

That is so like a woman! (*Tai niangmen le*/太娘们了): A reclamation effort

Yifan Wu¹

York University, Toronto, Canada

Brittney O'Neill

York University, Toronto, Canada

Abstract: This study examines the reclamation of the sexist slur *niangmen* (娘们), meaning “like a woman.” Although this term’s adjective form is predominantly pejorative, it appears to be undergoing reclamation, a process where slurs are reconceptualized to neutralize or subvert their discriminatory connotations. With content analysis from a critical perspective, we find that, on Xiaohongshu, a female-dominated platform, the term is predominantly used positively and is metadiscursively framed as feminist activism, whereas on Hupu, a male-dominated platform, it remains exclusively pejorative and does not provoke metadiscourse. Therefore, at this stage, reclamation appears to be limited to in-group contexts despite reclaimers’ ambitions of valorizing women broadly. We also suggest that the morphological relation between *niangmen* and other *niang*-stemmed slurs points to broader (trans)misogynist ideologies, which will play an important role in the feasibility of *niangmen*’s full reclamation.

Keywords: reclamation; (trans)misogyny; feminist discourse; Chinese

1 Introduction

Niangmen (娘们) is a term frequently used in northern Chinese dialects to refer to women or femininity. It is derived from the morpheme *niang* (娘), which historically referred to women, including being used as a kinship term for female relatives. As a noun, *niangmen* can be, and often is, used as a neutral term. However, as an adjective, it is often used pejoratively to connote traits such as weakness, procrastination, emotionality, pettiness, and gossipiness—traits commonly associated with women and femininity. Phonetically, the term has many variants across different dialects in Chinese, but it is most commonly written as *niangmen* (娘们) or in its rhotacized variant *niangmener* (娘们儿).² It can also appear in affixed forms, such as *niangmen(er)-jiji* (娘们[儿]唧唧/叽叽) and *niangmen(er)-xixi* (娘们[儿]兮兮), which carry the same meaning.³ In general, the use of *niangmen* is similar to *girly* or *sissy* in English. However, since *niangmen* does not

¹ Corresponding Author: yifan72@yorku.ca

² This type of rhotacization is associated with Northern dialects.

³ The morpheme *jiji*, an onomatopoeic expression for repetitive sounds and annoying speech, carries the meaning of chatteriness and gossipiness, which is already included within *niangmen*’s connotative scope. In usage, *jiji* is semantically redundant when it is attached to *niangmen*. The morpheme *xixi* is an emphatic particle following negative adjectives.

specifically refer to young girls but rather to adult women or women in general, we follow the usage observed in our data: where adjectival *niangmen* is translated into English, it is rendered as “like a woman” or “womanly.”

Niangmen can be compared with the term *yemen* (爷们), which uses the same plural morpheme (*men*), but in using *ye*, not *niang*, refers to men and masculinity. While neutral as a noun, *yemen*’s adjectival usage is often complimentary, connoting traits such as strength, toughness, decisiveness, authenticity, and loyalty. As seen in the example below (Figure 1), the term *yemen* is used as a compliment to reference girls being “loyal and supportive to each other,” while *niangmen* (“like a woman”) is used as a pejorative to reference boys for being the opposite, that is, not loyal.

方寸以礼 🍷

25-2-14 03:30 发布于 福建 来自 iPhone 13

部门在说聚餐的事情。

对我很好的同事姐姐和我说“现在办公室里女生们反而更肝胆相照，更爷们。男生们都太娘们了。”

我立刻就感觉不对劲了，明明在夸女性，“娘们”却是贬义词。

刻板印象仍然存在，但开始被意识到就是好事。我宁愿敏感一点，过激一点。

+关注

[...] a colleague [...] said:
“Now the girls in our office are more loyal and supportive to each other, more *yemen*. Boys are all too *niangmen*.” I immediately felt something was wrong: they were clearly complimenting women, yet “*niangmen*” is a derogatory word. [...]

Figure 1. Screenshot of a Weibo post⁴ (left) and its main text translation (right).

In Figure 1, one can see not only the pejorative use of *niangmen*, as discussed in the previous paragraph, but also a metadiscursive engagement with the term: the poster questioned why a term referencing women, i.e., *niangmen*, is used derogatorily in everyday language practices, even in situations where women are being complimented using other terms. This metalinguistic awareness serves as evidence that contemporary Chinese feminists are sensitive to the sexism embedded within aspects of linguistic practice that are often taken for granted. In fact, such metadiscourse is taking place within a growing feminist language reform effort on Chinese-language social media. Among other strategies which we outline in brief below, this reform has also involved calls to reclaim *niangmen* to neutralize or subvert its discriminatory connotations. In this study, we aim to critically investigate this reclamation effort, its metadiscursive framing, and its uptake.

2 Background

2.1 *Niang* in Chinese language and culture

The morphological stem for the term *niangmen* is *niang* (娘), a morpheme that has undergone semantic change through history (Yu, 2002). Historically, it was used as a common noun referring to young women, a meaning which can still be seen in words such as “girl,” *guniang* (姑娘). It then gained the meaning of “respected and married woman,” which can be seen in modern words such as “her royal highness,” *niangniang* (娘娘) and “parents,” *dieniang* (爹娘). In general, the morpheme *niang* was traditionally used to refer to women with neutral sentiment. This

⁴ Retrieved June 10, 2025, from https://weibo.com/5966022846/Pegd5o7QU?refer_flag=1001030103

traditional meaning is still evident in many modern *niang*-stemmed words—primarily nouns—that refer to women and femininity, as discussed above.

However, in modern Chinese, the usage of both *niangmen*—particularly in adjectival forms—and *niang* in compounds has shifted significantly from solely referring to women to being able to be directed at men, often with a pejorative tone. This shift reflects an extension of the term(s) from women/femininity to traits stereotypically associated with women (and often socially devalued), such as being naggy, overly concerned with appearance, or overly aggressive, and ultimately to men who are perceived to be displaying such devalued feminine traits (Ding, 2022). Adjectival *niangmen* has been particularly subject to this pejoration process. Further, accompanying the semantic pejoration of *niang* and *niangmen* has been the emergence of a number of *niang*-stemmed slurs that almost exclusively refer to men, including “effeminate tone,” *niangniangqiang* (娘娘腔⁵) and “effeminate men,” *niangpao* (娘炮⁶). Even the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, *People's Daily*, has publicly discussed the phenomenon of “wussification,” *nianghua* (娘化), i.e., the social trend of men dressing and behaving like women, which is perceived as a threat to the young generation and to society's healthy development (X. Peng, 2018). This pervasive devaluing of traits associated with women and femininity—particularly in men—suggests an overarchingly (trans)misogynist (Serano, 2021) social structure in which femininity is systematically devalued, and is particularly reviled when perceived to arise in men.

2.2 *Niangmen* reclamation in Chinese digital feminism

Despite its predominantly pejorative usage, adjectival *niangmen* appears to be undergoing reclamation, particularly on social media, the site which forms the focus of this study. For example, in Figure 2 below, the poster describes and comments on a scene in a reality TV show where guests raced each other in different sports for entertainment. Referring to a swimming match, the poster calls a 70-year-old actress a “girl” and a 20-year-old actor an “old man,” because the actress easily lapped the actor. In praising the actress, the poster exclaims “That is just so like a woman (*niangmen*)! (*Tai niangmen le*/太娘们了)” and “the womanliest woman to ever woman.” In other words, here the term *niangmen* is used positively; in fact, it is used in a way that is highly similar to *yemen*.

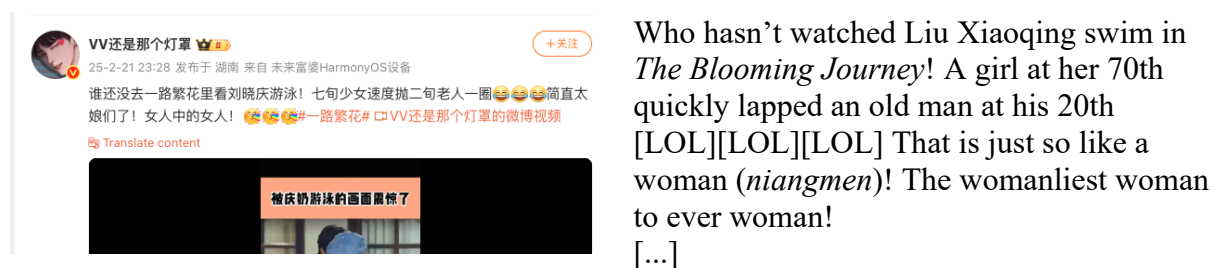


Figure 2. Screenshot of a Weibo post⁷ (left) and its main text translation (right).

The reclamation of the sexist slur *niangmen* is taking place within the broader context of the rise of Chinese (digital) feminism that seeks to challenge these ideologies—albeit with limited

⁵ First seen in the 1910s according to the BCC corpus (Xun et al., 2016).

⁶ First seen in the 2000s according to the CCL corpus (Zhan et al., 2019).

