

OBSERVABLE PHENOMENA IN HOMOSEXUAL MALE VOICES:

An introductory study

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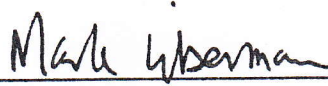
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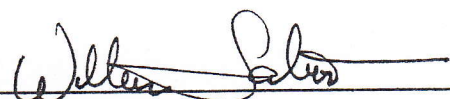
Language Variation

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INTRODUCTION

ABSTRACT

Using a speaker group of nine homosexual males and one heterosexual male, this paper attempts to examine homosexual male speech behavior for observable phenomena that imply the adoption or development of speech patterns that would serve to identify these males as members of a specific social group. An attempt is also made to discuss the motivation for altering a previously learned method of speaking in order to be identifiable to other members of the group. Phenomena are observed and discussed from four areas: the linguistic variables ING and T/D - rates of deletion and the environments in which it occurs; [s] duration - consonant duration increases and the word positions it occurs in; and Imitations and Descriptions - linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior, and the gender alignment associated with it.

This paper is intended to serve as an introductory study of the linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena present in homosexual male voices. The intent of the study is to discover what, if any, variation from established norms is exhibited in the speech of members of this social group, and if variation is observed, to discover what aspects or areas of linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior this variation affects.

Two topic areas that are known to exhibit variation across class and gender within the larger population are examined for variation within this group and the results are compared to established norms. These first two sections concern the socio-linguistic variables ING and T/D. In this area, the informants exhibited lower rates of deletion than previous studies have recorded for their gender.

The phenomena of consonant duration is examined for the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in the third section. Stereotyping of homosexual males has long portrayed the speech of these men as being affected by the adoption of a speech style that uses 'lispings' to distinguish it. This speaker group shows a preference for increased duration of [s] in all four of the word positions examined with word final and pre-consonantal position exhibiting a 74% increase in duration.

The fourth section contains data and conversation from the interviews with informants that focuses on imitations and descriptions of the speech and behavior of other homosexual and heterosexual speakers. The interviews expose the fact that for all imitations and descriptions two gender alignments - heterosexual male and heterosexual female - are used by the speakers and employed as a framework on which to map the behavior of homosexual males. The portrayals rarely overlap in terms of linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior. The data from the interviews also strongly implies that any appearance or behavior that can be defined as belonging in the domain of heterosexual males is considered preferable, and anything that can be defined as female (including homosexual and heterosexual

female behavior) is denigrated. To put it more succinctly, if it's male behavior and performed by a male it's a virtue and if it's female behavior and performed by a female or a person defined as female it's a vice. Nevertheless, within specialized contexts and non-threatening environments, denigrated behaviors are often seen as acceptable and inevitable for some members.

The results of sections 1-4 and their possible interpretations are presented in the conclusion.

Because this study concerns a specific social group, an attempt is made to discuss some of the criteria by which a group is identified by outsiders and by which a group identifies itself. The information contained in this section is the result of field and informant observations, and analyses thereof. Hence, the discussion proceeds from four premises and three definitions. Premises 1 and 2, having a wider application, are discussed together. Premises 3 and 4 are presented with respect to the social group this paper examines. The definitions below are given in order to reduce the ambiguity associated with the various meanings and interpretations available for these words, and because these words are used throughout this paper.

Definitions:

Social group - *a collection of individuals amongst whom a set of interdependent relationships exist (that is, the individuals influence each other).¹*

Social fact - *A social fact is to be recognized by the power of external coercion which it exercises or is capable of exercising over individuals, and the presence of this power may be recognized in its turn either by the existence of some specific sanction or by the resistance offered against every individual effort that tends to violate it.*²

Stereotype - *a form of perception based on cultural definitions which produces for the interpreter a constant and unchanging impression whatever the stimulus, so long as it refers to a certain category.*³

Premises and discussion:

Premise 1 -

Social groups often adopt or develop behavioral patterns and/or appearances that identify members to each other and set them apart from the mainstream culture.

Premise 2 -

Aspects of adopted or developed social group appearance and/or behavior are discernable and differ significantly from more encompassing cultural behavior. This behavior varies enough

from expected norms that it allows non-members to identify individuals as members of a particular group.

The adopted behavioral patterns and appearances of different groups can be manifested in a variety of ways. Based on readings and observations, three different criteria appear to be primary to social group organization concerning appearance and/or behavior, and these are used as a framework for discussion. The first two are applicable to premises 1 and 2, and the third to premises 3 and 4.

1. Altered appearances and/or behavior are displayed and required at all times.

Membership in the group makes (1) mandatory for all individuals who wish to belong.

Groups that have mandatory 'uniforms' or behaviors are easily identifiable and membership often carries with it high prestige, or elevated social status or respect. Groups of this type adopt a particular manner of dressing that reflects the group's cohesiveness and becomes a reflection of their particular ideology. Some very visible groups include religious orders and military groups - a few of which proscribe the way the 'habit' or 'uniform' is to be put on, taken off, and stored. Groups that are still highly visible but are less prestigious, and who, nevertheless, proclaim affiliation with pride include street or motorcycle gangs such as California's Hell's Angels.

Members of such organizations publicly sport their 'colors' on jackets or with tattoos.

Speaking styles can be altered to reflect group membership and become a requirement for affiliation. Frank Zappa's 1982 song 'Valley Girl' preserved and exposed the speech of the teenage members of this group (from Encino, California) with their strident sentence melodies and indigenous phrases such as 'Oh my god!', 'Fer sure!', 'Grody!', 'Barf me out!', and 'Gag me with a spoon'.⁴

2. Altered appearances and behavior are manifested and/or required only when the group comes together or when the members are in specific locations.

Altered appearances and behavior (including rites) are for members eyes (or ears) only.

For certain groups whose prestige has been established in the culture at-large, outsiders are not seen as part of an elite. The performance of rites (or ceremonies) are secret (or sacred), and the costumes worn during them are seen only by members. The Masons, Elks (B.P.O.E.) and Shriners are men's organizations for whom the above is true, although they do have clothing or accessories indicative of their group that are displayable at all times, and costumes that they wear for specific public functions.⁵

For less prestigious groups, altered behaviors, including styles of speaking, largely remain within the domain of the respective group. Since membership in these groups is not seen to increase esteem (in fact, affiliation may lower one's social status) varying behavior becomes 'for members only' by social fact. This creates a fog of secrecy that clears only when the group in question is no longer held to be less prestigious. This can occur when public recognition of the group's oppression is voiced and affiliation becomes a matter of principle and pride.

Theories exist that trace the development of Black English Vernacular - the dialect of many members of the African-American ethnic group - to Creole origins. This artificially formed social group made up of speakers of many different African languages who were brought together by slavery, was forced to develop a means of communicating effectively with each other and their owners. The resulting dialect retained aspects of more than one language, and became indicative of members of the African-American social group irrespective of any individual's ability to speak it. Present day BEV remains within the domain of this same ethnic group. Few outsiders are familiar enough with it to speak it and/or understand it, although it has been and remains a very visible dialect in America. New Orleans Creole is another such example, a crucial difference being its accessibility to outsiders. Lillian Hellman and Truman Capote are both authors who not only spoke the New Orleans patois but documented and employed it in their writings. Their work is well-known and it's worth has been enhanced by the incorporation of their dialect. In comparison, the anthropologist and writer Zora Neale Hurston's many contributions existed in relative obscurity for

decades. Her work and writings preserved and recorded the speech, music, and life-styles of African-Americans - a much denigrated and long oppressed social group.

For a group such as homosexual males, altered appearance can be distinctive for group members but remain ambiguous to outsiders. Although often displayed in public, the meaning and, hence, interpretation of the altered appearance remained available to group members (and curious confidants) only.

During the 1970's and early 1980's (before knowledge of the AIDS epidemic was common) male homosexuals used codes of dressing to indicate type-of-sex preferences. Anything worn on the left or right side of your body or clothing indicated, respectively, a preference for an active or passive role in sexual relations, particularly, anal intercourse. Hence, keys worn on the left or right side of your belt buckle were an indicator as was an earring in your left or right ear, or a handkerchief (actually, a bandana was used) in the left or right back pocket of your jeans. In fact there was an elaborate code called 'The Handkerchief Code' that was specific not only to the role one played but the type of sex one performed in. The color code proceeded thus: blue = oral sex; white = hand manipulation; red = anal intercourse; green = the wearing of military uniforms during sex; black = intercourse performed by the insertion of a closed fist into the rectum of the receiver (fist-fucking); and yellow = urination or 'water sports'.⁶ Coupled with a left-right display, few questions had to be asked and few mistakes would be made. Wearing all leather or Levi's was also indicative of type-of-sex

preferences. Leather was often an indicator of a preference for domination and humiliation, or S&M (sadism and masochism).⁷ Other less specific indicators of male homosexuality were the wearing of very shortly cropped hair with a well-trimmed beard and mustache, tube socks, Adidas sneakers, or sweat pants in public, or the presence of pierced nipples, or a pierced penis.⁸ These indicators and the previous ones, were often only meaningful to other social group members or other individuals familiar with the gay culture - in particular, the 'bar culture'. In Manhattan, New York, where the 'bar culture' flourished, the name of the bar often provided the patron with a map to the kind of sex available from the individuals who frequented it. This allowed social group members anonymity of dress if they preferred when indicators became known to outsiders. Some of the bars at this time included Boots & Saddles (cowboy clothes), The Dungeon (leather wearers but not necessarily S&M), The Anvil (S&M, bondage), The Toilet ('water sports', scatology), The Cock Ring (for men interested in 'large' penises), and The Mine Shaft (an emporium for all sexual tastes).

Since the recognition of the AIDS epidemic and the more public movement for gay rights, many of these indicators and bars are devoid of their original meaning (or, as with socks, sneakers, and sweat pants, part of the culture at-large), and are gone or no longer employed. But it is important to remember that the primary objective of the display of these indicators was to effectively increase the possibilities for recognizing affiliates of this social group, and to narrow the chances of misdirecting requests for intimacy at heterosexual males. And the fundamental characteristic of

these alterations in appearance was their ambiguity and un-interpretability to individuals outside the boundaries of this social group.⁹

Altered appearances and behavior occur when members are in public.

A manner of dressing can also serve to identify the group but prevent the identification of members by outside individuals. Outsiders are seen as a potential threat. The members of the Ku Klux Klan are known by their costume which has become a symbol of their racist ideology but individuals remain anonymous because of its design. This allows group members to disavow affiliation with the group when necessary, and prevents its forced disbanding should enough members be found responsible for inappropriate or illegal behavior.

In comparison, two symbols are in use today that publicly proclaim affiliation with the homosexual social group - the Greek letter Lambda and the pink triangle - a symbol that was used by the Nazi's to identify homosexuals. The lambda is often worn on a chain as a piece of jewelry and is also used to precede a club or company name such as the Lambda Car Club International, Inc. or Lambda Roommates (formerly of Manhattan, which not only found you a gay roommate but matched you to each others type of sex preferences so your house-mate would not be alarmed if he came home to find you and a friend in full leather regalia). The pink triangle has been used as jewelry, as a bumper or window sticker for cars, and as a patch sewn onto a jacket. The interpretation of these two symbols is and has been available to individuals outside this social group. Although one might argue

that the wearing of symbols indicative of homosexual orientation is not a requirement of group affiliation, it has become an imperative of the gay rights movement that identification as a homosexual cease to have negative social and legal ramifications. This has led to a move on the part of many individuals for increased visibility, and more vocal and discernable affiliation by members when interacting in society at-large. Hence, for many individuals, public identification is necessary and has become a matter of principle and pride (as similarly pointed out previously).

Premise 3 -

Adopted or developed social group behaviors mimic power hierarchies present in the culture at large. Hence, social groups strive in some way to retain gender specific behaviors that are favorable to prestigious alignments within in-place class and power hierarchies. The retention of these behaviors allows placement of individuals in social group power structures that are defined by behavior that is gender specific - the appropriateness or inappropriateness of which is rigidly defined.

Premise 4 -

Homosexuals are members of a large social group that exists as a denigrated subset of American culture. Some male homosexuals are identifiable as members of this social group

*and they have adopted or developed behaviors that distinguish them as members and mark them as distinct from female homosexual members. Hence, male homosexuals comprise a social group of their own within the larger homosexual culture.*¹⁰

There exist, culturally and socially, expected norms for heterosexual male and female behavior. These norms encompass speech behavior and are manifested quantitatively in the differences between male and female speech patterns within the domain of the larger speech community and concerning linguistic changes, such as the [r]-pronouncing norm in New York City, and linguistic variables, such as T/D and ING. In support of these norms there exist stereotypes of this behavior. Stereotypes mimic the power structures in society. They provide exaggerations of behavior held to be typical for specific categories or classes of people. They have a dual function in that they provide a means of ridicule for denigrated positions in the hierarchy and they act as a yardstick by which to measure the expected behavior of individuals within that hierarchy. Hence, stereotypes need not always be viewed as having a derogatory intent since they have a basis in the reality that they both distort and reflect. And stereotypes have been employed extensively by the speakers in this study in order to portray the linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior of individuals other than themselves.

A common stereotype of heterosexual male behavior places individuals in a particular social class. To portray a 'real' man you exhibit him as an

uneducated, working class, male. One compelling aspect of this stereotype is non-careful speech. Males are portrayed as having an exaggerated amount of deletion, and as using much slang and obscenity. This lends support to the thesis (contained in this paper) that stereotypic observations are based on real behavior, since, as Labov (1990) and previous works have shown, males are the majority employers of non-standard forms of speech. This stereotype is also narrowly defined with respect to appropriate mannerisms and topic. (This is made clear in Section 4.) The stereotype of heterosexual female behavior is not confined to social class. Women, as a whole, are portrayed as careful speakers, and behavior is not confined to particular mannerism and topic but encompasses a large range that exists in opposition to any behavior defined as male. The stereotypical female is treated as if she were a member of an anonymous collective defined strictly by sex.

