OKLAHOMA, DRAG, AND LANGUAGE REGARD: A STUDY IN QUEER FOLK LINGUISTICS

Bryce E McCleary (he/him; they/them)
Oklahoma State University
Abralin Ao Vivo
A Queer(ed) Science of Language
28 July 2020

LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This work was carried out on stolen land and at an institution that benefits economically from the continued destruction of Indigenous sovereignty. Specifically, this project was finished on land in the unceded territory of the Osage and Wichita Nations

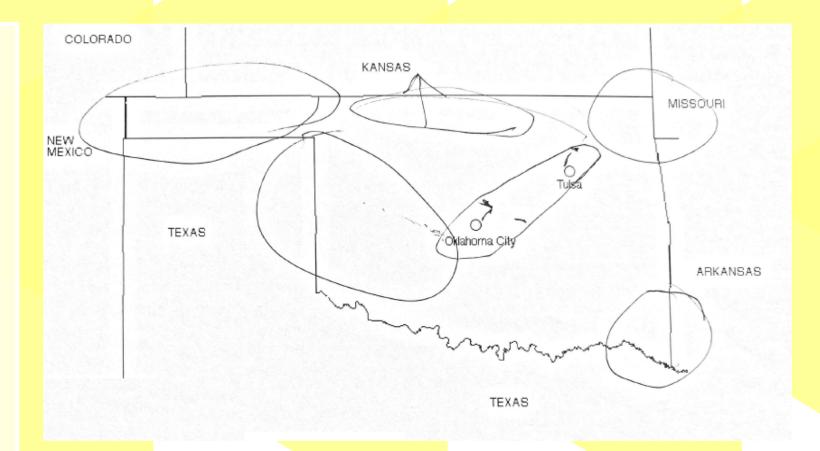
TRIGGER WARNING

Explicit language in speech samples (cursing)

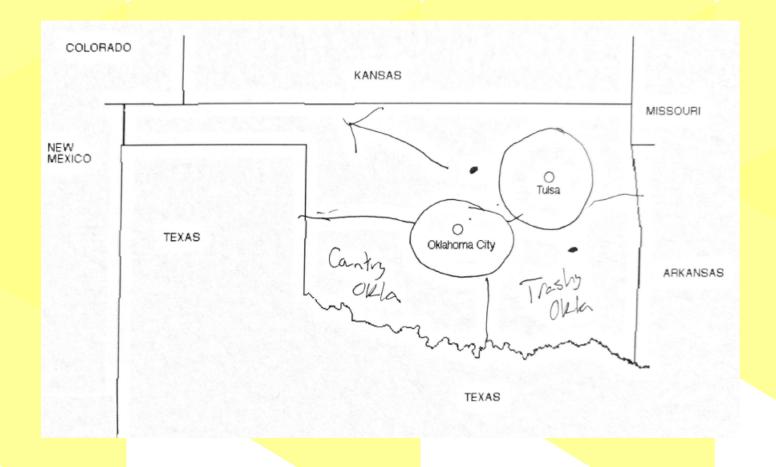
OKLAHOMA: INTRODUCTION



- Perceptual dialectological
- Socio-/folk linguistic interviews
 - Map tasks (Preston 1981)



- Perceptual dialectological
- Socio-/folk linguistic interviews
 - Map tasks (Preston 1981)



- Perceptual dialectological
- Socio-/folk linguistic interviews
 - Map tasks (Preston 1981)
 - Reading passage/word list
 - Folk linguistic questions
 - Gender in Oklahoma

Gendered differences in OK

Chance (23); Idabel, OK

I think that Oklahoma is still very set in the men and female gender roles and their stereotypes and so I feel like a lot of people if you don't have a very deep voice for a man they think differently or if you don't have a soft female voice they're like <Q oh she's not very classy Q> or something so

- Perceptual dialectological
- Socio-/folk linguistic interviews
 - Map tasks (Preston 1981)
 - Reading passage/word list
 - Folk linguistic questions
 - Gender in Oklahoma
 - Sounding gay in Oklahoma

