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Breaking down gender subtype perception

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Abstract. Gender stereotype research has identified many female and male subtypes, e.g. *housewife*, *career woman*, *macho man*, and *wimp*. Regarding their perception, several dimensions, such as *Warmth*, *Competence*, *Traditionality*, and *Age*, have been found to be meaningful in people's cognitive organization of them. The present paper analyses gender subtype perception results obtained in an online questionnaire among English and Spanish participants who rated ten female and ten male subtypes on 15 scales. The subtypes were produced by the participants themselves in a prior study. The results are backed up by interview quotes of the same participants. Many of the findings conform to those of prior studies, e.g. the clear separation of female and male subtype clusters, while others are novel or contrary to previous research. Thus, the English male subtype *mate* is perceived both very masculine and feminine and the Spanish promiscuous female subtype *guarra* is seen as inherently different from the English equivalents.

Keywords. Gender subtypes, perception, stereotypes, English, Spanish.

1. Introduction

A vast amount of research on gender stereotypes has been dedicated to identifying and understanding broad global gender stereotypes. Accordingly, sensitivity, expressiveness, and dependence are typical female features and independence, activity, and competitiveness are typical male features (Irmen, 2006, p. 435; Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008, p. 207). More importantly, however, research has increasingly focused on the production and perception of more specific female and male subtypes. It has been shown that rather than thinking of the categories *women* and *men* as a whole, people tend to think of particular subtypes that are both consistent and inconsistent with the global stereotype (Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Richards & Hewstone, 2001; Eckes, Trautner, Behrendt, 2005, p. 89). While both kinds of subtypes help to maintain the global stereotype, they do so in different ways: Those subtypes that are consistent with the global stereotype (e.g. *housewife*, *mother*, *weak woman*) naturally perpetuate it. However, inconsistent subtypes (e.g. *career woman*, *feminist*) are grouped together and treated as exceptions to the rule, thereby reinforcing the global stereotype (Richards & Hewstone, 2001, p. 53).

The aim of the present study is to analyse different female and male subtypes on 15 dimensions that have been found to be meaningful in the perception of gender subtypes, using 23 participants' perception results obtained from slider scales rather than point scales, in hope of detecting subtle differences especially when it comes to very similar subtypes (e.g. *slut* vs. *slag* vs. *whore*). Furthermore, this study investigates both English (United Kingdom) and Spanish (Spain) expressions for female and male subtypes, offering a direct comparison between the two languages. An additional advantage of the present study is that the participants rate expressions for subtypes of women and men that they themselves produced in a prior study, which means that those subtypes that are relevant and accessible to them are included in the present study.

In the following section, the theoretical framework pertinent for the present study is outlined. This is followed by the presentation of the methodology used in the study, regarding the set of participants, the generation of the gender subtypes, the procedure involving slider scales in an online questionnaire, and lastly the statistical analyses employed. Next, the major results are presented before, lastly, the results of the current study are discussed and the conclusion is presented.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Gender subtypes

Previous studies have commonly identified the female subtypes *housewife*, *career woman*, *female athlete*, *sex object*, *chick*, *prep*, *nerd*, *prissy girl*, *tramp*, *lesbian*, *tomboy* and *feminist*, and the male subtypes *businessman*, *macho man*, *male athlete*, *hippie*, *professor*, *nerd*, *poser*, *gangsta*, *punk*, *yuppie*, *bourgeois*, *senior citizen*, *homosexual*, *wimp* and *family man* (Eckes, 1994, pp. 43, 45; Glick et al., 1997, p. 1327; Carpenter & Trentham, 1998, p. 680; Vonk & Olde-Monnikhof, 1998, p. 41; Coats & Smith, 1999, p. 519; Fiske et al., 2002, p. 879; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, pp. 257–258; Eckes, Trautner, & Behrendt, 2005, p. 95; Wade & Brewer, 2006, p. 756).

Using cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling to analyse the structure of gender cognition, Eckes (1994) identified six clusters of female subtypes and eight clusters of male subtypes. The female clusters, on the one hand, were the Chick Cluster, the Housewife Cluster, the Career Woman Cluster, the Women's Libber Cluster, the Punk Cluster (comprised of only one subtype) and the Vamp Cluster (comprised of only one subtype). The male subtypes, on the other hand, were the Hippie Cluster, the Professor Cluster, the Punk Cluster, the Yuppie Cluster, the Macho Cluster, the Bourgeois Cluster, The Senior Citizen Cluster (comprised of only one subtype) and the Typical Man Cluster (comprised of only one subtype). Eckes (1994) found that the Housewife Cluster, comprised of the subtypes *wallflower*, *naive type*, *typical woman* and *housewife*, resembled the global female stereotype. The global male stereotype, however, was represented in its own cluster, namely the Typical Man, making the typical man distinct from any other male subtype.

When it comes to the perception of gender subtypes, several dimensions have been found to be meaningful in people's cognitive organization of them – as will be shown in the next paragraphs in which relevant studies are presented –, namely *Evaluation*, *Traditionality*, *Respectability*, *Competence*, *Age*, *Settled*, *Choice*, *Warmth*, *Sexualness*, *Strength*, *Activity*, *Communitality*, *Violation of female/male role*, *Typical adult woman/man*, *Femininity/Masculinity* (Fiske et al., 2002; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005).

In their study on subtype organization, Carpenter and Trentham (2001) used clustering in free sorting as well as in free recall to determine the role of the dimensions *Gender* and

Evaluation for subtype organization. Participants sorted around 600 female and male subtypes, making it the first study to consider female and male subtypes simultaneously, and after elimination procedures 414 of those subtypes were cluster analysed, resulting in clusters of occupations (e.g. *boss*), interpersonal roles (e.g. *buddy*), interests (e.g. *sports fan*), sexual styles (e.g. *gay boy*) and negative subtypes (e.g. *idiot*). Carpenter and Trentham (2001) found that while *Gender* and *Evaluation* do play a role in organizing gender subtypes, attributes used to classify person subtypes are predominantly responsible for it.

Vonk and Ashmore (2003) investigated the judgement of 34 gender subtypes (17 female and 17 male) on 10 dimensions. Each participant of the study judged all subtypes on one of the 10 dimensions on a 7-point bipolar scale. The subtypes were not produced by the participants themselves, but by another set of participants. Using linear regression analyses to create a multidimensional space, Vonk and Ashmore (2003) found that the dimensions *Femininity/Masculinity*, *Traditionality*, *Age* and to a lesser degree *Settled* and *Choice* were most important in the description of the different female and male subtypes. Furthermore, they detected a very clear separation between female and male subtypes, meaning they did not mingle across the multidimensional space. In other words, the subtypes *businesswoman* and *businessman* were not judged in a way that they appeared close to each other but instead appeared very clearly in the feminine and masculine spaces respectively. However, Vonk and Ashmore (2003) found two exceptions to this tendency: Firstly, family subtypes (*mother* and *father*, *housewife* and *homemaker*, *grandmother* and *grandad*) appeared grouped together in the feminine space, suggesting that “merely being at home may have a stereotypically feminine connotation” (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 274). Secondly, the male subtypes *homosexual* and *sissy* approached the feminine space much more than the equivalent female subtypes approached the masculine space, which indicates that “males are more easily seen as trespassing the psychological threshold for maleness” (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 275).

Lastly, the study on gender subtype perception by Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) was based on a free sorting of 89 gender subtypes (35 female, 36 male and 18 gender neutral) which were collected from the data sets of previous gender subtype literature. However, prior to arriving at the 89 subtypes, many subtypes were eliminated in different steps, for example due to semantic similarity, like in *flirt* and *tease*. Based on the similarity between the subtypes, they were sorted by the participants into groups who subsequently rated the groups on 11 dimensions on a 7-point scale. Applying multidimensional scaling and hierarchical clustering analyses, Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005), too, found a clear gender separation between female and male subtypes, highlighting the significance of the dimension *Femininity/Masculinity*. Furthermore, they showed the importance of the dimensions *Respectability*, *Evaluation* and *Violation of female/male role* when structuring gender subtypes.

2.2. Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory

The Cultural Dimension Theory by Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) can provide useful insights into certain tendencies found in different cultures. These insights can then prove beneficial when comparing data obtained from study participants of different cultures. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) use six dimensions to determine a country's cultural index, namely *Power Distance*, *Individualism vs. Collectivism*, *Uncertainty Avoidance*, *Masculinity vs. Femininity*, *Short-Term Orientation vs. Long-Term Orientation*, and *Indulgence vs. Restraint*. Among those dimensions, *Masculinity vs. Femininity* in particular can reveal interesting tendencies in a country with regard to attitudes toward gender: Generally speaking, the more masculine a country is, the more it tends to positively evaluate women and men who conform to traditional gender roles and to negatively evaluate non-traditional female and male

subtypes (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 158). Furthermore, masculine countries show a greater tendency to regard men as active subjects and women as passive objects than passive countries, which are more likely to consider both men and women active subjects (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 159). The dimension *Masculinity vs. Femininity* can also be an indicator of attitudinal tendencies in a country with regard to sexual activity and promiscuity. While the sexual double standard tends to be supported in masculine countries, feminine countries are likely to reject it and think of sexual activity and promiscuity as an acceptable option for both men and women. Lastly, attitudes toward homosexuality can also be influenced by the dimension *Masculinity vs. Femininity*, in that masculine countries tend to fear homosexuality and for that reason reject it. This is generally not the case for feminine countries.

The participants of the present study are English L1 speakers from London, United Kingdom and Spanish L1 speakers from Madrid, Spain respectively. According to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010), the *Masculinity vs. Femininity* index of the United Kingdom is 66 and 42 of Spain, making the former a rather masculine and the latter a rather feminine country.