The informants used in this study have provided stereotypes of homosexual males and females as well as supplying the stereotypes referred to above. The stereotype of male homosexuals aligns these men with a female gender model, and the stereotype of female homosexuals aligns women with a male gender model.¹¹ Both stereotypes are presented as denigrating to their respective actors. This framework is based on the power hierarchies operational in the at-large society. It relies on two gender models - male and female - and has as its preferred norm, heterosexual male behavior when this behavior is exhibited by males. Without the operation of this framework the speakers in this study would not have been able to achieve any salience in their renditions and portrayals of other individuals. A male

or female must be seen as straying far enough from the heterosexual end of the continuum in order for him or her to appear exceptional to it. What is also made clear by these speakers is that the manifestation of altered behavior which has as its basis a skewed gender alignment, is indicative of a 'type' of homosexual and not necessarily applicable to the entire group.

3. Altered appearances and behavior are manifested but are not a requirement for group affiliation.

: The altering of appearance and/or behavior is based on individual choice. Hence, the individual chooses how he or she will look and act.

This is true of many social groups, particularly those that occupy less prestigious positions in the cultural hierarchy. Membership in a social group that has maintained or developed cultural traditions may cause individuals to manifest appearances and/or behaviors that can be construed as indicating social group affiliation, but acting or appearing in a manner indicative of the group's norms is not a mandate for affiliation. This is not to ignore social pressures brought to bear on individuals who fail to conform to mores in force within any social group which make the issue of choice arguable on many levels. It simply points out that less prestigious or oppressed groups rarely have explicit requirements that make the display of indicative behavior and/or appearance an imperative.

With respect to homosexual males, data from Section 4 (Imitations and Descriptions) points to the modification of behavior and appearance within

specialized contexts, in particular, gay bars or small social gatherings made up of friends that share the same sexual orientation.¹² But whether or not a behavior or appearance is displayed remains in the realm of individual choice. One may choose the appearance and associated behavior of a 'drag queen'¹³ at certain times and in particular places but it is not a requirement for group membership or affiliation.

: The altering of appearance and/or behavior may have begun by conscious choice but the evolution of these changes within the social group could be the result of continued association with group members who do display adopted behaviors and appearances, and might not have occurred on a conscious level at all times and concerning all behaviors. Hence, for some individuals, the manifestation of group behavior phenomena will occur only in the least conservative categories where variation is recorded.

Linguistic change and variation within this social group, with further study, may prove to resemble the phenomena of *change from above* and *change from below* that exists in the larger speech community.

Sections 1 (ING) and 2 (T/D) show all speakers to be deleting at rates closer to those recorded for females than for males. The resistance to consonant cluster simplification could be viewed as a change from above – an attempt at reclaiming lost prestige by the use of forms that are favored in careful (prestigious) speech.

Section 3 ([s] Duration) shows the group exceeding averages for consonant duration in the four categories examined - the least conservative category for the individuals being word final position. The fact that the most conservative speakers in this group still exhibit a large amount of variation in this category may point to increased [s] duration being a change from below.

No member of the speaker group has proven entirely immune to the exposure to and adoption of some aspect of varying behavior. With the exception of two speakers, for whom a homosexual identity is still problematic, all speakers show a preference for what would be considered more careful speech and for the use of standard forms. It is this quality that sets them apart from the norms established for heterosexual male speakers.

: The altering of appearance and/or behavior may cause the identification of an individual as a group member but that individual may disavow any affiliation with the group based on that behavior. Hence, a particular behavior may be held in such low esteem by the society at-large that group members reflect that ideology within the group.

Social groups remain part of the larger cultural network. They are thus affected by the norms that mandate proper gender behavior and appearance. If a behavior or appearance is held to be acceptable for only one gender by implicit rule then the explicit or, in the case of stereotyping, assumed manifestation of that behavior by the opposite gender will meet with resistance.¹⁴ Males or females who violate their gender classification to a

visible extent are denied access to their positions in the cultural power hierarchy. Since by social fact females occupy a lesser position in that hierarchy, males who act or are assumed to act like females will be denied the power that would normally be available to them based on the fact of their biological sex.

There is strong resistance within the male homosexual community to any opinion or investigation that attempts to show those males exhibiting behavior that can be (and has been) defined as female. Any attempt at defining variance that aligns with expectations for females is viewed as an effort to further denigrate this group by exposing them as less than (heterosexual) male.

The behavior held in low esteem for this speaker group is any behavior that they can define as female-like. The stereotype of the effeminate or female-like homosexual is one employed by these speakers in order to portray and/or ridicule the behavior exhibited by other homosexual males. With the exception of two speakers - the individuals from this group strongly deny exhibiting any behavior typical of this 'type' of homosexual male although they confirm the existence of males who, in their opinion, act like females. The implied attitude might be stated thusly: The orientation to male homosexuality does not imply the adoption of female characteristics based on the altered requirements necessary for pursuing and fulfilling sexual relationships.¹⁵ Homosexual males are still men. Hence, these speakers admit affiliation based on sexual orientation and reject affiliation based on particular behavior.¹⁶

¹ Bobbitt; 1978; p.213 - taken from Chell, Elizabeth; Participation and Organization; 1985; p.107; Macmillan Press Ltd.; London and Basingstroke.

² Emile Durkheim.

³ This is an amalgamation of three definitions given in "Stereotypy of Imagery and Belief as an Ego Defence"; Gordon, Rosemary; The British Journal of Psychology; #34, 1965; p.5.

⁴ 'Valley Girl' from the album 'Ship Arriving Too Late To Save A Drowning Witch'; Pumpko Industries, Limited; written, produced, and recorded by Frank Zappa; 1982.

⁵ Other than religious organizations, I can think of no high profile women's group that wear clothing specific to their particular group.

⁶ This information was obtained from an informant (R1) who was a participant in the New York 'bar scene'. For a detailed account of the 'Handkerchief Color Code For Lesbians' (which is similar) one can refer to Diary of a Conference on Sexuality; Alderfer, Hannah; Jaker, Beth; Nelson, Marybeth; Faculty Press; 1982; pp.13; from the conference 'The Scholar and the Feminist Toward a Politics of Sexuality'; Carole S. Vance, academic coordinator, Saturday, April 24, 1982, Barnard Women's Center.

⁷ The difference between these is that the former does not necessarily involve the giving and receiving of physical pain, and the latter does.

⁸ Jewelry would be worn in the holes provided by the piercing. Of course, the viewing of these parts of the body is confined to places specifically allowing some measure of undress such as beaches, bathrooms, and some bars and spas ('Baths').

⁹ Until the mid-seventies, homosexuality was considered to be a perversion by the American Psychiatric Association and was listed as such in the DSM (Diagnostic-Statistical Manual). It was removed in 1976 but a number of the type-of-sex preferences identified by the 'Handkerchief Code' remain listed as perversions in this manual. Add to this the fact that homosexuality has been and remains legislated against in many states, and the reasons for ensuring non-detection of group members become clear.

¹⁰ This premise is touched upon indirectly in various other sections. In the sociological literature 'homosexual' and 'homosexual culture' generally refer only to males - females and female behavior are pointed out as such within a discussion that treats homosexual behavior as male behavior and makes a distinction when necessary. Even the Kinsey Institute's 1990 report speaks of homosexuality as a general condition inclusive of males and females but goes on to discuss it with respect to males only (with a few asides about females). If one wishes to refer to female homosexuality one must use the word 'lesbian'. The assumptions made and imaging done with the words 'homosexual' or 'gay' have a male referent. This premise was included for two reasons.

1. Evidence suggests that it is true. Given the social fact of male and female social group opposition in the culture at-large, there is little reason to believe or expect that this opposition is not repeated or disappears (because of a common oppression?) within the homosexual culture.

2. It makes clearer that the intent of this study is focussed on male behavior and in no way should it be assumed that any findings are meant to be applicable to female homosexuals. In fact, based on anatomy - which to some extent dictates the parameters of our sexual possibilities and to a great extent defines the identities we are able to successfully portray - male and female homosexual goals and behaviors are necessarily different. Hence, the paths they choose to achieve those goals and manifest those behaviors will be different. In the interests of clarity and to offer a modicum of proof for premise 4, this can be said:

If a social group can be defined by the individuals who are members of it, so to can the places where members meet be used to add to the knowledge compiled about the workings of the group. Based on observation, fieldwork, and the testimonies of this speaker group, male and female homosexuals generally do not socialize together. The 'bar' or 'night club' environment has been

for many years the standard meeting ground for individuals from this social group. A 'gay bar' is a male bar. An establishment that caters to females is called a 'women's bar' or a 'lesbian bar'. Bars that cater to a varied clientele have women's nights and men's nights (and some have 'straight' nights). Mixed bars exist but the patrons include heterosexuals. Out of the nine homosexual speakers, none have any good or long term friends who are lesbians, and only two - D2 and K1, who are lovers - have two acquaintances who are lesbians (and lovers) that they socialize with infrequently. By the majority opinion of this speaker group, lesbians and gay men operate as separate groups having only the definition of their sexual orientation and their oppression in common.

¹¹ It must be kept in mind that the prevailing stereotypes in the culture at large are what is active here. Section 4 will show the more complicated model that is actually used within the particular social group.

¹² Environments such as these are non-threatening. In other words, the individuals gathered there are homosexual males, or friends and acquaintances who pose no danger to anyone's well-being through negative attitudes or otherwise unacceptable behavior.

¹³ A 'drag queen' is a homosexual male who dresses in women's clothing and otherwise impersonates the behavior of a female. This identification is specific to homosexual males. The term 'transvestite' is not used as often. A transvestite is defined as a person who dresses in the clothing of the opposite sex in Webster's New World Dictionary, 1980. Hence, by prevailing social definition, transvestism is not gender specific nor sexual orientation specific with respect to the actor. But the American Psychiatric Association lists transvestism as the wearing of female clothing by males. An interesting analysis of this dichotomy might be pursued.

¹⁴ It is important to remember that stereotyping causes behaviors to be assumed of certain categories and classes of persons whether or not that behavior is manifested.

¹⁵ It is specifically the sexual aspect that is at issue. It is the pursuit and practice of sex with the same biological gender that is held in contempt. And it is the practice of a specific type of sex that has been and still is, in many states, legislated against. The pursuit, by males, of other males' exclusive company and platonic intimacy has never been viewed as threatening in or by the culture at-large.

¹⁶ It is a shame that variance from gender norms is held in such contempt and viewed as such a threat by the culture at-large that individuals are forced by social pressure to deny developments in their social group. And it is an even greater shame that all groups hold females in such contempt that to be aligned with them on any level causes such intense responses.

SPEAKER GROUP

The speaker group was made up of nine male homosexuals and one male heterosexual.¹ Their ages ranged from 26 years to 42 years. Specifically, 2 homosexuals and the single heterosexual male were 26 years old; 1 subject was 29; 1 was 31, 1 was 33; 2 were 38; 1 was 40; and 1 was 42. Four subjects were of Italian descent; three were WASP (this is how they described themselves); one was Puerto Rican and Egyptian; one was Austrian/Hungarian and Irish; and one was Jewish. Dialectically, five were from New York - 1 Manhattan, 3 Brooklyn, 1 upper-state; three were from Massachusetts - 2 from Boston, 1 from East Longmeadow; one was from Wilmington, Delaware; and one was from New Britain, Connecticut. Their social class background and present income level varied from working class to upper middle class, and their educational range was from high school only to 2+ years of graduate school.

All the speakers with the exception of T2 and D1 are men I have known for at least two years.² They are friends of mine - not simply acquaintances. They were chosen as my speaker group for three reasons: 1. I had immediate access to them; 2. I knew any speech collected from them would be informal and social group specific. Hence, it would be likely to contain linguistic phenomena indicative of their group. 3. They range individually in speaking styles. Some speak informally all the time and some have a very careful style of speaking. All of them change styles noticeably when they are within their own social group i.e. homosexual.

Table 1.1 supplies specifics about the speakers. Biographical information on each speaker is contained in the appendix.

Table 1.1 - Informants

SPEAKER	AGE	PRINCIPLE RESIDENCE	EDUCATION	BIRTH - PLACE	CLASS- RAISED	CLASS- CURRENT
R1	42	CT	COLLEGE	NYC	WC	WC
T1	26	BOSTON	COLLEGE+	BOSTON	LMC	LMC
R2	26	BOSTON	HIGH SCHOOL	BOSTON	LMC	LMC
T2	33	UPPER NY STATE	2YR. TECH.	UPPER NY STATE	UMC	LMC
D1	40	CT	HIGH SCHOOL	NYC	WC	MC
D2	38	CT	COLLEGE	MA	MC	LMC
K1	29	CT	1YR TECH	CT	WC	LMC
G1	31	DE	COLLEGE	NYC	WC	WC
R3	38	DE	COLLEGE+	DE	WC	LMC
B1	26	DE	COLLEGE	NYC	MC	LMC

¹ The heterosexual male informant was used only in Section 4 - Imitations and Descriptions.

² T2 and D1 - met when doing another interview; R3, D2 - 16 years; R1 - 8 years, T1, R2, K1 - 6 years; G1, B1 - 2 years.

OBSERVED PHENOMENA

Four areas were investigated for distinguishing phenomena - T/D; ING; [s] duration; and Imitations and Descriptions.

T/D - Percentages of deleted T/D, unreleased T/D, and released T/D were coded for speakers R1, G1, D1, D2, K1, T2, and T1. Speakers R3, R2, and B1 were not coded for. Speaker R2 and R3 had less than 10 tokens, and speaker B1 is a heterosexual male and hence, not included. There were no reliability tests done with respect to the coding.

ING - Distinctions were made for [ing]=velar and [In]=alveolar only. All speech from all speakers was coded. Only speakers with N>10 tokens were included. There were no reliability tests done with respect to the coding.

[s] duration - The voiceless fricative [s] was measured for duration at four points - word initial, word final, intervocalic, and pre-consonantal for speaker R1. At least five tokens of each were collected from a spontaneous (and continuous) discourse. Random tokens of [s] were collected from speakers K1, D2, and T1.

Imitations and Descriptions - Any speaker who provided an imitation of homosexual or heterosexual speech was included in this section. Also included were comments made by speakers about their own social group members or members of social groups other than their own. All imitations

or descriptions collected were unsolicited by the interviewer with the exception of the speaker G1.

SECTION 1

ING

Two distinctions only were made for ING tokens - alveolar [In] or alveolar [ing].

As a group the total tokens present were $N=243$, where [ing]=197/81.1% and [In]=46/18.9%.