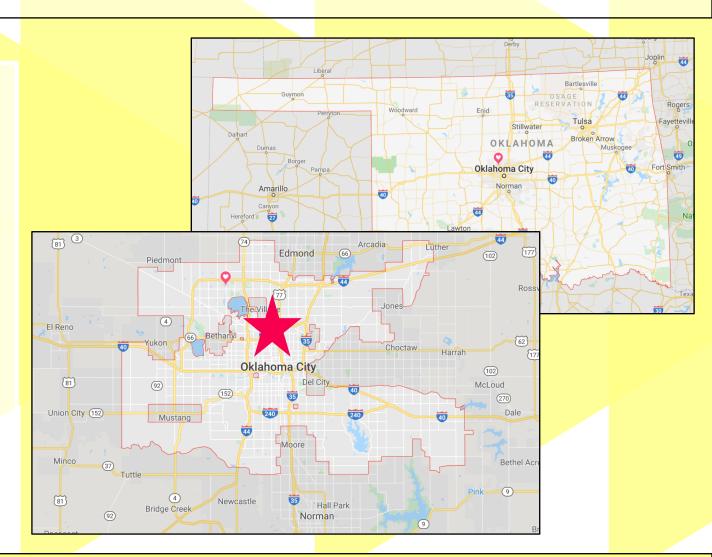
"Sounding gay" in Oklahoma

Darrin (24); Tulsa, OK

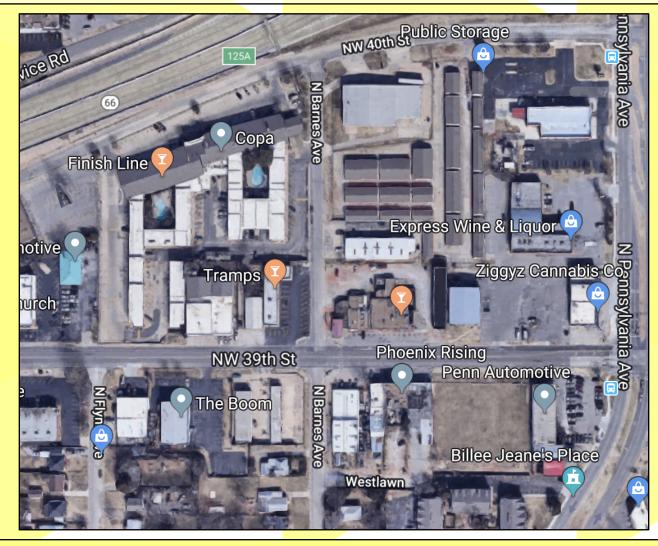
like if I immediately left a group of gay people and walked over no I think personally I would be more wary of how I sounded like literally last night I was walking and... and I kind of like bumped into someone and I said <Q sorry Q> my voice got really low I was like <Q sorry Q> you know like sometimes if I'm not paying attention, but also if I don't feel secure I try to like present more masculine

THE GAYBORHOOD OF OKLAHOMA CITY

- This project began in 2016
- 3 years of observations and conversations
 - "the Gayborhood" ("The Strip" Bachhofer 2006)
 - History of queer culture (1920s)
 - Thrived in 1940s and 1950s
 - Police brutality and harassment in the 1960s and 1970s
 - Rioting and protesting
 - 1980s: majority of OKC's gay/queer bars were located here



THE GAYBORHOOD OF OKLAHOMA CITY



THE GAYBORHOOD OF OKLAHOMA CITY

Performer	Experience Age (years)		Ethnic Identity (performer)	Gender Identity (performer)	Drag in a few words	
Kelly	19	41	Caucasian	Male	"Glamour for the masses"	
Foxxi	10	31	African American	female	"Booty"; "drag is my outlet"	
Gizele	9	30	Black	Cis-Male	"Give zero fucks"	
Rae	2	30	Black/ AA	Transgender	"Ravishing"	
Guin	< 1	25	Caucasian	Transgender Woman	N/A	
Alexander	> 1	22	White	Male	"Emo pretty boy"	

"IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A DRAG STYLE OF SPEECH?"

Gizele: I'd definitely say there is, um, there's a um, I feel

30, 9 years exp

like that we have a code, and a lot of people

wouldn't understand it sometimes

"IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A DRAG STYLE OF SPEECH?"

Foxxi:
31, 10 years exp

I mean there's, so many terminologies—yes, it's--, there's drag slang of course

Alexander: 22, ~1 year exp

drag style of speech, we have like our own little slang

Guin: 25, ~1 year exp

do you mean slang?

