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# LANGUAGE, GENDER, AND POWER IN FRATERNITY MEN'S DISCOURSE

# **VOLUME ONE OF TWO**

A Dissertation
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Georgetown University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

Ву

Scott Fabius Kiesling, M.S.

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# GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES



The doctoral dissertation/master/authorize of Scott Fab	oius Kiesling entitled
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Copyright © 1996 by Scott Fabius Kiesling All Rights Reserved LANGUAGE, GENDER, AND POWER IN FRATERNITY MEN'S DISCOURSE

Scott Fabius Kiesling, M.S.

Mentor: Ralph Fasold, Ph.D.

#### **ABSTRACT**

In language and gender research, it has been noted that the fact that men hold power in society should be an important consideration when analyzing the differences between women's and men's language. But it has not been shown exactly how the power of men affects their speech. This study examines how members of a community of men use language, and the role of power in that language use. I investigate how the member's identities as men affect their language use and how they actively employ language to create identities.

All the men create powerful identities through language using the same general process; however, the specific linguistic manifestation of power differs from speaker to speaker, situation to situation, and even moment to moment. The general sociolinguistic process the men use to create powerful identities is alignment role indexing: They index alignment roles — cultural models, community positions, and discursive stances — understood to be powerful (i.e.,

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capable of affecting other people's actions through social alignment) by using linguistic forms and strategies identified with these models, positions, and stances.

The community studied is an undergraduate fraternity (an all-male social club) at a university in the United States. The fraternity men construct powerful identities because the ideology of their community organizes the world into competitive hierarchies. Power for the men is therefore a position at the top of a hierarchically organized social alignment. This local ideology reflects the ideology of the larger culture—hegemonic masculinity—which values some kinds of identities more than others. Men's power is thus a position high in a hierarchical alignment; however, men identify with models, positions and stances in different hierarchies, leading them to construct different kinds of powerful identities.

I suggest how power works in the men's language in discourse, and how the same processes lead to variation patterns in their language-use system. Most importantly, variants have general, abstract meanings when considered globally; it is only when used in concert with other linguistic forms and strategies, and other social signaling systems, that specific meanings become clear.

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Georgetown students will miss his straightforward comments ("why are you telling me this?"), but I'm sure he'll fit in very well in Montana. All three members, while expressing skepticism at important points along the way, allowed me to develop in my own way as a linguist, and to take my research in the direction I thought it needed to go. This combination of freedom and skepticism is among their greatest talents as teachers, and I am grateful for it.

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# CHAPTER ONE:

# STUDYING MEN IN LANGUAGE AND GENDER

#### 1. Introduction

In language and gender research, it has been noted that the fact that men hold power in society should be an important consideration when analyzing the differences between women's and men's language. In fact, 'women's language' has been called 'powerless,' implying that 'men's language' is 'powerful.' But it has not been shown exactly how the power of men affects their speech. This study examines how members of a community of men use language, and the role of power in that language use. I investigate how the members' identities as men affect their language use and how they actively employ language to create identities.

All the men create powerful identities through language using the same general process; however, the specific linguistic manifestation of power differs from speaker to speaker, situation to situation, and even moment to moment. The general sociolinguistic process the men use to create powerful identities is alignment role indexing: They index alignment roles — cultural models, community positions, and discourse alignments — understood to be powerful (i.e., capable of affecting other people's actions through social alignment) by using

linguistic forms and strategies identified with these models, positions, and alignments. The alignment roles the men index are both presupposed and creative: they follow certain constraints on their linguistic behavior, but at the same time try to create unique identities for themselves.

The community studied is an undergraduate fraternity at a university in the United States. Fraternities are all-male social clubs that are common on college campuses in the U.S. The fraternity men construct powerful identities because the ideology of their community organizes the world into competitive hierarchies that value the strong, skilled, smart, and wealthy. Power, ideally, for the men is therefore a position at the top of a hierarchically organized social alignment. This local ideology reflects the ideology of the larger culture—hegemonic masculinity—which values some kinds of identities more than others. In this ideology, the men believe they must stay at the top of the hierarchy of identities — or at least as high in the hierarchy as possible given the constraints of ability and ascribed position. Men's power is thus a position high in a hierarchical alignment; however, men identify with models, positions and stances in different hierarchies, leading them to construct different kinds of powerful identities.

I suggest that the men index different alignment roles through language at both the local and the global levels of analysis. "Alignment role" is the general term I use for three similar social constructions: cultural models, community positions, and discursive stances. Alignment roles are not static constructs, but remade in the everyday practice of creating alignments in discourse that reproduce and create community positions and cultural models. At the local level, men use linguistic forms and strategies in concert with context to index different alignment roles in their identities. They create stances by employing linguistic devices such as pronoun use, discourse markers, boasting, inexpressiveness, and aggravated speech. These stances in turn index community positions and cultural models. Alignment roles (stances, positions, and models) may also be indexed directly; as men who are identified with certain alignment roles repeatedly use linguistic devices, these devices become metaphorically associated with that alignment role. On the global level, I explain the men's differing use of the 'non-standard' alveolar variant of the (ING) variable by showing that some of the alignment roles and speech events indexed by this variant draw on a powerful cultural model that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I define context broadly to include other linguistic forms and strategies in addition to other types of context such as activity type.

is not based in socioeconomic prestige, but on a physically powerful model associated with working-class men. Men use the non-standard variant to evoke different aspects of this cultural model. I show that men who use the standard variant create alignment roles associated with intellectually- or economically powerful cultural models, the other dominant cultural male archetype identified by research on men's identities. Most importantly, no variant or strategy has a specific meaning until it is used in context—until speaker and hearer attach meanings in use.

I thus suggest how power works in the men's language in discourse, and also how the same processes lead to larger variation patterns in their language-use system. Most importantly, I show that variants have general, abstract meanings when considered globally; it is only when used in concert with other linguistic forms and strategies, and other social signaling systems, that specific meanings become clear. These meanings may not be attached to the variant in all cases, because language internal constraints also affect the use of the variant. Thus, in all cases of the use of the variant, it has *potential* social meanings (derived from an abstract meaning), which must be made salient by context of all kinds.

This study also attempts to bridge a methodological gap between quantitative and qualitative methods for investigating the interaction between language and society. Each approach is used to inform the weaknesses of the other. Quantitative approaches tend to identify only a small piece of language and its context as salient for investigation. Qualitative (discourse analytic) methods are blind to the systemic effects that influence language when only a small sample is considered. But the systemic investigation of aspects of language across contexts is the strong suit of quantitative analyses, and qualitative methods are unmatched for showing the richness of the interactions of language forms and strategies (and their multifunctionality) as people actually experience them. A combination of the two methodologies thus produces an analysis of language use that takes into account both its systemic and creative aspects.

The fraternity is an ideal institution for studying language, especially gender-specific language: It is a community of dense, multiplex networks (in Milroy's 1980, 1987 sense), that has a fairly homogeneous membership in terms of class and ethnicity, in addition to gender. Moreover, the membership of the community is continually changing, as younger men arrive and older members graduate. Thus, it is well-suited to investigating the transmission of community-specific language

practices. This all-male community embodies with its structures and practices the ordering of identities present in hegemonic masculinity: members may only be men, and they must be men selected by the fraternity as "worthy." Within the fraternity, older members are more valued than younger members. In speech and practice, men show that they view the world as one where identities are ordered, dominant and subordinate. Therefore, the motivation for the men to create powerful identities in interaction is rooted in the social structure of their community, which in turn reflects the values of the larger culture in which it is embedded.

The plan of the study is as follows. In the next two sections of this chapter, I focus on the linguistic approaches that relate to the research question; I demonstrate the need for the study through reviews and syntheses of the literature on language and society and language and gender. These sections also connect the study to the intellectual traditions I follow in my analyses. In chapter two, I build the sociological foundation of my analysis through a review of the literature on men's identities and power, and articulate the perspectives I take in both these areas. The fraternity setting and its ideologies are explicated in chapter three. The qualitative analysis of how the men create powerful identities in discourse makes

up chapter four. Chapter five contains a variation study of the fraternity community, and explains the results of this study through the men's discourse and their differing identity constructions shown in that discourse. Chapter six summarizes the study and discusses implications and further directions for research.

# 1.1 Language and Society

There exist many traditions of scholarship that require researchers to investigate both language and the society within which it is used: variation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, literary theory, anthropological linguistics, conversation analysis, communications, and the ethnography of communication. These fields vary in their goals, methods, and objects of study. The analyses in this dissertation have elements of all of the above fields. The two fields that I draw from most heavily, however, are variation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics (which in turn include elements of other fields). In the first section of this chapter, then, I review the important background literature in these two fields and discuss their differences and how they might be reconciled.

## 1.1.1 Variation analysis

My analysis in chapter five draws from, and contributes to, the analysis and explanation of variation in language, sometimes called Labovian sociolinguistics. This type of sociolinguistics is primarily concerned with explaining how language variation contributes to language change, and what the properties of variation can tell us about a theory of language. It takes as a central analytical unit the variable: two or more differing forms that "mean the same thing," in the more narrow denotational or logical sense of 'meaning.' The goal is to find what linguistic and social factors condition the use of each variant in a regular, patterned manner. Social factors in linguistics have generally been conceived of as broad, 'objective' categories such as sex, age, class, and ethnicity. In the almost thirty years of variationist work, some regular patterns have begun to emerge, such as those noted below for sex.<sup>2</sup> However, because of the aggregation of speakers for statistical analyses, the actual meanings of one variant and another (that is what one variant might signal about the speaker), and the way those meanings are put to use in interaction, has not been a main concern. Patterns have usually been explained by appealing to prestige, defined as language that is more standard, more often used

by the upper classes, and evaluated by speakers as "better" (even speakers who use largely non-standard variants).<sup>3</sup> Variationists have also been concerned with finding the 'vernacular,' or the most 'natural' speech. Deviations from this vernacular were seen as falling on a one-dimensional continuum of style, characterized as casual at one pole and careful at the other (but see Bell 1984, Rickford and McNair-Knox 1993 for alternate views).

Recently, however, variation researchers have begun to consider what variants mean to speakers in a social sense. There has been a move away from understanding variables only in terms of socioeconomic class and speakers as automatons, and towards understanding variables more in terms of community-based values and identities. More importantly, researchers are beginning to suggest that variables are creatively used by speakers to create social meanings that help build a speakers identity. For example, The California Style Collective (1993) led by Penelope Eckert, shows how one speaker draws on various resources—friends, the media, acquaintances—to put together her unique style. She brings together

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>I review variation literature focusing on sex as an independent variable in section 2.2 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> My use of the terms *standard* and *non-standard* here is intentionally underdefined, as it is not clear from the many studies that use this term whether it is equivalent to the prestigious variety of language as defined by a speech community, or equivalent to the written grammar and dictionary pronunciations and usages. I will use it to mean the former when the two are not the same.

pieces of other identities she encounters and adopts them as her own, but she does not adopt the entire identity from all these sources. Eckert's (1989a,b) work in a Detroit area high school has also shown that the social meaning of variables is best understood by taking into account the speakers' perceptions of groups with whom they might identify. Thus, the variables Eckert studied were sensitive to the social categories constructed by the students (the Jocks and the Burnouts) and the networks with which they identified. More importantly, language played a different role for men and women vis-a-vis these two groups; men did not differentiate themselves using language, while women did. Along similar lines, Bucholtz (1993) has shown how a group of African-American women use variable features of African-American English strategically in discourse to align themselves with the African-American community at key points in a conversation. Finally, McElhinny (1993) shows a similar need for a move away from thinking about variables as automatic reactions to places in a social grid. In her work on women in the Pittsburgh police force, she finds a complex interaction among sex, ethnicity, age, and policing styles. She shows that the 'meanings' of the local Pittsburgh variables and African-American English variables she studied cannot be understood simply by placing these various social factors on a grid; rather, they are best understood within the context of individual officers' identities, and their orientation to these factors.

Thus, in the view that is emerging from these researchers, variables do not carry one essential meaning, but general, abstract meanings and connections with groups, which become more specific when deployed in conversation. Actual uses of variants thus gain specific meaning through interaction with the linguistic and situational context. One of the clearest examples of this type of contingent social meaning is McLemore's (1991) study of intonation in a Texas sorority. Researchers in intonation (e.g. Ladd 1983, Bolinger 1986) had disagreed over the types of things that intonational patterns coded in language. Some argued that these patterns must perform a discourse function, while others maintained that they showed a speaker's emotion. McLemore showed that a pattern can have an abstract iconic meaning (such as connection in the case phrase-final rising intonation) which can have a meaning at both the interactional level—connection to interlocutors—or a discourse level—connection between clauses. Intonation is a type of variation, because a sentence can be said with two different intonation patterns, but the (logico-semantic) meaning will not change. Thus, the meaning of a variant can be seen as having an abstract meaning when considered apart from

context, but may have several different specific meanings when actually used in conversation.

Following this tradition, I analyze the men's general and strategic use of a variable that has been well-studied and has almost universally shown sex differences. This variable is the ING variable, with its variants in and ing, as in eatin' and eating, respectively (I refer to the former variant as N, the latter as G)

As summarized in Wald and Shopen (1985), the frequency of the N variant has been found to be higher in casual than careful speech, higher in progressives and participles than in gerunds, higher among male speakers than female speakers, and higher among working class speakers than middle-class speakers (Fischer 1959, Houston 1985, Labov 1972b, Shopen 1978, Trudgill 1974). It is this regularity of identification with males that is important to my study. It appears that this variable is somehow identified as 'male' in several independent studies. Fischer (1959), in what is the first study of a sociolinguistic variable, found that boys in a New England School use more N than girls. Moreover, he found that 'typical' boys used more N than 'model' boys, who were more likely to behave and get good grades in school. Trudgill (1972), moreover, found that would under-report their use of 'standard' variants in a self-report test. He cited these results as evidence

speculated that this "covert prestige" is related to vernacular variants being associated with people who are 'masculine' and 'tough'. This well-studied variable is thus ideal for investigating how different linguistic resources are used in concert to create an identity, and how variants have different social meanings when combined with other linguistic resources and situations.

# 1.1.2 Interactional sociolinguistics

In this section I outline the principles underlying interactional sociolinguistic approach to discourse analysis. The first insight important to my analysis is the idea that small differences in the way an utterance is produced can have large implications as to what it means (meaning here includes not just sense, reference and logical relations, but social implications as well). Thus, Gumperz (1982) analyzes inter-ethnic discourse to show that contextualization cues such as prosody, intonation, and rhythm serve to contextualize an utterance and indicate whether it is meant politely, sarcastically, friendly, etc. Tannen (1984) provides an extended study of a conversation between Americans of different backgrounds, showing that these cues are used as metamessages to create meanings. She identifies certain cues that cluster together to form a conversational style. Speakers

with similar conversational styles have less trouble building involvement, in conversation, than those speakers whose styles are divergent. Thus, she shows that contextualization cues do not have the same metamessage for speakers of different conversational styles.

This ambiguity of the relationship of a linguistic strategy to social meaning is a central idea of interactional sociolinguistics. One of the most important insights of this tradition is that meaning comes not simply from the mouth of the speaker to be decoded by the listener, but that meanings are jointly produced and negotiated in the ongoing discourse. Thus, Duranti (1986:240) notes:

Somoans [with whom Duranti did extensive fieldwork] often seem to ignore the speaker's alleged intentions and concentrate instead on the consequences of someone's words. Rather than going back to speculate on what someone 'meant to say' (a phrase that cannot be translated into Samoan), participants in the speech event rely on the dynamics between the speaker's words and the ensuing circumstances (audience's response included) to assign interpretation. . . . Meaning is collectively defined on the basis of recognized (and sometimes restated) social relationships.

Similarly, Kochman (1986) found that speaker ambiguity was valued in African-American verbal dueling. In these speech genres (e.g., sounding, woofing, signifying) the first speaker tries to place the next speaker in a position to decide

whether the first speaker's utterance was, for example, a real insult or a ritual one. Ideally, the insult does not say anything about the speaker's intention; the interactional significance of the insult is left to the next speaker (and ideally, he or she will pass that ambiguity on to the next turn).

Thus, the interactional meaning of forms and strategies are not automatic applications of rules by speakers, but are creative endeavors that emerge in each moment of interaction. This property of discourse will be central to my analysis of the men's 'powerful' use of language, because it suggests that linguistic forms and strategies can not have an essentially powerful meaning, but that strategies that are powerful for some may not be powerful for others, and that whether or not a form is powerful depends on the reaction of the interlocutors and the discourse context preceding it.

Another important construct for my analysis is the speech activity (Hymes 1974), or activity type (Levinson 1992), similar to the term frame (Bateson 1972, Goffman 1974, Frake 1972). Tannen (1979), following Ross (1975), refers to these theoretical constructs as *structures of expectation*—"an expectation about the world, based on prior experience, against which new experiences are measured and interpreted (1979:140)." Thus, an activity type is what the interactants think

they are doing, and is defined by Levinson (1992:69) as "any culturally recognized activity." It includes the setting, goals of the interactants, and the social relationships between the interactants. But there are no fixed or finite sets of activity types, nor are the 'rules' or elements of an activity type fixed. Within a community of practice, however, certain activity types recur, some even developing a ritualized structure, as the meetings do in the fraternity. Other activity types, such as "rushing" in the fraternity, are not as strictly ritualized, but speakers nevertheless develop strategies to use in these activity types. Activity types will be central in both my qualitative and quantitative analyses. In the former, activity types will provide part of the context through which alignment roles are indexed. In the latter, activity types will be used in place of the Labovian notion of style described above.

Interactional sociolinguistics draws heavily on the work of Erving Goffman (1959, 1963, 1974, 1977, 1981). Goffman was a keen observer of social life, who focused on how people find meaning and structure in everyday life. Most relevant for my analysis is Goffman's (1981) notion of footing: the alignments people take to themselves, others, and their talk in an interaction. Goffman's example of a footing shift shows President Nixon remarking on a woman reporter's dress, who

then pirouettes for him. Goffman (1981:156) notes that "when [she] pirouetted for the president, she was parenthesizing within her journalistic stance another stance, that of a woman receiving comments on her appearance." Tannen and Wallat (1982) show how a pediatrician must shift footings repeatedly in a consultation, first consulting with the mother, then using simplified speech with the child. In addition, the consultation was videotaped for training, so the pediatrician must also take a professional footing for her audience of trainees. Footings are similar to the discursive stances that the men index through their language, and at times may be the same, although the discursive stances are a special kind of footing.

A final strand running through interactional sociolinguistics comes from multiple sources, including literary criticism, linguistic anthropology, and critical discourse analysis. This view of language sees linguistic forms not as isolated arbitrary signs with a single simple referent, but as indexing a host of concomitant meanings through previous uses. This notion is due largely to the Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin (see Bakhtin 1981), who understands language to be "multivoiced," or "heteroglossic," by which he means that each utterance has a history of related utterances by other speakers at other times and places. Moreover, speakers bring different histories of experience to linguistic forms. Thus, in his work on

meaning in the novel, readers bring new histories to their reading of a novel, and thus enter into a metaphorical dialogue with the author to create meanings in the text. Applied to conversation, speakers and hearers enter into a 'meta-dialogue' about the meanings arising out of the discourse. Bakhtin's perspective this prefigures the understanding of interactional meanings as co-constructed discussed above. For Bakhtin, forms and words are not historically isolated, but have been used in situations that lead interlocutors to recall those previous interactions, and roles and relationships that go with them. Thus, a linguistic form or strategy could be used to evoke a previous activity type, speaker role, or even a cultural model.

The term *indexing* is used in this way most clearly by Ochs, in her article on indexing gender (Ochs 1992). In that article she shows that linguistic forms are not necessarily directly associated with gender, but may be indexed with other roles that tend to be culturally gender specific, such as mothering and fathering. She shows that conceptions of 'femininity' in the middle-class white culture in the United States is indexed through a view of the mother as a servant to the child. 'Mothering' can be seen as a role; I extend this analysis to alignment roles, and to the dominant cultural models for men, derived largely from the workplace. Men have more than one cultural model, or archetype, available because there is more

than one culturally stereotypical workplace role for a man. Silverstein (1974) also discusses how indexing works. He makes a useful distinction between indexes that are presupposing and those that are creative. Presupposing indexes are indexes that are expected to be used by a speaker. For example, in a language that contains morphology for the gender of the speaker, it is presupposed that a man will use masculine morphology. This morphology can be used creatively to change the situation, so that a marker of deference can create that deference even if there was none presupposed. Indexing, in addition to dialogism and heteroglossia, will be the basis for my analysis of how the men use language to evoke powerful alignment roles.

In sum, the main facets of interactional sociolinguistics are the indeterminacy but importance of the meaning (in a social sense) of linguistic forms and strategies, the concepts of speech activity and footing, and indexing, dialogism, and heteroglossia. In addition, interactional sociolinguists are concerned how context and discourse interact. Thus, interactional sociolinguistic analyses recognize the situated nature of all discourse, such that each part of discourse (phonology,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Silverstein also makes a distinction between referential and nonreferential indexes. Referential indexes refer to, for example, pronominals and deictics, while nonreferential indexes refer to such things as social relationships (e.g., alignments, positions, and models).

syntax, intonation, kinesics, rhythm, setting, participants) must be considered with the other parts in order to truly understand its interactional meaning.

## 1.1.3 Toward an integrated view of language and society

Variation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics thus begin with different objectives in studying the interaction between language and society, and different ideological perspectives on language. Variation is primarily concerned with language change and the structure of language (language traditionally defined in phonological and sometimes syntactic terms, rarely in discourse terms). Interactional sociolinguistics is concerned with the effect that language differences have on how humans experience their interactions with one another (with language traditionally defined in broad discourse terms, including as much context as possible). The method of analysis for variation is based on an aggregated body of recorded language from multiple speakers in a speech community to find patterns, while interactional sociolinguistics analyzes smaller amounts of speech, often single conversations, to find specific uses of linguistic forms and strategies. The methods of variation analysis limit the amount of context that can be taken into account, while interactional sociolinguistics is limited in that it must (ideally) take anything and everything into account.

Although the two approaches to the study of language and society may seem basically irreconcilable, they are really in fact two sides of the same coin, since it is the individual choices made by speakers that create statistical patterns, and speakers must have knowledge of these statistical patterns when making the individual choices in a conversation (see Guy 1995; these patterns might be considered part of the context, or the 'multiple voices' that come with every linguistic utterance). Indeed, one issue that continues to elude variationists is the mechanism by which language changes begin; similarly, interactional sociolinguists have found it difficult to discover the constraints that lead to an individual choice in a conversation (particularly grammatical and phonological differences).

I thus attempt to use one approach to aid the other, in order that we discover the patterned creativity that language users exhibit. With variation, we can learn more about the patterns that speakers draw on when making creative choices in discourse; with interactional sociolinguistics, we can learn more about the actual individual choices speakers make, and how they fit into the polyphonic (and polymodal) realities of conversation.

## 1.2 Language and Gender

In this section, I present a general review of the historical background in language and gender as well as some of the more recent advances. Next, I review some of the important differences researchers have found among men and women. Finally, I review several studies that specifically focus on men's use of unmitigated language.

### 1.2.1 General review

The first division that I make in the literature is based on methodology. I differentiate between studies from variationist sociolinguistics and those from other areas, including interactional sociolinguistics and women's studies. I refer to the former as language and sex, and the latter, language and gender. I make this distinction because of a fundamental difference in the way these studies treat the social category they are studying. Traditional variation studies look at possible correlations between a linguistic variable and the dichotomized biological categories 'male' and 'female.' Recent language and gender studies, however, treat gender as a social category, one that is more fluid and less dichotomous.

Research in language and sex has as its goal an explanation of language change and the ways that society influences these changes. Linguists working in the variationist tradition have discovered what Labov (1990) calls two 'principles.'

First, women tend to lead new changes, and second, they tend to use fewer of the older, more stigmatized changes than men. Various explanations have been proposed for these patterns, from the primary role of women in child care to their role in the political economy. Trudgill (1972) focuses on the role of men in this pattern, noting that they see the vernacular as more prestigious ('covert prestige').

Eckert (1989a) has recently moved away from the language and sex paradigm and combined it with the language and gender viewpoint to study variation. In her study of a Detroit high school, she shows how different males and females use phonological variants strategically to construct their identity. Thus, she moves from an aggregate picture of language use to one that can tell us more about the reasons people use certain variants. Eckert found that students in the high school identify with one of two groups, *Jocks* or *Burnouts*, and that these groups used local variants in a significantly different way. However, the difference among girls was much greater than that among boys. Eckert explained this difference in terms of the kinds of power the men and women had access to. She noted that the boys built status, or power, through school achievements such as sports, whereas the girls did not. The girls, then, were using language symbolically, whereas the boys

had no need to. Thus, Eckert shows how local identities and social structures may affect the sex pattern, and how power may play a major role in motivating that pattern.

The study of language and sex grew out of the study of language change and variation in general, and the fact that sex differences seemed to play an important role in the ways language change moved through a community. Although it was the focus of the earliest study of a variable (Fischer's 1958), the original interest in the sex pattern in Labovian sociolinguistics was secondary to the study of language change and variation. What I am calling studies of language and gender, however, began with the explicit purpose of finding differences between men and women. This work began as women's studies was becoming a discipline. Thus, early work in language and gender sought to explore the extent to which language plays a role in the subordination of women in the society.

The publication of a flurry of books and articles in the early seventies is usually seen as the beginning of the approach I refer to as language and gender.

But it is Robin Lakoff's (1975) monograph Language and Woman's Place (also published as an article in 1973) that has had a lasting impact in the field. Lakoff made numerous claims that researchers are still investigating and about which they

are still debating. In this work, Lakoff claimed that there existed a 'women's language' which had the effect of submerging a woman's personal identity. While she claimed that women's language included both language use by women and language used about women, it was on the former that researchers keyed. The features of women's language included a group of lexical differences, such as a more elaborated set of color terms, weaker expletives, the greater use of tag questions, and the use of question intonation with indicatives. Although Lakoff had noted that she was identifying general tendencies that were sensitive to context, these claims sent researchers out to investigate whether the features identified by Lakoff are indeed used more by women than men. In addition, Lakoff's claims that language use patterns reflect and/or create inequality between men and women were also taken up by many researchers.

One study in this tradition is that done by West and Zimmerman (1983), who recorded men and women in an experimental setting and counted interruptions, finding that men interrupt women more than women interrupt men. Moreover, they argue that through interruption men exert dominance. This study has been criticized on a number of grounds, one of the most serious being that the connection between interruption and dominance is assumed, not proven, as

discussed by Tannen (1989). In addition, Murray (1985) points out problems with operationally defining an interruption, mainly because there are so many factors that go into determining speaking rights. Tannen (1983) brings up similar concerns, drawing on her work on conversational style (Tannen 1984) to show that all speakers do not share a definition of interruption, that it cannot be identified on mechanistic grounds, and thus an experiment such as West and Zimmerman's will lack in reliability. Finally, a recent survey of studies using various methodologies questions whether West and Zimmerman's findings can be generalized. James and Clarke (1993) review studies appearing between 1965 and 1991 and find that "most research has found no significant difference between the genders in number of interruptions initiated, in either in cross-sex or same-sex interaction (1993:231)."

Rather than looking for sex differences in the use of a linguistic feature, then making a connection between this feature and male dominance, Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990) draw on the cross-cultural communication model of Gumperz to analyze differences in men's and women's speech. In this approach,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The problem that tends to arise with these studies is in the definition of "interruption." To West and Zimmerman's credit, they provided a very careful and operationalized definition. Their findings

men and women are seen as acquiring language in somewhat different cultures, and thus learning different conversational styles (as elaborated for regional and ethnic groups by Tannen 1984).

Maltz and Borker (1982) suggest that "women and men have different cultural rules for friendly conversation and that these rules come into conflict when women and men attempt to talk to each other as friends and equals in conversation (1982:212)." They note that boys and girls grow up in largely separate, gender specific peer-groups. The "world of boys" is organized into hierarchies, and "relative status in this ever-fluctuating hierarchy is the main thing that boys learn to manipulate in their interactions with peers (1982:207)." The "world of girls," however, "play is cooperative and activities are usually organized in non-competitive ways (1982: 205)." In carrying this over to adults, Maltz and Borker suggest that women relationships and support are the focus of women's conversations, while men's conversations focus on competition. Men and women thus differ in how they use and interpret linguistic strategies, such as the use of questions, conventions for connecting utterances, interpretations of verbal

should not be dismissed entirely; I wish only to caution against the method of assuming that something like interruption means a fixed thing, such as "dominance."

aggressiveness, topic flow and shift, and problem sharing and advice giving.

Tannen (1990) provides a longer synthesis of language and gender from this socalled difference approach. While Tannen and others have been criticized for
supposedly denying male dominance, this approach sees dominance as one of a
complex set of relationships between language and society. In other words, the
cultural approach does not deny dominance, nor does it try to explain every
difference in terms of dominance. In fact, Tannen (1993a) has tried to move the
field away from this dichotomy:

Those who take the "cultural" view of gender differences . . . do not deny the existence of dominance relations in general or the dominance of women by men in particular. Likewise, recognizing that men dominate women in our culture does not preclude the existence of patterns of communication that tend to typify women and men. What is needed . . . is a better understanding of the complex relationship between the cultural patterning of linguistic behavior and that of gender relations. (1993a:5)

What Tannen does deny, however, is that one can "locate the source of domination, or of any interpersonal intention or effect, in linguistic strategies such as interruption, volubility, silence, and topic raising, as has been claimed. . . .

[T]he "true" intention or motive of any utterance cannot be determined from examination of linguistic form alone (1993:166)."

One study that shows this particularly well is Cynthia McLemore's (1991) study of intonation in a Texas sorority. As discussed earlier, she finds that certain intonation contours do have a similar general meaning across utterances, but that the meaning of a specific use of a contour is bound to the context, especially by the setting (whether or not the participants are all women) and the power of the speaker. When used when men are present, McLemore's speakers interpreted high-rise intonation as 'weak,' whereas it was acceptable in all-female meetings. Within these meetings, younger members, who had less power, were seen as 'weak' if they used the intonation, whereas the intonation contour was interpreted positively when used by the sorority president.

Fortunately, in my view, the field now seems to be moving away from the difference/dominance dichotomy. In fact, one of the trends in the field is to move away from simple dichotomies such as male/female and heterosexual/homosexual. More recent work in the field is focusing on how language is used to construct gender and other parts of identity. Most importantly, researchers are beginning to find language differences within sex groups that inform our understanding of differences across groups. In this view, analyses are not limited to female-male; they also take into account smaller constructs that are more relevant to speakers

who are using the language than abstract categories. Goodwin (1990) focuses on activity types and alignments to show ways in which African-American boys and girls in Philadelphia manage their play activity. Instead of finding simple dichotomies, she finds subtle differences between the groups, within groups, and across different activity types. Similarly, McElhinney (1993) studied language use among male, female, African- and European-American officers in a Pittsburgh police station. She found that while engaged in the same activity -- policing -male and female officers displayed a difference in the type of policing they preferred, which affected their speech in this activity. Those officers who approached policing in a similar way, however, used similar strategies regardless of their sex (although more females than males did prefer one style of policing). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have called for a focus on communities of practice as a unit of analysis. This community is defined by social engagement, and is generally more local than the usual conception of speech community.

Most recently, Tannen (1994) has discussed gender differences in talk at work in terms of sex-class-linked behavior (following Goffman's (1977) terminology), rather than sex-linked:

[C]ertain behaviors in certain cultures are more likely to be associated with members of the "class" of females or males,

but people come to regard such behaviors as associated not with the "class" but rather with each individual who is a member of it (Tannen 1994: 713).

Gendered language should thus be thought of as a display ("a performance someone is accomplishing") rather than identity ("a reflection of the individual's nature.6 Tannen shows how speakers frame their interactions as a matter of display, and that these different framings and displays are sex-class-linked. Framings are associated with the two intersecting continua status and connection (described above for Tannen 1993), and are in this way linked to gender classes. This study represents a significant theoretical move, which echoes in my analysis. Namely, that the basic work of identity (as I use it) is done in conversation, but that this identity work is interpreted within a cultural landscape of social classes (sex/gender, socioeconomic class, ethnicity, profession, etc.).

I build on these recent lines of research, by delving more deeply into a male community of practice to discover how men use language, situated in a community of practice and activity types, to create 'powerful' identities. Thus, I investigate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Note that Tannen's use of "identity" here is quite different from my use of the term. In fact, my definition of the term essentially states that identities are made up of displays.

closely one community of practice in men's "culture," and the values, ideologies, and alignment roles that the men draw on to create their identities.

## 1.2.2 Gender differences in speech

In this section, I consider more closely studies of men and women in interaction. These studies provide more evidence for the kind of linguistic strategies outlined by Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990), in which men seem to orient themselves to creating a hierarchy and value competition in conversation.

Aries (1976) studied conversation between groups of six undergraduates. These groups, which were all male, all female, or mixed, consisted of strangers "getting to know one another." Aries looked at the "patterning of initiating and receiving interaction (1976:9)," (i.e., the organization of the group), and the content of the conversations. Organizationally, she found that the same males always spoke the most across group meetings, signifying a more stable hierarchy than in the female groups, in which one speaker did not dominate. Males also talked to the group as a whole more than females did. When she looked at the content of the males' speech, she found evidence of ritual competition (references to joking, tricks, teasing, victim and victimizer), although in this case these acts were probably

metaphorical competition for the dominance order mentioned above. Aries remarks that the insults, joking, and competitiveness are not really competitive, but bonding. As Aries states, "males acknowledge warmth and friendship in the form of joking and laughter (1976:11)."

Goodwin (1980) showed that some of the syntax used by males showed an emphasis on power and dominance, and that social hierarchy is also negotiated through discourse structures. She focused on one speech act - directives - and looked for differences in how African American boys and girls, ages 8-13, construct and respond to them. She found that boys' directives generally involved an implied hierarchical statement which recognized an inherent opposition between the speaker and the responder. She also found that the type of directive and response - mitigating or aggravated (as described in Labov and Fanshel 1977) - was used to negotiate and reflect social hierarchy. Sheldon (1990) analyzes two disputes by three-to-five-year-old children. One dispute was between a group of girls, the other, a group of boys. She found that while there were many similarities in the way the conflicts are negotiated, boys tended to compete for a singular place in a hierarchy, while the girls focused on their relationships with each other. I also found that men use unmitigated, even aggravated speech to build solidarity

(Kiesling 1993). In an analysis of a conversation at a fraternity, I show that men use competitive forms such as insults, boasts and commands to build solidarity, while at the same time competing for status.

Eckert (1990) only discusses the speech of adolescent females, but her study is relevant to my research in that the phenomenon which she discusses ('girl talk') is a mirror image of the competitive bonding we see in men's speech. Eckert shows that girl talk can be a competitive speech event in which females use cooperative strategies to gain status through the negotiation of norms and the development and display of social connections and personal influence. Thus, while she found "cooperative competition," I found "competitive cooperation" in the fraternity conversation.

Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990) use these studies and others to show the general orientations to interactions that men and women tend to take. It is clear that a wide range of linguistic devices and strategies are affected by these different orientations, from more general strategies such as the creation of hierarchies to the specific parts of these strategies such as the use of pronouns.

All of these studies (and the numerous others in their vein), however, study the language used by women, or compare women and men. Studies of men are few

and far between, and are usually presented simply as studies of language in general. In the next section, I review what work has been done in the area of men's language.

# 1.2.3 Men's Language

Until recently, Sattel (1983) was the only study that approached language and gender from the perspective that men in themselves may be an interesting research subject. In his article focusing on men's inexpressiveness, Sattel argues strongly that power is the driving force behind men's linguistic behavior: "the problem . . . lies not in men's inexpressiveness per se, but in the power and investment men hold as a group in the existing institutional and social framework (1983:119)." He argues that inexpressiveness, and other forms of men's behavior, are based on the kinds of labor men perform. Thus, "one reason little boys become inexpressive is not simply because our culture expects little boys to be that way but because our culture expects little boys to grow up and hold positions of power and prestige. What better way is there to exercise power than to make it appear the all one's behavior seems to be the result of unemotional rationality (1983:120)."

Sattel uses an excerpt from Erica Jong's novel, Fear of Flying, to show how a man uses silence as a weapon during an argument with his wife, and concludes

that "male inexpressiveness emerges as an intentional manipulation of a situation when threats to the male position occur (1983:120)." In other words, men use inexpressiveness—and, Sattel contends, other linguistic strategies—to keep a powerful position. Finally, he argues that this behavior is modeled by and learned from the father.

Sattel's short article provides the seed for the problem I address in this study, because he does not fully explicate how men's societal and personal power affects the way they use language. He does, however, point to a solution, by using the labor-market and parenting roles of men to explain the motivation for men's power. I draw on these roles in explaining how men use language to create powerful identities, and why they do so.

While Sattel identified the destructive side of men's use of powerful language, men nevertheless have the human need for solidarity, and it is how men interact in friendly settings that has been the focus of other studies of men. These studies indicate that power and competition are the dominant goals for men even in these settings. My pilot study (Kiesling 1993) of a fraternity conversation has shown that men in this community tend to use competitive speech — a form of discourse that sets up opposition and asymmetry between participants in a speech activity.

The pilot study suggests that an analysis of competitive speech in some form will be a profitable approach in investigating the connection between men's identity, power and language. Therefore, I will first review research on several types of competitive speech, particularly ritual insults. I then examine studies that have compared male and female speech with respect to competitiveness.

Labov (1972a) and Leary (1980) have both studied the structure of ritual insults of African- and European-American men, respectively. While the actual forms of the two groups' insults are very different (black insults are more formulaic, the white more context-bound), they function in a similar way: to build solidarity among members while simultaneously creating and reflecting a dominance hierarchy.

Labov describes rules for the African American Vernacular English (AAVE) genre of sounding, a well-recognized speech genre. He approaches the phenomenon by asking how a hearer can recognize an insult as ritual, rather than real. Labov finds that the content of the insult is recognized to be untrue through various means. First, sounds are normally stated in a particular syntactic form. This means that participants can readily recognize the insult as ritual. The content is also restricted; Labov notes that "a wide but fairly well-defined range of

attributes is sounded on (1972:324)." Insults usually target the receiver's mother, and are often sexual in character. This acts as a marker of ritual, and also deflects some of the insult away from the receiver. The claims that are made in sounding are also usually bizarre in some sense, so that a reasonable person would be skeptical as to their truth. Labov notes that "since ritual insults are not intended as factual statements, they are not to be denied (1972:332)."

Labov also finds rules for sequencing in sounding, including a slot for the audience to evaluate sounds. Through laughter and overt comments, the audience evaluates each sound after it has been uttered. Thus there is a way to show who is better at sounding. What is most interesting here is that the best sounder is the leader of the gang which Labov was studying. Thus, hierarchical social relations are reflected in (or built by) discourse.

Finally, Labov makes a distinction between ritual sounding and 'applied' sounding. Ritual sounding is the structured speech activity which the bulk of the paper addresses. Applied sounding is the use of sounds by "members with great verbal 'presence of mind' . . . at critical moments to channel the direction of personal interaction in the direction that favors them (1972:340)." These applied sounds are not discussed by Labov in the in-depth manner in which he describes

ritual sounds. Therefore, the AAVE activity of sounding and the speech on which I focus cannot be compared as exactly the same speech activity, but as a variation on the competitive theme.

Leary (1980) studied the ritual insults of lower class local males in a small college town in the Eastern Midwest. He identifies several forms that these insults take. First, he found that there was a syntactically formulaic nature to the insults, but not nearly to the degree which Labov found them. Many more of Leary's insults than Labov's were formulaic in content. Commands and mock threats were also used in the same way, along with mock acts of aggression. Leary identified larger insults which consist of routines that count on the cooperation of the receiver. Along with these speech acts, Leary identified some of the content which goes into them. He found that the insults usually characterized the receiver as a weakling, bungler, physically repulsive or an anomalous creature.

The white ritual insults are somewhat different from the insults described by Labov, which were almost always indirect (i.e., the receiver's mother was insulted instead of the receiver directly). But the insults Leary describes are similar in that they are not true, aiding the speakers in identifying a ritual insult. One point that Leary made that was true for Labov, was the importance of the context, or key (in

Hymes' sense). Leary divided context into private, public (friends/peers) and public (peers/enemies). Insults in the friendly settings (private and public-friends) were normally taken to be ritual, while in the third context they were taken as real. Labov found that sounding tended to take place as an activity in and of itself, so that there is a recognized context here as well. These observations echo Bateson's (1972) remarks that fighting of this type must occur within a frame of play, so that "messages or signals exchanged in play are in a certain sense untrue or not meant (1972:183)." Labov's applied sounding would be a much more dangerous and demanding task than the ritual situation. Labov found that a potentially real combat situation could be "reframed" with an applied sound. This observation shows that the context not only affects the interpretation of speech, but that speech can affect the interpretation of the context. Finally, as Labov did, Leary found that one man tended to be responsible for starting a round of jokes and insults, and that he had high status because of his ability to do so.

Although not directly addressing male discourse, Schiffrin (1984) made similar observations as to the solidarity-building functions of arguments in Jewish society. She defines "sociable argument" as "speech activity in which polarizing form has a ratificatory meaning (1984:331)." (Modan 1994 makes similar points about Jewish

culture, while Tannen and Kakavá 1992 suggest a similar dynamic at work for Greeks.) This ratificatory meaning is similar to the way we have seen competitive talk functioning in the above studies of male discourse.

### 1.3 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the main bodies of research that lead to my analysis of language and gender in a fraternity. In addition, I have previewed the ways in which they will be integrated into my analyses. The research in language in gender is just beginning to investigate the role of gender in men's language, from both the interactional sociolinguistic and variation analysis perspectives. In addition, while these two perspectives are different, they are headed in a similar direction with respect to the way linguistic and social meanings interact. After all, they describe and wish to explain at their cores the same 'object' — language. They therefore should be used together to acquire a more three-dimensional view of this 'object.'

It is clear from the language and gender research that in men's speech there is a definite element of competition, a 'zero-sum' orientation to interaction to conversation in which there must at least be the appearance of a winner and a loser. This type of orientation points to power. Before we can find power in men's language, however, we must know what we are looking for, and its context.

Therefore, in the next chapter I primarily discuss the social theories of power and men's identities upon which I base my analysis, and I explain how I will put these theories to use in the analysis of the fraternity. First, I explore exactly what power is, and how it might be related to language. Then, I review research in men's identities to understand the personal and social motivations that men may have for constructing powerful identities.

#### **CHAPTER TWO:**

### **POWER AND MEN'S IDENTITIES**

#### 2. Introduction

In this chapter I provide a review of the social research that lays the foundation for my sociolinguistic analyses in chapters four and five. I first review conceptions of power and language. Then, I discuss research on men's identities, since I am ultimately resting my explanation of patterns in the men's language in the fraternity on these identities.

## 2.1 Language and Power

Because power is a constitutive part of society, the study of language and power is an area that is a concern to all of sociolinguistics. In his classic study of New York City, Labov (1966) found that language can be correlated with the economic power of certain social groups; those with more economic power used more standard variants than those with less power.<sup>7</sup> The hypercorrection pattern Labov identified suggests that one group was acutely aware of the powerful affects

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The explanation for this pattern does not necessarily go from language to power in cause and effect terms. Instead, it seems more likely that the two are closely linked — that speaking a prestigious language gives one access to economic power. Causality is in fact difficult to determine here, because having access

of language, but that they may not have had enough access to the prestigious system to acquire it. As noted above, Eckert (1989a) showed that power can also be used to explain gender differences in language use. Power is also an overt critical concept in sociolinguistic sub-fields such as language and the law, language in institutions, and critical discourse analysis.

Sociolinguists lack a coherent view of power, however (we are not alone among the social sciences in this shortfall). Power in sociolinguistics is often an unanalyzed concept, or at best is briefly defined, with no motivation for that definition. Researchers rarely define power, and the nature of its conception varies widely from study to study. Thus, studies of language and power have two main problems: First, the concept is unanalyzed; second, researchers do not agree on the meaning of the term "power." These problems make it difficult to use power as the basis of a sociolinguistic analysis (or any social analysis). In order to move forward as a discipline, we need to define our concepts and use them in a similar way, thus allowing us to compare our studies and test our hypotheses.

to economic power also may give one access to prestigious language, or the ability to define what prestigious language is.

Therefore, to use power in my investigation of male identity and language, I need to work with a motivated, coherent framework. In this chapter I propose an interdisciplinary framework for using power as a basis for sociolinguistic analyses. In chapters four and five, I will use this framework as an explanatory principle in my analysis of language in a fraternity. To build this framework, I will begin by reviewing the use of power in sociolinguistics and other social sciences. First, I examine sociolinguistic studies, which conceive of power in a variety of ways—as persuasiveness, freedom, a position, or ideology. In reviewing the discussion of the concept of power in other social sciences, I consider early conceptions based on dominance, and more recent ones which see power as productive to society. I then discuss common themes that run through all traditions, identifying those I believe will be useful for the framework I will propose and use.

I take this extended excursion away from language and gender (and, at times, both) to show that the framework for analyzing power in language is grounded in solid social science. Williams (1992:xiii) notes that "most subdisciplines of sociology have responded to on-going changes in sociological theory," but "sociolinguistics and the sociology of language, to a very great extent, appear to be exceptions to the case." I thus present an extended review of various theories of

power, some of which come from outside sociolinguistics, to motivate the power framework.

In the framework I propose, power is one of the most basic productive social relationships; importantly, power relationships are real and meaningful to the speakers, as shown in the details of talk. Through language, people place themselves in alignment roles defined by culture and community of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992a,b), and alignment roles that emerge in conversational stances. I thus use alignment roles as the generic term to cover cultural models, community positions, and conversational stances. Essentially, the framework suggests that people take on aspects of certain alignment roles by using language indexed to those roles; however, every speaker cannot simply use any strategy or form to index any alignment role. They are limited by ascribed traits. previous positions they have filled in the community, the stances available in the situation, and their competence in a certain strategy or form. Thus, there is a balance between using language to place oneself in an alignment role, learning the language expected of a person in a certain alignment role, and creating a new definition of a role. Moreover, people have multiple alignment roles, and may

move from one role to another — even with the same audience in the same speech situation.

## 2.1.1 Language and Power: Review

Brown and Gilman (1960) explicitly noted the connection between language and power in their discussion of the 'tu-vous' distinction in various Indo-European languages. They documented the change in second person pronoun use from the grammatical differentiation of singular-plural, to an expressive function marking solidarity and power. In this well-known distinction, asymmetric uses of the two forms (tu and vous in French, referred generically as T and V, respectively) express a power difference between speakers, whereas symmetrical use implies either closeness (in the case of the T forms), or distance or respect (in the case of the V forms). Languages that have a T/V distinction generally have social rules about who can use which form with whom, often based on a pre-defined social relationship. These rules are usually based on the roles of the people allowed to speak, and are not immutably connected with the person but with their role vis-avis their interlocutor(s). Thus, one person may use T with their children but V with their boss. We can already see how we might use these roles to construct a framework for power: power is not so much with the person as with a role they

embodiment of this role. Speakers may also use a form to redefine the power relationship of a situation (Silverstein's 1974 creative nonreferential indexing). Thus, a relationship that has been relatively formal, with reflexive V usage, becomes much closer when both speakers agree to use a T form (although the impact of this switch varies by culture and historical period). The speakers have redefined the roles and this their social relationships. Power and language are therefore in a reflexive relationship, each simultaneously constraining and defining the other.

In the following review of conceptions of power, I first examine linguistic studies of power and language, and characterize the main ways power has been conceived. Then I turn to power as conceived by other social scientists. Finally, I discuss the major themes in conceiving power. I thus show the 'state-of-the-art' in conceptions of power. Following the review, I adopt the most compelling conceptions to build the power framework.