Individually:

R1 - $N=73$; where [ing]=66/90.4% and [In]=7/9.6%

D1 - $N=10$; where [ing]=10/100% and [In]=0/0%

K1 - $N=38$; where [ing]=24/63.2% and [In]=14/36.8%

T1 - $N=22$; where [ing]=7/31.8% and [In]=15/68.2%

D2 - $N=28$; where [ing]=22/78.6% and [In]=6/21.4%

R3 - $N=16$; where [ing]=16/100% and [In]=0/0%

G1 - $N=56$; where [ing]=52/92.8% and [In]=4/7.2%

For speaker R1, 4 tokens of [In] were verbs² and 3 were uses of the word 'fucking' as an adjective i.e. fucking thing. And 47 instances of [ing] out of 66 were verbs. Hence, for $N(\text{verb})=51$ - $N(\text{verb})=70\%$ of total N ; [ing](verb)=92% of total $N(\text{verb})$; and [In](verb)=57% of total $N([In])=7$.

For speaker D1, where $N=10$ and [ing]=100% all tokens were verbs.

For speaker K1, 13 tokens of [In] out of 14 were verbs and 1 was an adverb i.e. awful smelling cologne. Two tokens of [In] were part of an imitation of heterosexual male speech i.e. doing. And 19 instances of [ing] out of 24 were verbs. Hence, for $N(\text{verb})=32$ - $N(\text{verb})=84\%$ of total N; $[\text{ing}](\text{verb})=59\%$ of total $N(\text{verb})$; and $[\text{In}](\text{verb})=93\%$ of total $N([\text{In}])=14$.

For speaker T1, 12 tokens of [In] were verbs, 2 were uses of the word 'fucking' as adverbial intensifiers i.e. I fucking hate, and 1 was an adjectival use of the word 'fucking' i.e. worst fucking tipper. And 7 instances of [ing] out of 7 were verbs. Hence, for $N(\text{verb})=19$ - $N(\text{verb})=86\%$ of total N; $[\text{ing}](\text{verb})=37\%$ of total $N(\text{verb})$; and $[\text{In}](\text{verb})=80\%$ of total $N([\text{In}])=15$.

For speaker D2, all 6 tokens of [In] were verbs. And 17 instances of [ing] out of 22 were verbs. Hence, for $N(\text{verb})=23$ - $N(\text{verb})=82\%$ of total N; $[\text{ing}](\text{verb})=74\%$ of total $N(\text{verb})$; and $[\text{In}](\text{verb})=100\%$ of total $N([\text{In}])=6$.

For speaker R3, where $N=16$ and $[\text{ing}]=100\%$ all tokens were verbs.

For speaker G1, all 4 tokens of [In] were verbs and of those 4 tokens, 3 tokens of [In] were part of imitations done of heterosexual male and homosexual female speakers. And 40 instances of [ing] out of 52 were verbs. Hence, for $N(\text{verb})=44$ - $N(\text{verb})=79\%$ of total N; $[\text{ing}](\text{verb})=91\%$ of total $N(\text{verb})$; and $[\text{In}](\text{verb})=100\%$ of total $N([\text{In}])=4$.

For the group, 39 tokens of N[In]=46 were verbs. And 156 instances of [ing] out of 197 were verbs. Hence, for N(verb)=195 - N(verb)=80.2% of total N; [ing](verb)=80% of total N(verb); and [In](verb)=85% of total N[In]=46.

Table 2.1 - [ing] [In]

SUBJECT	N =	N[ing]	%[ing]	N[In]	%[In]
R1	73	66	90.4	7	9.6
D1	10	10	100	0	0
K1	38	24	63.2	14	36.8
T1	22	7	31.8	15	68.2
D2	28	22	78.6	6	21.4
R3	16	16	100	0	0
G1	56	52	92.8	4	7.2
GROUP	243	197	81.1%	46	18.9%

Table 2.2 - % verb

SUBJECT	N[In]	VERB	%	N[ing]	VERB	%
R1	7	4	57	66	47	71
D1	0	*	*	10	10	100
K1	14	13	93	24	19	79
T1	15	12	80	7	7	100
D2	6	6	100	22	17	77
R3	0	*	*	16	16	100
G1	4	4	100	52	40	77
GROUP	46	39	85%	197	156	79%

Social class and educational level do not seem to be a determining factor in [In] production when looked at on an individual level. For example - Speaker T1 (68% [In]) has four years +2 of college and is from a lower middle class background (and presently, lower middle class income group). Speaker K1 (36.8% [In]) has one year technical school, is from a working class background, and is presently in a white collar job with a middle class income level. Speaker R1 (9.6% [In]) has four years college, a working class background, and presently, a working class income level.

Since the style is informal for all interviews it cannot be used to discern differences in ING production. But based on my knowledge of each speaker and their style of speech, and given the context of the particular

conversations it is my intuition that for speaker R1 style shifting depending on context and listener would turn out to be a determining factor in ING production. For the other speakers I do not believe it would influence the percentage of [In] significantly. As a group these speakers have a lower percentage of [In] production (18.9%) than would be expected with respect to their sex.³

A final comment must be made concerning two informants. Speakers T1 and K1 had the highest percentage of [In] in their speech - 68.2% and 36.8% respectively. These percentages are within the reported range for their gender (dependent, of course, on other criteria such as social class and educational level). These speakers had very focussed heterosexual identities and were in their mid-twenties before they reported any conscious awareness of their homosexuality. Each of them experienced a noticeable and painful disconnection with their former careers, life-styles, and social networks as a result of announcing their homosexuality to family and friends. For speaker K1, his former heterosexual identity is still problematic for him. For speaker T1, the association of his prior career path - dentistry - with his prior heterosexual identity is negative enough that he will not even consider the possibility of resuming his education in that area. He has, in fact, recently changed his geographic location to California in order to pursue an academic career path in a health related field. In his private life K1 rejects any affiliation with behavior that might be construed to be less than appropriate 'masculine' behavior. T1, on the other hand, has not chosen to limit himself in this area and has opted for a much larger behavioral continuum within which to express himself.

This raises two primary questions. 1. What effect might their prolonged and strong heterosexual identities have had on them within this and other areas of their speech behavior? 2. What continued effect can be expected given the opposition of both speakers to the fact of their capacity for bisexuality and their very different responses to it? K1's speech patterns have proven to be much more conservative with respect to variation and difference from gender norms than T1's. And T1's affiliation with his chosen social group is much more visible and vocal than K1's. These issues need to be pursued in conjunction with further examinations of the ING variable.

¹ Speakers T2 and R2 are not included since they each had less than N=10 tokens.

² The use of the term 'verb' means verbs and verb forms in verbal syntactic positions only. No gerunds are included.

³ Investigations of the literature and reports from Labov's 560 course over the years support this. One class - 1985 - reports these percentages - group 1 Males 33%, Females 16%; group 2 Males 69%, Females 48%; group 3 Males 62%, Females 42%; group 4 Males 62%, Females 40%, Avg Males 56.5% Females 36.%. In addition, the one heterosexual speaker interviewed - B1 - showed N=55, [ing]=40/73%, [In]=15/27%. B1 is a very careful speaker with four years college and a past and present middle class affiliation. He has also worked hard at erasing all traces of his Brooklyn, New York dialectical background from his speech. As a radio show host he is very aware of his speech patterns. Even so, his percentage of [In] production is higher than the homosexual male group.

SECTION 2

T/D

The first tape to be analyzed was of speaker R1. Initial investigations pointed to an unexpectedly low rate of T/D deletion in any category.¹ The actual numbers were - where $N=331$; releases - 201/61%, unreleased/glottalized - 114/34%, deleted - 16/5%.

Thinking this might be a phenomenon common to the group, the other tapes were examined. Only speakers with $N > 25$ tokens were included. Speakers R3 and R2 were, thus, eliminated.² Speaker B1 is a heterosexual male and hence, his results are also not included.

Table 3.1 shows the overall results of the coding. The category 'unreleased' contains tokens of the type 'unreleased' and 'glottalized'.

Table 3.1 - Percent Deletion

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>DELETED</u>		<u>UNRELEASED</u>		<u>RELEASED</u>	
R1	331	16	5%	114	34%	201	61%
T1	26	7	27%	10	38%	9	35%
G1	51	12	24%	12	24%	27	53%
T2	87	16	18%	33	38%	38	34%
D2	53	8	15%	20	38%	25	47%
D1	43	8	19%	12	28%	23	53%
K1	27	7	26%	10	37%	10	37%
<u>GROUP</u>	<u>618</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>12%</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>34%</u>	<u>333</u>	<u>54%</u>

Speaker R1 has the lowest rate of deletion in the group - 5%. Speakers K1 and T1, as was also seen in the section concerning the variable ING, have the highest rates of deletion in the group - 26% and 27% respectively. The rate of deletion for the group as a whole was 12%.³

As a group - a 12% rate of deletion is low - especially considering that this is a group made up of males only and in light of all the prior literature on deletion rates for males. Neu (1980) found a significant difference between rates of deletion for males (31.2%) and females (24.1%). Considering the rates of the subjects individually, none are simplifying clusters at rates corresponding to their sex. All informants are deleting at rates below or closer to those recorded for females.⁴

The following table (3.2) shows the percentages of deletion with respect to preceding consonant. The five categories listed reflect all the environments in which simplification occurred. The categories (_n't) and (_nd) have been left separate (even though both concern preceding [n]) to show the distinction in the percentages of deletion between them. In the case of the negative contraction (n't) the subjects favored glottalization or unreleased over deletion.

Table 3.2 Preceding Consonant

DELETION	_st	_n't	_nd	_ld	_[k]t
R1 16(5%)	5	0	7	4	0
	31%	*	44%	25%	*
T1 7(27%)	6	0	1	0	0
	86%	*	14%	*	*
G1 12(24%)	12	0	0	0	0
	100%	*	*	*	*
T2 16(18%)	8	5	1	2	0
	50%	31%	6%	13%	*
D2 8(15%)	7	1	0	0	0
	87.5%	12.5%	*	*	*
D1 8(19%)	5	0	2	0	1
	62.5%	*	25%	*	12.5%
K1 7/26%	4	2	0	0	1
	57%	29%	*	*	14%
GROUP 74(12%)	47	7	12	6	2
	63.5%	9.5%	16%	8%	3%

The rate of deletion for the group decreased in frequency in the following order:

[s] - voiceless fricative (63.5%) > [n] - word final nasal (16%) > [n'] - negative contraction (9.5%) > [l] - liquid (8%) > [k] - velar stop (3%).

With the exception of speaker R1, preceding [s] was the least conservative environment for deletion for each individual and preceding [k] was the most conservative environment. Out of a total of 47 tokens of [s] preceding an instance of deletion, 21 or 45% were from the word 'just'. Individually, the numbers concerning tokens from the word 'just' are:

R1 - 0 out of 5 = 0%

T1 - 1 out of 6 = 17%

G1 - 10 out of 12 = 83%

T2 - 2 out of 8 = 25%

D2 - 3 out of 7 = 43%

D1 - 1 out of 5 = 20%

K1 - 4 out of 4 = 100%

Recalculating the percentages without the tokens from the word 'just' does not change the overall order of deletion rates for the preceding phonemes. The group still deletes with decreasing frequency in the order [s] > [n] > [n'] > [l] > [k]. This result is similar to the results from Neu (1980) where for males [sibilant]/44.2% > [nasal]/33.4% > [stop]/30.8%. And it corresponds to previous studies reported by Guy (1980) where the probability for deletion is higher when [s] precedes (this is irrespective of gender considerations).

The difference for this group is the rate of deletion for each category. This is most likely affected by the following factors:

1. the small number of tokens collected - Speaker R1, from whom the greatest number of tokens was collected, shows a different result - R1 [n] > [s] > [l] > [k]. The rate of deletion and the order of the category hierarchy may be significantly altered with the collection of larger numbers of tokens and within a larger speaker group.

2. the group as a whole favored unreleased or glottalization with respect to a preceding negative contraction - [n']. This effect may show a preference for deletion in other environments based on extra-linguistic considerations. It will be seen in the section on 'Imitations and Descriptions' that cluster simplification in negative contractions is highly marked as a heterosexual male trait for some of these speakers.

Finally, Table 3.3 (next page) shows the effect on deletion of the following segment for three environments - consonant, pause, and vowel. The results for the group correspond to Labov (1975) with respect to following consonants and vowels - C > V. The above speaker group showed a decreasing rate of frequency in this order - [C]consonant > [Q]pause > [V]vowel. With the exception of speaker R1 in the category concerning a preceding liquid (R1 - [l] - [C] or [V] > [Q]), all speakers showed rates of deletion decreasing in order [C]/78% > [Q]/ 14% > [V]/8% in all categories.

Table 3.3 - Following Segment

C=consonant Q=pause V=vowel

*_	st	C	Q	V	n't	C	Q	V	nd	C	Q	V	ld	C	Q	V	kt	C	Q	V
R1	*	4	1	0	*	0	0	0	*	3	1	3	*	3	1	0	*	0	0	0
%	31	80	20	*	0	*	*	*	44	43	14	43	25	75	25	*	0	*	*	*
T1	*	6	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	1	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	0
%	86	1.	*	*	0	*	*	*	14	1.	*	*	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*
G1	*	9	2	1	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	0
%	1.	75	17	8	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*
T2	*	8	0	0	*	5	0	0	*	0	1	0	*	2	0	0	*	0	0	0
%	50	1.	*	*	31	1.	*	*	6	*	1.	*	13	1.	*	*	0	*	*	*
D2	*	5	2	0	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	1	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	0
%	87	71	29	*	0	*	*	*	13	*	*	1.	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*
D1	*	5	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	2	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	0	1	0
*	62	1.	*	*	0	*	*	*	25	1.	0	0	0	*	*	*	12	*	1.	*
	.5																.5			
K1	*	3	1	0	*	1	0	1	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	1	0	0
%	57	75	25	*	29	50	*	50	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*	14	1.	*	*
S	*	40	6	1	*	6	0	1	*	6	2	4	*	5	1	0	*	1	1	0
%	63	85	13	2	9.	86	*	14	16	50	17	33	8	83	17	*	3	50	50	*
	.5				5															

Total all categories:

deletion N=74(12%)

consonant[C]=58/78% pause[Q]=10/14% vowel[V]=6/8%

In conclusion, two specific facts emerge from the data concerning the variable T/D for this social group.