While Hofstede's theory has been widely praised and applied in research, certain aspects of it have been subject to criticism. For example, it has been argued that the model's homogenous approach fails to acknowledge heterogeneity within cultures, that the model relies on too few dimensions to accurately determine a cultural index, that surveys are not the appropriate tool to analyse culture, and that the data is no longer up to date (Jones, 2007, p. 5; Eringa et al., 2015, pp. 187–188). Furthermore, Hofstede himself recognized the model's limitations with regard to small sample sizes (Hofstede & Minkov, 2013, p. 2). Despite the model's shortcomings, "it remains the most valuable piece of work on culture for both scholars and practitioners" (Jones, 2007, p. 7).

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

11 English participants (6 females, 5 males) from London, United Kingdom and 12 Spanish participants (8 females, 4 males) from Madrid, Spain took part in the study. They all were university students aged between 18 and 25 years, with a mean age of around 19.7 years. They were not paid for their participation in the study.

3.2. Gender subtypes

The gender subtypes that were rated in the present study were 20 English and 20 Spanish expressions for different subtypes of women and men (10 each per language). They had previously been generated by the same participants in a prior study (Dziallas, under review).¹ In the prior study, in single written brainstorming sessions, participants were given a blank sheet of paper and told to think of and write down words for different subtypes of women and men. For further explanation, they were asked to consider a woman's or man's looks, personality traits, lifestyle choices and sexuality. After they had finished their brainstorming, they were interviewed about the subtypes that they had come up with in recorded interviews in which they spoke about the meanings, connotations, frequencies and usages of the expressions. In the end, their sheets of paper were collected to determine the most frequently mentioned

¹ Just like in Madrid, the expressions in London were generated by 12 participants, too. However, one female participant in London did not take part in the present study, which explains the final numbers of participants in the present study (11 and 12 participants respectively). Her gender subtypes data from the prior study was still included.

expressions for female and male subtypes.² The most frequently mentioned expressions for gender subtypes that the present study is based on are shown in Table 1. The numbers in brackets indicate how many of the 12 participants in the prior study mentioned the respective expression.³

Table 1. Most frequently mentioned expressions for different gender subtypes.

English		Spanish	
Female subtypes	Male subtypes	Female subtypes	Male subtypes
<i>slut</i> (11/12)	<i>lad</i> (9/12)	<i>tía</i> (8/12)	<i>chico</i> (8/12)
<i>bitch</i> (11/12)	<i>guy</i> (8/12)	<i>chica</i> (8/12)	<i>señor</i> (8/12)
<i>girl</i> (7/12)	<i>boy</i> (7/12)	<i>señora</i> (6/12)	<i>chaval</i> (6/12)
<i>slag</i> (6/12)	<i>mate</i> (4/12)	<i>niña</i> (6/12)	<i>tío</i> (6/12)
<i>Ms</i> (5/12)	<i>Mr</i> (4/12)	<i>piba</i> (5/12)	<i>macho</i> (5/12)
<i>Mrs</i> (5/12)	<i>dick</i> (4/12)	<i>guarra</i> (5/12)	<i>niño</i> (5/12)
<i>lady</i> (5/12)	<i>Sir</i> (4/12)	<i>chavala</i> (5/12)	<i>pibe</i> (4/12)
<i>whore</i> (5/12)	<i>player</i> (4/12)	<i>señorita</i> (5/12)	<i>colega</i> (4/12)
<i>babe</i> (5/12)	<i>dude</i> (4/12)	<i>princesa</i> (4/12)	<i>cabrón</i> (4/12)
<i>dyke</i> (2/12)	<i>fag</i> (2/12)	<i>bollera</i> (0/12)	<i>maricón</i> (2/12)

3.3. Procedure

In an online questionnaire, the English participants rated the 20 English female and male subtypes and the Spanish participants rated the 20 Spanish female and male subtypes on 15 slider scales from 0 to 100. While there are benefits and drawbacks to both slider scales and Likert scales (see Chyung et al., 2018 for a literature review of the two scale types), the former was chosen over the latter for the research design as they help participants make precise decisions, increase reliability, and are more likely to generate normally distributed data which allows for the use of various statistical procedures (Chyung et al., 2018, p. 43). Researching gender bending and gender conformity, Swim, Gillis and Hamaty (2020), too, used slider scales rather than Likert scales, as did Godbole, Malvar and Valian (2019) when investigating stereotypically masculine and feminine traits in an ideal president. The scales used in the present study as well as their negative and positive extremes are shown in Table 2. The questionnaire for the participants in Madrid was the exact equivalent of the English questionnaire, just in Spanish.

Table 2. Scales and their negative and positive extremes used in the online questionnaire.

Scale	Negative extreme (0)	Positive extreme (100)
<i>typical adult woman</i>	not the typical adult woman	the typical adult woman
<i>typical adult man</i>	not the typical adult man	the typical adult man
<i>female stereotype</i>	not like the traditional female stereotype	like the traditional female stereotype

² See Dziallas (under review) for the full data set of 271 generated English and Spanish expressions for different female and male subtypes.

³ The subtypes of the last row (Eng. *dyke*, *fag*, Sp. *bollera*, *maricón*) were in fact not among the most frequently mentioned expressions but were still included in the present study to account for the subtype *homosexual woman/man* that is widely discussed in research on gender subtypes (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005).

<i>male stereotype</i>	not like the traditional male stereotype	like the traditional male stereotype
<i>violation of the female role</i>	does not violate the female role	completely violates the female role
<i>violation of the male role</i>	does not violate the male role	completely violates the male role
<i>freedom</i>	free to do as they please	settled into their role in society
<i>choice of role</i>	being given their role	consciously chose their role
<i>warmth</i>	cold person	warm person
<i>competence</i>	incompetent person	competent person
<i>strength</i>	weak person	strong person
<i>activity</i>	passive person	active person
<i>age</i>	young person	old person
<i>respectability</i>	not a respectable person	respectable person
<i>evaluation</i>	bad person	good person

3.4. Analysis

The data consists of 12 English (London) and 11 Spanish (Madrid) participants' assessments of 20 English or Spanish words on 15 scales. Each participant evaluated a set of 10 female and 10 male subtypes in the corresponding language. There are no missing values.

For an initial grasp of the contained information, various boxplots were created with the R package *ggplot2* (Wickham, 2016). A separate figure was created for each word (e.g. Sp. *chica*) consisting of 15 boxplots, one for each scale (e.g. *warmth*). This was done separately for the female and male participants for each of the altogether 40 words (20 English and 20 Spanish). The composition of the boxplots provides some basic insight into the distribution of the scale scores.

A principal component analysis was performed to reduce dimensionality and identify the underlying structure of the data. This is an orthogonal transformation of the original data matrix that aims to explain as much of its contained information (variation) as possible with as few vectors as possible. After centring and scaling the data, the *prcomp* function (R Core Team, 2019) was used to determine the principal components. The first component is the most informative one. Each further extracted component explains less than the previous one. Therefore, it is possible to reduce the dimensionality of the data, while limiting the loss of information. Apart from that, the calculated loadings allow to identify some structure in the data and to explain how different scales relate to each other. If two scales both load strongly on a single component, it is indicative for a linear relationship between those scales (Jolliffe, 2002).

To investigate how the individual words are related and whether they can be meaningfully grouped, a cluster analysis was performed. First, a matrix containing the mean scale scores of the words averaged over all participants was calculated. This matrix was then used for the subsequent analysis. With the help of the function *get_dist* (Kassambara & Mundt, 2017), a distance matrix of the words was calculated using Euclidean distance. Since all the scales extend over the same range (i.e. 0 to 100), it was not necessary to standardize the values. An element of this distance matrix corresponds to the distance between two words in the 15-dimensional space with the scales as the basis vectors. This means the maximal possible Euclidean distance would be 400, reached only between a word scoring 0 on every scale and another word scoring 100 on every scale.

Based on this distance, average-linkage was used for agglomerative hierarchical clustering, using the function *hclust* (R Core Team, 2019). This method starts with each element in its own cluster and iteratively merges two clusters into one. In any step, the average distance between each word in one cluster and every word in the other cluster is calculated. This is done for every set of two clusters. The minimum of these results is then used to identify the pair of clusters to agglomerate. This process is repeated until all words are merged into one cluster creating a clear order (hierarchy) in which the elements have been clustered, which can easily be visualized using a dendrogram (tree diagram). The y-scale of such a dendrogram represents the aforementioned average-linkage distance between the clusters. Therefore, one can easily visually inspect this plot to determine a sensible number of clusters. This number is then used to cut down the tree accordingly and identify the final cluster affiliations for each word (Cook & Swayne, 2007). By transposing the data matrix and repeating the cluster analysis the same way as outlined above, an analogous grouping of the scales was obtained.

The scores for the English words originate from the English-speaking participants and the scores for the Spanish words from the Spanish-speaking ones. Thus, any individual effects on the scoring (if there are any) do not affect all words but only the ones in the corresponding language. This is a limitation that could have only been prevented using solely bilingual speakers. Furthermore, there may of course be language effects (e.g. translated scales have slightly different meanings) which to some extent impede the comparison of the results between the languages.

4. Results

4.1. Scales with highest loadings

The results of the principal component analyses (PCA) make it possible to determine which ones of the 15 scales have the highest loadings, indicating not only which scales are largely responsible for the participants' perceptions of the gender subtypes but also which scales vary together. In the following, the PCA results for the English female subtypes are presented first, followed by those for the English male subtypes, the Spanish female subtypes, and finally the Spanish male subtypes. For each category, the four highest loadings on the first four principal components are considered. Additionally, the proportion of variance (PoV) is indicated for each principal component, explaining the percentage to which the respective principal component explains the overall variation. The most interesting PCA results are discussed.

4.1.1. English female subtypes

Table 3. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for English female subtypes.