⁷ Retrieved May 27, 2025, from https://weibo.com/1672345901/Pfs2xrhOF?refer_flag=1001030103

reach. In addition to reclaiming feminine terms, feminist language reformers have also begun circulating neologisms such as “a smell of fatherhood,” *diewei* (爹味; L. Zhang & Mu, 2024), “male virtue,” *nande* (男德; Hu & Wang, 2025), and “nymph of locust,” *nan* (蝻; Zhang & Zhang, 2022). All of these neologisms aim to reveal and challenge the sexism and patriarchal ideologies embedded within Chinese language and society by creating words or metaphors to devalue men, patriarchy, and/or masculinity—mirroring the stigmatizing treatment that has been imposed on women. In other words, these efforts seek to establish gender equality in the social semiosphere by returning the harm done to women rather than dismantling it. By contrast, the reclamation of *niangmen*—another effort of Chinese feminists—targets the same ultimate goal, but by attempting to dismantle the stigmatization of women and femininity by reversing the semantic pejoration of a woman-related term.

3 Reclamation

Closely matching what has been observed with *niang*, feminist linguists have identified patterns of semantic derogation/pejoration such that terms referring to women and femininity tend to become associated with more negative connotations/sentiments over time (Schulz, 1975). Similar pejoration trajectories can also be observed in the euphemism cycle (Taylor, 1974) around terms for other marginalized groups such as people of colour and people with disabilities such that the broader social devaluation of these groups tends to “rub off” on the terms used to describe them, making previously neutral terms of reference increasingly negative and burdened by associations with oppression. Often, this effect inspires language reforms that produce new terms of reference aimed to be more respectful or laudatory, even as such terms are often subject to the same cycle of pejoration. An alternative approach to contesting such pejorative connotations, however, is that of reclamation—a metaphorical “taking back” of words in which the people to whom the words negatively refer try to take control of their use and meaning, at least within in-group spaces. While some argue that slurs neither can nor should ever be reclaimed because of their histories of harm (see Brontsema’s, 2004, summary of perspectives on reclamation), reclamation nonetheless takes place.

While definitions (and labels) differ from scholar to scholar, such reclamation is typically understood to be one of two types: out-group/pride reclamation or in-group/insular reclamation (Brontsema, 2004; Coles, 2016; Jeshion, 2020).⁸ Pride reclamation focuses on neutralizing or ameliorating the connotations of a slur, claiming it as a non-negative label for the group previously slurred by it (Jeshion, 2020). These neutralized terms can then be used by both in-group and out-group members to refer to the relevant category. We can think for example of the terms *gay* or *queer* which were reclaimed such that they now serve as relatively neutral category terms for gay/queer people as well as, in the case of *queer*, for a whole field of study (queer theory). By contrast, insular reclamation does not extend to the out-group. In fact, in such cases the slur often remains highly offensive if used by out-group members, but within the group that has been slurred by it, the term becomes a tool for solidarity. This solidarity seems to emerge from the terms’ ability to evoke shared experiences of marginalization while simultaneously speaking back against them—as if to say “you cannot hurt us with a word that we claim for ourselves” (Jeshion, 2020). Jacobs (2002) describes such forms of reclamation as “chiastic slaying,” analyzing the in-group use of the n-slur as a mode of speaking across and against pejorative uses of it, taking back the

⁸ While there are some differences in the proposals of Brontsema (2004), Coles (2016), and Jeshion (2020), their two categories of reclamation broadly align. Because of their concise and evocative nature, we use Jeshion’s (2020) labels for the categories here.

power of the word, and contesting the power structures that enable it to be used as a tool of marginalization in the hands of members of dominant social groups. Key to the distinction between these types of reclamation are (1) whether the reclaimed form is able to be used by only the in-group or also out-group members and (2) whether the reclamation aims to make the term positive/neutral or works within its negative connotations for political purposes. Thus, while pride reclamation may appear to have more success when measured in terms of language change, insular reclamation can be understood as highly subversive and equally politically engaged even if its impact on society-wide language practices is less measurable. As a result, rather than seeing all reclamation as a progression towards total neutrality/positivity, this theoretical backing allows us to understand reclamations as potentially having different end points, not because of relative success or failure, but instead as a result of differing orientations, methods, and goals.

In the context of *niangmen*, then, we ask: what kind of reclamation is taking place and what potential does it have for contesting sexist language and social structures in (digital) Chinese-speaking spaces?

4 Methodology

4.1 Data collection

4.1.1 Xiaohongshu and Hupu

Because we first identified tokens of plausibly reclaimed adjectival *niangmen* on Chinese social media, we turned to such sites as our primary data course. While Weibo is one of the largest social media sites in China, and did yield some interesting examples of this phenomenon, which we treat as supplementary data, we focused instead on Xiaohongshu and Hupu. These two sites have been identified as being strongly gendered and, as such, provide a valuable proxy for in-group (woman-dominated Xiaohongshu) and out-group (man-dominated Hupu) contexts for the use of *niangmen*.

Xiaohongshu (Little Red Book or RedNote) is a multifunctional social media platform that integrates e-commerce and experience-sharing communities built on its user-generated content (UGC). Its layout is similar to that of Pinterest. As of August 2025, Xiaohongshu had over 300 million active users, among which 70% are women (Qiangua.com, 2025). By contrast, Hupu, a blog-based social media platform initiated as a sports fandom, has gradually developed into a multidisciplinary community of predominantly straight men (A. Y. Peng & Sun, 2022; S. Zhang, 2023). Its layout is similar to that of *Reddit*. These strongly gendered user profiles correspond with arguably gendered patterns in the UGC, user behaviours, and marketing strategies on each platform (Chi et al., 2022; Yin, 2023). In other words, regardless of the users' actual gender(s), user behaviour and content on these platforms have been found to align with social expectations for the perceived dominant gender group on each platform. Therefore, Xiaohongshu and Hupu can arguably be seen as gendered platforms, as Xiaohongshu is (young) woman-focused and Hupu is (straight) man-focused. Because of this gendering, these two platforms have considerable value for analyzing gender-based language use and language practice, like the reclamation of gendered pejoratives like *niangmen*. To support our analysis of these relatively gendered sites, we also surveyed Weibo, a gender-neutral social media platform similar to X (formerly known as Twitter).

4.1.2 Corpus building

To compile the data used in this analysis, we conducted a keyword search for the term *niangmen* (娘们) using the search engine of each platform. This approach returns UGC that contains *niangmen* in either the main post or the comment section of a given post. As noted above,

although the term has multiple phonological variants, it appears in writing only in two forms: *niangmen* (娘们) and its rhotacized variant *niangmener* (娘们儿). Sometimes it also appears with suffixes, such as *niangmen(er)-jiji* (娘们[儿]唧唧/叽叽), but retains the same meaning. We therefore chose *niangmen* as the search term in order to capture these variations—all of which include the key characters 娘们. We used incognito mode for the search on Hupu to minimize algorithmic bias based on user history. As Weibo and Xiaohongshu do not support incognito search, we registered new accounts to avoid biasing the search through prior account activity. We then manually extracted posts which used *niangmen(er)*, and screened the data based on the criteria below:

- a) Posts where *niangmen* was used only in the comment section were excluded, because the comments are often too short or too decontextualized for the viewer(s), us included, to tell how the term is used.
- b) Noun form uses were excluded, since the noun form can be and often is used as a neutral gendered reference towards women in Northern dialects, as noted in the introduction section, and does not appear to be a primary target for reclamation due to its relative neutrality.

Since this reclamation effort is still in its fairly early stages, the total number of adjectival uses found on Xiaohongshu was 26. Therefore, we capped data collection for the other two platforms, Hupu and Weibo, at the same number to maintain comparability,⁹ resulting in a total of 78 posts being collected for analysis.

Once the data were selected, we coded each item type (i.e., either metalinguistic discussion of the term—*mention*—or simple usage—*use*), their sentiment (i.e., either positive, neutral, or negative), the referent (i.e., in-group in terms of the potential reclamation—women—or out-group—men), and the poster (i.e., in-group or out-group as above). While we focused on only the parts of the post which contained *niangmen(er)(jiji/xixi)*, full posts were retained for contextual analysis, along with the timestamp of publication. Because of the gendered tendencies of the platforms outlined in the previous section, posters on Xiaohongshu were coded as in-group (i.e., women), and Hupu as out-group (i.e., men), unless explicitly indicated otherwise, through selfies, gendered self reference, or other explicit markers of poster gender within the social network. Here, we consider gender as performed rather than assigned, which means we make no claims as to the posters' sex or gendered presentation outside of the social networks under consideration; instead, we coded solely on the basis of how gender is performed on the internet through their posts. The sentiment and referent were determined based on the context of full posts. For example, if a post used the term in a complimentary manner towards the referent, such as being collocated with other complimentary terms or visual cues, it was coded as expressing positive sentiment. If the term was used to refer to a woman referent or to materials related to femininity (e.g., a feminist film), it was coded as an in-group referent (i.e., women or femininity). If it was hard to tell the sentiment and/or the referent, it was coded as neutral or unclear, respectively. To ensure coding reliability and maintain objectivity, we consulted two additional native Chinese speakers, one with linguistic training and one without, to confirm codes that had a lower confidence level. The coding information is listed in Appendices A, B, and C.

⁹ The search results on Hupu and Weibo are ranked by a multi-faceted algorithm that prioritizes relevance and popularity. Based on this algorithmic ranking, we collected the top-ranked 26 instances from each platform.

