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Fear and cultural background drive sexual orientation prejudice in France

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1 **Fear and cultural background drive sexual orientation prejudice in France**

2

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14 Sexual stereotyping and its negative consequences remain major issues in Western societies. Sexual prejudice is
15 often nurtured by the socio-cultural background in which individuals grow up, making differences in sexual
16 prejudice especially visible in multicultural societies. In France, one example of such a multicultural society with
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20 analyses on an elicited corpus of spontaneous speech samples. We consider in particular the effects of the
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26 their speech samples. The results are discussed in the context of current diversity approaches in France and their
27 implications for potential prejudice regulation strategies.

28

29 *keywords: sexual orientation prejudice, homonegativity, France*

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32 Sexual orientation prejudice (Herek, 2000; 2004) is increasingly common in Western societies
33 and throughout the world, despite the fact that discrimination on the basis of perceived sexual
34 orientation is considered wrong and that an increasing number of anti-discrimination laws
35 have been adopted in order to protect members of the LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual,
36 transgender, or intersex) community (Mendos et al., 2020; Equality & Human Right
37 Commission, 2020). Moreover, the consequences of sexual orientation prejudice are severe: it
38 can limit job opportunities (Fasoli, Maass, Paladino & Sulpizio, 2017; Gowen & Britt, 2006;
39 Rule & Alaei, 2016) and may impact adoption success (Fasoli & Maass, 2020), sexual
40 orientation prejudice can lead to discrimination in teaching contexts (Taylor & Raadt, 2020)
41 and may lead to an overall diminished quality of life and well-being (Blashill & Powlishta,
42 2009; Jackson, Hackett, Grabovac, Smith, & Steptoe, 2019; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007;
43 Miller, 2018).44 Therefore, we are in need of explaining its underlying motivations more than ever before.
45 Previous research has provided multiple explanations for sexual orientation prejudice. It
46 might be, for example, motivated by previous unpleasant interactions with individuals
47 happening to be homosexuals, i.e. negative interactions, which are subsequently

48 overgeneralized and applied to all homosexuals (Herek, 2004). Or, sexual orientation
49 prejudice has been explained by a mismatch between heterosexuals' norms and values, both
50 on an individual level and a group level, and those of the gay community (van Leeuwen,
51 Miton, Firat & Boyer, 2016). And finally, homosexuals might be perceived as a threat to
52 hegemonic masculinity by violating traditional gender roles (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009;
53 Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner & Weinberg, 2007; Keiller, 2010; Lick & Johnson, 2015;
54 Parrott, 2009). Importantly, the latter can be regarded as culturally shaped by heteronormative
55 belief systems that value masculinity or femininity differentially (Podesva et al., 2001;
56 Valentova, Rieger, Havlicek, Linsenmeier & Bailey, 2011).

57 Here, we focus on identifying anti-gay attitudes and their socio-cultural underpinnings in
58 France. France is a multicultural society in which a large part of citizens has a recent
59 migratory (Maghrebian) background (INSEE, 2021), and is influenced by different belief
60 systems. These culture-differential belief systems and accompanying stereotypes can
61 constitute a challenge for multicultural societies (Lankester & Alexopoulos, 2020; Schiller
62 et al., 2020; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2020). The socio-cultural basis of sexual orientation
63 prejudice in France, however, has largely remained unexplored, despite an overall alarming
64 situation: SOS Homophobia's annual report, for instance, revealed an increase in the number
65 of French hate crimes against members of the LGBTI community, which constitutes an
66 increase for the forth consecutive year (Mendos et al., 2020).

67 The current study investigates, therefore, the socio-cultural underpinnings of sexual
68 orientation prejudice in France in more detail. We consider in particular the effects of the
69 social variables cultural background (France vs. Maghreb), age and gender on sexual
70 stereotyping towards gays vs. lesbians. Specifically, we test whether sexual orientation
71 prejudice in form of more negative or less positive attitudes and associated emotion categories
72 (*joy, sadness, fear, anger, disgust*) towards male vs. female homosexuality/ homosexuals in
73 France is motivated by these variables.

74 75 ***Heteronormative belief systems, gender roles and sexual orientation prejudice***

76 In France and Maghreb, societies can be assumed to follow heteronormative belief systems.
77 The latter, however, as well as linked gender norms of masculinity and femininity might differ
78 and be differently endorsed across these countries (Al-Ghafari, 2002; Moussawi, 2011; Siraj,
79 2006).

80 Heteronormativity can be regarded as an institutionalized social force that proscribes
81 appropriate and acceptable behaviours under the assumption that heterosexuality is normal
82 (Habarth, 2015; Herek 2007; Kitzinger, 2014; Yep, 2003). Heteronormativity is closely

83 related to gender role expectations, i.e. expectations of how men and women should behave,
84 how they should express themselves or which interests they should have (Deaux & Kite,
85 1987; Whitley, 2001). Typically men are expected to be “masculine”, i.e. strong and agentic,
86 whereas expected “female” behaviours can be described as more passive and communal
87 (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Gender role expectations include also expectations about
88 relationships and sexual behaviours, i.e. heterosexual relationships and behaviours in
89 heteronormative societies (Habarth, 2015; Kitzinger, 2005). Therefore, heteronormative men,
90 who have internalized heteronormativity to a high degree and thus intertwine sex and gender,
91 feel they must engage with women in order to conform to societal norms and to be or appear
92 sufficiently “masculine” (Herek, 1986; Kitzinger, 2005). A higher degree of endorsement of
93 heteronormativity has been found to lead to an increase in negative attitudes towards
94 homosexuality (Nagoshi et al., 2019; Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000). In a system of social
95 hierarchies, non-conformism with heteronormative ideals is associated with inferiority and
96 lower status and leads to overall negative consequences (Deaux & Kite, 1987; Gordon &
97 Meyer, 2007; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), especially for men (Sirin, McCreary & Mahalik,
98 2004; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). This is true because social
99 hierarchies benefit the dominant who want to maintain their dominance (Herek 2016; Jost &
100 Banaji, 1994; Pratto et al., 2006). If their dominance or masculine characteristics are
101 threatened or perceived as threatened by non-conform behaviour (Herek, 1986; Kiss et al.,
102 2018; Parrott, 2009; Parrott & Zeichner, 2008; Theodore & Basow, 2000; Whitley and
103 Ægisdóttir, 2000), heteronormative ideology leads then to anti-gay attitudes or negative
104 emotions (e.g., *disgust*; Ray & Parkhill, 2021), sometimes even avoidance behaviour (e.g.,
105 *fear*; Bosson et al., 2006; Bosson et al., 2011; Buck et al., 2013), in the observers (Nagoshi et
106 al., 2019), aiming at differentiating oneself from the violator of heteronormativity (Bosson et
107 al., 2011; Herek, 2016; Parrott, 2009; Parrott & Zeichner, 2008). In this context, emotions can
108 be regarded as adaptive mechanisms that produce specific cognitive, physiological and
109 behavioural responses to challenging, i.e. (perceived as) threatening, environmental stimuli
110 (Damasio, 1994; Schwarz & Clore, 1996), and are therefore crucial for intergroup relations.
111 *Joy* (or happiness), for instance, can point at satisfaction, *sadness* can signal personal loss and
112 the need for caution (Bodenhausen et al., 1994). *Anger* has been found to signal the need for
113 approach and rapid action, and has been discussed in the context of aggressive homophobia
114 (van Leeuwen et al., 2016). *Fear* has been investigated as anxiety and avoidance response to
115 imagined, anticipated, and actual contact with a lesbian or gay individual (Buck et al., 2013).
116 *Disgust* has been found to be an emotional response to contagious, offensive, distasteful, or

117 unpleasant environmental stimuli and has lately been investigated in the context of intergroup
118 relations, in particular as heterosexual men's response to gay men (Ray & Parkhill, 2021).

