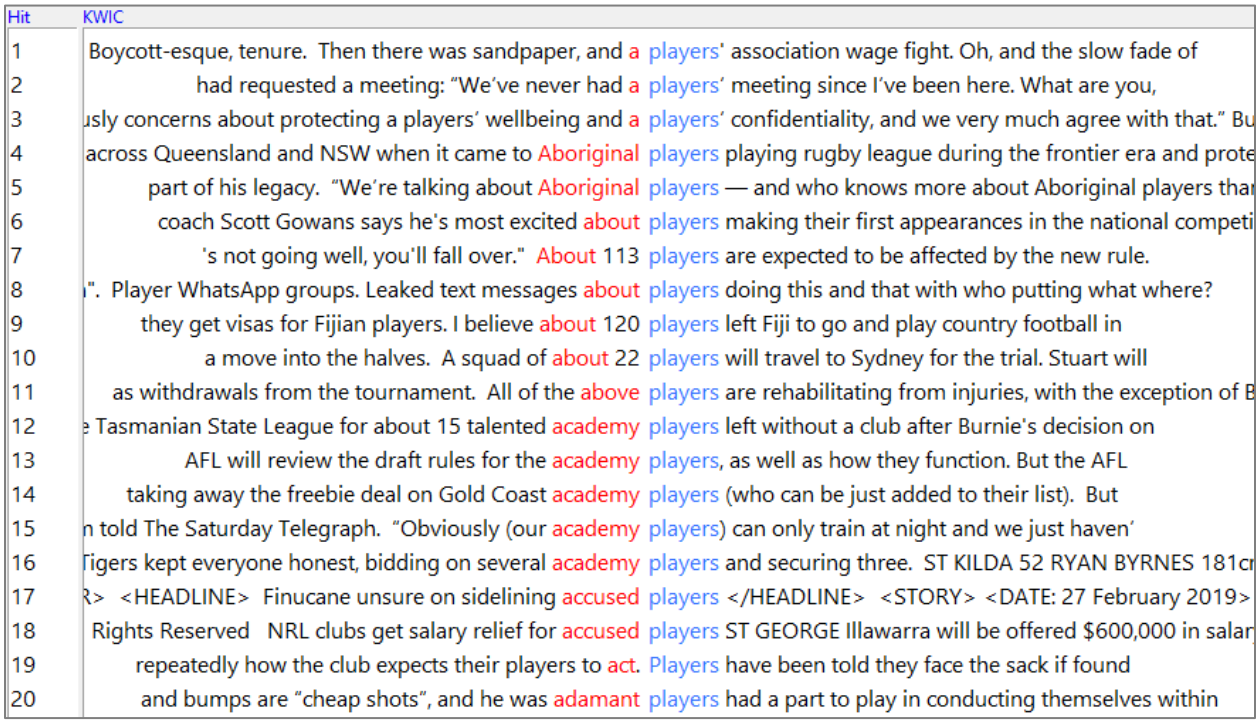
The concordance tool allows specified lexis to be viewed in its surrounding co-text and sorted in different ways to help identify patterns of language use. Concordance lines are generally displayed in a table-like format, with the search term (the node word) in the centre of the screen. The immediately surrounding co-text is displayed to the left and right of the node. Concordance lines can then be sorted randomly or, alphabetically by the words to the left (L) and/or the right (R) of the node, up to several places, to analyse different patterns (see Figures 3.4 and 3.5). It is also possible to view extended concordances or full texts, for closer reading.

Concordances thus provide a means to undertake "qualitative investigation of individual words or phrases" (Hunston, 2022, p. 47), which can help to identify linguistic patterns and offer insights into how certain groups of people are represented (Baker, 2023, p. 109; Gillings & Mautner, 2024, p. 15). Analysis and interpretation of these patterns can reveal dominant attitudes or social discourses, for example as (re)produced in news discourse. In this research, concordance analysis is undertaken across AntConc, WMatrix, and WordSmith, as relevant to the approach taken in each chapter.

Figure 3.4 Sample concordance lines for *players* (AntConc 3.5.9)

Hit	KWIC		
1	Holdings Limited. www.theage.com.au FOOTBALL	Players	who punch will not escape sanctions regardless of in
2	contact is minimal. Under the new MRP guidelines	players	will be fined $3000 for a first offence and $5000 for
3	you," Christian said. "What we'll be telling the	players	is if you punch and it doesn't quite
4	mphasise sportsmanship as a motivating factor for	players	to not punch opponents. The AFL will deliver decisic
5	fell to the ground off the ball with no	players	in his immediate vicinity at GMHBA Stadium during
6	and others in the AFL's top bracket of	players	as the Carlton star looks to take his game
7	[him]," Cripps said. "I look at all the best	players	and try to pick different parts of their game.
8	. "Head down, bum up, earn the respect of the	players	, works hard. He was good tonight, but he knows
9	mpetition. "It's definitely looking forward, different	players	. We have had some pretty experienced players leave
10	rent players. We have had some pretty experienced	players	leave the footy club but that is exciting to
11	at it," he said. "Last year there were probably	players	at the level they did not want to be,
12	he is one of the best stoppage and clearance	players	in the competition. Him at his best means that
13	found I was a bit plain, you could find	players	like me wherever they liked," said Lambert, who is
14	to a minor hamstring strain but the three other	players	would be expected to line up against Essendon in
15	nantle star Nat Fyfe winning the Jim Stynes medal.	Players	have shown a keenness to play representative footb
16	concept in 2015 when it got the game's best	players	involved and made selection in the All-Australian sq
17	he was one of the Bombers' 34 past and present	players	the Court of Arbitration for Sport suspended for a
18	best defenders and most important, yet underrated	players	in the Hawthorn's three-peat between 2013-15. The
19	ames pretty soon." Stratton is one of several senior	players	at the Hawks who will miss tomorrow's game
20	, the thin thicket on his upper lip. When the	players	came to choose their leader they unanimously chose

Figure 3.5 Sample concordance lines for *players* with L1 sorting (AntConc 3.5.9)



Hit	KWIC		
1	Boycott-esque, tenure. Then there was sandpaper, and a	players'	association wage fight. Oh, and the slow fade of
2	had requested a meeting: "We've never had a	players'	meeting since I've been here. What are you,
3	usly concerns about protecting a players' wellbeing and a	players'	confidentiality, and we very much agree with that." Bu
4	across Queensland and NSW when it came to Aboriginal	players	playing rugby league during the frontier era and prote
5	part of his legacy. "We're talking about Aboriginal	players	— and who knows more about Aboriginal players tha
6	coach Scott Gowans says he's most excited about	players	making their first appearances in the national competi
7	's not going well, you'll fall over." About 113	players	are expected to be affected by the new rule.
8	". Player WhatsApp groups. Leaked text messages about	players	doing this and that with who putting what where?
9	they get visas for Fijian players. I believe about 120	players	left Fiji to go and play country football in
10	a move into the halves. A squad of about 22	players	will travel to Sydney for the trial. Stuart will
11	as withdrawals from the tournament. All of the above	players	are rehabilitating from injuries, with the exception of B
12	e Tasmanian State League for about 15 talented academy	players	left without a club after Burnie's decision on
13	AFL will review the draft rules for the academy	players	, as well as how they function. But the AFL
14	taking away the freebie deal on Gold Coast academy	players	(who can be just added to their list). But
15	n told The Saturday Telegraph. "Obviously (our academy	players)	can only train at night and we just haven'
16	Tigers kept everyone honest, bidding on several academy	players	and securing three. ST KILDA 52 RYAN BYRNES 181cr
17	R> <HEADLINE> Finucane unsure on sidelining accused	players	</HEADLINE> <STORY> <DATE: 27 February 2019>
18	Rights Reserved NRL clubs get salary relief for accused	players	ST GEORGE Illawarra will be offered $600,000 in salar
19	repeatedly how the club expects their players to act.	Players	have been told they face the sack if found
20	and bumps are "cheap shots", and he was adamant	players	had a part to play in conducting themselves within

3.3.3.5 The Quotation Tool

The Quotation Tool (Jufri & Sun, 2022) is a text analytic tool which can automatically identify and extract speech content from a corpus of news items. More specifically, it identifies the type of speech (direct quotes vs reported speech) and who is cited (the source), along with other related information such as the type of reporting expression used (e.g. *said, claimed,* etc.) (Bednarek et al., 2024), which can be exported into an Excel file. Such tool is vital in CL analysis of news discourse as it allows the researcher to identify whose viewpoints are included and analyse whether there is any bias present (Bednarek et al., 2024). This is an area often overlooked in large-scale CL research of newspaper data given the limitations of pre-existing corpus linguistic tools.

Specifically, I use the Quotation Tool to create two sub-corpora – the women's Speech corpus (OFW-Speech) and the men's Speech corpus (OFM-Speech) – which are analysed in Chapter 5. This allows me to identify emotion words that occur in quoted/reported speech in the news items as well as investigate who their sources (emoters) are, i.e., whether the relevant emotions are attributed to female athletes or other sources.

3.3.3.6 Summary

This section has provided an overview of the corpus techniques and tools used in the thesis. The following section turns to a discussion of appraisal, which is used as part of the discourse analysis. Appraisal resources will be analysed in the results that are derived from applying the various corpus linguistics techniques described above. For instance, keywords and semantically tagged words may be classified as to whether they likely contain appraisal, and appraisal may be analysed in concordance lines.

3.4 Appraisal

While there are many linguistic approaches to the conceptualisation and analysis of evaluative language/stance (Bednarek, 2006; Hunston, 2011), the approach taken in this research comes from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and focuses on analysis of what is called Appraisal by Martin and White (2005). SFL views language as a meaning making resource, where discourse analysis includes both "the analysis of grammar and the analysis of social activity" (Martin & Rose, 2009, p. 4). It is thus well suited for use with CDA.

The following section will provide an overview of appraisal and its resources (Section 3.4.1). I then discuss the domain of affect, both generally (Section 3.4.2) as well as the specific approach used in this thesis (Section 3.4.3). Section 3.4.4 then provides a brief overview of the affect reference list used in Chapter 5.

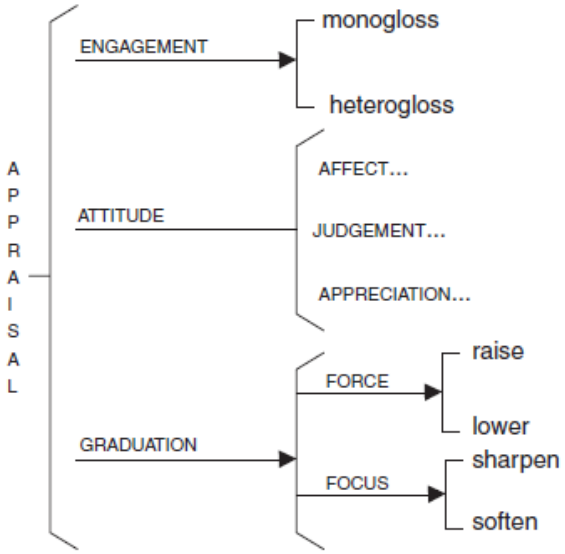
3.4.1 An overview of appraisal resources

Appraisal provides a theory-grounded framework to study the "functions and forms of evaluative meaning" in language (Hunston, 2011, pp. 2-3). More specifically, appraisal considers how writers/speakers use language resources to share feelings and make assessments, construct a

textual voice, and "align or disalign themselves" with a real or imagined audience (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1).

A concise system network of appraisal is presented in Figure 3.6, which shows that appraisal comprises three interacting domains – engagement, attitude, and graduation. **Engagement** deals with the sources, or voices, of the attitudes expressed, and how closely these opinions align with the intended audience. That is, whether speakers/writers acknowledge other voices in the text (heterogloss), or not (monogloss), and the linguistic resources used to do this, such as projection (i.e. quoted and reported speech), modality, concession, etc. (Martin & Rose, 2009; Martin & White, 2005). **Attitude** is concerned with feelings, including emotional reactions (affect), evaluation of human behaviour and character (judgement), and evaluation of "things" including objects, events, texts, and phenomena (appreciation) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). Attitude can be positive or negative, explicit (inscribed) or implicit (invoked). **Graduation** allows for the upscaling or downscaling of attitude through either intensity/amount (force), or prototypicality/preciseness (focus). Force can be both grammatically and lexically scaled up (*really excited*, *ecstatic*) or scaled down (*somewhat happy*, *content*). Focus can be sharpened (*a true competitor*) or softened (*a grand final of sorts*).

Figure 3.6 Framework for Appraisal resources (from Martin & White, 2005, p. 38)



In this thesis I partially integrate analysis of engagement and graduation, but only where these resources are particularly relevant. I consider the different voices in the texts (i.e. through quoted/reported speech) and the resources used to align or dis-align with a given attitude, such as concession (e.g. *but*, *although*) or modality (e.g. *will*, *should*, *might*), as well as instances of both grammatical and lexical graduation. This research, however, draws primarily on attitudinal resources (and especially affect), which will now be further discussed.

Affect refers to a person's emotional state (e.g. *I'm happy*) or reaction (e.g. *I'm happy that I made the switch*). There are four sub-categories of affect proposed by Martin and White (2005, pp. 48-49): un/happiness (affairs of the heart), dis/satisfaction (pursuit of goals), in/security (eco-social wellbeing), and dis/inclination (reaction to an irrealis trigger). Grammatically, affect can be realised through mental and behavioural processes, attributive relational clauses, modal adjuncts, epithets, or via nominalisation.

Judgement is the evaluation of human behaviour or character (e.g. *He has been brave and strong-willed*) and can be divided into positive/negative judgement of social esteem (normality, capacity, and tenacity) or social sanction (veracity, propriety). Grammatically, lexicalised judgement can be organised to reflect modalities of probability, usuality, and capacity.

Appreciation is the evaluation of objects, events, and phenomena, and tends to be realised through adjectives as epithets and attributes in processes. Types of appreciation include reaction (e.g. *a gripping grand final*), composition (e.g. *our game is pretty simple*), and valuation (e.g. *authentic leadership*). It is worth nothing that both affect and appreciation: reaction deal with emotional reactions, which will be further discussed in Section 3.4.3.1.

As there is no predefined list of words that fit neatly into each of these three attitudinal categories, it is therefore necessary to consider that evaluative lexis may "vary its attitudinal meaning according to that context" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 52). That is, when distinguishing between affect, judgement, and appreciation, the co-text must be consulted, as the target or trigger (the 'appraised') will help determine the type of attitude. If the target is an object or phenomena, then it is coded as appreciation. If the target is a person, this is coded as judgement. When a person has an emotional response to an (optional) trigger, this is coded as affect. Further details on coding affect in this thesis are in Section 3.4.3.

Attitude can be explicitly stated using inscribed evaluative lexis (e.g. *happy, angry, beautiful*), or implied through, for example, metaphor. There are also instances where one type of inscribed attitude may invoke (imply) another. For example, evaluation of a sporting game (appreciation: reaction) is likely to invoke evaluation of the athletes' abilities (judgement: capacity), and vice versa. How to code these instances is an area of ongoing debate. Martin and White (2005, p. 59; 67) rely on the target of evaluation to distinguish these, with *a skilful player* identified as judgement invoking appreciation, and *a skilful innings* identified as appreciation invoking judgement. Bednarek (2010) proposes a metonymic relationship in such and similar cases, calling this type of appraisal "metonymically implicated" – a term that I will also use in this thesis where relevant. A discussion of this relating to domain specific evaluative language in media coverage of AFLW is provided in Kemble (2020).

Given the corpus linguistic approach in this thesis, I focus on instances of inscribed evaluative lexis for attitudinal resources (i.e. affect, judgement, appreciation), though I consider implied evaluation when encountered in the qualitative text analyses. Additionally, I acknowledge the borders of judgement and appreciation as they relate to evaluation of athletes and their sporting performances, where relevant. While judgement and appreciation will be encountered throughout the thesis, Chapter 5 is dedicated to emotionality as contributing to the

patriarchal discourse of gender stereotyping (see Section 2.4.6) and affect thus plays the greatest role in the analysis. As such, the following sections provide a more detailed overview of affect as relevant to this thesis.

3.4.2 Affect in more detail

Affect deals with expressing attitudes through an emotional response or as a generalised state of being. As mentioned (Section 3.4.1), affect can be realised through a range of grammatical structures, including adjectives of emotion (attributive clauses, epithets), verbs of emotion (mental/behavioural processes), adverbs (circumstances of manner), and nominalisation (White, 2020).

To classify affect, Martin and White (2005, pp. 46-48) draw on six factors which are summarised below:

i. Is the feeling positive (*happy*) or negative (*sad*)?
ii. Is the feeling realised by a behavioural surge (e.g. *She smiled at him*) or internally experienced as a mental (e.g. *She liked him*) or relational (e.g. *She felt happy with him*) process?
iii. Is the feeling directed at or reacting to an external trigger (*she likes him / he pleases her*) or general ongoing mood (*she's happy*)? They argue these are grammatically distinguished between mental processes and relational states with an optional circumstantial trigger:

She	*likes*	*him*
Emoter	Emotion	Trigger
Sense	Process: mental	Phenomenon

She	*'s*	*happy*	*(with him / about that)*
Emoter		Emotion	(Trigger)
Carrier	Process: relational	Attribute	(Circumstance)

iv. Can the feeling be graded up or down (e.g. *dislike, hate, detest*)?
v. Does the feeling involve intention to an irrealis stimulus (trigger) rather than a reaction? Irrealis and realis affect are grammatically distinguished between desiderative (*I would like to*) and mental processes (*I like to*). Irealis affect is categorised as:
    - dis/inclination – *fear, desire*
vi. Does the feeling (with a realis stimulus) fit into one of the following groups:
    - un/happiness: 'affairs of the heart' – *sadness, hate, happiness and love*
    - in/security: ecosocial well-being – *anxiety, fear, confidence and trust*
    - dis/satisfaction: telos (the pursuit of goals) – *ennui, displeasure, curiosity*

To summarise thus far, affect can be positive or negative, an internal feeling or a physical expression, a response to a (real or irrealis) trigger, or an ongoing mood. Thus, we get four options for affect types (points v-vi above), which can each be further sub-categorised.

This originally proposed system of four types of affect explained above has been modified by Bednarek (2008) based on corpus linguistic analysis, and it is this modified categorisation of affect types that will be used in this thesis.[19] For a justification of these modifications, see Bednarek (2008, pp. 160-172) and for a response, see Martin (2017, 2020). Table 3.5 compares both systems, showing that Bednarek's (2008, p. 160) is not a new classification of affect, but rather a "modification of the present description of affect types", with changes to the categories of in/security and dis/inclination, and the new category surprise. The modifications (shown in bold in Table 3.6) will now be briefly discussed.

Table 3.5 Comparison of affect and modified affect (adapted from Bednarek, 2008, p. 169)[20]

	Affect (Martin & White, 2005)	Modified Affect (Bednarek, 2008)
un/happiness	unhappiness: *misery, antipathy* happiness: *cheer, affection*	unhappiness: *misery, antipathy* happiness: *cheer, affection*
in/security	insecurity: *disquiet, surprise* security: *confidence, trust*	insecurity: *disquiet,* ***distrust*** security: ***quiet****, trust*
dis/satisfaction	dissatisfaction: *ennui, displeasure* satisfaction: *interest, pleasure*	dissatisfaction: *ennui, displeasure* satisfaction: *interest, pleasure*
dis/inclination	disinclination: *fear* inclination: *desire*	disinclination: ***non-desire*** inclination: *desire*
surprise	n/a	**surprise (+/-)**

Within in/security, the category of surprise is updated to distrust, dealing with emotions of "distrust, reserve, suspicion" (Bednarek, 2008, p. 173). Surprise becomes its own category, with either a negative/positive aspect, depending on the specific lexis and/or associated co-text. The category of confidence is renamed to quiet but deals with the same semantic meanings of "assurance, confidence, ease, safety, relaxation" (Bednarek, 2008, p. 173). Finally, dis/inclination is reconstrued in terms of volition, in response to the "possibility for overlap between disinclination: fear and insecurity: disquiet" in affect (Bednarek, 2008, p. 165), with fear and related emotions all categorised as insecurity: disquiet.

[19] For readers who are more familiar with Martin and White's (2005) categorisation of affect, notes are provided either in text or in the referenced appendices, where the categorisation differs.

[20] Modifications are in bold.

The following section provides a more detailed description of my approach to coding affect across different grammatical resources and parts of speech, including distinguishing between the borderline of affect and appreciation: reaction. This is important for making transparent how appraisal resources – in particular, affect – were analysed in this thesis.

3.4.3 My approach to affect

In this research, the focus is on explicit (inscribed) affect, that is, lexis indicating an emotional state (disposition) or emotional response (behaviour), but not metaphorical or idiomatic phrases indicating affect, except where this presents itself in the qualitative analyses. I use the labels ***emoter*** for the person feeling the emotion, and ***trigger*** for "the person, thing or activity being reacted to" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 72). Affect can be indicated through a range of grammatical structures (see Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 below) which are all considered in my analyses. Table 3.6 provides straightforward examples of affect (in bold) from the OzFooty corpus across each part of speech and grammatical resource.

Table 3.6 Examples of affect (in bold) from the OzFooty corpus

Part of speech	Example	Grammatical resource
adjective	He's a **happy** person	Epithet
	The players are **happy**	Attribute (relational process)
verb	I **love** playing footy	Process (mental)
	The crowd **cheered**	Process (behavioural)
adverb	Broncos players trained **happily**	Circumstance (manner)
	Sadly, football doesn't last forever	Modal adjunct
noun	I have **confidence** in my body	Attribute/Possessive (relational process)
	I play for my **love** of the game	Circumstance

In most cases, identifying affect is straightforward. However, some grey areas exist which are necessary to discuss further, in the sections that follow. I acknowledge that this is not a catch-all description, rather an attempt to capture and deal with the instances that are most prominent in my data.

3.4.3.1 Distinguishing affect and appreciation: reaction

As mentioned earlier (Section 3.4.1), there are strong links between affect and that of appreciation: reaction, "including derivationally related lexis" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 57). Thus, it is necessary to differentiate between the emotion someone feels (*sad*) and "ascribing the power to trigger such feelings to things (*a weepy rendition*)" (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 57-58).

White (2020) suggests identifying a human experiencer of the emotion (i.e. emoter). For example, *the building bores me* is classified as affect (sub-category: dissatisfaction) with the experiencer clearly stated (i.e. *me*), whereas *the building is boring* is classified as appreciation

(sub-category: reaction) due to the lack of a human as the experiencer/source of the emotion (White, 2020). That is, by treating *boring* as appreciation (sub-category: reaction) rather than affect, the "value is oriented to the 'appraised' rather than the 'appraiser'" (White, 2020).

Martin and White (2005, pp. 58-59) suggest the following distinguishing frames be used:

> Affect
> A relational attributive process with a conscious participant using the verb *feel*
> *person feels **affect** about something*
> *it makes person feel **affect** that [proposition]*
>
> Appreciation
> A mental process ascribing an attitude to a thing
> *person consider something **appreciation***
> *person see something as **appreciation***

While a useful starting point, these frames deal only with adjectival affect in an attributive process, despite the potential for affect to be realised across a range of grammatical structures. Further, there appears to be some inconsistency to the application of these frames as shown in the below exemplars where *scary* is coded (separately) as both affect and appreciation (Martin & White, 2005, p. 77).

> *It must have been **scary,** being imprisoned by...* [affect: disquiet]
> *... what a **scary** word*. [appreciation]

While there are grammatical differences between these, the test frames indicates both instances of *scary* should be coded as appreciation, as below, with *scared* perhaps the more appropriate inflected form for affect.

> Affect
> **person feels **scary** about something* — *person feels **scared** about something*
> **it makes person feel **scary** that [proposition]* — *it makes person feel **scared** that...*
>
> Appreciation
> *person considers something **scary*** — **person considers something scared*
> *person sees something as **scary*** — **person sees something as scared*

To complicate matters further, this word can also be used to provide judgement in a sporting context:

> *He's* [target/trigger] *going to be **scary** to play with this year.*

There is no doubt that an experience or person evaluated as *scary* also implies an emotive response from the person experiencing it. However, there remains a question on how this word,

and other similar lexis, should be coded for attitude. One such approach is the use of covert affect (Bednarek, 2008, 2009), which proposes a distinction between an emotional response that is directly stated (overt affect) and one that is implied (covert affect). Common patterns of covert affect include the use of *it* or *this* to refer to the trigger/target and/or *-ing* word forms (e.g. *It was distressing to hear* or *This is worrying*, *This is a disappointment* (Bednarek, 2009, pp. 166-167). Thus, while the emoter is not specified in the co-text, it can often be inferred. By this definition, Martin and White's (2005) coding of *scary* in *it must have been scary* would be considered covert affect.

Additionally, Galasiński's (2004) emotional distancing strategies of unspecified emoters and emotion-objects are relevant, although not a direct response to coding affect/appreciation. Unspecified emoter techniques include passive voice or generalised emotion (e.g. *worrying about one's children*) without an explicitly stated emoter. The strategy of emotion-objects changes mental processes (feelings) to material, relational, or existential processes, which "situate the actor clauses referring to 'doing' (*taking a dislike*), 'having' (*having worrie*s) or 'being' (*there being concerns*)" (Galasiński, 2004, p. 59). Thus, both Bednarek (2008, 2009) and Galasiński (2004) argue that emotion can exist without an explicitly specified emoter (see Section 3.4.3.4 for further discussion of optional emoters).

While I use Bednarek's (2008) system of modified affect, in distinguishing affect and appreciation I follow Martin and White (2005) rather than coding for covert affect (Bednarek, 2009). This approach allows me to capture explicit emotional responses and clearly identify *who* the emoters are (which relates to inclusion via sourcing practices, following Bray's (2024) representation framework discussed in Chapter 1). To test for affect, I use Martin and White's (2005) framework (e.g. *person feels affect that / it makes person feel affect that*) where it feasibly makes sense, I apply agnate patterns, i.e. the use of similar evaluative lexis, and I return where possible to White's (2020) distinction, as above. When considering nominal forms of affect used in different process types, I draw on the distancing techniques identified by Galasiński (2004) to identify "backgrounded" affect, as explained in Section 3.4.3.4.

3.4.3.2 Coding affect: adjectives

Adjectives are the "canonical grammatical realisation for attitude" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 58) and are used in the frames for distinguishing affect and appreciation. As such, emotion adjectives may also evaluate a non-human entity, as in *a happy result,* which would be considered appreciation rather than affect (as per the discussion above). However, where automated analyses of affect are undertaken in Chapter 5, adjectives are generally included and reviewed in the qualitative analyses as relevant to the research question(s).

3.4.3.3 Coding affect: -ing words

Grammatically, *-ing* words can be verbs or adjectives, which realise attitude quite differently. Adjectives ending with *-ing* (*shocking, horrifying, daunting, frightening,* etc.) are more likely to evaluate an object or performance and thus would be considered appreciation when we follow Martin and White (2005) rather than treating them as covert affect in line with Bednarek (2008,

p. 92). For this research, verbs for behavioural processes denoting emotion (*crying, smiling, dreading*) are coded as affect while emotion adjectives ending in *-ing* are not. Regardless of these categorisation differences, it is agreed that such words are realisations of attitude.

3.4.3.4 Coding affect: nouns (insecurity & surprise)

Nominal word forms related to insecurity and surprise do not always have an explicitly stated emoter in the immediate co-text. Specifically, the lexis in question includes:

Insecurity: *concern, fear, scare, worry*
Surprise: *shock*

Looking first at the category of insecurity (nouns such as *concern, fear, worry, scare*), Figure 3.77 provides some invented examples which are based on real constructions in the corpus. Emotion words are in bold, emoters are italicised, and triggers are underlined. In cases where an emoter can be inserted/removed, this is in square brackets.

Figure 3.7 Invented examples for nominal uses of *concern, fear, worry, scare*

	Example	**Clause type**
1.	*Some players* have a **concern** about the growing number of concussions.	Mental process
2.	There is **concern** [*from players*] about the growing number of concussions.	Existential
3.	The injury was a major **concern** [*for her/him*].	Relational: Identifying
4.	Not being able to play again after his injury was a real **fear** [*for her/him*].	Relational: Identifying
5.	The rookie's concussion issues continue to be a **worry** *[for the coaches]*.	Relational: Identifying
6.	A training mishap sent a **scare** *through the Collingwood camp* yesterday.	Material process

According to Martin and White (2005), mental processes using emotive adjectives indicate affect. Additionally, affect can be realised via nominalisation (*have a concern* rather than *be concerned*). Thus, instances such as example 1 are coded as affect. Existential, identifying, and material processes are not explicitly dealt with in affect, and thus I draw on the distancing technique of emotion-objects and processes identified by Galasiński (2004) (see Section 3.4.3.1). In examples 2 – 5, it is evident that a stated emoter can be removed or inserted into existential or relational clauses quite easily via a prepositional phrase (e.g. *from players; for her/him*). However, in material clauses (example 6), the emoter is more often explicitly stated in the co-text. Thus, I consider existential, relational identifying, and material processes using

nominalised emotive lexis to be affect, as per the examples in Figure 3.6. Where an emoter is deleted from the clause, this is considered backgrounded affect.

Moving to the category of surprise, *shock* is used as an adjective, verb, and noun to indicate attitude. Figure 3.88 provides some invented examples, based on real constructions in the corpus, with optional triggers underlined.

Figure 3.8 Invented examples of *shock* used across different parts of speech

Example	Attitude	POS
1. *I* was **shocked** and scared	affect	adjective
2. *She/He* got quite the **shock**	affect	noun
3. The **shock** of her/his injury	affect	noun
4. That **shocked** and disappointed *everyone*	affect/appreciation	verb
5. It was a **shock** [to *those at South Sydney*]	affect/appreciation	noun
6. It was shocking	appreciation	adjective
7. *She/He* suffered a **shocking** injury	appreciation	adjective

As shown, *shock* takes various forms, with examples 4 and 5 at the borderline of affect and appreciation, as indicated. Thus, the test frames were applied. Example 4 fits the test frame for affect (*everyone feels shocked and disappointed about that*), but not appreciation (**everyone considers it a shocked and disappointed*). Thus, this – and similar instances – are coded as affect in this research. Example 5, however, seems to fit both frames, to some extent:

Affect
*Those at south Sydney feel **a shock** about it*
*It makes those at South Sydney feel **a shock** that...*

Appreciation
*those at South Sydney consider it **a shock***
*those at South Sydney see it as **a shock***

As previously discussed, the test frames are most suited to adjectival evaluation. Thus, following the approach taken with insecurity, I consider these to be instances of backgrounded affect.

3.4.3.3 Coding affect: behaviour v disposition

While affect is differentiated between behaviour (*cry*) and disposition (*sad*), further distinction is necessary within behavioural affect. Specifically, there is a difference between physical body affect (e.g. *smile, cry*) and other non-descript behaviours (e.g. *celebrate, relax*). For example, the

physical manifestation of CELEBRATE[21] can vary (e.g. cheer, cry, clap, etc), and in some cases this is included in the co-text, though not always. Compare the following two examples:

> He also **celebrated** his first All-Australian selection this year.
> Waerea-Hargreaves **punched the air at full-time and celebrated** with his teammates.

Regardless of this difference, CELEBRATE indicates a positive emotive response to a trigger and as such, these instances are coded as affect.

Other cases to consider are RELAX, and relatedly, REST. These were semantically tagged for the domain of calmness, along with CALM, PATIENT, GENTLE and LAID BACK (see Chapter 5), which arguably are more relevant to judgement, than affect. When analysing REST and RELAX in their co-text, these do not indicate an emotive response to a trigger and thus are not coded as affect.

3.4.3.6 Summary

The approach to coding affect described here is applied throughout the thesis when examining the representation of emotions in female/male athletes, but especially in Chapter 5 which focuses on this topic. To analyse emotionality, Chapter 5 further relies on an affect reference list, described in the following section.

3.4.4 The affect reference list

As mentioned, Chapter 5 triangulates corpus linguistic techniques in the identification of affect/emotion. This includes the use of a semantic tagger and a self-compiled list of terms that likely reference emotions (henceforth: affect reference list, or ARL). This section provides a brief overview of the ARL; Appendix C provides a full description of the construction process, while Appendix D provides the complete list of affect words.

The ARL comprises approximately 800 lexical items across all categories of modified affect[22], and is based on Bednarek's (2008) list of affect terms derived from corpus linguistic research. I expanded this original list to include examples of affect from Martin and White (2005), and emotion words from the OzFooty corpus identified through a mix of automated semantic tagging and qualitative analysis of attitude in selected news items. The list was then manually reviewed and edited. Related senses and inflected forms were added (e.g. *happiness* added for *happy*), while words with multiple senses unrelated to emotion were removed as they may produce false positives (e.g. *missed, resigned*). Covert affect and general or vague emotion words (e.g. *emotional, passionate, sorry*) (Martin & White, 2005) have also been excluded.

I acknowledge that this is not an exhaustive list of affect lexis, as that would be a significant undertaking outside the scope of this research. For example, the list generally does not include grammatically negated words (e.g. *not happy*, *does not like*) but does include those

[21] Throughout this thesis, lemmas designated by all caps.

[22] Where lexical items are categorised differently between modified affect (Bednarek, 2008) and affect (Martin & White, 2005), this is noted on the ARL.

which are negated morphologically (e.g. *unhappy, dislike*).[23] Rather, the aim is to curate a significant selection of emotion words that are likely to be found in the OzFooty corpus, to allow for triangulation of approaches as relevant to this research. Despite these caveats, the ARL is useful in retrieving patterns of emotionality as present in the OzFooty corpus, as further discussed in Chapter 5.

3.5 Conclusion

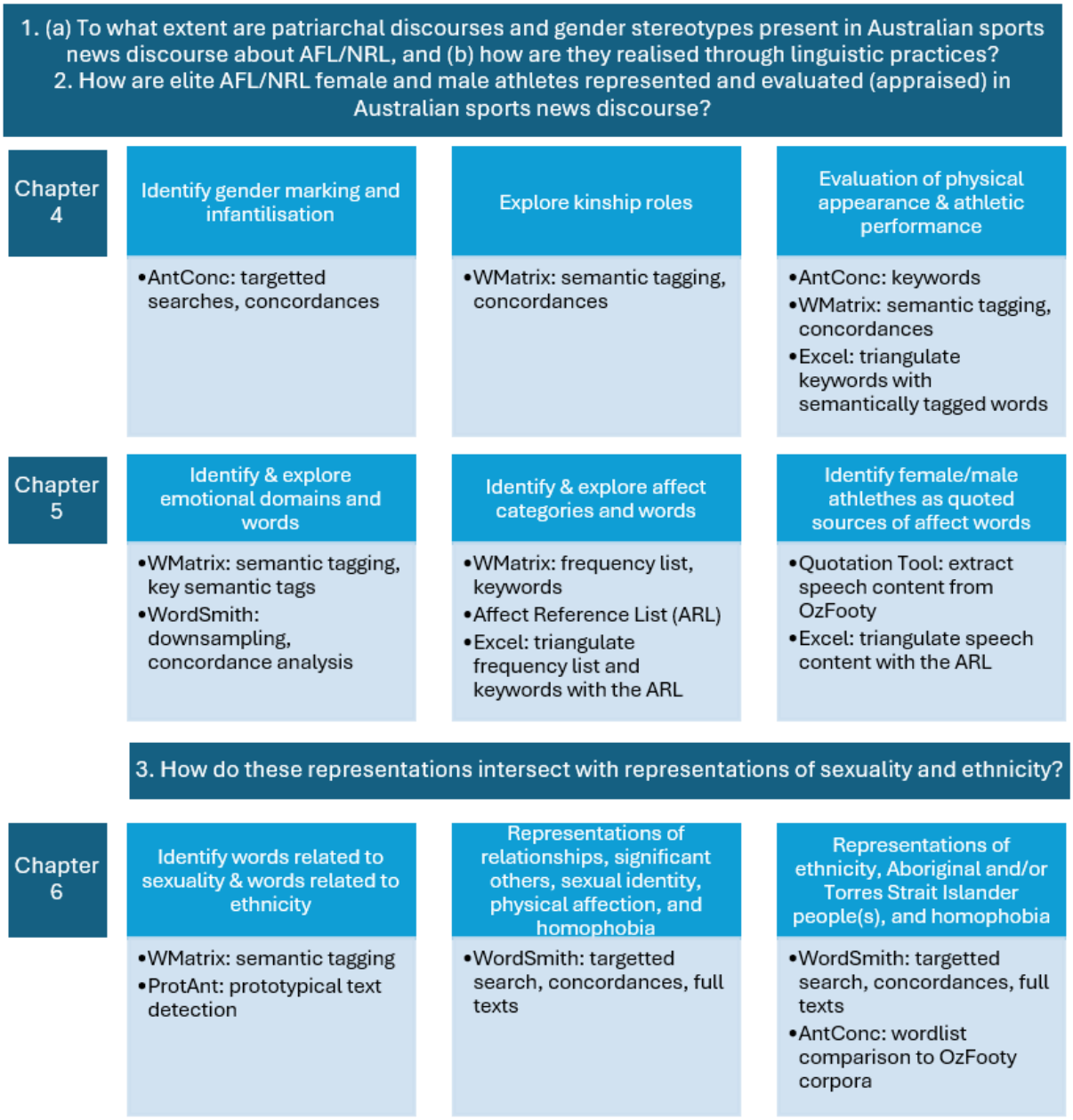
This chapter has provided an overview of the data and methodology used in this thesis. More specifically, it has detailed the design and building process for the OzFooty corpora, discussed the integration of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis relevant to the approach taken, and provided an overview of the techniques and tools used in this thesis. Finally, it has introduced appraisal, the analytical framework used to analyse evaluative language, with a focus on affect. My approach to coding affect has been outlined, as well as the construction of an affect reference list.

This research, therefore, is situated both within and across corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and systemic functional linguistics. Additionally, this research is centrally informed by the new trend of triangulation in the study of corpora and discourse. The principles that underpin this thesis stem from the integration of SFL/Appraisal and CDA, with specific focus on whether/how historical ideologies about gender norms and sport are expressed or represented in the Australian print news today.

The following chapters now move to the analysis and findings. Chapter 4 focuses on patriarchal discourses of othering, trivialising, gendered stereotyping and objectification, as realised through the analysis of linguistic practices related to gender marking, infantilisation, kinship, physical appearance, and athletic performance. Chapter 5 continues the investigation of patriarchal discourses, focussing on emotion as it contributes to gendered stereotyping. Chapter 6 then moves to explore how identities of sexuality and ethnicity are represented in the corpus, with respect to gender, which can be linked to the patriarchal discourses of gendered stereotyping and othering. Figure 3.9 provides a roadmap summarising the analytical tools used for each specific purpose across the chapters in this thesis.

[23] The exceptions being any grammatically negated lexical items in one of the source lists or as identified by WMatrix, e.g. *no doubt*. Instances of grammatically negation are considered in the qualitative analyses, where relevant.

Figure 3.9 Roadmap of the research methodology used in this thesis



4. Patriarchal Discourses

4.1 Introduction

This chapter takes a targeted, corpus-based approach to investigate whether lexical patterns contributing to patriarchal discourses are present in the OzFooty corpus, and to what extent (see Chapter 2). A mix of corpus linguistic techniques including targeted word searches, frequency lists, keywords, and semantic tags are used to investigate whether the discourses of objectification, othering, trivialisation, and gendered stereotyping are present in media coverage of AFL/NRL. Identified patterns are explored via concordance lines, and, where necessary, the wider co-text or full news item is analysed to determine whether there is evidence of the discourse, or not. Linguistic practices pointing to these patriarchal discourses have previously been analysed in media coverage of AFLW in the *Herald Sun* (Kemble, 2020), however, no comparisons were made to men's AFL, nor was coverage of NRL (women's or men's) included. This chapter therefore builds on the previous research by analysing a larger dataset across a wider time period, including coverage of women's and men's AFL/NRL.

The research questions that guide this chapter are:

1. What evidence is there of the continued presence of known patriarchal discourses in the OzFooty corpus?
2. How do linguistic practices – including appraisals of female athletes – contribute to such discourses?
3. What are the notable similarities and differences between OzFooty-W and OzFooty-M, with respect to these discourses and linguistic practices?

The linguistic practices explored in this chapter include gender marking, infantilisation, reference to kinship roles, descriptions of physical appearance, and descriptions of athletic performance. Due to its complexity, the discursive pattern of emotionality, which contributes to gendered stereotyping, is analysed separately in Chapter 5.

More specifically, analysis of gender marking (Section 4.2) and infantilisation (Section 4.3) use targeted searches of specific gender terms. While these search term lists are not exhaustive of all gender identifiers, this approach has been informed by previously identified gender terms in sports news discourse (see Chapter 2) as well as other corpus-based research (e.g. Baker, 2010). Next, kinship roles (Section 4.4) are explored through semantic tagging, from which specific lexis is selected for qualitative analysis. Given the wide range of associated kinship lexis, using the automated tagger provides a more efficient and objective approach than manually reviewing a frequency or keywords list, thus allowing for replicability. Then, the analysis of physical appearance (Section 4.5) and athletic performance (Section 4.6) triangulate the use of semantic tagging with keywords. As with kinship, a wide range of lexis can be used to evaluate players' appearance (i.e. appreciation in appraisal) as well as their athletic ability (judgment) and performance (appreciation). Keyword analysis identifies salient words in a

particular corpus – as compared to another reference corpus – which is useful when identifying potential discourses (Baker, 2010; Brezina, 2018). However, such approach is not restricted to a specific sense and would thus require manual review of a long list of words. The keywords lists are therefore triangulated with semantically tagged lists to identify a smaller sub-set of semantically relevant salient words for qualitative analysis.

For all these analyses, AntConc version 3.5.9 (Anthony, 2020) is used to generate frequency lists and keywords lists. Keywords are generated for both OzFooty-W and OzFooty-M with the NOW subset (see Chapter 3) as the reference corpus. Using a general corpus of news coverage as the reference corpus produces words salient to AFL/NRL media coverage, including similarities and differences between the female/male corpora. A p-value of <0.001 (Log Likelihood 10.83) is used as it produces a larger, yet manageable set of keywords, and is often used in linguistics and social sciences more generally (e.g. McEnery, 2016; see also Chapter 3).This threshold also allows for comparison with previous research of patriarchal discourses in media coverage of AFLW (Kemble, 2020). In total, 2183 keywords were generated for OzFooty-W and 6463 keywords for OzFooty-M (see Appendix D).

The sematic tags are applied using the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) integrated in WMatrix (Archer et al., 2002; Rayson, 2009). The specific tags used are detailed in the sections below, as relevant. Where the keywords list and the semantically tagged words are triangulated, the Excel MATCH function is used to identify words occurring on both lists. Where comparisons are made between the sub-corpora, both absolute frequency and normalised frequency (NF) are provided. All NF calculations use 10,000 as the base number, taking the total token count from AntConc or WMatrix, as appropriate.[24] Log likelihood (LL) is provided as a measure of keyness, and Log Ratio (LR) is provided as a measure of effect size.

In the sections following, I present the findings for each of the five discursive patterns which are the focus of this chapter, starting with gender marking. I discuss key differences and/or similarities between the two OzFooty sub-corpora (i.e., the women's and men's), as appropriate, as well as any notable trends across the whole corpus.

4.2 Gender marking

Gender marking contributes to the patriarchal discourse of gendered othering through overt and repeated references to female athletes' gender, where any non-marked references are generally assumed to be male. This section uses targeted searches to explore gender marking as used in and by the media with respect to both official AFL/NRL naming practices (Section 4.2.1) and more general references to AFL/NRL and the players (Section 4.2.2).

[24] As mentioned in Chapter 3, total token counts differ between corpus tools, based on how a token is defined. In AntConc, the total token count is 455,706 for OzFooty-W and 5,432,320 for OzFooty-M. In WMatrix, the total token count is 368,282 for OzFooty-W, and 4,988,186 for OzFooty-M.

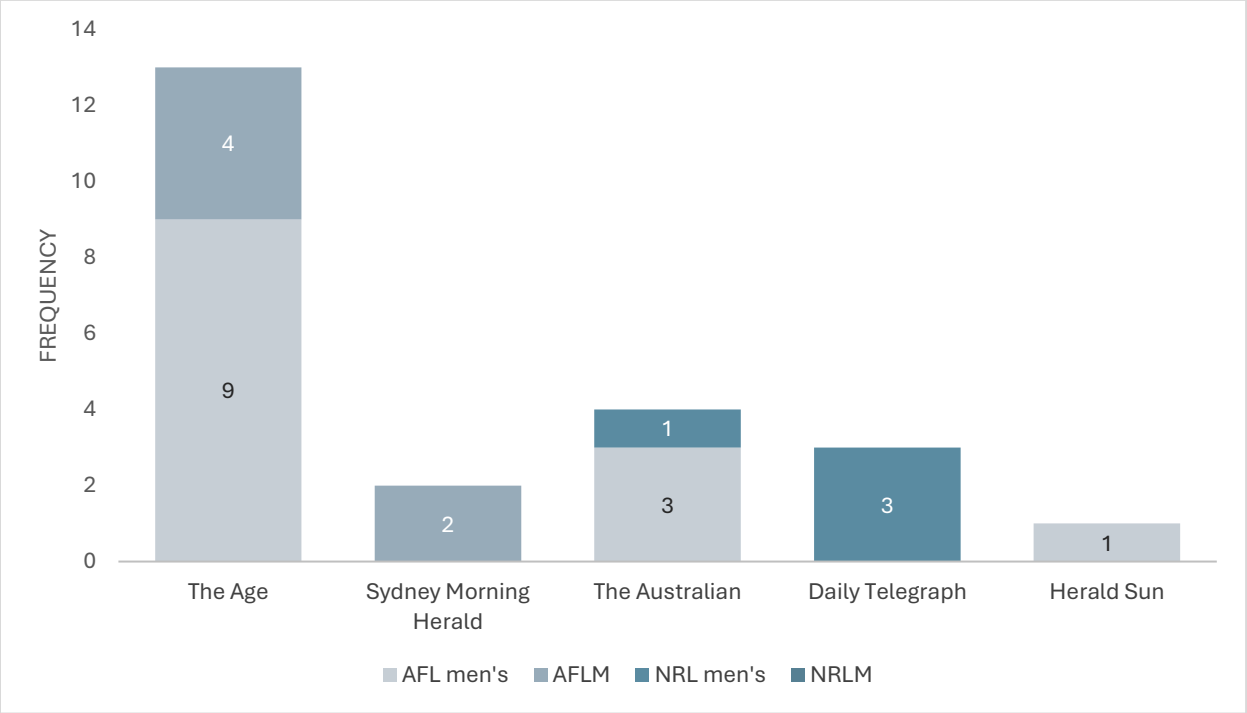
4.2.1 Official naming

As raised in Chapter 1, asymmetrical gender marking is evident in the official competition names for AFL and NRL, where the women's codes are marked (e.g. AFLW, NRLW), but the men's are not (e.g. AFL, NRL). This section therefore explores whether any intentionally gender marked instances of the men's competitions are present in the corpus. The search terms used are *AFL men's, AFLM, NRL men's,* and *NRLM* as they mirror the official names of the women's codes. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the search results by corpora, and Figure 4.1 provides an overview of results across mastheads.

Table 4.1 Frequency of *AFL men's, AFLM, NRL men's, NRLM* in the OzFooty corpora

Search Term	**OzFooty** Total Freq.	**OzFooty-Women** Freq. (NF)	**OzFooty-Men** Freq. (NF)
AFL men's	13	9 (0.19)	4 (0.01)
AFLM	6	4 (0.08)	2 (0)
NRL men's	4	4 (0.08)	0 (0)
NRLM	0	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	23	17 (0.37)	6 (0.01)

Figure 4.1 Distribution of *AFL men's, AFLM, NRL men's, NRLM* by news masthead



As shown in Table 4.1, there are 23 total instances of male marking: six in OzFooty-M (26%) and 17 in OzFooty-W (74%). That is, the majority of male marking of official naming occurs in coverage of women's AFL/NRL. The most frequent term is *AFL men's* (n=13), with no instances of *NRLM* identified. With respect to mastheads, these marked terms overwhelmingly occur in *The Age* (n=13, 56%) which is considered a left-leaning broadsheet (see Chapter 1) and thus may be more receptive to issues of asymmetrical gender marking, although the frequencies are too low to extrapolate any conclusions. Thus, each concordance was analysed to better understand the use of these terms.

Figure 4.2 Concordance lines of *AFL men's*, *AFLM*, and *NRL men's* from OzFooty

Hit	KWIC
1	on the AFL and broadcasters to use the labels, AFLM and AFLW. This would "normalise" both women and
2	is AFL and AFLW when it really should be AFLM and AFLW Loy Lichtman, Carnegie SUBMITTING LET
3	lings Limited. www.theage.com.au We will see AFLM and AFLW (26/2) only when gender equality exists. A
4	opening round of AFL a few weeks ago. The AFLM can take the lead from the AFLW in this
5	at their club. I'm pretty sure that if AFLM hours were cut to these numbers, then you'd
6	's the issue with the scaling of AFLW and AFLM hours; while the amount of actual "footy-kicking-trai
7	instead, so that it didn't overlap with the AFL men's season. "I was hoping for nine games,
8	an echo of what is taking place in the AFL men's competition. Four rules will be trialled: kick-
9	Series, before taking on West Coast in the first AFL men's game at the new Optus Stadium on
10	eks of finals and overlaps the beginning of the AFL men's season. The AFLW's broadcast agreement is
11	ounds of AFLW extending significantly into the AFL men's season have to be introduced. The TV
12	e time. Campbell suggested that the length of AFL [men's] games should be "challenged," even though at
13	der showed him that a woman could coach an AFL men's side. "The first time I heard from
14	der showed him that a woman could coach an AFL men's side. "The first time I heard from
15	n a decline in Tasmanians being selected in the AFL men's draft. My point is simple. Footy at
16	s and cricket months. Never mind, too, that the AFL men's teams would be dragging publicity from them
17	the domain of blokes. We wrote about men's AFL, men's rugby league and rugby, men's cricket,
18	team-related costs, as is the case with the NRL men's competition," said Tiffany Slater, NRL general m
19	AFL pre-season fixtures, as well as a full AFL men's entry fee for double-headers involving an
20	he women's competition begins alongside the NRL men's finals this weekend. The Dragons have been
21	ouse state-of-the-art training facilities for Eels NRL men's and women's teams and Canterbury Cup,
22	team-related costs, as is the case with the NRL men's competition," Tiffany Slater, NRL general manag
23	Park in Carlton, and the opening round of the AFL men's competition at Etihad and the MCG, everywhere

The concordance lines for all occurrences in the corpus are shown in Figure 4.2. In general, these terms are used when the women's code is also mentioned in the same news item. This occurs for both clarity as well as comparison of topics including training hours (lines 5-6), season dates (lines 7, 20), financial components (line 22), and coaching (lines 13-14), among others. There is one instance that does not mention the women's side (line 15), however, it is unclear from the full news item why the (male) writer decided to gender mark in this instance. Additionally, three instances of the abbreviated term *AFLM* are used meta linguistically to

discuss gender marking (lines 1, 2, 3), taking the stance that both female/male competitions should be marked. Notably, these all occur in letters, published in *The Age*, and thus were written by members of the public rather than by the media. Line 1, published in August 2018, specifically asks both the AFL governing body and broadcast media to gender mark both competitions. Two additional letters are published six months later (lines 2, 3), with the same sentiments. As there is no evidence of this change in the corpus, it is reasonable to assume that *The Age* (or any other papers) have not taken initiative with this suggestion, despite publishing these letters. Positively, there are no identified instances contradicting this viewpoint, though these news items may exist in the corpus using different (unmarked) terminology. Overall, such results are consistent with previous CL studies of sports news discourse where the rare use of male markers were not part of official tournament names (Ismail, 2017).

In sum, the results indicate that while there is some public interest in asymmetrical gender marking, and associated gender inequity in elite sport, the media have not taken initiative to purposely mark the men's AFL or NRL, except in rare cases where required to distinguish from the women's competitions. However, this does not tell us if the media gender mark more general references to these sports and athletes. As such, the following section explores the use of gender markers for these general references, as present in the corpus.

4.2.2 General references

To analyse for gender marked general references to AFL/NRL and athletes, targeted searches were undertaken in the OzFooty corpus for the gender identifiers *women's* (n=599), *men's* (n=168), *female* (n=759), and *male* (n=268).[25] Clusters and concordance lines were reviewed for general references to the sporting codes and/or the athletes in the R1+ position and counted accordingly (e.g. *afl, competition, footballer, game, rugby league, player, season, team,* etc.). Thus, terms like *female footballer* and *male footballer* are included, but *footballer* (indirectly referencing a male player) and *NRL Women's* (where the marker comes after the referent and is used in the official competition name) are excluded. The focus here is on explicit references to women's/men's AFL/NRL and athletes, rather than sport more broadly.[26]

Table 4.2 presents a list of gender marked terms that appear 10 or more times in the OzFooty corpus (i.e. both sub-corpora combined), while Appendix E provides the complete list of all gender marked terms identified.

[25] The search excludes the singular possessive terms *man's* and *woman's* given their low frequency and focus here on collective references to players. There is one relevant reference to AFL as *a man's game*, occurring five times from a single quoted source, thus providing evidence of stereotypical ideals of masculinity in elite sport.

[26] Exclusions are: i) general references to sport (e.g. *women's sport, female sport*) except in select cases where AFL/NRL are referred to in the surrounding co-text (e.g. [*Rugby league] has already overtaken netball and volleyball as the most popular female sport*); ii) references to other in-group participants, such as coaches, executives, or supporters; iii) job titles and roles, as in *Head of Women's Football*; and, iv) other sports. Where both female and male gender terms appear together, as in *men's and women's football,* these are counted in both the women's and men's list of marked terms. Inflected forms (e.g. *game, games*) are counted separately. Multi-word units are also counted separately, e.g. *women's team, women's NRL* and *women's NRL team*.

Table 4.2 Gender marked sporting references (f ≥10) to AFL/NRL in OzFooty

Gender marker (M)	References (Freq.)	Gender marker (F)	References (Freq.)
men's…	*game* (23) *competition* (14) *team* (12) *season* (11)	***women's…***	*football* (69) *competition* (67) *game* (39) *league* (31) *team* (28) *premiership* (26) *rugby league* (25) *teams* (18) *footy* (12)
male…	*players* (15) *counterparts* (10)	***female…***	*players* (64) *athletes* (44) *player* (17) *footballers* (14) *footy* (14)

In the corpus overall, there are 635 instances of female marking (78%) compared to 184 instances of male marking (22%). That is, women's sport and athletes are significantly more likely to be gender marked than males in Australian print media coverage of AFL/NRL (LL 262.73, LR 1.79).[27] The term *women's football* has the highest frequency (n=69) followed by *women's competition* (n=67), and *female players* (n=64). This is compared to the highest frequency male marked terms *men's game* (n=23), *male players* (n=15), and *men's competition* (n=14). Notably, the more colloquial term *footy* is only ever marked with a female gender term (*women's footy*, *female footy*); all references to men's AFL/NRL in the corpus are thus unmarked (*footy*). Only one word (*season*) has more instances of male marking (n=10) than female marking (n=8) in the corpus, though the low frequency and minimal difference make it difficult to draw any conclusions.

When male marking does occur in the corpus, this is often alongside references to the women's codes or players, either for reasons of clarity (Figure 4.3, lines 1, 7, 11-13, 16, 18, 19) and/or comparison (Figure 4.3, lines 2-5, 8-10, 14, 17, 20). Similar to official naming (see Section 4.2.1), this includes a range of topics such as season dates, game rules, injury, training, sponsorship, salaries and pathways.

[27] As a reminder, this excludes official competitions names as in *AFL Women's*, *NRLW*, etc.