Language and power. Researchers have approached the field of language and power from a variety of perspectives. To a large extent, the ways they have conceived of power and used it in analyses have been motivated by their ultimate

research goals, their methods used to study language, and the units of language they study. Even with this large range of goals, there are some themes that group language and power studies. Five main questions have been asked (sometimes indirectly) about language and power: 1) How does someone's position in an organization affect their language? 2) How does language make someone more or less persuasive than others? 3) How does the valuing of power (vs. solidarity) change the way a speaker uses language? 4) How does someone control the discourse to gain power? 5) How is the societal power of groups reinforced through language? Power is conceived differently in each of these questions: as authority, persuasion, freedom, control, and ideology and status, respectively. These studies also divide into those concerned with personal power and those concerned with societal power, although only question five is explicitly concerned with societal power (the power of groups). However, personal and societal power are inherently connected; personal power can derive from the societal power of a person's group, and a person can have enough personal power to become a member of a powerful group (for example, by winning an election or making money). I will clarify these divisions and connections with actual examples in reviewing each of the five areas of language and power.

Power as an institutional role. In this conception, power derives from a position in an institution or organization with a formally defined power hierarchy. Brown and Gilman (1960) conceive of power in this manner, since each T/V use is prescribed depending on the speaker's status and relationship to another speaker in the social hierarchy. I used this institutional role conception of power when investigating the relationship between different kinds of power structures in male groups and men's language use. In Kiesling (1993), I show that the hierarchical power of speakers in a fixed formal power structure affects their use of aggravated speech: men with higher power positions used less aggravated speech than those in lower positions. I speculated that this pattern could be explained by drawing on Eckert's (1989a) analysis of differences in male and female uses of local variants: those without a power position need to use language to build their power, while those with a position could rely on the power structure for their status. When I compared the fraternity pattern with research on male groups with a less fixed power structure, such as those groups described by Goodwin (1980), Labov (1972), and Leary (1980). I found that in the less structured groups the highest status member used the most aggravated speech, or was most skilled in its use. Thus, I hypothesized that in organizations with formal power structures and

positions, discourse will function differently than in organizations with a fluid hierarchy, or no organization at all.

Other studies have also found that a person's position in an organization affects their speech and the speech of their interlocutors. Scotton (1988) also found that a person with a powerful position uses language differently than a person without such a position. She analyzed why style shifts occur in conversation, and concluded that they enhance interactional power. Speakers in more powerful positions were more likely to initiate these shifts. (See also Pearson 1988, Smith-Hefner 1988.) McLemore (1991) found that the interpretation of intonation contours in a Texas sorority depended on the speech activity and the person's position in that activity. Thus, when the president used this intonation in a sorority meeting, it was interpreted positively, signifying connection; when a freshman used the same contour, it was seen as weak. In a study of the use of mitigation and aggravation in airplane cockpits, Linde (1988) found that suggestions going up the chain of command tend to be more mitigated. Philips (1987) studied judges' forms of questions in Arizona Changes of Plea. Comparing the judges' questions addressed to defendants with those addressed to lawyers, she argues that Yes-No questions are more controlling than Wh questions. She finds that judges use more

Wh questions with the lawyers and more Yes-No questions with the defendants. Thus, it seems that the speech between insiders in the interaction (judges and lawyers) is less routinized than the speech between insiders and outsiders (judges and defendants). While this fact is more a practical need of the judge to get things done than a power play, the different use of questions nevertheless shows how a person's position with respect to an institution (in this case, the legal establishment) can affect their speech, and the speech addressed to them.

Machung (1992) compared interaction for workers in managerial jobs with workers in clerical positions. She found that these two groups orient themselves to their work and their interactions differently, since each has to accumulate power in a different way. Clerical workers (secretaries, receptionists) have rules for subordination: hide your talents, hide ambition, give credit upward, focus on details, do it perfectly, keep silent. Managerial workers have rules for upward mobility: display your talents, display ambition, collect credit, focus on goals, do it better, trade information. The differences in this study show that people in different positions in the same organization may create a subculture, each with different rules for discourse. Moreover, people who are part of one subculture

(secretaries) may be expected by members of the dominant subculture (managers) to follow the rules for their subculture. The secretaries must 'know their place.'

The family is another institution with set roles. It is the basic unit studied by anthropologists, and as Ervin-Tripp et al. (1984) note, "in many respects, the structure of power and deference in adult life is prefigured in the family (1984:135)." Studies of language in the family show that interaction is crucially based on the roles of parent, mother, father, and child (and age of the child, thus adding roles such as big brother, little sister, eldest daughter, youngest brother, etc.). Ervin-Tripp et al. (1984) analyze compliance with directives made by children in four middle-class American families in an experimental setting. They show that because a parent's role as care-giver requires attention to children, the children's directives are more successful with parents than with other adults. While there is a power difference between child and adult, parents — because of their role as care-givers — are responsive to the requests of their children. The difference, then, is not simply an age difference, but a role relationship between parent, child, and sibling.

Varenne (1987) analyzes a disagreement between husband and wife. While Varenne posits that it is difficult for the analyst to discover what is really

happening in an interaction, he suggests that the disagreement he analyzes is concentrated around rights and responsibilities of the roles of husband and wife. The conversation revolves around the husband's suggestion that the family purchase a china cabinet. Varenne suggests that the wife considers the household furniture (and the household in general) her domain, and the husband's foray into this domain threatens her. While Varenne is careful to note that the wife disagrees with his analysis, he nevertheless shows how roles can be associated with different amounts of power depending on the domain (or topic) of interaction. This pattern is similar to the pattern I found in the fraternity conversation, in which one of the speakers defends his performance in his fraternity office (his domain).

There are several other studies that demonstrate the effect of a person's institutional position on their language use (see Turow 1983, Fisher and Todd 1986, and Tannen 1994). All show that a person's institutional position largely defines their identity in interactions in that institution, while they actively work to create their position through language. Most of these studies deal with specific situations and the effect of positions on people's language use. These positions define relationships between speakers, affecting the way they use language.

Language can be used to put a person in a position, or it can be changed as a result

of being in a position (or and interaction of the two). Thus, researchers can study language use in institutional roles to discover relationships between language and power.

Power as persuasiveness. Connected to the conception of power as an institutional role is the conception of power as persuasiveness. This connection is not immediately apparent; however, studies that have considered power as persuasiveness have shown that a person's social role is central to their persuasiveness. This identification comes about in two ways. First, it comes about through the actual ratified identity of the speaker as 'expert' or as 'educated,' and second, by extension, through the use of language that is identified as 'educated,' 'logical,' or, as Erickson et al. (1978) use the term, 'powerful.' This second use of the meaning of persuasive is similar to Ochs' (1992) notion indexing.

Erickson et al. (1978) found that a certain 'powerless' speech style, characterized by intensifiers, hedges, hesitation forms, and questioning intonation, could be less persuasive than a style without these features. In a social psychology experiment, students rated parallel written and spoken texts on a number of scales, including to what extent they felt the witness was powerful, credible, attractive, and masculine or feminine. The results were complex and conclusions tentative;

the speech style had only a minor affect on the witnesses' persuasiveness. The authors suggest (1978:276) that "a major feature of credibility is the attribution that the communicator holds veridical beliefs about the issues he or she addresses. The use of the powerless style may undermine this attribution as listeners interpret the hesitations and hedges as suggesting that even the communicator lacks confidence in the statements he or she makes." Thus, language is persuasive not only because arguments are logical, but also because someone is heard as being an expert and, more importantly, *confident* that their version of the facts is an accurate picture of reality. While not conclusive, the literature suggests that persuasive power does not rely only on rhetorical structure, but — as in the case of structural power — also on the presentation of a social role or identity through a language style in an indexical relationship. (See also Gibbons, Busch, and Bradac 1991)

Power as a value. Brown and Gilman (1960), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Tannen (1990, 1993a), contrast power with solidarity. Tannen (1990) suggests that power and solidarity are two orientations with which people approach interaction, noting that, along the same lines of similarity and difference, they create a double bind for people in interaction (in this conception, power is a value equated with

freedom and independence). This value expresses, through metacommunicative devices, the interpersonal goals that an interlocutor brings to a conversation. Solidarity, the opposite pole from power on a continuum, is equated with connection and interdependence. The double bind arises because of the simultaneous human needs for individuality and social connection. Tannen explains differences in groups' conversational styles by positing that each group attempts to resolve the double bind by emphasizing relatively more independence or connection than another group.

Tannen (1993a) splits the power-solidarity continuum into two intersecting but independent continua, one for power and one for solidarity. In this conception, power refers to a continuum that has as its poles hierarchy and equality, while the orthogonal solidarity continuum spans distance and closeness. Because the continua are independent, distance does not necessarily entail a hierarchical relationship, so that a group can find solidarity in a hierarchy. Tannen illustrates this possibility with examples from the Javanese and Japanese cultures. In the Javanese case (Wolfowitz 1991), relationships between grandchild and grandparent are both close and unequal, and Suriname Javanese has a special style to reflect this relationship. In addition, Tannen explains that Wolfowitz found that

in Suriname, closeness and hierarchy are connected, as are distance and equality. Yamada (1992) describes a relationship known as *amae*, in which two people who are hierarchically separated are nevertheless bound together, thus creating a kind of closeness. Because these are markedly different from the American association of hierarchy to distance and equality to closeness, Tannen demonstrates that the two continua (hierarchy/equality and closeness/distance) are separable. Power as a value is thus part of a system for describing how people's world views affect their language use.

Power as control. Studies in this vein ask how the control of the discourse situation leads to power. This type of power is evident in courtroom settings, where lawyers control the discourse through their power to set the agenda, ask questions, and restrict witnesses' answers. Walker (1987) analyzes court depositions, showing how attorneys use the fact that witnesses are compelled to answer questions to gain power over that testimony. "[A]ttorneys are aware of the essential imbalance that operates in any (what I call) legal adversary interview, and that they employ this power in conscious ways in an effort to influence the outcome of their cases by controlling a witness's line of testimony." (1987:57) Thus, the attorney is not actually asking a series of questions but making a

calculated argument, in which each question-answer pair is a piece of that argument. Power and language are related by the fact that one speaker has the power to control and constrain the possibilities of another's speech; the speech of the witness could hardly be said to be their own.

Shuy (1987) also approaches power as control over certain aspects of an interaction. In covert tapes, FBI agents control the interaction through seven devices identified by Shuy. For example, he notes that the agents have power because they know the significance of the conversation. The speaker under investigation does not know that the conversation will be used as evidence, and therefore normal back-channel responses "such as *uh-huh*, *yeah*, *alright*, *OK*, and so on can be taken, by a later listener, such as a jury, as evidence of agreement with what the agent is saying, even though feedback markers such as these are not necessarily indicators of agreement." (1987:44)

This controlling type of power has been studied by language and gender researchers as well. For instance, Fishman (1978) asked four couples to tape themselves to gather a sample of natural, everyday interaction between the pairs. Fishman found that the men tended to control the tape recorder, and the women tended to take up the men's topics more often than men took up women's. In

effect, therefore, men had more control over the topics of discussion. Other researchers have discussed men's control of the language of government, the media, etc. gives them more power in the society (see Spender 1980). This broader conception of power is more than just an expansion of the domain of control; it is power as ideology (i.e. control over standards and the ways of thinking), which I consider in the next section.

In the cases cited above, however, it is not that the language as a system is controlled by one party, but that the speech of one person seems to belong less to that person than to another person. Thus, the attorney uses the witness's language to make the attorney's argument, and the FBI appropriates the speech of the person being investigated, recontextualizes it, and gives it new meaning. The male party in each couple controlled whether the woman's speech was recorded, and used her speech to discuss topics that interested him.

Societal views of language and power. Studies in this tradition take what Lakoff (1990) calls a macropolitical scope to their studies. Labovian studies, or status-oriented macropolitical studies, of speech communities' use of standard and vernacular variants fall into this tradition. The classic example of this type of study is Labov's (1966) study of New York City, in which he found that higher class

speakers and women use more standard variants, while lower class speakers and men use more vernacular variants. He also found that in more formal speech situations (which he defines as situations in which more attention is paid to speech), all speakers use more standard variants. Thus, the 'powerful' groups — male and upper middle class speakers — do not necessarily pattern together. This difference points out that the power of one group may be qualitatively different than the power of another. We should therefore begin to view power as kaleidoscopic, coming from various places and dispersing unevenly, rather than monolithic, operating as a single influence on society and language.

Peter Trudgill and Lesley Milroy provided other ways of thinking about macropolitical power of groups by looking at the vernacular, rather than the standard, as having prestige or power in some way. Trudgill (1974) advanced the notion of covert prestige to explain the valuing of a vernacular variant by men in Norwich, England. He hypothesized that among middle- and working-class men, there was a prestige associated with using the vernacular variant. Thus power (or prestige) is not seen simply as something that the highest socioeconomic class has, but something defined by the smaller speech community. Covert prestige may have its roots in the fact that working class men do not have access to the kinds of

socioeconomic power that their more educated counterparts in the middle and upper classes have. However, because there is pressure on them as men to act 'powerful' in some way, they use nonstandard language as a symbol of their physical, as opposed to educational, power.<sup>8</sup> This linguistic behavior is likely a mild form of "protest masculinity," as described by Connell (1995), in which physical power (such as violence and crime) replaces structural power (see section 2.2 below). In fact, research on abusing men suggests that one of the causes is the abuser's (real or imagined) powerlessness (see Coltrane 1994:55-6, Lisak 1991).

Milroy (1980) used the sociological construct of social networks to investigate language use in three neighborhoods in Belfast, Ireland. Social networks measure the connections between people in a community. Networks count how many people know each other, and the number of relationships each person has with another person in the community (through family, work, recreation, etc.). Milroy's study, rather than focusing on status (or power), focused on solidarity: what happens to people's language use if they are involved in more solidary relationships in a community? Milroy found a strong effect for the strength of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The local working of covert prestige, and how it works in style shifting, will be addressed in chapter

network on vernacular language use. Simplifying greatly, the stronger a person's network, the more vernacular a person's speech. In this study, and Trudgill's, solidarity can also be a form of power, because it causes, or limits, behavior of a certain kind. This type of analysis is one in which power and position in the community or organization is important, and suggests a way to characterize an organization by investigating the relationships between people.

Norman Fairclough presents another macropolitical view of power in his textually-oriented discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992) and critical language study (Fairclough 1989). In ideology-oriented macropolitical studies, Fairclough explicitly draws from the ideas of social scientists Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci to shape his view of power, language, and discourse. Focusing largely on the mass media, Fairclough shows that language both reproduces and challenges ideologies (the ways people conceive their world, especially their social world). Fairclough equates power with ideology. Power is a process, and discourse (language) is central to this process. Following Foucault, power is hidden to speakers, because it is naturalized in the everyday work of interaction. Fairclough shows that certain ideologies are needed, for instance, in order to understand a

news text as cohesive, because certain assumptions must be made to link parts of a text.

Gough and Talbot's (1993) study of an advice column in a British newspaper exemplifies this approach. In the advice column they study, a letter writer explains that he is a heterosexual who had a homosexual experience when he was young, and is now worried if he is 'normal.' The advice-giver answers that such experiences are indeed normal. Gough and Talbot point out that the reply seems to be liberal and non-homophobic on the surface. However, by analyzing different levels of the text (vocabulary, cohesion, grammar, and text structure), they show that the reason the advice-giver tells the man he is normal is that he "turned out all right" because he has a wife and kids. They thus find a homophobic ideology embedded in the text that seems to have a 'liberal' surface. Homosexuality is overtly proclaimed as normal, but the underlying assumptions are homophobic. Thus, in this tradition of discourse analysis, hegemony (the power of an economically-defined class over society as a whole) is connected with concrete linguistic practices and processes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The idea of naturalizing is also found in Bourdieu's notion of symbolic power (see below).

The Labovian and Faircloughian views of power and language seem to be opposed. Labovian systems are structural, so that if a person occupies a certain space in a society, we can predict their language use (if we use the correct way of thinking about the speech community). In Fairclough's view, however, a speech community is not so rigidly organized; people can use language to change their place in the community, or to change the structure of the community. At the same time, Fairclough recognizes that people do adopt ways of talking and thinking about their communities that are to a degree structural (here he departs from Foucault). For Labovian studies, power is something given that makes speakers use a certain linguistic variant. For Fairclough, power is the ideology embodied by language.

Eckert (1989a) has moved toward a marriage of the two views, so that variants are strategically used by people to construct identities and ratify or challenge societal values, while also being affected by macropolitical patterns. Eckert uses Bourdieu's notion of symbolic power to explain differences in language use among groups in a Detroit high school. She posits that language is more important socially in the school for girls than for boys, because boys define themselves

socially in other ways, such as sports and student council.<sup>10</sup> Boys have access to real (economic) power, while girls are limited to symbolic power. Symbolic power for Bourdieu is symbolic of economic power. People learn forms of symbolic power so deeply that they become naturalized.<sup>11</sup>

Summary. In this section I suggest a way of systematizing the four main types of studies of power and language. The four types of studies are: 1) those concerned with a certain power structure type, and how being in a certain spot (i.e., rank) in a certain kind of power structure affects speech (authority and status-oriented macropolitical); 2) those concerned with the 'natural' ways strategies lead to a speaker's control of an interaction; 3) those that see power as one metamessage to be communicated in an interaction; and finally, 4) those that see power as control of ideology, with language used as a tool to reproduce or challenge an ideology.

In attempting to reconcile these four approaches to language and power, the outlines of a framework start to form: Control of a situation can be seen as

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ Girls have had more access to these arenas in recent years; however, boy's sports are still more valued than girls sports.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>I believe that all language is to some extent an exercise of symbolic power, but that boys and girls use these symbols differently. I suggest that girls use language to symbolize a different kind of power

speakers taking conversational alignments to one another, and these alignments can be seen as the basis for forming the relationships in communities and society. In addition, the kinds of alignments typically taken by a group of people (that is, alignments focusing on power or solidarity) lead to orientations to conversations that affect the kinds of metamessages displayed and understood. Finally, ideological reproduction in language can be seen as illustrating how the larger cultural models and social alignments can be related to the local conversational alignments of speakers. These local alignment roles—stances—thus can be said to form the building blocks of power as it relates to language: language that creates certain kinds of alignments is thought of as powerful by speakers.

Gal (1992:158) notes that "finding the attempts at resistance will tell us about where and how power is exerted, and knowing how institutions of power work will tell us where to look for possible signs of resistance." The ways the men challenge their ideology are therefore also important. Those men who challenge fraternity ideology (at least partly) use their language differently than those whose ideologies they are challenging (by creating a different kind of power and power

<sup>(</sup>what Eckert 1990 refers to a "moral authority," or power of personality), than used by the boys. What boys symbolize in their use of language is the subject of this dissertation.

structure). However, all the challenges to the fraternity world view seem to be consistent with a larger dominant ideology, therefore producing a tension between tradition and change that holds the fraternity together as an institution, even as the fraternity gains and loses members every semester. Thus, there is an interaction between power as a position and power as ideology — the ideology in effect creates and perpetuates the positions. Moreover, the men's view of the structures in which they participate also affects the ways they view goals of the metamessages of conversations (they learn to use competitive forms), and the strategies they employ in a conversation (they learn to try to gain control of interactions). The linguistic studies on language and power have thus already suggested a framework for looking at power in the fraternity. Before I articulate this framework more fully, however, I will briefly review the social science literature on power.

## 2.1.2 Studies of Power

One difficulty in studying power is that there is disagreement about exactly what power is. There seem to be as many theories of power as there are theorists. A recent collection of papers on power (Wartenberg 1992b) presents several different perspectives, including a survey of recent theories (Ball 1992), a new

theory (Wartenberg 1992a), and several critiques. Here I will follow the outlines of Ball's survey, and discuss Wartenberg's theory and several other works on power, including feminist conceptions of power. This survey is necessary to show the sociological grounding for the later framework of power and language.

Early theorists in power used a mechanical metaphor to describe power: "A produces an effect in B," where A and B are people. Power is conceived in behaviorist terms, such that A stimulates B and B produces the response desired by A. This mechanical analogy was criticized for not recognizing that power can be exercised in other, indirect ways, such as controlling an agenda. Power was in this way said to be "Janus-faced." Steven Lukes (1974) posited a third face of power, in which B not only produces a desired response, but also evokes a response contrary to their interests. The 'three-faces' paradigm thus sees power as essentially hegemonic: one person imposing his or her will on another.

Other conceptions of power were critical of the assumptions of the debate over the three faces of power. One such criticism came from Arendt's (1986) communicative concept of power. In this conception, relations of power are democratic relations of equals, but B invests A with power by assenting to A's wishes. A community assents in a similar way to have a certain person as their

leader, and agrees to do as the leader asks. In this view, A is empowered by B, and any group of B's can empower themselves or a leader.

Another conception of power comes from the philosophy of science known as realism (Isaac 1992). In the realist model people possess power not as individuals but "by virtue of occupying certain socially structured roles and being in certain socially defined and relatively enduring relationships." (Ball 1992:26) I will partially draw my conception of power from the realist conception. This theory holds that power is a capacity manifested in action; it is "power-to", not necessarily "power-over"; and power is not necessarily a negative concept, but important and productive for society. 12

Any discussion of power must address Foucault's conception of power (1980, 1982), already discussed briefly in section 2.3.1.5 above. Because of his lack of a consistent point in his work, it is difficult (if not impossible) to find a definition or theory of power in Foucault's body of work.<sup>13</sup> We can look at his general perspective on power, however. Foucault believes power is exercised by conditioning people to think in a certain way (thus ensuring a tradition). It is not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Some people in a society may still have power over others. But the one with power over has the power to make the powerless person do something. Thus, power-to is more basic than power-over.

controlled by any one person, but permeates society through every relationship and interaction. This conditioning takes place at many levels, but especially in societal institutions. For instance, exams in schools ensure that children learn a certain kind of knowledge.

Foucault defines power in terms of relationships entered into by free subjects. In fact, he states that there can only be power where people have the ability to resist that power (for a similar point of view in linguistics, see Gal 1992, quoted above, and Abu-Lughod 1990). Power in Foucault's view is not held in a person or group, but in the actions of people in society. Relations of power are exercised through interactions between people who place themselves in roles in relatively enduring institutions, and learn the particular way of interacting (what Foucault calls 'discourse') for that role. Power is thus a kind of 'brainwashing' that enforces a certain world view, and instructs people to accept this world view as the natural way of things. Power relationships create a web that permeates society and holds it together:

[I]n a society such as ours, but basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>This seems to have been intentional on Foucault's work, because it would be consistent with his message: that relationships and structures are fluid, changeable, and ever-changing.

and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourse. (1980:93)

Moreover, people are always "in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power." (1980:98) In fact, in the tension between tradition and progress which holds society together, Foucault seems to see power as essentially tradition, and the mechanism by which tradition is kept:

[T]he analysis, elaboration, and bringing into question of power relations and the 'agonism' between power relations and the intransitivity of freedom is a permanent political task inherent in all social existence. (1982:792)

Foucault's perspective is thus different from any other I discuss in this review (save possibly Bourdieu's). The most important notions are the tension between power relationships and freedom, the naturalization of relationships in a world view, and the local construction of power relationships through discourse.

A "feminist" approach to power (Miller 1992) also shares a rejection of power as controlling and hegemonic, or what one might call a 'male' conception of power. Miller suggests that women conceive of power as a different kind of structure than men. Power for women often means empowering others; indeed, she

notes that the traditional role of women is one in which "they have used their powers to foster the growth of others" as mothers (1992:242).

Wartenberg's (1992a) conception of "situated social power" is also similar in several respects to the realist, Foucaultian, and feminist views. First, Wartenberg's situated social power is similar to Arendt's model and Foucault's perspective in that it is dyadic — Wartenberg states that agents involved in a power relation are both responsible for this relationship. However, he argues that the basic dyadic power structure is not enough; the dyad is situated "in the context of other relations through which it is actually constituted as a power relationship."

(1992:80) This situated power echoes the roles in institutions as used by Foucault and the Realists, but different in that it elaborates and specifies the social alignments of society that endow the role with power. Wartenberg gives the example of a teacher who holds power over her students by giving grades. Giving grades is only powerful, he argues, if parents will reward or punish based on grades, for example, or if employers use the grades to determine who they will

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>In this sense it is similar to the idea of the co-construction of discourse in interactional sociolinguistics; see Duranti and Brenneis 1986.

hire. Seen in Foucaultian terms, these are the alignments that produce the institutions and practices that in turn produce modern power.

Bourdieu (1977, 1991) divides power into two forms: economic and symbolic power. Symbolic power is largely responsible for the organization of social practices, including talk. Power is symbolic of economic capital; symbolic meanings are hidden because the practices are so basic to the construction of a society that they are seen as 'natural'. Thus, a standard language is symbolic of economic class to the point where people are refused employment because of a vernacular accent. Like Foucault, Bourdieu sees power in industrialized, literate societies as being codified in symbolic systems (including language), and learned and reproduced through the institutions of the society (e.g., law and education). Thus the relatively enduring roles that constitute power for Foucault and the Realists are for Bourdieu symbols of the economic capital held by people occupying the roles.

Recently, therefore, theorists have been approaching some common ground, while disagreeing in detail, about the exact nature of power. One of the agreements seems to be that people fill certain institutional roles and thus gain power.

Foucault would point out that these roles are constantly changing, to the extent that people challenge the roles in which they are placed.

But these roles and the relationships between them can be characterized more generally. French and Raven (1959) provide a possible classification for the kinds of relationships people have in organizations. Within a framework that sees power in the mechanical model, they identify five bases of power: coercive (as a mugger has), reward (as a millionaire has), legitimate (as a president has), referent (as a friend might have), and expert (as a computer consultant has). These "bases of power," as French and Raven refer to them, are some of the basic kinds of power relationships available in a society. I will modify and add to these bases in light of other conceptions of power in my framework for studying power in sociolinguistic analyses.

The emerging consensus view of power also suggests that we ask how people use language to put themselves in the roles that make up the power relationships, and how language is used to construct or reinforce the roles. How people align themselves with these roles is one of the central problems in theorizing about power, discovering its mechanisms, and finding the relationship between power and language.

Summary. To organize the above studies, I return to my central reason for considering power at all: what is male power and how is it relevant to the way men speak? Claims have been made for male power in virtually all the conceptions of power, especially those discussed in the language and power review. It has been claimed that men have positions of power in organizations and society, control discourse more than women, use more persuasive language than women, are oriented to freedom where women are oriented toward connection, and control the language and therefore the world view of society. All these views of power are useful, but they are not isolated. As Connell (1987) points out, male power flows not from one source but from several, and has several manifestations. The different manifestations form an interlocking system: for example, because men are oriented to freedom (and competition), they may be more likely to control a conversation with women. When we speak of male power, then, we have to keep in mind that it is not one type of power, but a system of interlocking and reinforcing types of power.

One of the most debated points in discussions of men and power revolves around the question of societal power and individual power, and exactly what is meant by 'male power.' Does it mean that every individual man has more power

than every interaction with a woman? In light of the discussion above suggest that individual power and societal power cannot be separated, but neither is power so absolute as to act automatically so that the answer to the above question is an unqualified "yes". In the system I propose based on alignment roles, all men have the potential to identify themselves with the powerful alignment roles the culture makes available (the cultural models), whereas women do not necessarily have these kinds of roles available. Thus, a man may wish to draw on these powerful cultural models in an interaction. Individual power may thus be drawn from societal power. On the other hand, a woman may be able to draw on an alignment role that is unquestionably more powerful because of where that woman is in a social alignment. Thus, Margaret Thatcher was prime minister of England and by virtue of that office controlled, for example, Britain's armed forces. Of course, alignment roles are rarely so clear-cut, so that women who occupy powerful roles in one social alignment (e.g., in a corporation) still are disadvantaged by the societal power in the form of a paucity of cultural models on which she can draw (one could argue that Thatcher may have had similar problems, but dealt with them by creating an identity known as the "Iron Lady").

## 2.1.3 A framework for studying language and power

In this section, I will articulate the framework in detail. The goal of this framework is to be able to consistently and realistically analyze communities in terms of power, and thus discover how language is interacting with that power. If we do not understand how power works in a community, we cannot claim to know how language interacts with it.

This framework must be applicable to any kind of community, but it must not be too removed from the actual social space constructed by the participants. It should be a way in which to identify the possible conceptions that people have (whether consciously or not) of their social world and their place in it. It must take into account that people move from community to community and change their conception of the social space; indeed, they actively work to change it. I wish to find a connection between how people think about power in their community (and how they would like to change it) and their language behavior. I wish to find a connection between certain social characteristics (such as gender) and power, seen in this framework. We may find, as Eckert (1990) suggests, that how a group of speakers understands power may explain why they have exhibited a certain pattern of language use.

Foucault (1982) defines power as an action that modifies another action, or actions that modify actions. The effects of these actions need not be immediate, direct, or even real. This definition of power includes all the conceptions of power in language and power research: the control of the discourse situation; persuasiveness; or an ideal that says, "Try to not be controlled by others' actions as much as possible." It also covers Arendts' communicative power: in a democracy, people allow governments to affect their actions; however, the government is (theoretically) affected ultimately by the actions of the people. Because power takes place in the actions of people, power is exercised to the extent that people believe that they should perform an action because of another action, thus taking into account Wartenberg's view. Power is not something that people walk around with to suddenly pull out and use on anyone. The people being acted on must believe in it. Thus illusions can be powerful motivators, such as an undefined fear. Cases of date rape are often found in favor of the defendant because the plaintiff had no 'objective' reason for not fighting back, screaming, or leaving. It is not this objective fear that holds the victim back, but the perception of danger. This perception gives the rapist the power to commit his crime. While this example is extreme, it makes the point. Power is not usually this destructive: for

instance, we stop at red lights because we believe the consequences, legally and materially, of not doing so. While these consequences may not always hold (late at night on a deserted road, for instance), it has become second nature for us to stop at red lights. In addition, we may have an ideology of doing right for its own sake; thus, this other power (of the ideology of doing right) is interweaved with other motivations. In this sense, power is somewhat of an illusion, but it is a necessary illusion for society to exist.

People believe that they should act certain ways with certain people, that these people expect them to act in certain ways, and that not acting in these ways would have serious consequences. The reasons for doing something might seem irrational, such as being embarrassed, feeling foolish, or feeling 'weak'. 15 But what constitutes a serious consequence is therefore dependent on the community and its values. The ability to deduce what is valued in a community and conform to those values seems to be a basic ability of humans, although some people are more likely to question values than others. Since speaking is an action, it is affected by what people think is good and bad; in addition, people internalize the rules of their community in their speech. Thus values are perpetuated (as Foucault notes)

because people learn certain ways of thinking and speaking about things—
including their social space—and these ways become naturalized. However,
some people may decide that it is in their best interest to change their way of doing
or thinking or speaking, because humans also have a thirst for the new and
different. But new ways are variations on old ways: we do not simply remake
ourselves and society as a wholly new. In an analysis of power, then, we must
analyze these naturalized ways of thinking about social practices (including
language use), and the reality that drives them.

The above is a theoretical way of conceiving of power, but for practical analyses, it does not get us very far, since actions most actions affect other actions in some way. In addition, it is unlikely that speakers actually conceive of power in this abstract detached way in their daily lives, which is my concern. Thus, I suggest that at a *practical* level (as opposed to an abstract level of causation and underlying motives), people have power by virtue of occupying roles in social alignments, what I call *alignment roles*. In addition to classic institutions, these alignments may also be cultural models, as described in Holland and Quinn (1987), which provide stereotypical cultural scripts to which people compare their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>See Goffman (1963) for an analysis of constraints on human behavior.

lives. People put themselves in many different kinds of alignment role: some so enduring as to seem eternal and necessary, some fleeting and unnoticed, and some new, created in interactions. A new alignment role may be one thrown together out of bits of others, and a single alignment role may dominate a personality. Alignment roles are multiple and not set, or even finite. In this way, they are analogous to frames and activity types, because they are a type of structure of expectation and possibility. Drawing from Wartenberg, these roles generally have power because of social alignments (the manner in which society is aligned against one action and for another). People place themselves into alignment roles by using language because different ways of speaking, and different stances are associated with these roles. A certain language may be expected (by society) of people in certain alignment roles. For example, secretaries are expected to speak and act in a certain way, both by other secretaries and by managers. Thus language can be said to constitute or allude to an alignment role, while an alignment role can also restrict the kind of language used.

Alignment role is thus the general term I use for three interrelated social constructs: Cultural models are stereotypes that pervade the culture about socially-defined classes of people, such as men and women; community positions are

places in a community or organizational structure (both official and unofficial) recognized by the members of a community of practice; discursive or conversational stances are those alignment roles that people take up in the practical arena of conversations. These three concepts thus represent alignment roles at the cultural, community, and conversational levels, respectively. Stances are the more basic of the three, because it is through stances — at the level of practice — that models and positions are enacted and reinforced. Stances are thus the most malleable of alignment roles, as they can change quickly, from moment to moment. Identity is a person's ongoing, but historically informed, constellation of alignment roles. By historically informed, I mean that a person tends to learn certain alignment roles and index or enact those more frequently than others. Thus an identity is fairly stable through time, although it is by no means static.

I thus use the concept of alignment role to operationalize the power framework. This description of power is not just theorizing — it can be put to use. First, we need to know the ways a community thinks about its social organization and practices, by investigating it ethnographically. Following Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), we must investigate communities of practice: communities defined by social engagement. We must discover their ideology, what is important to them,

and how they have organized their community, both officially and unofficially. We must find out what traits of a person are valued: age, kinship, ability, friendship, etc. We must find out what positions people see themselves and others fulfilling, and how they believe these positions should be fulfilled. We must find these positions not only by analyzing what they say to each other and scrutinizing their assumptions, but also by asking them, for instance, about their "style of leadership." Certain activity types may include specific stances for participants (as a lecture includes speaker and audience). In addition, we must explore the general cultural models of society for the alignment roles presented there. Three levels of social structure and practice thus contribute alignment roles in an interconnected way: conversational stances, community positions, and cultural models are all available. In addition, a conversational stance may interact with a cultural model. Thus, taking a stance that displays knowledge, perhaps through an expression of certainty (or 'male inexpressiveness'), may also connect the speaker to a professorial position in the community and a cultural model.

Once we have a picture of the way the community sees itself as structured (and how people differ on this structure), and what positions people see themselves and others filling, we can examine how they use language to align themselves with

these alignment roles. How do people use *language* to focus on their alignment roles? Does a certain kind of language evoke a certain kind of alignment role for the community? Power can be identified by a speaker's language and by other contextual factors (other speakers and speech activity).

In addition to these specific levels, alignment roles can be characterized more generally based on the 'original' way an alignment role became powerful in a social alignment, by using an expanded version of French and Raven's (1959) classification of the bases of power. The original bases were the coercive, reward, legitimate, referent, and expert bases. To acknowledge that I am discussing processes of power rather than bases, I will use slightly different terminology. I will also add two categories in order to integrate some types of processes discussed above. The processes I will describe are: physical, economic, structural, demeanor, nurturant, knowledge, and ideological. Fairclough's conception of power and ideology is the ideological process of power. The ideological process is a 'master process,' because it is through the ideological process that the other types of power processes are evaluated by a community: it ratifies certain traits as powerful, or ratifies certain power processes and alignment roles as usable. In addition, within each type of power process, ideological power identifies what is

and what is not a powerful alignment role. Thus, Foucault shows that within modern society, the knowledge process is important; however, Foucault has also shown that it is not just any kind of knowledge that leads to power, but the kind that is reproduced by society (Foucault 1972). Ideological power is the process of power whereby the ways of thinking about the world are naturalized into a community's behavior. This process works on the cultural level as well. Tannen (1993a) points out that Americans tend to think of people in positions of higher rank as having power, whereas in other cultures (such as Iran), both superiors and subordinates have rights and obligations, to the point that taking a lower position can actually be advantageous.

Economic power is a process of reward. An action, such as labor, is rewarded with money (which gives the potential for other actions). If we know someone has the ability to perform many of these rewarding actions (i.e., they are rich), we may treat them with more deference. Again, while the power lies in the action, the belief in potential actions (its naturalization) structures what a person does.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>I switch here from using the terminology 'processes of power' to simply 'power', with the understanding that they are the same.

Physical power is the power of the mugger, who threatens physical force if certain actions are not taken. In a more benign way, it is also the physical strength of a football player or boxer. While this type of power may seem to be the most real and direct, it too is often an illusion. The gun may not be loaded; the streets may not be as dangerous as we think. I refer to this type of the physical process as coercive physical power. Physical power is also made possible through ability or skill. I refer to this process of physical power as ability physical power. If this ability is valued by the ideological power, then people who are thought to have this ability will be able to change actions through their actions, and have their actions impeded less by others. An example is the difference between Michael Jordan and Edwin Moses. Both have shown amazing abilities, on the basketball court and on the track, respectively. But because Jordan's sport is more valued than Moses', his face is almost universally recognized, while a small minority would recognize Moses.

Related to the physical power of ability is knowledge power, since having an ability implies having knowledge. By having knowledge people's actions can affect the actions of others. For instance, Woodward and Bernstein's knowledge about Watergate eventually caused Nixon's resignation. As stated above, some

knowledge is more valued than others. In medicine, the knowledge taught by

American medical schools probably does not include all possible knowledge about
healing people; only certain techniques are validated. This ideology affects actions
such as teaching, which in turn affects the way millions of people are treated for
illness: actions that have an effect on other actions.

Structural power is the power of a place in a social or organizational structure, classically a hierarchy. This power is the power of position, or rank: *status* could function as a synonym for structural power. The potential actions of one person high up in a hierarchy — and the *recognition* of the *possibility* of these actions — directly affects a person lower down (promotion and termination, for example). The structure, however, need not be a hierarchy; the group's ideology will shape its structure. Thus, the relative power of ethnic groups (as ascribed status) is also structural power. I also refer to this type of power as formal power when it is specifically linked to a rank in a specific organization. Formal power is a specific subset of structural power. Demeanor power is the power of solidarity: moral authority, being liked, being "a good guy." <sup>17</sup> The ideology of the group structures what is a valued demeanor. In the language and gender literature, Tannen (1994)

notes that an independent, competitive demeanor is stereotypically valued for a man, while a affiliative, cooperative demeanor is valued for women. The perceived process of demeanor is one not normally addressed by views of power, because the actions in this type of power act on feelings, rather than overt actions. Thus a person exhibits demeanor power when others feel happy, entertained, involved, etc. Nurturing power is the process of helping another, as in teaching or feeding. Parents, ideally, have nurturing power. This process links with demeanor power, so that one who nurtures is also often loved. Nurturing is also involved in the ideological process: values are partly learned from teachers and parents.

These types of power are therefore not isolated, but closely connected to form what Foucault (1972:98) refers to as "a net-like organization." It is "something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain." Thus an ideology such as the competitive, hierarchical, group ideology that has been identified for men's groups can affect the way they structure their groups, change their demeanor, and learn their disciplines. They may form large hierarchical communities, act in ways that seem competitive, and see education and work as a competition. The success with which they learn to think and act in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The term was suggested to me by Shari Kendall (1994).

these ways, therefore, will affect their ability to use economic, structural, physical, knowledge, and demeanor processes of power.

Thus, types of power processes are linked closely with one another. One type of process may even be used to gain an ability in another type of process. Michael Jordan has demonstrated an ability to play basketball. This ability allowed him to have access to economic and demeanor processes of power, as well as a structural process which puts sports stars in an influential position. He uses his demeanor power (through his ability) to gain even more economic power through endorsements. Recently, he used all his power to try to gain a new ability: baseball. Thus — using Foucault's images — a person does not have power, but is involved in a web or chain of power (through the alignment roles he or she occupies).

But power is as much perception as it is reality. Thus, while people are involved in a web of power processes, they can focus other people's attention on different alignment roles. People use language to focus the listener's attention on that alignment role through what can be seen as an extended metaphor. Certain types of speech, such as a raised vowel, come to be identified a certain cultural model or community position. Following Bourdieu and Gumperz, these

metacommunicative processes are relatively unconscious and naturalized. People may thus learn a metacommunicative linguistic practice that is valued in their community; this practice may not be valued in another community, or may mean something entirely different (as shown by Tannen 1984, 1993a).

While this relationship between language and society is nothing new, the social framework in which I am placing this process is. The framework gives us a way of describing communities both objectively (meaningful across communities) and subjectively (meaningful within individual communities), allowing us to account for linguistic practices in a theoretically rigorous but socially meaningful way.

Based on the analysis of a community, we can make predictions about the patterns of its linguistic practices, while at the same time keeping in mind what the practices mean for the participants.

Power is therefore a way of viewing local practices globally. In this view, power — as an alignment role in a community- or culturally-defined structure and a stance in conversation, indexed by linguistic forms and strategies, among other social signifying systems — is similar to the concepts of footing discussed above (see Goffman 1981). In fact, the alignment roles on which I base the framework (and my analysis) can be seen as expanded types of footing (for stances) or at least

indexed through footings (for models and positions). Thus, by using the framework I have outlined, we can identify the types of footing available *vis-a-vis* power. Thus, we will not be limited to analyses using broad universal categories. Moreover, we can approach some comparability across communities by investigating if different communities with similar ideologies of power use similar linguistic forms and strategies, and if similar communities with different ideologies of power differ linguistically as well. Thus, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) propose, the framework gives us a way to look locally and think practically.

In this section, I have shown how the literature classifies power, and proposed a different classification in a new framework. Next, I will discuss how the types of power identified in the language and power review fit into the framework to provide a more explicit connection between language and power. Recall that the power types that I identified in the literature are position, persuasion, value, control, and societal. In all of these cases language is used to index different kinds of alignment roles as circumscribed by a local ideological power.

In the review, I identified two types of societal or macropolitical power, the Labovian type and the Faircloughian. The Faircloughian, ideology-oriented macropolitical power is straightforward ideological power, so that language is

directly reflecting and creating ideologies and the possible alignment roles circumscribed by those ideologies. Status-oriented macropolitical power is a combination of ideological power and structural power, in which the alignment roles are cultural models.<sup>18</sup>

Power as a position is clearly structural power. Thus, someone has power (or does not) by virtue of occupying a position within a structure, and they use language to indicate that they are in that position. Thus people hold power from their positions, and are expected to act in certain ways, because of how the community has structured itself. This description is more simplistic than is normally the case, because many roles may be in play at the same time. Kendall (1994) shows women downplaying their rank in a hierarchy, showing that their conception of the role different and, crucially, so is their perception of the social alignments. Language is thus used to draw from many alignment roles at once—in this case, at least from women's cultural model and organizational positions—and people may conceive of roles quite differently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>This societal power could be argued to involve all types of power in a complex web of interactions, such that a persons place in society is affected by their demeanor, knowledge, physical abilities, and economic resources. This type of analysis is, however, beyond the scope of this study, because I am not explicitly concerned with these macropolitical issues.

While persuasion can be accomplished through a logical argument, Erickson et al. (1978) show that a person who uses certain linguistic features will be more persuasive than a person who uses different features. Most important was language that indicated the speaker was certain of their statements, as well as someone who came across as an expert. These stances clearly index knowledge-based power roles: certainty is an epistemic stance, and an expert is by definition someone with specialized knowledge. Thus language that create power through persuasion indexes knowledge alignment roles—stances of knowledge.

In studies of language and power, power as a *value* is ideological power (with possible indirect effects on all other kinds of power). This ideological power structures what kind of alignment roles are expected of people with certain (ascribed) characteristics. Thus, following Maltz and Borker (1982) and others (Tannen 1993, Goodwin 1990), men are subject to an ideological power that naturalizes competitive alignment roles, and women are subject to an ideological power that naturalizes cooperative ones. <sup>19</sup> The power to control a conversation is a kind of physical power of ability, but creates a structural position in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>This same ideological power also structures other types of power as well; e.g., men value the hierarchical group whereas women are more likely to value the close egalitarian dyad (See Goodwin 1990).

conversation. However, power as control is derived from power as value, because to learn to control conversation, one must first *value* that control.

The California Style Collective (1993:5) suggest that we think of the way a person speaks as a 'bricolage': "Resources from a broad social landscape can be appropriated and recombined to make a distinctive style that will be identifiable not only by the resources it uses, but how it uses each resource and combines all its resources. . . . [The resource] may come from repeated face-to-face encounters, from encounters through loose ties, from observation in public, or from the media." In my terms, these resources provide the material for the roles that are evoked when speakers later use linguistic devices similar to the people previously encountered. Thus, speakers draw linguistic strategies and forms from other people, later evoking a *piece* of that person's identity—later indexing a role. It is important to remember that an entire person is not indexed when a linguistic device is repeated, only some portion of that person that the speaker wishes to incorporate into their identity.<sup>20</sup>

"Role" is a term that itself has unfortunate connotations, chief among these is that roles are usually thought of as relatively immutable. My conception of alignment role is different: I use it as a generic term for conversational stances, positions in communities of practice, and cultural models (the closest to the usual conception of role). Alignment roles of the more "macro" type (models and positions) arise after being associated with certain conversational stances—stances are therefore the "basic" alignment role from which others are built. Because stances are both emergent and the basis for cultural models and community positions, we can also account for the fact that these "macro-roles" are not stable through history, but tend to shift. Stances are also the most creative and least presupposing (in Silverstein's 1974 terms). There is, however, a reflexivity in which speakers use linguistic forms and strategies associated with (or indexed to) cultural models and community positions to help create conversational stances. There is thus an interactive tension between social practice (in the form of conversation stance-making) and social structure (in the form of cultural models and community positions). I will use the term roles, then, to refer to all these levels of social identity display.

In sum, I have suggested a framework for power that views power as alignment roles whose actions, through a social alignment, can affect other actions. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> I thank Penny Eckert for bringing this important distinction to my attention.

actions may be real, potential, or imagined. Ideological processes structure the perception of these alignment roles and the type of alignment roles that are valued. Alignment roles arise out of the activity type (conversational stances), the community (positions), the culture (models), and from past roles a speaker has held (what we might call personality). Language is a mechanism for indexing the alignment roles that are ratified by the ideological process.

### 2.1.4 Summary

In this section, I have reviewed the extensive literature on language and power and used that review to motivate a framework for using power in sociolinguistic analyses. This framework is based on the conception of power as a alignment role. Different types of alignment roles are valued more or less by separate communities, while people perceive potential alignment roles based on their knowledge of their community's social structure and on past actions of other community members. These ideologies can be discovered in the words of community members through everyday interactions and interviews. Most important for my analyses in chapters four and five, members use language to put themselves into these alignment roles defined by the community's (and the culture's) ideology, and they adopt and adapt linguistic strategies as symbols, or

indices, of those alignment roles. Alignment roles across communities can be characterized more generally by appealing to one of the six power processes (besides ideological power).

The framework that I have suggested is far from complete. By investigating more communities, we will likely find that the different types of power are inadequate and need to be multiplied or refined. We may also find that we can talk in terms of certain general ideologies for large social groups, such as men and women. But how these ideologies are implemented in various communities will vary. It is how language varies with these ideological differences — how the structure of a community structures the members' speech, and vice-versa — that is the domain of sociolinguistics. In language and gender, the focus has been on the differences between the speech of men and women. The fact that men have relatively more power than women in society has been one of the most consistent explanations for differences in the language of each gender group. By being more precise about what we mean by power, however, we can be more precise about those differences. Moreover, we can investigate differences within each gender group, which I believe will lead us to more meaningful generalizations about the relationship between language and gender, as well as language and society.