Participants	PC1		PC2	
	female	male	female	male
PoV	.32	.37	.19	.16
4 scales	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.40)	<i>respectability</i> (-.39)	<i>strength</i> (-.49)	<i>activity</i> (-.46)
	<i>respectability</i> (-.37)	<i>warmth</i> (-.37)	<i>activity</i> (-.42)	<i>strength</i> (-.38)
	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.36)	<i>evaluation</i> (-.36)	<i>competence</i> (-.41)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.37)

	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.35)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.33)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.34)	<i>competence</i> (-.36)
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	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.15	.13	.07	.09
4 scales	<i>typical adult man</i> (.44)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.64)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.57)	<i>age</i> (.59)
	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (.43)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.63)	<i>choice of role</i> (.50)	<i>choice of role</i> (.46)
	<i>evaluation</i> (.38)	<i>choice of role</i> (-.22)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.37)	<i>freedom</i> (.37)
	<i>age</i> (-.38)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.20)	<i>typical adult man</i> (.28)	<i>warmth</i> (-.28)

When it comes to the female participants' results for PC1, they indicate that the more a woman does not conform to the traditional female role, the less she is considered a respectable person. Moreover, the more the male participants rate a woman as violating the female role, the more they perceive her as a non-respectable, cold and bad person. These results are in line with previous research in that "exceptions to the superordinate gender categories are bad and not respectable" (Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005, p. 449) and that "nontraditional women ... are viewed as task competent but not warm" (Fiske et al., 2002, p. 880).

Regarding PC2, the results of both the female and male participants are very much alike. The more a woman is perceived by both groups as a weak, passive and incompetent person, the more she is considered unlike the traditional male stereotype, i.e. like the female stereotype. This conforms to results obtained in previous research, according to which stereotypical women are considered weak, passive and incompetent, while the opposite characteristics are stereotypically ascribed to men (Rudman, Greenwald, & McGhee, 2001, p. 1165; Fowers & Fowers, 2010, p. 469).

Next, the PC3 results of the male participants show that the more a female subtype is seen by males as being given its role in society, the more it is likely to not be considered a typical adult woman, which conforms to findings that young people, i.e. non-adults, are seen as having been given their societal role rather than having chosen it consciously: "[Young people] are seen as potentially free to choose their role in society, but unlike older people, they have not made this choice yet, and their present roles ... are mostly assigned, rather than chosen" (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 273). This tendency can also be detected in the male participants' PC4 results, which indicate that the older a woman is considered, the more she is perceived to have settled into her role in society and to have consciously chosen it.

Lastly, the female participants' PC4 results suggest an – at first sight contradictory – positive correlation between *typical adult woman* and *typical adult man*, which seems to support the finding that gender subtypes are not always clustered by their similarities but instead sometimes by their role relationships. Thus, the role of the typical adult woman can be seen as a complementary match to the role of the typical adult man (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277).

4.1.2. English male subtypes

Table 4. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for English male subtypes.

Participants	PC1		PC2	
	female	male	female	male
PoV	.24	.29	.16	.18
4 scales	<i>respectability</i> (.48)	<i>respectability</i> (.38)	<i>choice of role</i> (-.49)	<i>freedom</i> (.39)
	<i>competence</i> (.37)	<i>competence</i> (.37)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.41)	<i>age</i> (.39)
	<i>evaluation</i> (.33)	<i>strength</i> (.35)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.35)	<i>warmth</i> (-.37)
	<i>violation of the male role</i> (-.33)	<i>typical adult man</i> (.34)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.32)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.36)

Participants	PC3		PC4	
	female	male	female	male
PoV	.14	.13	.13	.11
4 scales	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.46)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.42)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.48)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.55)
	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.37)	<i>evaluation</i> (.37)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.47)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.47)
	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.37)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.37)	<i>age</i> (.43)	<i>activity</i> (-.46)
	<i>age</i> (.35)	<i>respectability</i> (.35)	<i>strength</i> (.32)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (-.31)

The female participants' results for PC1 suggest that the less a man is considered to be violating the male role, the more he is perceived as a respectable, competent and good person. When it comes to the male participants, they perceive a man to be a typical man, the more respectable, competent and strong he is, which conforms to findings in previous research (Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005, p. 449; Fowers & Fowers, 2010, p. 469).

Regarding PC3, the female participants' results imply that the older a man is, the less he is considered to be like a typical man. This result contrasts with the previously shown infantilization of women, not men (Goffman, 1979; Duncan, 2006, p. 257; Namy et al., 2017, p. 47), but might be due to the fact that the participants in this case are young women. Furthermore, research has shown that older people are frequently infantilized by young people (Gendron et al., 2015; Miklyaeva, 2018).

When it comes to the male participants, the PC3 results suggest the following: The more a man does not conform to the typical male stereotype, the more he is considered a good and respectable person. This result is interesting since it contradicts the overall tendency detected in PC1 for all participants to perceive traditional male subtypes as respectable and good. However, as Dziallas (under review) showed, participants rate certain subtypes positively that they perceive to be non-traditional, e.g. homosexual women and men.

The PC4 results of the female participants indicate that the less a man is like a typical woman and the female stereotype, the older and stronger he is, which is in line with the stereotypical superiority of men and the infantilization of women. When it comes to the male participants' results, they suggest that the less a man violates the male role and is like the typical female stereotype, the more passive he is perceived to be, which does not coincide with the global stereotype of the active male (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008, p. 207; Eckes, 2010, pp. 179, 181).

4.1.3. Spanish female subtypes

Table 5. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for Spanish female subtypes.

	PC1		PC2	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.24	.26	.18	.18
4 scales	<i>strength</i> (-.46)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.41)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (.47)	<i>freedom</i> (.39)
	<i>competence</i> (-.44)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.39)	<i>evaluation</i> (.42)	<i>activity</i> (-.39)
	<i>activity</i> (-.42)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.36)	<i>warmth</i> (.40)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.37)
	<i>respectability</i> (-.37)	<i>competence</i> (-.36)	<i>freedom</i> (.35)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (-.37)

	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.11	.15	.10	.11
4 scales	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (.55)	<i>strength</i> (-.53)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.41)	<i>freedom</i> (.45)
	<i>choice of role</i> (-.47)	<i>typical adult man</i> (.40)	<i>age</i> (.41)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.38)
	<i>freedom</i> (.38)	<i>choice of role</i> (-.35)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.40)	<i>warmth</i> (-.35)
	<i>typical adult man</i> (.35)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (-.31)	<i>warmth</i> (-.33)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.34)

The PC1 results reveal that the more the female participants perceive a woman to be weak, incompetent and passive, the less she is considered a respectable person, while the male participants' results imply that the more a woman violates the female role, the less competent she is perceived to be. These findings conform to those obtained by previous studies (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002, p. 879).

For PC2, the female participants' results suggest that the more a woman is like the traditional female stereotype, the more she is considered a good and warm person who is settled into her role in society. Again, this conforms to results obtained by others (Fiske et al., 2002; Eckes 2010).

Moving on to PC3, the male participants' results suggest that the more a woman is considered weak and being given her role in society, the more she is perceived as a typical man. This is surprising as this tendency is in stark contrast to the global gender stereotypes of the weak and dependent woman and the strong and independent man (Kite, Deaux, & Haines, 2008, p. 207).

Lastly, when it comes to the PC4 results, while the female participants perceive a woman to be like a typical adult woman, the older and colder she is, the male participants consider a woman a typical adult woman, the more she is a cold person and settled into her role in society. These findings seem plausible since the participants of this study generally tend to regard subtypes that they rate young and warm, e.g. *chica*, *niña* and *princesa*, as unlike the typical adult woman and settled into their societal role.

4.1.4. Spanish male subtypes

Table 6. Four highest loadings on first four principal components (PC1 to PC4), including proportion of variance (PoV), for Spanish male subtypes.

	PC1		PC2	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.24	.25	.15	.18
4 scales	<i>respectability</i> (-.41)	<i>respectability</i> (.42)	<i>evaluation</i> (.55)	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.41)
	<i>strength</i> (-.40)	<i>evaluation</i> (.39)	<i>competence</i> (.44)	<i>freedom</i> (-.38)
	<i>activity</i> (-.36)	<i>competence</i> (.37)	<i>warmth</i> (.41)	<i>warmth</i> (.35)
	<i>typical adult man</i> (-.34)	<i>warmth</i> (.32)	<i>choice of role</i> (.26)	<i>age</i> (-.30)

	PC3		PC4	
Participants	female	male	female	male
PoV	.13	.13	.11	.10
4 scales	<i>freedom</i> (-.48)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (.47)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (-.49)	<i>choice of role</i> (.52)
	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (.44)	<i>violation of the male role</i> (.46)	<i>traditional female stereotype</i> (-.45)	<i>activity</i> (-.43)
	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.44)	<i>typical adult woman</i> (.45)	<i>freedom</i> (-.45)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.38)
	<i>choice of role</i> (.43)	<i>freedom</i> (.31)	<i>violation of the female role</i> (.37)	<i>traditional male stereotype</i> (.36)

The PC1 results imply that while the female participants perceive a man to be unlike a typical man, the more they perceive him to be weak, passive and non-respectable – in line with previous findings in gender stereotype research according to which stereotypical male characteristics include strength, assertiveness and agency (Prentice & Carranza, 2002, pp. 269–270; Ellemers, 2018, p. 281) –, the male participants consider a man respectable, the more they perceive him to be a good, competent and warm person. This result is interesting, but little surprising as

research has shown that “[t]hrough in-group favoritism, the in-group may be rated both warm and competent” (Fiske et al., 2002, p. 881).