Figure 4.3 Sample concordance lines of male gender marking from OzFooty

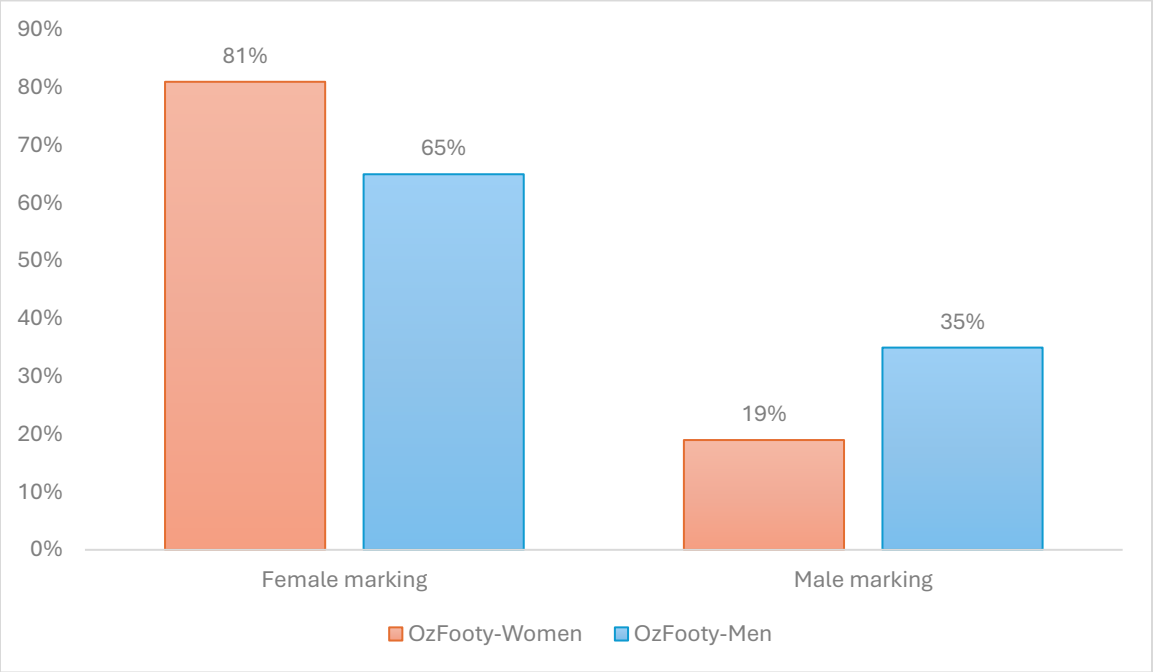
Hit	KWIC		
1	Australian Open tennis and to be finished before the	men's competition	began. Alberti suggested playing twilight and e
2	at its forefront will change at a pace the	men's game	would barely tolerate. The last-touch rule
3	unveiled earlier this season. Just like the 12-member	men's competition	committee, the women's committee will feature
4	echo of what is taking place in the AFL	men's competition	. Four rules will be trialled: kick-ins
5	's version of a competition. As long as the	men's competition	is labelled AFL, the AFLW is the "
6	to suggest a ring of paedophile school teachers - both	male and female	- flourished in a number of high schools
7	indifference to the game generally - at least to the	men's game	. Arriving at Melbourne after playing in a
8	the field. Wouldn't it be great if the	male players	could take a leaf out of the female
9	25 more tackles over 100 minutes of football than the	men's game	in 2018, while the women scored 25 points fewer
10	between talent levels within teams wider than in the	men's competition	, the measures followers of the men's
11	the men's competition, the measures followers of the	men's game	became used to don't necessarily apply
12	, before taking on West Coast in the first AFL	men's game	at the new Optus Stadium on Sunday,
13	end of 2022, when the AFL broadcast deal for the	men's competition	(with the same parties) also expires. There
14	eight of the nine rule changes introduced for the	men's competition	. ■ The AFL has clarified rules which will
15	Recently Smith hosted two of Golf Queensland's elite	male players	in Jacksonville for some mentoring; it's something
16	to give the AFLW "clear air" with no competing	men's game	on. Problems arose when it was realised
17	league for the women's game differs from the	men's game	. This regime was established in good faith
18	lawn bowls. "But rugby league? No. I cannot see	male and female	professional athletes competing across all sports
19	lawn bowls. "But rugby league? No. I cannot see	male and female	professional athletes competing across all sports
20	AFLW clubs look for is not dissimilar to the	men's game	- you need to be clean at ground

Table 4.3 Frequency of gender marked general references to AFL/NRL and athletes

	OzFooty Total		**OzFooty-Women**		**OzFooty-Men**	
Terms	Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF
men's …	116	1.92	85	1.87	31	0.06
male …	68	0.95	41	0.90	27	0.05
sub-total	184	2.87	126	2.77 (19%)	58	0.11 (35%)
women's …	398	7.47	335	7.35	63	0.12
female …	237	4.26	190	4.17	47	0.09
sub-total	635	11.73	525	11.52 (81%)	110	0.21 (65%)
TOTAL	819	14.6	651	14.29	168	0.32

When comparing the female/male corpora, it is evident that female gender marking is more prevalent in both OzFooty-W and OzFooty-M (see Table 4.3 and Figure 4.4).Within OzFooty-W, female marking accounts for 81% and male marking 19%. That is, female marking occurs about 4 times more than male marking in women's AFL/NRL coverage. In OzFooty-M, female marking accounts for 65% and male marking 35%. That is, female marking occurs about 2 times more than male marking in men's AFL/NRL coverage. Considered together, female marking is clearly most dominant.

Figure 4.4 Percentage of gender marked general references to AFL/NRL and athletes



These results clearly indicate a disproportionate tendency to gender mark female sport and athletes in the OzFooty corpus. In some cases, marking is necessary for the reader, especially where both the men's and women's competitions are being discussed or compared. However, male marking does not seem to readily occur outside of these specific instances. Instead, references to AFLM/NRLM tend to use unmarked terms, which therefore points to strong evidence of othering female athletes and sport. Further, there is greater tendency to female gender mark in coverage of women's sport, despite these news items already including a gender marked official name (i.e. AFLW, NRLW) and focusing on the women's codes. This overtly repetitive marking suggests that the news producers themselves view women's AFL/NRL as the other to the default (and unmarked) men's version.

Overall, these results align with previous CL research of sports news discourse (Aull & Brown, 2013; Ismail, 2016, 2017; Kemble, 2020), thus providing strong evidence for continued othering of female athletes via asymmetrical gender marking, including in recent media coverage of AFL/NRL.

4.3 Infantilisation

Infantilisation contributes to the patriarchal discourse of trivialisation through the linguistic positioning of adult females as childlike, where the equivalent is not found for adult males. This section explores the lemmas GIRL and BOY using targeted searches.[28] First, I analyse the frequency, referents, and sources for the terms GIRL and BOY, making comparisons between

[28] Lemmatised word groups are capitalised (GIRL) and individual words are italicised (*girl*, *girls*).

the women's and men's corpora (Section 4.3.1). Then, I explore additional patterns of athlete identity emerging from the qualitative analyses (Section 4.3.2).

4.3.1 GIRL v BOY

To analyse for infantilisation, the frequency and use of the lemma GIRL (*girl*, *girls*, *girl's*, *girls'*) in OzFooty-W was compared to that of BOY (*boy*, *boys*, *boy's*, *boys'*) in OzFooty-M. Initially there appears to be strong evidence of infantilisation, as GIRL has a higher relative frequency (NF 10.62) in the women's corpus than BOY (NF 3.29) in the men's corpus (LL 412.12; LR 1.69), as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Frequency of GIRL and BOY

OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
GIRL	Freq.	NF	BOY	Freq.	NF
girl	51	1.12	*boy*	443	0.82
girl's	3	0.07	*boy's*	4	0.01
girls	422	9.26	*boys*	1324	2.44
girls'	8	0.18	*boys'*	15	0.03
Total	484	10.62	Total	1786	3.29

In general, plural forms are more prevalent than singular forms across both corpora. Examination of possessive forms in co-text found that *girl's/girls'* is generally followed by a reference to sport (*footy*, *competition*, *game*) whereas *boy's/boys'* is not, providing further evidence of gender marking (see Section 4.2). Instead, for *boys'* there is some repetition of the term *boys' club*, a pattern which will be discussed further in Section 4.3.2.

While the results in Table 4.4 point towards a greater potential for infantilisation in newspaper coverage of women's AFL/NRL than that of the men's, it is also necessary to examine the co-text in which these terms occur to determine whether the referents are children or adults, and if they are adults, whether these terms refer to the players themselves. Additionally, in cases where the referent is an athlete, it is necessary to examine who is using these terms, i.e. the source, as this may have implications for inclusive/exclusive usage (as discussed in Section 2.4.2).

The concordance lines were thus analysed to first determine whether the referent is an adult or child. I follow the minimum age requirement to be drafted into the elite competitions: 18+ for AFLM, AFLW and NRLM, and 17+ for NRLW. Where the age of the referent cannot be determined from the wider co-text, these are coded as unclear. Instances that do not refer to a person (i.e. fixed expressions such as *oh boy*) are coded as n/a. Expressions which are used for alliterative effect but do have a clear referent (e.g. *Broncos chase golden girl*) are coded, where

possible, as either adult or child to reflect the use in such an expression.[29] Table 4.5 provides a summary of the results.

Table 4.5 Referents for GIRL and BOY

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
	GIRL			**BOY**		
Referent	Freq.	NF	Percent	Freq.	NF	Percent
adult	226	4.96	47%	1330	2.45	75%
child	190	4.17	39%	263	0.48	15%
unclear	34	0.75	7%	38	0.07	2%
n/a	34	0.75	7%	155	0.29	8%
Total	484	10.62	100%	1786	3.29	100%

When comparing the sub-corpora, there is greater relative frequency of GIRL referring to adults (NF 4.96) than BOY referring to adults (NF 2.45). Overall, however, the results show that both GIRL and BOY are more likely to refer to adults than children. Specifically, BOY refers to adults in 75% of instances and to children in only 15% of instances. Comparatively, GIRL refers to adults in 47% of instances and children in 39% of instances. That is, BOY has a higher proportion of adult referents, which contrasts with other (non-sport) CL studies of these, and related, terms (Baker, 2010; Sigley & Holmes, 2002; Taylor, 2013). Overall, the results point to a potential reversal of this discourse in the Australian sports media.

Next, the co-text for all instances of adult referents was analysed to determine the specific person(s) being referenced, i.e. players, coaches, etc., along with the source. The results confirm that adult referents for both GIRL and BOY are the players themselves (98% for women, 97% for men). Analysis of the sources, that is, *who* is using these terms to refer to players, reveals these are largely other players, coaches, or team managers, rather than the journalists. That is, the use of GIRL/BOY to refer to players is coming from voices in direct quotes or reported speech (i.e. projection). Other sources include Letters to the Editor (external voices), as well as the textual voice of the institution/newspaper (writer or headline). The results are presented in Table 4.6.

For those instances where the source of GIRL is a writer/journalist, this includes regular contributors alongside voices outside the media, including a (female) player, the minister for sex discrimination, and a metalinguistic discussion from a club executive about why he calls the players *my girls* (five instances across one article[30]). Additionally, there are outside voices found

[29] There are a handful of fixed expressions found for both BOY and GIRL, such as *golden girl, golden boy, poster girl, pin-up boy*. However, these occur is such small numbers to warrant any conclusions. In fact, they are most likely used for effect rather than purposefully infantilising as found in previous corpus-linguistic research of sports news media (Caple, 2013; Ismail, 2017).

[30] "Why I'm proud to call these stars 'my girls'" (AW_410360E7)

in letters, which provide a mix of both support and critique of the AFLW and its players, as expected from this text type.

For instances of BOY where the source is a writer/journalist, this is largely regular contributors along with a handful of in-group members such as players, coaches, and executives. It is, however, worth pointing out that there is evidence of journalists using these terms in expressions such as *bad boy/s, party boy/s, new boy/s,* and *old boy/s*. While these are largely fixed expressions, equivalent expressions do not occur in the women's corpus. Such expressions will be further discussed in the following section (4.3.2).

Table 4.6 Sources for GIRL and BOY adult player referents

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
	GIRL adult player referents			BOY adult player referents		
Source	Freq.	NF	Percent	Freq.	NF	Percent
headline	5	0.11	2%	38	0.07	3%
writer/journalist	16	0.35	7%	250	0.46	20%
letters	8	0.17	4%	10	0.02	1%
projected speech	195	4.28	87%	970	1.79	77%

In sum, while the frequency of GIRL and BOY suggestions potential infantilisation of both female and male athletes, qualitative analysis of the co-text reveals these terms are similarly used by athletes and other in-group members to refer to both male and female (adult) players. This therefore points to these terms being used as in-group identifiers by quoted sport participants, rather than as infantilising terms by journalists. These results align with recent findings into sports media discourse which suggest a shift away from infantilisation (Ismail, 2016, 2017; Kemble, 2020, 2024; Sherwood et al., 2019; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Instead, such terms are more likely used to establish solidarity "according to their membership in a team" (Ismail, 2016, p. 109), and thus help construct a sense of inclusion within the sporting space.

I will now briefly discuss some of the fixed expressions and resulting patterns which emerged from these analyses, in the following section.

4.3.2 Patterns constructing athlete identities

While undertaking the above analysis, several patterns emerged related to the representation of athlete identity, which will be briefly explored in turn. First, in OzFooty-W, words co-occurring with GIRL point to patterns of desirable behaviour from female athletes as model citizens (e.g. *idols, leaders, look up to, role models*), as shown in Figure 4.5 (references are underlined). This is especially evident in the text analysis of *girls*, where a range of voices work to build a representation of these elite athletes as role models.

Figure 4.5 Concordance lines of *girls* where female athletes are represented as model citizens in OzFooty-Women

1	the national competition found its mark. For	**girls**, too, here at last were their role models. Here
2	for traditional male football fans. It's for the	**girls** growing up around Australia who now have heroes
3	become invested in. Most importantly, for young	**girls**, it's more idols to look up to. It's more freedom to
4	in place has provided a role-model situation for	**girls** in footy. She said a 76 per cent growth of women
5	at that level," she said. "Now, young boys and	**girls** have female athletes as role models in these
6	Mini Legends campaign, says it's amazing young	**girls** have women they can look up to.
7	diverse and unique role models and heroes that	**girls** can see and connect with and think, she's like me
8	speaking the same language to encourage young	**girls** to play sport," [the cross-code Magpies star] said.
9	the world sporting stage should encourage more	**girls** to be active. Girls have so many options these days
10	iron woman have come together to encourage	**girls** to play and stay in sport to enhance their health,

These findings are similar to other recent research of ALFW media coverage (Sherwood et al., 2019) and of Australian media coverage more generally (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024). In general, scholars agree that positive portrayals such as these provide an opportunity to compare younger female athletes to those more experienced female athletes, rather than their male counterparts (e.g. Poniatowski & Hardin, 2012). However, Wrench and Garrett (2018, p. 754) point out that in the Australian media context, the female athletes selected as role models are often of "white" heritage, which "may exclude or limit sporting subjectivities for non-white young females". Discussion of ethnicity and heritage is further addressed in Chapter 6. Regardless, this is distinctly different to the way that male athletes are represented in the corpus, using BOY.

In OzFooty-M, patterns of co-occurrence with BOY point to bad behaviours (*bad boy/s, party boy/s, boys being/will be boys*) and elitism (*new boys, young boys, old boys*). These findings are similar to Ismail's (2017) corpus study whereby *bad, old, new* were collocates of *boy*, largely in Malaysian news coverage of football (soccer). Looking first at *bad boy* lexis, there are both positive and negative portrayals of these male athletes. Such coverage suggests that this bad behaviour is par for the course with AFLM/NRLM athletes (see examples 1 and 2), which points to the news value of consonance.

1) <headline> NRL to take over punishment of footy's **bad boys** as clubs fail to act </headline> A FED-UP NRL is poised to take charge of all off-field matters, leaving the clubs without any power to penalise players who bring the game into disrepute. (LM_437C9D02)

2) Because so many coaches are former players, they are often no help in making these young men make better choices. When two Canterbury Bankstown rugby league players stripped off while in the public bar of a Sydney pub, the coach was there **being one of the boys**. (LM_1231F004)

In fact, Ismail (2017, p. 104) argues that "to a certain degree, bad boy is a favourable image donned by male athletes" – a sentiment which appears to also be true here. Despite off-field scandals, these male players are upheld as elite athletes who are an integral part of the on-field game – a narrative which has also been identified in a recently published Australian government report about women in sports news coverage (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024). Punishment for such behaviour(s) is a monetary fine to the club or player, which arguably does little to change behaviour, especially when both are generally flush with cash. While several news items mentioned the potential of the NRL to take over the administration of such punishments (as in example 1), none confirmed this change being implemented.

Moving now to the terms *new boy/s, younger boy/s,* and *old boy/s,* these are generally used to indicate the experience level of a player. New recruits or early career players are referred to as the *new boy/s* and *young(er) boy/s*, while the term *old boy/s* refers to the older, more experienced players (e.g. *The big question mark is whether the old boys Benji Marshall and Robbie Farah have still got it.*). These findings follow previous CL research of sports news coverage (Ismail, 2017) with respect to constructing a hierarchy within a sporting club. Alongside this, other instances of *old boys* suggest a "boys' club" network in NRLM (see examples 3-5). Traditionally, these male social networks occur in leisure spaces, such as sport, providing a sense of solidarity to in-group members while excluding others. The continued use of this term thus implies that residues of a patriarchal boys' club mentality exist in the elite sports domain, to some extent.

> 3) ANTHONY Seibold has reached out to the club's powerful **old boys** as the new Brisbane coach strives for harmony following the toxic Wayne Bennett saga which ripped the Broncos apart. (LM_5C477CC)

> 4) CRONULLA Sharks **old boys** are organising a special fundraising event for popular ex-player Paul Fisher. (LM_4DF34E5E)

> 5) But they opted to go with the Giants, where Raiders **old boy** Simon Woolford is the coach. (LM_C18AC1A1)

Finally, there is a pattern of similarity between the female/male corpora where geographical locations co-occur with GIRL and BOY. In OzFooty-W, these expressions occur relatively infrequently (n=4, NF=0.08), and include *Adelaide girl, classic Australian girl, Gold Coast girl, country girl*. Similar expressions are more prevalent in OzFooty-M (n=88, NF=0.16). Overall, the use of these expressions may help establish support among local readers through the news value of proximity, or establish a persona associated with assumed Australian stereotypical values (i.e. the news value of consonance). Figure 4.6 provides some examples (references are underlined).

Figure 4.6 Sample concordance lines of *boy/s* co-occurring with a geographical location in OzFooty-Men

1	chasing Chad for a while and I am an Adelaide	**boy**	the two sort of met up. I was a bit shocked at the
2	was almost as if he went back to being the Bribie	**boy**	who a decade ago wondered whether he was
3	the beach, was the best part. "Being a Gold Coast	**boy**	, I like being near the water," he said. "Particularly
4	"You can't really take the country out of a country	**boy**	," he told The Australian. But he has loved playing
5	we do, because we still don't know." The Kew	**boy**	will go on holidays with his partner as he weighs up
6	media's department. Cox explained he was a local	**boy**	and that he'd obviously seen a few Cowboys games
7	His Twitter account advises he's a "Newcastle	**boy**	living in the big smoke! " Heeney has said that
8	also wants to serve their family. For our locals	**boys**	, they grew up in a village playing rugby league
9	(Crippa (Jamie Cripps), they are Northampton	**boys**	, so we all have similar interests. And we have had
10	As a small-town	**boy**	from Casino, Cody Walker never envisaged

In sum, the patterns identified through the qualitative analysis of GIRL and BOY have revealed key differences in the way that elite athletes are portrayed in/by the media. Considering these results in the wider sporting context, the identified patterns suggest a stereotypical "boys" culture remains embedded in AFL/NRL, which the "girls" are perhaps not welcome to join. Instead, the women must forge their own path by upholding more traditional notions of femininity by presenting a good girl public image as role models. This dichotomy of athlete identity and expectation of public behaviour is not new in sports media coverage. A study of US newspaper coverage of on-court basketball fights reveals different treatment of the (female) WBNA and (male) NBA players (Aull & Brown, 2013). Media coverage of the NBA fight focuses on the event and the specific individuals involved. Conversely, in the WNBA fight coverage, the (female) players are reprimanded for acting like "boys" and setting bad examples as role models (Aull & Brown, 2013). Additionally, a large-scale study of Australian sports media found that discourses of bad behaviour were almost exclusively mentioned in coverage of male sport (Lumby et al., 2014, p. 43). Further, in a study of the US Women's (soccer) World Cup coverage, female athletes were represented as role models who adhered to stereotypical femininity (Christopherson et al., 2002). Thus, the identified patterns in the OzFooty corpora confirm these double standards placed on athletes, based on gendered stereotypes.

4.4 Kinship roles

Focus on female athletes' kinship roles and relationships, rather than their athletic career, contributes to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping. This section explores kinship roles in the men's and women's corpora using semantic tagging. The relevant semantic category is S4 Kin: *terms relating to relationships between family members/familiars.*

In total, 106 word types with a frequency of 1276 (NF 34.65) were tagged as Kin in OzFooty-W and a total of 260 word types with a frequency of 12,353 (NF 24.76) in OzFooty-M. That is, kinship terms have relatively higher frequency in OzFooty-W, despite this being the smaller of the two corpora, suggesting greater focus placed on kinship in coverage of female

athletes. Table 4.7 provides the top 10 terms by tagged frequency.[31] The complete list of tagged words can be found in Appendix D.

Table 4.7 Top 10 kinship terms (S4) by tagged frequency

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
Rank	Word	Freq.	NF	Word	Freq.	NF
1	*family*	195	5.29	*family*	2619	5.25
2	*mum*	99	2.69	*son*	949	1.90
3	*dad*	77	2.09	*father*	804	1.61
4	*parents*	66	1.79	*wife*	780	1.56
5	*daughter*	64	1.74	*brother*	643	1.29
6	*mother*	51	1.38	*dad*	567	1.14
7	*father*	49	1.33	*mum*	424	0.85
8	*sister*	47	1.28	*parents*	369	0.74
9	*brother*	45	1.22	*brothers*	360	0.72
10	*twins*	41	1.11	*daughter*	322	0.65

Nuclear family terms (e.g. *mum, dad, son*) dominate the top 10 for both corpora. In fact, *family* is the most frequent overall, occurring with relative similarity in both corpora. There are, however, a few notable differences between the corpora. In OzFooty-M, *son* and *father* are second and third respectively, which may relate to the rule in AFLM whereby sons have preference at a club where their father also played. Interestingly, while *wife* appears in OzFooty-M in fourth place, there are no partner terms for OzFooty-W in the top ten — though they do appear in the full list. Partner terms and sexuality will be further explored in Chapter 6.

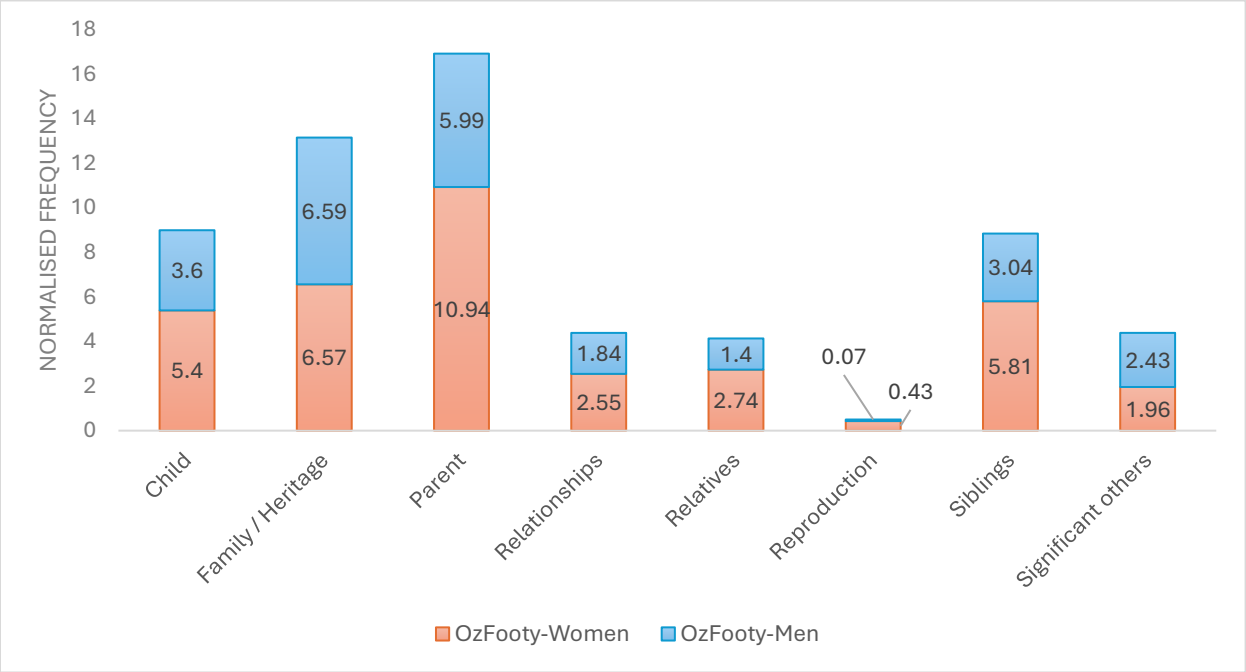
To allow for closer comparison between the corpora, the semantically tagged word lists were manually reviewed and categorised according to the type of kinship relationship. Words such as *mum, dad, parents* are coded as Parent, whereas *daughter, son*, are coded as Child. In some cases, words are double coded as they could point to more than one category, for example, *twins* could refer to someone's children or to siblings. A total of eight different categories were identified: Child, Family and Heritage, Parent, Significant others, Relationships, Relatives, Reproduction, and Siblings. Figure 4.8 shows an overview of relative frequency of each category while Table 4.8 shows all words allocated to each category.[32]

As shown in Figure 4.7, parent terms are the most prevalent overall, with a higher relative frequency in OzFooty-W (10.94) as compared to OzFooty-M (5.99). In fact, when comparing the women's and men's corpora across categories, only terms for significant others are more prevalent in OzFooty-M.

[31] Tagged frequency refers to senses related to kinship and thus excludes unrelated senses, as in, ***Mother*** *Nature.*

[32] The semantic tagger settings ignore apostrophes, that is, some calculations include plural and/or possessive forms e.g. *parents* will include *parents, parent's, parents'*)

Figure 4.7 Normalised frequency of kinship terms (S4) by category



Looking at the words categorised in Table 4.8, for Child there are words relating to non-biological children (e.g. *foster*, *in-law)* as well as legitimacy (e.g. *bastard*, *illegitimate*) in the men's corpus which are not in the women's. Notably, while *HAVE_kids* terms are present (categorised as Reproduction), neither *kid/s* nor *child/ren* appear on the tagged list, although they do exist in the corpus and are arguably kinship terms. Interestingly, while there is similarity in the types of Reproduction terms, *childless* only occurs in the women's coverage, therefore suggesting that only female athletes are classified according to their (non)reproductive status, though closer analysis of related lexis would be required to make any conclusions. In the significant others category, both male and female partner terms are present across the corpus, which points to representation of players in their partner roles, including the possibility for same-sex relationships (see Chapter 6 for further discussion of sexuality as related to significant others and relationships). For the Parent category, female and male terms are present in both corpora, which could point to discussion of the player's parents, and/or position the players themselves in parental roles. Certainly, further analysis of the co-text is necessary to determine if the use of these terms is relevant to AFL/NRL and its athletes.

Table 4.8 Kinship words (S4) categorised by type

Category	OzFooty-Women	OzFooty-Men
Child	*daughter, daughters, foster, son, sons, triplets, twin, twins*	*baby_seat, bastard, bastards, child_care, daughter, daughter-in-law, daughters, foster, foster_children, fostered, fostering, illegitimate, offspring, orphan, orphan_club, orphans, progeny, son, son-in-law, sons, triplet, triplets, twin, twin_market, twins*
Family / Heritage	*bloodline, bloodlines, congenital, dynasties, dynasty, extended_family, families, family, family_factors, family_room, family-friendly, familys, household, paternal, patriarch, pedigree*	*ancestors, ancestral, ancestral_home, ancestry, blood_relation, bloodline, bloodlines, broken_families, broken_homes, clan, congenital, descendant, descendants, descendent, dynasties, dynasty, extended_family, families, family, family_club, family_environment, family_fan, family_market, family_orientated, family_oriented, family_room, family_situation, family_thing, family_things, family_type, family-friendly, family-oriented, family-owned, familys, flesh-and-blood, forebear, forebears, heir, heiress, heirs, household, households, kin, paternal, patriarch, patriarchal, pedigree, progeny*
Parent	*dad, dads, father, fathers, foster, foster_parents, mother, motherhood, mothers, mum, mummies, mummy, mums, parent, parenting, parents, paternal, stepdad*	*dad, daddy, daddys, dads, dads_company, father, father_figure, father_figures, fatherhood, father-in-law, father-in-laws, fathers, foster, fostered, fostering, his_old_man, in-law, in-laws, maternal, mom, mother, motherhood, mothers, mum, mummies, mummy, mummys, mums, my_old_man, parent, parental, parenthood, parenting, parents, paternal, paternity, single_parent, stepdad, stepdads, stepfather, the_old_man, their_old_man, your_old_man*

Category	OzFooty-Women	OzFooty-Men
Relationships	*bridesmaid, divorce, engaged, get_married, getting_married, got_married, marriage, married, marry, marrying, nee, nuptials, wed, wedded, wedding*	*adulterers, best_man, bridal, bridesmaid, bridesmaids, diamond_wedding, divorce, divorced, divorces, divorcing, engaged, get_married, gets_married, getting_married, got_married, groomsman, groomsmen, marital, marriage, marriage_work, marriages, married, marries, marry, marrying, nee, newlyweds, nuptial, nuptials, one-year_wedding_anniversary, remarried, remarry, wed, wedded, wedding, wedding_anniversary, weddings, widow, widows*
Relatives	*aunt, aunties, aunts, aunty, brother-in-law, cousin, cousins, godson, granddaughter, granddaughters, grandfather, grandfathers, grandma, grandmother, grandmothers, grandparents, grandpas, grandson, great_niece, nan, Nanna, Nannas, niece, relative, relatives, uncle, uncles*	*aunt, aunties, aunty, auntys, cousin, first_cousin, first_cousins, godfather, godmother, godson, gran, grandad, grandchild, grandchildren, granddad, granddaughter, granddaughters, grandfather, grandfathers, grandkids, grandma, grandmas, grandmother, grandmothers, grandpa, grandparents, grandpas, grandson, grandsons, grannie, granny, grans, great_grandfather, great_grandson, great_great_grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, maternal_grandfather, nan, nana, nanas, nanna, nephew, nephews, next_of_kin, niece, nieces, relative, relatives, second_cousin, second_cousins, uncle, uncles*
Reproduction	*childless, had_kids, have_kids, having_kids, maternity, motherhood, paternity, spawned, spawning*	*fatherhood, had_kids, have_kids, having_kids, maternity, paternity, spawn, spawned, spawning, spawns*
Siblings	*brother, brothers, brother-in-law, sibling, siblings, sister, sisters, triplet, triplets, twin, twin_sister, twins*	*blood_brotherhood, blood_brothers, bro, brother, brother-in-law, brotherly, brothers, half-brother, half-sister, sibling, siblings, sister, sister-in-law, sisterly, sisters, triplet, triplets, twin, twin_market, twins*
Significant others	*ex-wife, fiancé, fiancée, husband, husbands, wife, wives*	*bride, bride-to-be, ex, ex-husband, ex-partner, ex-wife, fiancé, fiancée, fiancees, fiances, hubbies, hubby, hubbys, husband, husbands, missus, spouse, spouses, wife, wifes, wives*

The following sections now turn to analysis of selected terms in more detail. Given the scope of this chapter, not all words in Table 4.8 will be considered systematically. Specifically, I analyse whether the female players are explicitly positioned as parents/mothers, with respect to gender stereotyping. Section 4.4.1 compares the use of MOTHER (*mother, mothers, mum, mums, mummy, mummies*) in OzFooty-W with FATHER (*father, fathers, dad, dads, daddy, daddys*) in OzFooty-M.[33] These gendered terms are arguably "semantic equivalents of each other", although the discourses surrounding them may differ (see Baker, 2006, p. 96). Thus, they provide like-for-like comparison of patterns of usage across the corpora. Section 4.4.2 then provides an analysis of the gender-neutral term PARENT (*parent, parents*), as it is used in the corpora. The selection of these high frequency terms provides insights into explicit references to parental role through these labels, as opposed to other lexis (as seen in Table 4.8) or more implicit linguistic references.

4.4.1 MOTHER v FATHER

In general, MOTHER terms in OzFooty-W (NF 3.81) and FATHER terms in OzFooty-M (NF 3.56), occur relatively equally, with marginally higher frequency in the women's corpus (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Tagged frequency for MOTHER and FATHER

OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
MOTHER	Freq.	NF	FATHER	Freq.	NF
mum	99	2.17	*father*	804	2.21
mother	51	1.12	*dad*	567	1.12
mothers	11	0.24	*dads*	81	0.11
mums	11	0.24	*fathers*	61	0.09
mummies	1	0.02	*daddy*	8	0.02
mummy	1	0.02	*daddys*	2	0.01
TOTAL	174	3.81	TOTAL	1523	3.56

To determine whether the referent for these terms is in fact a player or the player's parent(s), all instances were viewed in their concordances and coded accordingly. A limitation of the semantic tagger in WMatrix is that the concordances show *all* senses for a tagged word, that is, senses both related and unrelated to kinship. Given the negligible differences here between tagged and untagged frequency,[34] all lines were manually reviewed and those deemed relevant to kinship were coded as either Player(s) or Parent of player(s). Kinship senses not referring to

[33] As a reminder, the semantic tagger ignores apostrophes.

[34] For OzFooty-W the total frequency is 187, and for OzFooty-M the total frequency is 1669 (in WMatrix).

AFL/NRL or used metaphorically (e.g. *he was more like my dad*) are coded as Other. Irrelevant instances are excluded. The results are shown in Table 4.10.[35]

Table 4.10 Referents for MOTHER and FATHER

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
	MOTHER			FATHER		
Reference to…	Freq.	NF	Percent	Freq.	NF	Percent
Players & ex-players	39	1.06	23%	221	0.44	15%
Parents of (ex-)players	74	2.01	43%	927	1.86	61%
Unclear	0	0	0	10	0.02	1%
Other	59	1.60	34%	353	0.71	23%
Total	172	4.67	100%	1511	3.03	100%

When comparing the sub-corpora for player referents, MOTHER has a higher relative frequency (NF 1.06) than FATHER (NF 0.44). Overall, however, the results show that both MOTHER and FATHER are most likely to refer to the parents of players, rather than positioning the players themselves in parental roles. Specifically, MOTHER in OzFooty-W refers to parents of players in 43% of instances and the players themselves in 23% of instances. Comparatively, FATHER in OzFooty-M refers to parents of players in 61% of instances and the players themselves in only 15% of instances. The results indicate that while there is some bias towards positioning female athletes as mothers, including as compared to male athletes as fathers, this does not follow previous research whereby the media overtly focuses on motherhood roles (see Chapter 2).

The use of MOTHER referring to the athletes' parents tends to be found in direct quotes or reported speech from players who are talking about parental support of their sporting endeavours. This is not unexpected given the presumably young age of many players entering these competitions. Similarly, in OzFooty-M, references to the male athletes' fathers are also found in direct or reported speech from players who are commenting on parental support or sharing the news of being drafted. It must be noted, however, that in the men's coverage, many of the player's fathers were also at one time players themselves. This is due to the father-son rule in AFLM, [36] whereby sons whose fathers played for a significant amount of time at a given club have preference for being recruited to that same club. As such, the primary focus of the sentence/article was taken into consideration when coding. If the son is the focus, with the former player-father mentioned in passing, this is coded as Parent of player(s), as in:

[35] Note that the total frequencies in Table 4.10 are slightly lower than Table 4.9. This highlights some discrepancies where the tagger has included non-kinship related terms, though given the limitations of the tool as discussed, this cannot be confirmed.

[36] The lexical item which specifically refers to this rule, *father-son* (e.g. *father-son recruit, father-son selection, father-son rule*, etc), was not included in the semantically tagged list and therefore is not part of this analysis.

6) Like his **dad**, Will is a defender. (AM_C426E5E8.TXT)

7) Nick Blakey, whose **father** John was a premiership teammate of Robert Scott at North Melbourne, (AM_941FF428)

If the father is the focus, this is coded as Player (former), for example:

8) Allan Hird is a former Essendon player and **father** of James Hird. (AM_A29EF6D8)

In general, the current player tends to be the focus of the story, with their father mentioned only in passing (as in examples 6 and 7). The analysis has also revealed comparisons of AFLM sons to their fathers, both in terms of their abilities as well as their physical appearance (as shown in Figure 4.9) – a pattern that is not present in OzFooty-W given the infancy of AFLW/NRLW.

Figure 4.8 Sample concordance lines of father-son comparisons from OzFooty-Men

1	known about him since he was a young man. His	**dad**	was a champion player. He can deal with playing for
2	instantly drew comparisons to similar highlights from his	**dad**.	While he is known as a joker on TV, Billy
3	the forward was "cut from the same cloth" as his	**dad**,	who played 264 games for Fitzroy and Brisbane Lions.
4	to how I play." There are similarities, though. Like his	**dad**,	Will is a defender. He could also end up at
5	build similar to that of his father, and like his	**dad**	is a tall defender. However, whereas Dustin played in the
6	, makes good decisions and uses the ball well, unlike his	**dad**	who actually took out a patent on the helicopter punt
7	has been romantic talk, but they are different players.	**Dad**	could mark. Son is ground-ball. Reckon 35 goals would be
8	a smile. "I'm a right-footer. I obviously didn't get	**dad**'s	genes in the kicking area but similar to him - hard
9	last year, said there were clear similarities between	**father**	and son, right down to Mason's love of kicking
10	Broncos' halfback spot. His genes are promising. Boyd's	**father**	Shayne was a lower-grader at the Penrith Panthers and
11	after rookies Ben Jarman and Jackson Edwards. Hart's	**father**	Ben was inducted into the AFL Hall of Fame in 2016. "
12	Premiership side this season, scoring six tries. Like his	**father**,	he is a dependable halfback, although he is yet to
13	dad's 300th game. He looks and plays like his	**father**	with a notable exception — he's a right-footer. "(But
14	kids and their half-brother mostly on his own. His	**father**	was fit and strong. So when Jarman began getting serious
15	national level that he could tear a game apart. His	**father**	was quite elite with his running ability and he's
16	He is a very different style of player to his	**father**,	playing as a running on-baller/half-forward. And running
17	, has a pencil-like build similar to that of his	**father**,	and like his dad is a tall defender. However, whereas
18	running ability and he's a lot bigger than his	**father**	but still has that running capacity. Who knows what his
19	reckons, as the beneficiary of those Ablett genes (his	**father**	played until he was 35 and was only stopped by a
20	17-year-old stands 197cm, 1cm shorter than his famous	**father**,	and has a similarly lean frame. The only noticeable

In sum, both MOTHER and FATHER are more likely to refer to the parents of players, rather than position the players themselves as parents. This therefore suggests a positive shift away from female athletes represented only in parental roles, rather than as serious athletes; however, further analysis of related terms is necessary to gain a more comprehensive picture. Thus, the following section will investigate the use of the gender-neutral lemma PARENT.

4.4.2 PARENT

In general, PARENT terms occur relatively more frequently in OzFooty-W (NF 1.92) than in OzFooty-M (NF 0.81) (see Table 4.11). That is, these terms are used twice as much in the women's corpus as compared to the men's, thereby suggesting greater focus on parental roles in coverage of women's AFL/NRL. However, this does not tell us *who* is being positioned in these roles. Thus, each term was viewed in its co-text to determine the referent.

Table 4.11 Tagged frequency of PARENT

	OzFooty-Women		**OzFooty-Men**	
PARENT	Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF
parent	5	0.13	40	0.08
parents	66	1.79	369	0.75
Total	71	1.92	409	0.81

As with MOTHER and FATHER (in Section 4.4.1), references are coded as the Player, the Parent(s) of players, or Other. In general, the results show that PARENT terms refer to the parents of children who play sport (or are otherwise not relevant). There are no references to AFL/NRL athletes as parents found in OzFooty-W. However, there are some relevant instances in OzFooty-M, with PARENT more likely to refer to the parents of players (38%), rather than the players themselves (8%). The results are detailed in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Referents for PARENT

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
	PARENT			**PARENT**		
Reference to…	Freq.	NF	Percent	Freq.	NF	Percent
Players & ex-players	0	0	0	33	0.07	8%
Parents of (ex-)players	25	0.68	34%	159	0.32	38%
Other	48	1.30	66%	223	0.45	54%
Total	73	1.98	100%	415	0.83	**100%**

Overall, PARENT has only a handful of player referents in OzFooty-M, and no evidence of player referents in OzFooty-W. The slight difference between the women's and men's corpora may be influenced by players in the fledgling women's competitions who do not have children,[37] or the sheer difference in media coverage afforded to male versus female athletes. In general, these results, combined with those from Section 4.4.1, suggest a shift away from overt gender stereotyping of female athletes in motherhood roles, at least using these explicit terms. Future

[37] As mentioned in Chapter 1, children and carer responsibilities are cited as a barrier to female participation in sport, which may have influence on elite athletes' decisions to participate in these inaugural competitions.

research, however, would benefit from analysis of related terms such as those under the categories of Family, Child, and Reproduction (see Table 4.8), other implicit references to motherhood, as well as discussion of parental leave and the practicality of returning to sport – related issues which have often been overlooked in the media (see English et al., 2019).

4.5 Physical appearance

The patriarchal discourse of objectification refers to overt focus on female athletes' physical appearance and sexual desirability – a discourse which has not been identified in coverage of men's sport. In this section, I triangulate keywords and semantic tagging to identify patterns potentially pointing to sexualisation of female athletes, focusing only on the women's media coverage (i.e. OzFooty-W). Descriptions and evaluations of physical appearance can occur through a wide range of lexis, both explicitly and implicitly. Thus, the semantic tagger assists with identifying domain relevant lexis, and triangulating these results with the keywords list directs the focus to salient words in the corpus. The semantic categories relevant to physical appearance include: B1 Anatomy and physiology, B5 Clothing and personal belongings, and O4.2 Judgement of appearance (Archer et al., 2002, pp. 9-10; 22).

In total, 493 word types were tagged across these three semantic categories, with a combined frequency of 3134 (see Appendix D). The resulting list of tagged words was compared to the full OzFooty-W keywords list (see Section 4.1), using the Excel MATCH function. Based on previous research, lexis that has greater potential for objectification are words related to (sexualised) body parts, body shape and weight, clothing, descriptions of appearance, and sexualised language (see Chapter 2). As such, internal body parts (e.g. *ligament*), medical conditions (*alopecia*), non-specific evaluative tokens (e.g. *amazing, nice*), and words pointing to other discourses (e.g. *agility, tears*) have been excluded. Triangulation of the relevant words from the semantic tagger with the keywords list yielded a total of 25 words; these are presented in Table 4.13.

Each word in Table 4.13 was then viewed in the concordance, or full text, to determine whether it is used in the context of AFL/NRL, and, if so, whether there is any evidence of evaluating players' physical appearances. As previously raised (Section 4.4), the concordance feature in WMatrix shows the total frequency of a word, rather than just the tagged instances. For example, *back* has 130 tagged occurrences with a total frequency of 622, with all 622 concordances displayed by WMatrix. It was thus necessary to analyse all occurrences of a word – not just the tagged occurrences – in their co-text. Words that are not relevant to AFLW/NRLW include *muscly* and *braids* and will not be discussed. It is acknowledged that analysis of other words which have been excluded, including, for example, non-specific evaluative tokens or semantically tagged words which are not key (*beautiful, body*), may reveal some qualitative differences to the approach taken here. The aim is here is to use methodological triangulation to help identify prominent patterns relevant to physical appearance, which can then be explored via qualitative text analyses. The following sections present the results of these analyses, beginning with B1 Body.

Table 4.13 Triangulated words potentially pointing to objectification in OzFooty-Women

Semantic Category	Word	Tagged Frequency	Total Frequency	Keyness (LL)	Effect Size (LR)
B1 Body	*back*	130	622	+99.37	0.62
	head	110	198	+44.02	0.74
	knee	81	112	+242.74	2.81
	foot	41	52	+21.58	1.04
	leg	39	41	+14.74	0.96
	physically	24	24	+15.39	1.33
	shoulder	22	30	+14.06	1.12
	profile	21	48	+20.32	1.05
	ankle	13	25	+23.71	1.68
	knees	11	13	+19.11	2.19
	physique	8	8	+30.9	4.17
	toe	8	13	+14.29	1.83
	build	6	83	+12.76	0.61
	muscly	2	2	+11.5	5.62
	squat	2	5	+13.97	3.32
B5 Clothing	*jumper*	28	30	+85.19	3.36
	boots	27	28	+51.91	2.54
	outfit	22	22	+14.32	1.35
	boot	19	23	+21.45	1.66
	jumpers	8	8	+19.39	3.02
	braids	4	4	+17.47	4.56
O4.2 Judgement of appearance	*pretty*	3	187	+128.54	1.39
	glammed	3	3	+18.66	5.98
	grotty	3	3	+18.66	5.98

4.5.1 Body (B1)

The words for body parts are largely used in the context of gameplay and on field positions (e.g. *foot passing*, *back line*), as well as player injury and rehabilitation (e.g. *ankle injury, knee reconstruction*), with no evidence of objectification. Additionally, there are some idiomatic uses (e.g. *on the back foot, dipping their toe in*) and other grammatical uses unrelated to the human body (e.g. *head coach*). The word *physically*, however, points towards some evaluation of players, as shown in the following examples (9-11).

> 9) On Friday we were treated to another chorus of opinions after AFL veteran Mick Malthouse said he didn't "like the present format of women's football because it exposes them too much **physically**". (AW_90F48E84)

10) But the decision I made to step onto the field was mine alone and telling women that they can't play the sport because they are the **physically** weaker sex is completely patronising and wrong. (AW_90F48E84)

11) The AFL's decision to bar transgender athletes at the top level but to allow them to compete at lower levels would be more understandable if AFL wasn't a contact sport. As it stands, VFLW players are more at risk because they're less **physically** strong than their AFLW counterparts on more sophisticated training programs. (AW_88D38663)

Examples 9 and 10 come from the same news item, which is a player's response to a (male) media personality's negative comments about AFLW. While there is no evidence of objectification, both show evidence of evaluating female athletes as weaker and therefore less capable [-judgement invoking -appreciation] than their male counterparts, a notion which presumes that males are the yardstick by which other athletes should be measured. Such examples echo long-standing biologically essentialist ways of thinking about gender, providing evidence of trivialisation of athletic ability,

Example 11 provides some insight into coverage of transgender athletes in AFL, by comparing VFLW (the semi-elite league) players to their elite counterparts in AFLW. In fact, the word *physique* also provides some insight into gender diversity in the corpus, as shown in Figure 4.9 (lines 1-4, 7-8). The discussion of gender diversity policies in the AFL comes as a response to a (transgender) VFLW player wanting to join the AFLW competition. Positively, *physique* is only found in direct references to the policy, rather than in evaluative commentary on transgender athletes' appearances. In general, coverage tends to be slightly critical of the AFL's policy, and thus supportive of the athlete. Though outside the scope of this thesis to do so, such coverage raises the question about if and how gender-diverse and transgender players are represented more widely in the sports media, and certainly warrants future analysis.

Figure 4.9 Concordance lines of *physique* from OzFooty-Women

1	will require testing of strength, stamina and	physique	as well as testosterone levels before it
2	sex or gender "if strength, stamina or	physique	is relevant". Fairfax Media understands Mouncey
3	Kevin Roberts says as strength, stamina and	physique	are all relevant factors in sport, transgender
4	's AFLW draft on "strength, stamina or	physique	" grounds. But she was -allowed to lace
5	reserved. AS she watched her hard-earned	physique	rapidly shrinking, AFLW player Moana Hope questio
6	competition relies on strength, stamina and	physique	. This discrimination has been used not just
7	siderations including "strength, stamina and	physique	" — Mouncey is 190cm and weights 90kg. She
8	in the applicant's strength, stamina or	physique	when compared to data procured from cis-

There is, however, one instance of *physique* used to evaluate a player's physical appearance in line 5; the extended co-text is provided below in example 12.

> 12) AS she watched her hard-earned **physique** rapidly shrinking, AFLW player Moana Hope questioned the wisdom of signing up for Survivor Australia. “I was quite literally watching myself get smaller and smaller going, ‘OK, I might be in a bit of trouble when I get out’,” she says. ”Especially with football — I had just signed with North Melbourne. I was super-light I lost five kilos in one week.” Hope left behind the grind of training and work when she headed for the South Pacific island of Sabu Sabu earlier this year. (AW_09968CB0)

While this example provides some evaluation [appreciation], there is no evidence of sexualised objectification. It is largely self-evaluative, with Hope’s weight loss positioned as an undesirable result of taking part in a reality TV show. The paragraph opens with positive evaluation of *her hard-earned physique* [+appreciation] followed by amplified, negative evaluation of her weight loss (*smaller and smaller; in a bit of trouble; super-light*) [-appreciation]. Overall, the negative evaluation of Hope’s weight loss implies a positive attitude towards bigger or stronger bodies in AFLW, at least from the quoted athlete’s perspective.

Other words potentially related to physical body appearance (*build, profile, squat*) also show no evidence objectification. Despite *build* tagged as B1 Body, only one instance is relevant[38], as shown in example 13. Like the previous example (12), this is also self-evaluative, coming from an AFLW player who positively comments on increasing her physical strength [+appreciation, metonymically implicating +judgement: capacity].

> 13) “That’s the goal for me is to be ready, and I’m feeling really good. It’s been good to build some strength. **With my build**, my strength is something that I have to focus on for football, especially, so that’s been one positive.” [Geelong AFLW ruck Erin Hoare] (AW_446DC68D)

Finally, the words *profile* and *squat* are not used to evaluate physical appearance and thus not relevant to objectification.

In sum, the analysis of body lexis shows no evidence of objectifying female athletes. While there is some focus on physical appearance, these instances positively focus on strength and ability, rather than suggestively sexualised descriptions. Overall, this provides evidence for a potential shift away from objectifying sportswomen through explicit references to body parts.

4.5.2 Clothing (B5)

In general, clothing lexis tends to be used in relation to player uniforms (*boots*, *jumper*, *jumpers*), injury (*moon boot*), and awards (*Golden Boot*), with no evidence of sexualised descriptions. Despite the sematic tagger suggesting that all 22 instances of *outfit* are used in the sense of clothing, the concordance analysis reveals that this is generally not the case (e.g. *against a Dragons outfit with so many former Broncos*). There is one exception coming from a news item about the wedding of Moana Hope (an AFLW player) and her (female) partner (see example 14).

[38] The word *build* is mostly used as a verb in the corpus and therefore not relevant to physical appearance, despite being tagged as such.

14) Marriage brings gift of Hope

AFLW star Moana Hope and her model partner Isabella Carlstrom have tied the knot in a beautiful backyard ceremony.

The glamour couple, who got engaged in October last year, were married before 100 close family and friends at the Toorak mansion of a family friend late yesterday afternoon.

"It's everything we ever wanted in a wedding. No disrespect to tradition, but it's not very traditional," Hope said.

"We just want it to be very personal and really nice. It's like a big, beautiful party." Mum Rosemary walked the former Australian Survivor star down the aisle**. Hope was sporting a custom black tuxedo from Melbourne designer Effie Kats for the ceremony, before changing into a more relaxed pink suit for the party**.

Carlstrom, in a stunning Toni Maticevski white gown, walked down the aisle with her parents Toni and Mikael.

She later changed into a white sequined Effie Kats dress, paired with Air Force 1 Nike trainers.

"It's the perfect party outfit, I'm going to dance all night," Carlstrom said. Hope's sister Lavinia, who lives with the couple, was also a big part of their special day. "She's our flower girl and our ring bearer. She's also getting her own special ring to feel part of the wedding," Hope said.

When considering the full news item, focus is on the player's clothing outside the sporting arena, as well as her partner's (in bold above). The story is about a same-sex marriage, which is a shift away from previous research where media have preferenced heterosexuality in sport (see Chapter 2). Interestingly, the lead paragraph mentions that Hope's partner is a model, which draws on the stereotype of a WAG, but is resituated outside the heterosexual norms previously found in sports media coverage. Overall, there is positive evaluation, often amplified, throughout the article (e.g. *beautiful backyard ceremony, glamour couple, really nice, stunning white gown, special day*) which suggests a positive shift towards inclusivity. Further analysis of sexuality in the corpus is found in Chapter 6.

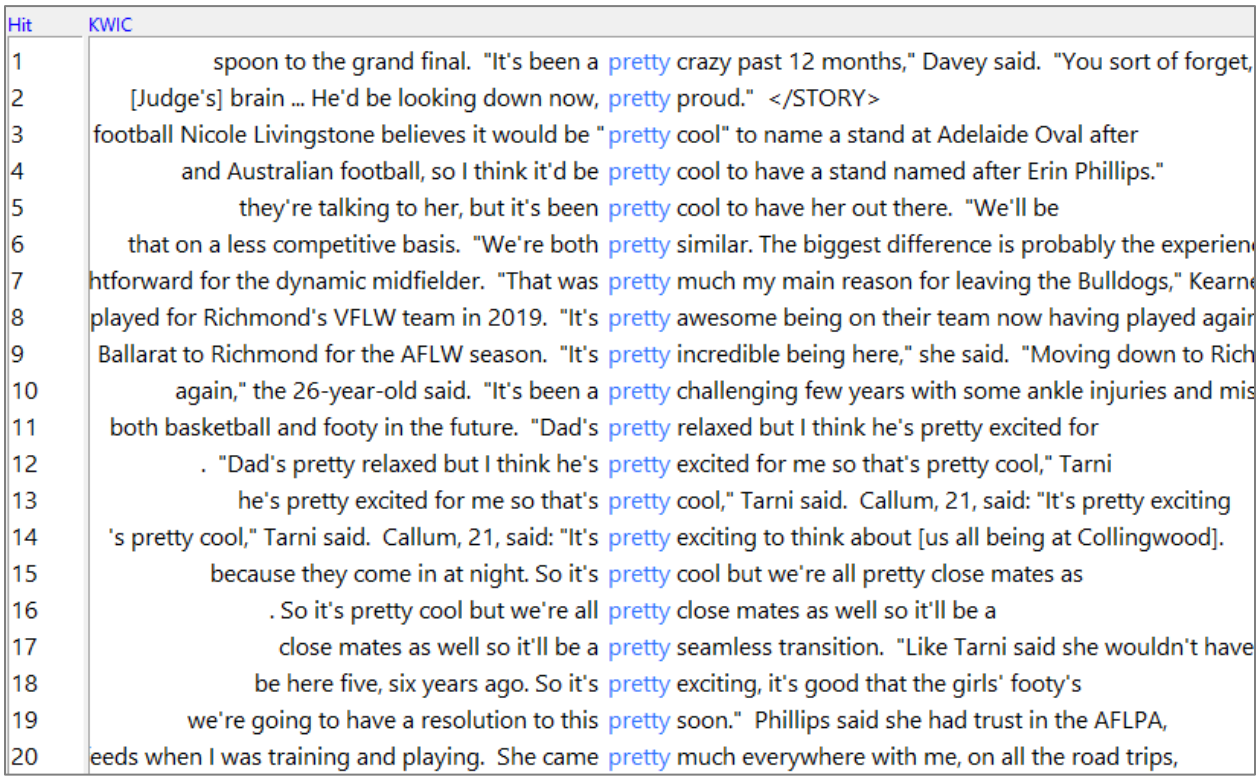
In sum, analysis of the co-text for clothing lexis shows no evidence of objectifying female athletes. The focus is largely confined to a single news item which conveys a positive attitude towards a high-profile player's same-sex relationship.

4.5.3 Judgement of appearance (O4.2)

Looking first at *pretty*, the semantic tagger identified three relevant instances, out of 187 total occurrences. In the manual review of all concordances, this word is almost always used as an

intensifier, often in player quotes talking about their experiences joining AFLW/NRLW (see Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.10 Sample concordances of *pretty* used as an intensifier from OzFooty-Women



Hit	KWIC		
1	spoon to the grand final. "It's been a	pretty	crazy past 12 months," Davey said. "You sort of forget,
2	[Judge's] brain ... He'd be looking down now,	pretty	proud." </STORY>
3	football Nicole Livingstone believes it would be "	pretty	cool" to name a stand at Adelaide Oval after
4	and Australian football, so I think it'd be	pretty	cool to have a stand named after Erin Phillips."
5	they're talking to her, but it's been	pretty	cool to have her out there. "We'll be
6	that on a less competitive basis. "We're both	pretty	similar. The biggest difference is probably the experien
7	htforward for the dynamic midfielder. "That was	pretty	much my main reason for leaving the Bulldogs," Kearn
8	played for Richmond's VFLW team in 2019. "It's	pretty	awesome being on their team now having played agair
9	Ballarat to Richmond for the AFLW season. "It's	pretty	incredible being here," she said. "Moving down to Rich
10	again," the 26-year-old said. "It's been a	pretty	challenging few years with some ankle injuries and mis
11	both basketball and footy in the future. "Dad's	pretty	relaxed but I think he's pretty excited for
12	. "Dad's pretty relaxed but I think he's	pretty	excited for me so that's pretty cool," Tarni
13	he's pretty excited for me so that's	pretty	cool," Tarni said. Callum, 21, said: "It's pretty exciting
14	's pretty cool," Tarni said. Callum, 21, said: "It's	pretty	exciting to think about [us all being at Collingwood].
15	because they come in at night. So it's	pretty	cool but we're all pretty close mates as
16	. So it's pretty cool but we're all	pretty	close mates as well so it'll be a
17	close mates as well so it'll be a	pretty	seamless transition. "Like Tarni said she wouldn't have
18	be here five, six years ago. So it's	pretty	exciting, it's good that the girls' footy's
19	we're going to have a resolution to this	pretty	soon." Phillips said she had trust in the AFLPA,
20	eeds when I was training and playing. She came	pretty	much everywhere with me, on all the road trips,

In a handful of cases, the adjective that is pre-modified by *pretty* or (adjectival) *pretty* itself is used to evaluate an item of clothing/jewellery, or a player's body or body part(s), as in examples 15-18. The target of evaluation is underlined, with the evaluative lexis in bold.