5 Analysis

While differing uses were observed across all three platforms, overall, some clear trends emerged: Xiaohongshu posts were primarily cases of positive use, and the platform also had the highest proportion of metadiscursive mentions, all of which were positive or neutral. By contrast, Hupu posts were predominantly negative uses, with only one metadiscursive mention. Weibo, on the other hand, offers more balance between the two with both mention and use and with positive, negative, and neutral sentiment. Across all three platforms, positive uses and metadiscursive mentions of *niangmen* tended to be produced by in-group posters and/or in reference to in-group referents; in contrast, out-group posters and referents demonstrated no reclaimed usage of *niangmen* and only one case of metadiscursive discussion. Most of the reclaimed usage of *niangmen* appears in posts that were made since 2024, further confirming that this change in the use of adjectival *niangmen* is in its very early stages.

Below we provide more detailed analysis by platform and explore how these sentiments and use versus mention patterns do or do not reflect forms of reclamation.

5.1 Xiaohongshu

5.1.1 *Positive sentiment towards in-group referents*

On this woman-dominated platform, 21 out of the 26 instances of *niangmen* were associated with positive sentiment. This is the highest proportion of positive use of all three platforms, suggesting that there is something about this woman-dominated platform that makes it particularly prone to positive uses of the term. A closer look at the posts reveals that these positive usages are restricted to cases with in-group posters and in-group referents, meaning that women used it positively to refer to women or women-related subjects or engaged in positive metadiscourse around the term (see Section 5.1.2). For example, in Figure 3 below, the poster shared a poster of a film directed by a woman, which tells a story of women struggling through abusive marriages and fighting back against sexism and patriarchy. In the body of the text, the poster reviews the film and recounts her interaction with her younger sister in the context of the film. Not only does the poster rate the film highly for reflecting the struggle and plight of women, but she also expresses explicit positive sentiment towards her sister and women in general for being “born” empathetic and supportive. In the title of this post, she summarizes her sentiments towards the film as *niangmen*, clearly using the term with positive sentiment towards film as a feminist project valorizing women as women.

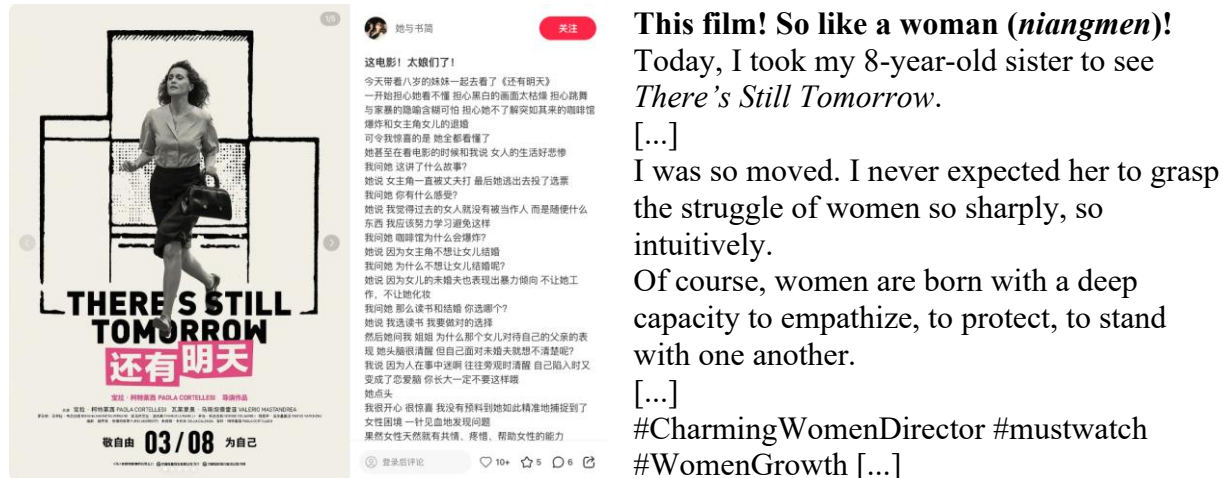


Figure 3. Screenshot of a Xiaohongshu post¹⁰ (left) and its main text translation (right).

5.1.2 Metadiscursive discussion of the term

Roughly a quarter of the posts featuring *niangmen* on Xiaohongshu (7 out of 26 posts) involve a metadiscursive discussion of the term. Many of these posts explicitly frame the positive use of *niangmen* as a reclamation effort and as a part of broader feminist activism. For example, in Figure 4 below, the poster posted a self-made sticker which depicts a woman flexing her muscles with the embedded caption “真娘们儿” (*zhen niangmener*) which can be translated to “so like a woman” or “such a woman.” The sticker associates a powerfully flexed muscle—a symbol of power and strength, traits that are normally connotated with men/masculinity (*yemen*/爷们)—with *niangmen*. This visual association is further explained in the body of the post, in which the poster states that *niangmen* should be reclaimed as a positive term because it refers to women who are “brave, strong, and proud.” Interestingly, the “you” in the post title is written with the “woman” radical (女) rather than the more common “person” radical (亻), morphologically gendering the addressee as female. In modern Chinese, *you* is typically gender-neutral, and the feminized form using the “woman” radical (女) is rarely seen, making its use here a marked and deliberate choice. Similarly, in the body of the text, the poster uses “she” as an anaphor for the term *niangmener*, instead of the gender-neutral *it*, which is the more common and default usage in expressions like this. It could be argued that in UGC like this, the poster is using multimodal, linguistic, and metalinguistic strategies to actively reclaim the term *niangmen* by associating femininity with more socially valued (and traditionally more masculine) traits, thus challenging the sexist hegemony that marks the female sex as the second and inferior sex. In other words, in addition to reclaiming the sexist term *niangmen*, what these posts are really advocating for is redefining the linguistic expression—and eventually the social evaluation—of femininity. It is notable, however, that the strategy taken here is in contrast with feminist approaches that valorize traditionally feminine traits. Instead, here, the poster appropriates traits associated with masculinity and thus with higher social status and value for women, which is reminiscent of Mao-era feminism that,

¹⁰ Retrieved May 13, 2025, from https://www.xiaohongshu.com/explore/67cc1637000000000900e4c5?xsec_token=ABryytd_HRcxRgAF_TDqt4KgS_UMWgXqf4bq3w8-MMx5zQ=&xsec_source=pc_search

instead of valorizing femininity, advocated for women to be able to also act as men, that is, strong enough to perform in physically demanding contexts (Leung, 2003).



Sticker | You are so like a woman (*niangmener*)!

Hi girls, this sticker is for you.

Who gets to define whether a word is positive or negative?

“*Niangmener*” is a positive term. She is defined by countless brave, strong, and proud women.

[...]

#GirlsPower #FeminismInIllustration [...]

#SoLikeAWoman #FeministIllustration [...]

Figure 4. Screenshot of a Xiaohongshu post¹¹ (left) and its main text translation (right).

Despite the metadiscursive work we observed being carried out to promote the reclamation of *niangmen*, this reclamation is still in its very early stages—as suggested by the relatively low number of instances in the reclaimed sense even on Xiaohongshu—so it is not surprising that the reclaimed usage does not yet seem to have spread to out-group members (see Section 5.2 below for further discussion of the out-group represented by Hupu users). Nonetheless, we identified an interesting instance where a poster proclaims the success of the reclamation in at least one woman’s interpretive framework, regardless of the speaker’s intent and/or awareness of the reclamation. As seen in a post screenshotted in the Figure 5 below, the poster describes her friend’s subconscious interpretation of *niangmen* as a compliment regardless of the speaker’s intent. In fact, the framing of the interpretation as “subconscious” points to a strong likelihood that the intent was just the contrary—this was not the intended or surface-level interpretation, but in fact the result of a successful project to associate womanhood (*niangmen*) with positive rather than negative meanings. While the post does not make it clear, this may point to a somewhat different mode of reclamation than was articulated in Figure 4 above. Rather than associating *niangmen* with valued masculine traits, the poster’s friend seems to have revalued the very denigrated traits that have traditionally been the target of *niangmen*—she heard the highlighting of this constellation of traits not as highlighting negative aspects of her behaviour, but instead as complimenting these same traits.

¹¹ Retrieved May 13, 2025, from

https://www.xiaohongshu.com/explore/66d2805b000000001d03a0f8?xsec_token=ABMVP3RmGPKvE74k71XwCZJ5tyyKmeXW3xd-9X8pbcrdg=&xsec_source=pc_search



So-called feminism has long been commodified into fast fashion.

[...]

I feel like feminism has been reduced to something just to boast about, a product unique to Xiaohongshu, an ideal concept too far to reach, completely disconnected from reality.

I once believed all that.

//(But) “Last time I heard people say I’m so like a woman (*niangmener*), I subconsciously thought it was a compliment.” My friend said this to me one day.

[...]

Figure 5. Screenshot of a Xiaohongshu post¹² (left) and its main text translation (right).

5.2 Hupu

5.2.1 Negative sentiment towards out-group referents

In contrast to what we found on Xiaohongshu, almost all of the usage on Hupu, a straight man-dominated platform, is pejorative (24 out of 26 posts), and most of the pejorative usage is directed towards the out-group referent, that is, men or (failures of) masculinity (20 out of 24 posts). This suggests that the reclamation has not seen uptake from out-group speakers at this point. An example can be seen in Figure 6 below, where the term *niangmen-jiji* is used pejoratively and collocates with other negative adjectives, i.e., “ignorant,” “disgusting,” “pretentious.” Based on the video the poster uploaded with this text, the term *niangmen* here is being used to refer to an effeminate male host, criticized by the poster for lacking masculinity from the perspective of straight men.