Moving on to the results for PC2, the female participants perceive a man as a good person, the more competent and warmer they consider him to be and the more they feel he consciously chose his own role in society. This tendency can be detected in the female participants’ ratings of *colega*: Among the ten male subtypes, they perceive *colega* to be the type of man who most consciously chose his role in society. At the same time, they consider *maricón* to be the only warmer, *señor* to be the only more competent, and *niño* to be the only better subtype than *colega*.

The male participants’ PC2 results indicate that they perceive a man to be unlike the typical adult man, the more they consider him to be a warm and young person, who is free to do as he pleases. This coincides with what Vonk and Ashmore (2003) described as: “Generally, ... the younger types are seen as more free than ... the older types” (p. 272). In this case, too, it is the perceptions of the subtype *colega* that highlight this tendency as the male participants consider it to be fairly free and unlike the typical adult man while rating it the warmest and the second youngest subtype (after *niño*).

4.2. *Similar and dissimilar scales*

As shown in the previous section, some scales behave similarly and vary together while others do not. Figure 1 shows the dendrogram for all scales taking into account all expressions for women and men in both English and Spanish. The dendrogram should be read from the bottom to the top, so the ‘earlier’ two branches meet, the more similar the respective scales are. Thus, the most similar scales are *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype*, followed by the female counterparts *typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype*. This implies that a man/woman who conforms to the traditional male/female stereotype is perceived to be the typical adult man/woman. Note, however, how ‘late’ the two couples branch, suggesting the big difference in perception between female and male subtypes, as shown in previous studies (e.g. Vonk & Ashmore, 2003).

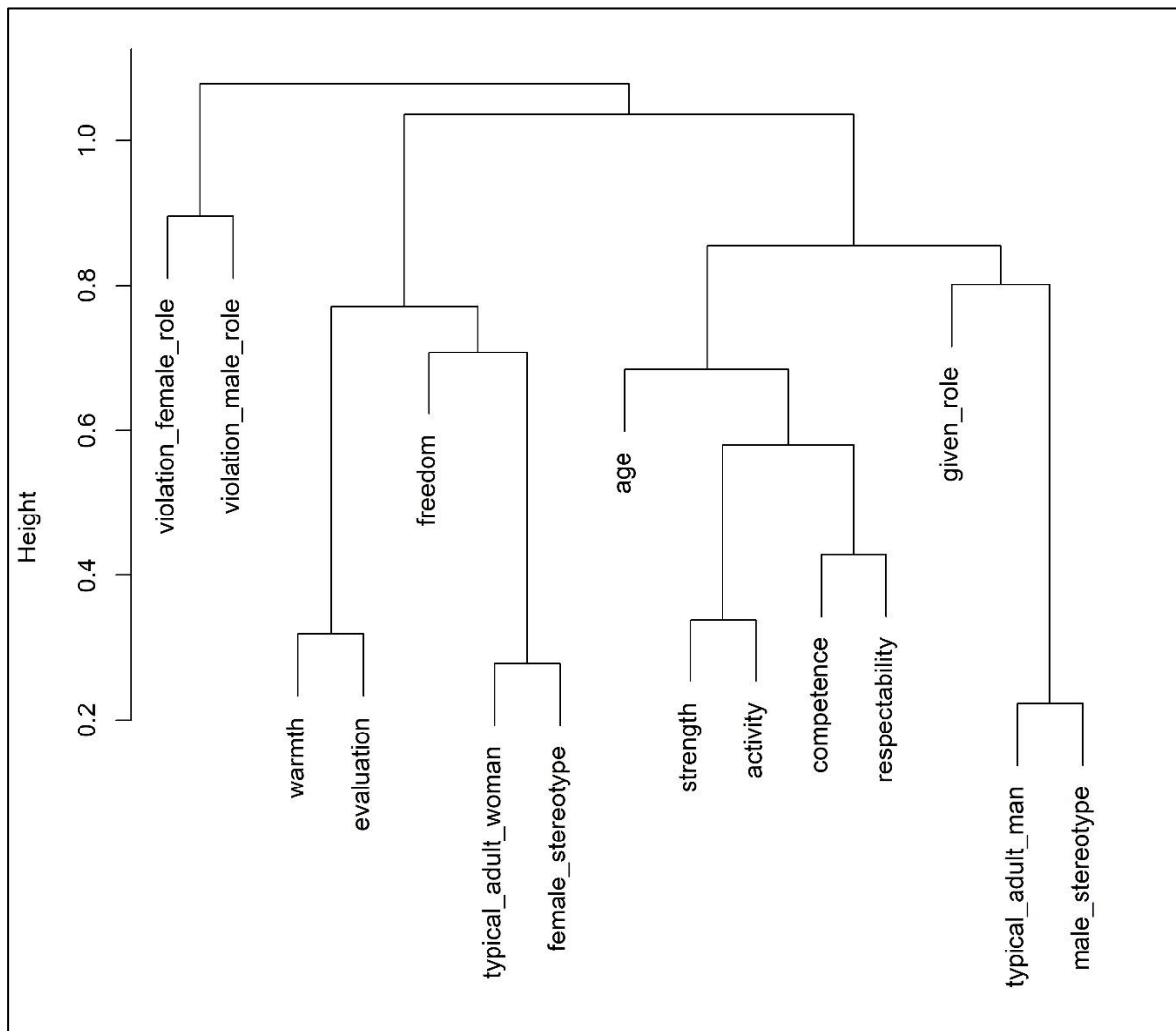


Figure 1. Dendrogram for all scales from all English and Spanish words for women and men.

Next, *warmth* and *evaluation* are similar scales, implying that subtypes that are perceived positively tend to also be rated as warm, as shown in the previous section. This conforms to findings in Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) in that benevolent sexism favours warm and communal women while refusing cold and agentic women. This is also in line with research in Cognitive Linguistics: Humans connect warmth with positive feelings of being held affectionately as infants, which results in the primary metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH (Grady, 1997).

The scales *strength* and *activity* branch next, suggesting that – as shown above – the more active a subtype is perceived to be, the stronger it is considered, as well as the opposite tendency, i.e. the more passive a subtype is rated, the weaker it is perceived to be. The next two scales to branch are *competence* and *respectability*. This implies that a competent subtype is likely to also be considered respectable. The results of PC1 for both the English and Spanish words for men show this. On the other hand, the results of PC1 for the Spanish words for women show the opposite tendency, i.e. the perception of an incompetent subtype as non-respectable, revealing an association of competence and respectability with maleness and incompetence and non-respectability with femaleness (Eckes, 2002, p. 102).

The next branching occurs between the pairs *strength* and *activity* as well as *competence* and *respectability*, suggesting that there is a tendency for subtypes to be perceived as either strong, active, competent and respectable or weak, passive, incompetent and non-respectable. The positive tendency can be seen in the results of the male participants of PC1 for the English words for men, where three of the scales have high positive loadings. The negative equivalent can be detected in the results of all participants of PC2 for the English words for women (3 scales), in the results of the female participants of PC1 for the Spanish words for women (all scales), and in the results of the female participants of PC1 for the Spanish words for men (3 scales). A possible explanation for this distribution could lie in the dimension *Masculinity and Femininity* of the Cultural Dimension Theory (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). In this theory it is assumed that attitudes towards women and men are influenced by the degree of masculinity in a culture. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) have found the United Kingdom to be a rather masculine country and Spain a rather feminine country. In masculine countries, men are stereotypically considered agentic and responsible while women tend to be seen as passive objects. Contrarily, in feminine countries there is a greater tendency to consider both men and women responsible and decisive objects (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 159; see also Dziallas, under review).

The four scales *strength*, *activity*, *competence* and *respectability* next branch with the scale *age*, suggesting that a strong, active, competent and respectable subtype is generally considered older than the opposite subtype. This might be an indication for the above-mentioned infantilization of women in that, stereotypically, strength, activity, competence and respectability tend to be masculine characteristics. So, if old age is positively related to these traits, the stereotypical woman – who tends to have the opposite traits – is more likely to be associated with young age. Accordingly, on PC4 in the female participants' results of the English words for men, *strength* and *age* have high positive loadings.

Next, the pair *typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype* branch with the scale *freedom*, indicating that a subtype that is considered a typical woman is more likely to be perceived as someone who is settled into their role in society. This tendency can be detected in the PCA results above as well as in the gender subtype perception study by Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 273).

The lastly mentioned group of scales branches next with the pair *warmth* and *evaluation*. Thus, this implies that a subtype that is considered a typical woman who is settled into her role in society tends to be perceived as a warm and good person. An example of this tendency are the female participants' PC2 results for the Spanish words for women. This tendency is in line with the literature (Fiske et al., 2002; Eckes, 2010).

Followed by this is the next branching between the pair *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype* and the scale *choice of role*. Although branching rather 'late', this result indicates a tendency for a typically male subtype to be perceived as though having consciously chosen their role in society. This contradicts findings by Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 273), according to which especially traditional male subtypes are generally assigned their role in society.

The next branching involves several scales: On the one hand, there is the group of *age*, *strength*, *activity*, *competence* and *respectability*, branching with the group of *choice of role*, *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype* on the other hand. Again, this is rather unsurprising since these scales have the tendency to be associated with masculinity (Kasof, 1993; Ellemers, 2018).

One of the last scales to branch are *violation of the female role* and *violation of the male role*. Having shown how similar the scales *typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype* as

well as *typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype* are, and how different the two pairs are from each other, it is little surprising that the violation of the female role is not very similar at all to the violation of the male role. Put bluntly, it seems that violating the female role is the opposite of violating the male role, and the two tend to not happen together, explaining the 'late' branching.

Lastly, the group *warmth, evaluation, freedom, typical adult woman* and *traditional female stereotype* branches with the group *age, strength, activity, competence, respectability, choice of role, typical adult man* and *traditional male stereotype*. This 'late' branching highlights the perceived oppositeness between women and men and their respective characteristics, as demonstrated in previous research (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 275; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005, p. 451).