15) "They even did a Photoshop at one of the house meetings of <u>me in a Carlton jumper</u>. "It was before I'd made my decision as well. I was like, 'Ooh, <u>that</u> **does look pretty good on me**'. It was unreal." (AW_71DCD55D)

16) "<u>My body</u> is **still pretty good** so I think I will keep riding the wave for as long as I can. Mentally, I am definitely considering retirement but I'll let my body tell me when." (LW_D7B8BB4E)

17) "I haven't been wearing my boots around so I have shin splints, blisters in my feet and **pretty sore** <u>shoulders</u>," she said. (LW_BDD83B02)

18) <u>We're</u> **looking pretty good in the forward line**. Everyone feels confident." (AW_EA1FEFE0)

> 19) Broncos halfback Ali Brigginshaw looked at her premiership ring and grinned, "It **looks pretty**. It's amazing. and no one can ever take that moment away from us." (LW_DDAE4311; LW_D05DEA96)

Notably, all examples are from player quotes, mostly using *pretty* as an intensifier to evaluate themselves. In example 15, the player shares her experience being recruited to a new club, with a Photoshopped image part of the recruitment presentation (*that does look pretty good on me*) [+appreciation]. In example 16, the player considers whether she will retire from NRLW, based on her physical health and ability to perform at the elite level (*My body is still pretty good*) which provides an example of metonymically implicated attitude [+appreciation invoking +judgement]. Example 17 focusses on physical recovery from training (*pretty sore shoulders*) [-appreciation], while example 18 is a player evaluating the (potential) ability/performance of her team for the coming season, thus providing another example of metonymically implicated attitude (*We're looking pretty good in the forward line*) [+appreciation invoking +judgement]. Overall, while there is evaluation, there is no evidence of objectification.

Moving to example 19, the target of evaluation is *her premiership ring*. This comes from an article about the NRLW premiership, where a ring is presented to each player on the winning team. Arguably this does not provide evidence of objectification as it is the player herself doing the evaluating. However, given the selection of the quote and focus on a piece of jewellery, it may suggest some evidence of gender stereotyping. A targeted search to compare instances of *premiership ring* in the sub-corpora finds three instances (NF 0.06) in OzFooty-W: two are the quote in example 20 while the third is not relevant to appearance. Comparatively, OzFooty-M yields 37 instances (NF 0.06), none of which co-occur with *pretty* or include any other evaluation of the ring's appearance. While an interesting comparison, the frequencies are too low to make any broader conclusions.

Moving now to *glammed* and *grotty*, these words are used in the same quote from an AFLW player who is comparing her experience as a player to that of the awards night:

> 21) "I love getting **glammed** up, especially when you're normally **grotty** with hair up," [Sharni Layton] said. (AW_EE691552; AW_272E6C87; AW_589F5BCD)

Interestingly, this quote appears in three separate news items, all of which also mention AFLW player Tayla Harris' *stand against trolls.* This references an onslaught of sexist and degrading public comments made in response to a photo of Harris kicking a goal which was posted on social media. Harris responded publicly, calling out the abusers. The dichotomy of such a serious and pressing issue of sexualised online abuse, along with the fluffier quote about getting *glammed up* is interesting, and perhaps detracts somewhat from Harris' abuse. However, as the abusive incident occurred during the sporting season, any timely coverage is not present in the OzFooty corpus. Further analysis of such coverage would be necessary to better understand the media's position, though is outside the scope of this research. Overall, *glammed* and *grotty* do not show evidence of sexualisation.

In sum, while there is some focus on physical appearance, these instances are minimal, all occurring in player quotes and thus provide no evidence of sexualised evaluation of the athletes, using these terms. Considering all results together, analysis of the co-text for the selected words shows no evidence of objectifying these female athletes.

4.6 Athletic performance

Trivialisation of athletic performance occurs when female athlete's abilities and accomplishments are downplayed, dismissed, or attributed to luck, especially as compared to their male counterparts. To identify potential patterns pointing to this discourse, I use triangulation of keywords and semantic tagging, following the approach from Section 4.5. Additionally, I compare the women's and men's corpora to identify any notable differences or similarities with respect to media coverage of sporting performance.

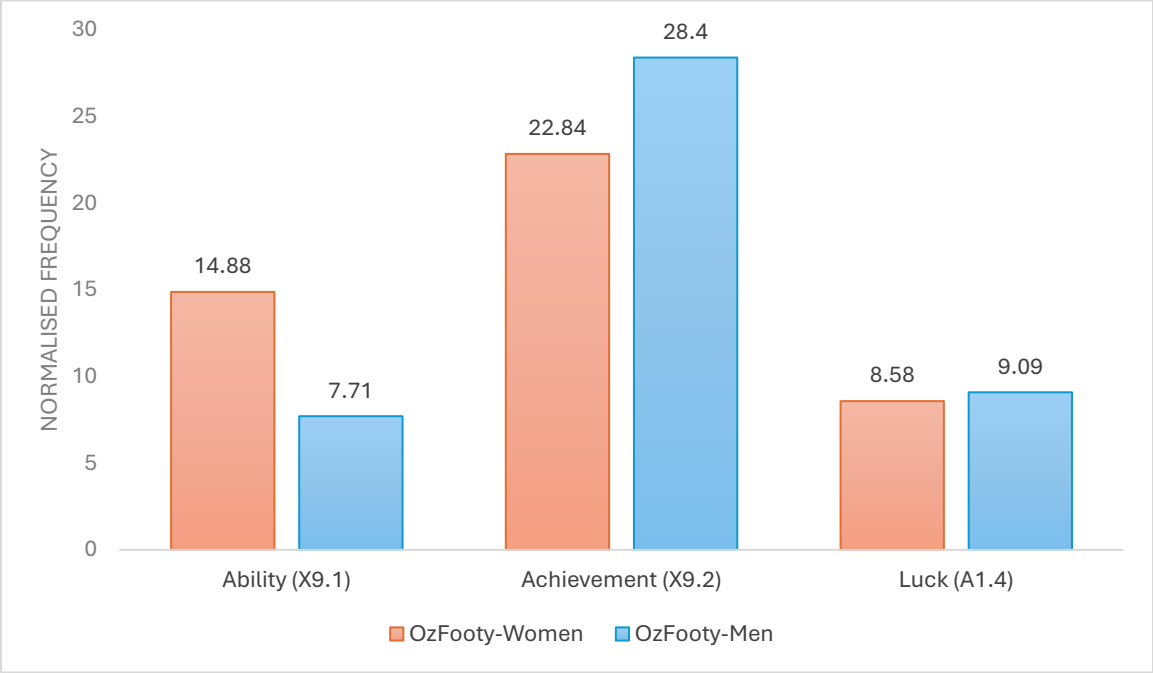
The semantic tags relevant to athletic performance are X9.1 Ability/Intelligence, X9.2 Success/Failure, and A1.4 Chance/Luck, which correspond to the discursive categories of Ability (skills, capacity, blunders), Achievement (success, failure, awards) and Luck (attributing performance to hard work or luck/chance). In OzFooty-W, a total of 230 word types were tagged across these three semantic categories, with a combined frequency of 2871 (NF 77.94). In OzFooty-M, a total of 644 word types were tagged with a combined frequency of 34,940 (NF 70.04). (The semantically tagged words for both corpora can be found in Appendix D).

These tagged results reveal that there is similarity in the amount of performance related words in each of the sub-corpora, with slightly higher focus in OzFooty-W (LL 29.48, LR 0.15). This is a positive indication that athletic performance is as visible in media coverage of women's AFL/NRL as it is in the men's, but this does not tell us whether there are differences (or similarities) in how athleticism is represented. Thus, these semantically tagged word lists were triangulated with their relevant keywords list (i.e. the semantically tagged words from OzFooty-W were compared to the OzFooty-W keywords list, and similarly for the men's results) using the Excel MATCH function, to identify salient domain-relevant words for closer qualitative analysis. The triangulated words are shown in Table 4.14 (words in bold occur in both corpora), while Figure 4.11 presents a comparison of frequencies between the female/male corpora. Overall, there is slightly greater use of words related to Ability in OzFooty-W, while OzFooty-M has slightly greater use of words related to Achievement.

Table 4.14 Triangulated words potentially pointing to athletic performance

Category	OzFooty-Women	OzFooty-Men[39]
Ability (X9.1)	*able*, ***skilful***, ***skill***, *skills*, ***talent***, ***talented***	*ability*, *arch*, *astute*, *bozo*, *capable*, *flair*, *gifted*, *nous*, *prodigy*, *shrewdest*, ***skilful***, ***skill***, *string*, ***talent***, ***talented***, *talents*, *up*, *whiz*,
Achievement (X9.2)	***champ***, ***champion***, *champions*, ***medallist***, ***success***, ***successful***, *undefeated*, ***win***, ***winner***, ***winning***	*beat*, *beaten*, *blockbusting*, ***champ***, ***champion***, *debacle*, *fiasco*, *flourish*, *fulfil*, *fulfils*, *inroads*, *it*, *lose*, *losing*, *lost*, ***medallist***, *overcome*, *overcoming*, *succeed*, ***success***, ***successful***, *thrived*, *unfulfilled*, *triumph*, ***win***, ***winner***, ***winning***, *wins*
Luck (A1.4)	***chance***, ***fortunate***, ***lucky***, ***opportunity***	***chance***, *considered*, *draw*, ***fortunate***, *incidents*, *luck*, *luckless*, ***lucky***, *mishap*, ***opportunity***, *unlucky*

Figure 4.11 Tagged frequency of triangulated words for athletic performance



[39] The following words will not be discussed as they are not relevant to Performance: *arch* (*arch-rivals*, *arch-enemies*), *bozo* (name), *up* (non-determinate adverb), *it* (pronoun). *String* has one tagged instance, but the concordances reveal several sport-related instances, including *second-string*, *third-string*, *fifth-string* all of which arguably may contribute to Ability. However, given the low frequency of this word, it will not be further discussed.

In OzFooty-W, a total of 20 words were triangulated with a combined tagged frequency of 1705 (NF 46.30). The most frequent words are *win* (NF 7.63), *able* (5.02), *talent* (NF 4.94), *opportunity* (4.24) and *winning* (NF 2.96). All words are neutral or positive across each of the categories. More specifically, words for Ability are inherently evaluative words (e.g. *ability, talented, skilful*) which are all positive [+judgement: capacity]. Words for Achievement point towards successful match outcomes (e.g. *win, success, undefeated*) and related positive evaluative descriptors of the athletes (e.g. *champ, champion/s*) [+judgement: normality]. Word for Luck indicate an element of chance (e.g. *opportunity, change, lucky*) rather than agency, though it must be considered that these may be unrelated to the sports domain. Qualitative analysis of these terms is necessary, which will be addressed in Section 4.6.3.

Comparatively, in OzFooty-M a total of 59 words were triangulated with a combined tagged frequency of 22,542 (NF 45.19). The most frequent words are *win* (NF 6.91), *chance* (NF 3.48), *opportunity* (NF 3.32), *lost* (NF 2.98), and *talent* (NF 2.73), which overlap with some of the top words from OzFooty-W (i.e. *win, talent, opportunity*). Similarly, there are inherently positively evaluative words for Ability (*skilful, talented*) [+judgement: capacity] as well as successful match outcomes and positive descriptors under Achievement (*overcome, success, champion, winner*). The men's corpus also includes negative words for both Achievement (e.g. *lost, beaten, debacle, fiasco*) and Luck (*unlucky, mishap, luckless*), which is not the case for OzFooty-W. Further, it is worth noting the words related to intelligence (*gifted, prodigy, whiz*) [+judgement: normality] which point to discourses of male exceptionality, as identified in the concordances. Finally, there is one word under Luck (*considered*) suggesting potential player agency, however, review of selected concordances[40] does not show any evidence of evaluation of sporting performance. Instead, *considered* tends to be used in the senses of "to think about" (often with respect to trades or contracts) and "regarded or deemed as", with some evidence of positively evaluating players ability (*considered the best backrower; widely considered the greatest of all time*) (i.e. +judgement invoking +appreciation).

The results thus far suggest that while female and male players are similarly positioned as capable and successful athletes, negative words are only present in the men's corpus thereby highlighting a key difference. This could be a show of support towards the new women's competitions, although it could also be a result of historical biases in the newsroom whereby women's sport is deemed newsworthy only for exceptional performances/successes (Gee & Leberman, 2011; Rao & Taboada, 2021; see also Chapter 2). Further, the presence of words related to intelligence in the men's corpus echoes patriarchal discourses of positioning male athletes as naturally more talented than their female counterparts. Overall, additional analysis is necessary to gain further insight into how these athletes are represented. Top words (by frequency) occurring in both sub-corpora were thus analysed qualitatively, across each of the semantic domains. Specifically, I analyse the lemmas TALENT (Ability) and WIN

[40] Concordances were randomly down sampled to 10% using AntConc.

(Achievement), as well as *opportunity* and *chance*[41] (Luck), in their co-text, making comparisons between the corpora.

4.6.1 Ability: TALENT

The words qualitatively analysed for Ability include *talent, talented*, and *talents*. Looking first at *talent/talents*,[42] these are used to refer to the athletes (e.g. *any talent will be approached; rising talents of the sport*), as well as a quality (e.g. *got a lot of talent; his best talents are*), across both corpora. That is, these words provide positive judgement of the athletes. Additionally, there is amplification [graduation: force+] through both positive intensifiers (e.g. *best, elite, exciting, huge, natural, special*) and positive quantifiers (e.g. *huge amount of, plenty of, so much*). Negative amplification is largely found in the men's corpus (e.g. *squandering, lack of, underwhelming, unfulfilled*) suggesting that while performance expectations are not being met, these athletes still possess the capacity to perform well – and are still considered newsworthy regardless of a poor performance. In the women's corpus there is a progress narrative identified through the co-occurrence of *talent* with words like *emerging, new, nurturing, promising, up-and-coming, pathways, programs, grows*. This is unsurprising given that both AFLW and NRLW are still in their infancy; however, it is worth noting that progress discourses in women's sports media have repeatedly been identified over the past several decades (McLachlan, 2019).

Moving on to *talented*, this word also positively evaluates the players [+judgement: capacity] across both corpora. In OzFooty-W, it modifies *athlete/s* (Figure 4.12, lines 3-8), including through their on-field positions (line 14). There are also six instances modifying the gender noun *women* (see Figure 4.13). There are no instances of negation, thus confirming positive appraisal of the female athletes.

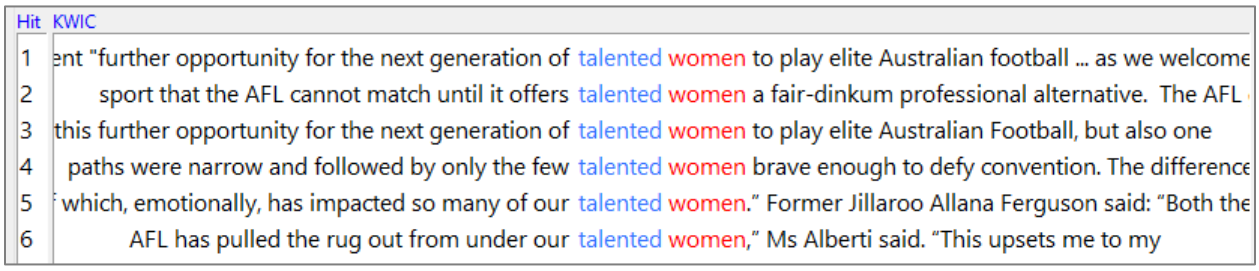
[41] The word *chance* was included as it is the second most frequent overall in OzFooty-M, and the sixth most frequent overall in OzFooty-W.

[42] The plural form *talents* only occurs in OzFooty-M (see Table 4.14).

Figure 4.12 Sample concordances of *talented* from OzFooty-Women

Hit	KWIC		
1	take a group of young guys who are so	talented and	keen, it's an exciting challenge." Crucially for
2	networking group designed to promote women in sport.	Talented and	highly influential. 40 Meg Davis An outstan
3	epresented Australia in cricket and soccer, is a supremely	talented athlete.	The star cricketer also holds a number of
4	and courts of netball, basketball and tennis. This multi-	talented athlete,	who hasn't ruled out trying her hand
5	simply a tribute to the Carlton player as a	talented athlete,	and her memorable "kick" during the fin
6	Australia in cricket and soccer, she is a supremely	talented athlete.	She also holds a number of contracts wi
7	of an athletic gladiator class - a game that recruits	talented athletes	for the top level but doesn't have
8	ketball and AFLW star Erin Phillips. Bright, articulate and	talented athletes	who make ideal leaders and role models
9	's premiership success this season. Kearney is also a	talented cricketer,	having played for the Melbourne Stars
10	and has a hunger for the contest. Also a	talented cricketer,	playing three WNCL games for Tasmar
11	the world rankings this year. Former Matilda, the multi-	talented Ellyse	Perry then led the Australian women's cric
12	she highlighted what's great about women's sport.	Talented, focused	and driven to succeed, plus she knows
13	leading goalkicker and No.3 draft pick Chloe Molloy and	talented former	Bulldog Jaimee Lambert. Molloy joins Du
14	to play for a rival include Jess Duffin and	talented forward	Jasmine Garner, who will both play for V
15	she had lucked upon a four-leaf clover. A	talented Gaelic	footballer and camogie (hurling) player, th
16	the blokes, no question. She's driven and freakishly	talented. Her	father (Syd Brisbane) was an AFL legend, no
17	are hopeful of featuring in coming weeks. Hird — a	talented junior	-tennis player — played for Old Geelong
18	." Conti said while she knew the Boomers had a	talented list	at the start of the season, their performances
19	gby union internationals,NSWOrigin superstars and even	talented Queenslanderswhojoined	the Sydney team ahea
20	of the Sydney Sixers Big Bash franchise. Tireless and	talented, she	has helped oversee a rapid growth in the

Figure 4.13 Concordance lines of *talented women* from OzFooty-Women



Hit	KWIC		
1	ent "further opportunity for the next generation of	talented women	to play elite Australian football ... as we welcome
2	sport that the AFL cannot match until it offers	talented women	a fair-dinkum professional alternative. The AFL
3	this further opportunity for the next generation of	talented women	to play elite Australian Football, but also one
4	paths were narrow and followed by only the few	talented women	brave enough to defy convention. The difference
5	which, emotionally, has impacted so many of our	talented women."	Former Jillaroo Allana Ferguson said: "Both the
6	AFL has pulled the rug out from under our	talented women,"	Ms Alberti said. "This upsets me to my

Figure 4.14 Sample concordance lines of *talented* from OzFooty-Men

Hit	KWIC
1	given the Swans will likely need points for two talented academy players next year but was also declined
2	e heavily compromised because of the number of highly talented academy, next generation and father-son players
3	to supplement during the off-season and a very talented and successful board. All the ingredients are ther
4	to turn his life around. He's a driven, talented and hugely grateful young man who enjoys his v
5	just wanted to pick my brain. Some kids are talented and other kids are talented and are passionate fc
6	as a kid. "Lin Jong fancies himself (and) is talented around the hoop ... but there's blokes who think
7	's highest scorer with 248 points. He is a seriously talented athlete who uses his size and speed to score
8	(21) are just getting started.The Roosters are classy and talented, but they also have a ruthless work ethic and
9	$700,000 or $800,000." McDonald was seen as a hugely talented but frustrating defender, frequently turning over
10	-year playing for Geelong Grammar. But he is supremely talented, capable of playing at either end or through the
11	his commitments with Souths allow."Burns, who was a talented cricketer, is close mates with Souths teammate C
12	its biggest strength, rating the Eagles the fifth most talented defence in the AFL. That comes as little surprise
13	helped the wingman cement his place in a super talented Eagles team and claim an epic premiership win.
14	play a fair bit of footy together. They are talented enough to be having a crack at winning a
15	sprinkle his magic dust with one of the most talented, evasive and creative forwards in the game. Clear
16	offer entertainment. The NRL has a plethora of athletic, talented footballers, who are forced to play like robots rat
17	begins on Wednesday night. The manoeuvre surrounds talented forward Henry, who is tied to the Dockers as
18	the weekend, the Magpies will be keen to secure talented forwards Elliott and Darcy Moore beyond 2018.
19	Cameron Mooney (210 games): "Big, strong, aggressive talented forwards are very hard to find and he became
20	muscle in trying to regather a short kick. The talented fullback is set for a lengthy stint on the

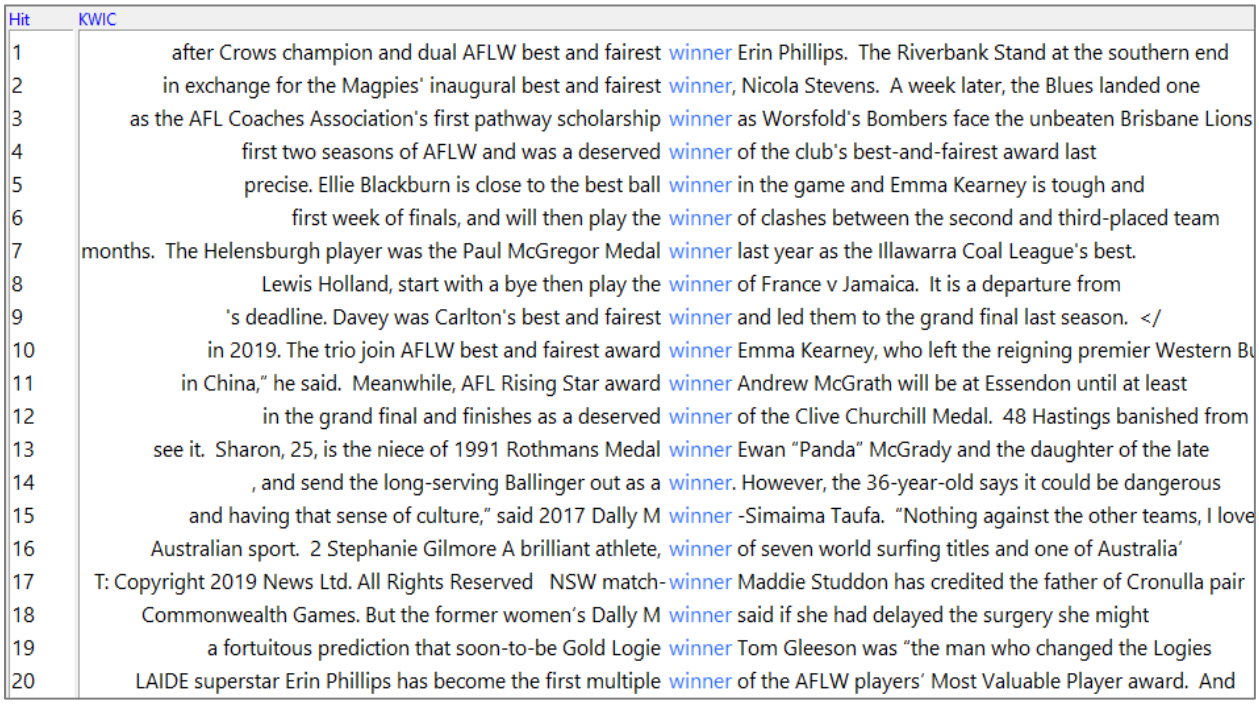
In OzFooty-M, *talented* also co-occurs with *athlete/s* and their on-field positions (Figure 4.14, lines 7, 9, 15, 17-20); however, it modifies *footballer/s* (line 16) and *player/s* as well – a pattern which is not present in the women's corpus. There is a single instance pre-modifying the colloquial *blokes*, but none with gender nouns *man*, *men*, *male/s*, thus providing further evidence of asymmetrical gender marking of female athletes (see Section 4.1).

In sum, TALENT provides positive evaluation of both female and male AFL/NRL athletes, with no evidence of trivialising their abilities. Differences were also identified, including a progress narrative in the women's corpus and some asymmetrical gender marking.

4.6.2 Achievement: WIN

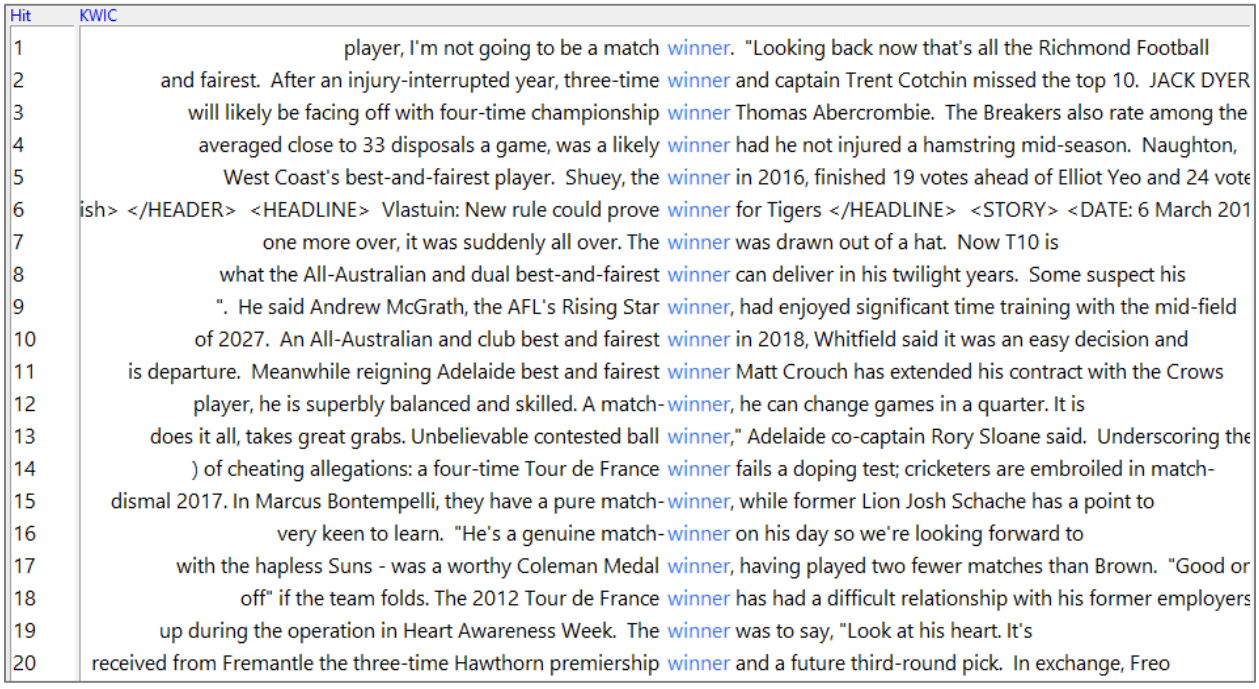
The words analysed for Achievement include *win*, *winning*, *wins*, and *winner*. Looking first at nominal *winner*, this is similarly used in both corpora to evaluate people – in the context of awards (Figure 4.15, lines 1-4, 7, 9-13, 15, 18, 20 and Figure 4.16, lines 2, 5, 8-11, 17), game outcomes (Figure 4.15, line 6 and Figure 4.16 lines 20), and player ability (Figure 4.15, line 5 and Figure 4.16, lines 1, 4, 12, 13, 15). This later use provides further positive judgement of these athletes, which shades into the semantic domain of Ability. In the men's corpus there are also instances which positively evaluate a decision (i.e. appreciation), as in *an AFL Grand Final after dark would be a winner*, which are not present in OzFooty-W.

Figure 4.15 Sample concordance lines of *winner* from OzFooty-Women



Hit	KWIC		
1	after Crows champion and dual AFLW best and fairest	winner	Erin Phillips. The Riverbank Stand at the southern end
2	in exchange for the Magpies' inaugural best and fairest	winner,	Nicola Stevens. A week later, the Blues landed one
3	as the AFL Coaches Association's first pathway scholarship	winner	as Worsfold's Bombers face the unbeaten Brisbane Lions
4	first two seasons of AFLW and was a deserved	winner	of the club's best-and-fairest award last
5	precise. Ellie Blackburn is close to the best ball	winner	in the game and Emma Kearney is tough and
6	first week of finals, and will then play the	winner	of clashes between the second and third-placed team
7	months. The Helensburgh player was the Paul McGregor Medal	winner	last year as the Illawarra Coal League's best.
8	Lewis Holland, start with a bye then play the	winner	of France v Jamaica. It is a departure from
9	's deadline. Davey was Carlton's best and fairest	winner	and led them to the grand final last season. </
10	in 2019. The trio join AFLW best and fairest award	winner	Emma Kearney, who left the reigning premier Western Bu
11	in China," he said. Meanwhile, AFL Rising Star award	winner	Andrew McGrath will be at Essendon until at least
12	in the grand final and finishes as a deserved	winner	of the Clive Churchill Medal. 48 Hastings banished from
13	see it. Sharon, 25, is the niece of 1991 Rothmans Medal	winner	Ewan "Panda" McGrady and the daughter of the late
14	, and send the long-serving Ballinger out as a	winner	. However, the 36-year-old says it could be dangerous
15	and having that sense of culture," said 2017 Dally M	winner	-Simaima Taufa. "Nothing against the other teams, I love
16	Australian sport. 2 Stephanie Gilmore A brilliant athlete,	winner	of seven world surfing titles and one of Australia'
17	T: Copyright 2019 News Ltd. All Rights Reserved NSW match-	winner	Maddie Studdon has credited the father of Cronulla pair
18	Commonwealth Games. But the former women's Dally M	winner	said if she had delayed the surgery she might
19	a fortuitous prediction that soon-to-be Gold Logie	winner	Tom Gleeson was "the man who changed the Logies
20	LAIDE superstar Erin Phillips has become the first multiple	winner	of the AFLW players' Most Valuable Player award. And

Figure 4.16 Sample concordance lines of *winner* from OzFooty-Men



Hit	KWIC		
1	player, I'm not going to be a match	winner.	"Looking back now that's all the Richmond Football
2	and fairest. After an injury-interrupted year, three-time	winner	and captain Trent Cotchin missed the top 10. JACK DYER
3	will likely be facing off with four-time championship	winner	Thomas Abercrombie. The Breakers also rate among the
4	averaged close to 33 disposals a game, was a likely	winner	had he not injured a hamstring mid-season. Naughton,
5	West Coast's best-and-fairest player. Shuey, the	winner	in 2016, finished 19 votes ahead of Elliot Yeo and 24 vote
6	ish> </HEADER> <HEADLINE> Vlastuin: New rule could prove	winner	for Tigers </HEADLINE> <STORY> <DATE: 6 March 201
7	one more over, it was suddenly all over. The	winner	was drawn out of a hat. Now T10 is
8	what the All-Australian and dual best-and-fairest	winner	can deliver in his twilight years. Some suspect his
9	". He said Andrew McGrath, the AFL's Rising Star	winner,	had enjoyed significant time training with the mid-field
10	of 2027. An All-Australian and club best and fairest	winner	in 2018, Whitfield said it was an easy decision and
11	is departure. Meanwhile reigning Adelaide best and fairest	winner	Matt Crouch has extended his contract with the Crows
12	player, he is superbly balanced and skilled. A match-	winner,	he can change games in a quarter. It is
13	does it all, takes great grabs. Unbelievable contested ball	winner,"	Adelaide co-captain Rory Sloane said. Underscoring the
14	) of cheating allegations: a four-time Tour de France	winner	fails a doping test; cricketers are embroiled in match-
15	dismal 2017. In Marcus Bontempelli, they have a pure match-	winner,	while former Lion Josh Schache has a point to
16	very keen to learn. "He's a genuine match-	winner	on his day so we're looking forward to
17	with the hapless Suns - was a worthy Coleman Medal	winner,	having played two fewer matches than Brown. "Good or
18	off" if the team folds. The 2012 Tour de France	winner	has had a difficult relationship with his former employers
19	up during the operation in Heart Awareness Week. The	winner	was to say, "Look at his heart. It's
20	received from Fremantle the three-time Hawthorn premiership	winner	and a future third-round pick. In exchange, Freo

Moving now to *win/wins*,[43] this is used in both corpora in the context of (positive) match outcomes – including real outcomes (*celebrated a win against [opposition]*) as well as potential future outcomes through expression of desire (*I want to win...*), i.e. through irrealis affect (see Chapter 5 for further discussion of affect). Additionally, focus is also on types of awards or accolades (e.g. *win the Clive Churchill Medal; win the 2019 flag*). Similarly, *winning* is used to describe (real and potential) match outcomes in both corpora (e.g. *winning a premiership*) as well as to evaluate people and/or their performances (e.g. *premiership winning team, match winning try*) which provides examples of metonymically implicated attitude (i.e. judgement invoking appreciation, or vice versa).

In sum, WIN is similarly used in both the women's and men's corpora to discuss real and potential match outcomes as well as provide positive evaluation of player abilities [+judgement: capacity] and their performances [+appreciation: reaction], including through awards, with no evidence of trivialising female athletes' achievements.

4.6.3 Luck: *opportunity* and *chance*

The concordance analysis for *opportunity* and *chance* shows that these words are generally not used to evaluate players and/or performance. This is not unexpected given that the corpus excludes in-season coverage which would be more likely to include commentary of on-field scoring opportunities or chances. Rather, when these words are used within the sporting context, it is in relation to player trades, on-field positioning, strength and conditioning, and other such topics. Additionally, in OzFooty-W, there is focus on the *opportunity/chance* to play at the elite level – including AFLW/NRLW and other sports – which often occurs in projected speech from athletes (e.g. *so grateful for the opportunity to play*) and provides an example of positive affect (see Chapter 5 for further discussion of affect). There is also one instance of negatively evaluating a player (example 22). However, as this is only a single instance clearly situated within gameplay, it does not provide evidence of trivialising female athletes – though it does provide another example of metonymically implicated appraisal.

> 22) The Blues [target] **botched their first try scoring opportunity** [-judgement invoking appreciation] (LW_13FE158E)

In sum, while the word lists suggest evidence of Luck, the qualitative analysis confirmed these are related to off-field sports topics, rather than performance – likely due to the selection of data in the corpus. Considering all results together, both female and male players are portrayed as capable and successful athletes.

[43] The plural form *wins* only occurs in OzFooty-M (see Table 4.14).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has taken a targeted, corpus-based approach to investigate whether the patriarchal discourses of gendered stereotyping, trivialisation, objectification, and othering are present in the OzFooty corpus. Specifically, I focused on the linguistic practices of gender marking, infantilisation, references to kinship roles, descriptions of physical appearance, and descriptions of athletic performance, making comparisons between the women's and men's corpora as relevant.

Taken as a whole, the findings are mixed, with a shift away from some previously gender-biased representations, alongside evidence of other persisting discourses. Positively, there is no evidence of objectifying female athletes via sexualised descriptions or evaluations of physical appearance. Additionally, while some focus is placed on female athletes' personal lives via kinship role labels, comparison to the men's corpus found some similar patterns of use. The qualitative analysis of explicit parental role labels revealed that in both the female/male corpora the referents are more often the parents of players rather than the athletes themselves.

Attention is given to athletic performance, with the female athletes represented similarly to their male counterparts as talented, skilful, and successful. These findings align with previous corpus-based research of AFLW media coverage (Kemble, 2020) as well as other recent studies of media coverage of female athletes in Australia (Caple, 2013; Lumby et al., 2014) and is a promising step towards a more inclusive representation of female athletes in a space where they have historically been represented as objects rather than athletes. Alongside this, however, there is some evidence of male exceptionality and "mental smarts" in terms of gameplay (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988, p. 11), as well as a lack of negative performance coverage of female athletes , suggesting that the newsroom may still require an exceptional performance/success or personal-interest story, to be considered newsworthy. Analysis of in-season AFL/NRL media coverage may yield different results; however, another recent linguistic study of sports news more generally found that articles featuring sportswomen focused "more heavily on achievements and records" as compared to articles featuring male athletes, therefore suggesting a wider discourse that women need to win, but men just need to play (Rao & Taboada, 2021, p. 9).

While the use of GIRL is prominent in media coverage of women's AFL/NRL, the text analysis shows that the sources using these terms are mostly players and other in-group members, thus suggesting these terms are used for establishing solidarity and inclusion within the new competitions – a finding which confirms other recent research (Ismail, 2017; Kemble, 2020; Sherwood et al., 2019; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). This is counter to much of the historical research in this space which has tended to take a content analytic approach of comparing word frequencies, without considering the co-text in which the terms occur. The strength of the mixed method approach taken in this research is thus supported through the findings.

The qualitative analyses for GIRL and BOY also revealed a distinct difference in the way that these players are portrayed in the media. The female athletes are positioned as role models who are progressing women's sport, which, while setting a positive example for younger generations, can also put added pressure on these athletes to perform – both on and off the field –

in socially acceptable and gender-stereotypical ways. In fact, progress narratives in women's sport coverage are not new (see McLachlan, 2019), but these often fail to address the struggle of female athletes to gain acceptance in this space (Wrench & Garrett, 2018). In contrast, coverage of the men's AFL/NRL focuses on their bad boy behaviour. Involvement in scandal is prevalent, along with a seemingly lack of recourse handed down by clubs, therefore suggesting an entrenched "boys will be boys" attitude. Overall, the results suggest that double standards are in place for these athletes, and closer analysis of identified discourses of good/bad behaviour could provide a fruitful area for future studies.

Finally, there is strong evidence of asymmetrical gender marking, which therefore contributes to the patriarchal discourse of othering. Most surprising was the prominence of this in the women's corpus. Such overt and repetitive marking is not only redundant, given that the official league names are already marked (AFLW, NRLW), but it also perpetuates the notion that that this space is "naturally" male, suggesting that the news producers themselves view (consciously or not) women's AFL/NRL as the other to the default (and unmarked) men's version. Additionally, the repetition of this exclusionary discourse identified throughout the corpus has the potential to influence the readership to internalise this hegemonic ideology. In short, the continued asymmetrical gender marking of female sports and athletes is unnecessary.

Overall, the strength of the mixed method approach, including the integration of triangulation, is validated through the findings, which have also highlighted some methodological issues and analytical considerations. While the semantic tagger integrated in WMatrix is a powerful tool that provides automated identification of words grouped by sense – especially lower frequency words which may not appear in frequency lists or keyword analysis – this research has raised some questions regarding the validity of the tool. Firstly, WMatrix does not downsample concordances to align with the USAS tagger results. Instead, the researcher is presented with all instances of a given word, regardless of whether it is relevant to the tagged sense. This thus means the researcher must manually review all concordances with the aim of identifying the (same) relevant senses that the tagger identified. The upside of this, however, was that I could identify any instances where the tagger had perhaps incorrectly tagged a word sense.

Secondly, there are inconsistencies with how the semantic tags are applied. In some instances, the tagger included words unrelated to the semantic sense, while at other times words which should have been included (such as *child/ren, kid/s* for S4 Kinship) were missed. This thus reaffirms the importance of combining quantitative analysis with closer qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis is useful to identify patterns across large datasets, however, may not reveal nuances that can only be identified by understanding the co-text in which these patterns occur. Similarly, qualitative analysis is useful to interrogate a specific text or texts, however the results may not be representative of patterns across the wider dataset. Combining these approaches, as has been done in this chapter, therefore strengthens the analysis and findings.

In conclusion, these findings have provided valuable insight into the presence of and shift away from some of the more prominent patriarchal discourses within the Australian sports media. While gains have been made, there are still some clear gendered differences in the way

that men's and women's AFL/NRL are represented in the media. While this chapter has addressed some of the more prominent patterns, there is no doubt that further research is necessary. In addition, one aspect that this chapter has not yet considered is gender bias in relation to emotionality, which is a complex matter that deserves in-depth analysis. In the following chapter, I will therefore analyse emotion terms in the corpus with respect to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping.

5. Emotionality

5.1 Introduction

This chapter undertakes an analysis of emotionality in print media coverage, as it contributes to the patriarchal discourse of gendered stereotyping. I explore the types of emotions present in the corpus and consider whether female athletes are represented as more stereotypically emotional than their male counterparts. To do this, I trial different methodological approaches to meet the challenge of analysing affect across a large corpus (see Chapter 3 for details). Specifically, I triangulate semi-automated approaches to analyse affect, using semantic tagging and a self-compiled affect reference list. The quantitative analyses are supported by selected qualitative text analyses of identified dominant emotional discourses. Taking this into consideration, the following research questions guide the analysis for this chapter:

1. What emotions are present in the OzFooty corpora?
2. Are female athletes represented as stereotypically more emotional than their male counterparts?
3. Can (semi)automated corpus linguistic tools be used to help identify patterns of affect in a large dataset?

This chapter, therefore, aims to explore not only what the use of emotions in sports news discourse reveals about gender stereotypes, but also what triangulating these approaches reveals about analysing affect/emotion in a large corpus. To facilitate the triangulation of approaches and associated findings, this chapter is divided into two main sections: Section 5.2 and Section 5.3.

Section 5.2 uses semantic tagging to identify dominant emotional domains in the OzFooty sub-corpora. Semantic tags are applied using the UCREL semantic tagger, which is integrated within WMatrix (Archer et al., 2002; Rayson, 2009). In Section 5.2.2, downsampling for concordance analyses is undertaken in WordSmith (Scott, 2022), given the constraints of WMatrix (see Chapter 4).

Section 5.3 uses the Affect Reference List to identify dominant affect categories in the sub-corpora, and to explore the use of affect in projected speech content, as extracted by the Quotation Tool (see Chapter 3 for details about the Affect Reference List and the Quotation Tool). In this chapter, all word lists, key semantic tags, and keywords lists are generated from WMatrix to ensure comparative results between the two approaches. Key semantic tags and keywords are generated by comparing the female/male corpora against each other (including the female/male Speech sub-corpora), using a Log Likelihood (LL) measure of 3.84 or higher (p-value ≤ 0.05) as the significance threshold to allow for the maximum number of emotion words within each domain (as discussed in Chapter 3). Automated calculations for normalised frequencies use the total word token count for the OzFooty sub-corpora as generated by

WMatrix,[44] and a base of 10,000. All other calculations in this chapter, including use of the Lancaster Log Likelihood calculator (Rayson, 2008), also apply the total token counts from WMatrix.

Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of findings and discussion of triangulating these approaches, including strengths and limitations of the tools (Section 5.4).

5.2 Semantic tagging

This section uses semantic tagging to investigate emotion in the OzFooty corpora and consider gendered differences. Additionally, this section considers the use of the semantic tagger (integrated in WMatrix) as a semi-automated means to identify instances of affect across a large corpus. The semantic categories relevant to emotion include all tags under E Emotional Actions, States and Processes, as well as X2.6 Expect, X5.2 Interest/Boredom/Excited/Energetic and X7 Wanting/Planning/Choosing. Tag X2.6 is included as this covers the word *surprise* and related senses, which is a sub-category of in/security in affect (Martin & White, 2005) and its own category in modified affect (Bednarek, 2008). Tag X5.2 covers words depicting interest and boredom, which realise dis/satisfaction in terms of affect. Tag X7 covers the semantic domain of desire, which is part of dis/inclination in terms of affect. While I do not aim to undertake a detailed mapping of all USAS semantic categories and associated emotion words to appraisal categories of attitude, these two systems do have similarities with respect to categorising emotion. As such, the decision to include the additional USAS tags has been informed by the use of appraisal in this thesis. Table 5.1 provides all relevant emotion tags used in this chapter and the tag descriptions, each corresponding to its potential affect category(ies).

Taking this into consideration, links are made, where relevant, between the USAS categories and affect, in the analyses that follow. Section 5.2.1 undertakes an initial exploration of emotion in the corpus by analysing the frequency of the semantic domains identified in Table 5.1. Section 5.2.2 then presents the analysis of key semantic tags in the OzFooty corpora.

[44] For OzFooty-W the total token count is 24,202, and for OzFooty-M is it 4,988,186 (in WMatrix).

Table 5.1 USAS tags relating to emotion and their descriptions (Source: Archer et al., 2002), mapped to potential affect types

Tag	Tag Description	Tag valence (+/-)	Affect Category
E1	General terms depicting emotional actions, states and processes	E1	n/a
E2	Terms depicting fondness, affection, partiality, attachment, or the lack of	E2+ Like	+happiness; +satisfaction
		E2- Dislike	-unhappiness; -dissatisfaction
E3	Terms depicting (level of) serenity, composure, anger, violence	E3+ Calm	+security
		E3- Violent/Angry	-dissatisfaction
E4.1	Terms depicting (level of) happiness	E4.1+ Happy	+happiness
		E4.1- Sad	-unhappiness
E4.2	Terms depicting (level of) contentment	E4.2+ Content	+satisfaction
		E4.2- Discontent	-dissatisfaction
E5	Terms relating to (level of) trepidation, courage, surprise, etc.	E5+ Brave	n/a[45]
		E5- Fear/Shock	-insecurity; surprise
E6	Terms relating to (level of) apprehension, confidence, etc.	E6+ Confident	+security
		E6- Worry/Concern	-insecurity
X2.6	Terms depicting (level of) expectation	X2.6+ Expected	+security
		X2.6- Unexpected	-insecurity; surprise
X5.2	Terms depicting (level of) interest, energy, boredom, etc.	X5.2 Interest/Excited	+satisfaction
		X5.2- Bored	-dissatisfaction
X7	Terms depicting (level of) desire, aspiration	X7+ Wanted	+inclination
		X7- Unwanted	-disinclination

5.2.1 Frequency of semantic domains

The frequency of word types and tokens allocated to each semantic tag, by corpora, are shown in Table 5.2. For OzFooty-W, there are 1014 word types (NF 27.53) with a total frequency of 7671 (NF 208.32) identified across the relevant emotional domains. For OzFooty-M, there are 2693 word types (NF 5.4) with a total frequency of 106,144 (NF 212.79). Thus, while there is relative similarity in the frequency of emotion words used in the women's and men's corpora (LL 3.29, LR -0.03), there is significant difference in the types of words, with a wider variety in OzFooty-W (LL 1462.92, LR 2.35). This presents an interesting result given the size difference in the corpora – with OzFooty-W being the smaller of the two – and therefore suggests a greater range of emotions are present in media coverage of AFLW/NRLW.

[45] Potentially links to attitude: judgement.

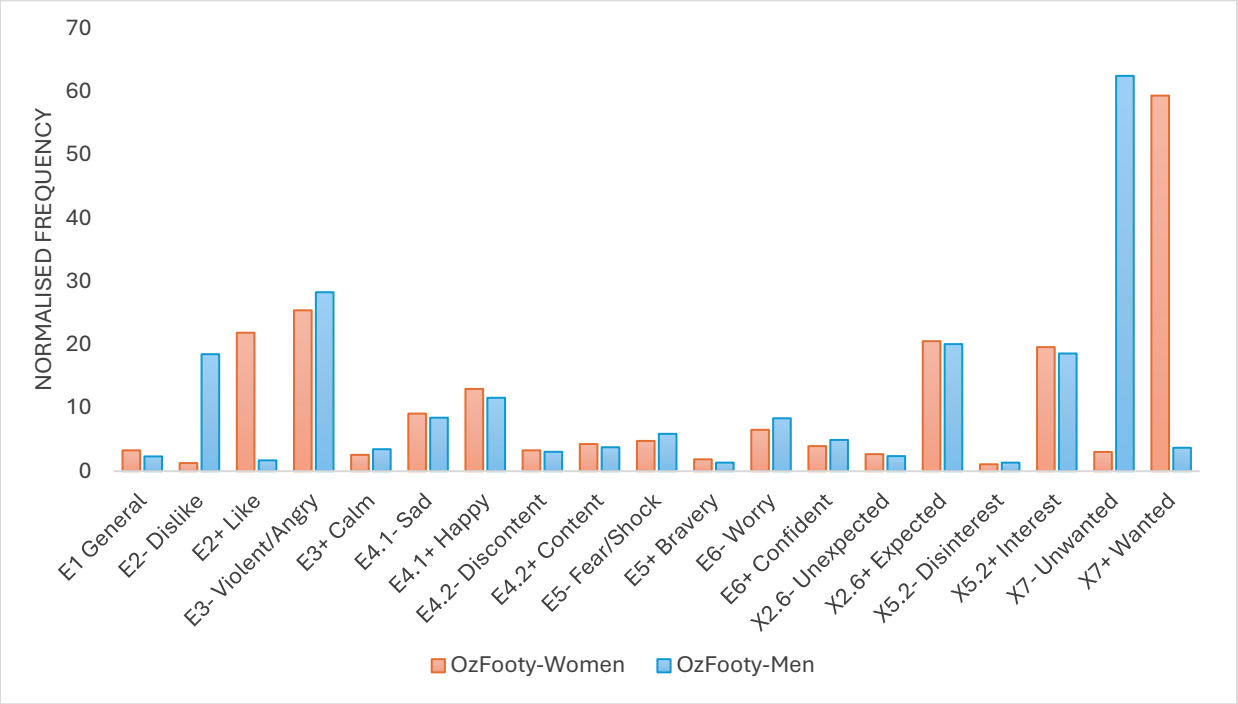
Table 5.2 Frequency of USAS emotion tags in the OzFooty corpora

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
Semantic Tag	Types (NF)	Freq.	NF	Types (NF)	Freq.	NF
Total Overall	1014 (27.53)	7671	208.29	2693 (5.4)	106,144	212.79
E1 Total	25 (0.68)	121	3.29	74 (0.15)	1180	2.33
E2 Total	111 (3.01)	861	23.38	309 (0.62)	10,156	20.36
(-) dislike		47	1.28		9226	18.49
(+) like		806	21.88		856	1.71
(neutral)		8	0.22		74	0.15
E3 Total	189 (5.13)	1031	27.99	580 (1.16)	16,683	33.45
(-) violent/angry		936	25.42		14,952	29.28
(+) calm		95	2.58		1729	3.47
(neutral)		0	0		2	0
E4 Total	197 (5.35)	1100	29.87	501 (1)	13,408	26.88
4.1 (-) sad		335	9.1		4211	8.45
4.1 (+) happy		486	13.2		5784	11.6
4.2 (-) discontent		121	3.29		1526	3.06
4.2 (+) content		158	4.29		1887	3.78
E5 Total	68 (1.85)	245	6.65	200 (0.4)	3609	7.24
(-) fear/shock		176	4.78		2941	5.9
(-) bravery		69	1.87		668	1.35
E6 Total	66 (1.79)	387	10.51	198 (0.4)	6642	13.32
(-) worry		241	6.54		4172	8.36
(+) confident		146	3.96		2469	4.94
(neutral)		0	0		1	0
X2.6 Total	64 (1.74)	866	23.51	119 (0.24)	11,483	23.02
(-) unexpected		99	2.69		1188	2.38
(+) expected		753	20.54		10,018	20.08
(neutral)		14	0.38		277	0.56
X5.2 Total	114 (3.1)	762	20.69	331 (0.66)	9953	19.95
(-) disinterest		40	1.09		673	1.35
(+) interest		722	19.61		9280	18.6
X7 Total	180 (4.89)	2298	62.4	381 (0.76)	33,030	66.22
(-) unwanted		112	3.04		31,165	62.48
(+) wanted		2186	59.36		1848	3.7
(neutral)		0	0		12	0.02

The tag with the highest frequency for both corpora is X7 Wanting (NF 62.4 in OzFooty-W and NF 66.22 in OzFooty-M), with E1 General the least frequent. The similarity between the corpora initially suggests that female players are not necessarily represented as more emotional than the males, although closer analysis is required.

Figure 5.1 provides a visual overview of frequency for positive/negative valence in the female/male corpora. The three most frequent tags for OzFooty-W are: X7+ Wanted (NF 59.36), E3- Violent/Angry (NF 25.42), and E2+ Like (NF 21.88). In terms of affect, these tags relate to inclination: desire, dissatisfaction: displeasure, and satisfaction: pleasure and/or happiness: affection. The three most frequent tags in OzFooty-M are: X7- Unwanted (NF 62.48), E3- Violent/Angry (NF 29.28), and X2.6+ Expected (NF 20.08). In terms of affect, these tags relate to disinclination: non-desire, dissatisfaction: displeasure, and security: quiet.

Figure 5.1 Positive and negative USAS emotion tags in the OzFooty corpora



Therefore, while X7 overall is the most frequent in both corpora, there is greater focus on positive wanting (inclination: desire) in the women's corpus, and negative wanting (disinclination: non-desire) in the men's corpus. Notably, one of the prototypical examples that Archer et al. (2002, p. 34) provide for X7- is *disposal*, which, in the context of AFL, refers to successfully passing the ball between teammates. It is thus likely that non-emotive *disposal* has influenced the results from the tagger, especially in OzFooty-M (as confirmed in Section 5.2.2.12 below). Similarly for E2, positive liking words (happiness: affection and/or satisfaction: pleasure) are most prominent in OzFooty-W, while in OzFooty-M the focus is on negative dislike words (unhappiness: antipathy and/or dissatisfaction: displeasure). Taken together, these

results point to more positive emotion in the women's corpus, and more negative emotion in the men's corpus.

Further, the high frequency of E3- in both corpora is also interesting, however, the use of "aggressive" terminology may be related to gameplay and thus mis-tagged. In fact, the most frequent words for this tag, across both corpora, are gameplay-related lexis related to AFL/NRL (*kick the ball, kicking a field goal, hit the ground running, clash with [the opposition]*). Thus, it is unclear whether the high frequency of E3- is accurate with respect to negative emotion (affect) within the corpus (see Section 5.2.2.7 for further analysis of E3-)

Finally, while X2.6+ is the third most frequent tag in OzFooty-M (NF 20.08), it occurs with relative similarity in OzFooty-W (NF 20.54). Thus, it is not indicative of an emotional discourse specific to men's AFL/NRL. Rather, this suggests that lexis related to expectation (+security) are used more generally in sports media coverage, regardless of sex/gender.

In sum, this section has provided an initial overview of emotion in the corpora by analysing the frequency of semantic domains. The results show that there is similarity between men's and women's AFL/NRL, although some of the tagged words may in fact not actually point to emotion (such as for X7 and E3). There is also a notable difference in positive/negative emotion, with emphasis on positive emotions in OzFooty-W and negative emotions in OzFooty-M. Focus on positive emotions in media coverage of women's AFL/NRL may suggest support of the new competitions, or potentially point to historical discourses of the "congenial and caring" sportswoman (Christopherson et al., 2002, p. 183) through the use of gender-stereotyped emotion. Clearly, further analysis is necessary (see Section 5.2.2.2). Combined, these results therefore indicate that while female athletes are not positioned as overall more emotional than their male counterparts, there are still notable differences that warrant further investigation.

These results present the aggregate findings, with a more detailed analysis to follow. Section 5.2.2 investigates key semantic tags in the sub-corpora, first providing an overview of the results, then analysing the words comprising each of the key tags in more detail.

5.2.2 Key semantic tags

To begin, Table 5.3 provides an overview of all key emotion tags in the corpora, including the frequency and Log Likelihood (LL) as a measure of keyness. In OzFooty-W, a total of 72 key semantic tags were generated (when compared to OzFooty-M), four of which (5%) are relevant to emotion: E1 General, E2+ Liking, E4.1+ Happy, and E5+ Bravery. The most salient is E2+ (LL 23.64) which is linked to happiness or satisfaction in terms of affect and is also one of the most frequent tags identified in Section 5.2.1. Notably, all relevant emotion tags are positive, except for E1 General which is classified as neutral.

In comparison, a total of 127 key semantic tags were generated for OzFooty-M (as compared to OzFooty-W), eight of which (6%) are relevant to emotion: E2- Dislike, E3+ Calm, E3- Violent/Angry, E5- Fear, E6+ Confident; E6- Worry, X7+ Wanted, and X7- Unwanted. These include both positive and negative tags, with a slight tendency towards negative (ratio = 5:3). The most salient tag is E3- (LL 25.09) which is linked to dissatisfaction in affect and is also one of the most frequent tags identified in Section 5.2.1. Interestingly, both positive and negative

tags for E3 and E6 are key, indicating that discourses of dis/satisfaction and in/security are salient in men's AFL/NRL coverage. Considering previous literature (see Chapter 2), this suggests that male players may be represented stereotypically as in control of their emotions, except for the gender-appropriate male emotion of anger (Aznar & Tenenbaum, 2023).

Finally, tags E4.1- Sad, E4.2 Contentment, X2.6 Expect, and X5.2 Interest/Boredom are not identified as key in either sub-corpus, suggesting that associated lexis occurs with relative similarity in both sub-corpora and/or do not meet the significance threshold.