Kelly:
41, 19 year exp

there is,...not anything different than the real, you know like in the gay community

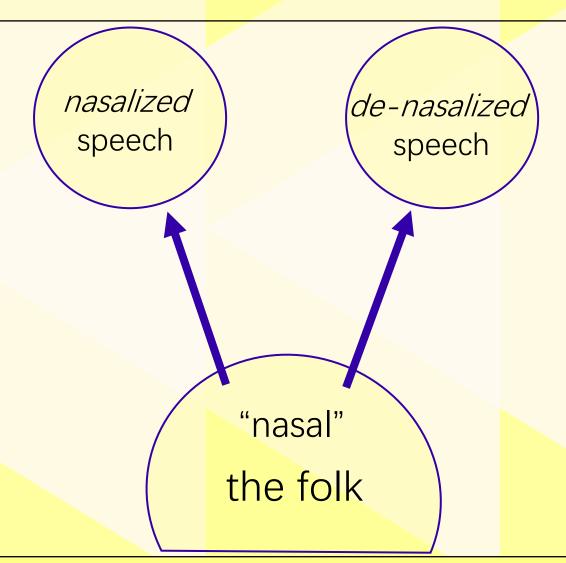
"IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A DRAG STYLE OF SPEECH?"

- jush okurr beat bitch wig tea
- *TONGUE POP* shade boots

• glitz/glam • werk • snatch/ed

LANGUAGE REGARD: NON-LINGUISTS AND LANGUAGE

- "A proposal for the study of Folk-Linguistics" (Hoenigswald 1966)
- Preston (1996): folk vs technical vocabulary
- Folk Linguistics (Niedzielski & Preston 2003):
 - Metalanguage & Language Attitudes
 - Presupposition and implicata



LANGUAGE REGARD: BITCH IN DRAG STYLISTICS

Slang	frequency
bitch	152
tea	30
shade	27
tongue pop	21
live/living	15
jush	14
wig	11
read	10
boots	10
glitz/glam	9
werk	7
ya:s	6
beat	6
snatch	5

Nominatively

Vocatively

Self-Reference:

Rae: <Q hey, how you doing child, yes, get turnt up, get a

drink, be yourself, and tip a bitch Q>

Foxxi: a **bitch** don't know no country by heart

LANGUAGE REGARD: BITCH IN DRAG STYLISTICS

Slang	frequency
bitch	152
tea	30
shade	27
tongue pop	21
live/living	15
jush	14
wig	11
read	10
boots	10
glitz/glam	9
werk	7
ya:s	6
beat	6
snatch	5

Discourse Marker:

Foxxi: you know **bitch**, I couldn't lip sync to save my life **bitch**, if RuPaul's-- if that show was back then **bitch** I sure would have left cause **bitch** I couldn't, lip sync for shit

Gizele: I can do it in so many ways, you just learned the news, <Q ((gasps)) bi:tch Q>

LANGUAGE REGARD: IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT REGARD

"IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A DRAG STYLE OF SPEECH?" drag-style; drag-language connection Focus: "slang" "WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO TALK LIKE A DRAG QUEEN?" drag queens can talk in a certain way; you can "talk like" a category; drag queen-language Hypothesized focus: drag (lg) beliefs, ideologies

"What does it mean to talk like a drag queen?"

Guin: to talk like a drag queen I mean it just, I mean I don't know I've always been gay as hell, so, I've always, I guess kinda talked like that, but I guess just like to have--, to use terminology and know what it means where it comes from, it'scause it's funny, like if, like whether it's a straight friend who, has never been out before or like, someone who's like, new to coming out, or anything like that to hear them say stuff, you're just kinda like <Q oh, like ((laughs)), no that's like that, that's not how you use that girl like that's not right like hang on just second Q>

LANGUAGE REGARD: IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT REGARD

"IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A DRAG STYLE OF SPEECH?"

drag-style; drag-language connection

Focus: "slang"; in-group language

"WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO TALK LIKE A DRAG QUEEN?"

drag queens can talk in a certain way; you can "talk like" a category; drag queen-language

Focus: "correct" usage; in-group status; language-queer identity connection

A QUEER(ED) APPROACH TO LG SCIENCE AND LG REGARD

Bridging Language Regard and Queer/Sociocultural Linguistics

- Identity
- A sociocultural approach to Language Regard
- A methodological supplement to research on LGBTQ+ populations

LANGUAGE REGARD AND IDENTITY

Alexander: which a lot of these are coming out into, normal speech, for, most of, most everyone

Rae: [yeah]

Alexander: [because] of *RuPaul's*, um, but **I'm tired of people comparing, drag, close to them, to**