4.3. Similar and dissimilar words

After having presented the results for the 15 scales included in the perception study, this section focuses on the relationship between the expressions for women and men that were rated by the participants in the study. Figure 2 shows the dendrogram of all 40 expressions (20 English and 20 Spanish, with 10 expressions each for women and men). An advantage of including all 40 expressions into one dendrogram is that this way it becomes possible to not only see the relationship between expressions for women and men but also to compare the two languages. For example, Sp. *chica* and Eng. *girl* or Sp. *cabrón* and Eng. *dick* branch 'early', indicating their similarity despite the two different languages.

So, the first expressions to branch are Sp. *chaval* and *chico*, both in their basic meaning referring to a boy or young man and often used as a form of address for men. Branching next with Sp. *tío*, then Sp. *pibe*, followed by Eng. *dude* and finally Sp. *colega*, the group then branches with the pair Eng. *boy* and Sp. *niño*. All these expressions could be labelled as rather colloquial forms of address to refer to a male friend or acquaintance. While in this group of expressions the majority are Spanish, two English expressions are also included. What instantly stands out, however, is that this group solely contains expressions for men. A branching with expressions for women happens in the next step: It branches with a group of 9 expressions with Eng. *slag* and *whore* and Eng. *lad* and *player* each branching first at the same height. The first pair go on to branch with Eng. *slut*, forming a group of derogatory expressions referring to a promiscuous woman. Next come Eng. *dyke* and then *bitch*, informal and offensive terms to refer to a lesbian and a spiteful woman respectively. Again, all these expressions refer exclusively to one sex, namely to women. On the other hand, the pair Eng. *lad* and *player* branches with another pair, Sp. *cabrón* and Eng. *dick*, forming a group of informal expressions referring to promiscuous and/or contemptible men. The two groups, i.e. the expressions for women and men, finally branch together before doing so again with the group of expressions referring to a male friend, as mentioned above.

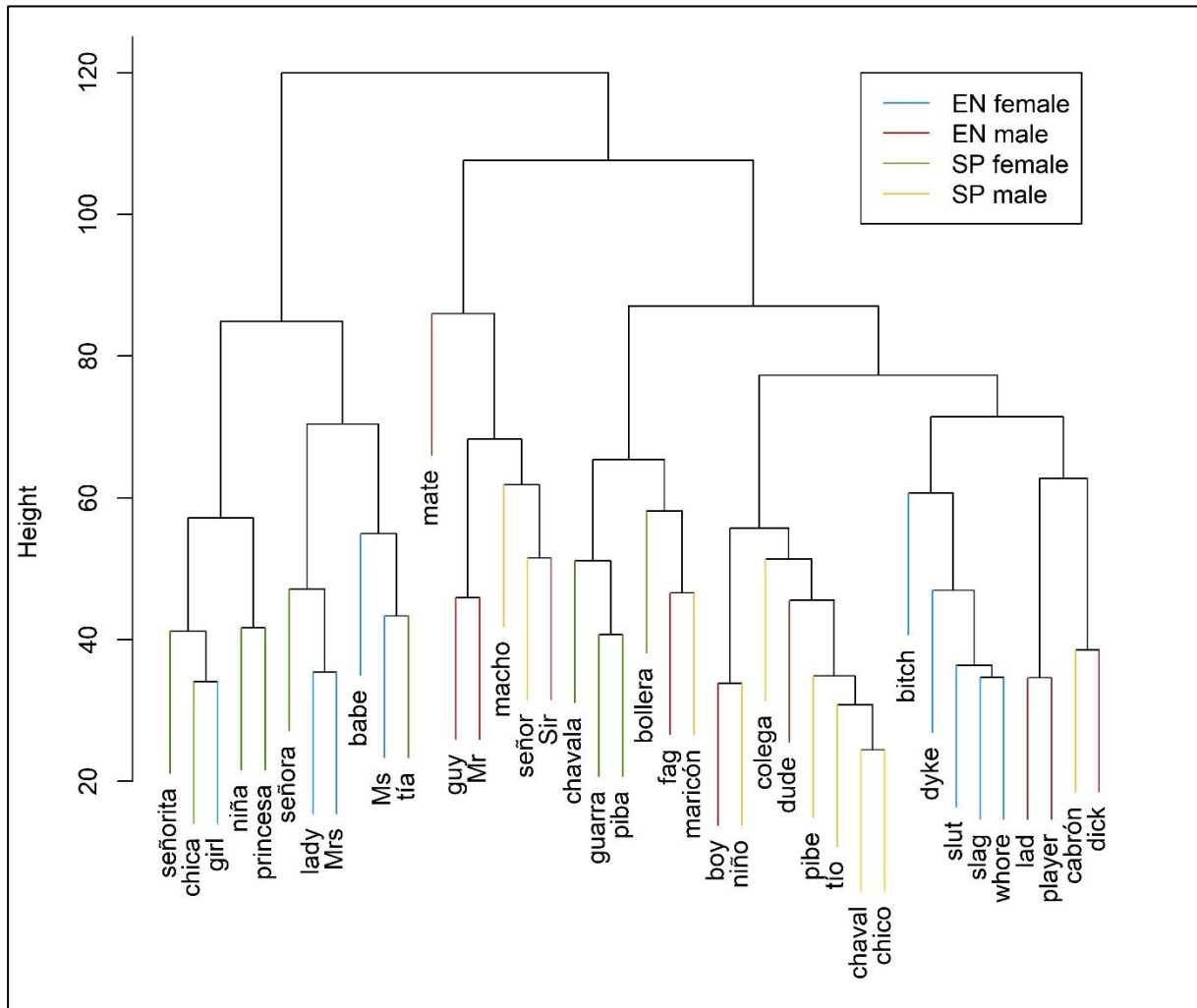


Figure 2. Dendrogram of all 40 words.

What is striking about this macro group is that among the 17 comprised expressions are only 5 expressions for women, all of which are offensive. While the fact that female subtypes such as *bitch* and *dyke* and promiscuous subtypes are perceived as less feminine or more masculine subtypes has been previously shown by Vonk and Ashmore (2003, pp. 259, 276–277), for example, the order regarding the distance to the masculine dimension seems to differ for the three subtypes compared to previous research: In Vonk and Ashmore (2003, p. 271) as well as in Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005, p. 451), out of the three above-mentioned female subtypes, the promiscuous subtype is the closest to the non-feminine dimension, followed by the bitchy and lastly the lesbian type. However, in the current study, as can be seen in Figure 2, *bitch* appears to be the most masculine type, followed by *dyke* and finally the promiscuous subtypes. A possible explanation for this difference might be that the studies mentioned were conducted 17 and 15 years ago. The differing results in the current study might then be an indication for attitudinal changes in that promiscuity in women especially is no longer considered a masculine trait to the same extent as over a decade ago. An increasing refusal of the sexual double standard and the endorsement of egalitarian standards for women and men offer support for that suggestion (Kettrey, 2016). Moreover, what is interesting is that Eng. *dyke* is the only subtype referring to a homosexual person that is not perceived to be similar to the other three respective expressions. In other words, while Eng. *fag* and Sp. *bollera* and *maricón*

are grouped together in the centre of the dendrogram, *dyke* is the odd one out. Thus, *dyke* seemingly is perceived to be more like the female promiscuous subtypes and less like the other – female and male – homosexual subtypes. However, based on results of previous research, it seems more likely to consider *bollera* as the odd one out since homosexual women tend to be considered non-feminine and homosexual men non-masculine (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277). Since in the perception questionnaire there was no scale included referring directly to homosexuality, it is unclear why *bollera* is grouped together with the male homosexual subtypes rather than the other female homosexual type.

Moving to the left side of the dendrogram, there is another macro group of 11 expressions, all referring to women. The first branching in this group occurs between Sp. *chica* and Eng. *girl*, two very common expressions for a woman, although in their basic meaning referring to female minors, before the pair goes on to branch with Sp. *señorita*. This step makes sense as the Spanish term also refers to a young woman. This small group of expressions then branches with the pair Sp. *niña* and *princesa*, with the first one, again, referring in its basic meaning to a female child but used widely for adult women, and the second referring in its basic meaning to a princess while used to denote a beautiful young woman. This group can thus be labelled as referring to young female subtypes.

Moving to the right of this group, Eng. *lady* and *Mrs* – both rather formal ways of referring to a woman – branch together fairly ‘early’. Interestingly, instead of branching with Eng. *Ms*, *lady* and *Mrs* form the next group with Sp. *señora*, the Spanish equivalent of *Mrs*. In fact, as can be seen in the dendrogram, the distance between *Mrs* and *Ms* is rather big. It seems then that the reason for that is that *Ms* refers to any kind of woman – married or unmarried – while *Mrs* specifically indicates the married status of a woman, resulting in very different results for the scale *freedom*, with the subtype *Mrs* perceived as a woman who is rather settled into her role in society and the subtype *Ms* perceived as a woman who is rather free to do as she pleases. *Ms* in fact branches with Sp. *tía*, which literally means ‘aunt’ but is frequently used to refer to a female friend. The pair goes on to branch with Eng. *babe* – which in this macro group of 11 expressions seems to be the least similar one to any of the others as can be seen by the ‘late’ branching –, before joining the small group of formal expressions for women. Lastly, this group branches with the group of expressions referring to young female subtypes.