### 2.2 Men's Identities and language

In addition to power, the concept of men's identities is also central to my research question. Thus, in this section I again focus almost exclusively on the "socio" side of sociolinguistics to build a foundation for my analysis. I have chosen the term 'men's identities,' rather than 'masculinity', for several reasons. First, 'masculinity' is not a neutral term; it connotes a single stereotype of male identity, namely that which is often identified with, for example, John Wayne and Arnold Schwarzenegger in their movie roles. However, the majority of men in western culture do not present themselves as copies of these movie heroes (Kessler and McKenna 1978, Segal 1990). Some men even contradict this view of men's identities. Thus masculinity, as I use the term, is but one possible (idealized) type of men's identity. That there is no 'natural,' single ideal identity to which men aspire is an important point of this chapter (and of this study); hence, I use the plural 'identities.' Men's identities (and women's as well) are constructed, negotiated and changing, but they are also constrained by social structures that value some types of identity over others. They are stable, but not static.

I use the term 'men' rather than 'male' to highlight the fact that the identity is a social construction based on biological distinctions, and not something simply

derived naturally from biology. 'Identity' is an intersection between a social presentation of self and a psychological understanding of that self. These two realms, as Connell (1987) shows, are not separate but interact at multiple points. Gender, as a central part of each person's identity, falls precisely at the intersection of each person's understanding of their place in society and the social pressures they respond to (hence the definition of identity in the previous section as a constellation of alignment roles). Like power, gender is a process embedded in everyday practice; language plays a major part in this practice.

In the next section, I build this view of gender through a review of literature on male identities and gender theory. In the last section, I evaluate sociolinguistic studies that include some analysis of men's language in light of this view of gender.

### 2.2.1 Origins of gender identities.

Every person has their own theory about the differences between the sexes, and this wide variation carries over into the academic world. Any discipline that takes humans as a subject has multiple ways of viewing the sources for differences between the ways men and women act, how they think about the world, and how they think about themselves. In this section, I review the main approaches in

gender theory, and provide a critical analysis of each. There are five main ways of explaining and investigating gender (paralleling the main ways of investigating humans as subjects for scientific investigation): through biology, socialization, social structure, anthropology, and psychology. I begin with the view that these differences are natural and solely the product of biology, as opposed to culture. I then review two of the socialization/sex-role and structural approaches, followed by the view from theorists working in the psychoanalytic tradition. I provide a short review of ethnographic findings in anthropology. Finally, I discuss the framework proposed by Connell (1987) that combines the positive aspects of these traditions, which I will largely adopt for my analyses.

Natural dichotomies. The notion that men and women are innately and biologically different is a claim that no researcher disputes; however, the degree to which these differences affect their social behavior is a matter of contention. Bem (1990) identifies the naturalization of male-female difference as one of the lenses through which society sees gender. In this view, genes and/or hormones (and sometimes brain structure) produce differences in the behavior of men and women, such as men being aggressive and women being nurturing.

There are four criticisms of this view. The first challenges the degree to which there are innate differences between men and women at birth. The second criticism, related to the first, is the fact that environmental surroundings and stimuli, even in very young children, produce changes in biology that may later appear to be innate differences. Thus, girl babies may be 'cuddled' more while boy babies may be played with roughly. If this activity is continued throughout childhood, it may create permanent changes in brain and hormonal functions.

The third criticism stems from the fact that the biological differences are statistical, and not categorical. Society has created two mutually exclusive categories based on male and female sexes. Women wear dresses, men do not. However, the two groups, in terms of the biological differences that have been discovered, always overlap more than they differ. Height is a good example. On average, men are taller than women. This fact only means that the mean height for men is higher than the mean height for women; it implies that there are many men who are shorter than *most* women. But society recognizes two mutually exclusive groups, idealizing men as tall and women as shorter than men.

The final argument against a determining position of biology in the explanation of gender differences is the very fact that so much social work goes into

the argument, why would women have to wear make-up and skirts and heels, and men cut their hair and wear ties (or raise and lower their voices, for that matter)?

This debate is far from being resolved; the only point particularly clear is that "nature" and "nurture" are not easily separable (see also Tannen's 1994c discussion, in which she points out the dangers of dichotomizing this debate).<sup>21</sup>

Socialization and sex roles. Another explanation for the differing social behavior comes from a research tradition that focuses on the ways in which children are socialized into society. The basic view states that people occupy social roles, and with these roles comes societal expectations or norms for actions in these roles. Children learn these by imitating others in similar roles and by being rewarded or punished for behavior consistent with societal expectations.

Women learn 'femininity' by being socialized into the female role, and men learn 'masculinity' by being socialized into the male role. If socialization fails, a deviant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The reason so many researchers are wary of using explanations that employ biology is that many people will appropriate these explanations to naturalize not just differences, but inequalities as well. This fear is historically grounded, and is very much alive today. There are errors with ascribing too much explanation to either side of this debate; however, by far more human misery has come about from those who simplistically emphasize the role of biology.

is produced. These roles are not just social, but are seen to be psychologically internalized by children.

The main criticisms of this theory are actually based on its focus on the psychological. Put simply, it ignores the effects of social structure in favor of individual agency, biological dichotomy, and norms (or expectations) instead of actual behavior. Thus, it is individuals who voluntarily sanction children to fit their roles, while the influence of social structure on these roles is ignored. The social structure that would be needed to support roles is supplied by the convenience of biological sex. Connell (1987:50) notes that this weakness of sex role theory is made clear when we realize that we "do not speak of 'race roles' or 'class roles.'" Third, the norms that sex role researchers posit are not the realities that men and women encounter, which makes it difficult to explain how sex roles are sanctioned.

While the lack of social structure does leave sex role theory weakened, the idea that certain members of society are nevertheless exemplars of the normative ideal, and affect the roles that men and women construct, is nevertheless useful. The idea of an archetype or ideal for gender identity is one that I will use in my analysis, although in a way that gives more agency to the person creating their identity.

Psychotherapy/masculine crisis theory. Another strand of research, called masculine crisis theory by Brittan (1989), stresses the psychological development rather than the socialization of men, particularly early psychological development. The basic tenet of this theory is that male power at work and at home has been eroded, and has produced a "crisis of masculinity." Because the father is now away at work, the boy identifies with the mother rather than the father. Then, as Brittan puts it, "the cardinal question here is how do male children identify with, and then break away from, their mothers?" (1989:31) Men are forced to see themselves as non-feminine, even anti-feminine, leading them to band with other men to oppress women, because of the oppression they experienced from their mother. Masculine crisis theory is criticized on several fronts, the most important being the assumptions that a male needs to identify with the same-sex parent, and that the structure of gender relations in society is determined by the child-rearing practices of that society. Another weakness of the theory is that it can not account for the constancy of male dominance; although the forms in which men have been more privileged throughout history have changed, the fact that they do dominate has remained fairly stable.

Adler (1956) developed a similar theory, but added a social aspect to his psychological theories. He noted that children see the gender polarity of society, and also that society devalues the female gender. Moreover, children are identified with the 'weak' feminine position. In boys, Adler claimed, a balance is normally found between submission and independence, but in some boys, the weakness triggers a 'masculine protest,' in which they overcompensate with aggression and a drive for power. Adler saw this aggression as a neurosis, but its possibilities for explaining 'normal' masculinity are clear. As Connell (1994:18) points out, "Adler was not drawing a sharp distinction between the neurotic and the normal. He saw the masculine protest as active in normal mental life, neurosis breaking out only when it failed to be gratified and turned sour." Thus, Adler (1956:55) states: "All children who have been in doubt as to their sexual role exaggerate the traits which they consider masculine, above all defiance [emphasis added]." The process of masculine protest will be important in my analysis of the men's language, as it accounts for one of the cultural power roles available to the men.

# 2.2.2 A structurally informed, practice-based theory.

A structurally-informed, practice-based theory is proposed by Connell (1987), and is one which I largely adopt to connect the fraternity men's language to their

identities and the world(s) in which they construct them. Connell notes that the central problem in constructing a theory of gender (or any social identity) is to balance social structure (especially power relations), psychology, historicity, and social practice. Thus he proposes a theory that places people in structures but gives them the ability to act and create within those structures. He conceives of structure as created by practice, or the everyday actions of people in society (of which language is central). This point is important: Connell's conception of structure is not one in which there is some fixed relationship that members of a society simply respond to unquestioningly, but one in which the people of a society create the structure everyday with their own actions. Structure is not an autonomous grid imposed on society, but created by individuals. Thus, social structure is "the pattern of constraints on practice inherent in a set of social relations (1987:97)," with those relations being created by practice.

Connell identifies three main 'structural models', which he calls labor, power, and cathexis (emotional and attachment relationships). These are structures that apply across situations, societies, and time, implying that they can be used to structure the analysis of any type of social relations in any society. In addition to society's structural model are its 'structural inventories.' He identifies two levels

within a structural inventory of gender relations: the 'gender order,' which is the structural inventory of gender relations for an entire society, and a 'gender regime,' which is a structural inventory of gender relations in particular institutions within that society. Connell stresses that structural inventories and models are two ways of looking at the same facts. The study of the fraternity is thus a investigation of the gender regime of the institution, and its relationship to the structure of power.

The division of labor for Connell is not just who does what work (with women overwhelmingly doing the unpaid work of childcare and housework), but "a gender-structured system of production, consumption and distribution (1987:103)." This structure is most relevant for my study in terms of differential training, in which men and women are trained for different work. The fraternity, I show in chapter three, is a place of competitive hierarchy, and serves to train men in how to function in such an organization (like a corporation).

In addition, cultural roles of men and women are indexed to these different types of labor. Thus, if women's roles are indexed to roles of mothering (as Ochs 1992 shows), then men's roles are indexed through their paid labor. Thus, the dominant cultural model is one of a subservient mother and wife and a dominant father who spends much of his time at his job away from home.<sup>22</sup>

Most important is the structure of power. The most important aspect of this structure is its existence: a structure that privileges certain members of society over others through hierarchies of institutional violence and of the labor force and industry, the planning and control mechanisms of the state, and "a working-class milieu that emphasizes *physical toughness* and men's association with machinery (1987:109;italics added)." In terms of the view of power above, Connell claims that men control the ideology that determines values, and thus put themselves in various forms of power, such as coercive, reward, structural, and knowledge power. The ideology that underlies the structure of power, however, not only privileges men over women, but certain kinds of men's identity over others, creating a hierarchy among men.

The structure of cathexis is the "social patterning of desire (1987:112)." In western society these are ideologically heterosexual couple relationships. Although he does not discuss it, this structure should also structure relations between men, especially in affiliative groups such as the fraternity. In the fraternity there is a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> This model need not be the reality to be effective. See Quinn (1987).

privileging of relationships with other members; girlfriends are often someone to be jealous of. In the fraternity ideology (though not always in practice) women are sexual objects, men are 'real' friends.

Connell analyzes the family, the state, and street society in terms of their gender regimes. I discuss the gender regime of fraternity in the next chapter. In discussing the gender order, Connell emphasizes the connections between institutions, how they reinforce and contradict one another.

Connell's conception of gender allows for historical change. Indeed, he shows how conceptions of gender have changed throughout recorded history, and even within the last century. Finally, Connell addresses the gender and personality. He conceives of personality as inherently social and changeable, not fixed: "personality has to be seen as social practice and not as an entity distinct from 'society' (1987:220)." But he also notes that these practices are based on the structures discussed above. Thus, the personal and the societal are inseparable.

## 2.2.3 Hegemonic masculinity

Central to Connell's analysis is the concept of *hegemonic masculinity*. I will adopt this concept because it captures the view of men's identity in the fraternity better than merely stating that men's identity is powerful. Hegemonic masculinity

focuses on how a men's identity is powerful. The main concept is the hierarchic ordering not just of men over women, but men over men. There are structural bases for this type of ordering, but possibly also psychological bases (see discussion of Adler's theories, above).

Power, when connected with men's identity within hegemonic masculinity, is usually pictured in one of two ways: hierarchically or physically. These different cultural models of men's identity can be seen as two archetypes, drawing on the cultural models of men's family role (wage earner) and the cultural models for the wage earner role, as pointed out by Kaufman (1994:145) in his discussion of men's contradictory experiences of power:

Each subgroup, based on race, class, and sexual orientation, or whatever, defines manhood in ways that conform to the economic and social possibilities of that group. For example, part of the ideal of working-class manhood among white North American men stresses physical skill and the ability to physically manipulate one's environment, while part of the ideal of their upper-middle class counterparts stresses verbal skills and the ability to manipulate one's environment through economic, social, and political means.

Morgan (1992) similarly suggests that cultural models of men's identities are to a large extent rooted in work: "Work, in both the general and the specific sense, is assumed to be a major basis of identity, and of what it means to be a man

(1992:76)." The two archetypal models suggested by Kaufman are those of a leader of a hierarchical organization (e.g., president, CEO, army general, coach), or of a more physically powerful 'grunt' (army private, cowboy, factory worker, football player). The power of the former archetype, which is based on a stereotype of a professional- or clerical-class man, is mainly structural power, although knowledge, ability and reward power are also implicated (as a reason for attaining the structural power). The power of the latter archetype, based on a stereotype of a working-class man, is physical power and ability power (of 'practical' ability). Note that the latter is not necessarily an unemotional archetype, although anger, not compassion, is the emotion associated with this archetype. These archetypes add to the roles that the men draw on to create their own unique identities.<sup>23</sup> They are two very general descriptions of what Morgan (1992:96) suggests are "a range of 'masculinities' which can be deployed in different mixes in different . . . situations. . . . [B]y masculinities I am not referring so much to psychological traits which individuals may or may not possess, but rather more to sets of culturally available, recognized and legitimated themes, themes which are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Please note that the descriptions here are meant to represent American stereotypes and in no way should be taken to represent claims as to class and occupation of American men.

more or less identified with certain aspects of being a man in a given society."

Morgan's central point is that these archetypes are strongly associated with the workplace, and "work is a major source of identity in modern society (1992:96)."

Given the importance of work to men's identity, the kind of work men do in the fraternity and expect to do after college may be an important indicator of the kind of language they use. Or, perhaps more accurately, the kind of language they use may be an indicator of the kind of work they see themselves doing.

Connell also articulates a view of male identity as multiple, but cautions against oversimplification, noting that multiple identities do not mean there are just more fixed types of men's identity: "we have to examine the relations between them . . . . we have to unpack the milieux of class and race and scrutinize the gender relations operating within them (1995:76)." He continues:

A focus on relations also offers a gain in realism. Recognizing multiple masculinities, especially in an individualist culture such as the United States, risks taking them for alternative lifestyles, a matter of consumer choice. A relational approach makes it easier to recognize the hard compulsions under which gender configurations are formed, the bitterness as well as the pleasure in gendered experience.

Men's identity, and gender identity in general, is the product of the tension between societal structures and individual choices, played out in the two fields of human experience: the social and the psychological.

Connell goes on to outline four "patterns of masculinity in the current Western Gender order." Chief among these patterns is hegemony, which refers to "the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life." Thus, hegemonic masculinity is "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (1995:77)." Within this cultural pattern, there are relationships of domination and *subordination* among groups of men. Connell cites the domination of heterosexual men over homosexual men as an example. For my analysis, the concept of subordination is crucial, because in the fraternity this domination-subordination relationship is played out among groups of members.

Another component is *complicity*, whereby some men (probably most) are not exemplars of the powerful football player or the CEO of a major corporation. They are allowed the benefits of a culture of hegemonic masculinity (higher pay, less

unpaid household work, etc.), but are not its "shock troops." Their presence is crucial, because they do not challenge hegemonic masculinity (in fact they may cheer it on). The final relationship Connell discusses is *marginalization*, in which gender interacts with race and ethnicity. Thus, men's identity (and the powerful ideal) interact with the marginalization of racial and ethnic groups, such as blacks. Marginalization assumes "an authorization of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group (1995:81)," i.e., whites.

These relationships are expressed in the structures of power, the division of labor, and cathexis, in the gender order, and in the everyday practice of gender regimes. These relationships affect societal assumptions about the men's identities, and they thus affect the everyday behavior of men—including their linguistic behavior, which I explore in chapters four and five.

The literature reviewed here suggests that men's identities tend to be hierarchically and competitively oriented because of the very ordering of their identities. Given all this competitiveness, how do men then form friendships? Is connection — solidarity — important at all? The existence of the fraternity suggests an answer to this question: within a society that has hegemonic masculinity, men form groups or friendships by placing their affiliative group

above others. The 'others' may be other men, but the other may also be, and often is, women. Within this group, men will support each other because they identify with each other: "A threat to my 'brother' is a threat to me."

In this section I have reviewed research on men's identity, in order to continue to add to the social foundation upon which my explanations for linguistic patterns will rest. In the next chapter, I expand this foundation to include an ethnography of the fraternity.

# CHAPTER THREE:

#### FRATERNITY LIFE AND IDEOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

Because my analysis of the men's discourse in chapter four draws on the cultural- and community-based knowledge of the fraternity men, in this chapter I paint a portrait of fraternity life. I begin by describing how I came to study Gamma Chi Phi at Lee University, how I achieved entree into the site, and some background on fraternities in general. Next I describe the path that men take from non-member to member, and then to alumnus. I show that each member goes through what can be seen as a short metaphorical 'life' during his association with the local chapter of the fraternity: he begins as a 'child,' grows into a contributing member and possibly a leader, then graduates as an elder (sometimes respected, sometimes rebelled against). The members exemplify this 'maturation' through actions and statements in interviews and meetings. I also describe the organization of the fraternity and the speech activities and events that make up fraternity life.

Then I discuss how the organization and goals of the fraternity lead to an ideology of hierarchy, competition, hard work, sacrifice for the common good (i.e. 'responsibility'), and camaraderie. The fraternity members also share an ideology

that gender is innately bipolar and categorical, leading to a justification for the male-only organization. Based on observations of the organization of the fraternity, and members' statements in meetings and interviews, I identify the general world view of the fraternity members, what traits they value and what role the fraternity plays in the university, and in the members' lives.

#### 3.2 Entree

I was able to gain entree into this fraternity because I was a member of the same national fraternity as an undergraduate. I first contacted the national fraternity and described my project to the Executive Director and the National Council (the steering committee), who supported the project (non-monetarily).<sup>24</sup> Once I chose the local chapter, I contacted the president of the chapter (whom I had previously met at the national council meeting), describing the project to him in detail in a letter. I told him I was interested in interaction among men, and that I would be "observing and audio tape recording, as well as asking members a few questions." He asked the members for permission to allow me to go ahead with my research at a general meeting of the fraternity, and the members approved. I was given permission to attend any function and visit any member. I was also given

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>I did receive a loan from the national fraternity's educational foundation.

permission to attend secret ritual ceremonies, but not allowed to tape the ceremonial portion of the ritual activities. At first I was also restricted from taping other private speech events, most notably 'gavel' (described below). Eventually I was able to record most events at least in part.

I eventually taped approximately 37 hours of interaction. I recorded 15 hours of meetings (11 different meetings), 11 hours of interviews (nine different interviews), and 11 hours of socializing, although much of that is blank because I would leave the recorder running even when no interaction was occurring.

### 3.3 Fraternities on the American college campus

Before I describe the members and social structure of Gamma Chi Phi, I will give some general background on fraternities both nationally and at Lee University. I have gathered this information from national fraternity leaders, my research, and my own experiences with fraternities at other schools besides Lee.

Fraternities are social and service clubs which select their members from among male undergraduates at universities in the United States. Most were started in the nineteenth century as literary societies. They evolved into social outlets (engaging in competitive sports, social functions, etc.) because student life departments were not present at colleges. Students went to class and beyond that, little else was done for them, and intercollegiate sports were just beginning.

At many universities, fraternities have houses which are the center of fraternity life. These houses function as dorms, meeting halls, dining halls, and social halls. At Lee University, however, fraternities do not have houses on campus.

Nevertheless, for many members the fraternity becomes the center of social life in college. Members live with each other, take classes together, compete on the same athletic teams, and organize social functions together. In many ways, the fraternity is organized around a close family; members are known as 'brothers,' and the collective members of the fraternity are often referred to collectively as the 'brotherhood.' In large fraternities, this family aspect is often artificial; however, the men of Gamma Chi Phi pride themselves on being a very close-knit group, or "tight."

While most men join the fraternity for social reasons, the fraternity's stated reason for existence is public service. Often this public service is in the form of raising funds for national charities (e.g., the American Cancer Society), hosting blood drives, and providing volunteer labor at fundraising events for charities. In the year that I was researching, Gamma Chi Phi began an adopt-a-school program, in which the members tutored children at a local school.

The philanthropic aspect of fraternities is prominent in the relationships among the local chapter, the school administration, and the national fraternity. Without

the philanthropic aspect, the administration would probably look on the fraternity as merely another social group, one whose costs generally outweigh the benefits. At Lee University, the administration and fraternities in general have a good relationship. Some school administrations in the United States are — or have been characterized as — anti-fraternity, and many schools have closed their fraternity systems down altogether. The administration has a liaison office which is related to fraternities much as a parent: it attempts to provide guidance to the members, which involves both help and monitoring.<sup>25</sup>

Each member must have a 2.0 grade point average in order to participate in fraternity activities. These activities include activities as a prospective member, such as going through the membership selection process known as rush.

Fraternities must turn in rosters of official active members each semester, along with lists of men going through the initiation process known as pledging. In addition, each fraternity is required to periodically justify its contribution to the university community, much the way television and radio stations are required to show that they do something for the public good.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The full-time liaison position at Lee University was abandoned by the administration a year after I finished my research. It is now a part-time position filled by a graduate student at Lee.

Most local fraternity chapters are related to one another through a national fraternity; I investigated one chapter of a national fraternity. I will refer to the local chapter as "Gamma Chi Phi" or "ΓΧΦ", and to the national fraternity (which has the same real name) as "National," (following the practice of the members). National performs an oversight function, and runs education and leadership programs for the members. National is an advocate for local chapters, and helps local chapters with important leadership and organizational matters, especially with regard to liability (alcohol abuse, health issues, sexual assault and harassment, hazing, and fire safety). In extreme cases, National will reprimand or suspend local chapters for misconduct, but this reprimand is usually seen as necessary for the health of the local chapter. Fraternities are being more frequently held legally responsible for negligent actions, and local chapters are often required to hold liability insurance. This insurance is usually only available through the national fraternity. In addition, to reduce the need for this insurance, National has instituted what are called "risk management" policies, including more education of local chapter leaders in risk management concerns. These practices include, for example, limiting the availability of alcohol to underage students, using designated drivers, and making sure a sober member is always present at fraternity functions.

Fraternities have a reputation for engaging in unwise, irresponsible, demeaning, and often criminal activities. While there are many well-publicized incidents that have created this perception, everyday life in a fraternity is much like the everyday life of non-members. One possible reason for fraternity's reputation is the role that alcohol and drinking play in most of fraternity life. Fraternities often have parties which focus on drinking, specifically binge drinking. Party attendees at some Universities have become intoxicated and been hurt by falling out of windows, by falling down, or by being raped by fraternity members. The combination of the structure of the pledge period (described below) and alcohol can easily lead to injury. Thus, the reputation of fraternities among non-fraternity members on many, if not most, campuses, is bad. People often make references to the movie "Animal House," which chronicles the exploits of a fraternity made up of misfits and ne'er do wells. Like all things that are stereotyped, however, all fraternities are not the same, nor do most fraternities have the problems associated with the stereotype. But the stereotype does have some basis in reality. I will describe in detail life in one fraternity — Gamma Chi Phi at Lee University. Other fraternities, even those at Lee University, may be different.

# 3.4 Fraternity processes, organization, speech events, speech activities

#### 3.4.1 Rush

Gaining membership in a fraternity is contingent upon successfully negotiating the process of rush, which is not unlike courtship. In this process, current members meet prospective members (known as 'rushees') at organized social functions; they also socialize informally in unorganized ways. Prospective members gauge whether they want to be a part of the fraternity, while current members consider whether they want to invite the prospective members to join. But much of the 'courting' takes place outside of formal rush functions.

A university-sanctioned rush takes place at the beginning of the spring and fall semester, lasting one week. It is officially a 'dry rush,' meaning the fraternity is not allowed to provide alcoholic beverages for rushees, but this rule is broken as a norm. Drinking usually takes place with rushees favored by the members after official rush functions are over. I began my research halfway through the fall rush and managed to attend one formal rush function, at a pizza parlor/bar that many of the members often go to. It turned out to be fairly typical of other rush functions, three of which I attended in the spring semester. A flyer advertising rush events for the spring semester is include as figure 3-1; I attended "College Hoops Night", "Bowling", and the "Date Party" (the crow is the fraternity's mascot).

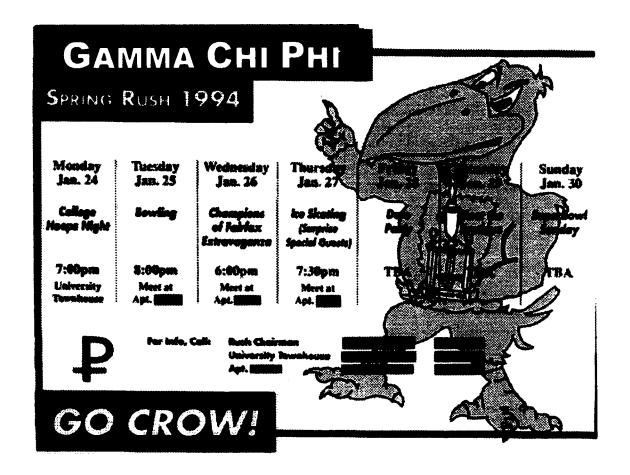


Figure 3-1. Gamma Chi Phi Rush Flyer

Rush functions are designed around an activity that will ostensibly promote interaction among the members and rushees. For example, at "College Hoops Night," several college basketball games were shown at a member's townhouse, providing an event around which talk could be centered. The flyer illustrates the centrality of sports in the members' lives, either as participants (Bowling and Ice

Skating) or as spectators (College Hoops Night, the sports bar Champions, Superbowl Sunday). Sports also provides much of the material for talk at rush functions. A cursory topic analysis of one member's talk (Saul's) with rushees at college hoops night shows that almost half of the topics, and most of the time at talk, was about sports — participation in them, professional baseball, college basketball, professional basketball, local basketball, and professional football. Excerpt 3-1 illustrates Saul's talk at College Hoops Night. It shows the range of ways sports are talked about and integrated into discussion about everyday life. Saul (S) is the rush chair. He is in charge of the event, and has been working to set up for the event all day. He is wearing a wireless microphone. At the beginning of the transcript, he walks over to a rushee (R) standing near the couches, where Waterson (W) is watching the game. The conversation is mostly about basketball, primarily from a fan's point of view. The conversation breaks up when Saul addresses another member about taking pictures.

#### Excerpt 3-1 (9A:188-252)

- 1 S: What's up, bro? (1.1)
- 2 You look tired man. (1.0)
- I been up since seven in the mornin' runnin' around I don't want to hear it.
- 4 (2.3) he he he ha: a (0.9)
- 5 What's the score in:-
- 6 ((louder)) Hey what's goin on in this game T.P.?

```
7 W: Georgetown's down by: fi:ve I think.
8
            OF SIX
9 S: |sti:1|?|
10 W: Yeah.
11 S: Have they picked up the pace at all?
            *er oh:: (.)
12
                        down by six
13 W:
14
       (6.3)
15 S: You follow college hoops?
       What?
16 R:
17 S: D'you follow college hoops?
18 R: Yeah:.
19 S: Who's your team.
20 R: I like Virginia
21 S: Do ya?
22 R: YEah
23 S: I ha- I'll tell you what
        I hate (Virginia)
24
25
        cause I dated this girl for four years?
26 R: oh
27 S
        And now she goes there?
28 R: yeah
        And every time I talk to her man she-ishe he he he eigh
29 S:
                                             (she lets you know)
30 R:
        she lets me know (0.5)
31
32
        veah but they're goo-
        I love- what is it Corey Alexander and
33
34 R: He's hurt now he's got a broken leg
35
        He's comin back
36 S: But they got like Junior Burrough:s
37 R: Yeah he's tough
38
        he's goin pro
39 S:
        Oh veah dude
40 R: They just beat North Carolina
41 S:
        No shit
42 R: I was goin' (?)
43 S:
                          he he heall bet you were, man
44 R: (?) was a good time
45 S: Uhhhh
46 R: I don't know Junior Burroughs is about this close
 47
         He's gonna be-
 48
        He's goin this summer, though.
 49 S: OH: HELL: YE:AH dude
 50
        I I-don't know if it was Junior or if it was Corey but
 51
         I worked at uh
         Paul Westhead basketball camp here this summer?
 52
 53 R: uh huh
                     (?) You play ball?
```

```
54 S: Yeah I play ba- I mean I'm not-
55
        I'm alright *but (.) I'm not (.) great
56
        I did a lot of reffing y'know
57
        mostly for that* 'h he he 'h
        unlike M:ister Waterson here
58
59
        look at him man
        he tries to tell me he's a rebounding machine
60
61
        he's like a toothpick (.)
62
        nah he's feisty (1.0)
63
        but um (.)
64
        he d- he came over-
        I wasn't doing that session but they're tellin me that Junior OR BOTH
65
66
        were there this summer just kickin a:ss
67
        Sam Cassell? remember the guy from Florida State?
        He plays for Houston now? (0.6)
68
        He was in the backcourt with Charlie Ward? (1.4)
69
70 R: Sam Cass- that sounds familiar.
        Sam Cassel yeah.
72 W: Sam Cass- oh he plays for uh::=
73 S: =Houston now
74 W: yeah.
75
             (1.1)
76 S:
        I went to the Bullets game,
77
        Alex got us uh: skybox seats.
78 W: Which one?
79 S: When they played the: the Rockets.
80 W: WE WERE THERE
81 S: You were at that game?
82 W: We were behind the ba: skets.
83 S: That's fucked up man 'cause we the sky box seats?
84
        Stocked liquor cabinet man?
        ((voice lowers pitch)) *f:uckled up he he he he he he:
85
86 R:
                                      (mmmm)
87 S: We got- we killed like two bo:ttles of liquor
88 W: Those are the best (?)
89 S: Well when we get a chance, yeah
         Or like or like I said he's got sky bo-
90
91 R:
             I've never been to a buillets game
92 S:
        You've never been to a bullets game?
93 R:
        Nu uh
94 S: We'll get you out man
95
             (0.8)
96
         See I've never been to a Caps game
97 W: I've never been to a Caps game either
98
         I could have the (?)
99 S: The thing is I'm not from here so y'know | I'm ha-|
                                                            (?)
100 R:
```

```
101
             but they were playing the Islanders once
102
         they got into a (thirty) player braw:l
103 S: Tha- that's the best, man
104 R: and was funny 'cause like
105
         one of the fans got into-
106
         this guy spilled beer on this guy?
107 S:
         mm hm
108 R: there was two fights going (one in the stands) it was great
109
          <sub>[</sub>(?)<sub>[</sub>
         v'sec I'm
110 S:
              y'see I'm from Ro:chester New York
111
112
         it's funny that you said that. (0.5)
         because in Rochester we have the (Hammers) they're an AHL team?
113
         and fuckin like this guy s:- poured beer on this hockey player? (.)
114
          motherfucker climbed o:ver the gla:ss
115
116
          into the crowd
117
         just started bam bam just started fightin that was the gr:eatest man
118
          *I ever seen<sub>i</sub>*
119 W: The bullets game was the best game I ever seen the bullets play in my life
120 S: I mean-
121 W: If thought it was an all-star game, dude
122 R: When was that?
123 W: Th one when they played the Houston Rockets.=
124 S: =Yeah it was about (.) two weeks ago
125 R: (I saw that they won by?)
126 S:
         They SQUOOSHED 'em I can' remember-
127 R: by fifteen?
128 S: Yeah jat least
129 R: Yeah yeah I saw that
                       fuckin Rex Chapman DON MCLEAN is comin into his own=
130 S:
131 W: =see that dunk? that Rex had?
132
          from one of the alley oop (?)
133 S: Yeah
134 R: When he was hurt u:m:_{\parallel}(0.5)_{\parallel} he was out for like (.) ten weeks
135 S: |yea:uh|
136 S: *yeah he fucked himself up*
137
              (1.2)
138 W: And when they put Geor:gie Ohorhay in th- in th-| in the (?)|
139 S: oh he yeah
          the crow:d was goin nuts over that seven seven bitch man
 140
 141
          can't play a lick of basketball but he's just so big=
 142 W: =See him run out on the court boom boom
 143 S: huh he he ha ha hah
 144
          (4.2)
 145
          yeah but Akeem was like dominating that game
 146 W: I: I: didn't know Akeem had that many points
 147
          it was such a quiet like forty-four or w- forty-five or whatever *it |was|+
```

```
148 S: But d'you
             remember the first fi:ve baskets were all dunks by him man
149
         *just a little (.) up and jam that shit*
150
         (3.5)
151
152 R: I want to got to-
         I want to go an Orlando game (Magic?)=
153
154 S: =Shaquille is the b-
155
         he's so ba:d ma:n (1.2)
156
         anyone who's #seven feet tall, three hundred pounds#
157
         and ten percent body fat,
158
         is gonna be a bad bitch uh he he he
159 R: His shoe size- have you seen his shoe?
160 S: 1^eh he hei
161 R: I went to a- I went into like a (.) sporting goods storre
162 W: Twe- It's like a twenty-jone
163 R: |spo|rts authority or somethin'
         Yeah they this shoe it's like twenty-three
165 S: Is that what it is?
166 W: I think its twenty-one (?).
167 S: Dam:n man
168 W: It's like two- it's two of my shoes (?)
169 R: Yeah I know e- a-
170 S: He must KI:LL girls man (1.0) 'h H<sub>I</sub>E HE<sub>I</sub>
171 R: he he he
172 W: eh ha ha ha
173
          *I mean like*
         just KILL em HE H | 'H H 'H|
175 R: Wilt Chamberlain
176 S: No shit
177
         (5.3)
178
         HEY ANT'NY
179 A: What
180 S: You got a camera dude?
```

I will not analyze this discourse in detail; it is meant as an illustration, to give the 'flavor' of the men's discourse, especially at rush. An outline of the discussion will be useful, however: After a short initial greeting and small talk (lines 1-4), Saul uses the basketball game to bring up a topic for conversation: He first 'performs solidarity' by asking Waterson about the game (lines 5-9), then asks the

rushee if he follows college basketball, and what team he follows. The rush's answer to this question provides the scaffolding for the next few minutes of conversation. At first Saul personalizes the topic by referring to an ex-girlfriend (and making her the reason he doesn't like Virginia). Then they talk about the team and two of its stars (lines 28-60). Saul also manages to get in the fact that he worked at a basketball camp (lines 45-60) and again 'perform solidarity' with Waterson (lines 53-57). The talk then turns to professional basketball when Saul brings up a former Virginia player, and tells a story about drinking in a skybox (69-82). After a short story round about hockey (lines 87-105), the talk centers on the game Saul and Waterson both attended (lines 105-135). Finally, the rushee brings up Orlando, and they discuss big Shaquille O'Neal's size (lines 136-154). The episode ends when Saul addresses another member (a resident of the townhouse) to ask him if he has a camera. Other talk focused on girls, sex, and Gamma Chi Phi's 'standing' with respect to other fraternities.

The majority of the talk, however, focused on sports. Within this topic, a range of subtopics and activities took place: personal narratives, debate (how good various teams are), showing off skill through personal involvement in sports, showing off knowledge of sports, and performing solidarity. One interesting aspect of this conversation, however, is that although it is about something competitive,

the conversation is very cooperative, in the sense that the rushee and Saul tend to try to find common ground and agree on evaluations of teams and players. They even agree on a common affinity for conflict, when each tells a story about a fight at a hockey game (lines 92-105). The only 'conflict' is when Saul makes fun of Waterson's basketball ability (lines 53-57), which, given Waterson's (non)reaction, is a playful insult that probably functions as performing solidarity. This excerpt is an example of the centrality of sports as a focus of interaction in the fraternity's world, and the manner in which the men use the topic as scaffolding for a conversation.

Sororities and rush. In Figure 3-1, the Thursday event promises 'special guests.' These special guests were members of Beta Psi, a sorority closely associated with  $\Gamma X\Phi$ . In every interview, when I asked about ties between fraternities and sororities, Beta Psi would be cited as the sorority that  $\Gamma X\Phi$  was closest with. Both groups started at around the same time at Lee University, and many members of the two institutions date each other. Both use the other as a 'resource' for functions that require dates. For instance, members of Beta Psi agreed to be dates for the  $\Gamma X\Phi$  rushees at the date party. Both of these functions — ice skating and the date party — gave  $\Gamma X\Phi$  a chance to 'show off' its ability to attract women, and to judge the rushees ability to interact with women.

This is exemplary of the display function of rush events. While they are ostensibly for interaction, they are often about displaying traits that the fraternity believes the rushees will find valuable, and to assess rushees for traits the fraternity finds important. This display function was highlighted at the pizza rush event I attended. After the event had started, two rushees came in together and stopped to survey the scene before sitting down. After briefly greeting one of the members, one rushee commented to the other, "This is really cool." He had formed an opinion based on the scene displayed in front of him, after little interaction with fraternity members. Rush is, essentially, a form of organized 'showing off.' Gamma Chi Phi chose to show off their sports knowledge and prowess and attractiveness to women at the events highlighted above. There is one other type of display, however, and it is probably more important than the other two. This display is one of camaraderie, or to use the words of many  $\Gamma X\Phi$  members, 'tightness.' We might also call this display 'performing solidarity.'

This performance was exemplified by some members' action at College Hoops
Night, where three chairs were arrayed behind a couch facing the television. Two
members sat in the left and middle chairs, and a rushee was in the chair on the
right. The member in the middle chair, Speed, interacted mostly with the other
member on the left, including turning his body slightly to face him. This body

though the rushee was oriented toward Speed (who was doing most of the talking). The rushee was also attending to the members' conversation, laughing when they did. The members were thus performing solidarity. They were engaged in an interesting, entertaining conversation, and mostly excluded the rushee from this conversation. They gave the impression that members in the fraternity have this kind of interaction all the time, and that membership in the fraternity will give the rushee the right to be a part of the conversation. By excluding the rushee from the camaraderie, they may actually be drawing him into it.

Speed was at the center of a similar display at the pizza party, in which he was the butt of a funny story about his trials of trying to get a date with one woman. His calls and visits to her were observed by one of the members, who told the entire tale of Speed's actions. Again, by showing off the closeness of the members through the sharing of embarrassing stories, they create a picture of a community that may be attractive to the rushee (especially a first-year student who may have just arrived on campus without knowing anyone but his roommate).

From these three components, sports, women, and tightness, we can begin to get a picture of fraternity values. In sports we can begin to see the value of competition. We can also see this value in the rush flyer, which features a

muscular mascot with a trophy that says "best chapter," and "go crow" on the bottom. The display of relationships with women shows the heterosexual ideology of the fraternity, because the members assume that a rushee will be attracted to the fraternity by the prospect of access to women, as sexual objects. The display of women also highlights the ideology that women occupy a separate domain from men; they may be invited to rush functions as auxiliaries, but may not be considered as rushees, nor are they a threat to the fraternity's status, as another fraternity would be. I want to point out that Beta Psi also 'gets dates' and other help from Gamma Chi Phi. But even though there is a help from both sides, the very fact that men and women have complementary institutions that compete in different arenas points out an ideology of male-female difference.

We can also begin to see from rush what members might mean when they say a man is 'a good guy.' Most of the men interviewed cited this trait *verbatim* as the most important quality in judging whether a man should be asked to be a member, and most said they joined because they thought the current members were 'good guys.' Thus, we can discover by analyzing these events how the members construct desirability for rushees — how they create an atmosphere that rushees

want to be a part of.<sup>26</sup> The atmosphere the members of Gamma Chi Phi create is one of (successful) competition, exclusive solidarity, and male heterosexuality.

Fraternity members are often told that "rush is a year-long process," and are encouraged to develop friendships outside the fraternity that will lead to new members. One member, Mack, explained that he was rushed when a  $\Gamma X\Phi$  member, Flyer, started playing pick-up football with him and other men living on his floor freshman year. When the time for formal rush came along, Flyer merely asked Mack to come to an event, and he would introduce him to the other members.

Thus rush is not only accomplished through display at rush events, but through personal friendships as well. In large part, the fraternity is an institutionalization of the men's pre-existing friendship networks. Many rushees come from the same hometowns or high schools as current members, or have some other connection with the group. Other connections arise on campus, such as with Mack and Flyer, or through dorm floors and roommates. The process is therefore not as artificial as the formal description sounds, at least in ΓΧΦ; it is not necessarily, in Pencil's words, "buying your friends," but of formalizing largely pre-existing networks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>I thank Bonnie McElhinny for pushing me to address this question.

The bid. The prospective members selected by the current members are offered an invitation for membership, and can accept or reject the 'bid,' as the offer is known. While this process sounds very formal, it is more often than not predetermined who will get a bid before the voting actually takes place. Once the voting is completed, the members go as a group to each successful rush's residence and offer him a bid. This event is an occasion to reaffirm their own solidarity. Along the way they perform "squawks:" a ritual that requires the members to line up, drop to a push up position, lower their chest to the ground, then pull it up to a seal-like position while shouting "squawk." As I accompanied them on their rounds, we did this between each visit to a student who got a bid. It was followed by a chant.

When the members got to a rush's dorm, everyone crowded into the room.

Then one member formally offered the bid, saying "On behalf of the brothers of Gamma Chi Phi, I ......" Then the members form a large huddle and scream the chant in the rush's room, cheer, and leave.

### 3.4.2 Pledging

Once they have accepted a bid, the prospective members become probationary members, or pledges. During the "pledge period," which lasts for six to eight

weeks, pledges learn the fraternity's traditions. Pledge education activities take place in unofficial secret ceremonies, and are similar to military boot camp.

Such activities begin at the ceremony marking the transition of once-honored rushees to the status of pledge — the ceremony known as 'pinning,' when the pledges receive a pin bearing a symbol of the fraternity. The pin signifies their probationary status in Gamma Chi Phi. The pinning ceremony I observed took place late at night (after midnight) in the basement of the house where six members lived. The pledges were taken upstairs in the house and blindfolded, while the members gathered in the basement. Soon the pledge educator, Speed, came down and told the members to be quiet and serious for the ceremony. Some members lined up against a wall, "wearing letters" (wearing sweatshirts that had Γ XΦ embroidered on the front). The pledges were brought down blindfolded, and lined up facing the members wearing letters. Their blindfolds were removed, and they were instructed by Speed to put their hands on the letters and recite an oath, whereupon they were given the pin, and placed it on their shirts.

As soon as the ceremony was over, the members cheered, and then the pledge educator held out bottles of cheap whiskey for each of the pledges. They then had to race to "chug" or "kill" the bottle (finish it as fast as possible, preferably without stopping). Before the ceremony, members had been placing bets as to who

would finish first. The race took place over a large garbage bin, where many of the pledges vomited after finishing the bottle. Upon finishing the race, the pledges were cheered and a short celebration took place, although some members went home, since it was a Thursday night.

The pledges thereby finish their first initiation rite of passage, an important tool for building the solidarity of the group. Even though I was technically a member of the same national fraternity, I sensed they felt a separation from me because I did not go through this ritual. Most of the members have the empty whisky bottle displayed in their bedrooms, as one of the symbols of their membership. This event is the first of many employing the idea of 'unity through adversity' to bring pledges into the group.

Pledges are treated as second-class citizens, subordinating their autonomy and identities to the fraternity as an institution, and to individual older members. The pledges also have fewer privileges than the members. For example, they are given rules to follow at different stages of the pledge period, such as always addressing a member as 'Brother Last Name,' or only speaking when spoken to, always attending class, standing at attention in the presence of brothers, and many others. The rules become more numerous and restrictive as the period moves along, until the final week, when the pledges' actions are severely restricted.

From the members' point of view, the pledges 'earn respect' and the privilege to be a member. They also learn the fraternity's customs, traditions and oral history. They are required to memorize various facts about the fraternity (e.g., its Founders, guiding principles, chapters in other cities and their Greek names, national officers, the Greek alphabet), and are required to interview all members and have them sign their pledge book, a small notebook that pledges are required to carry with them at all times. The pledge period culminates with an informal initiation. Formal initiation in secret ritual takes place only after the pledge has paid membership dues to National.

A strong bond forms between pledges because of their common adversity as second-class citizens, and also because they are often the same year in school.

Each 'pledge class' (group that goes through pledging together) is assigned a Greek letter, and there is a friendly rivalry among the pledge classes.

The progression from rush to pledge period to membership highlights the hierarchical world view of the fraternity. Only a few men are worthy of being a Gamma Chi Phi, and even then they must prove themselves capable of enduring domination and humiliation by the members. The members treat pledges as if they were "lower than whale shit," to quote a member of my local chapter. The pledges are also indoctrinated into the view that hard work will be rewarded; when the

pledge class performs a lot of work well for the members, they are rewarded (or at least not punished). Thus, the structure of the rush and pledge system indicates an ideology in which only certain men are worthy of membership, and even then they must endure hardship to 'earn respect' and gain full membership.

## 3.4.3 Membership

The pledge period culminates in initiation, a formal secret ceremony that imparts all the secrets, rights, and responsibilities of membership. However, the newly initiated brother (or "nib") is still inexperienced in the eyes of the fraternity. He lacks knowledge and past accomplishments to prove that he will function well in a fraternity office. In the social sphere, nibs normally follow the older brothers' lead, show respect to them, and defer to their judgment; however, nibs have more latitude here than in the fraternity's 'business' sphere. As a brother becomes older, he has a chance to prove himself by performing services for the fraternity. Also, simply by becoming older, he gains the respect of younger 'generations' of members; rush and pledging create desirability and status, respectively, for the older members. This desirability and respect continue after a man becomes a member.

The very oldest members soon become less central in the business sphere, and less involved socially. The older members are, however, treated with respect,

much as the elderly are stereotypically treated in American society. The 'old men' of the fraternity give advice and counsel, but they lose the ability to affect decisions as their time in important positions fades into memory. The alumni, however, are active in fraternity affairs, and attend business meetings regularly. The fraternity makes an effort to keep in touch with the alumni to solicit money, and also to solicit advice on occasion. The alumni exert some influence much the way a parent may affect a grown child — approval is no longer necessary, but disapproval is nevertheless painful and avoided. Thus the alumni can voice disapproval to create action on the fraternity's part, although they have no formal power.

#### 3.4.4 Setting

Before describing in detail the speech events in which the members engage, I will describe the physical setting of Lee University and the spaces the members use, both on campus and off.

The university is a self-contained campus in northern Virginia, in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. It is a state university, drawing most of its 22,000 students locally (within approximately 50-miles). The main parts of the campus are circled by a road, with parking, dormitories, and various other buildings to the outside. The university is generally accessible only by car, with limited bus service.

Because most students commute from their homes in the surrounding areas, the dormitory space is limited. Gamma Chi Phi members who lived on campus during my research lived mainly in two dorm areas: President's Park and the Student Apartments. President's Park houses mostly first year students. It consists of small four-story dormitory buildings, with small, shared rooms. The Student Apartments, as the name suggests, are not dorms but apartments with kitchens and separate bedrooms. They house mostly upper class students (second year and older). The year of my observation, three members had a student apartment where many members would 'hang out' during the day, since the fraternity has no house on campus.

Members would also hang out at the student union, across the street from the student apartments. This student union building houses a food court (including a bar/pizza parlor), common study areas, student services, and a room for fraternities and sororities. This room houses filing cabinets which are used by the fraternities and sororities to communicate among members. Each fraternity and sorority has a drawer in a filing cabinet, and each member in turn has a file in the drawer.