[...]

Although this dude can’t help it, I’m still so annoyed by his ignorant, disgusting, pretentious, womanly (*niangmen-jiji*) behaviour.

[...]

Figure 6. Screenshot of a Hupu post¹³ (left) and its main text translation (right).

In addition to the predominantly negative usage towards male referents, there is also one neutral use and one negative use for women referents on Hupu. Unlike the predominately positive uses on Xiaohongshu, which either attributed valued traits to womanhood or deemed traits

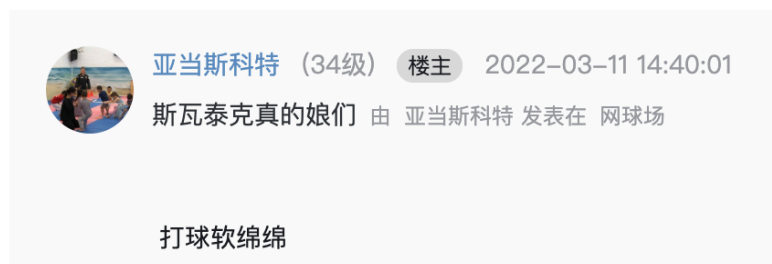
¹² Retrieved May 13, 2025, from

https://www.xiaohongshu.com/explore/67cfb031000000002803dfbd?xsec_token=ABhB_LdTD6KqjMcY9SKogBjFpF3vrTatOfexzpo8d3vZ8=&xsec_source=pc_search

¹³ Retrieved May 13, 2025, from <https://bbs.hupu.com/62145482.html>

stereotypically associated with women to be valuable, this latter use shows a more traditional negative evaluation of traits associated with femininity. As seen below in Figure 7, the speaker criticizes a female tennis player, Iga Świątek, for being weak and soft on court (Iga Świątek was ranked world No. 4 at the time of this post and rose to world No. 1 three weeks later). In this post, the poster equates negative traits for a professional athlete's play, i.e., weakness and softness, with the term *niangmen*, and essentially with femininity. This shows that, at least in athletes, these traits are seen as negative even when embodied by the gender that is expected to display them.

斯瓦泰克真的娘们 7回复 / 5亮 13161 浏览



Świątek is really like a woman (*niangmen*)

Świątek is really like a woman (*niangmen*)
Her tennis is soft and weak.

Figure 7. Screenshot of a Hupu post¹⁴ (left) and its main text translation (right).

The expression of negative sentiment towards female referents using this term, however, is relatively limited. Most of the negative usage targets male referents, indicating that femininity is not only perceived as negative, but seen as especially so when embodied by men. This creates an interesting tension in terms of the reclamation effort as the women who are aiming to reclaim this term which ostensibly refers to their demographic group are not actually the main target of its offensive use. Unlike other targets of reclamation like the n-slur for Black people and *queer* and the f-slur for members of the LGBTQIA+ community, which, while available for use against out-group members, were at their most offensive when directed towards in-group members (by out-group members), this term seems to be mainly used to directly insult men by associating them with “inappropriate” or “unacceptable” feminine behaviour. This is similar to the English *pussy*, which, while referring to feminine genitalia, is most commonly and most offensively used against men who are deemed to be insufficiently brave, strong, or masculine.¹⁵

5.2.2 Rare metadiscursive discussions

Also in contrast to what we found on Xiaohongshu, there were substantially fewer metadiscursive discussions surrounding the term on Hupu—only 1 out of 26 posts. We identified an ambivalent discussion that appears to address the usage of *niangmen* as seen in Figure 8 below, though it is not entirely clear whether this refers to adjectival or nominal use. In this post, the poster posed a question and initiated a poll regarding whether *niangmen* is a sexist term. Fifty-seven users participated in this poll (including one of the authors, who selected “yes,” as the results were only visible after voting), and more than three quarters of them believed that *niangmen* is not a sexist term. Despite the prolific negative use of the term on this platform, this is not entirely unexpected. As Cashman (2012) attests with the Spanish anti-gay slur, *maricón*, many users reject

¹⁴ Retrieved May 13, 2025, from <https://bbs.hupu.com/52436692.html>

¹⁵ This term was the subject of an attempt at reclamation through the 2017 Women’s March in the USA and the wearing of “pussy hats” at this and other feminist protests, but its reclamation does not seem to have moved beyond that narrow context (May, 2020).

the proposition that their use of this term to attack straight men is somehow homophobic. Instead, they claim that it is just an insult with no homophobic connotation, or even that it is just part of their linguaculture. Presumably the same men would agree that the term was homophobic if they knowingly applied it to a gay man as a way of insulting his gayness, but when directed to out-group members, as was *niangmen* on Hupu, the term seems to acquire plausible deniability insofar as it can be claimed to have a purely insulting sense that is not necessarily tied to the original referent.

“娘们”这个词是不是对女性的不尊重？如何看待“娘们”这个词 3回复 / 2亮 1053 浏览



Is “*niangmen*” disrespectful to women? What’s your opinion towards this term?

[...]

Yes (selected): 14 users, 24.6%

No: 43 users, 75.4%

@X: Well, not sure if I can say this, but I go on Hupu because of football, the Premier League, and we often describe a team with this term. So it doesn’t necessarily refer to women, right?

@X: *Niangmen*, *gemen* (bro), *yemen* (man)—these are just references for certain groups of people. They are not positive or negative per se. If you think they are, then you probably have assumptions about the group. Otherwise, you could just say: “I’m a woman. I’m a *niangmen*. Isn’t your mom a *niangmen* too?”

@X: As long as you don’t hold double standard for *yemen* (man/like a man).

Figure 8. Screenshot of a Hupu post¹⁶ (left) and its main text translation (right).

This notion is reinforced by the three comments under this post, all of which assert that the term *niangmen* is not inherently sexist. Some even suggest that only the biased assumptions associated with its usage are—i.e., “it is only an insult if you think I am using it to say something bad about women” (as opposed to using it as a general insult). While these comments may, at first glance, appear to echo the metadiscursive discussions observed on Xiaohongshu—which argue that *niangmen* and the femininity it represents are not inherently pejorative—none of them

¹⁶ Retrieved May 13, 2025, from <https://bbs.hupu.com/630269544.html>

acknowledge the fact that *niangmen* is indeed being widely used as a slur. They also overlook how such biased usage is rooted in misogynistic and transmisogynistic ideologies, a connection that is made explicit in the metadiscursive discussion on Xiaohongshu. In other words, this post and its comments do not represent reclamation efforts. Despite the appearance that they also agree *niangmen* and femininity are not inherently negative, their failure to engage with the actuality of its use as an insult (even if that insult is not directed towards women) represents a significant blind spot that allows them to see *niangmen* as unproblematic—even as it is used negatively and perpetuates sexist and transphobic discourse on this very social network—and thereby to fail to see the need for reclamation in the first place.

5.3 Weibo and summary

In addition to these gender-skewed platforms, similar patterns were also attested on Weibo, a more mixed-gender platform. As seen in the other platforms, on Weibo, the positive sense of the term was used to develop solidarity within the in-group communities, while the term remained pejorative when used outside of this community. In other words, at this stage, *niangmen* is only reclaimed by women when referring to women. Within this reclamation, the way that posters reclaim *niangmen* is not limited to redefining the term as pointing to more socially valued traits but in some cases also challenges sexist hegemony by revaluing the traits that have been traditionally associated with *niangmen*. Through metadiscursive discussion, in-group posters insist that *niangmen*, along with the femininity it represents or invokes, is not inherently negative, but inherently positive, regardless of the user's intent. In doing so, these posters explicitly and consciously reclaim the term, making this effort part of a broader feminist project aimed at debunking the sexist hegemonic ideologies that position the female sex as inferior to the male.

5.4 Reclamation mechanics

Considering the distribution of positive uses of *niangmen* described above, the reclamation appears to be a case of insular or in-group reclamation. Only in-group members seem to be using the re-valenced positive form, and they only seem to be using it for in-group members, while out-group members continue to use the term as an insult, though notably directed mainly at other out-group members. Unlike much insular reclamation, however, this reclamation does not appear to be drawing on the shared experience of being slurred by the term to build solidarity. Instead, based on the metadiscourse around the reclamation on Xiaohongshu, this appears to be an attempt at pride reclamation or neutralization, i.e., changing the connotation to a neutral or positive one for all users including out-group members. Unlike *bitch*, the n-slur, or the f-slur which still retain an edginess as a result of the persistent negative baggage associated with the slurs despite insular reclamation, reclaimers of *niangmen* argue that the term itself is to be understood as positive, as seen in Figure 4. Further to this, the poster's friend discussed in Figure 5 even goes so far as to understand the term as complimentary even if uttered by an out-group member and regardless of the utterer's intent. This is in stark contrast with many insular reclamations within which the slur remains highly offensive when uttered outside of in-group solidarity contexts. It seems then that this reclamation aims to follow a trajectory more in line with terms like *gay* or *queer* which, while still capable of being used in insulting ways (particularly when applied to those who do not self-ascribe to the label), are broadly seen as neutral or even positive words to describe a certain set of identities or ways of being.¹⁷ In fact, if anything, these reclaimers seem to be going even further

¹⁷ Whereas for the English terms, adjectival forms have been reclaimed despite nominal forms remaining more offensive (Jeshion, 2020, frames this in terms of “vocatives” vs. “non-vocatives,” but it can equally be understood as a distinction between adjectival and noun forms as all provided “non-vocatives” are adjectival), in the Chinese case,

and aiming to reframe *niangmen* as referring to positive traits regardless of who is supposedly enacting them and being described by the term.