On the left of the above-mentioned macro group of 17 expressions on the very right of the dendrogram and ultimately branching with it, there is a group of 6 expressions of which 3 are the homosexual subtypes *bollera*, *fag* and *maricón* (see above). Interestingly, the two male homosexual subtypes are also the only expressions referring to men in this group. This is to be expected for male homosexual subtypes since they “encroach[] further into the female side of the space than vice versa (i.e. masculine female types hardly enter[] the male side of the space)” (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 274). In this group of 6 expressions, Sp. *guarra* and *piba* are the first ones to branch. While the former colloquially refers to a promiscuous woman, the latter is used similarly to *chica*, *niña* etc., which is also the case for Sp. *chavala* which branches with the pair *guarra* and *piba*. Both groups of 3 expressions each finally branch together. What is particularly interesting in this group is that *guarra* appears to be very dissimilar to the English expressions for promiscuous women (*slut*, *slag*, *whore*). The biggest difference between them and *guarra* lies in the perception of the scale *respectability* (*guarra*: less respectable), *choice of role* (*guarra*: being given her role more), *freedom* (*guarra*: settled into her role in society more) and the scales *violation of the male role*, *traditional male stereotype* and *typical adult man*, according to which *guarra* is not rated masculine at all while *slut*, *slag* and *whore* indeed are. Thus – unlike the English participants –, the Spanish participants see a promiscuous woman

as a less respectable, less free and less masculine subtype of a woman, which explains the dissimilarity between *guarra* and the English expressions in the dendrogram.

The final group of 6 expressions solely refers to subtypes of men. Eng. *guy* and *Mr* are the first ones to branch, followed by Sp. *señor* and Eng. *Sir*, two polite ways of addressing a man. Interestingly, the pair next branches with Sp. *macho*, i.e. a supposedly very masculine man in terms of his strength, courage and sexual behaviour. Though heavily associated with sexual potency, *macho* does not seem to be perceived similarly to the other male promiscuous subtypes like *lad*, *player* and *cabrón*. Especially when it comes to the scales *respectability* (*macho*: more respectable) and *age* (*macho*: older), *macho* differs strongly from the others, explaining its closeness to the respectable and mature *señor* and *Sir*. Next, this group of subtypes referring to respectable men branches with the pair *guy* and *Mr*, before the group then branches with Eng. *mate* – in the last, i.e. highest, branching involving a single expression, implying that *mate* is most dissimilar to any of the other 39 expressions. Looking at the perception results in more detail, this difference becomes apparent: Most strikingly, *mate* seems to be the only male subtype that participants perceive as both very masculine and feminine. Additionally, it is also extremely high in terms of warmth (warm person) and evaluation (good person). This, of course, explains why it is the most left male subtype in the dendrogram but not grouped together with the male homosexual subtypes, who are seen as completely violating the male role.

The penultimate branching occurs between the lastly mentioned group and the macro group consisting of the 23 expressions on the right of the dendrogram, before finally branching with the macro group of solely female subtypes. All in all, this dendrogram – and the final branching in particular – highlights the overall clear-cut distinction between female and male subtypes, that has been shown previously (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 278). Additionally, it shows that female subtypes approach the right, i.e. masculine, side when being promiscuous or – in one case – homosexual, while male subtypes approach the left, i.e. feminine side when being homosexual or *mate*-like. While some of these results have been found in previous research (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003, p. 277), the case of *mate* seems so far unexplored as this male subtype appears to not have been taken into consideration in previous studies. Knowing that, apart from scoring high on masculinity, *mate* scores high on femininity too, the question remains whether it does so because it refers to a friend who is considered a warm and good person – two characteristics heavily associated with femininity –, or whether *mate* is considered warm and good because it is seen as a feminine subtype while maintaining its masculinity.

4.4. Female and male participants' subtype perception

In this section, the most striking differences between the female participants' and the male participants' perception of the female and male subtypes are discussed. The results were obtained from the English and Spanish online questionnaires. Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 show which scales are perceived most differently by the female and male participant groups for each word. Scales with similar results among female and male participants are not listed. The results in the tables should be interpreted as follows: For example, Eng. *slut* is perceived by the female participants as warmer, stronger and more competent compared to the male participants, who perceive *slut* to be less like the traditional female stereotype and the typical adult woman and who consider this subtype to violate the female role more so than the female participants do.

4.4.1. English female subtypes

Table 7. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per English female subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>slut</i>	warmer, stronger, more competent	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more violation of the female role
<i>slag</i>	warmer, stronger, better, more respectable, more competent, less freedom to do as she pleases, more conscious choice of role	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more like the typical adult man, more violation of the female role
<i>whore</i>	better, more respectable	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the traditional male stereotype, more violation of the female role, more violation of the male role
<i>bitch</i>	warmer, stronger, better, more competent, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases	less like the traditional female stereotype, more like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more like the typical adult man
<i>dyke</i>	less violation of the female role, less violation of the male role	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the traditional male stereotype, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>girl</i>	warmer, weaker, younger, better, more respectable	less like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, more conscious choice of role
<i>babe</i>	warmer, better, more respectable, more competent, more active	more violation of the male role, less like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult man
<i>lady</i>	more like the traditional female stereotype, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as she pleases	more like the typical adult woman, warmer, stronger, better, more respectable, more active
<i>Mrs</i>	less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as she pleases	warmer, better, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult woman
<i>Ms</i>	stronger, better, older, more respectable, more competent, more active	warmer, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult woman

Looking at the results for the three promiscuous female subtypes *slut*, *slag* and *whore*, it is striking that the differences between the female and the male participants' perceptions are similar for all three: The female participants tend to generally regard those subtypes as warmer, better, stronger, more competent and more respectful, whereas the male participants seem to consider them less like the traditional female stereotype and the typical adult woman and think more than the female participants that they violate the female role. Some of those tendencies

can also be detected in the recorded interviews. While all English participants generally agree that *slut*, *slag* and *whore* are expressions with a negative connotation, there are subtle differences in how females and males describe *slut*, for example:

I think it's come from something negative, but I know people who've used it in a way that just describes someone as sleeping around a lot but not judging them because of it. Just saying, like, they are a slut but that's fine, they can live however they want. But generally, if it's used in, like, general cases it's normally a bad thing, it's seen as a bad thing. (English female participant)

I feel like a lot of people, like, in high school have used slut, like, really, like, casually ... The original feeling behind it or, like, how harsh it was originally has kind of, like, faded away a bit because it's used so casually sometimes. (English female participant)

I don't think there's any context in which slut is positive or in which it isn't offensive ... I personally don't see it as ever being positive, I think it's quite a negative word. (English male participant)

Another interesting result is the fact that the female participants tend to consider the subtype *girl* younger than the male participants do while all participants consider *girl* very young anyways. What is striking is that the male equivalent, Eng. *boy*, shows the opposite result (see next section). It is the male rather than the female participants who consider *boy* younger. Thus, it might be the case that people tend to be more aware of the age factor in a subtype that is part of their own gender in-group. One female participant's quote from her interview also points to this: "You'd call someone a girl at the age when you wouldn't still call a boy a boy".

Lastly, another noteworthy subtype is *lady*. While the female participants consider this subtype to be like the traditional female stereotype more than the male participants do and also think less than the males that a woman referred to as *lady* is free to do as she pleases, the male participants perceive this subtype to be like the typical adult woman more than the female participants do. They also regard this subtype as warmer, stronger, better, more respectable and more active than the female participants. The following quote by a female participant about the patronising connotation of *lady* points to this tendency, too:

I feel like in the past, people have said, like, 'You ladies go first' or something like that and it'll be me and a friend and it'll be an older man talking to us and it's, I think that's a bit patronising ... I don't know cause ladies are high up but it's still 'You go first cause you're a woman and you can't handle yourself', I don't know, so yeah, I find the word lady patronising. (English female participant)

4.4.2. English male subtypes

Table 8. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per English male subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>player</i>	more like the traditional male stereotype, more like the typical adult man, more like the typical adult woman, more conscious choice of role	warmer, more respectable
<i>lad</i>	better, more violation of the male role, more like the traditional female stereotype	warmer, stronger, younger, more competent, more like the traditional male stereotype
<i>dick</i>	warmer, stronger, better, older, more competent, more freedom to do as he pleases	more violation of the male role, less like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult man, less conscious choice of role
<i>fag</i>	stronger, older	more violation of the male role, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>mate</i>	less like the traditional male stereotype, less like the typical adult man	warmer, weaker, younger, less competent
<i>dude</i>	better, less violation of the male role, more like the traditional male stereotype	warmer, younger, less competent, more active, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>guy</i>	less like the typical adult man, more violation of the male role, more like the typical adult woman	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>boy</i>	more like the typical adult man, less violation of the female role, more violation of the male role	weaker, less competent, younger, more passive
<i>Mr</i>	more conscious choice of role	more like the typical adult man, more like the traditional male stereotype, less violation of the male role, older
<i>Sir</i>	older, more like the typical adult man, more like the traditional male stereotype, less violation of the male role	stronger, more respectable, more competent, more active, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases

When it comes to the most interesting differences between the female and the male English participants' perception of the male subtypes, there are three subtypes with similar results: *mate*, *dude* and *boy*. There is a tendency in all three cases for the male participants compared to the female participants to consider the respective subtype as warmer, weaker, younger, and less competent – traits that are stereotypically seen as rather feminine traits. As mentioned above, the case of *mate* is particularly interesting since it seems to generally be perceived as a subtype of a man that is considered to be both male and female at the same time while also being evaluated very positively. The subtype *mate* was only produced by male participants in the brainstorming sessions of the previous study (Dziallas, under review). In the interview, one of them emphasizes the positivity and closeness in relation to this subtype: “A mate is someone

you'd classify as a friend, someone you're close to. ... You'd classify this person as someone that you like. It's kind of a, you know, nice term, I think."