119

120 ***Sexual orientation prejudice across cultural contexts***

121 Heteronormative belief systems and norms of masculinity and femininity are grounded in
122 specific cultural contexts and might vary accordingly (Podesva, Roberts & Campbell-Kibler,
123 2001; Valentova & Havliček, 2013). Recent large-scale and longitudinal studies into attitudes
124 towards homosexuality suggest that sexual orientation prejudice is culturally shaped
125 (Inglehart et al., 2014; OCDE, 2019). Moreover, the cultural belief-systems are closely related
126 to religious affiliations and religiosity (Bochow, 2003; Glick et al. 2007; Keiller, 2010;
127 McDermott, Schwartz, Lindley & Proietti, 2013; Reese, Steffens & Jonas, 2014]; Sakallı-
128 Uğurlu & Uğurlu, 2016; Simon, 2008). Religion has been found to be a strong predictor of
129 sexual orientation prejudice. Anderson & Koc (2015), for instance reveal a strong link
130 between Islam (vs. Atheism) and explicit anti-gay attitudes, especially towards gay men.
131 Moreover, sexual stereotyping has been generally found to be more frequent in Muslim-
132 majority countries (Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2015; Smith et al., 2014;) where homosexuality is
133 often rejected for religious reasons (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Kligerman, 2007; Sherkat et al.,
134 2011; Scull & Mousa, 2017).

135

136 ***Age and sexual orientation prejudice***

137 Sexual stereotyping is most certainly not only varying across cultures, but also across
138 different age groups. Sexual stereotyping is generally assumed to be higher in older
139 populations, homosexuality being more accepted among the youth (OECD, 2019). This has
140 been explained by an "ageing effect", i.e. the fact that people become less accepting towards
141 homosexuality when they grow older. Recent studies, however, suggest a cohort effect
142 whereby younger generations are more liberal, and therefore more conducive to greater
143 acceptance of sexual minorities. The within-cohort study by Andersen & Fetner (2008), for
144 instance, analyses the tolerance of homosexuality in Canada and the United States, using a
145 dataset from the World Values Survey (1981-2000). The study reveals younger cohorts as
146 being typically the most tolerant; the researchers also find proof for improvements in
147 acceptance of homosexuality over time within all cohorts, hereby refuting the age-stability
148 hypothesis that claims that opinions on controversial social issues are formed by early
149 adulthood, and change little with age.

150 By contrast, a recent study on anti-gay prejudice in Jamaica finds that especially young men
151 (with lower income and less education) report more anti-gay behaviour than women (Borras

152 Guevara & West, 2020). Another study, conducted in non-Western populations, the three
153 Asian cities Hanoi (Vietnam), Taipei (Taiwan) and Shanghai (China), identified mainly
154 negative perceptions of homosexuality in young adults. Their homonegativity was explained
155 by a lack of knowledge with respect to sexual and reproductive health as well as by traditional
156 values influenced by Confucianism (Feng et al., 2012).

157 Overall, these results suggest that sexual stereotyping is less frequent in younger Westerners
158 than in older age groups. However, this might not be true for non-Western countries due to
159 different cultural belief systems where sexual orientation prejudice is also high in younger
160 populations. Additionally other factors such as socio-economic status or education might
161 modulate the degree of homonegativity in younger age groups. If sexual orientation prejudice
162 in France is lower in younger people of French vs. Maghrebian background has not yet been
163 sufficiently explored.

164

165 ***Gender and sexual orientation prejudice***

166 Closely related to heteronormative belief systems that mainly refer to norms of masculinity is
167 the finding that sexual orientation prejudice is stronger in men. Studies consistently find that
168 in Western societies, in the United States (Davies, 2004; Poteat & Anderson, 2012; Whitley,
169 2001, 2009) and in Europe (Ciocca et al., 2017; Lingiardi, Falanga, & D'Augelli, 2005; van
170 den Akker, van der Ploeg, & Scheepers, 2013), for instance, men (vs. women) report more
171 anti-gay attitudes. This is also supported by some cross-cultural investigations of sexual
172 orientation prejudice (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009). However, if the association of sexual
173 orientation prejudice and gender varies as a function of culture remained largely unexplored.
174 By contrast, some studies suggest that the finding of men being more negative towards
175 homosexuality is not generalizable to non-Western societies (Feng et al., 2012; Proulx, 1997).
176 Moreover, a recent large-scale investigation on attitudes towards gays and lesbians across
177 overall 23 Western and non-Western countries suggests that the relationship between
178 participant gender and sexual stereotyping is inconsistent in Western countries, but not in non-
179 Western countries, where men (vs. women) hold more negative attitudes against gays
180 (Bettinsoli, Suppes & Napier, 2019). The impact of cultural belief systems on sexual
181 stereotyping in multicultural societies such as France has not yet been investigated.

182

183 ***Sexual orientation prejudice toward gay men vs. lesbian women***

184 Due to hegemonic masculinity, men hold more negative attitudes towards homosexuals, but
185 they are also more often victims of sexual stereotyping. At least in Italy and the United States
186 attitudes towards gays are more negative than towards females (Herek, 2002, Whitley, 2001;

187 Pistella et al., 2018). Overall, men report more negative attitudes towards gays (vs. lesbians)
188 than females, the latter not differentiating between the type of homosexuality (Herek, 2000,
189 2002; LaMar&Kite, 1998, Span & Vidal, 2003; but Proulx, 1997). Whether sexual orientation
190 prejudice in French citizens towards gays (vs. lesbians) is higher in men than women has not
191 yet been investigated. Moreover, it remains largely unclear whether differences in sexual
192 orientation prejudice towards gay vs. lesbians hold cross-culturally, and in particular across
193 French citizens with French vs. Maghrebian cultural background. So far, investigations with a
194 cross-cultural focus have mostly neglected to specify the type of homosexuality, the target
195 items only asking respondents to report their views on “homosexuals” or “homosexuality”
196 which is very likely understood as targeting male homosexuality (Herek, 2002; Kite &
197 Whitley, 1998; but Bettinsoli, Suppes & Napier, 2019).

198

199 ***Sexual stereotyping and sentiment analysis***

200 In order to investigate the socio-cultural basis of sexual orientation prejudice in form of
201 negative attitudes towards homosexuality/ homosexuals in France, we apply sentiment
202 analysis techniques to our corpus of experimentally elicited speech samples. Sentiment
203 analysis is the automatic determination of emotion in text, comprising valence (i.e., positivity,
204 negativity or neutrality), emotions (e.g., *anger*, *joy*, *disgust*), and other affectual states, using
205 computer algorithms (Mohammad, 2021). More generally, sentiment analysis can determine
206 one’s attitude towards a particular target or topic, i.e. one’s evaluative judgment (positive/
207 negative), one’s affectual attitude (e.g., *frustration*, *anger*, etc.) or one’s emotional state
208 (Mohammad, 2021).

209 This approach is specially suited in order to explore our data and in particular the
210 sociocultural basis of sexual orientation prejudice in France. Sentiment analysis has been
211 successfully applied before in studies aiming at a better understanding of social groups which
212 focussed, for instance, on differences in emotions in language used by different social groups
213 or on differences in language mentioning people from diverse backgrounds (Grijalva et al.,
214 2014; Mohammad & Yang, 2011; Montero, Munezero, & Kakkonen, 2014).