1. These speakers are deleting at a much lower frequency - individually and as a group - than is generally expected for their biological sex.
2. When they do simplify clusters these speakers do it in environments that parallel norms found in larger, more varied populations and the patterns they exhibit correspond to established expectations for their biological sex.

It might also be of use to make mention of what could be called an intuitive observation of a general speech pattern exhibited by these speakers.

After initial coding and upon repeated listening to the tapes it became apparent that the frequency of T/D retention in neutralized environments and within excluded categories seemed high. Speakers R1, D1, D2, R3, and G1 often favored full release of T/D (with non-conservative following environments) for the words 'and' and 'but'. It was also the case for clusters preceding [t], [d], and [th]+/-voice that a release of final T/D could be heard distinct from and prior to the onset of [t], [d], or [th]. These environments are not normally coded for.⁵

These observations seem feasible when considered with the 12% deletion rate for the group as a whole and could point to a more precise manner of speaking for this social group.

Within the category of T/D and in general, it might also prove useful to measure the duration and intensity of the release, and the duration and intensity of the aspiration present in these two particular consonants and others. The articulation in the speech of these particular speakers may be noticeable simply because it lasts longer than we expect it to. Some examples: T1 had an instance of a word initial [t] followed by a vowel that measured 231msec to the voice onset time of the following vowel. The energy of this consonant ranged from 4-5Khz - indicating fronting of the [t]. R1 tokens of [t] ranged from a low of 122msec to a high of 196msec with energy in the range of 4.5-5.5KHz giving an average of 148msec for word initial [t] followed by a vowel. Umeda (1977) puts word initial [t] followed by a vowel at 77msec. (No mention is made of energy.) R1 had an instance of a word final [t] preceded by a consonant that measured 134msec where release=30msec, aspiration=104msec, and energy ranged from 4.5-5.5KHz. Umeda (1977) has measured word final [t] preceded by a consonant at 43msec. And R1 tokens of [sh] also exceed the average 118msec recorded by Umeda. Tokens from R1 range from 110msec to 166msec with an average of 148msec and energy, again, in the 4.5-5.5KHz range. The consonant duration for these tokens from T1 and R1 is always greater than Umeda's given numbers and in some of these cases is at least *three times* the average recorded by him.⁶

Further investigations of T/D for this social group should include these concerns in their research.

¹ I did not run Varbrule on this data. I did employ the conventions standard to collecting tokens of T/D.

² Speaker R2 has a slight stutter. Because there was no way to discern the effect of this on aspects of his speech production R2 is included only in the section on 'Imitations and Descriptions'.

³ Because the majority of the tokens (54%) were obtained from speaker R1 who had a deletion rate of only 5%, the 12% deletion rate may seem low. In fact, normalization (by averaging the percentages) results in a deletion rate of 19%. But since the focus of this investigation is primarily impressionistic and intended to be used as a tool to aid further study, the deletion rate for the group should be viewed in this light and will be discussed accordingly.

⁴ This group also resembles Neu's with respect to educational level. See Table 1.1 this paper and Neu, Helene; 1980; p. 39.

⁵ One could make a general rule and say that these speakers appeared to have a higher incidence of release when V(T/D)# C. No coding was done to confirm this hypothesis.

⁶ See Umeda, Noriko; Consonant Duration in American English; Journal of the Acoustical Society of America; Vol. 61, No. 3, March 1977.

SECTION 3

[S] DURATION

A prevailing stereotype of homosexual male speech portrays gay males as lisping. 'Lisping' is formally defined as the 'defective production of the sibilant sounds, caused by improper tongue placement or by abnormalities of the articulatory mechanism.'¹ In American English, 'lisping' is considered defective speech - something one seeks to correct. One might well ask what has led to the entrenching of a stereotype that is so specific and so focussed on a single aspect of speech behavior. Without lending credence to what has become a derogatory portrayal of the speech of members of this social group, this section seeks to examine the phenomena of [s] duration for four speakers. What was initially noticed by listening to the tapes and what was found through phonetic measurements may not dislodge the stereotype but it certainly sheds light on the misinterpretation of speech behavior that it turns out to be.

This section relies for comparison on the numbers available in Umeda (1977) as did the preceding section. It is important to point out some details of Umeda's study that certainly influenced the range of averages recorded by him. Umeda used data obtained from a twenty minute reading of a supplied essay by a single male speaker. The reading presumably took place in a laboratory setting. No information concerning age, ethnic and dialectical backgrounds, educational level, social class, nor sexual orientation of the reader are available in the paper. The first five issues have been proven to affect the production and evolution of linguistic

expectation that the biological sex of the speaker affects speech behavior, as does style of speech and audience. If the hypotheses and the findings in this paper are correct on any level, the above issues could prove to be crucial to the validity of a study such as Umeda's since they would influence any results.²

Hence, the numbers available in Umeda should be viewed from a perspective that takes into consideration the above points. They are effective for comparison but should not be considered binding for any population at-large since the focus is narrow, the setting highly structured, and the data constrained because of the use of one speaker about whom we know little.³

Table 4.1 shows the averages of measurements taken from four subjects. All tokens were taken from content words as defined by Umeda (1977). Subjects K1 and T1 were included because their results have consistently differed from other group members. D2 and R1 were included since their speech carried the most prominent markers of this type. As an immediate comparison between chosen speakers and to point out the variance among members of this group, one token of [s] follows that was taken from an identical word in a similar syntactic environment from two speakers. D2 and K1 both had tokens in the word 'basically'. D1 had [s]=142msec with energy ranging from 4-5.5KHz, and K1 had [s]=86msec with energy ranging from 3.5-5KHz.

Table 4.1 Avg. [s] duration in msec

Speaker	Initial [s]V	Final V[s]*	Pre-cons. [s]t*	Inter-voc. V'[s]V
T1	157.8*/112.7 5	146	256*/115.5	140
D2	145	141.75	135.5	142
K1	98	169	75	86
R1	178.6	195.5	127.4	137.5
Group	133.6	164.9	113.4	131.1
Umeda (1977)	129	95	65**	120

* T1, in imitating a friend, had an initial [s] duration of 338msec and a pre-consonantal token of 537msec. If these are excluded from his average the numbers are 112.75msec and 115.5msec respectively.

**T1 had one token of [s]l. Umeda's average for this category is 90msec. This token is excluded from the 115.5msec average given above and the average for the group.

Individually, K1 is the most conservative speaker and R1 is the least conservative. This is further illustrated in Table 4.2 which gives the tokens of greatest duration for each speaker.⁴ K1 has consistently been the most conservative speaker in this group.⁵ Only in the category of word final [s] has he adopted a pattern of speech resembling the other members of this

social group. K1's averages in the categories word initial [s] and inter-vocalic [s] are well below the averages given in Umeda (-31msec/24% and -34msec/28.3%, respectively). In the category inter-vocalic [s] his average is 75msec (or +10msec/15.4%) compared to Umeda's given of 65msec.⁶ R1, on the other hand, exceeds all other speakers for [s] duration in the categories word initial [s] and word final [s], and is exceeded only by speaker D2 in the other two categories. As table 4.2 points out, R1's tokens of greatest duration exceed all other group members in all categories. Speaker T1 is also showing a consistency for variation from the group found in previous sections. He also shows an alignment with the group in the category word final [s]. The energy ranges for each speaker for these tokens were: R1 - 4.5- (above 5.5KHz); D2 - 4.5-5.5KHz; T1 - 4-5KHz; K1 - 3.5-4.5KHz.

Table 4.2 Token of greatest duration in msec

Speaker	Initial	Final	Pre-cons	Inter-voc
R1	487	330	224	151
T1	136/338*	200	122/537*	140
D2	145	162	155	142
K1	98	196	75	86

As a group, these speakers show a preference for increased [s] duration in this order:

[s] final > [s] initial > [s] inter-voc. > [s] pre-cons.

Umeda's averages proceed thus:

[s] initial > [s] inter-voc. > [s] final > [s] pre-cons.

Using Umeda's averages as a norm, this group exceeds those averages by the following percentages and in the following order:

pre-cons. 74.46% > final 73.57% > inter-voc. 9% > initial 3.6%

[s]t*	V[s]*	V'[s]V	[s]V
-------	-------	--------	------

The categories with the least amount of variation are inter-vocalic - V'[s]V, and word initial [s] - [s]V. These categories align closely enough to Umeda's averages that the difference of 3.6% or 9% may not prove significant in a larger study. But it does seem apparent that the significance or non-significance will depend on the truth or falsity of at least two findings:

1. Whether or not these percentages increase or decrease for the group and remain constant in the results of a larger study.
2. If an increase or decrease is constant for the group, whether or not the ear is sensitive enough to discern a difference in speaker (and/or consonant) based on a difference in percentage increase or decrease of duration.

And the fact remains that the group's averages exceeded Umeda's in all categories. These small percentage differences may also be seen as evidence for a preference for increased duration of [s] in all word positions

with phonetic and timing constraints limiting the amount of increase for certain categories.⁷

The categories that show the greatest difference from Umeda's given averages and are hence, the most marked for these speakers are pre-consonantal [s] ([s]t#) and word final [s] (V[s]#). In the sections concerning the variables ING and T/D, it was shown that rates of deletion were much lower for this group than is expected for their sex. It was also shown that the environments where deletion did occur aligned with known norms for the general population and for their sex (i.e. they deleted where we expect to find deletion, just not as often as we expect males to delete). If the small amounts of data contained in this study can expose this expected trend in this group then it is logical to assume that the low deletion rates and increased [s] duration in these categories point to an adoption of a particular speech behavior by that group. In other words, given a large study of [s] duration (and other consonant duration) done with this social group there is reason to expect that these two categories will prove to be highly marked for increased [s] duration and perhaps increased consonant duration in general. And the evidence for this viewpoint is given added weight when the prevailing stereotype of male homosexual speech (lisp) is examined as to its evolution using the findings of this section.

LISPING

The 74% increase in [s] duration in word final position can be employed to help explain the misinterpretation of this social group's speech behavior that the stereotype of 'lisp' seeks to mimic.

What actually seems to be happening with these subjects in these two categories is a lengthening and fronting of [s]. As was pointed out in the previous section on T/D, these speakers have a longer consonant duration than recorded averages would seem to predict. They also show much fronting - a phenomena currently being investigated for an association with female speech and one that has been associated with stereotypes thereof, and possibly, the necessary physical result of maintaining [s] for a longer time period.⁸

Although stereotypes are often derogatory and rely for their focus on an exaggerated mimicking of a particular behavior or behaviors, they must have some basis in reality to be salient to the interpreter and the audience.

If the above data is at all reflective of a pattern of speech present in the at-large social group of homosexual males then this particular stereotype interprets the fronting and increased duration of [s] as lisp - the evolution of [s] a voiceless alveolar fricative into [θ] a voiceless dental fricative - a different phoneme altogether. If this is true then what would appear to be most salient to the interpreter in this case is the actual consonant duration in final position and the effect of fronting (which results in a higher frequency energy pattern).

For the four categories above, Umeda's averages for [th] (-voice) are: word final [th] = 100msec; word initial [th] = 119msec; inter-vocalic [th] = 119msec; and pre-consonantal [th] = 20msec. (Previous definitions of categories were used.)

Word final [th] is 5msec/5.3% longer than word final [s]. And because [th] is produced with the tongue touching the back of the teeth or with the tongue between the teeth, it is more fronted than [s] normally is.

Though 5msec or 5.3% may not seem a great enough increase in duration to justify the interpretation of [s] as [th], word final [s] is a category in this group that shows a 74% increase in duration. If the category word final [s] were not so distinctive a category for this group then the 5.3% increase in duration for [th] might be ignored. As it stands in light of the above facts, the longer duration of [th] must be considered as important an aspect in the evolution of this stereotype as fronting (which actually changes the physical position of the articulator).⁹ Also, if [s] duration for this social group consistently exceeds the norm for the larger, more general population by great enough percentages then it also most likely exceeds [th] duration in all categories (since [th] duration is less than [s] duration in all categories except one). If we assume that the ear is sensitive enough to pick up a durational difference between more conservative [s] production and [th] production then [s]'s that are consistently longer in word final position than [th]'s (where [s]=95msec, [th]=100msec) could lead to a longer word final [s] being heard as a [th]. This is especially compelling when considered with the effects of fronting - a change in the place of articulation and in

the position of the articulator - and higher frequencies. Hence, by this view, increased duration added to fronting causes [s] in word final position to assimilate in the listeners mind to [th]. In other words, the mind of the listener chooses [th] by default since it is the only phoneme of similar duration and place of articulation in its repertoire. Considered with the dynamics of social control that generate the creation of categories and hierarchies of people, this is fertile ground for the evolution of a stereotype.¹⁰

It is important to remember that the perception of an event is largely controlled by the details of the cultural construct through which it is interpreted. There should be no argument that homosexuality in this culture is not held in much esteem. And there should be no argument that lisping - the production of [th] in place of [s] - is considered handicapped or impaired speech.

Given this and the above facts about [s] duration for this social group, it is not difficult to imagine the mapping of a misinterpreted [s]=[th] onto other word positions by listeners already biased toward a negative view of this group due to cultural mores. And because this bias can be seen to exist in a causal relation to the behavioral expectations imposed on this group by society that require a real or imagined exhibition of female identity characteristics, the dynamics of the interaction between phonetic concerns and social criteria become clearer and more compelling. Since a stereotype often focuses on one particular behavior and enlarges it so that it overwhelms all other behaviors (as in a caricature, one feature - perhaps a

nose - becomes the focus of the entire picture) it is a relatively short step from [th] in word final position (where [s] should be) to a speech behavior that is defined by a speech defect - lisping.¹ What we have is a perfect fit for a derogatory stereotype imposed on a demeaned social group - defective people defined by defective speech. The group being so often imitated as such that the truth has long since been obliterated.

And all this motivated by the adoption of a pattern of speech that allows longer durations of [s] in some word positions by members of a particular social group.

In conclusion, this section has pointed out two things:

1. These speakers are showing a strong preference for increased [s] duration in word final (V[s]*) and pre-consonantal ([s]t*) positions.
2. The well-entrenched stereotype of the 'lisping' homosexual male has been motivated by the fact of (1), the dynamics of perceived social reality, and the general rules by which a stereotype is created to focus on different=deviant behavior.