Table 5.3 Key emotion tags in the OzFooty corpora

	OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
USAS emotion tag	Freq.	NF	LL	Freq.	NF	LL
E1 General	121	3.30	11.87	-	-	-
E2+ Like	702	19.09	23.64	-	-	-
E2- Dislike	-	-	-	855	1.63	4.24
E3+ Calm	-	-	-	1719	3.36	9.37
E3- Violent/Angry	-	-	-	14,933	29.44	25.09
E4.1+ Happy	450	12.25	5.2	-	-	-
E5+ Bravery	69	1.89	7.11	-	-	-
E5- Fear/shock	-	-	-	2941	5.81	7.8
E6+ Confident	-	-	-	2465	4.89	7.15
E6- Worry	-	-	-	4172	8.2	14.77
X7+ Wanted	-	-	-	31,165	62.39	5.54
X7- Unwanted	-	-	-	1848	3.68	4.36

Overall, these initial results indicate that male athletes in fact may be portrayed as more emotional than females, although the size difference between the corpora must also be considered. Certainly, there is a wider variety of semantic domains identified as key in the men's corpus, with a tendency to focus on negativity. In comparison, positive emotional domains are associated with coverage of female athletes.

Each of the twelve key emotion tags identified in Table 5.3 will be analysed in more detail in the following sections. All individual words within each semantic tag are categorised into lemmatised groups and the frequencies summed, to ascertain the percentage that each group contributes to the tag overall. For example, tag E2+ includes the words *love*, *loved*, and *loving*, which are grouped together as LOVE. This facilitates a better understanding of which types of emotions are more prominent in the corpora across each of the key semantic domains. Lemmatised groups contributing less than 1% to the semantic tag have been named as Other, with only the top 10 words, by frequency, shown.[46] The full word lists are in Appendix D.

[46] In general, these lower frequency words are not discussed in the analyses. Where there are more than 10 words allocated to Other, this is indicated by ellipsis.

For each word group contributing 10% or more (by frequency of occurrence, rounded) to the semantic tag, concordance analyses were undertaken for all identified words within that group. Specifically, words were analysed to determine whether they are in fact emotion/affect and, if so, whether the emoter is an AFL/NRL player, or not. For OzFooty-W, I consider whether the emoter is a female player, and for OzFooty-M, whether the emoter is a male player (past or present).[47] While I draw on appraisal resources (namely, attitude and engagement), a detailed analysis was not undertaken. My aim is to analyse whether the words identified by the semantic tagger are in fact emotion attributed to the players, to thus investigate whether female athletes are represented as stereotypically emotional. However, prominent appraisal patterns identified are discussed where relevant, focussing on affect. Additionally, given the practicality of time to manually analyse over 20,000 individual concordances, a pragmatic approach is taken to downsampling. In cases where the total tagged frequency of a word group is greater than 300, either 10% or 300 lines have been analysed, whichever is the larger number. Selection of these lines is done using the randomised downsampling feature in WordSmith, given the constraints of WMatrix.[48] Where there are any discrepancies in word frequency between the two tools, I use the frequency calculated by Wordsmith as this is the greater number.[49]

The following sections present the analyses of the semantic tags, following the order in which they appear in Table 5.3, and starting with the women's corpus.

5.2.2.1 OzFooty-W: E1 General

Beginning with OzFooty-W, E1 General has 121 tokens across 25 types (see Table 5.4). The top five words by frequency are: *emotional* (33, NF 0.9, 27%), *emotions* (13, NF 0.35, 11%), *emotion* (11, NF 0.3, 9%), *feel* (10, NF 0.27, 8%), and *vibe* (10, NF 0.27, 8%). Combined, these five words account for 64% of all tokens tagged as E1.

In general, the words in Table 5.4, while relating to feelings, do not indicate whether someone is specifically "happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 42) and so would not be considered affect. Perhaps *blush*, realised as a behavioural expression of embarrassment or shame (insecurity: disquiet), could be considered affect, along with FLUSH – if used as a synonym for *blush*. Regardless, the frequencies are too low to extrapolate any broader conclusions.

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[47] Given the infancy of the AFLW and NRLW, there are very few, if any, past players mentioned in the corpus. However, the men's corpus regularly includes projected speech from retired players, which are included in my analysis. Exceptions are past players which are identified in their current role as coaches, managers, etc., following the approach in Chapter 4.

[48] As raised in Chapter 4, WMatrix does not correlate the semantic tagger aggregate results with the individual instances of words in the concordances, thus providing no benefit to using WMatrix for concordance analysis of semantically tagged words. Alongside this, there is no way to easily randomly downsample in WMatrix for qualitative analysis.

[49] Such discrepancies are expected as each corpus tool reads a lexical item differently, especially with respect to multi-word units (MWUs). MWUs are considered throughout these analyses.

Table 5.4 Words tagged as E1 General in OzFooty-Women

OzFooty-Women				
Group	**Words**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
EMOTION	*emotional, emotions, emotion, emotionally, emotive*	60	1.63	50%
MOOD	*moody, mood*	13	0.35	11%
VIBE	*vibe, vibes*	11	0.30	9%
FEEL	*feel*	10	0.27	8%
SENTIMENT	*sentiment, sentiments*	10	0.27	8%
FLUSH	*flushes, flushed*	3	0.08	2%
BLUSH	*blush*	2	0.05	2%
Other	*tone, corny, pity, touching, nostalgia, shudder, morale, sheepish, awe, crack_up*	12	0.35	10%
Total		**121**	**3.3**	**100%**

Figure 5.2 Sample concordance lines of *emotional* from OzFooty-Women

1	a definitive call to depart. She said it had made for	**emotional**	weeks before and after the grand final. "I
2	on the Gold Coast in April. Phillips said it was an	**emotional**	moment for her when she finally
3	aren't overly impressed by North, so that'll be a fiery,	**emotional**	match. Which I can't wait for, because
4	for best on ground. "As you can imagine, this is a bit	**emotional**, "	Phillips said. "To the crowd, 53,000.
5	Stadium last year — was as significant as it was	**emotional**.	The huge crowd saw a Crows win that
6	to do that together is what has Hancock feeling so	**emotional**.	The 35-year-old will be led out by best
7	she's switched on and focused. I'm being soft and	**emotional**, "	Hancock said. "I even got emotional at
8	soft and emotional," Hancock said. "I even got	**emotional**	at the captain's run. It was the last one
9	it would be amazing if there was that same level of	**emotional**	investment and care for the women's
10	AFL and kicking skills." The footage of Haneen's	**emotional**	response after being told she would
11	"Just not giving up and making the jersey proud," an	**emotional**	Taufa said. "Digging in and working for
12	. "This was supposed to be the good leg. It's pretty	**emotional**.	It's an absolute dream come true … to
13	: © 2019 News Limited. All rights reserved. AN	**emotional**	Erin Phillips paid tribute to her pregnant
14	hopes to return to full training shortly and make an	**"emotional"**	return to football in February's
15	was spine-tingling. But that high was offset by the	**emotional**	moment when star Erin Phillips (left)
16	would be a dream for the pair, who became	**emotional**	when asked what it would mean to play
17	have surgery, admitted there had "of course" been	**emotional**	moments in a week in which she had
18	reserved. BRIANNA Davey has spoken about her	**"emotional"**	and "tough" decision to leave the
19	around every game, it's unforgiving. It can be an	**emotional**	rollercoaster. The need to win games
20	. "This was supposed to be the good leg. It's pretty	**emotional**.	It's an absolute dream come true … to

Despite the lack of affect words, there is still potential for female athletes to be positioned as more generally emotional using these terms. Thus, the word groups that contribute 10% or more to the semantic tag overall, EMOTION (50%) and MOOD (11%), were analysed qualitatively. The concordance analysis for EMOTION shows that these words are frequently used to evaluate events, that is, they realise appreciation, rather than affect. A key target for *emotional* is things related to footy (e.g. *the* ***emotional*** *moment when star Erin Phillips (left)*

suffered a serious knee injury). Figure 5.2 presents a random selection of *emotional* in its co-text, showing the frequent use of non-human entities modified by *emotional* (*weeks, moment, match, investment, response, return, moment(s), decision, rollercoaster*). While there are some instances used to appraise players (e.g. lines 6-8, 10, 11, 13, 16), generally female athletes are not represented as emotional.

With respect to *emotion/s*, the experiencer is a player in half (12 of 24) of all instances (*I got a little overwhelmed with those emotions*), while the remaining are not relevant to AFLW/NRLW. Finally, when reviewing the concordance lines for MOOD, it became evident that a player name (*Moody*) was tagged, which is not relevant to emotion.

Overall, the use of these more general terms suggests that female athletes are not depicted as generally emotional. Rather, the use of EMOTION tends to evaluate non-human entities (i.e. appreciation) which are situated within the sporting context. While there are a handful of instances relating to player emotionality, they do not reveal what *types* of emotions the athlete is feeling or showing. As such, analysis of the other key tags is necessary to gain a more comprehensive picture.

5.2.2.2 OzFooty-W: E2+ Like

The tag E2+ Like has 702 tokens across 69 types (see Table 5.5). It is the most key (LL 23.64) and has the highest frequency (NF 19.09) across all emotion tags in OzFooty-W. The top five words by frequency are: *love* (169, NF 3.71, 24%), *like* (93, NF 2, 13%), *loved* (59, NF 1.29, 8%), *enjoy* (45, NF 1, 6%), and *enjoyed* (33, NF 0.72, 5%). Combined, these five words account for 57% of all tokens tagged as E2+.

Table 5.5 Words tagged as E2+ Like in OzFooty-Women

OzFooty-Women				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
LOVE	*love, loved, loving, loves, beloved, much_loved*	274	6.01	39%
LIKE	*like, liked, likes*	111	2.44	16%
ENJOY	*enjoy, enjoyed, enjoying, enjoys, enjoyment, enjoyment_factor*	99	2.17	14%
POPULAR	*popular, popularity*	39	0.86	6%
GO_FOR	*goes_for, go_for, going_for, went_for*	32	0.70	5%
FAN	*fan*	23	0.50	3%
TAKE_TO	*taken_to, took_to, take_to, takes_to, taking_to*	19	0.42	3%
LIVE_WITH	*live_with, living_with, lives_with, lived_with*	18	0.39	3%
APPLAUD	*applauded, applaud, applause*	13	0.29	2%
Other	*appreciate, appreciated, tender, relishing, adore, keen_on, patting_on_the_back, pro, am_all_for, cherish, …*	74	2.03	11%
Total		**702**	**19.09**	**100%**

Overall, these words support the USAS tag description of liking. In terms of affect, the words align with both happiness: affection (*love, like*) and satisfaction: pleasure (*enjoy*). When viewed in their concordances, both LOVE and LIKE also grammatically realise inclination: desire (e.g. *I would love to; I'd like to*). Further, while many of the words in Table 5.5 are evaluative, they are not all strictly considered emotion. Words like *popular, darling,* and *precious* are attitudinally used to evaluate a person or thing (judgement or appreciation), and thus not affect. Additionally, the inclusion of LIVE_WITH is perplexing. Taken literally (i.e. co-habitation), it does not construe emotion. While a metaphorical sense could imply a (negative) emotion, classification as positive emotion by the USAS tagger is problematic.

The word groups LOVE, LIKE, and ENJOY all contribute ≥10% to this semantic tag, and were therefore analysed for emoters. The results show that players are emoters in over half of all relevant instances: LOVE has 60% player emoters, LIKE has 58%, and ENJOY has 63%. Thus, the majority of emoters for E2+ are (female) players. Additionally, in such cases, the primary triggers for *love* and *enjoy/ed/ing* are generally related to AFL/NRL (e.g. *I really* ***enjoy*** *playing*, see also Figure 5.3). This pattern has previously been identified in print media coverage of men's sport, whereby "expressions of love ... are associated with the love of the game or sport" which the authors argue constructs an ideal masculinity (Ismail et al., 2020, p. 63). That is, emotion situated within and responding to sport is an appropriate expression of masculine emotion. Such finding in the women's corpus suggests a potential similarity in the expression of emotion by female players within the corpus, though comparison to triggers in the men's coverage is necessary to confirm this.

Figure 5.3 Sample concordance lines of *love* from OzFooty-Women

1	the complexities of gender brush against the purest	love	of the game. he game.
2	has inspired me a little bit," Celine said. "I used to	love	playing when I was out there. So now that it's
3	get on with playing and watching the game we all	love.	" I love."
4	manager Debbie Lee. "[I'm] very sad to leave. I	love	the club and I love the girls. "The Bulldogs
5	Lee. "[I'm] very sad to leave. I love the club and I	love	the girls. "The Bulldogs were quite
6	a resolution SOON so we can all focus on what we	love	and that's to PLAY FOOTY!!!" While Molloy
7	Some days it seems footy – that simple game we	love	– isn't uppermost in AFL thinking. Forays into
8	she needed a fresh start to reinvigorate her	love	for the game. The key forward, formerly a
9	to have her here with me when I was doing what I	love	to do. Last season, it was nice to be able to
10	opportunity to stay fit. Soon enough she fell in	love	with the game her dad mastered and showed
11	mastered and showed a familiar family aptitude. "I	love	all the different aspects of it," Abbie said.
12	elevation of males to senior roles. I	love	the AFL's initiative to support women playing
13	I just know she is going to be there." The twins also	love	an adrenaline rush. Jess planned for the
14	about that, we were also thinking about what we	love	about women's football. Not just AFLW. And
15	women's football. Not just AFLW. And what we	love	about it is the fact it's actually bringing men
16	there and play for the club that I've really learned to	love	and learned to have a lot of pride in the jumper
17	the Bulldogs] didn't really cross my mind ... I	love	the Dogs." Four of this season's 10 AFLW
18	national women's game in a decade's time. "I'd	love	in 10 years' time if there was a full competition
19	to show our support. For the young women who	love	the game, building women's competitions
20	player Nicola Barr I know she and her teammates	love	their game as much as any man. Perhaps

In sum, the words tagged as E2+ Like are largely emotion, but do not align with a single affect category. Further, some of the tagged words realise appreciation or judgement, rather than affect. Regardless, the high frequency and keyness of this tag indicates that the semantic domain of affection and pleasure are dominant discourses in coverage of women's AFL/NRL, with female players represented as (positively) emotional about playing AFL/NRL.

5.2.2.3 OzFooty-W: E4.1+ Happy

The tag E4.1+ Happy has 450 tokens across 73 types (see Table 5.6). The top five words by frequency are: *happy* (99, NF 2.69, 22%), *fun* (38, NF 1.03, 8%), *celebrate* (23, NF 0.62, 5%), *joy* (23, NF 0.62, 5%), and *celebrated* (18, NF 0.49, 4%). Combined, these five words account for 45% of all tokens tagged as E4.1+.

Table 5.6 Words tagged as E4.1+ Happy in OzFooty-Women

OzFooty-Women				
Group	**Words**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
HAPPY	*happy, happiness*	105	2.85	23%
CELEBRATE	*celebrate, celebrated, celebrations, celebration, celebrating, celebrates*	73	1.97	16%
FUN	*fun, funny, good_fun, funniest*	50	1.36	11%
LAUGH	*laugh, laughed, laughing, having_a_laugh, laughs, laugh_off, laughed_his_head_off, have_a_laugh*	44	1.19	10%
JOKE	*joke, joked, jokes, joking, have_a_joke*	36	0.98	8%
JOY	*joy, joyful, joyous*	27	0.73	6%
SMILE	*smile, smiling, smiles, smiled*	20	0.55	4%
DELIGHT	*delighted, delight, delights*	12	0.33	3%
RELIEF	*relief, relieved*	11	0.30	2%
HIGH	*highs, high*	8	0.22	2%
COMEDY	*comedy, comedian*	6	0.17	1%
GRIN	*grinned, grin*	6	0.16	1%
CHEERLEAD	*cheerleaders*	5	0.14	1%
HUMOUR	*humour*	5	0.13	1%
LIGHTHEARTED	*lighthearted, light-hearted*	5	0.13	1%
Other	*WAG, over_the_moon, farcical, enjoyable, had_a_ball, hilarious, euphoria, uplifting, snigger, look_funny, …*	37	1.04	8%
Total		**450**	**12.25**	**100%**

Overall, the high frequency words in Table 5.6 are related to the semantic domain(s) of happiness and enjoyment, which supports the USAS tag description. Most of the word groups

would be considered affect, categorised as happiness: cheer or satisfaction: pleasure, realised through both mental processes (*happy, joyful, delighted*) and behavioural processes (*laugh, joke, smile, celebrate*). The words for RELIEF, however, would be considered security in affect, and therefore better suited to either E4.2 Contentment or E6 Worry/Concern/Confident. Further, other groups are not relevant to emotion, as in COMEDY. Therefore, tag E4.1+ does not directly align with a single type of affect (as in un/happiness) as initially proposed in Section 5.2 (see Table 5.1).

The word groups that contribute ≥10% to this semantic tag overall are HAPPY, CELEBRATE, FUN, and LAUGH, which were therefore analysed qualitatively. FUN has the highest percentage (79%) of player emoters, followed by LAUGH (66%), HAPPY (55%), and CELEBRATE (49%). The frequency of FUN, however, is relatively low; these words are generally used to evaluate things or events (appreciation) rather than as an emotional state (affect), with less than half of all instances realising emotion (19 of 50). For all instances of FUN where players are emoters, the trigger is footy (Figure 5.4, lines 5, 10, 18, 19) which follows findings from the previous section (5.2.2.2).

Figure 5.4 Sample concordance lines of FUN from OzFooty-Women

1	and get you excited for footy, what will make footy	**fun'**	," Hickey said. "It was the best bit of advice I got
2	to do, it's my time to look after them and they have the	**fun**.	It is tough sometimes to get out of the house and
3	to go out to breakfast or do things together, which was	**fun**,	but they were forced. This year we don't have
4	it is that allows me to play my best. I find it quite a	**fun**	process to really prepare myself and do all the
5	be pretty surreal, thinking that I just wanted to play for	**fun**	and play with my mates, to then actually thinking,
6	. Libby vouches for the phenomenon too. "It's pretty	**funny**	how it works out like that, because [an
7	staff. I've spoken to a few of them this week. It's all in	**fun**,	and giving a bit of banter to and from them."
8	her school friends and it was really a social thing for	**fun**, "	Andrew said. "Then she played with
9	told that I was the first emergency," McLeod said. "It's	**funny**	how things change, you being so disappointed,
10	the numbers, we are here to compete. But just having	**fun**	doing so, the Richmond way of playing football is
11	doing so, the Richmond way of playing football is so	**fun**, "	Frederick said. ¦ Meanwhile, Balme said Jack
12	and New Year. I was very surprised by that. I think the	**funniest**	thing is when some of the fans come up and
13	that's part of last year for me or what I found really	**fun**, "	Jess said. "When the girls were training or
14	been able to strike the right balance between being	**funny**	and serious. "He's so great. He's got the
15	On the ball Intelligent, informed, engaging, relational,	**funny**	... 11am Saturdays is enforced silence at my
16	, is Dublin - the "Collingwood of Ireland". "I find that	**funny**,	because in my opinion, from home, any teams
17	says, is to "try to build the culture first, making it	**fun**	for girls to play, and then we work on the skills
18	be pretty surreal, thinking that I just wanted to play for	**fun**	and play with my mates, to then actually thinking 'I
19	my mind after that," she said. "I was just playing for	**fun**	during the club season and I didn't think it would
20	way into some representative sides, which was really	**good fun**	and I really enjoyed it and obviously that

In summary, the words predominantly align with the semantic tag description, which is associated with both happiness and satisfaction in affect. The high frequency and keyness of E4.1+ indicate that happiness and pleasure are dominant discourses in the coverage of women's AFL/NRL. The qualitative analyses further support the earlier finding of female athletes portrayed as (positively) emotional about AFL/NRL.

5.2.2.4 OzFooty-W: E5+ Bravery

The tag E5+ Bravery has 69 tokens across 17 types (see Table 5.7). In general, this tag has the lowest frequency (NF 1.51) across all key emotion tags, but a mid-range keyness (LL 7.11) (see Table 5.3 above). The top five words by frequency are: *courageous* (18, NF 0.49, 26%), *brave* (11, NF 0.3, 16%), *courage* (8, NF 0.22, 12%), *fearless* (8, NF 0.22, 12%), and *bravely* (5, NF 0.14, 7%). Combined, these five words account for nearly three-fourths (73%) of all tokens tagged as E5+, therefore suggesting low variation in word types related to bravery in the women's corpus.

Table 5.7 Words tagged as E5+ Bravery in OzFooty-Women

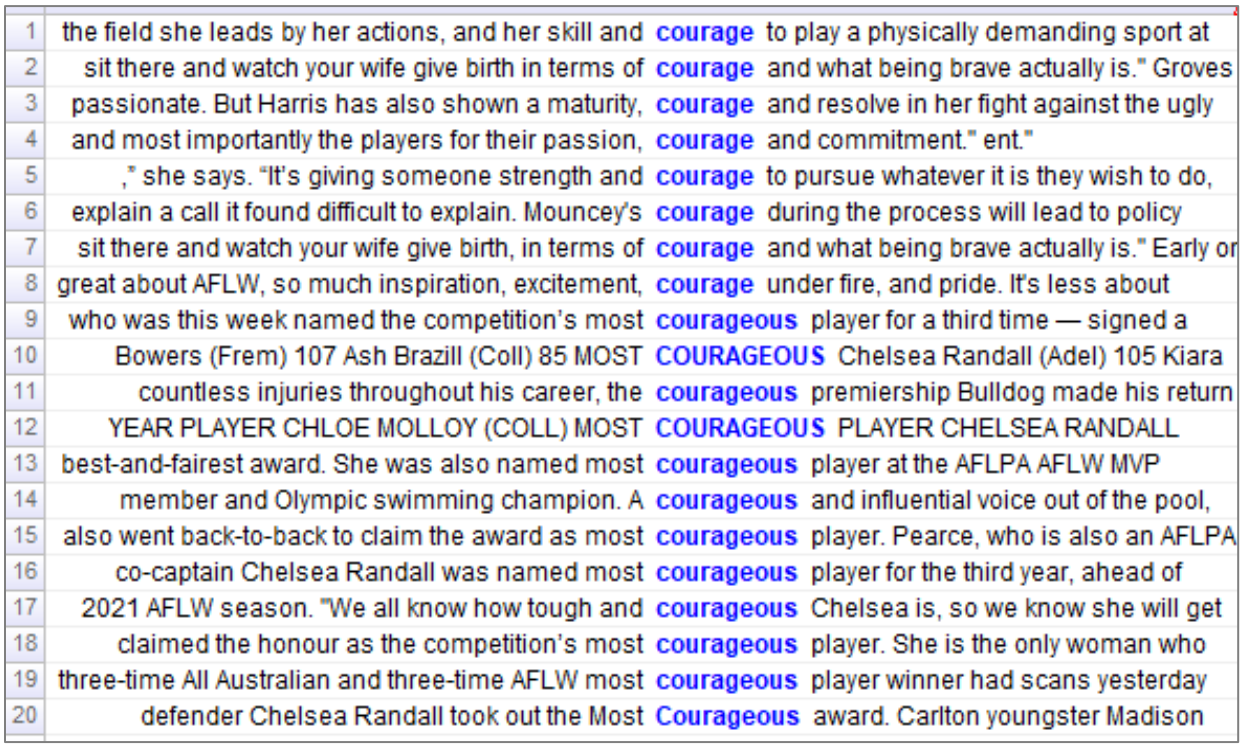
OzFooty-Women				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
COURAGE	*courageous, courage*	26	0.71	38%
BRAVE	*brave, bravely, braved*	17	0.47	25%
FEARLESS	*fearless*	8	0.22	12%
DARE	*daring, dare, dared*	7	0.19	10%
BOLD	*boldly, boldness*	3	0.07	4%
AUDACITY	*audacious*	2	0.05	3%
HERO	*heroic*	2	0.05	3%
INTREPID	*intrepid*	1	0.03	1%
METTLE	*mettle*	1	0.03	1%
STOUT	*stoutly*	1	0.03	1%
VALIANT	*valiant*	1	0.03	1%
Total		**69**	**1.89**	**100%**

All words shown in Table 5.7 support the USAS tag description of bravery, however, in terms of appraisal they would be considered judgement rather than affect. In a corpus of news coverage of sport such evaluations are expected as athletes are regularly appraised – both positively and negatively – for their abilities and performances. It is notable that this semantic tag is key in the women's corpus given that courage, loyalty, and bravery have traditionally been considered masculine traits, often attributed to the successfulness of male athletes (Angelini & Billings, 2010), including in Australian sport (Albury et al., 2011, p. 344; Hess, 2000). This therefore suggests a potential shift in Australian coverage of women's sport.

Qualitative analysis was conducted on the word groups contributing ≥10% to this semantic tag overall – COURAGE, BRAVE, FEARLESS and DARE – with the concordances confirming that these words evaluate people (i.e. judgement) rather than used as affect (see Figure 5.5). As such, the targets were analysed. COURAGE generally evaluates the players (65%, n=17), including via the Most Courageous Award given in AFLW (Figure 5.5, lines 9, 12, 13, 15-16, 19-20). About half of all targets are female players for both BRAVE (53%) and

DARE (50%), however, most instances of *fearless* are not relevant to women's AFL/NRL, with only two player targets identified in the concordances.

Figure 5.5 Sample concordance lines of COURAGE from OzFooty-Women



1	the field she leads by her actions, and her skill and	courage	to play a physically demanding sport at
2	sit there and watch your wife give birth in terms of	courage	and what being brave actually is." Groves
3	passionate. But Harris has also shown a maturity,	courage	and resolve in her fight against the ugly
4	and most importantly the players for their passion,	courage	and commitment." ent."
5	," she says. "It's giving someone strength and	courage	to pursue whatever it is they wish to do,
6	explain a call it found difficult to explain. Mouncey's	courage	during the process will lead to policy
7	sit there and watch your wife give birth, in terms of	courage	and what being brave actually is." Early or
8	great about AFLW, so much inspiration, excitement,	courage	under fire, and pride. It's less about
9	who was this week named the competition's most	courageous	player for a third time — signed a
10	Bowers (Frem) 107 Ash Brazill (Coll) 85 MOST	COURAGEOUS	Chelsea Randall (Adel) 105 Kiara
11	countless injuries throughout his career, the	courageous	premiership Bulldog made his return
12	YEAR PLAYER CHLOE MOLLOY (COLL) MOST	COURAGEOUS	PLAYER CHELSEA RANDALL
13	best-and-fairest award. She was also named most	courageous	player at the AFLPA AFLW MVP
14	member and Olympic swimming champion. A	courageous	and influential voice out of the pool,
15	also went back-to-back to claim the award as most	courageous	player. Pearce, who is also an AFLPA
16	co-captain Chelsea Randall was named most	courageous	player for the third year, ahead of
17	2021 AFLW season. "We all know how tough and	courageous	Chelsea is, so we know she will get
18	claimed the honour as the competition's most	courageous	player. She is the only woman who
19	three-time All Australian and three-time AFLW most	courageous	player winner had scans yesterday
20	defender Chelsea Randall took out the Most	Courageous	award. Carlton youngster Madison

In sum, the words assigned to this tag do not convey affect and thus do not portray female players as emotional. Instead, these words are used to evaluate players' athletic abilities, performances, and personalities, reflecting judgment and appreciation. The prominence of bravery in women's AFL/NRL coverage, compared to men's, suggests a departure from traditional notions of masculinity in sport, and thus a shift away from trivialising female athletic performance. This shift may also be associated with the progress narrative observed in Chapter 4, where female players are portrayed as role models for future generations.

The sections thus far have presented an analysis of key semantic tags in OzFooty-W. Subsequent sections will now provide the analysis of key semantic tags in OzFooty-M.

5.2.2.5 OzFooty-M: E2- Dislike

Turning now to OzFooty-M, the tag E2- Dislike has 855 tokens across 114 types (see Table 5.8). The top five words by frequency are: *hate* (148, NF 0.3, 17.31%), *hated* (50, NF 0.1, 5.85%), *baulked* (31, NF 0.06, 3.63%), *be against* (29, 0.06, 3.63%), and *is against* (26, 0.05, 3.04%). Combined, these account for one-third of all tokens tagged as E2-.

Overall, the focus is on words related to dislike and animosity which compliments the USAS tag description. In terms of affect, the words largely align with unhappiness: antipathy (e.g. HATE, DISLIKE, LOATHE, DESPISE), and tend to be expressed as a mental process or

descriptive quality, with *booing* realised as a behavioural process. Additionally, given the focus on sport, it is possible that AGAINST, BAULK, and JAR may not be used as emotion. Finally, the presence of *homophobic* is notable and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Table 5.8 Words tagged as E2- Dislike in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
HATE	*hate, hated, hates, hating, hatred, hatreds, hateful*	244	0.49	29%
AGAINST	*be_against, is_against, was_against, are_against, been_against, were_against, am_against, being_against*	104	0.21	12%
BAULK	*baulked, baulk, baulking, baulks*	59	0.11	7%
BOO	*boos, booing, boo*	39	0.08	5%
NOT_FOR	*not_for_me, wasn't_for*	34	0.07	4%
SCATHING	*scathing*	25	0.05	3%
FAULT	*fault, find_fault, faulted, finding_fault*	24	0.05	3%
OBJECT	*objection, objections*	19	0.04	2%
UNPOPULAR	*unpopular*	18	0.04	2%
DISLIKE	*dislike, dislikes, disliked*	18	0.03	2%
DISGUST	*disgust*	17	0.03	2%
ANIMOSITY	*animosity*	16	0.03	2%
LOATHE	*loathe, loathed, loathing, loathsome, self-loathing,*	16	0.02	2%
DESPISE	*despised, despise, despises*	15	0.03	2%
JAR	*jarring, jarred, jar*	15	0.03	2%
DAMN	*damning*	11	0.02	1%
FOUL	*fall_foul*	11	0.02	1%
HOMOPHOBIC	*homophobic*	10	0.02	1%
ENVY	*unenviable*	10	0.02	1%
VITRIOL	*vitriol*	9	0.02	1%
BUGBEAR	*bugbear, bug_bear, bugbears*	9	0.01	1%
RESENT	*resent, resentment, resented, resentments*	9	0.02	1%
GRIEVANCE	*grievances, grievance*	9	0.02	1%
Other	*bind, distaste, not_into, turn-off, appalled, averse, disapproval, gripe, gripes, ill-will,…*	114	0.17	13%
Total		**855**	**1.63**	**100%**

The word groups that contribute ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag overall are HATE and AGAINST, which were therefore analysed qualitatively. The concordances for HATE show that just over half (54%, n=142) of relevant uses have a player emoter (Figure 5.6, lines 3, 6, 14, 16). The primary triggers are sport related, along with some personal elements as influenced by journalists' questions about the players' "loves and hates" (e.g. *most hated drill; most hated chore; teammate you hate rooming with*). That is, the media is prompting players to use these words, providing some evidence that the media is positioning male athletes as emotional – whether intentionally or not. Despite these love/hate prompts from journalists, only HATE appears as key in the men's corpus, thus indicating a clear preference for positivity in OzFooty-W and negativity in OzFooty-M with respect to affection.

Figure 5.6 Sample concordance lines of HATE from OzFooty-Men

1	that time - Garry Lyon and Craig Hutchison - always	**hated**	being accused of bullying me. They felt they
2	dreams than the movie Inception, it's been more	**hate**.	Here's his chance, though, to make the most
3	. "I never wanted to play for another NRL club. I'd	**hate**	to have to go up against Storm and my mates.
4	good effort. Usually the new rules, traditionalists	**hate**, "	Judd said. Judd said the changes -
5	is out, so indulge in a very Victorian pastime – not of	**hating**	Collingwood, but visiting lots of local open
6	exclaimed. "I've never hosted a party in my life. I	**hate**	it ... there's too much pressure!" Ironically,
7	also AFL e, to follow AFL and AFL W. The AFL	**hates**	to be characterised as some sort of
8	. He looks ready to go to another level. The coaches	**hate**	the ban on the runners, but of course they do.
9	it no secret he despises them. Last April he said he	**"hates"**	pokies and that the "custodians of the
10	while sulking at home, thinking she had lost. "I still	**hate**	losing, and it's pretty embarrassing." Here's
11	Rainsy [Geoff Raines] have said to me, 'Back then I	**hated**	your guts but now I understand'." He
12	and have fun," he said. "There is no fake rivalry or	**hatreds**	or enmity or that sort of stuff - it's just really
13	ranking 2nd 6 ESSENDON While Essendon will	**hate**	being compared to Collingwood, this is the
14	line] or Charlie [Curnow] and Harry [McKay] will	**hate**	me." Across the Nullarbor, another talented
15	, sung by Mike Brady, after the game. Bombers fans	**hated**	it and could be heard booing. The Fable
16	for our culture and I had to mask it and fit in. I	**hated**	that. That was really hard and that was the
17	minutes per second so if I screw it up, don't	**hate**	on me." Richmond cult hero Jack Higgins as
18	back a century-and-a-half. It's hard to dredge up	**hate**	for a team that's eight years old. In the cheer
19	chairman Richard Goyder admitted that he	**hated**	pokies, and vowed to use his personal
20	dreams than the movie Inception, it's been more	**hate**.	Here's his chance, though, to make the most

Figure 5.7 Concordance lines of AGAINST as emotional response from OzFooty-Men

1	these boxes, this will come naturally. "Everyone	**is against**	us at the moment, everyone.
2	new polling shows almost 60 per cent of voters	**are against**	the government building a new
3	play for them, not wishing to draft a player who	**is against**	the idea of joining Melbourne.
4	have their contracts public, McLachlan said he	**was against**	the AFL making this step. The
5	a major change," Beattie said. "Someone will	**be against**	the change, someone will be
6	week revealed more than 80 per cent of fans	**were against**	the move. The reasons for the
7	chief Alistair Nicholson said his members	**were against**	the proposal. "Our feedback from
8	told The Australian, "and at first my parents	**were against**	the idea, but they are so grateful
9	the code." Sydney City Lord Mayor Clover Moore	**is against**	plans for the Roosters to shift into
10	at heraldsun.com.au IF 70 per cent of fans	**are against**	moving the Grand Final, then it's a
11	he hasn't heard since. While the world might	**be against**	Gold Coast, Walsh doesn't mind

Finally, most instances of AGAINST (90%) are not emotion, with only one relevant instance attributed to a player (Figure 5.7, line 3). Contrary to HATE, this does not provide any evidence for representing male athletes as emotional.

In sum, while some tagged words are affect, others are utilised in a gameplay context and are thus irrelevant to emotion. The analysis of HATE indicates that male players may be represented as emotional, influenced by journalists' prompting questions, however, analysis of AGAINST found no evidence for positioning male players as emotional. Thus, the results are mixed and further analysis is required. Regardless, emotional triggers tend to be sport-related, irrespective of the prompts, which suggests a more masculine-appropriate expression of emotion (see Ismail et al., 2020).

5.2.2.6 OzFooty-M: E3+ Calm

Tag E3+ Calm has 1719 tokens (3.36 NF) across 74 types (see Table 5.9). The top five words by frequency are: *rest* (690, NF 1.38, 40.14%), *peace* (111, NF 0.22, 6.46%), *relaxed* (109, NF 0.22, 6.34%), *calm* (99, NF 0.20, 5.76%), and *patient* (71, NF 0.14, 4.13%). Combined, these words account for nearly two-thirds (63%) of all tokens tagged as E3+.

Table 5.9 Words tagged as E3+ Calm in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
REST	*rest, rested, resting, rests*	813	1.63	47%
RELAX	*relaxed, relax, relaxing, relaxation, relaxes, looking_relaxed, looks_relaxed, relaxed_style*	186	0.37	10%
CALM	*calm, calmly, calming, calmness, calm_down, calmed, calmed_down, calmest, calming_down*	150	0.29	9%
PATIENT	*patient, patience, patiently*	150	0.30	9%
PEACE	*peace, peaceful, peacefully, peace_situation*	126	0.25	7%
GENTLE	*gentle, gently, gentler*	53	0.10	3%
LAID_BACK	*laid-back, laid_back*	33	0.07	2%
SUFFER	*long-suffering*	23	0.05	1%
APPEASE	*appease, appeased, appeases*	22	0.04	1%
INNOCUOUS	*innocuous*	21	0.04	1%
Other	e.g. *composed, harmless, softly, comforting, tame, mellow, mellowed, respite, soothe, serenity, …*	142	0.22	8%
Total		**1719**	**3.36**	**100%**

Overall, the words relate to serenity and calmness which supports the USAS tag description. In terms of appraisal, many of the words in Table 5.9 could realise more than one

type of attitude – affect, judgement, or appreciation – depending on the grammatical structure of the sentence. However, with respect to affect, they are likely to be considered security: quiet.

The word groups REST and RELAX contribute ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag overall and were therefore analysed qualitatively. The concordances for REST shows that these words are not emotion, but instead used in senses relating to "remaining" (*the **rest** of the season*), sitting a player out of a game (*being rested after the break*), an on-field position (*a regular resting role at full forward*), or "to be with" (*His fate rests with the NRL integrity unit*). There are no instances of players as emoters.

The analysis of RELAX found that 70% of all attitudinal instances are relevant to players, implying a confident and/or composed demeanour (see Figure 5.8). Such use may shade into judgement, rather than affect, by describing someone's personality as generally relaxed, rather than their emotional state or response to a trigger. Regardless, it is certain that male players are represented as relaxed.

Figure 5.8 Sample concordance lines of *relaxed* from OzFooty-Men

1	Wollongong on Friday. "Wollongong's a nice place.	**Relaxed**	vibes, chilled-out vibes here," Fifita said
2	half-time, but being confident didn't mean he was	**relaxed**.	"We thought we had a really good plan in
3	to go away." HIS FOOTY/LIFE BALANCE "I feel most	**relaxed**	when I am out of the city. I go to the
4	headquarters at around 9am yesterday, looking	**relaxed**	with rolled-up sleeves and shorts. He
5	, although tipped that the JLT rules would be	**relaxed**,	with runners to be allowed between goals
6	Shea remembers the Bulldogs' rooms being	**relaxed**.	"We'd had such a big build-up. We'd come
7	. The publicist has chosen The Lincoln as a quiet,	**relaxed**	setting, where "Nic Nat" - a superhero in
8	any rule to say this must be so. The AFL has	**relaxed**	rules on player movement over the last
9	successfully -applied to have his bail conditions	**relaxed**	so he did not need to report to police every
10	pool rounds you tend to find all the boys are fairly	**relaxed**,	" Silva said."But once it gets to the finals ...
11	in the winning sheds following the grand final. A	**relaxed**	Smith, grinning from ear to ear, mingled
12	their hands out looking for each other and then they	**relaxed**	when they touched. It was like they were
13	have to be medicated. "If you are living a calm and	**relaxed**	life, you can take that risk. It was a risk
14	that?' and 'Why are you eating that?' Tom is more	**relaxed**.	" This month Trbojevic was named in Brad
15	has so much talent. He has a beautiful and	**relaxed**	kicking action and reads the play very well.
16	the front-rower is reportedly keen to explore a more	**relaxed**	lifestyle in Newcastle. Desperate to
17	like this. I can't wait to actually play. I have to keep it	**relaxed**.	" Keary said he was just on the couch at
18	for a change of pace and sees appeal in the more	**relaxed**	Townsville lifestyle that lured Johnathan
19	of play, change was required. A pre-season that	**relaxed**	the rigidity around every play, allowing the
20	that?' and 'why are you eating that?'. "Tom is more	**relaxed**.	" This month Trbojevic was named in Brad

In sum, the concordance analyses have shown that attitudinal instances of RELAX are used in relation to male players, though the distinction between affect and judgement overlaps. Regardless, this semantic sense provides evidence of gender stereotyping whereby male athletes are represented as composed (more so than their female counterparts).

5.2.2.7 OzFooty-M: E3- Violent/Angry

The tag E3- Violent/Angry has 14,933 tokens across 497 types (see Table 5.10). This tag is the most key (LL 25.09), thereby indicating a strong focus on this semantic domain within the men's

corpus. The top five words by frequency are: *hit* (1102, NF 2.03, 7%), *kick* (1042, NF 1.92, 7%), *kicked* (1029, NF 1.89, 7%), *clash* (851, NF 1.57, 6%), and *assault* (839, NF 1.54, 6%). Combined, these words account for approximately one third (33%) of all tokens tagged as E3-. The lower percentage contribution from the top groups, as compared to other tags, is likely due to the wide range of word types included in this semantic category.

Table 5.10 Words tagged as E3- Violent/Angry in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
KICK	*kick, kicked, kicking, kicks, kicks_in, kicked_in, kicking_in, kick_in*	2948	5.91	20%
HIT	*hit, hitting, hits, hit_back, hits_back, hitting_back*	1392	2.79	9%
ASSAULT	*assault, assaulting, assaulted, assaults*	1127	2.26	8%
CLASH	*clash, clashes, clashed, clashing*	936	1.88	6%
ATTACK	*attack, attacked, attacks, attack_based*	935	1.87	6%
VIOLENT	*violence, violent, violently*	749	1.51	5%
THREAT	*threat, threatened, threatening, threats, threatens, threaten, looks_threatening*	628	1.24	4%
PUNCH	*punch, punches, punching, punched, punch_up*	380	0.76	3%
FORCE	*force*	293	0.59	2%
ANGER	*angry, anger, angered, angrily, angers, angering, looked_angry*	274	0.54	2%
BOOT	*booted, booting, boot, boots*	273	0.54	2%
AGGRESSIVE	*aggressive, aggression, aggressively, aggro, aggressive_style*	254	0.51	2%
ABUSE	*abuse, abused, abusing, abusive, abuses*	240	0.47	2%
BASH	*bash, bashed, bashing, bashers, bashs, bash_clubs, bash_in, basher*	219	0.42	1%
BRUTAL	*brutal, brutally, brute, brutality, brutes, brutish, brutalised, looks_brutal*	194	0.38	1%
STORM	*storm, stormed, storming, storms*	151	0.3	1%
Other	*fallout, rampage, brawl, furious, fierce, showdown, knocked_out, tumultuous, altercation, turmoil, …*	3940	7.47	26%
Total		**14,933**	**29.44**	**100%**

Overall, these words focus on violent and oppositional behaviour as well as anger, which aligns with the USAS tag description. In terms of affect, some instances of emotion are expressed as a descriptive quality or mental process (e.g. ANGER, FURY, RAGE), which would be classified as dissatisfaction: displeasure. However, the list tends to be dominated by behavioural processes (e.g. HIT, KICK, PUNCH, BOOT, BASH), which are also relevant to gameplay (see Section 5.2.1). Thus, while these behaviours can imply negative feelings, they may not be realisations of affect.

There is only one word group that contributes ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag overall, KICK, which was therefore analysed qualitatively. The review of the concordance lines confirms that these words are overwhelmingly used in relation to gameplay (e.g. *kick-ins, kick-off, kick the ball, kick to [teammate], kicked [quantity] goals*) rather than a physical realisation of affect (see Figure 5.9). As such, there are no instances of player emoters.

Figure 5.9 Sample concordance lines of *kick* from OzFooty-Men

1	a bit more bang for buck, not just to play safe and	**kick**	it long down the line," Jones said. "If
2	decided to tune into the AFL grand final before the	kick-off	. This year, theAFL had brought on'00s
3	17 when the team was announced an hour before	kick-off	. Centre Paul Momorovski was the other
4	decided to tune into the AFL grand final before the	kick-off	. This year, the AFL had brought on '00s
5	centre square the Saints were penalised with a free	**kick**	and 50-metre penalty out of the middle. Ross
6	. "I suspect, and I hope that if we see one free	**kick**	a round for a player out of starting position,
7	first two tries but it was the line speed and	kick-chase	of his teammates that pressured the
8	good work was undone by a poor end to the set, a	**kick**	going dead. The Jillaroos then marched up
9	and rejuvenated Newcastle will belatedly	**kick**	off the rugby league season in near anonymity
10	, an instinct he developed last season, having one	**kick**	and five handballs in the first quarter before
11	but more importantly earning a reputation as a silky	**kick**	inside 50. Off the injury list, he is now one of a
12	A protected zone behind umpires is likely and a free	**kick**	could be paid for any contact. The issue
13	year's corresponding match, which saw the Blues	**kick**	the first five goals before being overrun by the
14	, in the form of draft picks. Allowing free agency to	**kick**	off a few days earlier takes into account that
15	hold the ball in our half. "As a forward you want to	**kick**	goals, that's obviously a big part of it. I haven't
16	part of it. I haven't set a goal on how many I'd like to	**kick**,	it'd be more about making sure our forward
17	roles. And how about the Pies? They came within a	**kick**	of a flag despite Jamie Elliott (26 games),
18	Yeo, who intercepted a wayward Taylor Adams	**kick**.	Yeo kicked a goal from the set shot.
19	. The 24-year-old set up a try, was safe in	**kick**	defence all afternoon and made a Scott
20	in the game will be penalised in addition to a free	**kick**.	The additional 50m penalty would be applied

In sum, the qualitative analysis has shown that KICK is used in a gameplay sense, rather than as a behavioural expression of emotion (i.e. affect), and thus male players are not positioned as emotional. There is, however, a strong focus on aggression and physical behaviour in the sporting context as seen through the other tagged words. Taken together, these results suggest evidence of gender stereotyping where male sporting performance is linked with ability, strength, and aggression (Bernstein 2002; Duncan & Messner 1998; Kemble, 2020).

5.2.2.8 OzFooty-M: E5- Fear

The tag E5- Fear has 2934 tokens across 159 types (see Table 5.11). The top five words by frequency are: *shock* (385, NF 0.77, 13%), *fear* (202, NF 0.4, 7%), *fears* (201, NF 0.4, 7%), *shocked* (130, NF 0.26, 4%), and *horror* (129, NF 0.26, 4%). Combined, these words account for one third (35%) of all tokens tagged as E5-.

Overall, these words are related to fearfulness (*fearful, scared, afraid*), unease (*alarmed, panicking*), and shock/surprise (*shocked, stunned*), which supports the USAS tag description. In terms of affect, they map to insecurity: disquiet and surprise,[50] largely realised as mental processes (i.e. disposition) or qualities. There are, however, other tagged words which are more likely realisations of judgement (e.g. *shy, formidable, coward, fearsome*) or appreciation (e.g. *shocking, horrifying, alarming*).[51]

The word groups contributing ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag were therefore analysed for emoters. SCARE has the highest percentage of player emoters (55%) followed by FEAR and SHOCK (both 32%). These include instances of backgrounded affect where the emoter is grammatically removed but recoverable from the wider co-text (see Chapter 3). While a full trigger analysis was not undertaken, it is worth noting both real and potential injuries as a recurring trigger for *scare* (i.e. both realis and irrealis affect) (see Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10 Sample concordance lines of *scare* from OzFooty-Men

1	.com.au FOOTBALL Jake Stringer had an injury	**scare**	at training yesterday but the Essendon
2	the Saints to a 25-point win. Back after his heart	**scare**	last year, Dylan Roberton provided a cool
3	side despite the result. Recruit Aaron Hall sent a	**scare**	through the Kangaroos camp when he
4	exciting forwards and gave Blues supporters a	**scare**	when he left the ground clutching the back of
5	its big-time debut next week. He had an injury	**scare**	last week, hurting his foot after being trod on
6	he had done for five years, although there was that	**scare**	in round one when he hyperextended his
7	issues over the past 12 months. Ryder, who had a	**scare**	with a rolled ankle in the opening JLT game,
8	Hurley puts a	**scare**	into Dons camp COPYRIGHT: (c) 2018
9	.com.au Football Defender Michael Hurley sent a	**scare**	through the Essendon camp when he
10	Longmire says Heeney OK after	**scare**	COPYRIGHT: © 2019 Copyright John Fairfax
11	in their final outing before the AFL season proper. A	**scare**	went through the Swans camp in the
12	half, helping patrol the Pies' defence. After an injury	**scare**	in the Blues' win over Essendon, Curnow
13	may be without Dylan Roberton after he had a heart	**scare**	during Sunday's JLT game against the
14	this week to analyse scans and data after his heart	**scare**	during Sunday's practice match and discuss
15	Bulldog back after heart	**scare**	COPYRIGHT: © 2017 Copyright John Fairfax
16	cleared him to resume light duties after his heart	**scare**.	Eastwood underwent surgery to treat an
17	for a maximum sentence of 20 years would	**scare**	the bejesus out of anyone. It's a hackneyed
18	week to analyse scans and data after another heart	**scare**	during Sunday's practice match against the
19	No Danger after early Cats	**scare**	COPYRIGHT: © 2017 Copyright John Fairfax
20	Cats wary after Ablett injury	**scare**	COPYRIGHT: © 2018 Copyright John Fairfax

[50] If following Martin and White's (2005) categorisation, these emotions map to insecurity: disquiet, insecurity: surprise and/or disinclination: fear.

[51] These words may also be considered covert affect (see Chapter 3).

Table 5.11 Words tagged as E5- Fear in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
FEAR	*fear, fear_factor, feared, fearful, fearing, fears, fearsome*	602	1.21	20%
SHOCK	*shock, shock_market, shocked, shocker, shockers, shocking, shocks*	556	1.11	19%
SCARE	*scare, scare_off, scared, scared_off, scared_the_living_daylights_out_of, scaremongering, scares, scarier, scariest, scaring, scary*	336	0.68	11%
HORROR	*horrified, horrifying, horror, horror_stories, horror_story, horrors*	150	0.31	5%
STUN	*stun, stunned, stunning, stuns*	120	0.24	4%
SHY	*shy, shying, shyly*	101	0.20	3%
INTIMIDATE	*intimidate, intimidated, intimidates, intimidating, intimidation*	99	0.20	3%
ALARM	*alarm, alarmed, alarming, alarming_shortage, alarmingly*	84	0.17	3%
FORMIDABLE	*formidable, formidable_style*	78	0.15	3%
AFRAID	*afraid*	74	0.15	3%
BOMBSHELL	*bombshell, bombshells*	63	0.12	2%
STAGGER	*staggering*	59	0.12	2%
DAUNT	*daunted, daunting*	54	0.10	2%
COWARD	*coward, cowardice, cowardly, cowards*	50	0.11	2%
TERROR	*terror, terrorise, terrorised, terrorizing, terrors*	46	0.09	2%
PANIC	*panic, panicked, panicking, panicky*	44	0.08	2%
FRIGHT	*fright, frighten, frightened, frightening, frighteningly, frightens*	44	0.08	2%
DREAD	*dread, dreaded, dreading, dreads*	40	0.08	1%
ANGST	*angst*	33	0.07	1%
Other	e.g. *in_awe, overawed, taken_aback, terrified, nerve-racking, gobsmacked, menacing, spooked, terrifying, eye-opener, …*	305	0.54	10%
Total		**2938**	**5.81**	**100%**

In sum, the words tagged as E5- are attitudinal, pointing to affect, appreciation, and judgement. Fear has historically been considered a stereotypical female emotion, so the presence of this tag in the men's corpus is interesting. However, there is minimal evidence that male players are represented as emotionally fearful, except in relation to sports-related issues that would prevent them from playing, such as injury. This supports the previous findings above that triggers of emotion are primarily situated within the sporting domain.

5.2.2.9 OzFooty-M: E6+ Confident

The tag E6+ Confident has 2465 tokens tagged across 47 types (see Table 5.12). The top five words by frequency are: *confident* (1041, NF 2.09, 42%), *confidence* (509, NF 1.02, 21%), *faith* (348, NF 0.7, 14%), *trust* (201, NF 0.4, 8%), and *mind* (104, NF 0.21, 4%). Combined, these words account for nearly 90% of all tokens tagged as E6+. The top three groups are CONFIDENCE (64%), FAITH (14%), and TRUST (8%), which combined account for 86% of all words contributing to this tag. The high frequency of CONFIDENCE suggests that the saliency of E6+ has been heavily influenced by this group.

Table 5.12 Words tagged as E6+ Confident in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
CONFIDENCE	*confidence, confidence_based, confidence_booster, confidence_thing, confidence-wise, confident, confidently*	1571	3.14	64%
FAITH	*faith*	348	0.7	14%
TRUST	*trust*	201	0.4	8%
MIND	*mind, minds, peace_of_mind*	121	0.24	5%
REASSURE	*reassurance, reassure, reassured, reassures, reassuring, reassuringly*	56	0.11	2%
EMPHATIC	*emphatic, emphatically*	53	0.11	2%
FORCE	*forceful*	25	0.05	1%
Other	*at_ease, breaking_point, at_home_with, heartening, stoic, give_a_damn, dismissive, unconcerned, harangue, took_it_in_his_stride, …*	90	0.14	4%
Total		**2465**	**4.89**	**100%**

These words generally support the semantic tag description of confidence and trust. In fact, the high frequency of CONFIDENCE lexemes amplifies this semantic domain. In terms of affect, this tag aligns with security: quiet (CONFIDENCE, REASSURE) and security: trust (TRUST, FAITH). Some of the words, however, are not affect (*confidence booster, confidence*

thing, forceful); the co-text would need to be consulted to determine if these words realise attitude at all.

Qualitative analysis was conducted on the word groups CONFIDENCE and FAITH, which both contribute ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag. For CONFIDENCE, almost all instances analysed were identified as affect (98%), of which, half (49%) have a player emoter (*I've got full confidence in myself, his confidence*). Comparatively, while FAITH is also largely used as affect (81%), there are fewer player emoters (20%). In fact, the majority of emoters are other in-group members (63%), including coaches, managers, or the club more generally, who are positioned as having or showing faith in their players (Figure 5.11, lines 1, 3-5).

Figure 5.11 Sample concordance lines of *faith* from OzFooty-Men

1	Fit Gregson ready to repay teammates'	faith	COPYRIGHT: (c) 2018 Copyright John Fairfax
2	of the club for so much longer." Such gestures of	faith	and mateship were important to Gregson as
3	said Fasolo was a spark around the group, had	faith	in his capacity to bounce back. The Blues
4	to the club until the end of 2024. GWS has shown	faith	in the All-Australian's promise to improve his
5	at Blacktown. "The Giants have shown massive	faith	in me throughout my career in giving me a few
6	"As the process unfolded, we were working in good	faith	to see if something could happen and when it
7	call or leave and not win one," Murphy said. "The	faith	I have got in the people here is that we can
8	the people here is that we can jump up quick." That	faith	is now part of what Murphy will be
9	. I called her this week to thank her for showing	faith	two decades ago. She and Ken are retired
10	at Melbourne after retiring, so it would be a leap of	faith	for him to join the Blues. One thing we know,
11		Faith	COPYRIGHT: (c) 2019 Copyright John Fairfax
12	and respectful. I find much to reflect about life and	faith	watching a club like Richmond. I often call
13	of diversity that has long marked people of	faith,	recognising that God often comes as a
14	in terms of what these guys can do. I've got a lot of	faith	and confidence in what our recruiters have
15	We'll keep the	faith,	says Geary Peter Ryan, Michael Gleeson
16	else and say 'it is your responsibility'. I have great	faith	in this group that we will turn it around, we let
17	Mark Evans said King's extension was a show of	faith	in the future of the club. He said the club
18	AFL puts	faith	in Christian COPYRIGHT: © 2017 Copyright
19	Ernst and Young - essentially saw the Tigers keep	faith	in Hardwick, change his assistants and hire
20	when he spoke to them today, he has enormous	faith	in our guys to step up and fill the void. "The

In sum, while the most prominent E6+ word groups do point to affect, players are not necessarily emoters, as seen with FAITH. However, the prominence of CONFIDENCE with player emoters follows previous research where male athletes are more likely to be represented as expressing "confidence and bravado" than their female counterparts (Kinnick, 1998, p. 229). This provides further evidence of residues of historical gender stereotypes in the corpus.

5.2.2.10 OzFooty-M: E6- Worry

The tag E6- Worry has 4172 tokens across 148 types (see Table 5.13). The top five words by frequency are: *concerns* (520, NF 1.04, 12%), *concern* (361, NF 0.72, 9%), *concerned* (320, NF 0.64, 8%), *worry* (279, NF 0.56, 7%), and *trouble* (227, NF 0.46, 5%). Combined, these words account for 41% of all tokens tagged as E6-.

Overall, these words support the semantic tag description of apprehension, worry, and concern. In terms of affect, the words largely align with insecurity: disquiet, though some word

forms (e.g. *concerning, stressful, troubling*) may be appreciation or covert affect, depending on the co-text. While *care* (and inflections) does have an associated "worry" sense, it can also mean to have a liking for, which is at odds with this semantic tag. Additionally, although low frequency, NIGGLE is likely related to physical sports injuries rather than emotion. Analysis of the co-text would be necessary to determine the accuracy of the tagger for all these items.

Table 5.13 Words tagged as E6- Worry in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
CONCERN	*concerns, concerning, concerned with, concerned, concern*	1244	2.49	30%
WORRY	*worrying, worry, worrisome, worries, worried*	564	1.13	14%
TROUBLE	*troubling, troubles, troubled, trouble*	406	0.81	10%
CARE	*caring, cares, carefree, cared, care*	328	0.65	8%
NERVOUS	*nervy, nervousness, nervously, nervous wreck, nervous*	237	0.48	6%
ANXIOUS	*anxiousness, anxiously, anxious, anxiety, anxieties*	197	0.4	5%
PRESSURE	*under pressure*	150	0.3	4%
STRESS	*stress-related, stressful, stresses, stressed out, stressed, stress out, stress*	150	0.28	4%
TENSE	*tensions, tension, tense*	111	0.22	3%
NIGGLE	*niggly, niggling, niggles, niggled, niggle*	81	0.15	2%
DISTRESS	*distressing, distressed, distress*	79	0.16	2%
RACK	*racks, racking, racked, rack*	64	0.12	2%
ON_BACK	*on your back, on their back, on our back, on my back, on his back*	51	0.1	1%
Other	e.g. *desperation, disturbing, bother, fussed, dogged, anguish, agonizing, distraught, ordeal, on_edge, …*	510	0.91	12%
Total		**4172**	**8.2**	**100%**

The word groups which were analysed qualitatively are CONCERN, WORRY, and TROUBLE as they contribute ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag. Half of all relevant instances of WORRY have a player emoter (51%), compared to CONCERN which has only 14% player emoters. Additionally, the analysis of both CONCERN and WORRY found a distinctive use of these terms. One sense relates to having concerns or worries, while the other is a state of being concerned or worried, both of which arguably "imply the presence of a similar emotional state"

(Breeze, 2019, p. 35) and are thus coded as affect or backgrounded affect, as appropriate (see Chapter 3).