Communication is generally limited to announcements and disseminating documents. The files are painted in the colors of each fraternity or sorority, and various banners hang around the room recognizing members for special service,

awards, and announcing special events (fundraisers, parties, etc.). The room indicates that despite their small numbers (15 fraternities, 6 sororities, totaling approximately 500 students), greeks comprise an important student group. The room is small, but is located off the main common area of the union, which is in turn the first space encountered when the building is entered through the main campus entrance.

The pizza parlor/bar in the union building (named the Rathskellar, known by the members as "the Rat") was a popular hangout for the members. This restaurant is a small area closed off from the food court. A small serving area serves fast food and beer. The seating area is a mix of bar stools and small tables. One wall is devoted to a large screen television. The members often spent time between classes in the Rat; it was also used simply as a place to meet before going somewhere else.

The Aquia building, where Sunday evening meetings were held, was located next to the union building, in a prefabricated classroom unit that looked temporary.

The university was changing as I did my research; a large new student center was being built, and several other new buildings were being added.

Members generally lived with other members. On campus, they shared dorm rooms or apartments. Off campus, they found houses or apartments together. Two

houses were particularly noteworthy. The first was known as "the townhouse;" it was located in university-owned and -operated townhouses about a mile off campus. Four members lived in the two-story, two-bedroom house, although two moved out after the fall semester, and two other members moved in. This house was the center of much of the fraternity activity that I observed, from informal meetings and parties to rush events. The first floor housed the kitchen and a common area with a table, couches, and television and stereo. Either television or stereo was usually on, and someone was usually at the townhouse (although not necessarily a resident). The townhouse was also a place where people would stop by to hang out, although more people would come by in the evening. Members also used the townhouse as a place for small meetings and a place to gather before going out to a party or bar. The residents were all older members (the members who moved out were required to do so because they were graduating), including the president (Hotdog) and vice president (Pete).

Another off-campus house was located further away, in a suburban neighborhood approximately five miles from campus, known as "the Crow's Nest." Six members lived in this house, and it was here that the fraternity held big parties and other social events. Parties took place in the basement, in the center of which the fraternity members had constructed a bar. The Crow's Nest was more

out-of-the-way for most members, so it was not a central place to hang out, even though it was important for organized social events.

## 3.4.5 Fraternity organization

The fraternity members recognize an overt distinction between the formal, governing, 'business' sphere of the fraternity and the social sphere. However, the border between these two spheres is fuzzy; older, office-holding members tend to associate together, and personality plays a large role in who is elected into fraternity offices. But the difference between the two is nevertheless real, at least in the minds of the fraternity members; almost every member I interviewed mentioned this separation.

As mentioned above, philanthropic work is the justification for the fraternity's existence. Thus, organizing philanthropic activities, such as organizing a charity fundraising event or coordinating who goes to what school when in the adopt-aschool program is fraternity business. But the vast majority of the 'business' is focused on facilitating the social sphere of the fraternity. Most dues paid by the members go to pay for parties and other social events, and members organize fundraising events that only benefit the fraternity in addition to charity fundraisers. Figure 3-2 shows the offices of the fraternity; the executive committee is the

steering committee that sets agenda for meetings and usually proposes motions for action in full meetings.

# Formal organization of Gamma Chi Phi

#### **Executive Committee**

President Vice President Treasurer

Member-at-Large Member-at-Large

Secretary Risk Management
Social Philanthropy

Rush Chaplain

Pledge Educator Chapter Correspondent

Pledge Whip Historian
Special Events Fundraising
Alumni Relations Judicial

Public Relations Sergeant-at-Arms

Figure 3-2: Fraternity offices.

Another way the fraternity is organized, especially socially, is by pledge class.

Each group that is admitted at the same time (usually once a semester) is identified as one pledge class. The members are usually closest to their pledge class, since they support each other through the hardship of pledging, and very often know

each other before joining the fraternity. Pledge classes are another way of organizing competitions such as pick-up football games or drinking games.

Pledge class members also are usually of similar age, because men usually join the fraternity in their first or second year of college. Thus, the pledge classes become 'stratified' by age, with members of older pledge classes usually holding higher positions than others. While there is no formal assignment of privilege to older members, they feel they have the respect of younger members. This respect is illustrated by the fact that older members speak more in open discussions than younger members do (and that as members become older, they become more vocal). This relationship between age and respect is a synchronic, structural way of viewing the progression through the stages of membership; at any one time, there will be several members in one of the hierarchical stages of membership described above.

There are thus two main social/institutional structures organizing the fraternity: the formal elected officers of the fraternity and the differences in age and pledge class. A third way might be informal social networks, but these seemed less significant and sharp than the two former structures. All of these structures overlap significantly. In chapter four, I show that how the members use language to index their roles, especially powerful ones, in these structures.

#### 3.4.6 Speech events

In this section, I'll describe the main relevant speech events in which the fraternity members engage. The event I will focus on the most is the weekly meeting. Although this speech event is probably not highly central to a particular member, there are two reasons why it is prominent in my analysis. The first is practical: meetings are easy to observe and tape record. The second is related to my concern with power. The weekly meeting is where much of the 'business' of the fraternity is attended to, and where leaders 'show their stuff.' Thus it is in meetings that much power is negotiated and displayed.

The meetings take place Sunday evenings, usually at seven o'clock. Members begin arriving about five minutes early, and as more members arrive and socialize, the room becomes a din of talk. The meeting is often the first time in a week that some members have seen each other; at the least, many members have not seen each other since before the beginning of the weekend, and they relate to each other the social exploits of the weekend.

Eventually all the officers arrive, and there are enough members (usually 15 to 25) to begin the meeting. The president shouts the meeting to order, banging a gavel on the table. The president runs the meeting, keeping track of who speaks next and making parliamentary decisions. The meetings begin with reports by

officers, who summarize their activities and announce events, solicit help, etc. The treasurer reads out names of members who have not paid their dues or fines.<sup>27</sup>

After the reports, members discuss any old business, usually resolutions on policies. Often these resolutions are about social activities: when to have a party, how big, how much to spend, etc.

The weekly meetings are not generally looked forward to by the members because they can be long and tedious. However, members are lured by the activity that immediately follows the meeting known as gavel. At the end of a meeting, the gavel is passed around the room. The gavel signifies that the member holding it has the sole right to the floor, and can say anything he likes — apology, appreciation, complaint, or funny story. In practice, most things said in gavel are from the last category; members tell stories of their or another member's exploits over the week or weekend. Often the stories involve women (particularly popular are stories of sexual exploits known as "fuck stories"), or the actions of an inebriated member. While these stories function as entertainment and as an incentive to go to the meetings, they also perform an important community-building function. These stories are the kind that would only be shared among the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Each member is required to pay dues for social costs, and fines are levied against members if they

closest friends. In fact, it is understood that nothing said in gavel is to be repeated to a non-member. The sharing of stories also gives the members a common history, so that some members become known by, or 'famous for,' activities that take place when few members are actually present. Not all members frequently tell these stories; there are two or three members who are recognized as the storytellers. Pencil and Mack are two of the more accomplished storytellers; they both tend to 'perform' their stories. Pencil prefers to tell stories about others, while Mack tells stories both about himself and others.

The importance of gavel as something that belongs to the fraternity was perhaps most exemplified by the difficulty I had obtaining permission to tape it; I was almost always explicitly asked to turn off the tape recorder before it started. Eventually, I was allowed to tape some of gavel. The following is a short example from a gavel round. The speaker is Joe Connor.

#### EXCERPT 3-2

(3A:319-333)

- 1 C: I'm startin goddamnit 'cause y'all started at the bar
- 2 fucker
- 3 ((overlapping talk 3.0))
- 4 I just wanna say it s about time

```
5
            people came in the bar-
6
            came into the bar 'cause
 7
            y'all got fucked up and left a 35 dollar tab especially Mack Serice
8 Mack: I payed my part
            |Yeah two dollars
 9 Pete:
10 C: (?)
                    thi rty-five dollar tabs
11 Mack: Well everybody was there=
12 C: =An-
13
            Anyway
14 Mack: Ass
15 C: Um:
16
            As we're leaving
17
            we're up in uh Pete's P.V.?
18 ?:
       (shhhhh)
19 C: We're up in Pete's P.V. gettin ready to uh::::
            I'm picking Aaron and Pete we're gettin ready to bolt
20
21
            and the phone rings (.)
22
            and on the phone is Liz
23
            or whatever her name is.
24 ?: Latisha
25
        ((loud burp))
26
            and she's calling up to uh Pete's room
27
            and Aaron's on the phone
28
            and all she says wa- is
29
            ^is Pete there?
30
            And Aaron's like why?
31
            ^Makris is passed out and I need a date to my formal
32 ((laughter))
33 Mack: Woo:ps
34 ((laughter))
35 C: ^He's passed out (on my couch)
36
            ^and I'm afraid- I'm a-
37
            ^I'm afraid he's not gonna wake up on time
38
            <sub>|</sub>(?)
39 ?: Hey man that GM got you huh
40 Mack: Woo:ps
41 C: So Pete said fuck it and we left to go to
42
            we left to uh: Pennsylvania.
43
            and the drive to Lighthaven with a drunk Pete in the front seat,
44
            and Philip fartin'
45
            was the longest four and a half hours I've ever taken:
46
             in my life
```

Connor goes on to tell of the group's drunken escapades in Pennsylvania. This excerpt illustrates two out of three common story themes: ill-considered actions by brothers as a result of intoxication, and similarly embarrassing actions with women. A third, related common topic is sexual exploits with women. The excerpt also shows how the men share their social activities among the whole group, even when only a few members were present for a social event, thus tightening the community. Connor ends his round of story-telling by saying, "If y'all didn't go to Lighthaven, you missed a good time."

Stories told in gavel frequently have their genesis at the parties the fraternity holds once every few weeks during the semester. While the members socialize at other parties and in unorganized ways (so that there is usually someone 'partying' at least every weekend night, if not more often),<sup>28</sup> parties thrown by  $\Gamma X \Phi$  are the central big events of the fraternity's social calendar. Several parties are held every year: a party during the holidays, a formal event in the spring, an end-of-the-year party, and a party when pledges become full members. Some parties, known as mixers, are limited to members of the fraternity and members of one sorority.

The goal at parties for most members is to drink and meet women. Thus, many women are invited to parties but not many non-member men. A party begins between 10 and 11 p.m., and usually lasts until 2 or 3 a.m. During my observation, parties were held at the Crow's Nest. Several members were designated to stay sober in case of any kind of trouble, and also to drive vans to campus to shuttle members and guests. Although kegs of beer are prohibited by the national fraternity, this rule was not always observed, and hard alcohol was often served as well.

Drinking was the main focus of the parties, for both men and women. In the basement of the Crow's Nest, a large, two-person 'beer bong' was set up. This device exists solely for the purpose of drinking beer quickly. It consists of long plastic tubes with funnels at one end. The tubes are filled with beer, and the non-funnel ends are placed in the mouths of the drinkers. When the tube is lifted above the drinkers head, the beer shoots into the drinkers mouth and down his or her throat in seconds.

There is also much chatting and dancing at parties, usually with the goal of "hooking up" in mind. "Hooking up" takes place when a man and woman become

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Partying is used to describe the general activity of drinking and socializing. One can party even if

intimate in some way, although some members might say sex has to be involved.

Saul explains hooking up and 'throwing raps,' which precedes hooking up:

# **EXCERPT 3-3**

# (10B:240-333)

ł	SK:	There's hookin' up, there's scamming,
2		what other words are there like that?
3	Saul:	Throwin raps hhhhhhh
4	SK:	I never heard that one, what's that?
5	Saul:	Throwin a rap is just basically
6		you go up to a girl you think is attractive and uh
7		y'kno:w you try to be as outgoing as you can. normally-
8		the best way
9		that I've found
10		to get a girl
11		to hold a conversation
12		#is to entertain em.#
13		An basically throwing a rap is enterttaining a girls
14		with the intent to try to bring her back that night he he he
15	SK:	Yeah
	Saul:	or with the intent of eventually setting something up.=
17	SK:	=ls there any difference,
18		like if you just go an t- an an an
19		and talk to her
20		like is there is there any way that she knows that?
21		in that throwing raps
22	Saul:	the smart the smart girls do he he he he
23		they they know that um::
24		butwe do our best to say, y'know
25		like, we'll throw in all kinds of disclaimers when we're talkin y'know
26		y'know hey::
27		y'know but we you know what I mean
28		y'know what I'm sayin? that kind of things
29		and you'd even say that to a girl.
30		You'll be talkin and you'll say somethin a little promiscuous maybe like aw you know know
31		what I mean type of deal so-

there is no officially organized party.

32		so yeah
	SK:	OK, so, and hookin up is- is that different?
34		that's more of a after the fact kind of thing
	Saul:	tha- tha- that's the action. he he he he
36		That's the action and that's uhuh
37		ah:I mean y'know you find a gir:l,
38		you throw your rap,
39		you hook up,
40		and uh, usually no strings attached
41		but a lot of times- not a lot of times-
42		depending on who the girl is if it happens to be a drunk thing and it's late night and you
43		hook up it's usually something you try to keep as a drunk story.
44		but um, but, I mean, sometimes hookin up leads to y'know
45		y'know you li- you end up likin the girl y'know
46		and then you go into your commitment thing.
47	SK:	Yeah all right now then there's some other ones like scamming.
48		Do you guys use that at all?
49	Saui:	Yeah:: well
50		Scamming is interchangeable with throwing a rap.
51	SK:	Is that uh
52		In my experience that's more of a female term.
53	Saul:	Yeah gir- girls- yeah that's the way to look at it
54		If I go to a girl, I'm throwin a rap.
55		But if I'm a girl, getting the rap thrown to me,
56		and I'm catching on to this,
57		this guy's scamming on me.
58	SK:	OK
59	Saul:	Sothat's- I gues that the bound
60		That's the <i>fine line</i> between the two.
61	SK:	Do people do that a lot?
62	Saul:	Oh Yeah. Oh:: yeah.
63		E- Even- Even w-
64		I remember when I had a girlfriend and,
65		y'know we were committed,
66		and I liked her a lot but we had our problems and
67		y'know I'd see a girl I though was atttractive and if I could talk to her,
68		I'd throw her a rap.
69		Not knowing- not thinking I was gonna hook up with her that night
70		but to let her know that I'm around and
71		eventually I- y'know I knew I'd be free and I could come back then
72		hey you remember me?
73		let's go do something sometime, y'know
74		(0.5)
75		try to leave an impression.
76		that's what throwin a rap does is tryin to leave an- an impression.
77		

Saul's description paints a picture of the types of interactions that take place at parties and mixers, and why the fraternity holds them in the first place.

As shown above, sports are an important part of members' lives. They frequently participate in sports, either organized intramural games or unofficial games. They also often exercise, or "work out" together. Of more significance linguistically, however, is talk about sports. Johnson (1995) has suggested that sports could be considered a sort of 'male gossip.' They interact around sports by watching them on television, participating in fantasy or rotisserie leagues, and simply chatting about sports at social functions. Much of their informal social talk centers around sports (as shown in the excerpt from a rush event, p. 124).

The final speech activity is a catch-all activity, which takes place virtually anywhere the members gather: hanging out. Its most important characteristic, however, is that members be together for no apparent purpose other than to socialize (they may even be co-present for another purpose, such as waiting for a meeting to begin). They are at these times 'at ease,' or 'in their element.' It is tempting to claim that they are at these times not working on identity display, but I would be first to say that people are always displaying their identity. More accurately, they work less consciously on what identity they are displaying at these times, and they are displaying those identities that they have learned most

automatically. Most important, they feel whatever identity they do display will be accepted, since they are 'pre-ratified' by the group, through the initiation process.

Watching television is actually one of the most common 'activities' that occurs while hanging out (which made it difficult to tape-record). The men do not simply watch one show in silence, however; watching television is actually a social activity. Programs and commercials provide topics on which the members can comment, debate, or ridicule. The men comment on how beautiful (or not) women are on programs, comment on the lives of stars, and compare other members (usually unfavorably) to people on television. Television is thus more interactive, and provides conversation objects.

In this section I have discussed several speech activities the fraternities engage in: rush, meetings, gavel, parties, "throwing raps," and hanging out. While these are not all of the speech activities in which the members engage, 29 they encompass the most important ones for the fraternity community. I will use these speech activities as the basis of my analyses in chapters four through six.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>This taxonomy is also probably the most general, especially with regard to the 'hanging out' activity. However, there are so many different types of speech activity when the men are hanging out, and the men would probably divide the activities so differently, that any taxonomy would be a misrepresentation of the indeterminacy of human interaction.

## 3.5 Fraternity ideologies

Another important basis for my analyses is the world view, or ideology, of the members. I use ideology partly to refer to Bem's (1990) use of 'cultural lenses' in her discussion of gender. A cultural lens is a way a society unquestioningly views the world. Bem identifies biological essentialism, androcentrism, gender polarization, as three lenses through which society views gender. In other words, when thinking of gender, most people in western society assume that there are two genders, masculine and feminine, that these represent two poles that naturally come from human biology, and that the male gender is the 'default gender. I would identify these as parts of a gender ideology.

I also use ideology to refer to what a community values in a person; in my case what the 'ideal man' is like. Thus an ideology, as I use the term, is based on assumptions the community makes about its world and what it sees as good and bad in that world. The fraternity has what I will call an institutional ideology as well as an emergent ideology. The former is the ideology set forth in the fraternity's public bylaws, rules, ideals, and in its ritual. The latter is the ideology that emerges from the interaction of the members in their talk and action.

The most important aspects of both of these ideologies are those that Bem (1990) outlines, as explained above, especially gender polarization and

androcentrism. While these aspects of the ideology may seem trivially true, they are actually the most important aspects of the fraternity, and must be explicitly stated. The fraternity would not, in fact, exist in its present form without an ideology of gender polarization (probably fed by a biological essentialism, although I only encountered one indication of an essentialist perspective). The fact that members may only be male suggests that there is a sharp difference between male and female that must be maintained. Moreover, the motto on the coat of arms is "AN $\Delta$ PIZE $\Sigma$ ΘE," or "Be Men." This implies that the members know what a man is and how to be one, and, most importantly, that they be men and not women. This 'either-or' view is the hallmark of gender polarization.

Another manifestation of institutional ideology are the "landmarks," or guiding principles of the fraternity as laid out in the Exoteric Manual. Members are usually required to memorize these four principles:

- 1. Membership from among those who are prepared to realize in word and deed the brotherhood of all men.
- 2. The insistence on a high and clean moral standard.
- 3. The paramount duty of brotherly love among members.
- 4. Judgment not by externals but by intrinsic worth; no one is denied membership in Gamma Chi Phi because of race, creed, or nationality.

Local chapters of the fraternity follow the National public ideology to different degrees.

From the outline of Gamma Chi Phi above, it is clear that the emergent ideology has three main components: hierarchy, competition, and camaraderie. Related to these values are hard work (which is needed for success in competition in a hierarchy) and responsibility (or working for the common good of the fraternity). These values provide an interesting tension between the needs of an individual member, and the needs of the group: through service (hard work) to the group (camaraderie) one can move up (competition in the hierarchy). Moreover, the group as a whole will improve its standing on campus and thus improve an individual member's standing, especially if that member is a leader of the fraternity.

Hierarchy is evident in the stages of membership and the top-down organization of the fraternity. Only certain men may join, and some members, notably those who have been members longer, are more valued than others. The stages of membership are reminiscent of the hierarchical ordering of masculinity identified by Connell (1987) as "hegemonic masculinity." Connell points out that men's identities are differentially valued by American society, with a Caucasian, heterosexual identity being the most culturally valued. While the institutional

ideology first recognizes equality (in Landmark 1), it also implicitly assumes that people will be judged in Landmark 4. Thus, a view in which people are judged and ranked pervades the ideology.

Competition is exemplified by the members' focus on sports and their concern with the position of the fraternity *vis-a-vis* other fraternities on campus. In several meetings and interviews, members remarked that Gamma Chi Phi was the top fraternity on campus, as measured by intramural sports, quality of parties, ability to attract women, and members occupying leadership positions on campus.

Meetings, especially elections, were also crucial for discovering the value of hard work for the group, as members were most often evaluated for offices on these criteria (in addition to experience, which is a result of the hierarchy of membership stages).

The importance of solidarity is evidenced less by what was said in meetings than by what was said in interviews, and how men acted during rush. In interviews and even before I began my research, members told me that their chapter was very "tight," or very close-knit socially. During rush, members 'performed solidarity' in order to attract members, excluding non-members from that solidarity so that the non-member would wish to be a part of that camaraderie (see page 133, above).

Perhaps the most important aspect of this "tightness" is the acceptance a member

feels in the group. Thus solidarity here refers more to acceptance than to connectedness, although members do share important events in their lives with each other. Solidarity in the fraternity context means the freedom to "be men," which I will refer to as camaraderie. Thus camaraderie for my purposes is a certain way of expressing solidarity unique to the fraternity. Camaraderie is thus a goal of the community, and therefore men who construct an identity exemplifying this casual acceptance of others are valued, as is an interactional style that helps construct such an identity. Camaraderie is the most common factor the men cited in why they joined. Most said that the fraternity members became their friends so they decided to join, although a few said they were sure they would join a fraternity for other advantages, such as education in working in an organization.<sup>30</sup> Some also stated that it would give them a way to meet women. Loyalty is another part of this camaraderie; every 'brother' is exhorted to support any brother almost unquestioningly, as seen in Landmark 3: "The paramount duty of brotherly love among members."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>This goal suggests that fraternities have an effect on society, and the men, far beyond college. If organizational practices are learned in a hierarchical, competitive organization, any new organization will tend to be seen as, and may become, such an organization. Moreover, if corporations are organized in a similar manner, the men may have an advantage over women who cannot join the fraternity and learn the ways of such an organization.

Thus, hierarchy, competition, and camaraderie are the three most important parts of the fraternity ideology, in addition to the "background" American ideology of gender and work. In the excerpts in the next chapter, this ideology will become more apparent. In the view of power I explicated in chapter two, this ideology is the ideological power that structures other power. Thus, how power affects the way the men linguistically display and construct identities depends on how they instantiate the values of ideological power in their speech.

The ideology structures what other types of power are available to the men.

The hierarchical value influences mainly the structural power roles available to men. Competition means that ability and knowledge power will be important, and within those, sports ability and knowledge, and knowledge about the fraternity will be important. Finally, and probably most important, camaraderie means that demeanor, and a certain kind of demeanor, will be important.

# 3.6 Summary: The fraternity as a speech community

Fraternity members do not, of course, interact solely in the fraternity. They are members of the larger community also. They work at jobs, go to classes, and participate in extracurricular activities. The fraternity is thus only one community of practice of which the fraternity men are members. Nevertheless, for a great

many, and certainly the ones on which I focused my study, Gamma Chi Phi is the central community of which they are members during the year I spent with them.

In addition, the ideology of the fraternity is shaped by men who interact with the larger community, and much of the fraternity's values are sharpened versions of values that are important in American society in general. Competition and social mobility (which implies a hierarchy) are definitely part of an American ideology, and Americans' reputation for rudeness may come from their emphasis on solidarity (see Tannen 1982, 1984). Of course, the gender ideology is something the men share with much of the world, as discussed in chapter two.

This gender ideology also shapes how the men conceive of an ideal men's identity, or 'masculinity,' and the single-gender character of the fraternity tends to reinforce these values. The value of masculinity I focus on is power. In the next chapter, I analyze the men's discourse to determine how the need to project a powerful identity affects the men's language, and how their language affects their power and their identities.



# LANGUAGE, GENDER, AND POWER IN FRATERNITY MEN'S DISCOURSE

# **VOLUME TWO OF TWO**

A Dissertation
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Georgetown University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

By

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#### **CHAPTER FOUR:**

#### CONSTRUCTING A POWERFUL IDENTITY THROUGH DISCOURSE

#### 4. Introduction

In the preceding chapters I have laid the foundation for my analysis of how the fraternity members create and display powerful identities through their language use. The linchpin of the analysis is the conception of power as alignment roles (cultural models, community positions, and conversational stances) which are indexed through linguistic forms and strategies. These alignment roles may be indirectly indexed through stances consistent with that role, or directly indexed by using language that a person who has had the role has used.

The alignment roles a speaker can index are restricted in three interrelated ways. First, available alignment roles are restricted by the kinds of alignment roles a speaker has held previously in the community (and thus by the alignment roles available in the community generally), and by ascribed characteristics of the speakers, such as age, sex, and ethnicity. Second, alignment roles may be restricted further by the stances available in the activity type in which the speech is embedded. Finally, cultural models provide alignment roles to which the speakers

may index themselves, and be indexed to. These processes were outlined in chapters one and two.

The metaphorical indexing of (different types of) alignment roles is the main relationship between language and identity. In order to make this framework specific to the fraternity, the local values of alignment roles, activity types, cultural models, community positions, and ideology need to be filled in. In chapter two, I outlined the hegemonic masculinity and the dominant cultural models for men. In chapter three. I discussed the ideology of the men and the structure of their community. Taken together, the cultural models and community ideology show that the fraternity members see power in a hierarchical, competitive model, so that a powerful alignment role for them is one in which another person (often, but not necessarily, the interlocutor) is subordinated to the speaker in a hierarchy. Most important, there is no single hierarchy on top of which men place themselves. Rather, they put themselves in alignment roles on different hierarchies depending on their resources and situation. Thus, they may not be able to index an alignment role at the top of the hierarchy, but they will either try to index one at the top of another hierarchy, or just settle for the highest position they are able to sustain. Nevertheless, the men are keenly aware of hierarchical relations between

alignment roles. The types of power discussed in chapter two form a way of describing the bases for the hierarchies the men draw on.

Previous work in sociolinguistics and gender studies has shown that power enters into men's identities through the ordering of identities. Tannen (1990) for example, notes that conversations among men show that they are attuned to what she calls the status (one-up/one-down) dynamic. Many studies have discussed the linguistic features consistent with this metaphorical ordering, but the general mechanisms of this linguistic ordering, and how it interacts with culture, has not been systematically demonstrated. In this chapter, I explore in detail the various ways the fraternity men use linguistic devices to create powerful identities. I find that while the men create unique identities each time they speak, they nevertheless share general strategies for creating these identities. The men directly and indirectly index alignment roles on hierarchies. Directly, the men use forms that are identified with alignment roles. Indirectly, the men create stances toward other speakers, their audience, and even ideologies which in turn index different alignment roles connected to these stances. The linguistic devices range from specific parts of the grammar such as personal pronouns, to larger discourse

strategies such as mitigation/aggravation. In chapter five, I focus on one linguistic variable and explore how it helps create stances and index positions and models.

The above framework does not require that linguistic forms and strategies have a fixed connection with alignment roles. This fact is important, because speakers use many devices simultaneously, but nevertheless a coherent identity always emerges. Thus, it is not necessarily the presence or absence of a certain form or strategy that displays an identity, but the interaction among all parts of an identity (including 'non-linguistic' cues), that create the identity. Thus, as McLemore's (1991) study illustrates, a strategy may have an abstract meaning outside of context, but it is only when combined with other linguistic devices that this strategy takes on a specific meaning, and a coherent identity emerges. Indexing, like other kinds of meaning, is inherently "fuzzy" until actually used.<sup>31</sup> The discourse and the identities it helps to create are not automaton-like reactions to behavioral pressure, but an active negotiation and co-construction between the speaker and their community. Thus, the above framework does not predict precisely and with certainty the language a speaker will use, but it can explain why certain forms were chosen.

The fraternity members construct unique identities within the constraints of the fraternity, society, and the members' linguistic resources. While they may alter an identity from situation to situation, these differing identities nevertheless fit those created in previous situations; identities are not brand new, but variants on themes that are constantly being developed. They are stable, but not static. The involvement of power and dominance in male identity is complex — men use different strategies to create and show power in unique, personal ways, using different combinations of strategies to different effect. Because the linguistic devices they use to display this power are learned from others, the men often use similar devices, although each speaker arranges the devices in different constellations to create different identities, or 'personalities.'

In my analysis, I first consider discourse across speakers in one meeting to explore the similarities and differences of each man's linguistic identity construction. I then discuss the linguistic devices they have in common when constructing powerful identities. Next, I focus on one member, Pete, and his identity constructions in several different activity types, to show how he modulates his identity using various strategies and linguistic devices. Throughout, I rely on

<sup>31</sup> Even then, a speaker may wish to keep their identity a bit "fuzzy."

information and discourse from ethnographic interviews, in which the men discussed how they perceive their and other men's roles in the fraternity, to inform my analysis of the men's discourse. I also played the excerpts which appear in the chapter for two of the speakers highlighted here (Mack and Pete). This method for 'checking' analysts' interpretations of discourse has been used successfully by interactional sociolinguists to understand more fully what *participants* feel is "going on" in an interaction (see Gumperz 1982, Tannen 1984).

# 4.1 Differences among speakers: Election meeting

The only time all members gather to discuss the "business" sphere of the fraternity, meetings are also the most formally organized activity.<sup>32</sup> The meetings have a set format: they begin with reports from all of the officers, followed by discussion of any important issues, possibly with a vote. The meetings are governed (loosely) by parliamentary procedure.

The most important aspects of meetings is the participant structure and purpose. The meetings are 'formal' in that there is an explicit rule that one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Meetings held in 'ritual' (held in secret, employing the secret symbols and liturgy of the fraternity) are somewhat more formal, in that there are parts of the meeting that are scripted. However, the main body of a ritual meeting functions as a weekly meeting. I was not permitted to record the secret portions of these meetings.

member has the right to the floor at a time (although this rule is often broken), and the president serves as chair, deciding on who will speak. The 'business,' or organizational, aspects of the fraternity are the topics of meetings. Thus, structural power is more salient in meetings than in other speech activities.

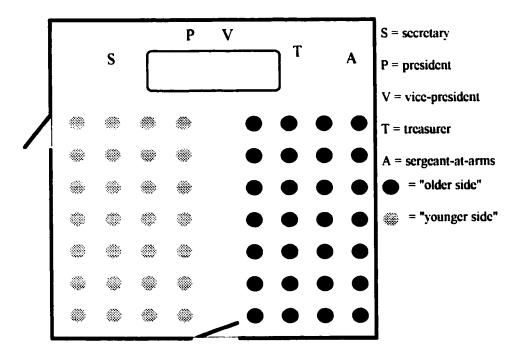


Figure 4.1: Seating arrangement in meetings<sup>33</sup>

Structural power is even more salient when we consider how the members sit in meetings. All meetings, except ritual meetings, are held in the same classroom on Sunday evenings. Several members of the Executive Committee sit at the front

of the room, facing the members, with the president and vice-president at the center, and the treasurer, secretary, and sergeant-at-arms to the outside, seated at desks next to the front table. The rest of the members also sit by rank, although this organization is unofficial and unstated. In this seat-ranking, older members tend to sit to the right side of the room (facing the front of the room), while younger members sit to the left. Very few members sit on the left-hand side of the room. The seating arrangement is shown in figure 4.1

The audience is also an important factor in the meeting. When a member speaks, he is not addressing one or two members, but all fraternity members. Even when two members speak directly to each other, all members are ratified overhearers (Bell 1984), and thus are, in effect, the audience. Often, this audience will also evaluate members' statements: very witty or apropos statements receive applause, sensitive and controversial statements are generally evaluated with silence, outrageous statements elicit general chaos, and funny remarks meet with laughter. A particularly skillful remark is met with a group chant, in which members circle their fists in the air and rhythmically chant a high-pitched whoop.

 $<sup>^{33}</sup>$  The sergeant-at-arms is traditionally in charge of "guarding the door." His function in fraternity meetings is more of a 'parliamentary thug' who helps the president keep order in the meeting.

There can be no doubt, then, that members are closely evaluated when they speak during meetings. They are more constrained than usual to construct an identity within the hard-working, hierarchical parts of the fraternity ideology, because their identities are on public display in a hierarchically organized speech activity. Members do, however, appeal to camaraderie in their comments, and the side comments and jokes serve to keep this part of fraternity ideology in mind.

The men's speech I analyze in this section is taken from an election meeting.

This type of meeting is exceptional — it takes place twice a year — but it is more useful than other meetings for viewing how the men construct powerful identities. First, both younger and older members speak; in most meetings, only older members speak (this fact also points to the importance of speaking in meetings, and the role of experience and knowledge in the fraternity ideology). More importantly, members overtly evaluate each other's flaws and skills when they argue for and against specific candidates. The goal is to persuade, so the need to speak powerfully is even more important than usual.

Once I have explored the discourse holistically in terms of the identities created by the men, I then discuss some of the linguistic strategies that the men use repeatedly for indexing alignment roles in meetings.

The portion of the election meeting I consider consists of comments on candidates for the office of chapter correspondent. The chapter correspondent communicates with the national fraternity through letters published in the fraternity's national magazine. The position traditionally goes to a younger member, because it is assumed that it requires little experience or knowledge of how the fraternity works. The only duty is writing one or two letters describing the local chapter's activities. I focus on the discussion period, which takes place after the four candidates have given their speeches and left the room, so that the rest of the members discuss the candidates' strengths and weaknesses (transcript one in the appendix contains the transcript of the entire discussion — I provide only the analyzed excerpts in the text).

I analyze four member's comments in the chapter correspondent discussion, one new member (Darter) and three older members (Ram, Mack, and Speed). The comparison of older and younger shows that age constrains the kinds of alignment roles members can index, and that they must rely on other positions besides those available in the fraternity to make their case (often alignment roles based on camaraderie and competition, rather than the fraternity hierarchy). However, the older men do not all create the same powerful identities either, although they all

index alignment roles that relate to their age and position in the fraternity. I begin my analysis with Darter, the new member.

#### 4.1.1 Darter

Darter is a newly initiated brother. Until a few weeks ago, most of the men in the room were controlling almost every aspect of his life. In the hierarchical progression through the fraternity, then, he is the lowest a full member can be. Although he was the president of the pledge class, and is recognized as a possible future leader of the fraternity, he is not in a position to exercise structural power in the fraternity hierarchy. In his comments, the first he has made in the elections, Darter makes his argument from his knowledge of the candidates' abilities, two of whom are his pledge brothers, Ritchie and Ernie. Note that he seems contrite and careful to justify his reason for speaking. (Kim is Korean-American.)

#### EXCERPT 4-1

- 41 Darter: Um Ri:tchie may come off like he's really like a dumb ass and everything
- 42 but uh
- he's like one of the smartest people
- 44 I know y'know
- 45 I went to high school with him
- and he was like ranked *fifth* in our class. and he can he can write like rea:lly well=
- 48 Kim: = He's A:sian man, what do you expect?
- 49 Speed: =Is he really? ((said in a mocking or sarcastic tone))
- 50 Darter: I mean he he types like unbelievably .. quick.

- 51 um I just think this would be a good position for him to hold
- 52 because he's a really good writer,
- I mean I've read a lot of papers of his.

Darter does not normally speak in meetings. But in this comment, Darter draws from his specialized knowledge — his high school friendship with Ritchie — to assert his right to speak. He begins by acknowledging Ritchie's identity in the fraternity in line 41 (Ritchie may come off like a dumb ass). Note his use of a dumb ass rather than "unintelligent" or "slow". He seems to assert his in-group status here by acknowledging how the fraternity members perceive Ritchie's identity and by using a colloquial description rather than a more formal one.

Darter then contrasts Ritchie's reputed identity (dumb ass) with the identity he remembers from high school in lines 46-7 (he was like ranked fifth in our class and he can write like really well). He is almost finished with his comment, having begun with reasons for his position, before he states his opinion: I just think this would be a good position for him to hold. He mitigates his statement through the use of I just think, which suggests his opinion is not very valuable. The mitigative force of this statement comes mostly because of the use of just. This word is usually used with statements to minimize their importance; for example, when someone is startled, the person who startled them often says "It's just me." Thus,

Darter's use of *just* suggests that he is minimizing the importance of his statement, even though it is backed up with sound reasoning. In a playback session, Pete (an older brother) seemed to agree with this assessment; he said that Darter "makes an excuse before he says what he thinks," and that he acts like a typical new brother by being "tentative." Mack (another older member) also focused on Darter's youth, saying that he was "completely ignorant as to the way things work" in the fraternity. Thus, members of the fraternity also found Darter's comments to be tentative and mitigative.

Darter immediately follows his "just" statement with a because clause that explicitly highlights this reasoning (because he's a really good writer), which is implicit from his other statements. Below, I show that the older brothers do not necessarily provide this kind of justification. Darter then emphasizes once again how he knows that Ritchie is a good writer. Thus, Darter explicitly justifies his support for Ritchie through his knowledge of Ritchie's writing abilities. His power is therefore not based on his position in the fraternity, but on knowledgeable position as Ritchie's friend which he is careful to highlight extensively. He presents himself as someone who holds information important to the debate, but seems unsure of his right to speak.

Darter's contriteness shows that he "knows his place" in the fraternity, that he sees himself as part of the hierarchical structure, even if that place is at the bottom. He thus creates a stance that respects the hierarchical ideology of the fraternity, and one that acknowledges his low place in the fraternity. Darter's style is "passive," according to Pete.

# **4.1.2 Speed**

The next speaker I introduce is Speed, a third-year member. Of the four speakers I am considering, he speaks next in the meeting. His statement is short and to the point.

### EXCERPT 4-2

- 82 Sly: Speed.
- 83 Speed: Ri:tchie. I like Ritchie 'cause he's smart
- and he probably (writes really good) too:.
- so let him do it dude.

Speed at first does not justify his statement. He merely states Ritchie's name. Then he notes that Ritchie is smart and that Ritchie is capable of doing the job. His short statement indicates that for him the choice, based on Ritchie's ability, is simple. It is just a matter of "letting him do it." In addition, by first only uttering Ritchie's name, Speed implies that members should be swayed by the mere fact that he is

for Ritchie. His comment is also less formal in tone, spoken slowly, almost off-hand. Note his use of the discourse particle *dude* in line 85 (*so let him do it dude*). This use of *dude* seems to be derived from an address term that indexes solidarity and casualness, associated with a relaxed attitude. It is used by several of the men in their speech frequently, even when addressing more than one person. Speed's use of *dude*, especially in conjunction with *let him do it*, implies a relaxed, friendly stance, which contrasts with the formality of the other members I analyze here. The brevity of Speed's statement, his apparent lack of concern with creating a position that highlights his age, and his focus on Ritchie's ability foreshadow his later comments, which create a stance that confronts and challenges the hierarchical structural positions other older men index.

### 4.1.3 Ram

Ram presents a different powerful identity. An older brother, he has just finished a year as treasurer. He creates a fatherly, 'wise elder' identity through his comment:

# EXCERPT 4-3

119 Ram: um I'd like to endorse Kurt here, surprisingly

120 I mean the kid-

121 I don't want to see him fall into another-

and I'm not saying that he would

123 Kevin Fierst type thing,

124 I think we need to make him-

we need to strongly involve him now

126 I think he's pretty serious about it, y'know

and with a little guidance I mean he'll do a fine job.

Ram creates a powerful identity by putting himself in the community position of a person with age and experience — at the top of the fraternity's hierarchy of membership. He states that he will endorse Kurt; those who endorse candidates are normally elected officials or some other leader. Thus, by using this word, he evokes a leadership position. Ram also refers to Kurt as the kid, which implies that Ram is older and more knowledgeable, thus indexing a father cultural model. Finally, he shows off his knowledge of past members of the fraternity by mentioning a past incident (Kevin Fierst type thing) in lines 121-3 (Kevin Fierst was a member who dropped out of school because of substance abuse problems). Ram further creates a fatherly stance through his use of the phrase with a little guidance, suggesting that he is qualified to give that guidance because of his position in the fraternity. He also shows concern for Kurt (I don't want to see him fall into another... Kevin Fierst type thing), which suggests a fatherly stance. Thus, he draws on the part of the fraternity ideology of camaraderie that stresses 'looking out for' another brother. He also draws on his position as an older brother to create a fatherly stance. Ram, like Darter, is creating an identity that is not necessarily stereotypical of 'men's speech,' in that it doesn't stress competition,

but caring. In fact, Mack thought that Ram's comments seemed to be full of 'charity,' focusing on a concern for individual members rather than a concern for the entire fraternity, and who would be the best candidate for the fraternity. Pete remarked that he would respect what Ram said because he was among the group of members who were going to be leaders (separate from those who would be "workers not leaders" and a third group of "just bodies" who didn't do anything but socialize).

Thus, Ram does not abandon fraternity ideology in his comments. In fact, he reinforces it in two ways: he strengthens the camaraderie ideology by showing concern for a fellow 'brother,' and puts himself at the top of the hierarchy as a wise, fatherly, elder.<sup>34</sup>

## 4.1.4 Mack

Mack, a fourth-year member, was Darter's pledge educator (in charge of the program and activities during the pledge period). Mack uses his position as an older brother to assume his statements carry weight. However, he differs from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> This concurrence of camaraderie and hierarchy provides more evidence for Tannen's (1993) view that closeness does not necessarily mean equality, nor distance, inequality; Ram shows concern for Kurt, but also indexes a power role on a hierarchy. In fact, he accomplishes his power role largely by taking this fatherly stance.

Ram by being more proscriptive in the statement of his opinions. Thus, in his comment Mack instructs members in how they should think about voting, in addition to telling them who to vote for. His lack of mitigation suggests that his way is the only way. Pencil, who interrupts Mack's comments, is an alumni member who is now the graduate advisor for the chapter.

### **EXCERPT 4-4**

```
184 Sly: Mack.
185 Mack: Okay. (.)
             This is it. (.)
187
             Somebody said something about
188 Pencil: Again. we need to reorganize (?).
189 Mack: yeah somebody s-
190
             we need to look at what we have left here,
191
              and there are certain positions
192
              that everybody fits into perfectly.
193
              Ernie does not fit into this: (0.1)
194
              I'm not sure where Ernie fits in just yet.
195 ?: historian
196 Mack: but I: a:m afraid that we are going to waste uh
197
              one of the few brains left. in someplace that that uh
198
              historian has potentially been a non-existent position.
199
              uh I think for a couple semesters Yahoo took some pictures.
                                                                 We're talking about chapter
200 Pencil:
              correspondent now
201
202 Mack: what's that? I know
203 Pencil: and he can hold both positions
204 Mack: I understand that. (0.3)
205
              But he won't.
206
              (0.5)
              I see- I see Kurt-
                                                                 I see Kurt- I see Kurt-
207
208 Pencil: Then talk about chapter correspondent.
209 Pencil: point of order.
210 ?: we have we have four left.
```

211 Pencil: point of order.

212 Mack: I see Kurt as chapter correspondent.

213 not Ritchie damn it.

Mack begins by serving notice that his word is gospel: *This is it*. With this statement he asserts that what he says is the most important comment of the discussion. In addition, it delays his actual message, raising expectation so that the following statement may be given more weight (similar to a prize announcer lengthening the announcement: "And the winner: i::::s...."). Unlike Darter, Mack does not justify this first statement at all (contrast *Ritchie may come off like he's a dumb ass and everything but...* with *this is it*). Mack's non-mitigation and non-justification presents a stance of someone who can make a proclamation, and thus a position high in a formal hierarchy.

However, Mack is interrupted by Pencil in line 188 (Again. We need someone to reorganize), just as Mack seems to be setting the background for the main thrust of his comments (lines 186-7: This is it. Somebody said something about-). Pencil seems to indicate that Mack's comments are a repetition of comments made previously, although it is not completely clear what it is exactly Mack will say. Pencil may be trying to throw Mack off track, or 'challenge' him, possibly because of the assertive way Mack started his comments. Alternatively, Pencil may be

impatient with a repetition of earlier comments. We learn more in a later interruption. Mack does seem to abandon his initial line of discussion: line 189 (yeah somebody s-) looks as if it would have been a repetition (and presumably completion) of line 187 (somebody said something about-), but he actually cuts himself off earlier in line 189 than in line 187.

In line 190, Mack takes another tack, instructing the members how to go about making a decision, by using the first person plural subject without any hedges, and by using need (We need to look at what we have left). Contrast his statement with what might be termed its 'opposite': Mack might have said 'I think we should look at what's left.' Goodwin (1980) shows that imperatives can be used to create a hierarchy among a group of young boys. Need works with a similar process, although strictly speaking it encodes epistemic necessity instead of deontic necessity (as true imperatives do). Mack's use of need implicitly puts him in a stance of structural power, as a leader who knows what is good for his flock. Notice that Mack's use of we need is slightly different from Ram's; Ram was addressing the status of one member only (we need to strongly involve him now), while Mack is concerned with the status of the entire organization (we need to look at what we have left here).

Mack is not constructing a new place for himself in the fraternity, but continuing in a carefully constructed position: that of the elder, wise, behind-the-scenes manipulator who knows the "inner workings" of the fraternity. With such knowledge, he has the right to make the sweeping pronouncements in his comments. In an interview the semester after the election, he indicated this manipulator position was the one he seeks for himself. Although he has held few fraternity offices, he goes to other members before elections and suggests that they run for certain offices, then makes comments in their favor during elections, as he noted in the same interview:

### EXCERPT 4-5

- 1 Mack: You've been getting dude, what-
- and this is, again what I'm coming down to
- 3 SK: ??
- 4 Mack: It really- the guys have been telling you what is supposed to happen
- 5 they don't know.
- 6 How could they possibly know the innner workings.
- 7 the behind-the-scenes work of the fraternity if
- 8 one they've only been in for a semester, or maybe two
- 9 they've never been involved in any of these conver-
- I mean to be honest with you man,
- it's- we: decide who's going to be the next president.
- 12 Because as soon as- as soon as an older brother takes someone under his wing.
- that's it.
- 14 it's done. That is the person who's going to do it.
- that's what happened with Kornman.
- 16 'Kay Tribs just took him under his wing,
- he was the only one.
- 18 you know what I'm saying?

```
19
            It didn't used to be that way.
            ... ((explains how elections were when he first joined))
20
21
22 Mack: Befo:re we sit in a meeting and talk about it,
            we've been talking about it for a month.
23
24 SK: Yeah.
25 Mack: Quietly.
26 SK: So you guys know.
27 Mack: so: we know who's-
            and not just-um not just amongst ourselves we talk to other people.
28
            You plant seeds in people's minds.
29
30 SK: Right
31 Mack: And that's, and that's where we've made the mistake.
            Because we've tried to manipulate the outcome of events:
33
            from- from the outside.
34
             we've never played an-
35
             well, I haven't anyway played (1.0)
             an active role as in (2.5)
36
             like (.) campaigning for somebody.
37
             Ow- y'know speaking months before=
38
             =But you talk to people.
39
             And you try: from an- from an outside source,
40
41
             rather than being on the EC.
42
             I've always tried to be from the outside,
43
             and get- get things done.
44
             by manipulating people.
             getting them to do the things you want them to do.
45
46
             without them feeling that you're- y'know.
             And uh- I've been comfortable there.
47
             I mean things: up: to this point have gone the way I've wanted them to.
48
             But by doing that, we have eliminated the whole democratic process.
49
```

In this excerpt he states explicitly his 'political' position in the fraternity as a back room manipulator, subtly directing who runs for what election so that the outcomes are all but certain. In his comments in the chapter correspondent election, then, he is not creating a new identity, but continuing the identity he has been building in the fraternity for three years. The interview excerpt also shows

will, but are part of who they truly believe they are. For instance, in his comment in lines 42-44 he states explicitly that he is a manipulator (*I've always tried to be from the outside, and get things done by manipulating people*). This comment shows that his identity has a psychological reality for Mack, and suggests that the identity constructions of which language is a part are not purely social phenomena, but are psychologically real to the person.