Next, it is interesting to look at the homosexual subtype *fag* more closely. While all participants perceive this subtype to be violating the male role very much, the male participants think so a lot more. They also consider a man referred to as *fag* weaker than the female participants do. This tendency can also be found in the following quote of one of the male participants:

That's kind of like an offensive term because of how insecure men are about their sexuality. ... That can be used as an insult and a lot of people would take a lot of offense to. ... It's seen as such a negative connotation, within the society it's such a taboo that people take as offense. (English male participant)

Finally, when it comes to *lad*, the participants regard this subtype differently in that the male participants consider it more like the traditional male stereotype and think a man referred to as *lad* violates the male role less than the female participants do. The following quotes provide some background to those tendencies:

So someone's considered a lad if they drink a lot and if they, ehm, perhaps if they're in a long-term relationship they are less of a lad, that kind of thing, if they're sort of not scared to, like, strip off, or, ehm, quite boisterous. ... Some males I feel like they want to be a lad, it's a sign of respect if someone calls you a lad, so it can be a good thing, but I think that might be, like, a bit immature. (English female participant)

These days, lad has become this kind of lad culture, ... like kind of immature and loud and rowdy and degrading, it's the lad culture which is like this group mentality. ... I think some people do kind of, it's definitely like a peer pressure thing. ... Yeah, so I think to some people that's quite important to be perceived as a lad these days. (English female participant)

Stereotypical, what a man in his early teens should be. ... A laddish behaviour is kind of a bit careless, a bit rude, funny in quotation marks, trying to be the funny guy, kind of thing, bit disrespectful towards women, ... the kind of fool that the kids in teenage years try to be, it's very male. ... I think it has quite a few negative connotations ... but it's what people are peer-pressured into being within this society. (English male participant)

I think it's definitely something in like media and culture that you should be this laddy kind of person. ... I wouldn't say pressure but that kind of thing that, yeah, maybe it is desirable to be seen as a lad. (English male participant)

4.4.3. Spanish female subtypes

Table 9. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per Spanish female subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>guarra</i>	warmer, weaker, older, more active, less respectable, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as she pleases	more violation of the female role, more violation of the male role, less like the traditional female stereotype
<i>bollera</i>	less freedom to do as she pleases	warmer, better, younger, more competent, more violation of the female role, less like the typical adult woman
<i>princesa</i>	more like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, warmer, weaker, better, younger, less respectable, less competent, more passive	more violation of the female role, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>señorita</i>	more like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman, warmer, better, less active, less respectable, less competent	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>señora</i>	more like the typical adult woman, more respectable, less active, less competent, older	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>tía</i>	more like the typical adult woman, older, better, less active	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>chica</i>	younger, more like the traditional female stereotype, less like the typical adult woman	warmer, better, less respectable, more active, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>niña</i>	younger, less like the typical adult woman, less respectable, more active, more like the traditional female stereotype	more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>piba</i>	better, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult woman	more violation of the female role, colder, stronger, more respectable, older, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases
<i>chavala</i>	less violation of the female role, more like the typical adult woman, more like the traditional female stereotype	warmer, stronger, more respectable, better, more competent, more active, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as she pleases

The subtype *princesa*, which generally refers to a beautiful young woman, is considered by the female participants like the traditional female stereotype much more so than by the male participants. At the same time, the female participants regard *princesa* less than the male participants as the typical adult woman. This result could indicate that the female participants are aware of the stereotype conformity of the subtype *princesa* – which could also explain why

compared to the male participants they rate it warmer, weaker, better, younger, less respectable, less competent and more passive, i.e. stereotypically female characteristics –, but believe more than the male participants that a subtype like *princesa* does not represent the actual typical adult woman. The male participants, on the other hand, consider this subtype to violate the female role more than the female participants, and while both groups think a *princesa* was given her role in society and is settled into it, the female participants think so more. Comparing the following quotes from a male and a female participant highlights how their descriptions match but how the latter makes sure to exclude herself from the group of women referred to as *princesas*:

Una chica que es adorable o que es una niña ideal. No digo que sea tu niña, tu chica perfecta pero, bueno, que sea la chica de las películas tuyas. ... Aunque es un poco hipócrita esta terminología pero, pues una princesa es una chica con muy pocos chicos, con pocas relaciones, que es guapa, que es lista, que es educada, ... es de buena familia, ... que socialmente sería lo mejor. [A girl who's adorable or the perfect girl. I'm not saying that she's the perfect girl for you but she's like the girl from the movies. ... Although the expression is a bit hypocritical, a *princesa* is a girl with very few guys, few relationships, who is pretty, who is smart, who is educated, ... she's from a good family, ... socially she'd be the best.] (Spanish male participant)

Te sueles estar refiriendo a mujeres con un, pues, con un nivel socioeconómico acomodado. ... A mí personalmente no [me gusta ser llamada princesa] pero hay muchas mujeres que sí. ... Y lo he escuchado muchas veces en una pareja que el hombre la llama a ella princesa. ... Sí que hay mujeres que sí que les gusta, ¿no?, el verse tratadas como una princesa. ... ¿Cómo es una princesa? Pues es elegante, suelen ser las mujeres muy elegantes, que van muy bien vestidas siempre, muy arregladas, dulces, con el patrón de la sociedad. [It normally refers to women of a, well, higher socio-economic status. ... I personally don't [like being called a *princesa*] but there are many women who do. ... And I've heard it many times in couples that the man calls her *princesa*. ... Yes, there are women who like being treated like a *princesa*. ... What's a *princesa* like? Well, she's elegant, they tend to be very elegant women, who always dress very well, very made up, sweet, according to societal standards.] (Spanish female participant)

As with *princesa*, there are several other subtypes which the female participants perceive more than the male participants to be like the traditional female stereotype but at the same time rate them less like the typical adult woman. This is the case for *princesa*, *señorita*, *chica* and *niña* – all perceived to be very or fairly young subtypes. As mentioned above, it seems that the female participants are more aware of the stereotype conformity of those subtypes but see typical adult women represented by them less than the male participants do. This assumption is supported by the fact that the female participants perceive the homosexual subtype *bollera*, for example, much more like the typical adult woman than the male participants do while both groups consider this subtype unlike the traditional female stereotype.

Another interesting finding is the fact that for nearly all expressions, the male participants consider the female subtypes to be free to do as they please and to have consciously chosen their role in society (except for *bollera*) more than the female participants do. Thus, it seems that the female participants regard women – mostly regardless of the kind of subtype – as having been given their role in society and being settled into it more compared to the male participants. In-group and out-group bias could explain this tendency. As Molenberghs (2013) points out, “[w]e experience the actions of in-group members differently [and w]e empathize more with in-group members” (p. 1530). The female participants (i.e. the in-group) consider the different

subtypes of women to be struggling and to be stuck in rigid roles more than the male participants (i.e. the out-group).

4.4.4. Spanish male subtypes

Table 10. Scales with biggest differences between female and male participants' perceptions per Spanish male subtype.

Word	Female participants	Male participants
<i>cabrón</i>	warmer, stronger, more violation of the male role, more like the typical adult man, more like the traditional male stereotype	better, younger, less respectable, less competent, less conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>macho</i>	warmer, stronger, better, younger, more competent, more respectable, more active	less like the traditional male stereotype, more violation of the male role, less conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>maricón</i>	less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	better, younger, more respectable, more competent, more violation of the male role
<i>señor</i>	more like the traditional male stereotype, less violation of the male role	better, less conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>tío</i>	more like the typical adult man, less like the traditional male stereotype	warmer, better, younger, less respectable, less competent, less active, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>colega</i>	more violation of the male role, less like the traditional male stereotype, more like the traditional female stereotype, more like the typical adult female, more conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	warmer, better, stronger, more respectable, more competent, younger, more active, less like the typical adult man
<i>chaval</i>	more conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	warmer, less respectable, more active, more like the typical adult man, less violation of the male role
<i>pibe</i>	warmer, stronger, more respectable, more active	better, more like the traditional male stereotype, more conscious choice of role, more freedom to do as he pleases
<i>chico</i>	less violation of the male role, less freedom to do as he pleases	warmer, more active
<i>niño</i>	warmer, better, younger, less conscious choice of role, less freedom to do as he pleases	less like the traditional male stereotype

When it comes to the Spanish male subtypes, there are interesting differences between the female and the male participants' perceptions of the subtype *macho*, for example. While the female participants consider this subtype to be warmer, stronger, better, younger, more competent, more respectable and more active, the male participants perceive a man referred to

as *macho* to be less like the traditional male stereotype and to be violating the male role more. These tendencies can also be detected in the recorded interviews, especially when it comes to the scales *evaluation*, *strength* and *respectability*:

Sería el tipo de hombre que piensa en sí mismo, lleva aires de macho alfa, y no tiene en cuenta ni los sentimientos de los demás ni los suyos, porque los apaga. ... Macho, por ejemplo, puede tener esa interpretación o puede tener otra. Porque macho puede ser también caballero. ... Puede ser como el hombre que protege a la familia, y desde un punto de vista bueno y no malentendido. ... A mí, por ejemplo, me gustan los hombres que son muy hombres. Pero también tiene ese doble, ese arma de doble filo porque son las dos cosas al final, lo sabes, como el hombre que trabaja y que tal y no sé qué, pero a la vez es algo malo porque se olvida de lo que siente y no tiene en cuenta los sentimientos de los demás. Tiene esas dos caras, yo creo. [It would be the type of man who only cares about himself, with this alpha male attitude, and who doesn't consider other people's feelings nor his own because he turns them off. ... *Macho*, for example, can have this meaning or another one. Because *macho* can also mean *caballero*. ... It can be the man who protects his family, in a good way. ... I, for example, like men who are very manly. But it's also this double, this double-edged sword because in the end there are those two sides, you know, like the man who works and all and what not, but at the same time it's bad because he forgets about his own feelings and he doesn't consider other people's feelings. I think he has these two faces.] (Spanish female participant)