215 However, sentiment analysis comes with some challenges. The most important challenge is
216 that language in use is complex and subtle, i.e. the meaning of a sentence or text (utterance
217 meaning or pragmatic meaning) is not just simply the sum of the meanings of its parts (word
218 or lexical meaning; Mohammad, 2021). Moreover, language can be used creatively and in
219 non-standard ways (Mohammad, 2021). To provide one specific example from our dataset,
220 *homosexuality* or *homosexual* is not simply a negative lexical item, as is assumed by default
221 in common affect lexicons, but can be positively or negatively construed in context (e.g.,

222 *homosexuals as friends*), or lexical items might be modified, i.e. negated, amplified or
223 intensified (e.g., *I am not disgusted/ very disgusted*). These challenges can, however, be met
224 by using algorithms that have been trained on a sufficiently large and high-quality dataset, or
225 by manual analyses. While automatic analyses are error prone, manual analyses are costly and
226 time-consuming (Abdaoui, Azé & Bringay, 2017). Another challenge for the analysis of the
227 French dataset is that work on sentiment analysis in languages other than English are rare, and
228 therefore, less accurate (Abdaoui, Azé & Bringay, 2017). However recently, there has been an
229 increasing interest in French sentiment analysis and efforts to leverage the resources available
230 in English for sentiment analysis in French and other resource-poor languages (Kooli &
231 Pigneul, 2018; Paroubek et al., 2018; Tapi Nzali et al., 2017).

232 In our approach, we combine automatic with context-sensitive manual analyses, and
233 therefore, resolve the challenges outlined above. Moreover, our analysis yields a French affect
234 lexicon on ‘homosexuality’ that might be applied or extended for future research.

235

236 ***The current research***

237 Using a corpus of experimentally elicited, spontaneous speech samples by French participants
238 of differing cultural background, age and gender, we investigate the socio-cultural
239 underpinnings of sexual orientation prejudice towards gays vs. lesbians. Specifically, we test
240 whether sexual orientation prejudice in France in form of positive vs. negative sentiments and
241 emotions towards homosexuality/ homosexuals is dependent on the cultural background, on
242 age, on the gender, and the type of homosexuality (male vs. female homosexuality). Hereby,
243 we specifically differentiate between negative attitudes towards gays vs. lesbians, which has
244 been largely neglected (but cf. Bettinsoli, Suppes & Napier, 2019) by questionnaire-based
245 investigations which do not define the type of ‘homosexuality’. Moreover, our experimental
246 design targets attitudes towards homosexuality implicitly, via photo prompts, and avoids
247 therefore to a certain degree that the participants are not straightforward.

248 Based on previous research outlined above, we hypothesize that French Maghrebians may
249 exhibit stronger stereotypical behaviours, i.e. be more negative and use affect lexis associated
250 with *anger*, *fear* or *disgust* (Hypothesis I). Moreover, younger people should be less
251 prejudiced towards gays and lesbians, therefore more positive and use affect lexis associated
252 with *joy* (Hypothesis II). Following heteronormative ideology and the related masculinity
253 threat hypothesis, males should be more prone to sexual orientation prejudice than females,
254 therefore use more negative items and affect lexis conveying *anger*, *fear* or *disgust*
255 (Hypothesis III), and finally male homosexuality should be less accepted than female

256 homosexuality (Hypothesis IV), and therefore lead to more negative sentiments and conveyed
257 *anger, fear or disgust*.

258

259 **Methods**

260 *Participants*

261 We recruited study participants by means of advertisements in the city of Montpellier, France.
262 All participants gave written consent prior to the study and were given a financial
263 compensation for their participation. In total, 148 women and 181 men provided speech
264 samples (Median (M)= 25, Interquartile Range (IQR) = 22-29) and completed a questionnaire
265 assessing their sexual orientation (i.e., they had to state whether they considered themselves
266 as being homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual, or other), nationality, age, as well as country of
267 birth of their parents and grandparents. The French National Commission on Informatics and
268 Liberty approved all protocols used in this study (CNIL Number 2-17029\UMR5554).

269

270 *Procedure & measures*

271 The participants were randomly presented with one of eight pictures evoking homosexuality.
272 Half of the pictures showed two males, the other half two females intimately involved (e.g.,
273 french-kissing). Each participant was asked to describe freely what the picture evoked to them
274 without prior knowledge of the study aim. Subsequently, the data was manually transcribed.
275 Data analysis was performed on a subset of the speech samples wedding sentiment analysis
276 and discourse analytical procedures. This complementary approach allowed us to retrieve
277 subjective information with respect to homosexuality and to perform a context-sensitive
278 analysis, e.g., to retrieve negative and positive polarity items (word-level polarity) conveying
279 negative or positive meaning in their linguistic context (sentence-level polarity). The
280 subsample analysed comprised speech samples of heterosexual participants of French and
281 Maghrebian origin (cf. Table 1). Maghrebian origin was defined as having at least one
282 Maghrebian, i.e. Algerian, Tunisian or Moroccan, parent or grand-parent.

283

284 **Table 1.** Descriptive statistics – corpus size and sociocultural variables. ‘N’ stands for ‘number’, ‘M’ stands for
285 ‘median’, ‘IQR’ stands for ‘interquartile range’ in ‘()’.

286

	French		Maghrebian	
	female	male	female	male
participants N (total)	54	25	44	50
lexical tokens N (raw frequencies)	5 767	3 501	5 480	6 680
age (M and IQR)	(22) 23 (28)	(22) 23 (32)	(21) 24 (26)	(21) 23 (26)

287

288 *Sentiment analysis*

289 *Polarity lexicon*

290 In order to perform a polarity analysis of the data, an association lexicon was created in a
291 corpus-driven approach. The creation of the association lexicon was facilitated by the web-
292 based annotation tool Webanno, provided within the CLARIN-EU infrastructure (Eckart de
293 Castilho et al., 2016; Yimam et al., 2014). This annotation tool allows custom-layer
294 annotations and the export of the annotated data files which enables subsequent data
295 exploration and statistical analysis.

296 Lexical items in the corpus that had a core positive (e.g., *bien*, ‘good’) or negative (e.g., *mal*,
297 ‘bad’) meaning (i.e., denotation) or were closely associated with positive (e.g., *libre*, ‘free’) or
298 negative (e.g., *péché*, ‘sin’) valence (i.e. connotation) were included in the lexicon. Hereby,
299 word-level valence (lexical meaning) was established in context. That means that the
300 linguistic context (utterance meaning) of the words was taken into account in order to decide
301 whether an item was positive or negative (i.e., pragmatic meaning). This included taking
302 negations into account, since negation can change the truth value of the proposition. After
303 identification of the negation, the polarity of the items under the scope of negation, that is,
304 those affected by the negation word, were changed to the appropriate polarity: a negated
305 positive item was not counted as positive, but negative (e.g., *c’est [l’homosexualité] pas*
306 *naturel*, ‘this is not natural’); and a negated negative item was not counted as negative, but
307 neither as positive (e.g., *je ne suis pas contre [l’homosexualité]*, ‘I am not against
308 [homosexuality]’). Degree modifiers (e.g., *un peu*, ‘slightly’), intensifiers (e.g., *très*, ‘very’) or
309 modals (e.g., *peut, pourrait*, ‘can, could’) have not been taken into account, since they do not
310 change the propositional value of the utterances, which we wanted to determine in this
311 approach, but modify its emotionality, i.e., the degree of the overall sentiment. We neither
312 focused specifically on figurative language, sarcasm/ irony or metaphor.