Mack was also the pledge educator for the newly initiated brothers, which may affect his election comments in two ways. First, he has had a position of supreme authority over the new members until recently — he was their teacher and 'drill sergeant' — so that they probably perceive him as an authority in the fraternity. Second, he can claim to know the new members better than any other members (except perhaps the new members themselves). Thus, he can claim to be qualified to make these pronouncements. He can use his structural and demeanor power to influence the new members, many of whom will vote in the election, and he can use his air of knowledge power to influence older brothers.

Other evidence suggests that Mack is trying to focus on his structural position in the fraternity, particularly his seating choice in the meeting room. Recall that

older, more 'powerful' members sit on the right-hand side of the room, and Mack sits as far to the right as possible. Darter, in contrast, sits on the 'younger' left-hand side, towards the middle (the extreme left-hand side is empty). By sitting where he does, Mack makes a statement about his place in the fraternity hierarchy.

Mack continues to use power-creating/displaying devices throughout his comments. In lines 191–4, he sets up a system in which each member has his place, and Mack knows who belongs in what place (there are certain positions that everybody fits into perfectly). He presents his statements as axiomatic truths by using the existential there are construction without any indication that he is actually voicing an opinion. This presentation of opinion as timeless fact contrasts even with Ram and Speed, who use the first person singular, indicating that the opinions they express are their own. Also, were Mack to use modality markers, such as 'may', he would give the impression that members can decide the issue for themselves. Instead, he leaves no room for doubt. In line 196, he again indexes an insider stance through the phrase *l am afraid*, which is used by people who have special knowledge of a situation, as if they have seen it before. It also implies that the speaker has the knowledge or experience to evaluate the situation. In contrast, instead of using these devices to speak for the collective in a leader-like stance, he

might have said something like 'I think Ritchie is overqualified for this position.' It is unclear where his argument was going from line 197 forward, because he stops his sentence and begins to discuss the historian office. It appears as if he planned to highlight his age, by discussing the past worth of the historian office in lines 198–200 (historian has potentially been a nonexistent position). Pencil then argues with him about discussing one position at a time in lines 201–11 (beginning with we're talking about chapter correspondent right now), which prompts Mack to finish his statement. Mack ends by simply stating that "he sees" Kurt as correspondent, again without any justification (in fact, with less justification than at the beginning of his comments). This construction, I see, is used by other members to create a similar air of authority, as if the speaker is a visionary who speaks with the wisdom of the ages. For instance, see Ram's comments in line 102: I see him taking more of a historical position.

Returning now to the exchange between Mack and Pencil, it seems that

Pencil's initial interjection was not just impatience. First, Pencil doesn't wait for
the president to stop Mack. In an earlier comment, when Pete begins to discuss
another office, the president reminds him that they are voting on one office (which
Pete doesn't take very well):

# EXCERPT 4-6

172 Sly: Darter.

```
161 Sly: Pete
162 Pencil: You're a moron ((to Mitty, who just spoke))
             Kurt for chapter correspondent.
163 Pete:
             Ritchie for sch-olarship.
164
165 ?: |no
             and Ernie for historian.
166 Pete:
                      Ritchie for chaplain.
167 ?:
             allright well Ritchie for historian,
168 Pete:
             and Ernie for scholarship.
170 Sly: We're on one vote right now.
             Hey I get to say my piece I got the floor bitch.
171 Pete:
```

This excerpt shows that Sly is willing and able to try to censure a speaker for getting 'off topic.' But Pencil doesn't wait for Sly, he interjects almost immediately after Mack mentions the historian position (at a point when Mack comes to pause), saying we're talking about chapter correspondent now. Mack acts unfazed, saying that he knows what is being discussed. Pencil then points out that holding one office does not preclude a person from holding another: and he can hold both positions. This would seem to take the wind out of Mack's argument that if Ritchie is elected to one position (or Kurt — it is not clear who he means by one of the few brains left), he would not be available for another position.

This argument seems to slow Mack down. After he acknowledges the truth of Pencil's statement (I understand that), Mack pauses for a significant time (even in Mack's slow cadence). He briefly returns to his assertive style (But he won't), trying, it seems, to affect the future simply by stating what will be (as if he has the ability to affect the outcome of the elections), before he pauses again for a slightly longer time. There is no reason to believe that Ritchie won't win both elections, except for the fact that "everyone has their place." Thus, with the phrase But he won't, Mack continues to put himself in the manipulator position. After this pause, he and Pencil begin speaking at the same time, although Pencil manages a full sentence while Mack only manages to repeat I see (Kurt). Several men speak at the same time at this point, with Pencil increasing his complaint against Mack by appealing to the rules of order, even though, as we learn in line 212 (I see Kurt as chapter correspondent), Mack is in fact going to state his position on chapter correspondent. Defeated, it seems, Mack states simply that "he sees" one member in the correspondent position, and not another. While still assertive, this statement is a far cry from Mack's beginning statements, which were less agentive, and suggested a grand plan for the remaining offices. Mack agreed, saying in playback that he "probably didn't get my point across." He noted that Pencil will often use

the rules "when the rules suit him"—that is, when he can use the rules to his own purpose. Whether he intends to or not, Pencil succeeds in taking much of the power out of Mack's speech: he has shown Mack does not have ultimate knowledge of the fraternity, has denied him the floor to make his argument, and has made him make what argument he does in a less powerful manner than the usual pattern. Mack's frustration is perhaps the cause of his final profanity (damn it).

# **4.1.5 Speed**

Contrast Mack's comments with a later comment by Speed. After Mack speaks, other older members have taken up the discussion of finding offices for the newly initiated members. Speed responds to this trend, and returns to his utilitarian theme. Like Mack, Speed draws on hierarchically organized power, but in a different way. Speed also draws on his age, using devices similar to Mack, but instead of having the effect of creating an identity that suggests a powerful insider, Speed creates an identity that suggests he is resisting this kind of power in favor of ability power. Speed's comments are given in a shouting voice, as if he is angry.

#### EXCERPT 4-7

```
219 Speed: All right look.
220
              first of all, you guys need to realize we do not ha:ve to ne- necessarily make a:ll the new
221
222
              put them in positions right away.
223
              a lot of the new brothers already have positions.
224
              they can get elected next year or next semester.
225
              there are some positions that are semesterly.
226
              we don't have to make sure that every one of them has a position.
227
              they need time to learn and grow-
228
              it's better that ithey're-
                                                 that they're=
229 ?:
                       (I need an assistant.)
230 Speed: =SHUT THE F:UCK UP.
231
              it's better that they're-
232
              that they're almost like I was with Tex.
233
              I was Tex's like little bitch boy, graduate affairs,
234
              and I learned a lot more there.
235
              than I would if I got stuck in some leadership role.
236
              so fuck 'em.
237
              I don't care if any of em don't get a position.
238
              but I'm tellin' you right now.
239
              I think Ritchie should do it because like Kim said.
240
              people are gonna read this shit,
              Kurt might get ha:mmered and write some shitty, fuckin' letter,
241
242
              Ernie can't write.
243
              fuckin' Mullin already has a position,
244
              so put Ritchie in there,
245
              and stop fuckin' trying to .. set everybody up in a position. christ.
                                                                                Alex.
246 Sly:
247 Speed: I:'d like one.
              ((laughter))
248
```

Speed constructs a contrarian identity in the fraternity, resisting those in formal offices. He relies on a different presentation of power, one that sets him up in opposition to others. Even though he is a third-year member, he usually sits on the

"non-powerful" left side, in the back of the room (even though he is a junior), suggesting a contempt for the power hierarchy. Speed's argumentative identity is evident in this speech, but he uses some of the same linguistic devices as Mack. Speed makes use of the imperative, as Mack does. He begins by saying All right look which is similar in tone to Mack's This is it. In line 246, Speed states that you guys need to realize, which is similar to Mack's we need to look at what we have. Speed then shows his knowledge of the fraternity, continuing in a modality of deontic necessity, saying we don't have to make sure that every one of them has a position, which contrasts with Mack's we need to look at what we have left here. Also note Speed's use of the first person plural pronoun we. By using this pronoun, Speed implicitly states that he speaks for the fraternity, which puts him in a powerful position.

Speed then draws on his personal experience in the fraternity for an example in lines 259–262, notably in a low position — I was Tex's little bitch boy. A bitch boy is a recognized position in the fraternity, someone who plays a subordinate, servant-like position for a single member of the fraternity. This term focuses on how he has experienced the fraternity hierarchy, namely by working his way out of such low positions, rather than being 'assigned' a position and a future place in

the fraternity by the older members, as he alludes to in lines 234-5 (I learned more there than if I got stuck in some leadership role).

Next, Speed uses an aggravated, bald statement which seems to indicate his indifference to the younger members' aspirations in lines 263-4 (so fuck 'em...). Although this statement seems to clash with his earlier concern for their welfare in line 253 (they need time to learn and grow), the more aggravated statement is consistent with his identity in the fraternity, and he may have been sarcastic or ironic, meaning actually that the younger members need to 'pay their dues' (which also fits in with the hierarchic ideology of the fraternity). Speed then presents a utilitarian argument for voting for Ritchie by pointing out why other candidates are unqualified (lines 264-270). In line 264, he uses a pedagogic tone similar to Mack's: I'm tellin' you right now. Note that this argument is consistent with his argumentative, impatient identity: he sums up each person quickly, with aggravation and profanity. At the very end (line 276), he injects some self-directed humor. Throughout the elections, he has been unable to get elected, and this fact has become a running joke. When he says I'd like one, he releases some of the tension he may have just created, and brings out the camaraderie of the fraternity.

Thus Speed, while staying within the constraints of the hierarchic fraternity ideology, manages to construct an identity that rejects the manipulative structural power of some of the older brothers. He accomplishes his identity by taking a confrontational stance in several respects. First, he overtly thumbs his nose at the structural power (as in line 235, in which he mocks having to be in *some* leadership role). He is also confrontational to the candidates, as when he says so fuck 'em, and toward the audience when he says you guys need to realize and shut the fuck up. He also creates a 'tough guy' image by using profanity and high volume speech. Speed thus evokes the physically powerful cultural model through these stances and linguistic devices, a cultural model that reflexively evokes rebellion and independence. Pete's reaction during playback suggests that Speed was successful: Pete thought it seemed like Speed was "sick of the bullshit" and "a little pissed." Mack also commented that Speed seemed to be "frustrated," and hypothesized that Speed's frustration was due to not winning any offices.

This view of Speed is further supported by different versions of his 'impeachment' as pledge educator. Speed was elected to be pledge educator the second semester of my research (spring 1994), but did not finish his job. One version of what happened comes from Pencil, who I interviewed early the next

semester (EC stands for "Executive Committee," the steering committee for the fraternity):

#### EXCERPT 4-8

- 1 Pencil: He had a lot of people's respect
- and he was lined up to go into these (???) y'know, and lined up
- and he came back one fall and just-
- 4 his attitude toward the fraternity completely changed.
- 5 He could give a shit, y'know.
- 6 It was like who cares.
- 7 Um he had a lot of people's respect and he probably could've been a very strong EC member.
- 8 But he lost everybody's respect.
- 9 What he did was he (.) was pledge educator the-
- the job they give you when they want you to lead in the future because y'know
- lead these ten guys, well then you can lead these fifty guys y'know.
- and uh, they gave him that job and then, about eight weeks into the semester, he wasn't even
- goin' to the pledge meetings.

Notice Pencil's implicit assumptions of the fraternity ideology: he suggests that Speed was "lined up" for a leadership position (hierarchy), and that he suddenly didn't care about the fraternity any more (subordination to the group). Thus, Pencil sees Speed's losing the position in terms of the dominant ideology. Speed has a different view of the same events (*it* in the first line refers to the pledge period:

#### EXCERPT 4-9

- 1 SK: Did you keep it the way you had it?
- 2 Speed: I tried to, man, but they wouldn't let me so:
- I had to I had to succumb to their rules
- 4 th th- th- they got all pissed off at me and tried to take my position away from me and all that
- 5 shit, man.
- 6 Bunch a dicks.

Speed's independence shows through in this excerpt when he says *l* had to succumb to their rules. Speed suggests that he lost his position because he didn't follow the members' will, and evaluates them negatively (bunch a dicks). These excerpts provide more evidence for an ideological clash between Speed's rebellious confrontation and the fraternity's expectation of a natural progression to structural power. Speed thus aligns his identity—confrontational, physically powerful—with the fraternity ideology on which he bases his arguments.

#### 4.1.6 Powerful identities in the chapter correspondent debate

Speed, Ram, and Mack, while using similar linguistic devices to index their positions as older members, nevertheless construct different identities. Because he is younger, Darter has different constraints on the identity he presents in the meeting (and he chooses to follow them). He does not have a structural power position available to him, so the problem presented to him — of creating an identity through alignment roles consistent with the fraternity ideology — is much different than the problem presented to Speed, Ram, and Mack. Moreover, the three older members have had at least two years to observe other members and test different styles of presentation; Darter is at the beginning of this process. He must

create a way to affect votes without any prior history of being able to do so. He must create an alignment role for himself that fits within the constraints of being a 'nib', but nevertheless convinces people to vote for his candidate. Darter therefore draws on his specialized knowledge.

It is important to notice also that Speed was genuinely impatient with the discussion at the time of his second statement, as seen by a comparison of his two statements. In the first statement, he simply states why Ritchie is qualified for the position. In the second, however, he is arguing against other members — especially Mack — and against the direction of the debate, as much as he is arguing for Ritchie. His place in the argument (he is nearly the last speaker) sets up a context in which he can position himself as the defender of ability power over structural power for its own sake. He can make clear his dislike of voting members into offices without any functional reason for doing so. This secondary argument was not possible in Speed's first comments, because none of the older members had suggested considering all the new members and what offices they should occupy.

Speed puts himself in an alignment role that resists the formal hierarchy while highlighting competitiveness. In this aspect he is similar to Darter; both base their

support for Ritchie on his ability. Neither makes their comment from a structural alignment role. However, Speed and Darter's alignment roles are also different; Speed focuses listeners on his knowledge of the fraternity and how candidates should be judged in general, while Darter "just" believes he has important information to add. Most importantly, Darter is showing he "knows his place" in the hierarchy, while Speed seems to be railing *against* a structural hierarchy and *for* a hierarchy based on ability.

Thus, the differences in alignment roles rest largely with how these alignment roles relate to the hierarchies, each of which is based on a type of power (e.g., ability vs. structural). Thus, all the men create powerful identities by indexing powerful alignment roles; however, these alignment roles are powerful in different hierarchical dimensions, which are based on types of power and different parts of the fraternity ideology. Darter and Speed orient themselves to the ideology of being rewarded for ability. They both argue that Ritchie is simply the most qualified candidate, and voting for him will benefit the fraternity the most. They therefore appeal to the part of the ideology that creates a hierarchy of ability (i.e.,

competition).<sup>35</sup> Ram argues that the fraternity will lose Kurt if they do not involve him in it, and thus creates an alignment role as a concerned father or older brother, focusing on familial metaphor on which much of the fraternity social structure is based, another aspect of the ideology of camaraderie. Notice that this is nevertheless a powerful alignment role for the men, in that it is an alignment role at the top of a metaphorical familial hierarchy. Mack, however, focuses on the fraternity's structural hierarchy, and places his position squarely within it; for him, some jobs are more important than others, and must be 'assigned' to more important members. Thus, he wants Ritchie to have a job other than chapter correspondent. Mack also conceives of his position as manipulator, and uses his structural position of age to put members in the offices that he "sees" for them. Speed puts his stance against this formal structural hierarchy, focusing on the ability hierarchy and "paying your dues." In other respects, such as focusing on age and experience, Speed and Mack's alignment roles are very much alike, and their linguistic usage reflects this similarity.

The elections are very important to the members. They care deeply about the fraternity and its future, and who they elect very much affects what happens in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Darter is nevertheless concerned with the formal structural hierarchy, as shown by his contriteness.

fraternity. In addition, the outcomes affect their power in the fraternity and, even more important, the outcomes measure their ability to affect the actions of others. In the end, Ritchie won the election, perhaps increasing the power of those who backed him (Speed and Darter). We can not know to what extent the men's identity constructions played a part in the decisions of members, although it would be reasonable to assume they did play a part. Other factors were bound to have played a part, such as whether arguments were compelling (from a logical, not identity, point of view), and the sheer number of people who spoke for Ritchie.

The men thus created different types of powerful identities in the meeting. However, there were similarities, depending on the stance each man took to the audience, other speakers, the fraternity ideologies, and even the candidates. The men used several common linguistic devices to help create these stances, and in the next section, I discuss these devices and how they function.

# 4.1.7 Power, language, and men's identity in meetings

We have thus seen the men evoke several cultural models in the meeting through various linguistic devices. Speed evokes a working-class model through his confrontational stance, Ram a fatherly model, and Mack a upper-middle class model. The men seem to be identifying themselves with each of these models

partly to align themselves with certain parts of the fraternity ideology. Thus, the working-class model that Speed evokes adds to his focus on physical power, and the value of competition in the fraternity. Mack takes on not only the knowledge and rationality of the structurally powerful model, but also its identification with a traditional formal hierarchy. However, Speed also used some of the same devices as Mack to highlight his age and knowledge of the fraternity. Thus, the men may never totally adopt a model, but only contextually-relevant pieces of that model, and seemingly incongruous models can be indexed by the same person in a single utterance.

Many of the discourse forms and strategies the men use to create a powerful identity in meetings are not unique to one of the men; they tend to use similar 'powerful' devices, just as we would expect from members of the same community of practice. In fact, making these comments in a meeting is a specialized form of practice that, while probably not unique to this fraternity, has certain community-specific norms.

Therefore, in this section I will analyze how some of the repeated devices are used by the men, and how they are used by the men to connect with alignment roles. The devices that the men have in common are pronouns,

aggravation/mitigation, proto-discourse markers, and the structure of their comments. Following Ochs (1992), I suggest that most of these devices initially index a stance with respect to the audience; this stance is simultaneously indexed to the various cultural models and community positions. However, some of the linguistic devices, most notably the repeated forms such as discourse markers, may also index positions by being associated with speakers from the community who have previously used them.

## 4.1.7.1 **Pronouns**

Pronouns were one of the first linguistic forms to be studied in terms of power. Brown and Gilman (1960) pointed out the cultural norms of use for various languages that exploit their singular/plural second person pronoun distinction to indicate power and solidarity as well (the TV distinction). While English has lost this distinction, English pronouns can still be used to create stances in discourse in a less grammaticalized way. I focus on subject pronouns, which the men use to indicate and create a stance toward their audience, their discourse, and their position in the fraternity.

One of the most apparent forms employed by the speakers is the first person plural used in the subject position. By using we, a speaker identifies himself as one

of the fraternity, but also as someone who speaks for the fraternity. For example, Mack states that we have to look at what we have left here (excerpt 4-4, line 190). By combining the plural first person pronoun with the deontic modality marker have to, he suggests that he can speak for the entire fraternity, thus helping to create a stance that puts him in a leader's position. In addition, presidents and monarchs are known to use this pronoun in a similar way when speaking for the nation (or even for themselves). The use of the pronoun in this way thus not only creates a stance that indexes a leader position, but it also directly indexes these culturally recognized leader models. This is consistent with Mack's position based on the fraternity hierarchy.

However, Speed also uses the same pronoun in a similar way, but remember he seemed to be creating an identity opposing the hierarchy. This seeming paradox clears when we consider how Speed uses the same pronoun. Speed argues that we don't have to make sure that every one of them has a position (excerpt 4-7, line 226). While Speed's sentence is almost identical in syntactic form as Mack's (we + have to), Speed's effect is different. This difference is due to the different polarity of the clauses in each men's statement. Mack uses a positive polarity in his prescriptive statement, while Speed argues against this prescription. This dynamic

is sequentially dependent, because Speed is taking a stance against Mack's point of view, something he could not have done if Mack had not already spoken. Thus, both men use the first-person plural pronoun to create a stance that aligns him with his audience, but against the other. Mack and Speed's use of this pronoun shows the vital role of surrounding context of all kinds in interpreting the nonreferential meanings of linguistic devices: the plural pronoun is used to index quite different stances *vis-a-vis* the fraternity ideology, identity, and power depending on linguistic and discourse context, but nevertheless retain the function of attempting to align the audience with the speaker.

In addition to identifying with their audience using subject pronouns, the men also separate themselves from their audience, especially through the use of the plural you guys, as Speed does in excerpt 4-7, line 220: you guys need to realize we do not have to necessarily make all new brothers, put them in position right away. By using you guys here, Speed contrasts himself with his listeners and continues his confrontational stance; by using it with the predicate need to realize, Speed sets himself up as someone with knowledge, contradicting the knowledge of a previous speaker (Mack). In the embedded clause, he follows the pattern observed above, using the plural pronoun with a negative predicate (which is

stance of certain kind of leader, one who knows better than the followers, because he separates himself from the audience in terms of knowledge (you guys need to realize), contradicts conventional wisdom (we do not have to necessarily make all new brother, put them in positions right away), but — with the plural pronoun — manages to include himself as part of the group.

Subject pronouns are thus used in part by the men to create stances with respect to their audience, a previous speaker, or even an aspect of the fraternity ideology. The first person plural works both to include the audience in the speakers statement, and to create a knowledgeable, leader-like stance. The second person pronoun, especially when used in the form *you guys*, creates a confrontational stance that separates the speaker and the audience. In another context, the second person indexes an expert stance for the speaker. These pronouns all draw to some degree on their actual referential meaning, unlike the pronouns in the T/V distinction. They thus do not create stances in a vacuum, but interact with aspects of the context to create various stances. At times, pronouns are part of repeated forms that are used idiom-like to create certain stances, which I consider in the next section.

# 4.1.7.2 Repeated forms

The forms that the men use repeatedly in the meeting can be divided into two classes. First, there is a group of "quasi-idioms," which have a syntactic role in the statement, and whose meaning as repeated forms is linked to their referential meaning. Discourse markers, which are further divorced from their original referential meaning and syntactic functions, make up the other group. Both are used to help create stances and index positions and models.

Of the quasi-idiomatic phrases the men repeat, I'm tellin' you and we need are the most obvious. We might wish to call these phrases discourse markers, defined by Schiffrin (1987:31) as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk." However, I differentiate these phrases from discourse markers because they are normally integrated in the syntax of a sentence, even though they often bracket units of talk. The distinction is not crucial to my analysis; perhaps what I am calling quasi-idioms are on their way to becoming discourse markers, but are not so common as to meet the definition.

These phrases are used repeatedly by the men; I focus on two here. I'm tellin' you, as used by Speed, indicates that the next part of an utterance is important, since Speed uses it before the most passionate part of his comments. We see below

that Pete uses this phrase in an identical manner. The phrase puts Speed in a higher position in a hierarchy, by implying that they have the right to tell the audience "how it is." Speed is the most confrontational of the speakers, and I'm tellin' you helps create this oppositional stance. Much of this stance is accomplished by the opposition of the two pronouns. I noted above that you helps to separate the speaker from his audience; this separation is heightened with the iconic opposition of speaker and hearer in this phrase.

I'm tellin' you also functions to tell the listener that the material to follow is important; it thus heightens the importance of the following material, which is the thrust of the speaker's argument. Speed's speech is the most passionate, so the phrase may also indicate this emotion, although more data is needed to establish a firm connection to emotion.

The second quasi-idiom, we need to or you (pl) need to, is used by Speed,
Mack, and Ram. This phrase suggests that the speaker knows without a doubt what
is good for the fraternity. It is an assertion that implies an imperative (as a
description of a state of affairs that the listener must change, in the epistemic sense
of must). This phrase thus creates a stance of expertise and knowledge.

These two quasi-idioms are powerful because their syntax and literal meaning create stances that index powerful positions and models: they focus on the speaker's stance as knowledgeable, high in a hierarchy, or confrontational. It is significant that the men for whom these stances would be inappropriate — the younger men — never use them. In addition, these quasi-idioms are made even more powerful because they may be eventually directly indexed to models and positions. The forms are repeated over and over by men who hold positions of structural power in the fraternity, and thus the forms may become identified with those positions. While this scenario seems plausible, only time and further research can determine exactly how these forms directly index powerful alignment roles.

The full-fledged discourse markers (okay, dude, and fuckin', specifically) have no role in sentence syntax or literal, denotational content other than to function to mark interactional concerns. Okay functions to acknowledge the beginning of a comment as a floor-claiming device. Both Pete and Mack use okay at the beginning of their statements, if the statements will be long. Dude and fuckin' are prevalent not only in the meeting speeches, but in other speech activities as well.

Dude seems to index camaraderie, since it is used in friendly situations, and in

conciliatory statements. In fact, this marker's sole function may be to create an affiliative stance. In his first comments (excerpt 4-2), Speed says of Ritchie *let him do it dude*. His use of *let him do it* suggests a relaxed, casual attitude, of informality. Speed may be using *dude* here to heighten the feeling that the decision is obvious.

Fuckin' seems to work in the opposite direction, but it is quite different in nature, since it is not an address term. As profanity, it helps to create the confrontational stances that we see Speed creating. It thus seems to intensify the emotional evaluation — positive or negative — of a statement.

Both *dude* and *fuckin'* seem also to be used to add to the cadence of a speech. Indeed, the contrasts in the pitch and speed in the older men's speeches is striking. Darter's comments (which contain no profanity) were spoken quickly all the way through, with a fairly narrow intonation range. Ram, whose speech is comparably short, exhibits a fairly large pitch range, even in one sentence. Mack's range is narrow, but as noted above, he speaks in a slow, thoughtful cadence with noticeable pauses at the end of each line.

Discourse markers and the quasi-idioms are therefore used to help create the stances that in turn index powerful positions and models. This stance creation may

be due to the propositional content of the form, as in the case of the quasi-idioms, or it may be more directly indexed as in the case of *dude* and *fuckin'*. In addition, both the discourse markers and the quasi-idioms may become directly indexed to men who use them, and to their positions high in the fraternity hierarchy, although the extent to which this kind of indexing occurs is not clear.

# 4.1.7.3 Aggravation/mitigation

The stances that the repeated forms and pronouns help create are also created through the more general strategies of mitigation and aggravation. In fact, the linguistic devices so far, and the stances they help create, are integral parts of aggravated and mitigated strategies. An aggravated strategy focuses on the rights, worth and privileges of the speaker, while a mitigated strategy focuses on those of the hearer. Most of the men seem to use aggravated strategies that help to index a powerful stance. Through orders (or "aggravated commissives"), a speaker can assert the right to dominate listeners, if he is not challenged by any of the listeners. Using orders is therefore an obvious strategy for creating a stance at the top of a hierarchy. Goodwin (1980) describes the use of orders to negotiate power in a situation in which participants have no predetermined right to power. However,

the fraternity men already have a structural position high up in the group hierarchy. Thus, an order focuses the audience on the position they already hold.

The most obvious way of implementing an order is to use an imperative sentence. But the only strictly imperative sentences uttered in the passages I have analyzed thus far is Speed's *shut the fuck up, so put Ritchie in there,* and *stop tryin' to put everyone in a position* in excerpt 4-7 (lines 230, 240, and 241, respectively). Thus the bald imperative, while being obvious choice for the men to use, is not used as much as we might expect. Imperatives may also be too strong for the fraternity, or at least the meeting activity type where orders may be taken more seriously, so that the camaraderie ideology conflicts with the hierarchical ideology.

Bald assertions (in the form of indicatives without modality modifiers), unlike imperatives, are everywhere in the transcripts, but they seem to be used in the beginning of a comment to set up a state of affairs that leads to the speaker's stated opinion. For example, consider Speed's comments. His first few statements are bald assertions about the need for new members to have offices (lines 220-31).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Note also his use of the imperative, heightened by the intensifier *the fuck*. The forms of this statement is very aggravated, since it focuses on Speed's right to speak, and it is shouted. This aggravated strategy is consistent with his overall confrontational stance.

# EXCERPT 4-7 (part 1 repeated)

219	Speed:	All right look.
220		first of all, you guys need to realize we do not have to ne-necessarily make all the new
221		brothers,
222		put them in positions right away.
223		a lot of the new brothers already have positions.
224		they can get elected next year or next semester.
225		there are some positions that are semesterly.
226		we don't have to make sure that every one of them has a position.
227		they need time to learn and grow-
228		it's better that  they're-  that they're-
229	?:	(I need an assistant,)
230	Speed:	=SHUT THE F:UCK UP.
231	-	it's better that they're-
232		that they're almost like I was with tex.
233		I was Tex's like little bitch boy, graduate affairs.
234		and I learned a lot more there.
235		than I would if I got stuck in some leadership role.

In lines 231-5, he switches from discussing the positions and candidates to his personal experience, but nevertheless continues to make bald assertions (*It's better that they're like I was..., I was Tex's..., I learned more there...*). In line 236, he begins to use even more aggravated strategies, actually acknowledging the low status of those he is talking about. His use of *so* in line 236 seems to signal this change, moving from assertion to personal feeling, by using constructions such as *I don't care* (line 237) and *I think* (line 239). He then goes through the same structure, using bald assertions (lines 240-3) then a *so*-clause (line 244). The *so*-

clause contains the only two real imperatives we've seen that have been used to tell people how to vote: put Ritchie in there and stop fuckin' trying to set everybody up in a position (lines 244-5).

# EXCERPT 4-7 (part 2 repeated)

236 Speed:	so fuck 'em,
237	I don't care if any of em don't get a position.
238	but I'm tellin' you right now,
239	I think Ritchie should do it because like Kim said,
240	people are gonna read this shit,
241	Kurt might get ha:mmered and write some shitty, fuckin' letter,
242	Ernie can't write,
243	fuckin' Mullin already has a position,
244	so put Ritchie in there,
245	and stop fuckin' trying to set everybody up in a position. christ.

Speed thus uses the aggravation strategy to help create his combative stance, which in turn indexes the physically powerful model and aligns him with the hardworking value of the fraternity. He adds to the aggravation strategy through his shouting tome of voice; affect thus also plays an important role in his stance creation.

The other men also use aggravated strategies, although not to such a degree as Speed does. Mack uses bald assertions to claim an absolute knowledge, but aligns himself with hierarchy. Aggravation—the focus on the speaker's rights—in this

context focuses attention on Mack's stance that aligns him with the formal hierarchy and the establishment cultural model. Thus, we again see the devices and strategies interacting with one another and the surrounding context to create stances which in turn draw on cultural models available for men.

### 4.1.7.4 **Summary**

In sum, men use many different strategies and forms in different combinations to create 'powerful' contributions to meetings. They manipulate syntactic forms and deploy personal pronouns strategically to create powerful stances. They use powerfully indexed quasi-idioms and discourse markers to display their power. These devices are not separate, but inherently connected; the men use pronouns in some of the repeated forms, and the repeated forms may be used as part of the aggravated strategy. More importantly, these devices do not necessarily have the inherent ability to create a powerful stance or identity, nor are they connected with only one stance. The men employ these devices creatively, using them as resources with which to piece together a unique, powerful identity.

#### 4.1.8 Power and language across speakers

In the first part of this chapter, I have discussed the ways in which men present different identities in a single speech activity. Although the identities were unique, similarities were nevertheless apparent. First, and most important, the men all attempted to create a powerful identity or, in the case of Darter, at least identify with a valued fraternity ideology. The fraternity ideologies, in fact, seemed to provide a main standpoint with which the men created stances that indexed powerful alignment roles. Thus, Darter and Speed created stances aligned with hard work and competition, and Speed even highlighted the hard work he had done for the fraternity and the dues he had paid as "Tex's bitch boy." Mack aligned himself with the formal hierarchy and his place in it, and Ram aligned himself with the "brotherly love" ideology at the same time as he focused on his formal hierarchical position, and thus indexed a fatherly stance and cultural model.

The men also took stances with respect to one another and their audience to index these alignment roles. Darter took a stance that acknowledged his place below other members in the hierarchy by justifying his right to speak. Mack took a stance that put him above other speakers in the structural hierarchy by not justifying his statements. This evoked a position of an almost dictatorial leader—recall his statement this is it. Speed took a confrontational stance, both against Mack and his audience, at the same time he took a stance against the ideology Mack identified with.

All of the speakers took a stance that somehow privileged their knowledge, although they presented it in position-appropriate ways. Darter's knowledge was not based on his place in the hierarchy but on his relationship to Ritchie. Ram's knowledge showed experience with another 'lost' member, which he was concerned would be repeated. Mack's was clearly based on his position high in the formal hierarchy. And Speed's knowledge was opposed to Mack's, but also drew on Speed's age in the fraternity.

Thus, each man took a stance that indexed an alignment role somehow "one up," as Tannen (1990) also observes. Just how he is one up, however, differs from speaker to speaker, and the resources he has available, in terms of possible stances, positions, and models. The hierarchy on top of which a man places himself may be based on the fraternity structure, on ability (a type of physical power), on knowledge, and even on competing fraternity hierarchies. Thus, even though Darter recognized his place in the structural hierarchy, he made up for it with knowledge that others could not have had.

These local alignment roles also evoke cultural models: the physical model identified with powerful sports figures and with working-class laborers, the white-collar man whose societal privilege is largely based on the structure of society, and

the family-based model of fatherhood. These cultural models are resources from which the men draw to create identities. In the analysis of these speeches, we see the local workings of hegemonic masculinity in a community of men—how they do the work of ordering their identities, of putting their identity higher than another on at least one culturally- or community-recognized hierarchy. Therefore, the men's metaphorical or actual ordering of their identities through language that creates stances and indexes alignment roles is how men's identities, power, and language are connected. In the next section, I show that one man can use the same sociolinguistic processes to modulate his identity in different activity types while nevertheless always creating a powerful identity.

# 4.2 Differences among activity types: Pete

In the previous section, I explored the ways different men use language to help create a powerful identity. I found that while these identities differed, the men nevertheless drew on common linguistic strategies and devices to create these identities. Moreover, the basic underlying processes by which the men indexed powerful alignment roles were the same, as were the cultural and community assumptions underlying those powerful alignment roles. I thus showed specifically

how the men manage the dual goals of camaraderie and competition identified by previous research on men's language in general.

Nevertheless, the men still work to create *unique* powerful identities, and they vary their identity constructions depending on the speech activity. The main distinction is between public and private, but this distinction refers more to the interlocutors — whether they are "in-group" or not — than to the physical setting of the activity. When they are hanging out on their own turf with only members present, the members seem to 'relax' more, and act in a more 'natural' way.<sup>37</sup>

In this section, I investigate how one man modulates his identity in three different speech activities. I analyze three stretches of discourse in which Pete takes part. First I return to the meeting situation, and the kind of identity Pete creates in this situation. Next, I analyze the discourse of Pete's and two other members' interaction in a competitive, task-focused activity: playing monopoly at the townhouse. Finally, I analyze Pete's discourse in a bar with two different 'outsiders:' first a friend of another member, then a woman who sits down with them.

 $<sup>^{37}</sup>$ I remember from my time as a fraternity member that when I was in the fraternity house I felt I could relax and be myself. Interestingly, however, I no longer feel that way, even with the same men I was with then, perhaps because my 'natural' behavior is not the same as it was eight years ago.

I find generally that Pete creates an adversarial stance with his male interlocutors. However, he achieves this stance through different linguistic devices in different situations. In the meeting, he uses many of the same devices we saw the men use in the chapter correspondent debate, although he uses boasts and more profanity than Speed, who also took a confrontational stance. He is also similar to Speed, in that he aligns himself with the ideology of hard work, but differs from Speed in that he aligns himself with the formal fraternity hierarchy. In the already competitive atmosphere of the monopoly game. Pete becomes even more adversarial, and uses boasts and taunts in most of his utterances. He skillfully keeps this stance, even as his opponent tries different tactics to deflate his bravado. Finally, in a bar, he takes a less directly adversarial stance, by agreeing with his interlocutor's statements to such a degree that he trivializes them. In this same episode, Pete also interacts with a woman, and the difference in his identity construction is remarkable (in fact, Pete remarks on it himself). His stance toward Jen becomes less adversarial, but nevertheless somehow superior, by taking a more paternalistic stance, thus drawing more on the fatherly cultural model.

These episodes show Pete mostly indexing the competitive, physically powerful cultural model through an adversarial stance. This stance implies a

competition among interlocutors in which the speaker is more skilled in some way, and thus more valued on a hierarchy. The hierarchy on which Pete compares himself to his interlocutors is constantly in flux and under continual negotiation. Thus Pete generally puts himself higher using an adversarial stance, but the specific measure—the hierarchy—shifts from activity type to activity type, and even from utterance to utterance. In the first activity type, the meeting, Pete indexes a position that is high based on two of the fraternity's hierarchical measures we saw in the previous section: hard work and structural position.

## 4.2.1 Pete in a meeting

While Pete speaks briefly during the election for the chapter correspondent office, he speaks at more length in an earlier election for vice president, the office he holds during the election. His comment in the chapter correspondent election, excerpt 4-6 line 171 (Hey I get to say my piece I got the floor bitch), suggests that he has an identity that can be contrarian, or at least confrontational. Pete is a short, solid Caucasian. He carries his body with bent elbows, arms to the side, as if he is perpetually ready for a football play (he is a former wrestler). But he does not move or change positions often when he sits. This body image suggests the physically powerful identity, and the confrontational aspect of his identity fits with

this archetype. Like Speed, Pete suggests a relaxed ease with accomplishments, as if they come about through natural talent. Unlike Speed, however, Pete remains part of what might be called the fraternity's 'establishment hierarchy.'

In the following excerpt he is evaluating candidates for the office he currently holds (vice president). The member Pete discusses, Waterson, is a new member running for a high office. Waterson also has a small build and a relatively high-pitched voice, which is what Pete may be alluding to when he refers to "commanding respect."

#### **EXCERPT 4-9**

- 1 H: OK Pete.
- 2 P: OK
- 3 On being a worker and having a hard work ethic..
- 4 yeah, he may seem to have one
- 5 but...
- 6 ?: Who's he?
- 7 P: I'm not going to s- name any names but he's only been in for a semester and he's...
- 8 he doesn't know .. anything about what this job entails..
- 9 and yeah you have to command.. respect in this job
- and you gotta be an asshole a lot ..
- and uh...I only see a few people who ca- who can do that, y'know
- 12 and I mean I like Waterson a lot? I really do?
- and I wish that he he-..had been in maybe a semester earlier
- so he could hold a position
- and y'know so maybe he could prove to us that he's a really hard worker
- but I'm tellin you man don't..give..someone..with
- he has never held a position you don't give someone like that...
- 18 VICE PRESIDENT OF OUR CHAPTER..yknow
- 19 he doesn't know *any*thing about *any* of the committees
- 20 except what he's seen.. in one semester.

- 21 he's- he has *not* seen enough to know...
- the inner workings of this fraternity.. well enough.. to hold this position..
- and that's all I'm going to say
- cause I don't want to swing any votes any-either way
- 25 all I'm going to say.

Pete focuses mainly on his position in the fraternity hierarchy. First, he speaks as the vice president as he evaluates a candidate for the same office. Thus he speaks with perceived knowledge structural power. Members are likely to be swayed by what he says because of his experience as vice president. His language forms, moreover, *create* an air of knowledge, through the use of modal constructions to produce a tone that seems almost pedagogical. In lines 10 and 11 he uses imperative constructions (*you have to, you gotta*) that sound like a master tutoring a pupil. In the same lines, he uses the deictic "this" to place himself squarely inside the position of vice president. Because the position under discussion is the job Pete currently holds, his position as vice-president is salient in this activity. Members in this situation often speak last in election comments, because they know their words carry extra weight. Thus "this job" means not only "the job we are debating," but also "the job I have held for a year," or even simply

"me," 18 In line 12 (I only see a few people who can do that y'know), Pete uses the construction I only see, which assumes that he has the ability and authority to judge whether someone can "command respect" and "be an asshole a lot." Moreover, I see is used repeatedly by older members to create and air of knowledge. In line 17 (but I'm tellin' you man don't ... give ... someone), he uses an unmitigated imperative (don't give), which implies an asymmetrical relationship between the speaker and hearer, because such imperatives are usually used by people in hierarchically high positions. Pete thus asserts his right to tell the members what to do. Also in line 17, he uses the phrase I'm tellin' you, which Speed used as well in his comments in the chapter correspondent debate (But I'm tellin' you right now). As I showed above, this phrase separates the speaker from the hearer(s) through an almost iconic separation of the two personal pronouns. Notice that both Speed and Pete use this form just before the most passionate and important parts of the speech; marking an important section of a speech seems to be to be the function of this form, as if to say "Look here, what I'm about to say is really important." The emotion it signals is a powerful device in itself, involving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Another indicator that "this job" means "me" comes from how other speakers, who don't currently hold the position, refer to the position. They use a less direct construction such as "This is a job that..." or "This job has been filled by people who."

the audience and showing that the speaker cares about what he is saying. Finally, Pete ends his speech (lines 24-6) with an explicit acknowledgment of his power, claiming that he should not speak any more because he doesn't want to wield his influence too much (*I don't want to swing votes either way*). Notice that if he did not want to sway votes, there would not be much of a reason for speaking. His acknowledgment of his influence therefore probably only has the effect of pointing out his position one last time.

This speech also suggests Pete's goals in creating an identity in the fraternity in lines 10-11. Since he states that you gotta command respect in this job, he must believe he can do that, since he has held the job for the past year. But Pete seems to get his respect in a confrontational way, as he suggests you gotta be an asshole a lot: Assuming Pete believes he has gotten respect in the job, he must also believe that he has been an asshole. Notice that for his main point (that Waterson does not have the needed experience to fill the job) these two statements are not necessary. They are sandwiched in, with line 12, between two lines that could easily be sequential (lines 9 and 13). Thus they say as much about Pete's view of himself as they do about his view of Waterson.

Support for this view of Pete as confrontational comes from an earlier comment he makes in the same election, which I analyze in the next three excerpts. This comment is actually Pete's first comment on the vice-president election, the first part of which begins the next excerpt:

#### EXCERPT 4-10

```
Hotdog: Pete.

OK. (2.5)

As vice president I will tell you who I would like.(2.1)

'Kay this jo:b entai:Is a fuckin' hell of a lot of stress #lemme just tell you that right now#

((raspberry))

'Expression of the control of the co
```

Again, Pete begins by highlighting himself, and not the candidates. He explicitly reminds members that he is speaking as vice president, even though everyone knows he is vice president, and his place in the room (at the table at the front) signifies his special status. Pete again talks about this job, referring not to the job under discussion but the job he currently holds. This coreference between himself and the job is seen more clearly here than in the previous excerpt, since he has just said he is speaking as vice president (line 3). Moreover, the other members interpret his statement this way, because they react to his statement as if he is making a claim about himself, not just the job. Thus, after this statement in

lines 4-5, other members dispute his 'claim' of having a stressful job. Note especially Pencil's comment in line 9, which explicitly assumes that Pete is discussing himself:

#### EXCERPT 4-11

```
8 Pcte:
            OK. and i can't sec
                             (He'll cat his way) He just cats the stress up
9 Pencil:
10 Pete:
            I- I eat eat it dude
11 Mack: |(I-I could fuckin'?)|
12 ?: (hell of a lot of aggression)
13 Pete:
            Ask- Ask Connor dude
            III suck in some stress
14
15 Hotdog: ((bangs gavel)) SHUTUP
16 Pete:
            You guys don't realize the fuckin' work I have to do for you=
17 Hotdog: =Gohead.
            And you guys don't do SHIT
18 Pete:
            And now you're fuckin' (takin')
19
20 ?: COME O:N
                             This isn't about you Pete (this is about ?)
21 Tex:
                       Shut up du:de stop feelin' sorry for yourself.
22 ?:
23 ((several others speak at once, unintelligible))
```

In line 8, it looks as if Pete may have been ready to move on to evaluating the candidates (it would be logical to finish *I can't see* with something like "Speed handling all that stress"). But it seems that Pencil's overlapping mocking statement in line nine leads Pete to his boastful claim in line 10 (*I eat it dude*). This statement yields more comments from other members, which Pete responds to in lines 13-14, asking another member (his housemate) for confirmation on how well

Pete stands up to stress (Ask Connor dude I suck in some stress).<sup>39</sup> It is clear at this point that the issue is not just the election, but Pete himself. Here, Pete becomes even more confrontational, not just boasting about the work he does, but complaining about the work that other members don't do, which, despite the president's best efforts, ends up in pandemonium.

This pandemonium is another measure of the confrontational nature of Pete's comments. Despite the formal nature of the meetings, members often speak out of turn, especially to evaluate another speaker's contribution. The loud raspberries and disagreements signal that other members find his remarks out of place, yet Pete seems to relish in the confrontation and keeps talking. In playback, Pete agreed with this evaluation of the first part of his comments. He said "Man I was a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> In line 14 (*l suck in some stress*), it might seem that the *some* could indicate that Pete is toning down his claim of being under tremendous stress. However, his intonation and surrounding statements suggest that he is still making a strong claim. First, if he were backing down on his claim, the pitch accent would be on *some* (*l suck in some stress*). Contrary to this, the pitch accent is on *stress*. Second, note his statement immediately following in line 16: *You guys don't realize the fuckin' work l have to do for you*. This hardly indicates that he is backing down, but the opposite.

dick in this one," that he was "trying to get a little praise" and being "self-indulgent." Once things settle down, Pete begins his comments on the candidates.

# EXCERPT 4-12

24	Pete:	I'm tellin you dude
25		I'm telling you right now OK
26		Saul, the only reason he wants this,
27		Is 'cause he wants a fuckin' titlehead (.)
28		*or figurehead whatever* he wants a title.
29		Doesn't descrve it.
30		Can't do the work.
31		There's no way in hell.
32		Speed, (1.8.) h- he's not a fuckin'-
33		Rush he did great a great job,
34		it's a week long.
35		And he was fuckin' stressed to hell over rush,
36		Last fall he had his chick do it.
37		And he didn't do anything to change rush, I mean
38		He spoke about how much he was gonna change #this do this do this#
39		We've done the sa:me fuckin' thi:ng every semester.
40		No one's changed rush.
41		OK?
42		That  leaves -
43		Except for the stripper.
44		n chu chu chu
	Pete:	That leaves Paul Sutton and Brad Waterson.
46		And out of those two,
47		I think Paul Sutton is the only person qualified for the job,
48		'cause Waterson is just a little too young.
49		and needs to hold a position.
50		and prove himself,
51		before he does anything else.
52		Paul Sutton is fuckin'-
53		He's done his job.
54		I mean he- he has done his job
55		and he's done it well.
56		I mean yeah he fucked up on times here and there.
57		But he fuckin' got us some fuckin #Patriot Centers when he got the opportunity.#
58		Y'know.

- 59 And he fuckin' tried to organize philanthropies that (we) didn't go to.
- So, y'know, if he didn't do his job it's my fault.
- 61 Y'know.
- 62 And I think he did a good job.
- \*He's #the only person I see qualified to do this job.#
- 64 Hotdog: Don Conner.

Notice that Pete begins (again) his comments with the phrase I'm tellin you repeated twice. Above I discussed that this may signal a shift in a comment from background or less important material to the important part of a comment. Here again, Pete uses this phrase to regain the floor for his serious comments about the candidates. This phrase also serves to separate him from the audience, highlighting both his vice-presidential position and his confrontational way of creating it.

After repeating I'm tellin you in line 25, he makes short, bald assertions arguing against Saul, and then against Speed. These assertions work in a similar way as the existential used by Mack (this is it); even though they are opinions, they convey a certainty that is used by those in positions of authority and expertise. Notice also that his statements are extreme and categorical: There's no way in hell, he didn't do anything to change rush, no one's changed rush. Such certainty gives the impression of power: Pete is solidly behind these ideas, and all but dares someone to challenge him. These statements also highlight his position

as an older member: he shows his knowledge of past events, especially in his comments about rush, culminating in line 40: No one's changed rush.