6 Discussion and conclusion

While adjectival *niangmen* remains pejorative in all surveyed references to men and all posts by men analyzed in this study, we have identified a striking trend amongst women users of social media who are explicitly reclaiming this term and casting it not as an insult to be used towards men for their “womanly” behaviour, but instead as a term of compliment or praise for women. This phrase is often framed with the connotation of the women exhibiting socially valued (i.e., masculine) traits like strength, athleticism, bravery, etc. In contrast with the more conflict-oriented approaches to language reform outlined in the introduction section (i.e., the creation of neologisms that devalue men), this more positive approach has the potential for greater uptake insofar as it appears as progress and avoids offending members of the hegemonic group (as the neologisms expressly aim to do). But such uptake does not guarantee impact upon social power structures. As argued by Cameron (1995), language reform is not just a way of reducing harm to those marginalized by language, but also has important political potential in terms of its capacity to draw attention to problematic (but taken for granted) social structures and norms. In this sense, the very likelihood of unproblematic uptake of this “positive when used to describe women” sense of *niangmen* is precisely what may circumscribe its political potential, particularly within the context of a language pervaded by associations between women (*niang*/娘) and socially stigmatized traits or behaviours.

In fact, as evidenced by the wide range of *niang*-stemmed transmisogynistic slurs introduced in Section 2.1, what underlies the pejorative usage of *niangmen* is likely actually a persistent sexism that evaluates femininity as negative, especially in men, while masculinity is evaluated as positive, even in women (see discussion of *yemen* in the introduction to this paper). That said, none of these pejorative *niang*-stemmed slurs other than *niangmen* are being reclaimed, nor is there any sign of efforts to reclaim them in the near future. Therefore, we question whether, in a semiotic landscape where femininity is systematically devalued, reclamatory metadiscourse can genuinely contest this devaluation and succeed in reclaiming *niangmen* as a neutral or empowering term for women, not to mention have any impact on the broader pattern of societal (trans)misogyny. On the one hand, the reclamation of sexist slurs like *niangmen* is achieved by explicitly challenging hegemonic gender ideologies, raising awareness of how language subconsciously encodes sexism that stigmatizes femininity. On the other hand, the continued use of *niang*-stemmed slurs other than *niangmen* to stigmatize femininity reflects a deeper, unaddressed misogyny and transmisogyny that may remain a substantial barrier to both the reclamation process and broader feminist efforts.

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the nominal forms were often neutral, whereas the adjectives are now undergoing attempted reclamation. In this sense, the term may be understood as perhaps more similar to *girl/girly*, which, while not currently being reclaimed in English, follows a similar pattern of insulting uses such that *girly* is most offensive when applied to men, but can also be used to criticize stereotypically feminine traits in women.

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Appendix A: Coded data of *niangmen* on Xiaohongshu

Type	Sentiment	Time	Referent	Speaker	Text
mention	positive	2024-05-10	unclear	in-group	学到的新的夸人用语！ 在小地瓜评论区学到的新的夸人用语：太娘们了 哈哈哈哈哈我喜欢 #女性主义 #发现我的女性力量
mention	positive	2023-06-16	unclear	in-group	在探讨《红楼梦》里元春省亲时说“娘儿们一会”，李少红版读成“娘们儿一会”为什么是错的过程中，我忽然意识到“娘们儿”与对应的“爷们儿”区别有多大，“爷们儿”在口语里是如此伟光正的存在，比如富大龙老师在电影《紫日》里的台词“老子是爷们儿，是中国的爷们儿”，这个台词给人印象太深刻了，我记了好多年。而“娘们儿”却是连词典都认可的带贬义的说法，比如“你个娘们儿你知道什么”、“你个大老爷们儿和个娘们儿计较什么”，这个词甚至可以形容男人“你怎么娘们儿兮兮的” 好心梗

					#女性
mention	positive	2024-12-26	unclear	in-group	<p>想要更多娘们儿用的表情包！</p> <p>以前:太娘们儿了（贬义）</p> <p>现在:太娘们儿了（夸夸）</p> <p>还有——</p> <p>雌性中的雌性！太蒂了！雌鹰！大姥！大女人！</p> <p>#女性友好 #女性 #最爱的表情包 #女性力量"</p>
use	positive	2025-02-25	in-group	in-group	<p>姐太娘们儿了</p> <p>被姐帅晕了 🥰🥰🥰🥰</p> <p>秃炮怪字幕组的姐妹们辛苦了！</p> <p>#母狮</p>
use	positive	2025-03-08	in-group	in-group	<p>这电影！太娘们了！</p> <p>今天带着八岁的妹妹一起去看了《还有明天》</p> <p>一开始担心她看不懂 担心黑白的画面太枯燥</p> <p>担心跳舞与家暴的隐喻含糊可怕 担心她不了解突如其来的咖啡馆爆炸和女主角女儿的退婚</p> <p>可令我惊喜的是 她全都看懂了</p> <p>她甚至在看电影的时候和我说 女人的生活好悲惨</p> <p>我问她 这讲了什么故事？</p> <p>她说 女主角一直被丈夫打 最后她逃出去投了选票</p> <p>我问她 你有什么感受？</p> <p>她说 我觉得过去的女人就没有被当作人 而是随便什么东西 我应该努力学习避免这样</p> <p>我问她 咖啡馆为什么会爆炸？</p> <p>她说 因为女主角不想让女儿结婚</p> <p>我问她 为什么不想让女儿结婚呢？</p> <p>她说 因为女儿的未婚夫也表现出暴力倾向 不让她工作，不让她化妆</p> <p>我问她 那么读书和结婚 你选哪个？</p>

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

					<p>她说 我选读书 我要做对的选择</p> <p>然后她问我 姐姐 为什么那个女儿对待自己的父亲的表现 她头脑很清醒 但自己面对未婚夫就想不清楚呢？</p> <p>我说 因为人在事中迷啊 往往旁观时清醒 自己陷入时又变成了恋爱脑 你长大一定不要这样哦</p> <p>她点头</p> <p>我很开心 很惊喜 我没有预料到她如此精准地捕捉到了女性困境 一针见血地发现问题</p> <p>果然女性天然就有共情、疼惜、帮助女性的能力</p> <p>就像电影结尾</p> <p>女儿在人群中一眼看到母亲 穿过人海给她选票</p> <p>就像电影结尾</p> <p>一群女人用坚定勇敢的目光瞪住那个卑鄙的男人</p> <p>要受教育而不是穿婚纱</p> <p>要投选票而不是接情书</p> <p>要靠自己而不是等男人</p> <p>要去战斗而不是被拯救</p> <p>因此，我期待更好的明天💕</p> <p>#电影 #每天一部好电影 #女性导演的魅力 #热映电影推荐 #都给我去看 #电影观后感 #野生影评人 #女性成长 #还有明天#高分电影</p>
use	positive	2024-12-04	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们了！！！！泪目！！！！</p> <p>我和好闺闺们</p> <p>出了四个全奖！物理系！女！博士生！！！！</p> <p>（好吧虽然我人在CS系，我心依然是物理心）</p> <p>另外一个找到了超级好的工作！</p> <p>翻以前的相册，19岁的我们是否能够料到我们的今天？</p>

					<p>眼眶湿润，想对当年的自己说： 在迷茫中继续前进吧，一直向前走就好，你会看见那束光的。</p> <p>#物理 #博士生日常 #闺蜜 #太给力了</p>
mention	positive	2025-02-26	in-group	in-group	<p>表情包 妳真娘们儿！</p> <p>Hi，这是给女孩们的表情包。 一个词语的褒贬，由谁来定义？ “娘们儿”是个褒义词，她被无数个勇敢强大昂首挺胸的女性们所定义。</p> <p> 壁纸原图请❤️+留言  原创作品©禁止商用 转载请注明出处</p> <p>#小红书生活画家 @画画薯 @艺术薯 #表情包 #原创表情包 #GirlsPower #女性力量 #插画中的女性主义 #来自星星的艺术家 #真娘们 #女性主义插画 #高清手机壁纸</p>
use	positive	2025-03-22	unclear	in-group	<p>太娘们了！💪💪💪</p> <p>强壮娘娘保佑🙏</p> <p>就是要强！</p> <p>就是要力量💪</p> <p>#娘们儿要战斗 #健身人健身魂 #女性力量 #健身日常 #礼物推荐 #春日秀场 #创意礼物 #力量训练 #力量与柔韧的结合 #她力量</p>
mention	neutral	2025-03-04	unclear	in-group	<p>又来问一些奇怪的问题了 “娘们儿唧唧的”的性转版是什么？</p> <p>嗯...总不能是“爷们儿磨磨的”吧？？？（磨磨唧唧）字面上对仗了但是意思完全不对啊！</p> <p>#提问 #我真的不理解 #不懂就问 #纯粹个人想法吐槽 #不明白就问 #稀奇古怪的想法 #发自内心的疑问 #畅所欲言贴 #大家畅所欲言 #乱七八糟的想法</p>