Es un macho, es un hombretón, cosas positivas, digamos, para ellos, ¿no? ... Hacen referencia a que son mayores que algo, que son, que tienen más poder, que son superiores. [He's a *macho*, he's an *hombretón*, they are, let's say, positive things for them, right? ... They refer to being bigger than something, to being more powerful, to being superior.] (Spanish female participant)

Como yo lo veo es alguien, digamos, rudo, ¿no?, lleva esa masculinidad a unos extremos un poco brutos, incluso, ehm, en España decimos por ejemplo 'macho ibérico', es alguien, pues, un hombre rudo, un hombre del campo, a lo mejor, un hombre bruto, fuerte, con vello en, no sé, [un hombre] simple, por ejemplo. Quizás también está más relacionado con el ámbito sexual, depende de con quien estás hablando. [The way I see it, it's someone, let's say, rude, who takes masculinity to extremes that are a bit coarse, even, ehm, in Spain we say, for example, *macho ibérico*, it's someone, well, a rude man, a man from the countryside, maybe, a coarse and strong man, with hair on, I don't know, [a] simple [man], for example. Maybe it's also more related to the sexual sphere, it depends on who you're talking to.] (Spanish male participant)

Macho sería como, no despectivo, pero como que ha hecho algo mal y dirías algo como 'Joder, macho'. ... Que no ha estudiado, el examen era fácil, por ejemplo, y no ha estudiado mucho diría 'Joder, macho, el examen estaba tirado'. [*Macho* would be, like, not derogatory, but, like, if he did something bad and you would say something like 'Fuck, *macho*'. ... Like, if he hasn't studied, the exam was easy, for example, and he hasn't studied a lot, I'd say 'Fuck, *macho*, the exam was super easy'.] (Spanish male participant)

The female and male participants' differing perceptions of the subtype *niño* are worth mentioning, too. While all participants rate this subtype as young, the female participants do so much more than the males. In fact, their rating of the scale *age* nearly reaches the young extreme. The following quotes by a female and a male participant highlight the tendency that for the former the subtype *niño* is very much related to young age, whereas for the latter age is less of a factor.

Niño sí que solamente se utiliza para los infantes, quizá hasta los doce o así. [Yes, *niño* is only used for boys, maybe until the age of 12 or so.] (Spanish female participant)

Y niño yo también lo utilizaría para, para una persona genérica, que no tiene que ser mi amigo. [And I would also use *niño* for, for a generic person, who doesn't have to be my friend.] (Spanish male participant)

Lastly, when it comes to the homosexual subtypes, a recurring pattern seems to exist in both languages and for both female and male subtypes: Eng. *dyke* and *fag* and Sp. *bollera* and *maricón* are all considered by the male participants to be violating the female and male role respectively more than by the female participants. Thus, the female participants appear to be more open than the males to regarding less traditional subtypes of women and men – such as homosexual persons – as role-consistent.

5. Discussion

Many of the findings of the current study are in line with results obtained by previous research. Accordingly, like in previous studies (Vonk & Ashmore, 2003; Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005), the results revealed a mostly clear separation of female and male subtypes, with some female subtypes approaching the male side (e.g. the promiscuous subtypes Eng. *whore*, *slag* and *slut*, *dyke* and *bitch*) and some male subtypes approaching the female side (e.g. Eng. *fag*, *mate* and Sp. *maricón*). Additionally, as shown above in the presentation of the PCA, PC1 and partly PC2 mostly correspond to female and male global stereotypes. Thus, the participants of this study – all university students of a mean age of around 19.7 years – tend to see stereotypical women as warm, passive and weak, while they consider stereotypical men as respectable, competent and strong, which is in line with gender stereotype research (e.g. Ellemers, 2018, p. 281). However, as seen above, PCA can also reveal results that do not conform to the global stereotypes. One example is the tendency for English participants to perceive non-traditional male subtypes as positive and respectable.

Some of the results obtained in the current study do not conform to previous findings. As mentioned above, while the English female subtypes *bitch*, *dyke*, *slut*, *whore* and *slag* approaching the masculine rather than the feminine spectrum aligns with previous findings, the order in which they do so does not. Accordingly, *bitch* is the closest to the male group of Eng. *lad* and *player* and Sp. *cabrón* and Eng. *dick* but also to the group of the all-male subtypes that were labelled above as rather colloquial forms of address to refer to a male friend or acquaintance. *Bitch* is followed by *dyke* which is then followed by the promiscuous subtypes *slut*, *slag* and *whore*. As mentioned above, it seems that since the studies by Vonk and Ashmore (2003) and Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) were conducted, promiscuity – while still being heavily considered a masculine feature – has become less of a trait that is mainly connected to the male role. Farvid, Brown and Roney (2017) show a similar development in their study on heterosexual casual sex and the sexual double standard: Women tend to reject a sexual double standard and speak of heterosexual casual sex as something that has become increasingly normal and even desirable. It is, however, important to note that a tendency remains for women to use sexual double standard discourse when talking about other women (Farvid, Brown, & Roney, 2017, p. 556).

This current study additionally produced some findings that have not yet been the focus of previous studies. As mentioned above, Eng. *mate* has previously not been taken into account in studies about gender subtypes but revealed some interesting results in the current study. Accordingly, as shown above, *mate* appears to be the subtype that is most dissimilar to any other subtype, as it is considered both masculine and feminine. Apart from the ratings on scales that directly refer to perceived maleness and femaleness (*typical adult man/woman*,

male/female stereotype, violation of the male/female role), the ratings on other scales also show this ambiguity. *Mate* scores high on stereotypically masculine traits such as strength (strong), respectability (respectable) and competence (competent), while it also reaches high scores on stereotypically feminine traits such as warmth (warm) and evaluation (good). It is little surprising that *mate*, which refers to a close friend, is rated warm and good. However, what is striking is that this subtype is also perceived as quite feminine. This suggests that stereotypically feminine traits might be intertwined with femaleness to such great extent that high warmth and evaluation scores trigger the perception of *mate* as a female subtype despite still being seen as a male subtype with stereotypically masculine traits at the same time.

Moreover, there are results obtained in this study that highlight the value of incorporating more than one language in the research design. While there are many instances of the English and the Spanish equivalent subtypes being perceived in very similar ways (Eng. *girl* and Sp. *chica*, Eng. *Sir* and Sp. *señor*, Eng. *fag* and Sp. *maricón*, Eng. *boy* and Sp. *niño*, Eng. *dick* and Sp. *cabrón*), there are some with apparent differences. One example is Sp. *guarra*, a colloquial term for a promiscuous woman. Compared to the English equivalents *slut*, *slag* and *whore*, the perceptions of *guarra* differ widely in some aspects. Most apparent are the different ratings on the scales *violation of the male role* and *typical adult man*. Accordingly, *guarra* is perceived to be a subtype that is completely violating the male role and not at all like the typical adult man – much more so than the English equivalents. An explanation for this difference could be the different scores of the United Kingdom (rather masculine country) and Spain (rather feminine country) in the dimension *Masculinity and Femininity* of the Cultural Dimension Theory (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Masculine countries tend to enforce the sexual double standard according to which casual sex and promiscuity are appropriate for men but inappropriate for women, while feminine countries generally refuse the sexual double standard (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010, p. 159). This explains why the participants from the United Kingdom, a rather masculine country, consider a female promiscuous subtype one that is like a typical man more than the participants from Spain do. This example highlights the benefit of simultaneously investigating and analysing gender subtypes of more than one language.

The same goes for looking at the results obtained by female and male participants individually. While Vonk and Ashmore (2003) as well as Carpenter and Trentham (2001) did not differentiate between female and male participants in their studies, Green, Ashmore and Manzi (2005) found no big differences between the two groups and conducted their study gender-independently. However, the current study revealed interesting perceptual differences between the groups. Most noteworthy is the finding that participants perceive many subtypes of the gender out-group as much like the typical adult woman/man, however, when it comes to their own gender they tend to rate many subtypes as conforming to the female/male stereotype but do not actually consider the subtypes to be like the typical adult woman/man. For example, Sp. *princesa*, *señorita*, *chica*, *niña* and *tía* are each perceived by the female participants to be like the traditional female stereotype more than by the male participants but also considered to be like the typical adult woman less than by the male participants. This tendency might be evidence of participants acknowledging existent stereotypes about their own gender but rejecting their representativeness regarding their gender in-group. Accordingly, “individuals who are members of the negatively stereotyped groups will be conscious of the content of those stereotypes” (Mednick & Thomas, 2008, p. 640). It is important, however, to consider the possibility of social desirability bias due to the self-report method applied in this study.

6. Conclusion

For future research it could be beneficial to divide the participants into different groups depending on their gender identity as this allows for more differentiated results. In the current study, this was in fact attempted by using a gender identity questionnaire. However, due to the relatively small number of participants, they could not be divided into more groups other than *females* and *males* so the data obtained by the gender identity questionnaire was not used in the analysis.

Of course, the results presented in this paper are based on a small sample size which makes generalizations nearly impossible. However, the findings are to a large degree in line with those of previous studies so it can be assumed that a bigger sample size would yield similar results. Furthermore, when it comes to the novel findings of the present study – e.g. regarding the cases of Eng. *mate* and Sp. *guarra* –, it would be interesting to test whether large scale studies show similar results. Nonetheless, a methodological advantage of the present study could likely be the fact that the small number of participants allowed for extensive individual interviews which – in addition to the online questionnaire – produced in-depth insights and pointed out subtle differences.

While it was attempted in the present study to investigate the differences between English and Spanish expressions for women and men using two sets of participants, from London and Madrid respectively, it could be beneficial to consider recruiting a single set of bilingual participants in future studies. This way it would be possible to investigate gender subtype perceptions of single individuals in two separate languages.

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