He continues this tone for the rest of his speech, although he 'softens' his approach a bit, most notably in line 47, in which he uses *I think*, and then justifies his reasoning. In this justification, he foreshadows his later comments by noting that Waterson is inexperienced (*I think Paul Sutton is the only person qualified for the job, 'cause Waterson is just a little too young*). His intonation softens here too, as he lowers his voice. He echoes Ram's fatherly concern for a younger member, and seems not to want to hurt Waterson's future chances for office.

When Pete argues for Paul Sutton, he continues in his strong vein, emphasizing in lines 54-5 that Sutton has gotten the job done. He uses the discourse marker *I* mean to clarify how strongly he believes his statement in line 54 (*I mean he has done his job*), and to excuse problems in lines 56-7 (See Schiffrin 1987:295ff for an analysis of *I mean*). Near the end of his speech, however, Pete softens his tone again, taking credit for what seem to be Sutton's mistakes. His volume becomes lower, and he seems to be bringing his audience into agreement through the use of *y'know*. Schiffrin (1987:295) notes that "speakers may use *y'know* to enlist hearer agreement when such agreement is not otherwise forthcoming." Schiffrin also

points out that y'know and I mean are complementary, the latter focusing on the speaker and his assertions, the former on the audience and their agreement. Thus, Pete appears to be creating a pattern of assertion and agreement that he wraps up with a very quiet voice in line 63: He's the only person I see qualified to do the job. Recall that I see is a recurring phrase, used by Mack and Ram also, that may be indexed as 'powerful.'

In fact, these last two statements are markedly different from his earlier style. He uses no profanity, speaks softly, and uses two verbs that focus on his perception (see and think). Previously, he peppered his speech with profanity, spoke loudly, and made statement that he represented as universally true, rather than true in his opinion, as see and think indicate. These final statements echo Ram's and Mack's indexing of structural positions, especially in terms of age, especially the use of I see. Pete therefore seems to be ending his comments speaking from the position of an older, wiser brother, rather than just a hard worker. This shift shows how men can quickly refocus their alignment role, and the hierarchy on which it is placed.

In the first part of this excerpt Pete explicitly puts himself in the position of vice president by speaking "as vice president." His alignment role in this speech is

clear. However, the way he constructs his structurally-based, hierarchical alignment role collapses the apparent dichotomy we saw between Mack and Speed: He identifies the structural position (the vice-president's job) with hard work (as in line 4: This job entails a fuckin' hell of a lot of stress). Pete thus aligns the positions of hard-worker and fraternity leader explicitly in his speech, whereas there was no such explicit alignment in Mack or Speed's speeches. Notice that he also collapses these two alignment roles in another way. He indexes a leader position by the stance he creates through his repeated separation away from and above the other members. The most extreme example of this separation is in lines 16 and 18 (you guys don't realize the work I have to do for you; and you guys don't do shit), and in his repeated statements that paraphrase I'm telling you (lines 3-4 and 24-5). In addition to explicit mention, he indexes hard work through a stance of physical power and the working-class cultural model, evoked most strongly in his liberal use of profanity, particularly his use of fuckin'; profanity is often associated with locker rooms (and therefore physically powerful athletes) and men engaged in tough physical labor (such as construction work). Notice also the physical metaphors he uses: I eat it (stress) and I suck in some stress. In addition, stress implies a physical wear on his body, which aligns the

organizational tasks Pete performs as vice president with a physical labor. Pete thus evokes the persona of a hard-working vice president.

In fact, Pete explicitly creates this position for himself in an interview. The following excerpt from this interview begins after I have asked Pete what he means by a "face man," which is what he says the president has to be:

# EXCERPT 4-13

1 Petc: Like 2 a lot of times when they elect the president for an organization their-3 1 president's like besides runnin' the meeting and everything he's like your liaison to everybody. 6 SK: Yeah 7 Pete: v'know, a:nd (0.5) I guess he's more charismatic and stuff like that, (1.0)8 9 looks more like a president, (.) should whatever that, y'know means but (1.5) 10 I guess that's, y'know (1.0) 11 that was just y'know why-12 I mean I'm not saying that's why he was elected 'cause he was 13 He was a really good leader and everything, but uh 14 that- th- was a little bit to do with it. (0.5) 15 SK: 16 Pete: because I was always more the workhorse. and, y'know that's why vice president was more suited for me. 17 'cause I had always y'know I had worked my ass off always. (2.0) 18 19 SK: so you think um there's a difference between like president and vice president as far as the 20 kind of person that gets elected. 21 ((Boss walks in)) 22 Pete: yeah. definintely. (..) 23 I think the president (.) has to deal with a little less stress behind the scenes and a little more 24 y'know in front of the scenes. 25

In this excerpt Pete shows that he does not only see himself as a hard worker, but that he sees the vice president position as a position requiring hard work, as opposed to the president, whom he sees as someone who gets along with people and leads the organization. Thus, in the vice president position, Pete sees the formal hierarchy and the ideology of hard work collapsed into one.

In line 16, he talks of himself as the *workhorse*, which also evokes a picture of physical labor. Indeed, during all discussions I had with the men, and in their meetings, they always seemed to understand "hard work" somehow to contain an element of physical labor and associated with the physical power model, whereas elements of character, such as intelligence and rationality, always seemed to be identified with the economic/knowledge power model. In this way also, the men contrasted 'natural' (or ascribed) status of the middle class archetype with 'earned' (or achieved) status of the working class archetype, as can be seen in Pete's juxtaposition of the vice president as "workhorse" and the president as "face man."

In his election comments, then, Pete indexes a position that is both hard working and high in the hierarchy. For him, these positions are not separable, because the vice-president's position (which he closely identifies with his own identity) at the top of the hierarchy is based on his capacity for hard work. Pete

evokes a top hierarchical position by showing off his knowledge of the fraternity members and the fraternity's history. However, his use of profanity continues his confrontational, physically powerful stance. Line 39 is exemplary of this duality; in speaking of Speed's performance in the rush chairman's job, and his promise to change rush, Pete says we've done the same fuckin' thing every semester. This remark highlights Pete's age through a show of historical knowledge and claims absolute knowledge on the subject, thus suggesting his hierarchical position. But his use of fuckin' evokes the physically powerful hard working model/position. The identity Pete creates thus draws on both of the main alignment roles we have seen used by the men to align himself with both the ideology of hard work and the formal fraternity hierarchy.

# 4.2.2 Monopoly Game

In the next excerpt I analyze a purely "in-group" interaction (in-group meaning everyone is a full member of the fraternity), a monopoly game among three members (Pete, Dave, and Boss). This activity, with respect to power, is very different from the meetings: there are only three interlocutors, any one of whom may claim the floor. There is no set agenda, and the goals of the monopoly game are very different from the meeting, because it takes place in a different 'sphere' of

fraternity life: the meeting is about business and the fraternity hierarchy, while the monopoly game is for amusement, and is an instance of the social interaction that draws most of the members to the fraternity. Moreover, the game is the focus of activity, whereas in the meeting, the talk was the activity. The game also structures the outlook of the participants, so that each player looks out for himself; there is no sense of the collective good that must be respected in meetings. Thus, the hierarchies in which the men put themselves are quite different, and in fact shift from moment to moment.

What is most striking about this conversation are Pete's taunts and boasting, and Dave's various reactions to them. While the game is inherently competitive, we could easily imagine different, less confrontational sorts of talk surrounding it. Consistent with the competitively-oriented identity we saw in meetings, Pete's talk highlights the competition. His success in the game seems to build his sense of self-worth. Dave, on the other hand, seems to struggle to keep up with Pete, alternately playing down Pete's taunts, acknowledging them, and challenging them. Dave shows what it means to 'negotiate' his identity. Boss says little, and stays out of Pete and Dave's disputes, and does not comment on Pete's boasting. I

have divided the discourse into three naturally bounded section, which I consider in turn. Then, in a separate section, I discuss the episode as a whole.

## 4.2.2.1 "Gimme the red"

It is a Sunday afternoon at the townhouse. Several members who do not live there have come over to watch football. The three members are sitting at the dining room table playing monopoly (within view of the television). Because the game is the focus of activity, it structures the men's discourse. To understand what is happening in the conversation, then, we need to know something about the rules of the game: Monopoly is a game in which players move pieces around the outside of a square board, landing on squares which are "properties" (modeled after Atlantic City, New Jersey). A player may buy the property if no other player has yet done so, using play money each receives at the beginning of the game. If the property is bought, the player who lands on it must pay rent to the owner. Properties are organized into colored groups; if a player acquires all properties in a group, then he has a monopoly. A monopoly raises the rent on all properties in the group, and gives the owner the right to buy houses (or hotels for the price of five houses) on the properties, which increases the rent of the properties still more. The object of

the game is to bankrupt all the other players. It is thus very competitive, and each player can evaluate how well he is doing by the amount of money he currently has.

Properties may also be traded, sold, and/or used as rent payment once the property has been bought. This trading is the focus of the first naturally bounded section of the discourse in lines 1-9 (what might be called the "gimme the red" section). 40 Here Pete is trying to get Dave to trade him a red property, the others of which Pete already has. If Dave gives Pete the property, Pete will then have a monopoly.

## EXCERPT 4-14

(2A:1-35)

1 Dave: Come on down to my (.) hotels

2 Pete: Fuckin' ay man.

Gimme the red Dave, dude. (1.0)

4 Dave: No.

5 Pete: Dave dude, dude Dave hm hm hm

6 Dave: I'll give you the purple one

7 Pete: Oh that 's a good trade

8 It i:s man, I'm tellin' you it kicks ass

9 ((Pete rolls, moves))

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$  The section is bounded by the events in the game, and by silences that co-occur with the men rolling the dice for their turns.

In line one. Dave makes reference to some of his properties that have hotels, hoping that Pete will land on one (come on down to my hotels). Pete then tries to get Dave to give him the red property. Note that he doesn't form his entreaty as a polite request, but rather as an imperative (gimme the red Dave, dude), which is flatly rejected by Dave in line 4 (no) after a short pause. Pete thus sets a highly competitive tone; by using an imperative (rather than making a request, or even making an offer to trade something for the red) he seems to be trying to dominate Dave (although this is ameliorated somewhat by the affiliative marker dude). In this instance, Dave rejects him, but only after a one-second pause, which indicates that he may have briefly thought about the offer seriously. It also may indicate that he was withholding the response in a competitive way, although there is no way to verify this; he may have also been preoccupied with the mechanics of the game (such as making change). Dave does seem to be in a top position because he has something Pete wants. But Pete does not need the property; as we will see, he is flush with money, confident in his position, winning the game. Dave, on the other hand, is in an almost desperate position, and anything but confident. "The red" is his only advantage on Pete, but Dave does not use it proactively, such as taunting Pete, nor does Pete seem all that concerned about the red. Throughout this episode, Dave seems to be genuinely frustrated, while Pete plays with relative vigor and glee.

Pete is persistent in his pursuit of "the red," and he next plays with the alliteration between Dave's name and the discourse marker dude in line 5 (Dave dude, dude Dave). Pete's further use of dude here adds to the feeling that Pete is shifting strategies from a dominating, coercive strategy to one focused on camaraderie. His intonation is also consistent with this shift; it indicates he is in effect saying, "Come on, Dave, be reasonable."

Then Dave makes an offer (I'll give you the purple one), which is probably meant to mock Pete, because purple properties are low-value properties. Pete then mocks the offer in lines 7-8 (Oh that's a good trade it is man I'm tellin' you it kicks ass). The sarcasm is evident here from the pitch accent placement in line 7. A serious accent pattern would put pitch accent on trade rather than that. This sarcasm is not evident in line 8, but the fact that the discussion of the offer ends suggests that this comment was also not serious. Note that in line 8 Pete uses a phrase that we saw several times in the meetings: I'm tellin' you. Recall in the meetings that this phrase was an indicator of a particularly important or emotional part of the speech. Here, however, the phrase seems to be functioning merely to

suggest (mock) enthusiasm for the offer. When I asked Pete about the use of this phrase, he said "it's a [phrase] I like to use, it had a flow to it." In fact, Pete noted that a lot of what he said in the monopoly game was word play. *Kicks ass* is a phrase used by the men (and other young Americans) to describe something strongly favorable, especially something that is fun, entertaining, and energetic. While the tone of the monopoly game is competitive, it is clear from Pete's word play and friendly bantering that the competition is friendly.

So far in this competition, it seems that Pete has tried to first force Dave into giving him the red property through his imperative, then tried a more friendly approach. Dave rejects him at first, then makes a weak offer, which shows Dave's unwillingness to give up the red property. In the next excerpt, we see Dave changing strategies yet again.

# 4.2.1.2 "Free pass"

The next naturally bounded section in this discourse runs from line 10 to 34 (the "free pass" section). In this section, Pete lands on one of Dave's properties, but doesn't have to pay rent because he has a free pass. Free passes are agreements between players that exempt one player from paying rent on another's property, usually given in exchange for a property (especially if that property completes a

monopoly for the buyer). In this section Pete uses taunts and boasts to continue his dominant competitive identity, while Dave alternately tries to resist Pete's claims, then tries to boast himself. Notice also Boss's part as rational arbiter.

## EXCERPT 4-15

```
9 ((Pcte rolls, moves))
10 Dave:
           Nice. pay me. (2.3)
11 Pete:
            I can't. Aren't you in jail or something? Don't I not have to pay you this time?
12
            Free pass.
            You got a free pass.
13 Boss:
14
            He's got one more.
15 Dave:
            No that's your last one.
16 Pete:
            I have one more.
17
18
            I've got one left.
19 Dave: No that's it
            I have one left. I've only used two.
20 Pete:
21 Dave: That's right. And these over here. OK.
22 Pete:
            The deal was for fi:ve.
23 Dave: God damn I needed that money too you son of a bitch. ((Dave rolls)) The deal was for TWO.
24 (4.3)
25 Pete:
            HI: HI: hi: honey I'm home.
            I'm gonna blow by Dave right here.
26 Boss:
27 ((Boss rolls))
28 Dave: Fuckin' so awful.
29 Pete:
            I know its fuckin' t- turnin wheels and shit in your parking lot.
30 (2.5)
31
            ((Pete makes car squealing noises as he moves the car marker))
32 Boss:
            Go Pete.
             And my horse has left a big shit right on your property. Big tur: d right there.
33 Pete:
34 Dave: Alo:ng with the money.
35 ((Pete moves))
36 (9.0)
```

In the first half of this section (lines 10-22) Pete lands on Dave's property, and claims he doesn't have to pay (as in line 11: don't I not have to pay you this time?). Dave briefly argues (line 18) but Pete is backed up by Boss (lines 13-14). Dave then displays frustration at not receiving the rent in lines 22-3, swearing at Pete (you son of a bitch). He then claims, but does not pursue, that he had only given Pete two free passes. Dave here changes his strategy three times. First, he flatly disagrees with Pete (no that's your last one), capitulates quickly (that's right), then shows frustration at being beaten (I needed that money too you son of a bitch). He seems unsure of whether to fight Pete, give up, or just complain.

In the second part of this section, Pete seems to take advantage of his "free pass victory" to taunt Dave further. Pete seems to have perceived a place where he can create a hierarchy between him and Dave, and so he moves to exploit it. Monopoly player markers are in the shape of various animals and objects, two of which are a car and a horse (others include a top hat, a dog, and a shoe). Pete uses these markers to taunt Dave. In line 25 (hi honey I'm home), Pete responds to Dave's move in which Dave landed on his own property (with the car), the same property that Pete just got a free pass for. Both Pete and Dave are on the same property, and Pete is thus metaphorically "staying" at Dave's property rent-free. It is this

situation that Pete refers to when he says hi honey I'm home. In line 27 (fuckin' so awful), Dave acknowledges his bad luck (continuing in the complaining strategy). Pete continues to taunt him in the metaphorical monopoly world in lines 28-32 (turning wheels and shit on your parking lot... and my horse has left a big shit on your property), speaking as if the pieces are doing the taunting by having them deface Dave's imaginary property. Dave seems to try to recover in line 33 (along with the money), suggesting that along with the vandalism, the pieces bring money. Of course, since Dave is not getting any money, his claim falls a little flat. Dave thus seems impotent to fight back, as the game conspires with Pete to deny Dave any resources to retaliate. Boss seems to ignore this exchange, focusing his comments on the game by remarking on his movements in line 26 (I'm gonna blow by Dave here) and informing Pete that it is his turn in line 32 (Go Pete), again staying out of the fray.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Pete's use of this phrase implies a husband calling to his wife upon returning from work (this is a culturally-recognized phrase). Pete thus puts himself in a traditionally more powerful position, as he indexes the husband in a traditional American household. Moreover, he puts Dave in a *female* role, a role devalued in the hegemonic masculinity the phrase evokes.

## 4.2.1.3 "Pocket change"

In the final section (the "pocket change" section), Pete continues his boasting, while Dave continues to change his response to the boasting.

- 35 ((Pete moves))
- 36 (9.0)Pete: Two hundred.
- 37 (2.0)
- 38 Dave: Boss do you have some hundreds?
- 39 Pete: How much- do I owe you?
- 40 Dave: Five fifty.
- 41 Pete: That is just piss poor rent is what that is. Five fifty. That is-
- 42 Dave: Every little bit helps.
- 43 Pete: *pocket* change my friend pocket change.
- 44 Dave: Listen to the man now he's talking shit. I remember about six turns ago he had no: flow:
- 45 whatsoever.
- 46 Pete: Had eight dollars.
- 47 Dave: Mortgage everything
- 48 Pete: Had eight dollars man. I want you to give me the red, man.

In line 36, Pete moves through the starting square, for which he can claim two hundred dollars. Pete has landed on one of Dave's properties (not protected by a free pass) and asks how much he owes for rent. After Dave answers (*five fifty*), Pete boasts that he has so much money that five hundred dollars, which is usually a fairly large rent in monopoly, is a small rent for him. Here Pete is still boasting, but he shifts the domain of the boast from his skill at *avoiding* paying rent to his vast ability to pay a large rent. Note that these two boasts seem to contradict each other, but Pete pulls it off without notice by the others.

Dave first seems happy to take his money and let Pete boast. But in line 45, Dave calls Pete on his boasting, noting that he had recently had very little cash. Pete does not argue with this, and in fact recontextualizes Dave's statement, and uses another hierarchy for comparison: He wears his erstwhile poverty proudly, providing specific figures (had eight dollars man), to show how skillful his recovery has been. Pete then returns to try to get the red property from Dave, which he does recurrently through the rest of the game (Boss ends up getting the red and winning the game).

## 4.2.1.4 Summary and Discussion

Pete is therefore constructing a confrontational identity that focuses on the competition and his success (and Dave's lack of success) in it. He achieves this construction mainly by boasting and taunting. The boasting achieves power in two ways, one referential way that indirectly indexes a power position by creating a stance of superiority, and another, less obvious way that directly indexes a cultural physical power model. Boasts directly index power by saying explicitly that the boaster is better in some way than those to whom he is boasting. Boasts by definition thus put the speaker higher up on a hierarchy, which is how the men's ideology conceive of a powerful alignment role. Moreover, a boast puts the claim

to superiority 'on record,' so that a subsequent failure may look even worse, suggesting that the boaster is not just higher up, so much so that there is no chance of failure. Boasts directly index the cultural model of athletes, because boasts and "talking trash" are frequent aspects of competitive sport, at least in the United States. Pete's boasts thus evoke this model, and his well-known community position as former wrestler.

Although Pete is consistently boastful and confrontational, he clearly shifts the hierarchy on which he bases his boasts at least three times. Some of these shifts are in response to Dave who seems to be trying out different tacks in his responses. The differences in language use are heightened by the differences in body, voice quality, and position in the fraternity. Dave is tall and thin, and speaks softer than Pete. He thus does not immediately project a physically powerful image, which Pete does. He is also not as loquacious as Pete. For example, whereas Pete often speaks in meetings, Dave speaks only occasionally. Dave admits to setbacks, such as when Pete doesn't have to pay rent. And instead of threatening or taunting back, he calmly suggests that he's going to get some money despite the actions of Pete's horse. Dave does seem to get somewhat impatient with Pete's boasting when he calls him on it (look at the man now he's talking

shit), but Pete turns the criticism into a boast, and returns to his badgering about the red property.

Dave and Pete's modulation show that men do not automatically construct a predetermined powerful identity, but that the field on which they place a powerful alignment is subject to negotiation. More importantly, the identity that a man tries to create can fail to be powerful. In the monopoly game, Pete successfully creates a powerful identity at every turn, turning even what should be a 'setback' (paying a high rent) into a chance to boast about how much money he has. Dave cannot say anything that Pete does not turn into an opportunity for him to crow, even though Dave takes several lines of 'attack.'

Another way to view Dave's reaction to Pete is that he is not actually "attacking," but simply not engaging in a boasting contest with Pete. The discourse suggests this is not true. Dave's responses to Pete's taunts and boasts indicate that Dave is trying to lessen the force of Pete's boasts, especially in line 45 (listen to the man now he's talkin'shit...) where he makes explicit reference to the boasts and claims that they are unfounded (now he's talkin'shit; talkin'shit and talkin' trash are slang terms for boasting). Based on his reactions to Pete's boasting, then, Dave is trying to deflate Pete's boasts, but is unsuccessful.

Mack's comments upon hearing this excerpt provide a telling insight into what is going on. First, Mack noted that this type of competitive, boasting, and insulting banter is central to the social life of the fraternity. It is purely social, he said, and goes "only skin deep." "It is game," he noted "but one that is a must for the fraternity." But he also notes that this kind of banter between the "animals of the wild" (as he called the fraternity members) relies on a kind of "balanced equilibrium" in which "mutual destruction" is imminent. Thus, he said, it's a "lame conversation if no one's got something on each other." He noted, however, that some members get picked on more than others, because they're perceived as targets: "People get relegated to a position, because they can't stand up in the beginning." Dave is one of these members. Mack said that Dave is a "designated welcome mat" who "gets stepped on the most." Dave thus not only seems to be struggling in this situation, but seems to have a position as the one who gets picked on, largely because he is not skilled at this particular speech genre.

Boss says very little in this excerpt, and most of his statements are focused on the game (lines 13: you got a free pass; 26: I'm gonna blow by Dave right here; and 32: Go Pete). There are several possible explanations. First, Boss has a reputation in the fraternity for being quiet, and my observations agree with his

reputation. He thus prefers to speak only with close friends. This interpretation of Boss's behavior was confirmed by the playback with both Pete and Mack. In fact, Boss refused to let me interview him, and was the only fraternity member who seemed to believe my research was intrusive. Therefore, he could also have been reacting to the presence of the tape recorder by speaking less. His reaction to the tape recorder means that we might not have a view of the men's completely 'ingroup' identities (because the tape recorder represents a possible outsider audience — Boss was often very talkative when I was present but did not have the tape recorder on); these are nevertheless identities the men construct and can therefore still inform our understanding of men's identity construction. A similar process could be at work with Pete, although in his case his boasting and taunting might be increased for the recorder.

We thus see a contrast in the constructions of the three men playing the monopoly game. Pete constructs an identity of the boasting, physically powerful man, while Boss quietly and efficiently goes about the business of the game (Boss got the red property that Pete worked so hard to get, and eventually won the game). Dave shows the ongoing nature of identity construction, modulating his responses to Pete to find ones that work.

The identity Pete creates in the monopoly game is at once different from, and consistent with, the identity he creates in the meeting settings. Recall in the vice presidential election meeting he spoke from a position near the top of a formal hierarchy, as vice president. Thus he uses bald statements and orders to focus attention on his position. In the monopoly game, he has no need for this, because his position in the hierarchy is not salient in this situation. However, when he needs to persuade Dave to give him the red property, he does resort to some forms that echo the meeting: imperative (gimme the red) and I'm tellin' you. Thus, we might suspect that these forms are simply persuasive forms for Pete (although power is important in persuasion). The strategy seemed to have 'worked' in the meeting (his candidate won) but not in the game (he never got the red property). Of course, there are many other factors that went in to both outcomes, so a claim that Pete's linguistic forms were solely responsible for the outcomes is too strong, although they very likely played a part (in fact, his boasting and taunting may be one reason why Dave gave the property to Boss).

When Pete listened to the monopoly excerpt, Pete found the conversation to be normal, just as Mack did, although Pete did not comment on Dave's behavior or fraternity position. But the fact that Pete finds his behavior in this activity type

acceptable (even humorous) is even more interesting when we consider his reaction to his behavior in the vice president election, when he boasted about the hard work he had done for fraternity (You guys don't realize the fuckin' work I have to do for you). His reaction to this boasting was to say "Man I was a dick in this one." Thus, even though he is confrontational in both activity types, Pete recognizes that boasting and insulting are more appropriate for the monopoly game setting, or "just hangin' out."

This fact throws new light on Pete's behavior in the meeting, suggesting that while the stance he was constructing was confrontational, he also may have been simultaneously indexing another activity type besides the meeting. Thus, the alignment role he indexes, while creating a confrontational and competitive stance, nevertheless also indexes the boasting typical of the men's discourse when they socialize with each other. In fact, Pete may have considered Pencil's sarcastic interrupting statement in line 9 (*He just eats the stress up*), which also insulted Pete for his voracious appetite and portly build, to be an opening to one of these boasting contests, and thus continued in this vein. Pete's boasting in the meeting can thus be explained by a momentary mixing of activity types, but it nevertheless had the effect of showing Pete as boasting in an inappropriate situation, as seen by

the reactions to his confrontational stance (line 21 and 22: this isn't about you Pete and Shut up dude stop feelin' sorry for yourself). This mismatch and negative reaction show that different ways of manifesting powerful identities are appropriate for some situations, but not others. Pete nevertheless consistently constructs a successfully competitive identity that puts him at the top of a hierarchy. Both situations suggest that he often evokes parts of the physical, working-class power model, and that his confrontational stances are meant to evoke this cultural model.

In this excerpt we have seen that when the men are relaxing together, their identities can have an element of (competitive) power. Moreover, each man's identity is different, and Pete's identity showed continuity with his meeting identity even while using slightly different strategies. Of course, this excerpt takes place during a competitive activity, which may have highlighted the men's competitive identities. In the next excerpt, I show that Pete continues this competitive aspect in a non-competitive activity.

## 4.2.3 Maggie's Bar

In the final excerpt, we see Pete shift discourse strategies — and the type of powerful identity he constructs — during an activity because of a change in the participants. Pete is sitting in a bar with me and one of Boss's friends from home. After a short time, a woman (Jen) comes in, and Pete's identity and language change dramatically (and consciously). In this excerpt we get a view of the different identities Pete constructs for male and female friends.

## 4.2.3.1 "Everybody plays that damn game dude"

In the first part of this episode, which takes place before Jen comes in, Pete is subtly confrontational by playing down the significance of Dan's utterances. The excerpt begins during a conversation about a party at Pete's house (the Townhouse) later that night.

### EXCERPT 4-16

(18a:370)

- 1 Dan: (You got) a keg?
- 2 (?)
- 3 BYOB?
- 4 IS it really?
- 5 Pete: THAT'S WHAT IT ALWAYS IS at our place man
- 6 except for once in a whi:le.
- 7 An' everybody just comes over there gets wasted.

```
8
            fuckin' sits around.
 9
            plays caps or whatever.
10 Dan:
            I love playin' caps.
            That's what did me in last-|| last week.
11
12 Pete:
                                              that's-
            Everybody plays that damn game, dude.
13
14
            (1.5)
15 Dan:
            Y'know who's good is: Nell?
16
            (1.0) *Is good uh*
17
            (1.3) ((snapping))
18
            What's his name.
19
            The marine guv.
20
            What's his name?
            Griceman?
21 Pete:
22 Dan:
            Yea.
            He's good. (0.8)
24 Pete:
            Everyone's: (.) all right.
25
            Everyone's pretty good.
            Just depends on how wasted you are.
26
27 Dan:
            (?? awful)
```

Dan asks if Pete will have a keg, and is surprised that it is "BYOB" (bring you own beer). Pete defends this arrangement and describes the usual course of events at his house's parties (line 5: that's what it always is at our house). Notice his relaxed, laissez-faire tone, created by the discourse particle man in line 5, his use of just in line 7 (everybody just comes over there and gets wasted), and his description of the activity (fuckin' sits around and plays caps or whatever). He gives the impression that what is happening is 'no big deal.' This 'laid back' identity continues throughout the conversation with Dan.

Pete's mention of the drinking game caps, in which players sit on the floor across the room from each other and try to throw bottle caps into each other's beer

glasses, brings on a discussion of the game. After Dan raves about the game, Pete notes that the game is commonplace and nothing special, by saying that "everyone" plays it. Notice here he uses the particle *dude*, which also seems to give his comments a relaxed stance. Dan turns the talk to who is good at playing caps, and Pete again notes that *everyone* plays fairly well (lines 24-5). Pete thus seems to be taking a stance to Dan of 'informed native'; saying we *always* do X, and *everybody* does Y.

In fact, Pete continually plays down Dan's comments. In lines 3-4 (BYOB? Is it really?), Dan is incredulous that the party is actually BYOB. Pete counters his incredulity by saying that is the way it is always done, and that everybody just comes over. This use of everybody and just implies that not only is it a common occurrence, but that Pete (or at least his house) is at the center of a social milieu. He focuses on everybody again in line 13 (everybody plays that damn game, dude) and again in lines 24-5 (Everyone's all right, Everyone's pretty good). Thus, Pete is subtly confrontational in that he doesn't disagree with Dan's assertions, but he does not express enthusiastic agreement with them either. Neither Pete nor Mack thought this encounter was particularly competitive. Since the pattern of Pete

putting down the import of Dan's comments is clear, it seems that this competitive orientation is so natural to Pete and Mack that it is unconscious.

In the next excerpt, both men agree that inebriation increases one's skill level (lines 32-3). Then Pete initially disagrees with Dan's claim that they were on the same team, but eventually agrees, especially after Dan gives him some details. Notice, however, that Pete ascribes his faulty memory to the amount of time passed since the event.

## EXCERPT 4-17

```
28 SK: he he he he (1.5)
29 Dan:
            (Lose my butt)
30 Pete:
            He he he he
            (4.0)
31
            I get really good when I'm drunk.
32
        Like after-| after I'm| drunk dude I get really good.
33
34 Dan:
                     I get better an better.
35 (7.8)
36 Dan:
            You were on my team last time.
            remember I kep-
No::
37
38 Pete:
39 Dan:
            Yeah you were.
40
            You and lce. (1.0)
            Tha's-
41 Pete:
                                      Tha's a while ago, veah.
                     You started off (?)
42 Dan:
43 (2.6)
44 Dan: You're like he sucks and (then I) kept gettin better an' better
                                      he he he he
45 Pete:
46
            (6.9)
```

In this section, disagreement comes out in the open, as Pete disagrees with Dan's assertion in line 36 (you were on my team last time). Pete tries to defend his

view (no), but realizes that Dan is correct as Dan marshals the evidence. Overall in this section, however, Pete again disagrees by 'over-agreeing.' Pete agrees and emphasizes Dan's comments, putting them down not by disagreeing, but by saying how unremarkable they are. Thus, Pete shows his knowledge of the community and thus focuses on a special kind of camaraderie that implies that he is an insider to the community while Dan is an outsider just coming into it.

## 4.2.3.2 "I wouldn't worry about it too much"

A short time later Jen, a Beta Psi member, walks in. After greeting Pete, she goes to talk with some friends at another table, and then returns to our table. As she returns, Pete remarks, "Now I gotta watch what I say," explicitly noting that he considers the speech activity to have changed dramatically. After Pete introduces me and Dan, Jen and he begin a conversation. Pete continues his nonchalant stance, but his intonation becomes narrower and his sentences become short.

## EXCERPT 4-18

93 Jen: God I haven't been here in a *long* time.
94 Um, what time do have to leave?
95 Do you really have to go to class?

96 Pete: ¡Yes.

97 Dan: Can we have another glass? ((to waiter))

98 Jen: You do?

99 Dan: No rush. ((as if to waiter, who had been slow))

100 Pete: What time is it?

101 Jen: I'm parked over there is that OK?

102 (?)

```
Six twenty-five
103
104 Pete:
             Forty five?
105 Jen:
             Twenty-five.
             What time do you have to leave?
106 Jen:
             I have to leave by seven.
107 Pete:
108 Jen:
             No: Seven fifteen. (.)
             Do you have a test in your class?
109
110 Pete:
             Yes.
             Oh well then OK (?)
111 Jen:
112 Pete:
             I'll leave at (.) ten after.
             Greta's coming here too.
113 Jen:
114 Pete:
             Greg?
115 Jen:
              No.
              Y'know what-?
116
117 Pete:
              Greg was s'posed to come.
              Alex called, was like
118 Jen:
119
              Can you tell Greg to um
120
              he owes us a hundred an twenty dollars for his bills.
121
              I was like he doesn't live here now.
122
              (3.1)
123 Pete:
              (Guess that's Greg's problem.)
124 Dan:
              You want another one?
125 Pete:
              Yeah I want another one. Huh.
126 (3.7)
127 Dan:
              I told him to get you a glass.
128 Jen:
              (I got kicked outta here one time)
129 Pete:
              Why? Were you being obnoxious and rowdy?
130 Jen:
              Oh: my God. I can't tell you how drunk I was.
131
              Don't even remember anything.
132 Pete:
              Shouldn't drink so much.
133 Jen:
              Are they gonna card me? (.)
134 Pete:
              Huh?
135 Jen:
              Are they gonna card me?
136 Pete:
              Probably.
                      I'm nervous, he ha
137 Jen:
138 Pete:
              I wouldn't worry about it too much.
```

When Jen walked in, Pete noted that he had to watch what he said, so we know that Jen's presence makes a difference in the way he talks. Pete is still creating a powerful identity, in that he puts himself in a stance higher than his interlocutors,

but now he seems to be showing the inexpressive face that Sattell (1983) discusses. Notice in line 96 Pete's very short answer to Jen's question about him going to class (yes). Later in the conversation (line 109), we find out that he has a test in his class. But in line 96, Pete does not volunteer any of this information. He just says yes, indicating that the decision is final, no justification needed. Compare this answer to Dan's question about BYOB in lines 3-4 (THAT'S WHAT IT ALWAYS IS at our place man), which provides much more justification and intonational dynamism. Notice also Pete's response to Jen's comments on Greg in lines 118-22 (Guess that's Greg's problem). Here he shows that he is unconcerned with other people's problems, and that maybe she shouldn't be either.

Then Dan asks Pete if he wants another glass of beer, and we see a momentary glimmer of emotion. Pete shows enthusiasm and humor, saying in line 125 Yeah I want another one, as if Dan need not even ask. In the remaining part of the discourse, Pete seems to take a paternalistic stance toward Jen, who tells a short narrative about being thrown out of the bar. Pete first asks why. When he elaborates his question, it is in a mocking tone: were you being obnoxious and rowdy? Pete seems to be mocking because he does elaborate his question — he elaborates nothing else in this section. After Jen's explanation, Pete quietly, and

ironically, tells her she shouldn't drink so much (as he drinks several glasses of beer before an exam). When she asks about the bar carding her (asking for identification that proves she is 21 years old), Pete calmly states *probably*, as if it won't matter much. Finally, when she expresses apprehensions, he speaks as if to reassure her (wouldn't worry about it too much). All of these statements create an impression of paternalistic protection: confidence, knowledge of the world, and suggestions for better behavior.

This excerpt parallels the meeting speeches in an intriguing way. In the meeting, one of the ways members created a powerful identity was to appear as a wise elder, or father figure, knowing about the fraternity and using that to give advice to those who know less. Here Pete is creating a similar identity with Jen, although with less intonational range than members use in the meetings.

Another device Pete uses in this excerpt, with both Dan and Jen, is the dropping of the subject of a sentence (lines 26 and 132). This device adds to Pete's air of nonchalance, or being in control of the situation, in addition to adding to their inexpressive character. The subjects are of different grammatical person (expletive and third person, respectively), but they are both used at points when Pete is creating an 'in control' identity. In line 26 (just depends on how wasted you

are), Pete is an expert on caps. In line 132, he's a counselor (shouldn't drink so much).

Upon hearing this excerpt, Pete was tentative about his motivations for his "inexpressive" behavior with Jen, saying "I guess I didn't want to have a conversation [with Jen] in front of you guys." But Mack characterized Pete's behavior as typical for Pete, who, said Mack, is always different around women. Mack believes Pete's voice becomes a little deeper, and Pete goes into "shut down mode," in which he tries to act like a "calm, cool, got-his-shit-together guy." We thus see another identity Pete regularly constructs, one that is again powerful in yet a slightly different way.

## 4.2.3.3 **Summary**

The two parts of this excerpt illustrate clearly the ways in which a man creates a continuous identity, uses language to create that identity, but nevertheless modulates it with respect to his audience. In both parts of the excerpt, Pete is the nonchalant expert. He thus creates a stance in both situations that puts him in a position higher with regard to knowledge of a group (his social circle) and the world at large. However, with Dan, he has more intonational range and more discourse particles such as man, dude, fuckin'. With Jen, he uses a narrower

intonation and uses fewer modifiers of any kind (including adjectives and modals). Thus, we might say that he is 'powerful' throughout (focusing on knowledge power), but that he is 'inexpressive' when speaking to the woman. This difference suggests that the hierarchies at the top of which he places his alignment roles are different with the two interlocutors. With the man, he shows his knowledge of — and central position within — his social group, but with the woman, he orients himself more towards the world at large, and presents himself as a wise, authoritative, unemotional figure. He puts himself at the top of a camaraderie hierarchy and a formal hierarchy, respectively.

Interestingly, there are parallels between Pete's syntax when speaking to Jen and when speaking to the fraternity in a meeting (both times he uses bald assertions without justification or elaboration). This correlation suggests that Pete is creating a similar stance (i.e., in terms of knowledge and authority) when speaking to other members of the fraternity in the meeting, and to a woman in a bar. Indeed, in both situations he seems to create an identity based on worldly wisdom and experience. This similarity may at first seem paradoxical, since the two settings are so different in terms of formality, but when we consider society's ordering of men and women in terms of authority, it is not surprising: Such an

ordering between men and women is identified as the most important aspect of hegemonic masculinity, as explained by Connell (1987, 1995), and central to the hierarchic ideology of the fraternity, which puts the men of the fraternity at the top, above women and other men. Pete's everyday identity construction thus reproduces on a local level the ideologies of the fraternity and society as a whole.

## 4.2.4 Summary: Pete's shifting identity

In this section I have shown how Pete modulates his identity in different speech activity types, while nevertheless keeping a stable identity. His identities are powerful in that he creates a stance that indexes alignment roles at the top of some sort of hierarchy. The domain of the hierarchy (the power base through which it is constructed) shifted depending on the activity type, speakers, and Pete's linguistic resources. In the first activity, the meeting, Pete created a confrontational stance that indexed an identity powerful both in terms of the formal fraternity hierarchy and the fraternity value of hard work. In the monopoly game, Pete continued the confrontational identity introduced in the meeting speech activity, although he used much more boasting and taunting in the monopoly game. Even within the game he shifted the hierarchy on which he compared himself by shifting the basis of his boasts. Dave, to whom much of the boasting is

directed, also modulated his responses to Pete, showing clearly that men do not automatically create a certain powerful identity, but that these identities are negotiated, tested, and sometimes discarded very quickly.

Finally, we saw Pete interacting in a bar, first speaking with a non-fraternity friend (Dan), then with a sorority woman (Jen). His competitive stance was continued with Dan, although in a more subtle way than in the monopoly game and the meeting, by agreeing with Dan rather than outright arguing. When Jen sat down, Pete's identity showed a marked shift: his discourse showed less emotion (through intonation) and he took a calm, paternalistic stance toward Jen, that echoed his formal hierarchic identity of the meeting.

In section 4.1, I focused on differences in how each speaker linguistically constructs a powerful identity. Although some differences in the same speaker were evident (for Speed especially), these differences are more striking when we compare a single speaker's linguistic identity constructions in different speech activities. While Pete's identity constructions (and the linguistic strategies he uses to create these constructions) are in general loyal to the identity we saw in the meeting (combative, physical, self-focused), there is a remarkable variability in the ways he modulates his behavior, a variability on many dimensions that brings into

question any simplistic model of style and style shifting. Pete is not simply more or less formal, more or less public, or more or less power-focused; the differences in his identity constructions, from hierarchical leader to boasting combatant to paternalistic, inexpressive 'flirt', are much more complex. Even more problematic for a static view of identity and power is Dave's line-by-line shifts in response to Pete's boasts in the monopoly game, and Pete's counter-shifts. These shifts show that even if we can identify speech activities that might serve as archetypes or prototypes for style shifts, these activities are constantly redefined and recontextualized by the participants. Identity constructions are similarly redefined and refined in interactions, and while different manifestations of a person's identity may be stable across situations, there is no static identity that people pull out and use deterministically when certain criteria apply. This idea is central to this chapter, and to the thesis as a whole: while people feel constraints on their linguistic behavior, they are nevertheless *creative*, and continually try out new ways of presenting themselves.

#### 4.3 Conclusion

In connecting the structural power of men in society to the everyday practical workings of power such as we have seen in this chapter, the ordering of identities

that Connell outlines in his description of hegemonic masculinity is the strongest link. On the global structural level of the community (the fraternity), the ordering mechanism of hegemonic masculinity is evident in the ideology that creates a hierarchy among members and other fraternities. The competitive ideology grows naturally out of the hierarchic ideology, as the criteria for moving up in the hierarchy: If identities are to be always ordered in relation to one another, there must also be a way to test which identity is best. Finally, the camaraderie ideology also implies an ordering, one that privileges members over non-members. Amoreover, these ideologies are not newfound by the men when they join the fraternity. The fraternity is one institution in a constellation of institutions that reproduce the gender order. Men are chosen for (and choose to be members of) the fraternity because their values match the fraternity's. Thus, hegemonic masculinity is also the ideology of the culture in which the fraternity culture — and ultimately the men's identities — are embedded.

The fraternity is a community constituted by the everyday actions of its members — a community of practice. I have shown in this chapter how the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Camaraderie also gives the men a way to show affection for one another while avoiding any homosexual implications. This homophobia, however, is also an outgrowth of hegemonic masculinity, because homosexual identities are also ordered by this ideology, well below heterosexual identities.

ideologies, particularly hierarchy, competition, hard work, and camaraderie, are reproduced in and by the men's discourse. In turn, by using this discourse, the men also reproduce hegemonic masculinity; language, culture, and identity are thus constitutive of one another. This reproduction of cultural and community hierarchic ideologies is the heart of the role of power in men's language use. Powerful alignment roles for the men are those which are at the top of a hierarchy; they index these alignment roles through their use of linguistic devices that create stances putting them at the top of different hierarchies. If a powerful alignment role in one hierarchy is not available for any reason, these men find another hierarchy on which to create a powerful alignment role. Linguistic devices may index alignment roles directly, as Pete's boasting did, or indirectly, as his profanity did. Moreover, the men draw on both community positions and cultural models. Thus, Mack indexes his fraternity position as an older brother and simultaneously the cultural upper-middle-class model.

The connection between men's identity, language, and power is therefore not one of mere influence, but of reflexivity. The discourse *is*, in a sense, the men's identity. Power is defined for the men in the culture of hegemonic masculinity; thus, hegemonic masculinity is the overarching ideological power which identifies

competition — and movement to the top of a hierarchy — as power. I have shown that the men's everyday speech reflects and recreates this power (albeit in individual ways). Thus language constitutes both the individually powerful alignments within the ideology and the social structures that lead to the same ideology; it is at once personal and cultural, local and global. In hegemonic masculinity, therefore, the global and local explanations for the men's language merge.

It is a system that is always incomplete, and always under construction, but not in a vacuum. Hegemonic masculinity is reproduced in each conversation, and these conversations build regularities that become patterns that eventually reproduce hegemonic masculinity. In the next chapter, I investigate how one linguistic variable is built into a pattern, and how that pattern connects with the structure and practices discussed here.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE:**

#### A GENDERED SOCIOLINGUISTIC MARKER

#### AS PART OF A POWERFUL IDENTITY

## 5. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analyzed sequences of discourse to better understand the connection between the fraternity men's identities, power, and language. I showed that the men create powerful identities by indexing various alignment roles that are powerful because they occupy a position at the top of some hierarchy. Differences arose because men evoked alignment roles in different hierarchies (structural, physical, and knowledgeable hierarchies figuring prominently). The men indexed various cultural models, community positions, and activity-type stances both directly and indirectly. The indirect indexing of these alignment roles—in which the men, through their language, created stances identified with the indexed alignment role—could be seen most clearly through the analysis of particular stretches of discourse and its context. The direct indexing of alignment roles—in which men use linguistic devices previously used by others occupying the same role—could be glimpsed in a comparison of discourse excerpts, but not as convincingly demonstrated.

In this chapter I focus on how linguistic forms themselves can help directly to index alignment roles through repeated use, and thus help create powerful identities. To view this working of language and power, we need to see larger patterns of language us in the fraternity. One of the best ways to investigate such patterns is through a quantitative analysis, specifically a variation analysis.

Therefore, I analyze the men's use of one variable morpheme— the (ING) variable—across speakers and activity types, to look for a system that they draw upon to help index alignment roles when engaged in discourse.

I analyze the men's systematic use of the (ING) variable, the alternation in the morpheme -ing between a final velar consonant ([11]], which I will refer to as G) and a final alveolar consonant ([11]] or N). I have chosen this variable mainly for two of its characteristics. First, it varies in almost all varieties of English; since the fraternity members are not all natives to northern Virginia, it was necessary to use a variable that would nevertheless be shared by all. Second, most studies have found that men and women differ in their use of the variable; since gender is the main social focus of my study, a variable with significance to gender is appropriate.

Crucially, I draw on the cultural power models, especially those based on work. I find that while socializing, the men exhibit similarly high rates of N use. However, in meetings, this homogeneity is broken: Speed, Waterson, and Sly use high rates of N, while most of the other men use a low rate, with Pete falling in between. By considering the types of identity the men create in the meetings I show that their use of the variable in this way is consistent with, and helps to index, the working-class power model. I also show that the variable is used to index the socializing activity type in addition to alignment roles. These cultural models are deployed strategically in meetings in order to help create stances that index more immediate alignment roles. The men use the variable to draw aspects of cultural models to create positions and stances. Indexing alignment roles is thus a two-way street: stances eventually make up cultural models, but these cultural models are also evoked in order to build stances. I thus connect the everyday linguistic practice of the men with the larger societal patterns of linguistic variation.

This analysis gives insight into the sex pattern found in language variation, and to the possible motivation behind covert prestige. Recall that men establish powerful identities by drawing on alignment roles in a number of different hierarchies. It follows from this idea that variants may also index alignment roles

on different hierarchies. However, most linguistic variation studies have assumed only one hierarchy when investigating power, or prestige. Thus, prestige is usually framed in terms of socioeconomic power only. While this has proved to be a powerful predictor of linguistic behavior, it has not provided as much insight into the sex pattern or covert prestige. My findings in this chapter suggest that the sex pattern could be due to the fact that women index different alignment roles than men: they may be on different hierarchies (such as one of 'moral authority,' as suggested by Eckert 1989), or they may value other social alignments in addition to, or besides, hierarchical alignments (as suggested by Tannen 1990, 1993). For covert prestige, I provide a straightforward answer: this prestige is not keyed to the socioeconomic hierarchy, but to another hierarchy based on physical labor and solidarity; it is covert only in that it is not visible to analyses that assume that socioeconomic hierarchies are the only relevant hierarchies, or that all speakers engage with this hierarchy exclusively. Finally, by considering speakers as individuals, this analysis also sheds light on the genesis of variation patterns, and how speakers exploit variation patterns to help create identities.

In the next section, I review in detail what is known about ING. I then present an analysis of the men's use of the variable. Finally, I analyze some discourse excerpts to show how the variable is integrated into some of the men's language to construct an identity.