¹ 'Handbook of Speech Pathology and Audiology'; edited by Travis, Edward Lee; Appleton-Century-Crofts, Educational Division, Meredith Corporation; New York, New York; 1971; pp.15. This book lists nine types of oral lisps and four types of nasal lisp (pp.739). There are three main types of lisp - 1. lingual, frontal, dental, or interdental. Here 'soup' will sound like 'thoup'. 2. lateral. Here 'soup' will have a 'slushy' sound much like a misused [l]. 3. nasal. Here 'shoe' may sound like 'thoup'. This paper makes reference to (1). These economic distinctions concerning 'lisp' are found in Metter, E. Jeffrey; Speech Disorders; Medical & Scientific Books, Spectrum Publications, New York; 1985; pp.78-79.

² Umeda called his paper 'Consonant duration in American English' implying that the results are applicable to all speakers of American English. It was a surprise to me to find that he used one speaker only and twenty minutes of careful speech. It was also interesting that Umeda chose a male speaker. American males are known to have very conservative styles of speech when compared to males from other cultures. Perhaps Umeda wanted a smaller range of variation and hence, chose a male speaker.

³ It is my intuition that Umeda used an academic or highly educated speaker for his study. Since academia decreases gender polarity as it concerns male and female behavior (which includes speech behavior) the duration of certain consonants may be significantly affected. In other words, based on my experience with homosexual social groups and my experience as an academic, it is my conclusion that the speech of many heterosexual male academics resembles the speech of male homosexuals more closely than it does the speech of the larger population of heterosexual males. This leads me to suspect that [s] duration from Umeda's speaker is longer than would be found with a less educated subject. Of course this last statement may prove to be entirely false upon investigation.

⁴ Though the choice of speakers from this group was specific, i.e. chosen because they exhibited certain behavior, the tokens were chosen randomly from the tapes. With the exception of K1, the number of tokens from each speaker for each category was at least five. For K1, there were two tokens for the category 'final' and one from the others. These averages are in no way meant to be binding for these speakers or for the group. This section, like this entire paper, is intended as a guide to further research in this area.

⁵ I use the word 'conservative' in this light: If a speaker exceeds the given average then I consider that speaker to be non-conservative in the production of tokens. I do not mean to allude to a standard that holds variation in a derogatory light since it does not align with the white, heterosexual male standard for speech behavior in force in this society.

⁶ Given the fact that K1's speech performance most resembled that of heterosexual males for this group, his averages may lend support to the viewpoint expressed in footnote #2 about academic male speakers. If K1's averages in these categories (except word final) are more reflective of heterosexual male speakers then Umeda's averages may prove to be of longer duration than appropriate for the general population.

⁷ Factors such as stress, preceding and following vowel or consonant would surely influence the amount of increase in duration possible in word positions. And some degree of normal or expected meter or timing must be maintained in order for the speaker to be understood.

⁸ It seems easier to me to produce an [s] of long duration if I front it. (Try producing the word 'hiss' in imitation of a snake.)

⁹ It is also possible, based on views expressed in earlier footnotes, that there is a greater msec difference between word final [s] and word final [th] than is reported by Umeda. If this is so then the possibility of the cognitive reassigning of longer [s] to the category [th] is even greater.

¹⁰ There is the possibility that the creation of a derogatory stereotype is necessary in order to maintain existing power hierarchies within a given culture. The existence of homosexuality, long considered a deviance historically and legally, would be perceived as a threat to this hierarchy and would foster the necessity of focussing negatively on any behavior outside the norm. By this view it would be difficult to separate the cognitive effects of increased [s] duration from the perception this group's behavior. In other words, increased [s] duration + the effects of fronting + a desire to believe negative things = homosexuals lisp. Although I am partial to this kind of reasoning, I do not believe this to be the case. I think the misinterpretation of [s] as [th] is likely to occur whenever the duration of [s] exceeds some maximum outside of any considerations pertaining to whomever is producing the token.

¹¹ Lispng is not only considered impaired speech. It is often portrayed as the speech of children, passive women, and weak men. In the 1989 movie "Pink Cadillac", Clint Eastwood's character

mimics a 'helpless' female's speech by lisping. Eastwood "I'm just a fugitive felon. That doesn't mean I'm not feminine. I just need a strong man to help me. I guess that makes me like a 'Cosmo' fugitive." Lisping occurred only where [s] appeared in word final position. Eastwood also accompanied his speech with stereotypical female mannerisms - cocking his head and batting his eyelashes. Hence, lisping carries more than one pragmatic message - It is physically defective speech and it is feminized speech (i.e. the speech takes on the characteristic of the (feminized by sexual behavior) man who is the sexual object of other men).

SECTION 4

IMITATIONS/DESCRIPTIONS

A number of subjects did imitations of heterosexual and homosexual speech. For subject K1, the imitation was part of a narrative during which he described an incident that took place at his health spa. K1 repeated the dialogue of his work-out partner. Subject T1 spoke a few lines in imitation of male heterosexual and female homosexual speech in the course of conversation. Subjects R2, D2, T1, and G1 either talked to or about other homosexuals using terms specific to their social group that were often terms that would be identified as evoking a female referent if used among a more encompassing social structure. These imitations and descriptions were unsolicited by the interviewer. They occurred in the context of relaxed, informal conversation between friends i.e. in a non-threatening social environment and during an unstructured interview. The imitations provided by G1 were the result of an interview embarked on to collect such. It is important to note though that in order to act out a particular type of individual and expose that individual's style of speech, G1 modelled his behavior on actual people that he knows. When he initially tried to do otherwise i.e. generate an anonymous character, he failed.

One might reasonably argue that depictions like these are stereotypical and as such are not to be taken as a serious representation of homosexual speech and behavior as it exists in the mainstream culture. Stereotypes do incorporate the expectations of the group in immediate control with respect to an 'out' group. They certainly manipulate a contrived situation that places

the imitated in the denigrated position of 'them' while the imitator occupies the preferred position of 'us'. In this light, they foster opposition to perceived and hence, exaggerated behavioral differences. But stereotypes do have value and that value lies in the salience these characterizations have for the individual speakers. It lies in the common tactics these speakers have chosen to employ in order to portray an unknown individual with enough accuracy that that individual not only becomes unique and believable to the listener but exhibits a discernable affiliation with a particular social group and a particular gender. The linguistic phenomena present in these imitations are clearly part of the statistical reality of the differences in male and female speech and part of an entrenched stereotype of both.

K1

K1 - During a narrative that recounted an incident at his health spa K1 imitated his straight male work-out partner's speech. To accomplish this K1 did a number of things:

1. he lowered his voice
2. he increased it's volume
3. he used a flat contour - monotone
4. he used alveolar [ln] in five 'ing' clusters
5. he strongly glottalized the 't' in an 'n't' cluster ¹

: ...mus' be doin' drugs...

: ...mus' be doin' drugs...

: Cuz I was talkin' to 'im an' his eyes were rollin' back an' he wasn' answerin' me.

T1

T1 imitated heterosexual and homosexual male speech, commented on lesbian speech, and used female identified terms to describe himself and other homosexuals.

T1 lowered his voice in imitation of heterosexual males and lesbians.

straight male - : Yes - I like to think so.

: I never wanted to be a newscaster but...

gay female - : What about gay women? Come into my bar (lowered voice) You get low pitches.

: "Hey babe - nice huevos [yavoz] baby!"

In imitation of a gay male T1 fronted and increased the duration of the two s's in the word 'seriously'. Seriously(1) - 1st [s]=.3382s; 2nd [s]=.5360s; duration of word=1.653s; main energy of both [s] is above 5K hertz. Seriously(2) - 1st [s]=.086s; 2nd [s]=.1218s; duration of word=.4840s; main energy of both [s] is between 4-5K hertz.

T1: Bruce last night "seriously"(1)...

T1: If he said "seriously"(2) one more time...

T1: Now this *fairy*...

R2: Now you gotta see this *queen*..

T1: Now this *fairy* thinks he's *butch* but...

When a friend arrived T1 raised his voice (as if talking to a small child) and used a term of endearment generally reserved for children and women.

: Hi Pumpkin!

About himself and others:

: There were the biggest *queens* at the end of my bar.

: I'm the *hottest* bartender there...I'm the *cutest*...

: We walked by the *prostitute* block...

Interviewer: Oh - you mean 'male' prostitutes?

R2

R2 used the female pronouns when speaking of other gay males.

About T2 - : *She's* a mess.

: Put this mike on *her*.

About T1 - : Is *she* a *fag hag* ?²

D2

D2 described a friend in the same manner -

: He can also be a *bitch on wheels* !

D2 also commented on conversations with heterosexual males.

: But I think the majority of talk - of conversation between straight males is usually fairly generic questions about their jobs, sports, sex - women - about sexual exploits - not about anything personal in their - about themselves but (lowered voice) "Have ya gotten any lately?"

This opinion was expressed during the course of a conversation with his lover - K1. It was an interesting deduction done by them to discern the social group affiliation of one of K1's co-workers. K1 was asked 'personal' questions by a male co-worker. These questions concerned where he lived, the club he lifts weights at, and the name of his work-out partner. Apparently, these questions - especially the question about the town he lives in - were considered to be out of the context of normal heterosexual male discourse. Hence, K1 suspected that his co-workers was gay and was concerned that this co-worker had identified him as being gay. These conclusions were based solely on the type of questions asked by the co-worker and were not supported by any physical or linguistic behavior that might have identified the co-worker as homosexual to K1. K1 is one of the subjects who believes there are no indicators present in individual behavior that allows an implication to be made concerning social group affiliation.

D2 was attempting to point out to the interviewer why K1 would conclude that his co-worker was gay based only on a few seemingly benign questions.

G1

G1 was the most prolific in his imitation of homosexual and heterosexual speech. To accomplish this he used a number of interesting tactics.

1. He changed discourse markers when he changed the sexual identities of the subjects he imitated. For homosexual males he used 'tsk'³ and 'oh'. And for heterosexual males and 'dykes' he used 'uh', 'um', and 'yeah'.
2. He changed topics. The topics he used for homosexual males were topics stereotypically associated with female concerns. The topics used for lesbians and straight males were topics stereotypically associated with heterosexual males.
3. He lengthened the duration of and fronted s's for gay males. And he deleted or glottalized t and d, and velar [ln] clusters for straight males and lesbians.
4. He lowered his voice and increased it's volume for straight males and lesbians. And he attempted a monotone sound.

G1 comments:

- : Fags smoke when they - they all wanted to be Bette Davis.
- : Most gays try to be aloof. They're above everything.
- : They must announce everything perfectly.
- : They're very sing-song.
- : They use a lot of sibilant s's.
- : When gays are together they're relaxed. The speech comes out.
- : Gay men don't really want each other. They want straight men.: It's not - "Oh look at that one in the scarf. I want him." You never see that - it's just - "Look at that auto mechanic. I want him." I mean seriously - who are you gonna go for ? Charles Nelson Reilly or Arnold Schwarzenegger? Right? I mean let's be real - (in a high voice) "Oh Charles - I love that lack of a chin!" You know - (in a lowered voice) "Okay Arnold baby - let's go! I'll help you lift that engine!"
- : Homosexuals always opt for the bizarre pronunciation (of a word).
- : They wear stuff with weird cologne names like - Tigris, Euphrates, and Emeraude.
- : They say things like - "Look at that mauve wallpaper. It's so Laura Ashley."
- : You do it more depending on the group you're in. The moment you get a gaggle of fags together it's all over. Everybody becomes Bette Davis and they're more flamboyant. They all start screaming. Around straight men - you're working (a reference to work GI did in New York for MTV with a friend of his) - it's all power tools and carpentry. The moment I walk in Chris says (done in a high, sing-song voice) "Kitten! Oh - hi!" All the 'darlings' and 'honeys' come out.

Male homosexual imitations:

Mister Rogers 'fag' (Done with a high, breathy voice in a sing-song manner. The words are drawn out and the vowels lengthened.):

: (tsk) Oh - hi - (G1 comment: Like Richard Simmons⁴) oh - hi - that's sweet. Let's buy a Pierrot mask. (tsk) Oh - how are you dear? It's so good to hear from you Shnook. Oh look at the cafe curtains. Oh - they're pretty. (tsk) They're so cute."

Bar fag (done in a high voice with many tsk's and accompanied by hand gestures):

: (tsk) We were just out buying mousse. I borrowed some from Monica -
(lowered voice) (tsk) She's a dyke.
: (tsk) I saw a man today with shorts on (tsk) and he had the biggest cock!
: (tsk) I thought I was gonna die!

Friend at gay bar 'dishing'⁵ other homosexuals:

: Don't worry about them. They'll all be dead in three years anyway.
G1 comment: That got everyone upset. The hairpins and compacts were flying!

Preppy gay (Done like a British speaker. He talked through gritted teeth and barely moved his lips):

: And then there's the preppy gay. Where everything he says has to be just so.

Homosexual with a speech impediment (An imitation of a former boss - the manager of a gelato store. This was done with a creaky voice.):

: Oh - what's this glamour all over!

: Look at this!

: Get this piece of S-H-I-T out of my room!

Mr. Wish (Done with a whispered voice and very sweet - the way one would talk to small children.):

: (tsk) Hi boys and girls. O-o-o I like that.

: (tsk) What do you want me to say (tsk)

: (tsk) I'll tell you a story about Virginia (tsk)

: (tsk) One day Virginia decided to write a letter to her friends.

: And they called her up. (tsk) The end.

A short narrative about going to a gay bar to dance with a female friend:

: They all loved her (Annie) at the Ren.

(imitates other gay men): "(tsk) She's so beautiful. She's like a little toy.

(tsk) Oh - I just love her!"

: And they all loved her dresses!

: We'd go there and it was so bizarre. And people that you'd see in business - like when I was working in the shoe store - They'd come in - these business men - they're like (lowered, gruff voice) "Yeah - yeah" - You know - guys trying to act sort of macho. You go there and they're like - (high voice) "Oh - hi - how are you. (tsk) Oh - I've met you before haven't I?"

G1 comment prior to imitating gay females and straight males:

: I could just do one voice for both of them.
 : Lesbians talk normal. Dykes try to take the worst habits of men and incorporate them into their being.
 : The lesbian community is a more interesting community than the gay community. Gay men are whores.