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

use	positive	2025-03-01	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们了！厌女时代的女作家真不容易</p> <p>弗吉尼亚·伍尔夫在《一间只属于自己的房间》中提出了一个假设：如果莎士比亚的妹妹朱迪思拥有与兄长相同的天赋，她是否能够取得同样的成就？</p> <p>答案是否定的，因为朱迪思从未被允许接受教育，她的才华被埋没在家庭琐事中。</p> <p>1 历史偏见与女性写作困境</p> <p>亚里士多德、尼采等学者曾暗示女性天生不适合写作，这种偏见一度让女性在文学领域举步维艰。</p> <p>但随着《呼啸山庄》等优秀作品的出现，这种偏见逐渐被打破。</p> <p>伍尔夫在书中指出，女作家稀少的原因主要有两个：</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 贫穷：19 世纪前，英国女性没有可支配财产，忙于生存和家务，根本无暇创作。 · 社会限制：社会要求女性依附丈夫，嘲笑写作的女性，让她们承受巨大的精神压力，最终放弃写作。 <p>2 物质基础和独立空间的重要性</p> <p>伍尔夫认为，女性写作需要两样东西：每年五百英镑和一间属于自己的房间。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 五百英镑：提供心智自由，让女性不必为生计发愁。 · 自己的房间：隔绝外界干扰，让女性能够专注创作。 <p>她以自己 and 简·奥斯汀、夏洛蒂·勃朗特等女作家为例，说明贫穷和缺乏独立空间对创作</p>
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					<p>的巨大阻碍。</p> <p>3 女性写作传统与发展</p> <p>女性写作缺乏传统支撑和适合的文学形式，相比男性写作面临更多困难。不过，从简·奥斯汀到当代女性文学，写作正变得越来越自由。</p> <p>伍尔夫那一代女性争取到诸多权利，如今的女性也在为后代铺路，努力成为各行业的先驱者。</p> <p>伍尔夫的观点让我意识到，女性的独立不仅是经济上的，更是精神上的。</p> <p>拥有一间属于自己的房间，不仅是物理空间，更是心灵的栖息地。</p> <p>作为女性，我们要勇敢追求自己的梦想，打破偏见，成为自己生活的主角！</p> <p>#女性在写作 #女作家 #文学 #书籍分享 #伍尔夫 #一间只属于自己的房间 #女性主义书籍 #女性意识崛起 #女性必看 #女性主义者</p>
use	positive	2024-05-15	in-group	in-group	<p>最娘们的一集</p> <p>#雌鹰般的女人</p>
mention	positive	2025-03-16	unclear	in-group	<p>所谓的女性主义早已变质成为一种时尚单品 //今年的三八节好像格外热闹。</p> <p>我的大数据推送里满满当当的“大女人”与“雌鹰”，仿佛女权主义早已在全世界百花齐放姹紫嫣红，女性的权益终于得到保障，男女平等彻底成为已经过时的老生常谈。</p> <p>但现实是女性仍然在职场里处处碰壁，在婚姻中步步惊心.....所有糟糕的黑暗的事情仍然在继续发生，一切保持原状。</p>

					<p>似乎女性主义只是用来夸夸其谈的时尚单品，是小红书这个女性社区特有的产物，是飘在天上的空中楼阁，与现实完全割裂。</p> <p>我曾经这么怀疑。</p> <p>//“上一次听见有人说你好娘们儿，居然下意识地觉得这是一句赞美。”我的朋友在某天突然这样和我感慨。</p> <p>事实上我和她都是很浅薄的人，在生活中只是很庸俗地讨论吃喝拉撒，抱怨讨厌的天气，咒骂考试和早八，我们没读过波伏娃，不理解结构性压迫，不知道父权制的建立与崩塌。</p> <p>但是很本能的，看到卫生巾频频出问题时我们会感到愤怒，看到“囚禁”被曲解成“收留”时我们会说这是不对的，看到“毒打致死”被美化为“被面汤呛死”时我们会呐喊这不公平。</p> <p>这些愤怒可能很短暂地持续几天就会不了了之，没有人会因为愤怒就爬上市政府的大楼去自焚抗议，我也绝不支持个体为了群体的利益而自我牺牲。</p> <p>但我们会默契地不再购买那个牌子的卫生巾，下意识地把钱像选票一样投给那些声称为女性发声的商家，哪怕他们根本不知道波伏娃。</p> <p>//沉默往往被定义为逃跑，但这次的娜拉不再出走，她要留下，她要攥紧手里的选票，要把它投进一个被期许的未来</p> <p>沉默，温和，但坚定不移。</p>
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					<p>//当你过度肥胖的时候担忧节食过度是不合时宜的，我的意思是，当天秤明显偏向另一边的时候，中立也是不合时宜的。</p> <p>“正义只能被炒作，否则就会被埋没。”</p> <p>女性主义也是如此。</p> <p>所以我宁愿激进一些，过火一些，宁愿整个世界不厌其烦喋喋不休地重复那些概念。</p> <p>罗马不是一日之内建成的，社会的改良也不是一蹴而就的，就在这些反反复复的絮絮叨叨之中，有些东西在悄然改变。</p> <p>还有明天，还有明天。</p> <p>#女性 #还有明天 #女性主义者 #为女权发声 #女性主体意识</p>
use	positive	2025-03-20	in-group	in-group	<p>被评为未来领导人，这可太娘们了</p> <p>和好朋友们作品被选入 LCF25 未来领袖专题，谢谢 Diet Paratha，咱们娘们儿生来就是要做领导的 🍷</p> <p>#我的多重身份 #未来领袖 #老有范儿啦 #新的女性力量的崛起</p>
use	positive	2025-02-06	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们了！</p> <p>#女性力量</p>
use	positive	2025-03-08	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们了</p> <p>祝所有的女性同胞妇女节快乐 🎉</p> <p>祝你永远有自己的路走 🎉</p> <p>祝你今天不只是因为妇女节快乐，祝你每一天都快乐</p> <p>祝你有力量，祝你有机会，祝你千千万万</p> <p>抽 3 个女宝 🎁 电影票看最近上映的《初步举证》或者《还有明天》</p>

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

					<p>抽 8 个女宝 🎁 18r 点杯奶茶快乐一下或者 38r 我们家的优 hui 💰</p> <p>啊啊啊啊啊啊啊啊啊啊初步举证和还有明天大家如果感兴趣都去看啊啊啊啊啊啊啊啊</p> <p>#吃我一波 lolita 安利 #娘们儿要战斗 #三八妇女节 #太娘们了 #妇女节快乐#MIAMILIA 原创设计</p>
use	positive	2025-03-08	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们了</p> <p>喜欢炼中的青筋手 🦋 🦋</p> <p>三八节快乐！</p> <p>#娘们儿要战斗 #三八节 #我的健身日常 #女生肌肉 #居家健身</p>
use	positive	2024-04-11	in-group	in-group	<p>多多说我今天娘们儿唧唧的</p> <p>娘们儿娘们儿点儿怎么了！</p>
use	positive	2024-06-06	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们儿了</p> <p>来学校校招宣讲的公司在隔壁学院面前说不招女生，但是打开她们年级排名发现年级前十名全是女生，而且她们是工科专业哈哈#女性 #太娘们了</p>
use	positive	2025-03-14	in-group	in-group	<p>校园女性活动！好！太娘们了！！</p> <p>大学老师中午下班看到学校有妇女活动，兴奋参与并留言了 😊</p> <p>我撕掉的标签仿佛也是为我设置、等我撕掉的，刚好在我眼前！《生孩子有什么痛的？忍忍不就好了？！》</p> <p>好！太娘们了！</p> <p>#三八妇女节 #女性活动策划 #女性支持女性 #祝你成为不被定义的女性 #拒绝设限我的青春自有花样 #女性意识崛起 #不被定义的女性 #女性的自由 #撕掉关于女性的那些标签 #校园女性主义一角</p>

use	negative	2025-02-04	unclear	in-group	<p>职场斗争请勿使用娘们打法</p> <p>直播说不打招呼</p> <p>跑国会去叫委屈</p> <p>闵熙珍下的这一步棋实在是够娘们</p> <p>打的大老爷们哭笑不得</p> <p>我想知道 if real 不打招呼怎么了，小学生因为这个告老师，老师都不会理的程度</p> <p>Right now 很好听</p>
use	positive		in-group	in-group	<p>感觉自己太娘们了！</p> <p>马桶堵了用尽各种办法通不开，根据网上教程自己把马桶拆了把不小心掉进去的异物取出来又安上了，完成最后一步上胶之后感觉自己超娘们！怒省两百多！#牛 #厉害女人 #生活技能</p>
use	neutral	2024-12-27	out-group	in-group	<p>你们老公跟猫也娘们儿唧唧的吗？</p> <p>自从大喜到家之后</p> <p>我的 186 东北老公</p> <p>出现了一系列以前从没出现过的声音行为和叠词</p> <p>让我为之瞳孔震惊#帮我家宠物出名 #德文卷毛猫 #猫 #老公 #东北</p>
use	negative	2024-10-10	in-group	in-group	<p>娘们唧唧的，真无语</p>
use	positive	2024-11-28	in-group	in-group	<p>太娘们了！</p> <p>前些天，刷到邵艺辉穿着 200 块🍊买来的裙子、平底鞋去走金鸡.奖的红毯。</p> <p>上一个在大场面穿得这么随性自在，是打雷姐，格莱美颁奖典礼，塑料鞋+商场淘来的平价裙子。</p> <p>再上一个，是张曼玉，2004 年戛纳电影节，白色背心+牛仔裤（她就在这届获封亚洲第一个戛纳影后）。</p>