# 5.1 The variable (ING)

Fischer (1958) performed the first published study of the (ING) variable. He analyzed data from interviews and test protocols with children in a "semi-rural New England Village." Despite its relatively early date, Fischer's study shows sophisticated thinking about the nature of variables. He found first that boys used N more than girls. However, he went on to note that the difference between two types of boys was also significant. The 'model' boy, who "did his school work well, was popular among his peers, reputed to be thoughtful and considerate (1958:49)," had a much higher rate of G and lower rate of N than did a 'typical boy,' who was seen as "physically strong, dominating, full of mischief, but disarmingly frank about his transgressions (1958:49)." This finding suggests already that the primary social meaning of the variable has more to do with characteristics such as dominance and rebellion, than with the sex of the speaker. Sex shows an effect because of the difference between the number of boys and girls who construct such an identity. Fischer notes that the variants "serve to symbolize things about the relative status of the conversants and their attitudes toward each other (1958:51; italics added)." Fischer thus anticipates here the

connection between stance and identity that became clear in later variation studies. Finally, Fischer notes in his conclusion, again anticipating later findings, that "[a] variant which one man uses because he wants to seem dignified another man would reject because he did not want to seem stiff (1958:56)."

Since Fischer's study, many studies throughout the world have found similar sex-marked results for this variable, although most did not analyze differences within groups, such as Fischer did with boys in his study (Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley 1968, Anshen 1969, Woods 1978, Reid 1978, Douglas-Cowie 1978, Wald and Shopen 1981, Houston 1985). Labov's (1966) study of New York City, which served as a model for most variation studies, investigated (ING) and found a strong correlation between both class and style and (ING), as shown in figure 5.1, but no significant differences for sex. Labov (1972) notes the remarkable regularity of the variable, which he names a stable sociolinguistic marker. The variable is stable because its rate of variation does not seem to be changing (although it does vary by dialect), and it is a marker because speakers are aware of the variation, but have not stereotyped it so much that the low prestige variant is never used. Because the variable is sensitive to both class and style, Labov (1972:240) noted that "it may therefore be difficult to interpret any signal by itself — to distinguish, for example

a casual salesman from a careful pipefitter," echoing Fischer's comments quoted above.

It is possible that Labov's findings with respect to gender may result from the class structure of New York, which proceeds in a more gradual manner than Norwich, the subject of Trudgill's (1972) study. In that city, Trudgill found a sharp differentiation in the (ING) rates between the middle class and the working

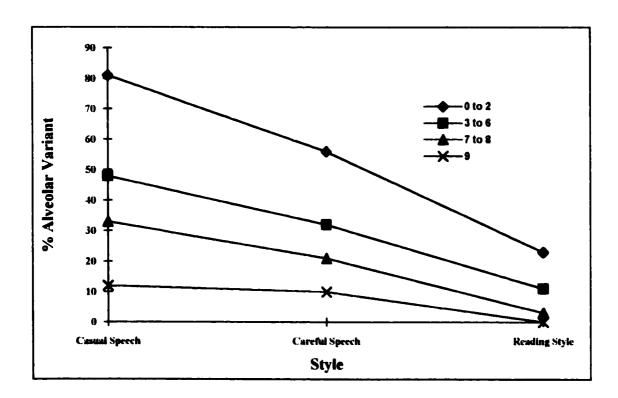


Figure 5.1. Class and style stratification of (ING) for white New York City adults (Labov 1972:239). Socioeconomic classes are numbered, with lower numbers indicating upper class.

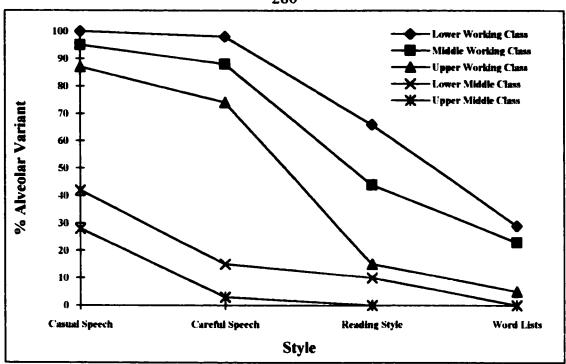


Figure 5.2. Class and style stratification of (ING) in Norwich (from Labov 1972:242; adapted from Trudgill 1971).

class, as shown in Figure 5.2.

Trudgill hypothesizes that "[working class] speech, like other aspects of [working class] culture, appears, at least in some Western societies, to have connotations of masculinity, probably because it is associated with the roughness and toughness supposedly characteristic of [working class] life which are, to a certain extent, considered to be desirable masculine attributes. (1972:182)" Thus,

the sharper difference between classes, and a more class conscious society may cause men to be more likely to use the (ING) variable as a sex-marked variable.

Trudgill's study is important in other respects. In contrast with previous studies' focus on women's higher rate of standard usage, he focused on the behavior of men, and their higher use of non-standard speech. He notes "that there are hidden values associated with non-standard speech, and that . . . they are particularly important in explaining the sex differentiation of linguistic variables (1972:183)." Trudgill goes on to investigate whether this "covert prestige," has a role in the sex differences in Norwich.

To discover covert prestige, Trudgill investigated how men and women reported their use of several other variables that show socioeconomic stratification in Norwich. He asked informants what variants they used, and how often. Some respondents reported more standard speech than they actually used (over-reporting), some reported less (under reporting), and some were accurate. Simplifying somewhat, Trudgill found that men tended to under-report more than women. Thus men seemed to value the non-standard in a covert way. There was no difference between the reporting across classes, suggesting that sex, not class, is the important independent social variable. Age, however, was also a factor in under-reporting; both young men and women under-reported more than their older

counterparts. He notes that "group-identification of a kind desirable by these speakers is signaled by the usage of non-standard form, and this leads to its increases and exaggeration (1972:192)."

These findings, then, provide some suggestions as to the reasons behind the higher male non-standard usage: male toughness, and male and youthful rebelliousness. Trudgill (1972:188) also suggests "signaling group solidarity" as a concern for men. Trudgill, however, assumes that these values are salient for his speakers, and neither performs nor cites sociological nor anthropological evidence; we have no independent reason to believe that the men whose speech he analyzes have the values and goals he ascribes to them. An explanation we might keep in mind, however, is the masculine protest phenomenon described by Connell (1995), following Adler (1956), discussed in chapter two. Trudgill's study thus moved the understanding of sex and variation forward greatly, but, as often happens, left more questions in its wake. I attempt to answer some of those questions by integrating the findings of chapters three and four, the gender theory in chapter two, and a variation analysis of the fraternity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Although to Trudgill's credit, little research specifically focusing on gender was available, and feminist theory was still in its infancy.

Another relevant study is Huspek's (1986) study of lumber workers in the northwest United States. Huspek attempts to arrive at a more fine-grained explanation of the use of the variable. He proposes seven descriptive, categorical rules for the use of (ING) in the worker's speech, based on the grammatical category of the word containing the variable, whether the word is a "swear word," respect for or resentment toward the agent of verb constructions with (ING), and whether or not the agent is the speaker.

While this study is welcome in that it suggests more specific constraints on (ING), it falls short in several respects. The first shortcoming is that it assumes that the variable is sensitive only to prestige, as defined by social class, without providing a definition or justification for this explanation. Thus, Huspek's explanations are not as specific as they might seem, since they all appeal to the same explanatory concept. Moreover, other explanations are not considered, such as the role solidarity or friendship might play in the use of the variable. Even though speakers score high on a linguistic insecurity test, and are from a lower socioeconomic group, these facts do not necessitate that prestige is the reason for the correlation; we need more specific evidence about the values and ideology of the community, and the salience of those values during the speech event during which the analyzed forms were uttered to be certain of explanations. This is the

second criticism: the study does not take into account the actual values and ideology of the community, and how the variable fits into those values. Finally, Huspek does not take into account phonological effects (e.g., following phonological environment), although he does use other language internal (syntactic) factors to analyze the variable. He argues for the functionalist view that syntactic categories have social significance, and that this social significance is at the heart of the syntactic pattern of (ING). In this sense, he confuses the difference between language internal and external factors.

Huspek thus argues that syntax, lexical meaning, and social meaning are inseparable. This claim is refuted strongly by Houston's (1985) work on the history of (ING) and the historical basis for the grammatical patterning of the variable. Houston also found that (ING) is sensitive to grammatical category, but on a gradual, rather than categorical, scale: more 'noun-like' words had a higher rate of G than 'verb-like' words. Thus, in her multiple regression analysis of speech from interviews in England, she found that more noun-like a word, the more likely that it will have the G variant. However, the statistical groupings do not fit into the categories identified by describing words as +/- Noun and +/- Verb, but into less discrete categories on a continuum, which Houston cites as supports for Ross's (1973) grammatical continuum.

Houston also found that the grammatical effect reflects "an historical process, a partially completed merger between two originally distinct morphemes in English (1985:360)." She establishes this fact through differences in (ING) use in south England dialect areas and correlated differences in the history of the morphology in these areas. Houston shows that the difference in variable rates between noun and verbal categories can be better explained through the history of English, rather than appealing to morphology or the functional characteristics of nouns and verbs.

In sum, the (ING) variable is perhaps the most studied variable in the English language (if not all of linguistics), because it is variable in all varieties of English and is sensitive to most of the factors sociolinguistics have considered for any variable: phonology, syntax, dialect, style, class, and sex. Moreover, the general picture is the same across dialects for the other factors, so that even in places as far apart as Los Angeles, Norwich, and Australia, men tend to have a higher rate of N than women. This regularity and stability is attractive for analyzing language use in the fraternity, where members are not all from the same dialect area. Moreover, as Labov (1972:243) notes, "[w]ithout a base line of stable sociolinguistic markers, there is no basis for investigating more abstract questions," such as how aggregate patterns of language and gender relate to the everyday work of identity construction.

# 5.2 Patterns of (ING) variation at Gamma Chi Phi

In this section, I describe the results of the analysis of (ING) in the fraternity. I first describe the coding procedures, then present the main results. I then analyze cross tabulations and other manipulated data to better understand the patterns at work. Finally, I offer explanations for the patterns based on the ideology and values of the fraternity and the identities of the speakers.

# **5.2.1 Coding**

Each token of (ING) was coded as alveolar (preceded by an untensed vowel), velar, or alveolar (preceded by a tensed vowel). The latter were rare, and were eventually dropped from the analysis. Each token was also coded for the independent variables of speaker, activity type, following phonological environment, and grammatical category (following Houston's 1985 categories). Speakers were coded by person, rather than sex, class, etc., since I am comparing across individuals.

Activity type is similar to the style factor in Labov (1966) and other studies. I use activity type rather than style for several reasons. First, most variation studies are based on interviews, and therefore do even have the possibility of coding for activity type. Second, activity type is defined both emically and etically; as shown

in chapters three and four, members recognize a difference between "hanging out" and meetings, the two main types on which I have focused.

Meetings are simply tokens in the full weekly meetings. A sample of meetings were coded, chosen at random. Gavel, the story round at the end of these meetings, was considered a separate activity type, because as I have discussed above, the tone, purpose, and organization of talk change considerably. Unfortunately, I was able to tape very little of this type, and is therefore not central to my analysis. "Hanging out," or "socializing" as I usually refer to it, is less specific than meetings. Socializing takes place at a number of locations and with differing numbers of participants; however, dividing this activity type would not yield comparable results, because each speaker was not recorded in all types of socializing types. Tokens for the socializing activity type were exhaustive for each speaker. This activity type was the most difficult to tape, and therefore fewer tokens were available.

I also coded interview tokens, although interviews were not necessarily classic sociolinguistic interviews, in that the goal was not to obtain the most vernacular speech. These interviews were used to understand the fraternity and its ideology, gather information about members, and find out how they saw their position in the fraternity. All interviews were not identical, however, because not all were private.

One turned into a group interview; I therefore added the group interview as a category, but only a few of the speakers participated, and I did not set up another interview. Interviews were coded for the first 45 minutes, or the complete interview, if shorter. Because of the volume of talk in interviews, they comprise over half of the total tokens. Some word lists and reading passages were recorded, but again, only with some speakers.

Internal factors coded for were following phonological environment and grammatical category. In addition to categories outlined by Houston (1985), which I have used intact for comparability, the marker *fuckin'* was included as a separate category. This word functions as several different grammatical categories, and is almost categorically alveolar.

## 5.2.2 Results

Tokens were analyzed using the IVARB variable rule multiple regression analysis program for DOS. All factor groups were selected as significant in the step-up-step-down procedure. Table 5.1 lists the results for all factors, including probabilities and percentage of N. A probability higher than .5 indicates that a factor increases the likelihood of N use, while below .5 indicates the factor disfavors N use.

Following						Grammatical S	tatus	p	_%	N
Environment p		p	% N		_	Fucking			97	86/89
Liquid		65	74	31/42	_	Progressive		.61	69	313/453
Labial		57	67	89/132		Verb complemen	.59	72	43/60	
Alveolar		56	60	166/278		Preposition	.54	60	9/15	
Vowel		51	57	197/345		Participle	.48	54	<b>4</b> 7/87	
Palatal		50	38	5/13		something, nothi	.41	45	29/64	
Semivowel		49	60	29/48		Mono-morphemi	.38	47	9/19	
Pause		36	41	75/184		Noun				
Velar		34	53	31/58		Proper name		.38	67	2/3
Input/total		62	57	623/1100		Appositive		.38	60	9/15
puo totu.	•					Adjunct modifier	r	.27	38	8/21
						(part)				
						ACC ING		.27	36	4/11
Speaker	p	%	N			Sentential compl	lement	.26	25	1/4
Speed	.91	79		0/164		WHIZ deletion		.23	33	2/6
Sly	.63	66		/128		Derived nominal		.16	14	2/14
Pete	.54	73		0/137		Gerund		.16	24	49/201
Tommy	.51	55		/29		Adjunct Modifie	r (ger)	.16	30	8/27
Art	.47	62		/65		Adjective	_	.11	18	2/11
Waterson	.45	62		/37		Input/total		.62	57	623/1100
Pencil	.36	45		/111						
Hotdog	.33	44		/175		Activity Type	р	%	N	
Mack	.31	38		/84		Socializing	.72	75	180/2	40
Saul	.28	51		/116		Interview	.54	53	280/5	
Ram	.15	22		/54		Meeting	.30	46	118/2	
Input/total	.62	57		3/1100		Group IV	.59	67	14/21	
mpuviotai	.02	31	02	3/1100		Reading	.10	54	25/46	
						Gavel	.29	75	6/8	
						Input/total	.62	57	623/1	100
						mpuviotai	.02	31	023/1	100

Table 5.1. Probabilities and percentages of alveolar (N) application of (ING) for all factor groups.

The variable rule program asks for an 'application value,' which I chose to be N. I could have alternately chosen G, as other studies have traditionally (e.g., Houston 1985). Because the two variants are true variants (as shown by Houston's work), as opposed to one being a derivation of another, the choice is probably not

crucial. My choice was motivated by the fact that I am specifically interested in the men's use of the non-standard, given the patterns other studies have found, especially by Trudgill (1972).

The non-discrete differences of probabilities in the grammatical status factor group roughly match Houston's (1985) findings for grammatical category, although I have not analyzed the results in detail, since this issue has no bearing on my research question (except to account for any interaction). For the same reason I will not speculate on the striking differences between my results and Houston's for the following phonological environment; the only similarities between the results are the effect of a following velar consonant (favors G), and [-back] consonants, which slightly favor N. The overall percentage and input probability were sharply different from Houston's British speakers, who used N 80% of the time, compared with the fraternity members, who used N only 57% of the time. A better comparison might be between Houston's data and the fraternity interviews, in which the members used N 53% of the time. The speakers in Houston's study were, however, mostly working class, whereas the fraternity members are mostly middle class. In addition, other studies have found similar ranges as I found in the fraternity (see Houston 1985:17 for a summary).

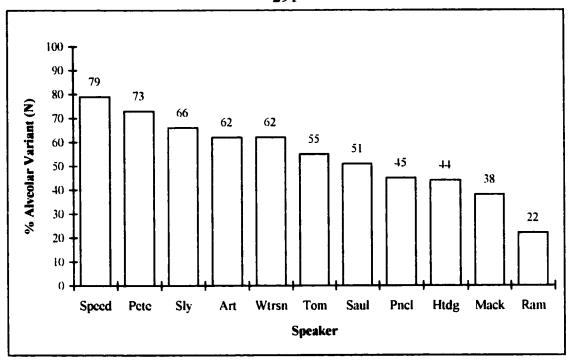


Figure 5.3. Percentage of alveolar variant for speakers.

The results for speaker are reproduced graphically in Figures 5.3 and 5.5. In Figure 5.3, the percentages of N use are shown, yielding a range from 79% for Speed to 22% for Ram. Note the gradual slope; there are no clear groupings among speakers. In fact, when the number of speakers in each 10-point range is plotted, the result is a near-normal curve shown in figure 5.4.

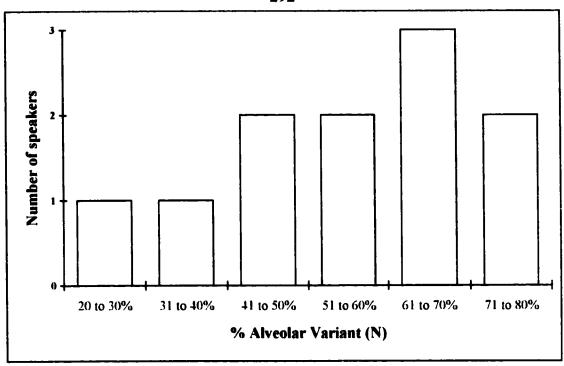


Figure 5.4. Distribution of speakers

This normal situation changes for the variable rule results in Figure 5.5.

Although the distribution still looks quite normal, notice that Pete is not highly likely to use N (compared with his percentage of 73%), while Saul is very unlikely to use N (compared with his percentage of 51%). These disparities suggests that there is an interacting factor that gives these men higher percentages than would be expected from their probability scores. The probabilities also suggest a way of grouping the speakers: one group favors N (Speed and Sly), another group

disfavors N (Saul, Mack, and Ram), while the other speakers form a middle group, with Pencil and Hotdog disfavoring the use of N slightly more than Pete, Art, Waterson, and Tommy.

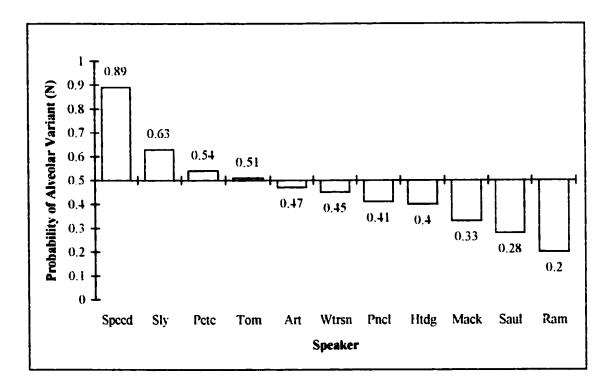


Figure 5.5. Variable rule probabilities of alveolar variant for speakers.

However, speaker was not the only language external variable that affected the use of (ING); activity type was also significant. I focus on three activity types:

Socializing ("hangin' out"), meetings, and interviews, with socializing and meetings being the most important, given that they are 'natural' or 'native' speech

activities. Socializing highly favored N at 75% (.72 probability), while meetings disfavored N strongly at 46% (.30 probability). Interviews fell in between at 53% (.54 probability).

The variable rule analysis does not tell the whole story, however. As Labov (1972) noted, the interaction between style (activity type) and class (speaker) is one of the interesting aspects of this variable. Thus it is important to investigate the interaction patterns through a cross tabulation, the first of which is given in Figure 5.6.

Across activity types, the pattern of speaker stratification changes dramatically; it is similar to the patterns in Figures 5.1 and 5.2, in that most speakers move in the same general direction, but strikingly different in that they do not move in lock-step. Moreover, the differences in speakers increase from socializing to meeting. This fan pattern is also seen in the New York and Norwich figures, but those patterns can be attributed to the fact that when a group reaches the rate of 100% or 0%, they cannot go higher or lower. In figure 5.6, most of the speakers congregate in a 67-88% range. This clustering is found again in the interview results, with a group congregating in a 36-60% range. In the meeting activity type, however, there is no such 'core' middle group; the speakers are spread out almost evenly, with the largest split occurring between a group below the mean (indicated

by the bar) and a group above the mean. Speed continues his outlier status in all three activity types.

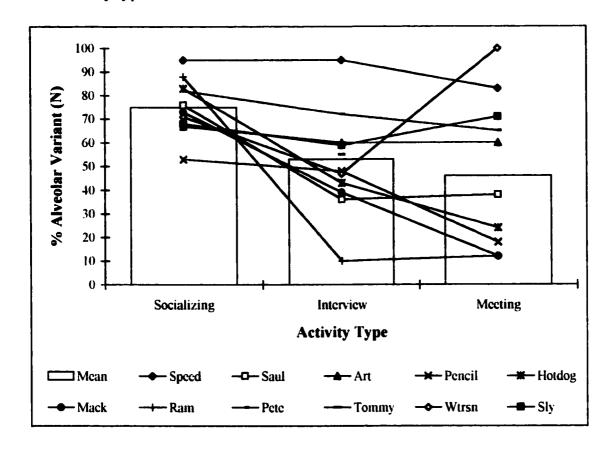


Figure 5.6. Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type factor groups.

I also performed a VARBRUL analysis in which the speaker and activity type factor groups were combined into one group. A single factor was thus a speaker in a certain activity type (e.g., Saul in Meeting activity type). This factor group was

Speaker	S	ocializir	g	Interview			Meeting			
	_ р	%	N	р	%	N	P	%	N	
Speed	.84	95	19/20	.97	95	52/55	.79	82	33/40	
Sly	.70	67	16/24	.61	60	37/62	.60	71	24/34	
Pete	.70	82	31/38	.64	72	34/47	.30	67	26/39	
Art	.52	67	10/15	.58	60	24/40	.33	60	6/10	
Waterson	.59	71	10/14	.46	47	9/19	knockout: categorical N			
Pencil	.50	53	16/30	.51	48	31/64	.09	18	3/17	
Hotdog	.70	83	25/30	.35	43	39/90	.16	24	13/55	
Mack	.66	73	16/22	.35	39	12/31	.11	13	4/31	
Saul	.62	76	29/38	.29	38	22/58	.16	38	3/8	
Ram	.65	88	7/8	.09	10	3/29	.10	12	2/17	

Table 5.2. Probabilities and percentages of alveolar (N) application of (ING) for Speaker/Activity Type combined factor group.

The speakers in Table 5.2 are ordered as they were in Table 5.1, with Speed, the most likely to use N overall, at the top. The probabilities in this chart show an even more striking interaction. Note that all speakers, except Art and Pencil, favor N in the Socializing Activity Type, in a range of .59 to .84, and no speakers disfavor N. In the interview Activity Type, speakers exhibit the largest range; I believe this is due to the fact that the Interviews varied in style, so that some speakers considered them more like Socializing, and other more like Meetings.

The Meeting shows a split in the speakers: a large group who strongly disfavor N, in a range of .09 to .16, and three speakers who strongly favor N in meetings:

Speed, Sly, and Waterson (whose Meeting tokens excluded from the VARBRUL analysis because they were categorically N). Moreover, Pete and Art do no disfavor to the same degree as the biggest group. These figures show a clear differentiation among speakers within the Meeting Activity Type.

We thus have our first patterns to be explained:44

- 1. Speed's consistently high N scores;
- 2. Speakers who show a "hypocorrection" pattern, using more N in meeting than in other activity types (Sly and Waterson);
- 3. The higher differentiation of speakers in the meeting activity type than in the other activity types.

The speaker factor group also interacts with the language internal factor group of grammatical category, as shown in Figure 5.7. In order to see a pattern, this chart represents only the four most numerous categories; other categories present so few numbers that no pattern was apparent. The progressive factor represents

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ram's low score in the interview section is probably due to several factors. First, it was a short interview, conducted while several other members were present. This prevented Ram from relaxing and from losing his awareness of the tape recorder. It was also the first interview I conducted, and I did not yet

verbal categories, while gerund represents nominal categories. Thing words (nothing, something) were not as numerous, which accounts for most of the deviations from the pattern (Pete and Sly).

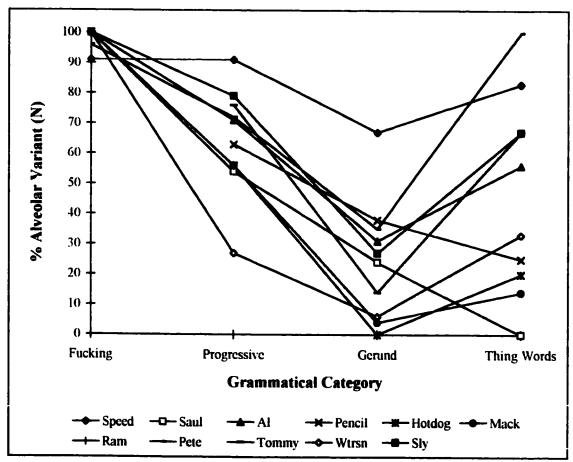


Figure 5.7. Cross tabulation of speaker and

grammatical category factor groups

know Ram very well. Thus, he was self-conscious of his presentation of self within the language ideology of the dominant culture (rather than the fraternity).

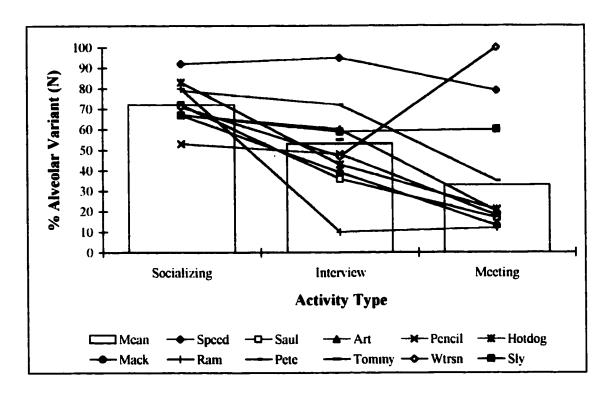


Figure 5.8. Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type factor groups, tokens of *fuckin'* not included.

Here we see the strong effect of the discourse marker fuckin': Almost all speakers use N categorically with fuckin'. All speakers except Speed use proportionately less N in progressive, even less in gerund, with thing words falling in between. The results in this figure indicate that fuckin' tokens may interfere with the regularity of the results (although it is an important part of using language

to create identity; see discussion below). Therefore, removing it from the analysis may yield more 'accurate' results. Figure 5.8 shows the cross tabulation of speaker and activity type without *fuckin*' tokens.

The picture now becomes much more regular, because of changes in the meeting activity type. The speaker stratification without *fuckin'* tokens is almost identical in the socializing and interview situations as with these tokens, with a small drop in the average N rate in the socializing situation (from 75% to 72%), and no change in the interview situation. However, the meeting situation average drops considerably, from 46% to 33%, and the cluster we find in the socializing and interview activities is present in the meeting activity. The meeting activity also corresponds closely with variable rule probabilities (except for Waterson, whose categorical N is explained below).

Thus, the reason the meeting activity was so spread out seems to be the influence of fuckin'. This finding raises a more interesting question, however: why were the fuckin' tokens so influential in the meeting situation? Why did they make up such a great proportion in this situation and not in the socializing situation, where we might think that the relaxed atmosphere would allow the men to swear more? These questions will be taken up in detail in the discussion.

Waterson's anomalous behavior is probably due to a low number of tokens.

Overall, he only had four tokens in the meeting activity, two of which were fuckin'. The remainder were progressive and thing words, respectively; more tokens may have yielded a pattern more in line with the other speakers, although see the analysis below of his speech from which the tokens are taken. Finally, this graph suggests that Speed's high use of N still must be explained, and Pete consistently uses a higher rate of N as well.

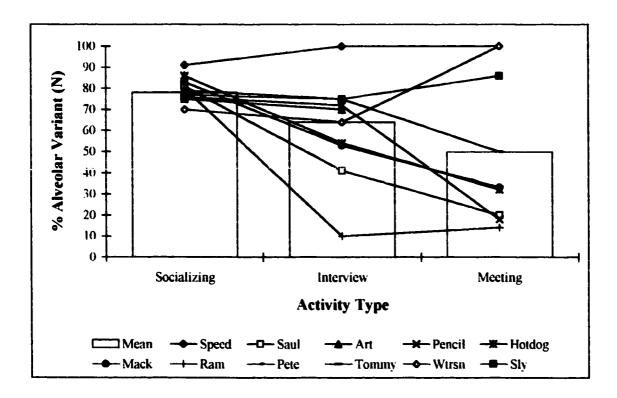


Figure 5.9. Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type for progressive verb forms only.

One way to factor out the effect of the grammatical category is to consider only one category. Thus, I now turn to an analysis of the progressive tokens only in Figure 5.10, which again shows the fan pattern noticed in Figure 5.9. More important, the order of stratification is almost identical to the variable rule probabilities in Figure 5.5, and consistent with the probabilities for the combined Speaker/Activity Type analysis in Table 5.2, Waterson's two tokens notwithstanding: Sly and Speed actually *increase* their use of N in the meeting situation, while the others decrease it, with Pete decreasing much less than the others. In addition, Pencil now clusters with the other speakers in the socializing activity type, suggesting that his low N rate previously was due to language-internal factors.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Of Art's ten meeting tokens, none were progressive.

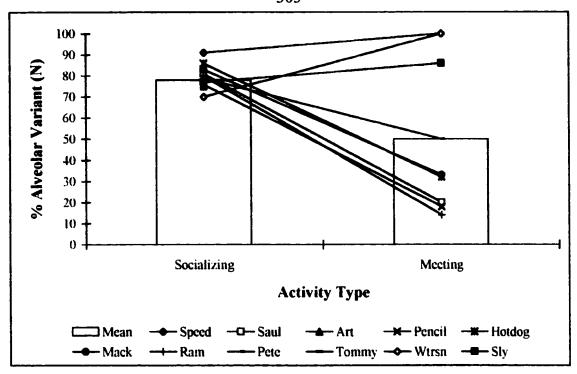


Figure 5.10. Cross tabulation of speaker and activity type (without interview) for progressive verb forms only.

The difference between socializing and meeting are even more obvious in Figure 5.10, which only shows those two situations. Notice that the slopes that Speed and Sly follow are similar, as are all the other speakers except Pete (who already seems to be a special case) and Waterson (whose low tokens may account for the anomaly). Given that progressive tokens make up 41% of all tokens, it is not surprising that the pattern for those tokens is similar to the aggregate pattern.

The progressive is the only grammatical category that contains enough tokens to be analyzed separately (n=453). Even a combining factors following Houston (1985:109) does not yield a meaningful cross-tabulation picture for gerunds, the next most common grammatical category, since many speakers used no gerunds in the analyzed speech (n=201 for gerunds alone; n=287 for combined factors).

To review, the data has yielded the following questions, which need explanation:

- 1. Speed's consistently high N scores;
- 2. Speed, Sly and Waterson's "non-corrective" behavior, especially in the progressive grammatical category.
- 3. Pete's singular behavior;
- 4. How *fuckin'* is used and why its removal causes a greater difference in the meeting activity type than in the socializing activity type.

All of these issues can be explained most successfully by considering the men's unique identities within the context of the ideology of the fraternity and the speech activities, and the alignment roles the men might index through (ING) to help create these identities. In the next section, I find these explanations in the discourse of the men, and show how these patterns are only part of a very complex set of practices the men master in order to create their identities.

#### 5.2.3 Discussion

In this section, I show that the men index different alignment roles with their use of (ING) to help create powerful identities. I show that the N variant indexes both a cultural model and an activity type. The model that N is identified with is that of the working class physically powerful model; the activity type is the more casual socializing activity type. These two social constructs are used by the men to add different parts to their identity: confrontation, hard work, camaraderie, casualness. Speed's use of N seems to fit a complex of aspects of his identity, thus matching his consistent position in the fraternity. Sly's use of N also seems to match several aspects of his fraternity position and identity, while Waterson seems to be using it in a single instance to help create an impression of hard work and camaraderie. Finally, while Pete seems to create confrontational, hard working, identity, he does not use N as much as the others, possibly because his use of other linguistic devices, such as fuckin'.

# 5.2.3.1 Speed

The explanation for Speed's use of (ING) lies in a complex of factors that make up parts of his identity. While we can discuss them separately, they nevertheless interact to present a package that the world encounters as Speed.

These factors are the various communities of practice, or the various "social"

groups," with which he identifies: the rural south, the working class; and athletes. In addition, he seems to espouse a personal ideology that values freedom and practicality, and devalues formality.

The first explanation for Speed's high N use may be dialectal. While he spent much of his childhood in Virginia Beach (where Boss, Pete, and Ram are from), he says he is also from Fredericksburg, a more rural city approximately fifty miles south of Washington, D.C. High N use is characteristic of Southern American English, and he also exhibits the Southern American monophthongized and lowered /ay/, as in [tam] "time" (However, he also exhibits some Virginia Beach dialect features, particularly a fronted /ow/).

Another factor to be considered is socioeconomic class. Although Speed's father owns a beer distributing business, and therefore might be considered being in a high economic class because he is a business owner, but we need to look beyond mechanical measures to social practice. In this light, we might consider this profession more blue-collar than white-collar, because beer distributing involves physical labor in loading and unloading, and owning this business means working with people who no doubt identify with working-class values more than dealing with white-collar corporate workers. Finally, in high school and in college, Speed was an athlete, most prominently a wrestler. If the N variant is associated

with the physical cultural model, then Speed's identity as a 'tough' wrestler may add to his use of N.

Other aspects of Speed's identity and ideologies that may influence Speed's (ING) use come out in the interview with Speed. He values hard work, practicality, freedom, and the rural way of life, which may be indexed through the models identified with N. These alignment roles outlined above—rural southern, working class, athlete—are also often associated in various ways with the values held by Speed. He repeatedly notes that he is working hard to gain experience so that he can find a job after he graduates. When asked about getting ahead in the fraternity, he was more insistent than others in citing that hard work is important. In fact, he says that he does not participate in the fraternity as much as he used to because he doesn't have time to put in the necessary work. As for practicality, while he complains about his time as a pledge being difficult, he says it is "just something you gotta do." We saw examples of Speed's outlook and identity in the chapter correspondent debate. In the first excerpt, when he said let him do it dude, we could see his casual, practical approach. In the second excerpt, when he told members we do not have to put them all in a position, he was showing impatience for a concern for structural power positions for their own sake (especially when he says They'd be better of there than stuck in some leadership position). Finally,

again in the interview, he showed his disdain for the white-collar, get-ahead world when he told me that he finds that in the area near Washington there is "just too much hustle and bustle."

No simple factor can explain Speed's use of the variable, however. These aspects of his identity—his hometown, class orientation, and athletic history all affect his values, and the kind of alignment roles he wishes to identify with—combine to form a gestalt that I have been referring to as identity. Speed's use of (ING) fits in as part of this complex construction. (ING) is a small part of that identity, but touches on myriad aspects of it: not just place and class, but what it means to be more 'working class' from a rural area, or to value hard work over political machinations on the path to success. N seems to index alignment roles that all have aspects he wishes to identify with, and it is therefore likely that this identification is at the root of his high use of N.

Most intriguing about Speed's behavior, however, is his shift to using more N in the meeting (and in the interview) than he did when socializing, once the effect of grammatical category is taken into account (see Figure 5.9). As stated earlier, the meetings are places where the men are heard by the entire membership and judged on the way they present themselves, especially on the way they speak.

Most of the men use much less N in the meeting, but Speed's use of more N shows

that he is using the variable differently, not just at a different rate. Thus, his definition of the meeting activity type may be different, or his stance in meetings (and in the fraternity) is different than the other members.

In chapter four, Speed's comments in the meeting and in the interview showed that he saw himself as a rebel, creating a powerful alignment role vis-a-vis the ability power hierarchy that rewards hard work, rather than prestige for its own sake. He attacked the manipulative structural power of the older members, but nevertheless framed his arguments in terms of the fraternity ideologies of hard work and "paying your dues." Other evidence of Speed's rebellion and independence comes from his choice of seating. Recall that in meetings, older members sit on the right side of the room while younger members sit on the left (the powerful and powerless sides, respectively). Speed sits at the back of the room, on the left (powerless) side, even though he is older and would be more expected to sit on the right side of the room. This action shows that he actively resists symbols of structural power positions. The (ING) variable is likely a similar symbol, with the standard (in meetings) being identified with structural power. In light of this identity construction in the meeting, it is hardly surprising that Speed uses a high rate of the non-standard variant during meetings, because N is connected with physical labor (hard work) and the working class (a hierarchy of

physical and demeanor power, rather than structural power). As shown in numerous studies, the variant N is associated with low overt prestige, when prestige is equated with the behavior of the upper classes and 'the establishment,' or authority. The G variant is associated with the standard language, as defined by authorities who write dictionaries and grammar books. Thus, if Speed wants to show his resistance to the 'establishment,' one tool he can use is 'non-establishment' language. His use of N in meetings would then be consistent not just with his identity, but with his message as well. Speed thus seems to be indexing parts of the working-class cultural model, such as "hard-working," "rebellious, " and "confrontational."

Given Speed's casualness, as seen in his first remark in the chapter correspondent debate (so let him do it dude), it seems he may also be evoking the more casual, friendly socializing activity type as well. This "casualness," even disdain for formality, is also an attribute of the working class model, perhaps because this role is perceived as moving within a more less formal milieu. The two indexes are thus closely connected. While we cannot easily separate them, we can note that "casualness" is another part of Speed's identity that his N use helps to create. In addition, in the more "casual" speech activity (socializing), all members

use more N. Thus, "casualness" can also be indirectly indexed by a direct indexing of this activity type.

Thus, Speed's high use of N is consistent with the alignment roles he identifies with in his identity: rural, working class, athletic, informal, resistant. In general, however, he aligns with values associated with the working-class cultural model based on a physical power hierarchy rather than the middle-class cultural model based on structural and economic power hierarchies.

We might speculate that Speed is invoking a form of "protest masculinity," as outlined by Connell (1995). Connell follows the lives of five men in Australia who dropped out of school and fell into lives of petty crime. These men see 'the system' as anything but beneficial to their lives, and something to be fought against. Connell shows that these men lead violent lives to prove (to themselves, each other, and the establishment) that they are not as powerless as they feel.

Deprived of power in one hierarchy, they create them in another hierarchy. I do not claim that Speed is protesting to this degree; on the contrary, he is framing his arguments within the dominant values of the fraternity. But the way he argues against the established order for its own sake, and the way he uses the non-standard variant, echo the ways in which the men described by Connell assert their power. It seems, then, that the high N scores, especially in a situation in which

speech and hierarchy are so salient, evoke alignment roles in a different hierarchy than the structural or economic hierarchy— the physical power that we find in protest masculinity and the working-class cultural model.

This explanation provides more support for Trudgill's (1972) findings of covert prestige in Norwich (and also supports Fischer's 1958 findings of differences between 'model' boys and 'typical' boys). However, the explanation also brings into question whether prestige should always be conceived of in terms of socioeconomic hierarchies in variation studies: Do women participate in the same hierarchies as men? Do they even participate in hierarchies? Prestige has generally been identified with features of the standard language variety, and sometimes just equated with the behavior of the upper classes. Prestige is, by definition, what is valuable to someone. Thus, covert prestige is simply prestige that challenges an ideology or social structure rather than accepting it. It is a prestige that values a different kind of power (among them physical power) because economic power is unavailable. Thus, the covert prestige arises as a reaction to the hierarchical ordering of society. We see a similar kinds of prestige among other powerless or resistant groups (hippies, punk rockers, even teenagers); value is placed on actions, dress, etc. — identity construction — that is anti-establishment. To act or look like anything establishment is censured by peer pressure. Thus, this view of covert

prestige might also account for the covert prestige Trudgill also found among younger speakers of both sexes.

Tying covert prestige into protest masculinity (or 'protest prestige' as we might call the general case) also lends credence to Eckert's (1989) ideas of symbolic power. Eckert shows that linguistic variants can be considered symbols for economic power, or take the place of economic power. She cites women's lack of access to economic power as the explanation for their tendency to use more standard variants than men. In the case of (ING), however, N for some speakers indexes a model not on the economic hierarchy but on the physical or demeanor power hierarchy. Thus, language is symbolic of prestige and power, but relies on the ideology of the community of practice within which the speaker moves, and on the ideology of the speaker who uses them. In Speed's case, power is important, but for him simple structural power is not valued as much as real accomplishment.

Speed is not the only speaker have a higher frequency of N than most members in the meeting activity type; Sly and Waterson also have a high rate, although in their cases they actually use a higher rate of N in meetings than while socializing. In the next two sections, I consider their identities and the possible explanations for their "anti-corrective" behavior.

Both Waterson and Sly seem to be using N to index similar alignment roles as Speed was indexing. Waterson also seems to be constructing a hard-working identity in the short speech from which all his meeting tokens are taken, so he may be using the N variant (and *fuckin'*) to index the working-class model and the hard work associated with that model. In addition, he seems to be drawing on camaraderie to help him get the position; the association of N with the socializing activity type may help Waterson create this impression of camaraderie. Sly's overall identity centers around hard work and camaraderie; he is a self-described "people person," and he focuses on how hard he works in his interview. Moreover, Sly has some of the same background characteristics of Speed that may give him similar values as Speed. However, Sly seems to use N more strategically—to help create stances, for instance—than Speed does.

### **5.2.3.2 Waterson**

Recall that Waterson is thin, with a very high-pitched voice, and young — he is in his first election as a full member. His speech in the election for vice president is transcribed in Excerpt 5.1. Because he does not speak often in meetings, this speech comprises the entire sample used for the variation analysis of Waterson's meeting tokens. It is clear in this speech that he is trying to construct a the hard working identity, because he explicitly focuses on this side of his identity

in his speech. It is likely that he is using the N variant to help create that impression. In addition, he seems to be appealing camaraderie in his speech. Therefore, N may also serve as a symbol of camaraderie, perhaps by indexing an activity type in which camaraderie is understood (i.e., socializing). Hotdog is the president in control of the meeting, which takes place in a campus classroom. Waterson and the other candidates are outside, so Hotdog indicates that Waterson should come in to give his speech. (ING tokens are in bold; *gonna*, *anything*, and *everything* were not coded because they are categorical).

# **EXCERPT 5-1**

(2a:255-72)

- 1 Hotdog: Could we have Brian Waterson
- 2 (7.3)
- 3 Waterson: Um (1.1) I'm not gonna f:- um put a load of shit in you guys whatever.
- 4 Um (0.7) You guys know I'm a fuckin' hard worker.
- 5 I work my ass off for everything.
- 6 I don't miss anything I'm always- I'm always there.
- 7 I'll do anything for you guy:s,
- 8 and if you nominate me for this position
- 9 I'll put a hundred percent ef- effort towards it,
- 10 I mean I have nothin' else to do 'cept fuckin' school work.
- 11 and the fraternity.
- and uh and uh like uh like you guys said um this- we need a change because we're goin'
- 13 down?
- 14 A:nd I know I don't have a lot of experience? In like position-wise?
- But when this fraternity first started (0.5)
- 16 back in uh April of of nineteen eighty-nine.
- um the guys that were elected for positions then didn't have too much (0.9) uh: experience in
- 18 positions either.
- 19 So just keep that in mind when you vote.

- 20 Thank you boys.
- Remember I'm the-1'm the ice ma:n. ((final two words said in an emphasized whisper as he
- walks out of the room))

It is clear from his first statement that Waterson is going to try to act 'tough.' In line three, he states that he is not gomna put a load of shit in you guys, meaning that he is not going to smooth over the rough edges — he is going to "tell it like it is." Waterson then presents the main argument for electing him in line 4: You guys know I'm a fuckin' hard worker. He is thus clearly trying to convince the audience of his hard work, and use this fact to get into office. Note also that this statement also has a tinge of camaraderie, as Waterson refers to something the members already supposedly know. This way of phrasing the claim makes him and the members seem very close (or "tight"), thus creating a stance of commonality or solidarity, which in turn may index a stance of camaraderie. Line 7, I'll do anything for you guys, creates and even stronger stance of solidarity by suggesting the importance he places on the group. In line 10 (I have nothin' else to do...), he presents a motivation for his hard work and dedication to the fraternity.

Thus, Waterson shows with his own words that the "hard-worker" position is central to this speech and his identity during this speech. Because N is identified with the hard physical labor of the working-class, it is natural that Waterson use this variant throughout his speech.

Two of the N tokens come from fuckin', however, which is almost categorically N for all speakers. It might seem, then, that we have to throw these out as lexically conditioned. But we should not be so quick to dismiss, but ask further questions: Why is fuckin' so categorically N? Why is Waterson using fuckin' here? What is this word's function? First, fuckin', as profanity, is associated with similar things that N is associated with: non-standard, working class, and physical power. Thus, these tokens should not be dismissed but taken as pure indexes of the hard-working identity that Waterson is trying to create. In fact fuckin' seems to function simply as an affective marker, to intensify whatever feeling is already being conveyed; fuckin' hard worker might be paraphrased as "very hard worker," while the fuckin' in fuckin' school work heightens the trivial, incidental nature of school work in Waterson's life. Note also that his use of fuckin' is not isolated profanity: he also uses shit (line 3) and ass (line 5). With this language, he not only says he is a hard worker, but creates the impression of someone who doesn't 'mess around' and gets the job done by indexing the working-class cultural model.

In line 10 (I mean I have nothin' else to do...), Waterson seems to shift gears from earnestness to joking, although the point he makes — that he has no other extracurricular activities — is serious. In this line, he again uses fuckin', although

in this case he may also be indexing camaraderie as well as intensifying the triviality of school work, given that he is joking. The N in *nothin'* may also be used this way, especially because it would not be predicted on the basis of following environment or grammatical category (which have variable rule weightings of .51 for following vowel and .41 for *something*, *nothing* category). Camaraderie would also account for his use of 'cept for except, because the former is more casual. Because (ING) is used in more casual situations, it may also be symbolic of a casual style and in turn camaraderie and friendliness. Waterson also draws on camaraderie by saying you guys know in line 4, rather than just saying he is a hard worker. With this phrase, he suggests that they are all so close and everyone knows him so well that they will vote for him.

In the second part of his speech, from line 12 on, Waterson goes on the address the problem of his age by appealing to change (something that had come up repeatedly in the elections), and older members. He finishes, in line 23, by again calling on camaraderie by referring to one of his fraternity nicknames.

Waterson is thus creating a hard-working image in his speech, and drawing on camaraderie. He cannot easily index a position in the fraternity's formal hierarchy, and so he attempts to index positions on other hierarchies. His use of (ING) fits with this identity, especially his use of *fuckin'*, which should not be seen as a

Waterson draws on multiple, interrelated sources to create an identity that is consistent with his message in his speech. His stance is one that includes the members (as in *you guys know I'm...*), he indexes a community-valued hard working identity, and a working-class model that suggests solidarity and physical power. This identity is relatively new for him; he does not normally play the "tough guy." But for the point he makes in this speech, the alignment roles he indexes are consistent with his message. The N variants fit into this identity construction. Note that they do not determine, nor are they determined by, this identity, but are part of the package of linguistic and non-linguistic indexes he presents in the speech. None have a specific meaning alone, but together they take on indexes and meanings that create Waterson's identity.

### 5.2.3.3 Sly

Sly is an older member, and speaks much more frequently in meetings. He thus has an established position in the fraternity and in meetings. In addition, he has a psychological view of himself that also influences how he creates his identity, and how he uses (ING). The reasons for Sly's shift to more N in the meeting activity type are superficially similar to Waterson's; however, in Sly's case we must consider more talk than for Waterson, and thus must understand the kinds of

positions he plays in the fraternity and other communities. Sly constructs an overall identity that is based on the hard-working, camaraderie-building alignment roles we saw in Waterson's speech.