Heterosexual male (Done in a low voice. Emotion is expressed by an increase in volume.):

: Hey - what's goin' on?
 : Good ta see ya.
 : Um - yeah - wadda ya think?
 : We'll go out after work an' have a couple a beers.
 : Why don' ya come on over to my place tonight.
 : That's right - that's right - that - uh - that show's on tonight - uh - uh - 'Untold Stories'. That's right.

Heterosexual male G1 worked with (both are Chefs)(Done as above):

- : Uh - um - yeah - yeah
- : Uh - uh - come on - uh - Virginia ya gotta pick up!
- : Come on!
- : Come on - I got a plate a gnocchis (pronounced 'yonki') here!
- : This plate a gnocchis are gonna get cold an' I'm not makin' um over again!
- : Ya jus' better get it outta your fucking head!
- : I'm not doin' this!
- : God Damn she pisses me off!
- : She pisses me off on spite!
- : She does this jus' ta get at me!

An imitation of a dinner conversation with G1's heterosexual brother (Done as above):

- : Yeah well - I think all fags should be shot.
- : You should jus' line um up - dig a big hole - ya know
- : Like take um where they've been doin' strip mining.
- : Set um up on the edge -
- : Line um all up there -
- : Jus' start shooting -
- : Knock um all fuckin' down!

Gay female (A 'dyke' - done as above straight males were done.):

- : Hey Michelle - What's goin' on?

- : Um - hey do you think that I could borrow that VCR that ya have upstairs?
- : Yeah - I - uh - I - uh - well Monique's comin' over an' I really wanted ta tape some stuff -
- : Ya know - so we can like sit back an' watch this really good show - uh - uh - on ESPN.
- : Like we jus' sit aroun' an' watch it -
- : Have a few beers - yeah - it'd be really cool.

B1

Speaker B1 is a heterosexual male. Although he did not imitate homosexual or heterosexual speech, he did provide an interesting narrative based on his perceptions about members of two different social groups. He also used the discourse marker 'tsk' three times during the exposition of this narrative. Two points can be made concerning B1:

1. He has employed the same kind of strategy as the other speakers to point out the differences in these two social groups. Although he did not change his speaking style to accommodate the intended imagery (as did the other speakers)⁶ he did place these two groups in opposition to each other with respect to physical appearance (and hence, with respect to expected or implied behavior⁷). In doing this, he accessed a female gender model for one and a male gender model for the other. And it is very clear that the behavior, the appearance, and the preferences of the group aligned with the male model are preferred over the proclivities of the group aligned with the

female model. This has extended to the point that B1 considers anyone affiliated in any way with this latter group to be a 'loser'.

2. He has used 'tsk' as a discourse marker in his own speech. This is extremely interesting. The other speakers have used 'tsk' exclusively with 'oh' as discourse markers to imitate male homosexual speech and behavior. 'Tsk' is also present quite often in their own speech. Given that B1 is heterosexual one might ask the question - How often must 'tsk' occur in speech before it becomes an indicator of social group affiliation? One important observation should be made, though, concerning the intent of the marker 'tsk'. In all three places that B1 used it he was expressing disgust (or perhaps disdain) for the persons he was speaking of. Hence, the places that 'tsk' occurred preceded a comment that included talk about members of the group that was aligned with a female gender model. Two of the occurrences of 'tsk' were much stronger than the third.

B1 is speaking about his experience as a radio show host.

: I had this one guy who kept on calling me and - uh - kind of harassing me - asking me to - uh - there's like a certain - there's Christian rock and roll - I don't know if you're familiar with it - but - um - tsk (strong) - he'd ask for these Christian rock songs. He'd ask me to play um - and finally I - he just kept on calling - I - I played one and I got about halfway through it and I just ripped it off and just went on a tirade - about a five minute tirade of this guy - how much of a loser he was for listening to this and it's

ridiculous to try and - uh - put this on other people and I just wasn't gonna be a part of it.

Interviewer: My son's a born-again-Christian. He has a Christian rock group.

He does! I mean - I just think the whole idea is terrible. Another radio station I worked for - um - tsk (strong) I was the news director and there were two different stations. There was an AM side and an FM side. Tsk (weak) - The AM was Country - was a Country station and the FM was contemporary Christian rock. So I was stuck in the middle. I was the news director for both stations cuz they worked out of the same building and - uh - so I was stuck in the middle. And on one side you had these big ol' country boys that would come in and play Hank Williams. And on the other side you had these - like - real petite little reverend types and - you know - these kinda weaselly Christian rock guys. It was kinda interesting.

Interviewer: Did you notice a physical difference in the people?

: Oh definitely! ... I don't like to generalize about people but if I had to make a generalization the guys that - the country guys - one guy in particular is a big, fat, good ol' boy and that's what he was and that's where his tastes were. That's the kind of humor he used. And more times than not the guys on the FM side - the Christian side - were petite - were very - I mean they never looked - in my memory they didn't look me in the eye. They looked down a lot. They were almost frail and weak. That's the way I saw um ... Physically they were smaller - they were just small people.

As is illustrated above different tactics are employed by the subjects when imitations are done of members of differing social groups. Although one may correctly state that these imitations and descriptions incorporate stereotypical images of heterosexuals and homosexuals it is interesting to note what is salient about these behaviors to the speaker.

K1, T1, and G1 each used the same tactics to imitate straight males and homosexual females.

- lowered voice (K1, T1, G1)
- an increase in volume to indicate a change in emotional content (K1, G1, T1)
- monotone - keeping the voice at an unvarying level (K1, T1, G1)
- T/D deletion in words such as 'don't', 'just' (K1, G1)
- use of alveolar [ln] in ING clusters (K1, G1)
- idiomatic uses of words: you=ya, him=im, them=um, of=a (K1, G1)
- use of wanna, gonna, and wadda (what do) constructions (G1)
- mispronunciation⁸ gnocchis [nyawkiz] = *[yankiz] (The latter pronunciation is not only incorrect but sounds like someone blew their nose.) (G1)
- discourse markers: um, uh, yeah, that's right, hey, and unfilled pause (In fact, G1 had one imitation of a heterosexual male that was done only with two discourse markers - 'yeah - yeah'.) (K1, G1)
- stereotypical topic - beers, ESPN (sports), the use of obscenities against a female, carpentry, power tools, hate for gays, anger at female behavior, newscaster, weightlifting (K1, T1, G1)

All these elements combine to strictly control the imagery of the passages. Not only is the listener given a constrained and limited phonetic content⁹ but the passages take place in a context of behavior definable only in terms of heterosexual, working class males. Hence, the references are to a lower class, uneducated, macho adult male.¹⁰

T1, D2, R2, and G1 changed tactics completely when imitating or speaking about homosexual males. There was a complete polarization of imagery towards stereotypical female concerns. Included in these characterizations were expressive hand gestures and facial expressions. These were not present for heterosexual males or homosexual females.

- precise articulation (T1, G1)
- use of velar [ing] in ING clusters (T1, G1)
- increased duration of S (and sometimes SH) (T1, R2, G1)
- increased duration of vowels (T1, R2, G1)
- use of a high (or raised pitch) voice: this was used in combination with breathiness; whisper; creak; or sing-song (T1, R2, G1)
- discourse markers: tsk, oh (T1, D2, R2, G1)
- references to gay males using female terms: prostitute¹¹, whore¹², she, her, cutest, hottest¹³, queens, fairy¹⁴, bitch-on-wheels¹⁵ (T1, D2, R2, G1)
- use of endearments: baby, honey, pumpkin, kitten, darling, dear (T1, R2, G1)
- stereotypical topic (female identified): compacts and hairpins, hairdressing items, cafe curtains, male anatomy, cologne names¹⁶ (T1, T2, G1)

- hand gestures and facial expressions:¹⁷ waving the hands, putting hand to face in mock surprise, extending the hand forward and half-waving (something you might do saying 'Oh- come on' expressing disbelief or sarcasm), widening of the eyes along with raising the eyebrows, batting the eyelashes, smiling¹⁸ (T1, R2, G1).

The imitations done of male homosexuals were very elaborate with respect to extra-linguistic concerns such as facial expression, and hand and arm gestures. And the gesturing done during the course of conversations with these speakers included much of this kind behavior outside of the imitations.¹⁹ These gestures are identified with female gender characteristics.²⁰

Precise articulation (where it concerns T/D deletion) and use of velar [ing] only are phenomena associated with female speech patterns.²¹ The use of a high (or raised pitch) voice is also associated with females.²² And the unmistakable imagery created by the use of female identified terms leads to the conclusion that the imitations of male homosexuals use a framework dependent on the domain of female gender behaviors for its details.

What is being exposed by this data is the fact that speakers are relying on two gender frameworks that are strongly polarized with respect to linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior in order to achieve a salient rendition of a particular social group affiliation for a particular individual. There was no overlap or continuum present among the behaviors detailed above. If the individual imitated was a homosexual male then the model

accessed was female specific and ambiguous with respect to social class.²³ And if the individual imitated was heterosexual male or homosexual female the model accessed was male specific with a definite alignment to working class males.

Although there are many styles of behavior present within the sexes, we are culturally confined to two gender models - male and female with social assignation taking place with respect to biological sex. Most analysis of behavior - linguistic and extra-linguistic relies on these models in order to measure or point out difference. The speakers have relied heavily on opposite ends of the continuum of male and female styles of behavior in order to achieve an imagery that allows the listener to accurately interpret their portrayals. The mapping of this cultural framework is clear in the data and it is clear in prior analyses of linguistic phenomena on which this discussion must rely and has relied on in order to interpret the events in the interviews. Abstractly and idealistically there is no harm in this. Biologically we have only two sexes²⁴ which makes the existence of two gender models logical in a systematic sense. And, idealistically, there is no harm in pointing out how people differ from each other. But the speakers and their data expose another phenomenon that is supported socially and culturally. Any alignment with a female gender model is not a preferred alignment. When the person or group being imitated or spoken about has a female behavior alignment that position is presented as being in opposition to a preferred norm of proper/male behavior.

Speaker B1 has provided further evidence for this position. His division of Country music affiliates and Christian rock affiliates into two opposing groups is a map of stereotypical appearance and behavior with Country=male and Christian=female.

Country:

Physical appearance - big; fat; good ol' boys

Preferences - humor and tastes are those of the above.

A preference for Country music is in line with a preference for a pioneering spirit and a traditional lifestyle. This imagery is intended to evoke references to the 'cowboy' or perhaps a southern male - a real American. The picture provided is one of a hard drinking, hard fighting, womanizing, strong, and aggressive male. A man who comes up to you and slaps you on the back and says 'Howdy!'.

B1 has also used a particular person - someone he knew - to accomplish this allusion. And this 'good ol' boy' is aligned with a heterosexual, working class male. And finally, we have the deletion of the 'd' in the word 'old' within the phrase 'good ol' boy'. This is a colloquial phrase and the imagery associated with it has a definite working class alignment. The deletion of 'd' is telling. The statistical reality of the differences in rates of deletion of the T/D variable being affected by gender and social class is supported qualitatively in usages such as this. The phrase is specifically 'good 'ol boy' and is ungrammatical (or at least not meaningful) with a realized 'd'. 'Good old boy' doesn't work.

Christian:

Physical appearance - petite; little; weaselly; frail; physically small; weak; small people; reverend type; looking down

Preferences - never looking you in the eye, harassing behavior

This imagery is intended to evoke physical references to females. It leaves the listener with a picture of an effeminate male. A man not strong enough or aggressive enough to look you in the eye. Someone who nags (harasses) you to get what he wants. And B1 has given us a 'type' of person without making any reference to a particular individual or particular social class.

Like the other speakers, B1 has been much more elaborate in his portrayal of 'Christian' types. We not only have more information about physical stature but we have the use of 'tsk' as a discourse marker, the precise articulation of the word 'petite' twice, and two very salient behavioral patterns - not looking someone in the eye and harassment. To be specific:

'Tsk' has been reserved as a discourse marker for female-like males by all speakers. B1 only used it in this particular narrative. He used it nowhere else in the interview.

The fact that B1 made sure that he fully released the final 't' in petite at differing points within the narrative makes this an allusion to a particular

style of speech and hence, to specific gender behavior. Females are not only referred to as 'petite' but they exhibit statistical differences from males with respect to the T/D variable. Precise articulation is not part of the imagery associated with working class heterosexual males in a stereotypical viewpoint or in statistical reality.

Looking someone in the eye is an act of aggression and a statement about the strength of one's position relative to the person looked at.²⁵ Females are taught to look down - it is part of appearing demure. This has a sexual meaning when applied to them. When applied to males it signals weakness. Weakness in females is expected gender behavior. In males, weakness is denigrated. Females are also socialized to be nonaggressive or passive. And passivity is also part of the stereotypical imagery associated with females and part of the imagery accessed in the act of looking down. Males who look down are behaving like females.

Harassing behavior can be reinterpreted as 'nagging' behavior given the vivid female imagery present. B1 is being 'nagged' by a 'Christian' type to play music that he associates with individuals from a denigrated social group. 'Nagging' is a word and behavior stereotypically associated with females. Men 'harass' women (again - as with looking down - sexual behavior) and women 'nag/harass' men but real men do not 'harass/nag' other real men. Hence, the continuous requests for Christian music come from an unmanly male - one whose behavior is female-like (since we must assume that B1 considers himself and the Country music affiliates 'real' men).

Again there are two gender models presented to us with these portrayals - female and male - Christian versus Country. There is - again - no overlap and no continuum present. 26

Tables 5.1-5.4 provide a grouping of the phenomena gathered from this section.

SOCIAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION

Social Group Indicators

Table 5.1 - Stereotypical Classification and Social Alignment

GAY MALE STRAIGHT FEMALE	STRAIGHT MALE GAY FEMALE
(Generic) Female	Working Class Male
Anonymous Collective	Specific Group Assignment
Indicates non-specific position in a class hierarchy (below that of males? no position?)	Indicates specific position in a class hierarchy

Table 5.2 - Linguistic - Structural

GAY MALE STRAIGHT FEMALE	STRAIGHT MALE GAY FEMALE
(Generic) Female	Working Class Male
PHONETICS	
Fronting	*
Raised voice	Lowered voice
Whisper	Increased volume
Sing-song	Monotone
Creak	*
Breathiness	*
Longer [s] duration	*
Longer vowel duration	*
SOCIO-LINGUISTIC VARIABLES	
Precise articulation	Deletion/Glottalization of final T/D
Velar [ɪŋ] in ING clusters	Alveolar [ɪn] in ING clusters
SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS	
*	Wanna (want to)
*	Gonna (going to)
*	Wadda (what do)
PRONUNCIATION	
Obscure - mauve = [mov]	Mispronunciation - gnocchis = [yankiz] huevos = [yavoz]

SOCIAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION

Social Group Indicators

Table 5.3 - Linguistic - Discourse

GAY MALE STRAIGHT FEMALE	STRAIGHT MALE GAY FEMALE	GAY MALE STRAIGHT FEMALE	STRAIGHT MALE GAY FEMALE
(Generic) Female	Working Class Male	(Generic) Female	Working Class Male
DISCOURSE MARKERS		SLANG USES	
Tsk	*	*	'im (him)
Oh	*	*	ya' (you)
*	Um	*	'um (them)
*	Uh		
*	Yeah	APPROPRIATE TOPIC	
*	Hey		
*	That's right	Make-up and Make-up tools	Power tools
		Hairdressing items	Carpentry
DIRECTED ENDEARMENTS		Colognes	Beer
*	Babe	Cafe curtains	Sports
Baby	Baby	Shopping	Weight-lifting
Honey	*	Male anatomy	Sex
Pumpkin	*	AIDS	Hate for gays
Kitten	*	*	Anger at female behavior
Darling	*		
Shnook	*		
Dear	*		
Hottest	*		
Cutest	*		

SOCIAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION

Social Group Indicators

Table 5.4 - Behavior - Extra-Linguistic

GAY MALE STRAIGHT FEMALE	STRAIGHT MALE GAY FEMALE	GAY MALE STRAIGHT FEMALE	STRAIGHT MALE GAY FEMALE
(Generic) Female	Working Class Male	(Generic) Female	Working Class Male
PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS		PREFERRED/IMITA TED IDENTITY	
Small	Big	Charles Nelson Reilly	Arnold Schwarzenegger
Petite	*	Bette Davis/Movie Star	Hank Williams/C&W singer
*	'Large cock'	Reverend type	Good ol' boy
GESTURING HAND & FACIAL GESTURES		Prostitute	*
		Whore	*
		Fag Hag	*
		Bitch	*
		Queen	*
		She	*
		Her	*
		Butch	Macho
		Gaggle of Fags	Businessmen
		*	Newscaster
Hand to face in mock surprise	*	*	Auto mechanic
Widened eyes	*	APPROPRIATE ACTIVITIES/BEHAVI OR	
Raised eyebrows	*	Nagging/harassing	*
Batting eyelashes	*	Looking down	Looking you in the eye
Smiling	*	Screaming (at each other or in general)	Yelling (at an uncontrollable female)
Broad arm movements	*	Listening to Christian music	Listening to C&W music
		Shopping	Watching T.V
		*	Beer Drinking
		*	Sports - playing or watching

¹ K1 often glottalizes [t/d] in his speech but this instance within this imitation was noticeably stronger.

² 'Fag hag' is a term used to describe heterosexual women who associate exclusively with homosexual males.

³ By 'tsk' I mean the sound that is made by placing the tongue on the alveolar ridge, forming a suction, and then pulling the tongue down and off the ridge. This produces a wet, clicking sound.

⁴ Richard Simmons is a popular exercise and diet guru with a daily exercise show.

⁵ 'Dishing' is verbally and virulently commenting on another in a somewhat humorous manner.

⁶ There is one exception to this. When B1 described group members as 'petite' he articulated this word very carefully i.e. both [t]s had audible releases.

⁷ A person's physical appearance often fosters assumptions about behavior based on that appearance. We do not expect a male who is 5'2" and slim to be a football player. Nor do we expect a male who is 6'6" and 350 pounds to be a ballet dancer. And the extension of these assumptions is also found in the domain of speech. We might expect that the former would have a female-like voice but we would be unlikely to expect it of the latter.

⁸ The use of a mispronounced word in this case points out that the subject imitated is responding in an expected manner for his gender but improperly based on his education. The implication is that a trained chef should be able to and should strive to pronounce the name of the food he is cooking properly.

⁹ This is initially an intuitive judgement based on a comparison of heterosexual and homosexual imitations. The heterosexual imitations sound very bland and much less dynamic than the ones done for homosexual males. Because they are so much less melodic an apt analogy might be drawn between 'Rap' music and classical where the technical format of the former is exceedingly limited compared to the latter.

¹⁰ Even the reference to newscaster fits this imagery somewhat. The stereotype of a newscaster is one of an aggressive, heterosexual male.

¹¹ One might argue that 'prostitute' can refer to a male or a female. It is my opinion (based on previous work done on obscenity) that one must say 'male prostitute' and the imagery is of a man who services other men. The word for a male who services women for money is 'gigolo'.

¹² The word for an excessively sexually active male is 'stud'. 'Whore' is a specific reference to excessive female sexual activity and has negative connotations (where 'stud' has positive connotations). The use of 'whore' was intentional and intended to be negative.

¹³ 'Cutest' is a word people use to describe children and men use to describe women or women men. It is not used by straight males to describe other straight males unless the reference is meant to be derogatory. 'Hottest' is used by straight males to describe females (a sexual description) or by females to describe males. Otherwise the use is non-sexual as in 'he's the hottest pitcher on the team'. The intended reference was sexual.

¹⁴ 'Queen' and 'fairy' are words used to describe effeminate homosexuals (or excessively unmanly homosexuals).

¹⁵ 'Bitch' is a word that is strictly female identified. The corresponding male term in present use is 'bastard'. (Historically the term 'bastard' meant a male without a legal father. But present day use does not usually access this reference.)

¹⁶ Male colognes generally have names like 'Brut', 'Iron', 'English Leather' and come in plain or primary colored bottles. Some like 'Iron' are phallic in shape and have metal (silver) caps. The colognes named are actual women's colognes.

¹⁷ These gestures are difficult to describe accurately. But because they were present in these imitations and not in the imitations of straight males and lesbians I feel that it is necessary to mention them.

¹⁸ The use of 'smiling' in these discourses is very noticeable. Smiling was used prior to initiation of discourse. It punctuated or was used in addition to stressed intonations and it was used to encourage exchanges. Considering the fact that these speakers were male, the smiling was excessive and out of context.

¹⁹ I realize that this statement can be viewed as being entirely subjective. But in the interview done with my one heterosexual subject - B1 - none of these gestures were apparent. B1 also employed a number of similar hand movements when describing men affiliated with Christian radio shows. These were men he considered somewhat less than manly.

²⁰ In American culture this is an accurate statement. But there exist stereotypes of upper class British males that employ this kind of body movement. In other words, I intend this statement to apply to mainstream American culture only.

²¹ This is documented in depth in Labov's paper (in publication) "The Differentiation of the Sexes in the Course of Linguistic Change" - specifically, p.8 his copy.

²² The stereotypes of the female voice are discussed at length by Henton (in publication) in "Fact and Fiction in the Description of Female and Male Pitch" and by McConnell-Ginet in "Intonation In A Man's World".

²³ Females (and homosexual males) within this framework and continuum of behaviors are treated as if they were part of an anonymous collective of beings. Their behavior is specifically female but ultimately non-specific with respect to the nuances of categorization that heterosexual male behavior is subject to.

²⁴ I have not forgotten the existence of hermaphrodites. Even in this biological category there is the realization of two sexes in one body.

²⁵ This is also a well known phenomenon in the animal kingdom. Looking another animal in the eye is an act of provocation and apt to cause aggression on the part of the receiver.

²⁶ As a final comment on this phenomena a discussion preceding the start of this study supports the position presented. I was approached by a student who had sat in on a group discussion concerning this paper. He asked me if I thought he was gay. I said I didn't know and hadn't considered it. He then told me that I was incorrect in my thinking if I thought all gay men were identifiable on the basis of their behavior - linguistic or otherwise. He said he was concerned that I not add fuel to a fire that portrayed all homosexual males as effeminate. We continued to discuss this and during the course of conversation he mentioned that a number of years ago he had become involved in the struggle for gay rights. As a result of this he became aware that 'gay rights' and the fight for them must include all gay men. He said that he realized he would have to fight for the rights of the 'wimps' too and not just men like himself. This realization and decision were difficult for him at first but he had come to accept this as being necessary and just.

This speaker has presented himself and 'wimps' in opposition with respect to preferred behavior. We again have two models - male=preferred and female/wimp=denigrated.

CONCLUSION

Presented in the introduction were some of the criteria by which a social group is identified by outsiders and by which a group identifies itself. Within the discussion, it was proposed that for this speaker group the production of the linguistic variables ING and T/D resembled linguistic *change from above* as it exists in the larger speech community, and the increased duration of [s] in word final position resembled *change from below*.

Section 1, concerning the linguistic variable ING, showed the group favoring [ing] over [In] with 81.1% and 18.9% respectively. An 18.9% deletion rate is lower than expected for their biological sex. The overall average for three groups from Labov's 560 class of 1985 showed males deleting at a rate of 56.5%.

Speakers T1 and K1 had the highest deletion rates in the group, 68% and 36.8%, respectively. It was pointed out that these two speakers maintained a heterosexual identity for a longer period of time than the other speakers, and that for both, their prior identity was still problematic.

Section 2, concerning the linguistic variable T/D, showed the group's deletion rate to be 12%. This is lower than the 31.2% rate found for males by Neu (1980). The percentages for deletion with respect to preceding consonant were: [s] 63.5% > [n] 16% > [n'] 9.5% [l] 8% > [k] 3%. Neu reported the same order for males with these percentages: [sibilant] 44.2% > [nasal]

33.4% > [stop] 30.8%. These speakers aligned with Labov's (1975) recorded C > V concerning following consonant, with C 78% > Q 14% > V 8%.

Speakers T1 and K1, again, had the highest deletion rates in the group with T1=27% and K1=26%.

Section 3, concerning consonant duration with respect to the voiceless fricative [s], showed the group exceeding the expected averages for [s] duration in the four word positions examined with word final (V[s]#) and pre-consonantal ([s]t#) positions showing a 74% increase over figures supplied by Umeda (1977). This finding was used to examine the long-standing stereotype of homosexual males that portrays them as lisping. It was posited that the extended duration of [s] in word final position has been interpreted as voiceless [th] by previously biased speakers.

With the exception of word final position which proved to be a category where all speakers showed extended [s] duration, speakers K1 and T1 were again the most conservative speakers in the group.

Section 4, concerning imitations and descriptions, showed speakers using skewed gender alignments when describing the linguistic and extra-linguistic behavior of other homosexual males. Homosexual males were aligned with the model for heterosexual females, and homosexual females were aligned with the model for heterosexual males. Speaker B1, who is heterosexual, described two 'types' of heterosexual male. The males whose

behavior he disliked he aligned with a female gender model, and the males whose behavior he approved of he aligned with a male model.

Based on the findings of this study, four possible interpretations of the results are given below.

1. *The lower rates of deletion with respect to the variables T/D and ING could be said to parallel expected percentages for females and point to a shift in preferred gender alignment.*

This may well be true for many speakers. Considering the universality in the larger speech community of the significant differences between males and females in the production of these variables it is certainly feasible that many homosexual males consciously attempt to reinterpret speech patterns as part of reinterpreting the gender identities they act out. With the alignment of sexual and/or relational goals towards a same-sex partner may come a confusion or dilemma as to the method of goal attainment. The individual, possibly having exempted himself from the confines of a learned heterosexual male gender identity by group affiliation and/or choice, may access parts of the gender continuum specifically defined as female. And the behavior thus chosen and attempted may end up for him a norm, affecting not only extra-linguistic behavior but linguistic as well.¹

If the results pertaining to [s] duration and its relation to the stereotype of 'lisp' - which also defines female or child-like speech - are considered along with the above, one might have a valid argument applicable to many

speakers within this social group. It seems pertinent to mention two phenomena here: 1. There exists, in high visibility, female impersonation and impersonators in this social group and in the culture at-large. This phenomenon does not have its equal with respect to opposite gender portrayals. 2. The fact that, even though rare, transsexualism² exhibits as much as an 8 to 1 ratio of male-to-female as opposed to female-to-male transitions.³ Transsexualism includes to a more complete extent than female impersonation at all its levels and in all its forms, the adoption of an opposite gender identity. Hence, two things may be said.

First, adopting female behavior when one has assumed the metaphorical position of 'female' in sexual relations may simply be the logical choice or easiest choice for individuals conditioned to only two possibilities with respect to gender identity. This may constitute an obligatory choice as the individual seeks to cope with the prevailing social and sexual politics that mandate specific identities for particular situations and actions. By legal and social definitions, for legitimate/definable intercourse to occur, two opposing anatomies must be present. If two different anatomies are not the situational reality the default case may very well be two opposing gender identities by socially conditioned response. Until there exists a cultural definition for and, thus, a means of gathering evidence of the existence of behavior not definable as or restricted to either 'male' or 'female', the individual remains confined - for salience and veracity - to an either/or choice.

Second, gender identity may prove to be the more compelling motivation for all behavior than any presumed truth based in biology in a culture where gender is the result of social processing and not simply a default affiliation motivated by the single fact of biological sex. Transsexualism stands as testimony to this view. The fact that individuals seek surgery - the ultimate realignment in this phenomena - in order to align their bodies with their gender identification, is proof of just how compelling social processing can be in its effect on individual choice. A socialization process that solely relies on a biologically deterministic model to shape expected behaviors becomes, in application, culturally deterministic with respect to individual choice. In other words, if an individual's gender identity does not match the one socially determined by his or her biological sex then the options available for expressing that identity are limited. In order to live in a manner consistent with that identity, the individual who is compelled to seek surgical realignment may be responding more to cultural determinism than to self motivated choice. If this view is feasible, then it is certainly applicable at other levels and may be causally related to the linguistic choices made by members of the homosexual social group.

2. The lower rates of deletion could be seen as the result of an attempt at a more careful style of speech outside of any considerations of gender affiliation.

If this were true it would point to ING and T/D production acting as *change from above* since it would indicate an attempt at the adoption of a more prestigious form of speech. But before considering the reasons for this, a

comparison must be drawn between the status of the members of this social group and that of females in general.