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

					<p>推翻所谓的“不得体”认知，打破规训，拒绝被物化。</p> <p>女子好！太娘们了！</p> <p>邵艺辉导演的新电影《好东西》，也是传达了这么一种不被社会伪命题所困的女性主义。</p> <p>女强人、恋爱脑、友宝女都只是标签，爱情、事业也都只是生活的一部分，女性本身自然而然的思想独立、“我本位”意识才是最重要的。</p> <p>没有条条框框定义下的“好女人”，想成为怎样的人，想过怎样的人生，应该由我们自主决定，而不该被他人定义。</p> <p>正如电影里王铁梅（宋佳饰演）模仿的大法官金斯伯格说的：“男.女.平等的本质是女性的选择，女性要成为自己人生的决策者。”</p> <p>邵艺辉导演不愧是我们的天才女友，太懂得女性想看的是什么了。《好东西》不苦情也不煽情，用很轻盈的方式，把女性的困境，两性认知的偏差等展现出来。</p> <p>女性的笑点与泪点，如此同频，像呼吸了一大口新鲜空气，让人愉悦治愈但又不失去思考。</p> <p>周末看过点映，正式上映后还想二刷</p> <p>#张曼玉 #邵艺辉 #宋佳 #电影好东西 #这才是我们大女人看的好东西 #钟楚曦 #电影推荐 #</p>
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					发现我的女性力量
mention	positive	2024-03-11	unclear	in-group	女书，夸人的正确方式 A：你也太娘们了吧 我：谢谢夸奖
use	negative	2023-11-15	in-group	in-group	避免“老娘们儿”气息 今天跟一个朋友聊天，感觉她有了很明显的“老娘们儿”的气息，可能随着年龄增长，多少都会有点吧，但还是反省自己，一定要避免这种感觉，不太好。 第一，不要怨气太重，四处抱怨。 第二，不要心眼太小，斤斤计较。 第三，不要随意传播和评价别人的家长里短。 综上，今天跟她聊天后的自省。还有没有别的很“老娘们儿”的行为啊？一起注意，一起避免。

The dates of some posts are missing because the post was deleted or made private before the authors collected the date, which occurred two months after the original data collection in April 2025.

Appendix B: Coded data of *niangmen* on Hupu

Type	Sentiment	Time	Referent	Speaker	Text
use	negative	2021-11-19	out-group	out-group	集美们，帮我看看这个“娘们”啥意思 不是男女朋友，今天先是指出我的缺点，我叫她继续说，您猜怎么？结果说了很多我的缺点、做的不好的地方。后面就发生了如下对话(右边是我,本人男)，我想看夜景怎么就变成娘们唧唧了？！（你咋这么娘们呢）
use	negative	2025-02-08	out-group	out-group	他们人挺好，就是娘们唧唧的
use	negative	2024-12-13	out-group	out-group	尼克杨口中的林书豪，竟然是如此的娘们儿唧唧的
use	negative	2022-07-15	out-group	out-group	娘们唧唧的就捶死你
use	negative	2020-03-	out-group	out-group	黄志忠发飙 狂彪脏话 大骂学员：比tm娘们

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

		02			还娘们儿
use	neutral	2020-05-04	in-group	out-group	女朋友娘们唧唧的怎么办
use	negative	2020-04-08	out-group	out-group	<p>龙岭迷窟里胖子的扮演者，姜超，真有点娘们唧唧的感觉，越看不适感越真不如精绝古城那个，豪爽。</p> <p>但是这遮胡哨真他妈帅！网文男主的最佳演绎</p>
use	negative	2020-05-10	out-group	out-group	<p>为什么朱正廷娘们就挨你们骂？刘雨昕爷们你们反而夸？求解惑？</p> <p>别说实力问题 婷婷正经八百的上戏重中国舞专业第一</p> <p>还有八块腹肌</p>
use	negative	2020-11-24	out-group	out-group	王猛怎么说非得娘们唧唧的
use	negative	2020-08-02	out-group	out-group	<p>一群大老爷们儿娘们儿唧唧的</p> <p>你可以说 jkl 这几场状态不好，状态下滑，操作失误多，意识慢。但你们说他以前就是二流 ad. 混子 ad? 真就一场论啊，输几场就把他以前的荣誉就剥夺了。电子竞技赢了夸，输了喷很正常，你们可以开帖分析他哪里打的不好，但是别冷嘲热讽的好吧。</p> <p>前段时间 shy 哥打的不好的时候，冷嘲热讽的也是你们这帮人吧，现在吹 shy 哥贬 jkl 的还是你们这帮人吧？</p>
use	negative	2021-04-16	out-group	out-group	这兄弟怎么娘们唧唧的
use	negative	2023-06-30	out-group	out-group	<p>艾顿就是不积极，不愿意去干脏活累活，进攻上也娘们叽叽，今年季后赛杜兰特的一个妙传，面对一个空篮不愿意去扣，而且是选择上篮，以至于那球还被帽了，真的气，换了个教练就能解决吗？看着杜兰特这么累很</p>

					心疼
use	negative	2022-12-30	out-group	out-group	黄志忠怒批小鲜肉化妆迟到:比娘们还娘们
use	negative	2021-12-31	out-group	out-group	蔡徐坤怎么还在走娘们路线
use	negative	2024-12-16	unclear	out-group	那些喷 17 的你们难道不是中国人? 那么小小个事情有那么纠结吗? 屁大点事娘们唧唧的一个个。由 17 爱鬼 发表在绝地求生 现在踏马的 17 飘柔 微博那几个 pcl 代表的是中国队在外面比赛呀。是个中国人都应该给他们加油好吧, 希望中国队都能发挥的好, 冠军留在中国最好希望小鬼在绽放一下 👏👏👏
use	negative	2021-04-09	unclear	unclear	xdm 闲鱼遇到过这么娘们唧唧的人吗? 真的把我无语到了 搞烦了都
use	negative	2021-04-09	unclear	unclear	虽说这货不是故意 但是这种没文化还有这种 故作恶心的娘们唧唧的形象还是令我十分不适
use	negative	2024-05-13	out-group	out-group	怎么拉黑这个破壁老头杯帖子, 不能纯正的看 个比赛嘛, 娘们唧唧的, 天天撕逼
use	negative	2022-03-11	in-group	out-group	斯瓦泰克真的娘们 打球软绵绵
use	negative	2020-08-17	out-group	out-group	看到这个视频 我知道为啥说 nba 是娘们联赛 了
use	negative	2023-05-11	out-group	out-group	为啥没比对手多十多个罚球, 就娘们唧唧的说 我没练过假摔 之前说过我得练习假摔了。为啥这次还说我换了无数次队, 都没练过假摔
use	negative		out-group	out-group	这才叫篮球, 不像 NBA 那些, 娘们唧唧的
use	negative	2023-08-21	out-group	out-group	4AM, 指挥 ZPY 必须背锅, 磨磨唧唧你比娘 们还娘们!

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

					你们可以去，慢慢仔仔细细，看看每一吧比赛，都是怎么死的，就没怎么开过枪，个种抽象死法，怂成狗，见人就趴，完全是怂死的！
use	negative	2024-12-07	out-group	out-group	TT 就跟老娘们一样，队内又有一个耐倒王更娘们是真的托
use	negative	2021-01-24	out-group	out-group	罗杰斯 3 档大空位不敢跑，太娘们了
mention	neutral	2022-10-29	out-group	in-group	“娘们”这个词是不是对女性的不尊重？如何看待“娘们”这个词

The dates of some posts are missing because the post was deleted or made private before the authors collected the date, which occurred two months after the original data collection in April 2025.

Appendix C: Coded data of *niangmen* on Weibo

Type	Sentiment	Time	Referent	Speaker	Text
use	negative	2025-03-24	unclear	unclear	打扮的好看上班都有动力[awsl] 和人说话都轻声细语的 唯一的点就是 wyc 不夸我漂亮反问我为什么穿的娘们唧唧的[微笑]
use	positive	2024-12-27	in-group	in-group	徐娇！雌性中的雌性，弘扬社会正能量，大女人真是太娘们了！[送花花][good][good]
use	negative	2025-03-21	out-group	unclear	一直不喜欢长得娘们唧唧的男生，但是何秋事也太可爱了啊，啊！！而且性格也好好！！看了一晚上他抖音连麦摘特效，简直是平等的帅死每一个人啊！！！！！！
use	positive	2025-02-22	in-group	in-group	#关晓彤事业心# 关晓彤这女的太娘们了，具体原因请看：
use	neutral	2024-10-19	unclear	unclear	只要队友长得够娘们，褶宇也有演偶像剧不被退货的春天
use	positive	2024-08-03	in-group	unclear	#郑钦文奥运女单冠军# 啊啊啊啊啊，见证历史了！恭喜霸气如猎豹的郑钦文！太娘们了！