Finally, TROUBLE is not used as emotion and thus has no player emoters (see Figure 5.12). Instead, it evaluates people (i.e. judgement; lines 4, 10), references injuries (lines 1-3), and describes inconvenience, hardship, or difficulty (*BE in trouble*, *GET in trouble*, *HAVE trouble*) (lines 8, 14, 15).

Figure 5.12 Sample concordance lines of TROUBLE from OzFooty-Men

1	missing all of this year with hamstring and ankle	**trouble**,	but the entirety of the 2016 season also
2	to the year. He then suffered a run of hamstring	**troubles**.	Collingwood still have Darcy Moore and
3	history with players who have had some injury	**troubles**	in the past has been amazing," Patton
4	: The Broncos have taken a massive gamble on the	**troubled**	Lodge. Will it come off or come back to
5	swap? Time for Moylan to step up after his	**troubles**.	SEA EAGLES Huge effort to make the
6	at least the highest level competition, that we have.	**Trouble**	is, it still seems have problems working
7	playing on the edge, having occasionally run into	**trouble**	with the match review panel at the Giants.
8	. In Melbourne meanwhile, North's season is in	**trouble**.	Their finals chances are already cooked,
9	, in the chief exec's own words, "we have had	**trouble**	taking our game internationally". The
10	Fremantle attempting to break their contract with the	**troubled**	star. Bennell signed a one-year extension
11	. "A couple of times when I was having thoughts or	**trouble**	with things he would always have the right
12	and then took on much of the strain of Essendon's	**troubles**,	he appeared less certain when it came to
13	an extensive history of running into match review	**trouble**,	however Demons co-captain Jack Viney
14	any replays and I'm not sure whether or not he's in	**trouble**, "	Viney said at Melbourne's family day
15	elect to bump and hit someone in the head you're in	**trouble**.	Fingers crossed he's all good to go. "I
16	down from the Gold Coast and had a little bit of	**trouble**	with his knee," he said. "You are a
17	and unique story as the son of an extraordinary and	**troubled**	footballer. Dusty, too, has grown up with
18	.theage.com.au If a silver lining emerges from the	**troubling**	Majak Daw episode, it should be this:
19	issue. It is what surrounds their involvement that is	**troubling**.	Why? Because maintaining community
20	Seccull of Hemisphere Management Group into	**trouble**.	"I went for a block, he was going for a

In sum, the analysis has revealed a mix of affect, other attitude, and non-emotion senses. There is a preference for representing players as having worries, rather than concerns, though the reasons for this would require further analysis outside the scope of this study. Further, while players are judged as being troubled there is no evidence of players feeling troubled. Taking into consideration these results alongside those of E6+ and E3+, while male athletes do have some worries, they are still (stereotypically) represented as confident and composed players.

5.2.2.11 OzFooty-M: X7+ Wanted

The tag X7+ Wanted has 31,165 tokens across 287 types (see Table 5.14). In general, this tag has the highest frequency (NF 62.39) across all key emotion tags, but a lower keyness (LL 5.54). The top five words by frequency are: *want* (4479, NF 8.98, 14%), *pick* (3904, NF 7.83, 13%), *wanted* (1782, NF 3.57, 8%), *wants* (1564, NF 3.14, 5%), and *selection* (1124, NF 2.25, 4%). Combined, these words account for 41% of all tokens tagged as X7+.

Table 5.14 Words tagged as X7+ Wanted in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
WANT	*want, wanted, wanting, wants*	8119	16.28	26%
PICK	*pick, pick_and_choose, pick_off, pick_out, picked, picked_off, picked_out, picking, picking_off, pickings, picks, picks_out, picky*	5458	10.93	18%
PLAN	*plan, plan_ahead, plan_out, planned, planning, planning_out, plans*	2064	4.13	7%
SELECT	*select, selected, selected., selecting, selection, selections, selective, selectively, selector, selectors, selects*	2053	4.12	7%
OPTION	*option, optioned, options*	1243	2.49	4%
CHOOSE	*choice, choices, choices_clubs, choose, chooses, choosing, choosy, chose, chosen*	1142	2.28	4%
REQUIRE	*require, required, requirement, requirements, requires, requiring*	992	1.98	3%
CAMPAIGN	*campaign, campaigned, campaigner, campaigners, campaigning, campaigns*	915	1.83	3%
LOOK	*look, look_to, look_towards, looked_to, looked_towards, looking, looking_to, looking_towards, looks_to*	768	1.54	2%
WILL	*wilful, wilfully, will, will_factor, will_fans, will_power, willed, willing, willingly, willingness, willpower, wills*	747	1.5	2%
POLICY	*policies, policy, policy_work*	727	1.46	2%
TARGET	*target, targeted, targeting, targets, targetted*	674	1.34	2.%
INTENT	*intend, intended, intending, intends, intent, intention, intentional, intentionally, intentions, intents*	651	1.31	2%
DESIRE	*desire, desired, desires*	506	1.01	2%
WISH	*wish, wished, wishes, wishful, wishing*	478	0.96	2%
SCHEDULE	*schedule, scheduled, schedules, scheduling*	477	0.95	2%
STRATEGY	*strategic, strategically, strategies, strategist, strategists, strategy*	475	0.95	2%
AIM	*aim, aimed, aiming, aims*	464	0.94	1%
Other	e.g. *game_plan, opted, purpose, mission, scheme, prized, ambition, earmarked, prospective, Dib, …*	2418	4.79	8%
Total		**31,165**	**62.39**	**100%**

Overall, the results present a mix of words that fit the semantic domain of wanting, planning, and choosing, along with others that seem oddly placed here, such as REQUIRE, POLICY, and SCHEDULE. In terms of affect, this tag most closely aligns with inclination: desire. Words for WANT, DESIRE, and WISH would all be considered affect, realised as mental disposition, however, there are also words pointing to judgement (e.g. *choosy, picky, selective, strategic, wilful*). Further, while the tag description mentions *aspiration* (see Table 5.1), the semantic tagger has not included any word forms for ASPIRE, despite these words occurring in the corpus (*it's something I aspire to, I have aspirations of/to*).

Both WANT and PICK contribute ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag overall and were therefore analysed for emoters. WANT has 50% of emoters identified as players, which generally occur with a sport-related (irrealis) trigger (*I want to play a few good years of football;* Figure 5.13, lines 2, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20). The analysis for PICK confirms that these are used in the sense of recruitment and draft picks, and thus not affect.

Figure 5.13 Sample concordance lines of WANT from OzFooty-Men

1	… we have just got to spread the load. We don't	**want**	to have to rely on Doc even if he was playing.''
2	, Will Setterfield and Matt Kennedy. "Oh yeah, I	**want**	to start winning. I have played here for five
3	pushes up the ground] and wherever the coaches	**want**	me to play I am happy to play. Alex Keath was
4	all summer. The last thing Souths would	**want**	is to run Inglis out and potentially risk his
5	. It is understood some of the playing group don't	**want**	Seibold in charge of the "Pride of the League"
6	appointment as senior coach was confirmed. "You	**want**	to keep good people, you want to keep good
7	said. "The tension of the tight finish is what we all	**want**	to see." Matthews said the first impression of
8	ride for the shy 24-year-old from Broome. "You	**want**	to be confident (of getting to Carlton), but it's
9	. JORDAN Ablett says she and husband Gary	**want**	to lead by example when they become
10	together and thought I could keep going, but they	**wanted**	to pull me back a bit and it didn't sit with
11	to the Broncos, insisting coach Anthony Seibold	**wanted**	him back in Brisbane and he isn't going to
12	spend time in the middle from there. "I just thought I	**wanted**	a good challenge. I'm looking forward to
13	. Recruiting manager Adrian Caruso: "We always	**wanted**	to get above the bid. We never knew where
14	up a little bit, but in the last month I've felt good and	**wanted**	to stay out there. "They just want to respect
15	Lloyd are no different to most people in business,	**wanting**	to put their own people in place. Their own
16	If Cleary	**wants**	to join his father the Panthers won't try to
17	dollars. Couldn't give a stuff what the common fan	**wants**.	Damien CAN you imagine how drunk
18	is greater elsewhere," Meninga said. "I believe Jai	**wants**	to stay and we are working our way through
19	to look after number one. He should do whatever he	**wants**	to do." If Mitchell takes Mundine's advice, the
20	to the club. 2007: Chris Judd tells the Eagles he	**wants**	to return to Victoria and lets three clubs,

In sum, words tagged as X7+ indicate less focus on emotional desire in favour of sport-related senses, or otherwise. The exception is WANT, which does provide some evidence of expressing desires, although the high prevalence of sport-related triggers suggests a more gender-appropriate display of male emotion, as found in the previous sections.

5.2.2.12 OzFooty-M: X7- Unwanted

The tag X7- Unwanted has 1848 tokens across 89 types (see Table 5.15). The top five words by frequency are: *disposals* (787, NF 1.58, 43%), *rejected* (192, NF 0.38, 10%), *plagued* (98, NF

0.2, 5%), *unacceptable* (64, NF 0.13, 3%), and *disposal* (58, NF 0.12, 3%). Combined, these words account for 65% of all tokens tagged as X7-. The top group is DISPOSE, accounting for nearly half of all words tagged (48%), suggesting that the saliency of this tag has been heavily influenced by this group.

In terms of affect, this tag aligns with disinclination: non-desire and dissatisfaction: displeasure, with focus on behavioural processes. However, whether these tagged words are in fact instances of emotion is unclear without consulting the wider co-text. For example, *disposal/s*, as mentioned in Section 5.2.1, is a term related to AFL gameplay and thus not emotion. This sporting sense is specific to Australian English, whereas the tagger is based on British English, indicating a limitation of this approach.

Table 5.15 Words tagged as X7- Unwanted in OzFooty-Men

OzFooty-Men				
Group	**Word(s)**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Percent**
DISPOSE	*disposable, disposal, disposal_markets, disposal_of, disposals, disposals_of, dispose, dispose_of, disposed, disposed_of, disposing_of*	883	1.78	48%
REJECT	*reject, rejected, rejecting, rejection, rejections, rejects*	295	0.59	16%
PLAGUE	*plague, plagued, plaguing*	107	0.22	6%
TURN_DOWN	*turn_down, turned_down, turning_down, turns_down*	78	0.16	4%
UNACCEPTABLE	*unacceptable*	64	0.13	3%
UNWANTED	*unwanted*	47	0.09	3%
RUBBISH	*rubbish, rubbishes*	44	0.09	2%
UNWILLING	*unwilling, unwillingly, unwillingness*	41	0.08	2%
BAIN	*bain, bains*	39	0.07	2%
SPURN	*spurn, spurned, spurning*	33	0.07	2%
DISCARD	*discard, discarded, discarding, discards*	20	0.04	1%
KICK_OUT	*kick_out, kicked_out, kicking_out*	19	0.04	1%
Other	*e.g. garbage, harassing, pest, rebuffed, spontaneous, muscle_in, in-your-face, jettison, loath, blip, …*	178	0.32	10%
Total		**1848**	**3.68**	**100%**

Qualitative analysis was conducted for DISPOSE and REJECT, which contribute ≥10% frequency to this semantic tag overall. For DISPOSE, the text analyses confirm that *disposal/*s is relevant to AFL gameplay (see Figure 5.14), with the other word forms also not emotion. In fact,

the saliency of these words indicates that there is significantly more focus on athletic skill in off-season coverage of men's AFL as compared to the women's, which confirms findings from Lumby et al.'s (2014) study.

Comparatively, REJECT is primarily used as emotion in verbal process, with players identified as the emoters in 30% of instances. Other emoters include in-group members or are not relevant to AFL/NRL. Triggers are typically associated with player contracts and trades (*rejecting a deal to join Parramatta*), again showing preference for situating affect within the sporting context.

Figure 5.14 Sample concordance lines of *disposal/s* from OzFooty-Men

1	second for tackles, fourth for inside 50s, fifth for	**disposals**,	fifth for contested possessions and
2	, who doesn't turn 23 until later this month, had 20	**disposals**	to go with his scoreboard impact
3	in three weeks. No. 3 draft pick Paddy Dow had 13	**disposals**	and kicked two goals in a lively display,
4	mature-age recruit Michael Gibbons and the classy	**28-disposal**	performance of No.1 draft pick Sam
5	to the Dees' midfielders. He also averaged 15.8	**disposals**	per game, and kicked 13 goals for the
6	by playing every game. He averaged more than 27	**disposals**	per game and was extremely consistent,
7	was extremely consistent, never dropping below 17	**disposals**	in a match. Prestia, who turns 27 this
8	. Prestia, who turns 27 this month, led the Tigers for	**disposals**,	contested possessions, tackles and
9	best and fairest. Edwards averaged just under 22	**disposals**	a game, playing in all bar one match.
10	to Tullamarine from the GWS Giants, averaging 22	**disposals**	across the season. Young tagging
11	caught drink driving. Skipper Scott Pendlebury (16	**disposals)**	was quiet but is expected to regain his
12	to impress the coaches failed when he had just two	**disposals**,	although he logged only 42 per cent of
13	level again this season, racking up career-high	**disposals**,	contested possessions, tackles,
14	the Cats again. Kelly kicked three goals and had 30	**disposals**	to be Geelong's best player in their
15	. He played all 23 games this year, averaging 26	**disposals**	a game. He also led the club for
16	, too, played every senior game. He amassed 651	**disposals**	and led the club for tackles with 141,
17	this year, finished the season with 767	**disposals**,	averaging more than 33 a game. He
18	to improve his game, and averaged only 17	**disposals**	in 18 matches, while Dahlhaus
19	in 18 matches, while Dahlhaus averaged 25	**disposals**	a game but finished outside the top 10
20	and Ryan Burton for company. Tom Mitchell (30	**disposals)**	just kept winning the ball while Jaeger

In sum, while the words somewhat align with the tag description, most are not indicative of emotion, as shown with DISPOSE. The qualitative analysis of REJECT indicates this is used as affect, however, emoters tend to be in-group members rather than the players themselves. Thus, the male players are not positioned as emotional in relation to feelings of disinclination.

5.2.3 Summary

This section has utilised the USAS tagger to analyse affect, employing frequency and keyness to explore patterns of emotionality in the OzFooty sub-corpora. The analysis revealed a broader variety of emotion words in OzFooty-W, centred on positivity associated with happiness (affection and cheer) and satisfaction (pleasure). Comparatively, both positive and negative emotions are salient in OzFooty-M, focussing on composure (security: quiet) and worry (insecurity: disquiet).

The qualitative text analysis of emoters has demonstrated a preference to represent female athletes as emotional. Taking the average percentage of player emoters identified in the qualitative analyses across all key emotion tags in OzFooty-W,[52] female athletes were identified as emoters in 48% of all relevant uses. Comparatively, across all key tags in the OzFooty-M corpus, male athletes were identified as emoters 28% of the time. Simply, the female athletes are almost twice as likely to be emoters than male athletes. This provides evidence that female AFL/NRL players are represented as more emotional their male counterparts, supporting the stereotype of the composed and confident male athlete. More positively, however, the tags associated with uncontrollable behavioural expressions of negative emotion, as in crying (i.e. E4.1- Sad), were not salient in the women's corpus. Additionally, triggers for both female and male athletes were predominantly situated within the sporting context, with players expressing emotion in relation to their roles as elite AFL/NRL athletes, suggesting a departure from sportswomen's emotionality being positioned within the personal domain (see Ismail et al., 2020).

Finally, it was shown that the semantic tagger encompasses non-emotion words, including judgement, appreciation, and non-attitudinal words, often related to sport. Consequently, the semantic tag analysis lacks accuracy in analysing affect in the corpus, making it challenging to draw definite conclusions regarding patterns of gendered emotional stereotypes. Thus, the challenge that the following section addresses is to investigate whether a reference list of affect terms can be used to identify patterns of emotion/affect in corpora.

5.3 Affect

This section triangulates findings, testing the use of the Affect Reference List (henceforth, ARL; see Chapter 3). I explore both frequency and keyness of affect categories, and the associated words within these categories, making comparisons between the female/male corpora. I also investigate the use of affect in projected speech (i.e. direct and reported speech) in the Speech sub-corpora.[53] On the whole, I consider the use of the ARL as an approach to help identify instances of affect across a large corpus and, using the appraisal sub-categorisation of affect, triangulating the results with that of the semantic tagger in Section 5.2.

More specifically, Excel functions[54] are used to undertake a semi-automated comparison of the OzFooty-W and OzFooty-M frequency and keyword lists to the ARL. Section 5.3.1 explores the frequency of affect types in the corpora. Section 5.3.2 then presents the saliency of affect types. Section 5.3.3 provides a closer analysis of the affect words, keywords, and their associated categories, as present in the OzFooty corpora and Speech sub-corpora. The female/male Speech sub-corpora were compared to each other to generate keywords lists (LL

[52] E5+ is excluded as this tag is not relevant to affect.

[53] As described in Chapter 3, the Speech corpora have been generated using the Quotation Tool, which detects and extracts projected speech content and the associated speaker/source. (See also https://www.atap.edu.au/posts/quotation-tool/)

[54] The specific Excel functions used are VLOOKUP and MATCH (see Chapter 3).

3.84, p-value 0.05), with the resulting keywords then compared to the ARL to identify salient instances of affect within projected speech and their sources.

5.3.1 Frequent affect types

To begin, Table 5.16 presents the frequency of word types and tokens across all affect categories in the corpora. For OzFooty-W, there are 384 word types (NF 158.25) with a total frequency of 5503 (NF 149.45) identified on the ARL, across all affect categories. For OzFooty-M, there are 589 word types (NF 54.44) with a total frequency of 71,011 (NF 143.13). That is, the women's frequency wordlist has nearly three times more types of affect words than the men's corpus, but only a slightly higher frequency of affect tokens. These results align with the frequency results from the semantic tagger (see Section 5.2.1), therefore confirming that while a greater range of emotions is used in news coverage of women's AFL/NRL, there is similarity in the frequency of use across both corpora. Taken together, the triangulated results confirm that female athletes are not constructed as more emotional than male athletes overall but are presented as having a greater emotional range.

When considering the frequency of specific tags, it is clear that dis/inclination has the highest frequency for both the women's and men's corpora (OzFooty-W NF 59.81 and OzFooty-M NF 55.69), thus indicating similarity in use. This result is convergent with the USAS tagger which identified X7 Wanting as the most frequent across both corpora (see Section 5.2.1). When considering the frequency of positive/negative semantic domains in the corpora, according to the affect types distinguished in appraisal, there is also similarity between the corpora (see Figure 5.15). The three most frequent affect categories for both corpora are inclination: desire, happiness: affection, and satisfaction: interest. The relative frequency of words related to these categories is slightly higher in the women's corpus than the men's, confirming a tendency for positive emotion in OzFooty-W.

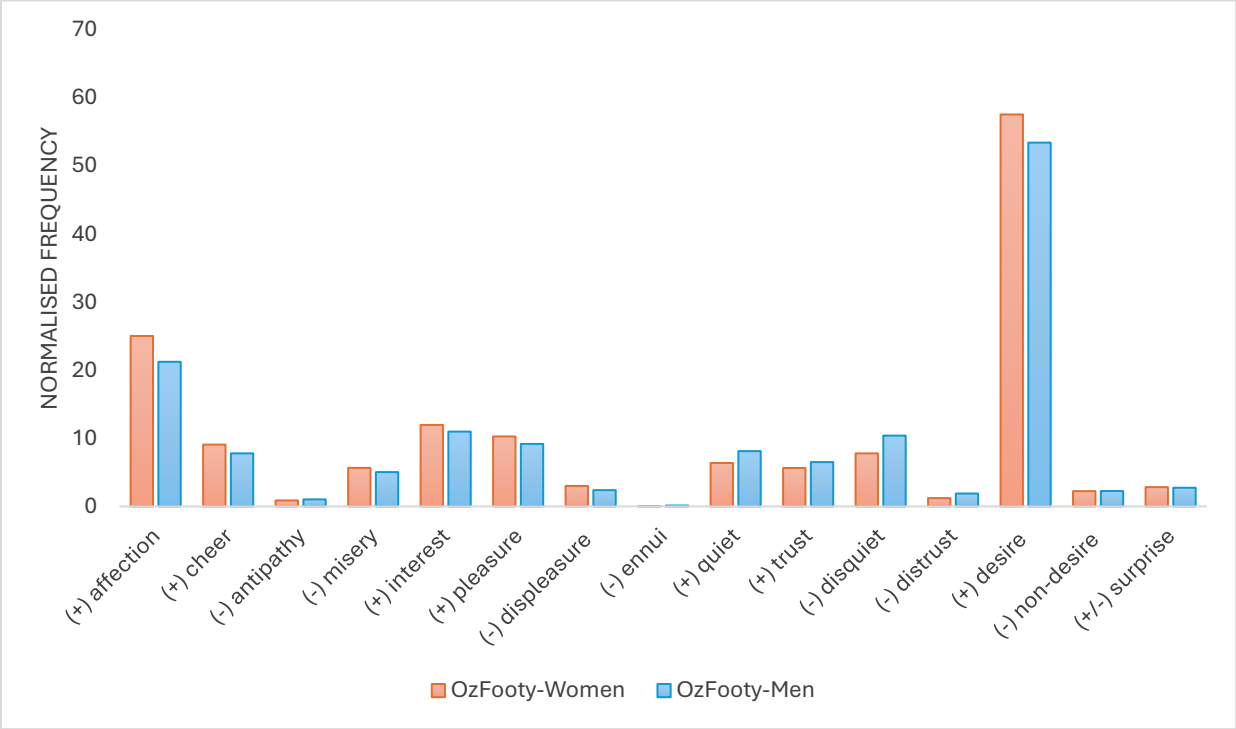
Regarding methodological triangulation, these results are complementary to the semantic tagger (see Section 5.2.1). More specifically, for OzFooty-W there are overlaps with domains of desire and affection, thus pointing to positive emotion. However, for OzFooty-M the semantic tagger identified domains of non-desire, violence/anger, and expectation as most frequent, which are dissonant to the results here. This is likely due to the tagger including gameplay lexis (e.g. *disposal/s*, *kick*), which is excluded from the ARL. However, further analysis is necessary to explore whether any of any affect categories are more dominant in one of the corpora, as compared to the other. Thus, the following section investigates key affect categories in the corpora.

Table 5.16 Frequency of affect types[55]

	OzFooty-Women				OzFooty-Men			
Affect Type	Word Types	Types NF	Word Freq.	NF	Word Types	Types NF	Word Freq.	NF
Total	384	158.66	5503	149.45	588	54.44	70606	142.32
UN/HAPPINESS	98	40.49	1497	40.65	161	15.28	17593	35.2
(+) affection	28	11.57	922	25.03	38	3.52	10598	21.24
(+) cheer	29	11.98	335	9.08	39	3.61	3884	7.79
(-) antipathy	9	3.72	32	0.88	24	2.22	518	1.03
(-) misery	32	13.22	208	5.66	64	5.93	2593	5.04
DIS/SATISFACTION	94	38.43	932	25.29	139	12.87	11064	22.69
(+) interest	26	10.74	440	11.97	38	3.61	5340	10.99
(+) pleasure	39	16.11	380	10.28	49	4.54	4591	9.18
(-) displeasure	28	11.57	111	3.01	43	3.98	1063	2.39
(-) ennui	1	0.41	1	0.03	8	0.74	70	0.13
IN/SECURITY	97	39.67	745	20.27	157	14.54	11868	23.84
(+) quiet	24	9.92	234	6.38	39	3.61	4051	8.12
(+) trust	12	4.96	208	5.64	15	1.39	3244	6.51
(-) disquiet	54	22.31	286	7.79	92	8.52	5234	10.4
(-) distrust	8	3.31	45	1.22	14	1.30	949	1.89
DIS/INCLINATION	83	34.29	2203	59.81	103	9.54	27503	55.69
(+) desire	71	29.34	2121	57.57	88	8.15	26371	53.43
(-) non-desire	12	4.96	82	2.24	15	1.39	1132	2.26
(+/-) SURPRISE	12	4.96	104	2.83	22	2.04	1373	2.74

[55] Normalisation of word types (Types NF) uses WMatrix's figures: 24,202 word types in OzFooty-W, and 108,012 word types in OzFooty-M.

Figure 5.15 Frequency of positive and negative affect categories



5.3.2 Salient affect types

All key affect categories in the corpora are shown in Table 5.17. In OzFooty-W, six affect categories emerged as salient across the domains of happiness, dis/satisfaction and inclination, with happiness: affection ranking highest by keyness (LL 21.82). Notably, all identified affect categories are positive except for dissatisfaction: displeasure. These findings complement the key semantic tags (Section 5.2.2) wherein the women's corpus expresses positive emotions associated with happiness and satisfaction, although some of the specific emotional domains differ.

In OzFooty-M, five affect categories emerged as salient across the domains of dissatisfaction and in/security. Unlike OzFooty-W, almost all categories here centre on negative affect except security: quiet. Insecurity: disquiet ranks highest by keyness (LL 30.42), which is dissonant from the most salient key semantic tag result, i.e. E3- Violent/Angry (linked to dissatisfaction: displeasure, but not relevant to affect when viewed in co-text) (Section 5.2.2). However, the key affect categories of in/security (trust, distrust, disquiet) relate to the key semantic domains of E6+ Confident and E6- Worry. Overall, the triangulated results can be considered complementary.

The affect categories of antipathy, misery, trust, non-desire, and surprise are not salient in either corpus, thus indicating that they occur with relative frequency in both and/or are below the keyness threshold.

Table 5.17 All key affect categories

		OzFooty-Women			OzFooty-Men		
Affect Type	**Category**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**LL**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**LL**
happiness	(+) affection	922	25.03	21.82	-	-	-
happiness	(+) cheer	335	9.08	7.14	-	-	-
satisfaction	(+) interest	440	11.97	4.75	-	-	-
satisfaction	(+) pleasure	380	10.28	4.44	-	-	-
dissatisfaction	(-) displeasure	111	3.01	11	-	-	-
dissatisfaction	(-) ennui	-	-	-	70	0.13	4.82
security	(+) quiet	-	-	-	4051	8.12	14.34
security	(+) trust	-	-	-	3244	6.51	4.05
insecurity	(-) disquiet	-	-	-	5234	10.54	26.91
insecurity	(-) distrust	-	-	-	949	1.89	9.66
inclination	(+) desire	2121	57.57	14.04	-	-	-

Overall, the number of key affect categories is similar between the corpora, indicating that female athletes are not constructed as generally more emotional. This result is dissonant from the key semantic tag analysis, which suggested that male athletes in fact may be portrayed as more emotional than female athletes. However, as the qualitative analyses throughout Section 5.2.2 have shown, many of the semantically tagged words do not convey emotion. Such words are excluded from the ARL, thereby providing more accurate results with respect to emotionality. Furthermore, when considering results from both approaches, certain patterns emerge, suggesting some complementarity with the key semantic tags. In OzFooty-W, positive emotional discourses related to happiness and pleasure are salient. In OzFooty-M, emotional discourses of in/security – that is fear, anxiety, confidence, and ease – are salient. Thus, female and male athletes are represented as having different types of emotions.

In sum, this section has provided an overview of salient affect types in the OzFooty corpora, triangulating results with the semantic tagger results where possible. The following section undertakes a closer analysis of the different affect words present in the corpora.

5.3.3 Exploring affect words

This section explores the specific affect words present in the OzFooty corpora, including the Speech sub-corpora, as compared to the ARL. I analyse the frequency and keyness of affect words, making comparisons between the women's and men's corpora. As mentioned (Section 5.1), keyword analyses were conducted by comparing OzFooty-W and OzFooty-M to each other to explore any gendered differences, as well as by comparing the OFW-Speech and OFM-Speech sub-corpora to each other to ascertain whether affect words originate from the newspaper's textual voice (monoglossia) or external voices (heteroglossia). For external voices, the Quotation

Tool is also used to identify if players are the quoted sources in projected speech containing affect (discussed further below). Appendix F presents a summary of all affect words in the corpora, categorised by their affect type, and includes the overall frequency and saliency for each category (as discussed in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2).

Table 5.18 Top 20 most frequent affect words[56]

	OzFooty-Women				OzFooty-Men			
	Word	**Affect**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Word**	**Affect**	**Freq.**	**NF**
1	*like*	+hap: affection	427	11.59	*like*	+hap: affection	5638	11.3
2	*want*	+inc: desire	369	10.02	*want*	+inc: desire	4479	8.98
3	*love*	+hap: affection	225	6.11	*love*	+hap: affection	1866	3.74
4	*hope*	+inc: desire	202	5.48	*wanted*	+inc: desire	1782	3.57
5	*wanted*	+inc: desire	178	4.83	*wants*	+inc: desire	1564	3.14
6	*happy*	+hap: cheer	99	2.69	*happy*	+hap: cheer	1516	3.04
7	*excited*	+sat: interest	82	2.23	*interest*	+sat: interest	1113	2.23
8	*involved*	+sat: interest	82	2.23	*hope*	+inc: desire	1092	2.19
9	*dream*	+inc: desire	78	2.12	*involved*	+sat: interest	1093	2.19
10	*keen*	+inc: desire	72	1.96	*confident*	+sec: quiet	1041	2.09
11	*interest*	+sat: interest	71	1.93	*hopefully*	+inc: desire	896	1.8
12	*believe*	+sec: trust	69	1.87	*excited*	+sat: interest	834	1.67
13	*confident*	+sec: trust	65	1.76	*keen*	+inc: desire	824	1.65
14	*proud*	+sat: pleasure	65	1.76	*guilty*	-ins: disquiet	719	1.44
15	*wants*	+inc: desire	65	1.76	*proud*	+sat: pleasure	637	1.28
16	*loved*	+hap: affection	59	1.6	*respect*	+hap: affection	635	1.27
17	*hopes*	+inc: desire	55	1.49	*dream*	+inc: desire	580	1.16
18	*looking_ forward*	+inc: desire	49	1.33	*hopes*	+inc: desire	547	1.1
19	*enjoy*	+sat: pleasure	45	1.22	*looking_ forward*	+inc: desire	529	1.06
20	*hopefully*	+inc: desire	43	1.17	*doubt*	-ins: disquiet	524	1.05

Overall, there is similarity between the female/male corpora; both include positive and negative affect realised across a range of grammatical structures, for example, as emotional disposition via mental and relational processes (*love, happy, sad, enjoys, anxious*), behavioural processes (*hug, laugh, cry, shudder*), and verbal processes (*declare, insist, demand*) – including irrealis affect (*hope, want, feared*). The top three words by frequency are the same (*like, want, love*) with a high degree of similarity across the top twenty, as shown in Table 5.18. There are

[56] Some words may also be categorised as inclination: desire through grammatical constructions, e.g. *would love/like, happy to* (see Sections 5.2.2.2 and 5.2.2.3).

positive feelings of desire (*wanted, hope, looking_forward, dream*), happiness (*like, love, happy*), and satisfaction (*excited, interest, involved, proud*) across both corpora, which is convergent with the most frequent affect categories (see Section 5.3.1). These results suggest similarity in the type of high frequency emotional lexis used to report on both men's and women's AFL/NRL.

In fact, there is a great deal of overlap between the corpora; nearly all affect words in OzFooty-W also appear in OzFooty-M (99%). In the men's corpus, there are 204 unique affect words which is not unexpected given the larger size of this corpus. The top five most frequent words unique to the men's corpus are *let down* (85, NF 0.17), *unwanted* (47, NF 0.09), *suspicion* (41, NF 0.08), *distress* (38, NF 0.08), and *alarm* (39, NF 0.08), all of which are negative affect (i.e. misery, disinclination, distrust, and disquiet). Comparatively, there are only three words unique to the women's corpus: *sobs* (n=2), *amaze* (n=1), and *brighten* (n=1), which point to misery, surprise, and cheer, respectively. These words are also key in the women's corpus, although their frequencies are too low to extrapolate any wider patterns. The presence of *sobs* is interesting given its association with stereotypical emotions of female athletes. Analysis of related behavioral expressions of misery (i.e. SOB, CRY, TEARS) found that while there is higher relative frequency of these lexemes in OzFooty-W (NF 1.31) compared to OzFooty-M (NF 0.76), players are identified as emoters in about half of all relevant instances in both corpora. This therefore suggests a shift in the discourse, where female and male athletes are similarly – and infrequently – depicted as emotionally "in tears".

Combined, these results therefore indicate similarity between the corpora, while also suggesting there are notable differences which warrant further investigations. Thus, it is useful to look at the saliency of words (i.e. keyness) to see if there are any dominant patterns in the corpora.

All words identified as key in both corpora are summarised in Table 5.19. Word denoted with a caret (^) are also identified as key in the relevant OzFooty-Speech corpus (that is, in projected speech). As shown, there is a slightly greater percentage of affect keywords identified in OzFooty-M (9%) than in OzFooty-W (6%). Overall, the keywords in OzFooty-W, grouped into the most salient affect categories (i.e. inclination: desire, happiness: affection, satisfaction) confirm the results from Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. The keywords in OzFooty-M grouped into salient affect categories (insecurity: disquiet, inclination: desire, unhappiness: misery) provide complimentary results to Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. When considering positive versus negative affect, these words confirm the tendency for positive emotions in women's sport coverage, and both positive and negative emotions in men's coverage. Thus, the triangulation of the semantic tagger and ARL gives greater confidence in the results already identified but adds little new information.

Table 5.19 Affect keywords and the most salient affect types

Types (%)	Freq. (NF)	Affect Keywords	Top 3 affect types (by LL)
OzFooty-Women			
n=48 (6%)	1803 (0.47)	*adore, amaze, annoys, anxiety, appreciated, aspire^, brighten, care, care, care,*[57] *celebrated, cross, crying, delegate^, dissatisfied, dream^, dumbfounded^, embrace, engaged, enjoy^, excited, gratitude, grieves^, hope^,*[58] *hopes, humbled^, joy^, love^, loved^, loving^, nervous^, nostalgic, overwhelmed, panic, patting_on_the_back, pride, proud, rapt, relax, shake_hands, shell-shocked, sick_and_tired^, sobs^, tears, terrify^, upsets^, want, wanted^*	1. inclination: desire (LL 192.75) 2. happiness: affection (LL 95.29) 3. satisfaction: interest (LL 44.05)
OzFooty-Men			
n=32 (9%)	6231 (0.09)	*alarm, be_against, content, demand, desperate, desperation, distress, distressed, doubtful, eager^, ease, embarrassed^, faith, fond, grief, guilty^, guilt^, hesitation, hopefully^, insists, let_down^, looks_to, optimism, rattled, suspicion, troubled, troubled, unsettled, unwanted, wants^, worry^, wretched*	1. insecurity: disquiet (LL 111.4) 2. inclination: desire (LL 69.27) 3. unhappiness: misery (LL 32.57)
^ These words are also key in the relevant OzFooty Speech sub-corpus			

The analyses throughout this chapter have identified some instances of players as the sources of affect, but this has not yet been explored in detail. For example, there are notably more affect keywords which are also present in the women's Speech corpus (denoted with ^ in Table 5.19) suggesting that female athletes may be more often quoted as using emotion lexis. Table 5.20 summarises all affect keywords in the Speech corpora, for reference. That is, these

[57] The word *care* appears three times as it can be linked to different affect categories depending on the following preposition, e.g. *care about* (satisfaction), *care for* (happiness), *care to* (inclination).

[58] While *hope* may be linked to inclination, it is also the name of an AFLW player (Moana Hope). Thus, it is necessary to acknowledge that the presence of this word on the list may be skewed by WMatrix not accounting for capitalisation.

are affect words that are significantly over-used in projected speech in one corpus compared to the other.

Analysis of affect keywords in the Speech sub-corpora shows that, overall, there are more types of affect keywords with a higher frequency found in the women's Speech corpus (36 types, n=541, NF 0.50) than the men's Speech corpus (19 types, n=2751, NF 0.21). Thus, these results confirm that there is greater focus on emotion in projected speech in media coverage of women's AFL/NRL, as compared to men's AFL/NRL. When grouped into the most salient affect categories, the results in OFW-Speech focus on insecurity: disquiet, inclination: desire, and satisfaction: pleasure. The results in OFM-Speech focus on insecurity: disquiet; inclination: desire; and happiness: affection. Thus, the emotional domains of insecurity and desire are common in projected speech in media coverage of both men's and women's AFL/NRL, though the specific lexis used differs.

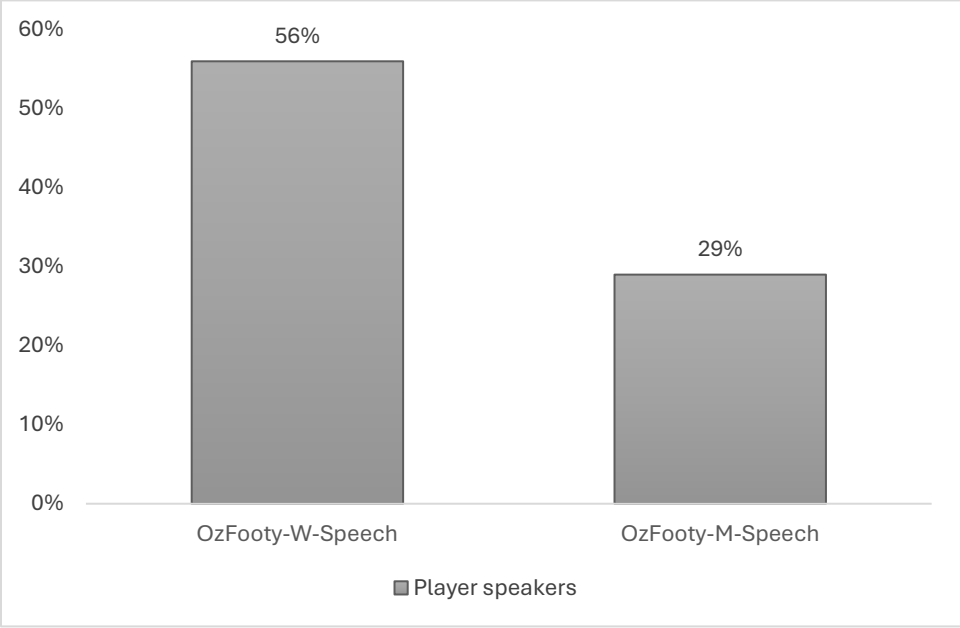
Table 5.20 Keywords by affect type in the OzFooty Speech sub-corpora

	OzFooty-Women Speech	**OzFooty-Men Speech**
Types:	36 (5% of all keywords)	19 (2% of all keywords)
Frequency:	541 (NF 0.50)	2751 (NF 0.21)
Keyness:	LL 253.93	LL 49.86
Affect Categories	**Affect Keywords**	**Affect Keywords**
happiness: affection	*love, loved, loving*	*loves, respect, respectful*
happiness: cheer	*joy*	-
unhappiness: antipathy	-	-
unhappiness: misery	*grieved, grieves, sad, sobs*	*let down, regrets*
satisfaction: interest	*involved*	-
satisfaction: pleasure	*admired, enjoy, honoured, humbled, impress*	-
dissatisfaction: displeasure	*dissatisfaction, outrage, sick and tired*	-
dissatisfaction: ennui	-	-
security: quiet	-	*confidence, confident*
security: trust	*delegate*	-
insecurity: disquiet	*agitate, blush, frightened, nervous, terrify, upsets, worried*	*anxious, embarrassed, guilt, guilty, upset, worry*
insecurity: distrust	*suspicious*	*doubt*
inclination: desire	*aspire, dream, hope, hoping, wanted*	*eager, hopeful, hopefully, intended, wants*
disinclination: non-desire	-	-
surprise	*dumbfounded, shellshock*	-

What these results do not yet tell us, however, is who the speakers are. That is, whether female players are more often the attributed sources of affect than male players. To explore this further, all projected speech content containing at least one affect keyword and a named speaker was analysed. The Quotation Tool automatically identifies speakers which includes named people, entities, and anaphoric references (i.e. *he, she, it, they, we, I, you, this, that*), and can be exported into Excel for closer qualitative analysis. For this analysis, all anaphoric references are excluded, along with instances where the tool was unable to retrieve a speaker (i.e. blanks). The remaining instances were then manually reviewed to identify if the speaker is a player, or not. In OFW-Speech, I consider whether the speaker is a female player; for OFM-Speech, if speaker is a male player (past or present, following the approach in Section 5.2.2).

As shown in Figure 5.16, female players account for 56% of all named persons in projected speech containing affect in OFW-Speech, while male players account for 29% in OFM-Speech. Thus, projected speech containing affect (and with a named speaker) is twice as likely to come from female AFL/NRL players than from male players. These results are convergent with the results from the manual analyses of emoters in Section 5.2.3, confirming that female athletes are more often associated with emotionality than their male counterparts. This could indicate that the quoted participants (i.e. female athletes) use more emotion terms, or that media producers more frequently select quotes from female players which contain these emotion terms (whether consciously or not). While outside of the scope of this study, investigation of such nuances would provide a productive area for future research.

Figure 5.16 Players as named sources of affect keywords



5.3.4 Summary

This section has utilised the ARL, employing frequency and keyness, to explore emotionality in the OzFooty corpora, including in projected speech. Overall, the results confirm that emotion words in the women's corpus are centred on happiness, satisfaction, and desire, while the men's corpus focusses on in/security and dissatisfaction. The frequency and keyness analyses indicate that female athletes are not constructed as more emotional than male athletes but are presented as having greater emotional range. Further, analyses of affect words realising behavioural expressions of misery found little difference between the men's and women's corpora, with athletes infrequently portrayed as crying or in tears, thus confirming the results from the semantic tagger. The analysis of sources in projected speech content revealed that female athletes are represented as significantly more emotional than their male counterparts. That is, female athletes tend to use more emotion words in projected speech content, at least in that which is selected by the media for publication.

Thus, the triangulation of the ARL and the semantic tagger revealed complementarity in the results, both in the analysis of emotional domains and emoters. More specifically, the ARL provided more accurate identification of emotion across a large corpus compared to the semantic tagger, as domain-specific gameplay lexis was excluded. Analysis of the two OzFooty Speech corpora added nuance to the analysis, identifying a particular trend about citation practices that would not otherwise have become apparent.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has triangulated the use of an automated semantic tagger and a self-compiled affect reference list to analyse emotionality in the OzFooty corpus, with respect to the patriarchal discourse of gender stereotyping. Specifically, I explored the different types of emotions present in the corpus and considered whether female athletes are represented as stereotypically emotional as compared to their male counterparts, analysing frequency, keyness, and sources of emotion. I also considered the use of these (semi) automated tools as potential means to identify patterns of affect across a large dataset. Overall, the analyses have revealed some similarities along with notable differences, regarding the representation of emotionality in media coverage of women's and men's sport. The key findings will be highlighted here and discussed with respect to both methodological triangulation and gender stereotyping.

Across all analyses, a broader range of emotional types were identified in OzFooty-W, however, emotion lexis is generally used with similar relative frequency in both corpora. That is, coverage of men's sport tends to draw from a more restricted set of emotions, especially considering the larger size of the corpus. This points to residues of stereotypical representations where "men cannot be emotional" (Galasiński, 2004, p. 12), or at least in the case of the OzFooty corpus, as emotionally diverse as their female counterparts. Regarding method triangulation, the results are convergent, thereby confirming the reliability of these approaches to gain a broad overview of emotion in corpora by analysing frequency and types.

When considering positive/negative emotional domains, results between the semantic tagger and ARL also showed convergent patterns. Notably, media coverage of women's AFL/NRL is associated with positive emotions, whereby men's AFL/NRL is associated with both positive and negative emotions. This aligns with previous linguistic research where positive emotion is more common than negative in media coverage of women's sport (Caple, 2013; Ismail, 2016; Ismail et al., 2020). More specifically, in OzFooty-W, the domains of happiness, pleasure, and desire were consistently identified in the analyses, whereas in OzFooty-M, the domains of in/security were consistently identified, thus highlighting the reliability of these findings. Further, the findings for OzFooty-W align with Ismail et al.'s (2020) study where LOVE and HAPPY were key emotion lemmas in women's sports news coverage (compared to men's sports coverage). This therefore indicates that positive emotional discourses of happiness are associated with female sport and athletes more generally.

Another convergent result comes from the qualitative analysis of emoters (Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) and sources (Section 5.3.3), both of which identified female athletes as significantly more likely to be the attributed source for expressions of emotion, as compared to male athletes. This result confirms that female athletes are represented as more emotional, although the analyses throughout this chapter identified sport-related triggers of emotion for both female and male athletes. That is, expression of emotion is similarly centred around their roles of elite athlete rather than used to undermine sporting accomplishments, thus highlighting a notable similarity between media coverage of women's and men's AFL/NRL – and a positive shift away from this patriarchal discourse.

There were, however, some dissonant results which also emerged from the triangulated approach. The semantic tagger identified E3- Violence/Anger as a frequent domain for both corpora, and the most key domain in OzFooty-M. However, analysis of the specific terms allocated to this tag were gameplay lexis rather than emotional responses (i.e. affect). Such finding is similar to Breeze's (2019, p. 30) study of emotion in political news discourse, whereby E3- was the most frequent tag but included words that did not "entail negative emotions on the part of the agent or victim". Thus, the findings for negative emotions associated with E3- (dissatisfaction) cannot be considered reliable. Further, in OzFooty-M, the semantic tagger identified X7- (non-desire) as the most frequent (influenced by the gameplay lexis DISPOSE), whereas the ARL more accurately identified positive wanting (desire) as the most frequent. Such difference highlights the influence of non-emotive gameplay lexis on the semantic tagger which was excluded from the ARL.

Considering all the analyses together, there are mixed results with respect to gender-stereotypical emotions in the corpora. While there is strong evidence of happiness in the women's coverage, there is minimal evidence of sadness (unhappiness: misery) or fear (insecurity: disquiet) being dominant discourses. Positively, AFLW/NRLW players are not portrayed in stereotypical ways that "stress emotional weakness" (Jones, 2004, p. 134), including crying, sobbing, or in tears. In fact, unhappiness was not identified as frequent or salient in either the women's or men's corpus, thus suggesting this emotional domain is not a common feature of

AFL/NRL news coverage more generally. Comparatively, evidence of gender-stereotypical emotions were triangulated in OzFooty-M, primarily in relation to composure and confidence (i.e. security in affect). Alongside this, however, the male-stereotypical emotions of pride (satisfaction), frustration (dissatisfaction), and anger (dissatisfaction) (Aznar & Tenenbaum, 2023) were not identified by the ARL, thus providing inconclusive results. Finally, the semantic tagger also highlighted that off-season media coverage focuses more on gameplay-related lexis in OzFooty-M (as seen in tags E3- and X7-), which may be an interesting area for future research. Overall, some clear differences have emerged suggesting that there is more focus on behaviour and physical "toughness" in men's sports coverage and mental "feelings" in women's sports coverage.

In terms of approach, this chapter demonstrates the benefits and limitations of undertaking an analysis of affect in a specialised corpus using semi-automated corpus linguistic tools. The inclusion of non-emotive senses in both approaches poses challenges to the analysis and interpretation of results. This was especially evident for the semantic tagger with words related to Australian sport. The ARL, while offering greater flexibility in addressing context-specific versus emotion words, is still unable to weed out irrelevant senses, for example with *like*. Additionally, both approaches focus primarily on lexicalized emotion, thereby overlooking grammatical and metaphorical expressions. Overall, the findings from the semantic tagger and ARL can be viewed as complementary, that is, as parts of a whole which together "may offer a more complete view" of the data (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, p. 7). In fact, dissonant results were generally related to the semantic tags that did not deal directly with emotion/affect, but rather other areas of attitude or gameplay lexis. Thus, while each tool has its own set of limitations, triangulation of these approaches has confirmed dominant patterns of emotion in the corpora. Combining these approaches strengthens the analysis and reliability of the findings.

To conclude, this chapter has shown that there is a range of emotions across both corpora, reflecting the highly emotional nature of sport. Women's AFL/NRL media coverage is afforded a greater emotional range than men's AFL/NRL, although this is largely restricted to positive emotions. Such findings potentially point to residues of the "congenial and caring" sportswoman (Christopherson et al., 2002, p. 183) who is upheld as a role model (see also Chapter 4). Comparatively, media coverage of men's AFL/NRL utilises a more restricted range of lexis, though does include both positive and negative emotions. Additionally, the triangulation of qualitative analysis revealed that female athletes are more likely to be emoters that their male counterparts. Taken together, there is some evidence of female players represented as more emotional than their male counterparts, alongside other positive shifts. Thus, while overt female-stereotypical emotions are not present, residues of historical patriarchal discourses remain. This suggests that newspapers perhaps may be trying to balance perceived attitudes of their target audience and historical gender biases with future discourses of inclusivity.

6. Intersectionality

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore how sexuality and ethnicity are represented with respect to gender in media coverage of AFL/NRL. In this thesis thus far, I have focused on patriarchal discourses related to gender, arguing that, alongside some positive changes, historical stereotypes of masculinity persist within sports media coverage. However, it is also necessary to acknowledge that while the elite sports domain has been historically masculine, it has also been constructed as heterosexual and as White (Bruce, 2016). That is, there has been an underlying expectation for athletes to conform to the heteronormative social structures and "dominant whiteness of Australia" (Cottle & Keys, 2010, p. 6), alongside perceived binary gender steroetypes. Following Crenshaw's (1991) feminist argument, "intersectionality challenges the notion that individual experience can be understood by categorising people into binary social groups", such as female/women and male/men (Hunt & Jaworska, 2019, p. 2). Our experiences in the world are shaped by different overlapping and intersecting dimensions of our identities, including gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, etc. Thus, it is of interest to explore how the socially constructed categories of sexuality and ethnicity intersect with gender in shaping representations of AFL/NRL athletes in the sports media. Taking this into consideration, the following research questions guide the analysis for this chapter:

1. How do representations of sexuality and ethnicity relate to representations of gender in the OzFooty corpus?
2. What are the notable similarities or differences between OzFooty-W and OzFooty-M, with respect to the representation of sexuality and ethnicity?
3. How are the known issues of homophobia and racism in sport addressed by the media?

As the aim of this chapter is to explore representations of sexuality and ethnicity in the corpus and how these intersect with that of gender, comparisons are frequently made between coverage of women's AFL/NRL to that of men's AFL/NRL; however, comparison across codes (i.e. AFL to NRL) are also occasionally made.

As described in Chapter 3, this thesis combines CL with CDA in various ways. Specifically in this chapter, I undertake targeted searches in WordSmith, analysing the results using frequency data and concordances, drawing on appraisal resources for text analyses as relevant. Section 6.2 presents the analysis of sexuality in the corpus, including representations of homophobia. Section 6.3 presents the analysis of ethnicity in the corpus, including representations of racism. The chapter finishes with concluding thoughts (Section 6.4).

Before moving on, it is necessary to address the terminology used in this chapter. In Section 6.2, I respectfully use the term *sexuality* to refer to a person's sexual orientation, and *LGB* to refer to lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities in the sporting space, as discussed in Chapter 1. As a reminder, words related to gender identity (*trans/gender, gender diverse, non-binary,*

etc.) are excluded from the focus of this research. During the time that this research covers, there are no known intersex or transgender players, likely due to AFL/NRL policies. While there are at least two known non-binary ALFW players (Farmilo, 2021; O'Halloran, 2022), there are only three instances in the corpus of *non-binary*, none of which refer to specific players thus highlighting a lack of gender diversity in off-season print media coverage of AFL/NRL.

In Section 6.3, I respectfully use the term *ethnicity(ies)* to broadly refer to cultural and ethnic identity; that is, a population or group which has a common ancestry, language, cultural values, and/or cultural practices. I avoid the term *race* as this is a social construct which carries with it negative connotations of subordination linked to colonialism (Gardiner, 2003a). The exception is when discussing racism as it presents in the corpus, namely, in Section 6.3.4. Further, I acknowledge that in some instances, ethnicity and nationality may overlap, as in *Tongan* or *Fijian*, however, a discussion of nationality is outside the scope of this study. I use the terms *Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples* as well as *First Nations Peoples* with respect, following the guidelines from AIATSIS (2020), Reconciliation Australia (2021), and the Australian Government Style Manual (2023). I avoid using the term *Indigenous* where possible, except as relevant in the data, literature, or in official names, such as the AFL's Indigenous Round.

Finally, I acknowledge that each athlete's experiences with homophobia and/or racism will differ; my aim here is to explore how the media represent these issues as a baseline for future analysis. The following section now presents the findings for media representations of sexuality in the corpus.

6.2 Sexuality and homophobia

This section explores the representation of sexuality within the corpus, making comparisons between media coverage of women's and men's AFL/NRL. Gender and sexuality can be interconnected, as evidenced by stereotypes of, for example, the butch lesbian or the effeminate gay man (Baker, 2014, p. 105). Baker (2014, p. 106) argues that homosexuality and gender are often conflated, with a resulting viewpoint that "both women and gay men are inferior to heterosexual men" – a sentiment which has been institutionalised in sport.

Women have long been the unwelcome outsiders in the realm of masculine team sports, with female athletes historically stigmatised as lesbian (Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014; see also Chapter 2). However, the birth of AFLW and NRLW suggests a greater social change may be taking place, with 70-80% of AFLW players identifying as LGB (Newton, 2020). When player Erin Phillips kissed her wife at the inaugural AFLW awards ceremony, this was widely reported on as it was the first time an elite AFL footballer (of any sex/gender) had "publicly embraced their same-sex partner" (Stark, 2017). Some commentators argued that this was proof the footy world had "grown up" (Stark, 2017), while others objectified the women, suggesting that "it was probably a touch sensual for a number of men" (Robinson, 2017). Thus, mixed sentiments remain.

Gay men have also historically been (and in most cases continue to be) outsiders in sport – at all levels. There are a variety of reasons for this, including the continued use of homophobic language by athletes and lack of safe, inclusive spaces in a domain that has long been dominated by hegemonic masculinity (Pringle & Denison, 2023; see also Chapter 2). In fact, AFLM remains the only major male sporting code in the world to have no openly gay players – past or present (Denison, 2021; Milligan, 2023a, 2023b). Notably, Ian Roberts was the first openly gay athlete in Australia, and remains the only openly gay (ex) NRLM player (Denison, 2021). It is therefore of interest to explore how the sexuality of AFL/NRL athletes is represented in the media and how the media navigate reporting on the related issues of (hetero)sexism and homophobia across the gendered codes.

To undertake the analysis, I used targeted searches of selected terms potentially pointing to sexuality, combined with qualitative text analysis of these terms and their co-text. To compile the search terms list, I first reviewed the kinship terms identified by the USAS tagger in Chapter 4 (see Table 4.8). Partner and relationship terms which may point to identification of sexuality, as in *wife, husband, engaged, partner*, were included. Words relating to sexual identity (e.g. *same-sex, gay, heterosexual*) were added manually to the list from online resources (see Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2022; Minus18, 2024). Additionally, I have included words related to the negative treatment of LGB identities, i.e. *homophobic* and *homophobia*.

Taking this initial list of words, I then utilised ProtAnt (Anthony & Baker, 2023) as a novel means to help identify any other related sexuality terms within the corpus. ProtAnt is an analysis tool for automated prototypical text detection within a corpus based on a specified keywords list (Anthony & Baker, 2015). Rather than using a keywords list to identify prototypical texts, I used the initial sexuality search terms list. ProtAnt compared the uploaded word list against the OzFooty corpus, returning texts that are prototypical of these sexuality-related words. The top ten texts identified by the software were read in full for any other relevant terms to be added to the search list. For example, the word *kiss* and its inflected forms (*kisses, kissed, kissing*) were added given the association with a specific post-NRLW match moment (two female players kissing), and previous coverage of a similar event in AFLW (see Kemble, 2020). This also allows for a specific point of comparison with the men's corpus.

The search words were each reviewed for relevancy with the aid of concordances, to allow for a more refined and relevant search list. Words most frequently used in unrelated senses have been excluded (e.g. *couple, engaged, straight*). For example, *couple* appears 1727 times in the corpus; of a random 60 lines analysed, only 28% were relevant to relationships. Thus, *couple* is excluded. *Queer* is also excluded as there are only two instances in the corpus, neither of which are relevant to AFL/NRL. However, both *pride* and *partner* are included as their relevancy can easily be determined through the associated co-text (e.g. *gay pride, pride game, her partner Tracy*). The full search string used is found in Appendix G. It is acknowledged that this list may not include all words pointing to sexuality, but a best effort has been applied to identify commonly used words in the OzFooty corpus that will provide insight into the representation of sexuality.