RuPaul's, so like they'll come up they'll see one of us in drag and be like, <Q werk Q>,

and it's like <Q you don't even know what that means, fuck off, thank you, bye: Q>

Rae: if you don't know the slur, don't say it, okay, just

Alexander: ((laughing))

Rae: rewind that again, <Q if you don't know the slur, do not say it Q>

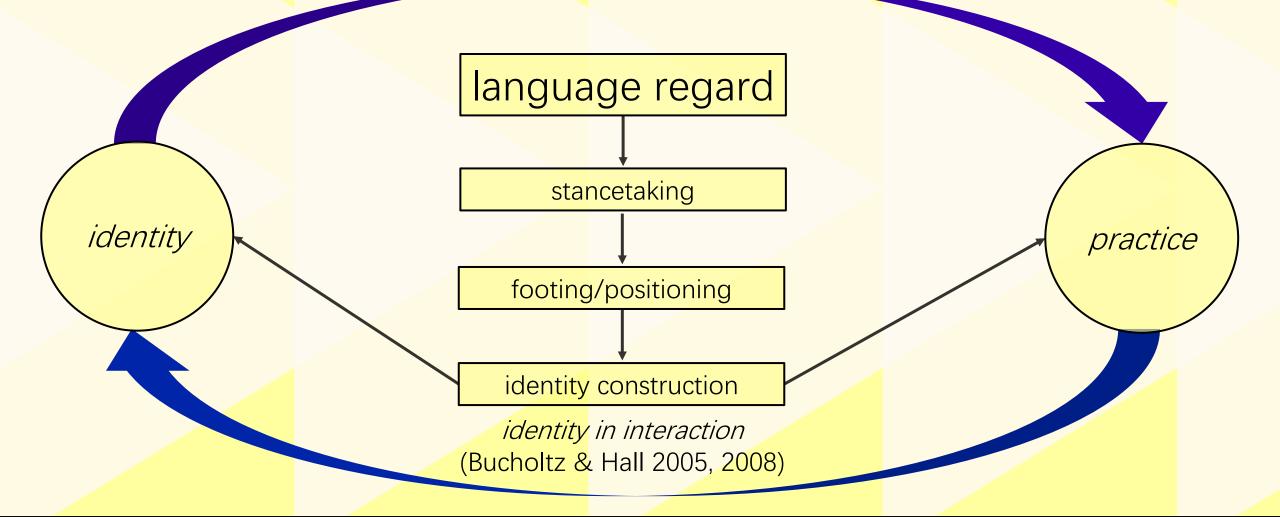
Alexander: <\ Q say it again for the people in the back Q>

Rae: <Q if ya don't know the slur, do not say it Q>

LANGUAGE REGARD AND IDENTITY: PRESCRIPTIVISM

Performer	Exp.	Age	EthID	GenID	
Kelly	19	41	Caucasian	Male	
Foxxi	10	31	African American	female	
Gizele	9	30	Black	Cis-Male	
Rae	2	30	Black/ AA	Transgender	
Guin	< 1	25	Caucasian	Transgender Woman	
Alexander	>1	22	White	Male	

LANGUAGE REGARD AND IDENTITY



LANGUAGE REGARD AND IDENTITY

1.Intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, 1994):

"intersectionality theory, or the belief that no one category (e.g., 'woman' or 'lesbian') is sufficient to account for individual experience or behavior" (Levon 2015)

2. Raciolinguistics (Alim, Rickford, & Ball 2016):

analysis of "the ongoing rearticulation of colonial distinctions between populations and modes of communication that come to be positioned as more or less normatively European" (Rosa 2019)

Foxxi: on TV it's all about, I mean, it's, universal so, of course, there's straight people, gay people, you know everybody watch TV so, if you

never been around that before it's like <0 oh my gosh but she's so

funny, I've never heard that before Q>...they looking at us like <Q girl

have you heard what what's-her-name said on the gay show Q>,

<Q I said that last night ((CLAPS)) when I was drunk ((CLAPS)) Q>

you know, <Q I said that last night at the bar with my homegirl Q>

you know like bitch

• Alex: don't use our slang incorrectly

• Rae: if you don't know it, don't say it

• Guin: that's not how you use that

• Foxxi: the language on TV didn't come from TV

Kelly: they [audiences] have to understand that, you know what is seen on TV there's a lot of smoke and mirrors and, cuts and edits and, what we are doing here is live and raw