313 Overall, we were interested in the speaker’s positive and negative sentiments towards
314 homosexuality, and we included in these categories both utterances that expressed first-person
315 sentiment ([...] *je suis dégouté*, ‘I am disgusted’) and third-person sentiment e.g., *c’est*
316 *[l’homosexualité] parfois très mal vu, voir condamné à mort*, ‘it [homosexuality] is
317 sometimes very poorly looked upon, even condemned to death’). Therefore, also utterances
318 were included that evoked positive or negative events or descriptions, and strictly speaking,
319 not speaker’s sentiment. Despite this, we included third-person sentiment, since we found that
320 it substantially contributes to the way in which homosexuality was positively or negatively
321 construed, i.e. perceived and experienced by the participants.

322 We also distinguished in our analysis between different parts-of-speech (POS), focussing
323 separately on nouns, verbs and adjectives/ adverbs, that were associated with positive or
324 negative sentiment. The reason for this is that these POS can realize positive or negative
325 sentiment differentially (Fronhofer, 2020), which became also clear from a preceding
326 qualitative analysis of the corpus: nouns primarily refer to the ways in which homosexuals are
327 addressed (e.g., *pédé*, ‘faggot’), provide reasons for the negative or positive sentiment (e.g.,
328 *crime*, ‘crime’), and describe positive or negative events (e.g., *manifestations*,
329 ‘demonstrations’); the category of verbs mainly subsumes positive or negative sentiments in
330 form of actions towards homosexuals (e.g., *insulter*, ‘to insult’ or *tolérer*, ‘tolerate’) or
331 constitutes first-person sentiments (e.g., *ça me dégoûte*, ‘it disgusts me’, *j’accepte*, ‘I accept’);
332 and finally the category of adjectives/ adverbs puts together evaluative attributes of
333 homosexuals’ orientation (e.g., *normal*, ‘normal’ or *malade*, ‘ill’).

334

335 *Conveyed emotions*

336 In order to analyse the conveyed emotions *joy*, *sadness*, *fear*, *anger* and *disgust* of the corpus,
337 we performed an automatic, dictionary-based sentiment analysis using a tidy text mining
338 approach (Silge & Robinson 2017). As dictionary and for emotion classification we used the
339 FEEL lexicon (Abdaoui, Azé & Bringay, 2017), which is one of the rare dictionaries for
340 French sentiment categories that exist, and which obtained competitive results, especially for
341 emotion classification. Moreover, FEEL was compiled combining automatic translation with
342 human professional translation, i.e. the French lexicon was automatically translated departing
343 from the English English NRC Word Emotion Association Lexicon (NRC-EmoLex;
344 Mohammad & Turney 2013) and was subsequently validated by a human translator. A subset
345 of the classifications were subject to further evaluations by three different annotators to assure
346 consistency. For our analysis of conveyed emotions in the corpus we screened the manually
347 created affect lexicon for the associated emotion categories *joy*, *sadness*, *fear*, *anger* and
348 *disgust*. In order to perform this analysis, we used the inner join function (Silge & Robinson
349 2017). Subsequently, the emotion categorizations were controlled and miscategorizations due
350 to contextual effects, i.e. negations, for instance, have been corrected and the corresponding
351 emotion category has been assigned manually.

352

353 *Statistical analysis*

354 All statistical analyses were performed using R (version 4.0.5; R Development Core Team
355 2021) and binomial GLMMs (*lme4* package version 1.1-27; Bates et al., 2021; Levshina,
356 2015). This allowed us to analyse the number of negative and positive polarity items

357 (separately for adjectives, verbs and nouns) relative to the total number of words per speech
358 sample as response variable, using cultural background, sex, the interaction of cultural
359 background and sex, age, and the sex of the kissing couples on the picture prompts as
360 explanatory variables. An observation-level-random effect was included in order to account
361 for overdispersion. For the analysis of conveyed emotions, we calculated the number of affect
362 lexemes per emotion category (*joy, sadness, fear, anger, disgust*) relative to the total number
363 of affect lexemes per speech sample as response variable, using emotion category, gender and
364 cultural background, as well as the interactions between cultural background and sex, emotion
365 category and sex as well as emotion category and cultural background as explanatory
366 variables. We excluded the variables of age and photo gender in the analysis of conveyed
367 emotions, since these variables had shown no or weak effects in the polarity analysis. A
368 participant-level random effect was included here in order to take into account that one study
369 participant could contribute emotion lexemes to different categories.

370 In both analyses we used model selection based on AICcs ('MuMIn' package version
371 1.43.17). We report the top ranked models (within 2 Δ AICc values of the best ranked model)
372 as well as relative parameter importances (sums of AICc weights) and show averaged model
373 predictions (AICc weight-based prediction averaging) for these models.

374

375 **Results**

376 *Negative polarity*

377 Focusing on the negative polarity items in our final sub-corpus, our AICc-based model
378 selection analysis reveals an overwhelmingly strong effect of cultural background (relative
379 importance, RI = 1), whereby study participants with Maghrebian background consistently
380 used more negative lexical items across all POS, i.e. more negative adjectives, nouns and
381 verbs (Fig. 1, Table 2), than participants with French background. Participant gender
382 modulated the effect of cultural background, especially for nouns which becomes evident
383 from the background x gender interaction retained by model selection (Table 2B): females
384 with French background exhibited relatively more negative nouns than males with French
385 background, while this difference was inverted for participants with Maghrebian background
386 (Fig. 1B; Table 2B). Moreover, gender was also retained in the top model for verbs, females
387 using more negative verbs than males (Fig. 1C; Table 2C). Finally, participant age (parameter:
388 age; Fig 1; Table 2) and gender of the homosexual couples shown in the picture prompts
389 (parameter: photo gender) had overall only weak additive effects.

390

391

392 *Positive polarity*

393 The AICc-based model selection analysis of positive polarity items in the final sub-corpus
394 confirms the strong effect of cultural background (RI= 0.94 for adjectives, RI=0.84 for nouns,
395 but not for verbs, RI=0.27; Fig. 2, Table 3) observed with respect to negative polarity.
396 Participants of French background used more positive adjectives and nouns than participants
397 with Maghrebian background, while no difference was observed for verbs. Moreover, model
398 selection revealed a consistent effect of age (RI=0.46, RI=0.70 and RI=0.95 for adjectives,
399 nouns and verbs respectively; Fig. 2), older participants using more positive polarity items
400 across all POS independent of cultural background. In contrast to negative polarity items the
401 analyses was overall less conclusive and the effects of other explanatory variables was weak
402 or inconsistent as becomes clear from the low weights associated with the top models (Table
403 3) and the large confidence intervals (Fig. 2).

404

405 *Context-sensitive qualitative analysis of the polarity lexicon*

406 The qualitative analysis of the polarity lexicon in context (cf. Appendix, Tables 1-4)
407 corroborates the results obtained in the quantitative polarity analysis. Focusing on negative
408 polarity items, we find that the negative lexical items differ qualitatively across participants of
409 Maghrebian and French background: the lexical items Maghrebian participants use with
410 respect to homosexuality or homosexuals are more negatively loaded. Examples comprise the
411 nouns *maladie* ('illness') or *péché* ('sin'), the adjectives *bizarre* ('bizarre'), *pas normale* ('not
412 normal'), *rare* ('rare') or the verbs/ verbal phrases *ça me dégoûte* ('it [homosexuality]
413 disgusts me'), *je ne comprends pas* ('I don't understand'), *je déteste* ('I hate') and *j'évite au*
414 *maximum* ('I avoid the most possible [homosexuals/ homosexuality]'). By contrast, the
415 French participants' negative nouns, adjectives and verbs mostly describe negative events
416 (*une exposition qui a été détruite*, 'an exposition that has been destroyed') and difficulties
417 homosexuals are confronted with (e.g., *c'est difficile* 'it is difficult', *ils sont persécutés*, 'they
418 are persecuted').