The following sections will now present the results from the analyses. First, I provide an overview of the search terms present in the OzFooty corpus more generally, identifying emerging categories for further analysis (Section 6.2.1). These categories are then explored in closer detail in the sub-sections that follow (i.e. Sections 6.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4), making comparisons between the female/male corpora.

6.2.1 OzFooty corpus overview

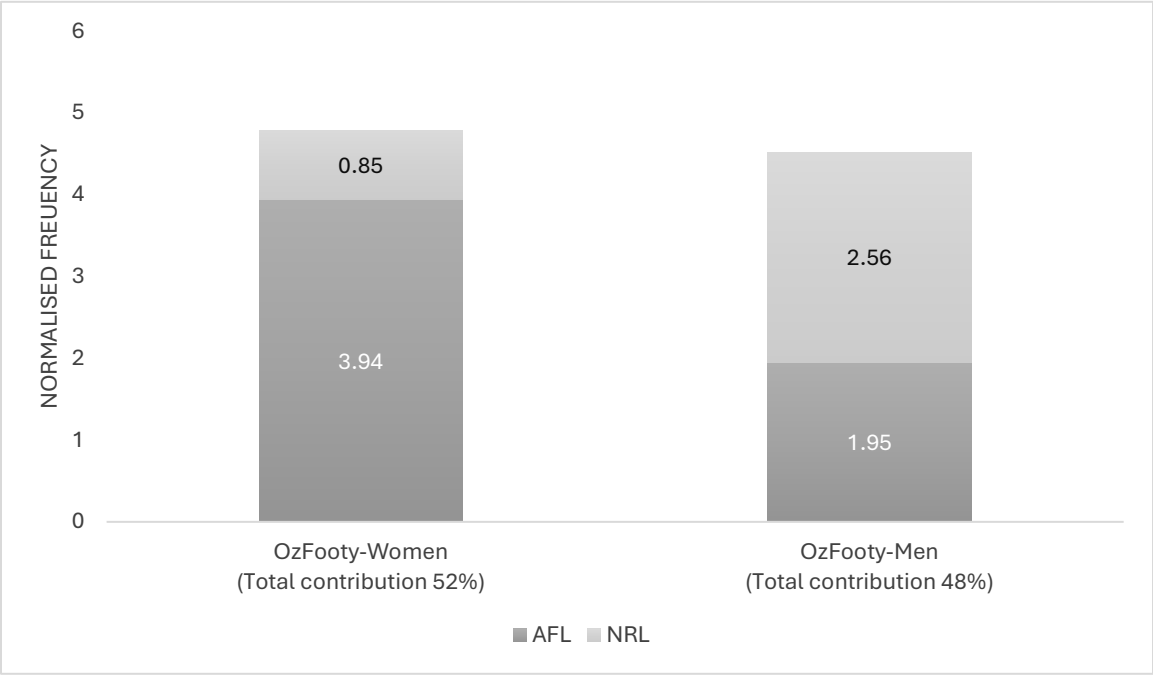
To begin, a targeted search was undertaken in the OzFooty corpus using the sexuality search terms list, with all results reviewed in their concordances to determine the relevancy to sexuality. The concordance analyses show that the majority of these words are relevant to sexuality (78%, n=2676). The most frequent words overall are *wife* (n=851), *partner* (n=460), and *husband* (n=204). All words which do refer to sexuality (and have ≥1% contribution) are shown in Table 6.1. The complete search results list is available in Appendix H.

Table 6.1 Words in the OzFooty corpus referring to sexuality with ≥1% contribution

Rank	Word	Frequency (Sexuality)	Percent Contr.	Frequency (Overall)
1	*wife*	851	31.5%	851
2	*partner*	460	17.0%	857
3	*husband*	204	7.5%	204
4	*married*	186	6.9%	209
5	*wedding*	146	5.4%	149
6	*girlfriend*	142	5.3%	146
7	*marriage*	133	4.9%	146
8	*fiancee*	90	3.3%	90
9	*gay*	67	2.5%	78
10	*marry*	43	1.6%	46
11	*WAG*	28	1%	33
12	*fiance*	27	1%	27
12	*boyfriend*	27	1%	27

Comparing the total frequencies in the women's corpus (219, NF 4.8) to the men's corpus (2457, NF 4.52) suggests that discussion of sexuality and related terms occurs with relative similarity (LL 0.73, LR 0.09). Within OzFooty-W, sexuality terms are more frequent in coverage of AFLW (NF 3.94, 81%), than NRLW (NF 0.85, 17%). In OzFooty-M they are more frequent in coverage of NRLM (NF 2.56, 56%) than AFLM (NF 1.95 43%). Figure 6.1 provides a visual overview of these differences.

Figure 6.1 Normalised frequency of words referring to sexuality



While these results initially suggest that sexuality is discussed to a similar degree in both women's and men's AFL/NRL coverage, we do not know whether these terms (e.g. *wife, partner*) are used in relation to hetero-normative or same-sex relationships. As such, the relevant concordance lines were further analysed to determine the reference to heterosexual or LGB sexuality.[59]

In the OzFooty corpus overall, heterosexual orientation is dominant (86%, n=2287), with about 11% referencing LGB sexuality.[60] When comparing the female/male corpora, there are some notable differences (see Table 6.2 and Figure 6.2). In OzFooty-W, there is greater focus on LGB sexuality than heterosexuality, while in OzFooty-M the opposite is true. It is unsurprising then, that when comparing the two corpora, AFLW/NRLW coverage is significantly more likely to focus on LGB sexuality than the men's coverage (LL 328, LR 3.41), while AFLM/NRLM focuses more on heterosexuality as compared to the women's.

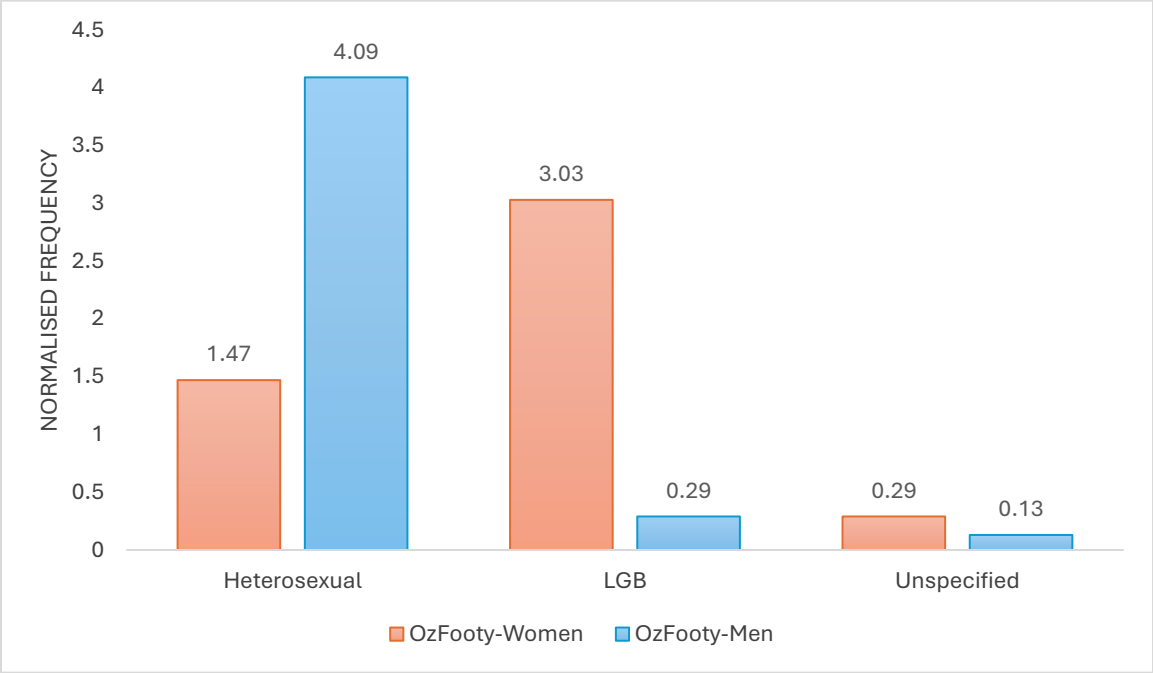
[59] In some cases, the wider co-text did not provide clarity. These cases were dealt with in one of two ways. Firstly, for any instances clearly focusing on a current male AFL or NRL player, these were coded as Heterosexual, under the general knowledge that there are currently no out male players in either of these codes. All other instances were simply coded as Unspecified. The words *homophobia/homophobic* are excluded as they are discussed separately in Section 6.2.5.

[60] The remaining 3% are Unspecified.

Table 6.2 Frequency of sexual orientation for all sexuality terms[61]

	OzFooty-Women		**OzFooty-Men**			
Orientation	Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF	LL	LR
LGB	138	3.03	156	0.29	+328	+3.41
Heterosexual	67	1.47	2220	4.09	-95.47	-1.47
Unspecified	13	0.29	68	0.13	+6.13	+1.19
Total	218	4.78	2444	4.51		

Figure 6.2 Comparison of sexual orientation for all sexuality terms



In sum, these initial results show that sexuality is discussed with similar frequency in coverage of both men's and women's AFL/NRL; however, there are significant differences when considering the associated sexual orientation. OzFooty-M focuses on heterosexuality, suggesting that coverage may follow stereotypes where masculinity in men's team sport is reinforced through references to their (feminine) wives and girlfriends (i.e. WAGs) (see Marks, 2019). Comparatively, OzFooty-W has greater focus on same-sex sexuality, suggesting a departure from the historical lack of coverage of "deviant" (i.e. lesbian) sportswomen. However, it may also be the case that stereotypes of "masculine" (i.e. lesbian) women participating in masculine sports is reinforced through the focus on LGB sexuality. Clearly, closer qualitative analysis is necessary for findings such as these.

[61] LL and LR were calculated by comparing OzFooty-W (corpus 1) to OzFooty-M (corpus 2). Thus, positive in the LL or LR columns indicates overuse in corpus 1 compared to corpus 2, and a negative indicates underuse in corpus 1 compared to corpus 2.

All the relevant sexuality search terms have been categorised into groups which will be further analysed for dominant patterns and associated attitudes towards sexuality, in the following sections. The categories identified are relationships and significant others (Section 6.2.2), sexual identity (Section 6.2.3), physical affection (Section 6.2.4), and homophobia (Section 6.2.5). Representation of relationships and significant others are discussed together because players' (hetero)sexuality has typically been reinforced through these references interchangeably.

6.2.2 Representations of relationships and significant others

All words categorised as relationships and significant others are presented in Table 6.3. Overall, there is slightly greater frequency of use in OzFooty-M (LL 4.59, LR 0.25), though this may simply be a result of the different sized corpora. The most frequent words in both corpora are *wife, partner,* and *husband.* While *partner* and *husband* occur with relative similarity in both, *wife* is more frequent in OzFooty-M (NF 1.50) than in OzFooty-W (NF 0.77). The prominence of *wife* points to reinforcing heterosexuality in the men's corpus, while also suggesting potential focus on same-sex relationships in the women's corpus (confirmed through concordance analysis).

In fact, both corpora include male and female gendered terms (e.g. *boyfriend, bride, husband,*) as well as neutral terms (e.g. *partner, spouse, marriage*), which could point to either same-sex or heterosexual relationships. As such, each word was analysed in its co-text to determine the associated sexual orientation. As shown in Figure 6.3, heterosexuality is dominant in the men's coverage. This most likely reflects the fact that there are no current openly LGB male players in AFL/NRL, though may also reflect a reluctance to focus on "sexual minorities or gay issues" in male sport (Kian et al., 2015, p. 907). Within OzFooty-W, there is slightly more focus on LGB identities as compared to heterosexuality (LL 1.94, LR 0.33). This is also likely reflective of the many high-profile openly LGB female athletes in AFL/NRL. The frequency and sexual orientation of all terms for relationships and significant others can be found in Appendix I. Words which do reference LGB sexuality will now be discussed in more detail.

Looking first at OzFooty-M, there are 5 of 30 words (16%) used in relation to LGB sexuality at least once, which have a combined relative frequency of 0.07 (n=38). These words are *fiancé, marriage, marry, partner* and *wife,* with *marriage* the most frequent (27, NF 0.05). Concordances show that *marriage* tends be used in the context of the Australian Marriage Equality Act (i.e. *same-sex marriage, marriage equality*) that was publicly debated and came into effect during the time that the corpus covers. Related coverage includes the AFL's and NRL's general support of the Yes vote (Figure 6.4, lines 4, 5, 17, 25), former tennis player Margaret Court's opposition to this (line 20) and subsequent responses (lines 6, 13), as well as mentions of NRL's Israel Folau's homophobic comments (lines 4, 15) – which will be further discussed in Section 6.2.5. Despite the low frequency of use, this suggests that the media is willing to engage with gay issues in sport, to some extent, during nationally significant political/social events.

Table 6.3 Frequency of words categorised as relationships and significant others

OzFooty-Women		**OzFooty-Men**	
Total freq. (NF)	162 (3.56)	Total freq. (NF)	2289 (4.22)
wife	35 (0.77)	*wife*	816 (1.50)
partner	32 (0.70)	*partner*	428 (0.79)
husband	17 (0.34)	*husband*	187 (0.34)
wedding	14 (0.31)	*married*	172 (0.32)
married	14 (0.31)	*girlfriend*	133 (0.24)
marriage	11 (0.22)	*wedding*	132 (0.24)
girlfriend	9 (0.19)	*marriage*	123 (0.23)
marry	9 (0.19)	*fiancee*	84 (0.15)
boyfriend	6 (0.13)	*marry*	34 (0.06)
fiancee	6 (0.13)	*fiance*	26 (0.05)
WAG	4 (0.08)	*WAG*	24 (0.04)
girlfriends	3 (0.06)	*boyfriend*	21 (0.04)
fiance	1 (0.02)	*divorce*	18 (0.03)
marrying	1 (0.02)	*missus*	15 (0.03)
nuptials	1 (0.02)	*nuptials*	13 (0.02)
		WAGs	13 (0.02)
		bride	11 (0.02)
		girlfriends	8 (0.01)
		marrying	8 (0.01)
		divorced	4 (0.01)
		newlyweds	3 (0.01)
		boyfriends	2 (<0.01)
		groom	2 (<0.01)
		hubby	2 (<0.01)
		remarried	2 (<0.01)
		remarry	2 (<0.01)
		spouse	2 (<0.01)
		divorces	1 (<0.01)
		hubbies	1 (<0.01)
		fiancees	1 (<0.01)
		spouses	1 (<0.01)

Figure 6.3 Sexual orientation of words categorised as relationships and significant others

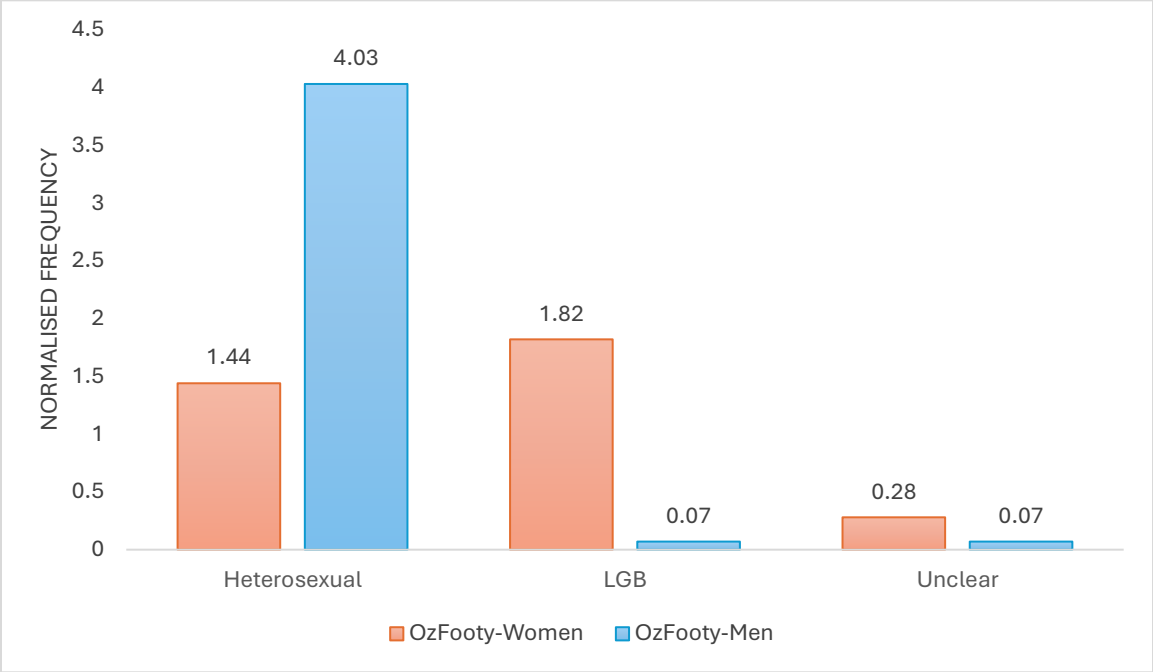


Figure 6.4 Concordance lines of *marriage* relating to LGB sexuality from OzFooty-Men

1	of the controversial postal survey to legalise same sex	**marriage**.	Now the song has achieved even more
2	in a plebiscite/postal vote, in the manner of same sex	**marriage**	or whether Australia should become a republic
3	in a plebiscite/postal vote, in the manner of same sex	**marriage**	or whether Australia should become a republic
4	of rugby player Israel Folau, to the AFL campaigning on	**marriage**	equality, or US players protesting their national
5	suggesting the NRL come out in support of same-sex	**marriage**,	Greenberg replied instantly they would do
6	for gays to marry and a person who voted for same-sex	**marriage**,	I completely disagree with Court's antiquated
7	of the unsuccessful "no" campaign during the same-sex	**marriage**	postal survey, had a massive spray at the party's
8	. Then it got ugly. Those with the conservative view that	**marriage**	should remain only the union of a man and a
9	hope for bricks-and-mortar shopping yet. SAME-SEX	**MARRIAGE**:	The Yes result was announced at 10am on
10	social issues in recent times, from supporting same-sex	**marriage**	to gender equality in sport through the AFLW. By
11	, might be ineligible. Against this backdrop, the same-sex	**marriage**	postal survey returned a conclusive "yes" vote. A
12	, might be ineligible. Against this backdrop, the same-sex	**marriage**	postal survey returned a conclusive Yes vote,
13	without being labelled bigots. Churches were targets. Gay	**marriage**	proponents called for the renaming of Margaret
14	paper. The national vote showed 61.6 per cent in favour of	**marriage**	equality. "None of us can live in a bubble where
15	are God's punishment for the legalisation of same-sex	**marriage**	and abortion. Speaking at The Truth of Jesus
16	. "They have changed that law and legalised same-sex	**marriage**	and now those things are OK in society, going
17	. Often, the claim is unfair. Last year he backed same-sex	**marriage**	and was heavily lambasted for taking a stance
18	not? "They have changed that law and legalised same sex	**marriage**	and now those things are okay in society, going
19	are God's punishment for the legalisation of same sex	**marriage**	and abortion. Speaking at The Truth of Jesus
20	, Court is a Pentecostal pastor who objects to same-sex	**marriage**	and the "lesbian domination" of women's tennis.
21	in Perth, she is an outspoken opponent of same-sex	**marriage**.	Dangerous territory. Gay former stars Billie Jean
22	BEST BOB KATTER:Anyone who can turn a question about	**marriage**	equality into a war on crocodiles gets my vote.
23	day. "We have been together for 14 years. I think the	**marriage**	equality vote sealed it for us," Miller said. "We
24	or scared. I feel like the way the world is changing and with	**marriage**	equality, change is starting to happen. "Creating
25	enormous controversy. At the height of the same-sex	**marriage**	debate, here was a sporting organisation taking
26	rapper, Macklemore, and he would sing his anthem for	**marriage**	equality, Same Love. Hence, Roberts' nerves.
27	every reason to celebrate the moment a nation said Yes to	**marriage**	equality. Not just because the ruling would allow

Figure 6.5 Concordance lines for significant others (excluding *marriage*) referring to LGB sexuality from OzFooty-Men

1	Cecchin had a good conversation with his	**fiance** Brent, at lunchtime on Thursday. Then he
2	I left him and had lunch with my	**fiance**, we chatted about it and we were both in
3	to receive its immunisation. He and his	**fiance** Brent had started selling the furniture.
4	Beside me, Roberts holds the hand of his	**partner** Daniel, and weeps. This is how far rugby
5	Alex Perry gown to marry her long-time	**partner** Nic Walker at an AFL-themed day. The pair
6	just because the ruling would allow anybody to	**marry** the one they love, but because, finally, the often
7	Miller donned a stunning Alex Perry gown to	**marry** her long-time partner Nic Walker at an AFL-themed
8	As a strong believer in the right for gays to	**marry** and a person who voted for same-sex marriage,
9	- will come later in the year. Her	**wife** Brooke, is due to give birth to the couple's
10	after five rounds this season. Along with	**wife** Tracy Gahan, became an important and
11	netball with the same club, and said her	**wife** Brooke and her parents had been a great

Other LGB sexuality words in the men's corpus are shown in Figure 6.5. The concordance analysis indicates that *fiance* is used to refer to the (male) significant other of a male NRL match referee (lines 1-3). The term *partner* refers once to Ian Roberts, the only gay (ex-)NRL player (line 4), and the other to the Sydney City Deputy Mayor (line 5), who is also in a same-sex relationship. One instance of *marry* also comes from the same article about the Deputy Mayor (line 7), while the other two instances refer to the Australian Marriage Equality Act (lines 6, 8). All three instances of *wife* are in the context of the AFLW (lines 6-8) and therefore not relevant to male athletes' sexuality. Thus, significant other terms are not generally used in context of LGB relationships in the men's corpus.

Moving to OzFooty-W, there are 11 of 15 words (73%) used at least once in relation to LGB sexuality, which have a combined relative frequency of 1.82 (n=83). These words are: *fiancee, girlfriend, girlfriends, marriage, married, marry, nuptials, partner, WAG, wedding* and *wife*. The most frequent word is the gender-neutral *partner* (14, NF 0.31), followed by *wife* (13, NF 0.29), *wedding* (12, NF 0.26), and *married* (10, NF 0.22). Given the number of open LGB women playing AFLW/NRLW, it is therefore of interest to investigate if the media is using these terms more generally as found in the men's coverage or reporting on specific athletes.

The concordance analysis shows that focus is indeed on the athletes. Most prominent is Moana Hope (AFLW), and the engagement and wedding to her partner Isabella Carlstrom (Figure 6.6, lines 12-20) (see Chapter 4). Other high-profile AFLW players include Erin Phillips (lines 1-2, 8-11), Ash Brazill (line 3), Alex Nation (lines 6-7) as well as NRLW player-partners Vanessa Foliaki and Karina Brown (line 4). Further, there are also references to the Australian Marriage Equality Act, as well as some mentions of Israel Folau in relation to Ash Brazill, who previously played elite netball with Maria Folau (Israel Folau's wife). These few articles tend to focus on the positive congratulations that Maria Folau sent to Brazill on her (same-sex) marriage, an interesting juxtaposition to husband Israel Folau's homophobic comments (see above and Section 6.2.5). The results thus far show the discursive impact that the presence of openly LGB athletes can have with respect to media representation.

Further, despite low frequency (n=3), the presence of *WAG* is interesting given the historical function of WAGs to reinforce masculinity and heterosexuality men's sports (Clayton & Harris, 2017; Marks, 2016). However, the only relevant use of *WAG* in the women's corpus comes from an outsider voice as a metalinguistic resource; thus, the print media are not using the term to refer to female partners of AFLW/NRLW athletes. In comparison, concordances in OzFooty-M show that *WAG(s)* is still being used to refer to female partners of male athletes (Figure 6.7, lines 2-11, 14, 18-20), thereby reinforcing masculinity through heterosexuality.

Figure 6.6 Sample concordance lines for words relating to LGB sexuality from OzFooty-Women

1	, but also for the LGBT community by taking your	**wife**	to the AFLW awards night, thus being open and
2	award after five rounds this season. Along with	**wife**	Tracy Gahan, became an important and public
3	club, Collingwood - will come later in the year. Her	**wife**,	Brooke, is due to give birth to the couple's first
4	between NSW player Vanessa Foliaki and her	**partner**	Queenslander Karina Brown in the middle of
5	climb with this rehab." Another factor is that Phillips's	**partner**	Tracy is 22 weeks pregnant with their third
6		**Wedding**	talk in the air for Bachy star SYDNEY
7	just months later. Last week, Nation revealed her	**partner**	had moved in with her and her six-year-old
8	July 31 in the United States, where Phillips and her	**wife**,	Tracy Gahan, live during the AFLW off-season
9	the crutches to walk the carpet with her pregnant	**partner**	Tracy Gahan. "The heels weren't going to
10	emotional Erin Phillips paid tribute to her pregnant	**wife**	and parents last night as she scooped the
11	AFLW Awards carpet at Pier 14 in the Docklands. "My	**wife**	Tracy, this is probably not what you want to do
12	MO TO	**MARRY**	AFTER TRIP TO DAD'S GRAVE COPYRIGHT
13	Hope's father's grave. "I told her if she ever wanted to	**marry**	me, she had to ask my dad," Hope wrote. "So
14	to ask my dad," Hope wrote. "So she asked me to	**marry**	her at my dad's tombstone, so he was there
15	that she and North Melbourne footballer Hope plan to	**marry**	next year."I've never really fantasised about a
16	ever get any more perfect then this ... I said yes.	**Wedding**	bells are here (Excuse the pun)." The post
17	to marry next year."I've never really fantasised about a	**wedding**	or getting married, but with Mo I want it all,"
18	Day. They became engaged last month and say their	**wedding**	will take place at this time next year. Hope
19	her partner, model Isabella Carlstrom. "I'd love to	**marry**	Bell and I'm trying to convince her to have kids
20	The to-do list includes plans to start a family with her	**partner**,	model Isabella Carlstrom. "I'd love to marry

Finally, the single instance of *girlfriends* referring to LGB sexuality in OzFooty-W presents an example of homophobia and residual negative attitudes towards female athletes (example 23).

> 23) ELITE professionals? Bunch of women wanting to act like blokes while their **girlfriends** watch and marvel at how manly they are. Just a joke. Bill (AW_3714FFA0)

Taken as a whole, this letter negatively appraises the AFLW players by questioning their athletic ability (*Elite professionals?, Just a joke.*) [-judgement: capacity] and making overtly sexist and homophobic comments. This example is just one of several compiled from the *Herald Sun* website and republished in the Letters section of the print paper. The headline and lead suggests that these comments are responding to the AFLW season length;[62] however, none

[62] "A plan to shorten the AFLW season was off the mark for many at heraldsun.com.au" (AW_3714FFA0)

address this topic. Overwhelmingly, the selected comments appraise AFLW and the players, often with direct (and unfavourable) comparisons to AFLM thus providing a clear example of persisting attitudes around traditional gender roles (*WHY can't they just leave it the way it was … men play footy and women run the canteen. Eddie*). The presence of such attitudes in letters "are important, because they represent a range of ideologies and editors can chose to in/exclude certain discourses" (Heritage & Humphreys, 2024, p. 228). Further, while these attitudes originate from the public, readers of the paper are not always able to dissociate the options of a letter writer from that of the newspaper and may in fact interpret the letter(s) as representing "the voice of the 'ordinary person' or the 'invisible majority'" (Baker et al., 2013, pp. 12-13). That the *Herald Sun* has chosen to republish these attitudes in the print paper suggests such opinions may indeed reflect the stance of the newspaper.

Figure 6.7 Sample concordance lines of *WAG* from OzFooty-Men

1	¦ Candice Warner, retired ironwoman turned cricket	**WAG**,	has had a year from hell, but was most
2	she met Hampson. And while she is retiring her	**WAG**	credentials, Gale is maintaining her affection
3	. Judd was questioned on his experience of	**WAG**	politics in light of the extraordinary rift that
4	© 2018 News Limited. All rights reserved. FORMER	WAG-turned-Hollywood-based	actor Kate Neilson
5	red print dress from Jason Greche. Newly engaged	**WAG**	Brit Davis combined raspberry red, fuchsia
6	eye-popping yellow was a popular choice, with AFL	**WAG**	Jessie Murphy standing out in a
7	the club. To be fair, Gale never really bought into the	**WAG**	cult, having a hugely successful career
8	Tale ends for	**WAG**	COPYRIGHT: © 2018 News Limited. All rights
9	Shine wants to be known as a girl boss instead of a	**WAG**.	fiona.byrne@news.com.au au
10	with their second child. "I didn't know what being a	**WAG**	would entail; maybe I would have thought
11	Love Island siren Tayla Damir is the newest	**WAG**	in the Richmond footy club lair. Damir has
12	SOLD $3.65m PAID $2.61m IN 2014 The ex-cricket	**WAG**	sold her palatial Brighton house in May —
13	." michael.warner@news.com.auTALES THAT	**WAG**	THE DOG,PAGES 66-67 67
14	the media. Judd, whose wife is Melbourne's power	**WAG**,	Bec (above), said in his experience happy
15	, Liam Flynn (Ben Chapple), and a troublesome	**WAG**	(Jess Bush). Tahlia's living solely on paid
16	TALES THAT	**WAG**	THE DOG COPYRIGHT: © 2019 News
17	. www.smh.com.au The actor's role as a football	**WAG**	mirrors parts of her real life now she's with
18		**WAG'S**	JAB AT VAXERS COPYRIGHT: Copyright
19		**WAG's**	vax tirade COPYRIGHT: Copyright 2019
20	who has to get back to work. Former rugby league	**WAG**	Phoebe Burgess has been laying low since

In sum, heteronormative discourses are prominent in OzFooty-M, as reinforced through focus on the female partners of male athletes. Comparatively, OzFooty-W shows more diversity in representation of LGB relationships, alongside heterosexual relationships, which is reflective of the more inclusive sporting space. The following section (6.2.3) will now explore representations of sexual identity in more detail.

6.2.3 Representations of sexual identity

All words categorised as relating to sexual identity are presented in Table 6.4. In OzFooty-W there are 15 word types with a relative frequency of 1.01 (n=46) found across 17 different news items. In OzFooty-Men's, there are 16 word types with a relative frequency of 0.23 (n=127)

found across 56 news items. Note the very similar number of different word types here, which contrasts with the results for relationships and significant others above. However, there is greater frequency of use in OzFooty-W.

The most frequent sexual identity words in OzFooty-W are *pride* (NF 0.35) and *gay* (NF 0.33). In OzFooty-M, they are *gay* (NF 0.10), *sexuality* (NF 0.03), and *same-sex* (NF 0.03). The overall high frequency of *gay* suggests a media preference for this term as compared to other related terms. Across both corpora, *pride* only refers to sexual identity in compounds (e.g. *gay pride, pride game*). Notably, the plural forms *gays* and *homosexuals* only occur in OzFooty-M.

Table 6.4 Frequency of words categorised as sexual identity

OzFooty-Women		**OzFooty-Men**	
Total freq. (NF)	46 (1.01)	Total freq. (NF)	127 (0.23)
pride	16 (0.35)	*gay*	52 (0.10)
gay	15 (0.33)	*sexuality*	16 (0.03)
LGBTI	3 (0.06)	*same-sex*	15 (0.03)
same-sex	3 (0.06)	*pride*	8 (0.01)
LGBTIQ	2 (0.04)	*lesbian*	7 (0.01)
homosexuality	1 (0.02)	*gays*	6 (0.01)
LBGTI	1 (0.02)	*homosexuality*	5 (0.01)
LBGTQ	1 (0.02)	*same sex*	5 (0.01)
lesbian	1 (0.02)	*homosexuals*	4 (0.01)
LGBT	1 (0.02)	*LGBTI*	3 (0.01)
same sex	1 (0.02)	*bisexual*	1 (<0.01)
sexuality	1 (0.02)	*gayest*	1 (<0.01)
		heterosexual	1 (<0.01)
		homosexual	1 (<0.01)
		LGBT	1 (<0.01)
		LGBTQI	1 (<0.01)

When viewed in co-text, almost all words in Table 6.4 are used in relation to LGB sexuality across both corpora. The two exceptions come from the men's corpus: *heterosexual* and *sexuality*. The single use of *heterosexual* occurs in a letter published in the *Herald Sun*, which argues that heterosexual males "have no requirement for an artificial crutch to frame their identity" (AM_9A427677). The selection of this letter for publication may reveal underlying attitudes of hetero-sexism at the newspaper, as previously discussed in Section 6.2.2. In comparison, *sexuality* tends to be discussed generally, rather than in relation to specific athletes or their sexual orientation.

Given that *gay* is highly frequent across both corpora, concordance lines were reviewed for the situational context and referent. That is, I am interested in whether the use of *gay* (and

inflected forms *gays*, *gayest* in OzFooty-M) references players – specifically or collectively – or is used as a classifier for things, as in *gay pride matches*. I will first discuss the results from the women's corpus, then the men's corpus.

In OzFooty-W, *gay* is predominantly used to reference specific athletes. In fact, these are the same athletes identified in Section 6.2.2 (Figure 6.8, lines 2, 3, 5, 9, 12-15), who are generally represented as positive role models [+judgement]. This is exemplified in the news item about an NRLW player who specifically addresses issues of acceptance in her Polynesian culture, thus providing an example of how gender, sexuality, and ethnicity intersect within the corpus (Figure 6.8, line 14 and example 24).

> 24) But the prop now believes it has helped break down social and cultural taboos. "I'm Tongan. In our culture and community being **gay** is not acceptable," she said. "I know in my culture there are a lot of Polynesian people struggling with their identity because of the pressure and 'rule book' we have as Polynesians, so if I can make a difference with that photo, I'm happy." (NW_ 972D9A6B)

Additionally, there are (very few) non-specific references to male footballers (Figure 6.8, line 11) and gay people (lines 1, 10), which all discuss homophobia in sport (see Section 6.2.5). Finally, there are also classifiers: *gay marriage*, *gay pride*, *gay pride game* (lines 4, 7, 8).

Figure 6.8 Concordance lines of *gay* from OzFooty-Women

1	to same sex marriage and proclaiming that	**gay**	people will end up in hell - Maria has also
2	of the Israel Folau controversy, when the first openly	**gay**	netballer was asked by The Saturday Paper for
3	'She's always been lovely':	**gay**	netballer on Maria Folau's support
4	famously progressive club, having pioneered the first	**gay**	pride game and appointed Searle as the AFL's
5	comfortable in her own skin now, dealing with being	**gay**	was also difficult for Hope when she was
6	, kicking 12 goals in five games. Jason Ball, the first	openly-gay	suburban footballer, said yesterday: "It's
7	AFLW STAR CAUGHT IN	**GAY**	PRIDE GUN PANIC COPYRIGHT: © 2019
8	for waving the banner for the "yes" vote during the	**gay**	marriage postal vote campaign. Goddard's
9	pushed boundaries as an out and proud	**gay**	couple, they're about to take it a step further
10	got him. The homophobic slur referred to several	**gay**	and straight women who occupy soccer's ranks
11	open and honest with your sexuality. One wonders if	**gay**	AFL footballers would attend a function with
12	. www.smh.com.au One of Australia's first openly	**gay**	elite netballers, Ashleigh Brazill, has revealed
13	. "I used to get really bad anxiety about being	**gay**.	It used to get so bad that I wouldn't go to public
14	. "I'm Tongan. In our culture and community being	**gay**	is not acceptable," she said. "I know in my
15	me and Bella thinking, 'Let's post this because we're	**gay'**	. "I go, 'I love you and I want everyone to know

Overall, the usage of *gay* in the women's coverage does tend to identify specific athletes (53%), more so than collective references to people (13%), without overtly negative attitudes. Additionally, the comparison of male footballers to females in line 11 suggests that female athletes may in fact be the benchmark for their male counterparts with respect to creating an inclusive space for LGB+ identities.

Comparatively, in OzFooty-M, GAY is more frequently used in collective references to people (37%), as in *gay people*, *people who are gay*, *gays* (Figure 6.9, lines 7, 11, 15, 17). In

fact, all specific references are to Ian Roberts, the out ex-NRL player (lines 3, 9), with five of these seven instances originating from a single news item in the *Daily Telegraph* ("Roberts urges gay players to 'come out'", LM_C9D8E662). Other referents include an ex-rookie player turned politician, a referee (line 16), and other sports players (lines 12, 14). There are also associations with ex-NRL player Israel Folau and his homophobic comments made on social media (lines 8, 15) (see Section 6.2.5). As in the women's corpus, *gay* is also used as a classifier (e.g. *gay pride, gay anthem, gay marriage*). Taken together, the results show the discursive impact that the lack of out gay players (current and former) have on media coverage of AFLM/NRLM.

Figure 6.9 Sample concordance lines of GAY from OzFooty-Men

1	league players like to have sex together. But not in a	**gay**	way. Anyway, videos make it even easier to
2	make it even easier to involve other men in your	**non-gay**	sex. You ping the video to your mates, your
3	that I have seen. His view is he is also among the	**gayest**	men who ever lived. It was the way he was
4	- "When I was in the 3rd grade I thought that I was	**gay**	'cause I could draw, My uncle was and I kept
5	many others, I watched Riot on ABC TV about the	**gay**	rights movement leading to the first Mardi Gras
6	a role in A Sunday in the Village, a drama about a	**gay**	man gathering his family together after being
7	message to everyone involved in the sport that	**gay**	people are valued and that they're worthy of
8	new chairman Peter V'landys that Folau and his	anti-gay,	non-inclusive attitudes are not welcome in
9	, he had done so after a heartfelt letter from openly	**gay**	former player Ian Roberts. Greenberg took the
10	league players like to have sex together. But not in a	**gay**	way. Anyway, videos make it even easier to
11	bigot." As a strong believer in the right for	**gays**	to marry and a person who voted for
12	of same-sex marriage. Dangerous territory.	**Gay**	former stars Billie Jean King and Martina
13	he said happened after he came to the defence of a	**gay**	couple. NRL boss Todd Greenberg returned to
14	200 male tennis players have announced they're	**gay**	- even though the law of averages says some
15	, responds to Israel Folau's post maintaining that	**gays**	are going to hell: "There are young people out
16	tax. Welsh referee Nigel Owens, who came out as	**gay**	in 2007, responds to Israel Folau's post
17	way they convey their opinions. Judge me and other	**gay**	people, judge them on the content of their
18	" The crowd at Christchurch delighted in singing the	**gay**	anthem, and dancing along, as a reminder to
19	you think that someone, for example, who may be	**gay**	and not confident enough to declare it would
20	period and I would assume that people who are	**gay**	would have to deal with those fears daily. In the

Finally, there is also the construction *non-gay* (line 2) which appears in a syndicated article from *The Age* ("Rugby in a league of its own for sex scandals") and *Sydney Morning Herald* ("Has rugby league become its own sexuality now?") as shown in example 25.

> 25) That's if your mates are not there to begin with - we don't have to go back too far in the scandal annals to know how much rugby league players like to have sex together. But not in a **gay** way. Anyway, videos make it even easier to involve other men in your non- **gay** sex. You ping the video to your mates, your mates ping it to theirs, and so forth, ... (NM_10FE3C10; NM_FC92FA62)

Taken out of its wider co-text, the above example is difficult to parse. However, the full news item reveals negative appraisal of the sex "scandals", assault charges, and other "contemptible behaviour" by NRLM players [-appreciation metonymically implicating -judgement] as well as the NRL's subsequent responses and inaction to these events

[-judgement]. This highlights an example of toxic masculinity found in NRL and its representation in the media (see also the discussion of "bad boy" behaviour in Chapter 4), which could provide a fruitful area for future research.

On the whole, the analysis of GAY shows that focus is on individual players in OzFooty-W, whereas it is used more collectively in OzFooty-M. Such a finding is expected, given the number of high-profile LGB women's players, and the distinct lack of openly gay men's players. There is some minimal discussion of this in the corpus, with the responsibility for associated opinions generally assigned to a select few outside voices. Additionally, the use of *gay* as a classifier for both people and things draws links to that of gender marking (see Chapter 4), whereby the "non-standard" is linguistically highlighted, suggesting that LGB sexuality may still be considered "deviant" (Baker, 2005, p. 16 & 72) in an established heteronormative sporting space – and would certainly benefit from further analysis.

This section has provided an overview of representation of sexual identity in the corpus, focusing on LGB identities. The following section will build on this through the analysis of the lemma KISS, which is used to explore representations of physical affection in the corpus.

6.2.4 Representations of physical affection: KISS

In total, there are 38 occurrences of KISS (*kiss, kissed, kissing*) in the OzFooty corpus which are relevant to sexuality and displays of affection. These occur relatively more frequently in OzFooty-W (10, NF 0.21) than in OzFooty-M (28, NF 0.05) with most instances found in NRLW coverage. Table 6.5 provides a summary.

Table 6.5 Frequency of KISS

	OzFooty-Women	**OzFooty-Men**
Sporting Code	Freq. (NF)	Freq. (NF)
AFL	1 (0.21)	4 (0.01)
NRL	9 (0.19)	24 (0.04)
Total	10 (0.21)	28 (0.05)

While these frequencies are very small, how the media represents public displays of same-sex affection is of interest given the long history of homophobia and exclusion of LGB athletes, combined with objectification of gay women (Stark, 2017). As such, I first briefly present findings from the men's corpus, before discussing the findings from the women's corpus in more detail.

In OzFooty-M, coverage overwhelmingly focuses on heterosexuality (82%, n=23), with about half of these (56%) centred around issues of consent and allegations of sexual assault (Figure 6.10, lines 5, 11, 14-16, 18) – thus highlighting another aspect of bad boy behaviour and toxic masculinity in the corpus (see Chapter 4). Other relevant instances include an NRL player referring to his wife (line 10) and a former player's involvement in a reality TV show (line 9). Of

the instances that reference a same-sex kiss, one is about the NRLW (line 17), while the remaining are all in single news item from the *Daily Telegraph* (lines 2-3 and example 26).

Figure 6.10 Sample concordance lines of KISS from OzFooty-Men

1	they are dating, they have been photographed	**kissing**.	"What can I say? That's a really hard one for
2		**Kiss**	and tell Beau tackles loose lips SYDNEY
3	teammate. Having previously spoken of a one-off	**kiss**	with Paul Gallen, Ryan revealed he once locked
4	Pre-game prayer, left boot on first, blow a	**kiss**	to my friends and family before I run through the
5	to that distribution. The six-second clip shows Swan	**kissing**	the woman, who films his naked body as he
6	who runs it with a thumbs up emoji, and one blowing a	**kiss**.	The NRL have announced that Mr Napa will be
7	air. "I wanted to end my career with a premiership, a	**kiss**,	and three hugs — but for me, there was no
8	selfies at the same time as his grandmother planted a	**kiss**	on his cheek, the Telegraph asked if there were
9	, the name of her daughter, Baby, 3, and photos of her	**kissing**	former NRL star Todd Carney in Brisbane after
10	— ANZ Stadium a sea of blue, yellow and white — and	**kiss**	her before hugging my girls Frankie, Charlie and
11	heard a woman told police Musgrove had repeatedly	**kissed**	her aggressively. Musgrove and Coleman were
12	began when old photos surfaced last week of the pair	**kissing**	at a Brisbane hotel the morning after
13	sex scene and at the tender age of 12, I was yet to even	**kiss**	a girl. But like many others, I sat around and
14	her shoulders and flipped her around ... instructed 'no	**kissing'**	and shortly thereafter she felt extremely sharp
15	her around so as to not face him and told her 'no	**kissing'**	. He then had nonconsensual sexual
16	. "That meant there was no way to prove I just	**kissed**	her," he wrote. "I couldn't believe it. I was
17	Karina Brown came up with an Origin first when they	**kissed**	at fulltime after NSW's 16-10 win at North
18	her shoulders and flipped her around ... instructed 'no	**kissing'**	and shortly thereafter she felt extremely sharp
19	Lillie. "I wanted to end my career with a premiership, a	**kiss**,	and three hugs — but for me, there was no
20	air. "I wanted to end my career with a premiership, a	**kiss**,	and three hugs — but for me, there was no

26) **Kiss** and tell Beau tackles loose lips

Retired rugby league player Beau Ryan has detailed yet another party pash with a former teammate. Having previously spoken of a one-off **kiss** with Paul Gallen, Ryan revealed he once locked lips with ex-housemate Robbie Farah on a Mad Monday trip away.

"I used to live with him, I love him," Ryan recalled. "We were on a trip away in Cairns and he was excited and I was excited he just pashed me and I pashed him but I didn't enjoy it. You know how you've got to test the water at some stage to get to a crossroads. It was no good, not me." Speaking of his moment with Farrah, the married father of two said they **kissed** some years ago.

"He sort of just cornered me on Mad Monday," he said. "He got me against the wall. I felt like I had no option but to **kiss** my way out of it." [. . .] (NM_377D9853).

The news item in example 26 begins by focusing on *yet another party pash* between two NRL teammates. Initially described in an almost playful way using positive affect (*love, excited*), this is then rejected several times by Ryan through negative affect (***didn't enjoy*** *it*), negative appreciation of the kiss (*It was* ***no good***) as well as implied negative judgement of those who do enjoy same-sex kisses (***not*** *me*). The article then implies the kiss was non-consensual (*cornered me; got me against the way; felt I had no option*), thereby providing further negative evaluation of Farrah and the kiss, (i.e. -judgement metonymically implicating -appreciation of his actions).

Such sentiment evokes a culture of fear of being viewed as gay within men's sport (Kian, 2014). The news item then abruptly switches to Ryan's upcoming TV hosting gig for the Amazing Race, making no link back to the kiss in any way. This "confession", situated in the context of promoting a new job, seems to be acting as gratuitous clickbait. Such coverage supports previous research findings that homosexuality is framed as a (negative) behaviour, rather than an identity (Baker, 2005), while at the same time reinforcing "locker-room hegemonic masculinity" (Sherwood et al., 2020, p. 547; see also Kian et al., 2015).

Moving now to OzFooty-W, KISS largely relates to same-sex affection (90%, n=9), centred around two NRLW player-partners kissing after a State of Origin match. The exception is line 6 in Figure 6.11 which is about an AFLW player and her girlfriend. Line 10, while mentioning a heterosexual kiss, is making a comparison to the same NRLW Origin kiss.

Figure 6.11 Concordance lines of KISS from OzFooty-Women

1	searching for Brown. The two embraced and the	**kiss**	they shared on North Sydney Oval was soon
2	Origin	**kiss**	is saving lives COPYRIGHT: Copyright 2019
3	Sealed with a	**kiss**:	Blues beat Maroons COPYRIGHT: © 2018
4	Karina Brown came up with an Origin first when they	**kissed**	at fulltime after NSW's 16-10 win at North
5	was oblivious to the massive storm the photo of her	**kissing**	her girlfriend, Queensland's Karina Brown,
6	of three months Maegan Luxa. The pair were seen	**kissing**	as they strolled alongside the ocean in
7	a photo of two rugby league players from rival teams	**kissing**	after the end of the women's inaugural
8	, who are partners off the field and opponents on it,	**kissing**	after the final whistle. The Women's NRLW
9	on the photo of Karina Brown and Vanessa Foliaki	**kissing**	after the women's State of Origin game
10	post a [photo] of Cooper Cronk and his wife Tara	**kissing**,	then we can share a photo of Karina Brown

Broadly, the State of Origin kiss is represented positively across the five news items (using positive attitude, including appreciation and affect, e.g. *it was a great moment, was celebrated around the country, saving lives*). There is, however, a lack of engagement with and discussion of LGB issues and inclusion in sport, except for one player profile (Figure 6.11, lines 1, 2, 5). More specifically, this news item covers responses to the photo, Foliaki's relationship with her girlfriend, being an elite athlete, and cultural taboos around same-sex relationships (see example 24 in Section 6.2.3). Overall, this athlete is represented as a role model for inclusivity [+judgement].

One OpEd piece, however, does include negative attitude towards the kiss (line 4). The writer first states that they *loved* the photo [+affect], which is then countered by concluding that the photo *is the wrong image* [-appreciation] *to attract players to women's rugby league* (LW_ 1E60045F). This implicitly reinforces a view that female athletes should counter their athleticism through hetero-sexiness (see Chapter 2). Further, it exemplifies the argument that "the lesbian presence and not homophobia continue to be constructed by the print media as a major barrier to the advancement of women's sport" (Kane & Lenskyj, 1998, p. 200).

Overall, there is minimal coverage of the kiss that occurred during the inaugural women's State of Origin game. This game was played outside the usual NRLW season and so associated coverage would be included in the OzFooty corpus. However, only seven news items across the two Sydney-based newspapers (the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sydney Morning Herald*) mention the kiss directly (though it may be referred to in other indirect ways not captured here e.g. *embrace*). The photo was originally shared on social media, and so more coverage may be published online. However, given that a similarly "historic" event in AFLW was widely reported on by the print media less than a year earlier (see Kemble, 2020), the lack of coverage here raises some questions about media motivations regarding LGB inclusivity in sport, which would benefit from future research.

To conclude, the analysis of physical affection (i.e. kissing) has shown that references in men's AFL/NRL coverage relate to heterosexuality (including issues of consent/assault), whereas references in women's AFL/NRL relate to same-sex relationships. This is reflective of players' sexual identities across the codes, as well as well-documented behavioural issues in men's AFL/NRL. Overall, the use of KISS is minimal, and future research would benefit from exploring other related terminology for physical affection.

So far, I have analysed terms related to relationships and significant others, sexual identity, and physical affection, which has provided insights into both the representation of sexuality in the media and the wider sporting context. However, such analysis does not tell us whether the news media problematise the treatment of these groups in sports. The following section will therefore explore representations of homophobia in the corpora through the analyses of selected terms.

6.2.5 Representations of homophobia

Homophobia can be enacted in various ways, including negative representations of LGB people and identities as articulated through language (Baker, 2014, p. 107). However, for this study, I focus on two specific search terms – *homophobic* and *homophobia* – as this provides insights into explicit references to homophobia through these labels, as opposed to other linguistic resources (as mentioned in Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3 above). Such label use could arguably make homophobia more visible to news audiences.

It is therefore significant that these labels are very rare in the OzFooty corpus. Overall, there are only 14 instances (NF 0.32) of *homophob** found across 13 news items (*homophobic* n=12; *homophobia* n=2) (see Figure 6.12). All instances occur in OzFooty-M, except one AFLW news item (line 11) which reports on a slur directed at a group of women within the FFA (i.e. soccer). That is, there are no news items in the women's corpus which specifically mention homophobia in relation to women's AFL/NRL. There are ten specific to men's AFL/NRL, with the others relating to cricket (line 1), boxing (line 2), soccer (lines 10 and 11) and tennis (line 14).

The low occurrence of these terms indicates a backgrounding of LGB issues. Such absence implies homophobic language and behaviours do not exist in AFL/NRL, which is not the case. A landmark study found that over 80% of gay athletes in Australia had witnessed or

received homophobic abuse; AFL remains one of the least welcoming sports (Denison & Kitchen, 2020, p. 57). Thus, to gain further insight into the scant media coverage of homophobia in men's sport, the co-text was analysed to determine who or what is classified as being homophobic, and how homophobia is discussed.

Figure 6.12 Concordance lines of *homophob** from OzFooty

1	29-year-old from Dublin, Ireland, is sexist, racist and	homophobic.	But when it comes to entertainment,
2	was torn up, with Rugby Australia alleging the	homophobic	comments breached the
3	an inclusive game with no place for those who spout	homophobic	gibberish still stands. This point was
4	woman'', and on homosexuality he insisted, "I'm not	homophobic,	I just don't want anything to do with
5	March 3 reinforces the club's message to say no to	homophobia	in sport.Last year the Swans hosted
6	— reinforces the club's message to say no to	homophobia	in sport. club's message to say no to
7	in 42 different sports looking at the impacts of	homophobic	language on kids and the links
8	been going on for far too long, not just racism but	homophobic	or gender equality comments at
9	thing, and that all they had to do was ignore it. The	homophobic	posts were no big deal you say, and
10	charity ride. Joe Root and his stance against	homophobic	sledging. Pat Cummins winning the
11	was that the "lesbian mafia" had finally got him. The	homophobic	slur referred to several gay and
12	, for lost earnings after his contract was torn up over	homophobic	social media posts. Whether RA
13	, for lost earnings after his contract was torn up for	homophobic	social media posts. Folau claimed he
14	public plea for recognition. "Good luck with that ya	homophobic/ transphobic	bigot." As a strong

Looking first at *homophobic*, this is largely used as an adjective to modify communicative acts (*comments, gibberish, language, [social media] posts, sledging, slur*), rather than people (see Figure 6.12). Thus, behaviour and language are negatively appraised as homophobic [-appreciation], while also metonymically implicating negative judgement of the person(s) doing the act. In fact, many references relate to derogatory comments made by Israel Folau on social media. Folau is a former AFLM and NRLM player who was under contract with Rugby Australia (i.e. Rugby Union) at the time of making the comments. Searching for *Folau* in the OzFooty corpus yields a total of 320 results – far more than the handful of instances for *homophobi**. This suggests that the media may avoid using these terms when discussing Israel Folau and his derogatory comments about gay people (as noted in Sections 6.22, 6.2.3, and 6.2.4). It is therefore possible that the media avoid these terms more generally in relation to sport.

There are three instances (Figure 6.12, lines 1, 4, 14) used to directly evaluate people (i.e. judgement). Interestingly, none of the targets are Folau, and only one relates to NRLM (line 4) – albeit a now deceased former player. In each of these, the elite athletes are similarly described as being homophobic [-judgement] or making homophobic comments [-appreciation metonymically implicating -judgement], however, they are also positively appraised as successful and entertaining sports stars [+judgement]. Taken together, these examples suggest a discourse of separating sport and politics, which "carries an underlying assumption that sport can exist and operate independently of the broader societal context within which it is embedded" (Sherwood et al., 2020, pp. 557-558). Such viewpoint, however, is in direct contrast to discourses of inclusivity that recognise the connection between society and sport (Sherwood et al., 2020).

Finally, there are only two instances of *homophobia*. Both originate from the Sydney Swans club [engagement: projection] who were the first professional sporting team with a float in the annual Mardi Gras Parade. There is a clear rejection of homophobia by the Sydney Swans but given the lack of additional commentary or details from the newspaper about LGB issues or inclusivity in sport, it is unclear whether the writer/newspaper share the same view.

In sum, this section has focused on the use of the terms *homophobia* and *homophobic* as they are present in the corpus. Homophobia can be referenced in many other ways, as shown in some of the previous analyses; however, direct discussion of this appears to be rare overall which therefore implies that it is a non-issue, despite the evidence indicating otherwise.

6.2.6 Summary

This section has explored how the socially constructed category of sexuality is represented in the OzFooty corpus and has considered how this interacts with that of gender by comparing the coverage of female and male athletes. Broadly, the analyses have shown that the media preference heterosexuality in men's AFL/NRL, while more space is given to LGB sexuality/identities in the women's AFL/NRL. These results are not surprising, given the historical associations of (male) team sport with stereotypical masculinity, and the continued lack of openly gay male athletes. Comparatively, female LGB players are more visible in media coverage, with generally positive attitudes associated. There is, however, a distinct lack of focus on issues of homophobia which Griffith (2014, p. 270) argues is "perhaps the greatest manifestation of sexism."

In fact, explicit discussion of homophobia across both the women's and men's corpora is paltry. The qualitative analyses have identified homophobic events and language that have occurred in the sporting domain (e.g. the many mentions of Israel Folau), however, it seems the media may be reluctant to label these as examples of homophobia, for whatever reason. Further, there is a distinct lack of acknowledgement of or engagement with entrenched homophobia in men's sport. By not explicitly writing about homophobia in sport the media thus "symbolically annihilate homosexuality from the sports pages, while reinforcing heteronormativity" (Kian et al., 2015, p. 907). It may be that analysis of in-season coverage would provide greater insight into such issues. Additionally, future analysis of related terms and slurs may also provide further insights.

This section has investigated the representation of sexuality, as it overlaps with gender in the corpus. The following section now moves to explore how ethnicity is represented within the corpus, as it overlaps with gender. As with sexuality and issues of homophobia, I also consider how explicit references to racism are presented within the corpus.

6.3 Ethnicity and racism

This section explores the representation of ethnicity(ies) and racism within the corpus, making comparisons between media coverage of women's and men's AFL/NRL. Despite continued arguments that sport is – or should be – devoid of politics, this is a myth. In fact, "racism has

never been far from sport in Australia" (Grant, 2023a, p. 154). Origins of both AFL and NRL are associated with colonialism, although players now come from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds. Today, both codes hold special Indigenous Rounds to celebrate First Nations contributions to the games and educate the community about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures (see AFL.com.au; NRL.com.au). Additionally, both have policies against racism (Schwab et al., 2019), with the AFL being awarded a peace prize for theirs (Gardiner, 2003a). There remains, however, a well-documented history of racism against First Nations Peoples in both codes which continues today (see Gardiner, 2003a; Hallinan & Judd, 2009). For example, Adam Goodes, who was named Australian of the Year in 2014, quit playing AFL in 2015 due to ongoing racist abuse. In 2022, accusations of racial trauma, spanning a period of eight years, were made public by First Nations players against the AFL's Hawthorn Football Club (Grant, 2023a, p. 164). In NRL, Latrell Mitchell was racially abused by a spectator in 2023 (Grant, 2023b) and the following year Ezra Mam was racially abused by an opposing player (Chammas et al., 2024).