Kelly: there is,...not anything different than the real, you know like in the gay community

- Alex: don't use our slang incorrectly
- Rae: if you don't know it, don't say it
- Guin: that's not how you use that

• Foxxi: the language on TV didn't come from TV

• Kelly: TV isn't real; we are real...drag lg is gay lg

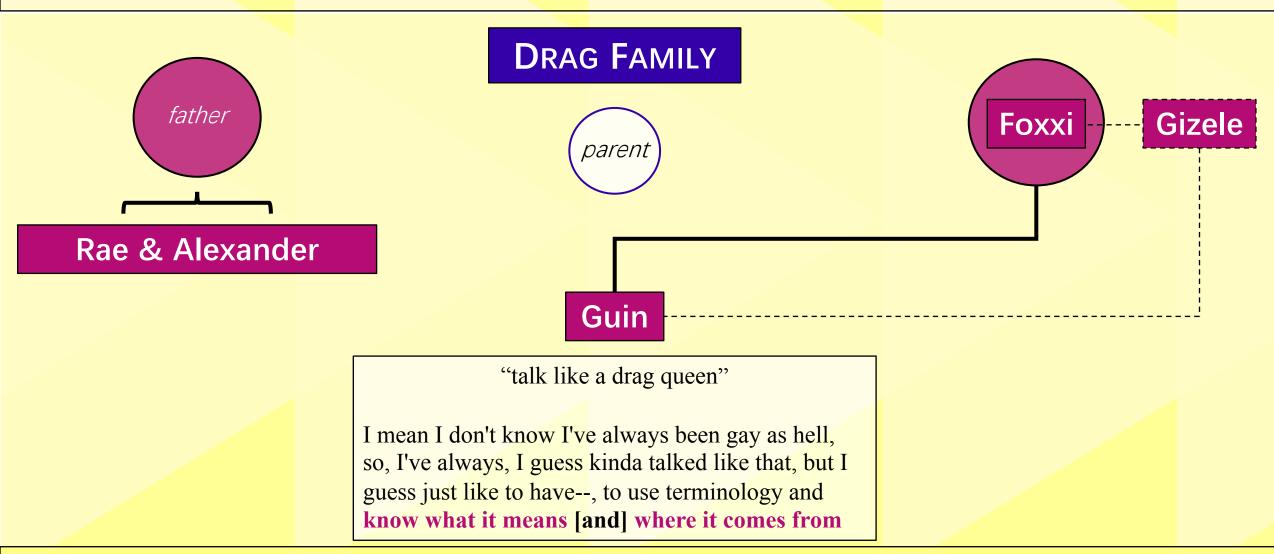
THE ORIGINS OF DRAG SLANG

Gizele: I'd definitely say there is, um, there's a um, I feel like that we have a code, and a lot of people wouldn't understand it sometimes, a lot of- I think a lot of it, actually comes, more from Paris Is Burning, and um, and then it's spreading out into mainstream, and RuPaul's Drag **Race** when you see it, now that it's on, in on the screens people are, seeing those words, and now they're rolling out into other, communities now, and a lot of, our slang and stuff, I think a lot of it comes from the South, cause I was watchin, when I was watchin the Housewives of Atlanta, they say a lot of stuff and I'm thinkin like, <Q they got this from the gay community Q>, I was like <Q you know what's funny, I think the gay community got this from the South Q> I think, like "what's the tea" and all that stuff, that's these, Georgia Peaches used to sit down and drink tea, so I think we get that a lot from, Black women

- Alex: don't use our slang incorrectly
- Rae: if you don't know it, don't say it
- Guin: that's not how you use that
- Foxxi: the language on TV didn't come from TV
- Gizele: it's spreading through pop culture but it came from Black women

• Kelly: TV isn't real; we are real...drag lg is gay lg

Performer	Exp.	Age	EthID	GenID	
Kelly	19	41	Caucasian	Male	
Foxxi	10	31	African American	female	
Gizele	9	30	Black	Cis-Male	
Rae	2	30	Black/ AA	Transgender	
Guin	< 1	25	Caucasian	Transgender Woman	
Alexander	>1	22	White	Male	



Performer	Exp.	Age	EthID	GenID	
Kelly	19	41	Caucasian	Male	
Foxxi	10	31	African American	female	
Gizele	9	30	Black	Cis-Male	
Rae	2	30	Black/ AA	Transgender	
Guin	< 1	25	Caucasian	Transgender Woman	
Alexander	>1	22	White	Male	