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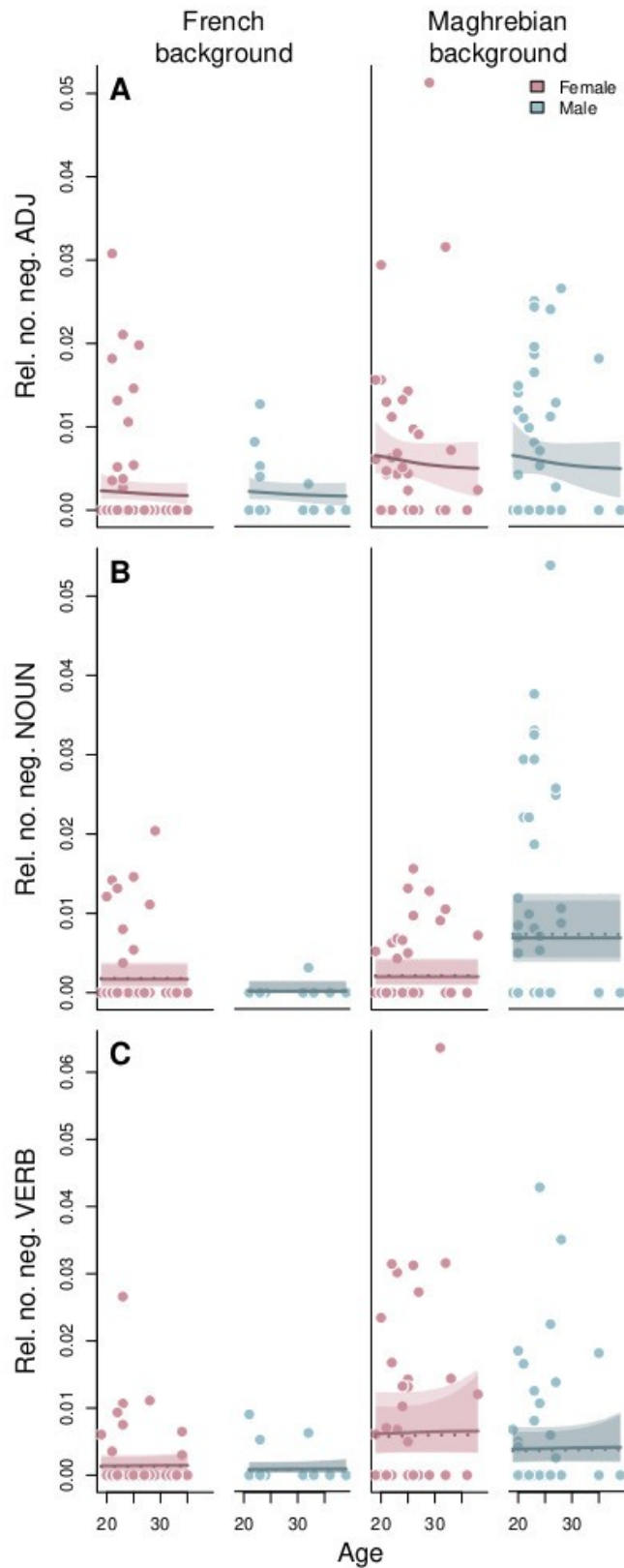


Figure 1: Relative frequencies (occurrence/ total words per text) of negative adjectives (A), nouns (B) and verbs (C) for participants of different age with French and Maghrebian background as well as females (pink) and males (blue). Full dots show data points. Solid lines visualize AICc-based averaged model predictions (prediction averaging based on AICc-weights) and shaded areas the 95% confidence intervals. When the parameter photo gender was retained in the best models selected (models with $\Delta AICc < 2$, cf. Table 2), solid lines show the model prediction for observing female photo gender, dotted lines visualize the model prediction for observing male photo gender.

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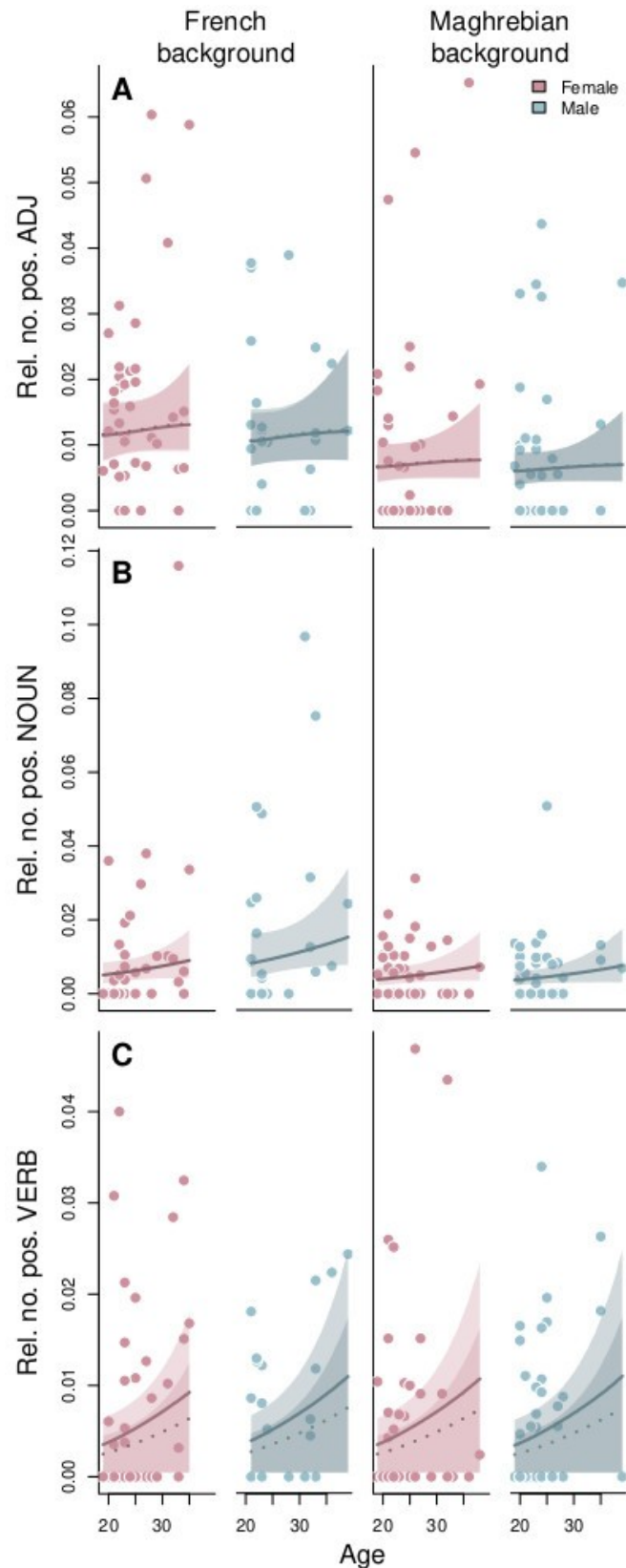


Figure 2: Relative frequencies (occurrence/ total words per text) of positive adjectives (A), nouns (B) and verbs (C) for participants of different age with French and Maghrebian background as well as females (pink) and males (blue). Full dots show data points. Solid lines visualize AICc-based averaged model predictions (prediction averaging based on AICc-weights) and shaded areas the 95% confidence intervals. When the parameter photo gender was retained in the best models selected (models with $\Delta AICc < 2$, cf. Table 3), solid lines show the model prediction for observing female photo gender, dotted lines visualize the model prediction for observing male photo gender.