It seems then, that anti-vilification policies and celebratory Indigenous Rounds have done little to change the landscape of racism in Australian sport. In fact, Hallinan and Judd (2009) argue that these various initiatives do not provide real progress towards combating entrenched (racist) barriers to reconciliation. It is therefore of interest to investigate how AFL and NRL athletes are represented in the media with respect to ethnicity, and to explore how the media navigates reporting on issues of racism, particularly with focus on Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander players.

To undertake the analyses, I use targeted search of terms potentially pointing to ethnic identity and cultural background, which are then further explored via qualitative text analysis. First, I compiled a list of general words potentially pointing to ethnic diversity, such as *culture(s), ethnicity, heritage,* etc. I then utilised ProtAnt, as discussed in Section 6.2, to identify any other related terms. Notably, these general words often co-occurred with more specific identifying labels, as *Aboriginal, Tongan, Fijian*. To compile a near-exhaustive list of such specific labels for all relevant identities is outside the scope of this research. Instead, focus is given to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and identities due to the social context in Australia – and Australian sport. General naming identifiers for First Nations Peoples were thus compiled from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (abs.gov.au) and AIATSIS (2020) supplemented with specific labels in a follow-up analysis that is discussed in Section 6.3.3. Finally, words referring to the negative treatment of minorities based on the social construct of "race", that is, *racism, racist, racial, racially*, as well as the lemma VILIFY have also been included (and are discussed in detail in Section 6.3.4). The analysis of terms referencing racism via explicit labels is comparable to that of terms referencing homophobia (see Section 6.2.5) and thus a useful point of comparison.

The compiled list of search terms was then reviewed for relevancy with the aid of concordances, to allow for a more refined and relevant list. For example, a random sample of 60 lines (of 796 total) were analysed for *culture*, five of which were relevant to ethnicity (8%).

Thus, it is excluded from the search terms list due to the low frequency of relevance. Additionally, *race* has been excluded due to low frequency.[63] Finally, words which relate to general concepts (e.g. *diversity, multiculturalism*), rather than used as labels or identity markers, are also excluded. The full search string is in Appendix J. It is acknowledged that this list is not exhaustive. Rather, a best effort has been applied to identify commonly used words in the corpus that will provide initial insight into the representation of ethnic and cultural identities – with an additional focus on Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people(s) – and how these represented identities intersect with gender in media coverage of AFL/NRL.

The following sections will now present the results from the analyses. First, I provide an overview of the search terms present in the OzFooty corpus more generally and identify emerging categories for further analysis (Section 6.3.1). The identified categories are then explored in closer detail in the sub-sections that follow (i.e. Sections 6.3.2, 6.3.3, and 6.3.4).

6.3.1 OzFooty corpus overview

To begin, a targeted search was undertaken in the OzFooty corpus using the ethnicity search terms list, with all results reviewed in the concordances to determine their relevance to ethnicity. The results show that most of the words are used in relation to ethnicity (75%, n=1700), except for *clans* and *vilifying* which are not relevant. Additionally, one token does not appear in the corpus at all: *First Australians*. Overall, the most frequent word is *Indigenous* (n=886) followed by *born* (n=256) and *Aboriginal* (n=141). Table 6.6 provides the results.

When comparing the female/male corpora, there is a significantly greater percentage of ethnicity terms used in OzFooty-M (93.8%, NF 3) than OzFooty-W (6.2%, NF 1.7), with a higher relative frequency of use in the men's corpus as well (LL +30.71, LR 0.86). Within OzFooty-M, the frequency of ethnicity terms is similar across both AFLM (NF 1.6) and NRLM (NF 1.4). In OzFooty-W, ethnicity terms appear more frequently in coverage of AFLW (NF 1.2) than in NRLW (NF 0.5). Figure 6.13 provides a visual illustration.

These results suggest that ethnicity is more likely to be discussed in coverage of men's AFL/NRL than in the women's, which is somewhat expected. Firstly, both men's codes have had high-profile instances of racism and vilification against players reported in the media over the past decades. Secondly, both the AFLM Indigenous Round and NRLM Indigenous All-Stars Game were launched in 2008 and 2010, respectively, and thus any off-season discussion of these matches and the players involved would be included in the corpus. The equivalent Indigenous Round for AFLW was not launched until 2021, which is outside the period captured in this corpus. Comparatively, the NRLW Indigenous All-Stars Game was first played in 2011, although it is possible that media coverage is confined to in-season periods. However, what these results do not yet tell us is how the words are being used, which may reveal associated attitudes.

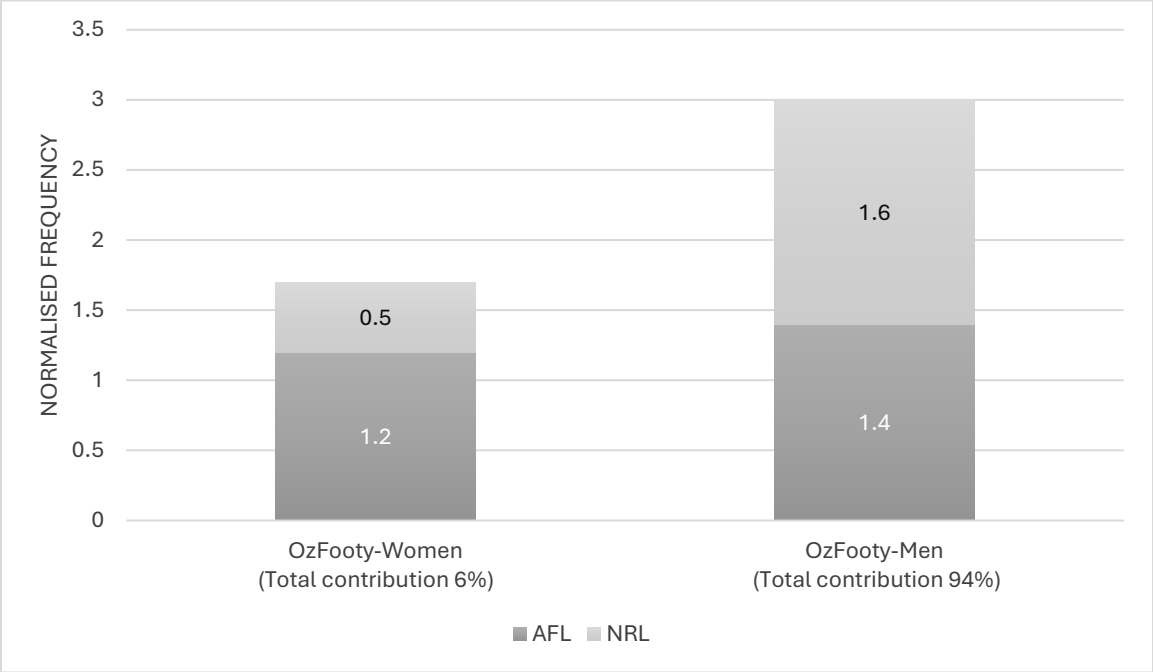
[63] In the random sample analysed, only one of 60 instances of *race* referred to a person's ethnic background: *Sport is a great equaliser where those who take the competitive field should be judged on their own character and performance, not on* ***race*** *or gender* (AW_EB310D11).

As such, following the approach for Sexuality (6.2.1), the resulting words from Table 6.6 have been categorised into groups to allow for closer analysis of key themes in the corpus. The groups identified are general terms (Section 6.3.2), Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities (Section 3.3), and racism and vilification (Section 6.3.4). The following section presents the analysis of general representations of ethnicity in the corpora.

Table 6.6 Words referring to ethnicity in OzFooty

Rank	Word	Frequency (Ethnicity)	Frequency (Overall)
1	*Indigenous*	886	886
2	*born*	256	479
3	*Aboriginal*	141	141
4	*racism*	93	93
5	*racist*	59	59
6	*heritage*	57	106
7	*racial*	50	50
8	*cultures*	22	45
9	*native*	18	33
10	*backgrounds*	17	47
11	*background*	15	157
12	*Torres Strait Islander*	15	15
13	*vilification*	12	16
14	*racially*	11	11
15	*mob*	9	40
16	*First Nations*	5	5
17	*peoples*	5	8
18	*clan*	4	27
19	*ethnic*	4	4
20	*ethnicity*	4	4
21	*mobs*	4	6
22	*vilified*	4	6
23	*Aboriginals*	2	2
24	*Aboriginality*	2	2
25	*ancestry*	2	2
26	*tribal*	2	9
27	*tribes*	1	3
-	*clans*	0	1
-	*vilifying*	0	6

Figure 6.13 Distribution of ethnicity terms across the OzFooty sub-corpora



6.3.2 General representations of ethnicity

When comparing general terms for ethnicity across the corpora, it is evident that there is wider variety of word types with slightly higher frequency found in OzFooty-M as compared to OzFooty-W (see Table 6.7).

The most frequent word in both corpora is *born*, which occurs with the same relative frequency (NF 0.4), and as such provides for a useful point of comparison. Concordances for *born* were analysed for references to players identified as Australian- or overseas-born. In some cases, another ethnic, cultural, and/or national identity was presented alongside the birthplace (e.g. *born in Sydney but raised in Ireland; an England-born defender of African descent*), which was also coded. Instances of players identified as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander (e.g. *The Blacktown-born flyer is a proud Indigenous man*) are also noted.

As shown in Table 6.8, the men's coverage favours identification of "local" Australian-born players (64%), compared to overseas-born players (36%). The opposite is true for the women's corpus whereby there is slightly more identification of overseas-born players (55%) than Australian-born players (44%). Despite this difference, syntactic constructions are similar across both corpora, e.g.: *born in [location]*, *born and bred in [location]*, *the [location]-born [person]*. The identifiers include towns and states in Australia (e.g. *Richmond, Sydney, Queensland, WA*), overseas locations (e.g. *Auckland, England, Samoa*), and ethnicities or nationalities (e.g. *Kiwi, Māori, Tongan, English, Irish, Kenyan*).

Table 6.7 Frequency of general terms for ethnicity[64]

OzFooty-Women		**OzFooty-Men**	
Total freq. (NF)	25 (0.5)	Total freq. (NF)	368 (0.7)
born	18 (0.39)	*born*	238 (0.44)
backgrounds	3 (0.06)	*heritage*	54 (0.1)
heritage	2 (0.04)	*cultures*	22 (0.04)
ethnic	1 (0.02)	*native*	17 (0.03)
native	1 (0.02)	*background*	15 (0.03)
		backgrounds	13 (0.02)
		ethnicity	4 (0.01)
		ethnic	3 (<0.01)
		ancestry	2 (<0.01)

Table 6.8 Frequency of players identified as Australian-born or overseas-born

	OzFooty-Women	**OzFooty-Men**[65]
	Freq. (NF)	Freq. (NF)
Total Australian	8 (0.18), 44%	152 (0.28), 64%
also identified as another ethnic/cultural identity	2 (0.04)	8 (0.01)
also identified as First Nations	0	10 (0.02)
Total Overseas	10 (0.22), 55%	87 (0.16), 36%
also identified as another ethnic/cultural identity	0	6 (0.01)

There are eleven instances in OzFooty-M where people are (also) identified as being Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander in the surrounding co-text, but none in OzFooty-W. These are shown in Figure 6.14 (references are underlined) and will be briefly discussed.[66]

Two instances (lines 2 and 10) directly identify players as *Indigenous* (although this term is often dispreferred, as discussed in Section 6.3.3) while only one identifies particular people(s) and/or language group(s) (line 7). Other references are made via identification of family members with most coming from the same player quote by Gold Coast NRL club captain Ryan James (lines 3, 4, 6, 8, 9) who is implicitly (self-)identified as Indigenous through his reference

[64] The word *native* is allocated to the General terminology group, given its preference in the corpus to refer to a person born or living in a place (e.g. *a Gold Coast native; his native Queensland*). The outdated (and racist) colonial use of *native* to refer to a First Nations person is not present in the corpus, except for a single reference to legislation (*native title*).

[65] There is one instance of dual coding in the men's corpus which refers to players collectively: *they were **born** in New Zealand and Australia*

[66] Line 11 is not relevant to a player and will not be discussed.

to his mother (*she was born indigenous to this land*). His comment comes in response to the Australian national anthem being played at the Indigenous All-Stars game. Notably, none of these instances have chosen to capitalise *indigenous* in the quote, which is in contrast to language guides (Public Health Association Australia, 2020). Representations of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities in the corpus will be further discussed in Section 6.3.3.

Figure 6.14 Extended concordances of *born* identifying players as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people(s) in OzFooty-Men

1	prove an important figure in its success. Gagai's father Ray, a son of two Torres Strait Islander parents, was also **born** in Mackay. "My Mum was born in New Zealand. She was stoked when I made the decision," said Gagai
2	there is more lightning to the star Melbourne Storm winger than meets the eye. The Blacktown- **born** flyer is a proud Indigenous man with two Aboriginal parents. When he made his first-grade debut
3	back to when my mum was born," he said. "She was born indigenous to this land and she wasn't even **born** recognised as a person. That is not that long ago — she was born in 1960." The national anthem has
4	when my mum was born," he said. "She was born indigenous to this land and she wasn't even **born** recognised as a person. That's not that long ago. Mum was born in 1960. We've definitely come a long
5	line-up takes root as a successful option for the NRL's All-Stars project after Friday's match, the Mackay- **born** star will prove an important figure in its success. Gagai's father Ray, a son of two Torres Strait Islander
6	their culture, but conceded it was not a simple topic to address. "Some of the lyrics ... my mum was **born** indigenous to this land and she wasn't recognised as a person — that was 1960," he said. "We've
7	All-Star strip. "It's the pinnacle for me ... to put our people on the map in rugby league." Addo-Carr was **born** in Blacktown, Sydney, to parents belonging to Gunggandji (Addo) and Wiradjuri (Carr) mobs, but spent
8	are references to the free and you only have to look back to when my mum was born," he said. "She was **born** indigenous to this land and she wasn't even born recognised as a person. That is not that long ago — she
9	varied from player to player. "You've only got to look back to when my mum was born," he said. "She was **born** indigenous to this land and she wasn't even born recognised as a person. That's not that long ago. Mum
10	it wasn't for this, I'd still be chipping away." He's only 20 but it's taken a lot of work to get here. He was **born** and bred in La Perouse in Sydney's south east, a proud Indigenous kid who dreamed of playing for South
11	the game's governing body," he said. Professor Milroy, who works for the University of Western Australia, was **born** and educated in Perth and is a descendant of the Palyku people of the Pilbara region. She previously

Considering other words in Table 6.7, those in OzFooty-W have frequencies too low to extrapolate any patterns. This in itself is a key finding, suggesting that ethnic identity(ies) of female players is not a media priority, for whatever reason. While the overall frequencies for words in OzFooty-M are also somewhat low, there is a greater variety of word types and thus, the remainder of this section focuses on patterns identified in OzFooty-M.

Similar to *born*, the word *native* also focuses on specific locations where male players were born and or grew up, and follows similar constructions, i.e. *The [location] native, his native [location]*. Focus is given to specific Australian places (77%), compared to overseas locations. As mentioned earlier, there are no instances of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples referred to as *native* or *natives*; this is a positive finding given the association with colonialism

and racism. The words *heritage, background(s),* and *cultures* are used to identify both overseas ethnic identities (e.g. *Samoan, Ghanaian, Tongan*) as well as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities, which tend to be labelled more generically as *Indigenous* or *Aboriginal*.

In sum, a range of ethnicities are identified across the corpora, including Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities, although the frequencies are generally low. The comparison between the female/male corpora shows greater emphasis on ethnicity in men's AFL/NRL coverage. The concordance analyses for *born* and *native* suggest some media focus on geographical origins of the players, along with some consideration of Indigenous backgrounds. The following section will now further explore representations of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples and identities as presented in the corpus.

6.3.3 Representations of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples

Looking at terms related to Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples, OzFooty-M (NF 19.38) has a much higher relative frequency of these terms compared to OzFooty-W (0.97) (LL 23.95, LR 0.98) (see Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Ethnicity terms for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities[67]

OzFooty-Women		**OzFooty-Men**	
Total freq. (NF)	44 (0.97)	Total freq. (NF)	1032 (19.38)
Indigenous	40 (0.07)	*Indigenous*	846 (4.59)
Torres Strait Islander	2 (0.04)	*Aboriginal*	140 (0.25)
Aboriginal	1 (0.02)	*Torres Strait Islander*	13 (0.02)
mob	1 (0.02)	*mob*	8 (0.01)
		First Nations	5 (0.01)
		peoples	5 (0.01)
		clan	4 (0.01)
		mobs	4 (0.01)
		Aboriginality	2 (<0.02)
		Aboriginals	2 (<0.02)
		tribal	2 (<0.02)
		tribes	1 (<0.02)

All words occurring in OzFooty-W are also present in OzFooty-M. More general terms (*clan, peoples, tribe*) are absent from the women's corpus, except for *mob* which is not relevant to women's AFL/NRL. Also absent from the women's corpus is *First Nations*, though the frequency in OzFooty-M is also quite low (n=5). In fact, all instances but one (which is irrelevant to AFL/NRL) originate from a single quote about an advocacy group for First Nations athletes

[67] The words *clan, peoples,* and *tribal* have been allocated to the Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples group, given their association with these ethnicities in Australian English; *mob* has been included as it is Aboriginal English.

(example 27). Closer examination reveals this is the same news item, duplicated to both male sub-corpora (i.e. AFLM and NRLM).

> 27) "History shows that if you have **First Nations people** dealing with **First Nations people**, they usually get it right with cultural awareness, protocols and sensitivities. We're just having black fellas represent black fellas..." (AM_27392910; LM_28F92746)

Example 27 raises two points for discussion. The first is that, at the time of the corpus, there is no national body advocating for First Nations peoples in Australian sport. This highlights issues of power imbalances within established sporting bodies, likely due to entrenched colonialism and associated views of integration (or, assimilation) (Hallinan & Judd, 2009). That *The Age* is reporting on this is commendable, however, it is outside the scope of the present study to explore this further.

Secondly, and more relevant to the purposes here, is that the media do not use the term *First Nations* to refer to Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples, instead preferring to use *Indigenous*. This could be for a variety of reasons, such as a potential association of *First Nations* with North America rather than Australia, but this finding is also useful in providing a baseline for the analysis of language change in this area. Perhaps the Australian news media will use the term more in future coverage, although it is not used in the period included here. This trend is evident across both the female/male corpora, with *Indigenous* the most frequent word in both (NF 0.9). Thus, *Indigenous* provides for a point of comparison between the gendered sports codes.

Concordances for *Indigenous* were analysed with focus on the R1 (and R2, R3 where relevant) position to better understand who or what the label *Indigenous* is modifying. Table 6.10 provides an overview of key themes emerging from the corpus. All concordances were analysed, however, not all were relevant to AFL/NRL and thus not recorded here. Official names of entities are also excluded (i.e. *Australian Rugby League Indigenous Council* is excluded but *indigenous council* is included). Constructions occurring in both the female/male corpora are marked in bold; those only occurring in OzFooty-W are marked with an asterisk (*).

While this list of co-occurrences is not exhaustive, it attempts to capture prominent patterns related to AFL/NRL which can provide insight into discourses in the corpus. As expected, words related to sport and its participants are dominant, with a total 109 instances of *Indigenous player(s)*, distributed largely in the men's corpus (93%, 102, NF 0.18). The presence of positive inscribed attitude (e.g. *champion, stars, talent*) suggests positive judgement of players, metonymically implicating positive appreciation (see also Chapter 4 for discussion of this more broadly in the corpus). Additional analysis is necessary to determine if there are any racialised discourses of natural talent (see Bamblett, 2011; Hallinan & Judd, 2009); however, it is outside the scope of this study.

Also prevalent are references to governance and business, people, culture and identity, and welfare. The results from culture and identity overlap with the previous section (6.3.2), thus demonstrating a preference for using an identity label, as in *Indigenous culture*. While this may

be an acknowledgement of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities, it could also be viewed as a linguistic othering from the baseline of White/Western culture. That is, acceptance into the "mainstream" sporting depends upon athletes "being considered like other non-Indigenous Australians, even as their Aboriginality is emphasised" (Cottle & Keys, 2010, p. 1). While outside the scope of this research, further investigation into media motivations and public responses (especially from people identifying as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander) would be beneficial.

Given these findings, the same approach was taken for the analysis of *Aboriginal* in OzFooty-M, [68] with similar patterns and themes identified as in Table 6.10. One notable difference to the findings for *Indigenous*, however, is that words related to sport tend to focus mostly on the participants (e.g. *footballer(s), player(s), superstars*) rather than other sport-related lexis. This difference may be influenced by the prevalence of *Indigenous* in official naming i.e. *Indigenous All-Stars*. When referring to people more broadly, *Aboriginal* is overwhelmingly used as an adjective (e.g. *Aboriginal players*, *Aboriginal peoples*); however, there are several nominal instances also identified (see Figure 6.15).

Figure 6.15 Extended concordances for nominal uses of *Aboriginal* in OzFooty-Men

1	Roberts, the only NRL star to have come out as gay, says he is dumbfounded at how Mundine, a practising Muslim and **Aboriginal,** could have such disparaging beliefs about another minority group.
2	"It will take a few years because the remote communities need special programs to develop them." Moriarty, the first **Aboriginal** to represent Australia, made those comments in 2014 while taking a group of players to the World Cup in Brazil.
3	Souths Cares, the club charity focused on employment, education and training opportunities for disadvantaged and marginalised youth, launched a new program last year for **Aboriginals** aged 10 to 17 who live in the Souths area
4	The Matildas have reaped the benefits of fielding indigenous footballers, with Lydia Williams and Kyah Simon providing a backbone for years. That Harry Williams remains the only **Aboriginal** to represent Australia at a World Cup is a blight
5	SYDNEY SHE'S a proud **Aboriginal,** the rising superstar of tennis, who wakes at all hours of the night on tour to watch her beloved Richmond in the AFL. Ash Barty will be Australia's darling at the Australian Open next week, but
6	SHE'S a proud **Aboriginal,** the rising superstar of tennis, who wakes at all hours of the night on tour to watch her beloved AFL team Richmond play. Ashleigh Barty will be Australia's darling at the Australian Open next week,
7	"Lionel Rose and Evonne Goolagong went and won overseas and people were telling me that **Aboriginals** won't want to come to Melbourne to play footy? Sometimes you have got to listen with your eyes."

[68] Analyses of OzFooty-W is excluded as the single instance is not relevant to AFL/NRL.

Table 6.10 Co-occurrences of *Indigenous* in R1+ position

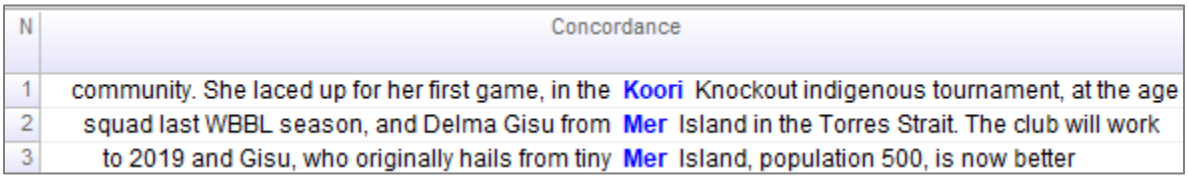
Category	**Words [*Indigenous* + R1, . . .]**
Sport and its participants (inscribed positive attitude)	*academies, academy, account, AFL players, AFL star, AFL stars, All-Star, All Star, All-Star strip, All-Star teams, All Stars, All-Stars, All-Stars camp, All Stars captain, **All Stars coach**, All Stars coach, *All-Stars concept, All Stars game, All Stars kit, *All Stars line-up, All Stars match, All Stars players, All Stars side, All Stars Summit, All Stars team, athlete, athletes, attackers, Blues players, camp, camps, captain, carnival, coach, code, Crows player, face (of the game), flyer, football carnivals, football, footballer, footballers, **game, games**, goalkicking, jersey, jumper, line-up, showdown, national team, NRL players, onslaught, outfit, pack, **player**, **players**, rivals, round, rugby league, **side**, sides, small forward, sport summit, sport, sportspeople, strips, **team**, teams, teammate, teammates, themed matches, Titans captain, tournament, under 16s, *Women's All Stars, youth footballers* *champion, great, livewire, men's talent, star, stars, superstar, **talent***
Governance & Business	*advisory committee, advisory council, advisory group, affairs advocate, *AFL commissioner, **commissioner**, consulting division, foundation, council, **liaison officer**, member, program, sports body, work, worker, workers*
Leadership	*figure, figures, leader, leaders, leadership, past players body, *representation, role, role model, youth mentor*
People (general)	*bloke, boys, brothers, child, children, communities, community, contingent, contingents, dad, generation, group, groups, kid, kids, man, men, **people, peoples**, person, police officers, population, **woman**, **women**, young people, youngster, youth*
Culture & Identity	*Aboriginality, ancestry, art, artist, background, backgrounds, backgrounds, coloured speedos, connection, culture, cultures, cultures, first peoples, flag, heritage, **history**, language, roots, war cry,*
Nationality	*Australia, Australian, **Australians,** Maori*
Welfare	*activist, affairs, health, care, charity, causes, education, engagement, health, issues, **issues**, rights, welfare officer, welfare specialist, welfare support, youth issues*
Media	*broadcast, broadcaster, commentary team, radio service*
Other	*commitment, first, frustration, influence, initiatives, objection, perspective, *push, *question, **space**, voice, vow*

While not all instances in Figure 6.15 are specifically related to AFL/NRL, they are still worth highlighting, given that such nominal use of *Aboriginal* is considered by some to carry negative, derogatory, or even racist connotations (Macquarie Dictionary Publishers, 2024; Public Health Association Australia, 2020). Thus, it is of interest to investigate who the sources are. There are two instances in projected speech (lines 1, 7) both from AFL/NRL in-group members who do not identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander in the public domain. The remaining instances (lines 2-6) come from the news producers, i.e. the journalist, columnist, or editorial team member, though it is unclear whether they identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander.

The results thus far suggest that news producers tend to prefer the more general *Indigenous* over *Aboriginal* or *Torres Strait Islander* which are also general labels, but at least distinguish between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Language guides suggest that "specificity is often more respectful" (Australian Government Style Manual, 2023) with the preferred approach to "identify, rather than define" (AIATSIS, 2020). Taking this into consideration, I also compiled a list of terms referring to particular peoples and/or language groups to compare against the corpus. This is based on an existing list (Bednarek, 2023, p. 194), along with several other terms identified from the analyses in Section 6.3. While not exhaustive, this list is comprehensive; it covers a variety of people(s) and language groups across Australia and includes spelling variations. The combined list comprises 988 tokens.

To identify the terms present in the OzFooty corpus, I used the wordlist tool in AntConc which automatically compares a provided wordlist (the compiled list of terms referring to particular peoples and/or language groups) to a designated corpus (the OzFooty corpus). The results were manually reviewed for any false positives, such as *Red Point* being identified separately as *Red* and *Point*, or *Gurr* which is also the name of a Parramatta Eels executive. This resulted in a total of 31 relevant word types present in the corpus, with a frequency of 136, which equates to 3% of the terms from the original list – a rather small percentage. In OzFooty-W, there are only two relevant terms: *Mer* (n=2) and *Koori* (n=1). As shown in Figure 6.16, line 1 references a non-elite rugby league tournament while the two instances for *Mer* refer to the same AFLW player. In comparison, the most frequent terms in OzFooty-M are *Tiwi* (n=55), *Koori* (n=32), and *Noongar* (n=5), with the remaining words having a frequency of 3 or less (see Table 6.11).

Figure 6.16 Specific Australian First Nations naming identifiers in OzFooty-Women



N	Concordance
1	community. She laced up for her first game, in the **Koori** Knockout indigenous tournament, at the age
2	squad last WBBL season, and Delma Gisu from **Mer** Island in the Torres Strait. The club will work
3	to 2019 and Gisu, who originally hails from tiny **Mer** Island, population 500, is now better

Table 6.11 Specific terms referring to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and/or language groups in OzFooty-Men

Top Words (Freq.)	*Tiwi* (55), *Koori* (32), *Noongar* (5)
Words with a frequency of 3	*Yarrabah, Bundjalung, Anangu*
Words with a frequency of 2	*Ngarigo, Kokatha, Mula, Yorta, Pitjantjatjara, Mer, Yankunytjatjara, Warra, Wiradjuri*
Words with a frequency of 1	*Gunditjmara, Larrakia, Matha, Gunggari, Muruwari, Kooris, Gadigal, Gurindji, Murri, Gunggandji, Palyku, Kaurna, Martu, Biripi, Murris, Yolngu*

It seems then that specificity is a rarity in the corpus. This could have a variety of reasons, including lack of information or personal preference of the person being identified. Regardless, the media preference is to use the default "catch-all" term *Indigenous* in comparison to *Aboriginal*, *Torres Strait Islander*, or other specific identifiers. The term *First Nations*, which has come into more mainstream usage in recent years, is nearly non-existent in the corpus. It is, however, necessary to consider how the sanctioned naming practices within the AFL/NRL, such as the *Indigenous Round* and *Indigenous All Stars*, may influence word choice, whether consciously or not.

So far, I have analysed general representations of ethnicity in the corpus, as well as representations of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples. This has provided insights into preferred naming practices and the visibility (or lack of) of ethnically diverse players across men's and women's AFL/NRL. However, such analysis does not tell us whether the news media problematise the treatment of these groups in sports. The following section will therefore explore representations of racism and vilification in the corpora through the analysis of selected terms.

6.3.4 Representations of racism and vilification

This section provides insights into *explicit* references to racism and vilification through these labels, as opposed to other linguistic resources (following the approach taken with homophobia in Section 6.2.5). Such label use could be argued to make racism – and racist language and behaviours – more visible to news audiences.

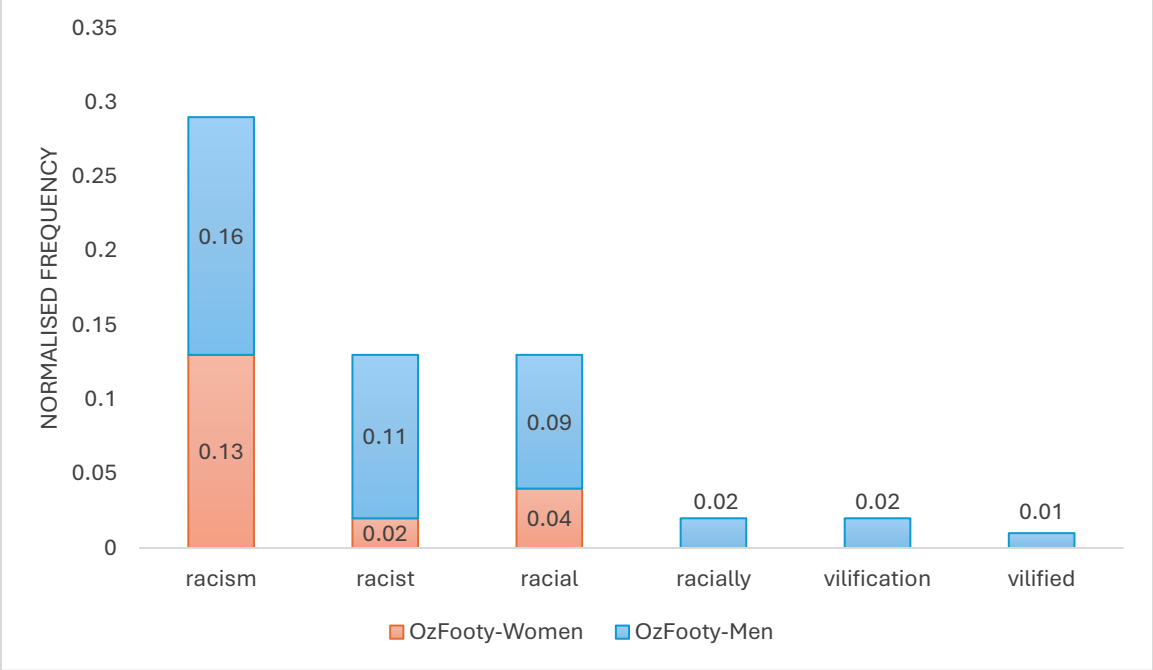
Overall, there are 229 instances of racism words in OzFooty, with these mostly occurring in the men's corpus (96%, n=220, NF 0.39) (see Table 6.12 and Figure 6.17). The word *racism* is

the most frequent overall, with *racialised*, *racialisation*, and *vilify* not present in the corpus. (As a reminder, the word *race* is excluded from analysis.) Thus, references to racism are significantly more frequent than references to homophobia in media coverage of AFL/NRL (LL +193, LR +3.84) (see Section 6.2.5). Regardless, coverage of both issues is largely confined to men's AFL/NRL.

Table 6.12 Frequency of racism and vilification terms

	OzFooty-Women	**OzFooty-Men**
Freq. (RF)	9 (0.19)	220 (0.39)
Words	*racial*, *racism*, *racist*	*racial*, *racially*, *racism*, *racist*, *vilification*, *vilified*

Figure 6.17 Distribution of racism and vilification terms in the OzFooty corpora



In OzFooty-W there are only three words present: *racism*, *racist*, and *racial*. Given the low frequency of these words, all were analysed in their co-text. The extended concordances are provided in Figure 6.18. Interestingly, most of these refer to incidences of racism against specific male players, such as Adam Goodes and Latrell Mitchell (lines 2, 6, 7). There are also general references to men's AFL (lines 1, 3, 4), where lines 3 and 4 are from the same news item duplicated across the AFLW and NRLW corpora. Specific references to racism in the women's codes are thus quite limited, with only two instances (lines 5 and 8) both from the same profile of

a South-Sudanese VFLW[69] player. In fact, line 9 is also from this same news item, though the construction of this sentence is ambiguous as to whether racist and sexist trolling both occur across both men's and women's AFL. Considering the wider situational context, it can be inferred that racist trolling occurs against AFLM players and sexist trolling occurs against AFLW players. This is reinforced in line 1 which mentions gender equality in AFLW, and racial abuse and domestic violence in AFLM.

Figure 6.18 Extended concordance lines for *racis** from OzFooty-Women

1	change. The new women's league, the AFLW, has become a tangible symbol of gender equality in sport , and the AFL also expresses zero tolerance of **racial** abuse and domestic violence. Its Respectful Relationships platform, to improve education and raise awareness, sets out its goals: "Gender equality
2	prompted two superb documentaries this year. McLachlan and his commission opted not to intervene - not to call out the fans for what many felt contained **racial** motivations - for various reasons, in part because there wasn't broad agreement within the game on Goodes. Arguably, McLachlan was the fall
3	Hosch, AFL general manager of inclusion and social policy Hosch handles a difficult portfolio in a code that has struggled with the challenges of combating **racism**. She also fights for greater indigenous representation on boards and in administration. Sam Kerr, Matildas captain Kerr is one of the world's
4	Hosch, AFL general manager of inclusion and social policy Hosch handles a difficult portfolio in a code that has struggled with the challenges of combating **racism**. She also fights for greater indigenous representation on boards and in administration. Sam Kerr, Matildas captain Kerr is one of the world's
5	: © 2019 Copyright John Fairfax Holdings Limited. www.theage.com.au As a South Sudanese player in the VFLW, Akec Chuot is no stranger to **racism**. She recalls a recent incident when her club, Richmond, posted a story about her online. "It was a story they did a couple of months ago on me -
6	and cost Jobe Watson a Brownlow medal. In 2014 and 2015, the masses turned on Adam Goodes. The Sydney Swans champion made a stand against **racism** which sparked a culture war that engulfed the nation, and the AFL's inaction hung him out to dry. Goodes retired with no fanfare, his love for the
7	media abuse and now she wants other athletes to confront trolls. In a week when online abuse marred the NRL with three separate incidents, including **racism** towards Roosters flyer Latrell Mitchell, Harris called on other athletes who suffer from negativity to speak up against "weak" online
8	Carlton, before moving to Richmond this year. Chuot thinks the AFL, as an "almost religion" of Australia , can lead the way in addressing social issues like **racism** more broadly. As one of the ambassadors of Melbourne Knowledge Week, she will give a talk on the topic on May 21. As for her hopes for
9	thing as electricity" and little opportunity for children, especially girls, to play any kind of sports. Inclusion is the word on everyone's lips after a month where **racist** and sexist trolling of AFL and AFLW players again made headlines. Chuot is working on getting young people from ethnically diverse backgrounds

The distinct lack of media coverage about racism in the women's corpus thus gives the appearance that racism does not exist in women's AFL/NRL. Evidence shows otherwise. A survey undertaken by the AFL Players Association (AFLPA) found that 30% of First Nations and/or other culturally diverse players reported being racially abused or vilified while listed in the AFLW (AFL Players Association, 2023). Further, the overwhelming majority (77%) were

[69] VFLW is the semi-professional Victoria Football League Women's.

unsatisfied with the way that complaints about racism were handled by the clubs and by the AFL governing body (Cross, 2023; Hytner, 2023). Given similarities between AFLW and NRLW, it would be practical to assume that similar racial abuse and resulting issues also exist in NRLW.

Moving to OzFooty-M, there are 220 tokens distributed across 95 news items. Overall, discussion centres around three key players – Adam Goodes, Latrell Mitchell and Eddie Betts (see Table 6.13). All have been racially abused and/or vilified during their careers and have called out the racist actions and people involved, thus garnering widespread media attention.

Table 6.13 Players frequently mentioned in relation to racism

Player	**Sport**	**Frequency**	**Associated words**
Latrell Mitchell	NRLM	43	*racial, racially, racism, racist, vilified*
Adam Goodes	AFLM	38	*racial, racism, racist, vilification*
Eddie Betts	AFLM	29	*racial, racially, racism, racist, vilification, vilified*

Additionally, there is also focus on the *AFL's ground-breaking racial anti-vilification policy*, which was introduced soon after on-field racist abuse in 1995. The latter thus expresses positive appreciation (*ground-breaking*) of the AFL policy rather than negative appraisal of racism in the AFL. This policy was introduced two years after Nicky Winmar's stand against racial abuse during an AFLM game (Yussuf & Boaz, 2023), and subsequently won several awards (Gardiner, 2003a). Nearly twenty years later, Adam Goodes retired from AFLM due to ongoing racist abuse, suggesting the failure of the policy.

Thus, to gain further insight into media coverage of racism in men's AFL/NRL, the two most frequent words, *racism* and *racist*, were analysed in their co-text. Such analysis also allows for comparisons to *homophobia/homophobic* from Section 6.2.5. Thus, common co-occurrences for *racist/racism* were observed and categorised to better understand who or what is classified as racist, and how racism is positioned.

First, concordances were analysed for the target(s) evaluated as *racist.* Targets were identified in the R1 position as a classifier (*racist abuse*) as well as preceding the node (L1) as a carrier in relational clauses (*it's racist*). Figure 6.19 provides some examples.

Overwhelmingly, *racist* is used as an adjective to modify semiotic entities (language and actions) and groups of people (see Table 6.14). That is, *racist* is used to negatively evaluate people [-judgement] and their behaviours [-appreciation]. The appraisal of people, however, tends to occur collectively (e.g. *crowds, supporters, trolls*), and even then, with low frequency (n=6). There are two instances, both occurring in relational clauses, where the target of evaluation is an individual person (i.e. judgement, see examples 28 and 29).

> 28) The 29-year-old from Dublin, Ireland, is sexist, **racist** and homophobic. But when it comes to entertainment, ... (AM_E3D8C9E0)

> 29) BRAD Fittler is the last person you would describe as a **racist**. In the same week Latrell Mitchell raised questions about ... (LM_D85197DA)

Example 28 was previously discussed in relation to homophobia; the same arguments apply here for racism (see Section 6.2.5).

Figure 6.19 Sample concordance lines for *racist* from OzFooty-Men

1	indigenous athletes in Australia to call out	racist	abuse, especially on social media. Fittler
2	All-Australian Betts as "a disgrace'', saying	racist	slurs against indigenous players needed to
3	to the use of -tax-payers' money to deliver it. "It's	racist	because it favours a particular race over
4	am I to say Mitchell should brush off the on-line	racist	attacks, suck it up, and just play football?
5	that needs to be made. Other instances of	racist	abuse of footballers - the banana thrown at
6	of the Year, take a stance. Goodes endured years of	racist	abuse on and off the footy field. When he
7	the question of how teams should best react when	racist	abuse starts to be hurled down from the
8	on social media during the AFL season were	racist	in sentiment, a situation he called
9	Damian Monkhorst, who had sprayed him with	racist	remarks. It was a watershed moment for the
10	for attack." THUMBS DOWN Seriously. Some of the	racist	gibber thrown around after Indigenous All
11	the proud Indigenous star took a stand against	racist	social media trolls, Robinson went into bat
12	of Adam for what it was — disgraceful and	racist	. However, some took the opposing view and
13	Sydney Swans legend Goodes took a stand against	racist	crowds in 2013 and was effectively booed
14	star Patrick Dangerfield last night called out a	racist	social media comment targeting Adelaide's
15	, revoke the membership of a fan who posted a	racist	comment about star player Eddie Betts to
16		Racist	abuse of Betts 'disgraceful and cowardly'
17	were tough periods, too. He was the target of a	racist	taunt at a game against Collingwood in
18	star Eddie Betts after he was the subject of a	racist	slur on Twitter. Geelong champion Patrick
19	," Ms Hosch said. Betts was subjected to another	racist	comment on Instagram last year and in
20	on the sporting field, being sworn at and called	racist	names by opposing teams in basketball.

Table 6.14 Targets (R1) evaluated as *racist* in OzFooty-Men

Category	**Targets [*racist* + . . .]**
Semiotic entities (behaviour/language)	*abuse, attack, attacks, behaviour, booing, comment, comments, connotations, gibber, language, names, online comments, online trolling, remarks, slur, slurs, social media comments, taunt, taunts*
People (groups)	*country, crowds, social media trolls, supporters, trolls*

In example 29 the target (NRL coach Brad Fittler) is being implicitly positively appraised [+ judgement] for *not* being racist. For context, this news item covers the reaction to NRL player Latrell Mitchell refusing to sing the Australian national anthem given it does not represent Aboriginal Australians (with whom he identifies). The wider co-text provides further positive judgement of Coach Fittler as *in the bush doing his bit for indigenous rugby league in underprivileged areas*[70] during the time in question. He is thus both physically and evaluatively removed as an actor from the discussion of racism, while simultaneously positively appraised

[70] This is reproduced as it appears in the news item, i.e. *Indigenous* is not capitalised and the use of 'deficit' language (see Fforde et al., 2013).

[+judgement] for *doing his bit*. It is also worth noting the use of deficit and dividing language, which continues throughout the news column. While this is just a single instance in the corpus, it is written by a regular columnist for the *Daily Telegraph*, who may reproduce similar views in other pieces.

More commonly, however, it is people's behaviours that are appraised as racist [-appreciation]. Given that the "actors of an activity and producers of a product are clearly logically connected" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 118), such constructions arguably also invoke, or metonymically implicate, negative judgement of the person(s) doing the behaviour (i.e. the actor/target). That is, the use of *racist trolling* [-appreciation] metonymically implicates the *racist troll* [-judgement]. Such findings draw parallels to the use of homophobic language, where often those using such derogatory language do not identify themselves as being homophobic (Denison et al., 2021; Denison & Toole, 2020; Evans, 2023; Pringle & Denison, 2023).

Moving to the results for *racism*, several themes have emerged based on co-occurring words (see Table 6.15): Response, Experience, Impact, Doing, Claims, Explicit attitude (negative), and Other. The most prominent is Response, which is sub-categorised into challenging racism and inaction, alongside more general/neutral responses. At first glance, the focus on experiences, responses, and negative attitude seems a positive step towards media coverage of a pervasive issue in the sporting space. However, closer analysis shows that racism is generally discussed as a concept, rather than identified through specific acts. That there are only two inscribed instances of Doing racism (*peddling, using*) confirms this, while the other instance (*accused ... of*) is implied through such claims. The presence of Claims suggests a downplaying of negative attitude by presenting racism as doubtful or questionable, distancing the writer(s) from the expressed opinion [engagement: attribution]. Further, Impact words occur infrequently (n=3) so discussion of this topic is very minimal. More positively, there are negative attitudinal words explicitly evaluating racism [-appreciation], although frequency is again quite low.

Taken together, a complex picture emerges where racism exists in a space that has positioned itself as "welcoming and inclusive of Indigenous people" (Hallinan & Judd, 2009, p. 1229) through the introduction of various initiatives, special rounds, and award-winning policies. Perhaps as a result, the media discussion of racism in sport is, at best, surface level with respect to men's AFL/NRL and non-existent with respect to the women's codes. This suggests that racism is not a serious ongoing issue – despite enduring evidence indicating otherwise.

Table 6.15 Common co-occurring words preceding *racism* in L1+ position from OzFooty-Men

Theme	**Associated words [... L1 + *racism*]**
Response	*address, deal with, focus shifted to, [adj] response to, policy on*
Response: challenge	*anti-, [verb] against, draws line at, lashed out at, challenging, combat, combating, ending, calling out of, call out, called out, calling out, called out some, don't sweep, called out the, stood up to*
Response: inaction	*acceptance that, should ignore*
Experience	*encountered, experienced, experience of, in the face of, subject to, target of online*
Impact	*impact of, impact that*
Doing	*accused [someone] of, peddling, using*
Claims	*accused [someone] of, claims of, implication of, insinuation that, the suggestion*
Explicit attitude (negative)	*brutality and, concerns over, deplorable, drunkenness [and], kill off the, overt, scourge, scarcely veiled, violence and*
Other	*curriculum about, online, [not] reverse, social media, there has been*

6.3.5 Summary

This section has explored the representation of ethnicity(ies) in the OzFooty corpus and has considered how this intersects with gender by comparing the female and male corpora. Broadly, the analyses have shown that more focus is given to ethnicity in coverage of men's AFL/NRL as compared to the women's AFL/NRL. Further, there is minimal coverage of racism and associated issues in sport overall, though this is still greater than the focus given to issues of homophobia.

Overall, the most frequent ethnicity word in the corpus is *Indigenous*, which predominantly modifies references to sport and its participants, and is part of official naming of special Indigenous teams and rounds. A lack of specificity when referring to Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander players was also a key finding. That is, the media preference *Indigenous* and (to a lesser extent) *Aboriginal*, rather than specific peoples or language groups. While many style guides today suggest that specificity is preferred, where possible (Australian Government Style Manual, 2023; Public Health Association Australia, 2020; Roberts et al., 2021), a 2018 media guide acknowledges that it is common practice to use *Indigenous people* as an alternative to *Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples* (Media Diversity Australia et al., 2018). Such a finding is useful in providing a baseline for the analysis of language change in this area.

Comparison of the female/male corpora found that terms identifying Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities were nearly non-existent in OzFooty-W, indicating that the media are more likely to highlight male players who identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander. Such finding is consistent with Lumby et al.'s (2014, p. 42) previous study of

Australian media coverage. While more recent Australian research suggests a near equal inclusion of ethnicity/cultural identity in media coverage of women's and men's sport (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024), the types of identity labels were not specified, thus highlighting the need for further research in this space.

Also absent from the women's corpus is media coverage of racism within AFLW/NRLW, including discussion of documented racism towards Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander athletes. It is unclear why this is the case. Perhaps racism in the women's codes is more covert or, at the very least, less public in comparison to the high-profile men's codes. While there was some mention of racism in the OzFooty-M, the coverage is still minimal. It may be that analysis of in-season news coverage (of both men's and women's AFL/NRL) would yield different results. Alongside this, there is a preference to label behaviours as racist, rather than people, as found with *homophob**. Such reluctance to label people as racist (and homophobic) may be related to issues of defamation – further research would be required to make any conclusions. Regardless of the reason(s), there remains a distinct lack of media engagement with entrenched racism in sport as presented in the corpus.

Overall, there is positive coverage of the Indigenous rounds and All-stars teams, alongside minimal coverage of ongoing racism and some evidence of deficit and racist language used in the corpus. These mixed viewpoints contribute to the domain of AFL/NRL being represented as "simultaneously racist and tolerant" (Bell, 1997, p. 38). Certainly, this topic would benefit from further research, including the investigation of respectful and deficit language use alongside other linguistic resources pointing to issues of racism, including, for example, slurs or racialisation of athletic performance (Bamblett, 2011; Hallinan & Judd, 2009).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored representations of sexuality and ethnicity in the context of women's and men's elite team sport. Specifically, I took a corpus-based approach combined with critical discourse analysis to investigate how both sexuality and ethnicity are represented and intersect with gender in sports news coverage of AFL and NRL.

The analyses in Section 6.2 have confirmed that the representation of sexuality in media coverage of men's AFL/NRL is largely confined to reinforcing stereotypes of hegemonic masculinity through a focus on heterosexuality. During the time of the corpus, there are no current male players who publicly identify as LGB. Any mention of this topic in the corpus is severely limited to a selection of quotes from the out ex-NRL player Ian Roberts, who has been active in calling on government and sporting bodies to address issues of homophobic abuse (Denison, 2021). Despite leaders of AFL, NRL, and other high-profile sports publicly committing in 2014 to inclusive sporting cultures, various studies have found that while there is an illusion of action (such as through social media posts), no real progress has been made (Denison, 2021). Further, at the time of writing this, Four Corners published a 45-minute expose titled The Silence: AFL's Last Taboo, in which current and former players speak about the anti-gay bigotry that exists in AFLM (Milligan, 2023a). The TV report, and supporting analysis (see

Milligan, 2023b), is an investigation into how the hyper-masculine and historically homophobic world of men's team sport is at odds with creating a safe place for diverse sexual identities. Whether this is a one-off, or the start of a larger media movement to address issues of bigotry and homophobia embedded within the culture of men's sport is uncertain. Regardless, the lack of coverage of gay issues combined with a dominant focus on male athletes' heterosexual relationships strongly reinforces heteronormativity within the social institutions of sport and the media (Kian et al., 2015, p. 107).

Sexuality in women's AFL/NRL, however, is presented differently. The analysis revealed more focus on, and acceptance of, LGB identities, although this tends to centre around a handful of key players and moments. There are certainly more LGB-identifying athletes in AFLW/NRLW than what is presented in the media coverage. The motivations for this imbalance would need further investigation, ideally including conversations with media makers. For instance, it may simply be the focus is on exceptionally performing (female) athletes (Gee & Leberman, 2011; Knoppers & Elling, 2004) who also happen to identify as LGB, or that the media is cautious to not out players whose relationships are not already publicly known (Kian et al., 2015) e.g. through social media or at events. Further, there may be residues of stereotyping women participating in masculine sports as lesbian, or residues of sexism whereby specific athletes receive more coverage because they offer physical appeal for male sports fans (Cooky et al., 2013; Gee & Leberman, 2011). Regardless of the reason(s), there remains a distinct lack of engagement with homophobia in women's elite sport.

The results from Section 6.3 clearly demonstrate that both the women's and men's coverage does include some focus on player ethnicities; however, only the men's coverage highlights Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identities. That is, explicit mention of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander players is entirely absent from coverage of AFLW/NRLW. Future research would benefit from investigating whether this is representative of the playing landscape, an erasure of diversity influenced by the politics of Whiteness in sport (Cottle & Keys, 2010), or an indication of greater inclusion.

Alongside this, there is also a complete lack of discussion of racism in the women's codes, thereby suggesting it does not exist. This is quite contrary to the reality. While the men's corpus does contain some mentions of racism and racist actions, any deep engagement with this is quite limited, especially given the long-standing history of racism in Australia and sport, including in AFL/NRL. Further, the analyses throughout Section 6.3 identified some continued use of dividing and/or deficit language by the media, which may therefore reinforce entrenched racist ideologies. Thus, it seems that "racialised sport has become institutionally normalised" (Cottle & Keys, 2010, p. 7) including as represented (or not) in the sports media.

In sum, this chapter has explored how sexuality and ethnicity are represented in the media in coverage of AFL and NRL, with respect to gender, while also considering the wider socio-cultural context(s) of sport and the media in Australia. As mentioned, the elite sports domain has historically been constructed as a space where ideals of stereotypical masculinity (including Whiteness and heterosexuality) can be reinforced and expressed, including through

the exclusion of sexual and ethnic identities. The results have shown that there are distinct differences in how female and male athletes are represented at the intersections of ethnicity, sexuality and gender, suggesting that discourses of privilege and subordination remain within elite sporting contexts. Future research would certainly benefit from exploring more deeply some of the points raised in this chapter, along with other social aspects of intersectionality including gender-identity, (dis)ability, socio-economic status, and religion, to name a few. There is no doubt that issues of sexism, bigotry, homophobia, and racism in sport and the media are complex; however, the media can play an important role by highlighting areas of inequity, calling into question a history of structural racism, sexism, and/or homophobia, and by celebrating diversity and inclusion.

This chapter has only scratched the surface of how diverse identities intersect with gender in the Australian sports media; however, it has made important contributions to better understanding the representation of athletes in the media, including entrenched issues of racism and homophobia. It has also contributed to the use of corpus-based critical discourse analysis to undertake exploration of athlete identities as represented in and by the sports media.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In this thesis I have examined the representation and evaluation of female and male athletes in the Australian print media, focusing specifically on the stereotypical masculine sports of AFL and NRL. To do this, I have undertaken the challenge of combining corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and appraisal analysis (from Systemic Functional Linguistics). This research was directed by several overarching questions, generated from the identification of existing discourses in the literature alongside context-based analysis of both the Australian press and Australian sport. In this concluding chapter, these research questions, reproduced below, will be addressed with respect to the key findings and contributions emerging from this thesis.

1. To what extent are patriarchal discourses and gender stereotypes present in Australian sports news discourse about AFL/NRL and how are they realised through linguistic practices?
2. How are elite AFL/NRL female and male athletes represented and evaluated (appraised) in Australian sports news discourse?
3. How do these representations intersect with representations of sexuality and ethnicity?

7.2 Summary of key findings

The first question that this research sought to address is the extent to which patriarchal discourses and gender stereotypes were present in the corpus, as realised through linguistic practices relating to gender marking, infantilisation, kinship roles, physical appearance, athletic performance, and emotionality. Positively, several areas did not support evidence of patriarchal discourses, including infantilisation (linked to trivialisation), physical appearance (linked to objectification), and kinship roles (linked to stereotyping). Most notably, there was no evidence of sexualising female athletes; the very minimal mentions of physical appearance were all in relation to gameplay or athletic ability, rather than objectified descriptions. These findings support other recent studies of the Australian sports media (Caple, 2013; Lumby et al., 2014; Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024), therefore suggesting a wider social change towards portraying female players as legitimate athletes rather than objects, in the print media.

The qualitative analysis of infantilising terms revealed that while GIRL occurred with greater relative frequency than BOY, both lemmas were used similarly in the female/male corpora. In fact, references to the players using these terms were found most frequently in projected speech (i.e. direct quotes or paraphrased) from other players, therefore suggesting the use of these terms as in-group identifiers, rather than infantilising terms by the media. The analysis of kinship terminology also revealed similar patterns of use between the female/male corpora, with parental terms largely referring to the player's parents. Those instances referring to female players in parental roles generally focused on high-profile AFLW athletes and related

events, such as a pregnancy or birth, suggesting that the media may preference female athletes where there is a personal interest element, alongside exceptional performance or success (as discussed in Chapter 2). While this is indicative of a positive shift away from overt gendered stereotyping, any related discussion of maternity/carers leave, remuneration, and/or return to training was largely absent from the corpus, thus glossing over very real hurdles faced by elite female athletes with respect to gender equity.

While the analysis of lexical patterns related to athletic performance also found no evidence of downplaying abilities or accomplishments of female players, there was, however, a key difference in the types of salient words – negative appraisal of performance and words related to loss/failure were absent from the women's corpus. When considering what makes a sporting performance newsworthy, success (linked to the news value of impact in sports coverage) has consistently been cited by news producers as a key factor; however, decisions about newsworthiness in sport are influenced by personal preferences and institutional practices. Thus, these findings suggest that gender bias may still influence decision-making (consciously or not) in the sports media where female athletes/sports are deemed newsworthy only for exceptional performance or success (and often alongside other news values, as discussed in Chapter 2), but male athletes/sports are deemed newsworthy simply because of their sex/gender – regardless of success or failure.