Sly's background is similar to Speed's. Both are from rural areas, with fathers who own businesses in a working-class milieu. Sly is from rural northeastern Pennsylvania, and his father owns a trucking dealership. Like Speed, Sly was also a wrestler in high school, which was an important part of his identity because wrestling in that region is a very popular sport (Sly tells of signing autographs and getting free meals in his hometown because he was a wrestler).

But Sly focuses more than Speed on the value of hard work, as shown in this excerpt from his interview. In this part of the interview, we are discussing his future plans, and talk turns to 'the type of person' Sly is, which prompts him to paint himself as someone with an almost compulsive urge to work hard and succeed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> While their mothers do work, in this case the father is usually the role model. In addition, I asked both what their parents do, and they both highlighted their fathers. A focus on fathers is especially important given the view of men's identities articulated in chapter two, in which fathers provide one important role for their sons as a source for identity construction.

## **EXCERPT 5-2**

# (8b:401-8)

```
1 Sly: I:'m just a very: (3.0)
            That the type of person that's goin' somewhere and and uh, whatever I mean (1.0).
2
3
            This is merely just uh
4
            I mean they- I- um (1.3)
5
            Anything I do I do it (.) the best I can do.
            I mean I have I have not watched television in I couldn't tell you how long.
             I mean just don't do things that aren't very productive at all. ((staccatto)) I me-
8 SK: (?)
9 Sly: No I don't No I don't you're right I don't ha:ng out.
10 SK:
             (sit on the couch)
11 Sly: No even if I go to the townhouse I'll sit there for a whi-
             I don't know if you've ever been there when I come in I sit there and I'm like (0.5)
             All right. What are we doin'.
13
14 Scott: He he he he
15 Sly: 's like. I just can't-I can't just do nothing.
```

Here Sly talks about his ambition (line 2: the type of person that's goin' somewhere), and how he values work over play (lines 7-15: I mean I just don't do things that aren't very productive at all). Hard work is thus an important value for him. Because he explicitly presents himself as someone who will work so much, we expect him to index this stance through his language as well. Note that he does not show the same "laid back," "let-it-happen" demeanor that we saw with Speed. This contrast shows how variables do not necessarily index everything associated with a cultural model, but draw on pieces of a model. Thus, Sly's use of N evokes more of the hard-working side of the working-class archetype because of other

strategies he uses for presenting his identity, while Speed's use of the same variable evokes more of an element of rebellion in the context of his identity.

One such strategy is that of narrative. In the next excerpt, Sly tells a story that demonstrates his values, and his identification of those values with his father:

### **EXCERPT 5-3**

### (8a:405)

- 1 Sly: I could never, never satisfy my dad.
- I tore down, wa- we had a chicken coop?
- 3 That- the end of it burned down.
- 4 It was, like, on my grandfather's farm
- 5 it wasn't really our farm it was the closest- our closest neighbor.
- 6 But ah, it was huge.
- 7 It was about three times the size of this house ((a fairly large suburban, 3-bedroom house))
- 8 It took me a whole summer to tear it down.
- 9 Hand- by my hand all- hand by- brick by brick I tore the damn thing down.
- 10 And he was still like- he was bitchin' at me the whole time y'know.
- Like, if- I'd come in, yeah, What's takin' so long?
- 12 Yeah I mean he's- and he's- not that I hate him for that I'm very glad that he was like that.
- 13 yknow.
- 14 He built our whole house himself.
- 15 The entire thing.

Sly discusses this episode with pride, using it to show how important the value of hard work is for him. It is largely a story about his father. Following the structure of narrative outlined by Labov (1972), line 1 (*I could never satisfy my Dad*) serves as a kind of abstract—it tells us "what the story is about." In line 2, it looks as if he began to provide another abstract (*I tore down*...), but then abandoned this line

in favor of the orientation section (we had a chicken coop?). This section lasts through line 7. The Sly gives a summary of the complicating action (it took me a whole summer to tear it down), which might also be thought of as another abstract, followed by the complicating action (lines 9-11). In this action, we see Sly's father pushing him to work harder and faster (line 11: what's takin' so long?), which also provides the point of the story (that Sly's father taught him to work hard). Sly evaluates his father's actions in line 12 (I'm glad he was like that), and provides more evidence that his father was himself a hard worker (in the physical sense especially) in lines 14-15 (he built our whole house himself). Sly thus evaluates hard work positively, and shows that he is a hard worker. This alignment not only with hard work, but with physical hard work, supports the proposal that Sly is using N to index the physically powerful cultural model to help create this hardworking identity.

Sly thus presents an image of being down-to-earth, hard-working, and physically powerful, much like Speed. But Sly also displays ambition to rise to the top, and to be in the middle of the "hustle and bustle" of the Washington area that Speed derided. Not surprisingly, then, Sly was elected president of the fraternity early in my research (during the elections discussed in chapter four), and is now a successful salesperson for a large telecommunications firm.

By comparing Sly and Speed, we can see that (ING) use is not directly connected with Speed's rebellious identity, but with a rebellious stance: N is used to create a confrontational stance through its direct indexing of an alignment role identified with that stance. Thus, models/positions and stances are "bi-indexical"—each can index the other. So N can be used to help create power through a confrontational stance, even when used by someone who has structural power.

Sly takes this stance in the following excerpt, which took place in a meeting in which the members were discussing what to do for their annual holiday party since they were low on funds to put on the usual extravagant bash. In the middle of the debate, Sly gets frustrated and explodes (bold indicates (ING) tokens):

### EXCERPT 5-4

(8b:254-6)

- 1 Sly: I swear to God fuckin' every semester all we have do is sit around and argue about money
- 2 money money money.
- 3 And I'm not gonna pay this fuckin' money. All right?
- 4 Yeah: you guys sittin' back I know you guys are thinkin' I'm gonna pay this fuckin' money
- 5 iust 'cause I have money.
- 6 I'll tell you what, I ain't gonna pay a fuckin' thing. All right?

While Sly is in a powerful position, he is nevertheless taking a stance in opposition to the membership. Notice his use of fuckin' in lines 1, 3, and 4, and his categorical use of N, and his use of ain't, another nonstandard feature, in line 6 (I ain't gonna pay a fuckin' thing). These uses of nonstandard English combine with his message to show he is taking a stand against the members, but in an authoritative way that is the prerogative of a leader (or maybe a father). Even though he is using the variant associated with the working-class model, he is still clearly the leader, the authority. Thus, N seems to index a confrontational stance, through an identification with the competitive, physically powerful model.

This excerpt illustrates that we cannot say that a person in a certain structural position will necessarily use a variable in a certain way, based on his or her "social address." It does suggest, however, that the variant is identified with social structure because of the more specific indexing of variants to more specific, practice-based social constructs such as alignment roles and activity types.

Alignment roles and variants are thus in a complex, interconnected, and interdependent relationship reminiscent of Foucault's "net-like" organization of power described in chapter two (page 89).

Sly also focuses on camaraderie in his identity, just as Waterson focused on camaraderie in his speech. N is thus appropriate for Sly also because it indexes the

activity type associated with camaraderie. In his interview, he made it very clear that he was "a people person," and that "you don't succeed unless you're a people person." He also focuses on his relationships with other members in his speech for president:

### EXCERPT 5-5

(2b:310-12)

- 1 Sly: Basically the two years that I spent (.) in the brotherhood (.)
- 2 has been focused toward this point right now.
- 3 Um. I learned e- something from every one of you guys in here.
- 4 Y'know, every single one of you taught me one thing.
- 5 And right now I want to bring that collectively together, to uh
- 6 lead you guys into a exciting semester, year, its gonna be great.

Notice how Sly attempts to focus on his relationship with the other members in camaraderie, by saying he learned something from every member, and that he wants to bring those ideas and, by analogy, all the members, together. Thus Sly uses N to symbolize not only physical power and hard work, but also camaraderie. His speech is nevertheless quite different from Waterson's, in that he is also trying to index a position at the top of the formal hierarchy, i.e., he is trying to be "presidential." I include this excerpt to show that Sly, even in a situation in which

a formal power position is probably the most salient, continues to focus on camaraderie.<sup>47</sup>

### 5.2.3.4 Summary: Speed, Sly, and Waterson

In this section, I have used Speed, Sly and Waterson's discourse to bring out their alignment roles and activity types, and the values they wish to evoke in their identities. These three men seem to be using N in meetings to evoke alignment roles that align them with two important aspects of the fraternity ideology (and men's identity): hard work and camaraderie. In Waterson's case, we were concerned only with the single speech in the election meeting. He was clearly evoking a hard-working identity, as well as the camaraderie of the fraternity. We can thus deduce that N is associated with these two central fraternity ideologies. We also see that the connection between N and *fuckin*' is related to the similar indexing and stance-taking work they do in conversation. Sly also aligns himself with the hard-working fraternity ideology, although here we have evidence that being a hard worker is a psychological position he sees himself taking. In addition, there is evidence that Sly uses N to help create a confrontational stance. Speed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Everything is the only (ING) word here. This is G probably because it is highly disfavored grammatically to be N (adjective, with a probability of .11). This case points to the importance of considering systemic constraints in addition to local discourse constraints. Without knowledge of the

seemed to be using it in a more rebellious way, focusing on the clash between hard work, or "paying your dues," and structural power.

Finally, the specific indexing and stance-taking work that N helps do can be identified with the physically powerful (working-class) cultural model, as opposed to the socio-economically powerful (white-collar) cultural model. This model therefore seems to be central to the ways N may be used as a social index. N can also be identified with the socializing activity type, so that the use of N may also evoke the casualness of "hangin' out."

# 5.2.3.5 Speakers exhibiting expected style shift

I have so far discussed Speed, Waterson, and Sly's use of (ING). Next I will move to those who favor G: Ram, Mack, Pencil, Saul, and Hotdog. These five also shift most markedly from the socializing activity type to the meeting activity type, and the slopes of their shifts are almost identical (see Figure 5.10). They are all leaders of the fraternity, but more importantly they have identities that do not focus as explicitly on hard work and camaraderie in meetings, and do not draw on the working-class archetype. Instead, their comments focus on the structure of the fraternity and especially on knowledge and rationality, traits more in line with the

systemic constraints, this passage might seem anomalous: if he is focusing on camaraderic, why is he

white-collar power model. We have already seen that in meetings, Mack focused on structural power and tried to create a knowledgeable identity. During playback, Mack indicated that when "hangin' out," he takes a stance that is much more confrontational: he noted that interaction seems to be among "animals of the wild," and that the confrontational stance taken by Pete in the Monopoly game was normal. The (ING) shift is therefore what we would predict based on the identities that Mack presents in these situations and what we know so far about what kinds of stances the variable helps to create. The same reasons for shifting hold true for Ram, Pencil, Saul, and Hotdog.

### 5.2.3.6 Pete

The last speaker I will discuss, featured prominently in chapter four, is Pete.

We might expect, from his confrontational stances, that he would pattern as Speed does. Instead, he uses less N in meetings than when socializing, for the progressive grammatical category (see Figure 5.10). Notice, however, that the slope of his shift is not nearly as steep as the other speakers. This difference may be enough to set him apart, to give the impression that he is using a high N rate. More likely is that he does not always try to construct the same identity in different parts of the

meetings, so that at one point he may want to highlight his structural status, while at another he may want to create a powerful identity by suggesting hard work and physical power. Moreover, when he creates the latter type of identity, (ING) may not be a device he uses. Evidence from Pete's discourse suggests that he uses profanity to create this hard-working image. In Excerpt 4-8, the meeting speech in which he boasts about his hard work. Pete takes a confrontational stance that gives the impression he is creating a physically powerful identity. In fact, he begins his speech by explicitly focusing his audience's attention on his hard work (line 4: this job entails a hell of a lot of stress). He then goes on to pepper his speech liberally with fuckin' and other profanity. In addition, his confrontational stance is like a parent yelling at a child, whereas Speed's confrontational stance — which is in other ways similar such as the use of I'm telling you — is more like a rebellious child velling at a strict parent. Recall that in the initial cross-tabulation (Figure 5.6), Pete shifted very little; it was not until after the fuckin' tokens were taken out that Pete showed a large shift from socializing to meeting. This result suggests that Pete uses fuckin' to create a stance that suggests physical power and hard work, but that he may not use N to the same degree as Speed.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The difference between Speed and Pete could also be somewhat dialectal, if Speed already has a

Finally, in the meeting excerpt in which Pete focuses on his structural power (excerpt 4-7), he uses virtually no profanity. In this excerpt, he is trying to focus on the respect needed for his office (line 10: you have to command respect in this job). Thus, Pete's "middle-of-the-road" quantitative result may come from the fact that he focuses both on hard work and structural power in his speeches, and thus both cultural models depending on his purpose. Pete draws less on associations of N with the working-class model and more on other devices, such as profanity. 49

Pete's behavior also points to an explanation with respect to the effect of fuckin' Recall that removing these tokens changes N rates the most in the meeting activity type, and hardly at all in the socializing and interview activity types. In light of the above discussion of Pete's use of (ING) and fuckin', it is likely that fuckin' is used in meetings more to index the physically powerful camaraderie identity and is almost categorically N. But (ING) is not necessary to create this picture — perhaps because fuckin' is perceived more consciously than (ING) — especially if the message is one that combines structural power and physical power.

fairly high N rate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The result also shows the usefulness of combining qualitative and quantitative data. In this case, the quantitative data has averaged out the differences in the two shades of identity Pete creates. When viewed qualitatively, the differences are obvious.

### 5.2.3.7 **Summary**

In sum, I reject an explanation of the men's "style" shift in (ING) from socializing to meeting based on a casual-to-careful formality continuum. Rather, I suggest that the (ING) variable can be used with several different indexes, and that these indexes are ultimately tied into different types of power in the fraternity's culture. When socializing, camaraderie is more important than the fraternity's formal structure, something the men seem to agree on. During meetings, however, hierarchy is more salient, and differences are highlighted. Speed, Waterson, and Sly use a higher rate of N, which helps them create identities that focus on hard work, camaraderie, or disapproval of the formal structure. The rest of the men use a much lower rate of N in meetings, and these men all present identities in meetings that identify them with the hierarchical, structural power of the fraternity that mirrors the ordering of people in society. In these men's use of (ING), the variable's meaning is associated with prestige as it usually conceived of in variation studies: economic and educational success. Pete modulates between the two, at times focusing on his structural power, others focusing on hard work and physical power. His shift therefore falls in between the two groups.

#### **5.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have found that the (ING) variable is used to index both cultural models and activity types. I showed that the N variant evokes various aspects of the working-class physical cultural model, and the camaraderie, or "casualness," of the socializing activity. The working class model is used by the men to reinforce aspects of their identity such as hard work and rebelliousness, and also to help create stances associated with these values (such as a confrontational stance). The activity type index is also used to help create an affiliative, casual stance.

These connection were discovered by investigating in depth the identities of the men who used more N in the meeting activity type than in other activity types. By finding commonalities in their identities and, in Waterson's case, a single stretch of discourse, I found the kinds of identity construction and stance-taking that were correlated with the N variant. These aspects of identity and stance are all associated with the working-class model and the socializing activity type. I have thus shown how linguistic forms themselves can help directly to index alignment roles through repeated use, and thus help create powerful identities.

As a stable sociolinguistic marker, the (ING) variable provides a rich resource for the men, because it has certain well known associations. The connection of the N variant to less socioeconomically privileged models, and to more "casual" activity types, is thus culturally recognized and easily exploited. However, the widespread use of the variable also makes it quite complex—not only can it be used to directly index models and positions and therefore add a piece of that model to an identity, but it can also indirectly index stances, in a reverse way that stances index models and positions. Since models, positions, and stances are connected, the variant associated with a certain model can thus come to indirectly index a stance.

Added to this complex of indexing is activity types, which may also be associated with different alignment roles. The more "casual" socializing activity type may actually be connected with the working class model (or *vice-versa*), and thus indirectly indexed by the other. Perhaps a very in-depth analysis of community perceptions of alignment roles and activity types could tease these apart, but they appear to inextricably linked.

These findings come not just from the quantitative data, but from a careful coordination of the quantitative data with the findings from the ethnographic and interactional discourse analyses in chapters three and four, and with the

sociological research outlined in chapter two. Thus, by analyzing the discourse of the men in the two main activity types (and supplementing this information with ethnographic interviews), I have attempted to explain the variation patterns in ways that would make sense to the speakers. I hope to provide explanations that match more closely the men's motivations for using the variable in a certain way, rather than general conjectural reasons such as prestige, a concept whose meaning may change from person to person and from community to community.

I have shown in a detailed way how covert prestige works, and why it might be present. Crucial for this mechanism is the realization that alignment roles can be identified in many different ways. Prestige in sociolinguistic studies is associated with establishment models, and thus reward, knowledge, and structural power. But all men in a society in which hegemonic masculinity is the dominant ideology are told that they must create a powerful identity—an alignment role at the top of a hierarchy. Men who are not at the top in terms of prestige thus may turn to other forms of power, such as physical and demeanor power, and even outwardly reject the socioeconomic power of prestige models. Because certain varieties of language are associated with these prestige models, other language is associated with other models, which may be valued by some groups but not by others. These 'alternate' cultural models, I suggest are at the heart of covert prestige.

This view has implications for the role of social identity in language change. It suggests that studies of language change in communities must not only provide adequate statistical correlations between speakers and their language, but it must consider the structure and values of a community of practice based on close ethnographic investigation and connection with interactional discourse analyses.

However, without the quantitative analysis, it would not be possible to see the patterns that need to be explained, and the systematic nature of the men's use of the variable would be obscured. More importantly, it would not be possible to know that gerunds and progressives have a significantly different effect on whether N or G is used, nor would we know that a following labial consonant favors N. Thus, it may seem in analyzing some discourse that the use of N in "I'm hidin' Larry in the attic" might be because it is followed by the tough statement "but you'll have to go through me to get to the stairs." However, through a quantitative analysis, we know that there are other constraints at work.

Variation and interactional discourse analysis are two ways of attacking the problem of how language and society interact. In fact, they are inherently connected, because both describe and find explanations for language use in society. Like most aspects of language and society, the interaction is complex, and variation analysis allows us to see the patterns in the complexity. But we must not

lose sight of the creativity and complexity of the relationship, and this is the sight we gain through interactional discourse analysis.

#### CHAPTER SIX:

#### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

### 6. Summary

In this study I have explored the ways men use language to help create their identities, and the role of power in these linguistic identity creations. I have found that while men put forth identities that differ in many respects, they all attempt linguistically to put themselves at the top of some hierarchy, thus reproducing the main cultural gender ideology, hegemonic masculinity. The differences in the ways the men create their powerful identities stem from the fact that men evoke alignment roles at the top of differing types of hierarchies.

In chapter one, I situated the study in current sociolinguistic research. First, I described the sociolinguistic perspective I would take, by reviewing the basic research and recent developments in variation studies and interactional sociolinguistics. I then proposed that these two areas are not as disparate as they first seem, and can be combined to form a rich sociolinguistic analysis.

Recent variation studies have pointed out the need to expand our understanding of the relationship between variables and social meaning. They have shown that speakers do not necessarily use variables to indicate simply what 'objective'

sociological group (e.g., class, sex, and race) speakers identify with, but that they also exploit variables to identify with more local, practice-based groups.

Moreover, researchers have shown that speakers use variants strategically in discourse, so that a variant's "meaning" shifts depending on context.

Interactional sociolinguistics presents theoretical constructs for handling these more practice-based relationships between language and culture, most notably social indexing, speech activities, and footing. I used these constructs in my later analyses to show how alignment roles are indexed through several strategies in specific discourses, and through the use of a single variable more generally.

In chapter one I also reviewed research relating to language and gender to show the need for this study. This research suggests that there is a connection between the ideologies of men and women and differences in the ways they speak. However, no studies exist that attempt to correlate the ideology of an all-male community and its speech practices (although this type of study has been performed for an all-female group), nor has there been an adequate attempt to connect social science research on men's identities with research on language and gender. Much research has shown that men are "competitive," but has not addressed the local and global motivations for this competition. In variationist research on language and gender, the sex pattern has also not been adequately

connected with cultural processes—both local and global—that help create the pattern. Thus, while language and gender researchers have claimed that men and power are connected, there has been no attempt to connect the two in a detailed, explicit, and socially-grounded way. The discussion in chapter one therefore also showed the need for an in-depth sociological analysis of power and men's identities, as well as an ethnographic analysis of the speech community.

In chapter two, I provided the sociolinguistic and sociological basis for the analysis that addresses the above shortcomings in the literature. I first attacked the problem of defining power in a operational manner. To motivate a framework for discussing language and power, I reviewed research on language and power to understand how various researchers have conceived of power, with a view to finding a way of integrating all these views, or at least those relevant to the analysis in this study. Because other social scientists have made valuable contributions in understanding power, I also considered ways in which non-linguists have conceived it. From these perspectives, I derived a theoretical definition for power—action that modifies other action— and an operational definition for power—a role in a social alignment (from which action will modify other action). In the operational definition, people index themselves to alignment roles by using language because different ways of speaking are associated with

these alignment roles. Importantly, this power framework implies that power can be based on a number of different social alignments, and can be categorized depending on the basis for these alignments: structural, economic, physical, demeanor, knowledge, and nurturant. The job of identifying the structure through which power is constructed is done by ideological power, or the ideology of the community and its culture.

In chapter two I also introduced a theory of gender in the United States that is based on both social practice and social structure. In this theory, both the practice and the structural levels are based on the ideology of hegemonic masculinity. As seen by this ideology, identities — especially men's identities — are ordered on a hierarchy. Structurally, types of identity are ordered, so that in mainstream American society, for example, straight identities are valued more than gay identities. Practically, men compete with each other to put themselves at the top of a hierarchy. Researchers have noted that, for men in the United States at least, these cultural models are largely based on the workplace. There are two predominant cultural models for men, one based on the structural and economic power of the middle-class white collar worker, and one based on the physical and demeanor power of the blue collar worker. I thus combined the views of gender

and power to propose a sociologically and culturally motivated framework for understanding the relationship between men, language, and power.

In chapter three, I provided an ethnographic analysis of the community to explore the ideologies of the fraternity, and how these ideologies are connected with the cultural ideology of hegemonic masculinity. I described the methodology for entering and studying the community, and the organization and activity types of the fraternity. I showed that this community is highly hierarchical, and that the men display ideologies that value hierarchy, hard work, competition, sacrifice for the common good, and camaraderie.

At this point, the groundwork had been laid to consider the men's language, and how and why they used it to create powerful identities. Therefore, in chapter four, I showed how the men used various linguistic devices—aggravation, boasting, inexpressiveness, pronoun use, and discourse markers—to index alignment roles in various hierarchies. I found that these alignment roles were sometimes indexed directly, through devices used repeatedly by men in specific roles. More often the men indirectly indexed alignment roles, using linguistic devices to create stances which were also indexed to a model or position. I showed how several men indexed alignment roles on different hierarchies in one speech activity, an election meeting, and how one man shifted the hierarchies at the top of

which he placed himself depending on the speech activity. I thus showed how the men use language similarly to create identities, and how they at the same time managed to create different identities. Moreover, I connected this language use to the practical concerns of the men in interaction, to the ideologies of the fraternity, and to the global cultural models and hegemonic masculinity.

Finally, in chapter five, I focused on the process of direct indexing, by investigating the men's language use through a variation analysis. I found that while most of the men shift from more non-standard variant usage in socializing activity types to less non-standard usage in meetings, several men exhibited the opposite pattern. This pattern suggested that a kind of covert prestige might be at work. I thus investigated the kinds of alignment roles indexed by the men who used more non-standard in meetings to discover the deeper workings of covert prestige. I showed that these men evoked aspects of the working-class cultural model in meetings, partially through their use of the non-standard. They also evoked camaraderie, suggesting that the non-standard variant might also index the socializing activity types. In addition, it was clear that the men were not indexing alignment roles at the top of a socioeconomically-based hierarchy, but at the top of hierarchies based on camaraderie and physical power. Thus, the explanation for covert prestige lies in the fact that the men were, to some extent, indexing cultural

models not represented on the socioeconomic prestige hierarchy normally constructed by sociolinguists.

At the root of both the variation analysis and discourse analysis, then, is the process of indexing alignment roles in conversation, in order to identify with some aspect of a cultural model, community position, or conversational stance. For men, these alignment roles are powerful: they are at the top of some hierarchy or social alignment. The men weave together parts of many alignment roles at once, from immediate situational resources, community resources, and cultural resources, to create temporally and personally unique identities. I have thus shown how men's identity, power, and language are connected, both on the practical level of discourse, and on the global level of variation. Moreover, I have based the explanation for the men's linguistic behavior on detailed ethnographic data and social science research, providing a coherent analysis at all levels of social interaction.

## 6.1 Implications for the study of language and gender

To date, there have been no analyses of adult all-male communities that focused specifically on language and gender. In this study, I have described language use in an all-male community, and considered this language use as gendered language, rather than "standard" language. In addition, I have described

the social structure and processes, and the speech events, of the community, and connected these with the linguistic practices in that community.

This description is valuable for understanding the underlying reasons for gender differences in language use. If, as Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990) suggest, differences are the result of different cultures which have different values and goals in conversation, there should be a correlation between the values posited for conversation and the community's ideology.

A comparison of this study with McLemore's (1991) similar study of intonation in a Texas sorority supports this view. Recall that McLemore found that because of the ideology of connection in the sorority, final-rising intonation contours signaled not only connection in discourse, but social connection as well. The sorority members actively used this contour to show connection with fellow members. While intonation was not a focus of the present study, there was a similar connection between the fraternity's ideologies and the men's language as McLemore found between the sorority's ideologies and their use of intonation. It thus appears that the organization of communities, and their ideologies, play a large part in the way their members use language to communicate social information. In addition, it appears that same-sex organizations of men and women

have different ideologies, and that these differing ideologies lead to differences in language use.

I have also shown, however, that these communities are not isolated from larger cultural systems and ideologies. Most important is the cultural ideology of hegemonic masculinity, which—in its hierarchy of identities—ranks men higher than women, and expects men to construct identities of high rank on some hierarchy. Moreover, cultural models for men are mostly derived from their public, paid labor roles, while for women they are mostly derived from their private, unpaid labor roles. While these models may be changing, a short glance at a representative slice of culture, such as television commercials, shows these models to be alive and strong. Thus, while men and women may participate in communities with differing ideologies, the dominant culture privileges the men's ideology, and sees men's alignment roles as more valued. This inequality in roles and values leads to an inequality in the evaluation of speech, which in turn reinforces men's advantages.

Eckert (1989a, 1990) proposes to root the explanation of gender differences in language on the basis of differential access to power. I have here expanded on her proposal, articulating specifically how power interacts with men's identities. I have suggested that there is not one type of power, nor one type of powerful

alignment role for men. This framework suggests that women also index community positions and cultural models with language, and that these may also be based on different kinds of social alignments. Thus, a dominant cultural model for women is child care, or mothering, as discussed by Ochs (1992). According to Ochs, this alignment role is aligned with nurturant power in mainstream American middle-class white culture, as the mother becomes like a servant to the child.

Eckert (1989a) suggests that women rely on a power based on moral authority; in my terms, this power is an alignment role connected with a demeanor social structure. Perhaps most important, many cultural models for women are based on a *subordination* in a hierarchy, while the men's roles are based on domination in a hierarchy (the traditional family relationship, with the husband as "master of the house," is an example). This difference in the types of alignment roles men and women index, especially *vis-a-vis* power, is manifested in the different patterns of language use for men and women.

Most important to the study of language and gender, however, is the attempt I have made to understand within-gender differences in a comprehensive way. That

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Keller Magenau has unearthed some remarkable manuals for housewives from the 1950s that are striking examples if these roles. Again, a short look at television commercials (which after all hope to depict desirable people) shows that these roles have not faded into oblivion, although new roles have taken their place.

is, men's identities differ remarkably (even those of men who share other social characteristics such as age and ethnicity), but they differ in a systematic way that shows they are all working to create some kind of powerful identity. The most well-known such variation has been the pattern of covert prestige, in which men value a 'non-standard' variant more than women. My analysis suggests that in order to understand covert prestige, we must rethink the notion of socioeconomic prestige as simply one form of power (which interacts with other forms of power). The covert prestige pattern arises because men have access to another kind or power (or alignment roles), in the form of the working-class model and physical power. This finding suggests that there may be other forms of power, and other alignment roles, at work in different communities, and that variation analyses should undertake close ethnographic investigations to understand what kinds of power are at work in speech communities, and how different forms of power may interact.

More work is needed on such in-group variation. Especially interesting would be investigations of single-sex groups of speakers who are not at the pinnacle of hegemonic masculinity's ordering of identities, especially non-white, non-straight, and/or working-class men. Given that these identities are not as culturally valued by mainstream American society as the white, middle-class, straight, community I

have studied, how do these men manage to create powerful identities? What kind of alignment roles are indexed by these men? Different roles may be indexed simply because some roles cannot be indexed by these men, so what alignment roles do they evoke in language, and how is their ideology different? Do the alignment roles and ideologies converge?

We might learn more about the universality of the processes I have described here by studying a similar group of men in a slightly different culture. While a radically different setting would be interesting, even more interesting would be to see if one small value is changed in the group. For instance, in a group where formal hierarchical distinctions are frowned upon, in a culture with different sorts of alignment roles, perhaps one in which class distinctions are not as important as in the United States, would the stances the men take be as competitive?

What of the actual linguistic devices used by the men? An important linguistic question is the degree to which these devices are presupposing (depending on speaker's knowledge of the situation), or creative (making explicit, or creating, parts of, or relationships in, a speech situation), following Silverstein's (1974) terminology. Thus, to what extent are the forms speakers use understood to be required of them (as presupposed indexes), and to what extent do the speakers use forms to creatively perform identities? In discourse, this question is complicated

by the fact that the men seem to be using stances to mediate between the linguistic device and the alignment role they are indexing. For pronouns, at first glance it might appear that these are presupposed indexes of speaker and hearer, for *I* and *you*, respectively. However, some of the men also use *we* in the inclusive sense, as in Ram's *we gotta involve him now*. Pronouns now become creative indexes for stance-making, and thus alignment role-indexing.

A similar process is at work with the (ING) variable. The history of English has made this variable available to speakers. As Houston (1985) shows, the variants originally had purely referential functions as separate morphemes. However, without the morphemic distinctions, the variants became more nonreferential, or social, indexes.<sup>51</sup> These are both presupposing and performative, and we can see both sides of the variable at work in the fraternity. Those men who used more G in meetings, used the variable for as much a presupposing sense as a performative one, in that they were using *expected* language. Sly, Waterson, and Speed, however, were using N in a more performative way, to create identities that were not necessarily expected for the situation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> This process is similar to the one described by Brown and Gilman (1960) for personal pronouns in European languages with the so-called T/V distinction.

The discourse markers and repeated forms the men use add another level to this picture, in that some of these phrases can be said to be (language internally) iconic, because their nonreferential meanings are connected with their referential meanings. Thus, *I'm tellin' you* exploits the referential meaning of the pronouns to iconically separate the speaker and hearer, and thus create a stance.

The linguistic strategies employed by the men thus create stances and index roles in a variety of ways, both referential and nonreferential, and both presupposing and performative. However, they always interface with the alignment roles of the activity type, the community, and the culture. Tannen (1993) points out the relativity of linguistic strategies, that for example, indirectness may be 'powerless' in American society, but not in Greek society. The relativity here is not with the linguistic strategy; rather the relativity is with the ideology, alignment roles, and values of those roles in a culture. Thus, aggression is always aggression, but it is the value of that aggression with respect to community ideology and valued alignment roles that is relative. In the fraternity, competition and dominating roles are valued, and thus aggression is accepted as a way to show friendship.

I hope to have provided a model of integrating the vast social science research on gender identity with studies of language and gender. By drawing on this literature, I have been able to give some depth to the concept of men's power in the context of language and gender studies, and a language for discussing different types of men's power. Drawing on the concept of hegemonic masculinity, as described by Robert Connell, has allowed me to articulate the general, hierarchical nature of men's power. This power is not necessarily as a thing that all men have and simply pull out of their pockets; rather, it is ideology, social structure, and social practice. The ideology creates hierarchies, values those men at the top of these hierarchies, and works with the social structure to put men into alignment roles, and make alignment roles available to men. Finally, social practice is the daily work of men's power, in which men index themselves with different alignment roles to put themselves (metaphorically or actually) at the top of a hierarchy (or as high as possible), to the point that even solidarity is communicated through a competition for the top spot. Language works mainly at the practical level, with men using language to find that highest spot. But when we take a wider picture of language, as in variation analyses, we see echoes of the ideology and structure as well.

## 6.2 Implications for the study of language and society

The demonstration, in a detailed manner, of the interrelationships between ideology, social structure and social practice is the most important contribution of

this study for the field of sociolinguistics. I have shown how a community's ideology and a culture's ideology affect the way members of both use their language. Moreover, I have shown how social structure, in the form of alignment roles, interacts with both ideology and practice. Thus, ideology suggests which types of alignment roles are valued, and, along with social structure, which roles are possible.<sup>52</sup> Speakers evoke aspects of these culturally possible and valued alignment roles by indexing the roles through language (and other social signaling devices). Thus, speakers are always combining different aspects of multiple alignment roles in different degrees to create identities. Ideology, structure, and practice thus converge in the concept of alignment roles.

Methodologically, I have shown the value of combining the benefits of two sociolinguistic approaches, interactional sociolinguistics and variation analysis. By using both of these sociolinguistic analytic methods, I have been better able to make the connection between the global with the local. Thus, through interactional sociolinguistic methods, I have been able to show how alignment roles are indexed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> In this sense, roles are similar to Markus and Nurius' (1986) possible selves, which "represent individuals' ideas of what they might become...[T]he pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual's particular sociocultural and historical context and from the models, images, and symbols provided by the media and by the individual's immediate social experiences (1986:954; cited in Lanehart 1996)." However, roles are not actually whole selves that people appropriate, but the "models" that the "sociocultural and historical context" provides. Following Eckert (p.c.) and the

through stances in detail. This approach also allowed me to understand how speakers create different powerful identities while drawing on similar processes. Through variation analysis, I was able to show that these differing identity constructions led to larger patterns of language use, and to take into account effects of the internal linguistic system on the use of language, and therefore separate to some extent the social 'meanings' of the variable from the linguistic constraints on the variable.

Overall, I hope to point the way to further studies that consider the full range of social constructs present in any given speech community. If we are to understand fully the way language and society/culture interact, we must understand the people and the communities we are studying. We thus must know about their ideologies, their values, their communities, their cultures, and their identities. We must further learn to integrate these parts in our analyses, simply because it is what language users do.

### 6.3 Limitations and further directions

While the alignment roles are the linchpin of the relationship between language, men, and power (and language and society), the case for these roles is

based mostly on circumstantial evidence. While the alignment roles rose out of a necessity to integrate different social levels of analysis, there is nevertheless a level to which I have given little attention: the psychological level. Most of this neglect is a product of the fact that the alignment roles construct did not develop until I was finished with field work, during the analysis of data and the writing up of the findings. I would like to test how psychologically real these roles are, and for that matter, to try to create at least a partial catalogue of these alignment roles, however fleeting they may be. Certainly, using methodologies pioneered by anthropologists doing work on cultural models (such as those appearing in Holland and Quinn's 1987 volume), we could discover the main roles such as working-class and middle-class models. The possibility that activity types can also be indexed, and that roles and activity types can be indexed to each other, also needs to be further explored in the same way.

A lingering question, which could not be resolved here, is the extent to which different kinds of alignment roles have an effect on language and on each other: What is the relationship between cultural models, community positions, and activity type stances? Is one more primary than the others? That is, do stances

something new—an identity.

index cultural models always, or, as I suggested for (ING), can cultural models be used to index stances?

We will also want to know how different kinds of linguistic entities index different alignment roles. For example, *fuckin'* and N seem to have an aligned index. Do other discourse markers, such as *dude*, index alignment roles in this direct way? Further considerations concern the effect alignment role indexing has on the linguistic system. In terms of language change, how do variants become attached to different roles?

Given these considerations, it is clear that alignment role indexing is a useful theoretical construct for understanding how people use language to help create a social reality. Without this construct, the explanation for the men's language at different social levels—how both societal and personal power affect their language—would have been impossible. Most important, this construct allows us to discuss objectively and across communities what is socially real to speakers, and to capture the complexity of the social world that is created and reflected by their language.

## **APPENDIX:**

## TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS AND TRANSCRIPTS

# Transcription Conventions<sup>53</sup>

Turn-taking			
	Bounds simultaneous speech.		
=	Connects two utterances that were produced with noticeably less		
	transition time between them than usual.		
(number)	Silences timed in tenths of seconds.		
(.)	Noticeable silence less than .2 second.		
#	Bounds passage said very quickly.		
Sound production			
۸	Falsetto.		
53Following M	loerman (1988).		

TEXT Upper case letters indicate noticeably loud volume.

\* Indicates noticeably low volume, placed around the soft words.

*text* Italics indicates emphatic delivery (volume and/or pitch).

Indicates that the sound that precedes is cut off, stopped suddenly and sharply.

Indicates the sound that precedes it is prolonged.

, Indicates a slight intonational rise.

? Indicates a sharp intonational rise.

## Breathiness, Laughter, comments

h An audible outbreath.

'h An audible inbreath.

he, ha Laughter.

(text) Transcript enclosed in single parenthesis indicates uncertain hearing.

((comment)) Double parenthesis enclose transcriber's comments.

# Transcript: Chapter Correspondent discussion

ı	Sly:	Open the floor for discussion
2	•	Tex
3	Tex:	alright um
4		look um
5		chapter correspondent is something with deadlines,
6		a:nd you need to turn those things in on ti:me, expediently.
7		looking at Mullin's past record at things he has held,
8		we don't have banners in on time,
9		we've never had any of the the things from Mullin, on time.
10		chapter correspondent,
11		if its not on time
12		its not in there it's not in the Garnet and White it only makes us
13		look bad.
14		I I believe Mullin fu:ll f:orce wants to do this,
15		but then y'know he gets on these big kicks
16		where he hates the brotherhood
17		and won't go to things after a while. y'know.
18		we need a chapter correspondent who's gonna be at things,
19		be active,
20		do this,
21		I also think this is a good position,
22		for one of the new guys to hold.
23		um I think Droste, Ritchie, or Ernie are capable of this job.
24		u:m with the proper guidance fro:m the EC.
25	?:	*Next Sly.
26	Sly:	*Uh I'm sorry.
27		U:m DARTER.
28		Oh I'm sorry, SAUL.
29	Saul:	Um I think
30		first of all Tex is right.
31		I think this'd be a real good opportunity
32		Tex was discussing uh Ernie's self esteem,
33		I think this would really give him something to take pri: de in,
34		something y'know it's really not hard,
35		older brothers can help him out,

36		and it doesn't require that we send a picture of him to anyone either
<b>37</b>		so /?/.
38	?:	*That's fucked up
39	?:	*Shit is wrong
40	Sly:	DARTER.
41	?:	((high voice)) That shit is true
42	?:	What did you say dickhead?
<b>4</b> 3	Daimon:	Um Ri:tchie may come off like he's really like a dumb ass and
44		everything
45		but uh
46		he's like one of the smartest people
<b>4</b> 7		I know y'know
48		I went to high school with him
49		and he was like ranked fifth in our class.
50		and he can he can write like rea:lly well
51	Kim:	He's A:sian man, what do you
52	expect?	
<b>5</b> 3	Speed:	Is he really?
54	Darter:	I mean he he types like unbelievably quick.
55		um I just think this would be a good position for him to hold
56		because he's a really good writer,
57		I mean I've read a lot of papers of his
58	Sly:	Spike
59	Spike:	U:m yeah my my thing is uh go with for Ernie,
60		just give him a little self confidence, self estee:m, uh give him some
61		importance in this: in this fraternity,
62		and uh also piss off Speed.
63	Saul:	Laughs
64	Speed:	Fuck you Spike.
65	All:	laugh
	Sly:	Connor
67	Pencil:	Well he does kinda look like a young Speed,
68	Connor:	
69		thought about this position as being a stepping stone.
70		I really think if he does this,
71		he's going to he's going to be a future leader in our fraternity
72	Mack:	scholarship
73	Connor:	somewhere.
74		so give him something like this
75		now and give uh Barry /?/ at this point.

76 Sly: U:h Pencil.

77 ?: Vote the Asian in.

78 Pencil: I'll defer 79 Sly: Art.

80 Art: Uh Kurt has gotten a strong reputation as a drunk,

and I think he should get a chance to uh prove that he can do- he

can be responsible when he needs to be y'know.

83 Pencil: That was what I deferred to.

84 Sly: Speed.

85 Speed: Ritchie. I like Ritchie 'cause he's smart and he probably (writes really good) too:.

so let him do it dude.

88 Sly: Jerry.

89 Jerry: Um l'd like to see all of my postulant brothers hold a position

90 but as: f:ar as

91 I've narrowed it down to Ritchie and Ernie.

92 Ernie I agree does need a position=

93 ?: scholarship

94 Jerry: =to increase his self esteem,

but Ritchie, I know when we had to write Ramsey's paper,

\*hhh that uh Ritchie was doing really well and Ernie I kept having

to correct 'cause he couldn't write worth a shit.

98 I think Ritchie's definitely the one.

99 ?: Ritchie::

100 Sly: alright uh Ram

101 Ram: um

102 Saul: call the question

103 Ram: Ritchie would be great in this position?

but he's so responsible,

that he would be good in any position?

I see him um I see him taking more of a historical position.

107 ?: [applauds]

108 Ram: um I'd like to uh endorse Kurt here. surprisingly.

109 I mean the kid-

l don't want to see him fall into a another-

and I'm not saying that he would

Kevin Flynn type thing,
I think we need to make him

we we need to strongly involve him *now*,
I think he's pretty serious about it. y'know.

and with a little guidance I mean he'll do a fine job. 116 117 Sly: Speed 118 Speed: I just spoke. 119 **Sly**: Jerry. I li-I like hearing you speak, that's all. 120 121 Pencil: Jerry did too. 122 ?: got the order all fucked up. yeah well 123 **Sly**: Pencil 124 Pencil: y- y- you already 125 ?: he deferred. 126 Speed: You're going backwards george. 127 Sly: How much further are you going to defer, man? 128 Pencil: I defer-129 Pete: To the bottom. 130 Pencil: I deferred to-Art said what I want to say. 131 132 Sly: allright ah::: Mitty. Um in this situation, I mean, 133 **Mitty**: I'd like to like pick somebody, who- with emotions and all heart, 134 my heart says to go with like a guy like Ernie or something, 135 or Kurt to give him confidence, 136 but this is something you need done. you know. 137 I mean I think I think our fraternity is getting at a low point right 138 139 now, we need to like start organizing stu::ff and doing stuff right. 140 so put somebody who can really do it. 141 Ritchie can really do it. 142 he typed like *four* papers for me last wee:k, 143 all of them were in on time. 144 he's a responsible guy. 145 put him in. 146 147 Sly: Pete 148 Pencil: You're a moron 149 Pete: Kurt for chapter correspondent, Ritchie for sch-olarship, 150 151 ?: no::::: 152 Pete: and Ernie for historian. 153 ?: Ritchie for chaplain.

allright well Ritchie for historian,

and Ernie for scholarship.

154 Pete:

155

156 Sly: We're on one vote right now.

157 Pete: Hey I get to say my piece I got the floor bitch.

158 Sly: Darter.

159 Darter: Um I'm just speaking from experience of my postulant brothers

Ernie has a really hard time writing papers.

161 Mack: Yeah he does

160

162 Darter: so I mean I don't think it would be really great I mean

if like fraternities -

I mean if like chapters are going to read this all over the place,
I don't think we want somebody who doesn't know how to write,

166 Mack: I completely agree with you.

167 Sly: Mack.
 168 Mack: Okay.
 169 This is it.

Somebody said something about Again. we need to reorganize (?).

172 Mack: yeah somebody s-

we need to look at what we have left here,

and there are certain positions that everybody fits into perfectly. barry does *not* fit into this: ..

177 I'm not sure where Ernie fits in just yet.

178 ?: historian

179 Mack: but I: a:m afraid that we are going to waste uh
180 one of the few brains left. in someplace that that uh
181 historian has potentially been a non-existent position.

uh I think for a couple semesters Yahoo took some pictures,

183 Pancil: We're talking about chapter correspondent now

184 Mack: what's that? I know

185 Pencil: and he can hold both positions

186 Mack: I understand that. (0.3)

But he won't.

(0.5)

I see- I see Kurt- I see Kurt-

191 Pencil: point of order.

192 ?: we have we have four left.

193 Pencil: point of order.

194 Mack: I see Kurt as chapter correspondent.

195 not Ritchie damn it.

```
Allright I'd like to ask for a motion to close discussion.
196 Sly:
197 ?:
              SO MOVED
198 [general chaos]
              YIELDING TO GOMEZ Tex Kim and Speed.
199 Sly:
              I just want to endorse Kurt wholeheartedly
200 Gomez:
              just to prove.
201
              I'm one of the drunks,
202
              we need a drunk in a position just to prove that alcohol has no
203
              effect on production of /?/
204
205 Makris:
              that's right
206 [applause]
207 Tex:
              I also endorse Kurt.
208 Sly:
               Good. Kim.
209 ?:
               Tell us who you're going to vote for god damn it
210 Pencil:
              Thank you Tex.
211 Tex:
               I just said I endorse him,
               I didn't say I was going to vote for him.
212
213 Sly:
               Kim
               You guys um I think some of you are forgetting what this is about,
214 Kim:
               I mean this is about writing ability,
215
               and it's about our image,
216
               this goes-
217
               it's not something we can we can pick and make fun of,
218
               I mean national brothers are reading this,
219
               if if you don't have somebody who can write well,
220
               we're going to look like a bunch of fucking neanderthals here so,
221
                                                     /?/
               everyone:
222
223 Sly:
               Speed
224 Speed:
               Alright look.
               first of all, you guys need to realize we do not ha: ve to ne-
225
               necessarily make a:ll the new brothers,
226
               put them in positions right away.
227
               a lot of the new brothers already have positions.
228
               they can get elected next year or next semester.
229
               there are some positions that are semesterly.
230
               we don't have to make sure that every one of them has a position.
231
               they need time to learn and grow-
232
               it's better that// they're- that they're=
233
                          (I need an assistant.)
234 ?:
```

235 **Speed**:

=shut the fuck up.

236		it's better that they're-
237		that they're almost like I was with Tex.
238		I was Tex's like little bitch boy graduate affairs,
239		and I learned a lot more there,
240		than I would if I got stuck in some leadership role,
241		so fuck 'em,
242		I don't care if any of em don't get a position.
243		but I'm telling you right now,
244		I think Ritchie should do it because like Kim said,
245		people are gonna read this shit,
246		Kurt might get ha:mmered and write some shitty fuckin' letter,
247		Ernie can't write,
248		fuckin' Mullin already has a position,
249		so put Ritchie in there,
250		and stop fuckin' trying to set everybody up in a position. christ.
251	Sly:	Rex.
252	Speed:	I:'d like one.
253	-	((laughter))
254	Sly:	Allright SHUTUP. Rex.
255	Rex:	Um I just want to say to everybody,
256		that uh to uh don't underestimate Kurt.
257		Kurt really wants to do something.
258		and it's up to you all to figure out wh- which one it is
259		but he really wants to do something (? like I did when I was?
260		semester)
261	Sly:	All in favor of Mullin please signal by raising your hand.

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