558 **Table 2:** AICc-based model selection results for negative adjectives, nouns and verbs. We only show results for
 559 the models with $\Delta AICc < 2$ in detail.

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 561

562 **A. ADJ – model selection table**

<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
background + age	4	0	0.24
background	3	0.11	0.23

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Parameter	RI
background	1
age	0.51
gender	0.36
photo gender	0.26
background x gender	0.14

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566

567 **B. NOUN – model selection table**

<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
background x gender	5	0.00	0.52
background x gender + photo gender	6	1.60	0.23

569

Parameter	RI
background	1
gender	1
background x gender	0.99
photo gender	0.31
age	0.25

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571

572 **C. VERB – model selection table**

<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
background + gender	4	0.00	0.23
background + gender + photo gender	5	0.93	0.15
background	3	1.36	0.12
background + age + gender	5	1.61	0.10

574

Parameter	RI
background	1
gender	0.73
photo gender	0.38
age	0.31
background x gender	0.19

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584 **Table 3:** AICc-based model selection results for positive adjectives, nouns and verbs. We only show results for
 585 the models with $\Delta AICc < 2$ in detail.

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 587

588 **A. ADJ – model selection table**

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<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
background	3	0	0.17
background + age	4	0.33	0.15
background + gender	4	0.39	0.14
background + gender + age	5	0.70	0.12
background + photo gender	4	1.72	0.07

590

Parameter	RI
background	0.94
gender	0.52
age	0.46
photo gender	0.28
background x gender	0.12

591

592

593 **B. NOUN – model selection table**

594

<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
background x gender + age	6	0	0.19
background + age	4	0.53	0.14
background x gender	5	1.18	0.104
background + age + gender		1.32	0.097

595

Parameter	RI
background	0.84
age	0.70
gender	0.62
background x gender	0.39
photo gender	0.26

596

597

598 **C. VERB – model selection table**

599

<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
age + photo gender	4	0	0.29
age	3	0.54	0.22
age + gender + photo gender	5	1.99	0.11

600

Parameter	RI
age	0.95
photo gender	0.57
gender	0.28
background	0.27
background x gender	0.02

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606 *Conveyed emotions*

607 Focusing on the frequencies of discrete emotion categories *joy*, *sadness*, *fear*, *anger* and
 608 *disgust* present in the extracted affect lexicon, our analysis reveals a strong effect of emotion
 609 category and cultural background as well as an interaction between emotion category and
 610 cultural background (RI = 1; Table 4). Overall, *joy* was the most prevalent emotion category,
 611 *sadness*, *anger*, *fear* and *disgust* being less frequent (Fig. 3). Moreover, the affect lexemes
 612 were differentially distributed across cultural backgrounds, participants with Maghrebian
 613 background using less *joy* lexemes, but more *fear* lexemes. This mirrors the high number of
 614 negative items in the Maghrebian speech sample identified in the polarity analysis and
 615 suggests that the negativity is mainly driven by the emotion category *fear*, and less by *anger*
 616 and *disgust*. The results also reflect the high number of positive polarity items in the French
 617 speech samples, positivity being due to the conveyed emotion *joy*. Gender and the emotion
 618 category x gender interaction, as retained by the second best model (RI= 0.64, RI=0.46; Table
 619 4), potentially point at a tendency of males conveying less *joy*, and more *fear*, *anger* and
 620 *disgust* instead.

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Table 4: AICc-based model selection results for JOY, SADNESS, FEAR, ANGER, DISGUST lexemes (relative to the total number of affect lexemes). We show results for the two top model, $\Delta AICc < 2$, in detail.

Conveyed Emotions – model selection table

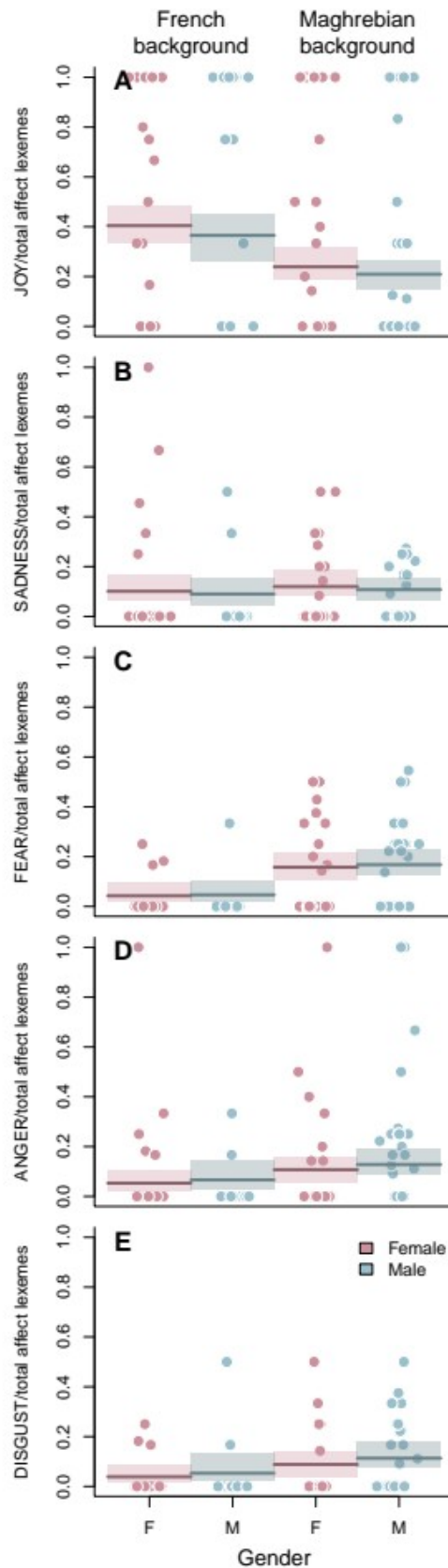
<i>Model</i>	<i>df</i>	$\Delta AICc$	W_{AICc}
emotion category x background	11	0.00	0.36
emotion category x background + emotion category x gender	16	0.10	0.34

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Parameter	RI
emotion category	1
background	1
emotion category x background	1
gender	0.64
emotion category x gender	0.46
background x gender	0.17

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688 **Figure 3:** Relative frequencies (discrete affect lexeme/ total affect lexemes per text) of emotion categories joy
 689 (A), sadness (B), fear (C), anger (D), disgust (E) for female (pink) and male (blue) participants with French and
 690 Maghrebian background. Full dots show data points. Solid lines visualize AICc-based averaged model
 691 predictions (prediction averaging based on AICc-weights) and shaded areas the 95% confidence intervals
 692 (models with $\Delta AICc < 2$, cf. Table 4).

693 **General discussion**

694

695 Our analysis of sexual orientation prejudice in France (towards male vs. female homosexuals)
696 in form of positive and negative sentiments and conveyed emotions in speech samples of
697 French participants with varying cultural background (French vs. Maghreb), age and gender
698 yielded two main findings: Cultural background and gender drive sexual stereotyping in
699 France.