DISCOURSE USES OF BITCH

Discourse Marker:

Foxxi: you know **bitch**, I couldn't lip sync to save my life **bitch**, if RuPaul's-- if that show was back then **bitch** I sure would have left cause **bitch** I couldn't, lip sync for shit

Gizele: I can do it in so many ways, you just learned the news, <Q ((gasps)) bi:tch Q>

DISCOURSE USES OF BITCH

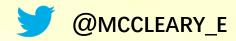
	Frequency of bitch							
Performer	wordcount	total	D-M	VOC	NOM	ACC /DAT	N/A	
Kelly	2693	3	_	-	2	-	1	
Foxxi	7587	99	49	14	13	2/1	20	
Gizele	3503	28	15	5	3	3	2	
Rae	1014	3	_	1	1	1	_	
Guin	6020	18	8	6	3		1	
Alexander	1477	4	_	3	_	1	_	

CONCLUSIONS: QUEERING LANGUAGE SCIENCE

- Nonlinguists' regard for language is a crucial part of the study of language variation and change
 - 3rd wave sociolinguistic interest in the motivation behind variation and change
- Language regard is best studied when situated within the study of language and identity
- Queer Folk Linguistics (QFL) situates language regard within the study of intersectional identity
 - Requires sociocultural, queer, raciolinguistic, and trans linguistic perspectives
 - Requires sensitivity and intersectional approaches to the data (especially ethnographic work)
- QFL can inform where to observe and study linguistic phenomena
- QFL here demonstrates the importance of community/relational roles as a component of identity
- This project demonstrates the complexity of place as it intersects with other complex identity components

SELECTED REFERENCES; THANK YOU! BLACK LIVES MATTER

BRYCE.E.MCCLEARY@GMAIL.COM



Alim, H.S., Rickford, J., & Ball, A. (Eds.). (2016). Raciolinguistics: How language shapes our ideas about race. New York: Oxford University Press.

Barrett, R. (1999). Indexing polyphonous identity in the speech of African-American drag queens. In Reinventing identities, 313-330. M. Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, and L. A. Sutton eds. Oxford University Press.

Barrett, R. (2017). From drag queens to leathermen: Language, gender, and gay male subcultures. Oxford Studies in Language and Gender, New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Charity Hudley, A.H. (2017). Language and racialization. In Ofelia García, Nelson Flores, & Massamiliano Spotti (eds.). The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society. Oxford University Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination. Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. University of Chicago Legal Form. (1)8.

Crenshaw, K. (1994). Mapping the margins: Intersectioality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In Martha Albertson Fineman, Rixanne Mykitiuk, (eds.), The Public Nature of Private Violence. New York: Routledge, 93-118.

Hoenigswald, H. (1966) A proposal for the study of folk-linguistics. In William Bright (ed.) Sociolinguistics. The Hague: Mouton, 16--26.

Jaffe, A.(Ed), (2009). Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives, Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics. Oxford University Press, New York, 2009.

Levon, E. (2015). Integrating Intersectionality in Language, Gender, and Sexuality Research. Language and Linguistics Compass, 9(7), 295-308.

Levon, E. (2016). Conflicted selves: Language, religion, and same-sex desire in Israel. In Language, sexuality, and power: Studies in intersectional sociolinguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCleary, B. (2016). Between a rock and a hard place: Investigating gay men, Oklahoma dialectology, and language ideology (master's thesis). Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

McCleary, B. (2019). Gay and Oklahoma folk linguistic models: (In)compatible? Paper presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Conference on Linguistics, Boca Ratón, FL.

Niedzielski, N. & Presotn. D. (2003). Folk linguistics. New York: Mouton dw Gruyter.

Preston, D. (2019). How to trick respondents into revealing implicit attitudes – talk to them. Linguistics Vanguard, 5(s1).

Preston, D. (1996) Whaddayaknow?: The modes of folk linguistic awareness, Language Awareness, 5:1, 40-74.

Rosa, J. (2019). Looking like a language, sounding like a race: Raciolinguistic ideologies and the learning of Latinidad (Oxford studies in the anthropology of language). NEW YORK: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Sullivan, N. (2003). A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory. Edinburgh University Press.

Zimman, L. (2017b). Gender as stylistic bricolage: Transmasculine voices and the relationship between fundamental frequency and /s/. 46(3), 339-370.