Labov (1990) records in his first of two principles that "In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women."⁴ He goes on to later propose that "...the forces behind this principle are associated with upward mobility and a relative increase in the power of women..."⁵ Also, it has long been established that women are the leaders in the adoption of more prestigious forms of speech. And, finally, it is social fact that females in this culture do not have the access to power - in all its forms - that males do.

The sexual orientation and hence, group affiliation of homosexual males excises them from their position in the cultural power hierarchy. In other words, they have lost the access to power that they had when still operating within a heterosexual male gender identity. These males now operate within the culture at-large from the same kind of anonymous (and powerless) position that females do. They are, in effect, cast out from the cultural framework with due attention paid to the fact that in twenty-four states and the District of Columbia their assumed behavior causes them to be defined as criminals.⁶

The data from Section 4 shows an acute awareness, on the part of the speakers, of the speech patterns of lower class males - particularly concerning deletion and non-standard forms. These linguistic factors exist at a heightened level of social awareness.

It seems perfectly logical that the members of this social group would make some attempt - conscious or unconscious - to reclaim the prestige that was lost by virtue of their forced dis-alignment from heterosexual male privileges. Given the subtleties of cognition - the depths of which have still not been plumbed, it is not unreasonable to assume that homosexuals are responding to this linguistically in the same way that females have been and are still responding. This would imply that the lower rates of deletion for the variables T/D and ING are the result of the adoption of a more prestigious form of speech by the members of this social group, i.e. *change from above*. If this is true, then the implication is also clear that the linguistic responses of females to their environment are the result of an enforced or mandatory social position and not biology, as has often been posited and argued.⁷

3. *The exhibited linguistic behavior could be indicative of a learned (or adapted) behavioral pattern that marks affiliation with a specialized social group.*

The subtle effects on cognition of familiarity through prolonged affiliation with social group members could be responsible for the increased duration of [s]. This becomes compelling when the speech patterns of the most conservative speakers are examined in addition to the criteria for social group identification and the data from Section 4.

The motivations for a means of correctly identifying individuals belonging to one's social group are made stronger in proportion to the penalties inflicted on the individual if group affiliation is discovered. Hence, the motivations for denying (or hiding) membership, or not exhibiting behavior previously defined as specific to individuals from that group are also made stronger by that same proportion.

The data from Section 4 - Imitations and Descriptions shows an acute awareness of the denigrated position that the exhibition of behavior able to be defined as female (and hence, also homosexual male) places the individual in. These speakers, in fact, subscribe to the same attitude reflected in this awareness when imitating or describing individuals whom they deem to manifest such behavior.

Speakers K1 and T1 have displayed the least amount of variation in their speech with respect to the topics examined in sections 1-3. They also maintained a heterosexual identity for an extended period of time, both stating that before a specific age they had no idea that they had any sexual orientation other than heterosexual. Both also experienced a painful transition to homosexuality and they both still find their previous heterosexual identities problematic. K1 comes from a working class background and expresses himself within a range of behavior and appearance that he deems appropriate for males.⁸ T1 comes from a lower middle class background that changed to a working class income level when his parents divorced. He opts for a much larger range of behavior within which to express himself. For K1, social class and his strong identification with

what he considers proper (heterosexual) male behavior may strongly influence him linguistically. For T1, the effects of a change in income level may have influenced him linguistically as might his painful disassociation with heterosexuality. Because T1 'came out' in dental school, he may have resorted to a speech pattern that distanced him from former highly educated (heterosexual) companions. Nevertheless, K1 and T1 still exhibit increased [s] duration in the least conservative category - word final position.

For these speakers and others like them, resistance to change may constitute a reaction to the social and emotional penalties imposed on them as a result of recognizing the primacy of their homosexuality. A heightened awareness of stereotypy and of behavior definable as female and consequently, denigrated, may cause active resistance to change on the part of these speakers. The alternative is the converse of the argument given concerning (1) above. If the individual does not assume the metaphorical position of 'female' in sexual relations, and, further, retains the behavior necessary to maintain a position in the cultural power hierarchy (or simply sees no reason, or has no need to alter his behavior) then the impact of any behavior indicative of social group affiliation will be lessened. But, as these speakers have shown, the impact will not be entirely nullified and variation will exist to a lesser extent and will be visible in the least conservative categories. Hence, variation such as increased [s] duration will resemble *change from below*.

4. *One could postulate that the motivation for and the dynamics of speech production and preferred gender alignment (based on observable behavior*

and societal expectations) are influenced by an interaction between 1-3 and should not or cannot be easily defined as the result of a single motivating factor.

This may prove to be the most likely interpretation of these findings. It is certainly the least controversial and the easiest to defend since it allows the most room for dynamic variation of and interaction between the variables. Much of the above has relied on comparisons available from data recorded concerning the linguistic behavior of females. Given the social position of females and the female gender identity, and the functioning of a system of stereotyping that relies on an alignment with female behavior in order to denigrate and demean males of this (or any) social group, some of the arguments in 1-3 will, perhaps, be seen as unfairly biased and incorrect.

The validity of the arguments for 1-3 above is largely dependent on the results of this study holding within the context of a larger, statistically sound investigation of this social group. Informants were selected specifically for the reason that they displayed or didn't display variation in appearance and in speech behavior. In addition, the data from Section 4 which relied heavily on stereotypical descriptions of categories of people, also points to the existence of a dualistic gender model that assigns all identities that deviate from a heterosexual male identity to the female end of the continuum. Table 6.1 shows what seems to be a more accurate depiction of assigned affiliation based on description outside of stereotypy considerations. A reliance by informants on this dualistic gender model is exhibited in the use of terms given for males and females that make a

distinction between who may be labeled macho (heterosexual male), butch (homosexual female and masculine homosexual male) or queen/fairy (feminine homosexual male). The use of these terms is specific to particular categories of people and overlaps only in the case of 'butch'. This adjective is used to refer to masculine homosexual males and females. This model holds heterosexual male gender identity to be inviolate and assigns all deviation from it - especially those caused by biology - to a female position only *no matter what identity the exhibited behavior may intend to portray*. By this view, biological sex by cultural norm allows generalization to a specific gender affiliation. Altered sexual orientation may change the path of the generalization for males mandatorily since it compels change in various areas of behavior, but it allows no similar change for females. Once a person is categorized as female by biology, any deviation in behavior or sexual orientation causes a realignment only within that category.

Table 6.1 - Dualistic Gender Model

HETEROSEXUAL MALE	HETEROSEXUAL FEMALE	
* *	GAY MALE GAY FEMALE	
MALE	MALE	FEMALE
macho	butch/dyke	femme ⁹ /queen/fairy

in the household. Hence, he chooses to exhibit 'proper' male behavior in as many aspects of his identity as possible.

⁹ This is a term informants say is used to describe feminine lesbians.

It is hard to deny the fact of the attitude within this culture that holds the appearance and behavior of homosexual males to be different from and in opposition to the behavior of heterosexual males - and holds that difference to be threatening on many levels. It is difficult to construct an argument that does not in some way reflect a belief in the social reality of aspects of that attitude. And, it is foolish to fail to rely on comparisons to females with respect to social position and gender behavior when attempting to put the observed phenomena into an interpretable perspective. Because of this, many reactions to any work in this area are likely to be excessive in the extent of their criticism. This is simply a reaction to the social facts associated with the lowered status of this group. If variation from expected behavioral norms, and the lowered status of homosexual social groups and females did not exist then analogies relying on opposite gender affiliations would reflect objectivity and not be seen as negatively biased. With these things in mind, it remains the intent of this work to aid and foster further investigation of this social group with a focus on increased knowledge of the speech phenomena exhibited here.

¹ In Western culture, there should be little argument against the proposal that individuals are taught and compelled to be heterosexual. See Adrienne Rich "Compulsive Heterosexuality".

² Transsexualism is defined under the term 'gender dysphoria syndrome' which includes homosexuality and transvestism. There are three sub-groupings of transsexuals, one of which is defined by the homosexuality of the individuals concerned. Not all transsexuals have been surgically altered. In fact, fully two-thirds have not been. 'Toward a Theory of Gender'; Grimm, David E.; American Behavioral Scientist; vol.31, no.1, September/October 1987; pp.66-85.

³ 'Toward a Theory of Gender'; Grimm, David E.; American Behavioral Scientist; vol.31, no.1, September/October 1987; pp.66.

⁴ Labov, William; "The differentiation of the sexes in the course of linguistic change"; submitted for publication 1990; p.2.

⁵ *ibid* p.37.

⁶ Sexual Orientation and the Law; p.9.

⁷ Labov (1990) makes a similar proposal with respect to biological explanations and variation.

⁸ K1 also assumes only the 'male' role in his sexual relations with respect to sexual intercourse. In addition, in his present and prior relationships, he performs only stereotypical male functions

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

R1 - 42 years; Southern Italian; born in Brooklyn, New York; raised in New Hartford, Connecticut; working class background; 4 years college; software designer and computer programmer - R1 considers himself asexual. He rejects labeling himself as either bisexual or homosexual. He was married for four years in his twenties. It is interesting to note that at no time has R1 ever mentioned himself in terms of a heterosexual identity. R1 professes to practice chastity but still has random sexual encounters with strangers that are generally oral. He does not believe that he is identifiable as a homosexual and he does not believe that anyone can accurately be identified as a member of any social group. This is an interesting viewpoint given the fact of his sexual encounters. He is extremely sensitive about being identified as homosexual. He has never identified himself as gay to his family. His parents are first generation Italians and he does not believe they know he is gay.

T1 - 26 years; WASP; born in Boston, Massachusetts; lower middle class background; 4 years college plus two years dental school; bartender - T1 considers himself homosexual. He left dental school shortly after he identified himself to others as a homosexual. T1's 'coming out' at 24 to his family and to himself was a painful experience for him in many respects and resulted in a radical departure from what had been his intended career goals. T1 does believe that one can identify homosexuals by their speech and

behavior. He does not believe he sounds 'gay'. He is comfortable with his identity.

R2 - 26 years; Irish/Italian and Russian/German; born in Boston, Massachusetts; lower middle class; high school diploma; bartender/waiter and assistant manager of a fine jewelry concession in a major department store - R2 considers himself a homosexual although he reports much prior heterosexual activity during high school. He also admits to a continued sexual attraction to women but his present (and planned future) sexual activities are strictly homosexual. His father is a Boston police officer and hence, his upbringing was very conservative. R2 believes that one can identify some homosexuals by their behavior. It is interesting to note that R2 never identified himself as a homosexual to his family. His father asked him if he was gay.

T2 - 33 years; Italian; born in upper state New York; upper middle class; high school diploma; cosmetologist - T2 identifies himself as homosexual. He was married briefly in his twenties. He had a thriving salon in New York and a six figure income. He has resettled in Boston after losing his business as a direct result of a drug habit. T2 believes that he is easily identified as a homosexual (because of his voice) and that a person's manner of speaking is a good indicator of their group affiliation.

D1 - approximately 40 years; Puerto Rican and Egyptian; born in Manhattan, New York; working class; high school diploma; bartender/waiter - D1 identifies himself as homosexual. His family is originally from Puerto Rico.

He operates a restaurant in northwestern Connecticut that is co-owned by his lover and another woman. His lover identifies himself as bisexual and expresses the belief that all human beings are inherently bisexual and that this bisexuality is socialized out of them. This is a source of conflict between them.

D2 - 38 years; WASP; born in East Longmeadow, Massachusetts; 3 years college; computer systems installer and operator - D2 identifies himself as homosexual. In his opinion, because he is short in stature and has what he considers a voice that is stereotypically identified as homosexual his sexual identity has always been obvious to others. D2 is and always has been comfortable with his identity. His family has always been aware (since his teens) of his homosexuality. D2's 'ideal man' was a straight male who opted for a gay relationship because of him. His current mate is a man who identified himself as heterosexual and was married for a number of years. D2 believes that some men are identifiable as 'gay' and that their speech is a salient indicator.

K1 - 29 years; Swedish and Italian; born in New Britain, Connecticut; working class; 1 year technical degree; insurance adjuster - K1 identifies himself as homosexual. He was married for a number of years. He says that he never knew he was gay or questioned his heterosexual identity until he reached a point in his marriage where he could no longer have sexual relations with his wife. This is the point at which he also told his family. Although his present identity is not a difficult issue for him, his past heterosexual identity is. He does not believe that a person can be identified

as homosexual. He says he can never tell. He has reported two incidents at work that are interesting. He was approached and sexually propositioned in the restroom by an older married colleague who he 'never suspected of being gay'. And a man he works with asked him a number of personal questions eg. where do you live?, and K1 believes that this behavior could possibly mean that this man is gay. He does not believe straight males ask other straight males personal questions. This is interesting in light of K1's opinion that there are no indicators present in any male's behavior that allow one to assume a particular group identification.

G1 - 31 years; Southern Italian; born in Brooklyn, New York; raised in Wilmington, Delaware; working class; 3 years college; chef and artist - G1 identifies himself as homosexual if pressed. He does not believe that he either acts or sounds gay. (until he heard himself on tape) His family does not know (he has not told them) that he is gay. His brother is virulently anti-gay. The imitation of his brother that he did on tape was of an actual dinner conversation. G1 does believe that you can identify homosexuals by their speech and mannerisms. G1, at one time, identified himself as heterosexual and had sexual relationships with women. His gay identity is something that was difficult for him and it is a sensitive issue.

R3 - 38 years; Austrian/Hungarian and Irish; born in Wilmington, Delaware; working class; 4 years college, two years nursing; presently a waiter and part-time tour operator, soon to be an RN - R3 identifies himself as a homosexual. He does not believe that he acts or sounds gay. Although he is 'out' R3 does not like to be identified as gay when operating within mixed

social groups. He has had infrequent sexual relationships with women. R3's family is aware of his homosexuality.

B1 - 26 years; Jewish; born in Brooklyn, New York; middle class background; 4 years college; bartender, part-time radio show host, and creator and host of a weekly local television show; B1 is heterosexual. During his interview he contrasted the behavior and physical appearance of male hosts from two different radio shows - country/western and Christian. Country/western deejays and radio show affiliates were portrayed as being large physically, burly, and very macho. Christian station affiliates were said to be small, slight, and weak with effeminate personalities and mannerisms. He believes that for some people social group affiliation is obvious based on physical appearance and behavior. And it can be assumed based on his portrayals and opinions that he was speaking of males.

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