700

701 **Cultural background modulates the expression of sexual stereotypes**

702 Our analysis yielded a strong effect of cultural background on the frequency of negative (all
703 POS) and positive (for adjectives and nouns) items, suggesting that participants of
704 Maghrebian background were more negative and less positive towards homosexuality/
705 homosexuals. This is also reflected in the analysis of emotion categories, participants with
706 Maghrebian background conveying less *joy*, but more often *fear*. This validates our first
707 hypothesis that French Maghrebians may exhibit stronger stereotypical behaviours. Moreover,
708 it supports the general finding that suggests that sexual orientation prejudice is culturally
709 shaped.

710 However, these results have to be interpreted with caution. First of all, it would be interesting
711 to look more closely at what exactly motivated the negativity or positivity, and *joy* vs. in
712 particular *fear* in the present speech samples, i.e. what “makes” the specific cultural belief-
713 systems that are at play, and which specific causes or justifications the participants provide for
714 the positive or negative attitudes they voice, and the emotions that are conveyed. Moreover,
715 from a linguistic point of view, it would be interesting to know whether changing our
716 approach of conceptualizing and analysing first-person negativity and third person negativity
717 as one category, as is a viable approach in sentiment analysis, might substantially alter our
718 results. Also, as the qualitative results suggest, it would be interesting to consider the overall
719 emotionality of the speech samples across the cultural backgrounds, i.e. the intensity of the
720 negativity, from a quantitative point of view.

721 More important, however, than identifying potential causes of operating cultural belief-
722 systems in France might be to underline the fact that the diversity in belief systems creates
723 important challenges for multicultural societies, and sexual stereotyping is but one example.
724 So, the question of how to successfully cope with diversity on a societal level, crucial for
725 fostering harmonious intergroup relations, remains to be tackled. As recent research
726 highlights, the recognition of diversity in France was and still is a delicate issue (Bertossi,
727 2016; Simon, 2013) as differences are still being contested and create deep-rooted anxieties
728 about cultural differences (Schiller, 2020). So, it can be assumed that diversity in France is

729 not efficiently addressed. Currently, two distinct norms of *Laïcité* in France, egalitarian
730 *Historic Laïcité* and assimilationist *New Laïcité*, are used as sociopolitical tools to handle
731 diversity (Lankester & Alexopoulos, 2021). The latter, assimilationist norm has been
732 traditionally associated with cognitive regulation processes that lead to higher levels of
733 prejudice in comparison to the egalitarian norm. However, recent findings suggest that this is
734 not so straightforward (Lankester & Alexopoulos, 2021). The authors hypothesize that “the
735 desire to appear non-prejudiced drives the suppression of prejudice within the realm of the
736 egalitarian *Historic Laïcité* norm”, and vice versa, “the desire to release the pressure
737 stemming from a relentless commitment to egalitarianism encourages the justification of
738 prejudice within the realm of the assimilationist *New Laïcité* context” (Lankester &
739 Alexopoulos, 2021: 9). In order to efficiently reduce prejudice the authors propose to
740 reframe the *Historic Laïcité* norm as an “identity-conscious” norm and to adopt an approach
741 to diversity (e.g., Leslie et al., 2020), in which similarities and differences with out-groups are
742 highlighted, and which ultimately leads to effective prejudice regulation via perspective-
743 taking, i.e. the active attempt to embrace and identify with the experience of other individuals
744 (Todd & Galinsky, 2012).

745

746 ***Gender modulates the expression of sexual stereotypes***

747 Our results showed that gender modulated the cultural background effect with respect to
748 negative nouns, the French females and the Maghrebian males using more negative nouns
749 than their counterparts. Moreover, females used more negative verbs than males. Gender and
750 the emotion category x gender interaction played also a role in the analysis of conveyed
751 emotions and was retained in the second best model. This only partly validates the
752 masculinity threat hypothesis (Hypothesis III) that men should be more prejudiced towards
753 gays and lesbians than females, and our findings are only to a certain degree consistent with
754 previous research.

755 However, the higher negativity in French females might be due to the fact that we coded first-
756 person and third-person negativity together in one category. A qualitative analysis of the
757 affect lexicon shows that negative nouns (e.g., *manifestation*, ‘demonstration’ or *victime*
758 ‘victim’) used by the French females often describe negative events or comment on the
759 negative situation homosexuals might find themselves in. This is by contrast not true for the
760 nouns often used by Maghrebian males who consider homosexuality for examples as illness
761 (e.g., *maladie*).

762 Moreover, it has to be noted that we do not observe inconsistencies of the kind Bettinsoli,
763 Suppes and Napier (2019) report. Across nations, the researchers observe gender effects, the

764 males being more negative towards gay men, but not towards lesbian women, and they find
765 on a country-level that French men are more negative towards lesbians.

766

767 ***Limitations and directions for future research***

768 *Does age modulate the expression of sexual stereotypes?*

769 At least in most Western societies, younger age groups have been found to accept
770 homosexuality more, and therefore, we hypothesized (Hypothesis II) that participants of
771 younger age in our sample should be less prejudiced towards gays and lesbians.
772 Unexpectedly, we found only weak age effects with respect to negative polarity and conveyed
773 emotions, but a strong age effect for positive polarity, older participants using more positive
774 items than younger participants, and therefore pointing at less homonegativity.

775 The weak age effect (for negative polarity and conveyed emotions) might be due to the fact
776 that the study was not originally designed to investigate sexual orientation prejudice across
777 different age groups, and therefore, the number of participants per each age group might not
778 be sufficient in order to be conclusive. The age effect with respect to positive polarity, a
779 higher number of positive items was used by older participants, might be explained by age-
780 related changes in motivation that direct behaviour and cognitive processing, in particular by
781 the positivity effect (e.g., Carstensen & DeLiema, 2017). This effect states that older adults
782 (vs. younger adults) attend to, remember and prefer positive information more than negative
783 information. From an evolutionary point of view, it has been hypothesized that post-
784 reproductive members of groups who are emotionally stable focus their attention more on
785 positive information, which ultimately benefits the larger group (Carstensen & DeLiema,
786 2017). However, as we have stated above, this remains a hypothesis due to the overall
787 sampling in the study and overall age distribution. Alternatively, it might also be that people
788 of (slightly) older age do perceive non-heteronormative behaviours, such as homosexuality
789 represented by our picture prompts, less as a threat to their masculinity, having reached an age
790 of maturity, while younger people, still in search for their identity, might still have to assert it.
791 Overall, our results are, however, non-conclusive with respect to the effects of age on sexual
792 stereotyping, and future cross-generational studies tailored to this question are needed in order
793 to shed more light onto this issue. They should also take further variables such as education or
794 socio-economic background into account.

795

796 *Are sexual stereotypes stronger toward gays vs. lesbians?*

797 From our analysis of sentiments and conveyed emotions we cannot conclude that sexual
798 stereotypes are stronger towards gays vs. lesbians (Hypothesis IV), as the effects of the

799 picture prompts (male vs. female homosexuality) were overall only weak. Therefore, we
800 cannot validate our fourth hypothesis predicting that male homosexuality should be less
801 accepted. Recent cross-cultural research (e.g., Bettinsoli, Suppes & Napier, 2019), however,
802 has corroborated previous findings for the US (e.g., Herek, 2000) or Italy (e.g., Pistella et al.,
803 2018) that gays are disliked more than lesbians. So, either this is not true for French gays vs.
804 French lesbians, or our study failed to detect this effect. As we did not ask explicitly about
805 female vs. male homosexuality, it might be that the picture prompts left too much room for
806 interpretation. Alternatively, male and female homosexuality in France is liked or disliked in
807 the same ways, pointing perhaps at an increasing acceptance of both gays and lesbians who
808 publicly assume their sexuality.