use	positive		in-group	in-group	突然生理期也坚持跑完马拉松[彩虹屁]李美珍这才是真的拒绝月经羞耻[彩虹屁]女人中的女人！太娘们了！
use	negative	2025-03-21	out-group	unclear	娘们唧唧爱生气的男的怎么都他妈那么恶心呢
mention	positive	2025-03-14	unclear	unclear	太娘们了不应该是句脏话 太娘们了应该是句夸奖！！
use	neutral	2025-03-11	out-group	in-group	周围朋友都说俺给派派穿的太娘们了，最近给他采购了一批爷们的衣服，以后就走硬汉风了[doge][doge][doge]
use	positive	2025-03-19	unclear	in-group	看到更多品牌在妇女节做女性力量的传播，更多女性拒绝女字旁文字被污名化，拒绝有杰出贡献的女性被称为“先生”，真的太娘们了！最近看女性意识崛起的事太多了太兴奋了，爽！
use	negative	2024-05-03	unclear	unclear	真的够娘们的 没走几步就头晕了[融化][融化]
mention	positive	2025-03-22	unclear	unclear	大家可以试着开始在刷到的一些网络上有人做了好事善事的事件下面评论“女士大义”“真棒！真够娘们！”“像娘们一样正义凛然又有一颗温柔的心！”，我反正先这么干了。
use	positive	2024-07-04	unclear	unclear	每次我男人无法共情我的时候都要发疯。这辈子一定要培养一个够娘们的男人。[微笑]
use	neutral	2020-05-18	unclear	unclear	一个男人终其一生都没有忘记一个死去的女人，这个男人再婚的后女人说了一番话：一个死去多年的女人都能让这样的男人这么痴痴记挂，啥叫男人，这就是男人。女人和男人，我也搞不明白到底是女人真男人还是男人真女人，感觉都够爷们，也都够娘们，厘不清啦！
use	positive	2025-03-03	in-group	unclear	谁干的？！出来挨夸太娘们了！

THAT IS SO LIKE A WOMAN! (TAI NIANGMEN LE/太娘们了)

use	positive	2025-02-21	in-group	unclear	谁还没去一路繁花里看刘晓庆游泳！七旬少女速度抛二旬老人一圈[笑 cry][笑 cry][笑 cry]简直太娘们了！女人中的女人！[彩虹屁][彩虹屁][彩虹屁]
mention	positive	2025-02-14	in-group	in-group	部门在说聚餐的事情。 对我很好的同事姐姐和我说“现在办公室里女生们反而更肝胆相照，更爷们。男生们都太娘们了。” 我立刻就感觉不对劲了，明明在夸女性，“娘们”却是贬义词。 刻板印象仍然存在，但开始被意识到就是好事。我宁愿敏感一点，过激一点。
use	negative	2025-02-09	in-group	in-group	我发现我还真不适合谈恋爱 我这个人 太娘们唧唧了 优容寡断 一谈恋爱就会认真 虽然表面笑嘻嘻[揣手] 一点都做不到敢爱敢恨的大女人 我应该像庆奶一样 像包晓莉一样就好了 [awsl][太开心]
use	negative		unclear	unclear	#辛云来#到底谁在说辛云来丑，我真的黑人问号脸[黑线]明明就是很帅啊，说丑的是不是平时爱看娘们唧唧的，或者爱看刘宇宁啊.....
mention	positive	2024-07-29	unclear	unclear	非——常讨厌一些用“老公姐”、“老公是一种感觉”这种沾男的称谓来形容女人的行为，说出这样的话的时候，就已经把“强大、健壮、帅气、有力量”等特质与男性绑定了，默认这些是男性独有的，尽管表现出这些特质的是一位女性。 而很多和女性相关的称谓却偏偏表达的是贬低的含义，“爷们”是用来夸奖别人强壮、豪爽、有担当的，“娘们”就成了蔑称，这些文字上的刻板印象真该改改啦！用“真女人”“够娘们”来

					夸女人难道不是理所应当吗？
use	positive	2024-07-14	in-group	in-group	<p>今天刚看完泳者之心，别名老娘与海……我更喜欢老娘与海这个称呼，因为够娘们，够伟大。</p> <p>在正式写影评之前，我有一段话要说：我希望全世界的女性从婚姻和糟糕的原身家庭里挣脱出来，去抢！去争！去对抗，去打破这些年在自己身上的枷锁，去塑造一个独一无二的自己，你不必做一个温婉听话懂事的女人，你不必非要附属于一个他人，你可以狡猾，可以贪婪，可以凶猛，可以粗俗，你也可以高谈阔论，对那些自大喜欢当爹告诉你怎么做好一个女人的人一脚踹开，竖起中指嘲笑对方，去你爹的，老娘不需要你当面放屁。</p> <p>说实话，老娘与海很优秀，但又没有那么优秀，它优秀在讲述了一个女英雄的故事，真正的女英雄的成长的故事，讲述全世界和她对抗，讲述她如何面对压力即使是抛弃性命也要敢于做自己的故事。</p> <p>但……它太童话。</p> <p>大概是故事改编的问题，它太过于童话。</p> <p>真正活在底层的女性一路走来，是不可能得到那么多支持，当她说出我要成为历史上第一个游泳过英吉利海峡的女人时，不会有人去支持。</p> <p>不知道原本真人故事是怎样，但我知道她面临的阻碍美化了数百倍，可光是美化数百倍，在电影里看来，依然透着窒息。</p> <p>我印象最深刻的，是女主和她母亲的故事，当她母亲说出那句，我惧怕你的勇敢，因为它让我感到害怕时，我忍不住拍手鼓掌了起来。</p> <p>女主的母亲是一个传统女人，符合那个时代也</p>

				<p>是这个时代好女人的要求，即使是这样，在她看到女人因为不会游泳，只能在船上等死的新闻后，即使女性学游泳是个笑话的时代，她母性的本能，迫使她冒着所有人嘲笑让自己的两个女儿去学游泳。即使糟糕的丈夫宁愿买一个没用的电话也不愿出钱给女儿学游泳，她也要自己补贴做活凑钱给女儿学防身的游泳术。</p> <p>出于对孩子天然保护的本能，即使那是所有人反对的项目，她也愿意和身上的枷锁抗争。</p> <p>但经历过的我知道，这样的母亲在我看来，是童话，是近乎不可能的存在，所以我觉得电影里的这个母亲，与其说是指人，倒不如说是泛指女性。</p> <p>母系氏族的传承，女人与女人之间的传承虽然被男权社会用各种手段斩断，但那些刻在骨子里的本能驱使让她去保护身为同性别的下一代，就像我们的那些为了把女性和男性享有平等权利写进法律里革命女英雄们一样，即使自身背负沉重的枷锁，为了后来，为了以后的女性可以作为一个真正独立的人去站在太阳下自由呼吸，愿意为之付出一切。</p> <p>现实里的女主成功了，还打破了男性的记录，虽然她也因此付出了代价，彻底的失聪，但她却真正的成为了自己，成为了英雄，用自己的行动证明了，人之所以伟大，就在于创造不可能。</p> <p>做自己的道路上孤独的，是有无数阻拦的，而权力.....不会从天而降，不是别人施舍的，是靠争取，靠抢的。就像电影里关于学游泳这件事，一开始，是女主不停的骚扰耍赖才赢得父亲同意去买了泳衣，如果没有她这个开始，一切的故事就将不复存在。现实里也一样，我们</p>
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					<p>想要什么，就只能去抗争，去抢夺。</p> <p>你不想进入婚姻，那你就告诉他们你不想，即使他们说你不完整，即使他们觉得你疯了，即使整个社会都在给你暗示你不走入你就是失败，就是可怜.....</p> <p>但.....</p> <p>那又怎样呢？</p> <p>老娘不在乎！</p> <p>老娘只在乎做自己，只在乎自己的世界，老娘没空和你说哪条路是好是坏，老娘时间宝贵，垃圾别挨边。</p> <p>老娘的世界很大很宽，光是开垦自己的世界，去冒险，去探索的时间都不够用了，和狭窄的，只知道围绕屎尿屁的井底之蛙是不一样的，我们不在一个层次，所以滚一边去。</p> <p>所以身边的女孩们，女人们，不要害怕自己的不一样，不要害怕做自己，有人反对，说明是他们害怕了，他们怕你的勇敢无畏，怕你的强大灼伤他们脆弱的心灵，他们做不到，就只能选择打压。</p> <p>你要做的，就是老娘不在乎，转身将那些垃圾抛下，去面对自己的世界，把时间精力都用在自己身上，尽情的探索，尽情的活出自我，那样即使下一刻你就死了，那也不枉此身，至少你死的那一刻，无人拘束你自由的灵魂.....</p>
use	positive		unclear	unclear	真娘们 娘们中的 战斗机 [并不简单]中药一口闷
use	negative	2025-03-14	unclear	unclear	见面没有打招呼或者没笑脸就觉得自己心里受委屈，那么玻璃心就去 4 吧， 娘们唧唧的玩意
use	negative	2025-03-24	unclear	unclear	哎呦！！ 吐槽鬼娘们唧唧的 ，把我拉黑了。笑死了。当初 转 我微博说我说得 对 的话都忘了。要不要 给 你回顾一下，你说的朋友！是朋

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					友里有台 d。藏 D 恨国党。你被小球提拔，知遇之恩无以为报。太好笑了。另外，@冬亚只有我朝你妈脸上丢钱的可能，你想见我家里人？你配吗？你妈和小球的事，你好好回忆下[嘻嘻]
use	neutral	2025-03-24	unclear	unclear	娘们唧唧的一天

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