Similarly, mixed results were identified in Chapter 5, which focused on emotionality. Firstly, there was no evidence of female-stereotypical portrayals of weakness through negative behavioural processes (*crying, in tears*), indicating a positive shift in this discourse (see also Caple, 2013; Lumby et al., 2014; Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024). Secondly, while emotion words were found with relative similarity between the two corpora, there were clearly gendered differences in the types of emotional domains present. In OzFooty-W, a wide range of (mostly) positive lexis associated with feelings of happiness (cheer and affection), dis/satisfaction, and desire were salient. Comparatively, a smaller range of both positive and negative emotive lexis were salient in OzFooty-M, associated with feelings of in/security and dissatisfaction. Thirdly, the triangulation of sources (i.e. emoters) revealed that female athletes are represented as significantly more emotional than male athletes through projected speech, at least in that which is selected for publication. Thus, there are clearly gendered differences identified in the types of emotion in the corpora as well as who those emotions are associated with, suggesting some evidence of persistent gender stereotyping.

Finally, there was very strong evidence of gendered othering via asymmetrical marking of women's AFL/NRL and its athletes. The analyses in Chapter 4 clearly show that the media repetitively gender mark general references to these (female) sports and athletes, alongside the gender-marked official competition names. This finding strongly supports the previous literature where female gender marking is present across a range of gender-typed sports, for international sporting events and seasonal competitions, thus positioning female athletes as linguistically inferior to their unmarked male counterparts. Such linguistic positioning reinforces discourses of

otherness, where sportswomen are viewed as lesser athletes ever striving for, but not achieving, the status of the "true" (male) athlete.

In sum, identified positive shifts are combined with other persistent patriarchal discourses. Additionally, the analyses have also revealed distinct differences in the way that female and male athletes are portrayed in the media, which leads into the second research question, around *how* these athletes are represented and evaluated.

Overall, female athletes are positively represented as capable, successful, and passionate athletes who are happy for the opportunity to play at the elite level in these previously male-only sports. Comparatively, male athletes are represented more dynamically, as physically strong and dominant, capable and composed athletes who experience both success and failures, and who have worries about injuries, performance, or future club contracts. Negative evaluations are present for both female and male athletes, which is an expected and vital part of sports discourse (Walsh & Caldwell, 2016, p. 116). Negative evaluations of the sportswomen, however, often include disparate comparisons to male athletes (who are positioned as naturally superior) or rely on stereotypically gendered roles – patterns that were not evident in the men's corpus. Such evaluations were largely found in letters or op-ed pieces, and thus written by outside voices, although as Baker et al. (2013) argue, the general reader may not be able to differentiate the opinions of the paper from that of a letter writer. The publication of these sentiments shows that patriarchal discourses persist in the wider social context of sport, which continue to be reflected in the media, to some extent.

Across all the analyses, although especially in the qualitative analysis of GIRL and BOY (Chapter 4), it became evident that clear double standards are in place for female/male athletes. The sportswomen are positively represented as role models who are progressing women's sport. Alongside this, however, there is also a distinct lack of engagement with the barriers that female players continue to face to gain acceptance as 'true' athletes. Thus, such portrayals may put unnecessary pressure on these sportswomen to perform in palatable (i.e. gender appropriate) ways, an expectation that is not upheld for their male counterparts. Comparatively, male athletes are represented in the dual roles of a bad boy and exceptional athlete, with the later taking precedence. There is some discussion about the lack of recourse handed down by clubs or the AFL/NRL for bad behaviour, but this is overshadowed by a generally dismissive "boys will be boys" attitude. The findings from this research therefore confirm that gendered expectations of public image are present in AFL/NRL and represented in the associated media coverage of these sports.

Moving on to intersectionality, Chapter 6 was dedicated to investigating how gendered representations intersect with those of sexuality and ethnicity. The analyses revealed distinct differences between the female/male corpora. For sexuality, there was a significantly greater representation of LGB identities in the women's corpus, with an overall positive attitude identified. While this is a distinct and positive shift away from historical media coverage which has ignored or negatively appraised "deviant" (i.e. lesbian) sportswomen, focus tended to centre around a handful of high-profile players. Given that there are certainly more LGB-identifying

players in AFLW/NRLW than those portrayed in the media coverage, it is unclear why only some players' sexual identity is highlighted. Potentially, this is related to newsworthy events such as an engagement or wedding, or it may also be that the media is cautious not to out any players whose sexual identity and/or relationships are not already public knowledge. Regardless, this suggests a potentially more inclusive space. In the men's corpus, however, heteronormativity was strongly reinforced through overt focus on the players' wives and (female) partners, thus perpetuating masculine stereotypes of sportsmen. There is a distinct lack of LGB visibility, which is reflective of the AFLM/NRLM landscapes, where there are no openly LGB current players. Further, there is a distinct lack of engagement with the reasons for this, thereby backgrounding issues of entrenched homophobia in sport.

The analysis of ethnicity revealed that while general representations of ethnic and cultural identity were similar between the female/male corpora, representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identities was nearly non-existent in the women's coverage, thus confirming the findings from an earlier wide-scale study of the Australian media (Lumby et al., 2014). That is, the media are more likely to highlight male players identifying as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander than female players, though the reasons for this are uncertain. Additionally, the analyses of naming identifiers revealed media preference for the generic term *Indigenous* over other identifiers, including *Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, First Nations,* or specific language groups or Peoples – though this may be influenced by the officially sanctioned Indigenous All-star teams and rounds held within both codes. This therefore provides insights into the media's preferred practices regarding identifying labels and provides a baseline for future research into language change.

Intersectionality was also explored through the analysis of explicit references to homophobia and racism, and how far the news media problematise the treatment of sexually and culturally diverse identities in sport. Overall, explicit discussion of these topics is nearly non-existent in the corpus, despite both being very prevalent and pressing issues in Australian sport. In the women's corpus there is no discussion of homophobia and only a single mention of racism. The media's reluctance to address these issues through the explicit use of these labels may relate to the dominant "positive progress" prosody identified across the analyses, however, the absence of coverage suggests that homophobia and racism are not pressing issues in women's sport, despite the evidence confirming otherwise. While the men's corpus does include minimal discussion of these social issues, both *homophobic* and *racism* are used as adjectives to modify communicative acts, rather than labelling people as such. The instances that do negatively appraise people as being racist or homophobic are combined with other positive evaluation of their sporting successes, thus downgrading and backgrounding the severity of such behaviours.

In sum, this research found that while some gains have been made in the ways that female athletes are represented and evaluated in the media, with respect to patriarchal discourses, that other biases persist, with clear gendered differences identified from the analyses. Further, there is a distinct backgrounding of social issues and barriers related to inclusivity, with respect to gender and the intersecting social domains of sexuality and ethnicity. The following section

now moves to discussing insights gained from these analyses and contributions made to linguistic research into gender, sport, and the media.

7.3 Contributions and insights

This thesis makes conceptual, methodological, and theoretical contributions to linguistic research into gender and sport, providing insights into the representation and evaluation of athletes in Australian sports news discourse as well as insights into combining corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis and appraisal, including the use of methodological triangulation in corpus linguistics.

Conceptually, this thesis extends the existing research into gendered representations of athletes in the print media threefold. Firstly, this study contributes to our understanding of routine media coverage of sports and athletes during the off-season, with respect to patriarchal discourses. As outlined in Chapter 2, both linguistic and non-linguistic research has generally focused on special international events, such as the Olympic Games, or routine in-season coverage which is dominated by match reports. Such studies have found varying degrees of gender bias and stereotypes, as influenced by gold medal winners and significant match outcomes (successes and failures). This thesis contributes new insights into representations of athletes when such outcomes are not at stake, thus revealing other points of newsworthiness including the prominence of the players (i.e. eliteness), the influence of stereotypes (i.e. consonance), and the negative/positive aspects of an event – along with associated evaluations of the social actors involved.

Secondly, this research focuses specifically on stereotypically masculine team sports, making comparisons between the representation of female and male athletes. Both AFL and NRL have long been established in Australia as men's sports (see Chapter 1) and are not historically considered female-appropriate sports. Thus, this study has addressed several gaps in the research by providing insights into how female athletes newly entering an elite masculine sporting domain are represented in the media, focusing specifically on AFL and NRL, and making comparisons to their male counterparts. Some key areas of positive improvement in the representation of female athletes have been identified, as well as areas of clear gendered bias and stereotyping through language patterns and the textual analyses.

Thirdly, this study addresses a much-needed focus on intersectionality by exploring how representations of ethnicity and sexuality relate to gender. The social construct of gender does not exist in a vacuum, rather it intersects and overlaps with other social constructs including ethnicity, nationality, age, sexuality, class, etc. While a handful of previous studies have addressed some issues of intersectionality (see Chapter 2), by and large this has been a significantly under researched area in the literature, although no less an important one. Thus, Chapter 6 was specifically dedicated to investigating intersectionality, providing initial insights into how sexuality and ethnicity are differently represented in women's and men's AFL/NRL media coverage. For example, there were distinct differences in acceptable female and male sexual orientation; media coverage tends to reproduce heteronormative stereotypes of male

sexuality in sport, while representing a diversity of female sexual identities. Further, the analyses of racism and homophobia revealed that these exclusionary issues are rarely addressed in off-season print news coverage. Admittedly this chapter has only scratched the surface of how these identities intersect with gender in the Australian sports media. However, it has made important contributions to better understanding the representation of athletes in the media, including with respect to the entrenched issues of racism and homophobia, and provides an important baseline for future research.

The methodological contributions of this thesis come from the mixed-method approach, and the use of triangulation. This thesis has sought to go beyond a "purely descriptive analysis" (Baker & Levon, 2015, p. 231) by analysing the data from multiple angles and critically engaging with the socio-cultural context in which the texts are embedded, to provide potential interpretations or explanations for identified language patterns and discourses. Thus, this study has drawn on principles which are explicitly aligned with both CDA and SFL, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques to undertake the linguistic analysis of news discourse.

The strengths of a corpus-based approach to discourse using quantitative and qualitative analyses are exemplified throughout this thesis. One such example is the investigation of infantilisation in Chapter 4. Previous research has found strong evidence of this in the sports media, based on frequency analysis of the lemma GIRL. While frequency is a useful starting point, the results may in some cases be misleading without consideration of how these terms are used, or by whom. Thus, while quantitative analysis aids in the identification of patterns, it may also overlook nuances in the usage of these terms, including in relation to the socio-cultural context. The quantitative results from this study confirmed the previous research; however, the qualitative analyses of sources and referents revealed that GIRL and BOY are similarly used to refer to adult athletes, by other athletes. This mixed method approach is validated by providing new insights into how these terms are used in an Australian sporting context as in-group identifiers, rather than as infantilising terms.

This research also contributes to the relatively new trend of triangulation in the study of corpora and discourse. Triangulation is increasingly used to bolster the validity and reliability of findings, although it arguably does more than offer the single objective of identifying converging results (Marchi & Taylor, 2009; see also Bednarek et al., 2024). Methodological triangulation is used throughout this thesis, though most notably to analyse emotionality in Chapter 5. Firstly, the semantic tagger and affect reference list results were triangulated to identify and compare dominant emotional domains in the female/male corpora via frequency analysis and keyness. Results were discussed in terms of the three separate outcomes of convergence, dissonance, and complementarity, thus moving beyond the "common tendency to focus exclusively on confirmation" (Marchi & Taylor, 2009, p. 6). In fact, the dissonant results were generally a limitation of the tools – e.g. highlighting words that were not relevant to affect (as with the semantic tagger) or the inability to disambiguate differing senses (as with the affect reference list) – rather than the data or the combined approach. These dissonant results provided other insights into gendered differences in media coverage, such as the greater focus on men's

gameplay in off-season coverage revealed through negative behavioural processes (e.g. *kick, hit, assault*). The combination of these approaches has strengthened the analysis and reliability of the findings by highlighting both similarities and differences with respect to emotionality as well as other discourses. Taken as a whole, the results of methodological triangulation for emotionality indicate a focus on physical and mental toughness in the men's corpus and positive mental feelings in the women's corpus.

Secondly, methodological triangulation in Chapter 5 also involved the Quotation Tool (Jufri & Sun, 2022) and manual qualitative analysis of emoters to explore who such emotions were most frequently attributed to. The analysis of speakers, or sources, in news texts is a vital part of discourse analysis which cannot easily be undertaken using classic CL techniques. The Quotation Tool identifies who is quoted and the quoted content, including named entities, in newspaper corpora. This therefore allows for a semi-automated analysis of who is cited, if they are directly quoted or paraphrased, and how they are represented as sources (Bednarek et al., 2024, pp. 11-12). Triangulation of the Quotation Tool and the manual analysis of emoters found convergent results, with female athletes more likely to be the attributed source of emotion than male athletes. This finding not only highlights evidence of gender stereotyping, but also the relevance of this tool for future text analysis in corpus-based studies. Overall, there is a clear advantage to using a triangulated approach to identify and explore aspects of emotionality within corpus-based CDA studies.

Related to the conceptual and methodological contributions are theoretical insights which have emerged from the use of appraisal analysis with corpus linguistic techniques and tools. Throughout this thesis I have raised implications for analysing appraisal in sports news discourse, with specific focus on affect (emotion), which I reflect on here. Most notably, this research has considered the question of whether affect can exist without an explicitly stated emoter. While other areas of evaluation have proposed ways to address an absent or optional emoter, it is only alluded to in Martin and White's (2005) approach to appraisal (as outlined in Chapter 3). Specifically in my data, nominal forms of affect were expressed both with and without an emoter for the affect categories of insecurity (*worry, concern, fear, scare*) and surprise (*shock*). That is, the emoter was often placed in an optional prepositional phrase, meaning it could be included or excluded from the sentence. It was thus necessary to determine whether these instances of nominal emotive lexis are considered affect, or not, for my analysis. Certainly, an emotion is present; however, I determined it necessary to highlight where the emoter was grammatically removed from the co-text and deemed such instances to be backgrounded affect.

Overall, this research has contributed to the field of corpus-based CDA, focusing on the representation of athletes in sports news discourse with respect to gendered ideologies and patriarchal discourses. This thesis is one of few linguistic studies to examine gender biases and evaluation of athletes in the Australian sports media, and the only one to focus specifically on the historically masculine sports of AFL and NRL, making comparisons between the female and male competitions. It is also one of few corpus-based CDA studies of print media to integrate

appraisal analysis, including focus on discourse analysis of emotion. This study has therefore offered valuable new insights into representations of athletes in the Australian media, as well as into the mixed-method approach and methodological triangulation, and as such presents an important contribution to linguistic analysis.

7.4 Implications for media coverage

The findings from this research have implications for future media practice which is critical for promoting an inclusive sporting space, as well as educating readers about exclusionary issues and barriers that continue to exist. Thus, several key considerations for media practice are provided here, although this is by no means an exhaustive list.

First and foremost, the repetitive marking of female athletes and sport, especially in coverage focusing on women's sport, is unnecessary. Continually drawing attention to gender positions the marked (women's) as the anomaly and the unmarked (men's) as the norm, therefore perpetuating the patriarchal discourse of othering, whereby (White, heterosexual) males are upheld as the standard by which all other athletes are unfairly compared. A commendable change has already been implemented by the Football Federation of Australia (which is the governing body for soccer) in 2021, changing the A-League (men's) and W-League (women's) to collectively be known as the A-League (women's or men's). As no such changes have been announced by the AFL or NRL, the media has the potential to initiate a cultural language change by taking steps to both avoid overt female gender marking, while also more purposefully marking the men's AFL/NRL and its athletes, as has been done in this thesis.

Secondly, there is a demonstrated need for more discussion of exclusionary practices and issues of sexism, racism, and homophobia as they exist on the sporting field as well as within the sporting institutions. Recent research has shown that 87% of sportswomen experienced sexist, racist, and/or homophobic online abuse within the previous 12 months, with many indicating they did not feel comfortable telling their sporting clubs for fear of it not being taken seriously (O'Halloran, 2024). This thesis has shown the positive discursive impact of the visibility of female LGB athletes in media coverage; thus, visibility of related issues of sexism, homophobia, and racism is also necessary, across both women's and men's AFL/NRL. While media coverage of specific abusive acts may be confined to in-season coverage, and thus not included in this research, the off-season provides an opportunity to further address these ongoing social issues and institutional practices.

Finally, it must be restated that the amount of off-season coverage afforded to women's AFL/NRL is paltry in comparison to the men's AFL/NRL. In this thesis, off-season print coverage of AFLW/NRLW accounts for 8% of the corpus. This is the same amount of coverage afforded to these sports by the Victorian[71] print media for 2022-2023, including in-season coverage (Office for Women in Sport and Recreation, 2024). A vast inequity in coverage exists.

[71] Victoria is the second most populated state in Australia, and one of the two states from which data in this thesis is drawn, the other state being New South Wales (see Chapter 3).

Even though the AFLW and NRLW are still fledgling leagues, it must be acknowledged that unconscious bias may play a role in the selection of men's sport over women's sport, simply because of the gender/sex of the athletes. Women's AFL and NRL will continue to grow with respect to both participation and viewership, and this growth will ideally be reflected in the amount of future media coverage, so that parity of coverage becomes the norm rather than the exception.

7.5 Limitations and future possibilities

Throughout the thesis I have pointed out and discussed various limitations as they were encountered in the analyses, along with recommendations for future research possibilities. These are now synthesized here.

First and foremost, it is necessary to acknowledge that the selection of data can influence the results. Print media is a long-established medium of news transmission which involves input from various media producers within the newsroom. As a result, print media may be more heavily edited, and less likely to display overt instances of hegemonic bias, than, for example, live TV or radio. Thus, analysis of these other forms of media coverage, including independent and non-traditional outlets as well as social media, would help to paint a more wholistic picture into current attitudes towards female athletes and sports – as well as diversity in sport more generally. As mentioned above, sportswomen continue to experience significant abuse online (see O'Halloran, 2024), suggesting that while gains have been made in the print media, a wider societal shift in the way that we view and treat sportswomen still has a long way to go towards acceptance and equity.

Related to the data selection is the decision to focus on off-season coverage. While this is supported by previous research into gender bias, as well as allowing for a more balanced corpus (as discussed in Chapter 3), some events occurring during the sporting season may not be present in the OzFooty corpus. For example, it is well documented that male AFL/NRL players have been targets of racism during games; however, there is a distinct lack of discussion of racism in the corpus (see Chapter 6). It may be that discussion of racism, and other related issues of exclusion such as sexism and homophobia, is limited to news coverage during the sporting season. Thus, analysis of in-season coverage may yield different results, both with respect to patriarchal discourses as well as issues of intersectionality, providing another beneficial area for future research.

Further, as outlined in Chapter 1, this research is constrained by the social paradigm in which it sits, that is, the binary split of sport, including AFL/NRL, into female and male – and the associated socially constructed (binary) views of gender/sex. takes a binary approach to exploring issues of gender/sex in the Australian sports media, following the existing split of female/male in elite sport, including for AFL and NRL. This limits the exploration of gender diversity and discourses around transgender and intersex athletes, a topic which is currently in the public debate. For example, two female athletes who had previously been barred from boxing championships due to "gender eligibility criteria" competed at the Paris Olympics, resulting in an

onslaught of commentary and unfounded assumptions about their identities. In fact, the international boxing association which issued these bans has been accused of corruption (Treisman, 2024). In this thesis, the analyses in Chapter 4 revealed some coverage of a transgender VFLW player barred from the elite AFLW, but closer analysis of related attitudes is required to better understand how transgender athletes are portrayed in the associated coverage. Thus, it is certainly worthy and necessary to go beyond the binary to explore the representation of transgender and intersex athletes in the media, especially given these current debates and responses.

In terms of the approach, the qualitative analyses have largely focused on specific terminology and/or explicit references potentially pointing to patriarchal discourses, which were identified via corpus-linguistic approaches. While such an approach is beneficial in that it provides an overarching picture of lexical patterns and linguistic practices, it does not address other implicit biases which may exist. While implicit biases were discussed where encountered, these were not the focus of this research. Thus, further analysis of related terminology and implicit references to, for example, kinship roles or homophobia, is required. Additionally, there is certainly more work to be done on emotionality, including a closer analysis of triggers. Further, while full texts were consulted where necessary throughout the analyses, this was not the focus of the thesis and as such presents a future possibility for downsampling a representative selection of full texts on identified discourses for closer qualitative analysis.

With respect to the tools and software used, these are not without their limitations, which I have addressed within the relevant chapters as they pertain to the findings. For example, the semantic tagger takes a broader definition of emotion than the appraisal category of affect, and so the triangulation of approaches using different tools was one way to confirm the validity of the findings. Manual review of the data was also applied where necessary to double check results from these corpus tools/techniques. Certainly, there are other new and different possibilities to explore as technologies continue to develop, such as the use of large data language models or the application of sentiment analysis.

Finally, it is worth noting the unavoidable limitations of time and scope. Through the analyses I have identified other gender-related patterns and discourses which were unable to be explored in depth. My aim in this thesis was to cover different facets of gendered representations with respect to patriarchal discourses, from multiple angles, rather than a single discourse in-depth. As a result, this research has highlighted the need for further avenues of research, including but not limited to discourses around expectations of athlete behaviour and public image, progress narratives in women's sport, and attitudes towards gender and sexual diversity in elite sport, including the treatment of non-binary, trans and intersex athletes. There is also no doubt about the necessity for further research into how gender intersects with other social aspects, such as sexuality and ethnicity, but also class, ability, age, etc. As shown throughout this thesis, sexism, racism, and homophobia are real and present issues in Australian sport, and closer examination of these issues as they exist in sporting culture, sport and media institutions, and in media coverage across mediums is required. Alongside this, a deeper exploration of how media

structures, partnerships between media and sporting institutions, and individual sentiments and (unconscious) bias in the sports newsroom may influence media coverage is also necessary, including through interviews with media makers.

In sum, while there is still work to be done, this research has provided new insights and contributions, highlighting different avenues for future research. This thesis therefore serves as a foundation that other corpus-based studies into gender, sport, and language may use and adapt for future research.

7.6 Concluding thoughts

Throughout the time it has taken to produce this thesis, a number of events have occurred in AFL/NRL which suggest that, while some gains have been made, there is still a long way to go in terms of equity. The AFLW has expanded the number of teams each year, and in 2023, the AFL Chief Executive announced equal player prize money for the women's and men's competitions; however, the $1.1 million prize pool will be split over eight teams in the AFLW, twice as many as the men's four teams (ABC, 2023). In NRL, Women in League Round now features female athletes playing in official matches, rather than the previous token mentions of male players' mothers and female fans (Konstantopoulos, 2022). Despite this celebratory round, sex scandals and assault allegations are never far from NRLM players. A visit to the SHM Online's dedicated section on "NRL off-field behaviour"[72] provides a glimpse of the sexist, racist, and homophobic behaviours entrenched in this culture – and similarly in AFL. Racism has continually been documented in both men's AFL and NRL across the seasons, including a landmark class action case against the AFL governing body (Cassidy, 2023) and a lodgement with the Federal Court against the Hawthorn Hawks AFL club (Australian Football League, 2024b).

In global news, the 2024 Olympic Games in Paris achieved gender parity by having equal numbers of participating female and male athletes for the first time, although, this does not consider breakdown of female/male athletes by sport or by participating region (Bowman, 2024). Additionally, the IOC sought to improve gender equity through schedule and program changes, moving away from the historical practice of women's events being the curtain raisers to the men's headlining events. At the same time, camera operators and broadcasters were warned by the Olympic Broadcasting Services CEO about their sexist and stereotypical portrayals of female athletes. From the public sphere, these female athletes continue to be subjected to online abuse, with racist, sexist, and transphobic comments made based on their physical appearances (ABC, 2024; Docherty, 2024).

It might be seen then, that for every step forward there are one or more steps backwards. The road to gender equity in sport, and related issues of inclusion, has been a long one, and there is still much more to be done. The role of the media in effecting change should not be taken lightly; media content is accessible, authoritative, and widespread. For every potentially

[72] https://www.smh.com.au/topic/nrl-off-field-behaviour-1moo (accessed August 2024)

newsworthy event, choices are made – consciously or not – about the representation of such an event, the social actors involved, and the resulting stance or attitude presented to readers. Such choices have great potential to influence readership, towards inclusive or exclusive social attitudes.

In conclusion, while gains have been made, there are still clear gendered differences in the way that men's and women's sport are represented in the print media. News coverage of women's sports should not be a carbon-copy of the men's; female athletes have certainly had different experiences and barriers in the journey to elite sport – and will continue to do so. However, differences that stem from hegemonic and patriarchal ways of viewing the world continue to construct sporting spaces as ideally and preferably masculine, thereby perpetuating exclusionary discourses of sportswomen, as well as other identity groups. The challenge now is to cast away patriarchal ideologies that view women's sport as the other, lesser version, and instead to view it as legitimate and newsworthy in its own right – and to consistently present it as such in the media.

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Appendix A
Data collection dates

The data collection period is 1 December 2017 to 31 December 2019, excluding in-season dates. This comprises two full seasons for all sporting competitions included in this research (i.e. AFLM, AFLW, NRLM, NRLW). The date ranges collected for each sporting code and competition are listed below.

AFL men's:

- 1 December 2017 – 21 March 2018
- 30 September 2018 – 20 March 2019
- 29 September 2019 – 31 December 2019

AFL Women's

- 1 December 2017 – 1 February 2018
- 25 March 2018 – 1 February 2019
- 1 April 2019 – 31 December 2019

NRL men's:

- 1 December 2017 – 7 March 2018
- 1 October 2018 – 13 March 2019
- 7 October 2019 – 31 December 2019

NRL Women's

- 1 December 2017 – 7 September 2018
- 1 October 2018 – 13 September 2019
- 7 October 2019 – 31 December 2019

Appendix B
Search strings for data collection

Below are the search strings used for data collection from Factiva. Note, while women's sports are frequently compared to their male counterparts (e.g. Bruce, 2016; Poniatowski & Hardin, 2012; Vincent, 2004), including in AFLW (Kemble, 2020), no studies have reported explicit comparison of male athletes to females. Therefore, I have purposefully not excluded *men's* from the women's searches, and vice versa, for purposes of comparison. Having exclusions in the search string would mean these comparative news items would not be present in the corpus.

AFL Women's (AFLW) search strings

Search 1: Competition name in Headline or Lead Paragraph (HLP)

> HLP=(aflw* OR afl women's OR women's AFL OR Australian football league women's OR women's australian football league)

Search 2: Competition name in body text

> (aflw* OR afl women's OR women's AFL OR Australian football league women's OR women's australian football league) NOT (HLP=(aflw* OR afl women's OR women's AFL OR Australian football league women's OR women's australian football league))

NFL Women's (NRLW) search strings

Search 1: Competition name in Headline or Lead Paragraph (HLP)

> HLP=(nrlw* or wnrl* OR nrl women's OR women's nrl OR national rugby league women's OR women's national rugby league OR rugby league women's or women's rugby league)

Search 2: Competition name in body text

> (nrlw* OR wnrl* OR nrl women's OR women's nrl OR national rugby league women's OR women's national rugby league OR rugby league women's or women's rugby league) NOT (HLP=(nrlw* OR nrl women's OR women's nrl OR national rugby league women's OR women's national rugby league OR rugby league women's or women's rugby league))

AFL Men's (AFLM) search strings

Search 1: Competition name in Headline or Lead Paragraph (HLP)

HLP=(afl OR australian rules football OR australian rules)

Search 2: Competition name in body text

(afl OR australian rules football OR australian rules) NOT (HLP=(afl OR australian rules football OR australian rules))

Search 3: Team names in all text (HLP and body)

((GWS AND Giants) OR (Greater Western Sydney AND Giants) OR (Sydney AND Swans) OR (Brisbane AND Lions) OR (Gold Coast AND Suns) OR (Adelaide AND Crows) OR (Port Adelaide AND Power) OR (Carlton AND Blues) OR (Collingwood AND Magpies) OR (Essendon AND Bombers) OR (Geelong AND Cats) OR (Hawthorn AND Hawks) OR (Melbourne AND Demons) OR (North Melbourne AND Kangaroos) OR (Richmond AND Tigers) OR (St Kilda AND Saints) OR (Western AND Bulldogs) OR (Freemantle AND Dockers) OR (West Coast AND Eagles)) NOT (afl OR australian rules football OR australian rules)

NRL men's (NRLM) search strings

Search 1: Competition name in Headline or Lead Paragraph (HLP)

HLP=(nrl OR national rugby league OR rugby league)

Search 2: Competition name in body text

(nrl OR national rugby league OR rugby league) not (HLP=(nrl OR national rugby league OR rugby league))

Search 3: Team names in all text (HLP and body)

((St George Illawara AND Dragons) OR (Canberra AND Raiders) OR (Canterbury Bankstown AND Bulldogs) OR (Cronulla AND Sharks) OR (Manly Warringah AND Sea Eagles) OR (Manly AND Sea Eagles) OR (Newcastle AND Knights) OR (Parramatta AND Eels) OR (Penrith AND Panthers) OR (South Sydney AND Rabbitohs) OR (Sydney AND Roosters) OR (Wests AND Tigers) OR (Brisbane AND Broncos) OR (Gold Coast AND Titans) OR (North Qld AND Cowboys) OR (Melbourne AND Storm) OR (New Zealand AND Warriors)) NOT (nrl or national rugby league or rugby league)

Note: search strings are not case sensitive.

Appendix C
Constructing the affect reference list

For this research, I compiled a reference list of affect terms (Affect Reference List, or ARL) as an innovative way to undertake a semi-automated analysis of affect across a specialised corpus. I acknowledge that affect can be realised through both attitudinal lexis as well as the entity evaluated (Bednarek, 2009, p. 167), across a range of grammatical structures (see Martin & White, 2005). As such, an exhaustive list of affect lexis is not possible, as this would be a significant undertaking outside the scope of this research. Rather, the aim is to curate a significant selection of affect words that are likely to be found in the OzFooty corpus, to allow for triangulation as relevant to this research (see Chapter 5).

To compile the ARL, I have drawn on several different sources. The primary source is Bednarek's (2008, pp. 173-175) list of affect terms, which is based on corpus linguistic research. This list comprises 282 lexical items – including both single word and multi word units – across all modified affect categories. Secondly, I draw from Martin and White's (2005, pp. 48-51) given examples for the categorisation of affect terms. In total, they provide 123 lexical items across all affect categories. Where words overlap between these two lists but have been categorised differently (see Section 3.4.2) this is noted on the reference list (see Appendix D).

The third source is a list of words from the OzFooty corpus that were semantically tagged by the USAS tagger (see Section 3.3.3) as relating to emotion (see Chapter 5). All words were automatically compared against the previous two sources using an Excel MATCH function, to identify words not yet included. Words with a frequency of ≥20 were manually reviewed to determine their relevancy to affect. The cut-off of ≥20 was deemed appropriate as it allowed for a more manageable list of words to review, while still having high enough frequency to point to patterns of affect across the corpora. While instances of affect cannot always be determined from the word alone, a best-efforts approach has been taken to capture items that are likely to be affect. This yielded a total of 34 lexical items.

The fourth and final source also comes from the corpus. A selection of news items was read and qualitatively analysed for appraisal, with focus on affect terms. This yielded 32 additional lexical items.

A manual review was then undertaken to expand and edit the compiled list(s). First, new words related to existing items, that is, lemmas, inflections, synonyms, antonyms, were added. For example, *aspire to* was on Bednarek's (2008) list but the inflected forms (i.e. *aspires/aspiring/aspired to*), were not, and so these items were also included. Additionally, related senses were added, for example *bawl* and *weep* (related to *cry*) and *dissatisfied* (compare to *satisfied*). Next, multi word units (MWUs) were also added as single word units (SWUs), if not already included. For example, *the hope that* becomes *hope*. Corpus tools read texts in different ways; some produce wordlists which are comprised solely of SWUs while others produce both SWUs and MWUs. Those that do produce MWUs may interpret the same text in

different ways. The addition of SWUs in addition to the related MWUs is an attempt to deal with these differences. However, this may result in words that are vague or not relevant to affect and produce false positives.

Thus, it became apparent that a number of items on the list would be unsuitable for a semi-automated analysis. Another review was undertaken to determine an exclusion list for words that may produce false positive, including words with multiple senses which are unrelated to emotion. For example, *cannot* and *bear* – from *cannot bear* (unhappiness) – are both excluded due to vague unrelated senses, as well as *reserve* (insecurity) as it is more frequently used in a sporting context (e.g. *reserve players*) in the OzFooty corpus. Borderline attitude, or covert affect (Bednarek, 2008, 2009), has also been excluded as it is more likely that these words will be used to evaluate sporting performances rather than informing us about instances of emotion. These words have been identified by the *-ing* suffix where the evaluation is likely targeting a person or "thing" (as in *astonishing, confusing, satisfying*) – and thus would be considered judgement or appreciation, rather than affect.

Finally, general, vague or "bleached" (Martin & White, 2005) emotion words that are not easily categorised in affect, as with *emotional, passionate, sorry*, have also been excluded here.

In total, the affect reference list includes over 800 lexical items across all affect categories (see Appendix D). It is necessary to acknowledge that there are duplicate lexical items on the list which are categorised as different affect types. For example, *happy* is included as both happiness and inclination, deriving from the original lexical item *happy for/to*. Additionally, words on the list can be used across different parts of speech, which may or may not realise affect when viewed in co-text. These overlaps have been retained as the aim here is to identify patterns of potential affect across the corpora, with respect to gendered stereotypes, rather than undertake a detailed qualitative analysis of affect. Finally, it is worth noting that the list does not include grammatically negated words (e.g. *not happy, does not like*) but does include those which are negated morphologically (e.g. *unhappy, dislike*). Despite these caveats, the affect reference list is useful in retrieving patterns of affect across the OzFooty corpora, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Appendix D
Supplementary materials

This appendix contains materials that are available on the Open Science Framework (OSF). Materials are listed by chapter in the order in which they appear in text and can be accessed via the link below.

https://osf.io/fsr3j/?view_only=4d7972910efc4ada9152763ad151a3fe

Chapter 3
Section 3.4.4 – The Affect Reference List

Chapter 4
Section 4.1 – Keyword results for the OzFooty corpora
Section 4.5 – Semantically tagged words for kinship
Section 4.5 – Semantically tagged words for physical appearance
Section 4.6 – Semantically tagged words for athletic performance

Chapter 5
Section 5.1.2 – Semantically tagged words for key emotional domains

Appendix E
Gender marked sporting references

Gender marked references to sport and its athletes in the OzFooty corpus (i.e. the women's and men's corpora combined).

Male marker	Terms	Freq.	Female marker	Terms	Freq.
men's...	*game*	23	***women's...***	*football*	69
	competition	14		*competition*	67
	teams	12		*game*	39
	season	11		*league*	31
	games	8		*team*	28
	football	4		*premiership*	26
	finals	4		*rugby league*	25
	team	3		*teams*	18
	side	3		*footy*	12
	AFL	2		*season*	8
	fixtures	2		*side*	8
	clubs	2		*comp*	6
	final series	2		*games*	4
	grand final	2		*Origin*	4
	matches	2		*rugby*	4
	league	1		*AFL*	3
	rugby league	1		*fixtures*	3
	fixture	1		*fixture*	3
	leagues	1		*leagues*	3
	competitions	1		*players*	3
	match	1		*rugby league*	3
	round	1		*competition*	2
	AFL season	1		*competitions*	2
	AFL premiership season	1		*match*	2
	captain	1		*football player*	2
	draft	1		*NRL*	2
	home-and-away	1		*NRL premiership*	2
	home-and-away	1		*NRL team*	2
	competition	1		*rugby league team*	1
	home-and-away season	1		*round*	1
	NRL finals match	1		*AFL star*	1
	NRL grand final	1		*AFL game*	1
	premiership season	1		*AFLW team*	1
	rules	1		*Australian rules*	1
	sides	1		*football competition*	1
	squad	1		*football match*	1
	team captain	1		*national championships*	1

	version	1		*national competition*	1
				NRL competition	1
				NRLW	1
				RL	1
				rugby league fixtures	1
				sport	1
				sporting competition	1
				sporting event	1
				sporting program	1
sub-total		**116**	**sub-total**		**398**
male...	*players*	15	***female...***	*players*	64
	counterparts	10		*athletes*	44
	athletes	6		*player*	17
	footballers	4		*footballers*	14
	player	4		*footy*	14
	professional athletes	4		*athlete*	7
	stars	4		*teams*	6
	teams	3		*football*	6
	footballer	3		*rugby*	6
	AFL player	2		*football teams*	6
	team	1		*talent*	6
	rugby league	1		*professional athletes*	4
	football competition	1		*competition*	4
	sport	1		*game*	3
	AFL stars	1		*league*	3
	athlete	1		*competitions*	3
	counterpart [game]	1		*footy players*	3
	football players	1		*footballer*	2
	greats	1		*team*	2
	professional sports	1		*rugby league*	2
	players	1		*sport*	2
	rookie	1		*league players*	2
	rookies	1		*stars*	1
	sporting environment	1		*professional sports*	1
				players	1
				leagues	1
				NRL	1
				Australian rules	1
				sporting event	1
				AFL champion	1
				Aust. rule teams	1
				elite players	1
				Origin stars	1
				peers	1
				representative players	1
				rugby league athlete	1

				rugby league players *rugby league teams* *rugby players* *state of origin*	1 1 1 1
sub-total		**68**	**sub-total**		**237**
Total male marked references		**184**	**Total female marked references**		**635**

Appendix F
Affect words in the OzFooty corpora

The following comprises all words on the affect reference list which were identified in the OzFooty corpora word lists and keywords lists, using the Excel Match function, classified according to Bednarek's (2008) system of modified affect (as discussed in Chapter 3). Keywords from the women's and men's OzFooty corpora are denoted in **bold**; keywords from the OzFooty-Speech sub-corpora are marked with a caret (^). Log Likelihood (LL) is presented here where a plus (+) indicates greater use of the specified affect category in OzFooty-W compared to OzFooty-M, and a minus (-) indicates underuse in OzFooty-W compared to OzFooty-M. That is, a positive (+) indicates saliency in OzFooty-W and a negative (-) indicates saliency in OzFooty-M. The higher the value, the more significant it is. A value of (+/-) 3.84 is significant at the level of $p < 0.05$ (i.e. 95%).

		OzFooty-Women			**OzFooty-Men**		
Affect Category	**LL**	**Words**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Words**	**Freq.**	**NF**
UN/HAPPINESS							
affection	+21.82	***adore***, *are_into, beloved,* ***care****, cared, cares, cherish, devote,* ***embrace****, hug, is_into, keen_on, like, liked, likes,* ***love^, loved^, loves, loving^****, much-loved, pitifully, pity, respect, respected, respectful, respects,* ***shake_hands****, warmth*	922	25.03	*adore, affection, am_into, are_into, be_into, beloved, care, cared, cares, cherish, cherished, devote, devotion, embrace,* ***fond****, hug, is_into, keen_on, like, liked, likes, liking, love, loved, loves^, loving, much-loved, pitiful, pitifully, pity, respect^, respected, respectful^, respectfully, respects, shake_hands, warmly, warmth*	10598	21.24

cheer	+7.14	*amused, amusement,* ***brighten****, celebrate,* ***celebrated****, celebrating, celebrates, celebration, celebrations, cheer, cheered, cheering, crazy, delighted, glad, happier, happiest, happiness, happy,* ***joy****^, laugh, laughed, laughing, laughs,* ***rapt****, smile, smiled, smiles, smiling*	335	9.08	*amused, amusement, brightened, buoyant, celebrate, celebrated, celebrating, celebrates, celebration, celebrations, cheer, cheered, cheerful, cheerfully, cheering, cheery, chuckle, crazy, delighted, glad, happier, happiest, happiness, happy, jovial, joy, jubilant, laugh, laughed, laughing, laughs, laughter, merry, rapt, rejoice, smile, smiled, smiles, smiling*	3884	7.79
antipathy	-1.01	*abuse, boos, disdain, hate, hated, hates, hating, loathe, scorn*	32	0.88	*abhor, abuse, boos, despise, despised, despises, detest, detested, disdain, dislike, disliked, dislikes, hate, hated, hates, hating, horrified, loathe, loathed, resent, resented, resentment, scorn, scorned,*	518	1.03
misery	+1.29	*agony, cries, cry,* ***crying****, depressed, depression, despair, devastated, disappointed, distraught, grieved^,* ***grieves****^, in_tears, melancholy, miserable, misery, pain, painful, regret, regretful, regrets, sad^, sadly, sadness, shattered,* ***sobs****^, tearful, tearfully,* ***tears****, tormented, troubled, unhappy*	208	5.66	*agonising, agony, anguish, cries, cry, crying, dejected, dejection, depressed, depression, despair,* ***desperation****, despondent, devastated, disappoint, disappointed, disheartened, dispirited, distraught, downcast, gloomy,* ***grief****, grieved, grieves, grieving, haunted, haunts, in_tears,* ***let_down^,*** *malaise, melancholic, melancholy, miserable, misery, mournful, pain, pained, painful, regret, regretful, regrets^, sad, saddened, sadly, sadness, shattered, sob, sobbing, sorrow, sullen, tearful, tearfully, tears,*	2593	5.14

					teary, tormented, ***troubled****, unhappiness, unhappier, unhappy, wept, whimper, worked_up,* ***wretched****, wretchedly*		
DIS/SATISFACTION							
interest	+4.75	*busy,* ***care****, cared, cares, carried, carried_away, crazy, curiosity, curious, curiously, engage,* ***engaged****, entertain, entertained, enthusiasm, enthusiastic, excite,* ***excited****, excitedly, excitement, fanatical, frenzied, interest, interested, involved^, thrilled*	440	11.97	*absorbed, attentive, berserk, busy, care, cared, cares, carried, carried_away, crazy, curiosity, curious, curiously, engage, engaged, engages, engrossed, entertain, entertained, entertainers, entertains, enthusiasm, enthusiastic, excite, excited, excitedly, excitement, excites, fanatical, fascinated, fascination, frenzied, industrious, interest, interested, involved, stirred, thrilled*	5340	10.69
pleasure	+4.44	*admire, admired^, admires, appealed, appeals, appreciate,* ***appreciated****, appreciation, appreciative, compliment, content,* ***enjoy****^, enjoyed, enjoying, enjoyment, enjoys, entrance, grateful,* ***gratitude****, honoured^,* ***humbled****^, impress^, impressed, in_awe,* ***patting_on_the_back,*** *please, pleased, pleasure,* ***pride****,* ***proud****, proudly, relish, relishing, relished, reward, satisfaction, satisfied, thankful, thankfully*	380	10.28	*admire, admired, admires, admiring, appealed, appeals, appreciate, appreciated, appreciates, appreciation, appreciative, charmed, chuffed, compliment, complimented, compliments,* ***content****, contentment, enjoy, enjoyed, enjoying, enjoyment, enjoys^, entrance, grateful, gratitude, honoured, humbled, impress, impressed, in_awe, pat_on_the_back, patting_on_the_back, please, pleased, pleases, pleasure, pride, proud, proudly, relish, relishing, relishes, relished, reward, satisfaction, satisfied, thankful, thankfully*	4591	9.18

displeasure	+11	*anger, angered, angrily, angry, annoyed,* ***annoys****, bored, bother, bothered, caution,* ***cross****, disgust, disgusted, dissatisfaction^,* ***dissatisfied****, fed-up, frustration, furious, furiously, fury, fussed, impatient, mad, outrage^, outraged, outrageous,* ***sick_and_tired****^, vexed*	111	3.01	*anger, angered, angers, angrily, angry, annoy, annoyed, annoys, bored, bother, bothered, castigated, caution, cross, discontent, disgust, disgusted, displeased, displeasure, dissatisfaction, dissatisfied, fed_up, fed-up, frustration, furious, furiously, fury, fussed, grudge, impatience, impatient, irate, irritable, irritate, irritated, mad, outrage, outraged, outrageous, sick_and_tired, temper, unsatisfactory, vexed*	1063	2.44
ennui	-4.82	*bored*	1	0.03	*bored, fidgeting, indifference, indifferent, jaded, stale, weary, yawning*	70	0.13
IN/SECURITY							
quiet	-14.34	*adamant, asserted, assured, calm, confidence, confident, declare, declared, declares, declaring, at_ease, ease, emphatic, emphatically, faith, insist, insisting, insists, proclaiming,* ***relax****, relaxed, relaxes, safe, solace*	234	6.38	*adamant, assert, asserted, assured, assuredly, blithely, calmly, calm, confidence^, confident^, confidently, declare, declared, declares, declaring, at_ease,* ***ease****, emphatic, emphatically,* ***faith****, insist, insisting,* ***insists****, proclaim, proclaimed, proclaiming, proclaims, reassurance, reassure, reassured, reassures, relax, relaxed, relaxes, safe, solace, unashamed, unashamedly, untroubled*	4051	8.12
trust	-4.05	*believe, comfortable, commits, committed, commit,* ***delegate****^, no*	208	5.64	*believe, comfortable, commits, committed, commit, delegate, entrust, no doubt,*	3244	6.51

		doubt, optimism, optimistic, trust, trusted, trusting			***optimism**, optimistic, optimistically, trust, trusted, trusting, trusts*		
disquiet	-26.91	*afraid, agitate^, agitated, alarmed, angst, **anxiety**, anxious, ashamed, blush^, concern, concerned, concerns, confuse, confused, daunted, disquiet, dreading, embarrass, embarrassed, fear, feared, fearing, fearful, fears, freak, frightened^, guilty, intimidate, intimidation, **nervous**^, overawed, **overwhelmed, panic**, panicked, puzzled, scare, scared, shake, shakes, shaking, shook, shudder, tense, **terrify**^, terror, troubled, upset, **upsets**^, wary, worried^, worries, worry, worrying*	280	7.63	*afraid, agitate, agitated, agitation, **alarm**, alarmed, alarms, angst, anxiety, anxious^, anxiously, ashamed, blush, concern, concerned, concerns, confuse, confused, confuses, cower, daunted, destabilised, disquiet, **distress**, **distressed**, dreaded, dread, dreads, dreading, embarrass, **embarrassed**^, fear, feared, fearing, fearful, fears, freak, freak_out, freaked_out, fret, frighten, frightened, **guilt**^, **guilty**^, horrified, insecure, intimidate, intimidated, intimidates, intimidation, mystified, nervous, nervously, nervousness, overawed, overwhelmed, panic, panicked, panicking, panicky, perplexed, puzzled, **rattled**, rattles, reservation, reservations, restless, scare, scared, scares, self-conscious, shake, shakes, shaking, shook, shudder, tense, terrified, terrify, terror, terrorised, **troubled**, twitching, uneasy, **unsettled**, upset^, upsets, wary, worried, worries, **worry**^, worrying, worryingly*	5234	10.54
distrust	-9.66	*doubt, doubted, doubts, hesitant, hesitate, self-doubt, suspicious^, unsure*	45	1.22	***be_against,** doubt^, doubted, **doubtful**, doubts, hesitant, hesitate, **hesitation**,*	949	1.89

					is_against, self-doubt, ***suspicion****, suspicious, unsure, was_against*		
DIS/INCLINATION							
desire	+14.04	*appetite, aspiration, aspirations,* ***aspire****^, aspired,* ***care****, cared, cares, choose, coveted, deliberate, deliberately, demand, desire, desired, desperate,* ***dream****^, dreamed, dreaming, eager, fancies, fancy, happier, happiest, happiness, happy,* ***hope****^, hoped, hopeful, hopefully,* ***hopes****, hoping^, intend, intended, intending, intends, intent, intention, jealous, keen, keen_on, like, longs, look_forward, look_to, looked_to, looking_forward, looking_to, looks_to,* ***nostalgic****, prefer, preference, prefers, rather, readily, request, suggest, tempted,* ***want****,* ***wanted****^, wanting, wants, willing, willingly, willingness, wish, wished, wishes, wishful^, with_a_view_to, yearn^*	2121	57.57	*affection, appetite, aspiration, aspirations, aspire, aspired, aspires, care, cared, cares, choose, covet, coveted, covets, deliberate, deliberately,* ***demand****, desire, desired, desires,* ***desperate****, dream, dreamed, dreaming,* ***eager****^, eagerly, envious, fancied, fancies, fancy, happier, happiest, happiness, happy, hope, hoped, hopeful^,* ***hopefully****^, hopes, hoping, intend, intended^, intending, intends, intent, intention, jealous, jealousy, keen, keen_on, like, longed, longs, look_forward, look_to, looked_to, looking_forward, looking_to,* ***looks_to****, nostalgic, prefer, preference, prefers, rather, readily, request, seduce, seduced, seductive, suggest, tempt, tempted, tempts, want, wanted, wanting,* ***wants****^, willing, willingly, willingness, wish, wished, wishes, wishful, with_a_view_to, yearn, yearning, yearns*	26371	53.43
non-desire	-0.03	*refusal, refuse, refused, refuses, refusing, reject, rejected, rejecting^, reluctance, reluctant, reluctantly, unwilling*	82	2.24	*involuntary, refusal, refuse, refused, refuses, refusing, reject, rejected, rejects, rejecting, reluctance, reluctant, reluctantly,* ***unwanted****, unwilling*	1132	2.26

SURPRISE							
surprise	-0.06	***amaze***, *amazed, amazes,* ***dumbfounded***^, *shellshock*^, ***shell-shocked***, *shock, shocked, stunned, surprise, surprised, surprises*	104	2.83	*amazed, amazement, amazes, astonish, astonishment, astound, astounded, dumbfounded, jolted, shellshock, shellshocked, shell-shocked, shock, shocked, stagger, staggered, startle, startled, stunned, surprise, surprised, surprises*	1373	2.74

Appendix G
Sexuality search terms list

The search was conducted in WordSmith, following the required formatting where separate words are designated using the slash (/) and wildcards using the asterisk (*). Note, the initial search with all wildcards returned too many irrelevant results, for example *gay** also yielded *Gayle* and *Gaytime* so I changed these to specific words, i.e. *gay** became *gay, gays, gayer gayest*. Some names were still included in the results (e.g. *M Gay, Kiss of Death*); these were removed during manual review of the results.

bisexual / boyfriend* / bride / divorc* / engaged / fiance* / gay / gays / gayer / gayest / girlfriend* / groom / heterosexual* / homophob* / homosexual* / hubbies /hubby / hubbys / husband / kiss / kisses / kissed / kissing / lesbian* / LGBT* / marriage* / marriage* / marrie* / marry* / missus / nee / newlyweds / nuptials / partner / pride / remarried / remarry / same sex / sexuality / spouse* / WAG* / wedded / wedding / wife / wives /*

Appendix H
Sexuality search terms results

Rank	Word	Frequency (Sexuality)	Percent Contribution	Frequency (Overall)	Category
1	*wife*	851	32%	851	Significant others
2	*partner*	460	17%	857	Significant others
3	*husband*	204	8%	204	Significant others
4	*married*	186	7%	209	Relationships
5	*wedding*	146	5%	149	Relationships
6	*girlfriend*	142	5%	146	Significant others
7	*marriage*	133	5%	146	Relationships
8	*fiancee*	90	3%	90	Significant others
9	*gay*	67	3%	67	Sexual identity
10	*marry*	43	2%	46	Relationships
11	*WAG*	28	1%	33	Significant others
12	*boyfriend*	27	1%	27	Significant others
13	*fiance*	27	1%	27	Significant others
14	*pride*	24	1%	24	Sexual identity
15	*kissing*	20	1%	20	Affection (KISS)
16	*divorce*	18	1%	27	Relationships
17	*same-sex*	18	1%	18	Sexual identity
18	*sexuality*	17	1%	17	Sexual identity
19	*missus*	15	1%	15	Significant others
20	*nuptials*	14	1%	15	Relationships
21	*WAGs*	13	0%	13	Significant others
22	*homophobic*	12	0%	12	Homophobia
23	*kiss*	12	0%	12	Affection (KISS)
24	*bride*	11	0%	13	Significant others
25	*girlfriends*	11	0%	13	Significant others
26	*marrying*	9	0%	10	Relationships
27	*lesbian*	8	0%	8	Sexual identity
28	*gays*	6	0%	6	Sexual identity
29	*homosexuality*	6	0%	6	Sexual identity
30	*kissed*	6	0%	6	Affection (KISS)

31	*LGBTI*	6	0%	6	Sexual identity
32	*same sex*	6	0%	6	Sexual identity
33	*divorced*	4	0%	5	Relationships
34	*homosexuals*	4	0%	4	Sexual identity
35	*newlyweds*	3	0%	3	Relationships
36	*boyfriends*	2	0%	2	Significant others
37	*groom*	2	0%	10	Significant others
38	*homophobia*	2	0%	2	Homophobia
39	*hubby*	2	0%	3	Significant others
40	*LGBT*	2	0%	2	Sexual identity
41	*LGBTIQ*	2	0%	2	Sexual identity
42	*remarried*	2	0%	2	Relationships
43	*remarry*	2	0%	2	Relationships
44	*spouse*	2	0%	3	Significant others
45	*bisexual*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
46	*divorces*	1	0%	1	Relationships
47	*fiancees*	1	0%	1	Significant others
48	*gayest*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
49	*heterosexual*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
50	*homosexual*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
51	*hubbies*	1	0%	1	Significant others
52	*LBGTI*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
53	*LBGTQ*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
54	*LGBTQI*	1	0%	1	Sexual identity
55	*spouses*	1	0%	1	Significant others
56	*wedded*	0	0%	7	Relationships
	Total	**2676**	**1**	**3157**	

Appendix I
Terms for relationships and significant others

The below tables provide the frequency and sexual orientation for all terms relating to relationships and significant others.

			Total		**Heterosexual**		**LGB**		**Unclear**	
Corpus	**Category**	**Term**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Freq.**	**NF**	**Freq.**	**NF**
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*wife*	**35**	**0.77**	22	0.48	13	0.29	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*partner*	**32**	**0.7**	11	0.24	14	0.31	7	0.15
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*husband*	**17**	**0.37**	17	0.37	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Relationships	*married*	**14**	**0.31**	3	0.07	10	0.22	1	0.02
OzFooty-Women	Relationships	*wedding*	**14**	**0.3**	0	0	12	0.26	2	0.04
OzFooty-Women	Relationships	*marriage*	**10**	**0.22**	2	0.04	8	0.18	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*girlfriend*	**9**	**0.2**	3	0.07	6	0.13	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Relationships	*marry*	**9**	**0.2**	0	0	9	0.2	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*boyfriend*	**6**	**0.13**	6	0.13	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*fiancee*	**6**	**0.13**	0	0	6	0.13	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*WAG*	**4**	**0.09**	1	0.02	3	0.07	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*girlfriends*	**3**	**0.06**	0	0	1	0.02	2	0.04
OzFooty-Women	Significant others	*fiance*	**1**	**0.02**	1	0.02	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Women	Relationships	*marrying*	**1**	**0.02**	0	0	0	0	1	0.02
OzFooty-Women	Relationships	*nuptials*	**1**	**0.02**	0	0	1	0.02	0	0

Corpus	Category	Term	Total		Heterosexual		LGB		Unclear	
			Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF	Freq.	NF
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*wedding*	**132**	**0.24**	113	0.21	0	0	19	0.03
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*partner*	**428**	**0.79**	411	0.76	2	0	15	0.03
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*married*	**172**	**0.32**	167	0.31	0	0	5	0.01
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*husband*	**187**	**0.35**	183	0.34	0	0	4	0.01
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*marriage*	**123**	**0.23**	92	0.17	27	0.05	4	0.01
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*wife*	**816**	**1.51**	809	1.49	3	0.01	4	0.01
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*divorce*	**18**	**0.03**	17	0.03	0	0	1	0.00
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*divorced*	**4**	**0.01**	3	0.01	0	0	1	0.00
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*divorces*	**1**	**0.00**	0	0	0	0	1	0.00
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*marry*	**34**	**0.07**	30	0.06	3	0.01	1	0.00
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*newlyweds*	**3**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	1	0.00
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*boyfriend*	**21**	**0.04**	21	0.04	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*boyfriends*	**2**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*bride*	**11**	**0.02**	11	0.02	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*fiance*	**26**	**0.05**	23	0.04	3	0.01	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*fiancee*	**84**	**0.15**	84	0.15	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*fiancees*	**1**	**0.00**	1	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*girlfriend*	**133**	**0.24**	133	0.24	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*girlfriends*	**8**	**0.01**	8	0.01	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*groom*	**2**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*hubbies*	**1**	**0.00**	1	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*hubby*	**2**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*marrying*	**8**	**0.01**	8	0.01	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*missus*	**15**	**0.03**	15	0.03	0	0	0	0

OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*nuptials*	**13**	**0.02**	13	0.02	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*remarried*	**2**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*remarry*	**2**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*spouse*	**2**	**0.00**	2	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*spouses*	**1**	**0.00**	1	0	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*WAG*	**24**	**0.04**	24	0.04	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Significant others	*WAGs*	**13**	**0.02**	13	0.02	0	0	0	0
OzFooty-Men	Relationships	*wedded*	**0**	**0.00**	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix J
Ethnicity search terms list

The search was conducted in WordSmith, following the required formatting where separate words are designated using the slash (/) and wildcards use the asterisk (*).

Aboriginal / Aboriginality / Aboriginals / Aborigine / Aborigines / born / ancestry / background / backgrounds / clan / clans / cultures / ethnic / ethnicity / First Nations / heritage / Indigenous / mob / mobs / native / natives / peoples / Torres Strait Islander / Torres Strait Islanders / tribal / tribes /