809

810 ***General conclusion***

811 Although much research has examined the multiple reasons for sexual stereotyping, the socio-
812 cultural basis of sexual orientation prejudice in France has remained largely unexplored.
813 However, findings might provide novel insights into drivers and motivations of sexual
814 stereotyping and might ultimately help mitigate or prevent sexual orientation prejudice in
815 multicultural societies. One way of doing this might be to actively embrace diversity, to
816 responsibly raise awareness of both similarities and differences within and between groups,
817 and to valorize them, in order to create a climate conducive to taking others' perspectives.

818 As so few is known about the socio-cultural underpinnings of sexual stereotyping in France,
819 the present study sought to investigate the effects of the social variables cultural background
820 (France vs. Maghreb), age and gender on sexual stereotyping towards gays vs. lesbians.

821 Despite the limitations of the present study and the remaining open questions, we showed that
822 sexual orientation prejudice in form of more negative or less positive attitudes and associated
823 emotion categories (*joy, sadness, fear, anger, disgust*) towards male vs. female
824 homosexuality/ homosexuals in France is motivated by cultural background and gender.
825 Results with respect to age and the type of homosexuality were less conclusive. This work
826 should, therefore, be considered as a springboard for more detailed investigations into sexual
827 stereotyping, both in France and across different cultures.

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830

831 ***Acknowledgments***

832 This study received funding from the HomoVox project (Appel à projet CNRS "Défi Genre"
833 2016).

834 **Ethics Statement**

835 The French National Commission of Informatics and Liberties approved all protocols used in
836 this study (CNIL Number 2-17029\UMR5554). All subjects gave written informed consent in
837 accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.

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1157 **Appendix**

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1159 **Table 1.** French-French negative polarity items.

1160

NOUNS	victime, crétin, difficulté, manifestation, attentat, pédé, homophobie, tare, problème, rejet, réticent, combat
ADJECTIVES (& adverbs)	(c'est) dommage, mal, choqué, pas naturel, virulent, (pas) accepté, mauvais, difficile, triste, négatif, (pas) d'accord, contre, frustrant, pas facile, compliqué, (pas) commun, moins bien, mal vu, condamné, inégal, étrange
VERBS	persécuter, détruire, marcher, choquer, rejeter, bannir, insulter, traiter, s'énerver, être contre, (trop) s'afficher, condamner, cacher, oser, mettre au rebut, protester, aller à l'encontre, gêner

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1168 **Table 2.** French-Maghrebian negative polarity items.

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NOUNS	truc, tiquer, menace, péché, (pas) plaisir, histoire, barrière, dégoût, nature, obstacle, crime, tabou, insulte, origine, changement, réaction, perturbation, (pas) principes, problème, intolérance, gêne, maladie, sujet, direction, manière, (pas) envie, exception, personne, rejet, isolement, souffrance, lesbienne, bisexuelle, milieu, genre, choix, gens, trouble, distance, cause, liberté, fréquentation, parent, développement, éducation, jeunesse, chose, prise en charge, anti-naturage, logique, péché, religion, châtiment, psychologue, déséquilibre, catégorie
ADJECTIVES (& adverbs)	bizarre, (pas) habitué, surprenant, (pas bien) perçu, pas normal, homophobe, difficile, (pas) justifié, (pas) accepté, grave, dégoûté, (pas) permis, (pas) toléré, tabou, (pas) fréquent, interdit, (il n'y a pas) beaucoup, rare, (être) fait, mal vu, rejeté, stigmatisé, nouveau, contre (la nature), être gêné, développé, exceptionnel, mal, contraire, pas courant, dommage, dehors, illicite, illogique, pas bien, dégoûté, pas compréhensible, absent, malade, conçu, anormal, (contre la) relation (homme/ femme), (contre la) biologie (humaine)
VERBS	casser, perturber, avoir mal, déranger, (pas) devoir, pas entraver, dégoûter, critiquer, (pas) comprendre, être contre, souffrir, quitter, (pas) aimer, (pas en) parler, (pas) être pour, cacher, (pas) montrer, (ne pas) être à l'aise, (pas) tolérer, (pas) accepter, (pas) pratiquer, (pas) voir, être à contre-courant, affecter quelqu'un, dépasser quelqu'un, éviter, détester, (pas avoir) envie, (pas) plaire, (pas) se faire, cautionner, porter, (ne pas) être (homosexuel), déranger, infecter, (pas) vouloir, gêner, agresser, violer, (pas y) avoir (autant), chambouler, (pas) connaître, (pas) rencontrer, (pas) faire

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1181 **Table 3.** French-French positive polarity items.

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NOUNS	câlin, amour, pote, copain, modernité, avancement, progrès, liberté, victoire, partage, baiser, énergie, mystère, être aimé, amitié, bonheur, indifférence, ami, joie, sourire, temps, caresse, sexualité, tendresse, célébrations, excitation, sensualité, délicatesse, simplicité, bisou, plaisir, euphorie, bonne humeur, bien-être, satisfaction, beaucoup d'attention, soleil, corps, pureté, amour, acceptation, forme, choix, vision, nature, attirance, vie, admiration, douceur, désir, amélioration, monnaie courante, avancés, évolutions
ADJECTIVES	heureux, amoureux, bon, normal, riche, amical, content, naturel, habitué, bien, attiré, souriant, agréable, joli, sensuel, tendre, doux, ouvert, rigolo, pur, sauvage, clair, fréquent, admis, accepté, prévisionniste, ravi, beau, familial, normal, répandu, (voir) plus, tolérant, toléré, libre, progressé, curieux, épanouies, plaisant, surprise, encré, juste, gay-friendly, banal, courant, assumé
VERBS	s'embrasser, sourire, fêter, partager, avancer, être bien (ensemble), gagner, célébrer, apprécier, se tuer (de rire), désirer, caresser, parler, mettre en avant, accepter, s'aimer, aimer, soutenir, donner, recevoir, évoluer, respecter, être pour, être d'accord, valoir, accepter, (pas/ aucun) soucis, reconnaître, favoriser, entrer, être quotidien, avoir droit

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1187 **Table 4.** French-Maghrebian positive polarity items.

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NOUNS	joie, positivité, satisfaction, confiance, affection, sécurité, amour, vie, charisme, ami, choix, tendresse, bonheur, princesse, désir, liberté, amour, acceptation, plaisir, une forme d'amour, attirance, goûts, attirance, (pas d') inconvéniént, mœurs, loi, tolérance, logique, démocratie, accouplement
ADJECTIVES	content, banal, bien, proche, intime, d'accord, heureux, amoureux, beau, complice, excitant, charmante, libre, encré, normal, enrichissant, super, agréable, gentille, tendre, libre, affectueux, mignon, naturel, épanouis, heureux, bon, mieux, normalisé, pareil, tolérant, attiré, fréquent, (pas) bizarre, plus toléré, compréhensif, souriant, égal, chou, sympa, légitime, accepté
VERBS	sourire, caresser, avoir droit, s'embrasser, s'aimer, s'enlacer, câliner, s'attirer, fêter, aimer, accepter, respecter, changer, souhaiter, (pas) déranger, tolérer, accepter, légaliser, (m') aller, sourire, approuver, admettre, partager, faire (sa vie), décider, donner

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